2000 US Presidential Election:

Analysis of the Impact of Ralph Nader and One Florida County's Confusing Ballot Design

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- **The major candidates in the 2000 presidential election were Democrat Al Gore and Republican George W. Bush. Also running were Ralph Nader for the progressive Green Party and Pat Buchanan representing the conservative Reform Party.**
- **Gore received 543,895 more popular votes than Bush, but Bush won one more than the required 270 votes in the Electoral College.**
- **Many Democrats believed that Nader took votes away from Gore and was a decisive factor in Bush's Electoral College win because the Green Party was ideologically closer to Democrats than to Republicans.**
- **Bush won the popular vote in 30 states. His margin exceeded the number of votes that went to Nader in all but two of those states, New Hampshire and Florida.**
- **In New Hampshire, Bush beat Gore by 7,211 votes, and Nader received 22,198 votes. Our analysis shows that it is unclear whether Nader's absence from the ballot would have allowed Gore to win New Hampshire.**
- **In Florida, Bush's margin over Gore was only 537 votes, while Nader received 97,488 votes.**
- **Florida's Palm Beach County also used a confusing "butterfly ballot" design, which may have led Gore voters to vote for Buchanan inadvertently.**
- **If Nader had not been on the ballot in Florida, or if Florida's Palm Beach County had a different ballot, it is highly likely that Gore would have won the Electoral College and become President.**

I. Executive Summary

This paper estimates the impact of Ralph Nader's candidacy in the 2000 United States presidential election using government voting statistics, straight math, comparisons of the social and political policies of George W. Bush, Al Gore, and Ralph Nader, and the assumption that all votes cast for Al Gore and George W. Bush would have been unchanged had Ralph Nader not run in the 2000 presidential election.

New Hampshire and Florida were the only two states where the number of votes won by Nader exceeded Bush's margin of victory over Gore.

In New Hampshire, Bush received 273,559 votes compared to Gore's 266,348 votes, a margin of 7,211 votes. Nader received 22,198 votes in New Hampshire.

In Florida, Bush received 2,912,790 votes compared to Gore's 2,912,253 votes, a margin of 537 votes. Nader received 97,488 votes in Florida.

Mathematically, based the information laid out below, it seems that Florida was the only state in which Nader probably impacted the results by taking enough votes from Gore to allow Bush to win the state (and therefore the presidency).

The confusing "butterfly ballot" in Florida's Palm Beach County probably caused at least 682 votes intended for Gore to go to Pat Buchanan (20% of the 3,411 votes for Buchanan in Palm Beach County), which is 145 votes more than the 537 votes by which Bush won the state.

This report therefore focuses on the voting outcome in Florida.

The probable effects of Nader's candidacy and the "butterfly ballot" on the outcome of the election are:

1. *Florida*: Al Gore would have won Florida, its 25 Electoral College votes, and therefore the presidency if Ralph Nader had not run as a presidential candidate on the Florida ballot; Gore also would have won Florida if not for the confusion caused by Palm Beach County's ballot;

2. *New Hampshire*: It's unclear if enough of the votes that Ralph Nader received in New Hampshire would have gone to Al Gore to change the outcome in that state;

3. *Other states/DC*: Ralph Nader being on the ballot in DC and 45 other states (he was not on the ballot in three states) probably did not change the outcome of those races.

II. Introduction

The 2000 United States (US) presidential election was one of only five elections where the winning candidate lost the popular vote.[1]

US presidents are elected by state electors in the electoral college, not by popular vote. Electors represent their states and the District of Columbia, and most are required by oath or law to vote for the person of their party winning that state's election.

There are 538 electors, representing 535 congressional seats and three from the District of Columbia (DC). To be elected president of the US, a candidate must receive at least 270 electoral votes, a majority (50% + 1) of the 538 total electoral votes.

In the 2000 presidential election, George W. Bush (Bush) received 271 electoral votes while Al Gore (Gore) received 266, totaling 537 (one electoral vote short of the 538 because an elector from DC left her ballot blank to protest the District of Columbia's lack of representation in Congress).

In that November 2000 election, Gore garnered 48.38% of the popular vote (50,999,897) compared to 47.87% (50,456,002 votes) won by Bush.[2] Even though Gore obtained 543,895 more popular votes than Bush[3] he lost the election by not capturing enough electoral votes.[4]

Some ask how a candidate can win the most popular votes but lose the election? That's the effect of the electoral college in our Constitution. In part because of state political and population shifts in the states, a candidate losing the popular vote in a presidential race can

[1] The following five presidents lost the popular vote as indicated, but still won their elections: 2016, Donald Trump lost by 2,868,686 votes; 2000, Bush lost by 537,179 votes; 1888, Benjamin Harrison lost by 100,456 votes; 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes lost by 264,292; 1824, John Quincy Adams lost by 44,804 votes.
[2] For a chart of Percent of Bush Wins Over Gore, see Appendix E: Percent of Bush Wins Over Gore; Electoral College Results, on page 34.
[3] 50,999,897 Gore votes less 50,456,002 Bush votes.
[4] Federal Election Commission, "2000 Official Presidential General Election Results," fec.gov, last updated Dec. 2001.

still win the race [which has happened five times in our country's history in 1824, 1876, 1888, 2000 and 2016[5]].

Much has been written about the electoral college and whether it should still exist. That's a complex area of politics and law but outside the scope of this report.

In looking at the 2000 election popular votes, Florida was the only state where the number of votes won by Ralph Nader (Nader) probably would have changed the outcome of the election because winning in Florida should have given Gore enough electoral votes to win the state and the election.

Even if Nader's votes didn't exist, the outcome in the remaining 48 states would not have changed: Gore won 20 states and the District of Columbia even with Nader running, while Bush won 25 states by more than the number of Nader's votes in each state. Nader was not on the ballot in the other three states that Bush won.[6]

In addition, one Florida county's ballot may have sufficiently confused enough voters that voted for Pat Buchanan (Buchanan) in error, trying or meaning to vote for Gore.

Two decades later, speculation about an alternative outcome of that election continues to be talked about, debated and argued. Looking to shed light on a possible alternative outcomes of the election, this review focuses on several facets of that election that, based on this work's assumptions, mathematically and with a bit of straightforward analysis, suggest the result of that election was given to Bush by:

- The candidacy of third-party candidate Nader in Florida or;
- By Palm Beach County Florida's use of a ballot design known as the "butterfly ballot."

In sum, if all other votes remained the same, except those for Nader and Buchanan in Florida, Gore probably would have won the 2000 presidential election.

III. Assumptions

This Review is based on five assumptions:

Assumption Number 1

If Nader was not in the race, all other Bush and Gore votes in the 2000 election would have been the same (except this report's apportionment of the Nader votes).

We have found no authority or analysis on the question of what the votes would have been without Nader running, except analysis based on broad concepts and personal opinions on various sides of that question. Finding no solid guidance on the question of what the votes would have been had Nader not run, this report assumes the Bush and Gore

[5] "5 Presidents Who Lost the Popular Vote But Won the Election," history.com, Nov. 2, 2020
[6] Frank Newport and David W. Moore, "Final Poll Shows Presidential Race to Be Dead Heat," gallup.com, Nov. 1, 2004

votes would have stayed the same without Nader running, except for our parceling out the Nader votes to Bush and Gore as set out below.

Assumption Number 2

Had Nader not run, more of his votes would have gone to Gore than to Bush.

This assumption is based on the fact that Nader's policies and beliefs were closer to those of Gore than Bush. Of the 14 popular social and political issues at that time – Abortion, Affirmative Action, Cuba Embargo, Death Penalty, Education, Health Care, Environment (Arctic drilling and Kyoto), Gay Marriage, Medical Marijuana, Military budget, Social Security privatization, NAFTA and Estate Taxes – Bush and Nader agreed on none (0%) while Gore and Nader agreed on 6 out of the 14 issues (42.85%).

For the three candidates' positions of those issues, see Appendix A, on page 26.

Assumption Number 3

Florida's Palm Beach County's "butterfly ballot" was unclear and caused confusion among some voters who intended to vote for Gore, but voted for Buchanan by mistake.

This assumption is supported by The Florida Palm Beach County's "butterfly ballot" not being clear to many. That confusion was written about in many news articles at the time and since.

That Florida county was a solid Democratic area, shown by Gore's 269,732 votes to Bush's 152,951 votes. The 3,411 votes for Buchanan in that county gave him a .79 percent of that County's vote, a 272% increase from .29% of the statewide Florida vote he received.

Buchanan himself agreed a short time after that election that the "butterfly ballot" "was confusing and that he received more votes for president there than he should have.

Assumption 4

The numbers of votes in Section IV are correct.

