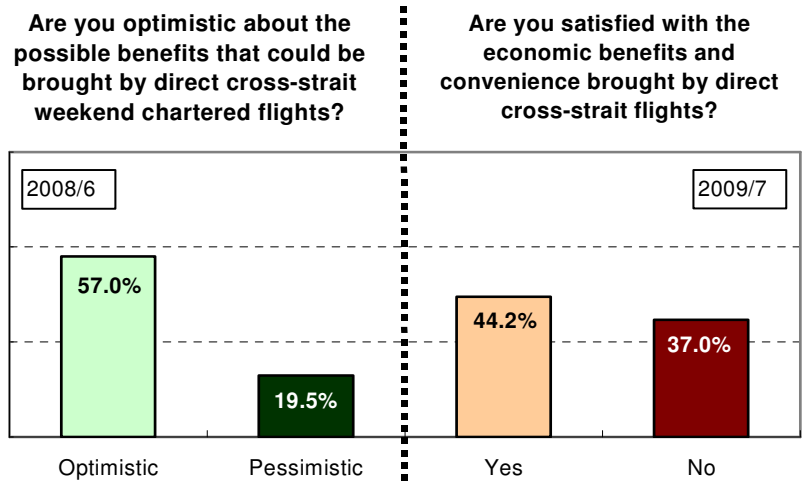


Survey on President Ma's Approval Rating and Cross-Strait Relations After First Year of Direct Flights

A. First year of direct cross-strait weekend chartered flights: 44.2 percent of Taiwanese are satisfied with the benefits brought by direct cross-strait flights, while 37.0% are not satisfied. 53.6 percent say their impressions of the mainland society and people have not changed even after cross-strait exchanges have become more frequent.

It has been a year since direct cross-strait weekend chartered flights began on July 4, 2008. During this period, Taiwan and China have facilitated various exchanges and expanded the direct flight program. This GVSRC survey shows 44.2 percent of Taiwanese are satisfied with the convenience and economic benefits brought by direct flights, while 37.0 percent say they are not satisfied. Compared with the survey results from June last year (see chart), this survey shows that direct cross-strait flights have not reached the level of public expectations formed back then.

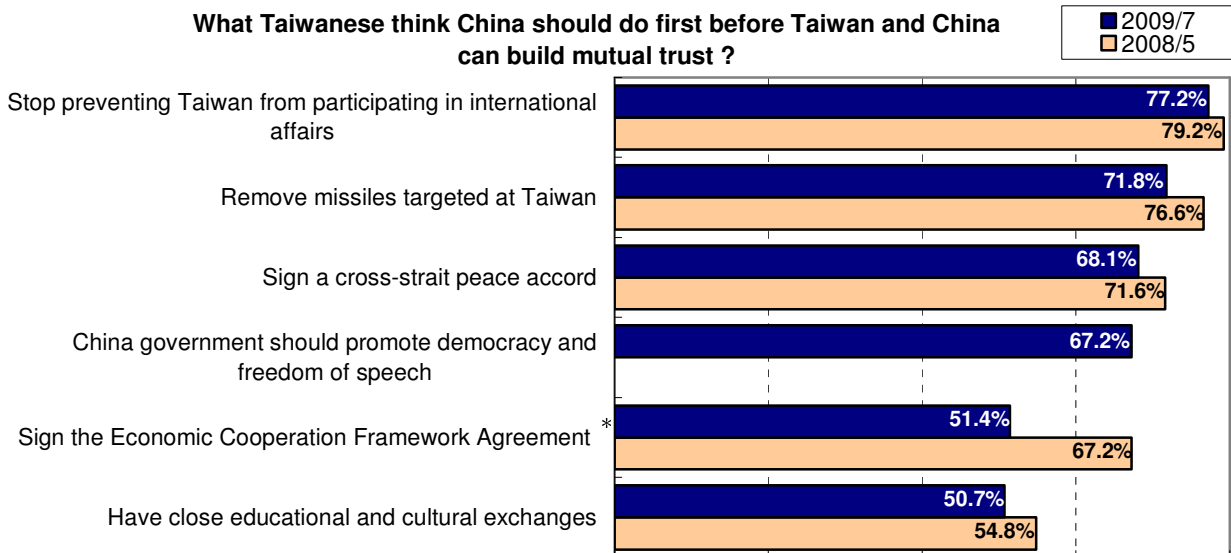


Although the two sides continue to expand exchanges as 660,000 Chinese tourists have visited Taiwan over the past year, 53.6 percent of Taiwanese say their impressions of the mainland society or people have not changed. 22.4 percent say their impressions of the Chinese society or people have become better, while 9.7 percent say their impressions have become worse. In general, as now people on the two sides are having closer encounters and interacting with each other frequently, their impressions of each other have started to change, and this helps bolster the social foundation of cross-strait relations.

