

CBS NEWS/NEW YORK TIMES POLL

The Capture of Saddam Hussein: Impact on Public Opinion
December 14-15, 2003

q1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President?

	AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE				Before Saddam's Capture 12/10-13/03
	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				
	*** Party ID ***				
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	
	%	%	%	%	%
Approve	58	91	35	53	52
Disapprove	33	8	56	32	40
DK/NA	9	1	9	15	8

q2 Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction	49	83	28	42	39
Wrong track	43	12	67	45	56
DK/NA	8	5	5	13	5

q3 Which ONE issue would you most like to hear the candidates for president discuss during the 2004 presidential campaign?

	** REGISTERED VOTERS **				
Economy and jobs	25	21	29	26	22
Health Care/Medicare	16	12	22	13	15
War in Iraq	6	7	7	6	15
Education	4	5	4	3	5
Taxes/IRS	4	4	3	5	3
Social Security	3	3	2	2	1
Poverty / Homelessness	3	3	1	3	2
Misc. Govt. Programs	2	2	3	1	0
Foreign Policy	2	3	3	1	2
Defense / Military	2	1	2	3	4
Budget Deficit /National Debt	2	3	2	1	2
Security/Safety	2	3	1	3	1
Terrorism (general)	1	3	1	1	1
Other	14	11	12	11	17
DK/NA	14	19	8	21	12

q4 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling foreign policy?

	AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE				Before Saddam's Capture 12/10-13/03
	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				
	*** Party ID ***				
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	
	%	%	%	%	%
Approve	52	84	29	49	45
Disapprove	38	13	61	39	47
DK/NA	10	3	11	12	8

q5 How about the economy? Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the economy?

Approve	49	81	29	42	44
Disapprove	43	11	66	47	51
DK/NA	8	8	5	11	5

q6 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the situation with Iraq?

Approve	59	89	35	57	45
Disapprove	35	10	59	34	48
DK/NA	6	1	6	9	7

q7 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the campaign against terrorism?

Approve	68	92	49	67	64
Disapprove	26	5	45	25	28
DK/NA	6	3	6	8	8

q8 How would you rate the condition of the national economy these days? Is it very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?

Very good	5	12	2	3	4
Fairly good	50	73	33	46	52
Fairly bad	28	10	43	29	30
Very bad	13	2	19	16	13
DK/NA	4	3	3	6	1

q9 Do you think the economy is getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?

Getting better	39	67	28	29	34
Getting worse	19	6	22	26	24
Staying about same	39	25	49	41	41
DK/NA	3	2	1	4	1

q10 Is your opinion of George W. Bush favorable, not favorable, undecided, or haven't you heard enough about George W. Bush yet to have an opinion?

Favorable	48	86	27	38	44
Not favorable	31	4	56	30	35
Undecided	17	8	16	25	17
Haven't heard enough yet	3	1	1	6	4
Refused	1	1	0	1	0

q11 Do you think of George W. Bush as more of a liberal, a moderate, or a conservative?

	Before Saddam's Capture 12/10-13/03 %
NOT ASKED AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE	
Liberal	16
Moderate	26
Conservative	46
DK/NA	12

q12 On the issues you care most about, would you say George W. Bush has been a more conservative President than he said he would be, less conservative, or has he been about as conservative as he said he would be?

	Before Saddam's Capture 12/10-13/03 %
NOT ASKED AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE	
More conservative	13
Less conservative	30
About as conservative as he said	49
DK/NA	8

q13/q14 Do you think George W. Bush has more honesty and integrity than most people in public life?/ Do you think George W. Bush has less honesty and integrity than most people in public life or about the same honesty and integrity as most people in public life?

	AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE *** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				Before Saddam's Capture 12/10-13/03 %
	*** Party ID ***				
	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %	
More	52	86	31	44	50
Less	12	0	21	14	16
Same	26	11	40	26	24
DK/NA	10	3	8	16	10

q15 Overall, do you think the tax cuts enacted by George W. Bush have been good for the nation's economy, bad for the economy, or haven't they made much difference one way or the other?

	Before Saddam's Capture 12/10-13/03 %
Good for the economy	27
Bad for the economy	16
Haven't made much difference	49
DK/NA	8

q16 Do you think the Bush Administration has made a lot of progress, some progress, not much progress, or no progress at all in reducing the cost of prescription drugs for the elderly?

	Before Saddam's Capture 12/10-13/03 %
A lot	5
Some	29
Not much	18
No progress at all	28
DK/NA	20

q17 These days, if someone disagrees with the president on issues relating to terrorism, do you think its okay to criticize him publicly, or should people not publicly criticize the president on issues relating to terrorism?

	AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE				Before Saddam's Capture 12/10-13/03
	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	
	%	%	%	%	%
Okay to criticize	64	65	68	61	58
Should not criticize	30	29	28	31	37
DK/NA	6	6	4	8	5

q19 How much have you heard or read about the Medicare bill recently passed by Congress -- a lot, some, or not much so far?

A lot	12	13	14	11	13
Some	33	37	36	27	34
Not much so far	52	49	46	58	52
DK/NA	3	1	4	4	1

q20 From what you know, under the new Medicare rules will most senior citizens be better off than they are now, worse off, or won't the new Medicare rules make much difference one way or the other?

Better off	24	39	14	21	23
Worse off	15	4	27	14	19
Won't make much difference	35	26	42	34	34
DK/NA	26	31	17	31	24

q37 If George W. Bush runs for re-election in 2004, do you think you will probably vote for George W. Bush or probably vote for the Democratic candidate?

	** REGISTERED VOTERS **				
	Total	Bush	Dem	Candidate	
George W. Bush	44	88	13	35	42
Democratic candidate	40	7	75	36	41
Can't say until chosen (Vol.)	8	2	8	13	11
None, won't vote (Vol.)	1	1	0	3	2
DK/NA	7	2	4	13	4

q38 Is your mind made up or is it still too early to say for sure?

	AMONG THOSE WHO MADE A CHOICE IN Q37			
	Total	Bush Voters	Dem Candidate Voters	
Mind made up	64	60	68	63
Too early to say for sure	35	39	31	36
DK/NA	1	1	1	1

q91 Regardless of how you intend to vote for President in 2004, who do you expect to finally win the 2004 presidential election--the Democratic candidate or George W. Bush?

	** REGISTERED VOTERS **				Sep03b
Democratic candidate	24	8	38	25	35
George W. Bush	61	83	44	58	50
Depends (Vol.)	4	2	4	5	4

DK/NA	11	7	14	12	11
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q53 Do you think the removing Saddam Hussein from power was worth the loss of American life and other costs of attacking Iraq, or not?

	AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE				Before
	*** HALF SAMPLE A ***				Saddam's Capture
	*** Party ID ***				12/10-13/03
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	
	%	%	%	%	%
Worth it	54	73	36	54	47
Not worth it	37	15	59	36	43
DK/NA	9	12	5	10	10

q54 Do you think the result of the war with Iraq was worth the loss of American life and other costs of attacking Iraq, or not?

	*** HALF SAMPLE B ***				
Worth it	44	66	30	41	39
Not worth it	49	26	67	50	54
DK/NA	7	8	3	9	6

q55 How would you say things are going for the U.S. in its efforts to bring stability and order to Iraq? Would you say things are going very well, somewhat well, somewhat badly, or very badly?

	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				
Very well	12	22	4	11	6
Somewhat well	53	65	45	50	41
Somewhat badly	21	6	34	21	33
Very badly	10	5	14	11	18
DK/NA	4	2	3	7	2

q56 So far, do you think the Bush Administration has developed a clear plan for rebuilding Iraq, or hasn't it developed one?

Has a clear plan	34	53	21	30	28
Not done that	53	35	66	56	61
DK/NA	13	12	13	14	11

q57 Looking back on it now, do you think the Bush Administration was too quick to get the United States involved in a war in Iraq, too slow, or was the timing about right?

Too quick	43	17	66	44	47
Too slow	12	14	9	13	13
Timing about right	42	68	24	37	37
DK/NA	3	1	1	6	3

q59 Looking back, do you think the United States did the right thing in taking military action against Iraq, or should the U.S. have stayed out?

	*** HALF SAMPLE D ***				Before
	Total	*** Party ID ***			Saddam's Capture
	Rep	Dem	Ind	12/10-13/03	
	%	%	%	%	
Right thing	63	88	43	63	64
Stay out	31	8	50	32	28
Don't know/No answer	6	4	7	5	8

q60 Do you think the public should or should not be allowed to see pictures of the military honor guard receiving caskets of soldiers killed in Iraq as they are returned to the United States?

	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				
Should be able to see	62	58	63	65	68
Should not be able to see	27	27	28	27	26
DK/NA	11	15	9	8	6

q61 As far as you know, has George W. Bush attended some of the funerals of military personnel killed in Iraq or not?

Attended	26	27	25	26	28
Not attended	24	19	30	22	24
DK/NA	50	54	45	52	48

q62 Should George W. Bush attend some of the funerals of military personnel killed in Iraq, or isn't that necessary?

Should attend some	66	60	67	69	67
Not necessary	27	33	27	22	26
Attend all (vol.)	2	1	2	3	1
DK/NA	5	6	4	6	6

q64 Before the war with Iraq, when talking about what they knew about the existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, do you think the members of the Bush Administration were telling everything they knew, most of what they knew, hiding important elements of what they knew, or mostly lying?