The vote numbers in Section IV were sourced from the Federal Election Commission PDF online, "2000 Presidential General Election Results," fec.gov.[7]

Florida's Palm Beach County votes are shown in two different charts in Appendix G, one for Certified Results from the Recount on Nov. 14, 2000, and those marked Nov. 7, 2000, on the Florida Department of State website.

Assumption 5

The politics of Buchanan were closer to that of Bush than Gore.

[7] Accessed Aug. 24, 2020. These numbers do not include the partial count from Florida. It was partial because the US Supreme Court stopped the recount before it was completed.

Because Buchanan's policies were closer to Bush than to those of Gore, those who wanted to vote for Bush in Florida's Palm Beach county should not have been confused in voting for Bush because that part of the butterfly ballot was straightforward, while those who wanted to vote for Buchanan faced the confusing part of that ballot (Appendix B, on page 28).

The similarities of policies between Buchanan and Bush v. Gore are in Appendix C, on page 29.

IV. Official Votes of the 2000 US Presidential Election[8]

1. ALABAMA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (248,562 votes), reallocating Nader's 18,323 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Alabama.

Candidate	Party[9]	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	941,173	56.48
Gore, Al	D	692,611	41.57
Nader, Ralph	I	18,323	1.10
Buchanan, Pat	I	6,351	0.38
Browne, Harry	LBT	5,893	0.35
Phillips, Howard	I	775	0.05
Scattered	W	699	0.04
Hagelin, John	I	447	0.03
Total Alabama Votes:		**1,666,272**	

2. ALASKA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (88,394 votes), reallocating Nader's 28,747 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Alaska.

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	167,398	58.62
Gore, Al	D	79,004	27.67
Nader, Ralph	GRN	28,747	10.07
Buchanan, Pat	REF	5,192	1.82
Browne, Harry	LBT	2,636	0.92
Scattered	W	1,068	0.37
Hagelin, John	NL	919	0.32
Phillips, Howard	CON	596	0.21
Total Alaska Votes:		**285,560**	

3. ARIZONA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (96,311 votes), reallocating Nader's 45,645 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Arizona.

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent

[8] Federal Election Commission, "2000 Presidential General Election Results," fec.gov, PDF, last updated Dec. 2001.
[9] For an Explanation of Party Label Abbreviations, see Appendix F: Explanation of Party Label Abbreviations, on page 37.

Bush, George W.	R	781,652	51.02
Gore, Al	D	685,341	44.73
Nader, Ralph	GRN	45,645	2.98
Buchanan, Pat	REF	12,373	0.81
Smith, L. Neil	LBT	5,775	0.38
Hagelin, John	NL	1,120	0.07
Phillips, Howard	W	110	0.01
Total Arizona Votes:		**1,532,016**	

4. ARKANSAS – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (50,172 votes), reallocating Nader's 13,421 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Arkansas

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	472,940	51.31
Gore, Al	D	422,768	45.86
Nader, Ralph	GRA	13,421	1.46
Buchanan, Pat	REF	7,358	0.80
Browne, Harry	LBT	2,781	0.30
Phillips, Howard	CST	1,415	0.15
Hagelin, Dr. John	NL	1,098	0.12
Total Arkansas Votes:		**921,781**	

5. CALIFORNIA – Gore won California regardless of Nader running[10]

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	5,861,203	53.45
Bush, George W.	R	4,567,429	41.65
Nader, Ralph	GRN	418,707	3.82
Browne, Harry	LBT	45,520	0.42
Buchanan, Patrick J.	REF	44,987	0.41
Phillips, Howard	AIP	17,042	0.16
Hagelin, John	NL	10,934	0.10
McReynolds, David	W	28	0.00
Kenyon, Rev. William M., Sr.	W	6	0.00
Total California Votes:		**10,965,856**	

6. COLORADO – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (145,521 votes), reallocating Nader's 91,434 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Colorado

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	883,748	50.75
Gore, Al	D	738,227	42.39
Nader, Ralph	GRN	91,434	5.25
Browne, Harry	LBT	12,799	0.73
Buchanan, Pat	FRE	10,465	0.60
Hagelin, John	NL	2,240	0.13
Phillips, Howard	AMC	1,319	0.08
McReynolds, David	SOC	712	0.04

[10] In the states where he received votes, Nader likely took more votes from Gore than from Bush given that Nader's politics are more closely aligned with Gore's than with Bush's. See Appendix A: Bush, Gore and Nader Comparison of Candidate Positions on Popular Issues at the Time, on page 26.

Harris, James	SWC	216	0.01
Dodge, Earl F.	P	208	0.01
Total Colorado Votes:		**1,741,368**	

7. CONNECTICUT – Gore won Connecticut regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	816,015	55.91
Bush, George W.	R	561,094	38.44
Nader, Ralph	GRN	64,452	4.42
Phillips, Howard	CNC	9,695	0.66
Buchanan, Pat	REF	4,731	0.32
Browne, Harry	LBT	3,484	0.24
Hagelin, John	W	40	0.00
Reicher, David	W	4	0.00
Harris, James E.	W	4	0.00
Huber, Keith Sherman	W	3	0.00
Strickland, Gloria Dawn	W	2	0.00
Pettway, Sylvester J.	W	1	0.00
Total Connecticut Votes:		**1,459,525**	

8. DELAWARE – Gore won Delaware regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	180,068	54.96
Bush, George W.	R	137,288	41.90
Nader, Ralph	GRN	8,307	2.54
Buchanan, Pat	REF	777	.24
Browne, Harry	LBT	774	.24
Phillips, Howard	CON	208	.06
Hagelin, John	NL	107	.03
Scattered	W	93	.03
Total Delaware Votes:		**327,622**	

9. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA – Gore won DC regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	171,923	85.16
Bush, George W.	R	18,073	8.95
Nader, Ralph	DCG	10,576	5.24
Browne, Harry	LBT	669	0.33
Scattered	W	539	0.27
Harris, James	SWP	114	0.06
Total DC Votes:		**201,894**	

10. FLORIDA[11] – Bush won by 537 votes, less of a margin than the 97,488 votes for Nader.

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent

[11] We used the numbers from the Federal Election Commission PDF, "2000 Presidential General Election Results," fec.gov. The final certified results in Florida didn't change any voting totals that would have affected this paper's analysis or conclusions, see Appendix B: The Palm Beach County Butterfly Ballot, on page 28.

Bush, George W.	R	2,912,790	48.85
Gore, Al	D	2,912,253	48.84
Nader, Ralph	GPF	97,488	1.63
Buchanan, Pat	REF	17,484	0.29
Browne, Harry	LBF	16,415	0.28
Hagelin, John	NLF	2,281	0.04
Moorehead, Monica	WW	1,804	0.03
Phillips, Howard	CPF	1,371	0.02
McReynolds, David	SFL	622	0.01
Harris, James	FSW	562	0.01
Chote, May	W	34	0.00
McCarthy, Ken. C.	W	6	0.00
Total Florida Votes:		**5,963,110**	

11. GEORGIA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (303,490 votes), reallocating Nader's 13,432 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Georgia

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George	R	1,419,720	54.67
Gore, Al	D	1,116,230	42.98
Browne, Harry	LBT	36,332	1.40
Nader, Ralph	W	13,432	0.52
Buchanan, Pat	I	10,926	0.42
Phillips, Howard	W	140	0.00
Harris, James	W	11	0.00
Strickland, Gloria Dawn	W	8	0.00
Schriner, Joe	W	5	0.00
Total Georgia Votes:		**2,596,804**	

12. HAWAII – Gore won Hawaii regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Albert	D	205,286	55.79
Bush, George W.	R	137,845	37.46
Nader, Ralph	HGR	21,623	5.88
Browne, Harry	LBT	1,477	0.40
Buchanan, Pat	REF	1,071	0.29
Phillips, Howard	CON	343	0.09
Hagelin, John	NL	306	0.08
Total Hawaii Votes:		**367,951**	

13. IDAHO – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (198,300 votes), reallocating Nader's 12,292 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Idaho

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	336,937	67.17
Gore, Al	D	138,637	27.64
Nader, Ralph	W	12,292	2.45
Buchanan, Pat	REF	7,615	1.52
Browne, Harry	LBT	3,488	0.70
Phillips, Howard	CON	1,469	0.29
Hagelin, John	NL	1,177	0.23
Schriner, Joe	W	4	0.00
Daigneau, Gerald	W	1	0.00
Msmere, Merepeace	W	1	0.00

