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Did Ralph Nader or Florida's Butterfly Ballot Cost Al Gore the 2000 Election?

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HIGHLIGHTS



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.



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.

Introduction

The 2000 United States (US) presidential election was one of only five elections in which the winning candidate lost the popular vote: Quincy Adams in 1824, Hayes in 1876, Harrison in 1888, Bush in 2000, and Trump in 2016.^[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 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.

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 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 on those issues, see Appendix A.

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 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. The lay out of candidate names on the ballot might have caused some voters intending to select Gore to accidentally vote for Pat Buchanan instead.

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 0.79 percent of that County's vote, a 272% increase from 0.29% 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

Buchanan himself agreed to not announce that election that the butterfly ballot was confusing and that he received more votes for president there than he should have.^[7]

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.^[8]

Florida’s Palm Beach County votes are shown in two different charts in Appendix F, 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.

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).

The similarities of policies between Buchanan, Bush, and Gore are shown in Appendix A.

Official Votes of the 2000 US Presidential Election

The tables below show the results of the election in each state.^[9] See Appendix E for an explanation of party label abbreviations.

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	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

7. CONNECTICUT – Gore won Connecticut regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

8. DELAWARE – Gore won Delaware regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Gore, Al	D	180,068	54.96
Bush, George W.	R	137,288	41.90
Nader, Ralph	GRN	8,307	2.54

Nader, Ralph	CON	9,587	2.97
Buchanan, Pat	REF	777	0.24
Browne, Harry	LBT	774	0.24
Phillips, Howard	CON	208	0.06
Hagelin, John	NL	107	0.03
Scattered	W	93	0.03
Total Delaware Votes:		327,622	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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

Candidate	Party	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
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
Bush, George W.	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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

12. **HAWAII** – Gore won Hawaii regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

13. **IDAHO** – Given Bush's margin of victory over Gore (403,800 votes), reallocating Nader's 40,800 votes, even if they all went to Gore,

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

14. **ILLINOIS** – Gore won Illinois regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

16. **IOWA** – Gore won Iowa regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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.

Gore, wouldn't have changed Bush's win in Kansas.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

20. **MAINE** – Gore won Maine regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

21. **MARYLAND** – Gore won Maryland regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

22. MASSACHUSETTS – Gore won Massachusetts regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

23. MICHIGAN – Gore won Michigan regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Gore, Al	D	2,170,418	51.28
Bush, George W.	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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

24. MINNESOTA – Gore won Minnesota regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
Bush, George W.	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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

33. NEW YORK – Gore won New York regardless of Nader running.^[12]

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	0.00
Total New York Votes:		6,821,999	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
Bush, George W.	R	1,631,163	56.03
Gore, Al	D	1,257,692	43.20
Browne, Harry	LBT	12,307	0.42
Buchanan, Pat	REF	8,874	0.30

McReynolds, David	W	1,226	0.04
Total North Carolina Votes:		2,911,262	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
Bush, George W.	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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

38. OREGON – Gore won Oregon regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

39. PENNSYLVANIA – Gore won Pennsylvania regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
Bush, George W.	R	3,700,630	59.30

Bush, George W.	R	3,773,887	66.83
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

46. **VERMONT** – Gore won Vermont regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	0.01
Total Virginia Votes:		2,739,447	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

48. **WASHINGTON** – Gore won Washington regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	2,827	0.12

Hagelin, John	NL	4,747	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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

50. **WISCONSIN** – Gore won Wisconsin regardless of Nader running.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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	%
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	

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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

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 97,488 votes.

Candidate	Party	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	0.68
Total Florida Votes:		5,963,110	100.00

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 97,488 votes Nader received, and in doing so, Gore would have picked up (at least) a net 1,950 votes^[15] giving Gore at least 2,914,203 Florida votes, 1,413 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.

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 0.29% of the vote.^[16]

1. State of Florida Vote: Overall in the state, Buchanan won 0.29% of the votes.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Bush, George W.	R	2,912,790	48.85
Gore, Al	D	2,912,253	48.84
Buchanan, Pat	REF	17,484	0.29
Other		120,583	2.02
Total Florida Votes:		5,963,110	100.00

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

2. 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 0.79% of the county vote.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Bush, George W.	R	152,951	35.31
Gore, Al	D	269,732	62.27
Buchanan, Pat	REF	3,411*	0.79
Other		7,092	1.63
Total Palm Beach County Votes:		433,186	100.00

*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.

