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**Historical Summary of General Election Exit Polls:  
Presidential Elections: 1992 and 1996**

Subgroup	CBS/NYT 1992	GOP Vote 1992	GOP Margin	VNS 1996	GOP Vote 1996	GOP Margin
Total	100	38	-5	100	41	-8
Men	47	38	-3	48	44	1
Women	53	37	-8	52	38	-16
Whites	87	40	1	83	46	3
Blacks	8	10	-73	10	12	-72
Hispanics	2	25	-36	5	21	-51
White men	48 ?	40	3	48 ?	49 -38	11 ?
White women	52	41	0	52	43 -48	-5
18-29	21	34	-9	17	34	-19
30-44	36	38	-3	33	41	-7
45-59	23	40	-1	26	41	-7
60 and older	20	38	-12	24	44	-4
18-64	87	37	-6	84	40	-9
65 and older	13	39	-11	16	43	-7
Men, 18-29				17	38	-9
Men, 30-44				33	46	5
Men, 45-59				27	43	-1
Men, 60 and older				24	48	5
Women, 18-29				17	31	-27
Women, 30-44				33	37	-17
Women, 45-59				26	40	-12
Women, 60 and older				23	41	-12
Family income < \$15K	14	23	-35	11	28	-31
\$15K-\$29,999	24	35	-10	23	36	-17
\$30K-\$49,999	30	38	-3	27	40	-8
\$50K-\$74,999	20	41	1	21	45	-2
\$75,000-\$99,999		48	12	9	48	4
Over \$100,000	12	48	12	9	54	16
Not a HS grad	7	28	-26	6	28	-31
HS grad	25	36	-7	24	35	-16
Some college	29	37	-4	27	40	-8
College graduate	23	41	2	26	46	2
Post grad education	16	36	-14	17	40	-12
Married	66	41	1	66	46	2
Not married	33	31	-21	34	31	-26
Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual	2	14	-58	5	23	-43
Union Household	19	24	-31	23	30	-29
Employed Full Time	55	38	-3	64	40	-8
Working Women	29	35	-10	29	35	-21
Children under 18	36	38	-2	37	41	-7
Gun Owner				37	51	13


**Historical Summary of General Election Exit Polls:  
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<b>Subgroup</b>	<b>CBS/NYT 1992</b>	<b>GOP Vote 1992</b>	<b>GOP Margin</b>	<b>VNS 1996</b>	<b>GOP Vote 1996</b>	<b>GOP Margin</b>
Protestant	42	45	9	38	50	9
Catholic	27	35	-9	29	37	-16
Other Christian	14	38	-1	16	41	-4
Jewish	4	11	-69	3	16	-62
Else	6	26	-27	6	23	-37
None	7	18	-44	7	23	-36
White Prot/Christian	56	47	14	56	53	17
White BA (92) Religious Rgt (96)	17	62	39	17	65	39
Abortion Always Legal	34	20	-38	25	21	-48
Mostly Legal	29	34	-11	35	33	-22
Mostly Illegal	23	56	30	25	57	25
Always Illegal	9	63	39	12	68	45
Republicans	35	73	63	35	80	67
Independents	27	32	-6	26	35	-8
Democrats	38	10	-67	39	10	-74
Conservatives	30	64	46	33	71	51
Moderates	49	31	-16	47	33	-24
Liberals	21	14	-54	20	11	-67
Voted Dukakis 88 (Clinton 92)	27	5	-78	43	9	-76
Voted Bush 88 (Bush 92)	53	59	38	35	82	69
Voted Perot 92				12	44	22
Voted Other 88 (Other 92)	2	5	-61	1	36	12
Did not vote in 88 (92)	15	26	-22	9	33	-20
Financial Situation Better	24	61	37	33	26	-40
Worse	34	14	-47	20	57	30
Same	41	42	1	45	45	-1
National Econ. Condition Excel.	1	35	-18	4	17	-61
Good	18	82	74	51	31	-31
Not Good	47	37	-6	36	52	18
Poor	32	12	-52	7	51	28
Country on Right Direction				53	24	-45
Wrong Track				43	61	38