Total Idaho Votes:		**501,621**	

14. ILLINOIS – Gore won Illinois regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	2,589,026	54.60
Bush, George W.	R	2,019,421	42.58
Nader, Ralph	GRN	103,759	2.19
Buchanan, Pat	I	16,106	0.34
Browne, Harry	LBT	11,623	0.24
Hagelin, John	REF	2,127	0.04
Phillips, Howard	W	57	0.00
McReynolds, David	W	4	0.00
Total Illinois Votes:		**4,742,123**	

15. INDIANA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (343,856 votes), reallocating Nader's 18,531 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Indiana

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	1,245,836	56.65
Gore, Al	D	901,980	41.01
Nader, Ralph	W	18,531	0.84
Buchanan, Pat	I	16,959	0.77
Browne, Harry	LBT	15,530	0.71
Phillips, Howard	W	200	0.00
Hagelin, John	W	167	0.00
McReynolds, David	W	43	0.00
Schriner, Joe	W	24	0.00
Judd, Keith Russell	W	15	0.00
Birchler, David Harold	W	8	0.00
Easton, Earnest Lee	W	5	0.00
Strickland, Gloria Dawn	W	4	0.00
Total Indiana Votes:		**2,199,302**	

16. IOWA – Gore won Iowa regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	638,517	48.54
Bush, George W.	R	634,373	48.22
Nader, Ralph	IG	29,374	2.23
Buchanan, Pat	REF	5,731	0.44
Browne, Harry	LBT-IA	3,209	0.24
Hagelin, John	N	2,281	0.17
Scattered	W	1,168	0.09
Phillips, Howard	CON	613	0.05
Harris, James	SWP	190	0.01
McReynolds, David	SOC	107	0.01
Total Iowa Votes:		**1,315,563**	

17. KANSAS – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (223,056 votes), reallocating Nader's 36,086 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Kansas

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	622,332	58.04
Gore, Al	D	399,276	37.24
Nader, Ralph	I	36,086	3.36
Buchanan, Pat	REF	7,370	0.69
Browne, Harry	LBT	4,525	0.42
Hagelin, John	I	1,375	0.13
Phillips, Howard	CON	1,254	0.12
Total Kansas Votes:		**1,072,218**	

18. KENTUCKY – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (233,594 votes), reallocating Nader's 23,192 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Kentucky

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	872,492	56.50
Gore, Al	D	638,898	41.37
Nader, Ralph	GRN	23,192	1.50
Buchanan, Pat	REF	4,173	0.27
Browne, Harry	LBT	2,896	0.19
Hagelin, John	NL	1,533	0.10
Phillips, Howard	CON	923	0.06
Strickland, Gloria Dawn	W	80	0.00
Total Kentucky Votes:		**1,544,187**	

19. LOUISIANA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (135,527 votes), reallocating Nader's 20,473 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Louisiana

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	927,871	52.55
Gore, Al	D	792,344	44.88
Nader, Ralph	GRN	20,473	1.16
Buchanan, Pat	REF	14,356	0.81
Phillips, Howard	CON	5,483	0.31
Browne, Harry	LBT	2,951	0.17
Harris, James	SWP	1,103	0.06
Hagelin, John	NL	1,075	0.06
Total Louisiana Votes:		**1,765,656**	

20. MAINE – Gore won Maine regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	319,951	49.09
Bush, George W.	R	286,616	43.97
Nader, Ralph	GI	37,127	5.70
Buchanan, Pat	REF	4,443	0.68
Browne, Harry	LBT	3,074	0.47
Phillips, Howard	CON	579	0.09
Scattered	W	27	0.00
Total Maine Votes:		**651,817**	

21. MARYLAND – Gore won Maryland regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent

Gore, Al	D	1,145,782	56.57
Bush, George W.	R	813,797	40.18
Nader, Ralph	GRN	53,768	2.65
Browne, Harry	LBT	5,310	0.26
Buchanan, Pat	REF	4,248	0.21
Scattered	W	1,462	0.07
Phillips, Howard	CON	919	0.04
Hagelin, John	W	176	0.01
Miller, Rachelle OneFamily	W	3	0.00
Officewala, Raj Alison	W	3	0.00
Schriner, Joe	W	3	0.00
Crawford, Alonzo	W	2	0.00
Peters, Jeffrey	W	2	0.00
Brown, Mike K.	W	1	0.00
Easton, Earnest Lee	W	1	0.00
LaBelle, Forrest C.	W	1	0.00
Pearlman, Daniel J.	W	1	0.00
Strickland, Gloria Dawn	W	1	0.00
Total Maryland Votes:		**2,025,480**	

22. MASSACHUSETTS – Gore won Massachusetts regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	1,616,487	59.80
Bush, George W.	R	878,502	32.50
Nader, Ralph	GRM	173,564	6.42
Browne, Harry	LBT	16,366	0.60
Buchanan, Pat	REF	11,149	0.41
Scattered	W	3,990	0.15
Hagelin, John	U	2,884	0.11
McReynolds, David	W	42	0.00
Total Massachusetts Votes:		**2,702,984**	

23. MICHIGAN – Gore won Michigan regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	2,170,418	51.28
Bush, George	R	1,953,139	46.15
Nader, Ralph	GRN	84,165	1.99
Browne, Harry	LBT	16,711	0.39
Phillips, Howard	UST	3,791	0.09
Hagelin, John	NL	2,426	0.06
Buchanan, Patrick	W	1,851	0.04
Total Michigan Votes:		**4,232,501**	

24. MINNESOTA – Gore won Minnesota regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	DFL	1,168,266	47.90
Bush, George W.	R	1,109,659	45.50
Nader, Ralph	GRN	126,696	5.20
Buchanan, Pat	RFM	22,166	0.91
Browne, Harry	LBT	5,282	0.22
Phillips, Howard	CON	3,272	0.13

Hagelin, John	REF	2,294	0.09
Harris, James	SWP	1,022	0.04
Marcus, Eddie Bernard	W	17	0.00
Mooney, Beatrice J.	W	7	0.00
Strickland, Gloria Dawn	W	4	0.00
Total Minnesota Votes:		**2,438,685**	

25. MISSISSIPPI – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (168,230 votes), reallocating Nader's 8,122 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Mississippi

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	572,844	57.62
Gore, Al	D	404,614	40.70
Nader, Ralph	I	8,122	0.82
Phillips, Howard	CON	3,267	0.33
Buchanan, Pat	REF	2,265	0.23
Browne, Harry	LBT	2,009	0.20
Harris, James	I	613	0.06
Hagelin, John	NL	450	0.04
Total Mississippi Votes:		**994,184**	

26. MISSOURI – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (78,786 votes), reallocating Nader's 38,515 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Missouri

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	1,189,924	50.42
Gore, Al	D	1,111,138	47.08
Nader, Ralph	GRN	38,515	1.63
Buchanan, Pat	REF	9,818	0.42
Browne, Harry	LBT	7,436	0.32
Phillips, Howard	CON	1,957	0.08
Hagelin, John	NL	1,104	0.05
Total Missouri Votes:		**2,359,892**	

27. MONTANA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (103,052 votes), reallocating Nader's 24,437 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Montana

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George	R	240,178	58.44
Gore, Al	D	137,126	33.36
Nader, Ralph	GRN	24,437	5.94
Buchanan, Pat	REF	5,697	1.39
Browne, Harry	LBT	1,718	0.42
Phillips, Howard	CON	1,155	0.28
Hagelin, John	NL	675	0.16
Laible, Forrest C.	W	11	0.00
Total Montana Votes:		**410,997**	

28. NEBRASKA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (202,082 votes), reallocating Nader's 24,540 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't

have changed Bush's win in Nebraska

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	433,862	62.24
Gore, Al	D	231,780	33.25
Nader, Ralph	GRN	24,540	3.52
Buchanan, Pat	BP	3,646	0.52
Browne, Harry	LBT	2,245	0.32
Hagelin, John	NL	478	0.07
Phillips, Howard	BP	468	0.07
Total Nebraska Votes:		**697,019**	

29. NEVADA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (21,597 votes), reallocating Nader's 15,008 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Nevada

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	301,575	49.52
Gore, Al	D	279,978	45.98
Nader, Ralph	GRN	15,008	2.46
Buchanan, Pat	CF	4,747	0.78
None of These Candidates		3,315	0.54
Browne, Harry	LBT	3,311	0.54
Phillips, Howard	IAP	621	0.10
Hagelin, John	NL	415	0.07
Total Nevada Votes:		**608,970**	

