

THE LOWY INSTITUTE POLL 2006



Australia, Indonesia and the World **PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY**

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LOWY INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY

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Executive summary

Australia, Indonesia and the World reports the results of foreign policy public opinion surveys conducted in Australia and Indonesia between 19 June and 6 July 2006.

Australian Views

Australians were interested in Australia's international relations. Almost all our respondents thought Australia should take an active part in world affairs, and two thirds thought globalisation was mostly good for Australia. Almost all respondents felt safe or very safe.

THE UNITED STATES

Australia's alliance relationship with the United States was well regarded. Respondents felt that relations between Australia and the United States were improving, and more respondents wanted greater influence for the United States in the world than wanted greater influence for Japan, China or India.

Nonetheless, two thirds felt that Australia took too much notice of the views of the United States in its foreign policies, and many felt that Australia's policy towards Indonesia and the region was shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States.

Most respondents said that the United States was playing the role of world policeman more than it should, and fewer respondents said they trusted the United States to act responsibly in the world than said they trusted Japan, India or China to do so.

CHINA

The development of China as a world power was seen as the least important of thirteen possible threats to Australia's vital interest, even though respondents thought China more influential in Asia than the United States. Respondents felt as warmly towards China as they did towards the United States.

GLOBAL WARMING

Improving the global environment was seen as our top foreign policy goal. Global warming, along with international terrorism and the possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers, were the top-rated threats to Australia's vital interest.

Two thirds of respondents wanted steps taken now to tackle the problem of global warming even if the cost were high. One quarter thought we could deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in cost.

Almost none thought we should not take any steps that would have economic costs.

THE IRAQ WAR

Respondents were negative about the Iraq war and its influence on world affairs. They felt overwhelmingly that the threat of terrorism had not been reduced by the war and that nations should be more cautious about using military force to deal with rogue states. Two thirds disagreed that the war would lead to the spread of democracy in the Middle East. Almost all thought the war had worsened America's relations with the Muslim world.

IRAN AND THE NUCLEAR ISSUE

Most respondents believed that Iran was producing enriched uranium in order to develop nuclear weapons. Overwhelmingly, respondents said they would be concerned if Iran did produce nuclear weapons.

INDONESIA AND AUSTRALIA

Respondents felt that Indonesia was essentially controlled by the military, that Indonesia was a dangerous source of Islamic terrorism and that Australia was right to worry about Indonesia as a military threat.

They were divided over whether Indonesian cooperation with Australia had been important in helping us contain the terrorist threat in the region, and whether Indonesia was an emerging democracy.

Nonetheless, respondents thought it was very important that Australia and Indonesia work together to develop a close relationship. They thought Indonesia benefited from having Australia as a stable and prosperous neighbour and they agreed that Australia had shown itself to be a reliable long term friend to Indonesia.

Respondents agreed that Australia's policy towards Indonesia and the region was shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States, but were divided over whether Australia had a tendency to try to interfere in Indonesia's affairs too much, and whether Indonesia was right to worry that Australia wanted to separate the province of West Papua from Indonesia.

Indonesian Views

Indonesian respondents were also interested in their external relations. Like Australians, they thought Indonesia should take an active part in world affairs, and two thirds thought globalisation was mostly good. Unlike Australians, more than half our respondents felt unsafe or very unsafe.

THE UNITED STATES

Respondents thought the United States the most influential country in Asia. They wanted the United States to have about the same influence in the world as China or the European Union, but to have less influence than Japan. Many fewer respondents trusted the United States to act responsibly in the world than trusted China, India or Japan to act in this way.

THE IRAQ WAR

Indonesian respondents felt negative about the Iraq war and its influence on world affairs, but were substantially less critical than Australians. Two thirds thought the threat of terrorism had not been reduced by the war, that the war had worsened America's relations with the Muslim World, and that nations should be more cautious about using military force to deal with rogue states. Only a third agreed that the war would lead to the spread of democracy in the Middle East.

IRAN AND THE NUCLEAR ISSUE

Respondents were somewhat suspicious of Iran's intentions for its nuclear industry, but a plurality of respondents felt they would be unconcerned by a nuclear-armed Iran.

AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA

Respondents were suspicious of Australia's involvement in Indonesian affairs. They agreed that Indonesia was right to worry that Australia was seeking to separate the province of West Papua from Indonesia, that Australia had a tendency to try to interfere too much in Indonesia's affairs and that Australian policy towards Indonesia and the region was shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States.

Still, they agreed narrowly that Australia had shown itself to be a reliable long term friend of Indonesia, that Indonesia benefited from having Australia as a stable and prosperous neighbour, and that it was very important that Australia and Indonesia work together to develop a close relationship.

Respondents agreed widely that Indonesia was an emerging democracy, but they also agreed that Indonesia was essentially controlled by the military. They were ambivalent over whether Australia was right to worry about Indonesia as a military threat.

On terrorism, respondents agreed that Indonesian cooperation with Australia had been important in helping to contain the terrorist threat in the region, but disagreed that Indonesia was a dangerous source of Islamic terrorism.

Preface

This is the second annual Lowy Institute Poll on Australia and the world. Like the first, it contains a variety of questions. Some are designed to show what Australians think about important contemporary issues. Others are broader and more conceptual, and will enable us to track changes over time in our national view of the world.

Our objective in doing these surveys is not to suggest that Australia's international policies should be determined by referendum. Governments need to take far more into account in developing foreign and security policies than the immediate attitudes of a public which is very often paying only slight and intermittent attention to the issues at stake. But it would be equally wrong to claim that public opinion should have no role in this process. The days when such matters were the exclusive preserve of a secretive cadre of diplomats and strategists are long behind us. In a globalised world in which almost all aspects of our lives have some sort of international dimension, and communications are instant, all diplomacy is to some degree public diplomacy.

This year there are two important differences in the way the Lowy Institute Poll has been conducted. We were invited by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, which for more than thirty years has conducted one of the world's best known surveys of American attitudes towards the world, to participate in their latest worldwide poll. In addition to polling Americans, they have arranged parallel public opinion surveys in China, India, Japan and Korea, focusing on the impact of the shifting patterns of power in Asia that are accompanying the economic rise of China and India. We were attracted to this opportunity, not just because of the chance it gave us to work with the Chicago Council, but because it will enable us to directly compare the views of Australians on important global questions with those of the public in a number of the countries most important to us.

The second difference this year is that we have also undertaken survey work in Indonesia, because we thought it was very important to get a better understanding of what drives mutual public attitudes in Australia and Indonesia. This relationship is critical for both countries but there is surprisingly little information in the public domain about how we see each other.

The results are sobering, but they also contain reasons for hope and they establish foundations of knowledge that are essential if more effective policies are to be developed. The

data will be used in other work the Institute is undertaking on Indonesia and Australia–Indonesia relations.

Part of the mission of the Lowy Institute is to inform and deepen the debate in Australia about international policy and to improve practical outcomes in the world. Understanding what Australians think about international issues is an essential part of any effort to develop more effective and creative Australian contributions to the construction of a safer, saner, more prosperous world.

I hope you find that the Lowy Institute Poll for 2006 contributes to that important aim.

Allan Gyngell

Executive Director

Introduction

Australia, Indonesia and the World reports the results of two foreign policy public opinion surveys conducted between 19 June and 6 July 2006, one in Australia and the other in Indonesia. The questions we asked fall into three categories: Australian time-series questions; common international questions; and questions on the relationship between Australia and Indonesia.

The Australian time-series questions are taken from the first Lowy Institute Poll, conducted in February 2005 by UMR Research and released under the title *Australians Speak 2005: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy*. This year's responses show how much movement there has been on some key questions over the 16 months to June 2006.

The common international questions were asked as part of a multi-country study of the Asian region. The study, which was led by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, includes data from the United States, China, India, Japan, South Korea, and Australia. Its purpose is to compare responses across these countries to questions focused on changes in the region.

Questions on the relationship between Australia and Indonesia are designed to illuminate how much of the chronic tension between these two very different countries is driven by simple misunderstanding and how much by the exigencies of bilateral and international politics. The answers provide much-needed data on the way the general population of each country views the other.

The first section of this report gives the results of the Australian survey and compares them, where appropriate, with results from the first Lowy Institute Poll conducted in 2005. The second section reports the results of the Indonesian survey, and compares them with responses to the same questions from the Australian survey. The results are reported in a narrative designed to provide context but not analysis. The third section contains tables of all the questions and responses, so that readers can investigate the raw data for themselves.

Several questions ask for responses on a numbered scale. Where scales are used, collective responses may be given in the form of both mean figures (being the average of all responses) and median figures (being the response with an equal number of responses below and above it). Means are more affected than medians by small numbers of extreme responses. All the illustrative charts in this report use mean figures for consistency, but both mean and median figures are reported in the tables of results.

Acknowledgements

Many of the questions in this survey were drawn from those developed over the last thirty years by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, a world leader in foreign policy opinion polling. We thank Christopher Whitney and the survey team for their intellectual and administrative contributions to our work.

The Australian and Indonesian surveys were managed by Paul Korbel of Market Focus International. Murray Goot, Professor of Politics and International Relations at Macquarie University, provided technical support, reviewed the questionnaires and helped interpret the data.

The Indonesian study was designed with advice from Dr Rodd McGibbon and Dr Greg Fealy from the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University. Indonesia experts Alan Wall and Ken Ward were also very helpful.

The Lowy Institute Poll is overseen by the Institute's director, Allan Gyngell, and managed by Ivan Cook.

Australia and the world

The great majority of Australians appear to be outward-looking and interested in Australia's international relationships.

Asked about when they 'follow the news these days', 91% of respondents said they were either 'very' (50%) or 'somewhat' (41%) interested in 'news about the relations of Australia with other countries'. Moreover, 82% thought 'it will be best for the future of Australia if we take an active part in world affairs' rather than 'stay out of world affairs'. Asked about 'globalisation, especially the increasing connections of [Australia's] economy with others around the world', two thirds (64%) of our respondents thought it was 'mostly good' rather than 'mostly bad' (28%).

To give some context to these and the following responses, we asked a couple of knowledge questions. We found that 83% of Australians were able to name the common currency of the European Union, but only a minority (41%) could name the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Australia's international relationships

FEELINGS TOWARDS OTHER COUNTRIES

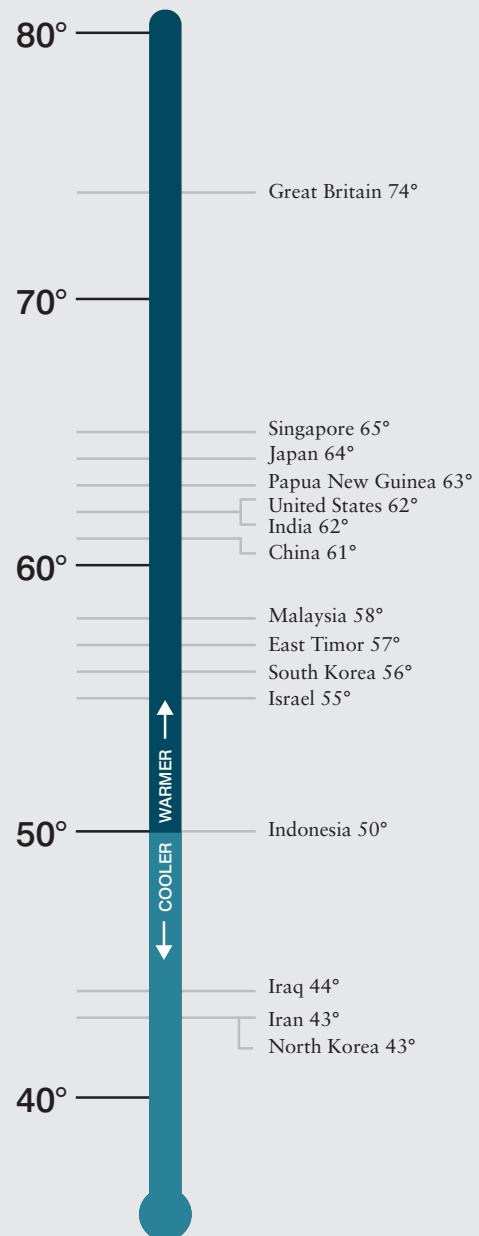
Popular attitudes to other countries can be important in international politics but difficult to predict. To get a sense of how Australians see their near and distant neighbours, we asked respondents to rate their feelings towards fifteen countries 'using a scale of 0 to 100, with 100 meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, 0 meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold'.

