

**CBS NEWS/NEW YORK TIMES POLL**  
**The Bush Agenda and the GOP Congress**  
**November 20-24, 2002**

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

	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				
	**** Party ID ****				
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	Oct02f
	%	%	%	%	%
Approve	65	91	40	65	62
Disapprove	27	5	49	24	28
DK/NA	8	4	11	11	10

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	41	66	20	38	41
Wrong track	49	24	73	48	52
DK/NA	10	10	7	14	7

q3 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling foreign policy?

Approve	54	83	32	51	54
Disapprove	33	9	53	35	34
DK/NA	13	8	15	14	12

q4 How about the economy? Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the economy?

Approve	45	73	21	44	46
Disapprove	45	16	69	46	43
DK/NA	10	11	10	10	11

q5 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	2	4	0	1	1
Fairly good	46	60	38	43	44
Fairly bad	37	28	41	41	38
Very bad	13	5	21	12	15
DK/NA	2	3	0	3	1

q6 Do you think the economy is getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?

Getting better	19	39	8	13	17
Getting worse	30	10	42	34	34
Staying about same	50	47	50	51	48
DK/NA	1	4	0	2	1

q7 In general, is your opinion of the Republican party favorable or not favorable?

	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				Oct02f
	**** Party ID ****				
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	
	%	%	%	%	%
Favorable	51	95	21	43	54
Not favorable	39	4	73	37	35
DK/NA	10	1	6	20	11

q8 In general, is your opinion of the Democratic party favorable or not favorable?

Favorable	45	16	77	41	55
Not favorable	44	80	18	39	36
DK/NA	11	4	5	20	9

q9 Do you think the Democrats have a clear plan for the country, or don't the Democrats have a clear plan for the country?

Yes	31	20	44	28	31*
No	52	72	39	48	49
DK/NA	17	8	17	24	20

\*Trend is among registered voters.

q10 Do you think the Republicans have a clear plan for the country, or don't the Republicans have a clear plan for the country?

Yes	46	78	27	38	42*
No	39	17	58	40	39
DK/NA	15	5	15	22	19

\*Trend is among registered voters.

q11 Do you think there are any important differences in what the Democratic and Republican parties stand for?

	*** VOTED IN '02 ELECTIONS **			
Yes	77	89	78	60
No	18	7	17	33
DK/NA	5	4	5	7

q12 What's the most important difference in what the Democratic and Republican parties stand for?

	VOTERS WHO SAID "YES" IN Q11			
Ideology	24	28	20	22
For/Not for the people	11	3	22	8
Economy	10	4	14	14
For the rich/For the poor	9	4	15	5
Government Spending	8	16	3	2
Social Programs	7	8	5	7
Taxes	6	11	2	4
Domestic Programs	3	1	3	5
Abortion	3	5	1	3
Military/Defense Policy	2	3	1	4
Other	6	9	2	13
DK/NA	11	8	12	13

q13 Do you think of your vote for Congress this fall as a vote for George W. Bush, a vote against George W. Bush, or don't you think of your vote this fall as being about George W. Bush's presidency?

	VOTERS - HALF SAMPLE A				Oct02f*
	Total	*** Party ID ***			
	Rep	Dem	Ind		
	%	%	%	%	%
Vote for Bush	35	62	14	26	31
Vote against Bush	17	1	39	11	19
Bush not a factor	43	34	43	55	40
DK/NA	5	3	4	8	10

\*Trend is among registered voters

q14 Do you think of your vote for Congress this fall as a vote for George W. Bush's policies, a vote against George W. Bush's policies, or don't you think of your vote this fall as being about George W. Bush's policies?

VOTERS - HALF SAMPLE B				
Vote for Bush's policies	30	57	12	29
Vote against Bush's polici	24	6	42	17
Bush policies not a factor	37	35	34	44
DK/NA	9	2	12	10

q15 If George W. Bush is renominated as the Republican Party's nominee for president in 2004, do you think you will probably vote for George W. Bush, or vote for the Democratic candidate, or don't you know yet?