20 State Census Numbers - Registered Voters

	Midwest								South						West					% of TOTAL		
	IL	IA	MI	MO	NJ	OH	PA	WI	AR	GA	KY	LA	NC	TN	AZ	CO	NV	NM	OR		WA	
<b>TOTAL</b>	5820	1543	5052	2965	3765	5604	5902	2899	1187	3506	2018	2275	3673	2648	1843	2001	694	749	1746	2840	58730	
<b>AGE/GENDER</b>																						
Male 18-24	0.051	0.048	0.053	0.037	0.039	0.041	0.044	0.055	0.041	0.051	0.040	0.052	0.050	0.045	0.065	0.042	0.014	0.035	0.025	0.043	0.05	
Male 25-44	0.192	0.201	0.187	0.198	0.196	0.187	0.191	0.204	0.182	0.206	0.180	0.193	0.184	0.215	0.160	0.224	0.193	0.180	0.208	0.208	0.19	
Male 45-64	0.140	0.132	0.155	0.136	0.142	0.161	0.150	0.156	0.152	0.144	0.145	0.142	0.158	0.140	0.137	0.151	0.151	0.155	0.144	0.161	0.15	
Male 65+	0.088	0.093	0.071	0.082	0.097	0.076	0.101	0.077	0.094	0.066	0.086	0.070	0.082	0.082	0.091	0.077	0.097	0.097	0.095	0.068	0.08	
Female 18-24	0.048	0.054	0.055	0.063	0.039	0.051	0.044	0.051	0.047	0.055	0.046	0.057	0.038	0.052	0.061	0.048	0.037	0.053	0.048	0.046	0.05	
Female 25-44	0.208	0.203	0.218	0.220	0.204	0.200	0.185	0.211	0.195	0.239	0.222	0.238	0.170	0.205	0.202	0.231	0.228	0.223	0.220	0.214	0.21	
Female 45-64	0.158	0.150	0.161	0.172	0.163	0.173	0.166	0.151	0.174	0.159	0.168	0.161	0.110	0.172	0.182	0.147	0.166	0.163	0.149	0.177	0.16	
Female 65+	0.116	0.119	0.099	0.091	0.120	0.110	0.118	0.094	0.115	0.080	0.112	0.086	0.208	0.090	0.104	0.079	0.114	0.096	0.113	0.082	0.11	
<b>GENDER</b>																						
Male	0.470	0.473	0.466	0.454	0.474	0.466	0.486	0.493	0.469	0.467	0.451	0.458	0.474	0.482	0.451	0.494	0.455	0.466	0.471	0.481	0.47	
Female	0.530	0.527	0.534	0.546	0.526	0.534	0.514	0.507	0.531	0.533	0.549	0.542	0.526	0.518	0.549	0.506	0.545	0.534	0.529	0.519	0.53	
<b>AGE</b>																						
18-24	0.098	0.102	0.108	0.101	0.079	0.092	0.088	0.106	0.088	0.106	0.086	0.109	0.088	0.097	0.126	0.090	0.052	0.087	0.072	0.089	0.10	
25-44	0.399	0.404	0.405	0.419	0.400	0.387	0.377	0.415	0.376	0.445	0.402	0.431	0.392	0.419	0.362	0.455	0.421	0.402	0.428	0.423	0.41	
45-64	0.298	0.281	0.317	0.308	0.305	0.335	0.316	0.308	0.327	0.303	0.314	0.304	0.327	0.312	0.318	0.298	0.317	0.316	0.293	0.337	0.31	
65+	0.205	0.212	0.170	0.173	0.217	0.186	0.219	0.171	0.209	0.147	0.198	0.156	0.192	0.172	0.195	0.156	0.210	0.194	0.207	0.151	0.19	
<b>RACE</b>																						
White	0.821	0.970	0.857	0.921	0.854	0.908	0.903	0.956	0.819	0.702	0.923	0.709	0.798	0.819	0.941	0.957	0.919	0.911	0.961	0.946	0.87	
Black	0.167	0.015	0.125	0.076	0.127	0.087	0.089	0.033	0.171	0.290	0.073	0.287	0.180	0.178	0.037	0.021	0.050	0.015	0.022	0.013	0.12	
Hispanic	0.026	0.008	0.017	0.010	0.075	0.006	0.016	0.011	0.002	0.006	0.001	0.011	0.004	0.003	0.125	0.081	0.045	0.336	0.018	0.019	0.03	

1996 Registration + Voting Census Survey



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# Presidential exit polls

Nov. 7, 2000

## National

--Additional presidential exit polls--

### Vote for President in today's election

Are you:		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
% of total	category	% of category		
48	Male	42	53	0
52	Female	54	43	0

Whites only		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
% of total	category	% of category		
48	Male	36	60	0
52	Female	48	49	0

Are you:		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
% of total	category	% of category		
81	White	42	54	0
10	Black	90	9	0
7	Hispanic/Latino	62	35	1
2	Asian	55	41	1
1	Other	55	39	0

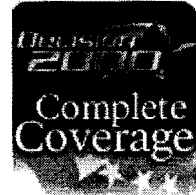
To which age group do you belong?		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
% of total	category	% of category		
17	18-29	48	46	1
33	30-44	48	49	0
28	45-59	48	49	1
22	60+	51	47	0