Great Britain was by far the most warmly regarded country with a mean score of 74. Ten countries span the decile from 65 to 55, beginning with Singapore (65), Japan (64), Papua New Guinea (63), the United States (62), India (62) and China (61). The less warmly regarded members of this group are Malaysia (58), East Timor (57), South Korea (56), and Israel (55).

Feelings about Indonesia (50) were neither warm nor cold on average, but three countries, Iraq (44), Iran (43) and North Korea (43), produced feelings that were cool rather than warm: hardly surprising given their current status in world affairs.

Fig. 1: Feelings towards other countries

Please rate your feelings towards various countries and peoples, using a scale of 0 to 100, with 100 meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, 0 meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100, the higher the number the more favourable your feelings are towards that country or those people. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country or those people, please say so.



CHANGES IN AUSTRALIA’S RELATIONSHIPS

A feelings thermometer gives a snapshot of opinions and a rank order of nations, but does not test the direction of change in attitudes to Australia’s international relationships. To do that, we asked respondents whether they felt that our relations with several important powers were ‘improving, worsening, or staying about the same’.

The majority felt that relations were improving with China (59%) and the United States (51%); less than 10% felt they were worsening. In relation to the European Union (61%), Japan (55%), and India (51%), the majority felt that Australia’s relations were staying about the same, with roughly three times as many of the remaining respondents believing they are improving rather than worsening. Only for Indonesia did a plurality (47%) of respondents think that our relations were getting worse; 31% thought they were unchanging, and only 19% thought they were improving.

Regional powers

INFLUENCE IN ASIA

The distribution of power in Asia is undergoing substantial change, driven primarily by China’s extraordinary economic growth. India’s economy, with its 1.3 billion people, is growing at a rate second only to China’s in

Asia. Although the United States is still Asia’s largest market and remains the dominant strategic power, Japan appears set to take a more active role in regional and global security as it emerges from a decade of economic stagnation.

How visible are these movements to Australians? We asked respondents to rate how much influence each of nine countries has in Asia on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means they are ‘not at all influential’ and 10 means they are ‘extremely influential’.

Respondents rated China (7.5) the most influential country in Asia, ahead of the United States (6.6) and Japan (6.6). India (6.0) was the next most highly rated, followed closely by Australia (5.8) and Indonesia (5.7), which have practically equal influence in Asia in the views of Australians. The tail-enders were South Korea (5.5) and extra-regional powers the European Union (5.3) and Russia (4.9).

GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

Power begets influence, but when used irresponsibly influence will be resented. To test the behaviour of our greatest regional powers – Japan, China, India and the United States – we asked respondents to rate them on how responsibly they act in the world.

Fig. 2: Changes in Australia’s relationships

In your opinion are relations of Australia with the following countries improving, worsening or staying about the same?

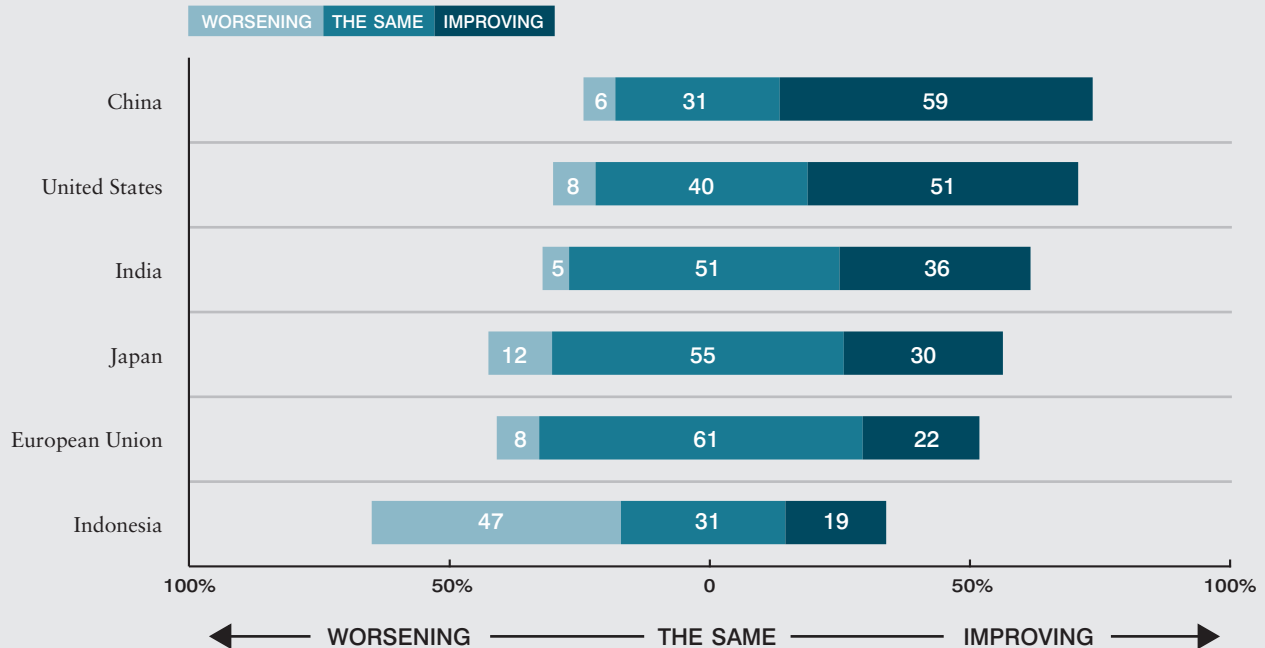
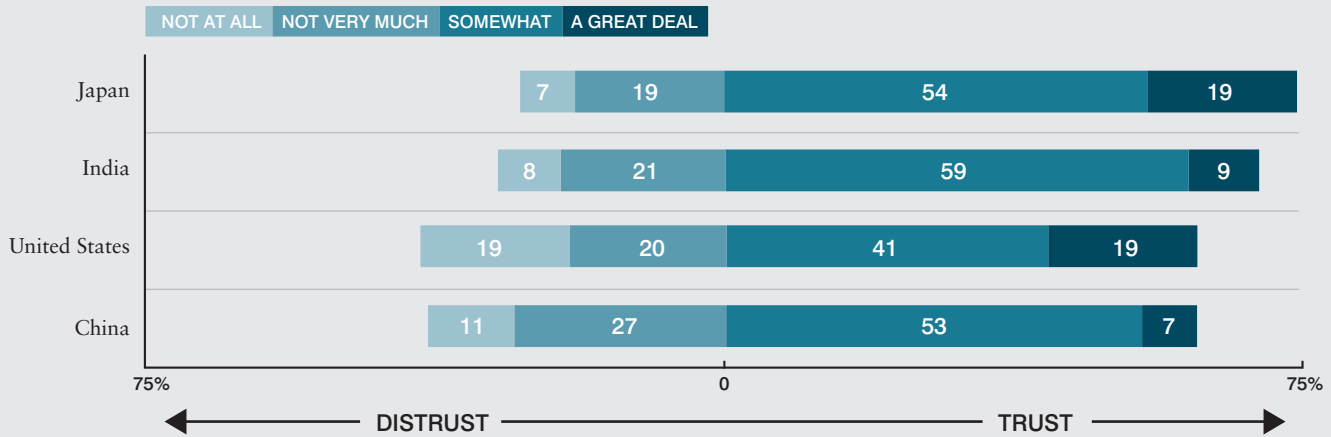


Fig. 3: Trust in other countries to act responsibly

How much do you trust the following countries to act responsibly in the world?



We found that Japan was more widely trusted ‘to act responsibly in the world’ than any of the other countries, although the differences are not great. Thus, while 73% of respondents said they trust Japan ‘a great deal’ or ‘somewhat’, 68% said the same for India, 60% for China and 60% for the United States.

Relatively few trusted any of these countries ‘a great deal’, though Japan (19%) and the United States (19%) were more likely to be trusted a great deal than either India (9%) or China (7%). The United States tends to polarise opinions: an equal number (19%) trust it ‘a great deal’ as trust it ‘not at all’. Opinions of China and India are more ambivalent, with 80% of respondents in both cases saying they trusted them ‘somewhat’ or ‘not much’.

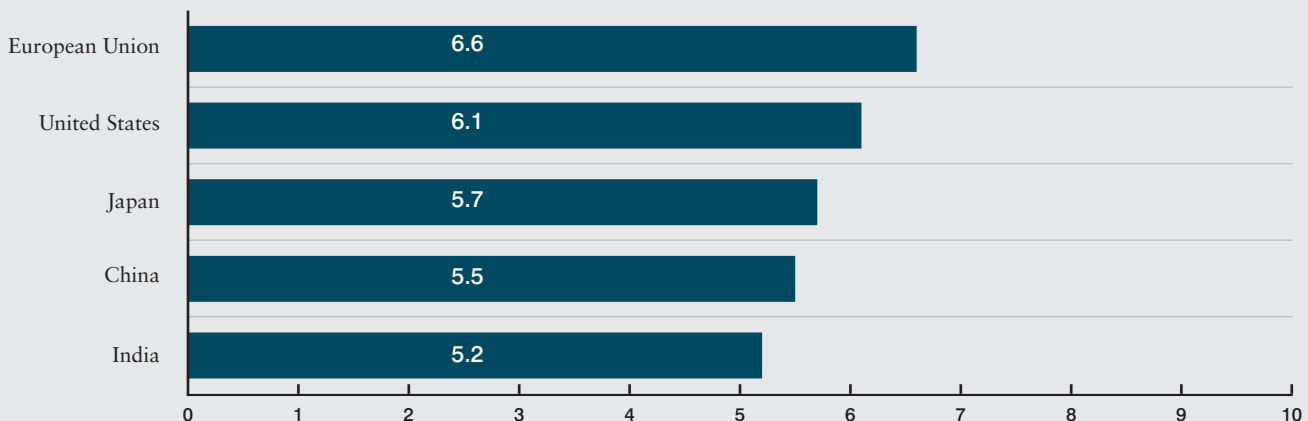
GLOBAL INFLUENCE

Did our respondents want the countries they trusted most to be the most influential? Not necessarily. Taking the four countries from the previous question plus the European Union, we asked respondents to rate how influential they would want each one to be in the world using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means ‘not at all influential’ and 10 means ‘extremely influential’.

On average, respondents wanted the European Union to be most influential with a mean rating of 6.6. The United States came next with a mean rating of 6.1, followed by Japan (5.7), China (5.5) and India (5.2). The most favoured powers were those that reflect more closely Australia’s ethnic and cultural heritage.

Fig. 4: How influential should powerful countries be?

How influential would you want each of the following countries to be in the world? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all influential and 10 meaning extremely influential.



Australian foreign policy

FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

To get a sense of the foreign policy issues Australians are most concerned with, we asked respondents to consider a series of thirteen foreign policy goals that Australia might have, and to say whether each should be ‘a very important foreign policy goal’, ‘a somewhat important foreign policy goal’, or ‘not an important goal at all’.

‘Improving the global environment’ was clearly the most important foreign policy goal, considered ‘very important’ by 87% of respondents, and reflecting opinions about how we should deal with global warming (see page 10). A mixture of economic, security and humanitarian concerns drove the three next most important goals: ‘protecting the jobs of Australian workers’ (82%), ‘preventing the spread of nuclear weapons’ (82%), and ‘combating world hunger’ (80%).

Significantly fewer respondents thought that ‘combating international terrorism’ (74%) and ‘securing adequate supplies of energy’ (73%), were ‘very important’. By the same measure, ‘promoting and defending human rights in other countries’ (68%), ‘strengthening the United Nations’ (65%), ‘promoting economic growth’ (65%),

‘protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression’ (64%), and ‘helping to improve the standard of living of less developed nations’ (64%) had the support of roughly two thirds of respondents.

