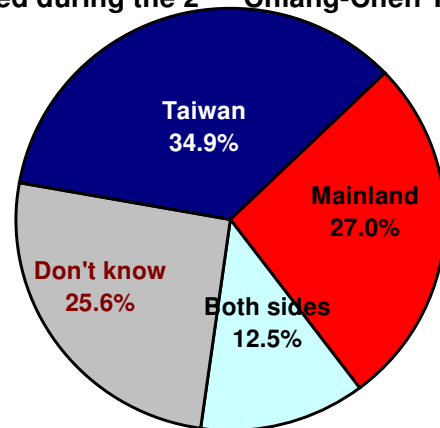


**GVSRC Survey:
Survey on Taiwanese people's attitudes toward economic agreements with China and cross-strait exchanges**

A. 47.4% think the four agreements signed by Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) and China's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS) in early November are beneficial for Taiwan. Over 40% think the agreements have not hurt Taiwan's sovereignty.

The Taiwanese government resumed bilateral talks with China within one month after President Ma Ying-jeou took office in May. In mid June, Chairman Chiang Pin-kung of Taiwan's SEF met his counterpart, Chairman Chen Yunlin of China's ARATS, in Beijing for the first round of bilateral talks since Ma's inauguration. Chiang and Chen then held the second round of talks in early November, and SEF and ARATS eventually signed four agreements to improve bilateral collaboration on food safety issues, establish direct air and sea transport across the Taiwan Strait, and expand postal service.

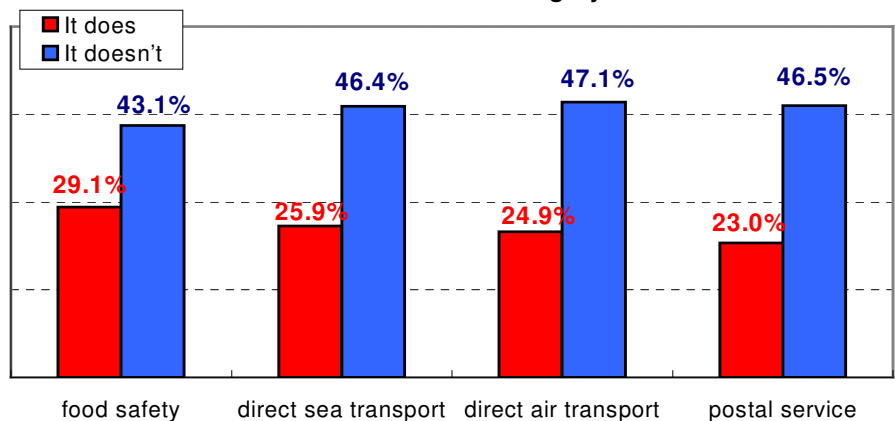
Which side benefits more from the four agreements signed during the 2nd "Chiang-Chen Talks"?



This GVSRC survey shows 34.9% of Taiwanese people think the four agreements are more beneficial for Taiwan than for China, 27.0% think the agreements are more beneficial for China than for Taiwan, and 12.5% think the agreements are equally beneficial for both Taiwan and China. In other words, 47.4% of Taiwanese think the agreements are good for Taiwan, and 39.5% think the agreements are good for China.

When people are asked whether any of the four agreements has hurt Taiwan's sovereignty, over 40% of Taiwanese people do not think any has, while over 20% don't think so. Among the four agreements, the food safety agreement generates most doubts among the public, and

Have the four agreements signed during the 2nd "Chiang-Chen Talks" hurt Taiwan's sovereignty?



this may be an aftermath of the tainted milk scare in China. The survey results on whether people support Chen Yunlin's visit or whether they think the four agreements have hurt Taiwan's sovereignty mostly reflect Taiwanese people's existing political preferences, as the outcome is close to the ratio of pan-blue supporters vs. pan-green supporters in Taiwan.