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Florida Department of State](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

Palm Beach County was the only Florida county using the "butterfly ballot," and that ballot, according to many media accounts, caused confusion^[18] among some voters trying to vote for Gore, but mistakenly voting for Buchanan.

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.^[19]

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.^[20]

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.^[21]

Given that Buchanan received 0.29% of the Florida state vote, but 0.79% of the Palm Beach County votes, Buchanan's Palm Beach County vote was 272% higher than his 0.29% of the state vote. (0.79% is 272% of 0.29).

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%).^[22]

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.'^[23]

However, Fleischer's statement was undercut by the overwhelming majority of votes Gore received over Bush in that county.^[24]

"[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."^[25]

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."^[26]

Election night it's very...easy for me to see how someone could have voted for me in the ballot they voted for Al Gore.

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), and Gore would have won Florida by 145 votes (2,912,935 less 2,912,790) and won the election.

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).

Candidate	Party	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	100.00

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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.^[27]

If all of Nader's 22,198 votes were split between Gore and Bush (assuming that Nader voters would not have stayed home or voted for other third party options), and the other vote totals remained constant, Gore would have needed at least 66.3% of Nader's votes to beat Bush in New Hampshire.

Gore's hypothetical total with 66.3% of Nader's 22,198 votes (0.663 x 22,198 = 14,717 votes extra votes from Nader) plus Gore's actual total of 266,348 is 281,065. Bush's hypothetical total with 33.7% of Nader's votes (0.337 x 22,198 = 7,481 extra votes from Nader) plus 273,559 actual Bush votes is 281,040. This scenario results in Gore winning by 25 votes (281,065 – 281,040 = 25). If Gore received less than 66.3% of the Nader votes, Bush would still have won New Hampshire.

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 66.3% 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.

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

The following chart shows:

- 1. Bush didn't agree with Nader on any of the issues below (0.0%) while Gore agreed with Nader on 6 of the 14 issues (42.85%);
- 2. Bush agreed with Buchanan on 9 of the 14 issues (64.29%) while Gore agreed with Buchanan on 5 of the 14 issues (35.71%);
- 3. Based on the comparison below, the Green Party is ideologically closer to Democrats than to Republicans.

A. Issue	B. Bush	C. Gore	D. Nader	E. Buchanan
Abortion: Should abortion be legal?	Con	Pro	Pro	Con
Affirmative Action: Should affirmative action be used in employment and education?	Con	Pro	Pro	Con
Cuba Embargo: Should the US maintain its embargo on Cuba?	Pro	Pro	Con	Con
Death Penalty: Should the death penalty be allowed?	Pro	Pro	Con	Pro
Education: Should federal funding be linked to standardized test results?	Pro	Pro	Con	Con
Health Care: Should the US adopt a single-payer health care system?	Con	Con	Pro	Con
Environment: Should the US allow drilling for oil in the Artic National Wildlife Refuge(ANWR)?	Pro	Con	Con	Pro
Environment: Should the US sign the Kyoto Protocol (an international agreement to reduce emissions)?	Con	Pro	Pro	Con
Gay Marriage: Should gay marriage be legal?	Con	Con	Pro	Con
Medical Marijuana: Should marijuana be a medical option?	Con	Con	Pro	Pro
Military: Should the US military budget be increased?	Pro	Pro	Con	Pro
Social Security: Should Social Security be privatized?	Pro	Con	Con	Pro
NAFTA: Is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) good for the US?	Pro	Pro	Con	Con
Taxes: Should the estate tax be eliminated completely?	Pro	Con	Con	Con

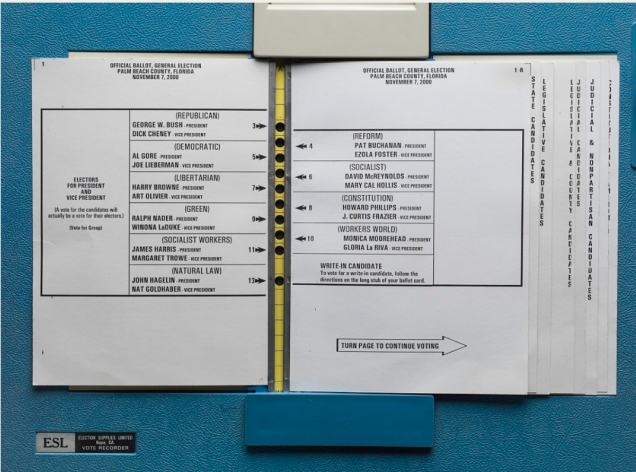
Table: A-Mark Foundation • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