30. NEW HAMPSHIRE – Bush won by 7,211 votes, less of a margin than the 22,198 votes for Nader.

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	273,559	48.07
Gore, Al	D	266,348	46.80
Nader, Ralph	GRN	22,198	3.90
Browne, Harry	LBT	2,757	0.48
Buchanan, Pat	IDP	2,615	0.46
McCain, John	W	775	0.14
Phillips, Howard	CON	328	0.06
Scattered	W	219	0.04
Hagelin, John	W	55	0.01
Keyes, Alan	W	50	0.01
Bradley, Bill	W	44	0.01
Ventura, Jesse	W	43	0.01
Forbes, Steve	W	26	0.00
Powell, Colin	W	26	0.00
Dole, Bob	W	13	0.00
Perot, Ross	W	9	0.00
Peters, Jeffrey	W	9	0.00
Daigneault, Gerald	W	7	0.00
Total New Hampshire Votes:		**569,081**	

31. NEW JERSEY – Gore won New Jersey regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	1,788,850	56.12

Bush, George W.	R	1,284,173	40.29
Nader, Ralph	I (GRN)	94,554	2.97
Buchanan, Pat	I (REF)	6,989	0.22
Browne, Harry	I (LBT)	6,312	0.20
Hagelin, John	I (I)	2,215	0.07
McReynolds, David	I (SOC)	1,880	0.06
Phillips, Howard	I (CON)	1,409	0.04
Harris, James	I (SWP)	844	0.03
Total New Jersey Votes:		**3,187,226**	

32. NEW MEXICO – Gore won New Mexico regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	286,783	47.91
Bush, George W.	R	286,417	47.85
Nader, Ralph	GRN	21,251	3.55
Browne, Harry	LBT	2,058	0.34
Buchanan, Pat	REF	1,392	0.23
Hagelin, John	NL	361	0.06
Phillips, Howard	CON	343	0.06
Total New Mexico Votes:		**598,605**	

33. NEW YORK – Gore won New York regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	4,107,697	60.21
Bush, George W.	R	2,403,374	35.23
Buchanan, Patrick J.	RTL/BR	31,599	0.46
Nader, Ralph	GRN	244,030	3.58
Hagelin, John	IDP	24,361	0.36
Browne, Harry	LBT	7,649	0.11
Harris, James E.	SWP	1,789	0.03
Phillips, Howard	CON	1,498	0.02
McReynolds, David	W	2	0
Total New York Votes:		**6,821,999**[12]	

34. NORTH CAROLINA – Nader was not on the ballot in North Carolina, and thus did not receive any votes that could have changed Bush winning the state

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	1,631,163	56.03
Gore, Al	D	1,257,692	43.20
Browne, Harry	LBT	12,307	.42
Buchanan, Pat	REF	8,874	.30
McReynolds, David	W	1,226	.04
Total North Carolina Votes:		**2,911,262**	

35. NORTH DAKOTA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (79,568 votes), reallocating Nader's 9,486 votes, even if they all went to

[12] From the source material: "* *138,216 Miscellaneous write-in, blank and void votes were compiled as one total in New York. This figure is not included in 'Total State Votes.'*"

Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in North Dakota

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	174,852	60.66
Gore, Al	DNL	95,284	33.06
Nader, Ralph	I	9,486	3.29
Buchanan, Pat	REF	7,288	2.53
Browne, Harry	I	660	0.23
Phillips, Howard	CON	373	0.13
Hagelin, John	I	313	0.11
Total North Dakota Votes:		**288,256**	

36. OHIO – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (165,019 votes), reallocating Nader's 117,857 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Ohio

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George	R	2,351,209	49.97
Gore, Al	D	2,186,190	46.46
Nader, Ralph	I	117,857	2.50
Buchanan, Pat	I	26,724	0.57
Browne, Harry	LBT	13,475	0.29
Hagelin, John	NL	6,169	0.13
Phillips, Howard	I	3,823	0.08
Harris, James	W	10	0.00
Total Ohio Votes:		**4,705,457**	

37. OKLAHOMA – Nader was not on the ballot in Oklahoma, and thus did not receive any votes that could have changed Bush winning the state

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	744,337	60.31
Gore, Al	D	474,276	38.43
Buchanan, Pat	REF	9,014	0.73
Browne, Harry	LBT	6,602	0.53
Total Oklahoma Votes:		**1,234,229**	

38. OREGON – Gore won Oregon regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	720,342	46.96
Bush, George W.	R	713,577	46.52
Nader, Ralph	PG	77,357	5.04
Browne, Harry	LBT	7,447	0.48
Buchanan, Patrick J.	I	7,063	0.46
Scattered	W	3,419	0.22
Hagelin, John	REF	2,574	0.17
Phillips, Howard	CON	2,189	0.14
Total Oregon Votes:		**1,533,968**	

39. PENNSYLVANIA – Gore won Pennsylvania regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	2,485,967	50.60
Bush, George W.	R	2,281,127	46.43
Nader, Ralph	GRN	103,392	2.10
Buchanan, Patrick J.	REF	16,023	0.33

Phillips, Howard	CON	14,428	0.29
Browne, Harry	LBT	11,248	0.23
Scattered	W	934	0.02
Total Pennsylvania Votes:		**4,913,119**	

40. RHODE ISLAND – Gore won Rhode Island regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	249,508	60.99
Bush, George W.	R	130,555	31.91
Nader, Ralph	GRN	25,052	6.12
Buchanan, Pat	REF	2,273	0.56
Browne, Harry	LBT	742	0.18
Scattered	W	329	0.08
Hagelin, John	NL	271	0.07
Moorehead, Monica	WW	199	0.05
Phillips, Howard	CON	97	0.02
McReynolds, David	SOC	52	0.01
Harris, James	SWP	34	0.01
Total Rhode Island Votes:		**409,112**	

41. SOUTH CAROLINA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (220,376 votes), reallocating Nader's 20,200 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in South Carolina

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	785,937	56.84
Gore, Al	D	565,561	40.90
Nader, Ralph	UC	20,200	1.46
Browne, Harry	LBT	4,876	0.35
Buchanan, Patrick	REF	3,519	0.25
Phillips, Howard	CON	1,682	0.12
Hagelin, John	NL	942	0.07
Total South Carolina Votes:		**1,382,717**	

42. SOUTH DAKOTA – Nader was not on the ballot in South Dakota, and thus did not receive any votes that could have changed Bush winning the state

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	190,700	60.30
Gore, Al	D	118,804	37.56
Buchanan, Pat	REF	3,322	1.05
Phillips, Howard	I	1,781	0.56
Browne, Harry	LBT	1,662	0.52
Total South Dakota Votes:		**316,269**	

43. TENNESSEE – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (80,229 votes), reallocating Nader's 19,781 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Tennessee

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	1,061,949	51.15

Gore, Al	D	981,720	47.28
Nader, Ralph	I (GRN)	19,781	0.95
Browne, Harry	I (LBT)	4,284	0.21
Buchanan, Patrick J.	I (REF)	4,250	0.20
Brown, Cathy Gordon	I	1,606	0.08
Phillips, Howard	I	1,015	0.05
Hagelin, John	I (REF)	613	0.03
Venson, Randall	I	535	0.02
Scattered	W	428	0.02
Total Tennessee Votes:		**2,076,181**	

44. TEXAS – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (1,365,893 votes), reallocating Nader's 137,994 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Texas

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	3,799,639	59.30
Gore, Al	D	2,433,746	37.98
Nader, Ralph	GRN	137,994	2.15
Browne, Harry	LBT	23,160	0.36
Buchanan, Pat	I	12,394	0.19
Phillips, Howard	W	567	0.01
Wright, James "Jim"	W	74	0.00
McReynolds, David	W	63	0.00
Total Texas Votes:		**6,407,637**	

45. UTAH – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (312,043 votes), reallocating Nader's 35,850 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Utah

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	515,096	66.83
Gore, Al	D	203,053	26.34
Nader, Ralph	GRN	35,850	4.65
Buchanan, Pat	REF	9,319	1.21
Browne, Harry	LBT	3,616	0.47
Phillips, Howard	IAP	2,709	0.35
Hagelin, John	NL	763	0.10
Harris, James	SWP	186	0.02
Youngkeit, Louie G.	UN	161	0.02
Kunzler, Keith Lewis	W	1	0.00
Total Utah Votes:		**770,754**	

46. VERMONT – Gore won Vermont regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	149,022	50.63
Bush, George W.	R	119,775	40.70
Nader, Ralph	PRO/GRN	20,374	6.92
Buchanan, Pat	REF	2,192	0.74
Lane, Denny	GRT-VT	1,044	0.35
Browne, Harry	LBT	784	0.27
Scattered	W	514	0.17
Hagelin, John	NL	219	0.07
McReynolds, David	LU	161	0.05
Phillips, Howard	CON	153	0.05