‘Controlling and reducing illegal immigration’ was considered ‘very important’ by a small majority of 55%, but the least important goal, ‘helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations’, was considered ‘very important’ by little more than a third of respondents (38%).

THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS

If two thirds of respondents said that a stronger United Nations should be a ‘very important’ goal of Australian foreign policy, what influence did they want the United Nations to have on Australian foreign policy, and what influence did they want for the United States? We asked respondents whether Australia takes ‘too much’, ‘the right amount’ or ‘too little’ notice of the United States in its foreign policy. We then asked the same question about the United Nations.

Two thirds (69%) of respondents felt that Australia takes too much notice of the United States in its foreign policy; less than one third (27%) thought Australia takes the right

Fig. 5: Foreign policy goals

I am now going to read out a list of possible foreign policy goals that Australia might have. For each one please tell me whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of Australia, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all.

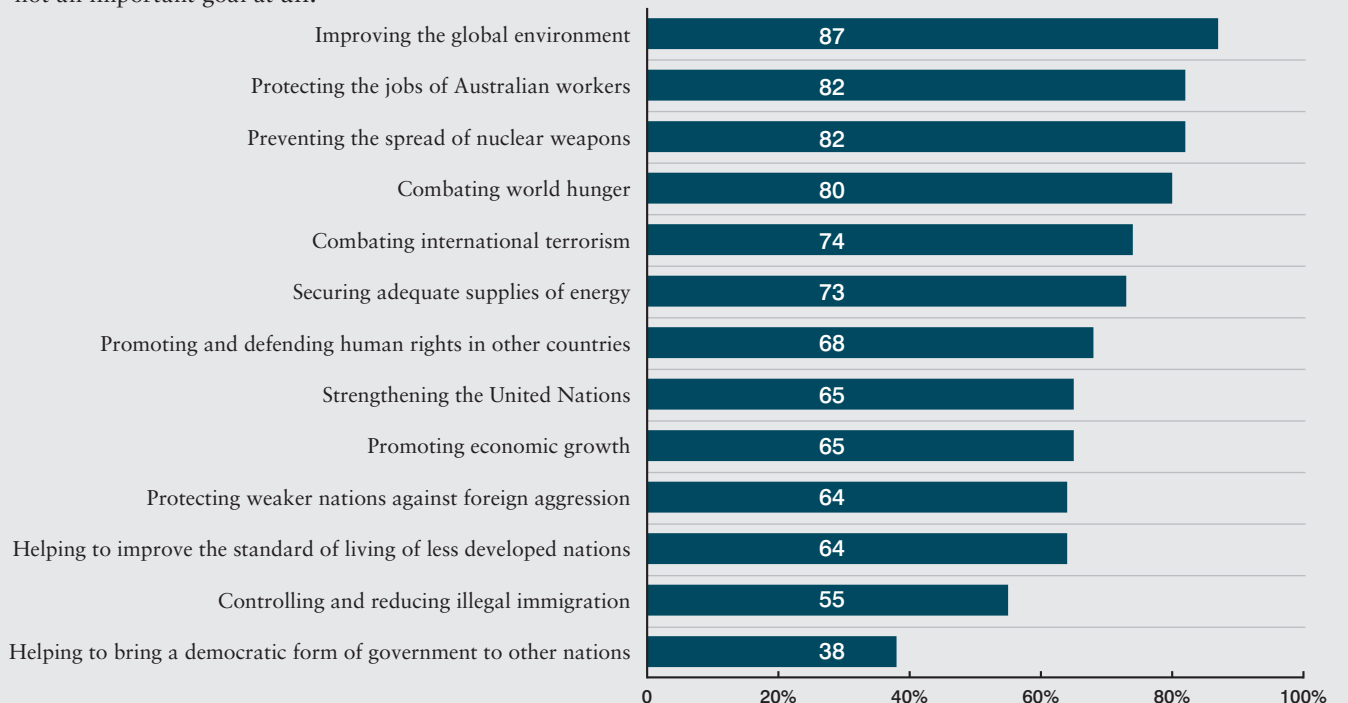
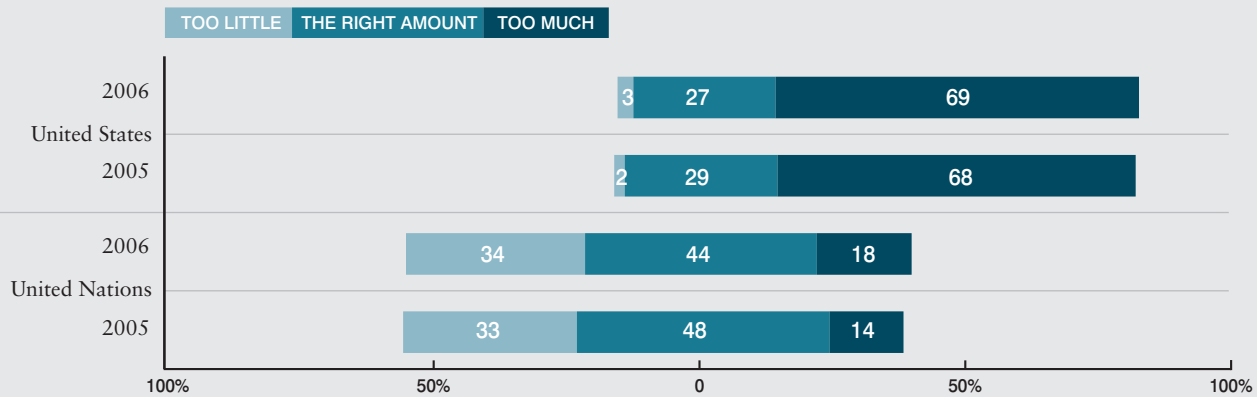


Fig. 6: Influence on Australian foreign policy

Thinking about how much notice Australia takes of the views of the United States/United Nations in our foreign policy, on the whole do you think we take ...



amount. By contrast, nearly half (44%) our respondents thought Australia takes the right amount of notice of the United Nations, and one third (34%) thought we take too little. In both cases, responses were nearly identical to those given to the same question in 2005*.

A clear connection exists between respondents' understanding of the sources of Australia's security and their views about America's influence on Australian foreign policy. Of those respondents who thought Australia's alliance with the United States is 'very important' for Australia's security (see page 12), a significantly smaller proportion (51%) than the average (69%) think that Australia takes too much notice of the United States in its foreign policy, and a significantly

larger proportion (43%) than the average (27%) think that it takes the right amount.

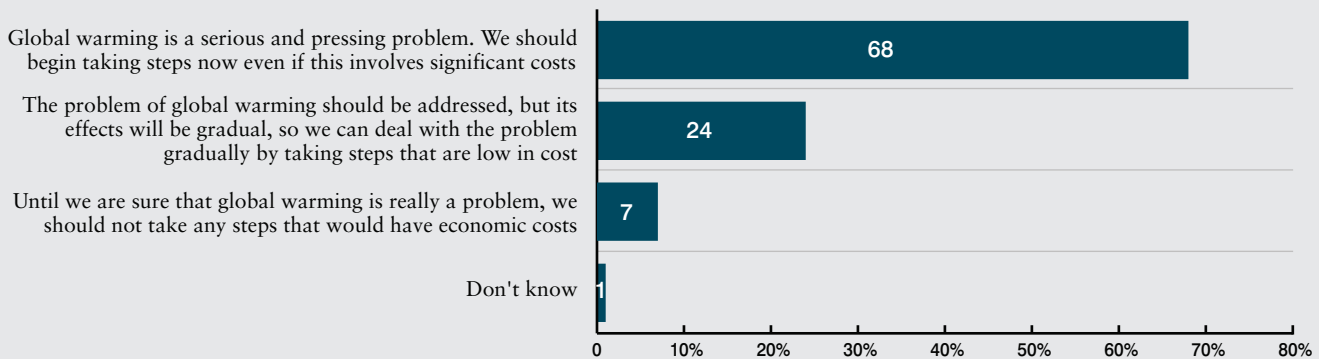
GLOBAL WARMING

We know that 'improving the global environment' is a foreign policy priority for Australians (see page 9), but how does that translate to the problem of global warming, and what steps should we take in order to deal with it? Mainstream debate centres on the relative costs of mitigating action. To position our respondents in this debate, we asked them to choose one of three options for dealing with global warming.

Easily the most popular option, supported by more than two thirds (68%) of respondents, was that 'global warming is a serious and pressing problem [and] we should begin

Fig. 7: Options for dealing with global warming

There is a controversy over what the countries of the world, including Australia, should do about the problem of global warming. I'm going to read you three statements. Please tell me which statement comes closest to your own point of view.



*The word 'interest' was mistakenly added to the response options for this question as they appeared on the computer screens of our researchers in 2006, and is therefore reproduced in the table of results. Regrettable though the error is, there are good grounds for believing it made little difference. First, the results for both questions were very similar to the results reported in 2005. Second, responses to questions on the cognate topic of Australia's alliance relationship with the United States (see page 12), asked in 2005 and repeated correctly in this survey, also showed little change. Third, a similar question in this survey – on whether Australia's policy towards Indonesia and the region is shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States (see page 14) – produced similar results.

taking steps now even if this involves significant costs'. A quarter (24%) of respondents agreed that 'the problem of global warming should be addressed, but its effects will be gradual, so we can deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in cost'. The least popular option, supported by only 7% of respondents, was that 'until we are sure that global warming is really a problem we should not take any steps that would have economic costs'.

International security

Australia's relative isolation from the global centres of human conflict and natural disaster insulates most Australians against fearing for their safety. In the first Lowy Institute Poll in 2005 we asked respondents to tell us how safe they felt in the face of world events. We asked that question again in 2006, and received very similar responses. The great majority felt either 'safe' (56%) or 'very safe' (30%) in 2006, while only 11% felt either unsafe (13%) or very unsafe (3%). In 2005, 61% felt 'safe', and 30% felt 'very safe'.

THREATS TO AUSTRALIA'S VITAL INTEREST

Australia might be a safe place to live, but it can never be entirely isolated from global events. To find out what

worries Australians most, we asked our respondents to rate a series of thirteen 'possible threats to the vital interest of Australia in the next ten years'. The pattern of responses was remarkably dispersed.

Despite widespread feelings of safety, the threat of violence clearly coloured the views of our respondents, with 'international terrorism' and 'the possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers' considered 'critical' by 73% and 70% respectively. Close behind was the first of the non-violent threats, that of 'global warming' (68%), a result that reflects the prime importance our respondents attach to the foreign policy goal of 'improving the global environment' (see page 9).

'Islamic fundamentalism' (60%) and 'AIDS, avian flu and other potential epidemics' (58%) were less critical to our respondents but still widely supported. In this era of expensive oil, half our respondents (51%) thought a 'disruption in energy supply' constituted a critical threat.

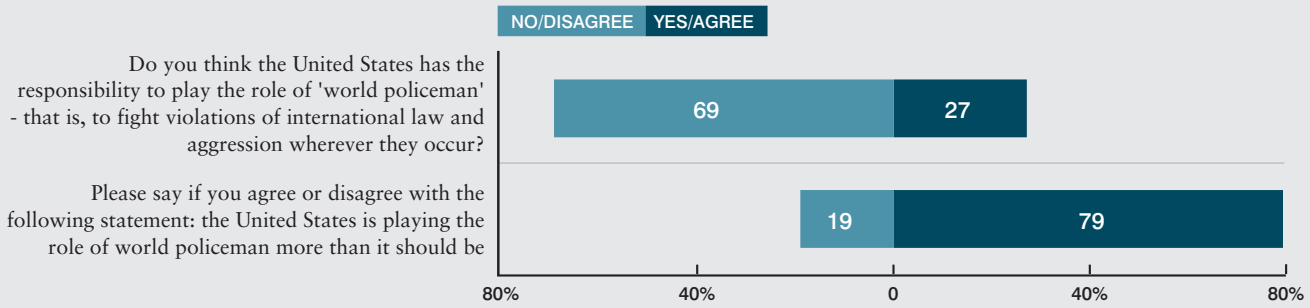
Only about one third of respondents rated international economic competition or potential conflicts in Korea or the Taiwan Strait as critical, and despite Australia's

Fig. 8: Threats to Australia's vital interest

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of Australia in the next 10 years. For each one, please say whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all.