	*** HALF SAMPLE F ***				
Telling everything they know	3	12	0	1	6
Telling most they know	26	52	16	20	31
Hiding important elements	45	23	58	48	42
Mostly lying	16	3	23	19	16
Don't know/No answer	10	10	3	12	5

q65 As far as you know, does the Bush Administration think Saddam Hussein was involved in the Sept. 11th, 2001 attack against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon or doesn't the Bush Administration think that?

	AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE				Before Saddam's Capture 12/10-13/03
	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	
	%	%	%	%	%
Think Hussein was involved	58	59	63	53	57
Does not he was involved	25	23	27	25	25
Some do (vol.)	0	0	0	0	1
Some don't (vol.)	0	0	0	0	0
DK/NA	17	18	10	22	17

q66 If Saddam Hussein is not captured or killed, then do you think the United States will have won the war against Iraq or not?

NOT ASKED AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE	
Will have	29
Will not have	62
DK/NA	9

q67 Should U.S. troops stay in Iraq as long as it takes to make sure Iraq is a stable democracy, even if that takes a long time, or should U.S. troops turn over control to Iraqis as soon as possible, even if Iraq is not completely stable?

Stay as long as it takes	56	75	47	50	54
Leave as soon as possible	35	23	46	36	40
DK/NA	9	2	7	14	6

q68 Which comes closer to your opinion? 1. Iraq was a threat to the United States that required immediate military action; 2. Iraq was a threat that could have been contained; 3. Iraq was not a threat to the United States at all.

Threat required action	44	73	27	37	41
Could have been contained	37	21	41	45	41
Not a threat	15	4	26	14	14
Don't know/No answer	4	2	6	4	4

q69 From what you have heard or read, do you think Saddam Hussein is or is not involved in most of the recent attacks on U.S. troops in Iraq?

Yes	68	80	62	65	72
No	24	13	31	25	17
Don't know/No answer	8	7	7	10	11

q92 Do you think the war in Iraq is still going on or is the war over?

	Sep03b				
Still going on	86	82	93	84	87
Over	11	16	4	13	10
Depends (Vol.)	1	1	1	1	1
DK/NA	2	1	2	2	2

q93 As you may know, the United States military has captured Saddam Hussein alive. Now that Saddam Hussein has been captured, do you think the attacks against U.S. troops in Iraq will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE

*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***

*** Party ID ***

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Increase	19	16	22	19
Decrease	24	34	24	18
Stay same	52	43	49	60
DK/NA	5	7	5	3

q94 How long do you think the United States troops will have to remain in Iraq--for less than a year, one to two years, two to five years, or will U.S. troops have to stay in Iraq for longer than five years?

					Jul03a
Less than a year	15	10	16	17	13
One to two years	34	39	35	31	31
Two to five years	31	32	30	30	31
More than five years	12	12	11	13	18
Don't know/No answer	8	7	8	9	7

q95 Do you think the United States has won the war in Iraq, or not?

Won	46	66	34	41
Not won	47	26	63	50
DK/NA	7	8	3	9

q70 Thinking about the war in Afghanistan, if Osama bin Laden is not captured or killed, then do you think the United States will have won the war in Afghanistan, or not?

					Before Saddam's Capture 12/10-13/03 %
Will have	25	39	15	22	25
Will not have	62	48	77	61	63
Mixed (Vol.)	2	2	0	4	2
DK/NA	11	11	8	13	10

q71 When it comes to the campaign against terrorism, do you think the Bush Administration has a clear plan for its policy or do you think the Bush Administration is just reacting to events as they occur?

Has a clear plan	43	70	24	38	37
Just reacting to events	46	21	66	49	55
DK/NA	11	9	10	13	8

q96 As a result of the capture of Saddam Hussein, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United States will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

AFTER SADDAM'S CAPTURE

*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***

*** Party ID ***

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Increase	18	11	20	22
Decrease	19	29	15	14
About the same	60	55	63	62
DK/NA	3	5	2	2

q97 Who do you think is currently winning the war against terrorism--the U.S. (United States) and its allies, neither side, or the terrorists?

U.S. and its allies	52	71	45	44
Neither side	33	20	38	37
Terrorists	9	4	11	12
DK/NA	6	5	6	7

Unweighted WeightedAfter Saddam's Capture:

Total Respondents	635	
Registered Voters	525	484
Total Republicans	194	177
Total Democrats	203	198
Total Independents	238	260
Half Sample A	309	304
Half Sample B	326	331
Half Sample D	307	309
Half Sample F	325	333

Before Saddam's Capture:

Total Respondents	1057
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