Harris, James E.	SWP	70	0.02
Total Vermont Votes:		**294,308**	

47. VIRGINIA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (220,200 votes), reallocating Nader's 59,398 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Virginia

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	1,437,490	52.47
Gore, Al	D	1,217,290	44.44
Nader, Ralph	GRN	59,398	2.17
Browne, Harry	LBT	15,198	0.55
Buchanan, Pat	REF	5,455	0.20
Scattered	W	2,636	0.10
Phillips, Howard	CON	1,809	0.07
Hagelin, John	W	171	.01
Total Virginia Votes:		**2,739,447**	

48. WASHINGTON – Gore won Washington regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Gore, Al	D	1,247,652	50.16
Bush, George W.	R	1,108,864	44.58
Nader, Ralph	GRN	103,002	4.14
Browne, Harry	LBT	13,135	0.53
Buchanan, Patrick	FRE	7,171	0.29
Hagelin, John	NL	2,927	0.12
Phillips, Howard	CON	1,989	0.08
Moorehead, Monica	WW	1,729	0.07
McReynolds, David	SOC	660	0.03
Harris, James E.	SWP	304	0.01
Total Washington Votes:		**2,487,433**	

49. WEST VIRGINIA – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (40,978 votes), reallocating Nader's 10,680 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in West Virginia

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	336,475	51.92
Gore, Al	D	295,497	45.59
Nader, Ralph	GRN	10,680	1.65
Buchanan, Pat	REF	3,169	0.49
Browne, Harry	LBT	1,912	0.30
Hagelin, John	NL	367	0.06
Phillips, Howard	W	23	0.00
Strickland, Gloria Dawn	W	1	0.00
Total West Virginia Votes:		**648,124**	

50. WISCONSIN – Gore won Wisconsin regardless of Nader running

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent

Gore, Al	D	1,242,987	47.83
Bush, George W.	R	1,237,279	47.61
Nader, Ralph	WG	94,070	3.62
Buchanan, Pat	I	11,471	0.44
Browne, Harry	LBT	6,640	0.26
Phillips, Howard	CON	2,042	0.08
Scattered	W	1,896	0.07
Moorehead, Monica G.	I	1,063	0.04
Hagelin, John	I	853	0.03
Harris, James	I	306	0.01
Total Wisconsin Votes:		**2,598,607**	

51. WYOMING – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (87,466 votes), reallocating Nader's 4,625 votes, even if they all went to Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Wyoming

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	147,947	67.76
Gore, Al	D	60,481	27.70
Nader, Ralph	W	4,625	2.12
Buchanan, Pat	REF	2,724	1.25
Browne, Harry	LBT	1,443	0.66
Phillips, Howard	I	720	0.33
Hagelin, John	NL	411	0.19
Total Wyoming Votes:		**218,351**	

V. Probable Election Outcome Without the Nader Candidacy and/or the Florida West Palm Beach County Butterfly Ballot

A. Nader & the Florida Vote

Analysis: In the 2000 presidential election, of the 5,963,110 votes cast in Florida, Bush received 2,912,790, and Gore 2,912,253 votes, giving Bush a 537 vote margin of victory (2,912,790 less 2,912,253). Nader received 97,448 votes.

	Party	# votes	% votes
Bush, George W.	R	2,912,790	48.85
Gore, Al	D	2,912,253	48.84
Nader, Ralph	GPF	97,488	1.63
Other		40,579	.68
Total Florida Votes:		**5,963,110**	**100**

If Nader had not run in the election, and if all the votes the other candidates received would have stayed the same, more votes for Nader would likely have gone to Gore than to Bush because Nader was closer to Gore politically than to Bush.[13]

Conclusion: Therefore, if Nader had not run, and looking at how close Nader was to Gore politically, Gore would have probably received at least 51%[14] of the 97,448 votes Nader received, and in doing so, Gore would have picked up (at least) a net 1,948 votes[15] giving Gore at least 2,914,202 Florida votes, 1,412 more votes than Bush, a win in Florida and a win of the presidency.

Because of the number of electoral votes in Florida, that would have given Gore the electoral college win along with the popular vote win he did get.

[13] See Appendix A: Bush, Gore and Nader Comparison of Candidate Positions on Popular Issues at the Time, on page 26.
[14] Based on Appendix A:
Gore would have received at least 51% of the Nader votes.
[15] 1,948 = [97,448 x 51% = 49, 698] less [97,448 x 49% = 47,750].

B. Buchanan & the Florida Palm Beach County Butterfly Ballot

Analysis: In the 2000 presidential election, Bush won Florida by 537 votes (2,912,790 less 2,912,253); and Buchanan finished fourth with 17,484 votes or .29% of the vote.[16]

A. State of Florida Vote

	Party	# votes	% votes
Bush, George W.	R	2,912,790	48.85
Gore, Al	D	2,912,253	48.84
Buchanan, Pat	REF	17,484	.29
Other		120,583	2.02
Total Florida Votes:		**5,963,110**	**100**

B. Florida's Palm Beach County Votes

Palm Beach County recorded the following votes:[17]

In Palm Beach County, Florida, Buchanan received 3,411 of the county's 433,186 votes, or .79% of the County vote.

	Party	# votes	% votes
Bush, George W.	R	152,951	35.31
Gore, Al	D	269,732	62.27
Buchanan, Pat	REF	3,411[18]	.79
Other		7,092	1.63
Total Palm Beach County Votes:		**433,186**	**100**

Palm Beach County was the only Florida county using the "butterfly ballot," and that ballot, according to many media accounts, caused confusion[19] among some voters trying to vote for Gore, but mistakenly voting for Buchanan.

[16] See Florida chart in Section IV. #10, on page 8.
[17] Results At Nov. 7, 2000. Results from the download data page from Florida Department of State website, "November 7, 2000 General Election," results.elections.myflorida.com, accessed Aug. 14, 2020.
[18] This number was also unofficially 3,407, which comes from votes "received in the initial, uncertified count of PBC ballots." Source: "The Butterfly Did It: The Aberrant Vote for Buchanan in Palm Beach County, Florida," American Political Science Review, Vol. 95, No. 4, December 2001.
[19] See a picture of that ballot in Appendix B: The Palm Beach County Butterfly Ballot, on page 28.

That ballot listed candidate names on both sides of the page, with punch holes in the middle. Bush's name was listed first, and the first punch hole corresponded to his name. Gore's name was listed second, but the third punch hole needed to be selected to cast a vote for him. Selecting the second hole resulted in a vote for Buchanan.

According to the ACLU, no other Florida county used a "butterfly ballot" design; the other Florida counties that used voting machines similar to Palm Beach County all listed the candidates vertically on one page.[20]

More than 29,000 ballots in Palm Beach County (4% of the votes cast in that county) were discarded because either no presidential candidate or more than one candidate was selected. The number of double votes was more than four times the historical average for similar punch card voting machines.[21]

Democratic Party lawyers gathered 13,000 affidavits, sworn complaints, and other communication from Palm Beach County voters alleging confusion over the "butterfly ballot" or other errors such as misaligned punch holes.[22]

Given that Buchanan received .29% of the Florida state vote, but .79% of the Palm Beach County votes, Buchanan's Palm Beach County vote was 272% higher than his .29% of the state vote. (.79% is 272% of .29)

That 272% increase in the percentage of votes for Buchanan in Palm Beach County was odd, given that Palm Beach County was a solid Democratic area as shown by the fact that Gore received 269,732 of the County's 433,186 votes (62.27%) with Bush winning just 152,951 votes (35.31%).[23]

When the difficulty of voting for Gore in the "butterfly ballot" became known, on Nov. 9, 2000, Bush spokesman Ari Fleischer said, justifying the increased percentage for Buchanan: "'Palm Beach County is a Pat Buchanan stronghold and that's why Pat Buchanan received 3,407 votes there.'"[24]

However, Fleischer's statement was undercut by the overwhelming majority of votes Gore received over Bush in that county.[25]

"[Buchanan's Florida coordinator, Jim] McConnell says he and Jim Cunningham, chairman of the executive committee of Palm Beach County's (and Buchanan's) Reform Party, estimate the number of Buchanan activists in the [Palm Beach] county to be between 300 and 500 – nowhere near the 3,407 who voted for him."[26]

[20] ACLU, Brief Amicus Curiae of American Civil Liberties Union in Support of Appellants in *Fladell v. Palm Beach County Canvassing Board*, available at election2000.law.stanford.edu, November 2000.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ronald Brownstein, "Bush Holds Slim Lead; Gore Prepares for Further Court Action," latimes.com, Nov. 26, 2000.
[23] See Appendix G: Florida's Palm Beach County Votes, on page 39.
[24] Jake Tapper, "Buchanan camp: Bush claims are 'nonsense'," salon.com, Nov. 10, 2000.
[25] See Appendix G: Florida's Palm Beach County Votes, on page 39.
[26] Jake Tapper, "Buchanan camp: Bush claims are 'nonsense'," salon.com, Nov. 10, 2000.