B. Over 70 percent of Taiwanese say that if the two sides are to build mutual trust, the China government should eliminate negative factors that affect bilateral ties. They say China should stop preventing Taiwan from participating in international affairs and remove missiles aimed at Taiwan. The results this time are similar to those from a year ago.

Since taking office in May 2008, President Ma Ying-jeou has gradually implemented his cross-strait policies including facilitating direct cross-strait flights, allowing more Chinese tourists to visit and renminbi(人民幣) to be exchanged in Taiwan. At the same time, Chinese President Hu Jintao also proposed in 2008 for the two sides to build mutual trust. These moves have helped turn a new page in cross-strait relations.

This GVSRC survey shows that for the two sides to build mutual trust, Taiwanese think that there are things China government should do first. 77.2 percent of Taiwanese say China should not prevent Taiwan from participating in international affairs, 71.8 percent say China should remove missiles targeted at Taiwan, 68.1 percent say the two sides should sign a peace accord first, 67.2 percent say China should promote democracy and freedom of speech first, 51.4 percent say the two sides should first sign the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), and 50.7 percent say the two sides should have close educational and cultural exchanges.



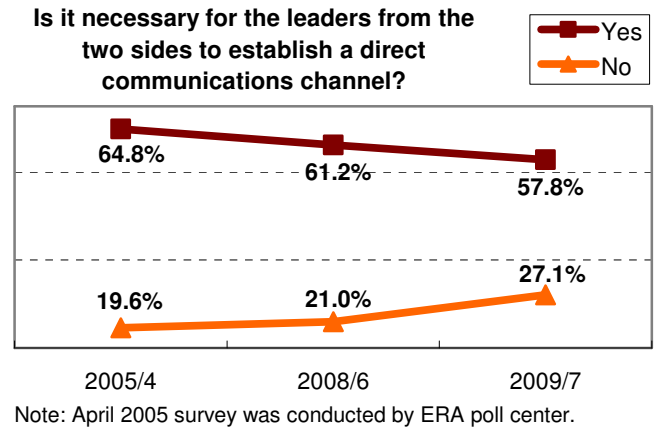
Note: 2008/5 "establish cross-strait common market to bolster economic and trade cooperation".

Taiwan and China have held three rounds of Chiang-Chen talks and signed nine agreements, and Taiwan has also become an observer in the World Health Assembly this year. However, this GVSRC survey shows that most Taiwanese still expect the China government to eliminate negative factors that could obstruct the development of peaceful relations between the two sides. Most Taiwanese think the move will be the key for China to show sincerity toward Taiwanese and for the two sides to build mutual trust. Most Taiwanese, especially those in the age group of 20-44, also hope China can promote democracy and freedom of speech to reduce the cross-strait differences in political systems, social values and cultures. They think the move will be the best guarantee for long-term interactions, mutual trust and prosperity. Although about 50 percent of Taiwanese also put emphasis on signing the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement and conducting frequent educational and cultural exchanges, the public does not rate these as high as the issues mentioned above.

C. 57.8 percent of Taiwanese say leaders on the two sides across the Taiwan Strait should establish a direct communications channel. 48.3 percent say the leaders from the two sides should not meet before China removes missiles targeted at Taiwan.

President Ma is about to resume the KMT chairpersonship, and this brings people on the two sides to wonder whether Ma will meet China's Hu. This GVSRC survey shows that 57.8 percent of Taiwanese consider it necessary for Ma and Hu to establish a direct communications channel, while 27.1 percent say it is not necessary. Compared with past survey results, this survey shows that now fewer people than before consider it necessary for the two leaders to set up a direct communications channel as political tensions between the sides have been diminishing while

cross-strait exchanges have been expanding. This GVSRC survey also asks Taiwanese whether they agree with the notion that Ma should not meet Hu before China removes missiles targeted at Taiwan. 48.3 percent of Taiwanese say they agree, while 38.2 percent say they don't. Although most Taiwanese believe it is necessary for the two leaders to communicate directly, they also think for that to happen, China must remove missiles targeted at Taiwan first.