	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***			
George W. Bush	32	73	9	21
Democratic candidate	18	0	45	10
Don't know yet	47	26	45	65
DK/NA	3	1	1	4

q16 Do you think the Democrats should give Al Gore another chance to run and nominate him for President in 2004, or do you think the Democrats should nominate someone new in 2004?

Nominate Al Gore	27	19	33	26
Nominate someone new	62	71	55	60
It depends (Vol.)	3	1	4	4
DK/NA	8	9	8	10

q17 When the new Congress begins in January, which party will have more seats -- the Republicans or the Democrats?

Republicans	78	90	77	69
Democrats	8	2	12	11
DK/NA	14	8	11	20

q18 In general, are you pleased or disappointed with the outcome of the November elections for Congress, or don't you care much one way or the other?

Pleased	37	72	15	29
Disappointed	26	4	52	22
Don't care much	31	20	28	41
DK/NA	6	4	5	8

q19 Which one issue was the most important in deciding who to vote for for U.S. House of Representatives?

	VOTED IN '02 ELECTIONS			
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Economy	10	6	11	15
Soc. Security/Medicare	4	2	4	2
Education	4	5	5	3
Misc. Government Issues	4	4	6	3
Terrorism/security/safety	4	5	2	4
Abortion	3	6	0	2
Foreign Policy	3	4	2	2
Republicans	3	7	0	1
The President	3	4	2	3
Taxes/IRS	3	4	1	4
Guns	2	3	0	2
War	2	2	2	1
Specific Country/person	2	0	3	2
Politicians / Government	2	1	1	3
Democrats	2	2	4	1
Defense / Military	1	1	1	1
Other	12	12	15	14
DK/NA	36	30	41	37

q20 Do you think it is better for the country to have a President who comes from the same political party that controls Congress, or do you think it is better to have a President from one political party and the Congress controlled by another?

	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				Oct02f
					%
Better when same party	36	53	28	29	38
Better when different party	41	23	51	45	42
DK/NA	23	24	21	26	20

q23 In January, the Republican party will take over control of both houses of Congress. Do you think under Republican control of Congress, the United States will be more secure against terrorist attacks than it is now, less secure, or will the United States be about as secure against terrorist attacks as it is now?

More secure	29	50	14	25
Less secure	8	1	14	9
About as secure as it is now	55	43	65	56
DK/NA	8	6	7	10

q24 With Republicans in control of Congress, will the nation's economy get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

Get better	28	53	12	22
Get worse	23	2	45	20
Stay about the same	40	35	38	45
DK/NA	9	10	5	13

q25 With Republicans in control of Congress, do you think your taxes will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

\*\*\* TOTAL RESPONDENTS \*\*\*

\*\*\* Party ID \*\*\*\*

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Increase	40	18	58	43
Decrease	14	23	9	11
Stay about the same	40	54	28	39
DK/NA	6	5	5	7

q26 With Republicans in control of Congress, do you think your family's financial situation will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

Better	20	38	6	18
Worse	21	4	40	19
Stay about the same	54	55	53	55
DK/NA	5	3	1	8

q27 With Republicans in control of Congress, do you think big business will have more influence in Washington, less influence, or will big business have about the same amount of influence as it does now?

More influence	44	22	67	42
Less influence	6	8	6	3
Same influence as now	44	66	25	44
DK/NA	6	4	2	11

q28 With Republicans in control of Congress, do you think the federal courts will become more conservative, less conservative, or will the federal courts remain about the same as they are now?

More conservative	42	48	43	38
Less conservative	6	5	6	6
Same as they are now	46	44	46	47
DK/NA	6	3	5	9

q29 With Republicans in control of Congress, do you think war with Iraq is more likely, less likely, or about the same as it is now?

More likely	55	47	69	49
Less likely	4	1	4	6
About the same	38	49	25	40
DK/NA	1	3	2	5

q30 How much do you think George W. Bush cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself -- a lot, some, not much, or not at all?