Appearing on The Today Show [NBC, Nov. 9, 2000, two days after the election], Buchanan said: "When I took one look at that ballot on Election Night...it's very…easy for me to see how someone could have voted for me in the belief they voted for Al Gore."[27]

Given that the policies of Buchanan were closer to those of Bush than Gore, and given it was clear how to vote for Bush, the mistaken votes for Buchanan should have gone to Gore.

Conclusion: The "butterfly ballot" caused some votes intended for Gore to go to Buchanan. If even 20% of the 3,411 votes for Buchanan (682 votes) were meant for Gore, and the balance remained Buchanan votes, Gore would have had 2,912,935 votes (2,912,253 + 682) votes more than Bush, and Gore would have won Florida by 145 votes (2,912,935 less 2,912,790) and won the election.

[27] "(11/09) Patrick J. Buchanan," The American Presidency Project, presidency.ucsb.edu, Nov. 9, 2000.

C. Nader & the New Hampshire Vote

Analysis: In New Hampshire, Bush received 273,559 votes, Gore 266,348, and Nader 22,198 votes. Therefore, Bush received 7,211 more New Hampshire votes than Gore (273,559 less 266,348).

	Party	# votes	% votes
Bush, George W.	R	273,559	48.07
Gore, Al	D	266,348	46.80
Nader, Ralph	GRN	22,198	3.90
Other		6,976	1.23
Total New Hampshire Votes:		**569,081**	**100**

If Nader had not run, more of Nader's votes would have gone to Gore than to Bush because Gore was closer politically to Nader than to Bush.[28]

If Nader would not have run, if all other candidate vote totals remained the same, except the dispersal of Nader's 22,198 votes, Gore would have needed 67% of Nader's 22,198 votes (67% X 22,198 = 7,547) to win the state, an increase of 7,547 Nader votes[29] would have given Gore 273,895 votes (266,348 + 7,547), and a win in New Hampshire and the presidential election.

Conclusion: Although Appendix A shows why Gore should have received more of Nader's votes than Bush, had Nader not run, there is no probable support for the minimum 67% of Nader's votes needed by Gore to win New Hampshire. Therefore, it's unclear if Nader hadn't run, whether or not Gore would have won New Hampshire and the presidential election.

[28] See Appendix A: Bush, Gore and Nader Comparison of Candidate Positions on Popular Issues at the Time, on page 26.
[29] 67% of Nader's 22,198 New Hampshire votes is 14,873; 33% of 22,198 Nader votes is 7,326 votes for Bush; **14,873 less 7,726 = 7,547.**

Appendix A: Bush, Gore and Nader Comparison of Candidate Positions on Popular Issues at the Time

The following chart shows that Bush didn't agree with Nader on any of the issues below; Gore and Nader agreed on 6 of the 14 issues, or 42.85% of them.

A. Issue	B. Bush	C. Gore	D. Nader
1. Abortion Should abortion be legal?	Con	Pro	Pro
2. Affirmative Action: Should affirmative action be used in employment and education?	Con	Pro	Pro
3. Cuba Embargo: Should the US maintain its embargo on Cuba?	Pro	Pro	Con
4. Death Penalty: Should the death penalty be allowed?	Pro	Pro	Con
5. Education: Should federal funding be linked to standardized test results?	Pro	Pro	Con
6. Health Care: Should the US adopt a single-payer health care system?	Con	Con	Pro
7. Environment: Should the US allow drilling for oil in the Artic National Wildlife Refuge(ANWR)?	Pro	Con	Con
8. Environment: Should the US sign the Kyoto Protocol (an international agreement to reduce emissions)?	Con	Pro	Pro
9. Gay Marriage: Should gay marriage be legal?	Con	Con	Pro
10. Medical Marijuana: Should marijuana be a medical option?	Con	Con	Pro
11. Military: Should the US military budget be increased?	Pro	Pro	Con

A. Issue	B. Bush	C. Gore	D. Nader
12. Social Security: Should Social Security be privatized?	Pro	Con	Con
13. NAFTA: Is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) good for the US?	Pro	Pro	Con
14. Taxes: Should the estate tax be eliminated completely?	Pro	Con	Con

Appendix B: The Palm Beach County Butterfly Ballot

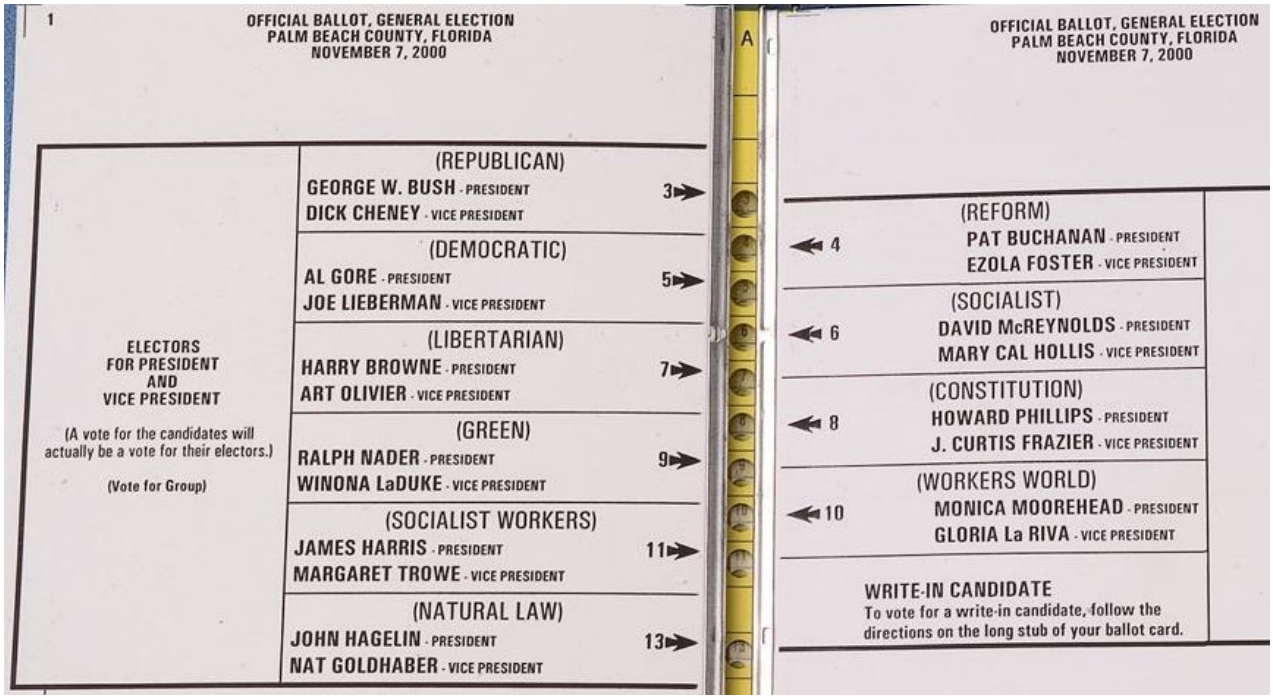

Image source: "VOTE: The Machinery of Democracy," Smithsonian National Museum of American History, 2004

Appendix C: Bush, Gore and Buchanan Comparison of Candidate Positions on Popular Issues at the Time

The following chart shows that Bush agreed with Buchanan on 9 of the 14 issues, or 64.29% of them; Gore and Buchanan agreed on 5 of the 14 issues, or 35.71% of them.