D. 63.0 percent know about the KMT-CCP forums, but most say they don't know what they are about. 63.8 percent say the Democratic Progressive Party should conduct exchanges with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

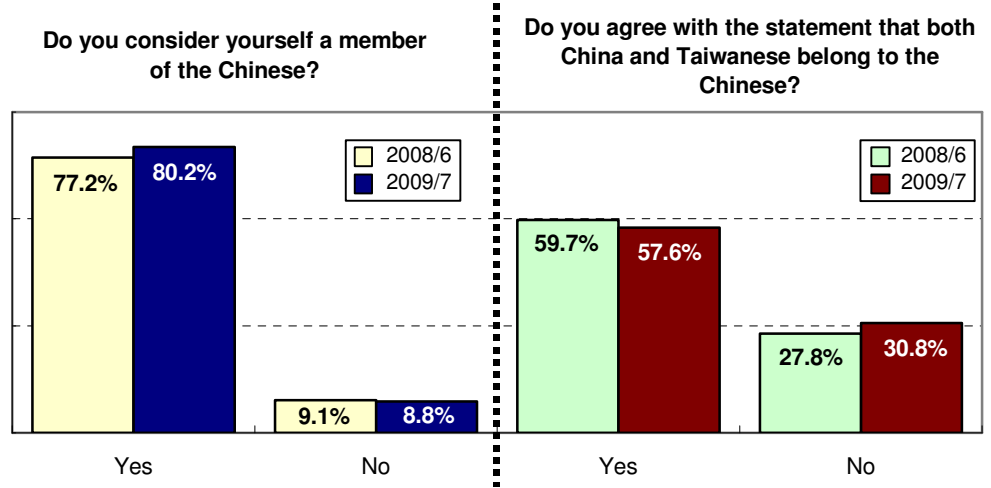
The KMT and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) have held the Cross-Strait Economic, Trade and Cultural Forum, also known as the KMT-CCP forum, on the mainland for five times since 2006. This GVSRC survey shows that 63.0 percent of Taiwanese say they know about the forums. Among those, 50.3 percent (or 31.7 percent of all Taiwanese) say they do not know what the forums are about, 29.0 percent (or 18.3 percent of all Taiwanese) say they do not fit most Taiwanese people's interests, while 17.8 percent (or 11.2 percent of all Taiwanese) say they fit most Taiwanese people's interests. This shows that only about 30 percent of Taiwanese think they know what the KMT-CCP forums are about, and they are divided on their evaluations of the events.

On the other hand, DPP Kaohsiung Mayor Chen Chu visited China in late May, and the move has brought party members to debate on the party's cross-strait policies. However, the party is also about to expel former public office holders in the DPP administration for attending the latest round of the KMT-CCP forum. This survey shows that 63.8 percent of Taiwanese think that DPP should make contacts and conduct exchanges with CCP to protect their interests, while 22.3 percent say this is not necessary. Even among DPP supporters, 53.3 percent say the party should conduct exchanges with CCP, while 40.6 percent say it is unnecessary. It is clear that the DPP headquarters is acting against mainstream public opinions and also the majority party supporters' views to secure its base of voters for the yearend mayoral and magisterial elections.

E. 80.2 percent of Taiwanese think they are members of the Chinese; 57.6 percent say people on the two sides across the Taiwan Strait both belong to the Chinese. The results are similar to those from a year ago.

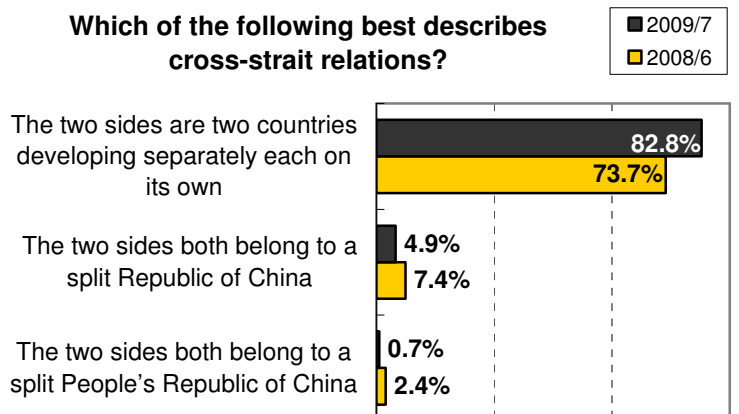
This GVSRC survey shows that 80.2 percent of Taiwanese people think they are members of the Chinese. 94.5 percent of pan-blue supporters think they are members of the Chinese, and 77.7 percent of independent voters say so. The results are similar to those from a year ago. Among pan-green supporters, 66.3 percent say they are members of the Chinese, up from 51.5