APPENDIX B: The Palm Beach County Butterfly Ballot

The photo below shows the confusing "butterfly ballot" that 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. It appears from the math that some people trying to vote for Gore may have voted for Buchanan on accident. Buchanan received 0.70% of the votes Palm

mean that some people trying to vote for Gore may have voted for Buchanan on accident. Buchanan received 0.79% of the votes in Palm Beach County, a traditionally Democratic area, which was 272% higher than his 0.29% of the Florida vote overall.

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), and Gore would have won Florida by 145 votes (2,912,935 less 2,912,790) and won the election.



Picture of the ballot used in Palm Beach County, Florida, in the 2000 presidential election.
© Smithsonian National Museum of American History.^[28]

APPENDIX C: Percent of Buchanan Votes

This chart shows lowest percent of votes to highest by state for Buchanan.^[29] The District of Columbia did not show votes for Buchanan and is therefore not listed on this chart.

A. State	B. Buchanan Total Votes	C. Buchanan % of Votes	D. Total State Votes
MICHIGAN	1,851	0.04	4,232,501
TEXAS	12,394	0.19	6,407,637
TENNESSEE	4,250	0.20	2,076,181
VIRGINIA	5,455	0.20	2,739,447
MARYLAND	4,248	0.21	2,025,480
NEW JERSEY	6,989	0.22	3,187,226
MISSISSIPPI	2,265	0.23	994,184
NEW MEXICO	1,392	0.23	598,605
DELAWARE	777	0.24	327,622
SOUTH CAROLINA	3,519	0.25	1,382,717
KENTUCKY	4,173	0.27	1,544,187
FLORIDA (total)	17,484	0.29	5,963,110
FLORIDA – Palm Beach County Vote – Results on Nov. 7, 2000	3,411	0.79	433,186
HAWAII	1,071	0.29	367,951
WASHINGTON	7,171	0.29	2,487,433
NORTH CAROLINA	8,874	0.30	2,911,262
CONNECTICUT	4,731	0.32	1,459,525
PENNSYLVANIA	16,023	0.33	4,913,119
ILLINOIS	16,106	0.34	4,742,123
ALABAMA	6,351	0.38	1,666,272
CALIFORNIA	44,987	0.41	10,965,856
MASSACHUSETTS	11,149	0.41	2,702,984
GEORGIA	10,926	0.42	2,596,804
MISSOURI	9,818	0.42	2,359,892
IOWA	5,731	0.44	1,315,563
WISCONSIN	11,471	0.44	2,598,607
NEW YORK	31,599	0.45	6,960,215
NEW HAMPSHIRE	2,615	0.46	569,081
OREGON	7,063	0.46	1,533,968
WEST VIRGINIA	3,169	0.49	648,124
NEBRASKA	3,646	0.52	697,019
RHODE ISLAND	2,273	0.56	409,112
OHIO	26,724	0.57	4,705,457
COLORADO	10,465	0.60	1,741,368
MAINE	4,443	0.68	651,817
KANSAS	7,370	0.69	1,072,218

OKLAHOMA	9,014	0.73	1,234,229
VERMONT	2,192	0.74	294,308
INDIANA	16,959	0.77	2,199,302
NEVADA	4,747	0.78	608,970
ARKANSAS	7,358	0.80	921,781
ARIZONA	12,373	0.81	1,532,016
LOUISIANA	14,356	0.81	1,765,656
MINNESOTA	22,166	0.91	2,438,685
SOUTH DAKOTA	3,322	1.05	316,269
UTAH	9,319	1.21	770,754
WYOMING	2,724	1.25	218,351
MONTANA	5,697	1.39	410,997
IDAHO	7,615	1.52	501,621
ALASKA	5,192	1.82	285,560
NORTH DAKOTA	7,288	2.53	288,256
TOTAL	452,306	0.43	105,774,608

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

APPENDIX D: Summary of State and Electoral College Results

Chart is in order of highest percent of Bush votes to lowest in Column C, and includes Electoral College Results in Columns G and H. [30]

The chart shows that Bush won 30 states while Gore won 20 states and DC. In the popular vote, Gore received 50,999,897 votes compared to Bush's 50,456,002, a margin of 543,895. Bush won the election with 271 electoral votes compared to Gore's 266 electoral votes (one elector in DC did not cast a vote).