A. Issue	B. Bush	C. Gore	D. Buchanan
1. Abortion Should abortion be legal?	Con	Pro	Con[30]
2. Affirmative Action: Should affirmative action be used in employment and education?	Con	Pro	Con[31]
3. Cuba Embargo: Should the US maintain its embargo on Cuba?	Pro	Pro	Con[32]
4. Death Penalty: Should the death penalty be allowed?	Pro	Pro	Pro[33]
5. Education: Should federal funding be linked to standardized test results?	Pro	Pro	Con[34]
6. Health Care: Should the US adopt a single-payer health care system?	Con	Con	Con[35]
7. Environment: Should the US allow drilling for oil in the Artic National Wildlife Refuge(ANWR)?	Pro	Con	Pro[36]

[30] "The unborn have rights; defund the abortion industry. (Dec 1999)," ontheissues.org, accessed Aug. 16, 2020.
[31] "End racial busing, quotas, & contract set-asides," (Excerpt from: Buchanan for President site, Jul 2, 1999) ontheissues.org, accessed Aug. 16, 2020.
[32] "Cuba: Siege mentality is pillar of power; end embargo," (Excerpt from NY Times, p. A22, on 2000 election, Dec 17, 1999) ontheissues.org, accessed Aug. 16, 2020.
[33] "Prompt death penalty would stop mass murderers. (Nov 1999)," ontheissues.org, accessed Aug. 15, 2020.
[34] "Education -- He wants to eliminate the Department of Education and allow school prayer. He is against national testing, bilingual education and multicultural curriculum." Article, "Presidential candidates: Where they stand," csulb.edu, Nov. 7, 2000.
[35] "Against national health system & federal takeover. (Nov 1999)," ontheissues.org, accessed Aug. 15, 2020.
[36] "[Buchanan] called for exploratory drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska,…" - Carla Marinucci, John Wildermuth, "Buchanan Says US Must Respond to Oil `Conspiracy' / In San Francisco, he calls for end to foreign aid," sfgate.com, March 24, 2000.

A. Issue	B. Bush	C. Gore	D. Buchanan
8. Environment: Should the US sign the Kyoto Protocol (an international agreement to reduce emissions)?	Con	Pro	Con[37]
9. Gay Marriage: Should gay marriage be legal?	Con	Con	Con[38]
10. Medical Marijuana: Should marijuana be a medical option?	Con	Con	Pro[39]
11. Military: Should the US military budget be increased?	Pro	Pro	Pro[40]
12. Social Security: Should Social Security be privatized?	Pro	Con	Pro[41]
13. NAFTA: Is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) good for the US?	Pro	Pro	Con[42]
14. Taxes: Should the estate tax be eliminated completely?	Pro	Con	Con[43]

[37] "[Buchanan] vigorously opposes international environmental treaties, such as the Kyoto Protocol on Global Warming, which calls for limits on emissions of industrial pollutants." Article "Buchanan, Nader opposites on environment," post-gazette.com, Sept. 24 2000.
[38] "Vermont civil unions are 'absurd'," (From: Source: Nader-Buchanan debate on 'Meet the Press', Oct 1, 2000) ontheissues.org, accessed Aug. 16, 2020.
[39] "'July 29, 1995: In an interview with the editors of the Charlotte Observer, Pat Buchanan says he favors measures that would allow doctors to prescribe marijuana for relief from certain conditions. 'If a doctor indicated to his patient that this was the only way to alleviate certain painful symptoms, I would defer to the doctor's judgment,' he says." stopthedrugwar.org, accessed Aug. 18, 2020.
[40] "Pay soldiers more; end 'social labs'; exit Balkans," (From: www.gopatgo2000.com/000-c-foreignpolicy.html 5/28/99 , May 28, 1999) ontheissues.org, Aug. 15, 2020.
[41] "Option for private investment, with public fall-back. (Nov 1999)," ontheissues.org, accessed Aug. 15, 2020.
[42] "Open Mexican border invites drug trafficking. (Sep 1999)," ontheissues.org, accessed Aug. 15, 2020.
[43] "Abolish inheritance taxes to keep businesses in the family. (Jul 1999)" – "Flat 16% tax on earnings over $35,000, plus import tariffs," ontheissues.org, accessed Aug. 15, 2020.

Appendix D: Percent of Buchanan Votes[44]

This chart shows lowest percent of votes to highest by state for Buchanan.

The District of Columbia did not show votes for Buchanan and is not listed on this chart.

	A. State	B. Votes	C. Percent	D. Total State Votes
1	**MICHIGAN**	1,851	0.04	4,232,501
2	**TEXAS**	12,394	0.19	6,407,637
3	**TENNESSEE**	4,250	0.2	2,076,181
4	**VIRGINIA**	5,455	0.2	2,739,447
5	**MARYLAND**	4,248	0.21	2,025,480
6	**NEW JERSEY**	6,989	0.22	3,187,226
7	**MISSISSIPPI**	2,265	0.23	994,184
8	**NEW MEXICO**	1,392	0.23	598,605
9	**DELAWARE**	777	0.24	327,622
10	**SOUTH CAROLINA**	3,519	0.25	1,382,717
11	**KENTUCKY**	4,173	0.27	1,544,187
12a	**FLORIDA** (total)	17,484	0.29	5,963,110
12b	**FLORIDA –** Palm Beach County Vote - Results on Nov. 7, 2000	3,411	0.79	433,186
13	**HAWAII**	1,071	0.29	367,951
14	**WASHINGTON**	7,171	0.29	2,487,433
15	**NORTH CAROLINA**	8,874	0.3	2,911,262

[44] Federal Election Commission, "2000 Official Presidential General Election Results," fec.gov, last updated Dec. 2001.

	A. State	B. Votes	C. Percent	D. Total State Votes
16	**CONNECTICUT**	4,731	0.32	1,459,525
17	**PENNSYLVANIA**	16,023	0.33	4,913,119
18	**ILLINOIS**	16,106	0.34	4,742,123
19	**ALABAMA**	6,351	0.38	1,666,272
20	**CALIFORNIA**	44,987	0.41	10,965,856
21	**MASSACHUSETTS**	11,149	0.41	2,702,984
22	**GEORGIA**	10,926	0.42	2,596,804
23	**MISSOURI**	9,818	0.42	2,359,892
24	**IOWA**	5,731	0.44	1,315,563
25	**WISCONSIN**	11,471	0.44	2,598,607
26	**NEW YORK**	31,599	0.45	6,960,215
27	**NEW HAMPSHIRE**	2,615	0.46	569,081
28	**OREGON**	7,063	0.46	1,533,968
29	**WEST VIRGINIA**	3,169	0.49	648,124
30	**NEBRASKA**	3,646	0.52	697,019
31	**RHODE ISLAND**	2,273	0.56	409,112
32	**OHIO**	26,724	0.57	4,705,457
33	**COLORADO**	10,465	0.6	1,741,368
34	**MAINE**	4,443	0.68	651,817
35	**KANSAS**	7,370	0.69	1,072,218
36	**OKLAHOMA**	9,014	0.73	1,234,229

	A. State	B. Votes	C. Percent	D. Total State Votes
37	**VERMONT**	2,192	0.74	294,308
38	**INDIANA**	16,959	0.77	2,199,302
39	**NEVADA**	4,747	0.78	608,970
41	**ARKANSAS**	7,358	0.8	921,781
42	**ARIZONA**	12,373	0.81	1,532,016
43	**LOUISIANA**	14,356	0.81	1,765,656
44	**MINNESOTA**	22,166	0.91	2,438,685
45	**SOUTH DAKOTA**	3,322	1.05	316,269
46	**UTAH**	9,319	1.21	770,754
47	**WYOMING**	2,724	1.25	218,351
48	**MONTANA**	5,697	1.39	410,997
49	**IDAHO**	7,615	1.52	501,621
50	**ALASKA**	5,192	1.82	285,560
51	**NORTH DAKOTA**	7,288	2.53	288,256
	Total	**452,306**	**0.43**	**105,774,608**

Appendix E: Percent of Bush Wins Over Gore; Electoral College Results

Chart is in order of highest percent of Bush votes to lowest in Column C. Includes Electoral College Results in Column G.[45]

		Bush		Gore			Bush	Gore
	A. State	B. Votes	C. Percent	D. Votes	E. Percent	F. Total State Votes	G. Electoral College Results	
1	**WYOMING**	147,947	67.76	60,481	27.7	218,351	3	0
2	**IDAHO**	336,937	67.17	138,637	27.64	501,621	4	0
3	**UTAH**	515,096	66.83	203,053	26.34	770,754	5	0
4	**NEBRASKA**	433,862	62.24	231,780	33.25	697,019	5	0
5	**NORTH DAKOTA**	174,852	60.66	95,284	33.06	288,256	3	0
6	**OKLAHOMA**	744,337	60.31	474,276	38.43	1,234,229	8	0
7	**SOUTH DAKOTA**	190,700	60.3	118,804	37.56	316,269	3	0
8	**TEXAS**	3,799,639	59.3	2,433,746	37.98	6,407,637	32	0
9	**ALASKA**	167,398	58.62	79,004	27.67	285,560	3	0
10	**MONTANA**	240,178	58.44	137,126	33.36	410,997	3	0
11	**KANSAS**	622,332	58.04	399,276	37.24	1,072,218	6	0
12	**MISSISSIPPI**	572,844	57.62	404,614	40.7	994,184	7	0
13	**SOUTH CAROLINA**	785,937	56.84	565,561	40.9	1,382,717	8	0
14	**INDIANA**	1,245,836	56.65	901,980	41.01	2,199,302	12	0
15	**KENTUCKY**	872,492	56.5	638,898	41.37	1,544,187	8	0