percent last year; 20.9 percent say they are not, down from 30.3 percent last year. There is a higher proportion of Taiwanese, between 86-92 percent, in the age group of 20-44 that consider themselves as



members of Chinese than in other age groups. When asked whether China and Taiwanese both belong to the Chinese, 57.6 percent of Taiwanese say yes, while 30.8 percent say no. It is clear that Taiwanese, especially pan-green supporters, become aware of their separateness from Chinese upon hearing the question. Among pan-green supporters, 63.3 percent say they do not agree with the statement, while 30.3 percent say they do. Pan-green supporters clearly stand opposite mainstream views on the issue. The results are similar to those from a year ago.

This year is the 98th anniversary of the foundation of Republic of China, and the 60th anniversary of the establishment of People's Republic of China. 82.8 percent of Taiwanese say the two sides across the Taiwan Strait are two countries that are developing separately each on its own, 9.1 percentage points higher than the result from June 2008. 4.9 percent say the sides both belong to a split Republic of China and 0.7 percent says the two both belong to a split People's Republic of China. The results show that as Chinese tourists start to arrive in Taiwan en masse, 60 years after the two sides split, Taiwanese are directly and truly feeling the differences between the two sides on various fronts.

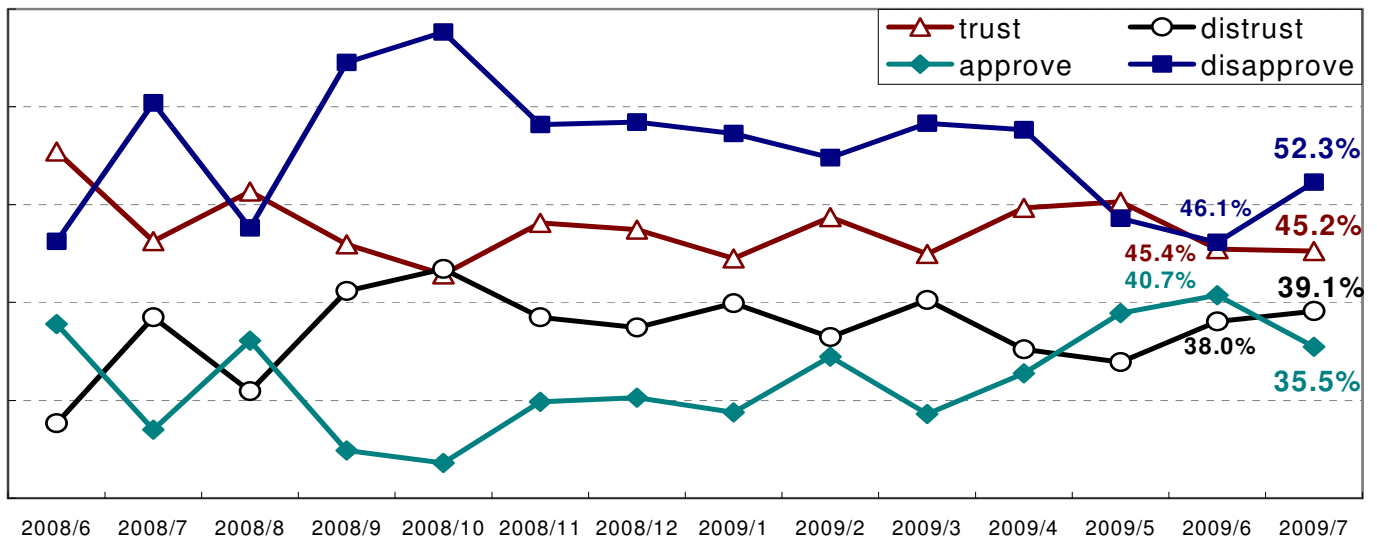


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F. President Ma Ying-jeou's approval rating this month: 35.5 percent of Taiwanese approve of his governance, while 52.3 percent disapprove of his governance. 45.2 percent of Taiwanese say they trust him, while 39.1 percent say they do not trust him.