B. 35.4% of Taiwanese people are feeling more positive about President Ma's cross-strait policies after the 2nd "Chiang-Chen Talks", while 28.6% are feeling negative. 43.2% of Taiwanese people say there should be more frequent talks between Taiwan and China.

This GVSRC survey shows 35.4% of Taiwanese people are feeling more positive about President Ma's cross-strait policies after the 2nd "Chiang-Chen Talks", while 28.6% are feeling negative. 15.3% of Taiwanese people say their feelings about Ma's cross-strait policy remain unchanged. Although there is a 6.8% gap between those who are feeling more positive and those who are feeling negative, the two groups are also becoming more separate from each other and more firm in their own beliefs. This shows President Ma needs to improve his communications with the public, otherwise he may pay a hefty price in the future.

Taiwan and China split in 1949. The two sides finally established a communication channel in 1991 by holding talks through semiofficial SEF and ARATS. Now that the two sides are starting a new chapter in cross-strait relations, 51.5% of Taiwanese people say they support bilateral talks held directly by the governments from the two sides, with 72.7% of pan-green supporters saying so. 27.1% of Taiwanese people say they support the existing SEF-ARATS channel. Although there were a series of protests and physical conflicts between protesters and the police during Chen Yunlin's visit, 43.2% of Taiwanese people say there should be more frequent talks with China and 21.6% say the frequency of the talks is about right. 18.9% say the frequency should be reduced. Among different characteristics of people interviewed, there is a higher percentage of people who want less frequent exchanges with China rather than more only in the groups of people with an elementary school education or less and pan-green supporters.

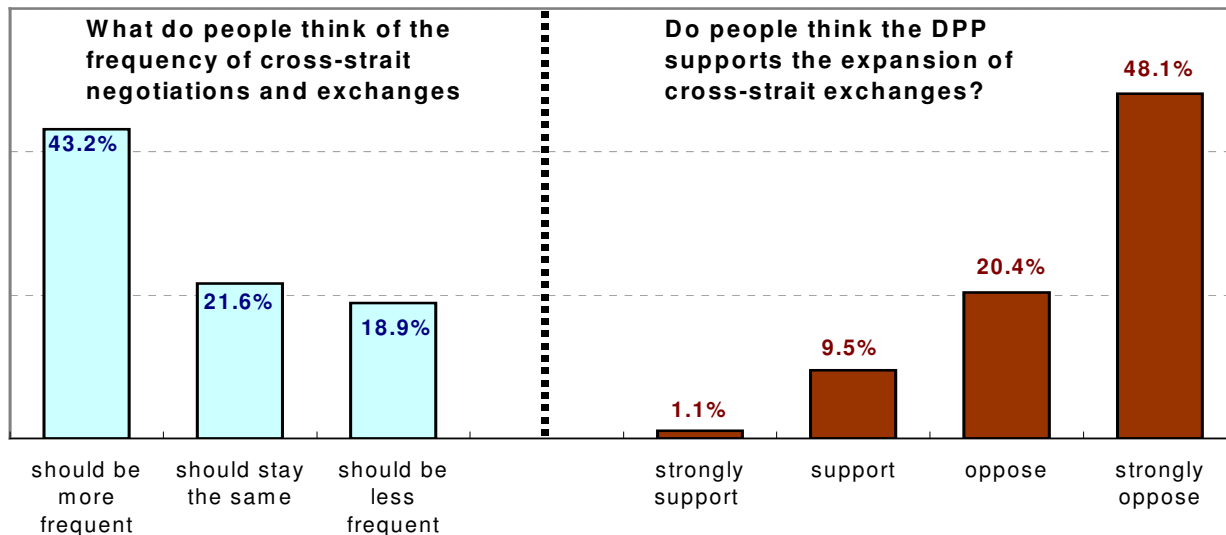
C. 68.5% of Taiwanese people say the DPP does not support the expansion of cross-strait exchanges, 66.4% say the clash between the police and protesters during Chen Yunlin's visit has hurt Taiwan's international image, and 55.2% say DPP Chairperson Tsai Ing-wen has failed to take responsibilities for the clash.