					Jan02c
					%
A lot	32	60	10	28	34
Some	32	30	31	34	42
Not much	22	6	37	22	16
Not at all	12	3	19	14	7
DK/NA	2	1	3	2	1

q31 How much do you think George W. Bush cares about the needs and problems of blacks -- a lot, some, not much, or not at all?

\*\*\* TOTAL RESPONDENTS \*\*\*

\*\*\* Party ID \*\*\*\*

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	Jun01b
	%	%	%	%	%
A lot	27	52	8	23	18
Some	35	31	36	37	37
Not much	20	7	35	18	19
Not at all	11	2	18	13	15
DK/NA	7	8	3	9	11

q32 Do you have confidence in George W. Bush's ability to deal wisely with an international crisis, or are you uneasy about his approach?

					Jun02b
Confidence	53	85	28	49	62
Uneasy	43	14	69	43	32
DK/NA	4	1	3	8	6

q33 Do you have confidence in George W. Bush's ability to make the right decisions about the nation's economy, or are you uneasy about his approach?

Confidence	47	78	21	45
Uneasy	48	17	77	48
DK/NA	5	5	2	7

q34 Do you think of George W. Bush as more of a liberal, a moderate, or a conservative?

					Jan02c
Liberal	13	8	16	14	11
Moderate	29	28	26	32	41
Conservative	47	57	48	38	41
DK/NA	11	7	10	16	7

q35 Do you think the religious right has too much influence, too little influence, or the right amount of influence in the Bush administration?

					Mar01a
Too much	22	10	30	26	22
Too little	20	11	30	20	19
Right amount	39	67	23	31	31
Has no influence (vol.)	2	2	2	3	2
DK/NA	17	10	15	20	26

q36 Now on the subject of taxes. How much have you heard or read about the tax cuts which were enacted in 2001 ? a lot, some, or not much so far?

A lot	15	19	15	13
Some	34	35	35	32
Not much so far	50	46	49	53
DK/NA	1	0	1	2

q37 In general, do you think those tax cuts were a good idea or a bad idea, or don't you know enough about the tax cuts to say?

	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***			
	*** Party ID ***			
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Good idea	23	40	7	23
Bad idea	20	7	34	18
Don't know enough to say	55	52	56	56
DK/NA	2	1	3	3

q38 Have those tax cuts made a significant difference in the amount of money you have after taxes, or not?

Have made a difference	17	18	12	21
Have not	74	71	80	71
DK/NA	9	11	8	8

q39 Do you think the government can reduce the federal budget deficit and cut taxes at the same time?

Can	42	57	27	44
Cannot	48	34	65	45
DK/NA	10	9	8	11

q40 If you had to choose, would you prefer reducing the federal budget deficit or cutting taxes?

					Oct96e
					%
Reducing budget deficit	45	43	53	41	55
Cutting taxes	44	48	39	46	41
Both (vol.)	4	4	2	5	4
DK/NA	7	5	6	8	

q41 Overall, do you think the tax cuts enacted in 2001 have been good for the nation's economy, bad for the economy, or haven't they made much difference one way or the other?

	*** HALF SAMPLE C ***				Jan02c*
Good for the economy	20	36	9	17	28
Bad for the economy	12	3	17	15	13
Haven't made much differen	61	56	67	61	56
DK/NA	7	5	7	7	3

\*Varied wording: Do you think the recent tax cuts have been good for the economy, bad for the economy, or don't you think they've made much difference one way or the other?

q42 Overall, do you think the tax cuts enacted in 2001 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?

	*** HALF SAMPLE D ***			
Good for the economy	20	44	9	11
Bad for the economy	12	2	23	9
Haven't made much difference	61	46	64	70
DK/NA	7	6	4	10

q43 From what you have heard so far, who do you think has benefitted the most from the tax cuts ---- rich people, poor people, or middle income people?