A. State	B. Bush Votes	C. Bush % Votes	D. Gore Votes	E. Gore % Votes	F. Total State Votes	G. Bush Electoral Votes	H. Gore Electoral Votes
WYOMING	147,947	67.76	60,481	27.70	218,351	3	0
IDAHO	336,937	67.17	138,637	27.64	501,621	4	0
UTAH	515,096	66.83	203,053	26.34	770,754	5	0
NEBRASKA	433,862	62.24	231,780	33.25	697,019	5	0
NORTH DAKOTA	174,852	60.66	95,284	33.06	288,256	3	0
OKLAHOMA	744,337	60.31	474,276	38.43	1,234,229	8	0
SOUTH DAKOTA	190,700	60.30	118,804	37.56	316,269	3	0
TEXAS	3,799,639	59.30	2,433,746	37.98	6,407,637	32	0
ALASKA	167,398	58.62	79,004	27.67	285,560	3	0
MONTANA	240,178	58.44	137,126	33.36	410,997	3	0
KANSAS	622,332	58.04	399,276	37.24	1,072,218	6	0
MISSISSIPPI	572,844	57.62	404,614	40.70	994,184	7	0
SOUTH CAROLINA	785,937	56.84	565,561	40.90	1,382,717	8	0
INDIANA	1,245,836	56.65	901,980	41.01	2,199,302	12	0
KENTUCKY	872,492	56.50	638,898	41.37	1,544,187	8	0
ALABAMA	941,173	56.48	692,611	41.57	1,666,272	9	0
NORTH CAROLINA	1,631,163	56.03	1,257,692	43.20	2,911,262	14	0
GEORGIA	1,419,720	54.67	1,116,230	42.98	2,596,804	13	0
LOUISIANA	927,871	52.55	792,344	44.88	1,765,656	9	0
VIRGINIA	1,437,490	52.47	1,217,290	44.44	2,739,447	13	0
WEST VIRGINIA	336,475	51.92	295,497	45.59	648,124	5	0
ARKANSAS	472,940	51.31	422,768	45.86	921,781	6	0
TENNESSEE	1,061,949	51.15	981,720	47.28	2,076,181	11	0
ARIZONA	781,652	51.02	685,341	44.73	1,532,016	8	0
COLORADO	883,748	50.75	738,227	42.39	1,741,368	8	0
MISSOURI	1,189,924	50.42	1,111,138	47.08	2,359,892	11	0
OHIO	2,351,209	49.97	2,186,190	46.46	4,705,457	21	0
NEVADA	301,575	49.52	279,978	45.98	608,970	4	0
FLORIDA	2,912,790	48.85	2,912,253	48.84	5,963,110	25	0
FLORIDA – Palm Beach County Vote – Certified Results from the Recount	152,964	35.31	269,754	62.27	433,222	–	–
IOWA	634,373	48.22	638,517	48.54	1,315,563	0	7
NEW HAMPSHIRE	273,559	48.07	266,348	46.80	569,081	4	0
NEW MEXICO	286,417	47.85	286,783	47.91	598,605	0	5
WISCONSIN	1,237,279	47.61	1,242,987	47.83	2,598,607	0	11
OREGON	713,577	46.52	720,342	46.96	1,533,968	0	7
PENNSYLVANIA	2,281,127	46.43	2,485,967	50.60	4,913,119	0	23
MICHIGAN	1,953,139	46.15	2,170,418	51.28	4,232,501	0	18
MINNESOTA	1,109,659	45.50	1,168,266	47.90	2,438,685	0	10
WASHINGTON	1,108,864	44.58	1,247,652	50.16	2,487,433	0	11