This GVSRC survey shows 68.5% of Taiwanese people say the DPP does not support the expansion of cross-strait exchanges, with 48.1% saying the DPP is strongly opposed to the expansion. 10.6% say the DPP support the expansion of cross-strait exchanges, with 18% of DPP supporters saying so. The DPP supporters form the group with the highest percentage of people saying the party support the expansion of cross-strait exchanges among different characteristics of people interviewed.

During Chen Yunlin's visit, there were protests and physical conflicts between protesters and the police. 66.4% of Taiwanese people say the clash has hurt Taiwan's democratic image in the international community, while 21.3% of Taiwanese say these incidents are the manifestation of Taiwan's democracy and freedom of speech. Among different characteristics of people interviewed, there is a higher percentage of people say the clash reflects Taiwan's democracy and freedom of speech (52.7%) more than hurts Taiwan's democratic image in the

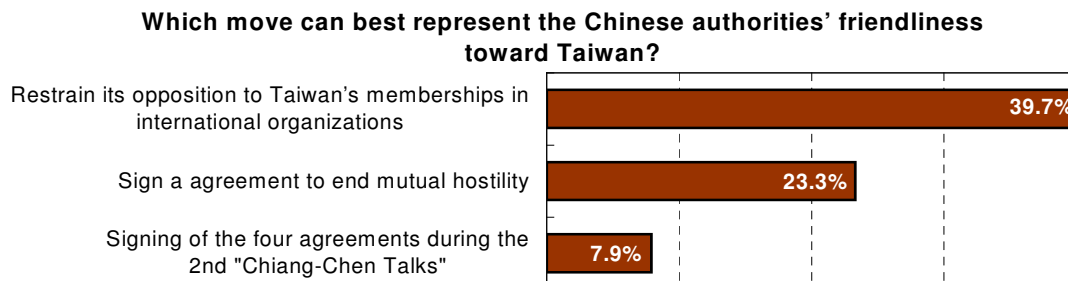
international community (32.8%) only within the group of DPP supporters.

The survey shows that 55.2% of Taiwanese people think DPP Chairperson Tsai Ing-wen has failed to take responsibilities for the protests against Chen Yunlin initiated by her party, while 24.7% don't think so. Among different characteristics of interviewees, only within the group of DPP supporters have a higher percentage of people who say Tsai Ing-wen has shouldered her responsibilities (67.5%) than failed to do so (14.2%).



D. What represents China's friendliness toward Taiwan the best: 39.7% of Taiwanese people say it is China's restraint from opposing Taiwan's memberships in international organizations, 23.3% say it is the termination of hostility toward Taiwan, and 7.9% say the four agreements signed in the 2nd "Chiang-Chen Talks".

The survey, randomly giving interviewees different options, shows 39.7% of Taiwanese people think the move that can represent China's friendliness toward Taiwan the best is the mainland's restraint from opposing Taiwan's memberships in international organizations. Over 50% of people in the 20 to 44-year-old group or college or higher education group say so. Next, 23.3% of Taiwanese people say it is the termination of hostility toward Taiwan, and 7.9% say it is the four agreements signed during the 2nd "Chiang-Chen Talks". This ranking matches the results from GVSRC's May survey conducted when Ma took office.



This survey was conducted by GVSRC from 6.20pm to 10.00pm on Nov. 7-9, 2008. It is conducted with random-digit-dial sampling and computer-assisted telephone interviewing methods. 1028 people who are 20 or older completed the interview. One can say with 95% confidence that the theoretical margin of sampling error is $\pm 3.1\%$. Gender, living areas, ages, educational level of the interviewees have undergone weighting procedure and test of the sample's representativeness in the survey results.