Fig. 9: The United States as ‘world policeman’



involvement in a number of stabilisation missions in its neighbourhood over recent years, the threat of ‘failing countries in our region’ was seen as critical by only a third (31%) of respondents, the same number who were critically worried about ‘large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into Australia’. The least important potential threat was ‘the development of China as a world power’, seen as critical by only one quarter (25%) of our respondents.

THE UNITED STATES AND GLOBAL SECURITY

What of attitudes to the United States and its role in international security? Asked whether ‘the United States has the responsibility to play the role of world policeman – that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur’, two thirds of respondents (69%) said that the United States does not have the responsibility to play that role. Asked whether ‘the United States is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be’, 79% said that it was.

THE ANZUS ALLIANCE

Although our respondents were critical of the United States as world policeman, a clear majority value Australia’s security ties with America. Repeating a question from our

2005 survey, we asked respondents to rate the importance of ‘our alliance relationship with the United States for Australia’s security’.

More than two thirds (70%) rated the ‘alliance relationship with the United States’ as either ‘very important’ (42%) or ‘fairly important’ (28%) ‘for Australia’s security’; only 8% said it was ‘not at all important’. Views of the alliance have not changed significantly since 2005, when 72% of respondents felt it was either very (45%) or fairly (27%) important for Australia’s security.

Older respondents were more likely than younger respondents to think the alliance ‘very important’ for Australia’s security. Of those aged 18-29, 32% thought the alliance was very important, compared with 36% of 30-39 year olds, 39% of 40-49 year olds, 55% of 50-59 year olds and 50% of those aged 60 or more. These differences could be due to the conservatism and caution that comes with age, the historical circumstances during which each generation was formed, or a combination of both.

THE WAR IN IRAQ

In the first Lowy Institute Poll the Iraq war was the subject of several questions regarding Australia’s involvement.

Fig. 10: Importance of the ANZUS alliance

How important is our alliance relationship with the United States for Australia’s security?

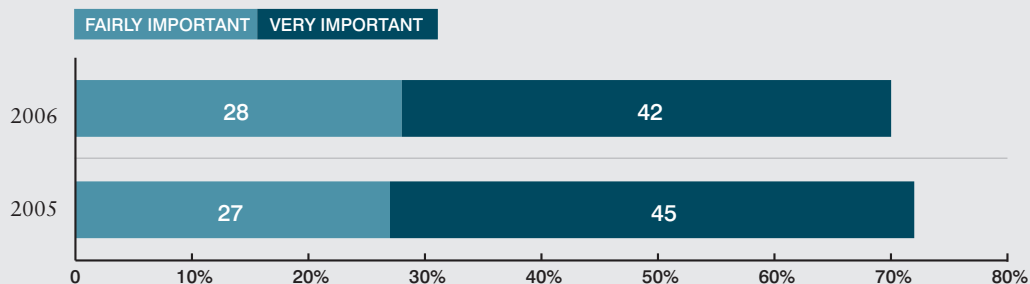
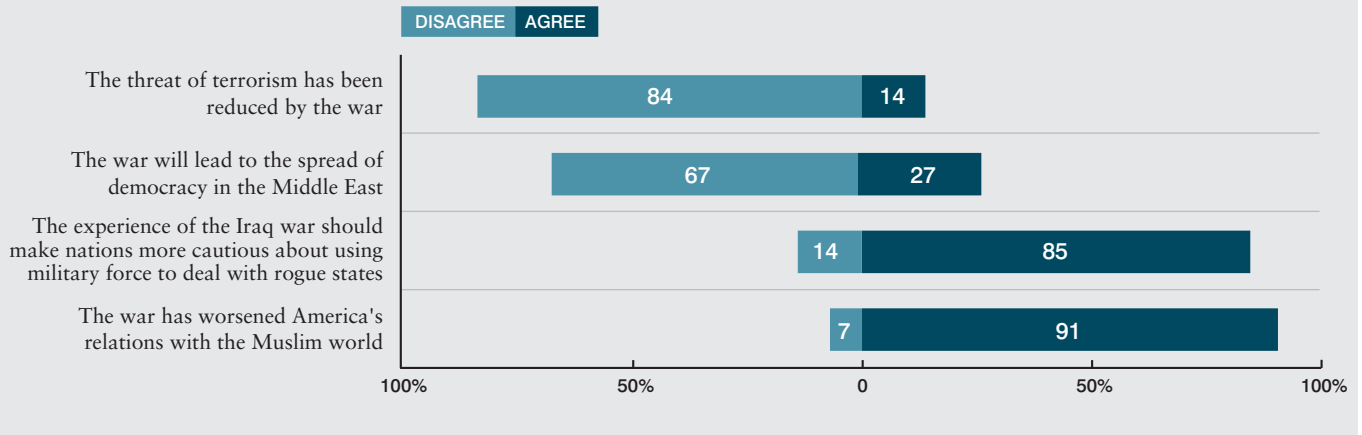


Fig. 11: Outcomes of the war in Iraq

I will now read out a number of statements about the Iraq war. Please say whether you agree or disagree with each statement.



This year we concentrated on the wider effects of the war. The results point to a largely pessimistic view of its outcomes so far.

An overwhelming proportion (84%) of respondents felt that ‘the threat of terrorism’ had not been ‘reduced by the war’, and two thirds (67%) disagreed that ‘the war would lead to the spread of democracy in the Middle East’. On the other hand, 85% agreed that ‘the experience of the Iraq war should make nations more cautious about using military force to deal with rogue states’, and an almost unanimous 91% felt that ‘the war has worsened America’s relations with the Muslim world’.

IRAN AND THE NUCLEAR ISSUE

What about the next challenge for the United States? Iran’s status as a potentially threatening state is closely linked with its stated ambition to master the nuclear fuel cycle. Iran claims that this goal serves energy security rather than military purposes, but when respondents were asked whether ‘Iran is producing enriched uranium strictly to fuel its energy needs or ... is it trying to develop nuclear

weapons?’, the majority (59%) thought it was trying to produce nuclear weapons. Almost as many (55%) said they would be ‘very much’ concerned by a nuclear-armed Iran, and a further 27% felt they would be ‘somewhat’ concerned. Only 17% said they would be either ‘a little’ (10%) or ‘not at all’ (7%) concerned.

Indonesia and Australia

Geographically close but otherwise very different, Australia and Indonesia have had a chequered relationship often characterised by misunderstanding on both sides.

As Indonesia consolidates its movement towards democracy amid a series of awkward bilateral issues, we sought to shed light on the relationship by testing Australians’ perceptions of Indonesia, and perceptions of Australia’s dealings with Indonesia. We put a number of statements on each of these to our respondents, and asked them to indicate their agreement with each statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 meant they strongly disagreed and 10 meant they strongly agreed.

Fig. 12: Concern about a nuclear-armed Iran

If Iran were to develop nuclear weapons how much, if at all, would that concern you?

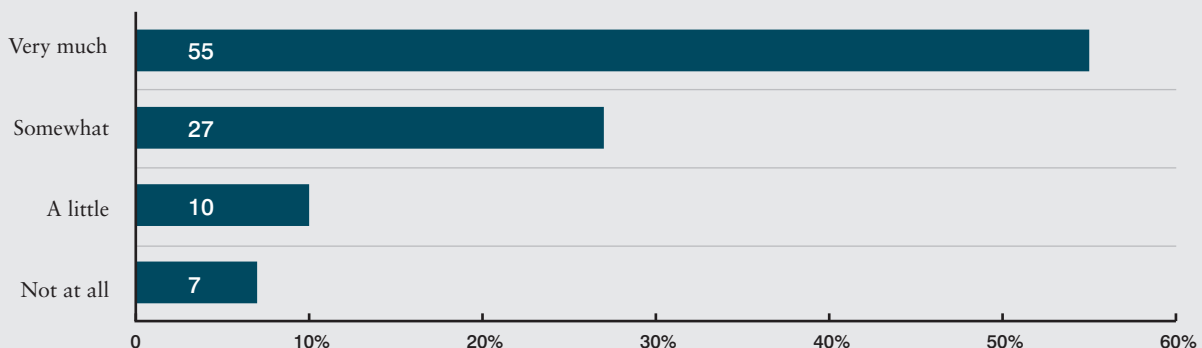
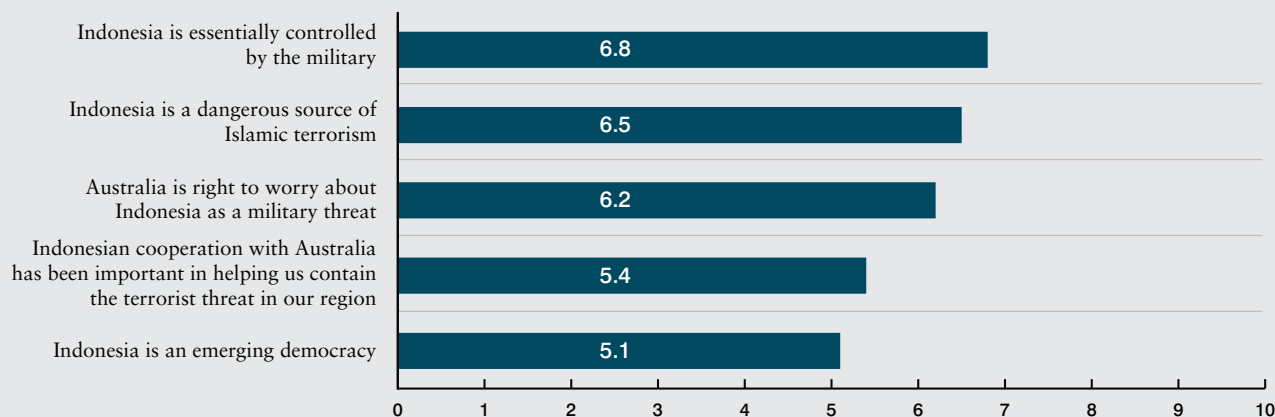


Fig. 13: Statements about Indonesia

I am going to read out a number of statements about Indonesia. Please say how much you agree or disagree with each one, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.



INDONESIAN CHARACTERISTICS

In general, our respondents were suspicious of Indonesian governance and fearful that Indonesia presents a potential security threat. They agreed that ‘Indonesia is essentially controlled by the military’ (6.8), that ‘Indonesia is a dangerous source of Islamic terrorism’ (6.5) and that ‘Australia is right to worry about Indonesia as a military threat’ (6.2). They did not agree with the statement that ‘Indonesian cooperation with Australia has been important in helping us contain the terrorist threat in our region’ (5.4) or that ‘Indonesia is an emerging democracy’ (5.1), but neither did they disagree.

AUSTRALIAN CHARACTERISTICS

Our respondents were generally positive about Australia’s intentions and behaviour towards Indonesia, but expressed concern about specific aspects of Australia’s approach. They agreed that ‘Indonesia benefits from having Australia as a stable and prosperous neighbour’ (7.4), and

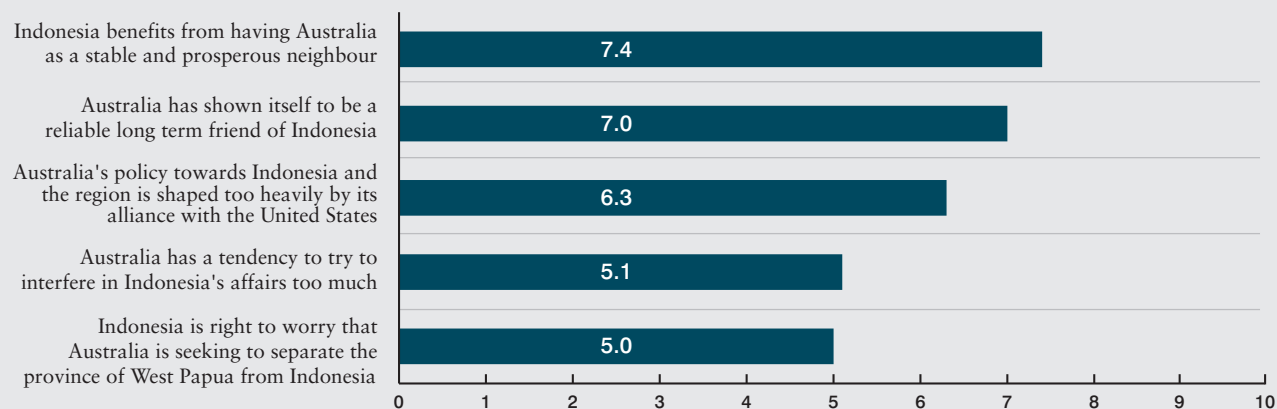
that ‘Australia has shown itself to be a reliable long term friend of Indonesia’ (7.0), but they also agreed with the statement that ‘Australia’s policy towards Indonesia and the region is shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States’ (6.3).