[45] "Presidential Election of 2000, Electoral and Popular Vote Summary," infoplease.com, accessed Nov. 2, 2020

		Bush		Gore			Bush	Gore
	A. State	B. Votes	C. Percent	D. Votes	E. Percent	F. Total State Votes	G. Electoral College Results	
16	**ALABAMA**	941,173	56.48	692,611	41.57	1,666,272	9	0
17	**NORTH CAROLINA**	1,631,163	56.03	1,257,692	43.2	2,911,262	14	0
18	**GEORGIA**	1,419,720	54.67	1,116,230	42.98	2,596,804	13	0
19	**LOUISIANA**	927,871	52.55	792,344	44.88	1,765,656	9	0
20	**VIRGINIA**	1,437,490	52.47	1,217,290	44.44	2,739,447	13	0
21	**WEST VIRGINIA**	336,475	51.92	295,497	45.59	648,124	5	0
22	**ARKANSAS**	472,940	51.31	422,768	45.86	921,781	6	0
23	**TENNESSEE**	1,061,949	51.15	981,720	47.28	2,076,181	11	0
24	**ARIZONA**	781,652	51.02	685,341	44.73	1,532,016	8	0
25	**COLORADO**	883,748	50.75	738,227	42.39	1,741,368	8	0
26	**MISSOURI**	1,189,924	50.42	1,111,138	47.08	2,359,892	11	0
27	**OHIO**	2,351,209	49.97	2,186,190	46.46	4,705,457	21	0
28	**NEVADA**	301,575	49.52	279,978	45.98	608,970	4	0
29 a	**FLORIDA**	2,912,790	48.85	2,912,253	48.84	5,963,110	25	0
29 b	**FLORIDA** – Palm Beach County Vote - Certified Results from the Recount	152,964	35.31	269,754	62.27	433,222	0	0
30	**IOWA**	634,373	48.22	638,517	48.54	1,315,563	0	7
31	**NEW HAMPSHIRE**	273,559	48.07	266,348	46.8	569,081	4	0
32	**NEW MEXICO**	286,417	47.85	286,783	47.91	598,605	0	5
33	**WISCONSIN**	1,237,279	47.61	1,242,987	47.83	2,598,607	0	11
34	**OREGON**	713,577	46.52	720,342	46.96	1,533,968	0	7

		Bush		Gore			Bush	Gore
	A. State	B. Votes	C. Percent	D. Votes	E. Percent	F. Total State Votes	G. Electoral College Results	
35	**PENNSYLVANIA**	2,281,127	46.43	2,485,967	50.6	4,913,119	0	23
36	**MICHIGAN**	1,953,139	46.15	2,170,418	51.28	4,232,501	0	18
37	**MINNESOTA**	1,109,659	45.5	1,168,266	47.9	2,438,685	0	10
38	**WASHINGTON**	1,108,864	44.58	1,247,652	50.16	2,487,433	0	11
39	**MAINE**	286,616	43.97	319,951	49.09	651,817	0	4
40	**ILLINOIS**	2,019,421	42.58	2,589,026	54.6	4,742,123	0	22
41	**DELAWARE**	137,288	41.9	180,068	54.96	327,622	0	3
42	**CALIFORNIA**	4,567,429	41.65	5,861,203	53.45	10,965,856	0	54
43	**VERMONT**	119,775	40.7	149,022	50.63	294,308	0	3
44	**NEW JERSEY**	1,284,173	40.29	1,788,850	56.12	3,187,226	0	15
45	**MARYLAND**	813,797	40.18	1,145,782	56.57	2,025,480	0	10
46	**CONNECTICUT**	561,094	38.44	816,015	55.91	1,459,525	0	8
47	**HAWAII**	137,845	37.46	205,286	55.79	367,951	0	4
48	**NEW YORK**	2,403,374	34.53	4,107,697	59.02	6,960,215	0	33
49	**MASSACHUSETTS**	878,502	32.5	1,616,487	59.8	2,702,984	0	12
50	**RHODE ISLAND**	130,555	31.91	249,508	60.99	409,112	0	4
51	**DC**	18,073	8.95	171,923	85.16	201,894	0	2
	Total	**50,456,002**	**47.87**	**50,999,897**	**48.38**	**105,405,100**	**271**	**266**

Appendix F: Explanation of Party Label Abbreviations

Explanation of party abbreviations from the "Federal Elections 2000: Election Results for the US President, the US Senate, and the US House of Representatives."[46]

	A. Abbreviation	B. Explanation
1	**AIP**	American Independent
2	**AMC**	American Constitution Party
3	**BP**	By Petition
4	**BR**	Buchanan Reform
5	**CF**	Citizens First
6	**CNC**	Concerned Citizens
7	**CON**	Constitution
8	**CPF**	Constitution Party Of Florida
9	**CST**	Constitutional
10	**D**	Democrat
11	**DCG**	DC Statehood Green
12	**DFL**	Democratic-Farmer-Labor
13	**FRE**	Freedom
14	**FSW**	Florida Socialist Workers
15	**GI**	Green Independent
16	**GPF**	Green Party Of Florida
17	**GRA**	Green Party Of Arkansas
18	**GRM**	Massachusetts Green Party
19	**GRN**	Green
20	**GRT-VT**	Vermont Grassroots
21	**HGR**	Hawaii Green
22	**I**	Independent
23	**IAP**	Independent American
24	**IDP**	Independence
25	**IG**	Iowa Green Party
26	**LBF**	Libertarian Party OfFlorida
27	**LBT**	Libertarian
28	**LBT-IA**	Libertarian Party Of Iowa

[46] "A GUIDE TO PARTY LABELS," fec.gov, June 2001, Page 191.

	A. Abbreviation	B. Explanation
29	**LU**	Liberty Union
30	**N**	Nonpartisan
31	**NL**	Natural Law
32	**NLF**	Natural Law Party Of Florida
33	**P**	Prohibition Party
34	**PG**	Pacific Green
35	**PRO**	Progressive
36	**R**	Republican
37	**REF**	Reform
38	**RFM**	Reform Party Minnesota
39	**SFL**	Socialist Party Of Florida
40	**RTL**	Right To Life
41	**SOC**	Socialist Party USA
42	**SWC**	Socialist Workers Campaign
43	**SWP**	Socialist Workers Party
44	**U**	Unenrolled
45	**UC**	United Citizens
46	**UN**	Unaffiliated
47	**UST**	US Taxpayers
48	**W**	Write-In
49	**WG**	Wisconsin Green
50	**WW**	Workers World

Appendix G: Florida's Palm Beach County Votes

In part because of Palm Beach's "butterfly ballots," there was a partial recount[47] of votes in certain Florida counties.

This chart shows the results of the 433,186 votes from Florida's Palm Beach County's Nov. 7, 2000, election and the reported recount of Nov. 14, 2000.

The recount increased the total number of votes by 36 (433,222 less 433,186); Bush's total increased by 13 votes (152,964 less 152,951); and Gore picked up 22 votes (269,754 less 269,732).

A. Palm Beach County Vote - Results on Nov. 7, 2000[48]

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	152,951	35.31
Gore, Al	D	269,732	62.27
Nader, Ralph	GPF	5,565	1.29
Buchanan, Pat	REF	3,411	.79
Browne, Harry	LBF	743	.17
Hagelin, John	NLF	143	.03
Moorehead, Monica	WW	104	.02
Phillips, Howard	CPF	190	.04
McReynolds, David	SFL	302	.07
Harris, James	FSW	45	.01
Chote, May	W	0	0
McCarthy, Ken. C.	W	0	0
Total Palm Beach County Votes:		**433,186**	**100**

[47] We call it a partial recount, as the count was halted by the courts.
[48] Download data page from Florida Department of State website, "November 7, 2000 General Election," results.elections.myflorida.com, accessed Aug. 14, 2020.

B. Palm Beach County Vote – Certified Results from the Recount[49]

Candidate	Party	Vote	Percent
Bush, George W.	R	152,964	35.31
Gore, Al	D	269,754	62.27
Other		10,504	2.42
Total Palm Beach County Votes:		**433,222**	**100**

X X

If you see any errors in this report, please let us know!

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[49] Carla Marinucci, John Wildermuth and Carolyn Lochhead, "Bush Claims Victory / BUSH 2,912,790 / GORE 2,912,253 / But Gore campaign pledges to contest result with multiple challenges across Florida," SFgate.com, Nov. 27, 2000; and Brian C. Kalt, "Winning Recounts: Essential Mathematical and Statistical Insights for Election Lawyers," digitalcommons.law.msu.edu, 2014.