	*** HALF SAMPLE C ***			
	*** Party ID ***			
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Rich people	62	43	82	62
Poor people	3	6	1	2
Middle income people	20	28	9	22
Rich and middle income people	0	0	0	0
Poor and middle income people	0	1	0	0
All three/everybody (vol.)	3	4	0	5
No one (vol.)	1	1	1	1
DK/NA	11	17	7	8

q44 From what you've heard so far, who do you think has benefitted the most from George W. Bush's tax cuts ---- rich people, poor people, or middle income people?

	*** HALF SAMPLE D ***			
Rich people	57	27	82	59
Poor people	4	7	1	5
Middle income people	26	42	12	25
Rich and middle income people	0	0	0	0
Poor and middle income people	0	1	0	0
All three/everybody (vol.)	3	9	0	1
No one (vol.)	1	2	1	2
DK/NA	9	12	4	8

q45 The tax cuts passed in 2001 are scheduled to take effect over a nine year period and then taxes will go back to where they were before the tax cuts. Which comes closer to your view: 1) the country should continue cutting taxes right now and should consider making all the tax cuts permanent or 2) the country should not continue to cut taxes right now and not consider making the tax cuts permanent.

	*** HALF SAMPLE C ***			
Should be made permanent	45	53	34	47
Should not be permanent	44	36	52	43
Keep cuts/but not perm.(vol.)	1	1	1	2
DK/NA	10	10	13	8

q46 The Bush tax cuts passed in 2001 are scheduled to take effect over a nine year period and then taxes will go back to where they were before the tax cuts. Which comes closer to your view: 1) the country should continue cutting taxes right now and should consider making all the Bush tax cuts permanent or 2) the country should not continue to cut taxes right now and not consider making the Bush tax cuts permanent.

	*** HALF SAMPLE D ***			
Should be made permanent	37	63	21	31
Should not be permanent	52	25	71	55
Keep cuts/but not perm. (vol.)	2	2	1	3
DK/NA	9	10	7	11

q47 When the tax cuts were passed, there was a budget surplus. Do you think using a significant portion of the budget surplus to cut taxes was the best thing to do or would it have been better to have spent the money on programs like Social Security and Medicare?

	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				
	*** Party ID ***				
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	Jan02c
	%	%	%	%	%
Tax cut was the best thing	23	50	7	17	27
Better used for Soc.Security	69	41	90	72	65
DK/NA	8	9	3	11	8

q48 Now turning to the subject of the environment. When it comes to regulating the environmental and safety practices of business, do you think the federal government is doing enough, should it do more, or should it do less?

					Jul00a
Doing enough	25	38	20	21	27
Should do more	62	46	72	67	53
Should do less	7	12	4	6	11
DK/NA	6	4	4	6	9

q49 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high and continuing environmental improvements must be made regardless of the cost?

					Jan02c
Agree	57	41	66	62	56
Disagree	36	52	30	30	39
DK/NA	7	7	4	8	5

q50 With Republicans in control of Congress, do you think pollution and other environmental problems are likely to get better, get worse, or stay about the same as they are now?

Get better	10	16	4	10
Get worse	27	8	43	27
Stay the same as now	59	71	50	58
DK/NA	4	5	3	5

q51 Currently, drilling for oil and natural gas is prohibited in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Do you approve or disapprove of the proposal to open up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska for oil and natural gas drilling?

	** HALF SAMPLE C **				Apr01b
					%
Approve	39	57	26	36	37
Disapprove	55	37	68	59	54
DK/NA	6	6	6	5	9

q52 Currently, drilling for oil and natural gas is prohibited in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Do you approve or disapprove of George W. Bush's proposal to open up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska for oil and natural gas drilling?

	** HALF SAMPLE D **			
	*** Party ID ***			
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Approve	40	66	25	34
Disapprove	52	29	67	57
DK/NA	8	5	8	9

q53 Do you think the Social Security system will have the money available to provide the benefits you expect for your retirement?