Respondents were ambivalent about whether ‘Australia has a tendency to try to interfere in Indonesia’s affairs too much’ (5.1) and whether ‘Indonesia is right to worry that Australia is seeking to separate the province of West Papua from Indonesia’ (5.0).

Still, more than three quarters (77%) said that ‘it is very important that Australia and Indonesia work to develop a close relationship’, firmly rejecting the idea that ‘Australia and Indonesia are too different to develop a close relationship’ (22%) – an encouraging response in light of the fact that only 20% of our respondents could name the Indonesian President correctly, or even give his initials.

Fig. 14: Statements about Australia

I am going to read out a number of statements about Australia. Using the same scale of 0 to 10, please say how much you agree or disagree with each one, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.



Indonesia and the world

Most Indonesians seem interested in their external relations. When following the news, 71% of Indonesian respondents were either ‘very’ (24%) or ‘somewhat’ (47%) interested in ‘news about Indonesia’s relations with other countries’, and almost all (88%) thought Indonesia should ‘take an active part in world affairs’. The majority (61%) thought that globalisation is ‘mostly good’ for Indonesia.

Australian respondents were 20 percentage points more likely to express an interest in Australia’s external relations, but a little less likely to think we should take an active part in world affairs. On the benefits of globalisation, the views of Australian and Indonesian respondents were almost the same.

Still, when asked to name the common currency of the European Union, only 31% of Indonesian respondents were able to do so correctly. Australian respondents displayed a much deeper knowledge of things European, with 83% of respondents answering correctly.

We also asked respondents in both countries to name the Secretary-General of the United Nations. This more globally-oriented question produced similar results among Indonesians (44%) and Australians (41%).

Indonesia’s international relationships

FEELINGS ABOUT OTHER COUNTRIES

To get a snapshot of Indonesians’ attitudes to their neighbours and to regional and global powers, we asked respondents to rate each one of fifteen countries ‘using a scale of 0 to 100, with 100 meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, 0 meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold’.

Respondents felt most positive towards Malaysia (66) and Japan (64), but they also felt warmly, on balance, about Singapore (59), China (58), India (56), the United States (54) and Great Britain (54). They felt neither warm nor cold towards South Korea, Iran, Australia, North Korea and Iraq, rating them around 50. But towards Papua New Guinea (45) and East Timor (43), with whom Indonesia has had troubled relations, they felt somewhat cool. Israel (39) was regarded quite coldly. Polling took place before the recent war between Israel and Hezbollah’s forces in Lebanon.

Fig. 15: Feelings towards other countries

Please rate your feelings towards various countries and peoples, using a scale of 0 to 100, with 100 meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, 0 meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100, the higher the number the more favourable your feelings are towards that country or those people. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country or those people, please say so.

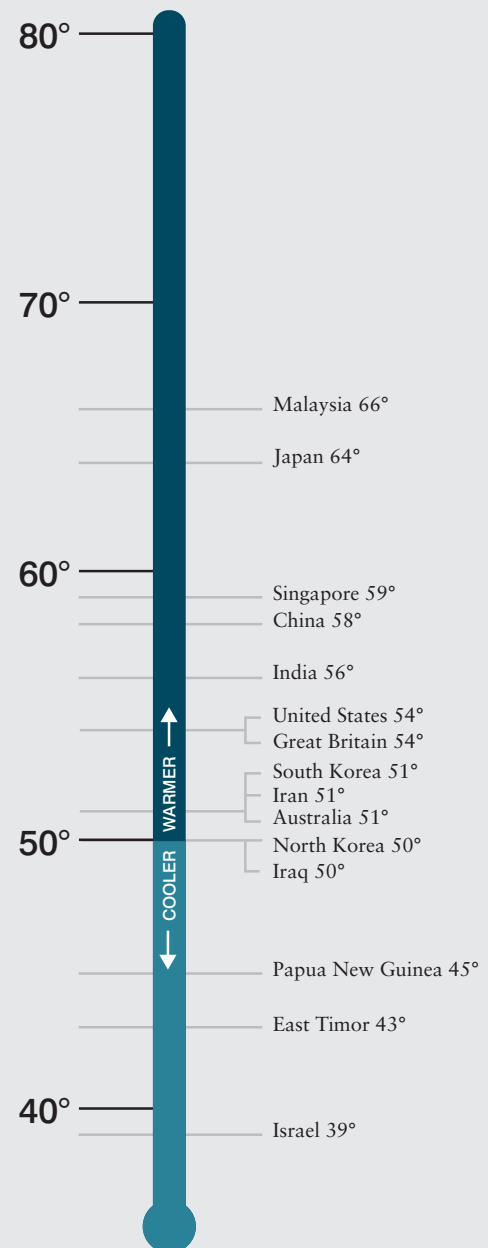
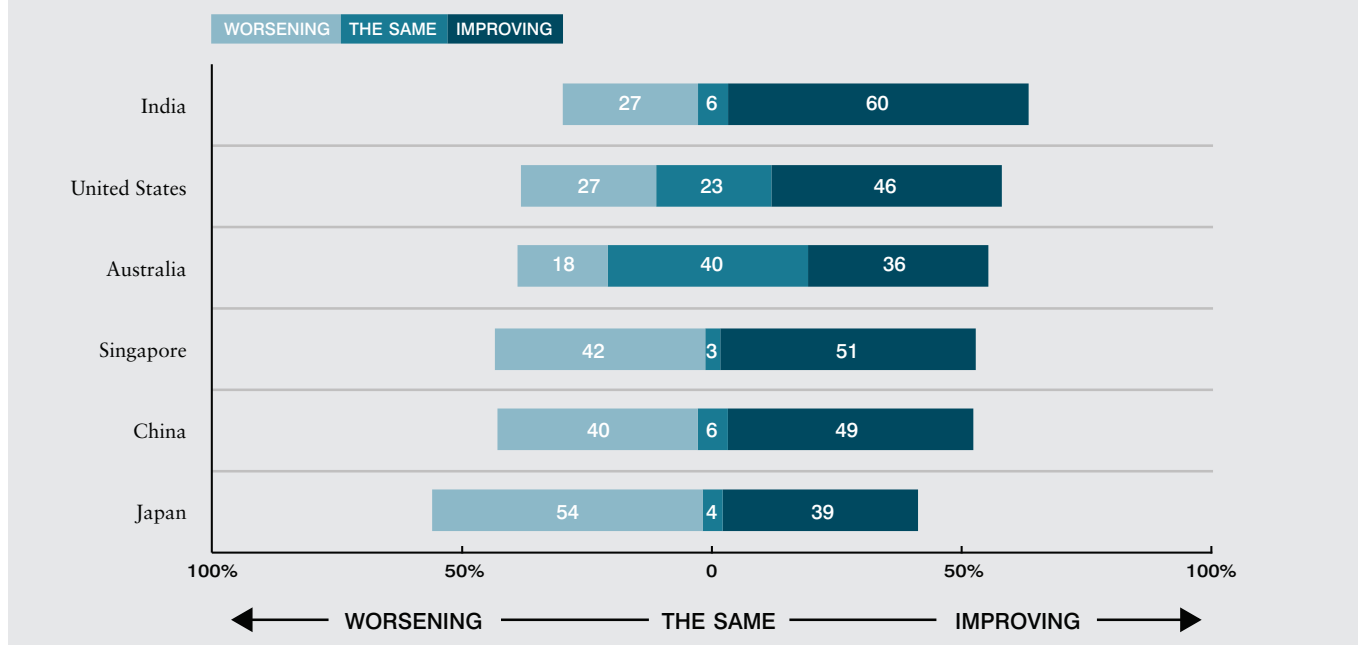


Fig. 16: Changes in Indonesia's relationships

In your opinion are relations of Indonesia with the following countries improving, worsening or staying about the same?



CHANGES IN INDONESIA'S RELATIONSHIPS

To test perceptions of movement in some of Indonesia's most important relationships, we asked respondents to say whether relations were 'improving', 'worsening', or 'staying about the same'. A clear majority (60%) felt relations with India were improving, and half (51%) felt relations with Singapore were improving. At the other end of the scale, a majority of respondents (54%) felt relations with Japan were getting worse.

For China and the United States the results were less distinct. Although 40% of respondents said that relations with China were getting worse, half (49%) said that relations were improving. And while 46% thought relations with the United States were improving, a roughly equal proportion thought relations were either worsening (27%) or staying about the same (23%).

As for Australia, many (40%) thought relations were not changing, though 36% thought they were improving and 18% thought they were worsening. Our respondents were interviewed soon after a series of relationship-building measures between the two countries following a diplomatic dispute over Papuan asylum-seekers.

Regional powers

INFLUENCE IN ASIA

Despite its rapid economic expansion and increasing political and diplomatic reach, China has not yet displaced the region's more established powers in the eyes of our Indonesian respondents. By contrast our Australian

respondents saw China as clearly more influential in Asia than any other country.

From a list of nine regional and extra-regional players, Indonesian respondents rated the United States (7.5) and Japan (7.3) the most influential countries in Asia, followed by China (7.0) and Indonesia (6.9). The European Union (6.5), Australia (6.1) and South Korea (5.9) followed, with Russia (5.5) and India (5.5) seen as the least influential countries.

GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

Which regional power – the United States, China, India or Japan – did our respondents trust most 'to act responsibly in the world'? We asked them to say whether they trusted each one 'a great deal', 'somewhat', 'not much', or 'not at all'.

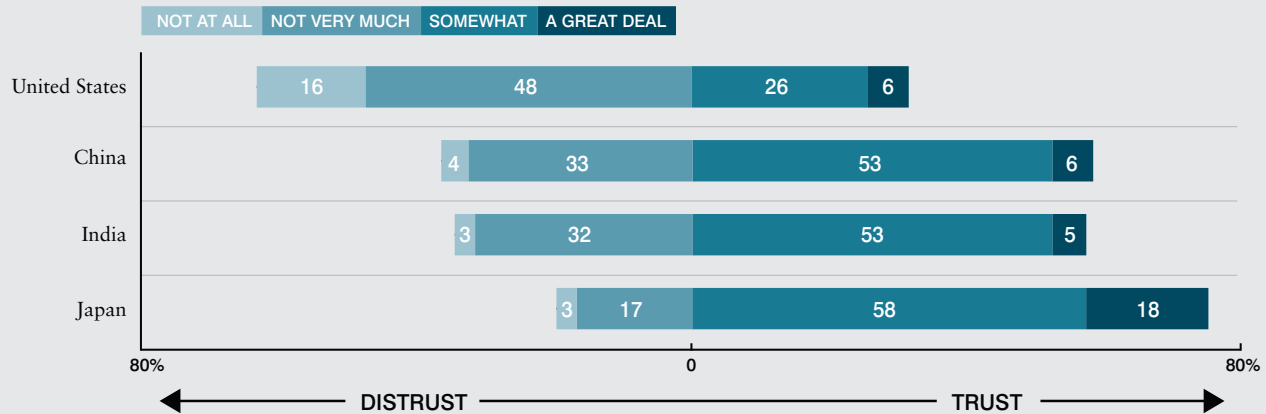
Japan was most widely trusted to act responsibly in the world, with 76% of respondents saying it can be trusted either 'a great deal' (18%) or 'somewhat' (58%). China (59%) and India (58%) were less widely trusted by the same measures. But the United States is trusted 'a great deal' or 'somewhat' by only a third (32%) of respondents; two thirds (64%) trusted it either 'not much' or 'not at all'.