This GVSRC survey shows President Ma's approval rating is 35.5 percent and disapproval rating is 52.3 percent. Compared with last month, Ma's approval rating falls 5.2 percentage points, and his disapproval rating rises 6.2 percentage points. At the same time, 45.2 percent of Taiwanese say they trust him, while 39.1 percent say they distrust him this month. Compared with last month, the level of public trust in him falls 0.2 percentage point, and the level of public distrust in him rises 1.1 percentage points.

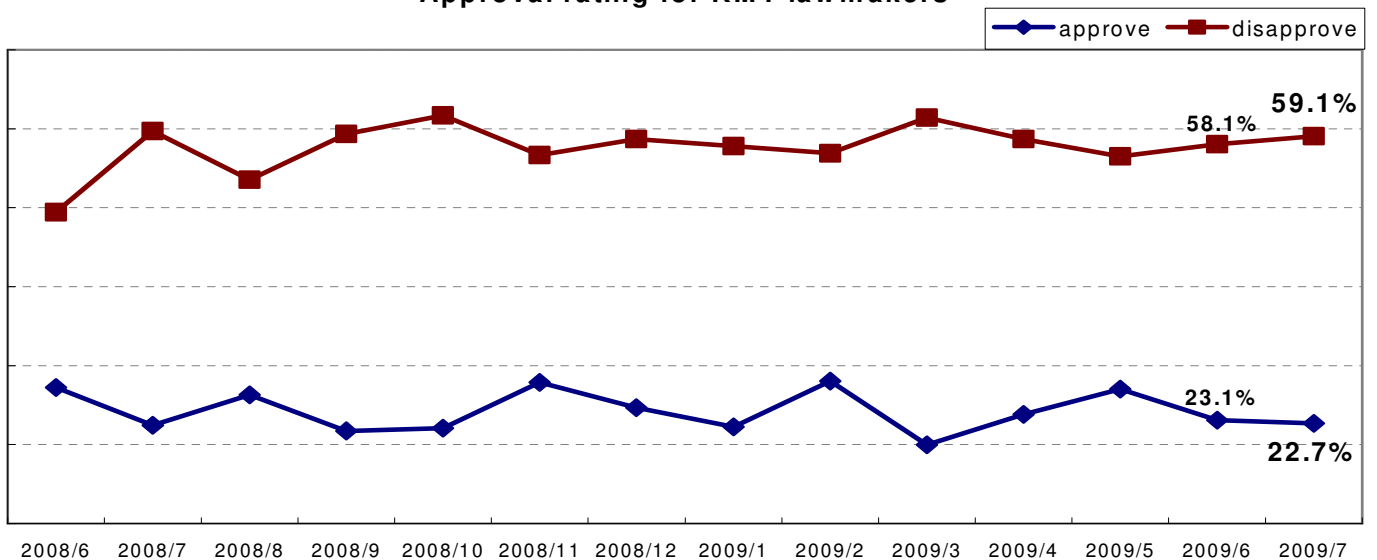
The trend of approval for Ma and public trust in him



G. KMT lawmakers' approval rating is 22.7 percent and disapproval rating is 59.1 percent.

The KMT controls more than 70 percent of all legislative seats and shares an absolute majority in the legislature. However, a number of KMT lawmakers have been entangled in vote-buying lawsuits. Former KMT lawmaker Li Yi-ting and ex-caucus whip Chang Sho-wen have lost their legislative seats after the court decided they paid for votes. There are still two other party lawmakers appealing the court's negative decisions over their vote-buying lawsuits. Although the legislature is in recess now, 59.1 percent of Taiwanese say they disapprove of KMT lawmakers' performance, far higher than the 22.7 percent who say they are satisfied with the lawmakers' performance. Compared with last month, KMT lawmakers' approval rating falls 0.4 percentage point, and their disapproval rating rises 1.0 percentage point.

Approval rating for KMT lawmakers



This survey was conducted by GVSRC from 6.20 p.m. to 10.00 p.m. on July 14-16, 2009. It was conducted with random-digit-dial sampling and computer-assisted telephone interviewing methods. 1005 Taiwanese 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 and other features of the interviewees have undergone weighting procedure and test of the sample's representativeness in the survey results.