	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				Jan02b
Yes	28	36	22	25	34
No	55	47	59	58	46
Already getting SS (vol.)	9	9	12	8	10
DK/NA	8	8	7	9	11

q54 Some people have suggested allowing individuals to invest portions of their Social Security taxes on their own, which might allow them to make more money for their retirement, but would involve greater risk. Do you think allowing individuals to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes on their own is a good idea or a bad idea?

Good idea	48	61	36	48	54
Bad idea	46	33	60	45	39
DK/NA	6	6	4	7	7

q55 If people chose to invest their Social Security taxes in the stock market lost their money, should it be the government's responsibility to make up the losses, or should this not be the government's responsibility?

					Jan02b
Government's responsibility	12	3	19	12	10
Not government's resp.	85	95	77	85	85
DK/NA	3	2	4	3	5

q56 What do you think is more important -- producing energy, or protecting the environment?

					Aug01c
Producing energy	29	44	23	23	27
Protecting the environment	57	41	66	62	59
DK/NA	14	15	11	15	14

q57 What do you think George W. Bush thinks is more important - producing energy, or protecting the environment?

Producing energy	68	59	79	64	69
Protecting the environment	11	13	7	12	16
DK/NA	21	28	14	24	15

q58 Now turning to the subject of the courts. When new judges are appointed to the courts, should those judges be reviewed and confirmed by Congress as quickly as possible, or should the Congress take as much time as it needs to review new judges?

## \*\* HALF SAMPLE C \*\*

## \*\*\*\* Party ID \*\*\*\*

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Reviewed & confirmed quickly	26	43	17	21
Take as much time as it needs	70	54	79	74
DK/NA	4	3	4	5

q59 Now turning to the subject of the courts. When President George W. Bush appoints new judges to the courts, should those judges be reviewed and confirmed by Congress as quickly as possible, or should Congress take as much time as it needs to review new judges?

## \*\* HALF SAMPLE D \*\*

Reviewed & confirmed quickly	24	36	16	22
Take as much time as it needs	73	63	80	74
DK/NA	3	1	4	4

q60 As president, George W. Bush may appoint as many as three justices to the United States Supreme Court. Do you think Bush's nominees to the U.S. Supreme Court will be more conservative than you would like, not conservative enough, or about right?

	*** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ***				Jun01b
More conservative	29	9	48	30	31
Not conservative enough	11	5	19	9	14
About right	50	77	27	50	47
DK/NA	10	9	6	11	8

q61 Currently the federal government taxes the estates -- that is, the property and money -- people leave when they die. In a few years, that tax will only apply to estates worth more than \$3.5 million, and by 2010 there would be no tax on any estate, no matter what it is worth. Which comes closer to your view? 1. There should be no tax on any estate or 2. The estate tax should be eliminated for most people, but kept in place for the very largest estates?

## \*\* HALF SAMPLE C \*\*

No tax on any estate	41	48	33	41
Tax only on large estates	54	49	61	52
Neither/tax all estates (vol.)	2	0	4	1
DK/NA	3	3	2	6

q62 Currently the federal government taxes the estates ? that is, the property and money people leave when they die. In a few years, that tax will only apply to estates worth more than \$3.5 million, and by 2010 there would be no tax on any estate no matter what it is worth. Which comes closer to your view ? 1. There should be no tax on any estate as George W. Bush proposes or 2. The estate tax should be eliminated for most people, but kept in place for the very largest estates as the Democrats propose?

## \*\* HALF SAMPLE C \*\*

## \*\*\*\* Party ID \*\*\*\*

	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %
No tax on any estate	44	67	23	46
Tax only on large estates	47	27	67	45
Neither/tax all estates (vol.)	2	3	3	2
DK/NA	7	3	7	7

	<u>UNWEIGHTED</u>	<u>WEIGHTED</u>
Total Respondents	996	
Total Voters	594	538
Total Republicans	296	287
Total Democrats	328	315
Total Independents	372	394
Half Sample A	307	274
Half Sample B	287	265
Half Sample C	488	503
Half Sample D	508	493