GLOBAL INFLUENCE

As in our Australian survey, perceptions of responsibility are not strongly related to the degree of influence respondents think a country ought to have in the world. We asked them to rate on a scale of 0 to 10 how influential they would want each of five countries to be, with 0 meaning 'not at all influential' and 10 meaning 'extremely influential'.

Fig. 17: Trust in other countries to act responsibly

How much do you trust the following countries to act responsibly in the world?



Japan, which was most widely trusted to act responsibly in the world, topped the list (6.9). But the United States (6.4) was as widely supported as the European Union (6.5) and China (6.3), despite being largely mistrusted to act responsibly in the world. India (5.4), not ranked for trust, trailed a distant fifth.

International security

Indonesians have experienced a series of disasters over the last couple of years, including earthquakes, tsunamis and terrorist bombings. Hardly surprising, then, that Indonesian respondents felt significantly less safe than their Australian counterparts. Fewer than half (43%) felt either ‘very safe’ (4%) or ‘safe’ (39%); the majority felt either unsafe (50%) or very unsafe (4%). In contrast, almost all (86%) Australians felt either ‘very safe’ or ‘safe’ (see page 11).

FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

To get a sense of how Indonesians see their place in various regional and global groupings we asked respondents to

rate four ‘traditional foreign policy goals for Indonesia’s future security’. We found that for the most part they are considered equally important.

Using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means ‘not at all important’ and 10 means ‘extremely important’, ‘solidarity with ASEAN’ rated 8.4, and ‘support for the United Nations’ and ‘developing closer ties with the rest of the Islamic world’ rated 8.3. ‘Promoting the goals of the non-aligned movement’ (7.9), for many decades a feature of Indonesian foreign policy, was considered only marginally less important.

THE UNITED STATES AND GLOBAL SECURITY

We know that our Indonesian respondents would like the United States to have as much influence in Asia as both the European Union or China, and only marginally less influence than Japan. But we also know that the United States is not widely trusted to act responsibly in the world. One reason for that discrepancy could be the degree to which the United States has taken on the role of ‘world policeman’.

Fig. 18: How influential should powerful countries be?

How influential would you want each of the following countries to be in the world? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all influential and 10 meaning extremely influential.

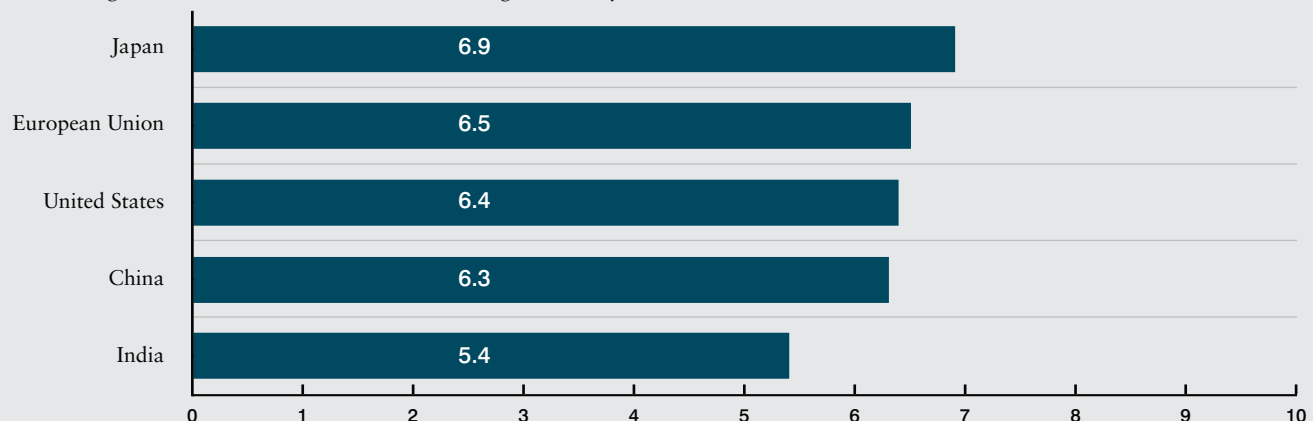
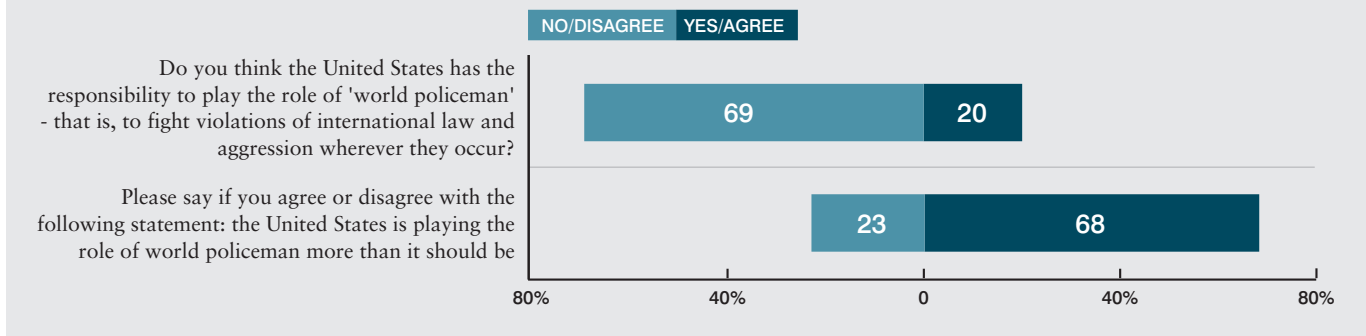


Fig. 19: The United States as ‘world policeman’



When we asked our respondents whether ‘the United States has the responsibility to play the role of world policeman – that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur?’, two thirds (69%) replied that it does not – the same number as in Australia. The same proportion of Indonesians (68%) agreed that ‘the United States is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be’ – rather fewer than the proportion of Australian respondents (79%).

THE WAR IN IRAQ

Notwithstanding their generally negative views of American influence and their identification with the world of Islam, Indonesian respondents hold views about the Iraq war that are less unfavourable than those of Australians.

Still, two thirds (64%) disagreed with the idea that ‘the threat of terrorism has been reduced by the war’, and half (49%) disagreed that ‘the war will lead to the spread of democracy in the Middle East’. Many respondents (61%) thought ‘the war has worsened America’s relations with the Muslim world’, and two thirds (65%) thought ‘the experience of the Iraq war should make nations more cautious about using military force to deal with rogue states’.

Australian respondents were about 20 percentage points more likely to think that the goals of the war had not been achieved and that nations should be more cautious about using military force to deal with rogue states, and 30 percentage points more likely to think that America’s relations with the Muslim world had worsened.

More Indonesian respondents failed to express an opinion (13% on average) than did Australian respondents (3% on average), an indication, perhaps, of how much more important the war has been for Australians as a consequence of Australia’s deeper involvement.

IRAN AND THE NUCLEAR ISSUE

Indonesian respondents were more trusting of Iran’s intentions for its nuclear capability than were Australians. A plurality of Indonesian respondents (46%) felt that ‘Iran is producing enriched uranium’ in order ‘to develop nuclear weapons’; a third (31%) thought it is doing so ‘strictly to fuel its energy needs’. A quarter (24%) did not have an opinion on the issue.

Our Indonesian respondents were also much less concerned than Australians about the prospect of a nuclear-armed Iran, with only 40% either ‘very much’ (15%) or ‘somewhat’ (25%) concerned. In contrast, 82%

Fig. 20: Outcomes of the war in Iraq

I will now read out a number of statements about the Iraq war. Please say whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

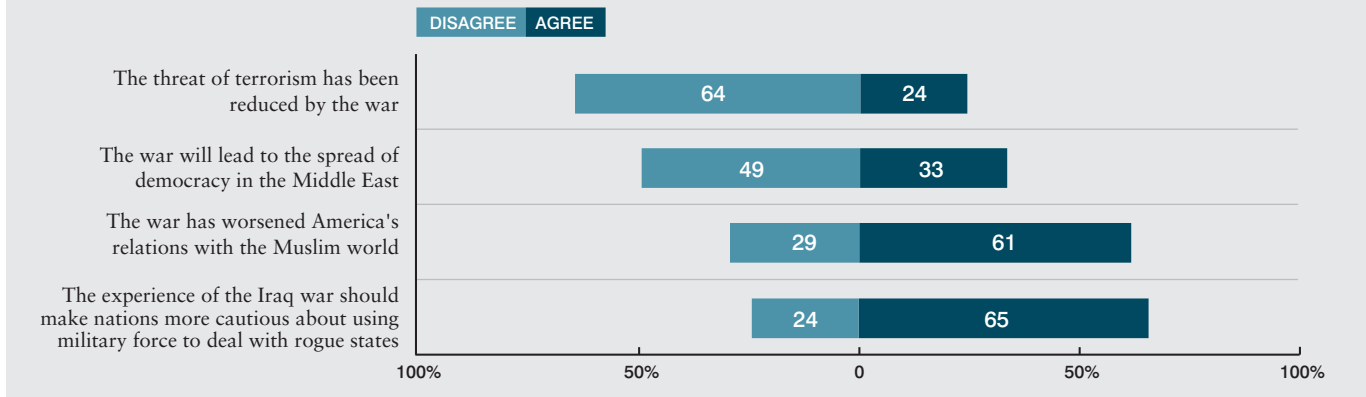
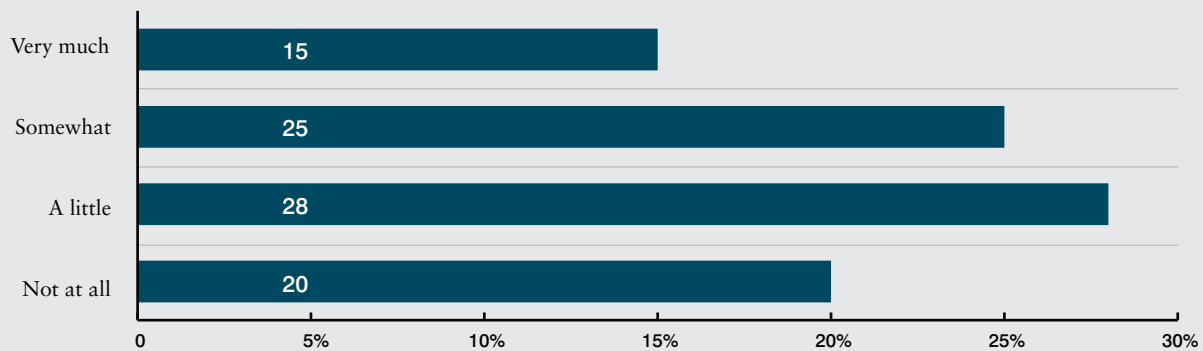


Fig. 21: Concern about a nuclear-armed Iran

If Iran were to develop nuclear weapons how much, if at all, would that concern you?



of Australian respondents would be either ‘very much’ or ‘somewhat’ concerned (see page 13). Since Iran is much closer to Indonesia diplomatically than it is to Australia or the United States, and since it is also a predominantly Muslim country, this difference is not surprising.

Australia and Indonesia

Relations between Australia and Indonesia have often been testy, with commentators on both sides claiming at times that each misunderstands the other. To find out how Australians and Indonesians see the relationship, we put a series of statements about each country to respondents in both countries, and asked them to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with each using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means ‘strongly disagree’ and 10 means ‘strongly agree’.

Neither set of respondents displayed much political knowledge of the other country. When we asked them both to name the other country’s leader, only a quarter of Indonesians and one fifth of Australians could do so correctly. Still, clear majorities in both countries felt that ‘it is very important that Australia and Indonesia work to develop a close relationship’, though more Australians (77%) said this than Indonesians (64%).