MAINE	286,616	43.97	319,951	49.09	651,817	0	4
ILLINOIS	2,019,421	42.58	2,589,026	54.60	4,742,123	0	22
DELAWARE	137,288	41.90	180,068	54.96	327,622	0	3
CALIFORNIA	4,567,429	41.65	5,861,203	53.45	10,965,856	0	54
VERMONT	119,775	40.70	149,022	50.63	294,308	0	3
NEW JERSEY	1,284,173	40.29	1,788,850	56.12	3,187,226	0	15
MARYLAND	813,797	40.18	1,145,782	56.57	2,025,480	0	10
CONNECTICUT	561,094	38.44	816,015	55.91	1,459,525	0	8
HAWAII	137,845	37.46	205,286	55.79	367,951	0	4
NEW YORK	2,403,374	34.53	4,107,697	59.02	6,821,999	0	33
MASSACHUSETTS	878,502	32.50	1,616,487	59.80	2,702,984	0	12
RHODE ISLAND	130,555	31.91	249,508	60.99	409,112	0	4
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

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

APPENDIX E: Explanation of Party Label Abbreviations

Explanation of party abbreviations from the Federal Election Commission's report titled "Federal Elections 2000: Election Results for the US President, the US Senate, and the US House of Representatives," published June 2001 and available at [fec.gov](#).

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 Of Florida
27	LBT	Libertarian
28	LBT-IA	Libertarian Party Of Iowa
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 of 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

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

APPENDIX F: Florida's Palm Beach County Votes

In part because of Palm Beach's "butterfly ballots," there was a partial recount^[31] 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^[32]

A. Candidate	B. Party	C. Votes	D. 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	0.79
Browne, Harry	LBF	743	0.17
Hagelin, John	NLF	143	0.03
Moorehead, Monica	WW	104	0.02
Phillips, Howard	CPF	190	0.04
McReynolds, David	SFL	302	0.07
Harris, James	FSW	45	0.01
Chote, May	W	0	0.00
McCarthy, Ken. C.	W	0	0.00
Total Palm Beach County Votes:		433,186	100.00

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Florida Department of State](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

B. Palm Beach County Vote – Certified Results from the Recount^[33]

A. Candidate	B. Party	C. Votes	D. 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	100.00

Table: A-Mark Foundation • Source: [Florida Department of State](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

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- 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.
- For a chart of Percent of Bush Wins Over Gore, see Appendix D: Percent of Bush Wins Over Gore; Electoral College Results.
- 50,999,897 Gore votes less 50,456,002 Bush votes.
- Federal Election Commission, "2000 Official Presidential General Election Results," [fec.gov](#), last updated Dec. 2001.
- "5 Presidents Who Lost the Popular Vote But Won the Election," [history.com](#), Nov. 2, 2020
- Frank Newport and David W. Moore, "Final Poll Shows Presidential Race to Be Dead Heat," [gallup.com](#), Nov. 1, 2004
- "(11/09) Patrick J. Buchanan," The American Presidency Project, [presidency.ucsb.edu](#), Nov. 9, 2000.
- 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.
- Federal Election Commission, "2000 Presidential Election Results," [fec.gov](#), PDF, last updated Dec. 2001
- 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.
- 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

- 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.""
- 13 See Appendix A: Bush, Gore and Nader Comparison of Candidate Positions on Popular Issues at the Time.
- 14 Based on Appendix A: Gore would have received at least 51% of the Nader votes.
- 15 $1,948 = [97,488 \times 51\% = 49,719] \text{ less } [97,488 \times 49\% = 47,769]$.
- 16 See Florida chart in Section IV. #10
- 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 See a picture of that ballot in Appendix B: The Palm Beach County Butterfly Ballot.
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- 21 Ronald Brownstein, "Bush Holds Slim Lead; Gore Prepares for Further Court Action," latimes.com, Nov. 26, 2000.
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- 28 Smithsonian National Museum of American History, "Votomatic Voting Machine, 2000," americanhistory.si.edu (accessed April 11, 2022)
- 29 Federal Election Commission, "2000 Official Presidential General Election Results," fec.gov, last updated Dec. 2001.
- 30 "Presidential Election of 2000, Electoral and Popular Vote Summary," infoplease.com (accessed Nov. 2, 2020)
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Contact us

A-Mark Foundation
530 Wilshire Blvd Ste 201
Santa Monica, CA 90401

info@amarkfoundation.org

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