AUSTRALIAN CHARACTERISTICS

Indonesian respondents felt that ‘Indonesia is right to worry that Australia is seeking to separate the province of West Papua from Indonesia’ (6.8), that ‘Australia has a tendency to try to interfere in Indonesia’s affairs too much’ (6.7), and that ‘Australia’s policy towards Indonesia and the region is shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States’ (6.6). Opinion was more

Fig. 22: Statements about Australia

I am going to read out a number of statements about Australia. Using the same scale of 0 to 10, please say how much you agree or disagree with each one, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.

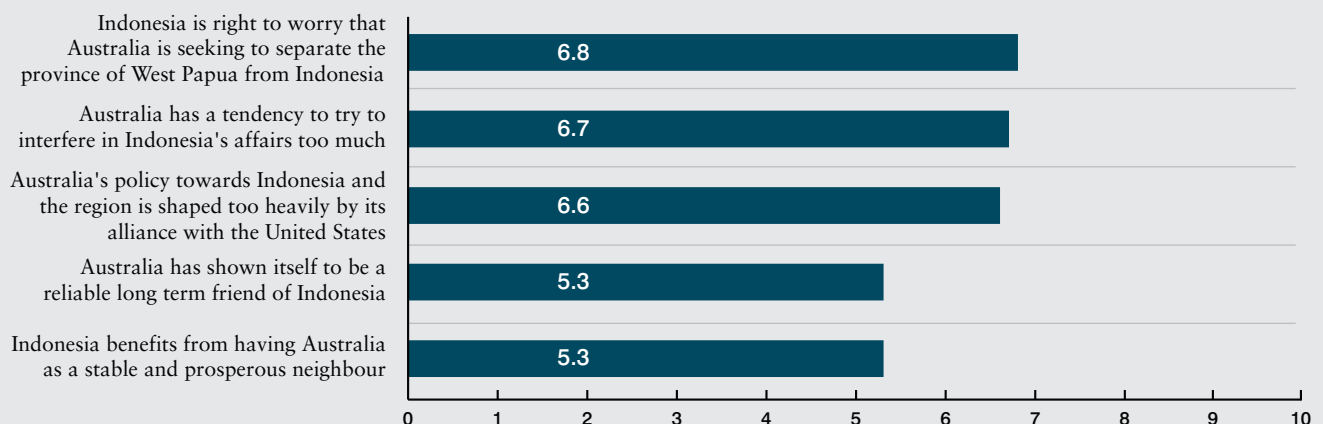
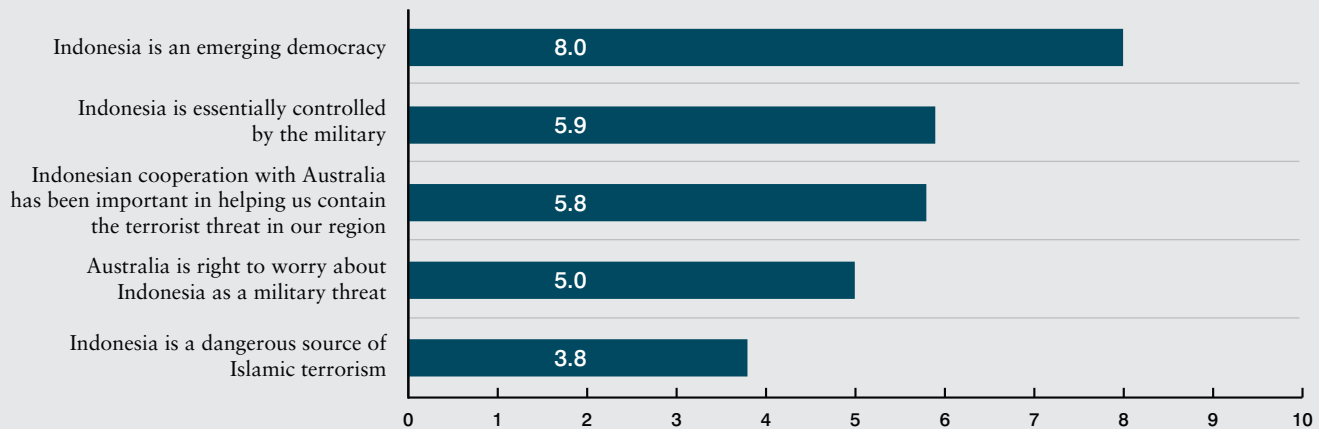


Fig. 23: Statements about Indonesia

I am going to read out a number of statements about Indonesia. Using the same scale of 0 to 10, please say how much you agree or disagree with each one, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.



divided over whether 'Australia has shown itself to be a reliable long term friend of Indonesia' (5.3) and whether 'Indonesia benefits from having Australia as a stable and prosperous neighbour' (5.3).

For their part, Australian respondents neither agreed nor disagreed that 'Indonesia is right to worry that Australia is seeking to separate the province of West Papua from Indonesia' (5.0), or that 'Australia has a tendency to try to interfere in Indonesia's affairs too much' (5.1). Still, there was broad agreement between respondents from the two countries that 'Australia's policy towards Indonesia and the region is shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States'.

INDONESIAN CHARACTERISTICS

In relation to their own country, Indonesians strongly supported the notion that 'Indonesia is an emerging democracy' (8.0), but they also agreed that 'Indonesia is essentially controlled by the military' (5.9). There is no necessary contradiction: the role of the military in Indonesian public life is deep and enduring, and stands alongside that of the national government.

Australians, in contrast, were less certain about whether 'Indonesia is an emerging democracy' (5.1), and

more certain that 'Indonesia is essentially controlled by the military' (6.8). Neither group was confident that 'Indonesian cooperation with Australia has been important in helping [Indonesia] contain the terrorist threat in our region', Indonesians (5.8) being slightly more confident than Australians (5.4). As to whether 'Australia is right to worry about Indonesia as a military threat', Indonesian respondents were ambivalent (5.0), but Australians were inclined to agree (6.2).

The greatest difference in Australian and Indonesian responses was on whether 'Indonesia is a dangerous source of Islamic terrorism'. In the wake of the Bali bombings and recent headlines about the release from prison of the Islamic cleric Abu Bakar Bashir, Australians agreed with the statement (6.5), while Indonesians disagreed (3.8). This was the only statement where majority Australian opinion was on one side and majority Indonesian opinion was on the other.

Asked whether Australian (and Western) motives in helping Indonesia fight the threat of terrorism were 'mostly good' or 'mostly bad', only half our respondents thought they were 'mostly good' (51%); a substantial minority (37%) thought they were 'mostly bad'.

Tables of results

Australian survey

INTEREST IN THE NEWS

When you follow the news these days, how interested are you in news about the relations of Australia with other countries?

Very interested	50%
Somewhat interested	41%
Hardly Interested	6%
Don't follow the news	4%

ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Do you think it will be best for Australia if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?

Active part	82%
Stay out	14%
Don't know	4%

GLOBALISATION

Do you believe that globalisation, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for Australia?

Mostly good	64%
Mostly bad	28%
Don't know	8%

FEELINGS THERMOMETER

Please rate your feelings towards various countries and peoples, using a scale of 0 to 100, with 100 meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, 0 meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100, the higher the number the more favourable your feelings are towards that country or those people. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country or those people, please say so.

	East Timor	Papua New Guinea	Singapore	Israel	Great Britain	China	Malaysia	North Korea	South Korea	India	Japan	United States	Indonesia	Iran	Iraq
Mean	57	63	65	55	74	61	58	43	56	62	64	62	50	43	44
Median	60	65	70	50	80	60	60	50	50	60	70	70	50	50	50
No opinion/Never heard of	3%	4%	2%	2%	1%	1%	3%	4%	4%	2%	2%	1%	2%	3%	2%

RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

In your opinion are relations of Australia with the following countries improving, worsening or staying about the same?

	United States	China	India	Japan	Indonesia	European Union
Improving	51%	59%	36%	30%	19%	22%
Staying about the same	40%	31%	51%	55%	31%	61%
Worsening	8%	6%	5%	12%	47%	8%
Don't know	1%	3%	8%	3%	3%	8%

INFLUENCE IN ASIA

How much influence do you think each of the following countries has in Asia? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning they are not at all influential and 10 meaning they are extremely influential.

	United States	Russia	Japan	China	India	European Union	South Korea	Australia	Indonesia
Mean	6.6	4.9	6.6	7.5	6.0	5.3	5.5	5.8	5.7
Median	7	5	7	8	6	5	5	6	6
Don't know	3%	6%	4%	3%	3%	5%	4%	1%	3%

TRUST IN OTHER COUNTRIES TO ACT RESPONSIBLY

How much do you trust the following countries to act responsibly in the world?

	United States	China	India	Japan
Not at all	19%	11%	8%	7%
Not very much	20%	27%	21%	19%
Somewhat	41%	53%	59%	54%
A great deal	19%	7%	9%	19%
Don't know	1%	2%	3%	1%

HOW INFLUENTIAL SHOULD POWERFUL COUNTRIES BE?

How influential would you want each of the following countries to be in the world? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all influential and 10 meaning extremely influential.

	China	India	United States	Japan	European Union
Mean	5.5	5.2	6.1	5.7	6.6
Median	5	5	6	5	7
Don't know	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%

FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

I am now going to read out a list of possible foreign policy goals that Australia might have. For each one please tell me whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of Australia, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all.

	Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression	Strengthening the United Nations	Combating international terrorism	Protecting the jobs of Australian workers	Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations	Securing adequate supplies of energy	Controlling and reducing illegal immigration	Helping to improve the standard of living of less developed nations	Improving the global environment	Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons	Promoting and defending human rights in other countries	Promoting economic growth	Combating world hunger
Very important foreign policy goal	64%	65%	74%	82%	38%	73%	55%	64%	87%	82%	68%	65%	80%
Somewhat important foreign policy goal	32%	27%	21%	15%	44%	22%	34%	31%	11%	13%	26%	32%	17%
Not an important goal	4%	8%	5%	2%	17%	4%	10%	5%	1%	4%	6%	3%	3%
Don't know	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

INFLUENCE ON AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Thinking about how much notice Australia takes of the views of the United States/United Nations in our foreign policy, on the whole do you think we take ...

	United States	United Nations
Too much interest?	69%	18%
The right amount of interest?	27%	44%
Too little interest?	3%	34%
Don't know	2%	4%

GLOBAL WARMING

There is a controversy over what the countries of the world, including Australia, should do about the problem of global warming. I'm going to read you three statements. Please tell me which statement comes closest to your own point of view.

Until we are sure that global warming is really a problem, we should not take any steps that would have economic costs	7%
The problem of global warming should be addressed, but its effects will be gradual, so we can deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in cost	24%
Global warming is a serious and pressing problem. We should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs	68%
Don't know	1%

FEELING OF SAFETY

Thinking about world events, how safe do you feel?

Very safe	30%
Safe	56%
Unsafe	10%
Very unsafe	3%
Don't know	0%

THREATS TO AUSTRALIA'S VITAL INTEREST

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of Australia in the next 10 years. For each one, please say whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all.

	The development of China as a world power	Islamic fundamentalism	The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers	International terrorism	Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into Australia	Economic competition from low wage countries	Global warming	AIDS, avian flu and other potential epidemics	Failing countries in our region	Disruption in energy supply	A confrontation between mainland China and Taiwan	Instability and conflict on the Korean Peninsula	Economic competition from Asian countries
Critical threat	25%	60%	70%	73%	31%	34%	68%	58%	31%	51%	33%	34%	33%
Important but not critical threat	52%	29%	24%	22%	44%	49%	26%	36%	52%	41%	44%	45%	52%
Not an important threat at all	22%	9%	6%	5%	24%	16%	5%	6%	14%	8%	18%	16%	14%
Don't know	1%	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%	3%	1%	5%	5%	1%

THE UNITED STATES AS 'WORLD POLICEMAN'

Do you think the United States has the responsibility to play the role of 'world policeman' –, that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur?

Yes	27%
No	69%
Don't know	3%

Please say if you agree or disagree with the following statement: the United States is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be.

Agree	79%
Disagree	19%
Don't know	2%

IMPORTANCE OF THE ANZUS ALLIANCE

How important is our alliance relationship with the United States for Australia’s security?

Very important	42%
Fairly important	28%
Somewhat important	22%
Not at all important	8%
Don't know	1%

OUTCOMES OF THE WAR IN IRAQ

I will now read out a number of statements about the Iraq war. Please say whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

	The threat of terrorism has been reduced by the war	The war will lead to the spread of democracy in the Middle East	The war has worsened America’s relations with the Muslim world	The experience of the Iraq war should make nations more cautious about using military force to deal with rogue states
Agree	14%	27%	91%	85%
Disagree	84%	67%	7%	14%
Don't know	2%	7%	2%	2%

IRAN AND THE NUCLEAR ISSUE

As you may know, Iran has recently announced that it has successfully enriched uranium. Do you think that Iran is producing enriched uranium strictly to fuel its energy needs or do you think it is trying to develop nuclear weapons?

Energy needs	22%
Nuclear weapons	59%
Don't know	19%

If Iran were to develop nuclear weapons how much, if at all, would that concern you?

Not at all	7%
A little	10%
Somewhat	27%
Very much	55%
Don't know	0%

STATEMENTS ABOUT INDONESIA

I am going to read out a number of statements about Indonesia. Please say how much you agree or disagree with each one, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.

	Indonesia is an emerging democracy	Indonesia is essentially controlled by the military	Indonesia is a dangerous source of Islamic terrorism	Indonesian cooperation with Australia has been important in helping us contain the terrorist threat in our region	Australia is right to worry about Indonesia as a military threat
Mean	5.1	6.8	6.5	5.4	6.2
Median	5	7	7	5	6
Don't know	5%	6%	3%	2%	1%

STATEMENTS ABOUT AUSTRALIA

I am going to read out a number of statements about Australia. Using the same scale of 0 to 10, please say how much you agree or disagree with each one, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.

	Australia has shown itself to be a reliable long term friend of Indonesia	Australia has a tendency to try to interfere in Indonesia's affairs too much	Australia's policy towards Indonesia and the region is shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States	Indonesia is right to worry that Australia is seeking to separate the province of West Papua from Indonesia	Indonesia benefits from having Australia as a stable and prosperous neighbour
Mean	7.0	5.1	6.3	5.0	7.4
Median	7	5	6	5	8
Don't know	2%	2%	3%	10%	1%

AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA RELATIONS

I am going to read out two statements about Australia's relations with Indonesia. Please tell me which one you agree with more.

It is very important that Australia and Indonesia work together to develop a close relationship	77%
Australia and Indonesia are too different to develop a close relationship	22%
Don't know	1%

KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS

Can you name the Indonesian President?

Susilo Bambang	3%
Bambang Yudhoyono	12%
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	5%
SBY	0%
Other	17%
Don't know	63%

The countries of the European Union have introduced a common currency. To the best of your knowledge, what is the currency called?

Euro	83%
Other	1%
Don't know	16%

Can you name the Secretary-General of the United Nations?

Kofi Annan	41%
Other	4%
Don't know	54%

Indonesian survey

INTEREST IN THE NEWS

When you follow the news these days, how interested are you in news about the relations of Indonesia with other countries?

Very interested	24%
Somewhat interested	47%
Hardly interested	22%
Don't follow the news	6%

ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Do you think it will be best for Indonesia if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?

Active part	88%
Stay out	7%
Don't know	5%

GLOBALISATION

Do you believe that globalisation, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for Indonesia?

Mostly good	61%
Mostly bad	31%
Don't know	8%

FEELINGS THERMOMETER

Please rate your feelings towards various countries and peoples, using a scale of 0 to 100, with 100 meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, 0 meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100, the higher the number the more favourable your feelings are towards that country or those people. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country or those people, please say so.

	East Timor	Papua New Guinea	Singapore	Israel	Great Britain	China	Malaysia	North Korea	South Korea	India	Japan	United States	Australia	Iran	Iraq
Mean	43	45	59	39	54	58	66	50	51	56	64	54	51	51	50
Median	45	50	60	40	50	50	70	50	50	50	60	50	50	50	50
No opinion/Never heard of	1%	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%	0%	3%	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%

RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

In your opinion are relations of Indonesia with the following countries improving, worsening or staying about the same?

	United States	China	India	Japan	Australia	Singapore
Improving	46%	49%	60%	39%	36%	51%
Staying about the same	23%	6%	6%	4%	40%	3%
Worsening	27%	40%	27%	54%	18%	42%
Don't know	4%	5%	7%	4%	5%	5%

INFLUENCE IN ASIA

How much influence do you think each of the following countries has in Asia? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning they are not at all influential and 10 meaning they are extremely influential.

	United States	Russia	Japan	China	India	European Union	South Korea	Australia	Indonesia
Mean	7.5	5.5	7.3	7.0	5.5	6.5	5.9	6.1	6.9
Median	8	6	7	7	5	7	6	6	7
Don't know	4%	8%	3%	3%	5%	6%	7%	5%	3%

TRUST IN OTHER COUNTRIES

How much do you trust the following countries to act responsibly in the world?

	United States	China	India	Japan
Not at all	16%	4%	3%	3%
Not very much	48%	33%	32%	17%
Somewhat	26%	53%	53%	58%
A great deal	6%	6%	5%	18%
Don't know	4%	4%	7%	5%

HOW INFLUENTIAL SHOULD POWERFUL COUNTRIES BE?

How influential would you want each of the following countries to be in the world? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all influential and 10 meaning extremely influential.

	China	India	United States	Japan	European Union
Mean	6.3	5.4	6.4	6.9	6.5
Median	6	5	7	7	7
Don't know	3%	4%	3%	3%	5%

FEELING OF SAFETY

Thinking about world events, how safe do you feel?

Very safe	4%
Safe	39%
Unsafe	50%
Very unsafe	4%
Don't know	2%

FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

On a scale of 0 to 10, how important are the following traditional foreign policy goals for Indonesia's future security, where 0 means not at all important and 10 means extremely important?

	Support for the United Nations	Promoting the goals of the non-aligned movement	Developing closer ties with the rest of the Islamic world	Solidarity with ASEAN
Mean	8.3	7.9	8.3	8.4
Median	8	8	9	9
Don't know	2%	4%	3%	3%

THE UNITED STATES AS 'WORLD POLICEMAN'

Do you think the United States has the responsibility to play the role of 'world policeman' –, that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur?

Yes	20%
No	69%
Don't know	11%

Please say if you agree or disagree with the following statement: the United States is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be.

Agree	68%
Disagree	23%
Don't know	9%

OUTCOMES OF THE WAR IN IRAQ

I will now read out a number of statements about the Iraq war. Please say whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

	The threat of terrorism has been reduced by the war	The war will lead to the spread of democracy in the Middle East	The war has worsened America's relations with the Muslim world	The experience of the Iraq war should make nations more cautious about using military force to deal with rogue states
Agree	24%	33%	61%	65%
Disagree	64%	49%	29%	24%
Don't know	12%	18%	10%	12%

IRAN AND THE NUCLEAR ISSUE

As you may know, Iran has recently announced that it has successfully enriched uranium. Do you think that Iran is producing enriched uranium strictly to fuel its energy needs or do you think it is trying to develop nuclear weapons?

Energy needs	31%
Nuclear weapons	46%
Don't know	24%

If Iran were to develop nuclear weapons how much, if at all, would that concern you?

Not at all	20%
A little	28%
Somewhat	25%
Very much	15%
Don't know	12%

AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA RELATIONS

I am going to read out two statements about Australia's relations with Indonesia. Please tell me which one you agree with more.

It is very important that Australia and Indonesia work together to develop a close relationship	64%
Australia and Indonesia are too different to develop a close relationship	36%
Don't know	0%

STATEMENTS ABOUT INDONESIA

I am going to read out a number of statements about Indonesia. Using the same scale of 0 to 10, please say how much you agree or disagree with each one, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.

	Indonesia is an emerging democracy	Indonesia is essentially controlled by the military	Indonesia is a dangerous source of Islamic terrorism	Indonesian cooperation with Australia has been important in helping us contain the terrorist threat in our region	Australia is right to worry about Indonesia as a military threat
Mean	8.0	5.9	3.8	5.8	5.0
Median	8	6	3	6	5
Don't know	2%	4%	3%	5%	6%

STATEMENTS ABOUT AUSTRALIA

I am going to read out a number of statements about Australia. Please say how much you agree or disagree with each one, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.

	Australia has shown itself to be a reliable long term friend of Indonesia	Australia has a tendency to try to interfere in Indonesia's affairs too much	Australia's policy towards Indonesia and the region is shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States	Indonesia is right to worry that Australia is seeking to separate the province of West Papua from Indonesia	Indonesia benefits from having Australia as a stable and prosperous neighbour
Mean	5.3	6.7	6.6	6.8	5.3
Median	5	7	7	7	5
Don't know	6%	6%	12%	9%	6%

WESTERN MOTIVES IN FIGHTING TERRORISM

Some Western countries including Australia are helping Indonesia fight the threat of terrorism. Do you think their motives in doing so are mostly good or mostly bad?

Mostly good	51%
Mostly bad	37%
Don't know	11%

KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS

Can you name the Australian Prime Minister?

John Howard	26%
Other	1%
Don't know	73%

The countries of the European Union have introduced a common currency. To the best of your knowledge, what is the currency called?

Euro	31%
Other	8%
Don't know	62%

Can you name the Secretary-General of the United Nations?

Kofi Annan	44%
Other	2%
Don't know	54%

Methodology

Australia

In Australia, Market Focus International conducted 1007 interviews between 19 June and 6 July 2006. Interviews were conducted by telephone, the most cost-effective method available. The sample was designed to be nationally representative of all Australians of 18 years and over. Quotas were set for each state, age group and sex. Within each geographic area, telephone numbers were selected at random from the electronic white pages. Interviewers continued making calls until each quota was filled. The results were then weighted to reflect the demographic profile of the Australian population of voting age, using data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics.

On a truly random sample of 1000 the margin of error is 3.1%, which means there is a 95% chance that responses from the sample fall within a range of 3.1% either side of the true figure for the whole population. Since this sample was stratified, the error figure is a guide only. Where the results for a sub-sample are reported, the margin of error is greater.

Market Focus International is the Australian research partner of international polling company Globescan, which conducted much of the survey work for the larger comparative international study of which the Australian and Indonesian surveys are part, the others being from the United States, China, India, Japan and South Korea.

Indonesia

Deka Marketing Research conducted 1200 interviews in Indonesia between 22 June and 6 July 2006. Interviews were conducted face-to-face because of the low and uneven penetration of fixed-line telephone connections. The sample was designed to be nationally representative of all Indonesians of 17 years and over.

Ten provinces were selected, ensuring that every major island group was represented. Within each province Deka selected one or two city areas, and in each city area divided the administrative zones into either urban or sub-urban/rural categories, based on the population density, socio-economic class characteristics, and the number of public facilities such as schools, bus stations and roads. These local administrative zones were the units from which our sample was drawn.

Within each administrative zone, interviewers knocked first at the community leader's house. Each time an interview request was rejected, interviewers moved one

house down the street, and each time an interview was granted they moved four houses down the street. Within each house they interviewed the person who best fitted the demographic quota for that zone. The results were then weighted to fit the demographic profile of each area, as determined by population figures taken from the Central Bureau of Statistics.

After the survey was completed, an error was discovered in the wording of our question about whether the United States is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be (see page 18), so that positive and negative responses appeared to be reversed. To address the error, Deka Marketing Research contacted all 1200 respondents between 23 and 29 August and asked the question correctly. The results from this call-back are reported here.

On a truly random sample of 1200 the margin of error is 2.8%, which means there is a 95% chance that responses from the sample fall within a range of 2.8% either side of the true figure for the whole population. Since this sample was stratified, the error figure is a guide only. Where the results for a sub-sample are reported, the margin of error is greater.

Deka Marketing Research is the Indonesian research partner of international polling company Globescan, which conducted much of the survey work for the larger comparative international study of which the Australian and Indonesian surveys are part, the others being from the United States, China, India, Japan and South Korea.

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