Age-65 & over		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
% of total	category	% of category		
86	18-64	48	48	0
14	65+	50	47	0

What was the last grade of school you completed?		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
% of total	category	% of category		
5	No high school	59	39	1
21	High School graduate	48	49	1
32	Some college	45	51	0
24	College Graduate	45	51	0
18	Post graduate studies	52	44	0

Do you have a college education?		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
% of total	category	% of category		
58	Not completed	47	49	1
42	Completed	48	48	0

1999 total family income:		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
% of total	category	% of category		
7	Less than 15,000	57	37	1
16	15,000-30,000	54	41	1
24	30,000-50,000	49	48	0
25	50,000-75,000	46	51	0



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13	75,000-100,000	45	52	0	2
15	Over 100,000	43	54	0	2
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>Are you currently married?</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
65	Yes	44	53	1	2
35	No	57	38	0	4
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>Do you have any children under 18 living in your household?</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
39	Yes	45	52	0	2
61	No	50	46	1	3
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>Are you married with children?</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
31	Yes	41	56	0	2
69	No	51	44	1	3
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>Do you work full-time for pay?</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
67	Yes	49	48	0	2
33	No	47	48	1	3
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>Working women:</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
31	Yes	58	39	0	2
69	No	44	52	1	3
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a:</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
39	Democrat	86	11	0	2
35	Republican	8	91	0	1
27	Independent	45	47	1	6
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>Do you or does someone in your household belong to a labor union?</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
26	Yes	59	37	1	3
74	No	44	52	0	2
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>Do you, or does someone in your household belong to a labor union?</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
16	I am	62	34	1	3
10	Someone else in house	54	41	1	3
74	No	44	52	0	2
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>Which best describes you?</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
4	Upper class	56	39	0	3
27	Upper-middle class	43	54	0	3
46	Middle class	48	49	0	2
18	Working class	51	46	0	3
2	Lower class	0	0	0	0
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>On most political matters, do you consider yourself:</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
20	Liberal	80	13	1	6
50	Moderate	52	44	0	2
29	Conservative	17	81	0	1
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>Is this the first time you have ever voted?</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
9	Yes	52	43	1	4
91	No	48	48	0	2
		<b>GORE</b>	<b>BUSHBUCHANAN</b>		<b>NADER</b>
<b>Are you gay, lesbian or bisexual?</b>					
% of total	category		% of category		
4	Yes	70	25	0	4

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
96	No	47	50	0
<b>In the 1996 election for President, did you vote for:</b>				
% of total	category	% of category		
46	Clinton	82	15	1
31	Dole	7	91	0
6	Perot	27	64	1
2	Other	26	52	1
13	Did not vote	44	52	0

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
<b>Do you regularly use the internet?</b>				
% of total	category	% of category		
64	Yes	47	49	1
36	No	51	46	1

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
<b>Do you regularly use the internet to get political news and information?</b>				
% of total	category	% of category		
30	Yes	47	48	1
70	No	49	47	0

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
<b>Do you or does someone else in your household own a gun?</b>				
% of total	category	% of category		
48	Yes	36	61	0
52	No	58	39	0

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
<b>When did you decide to vote? (4)</b>				
% of total	category	% of category		
11	Last 3 days	48	46 -2	0
6	Last week	48	44 -4	1
13	Last month	49	45 -4	1
69	Before	48	50 +2	0

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
<b>When did you decide to vote? (2)</b>				
% of total	category	% of category		
17	In the last week	48	45 -3	0
82	Before last week	48	50 +2	0

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
<b>Religion</b>				
% of total	category	% of category		
54	Protestant	42	56	0
26	Catholic	50	47	1
4	Jewish	79	19	0
6	Other	62	28	1
9	None	61	30	0

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
<b>Religion- Whites only</b>				
% of total	category	% of category		
56	Protestant	34	63	1
25	Catholic	45	52	0
4	Jewish	80	17	0
5	Other	53	35	0
9	None	57	33	1

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
<b>How often do you attend religious services?</b>				
% of total	category	% of category		
14	More than once a week	36	63	0
28	Once a week	40	57	0
14	A few times a month	51	46	1
28	A few times a year	54	42	0
14	never	61	32	1

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
<b>Part of the religious right</b>				
% of total	category	% of category		
14	Yes	18	80	1
83	No	54	42	0

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
<b>Which comes closest to your position on abortion?</b>				

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% of total	category		% of category		
23	Legal in all cases	70	25	0	4
33	Legal in most cases	58	38	0	3
27	Illegal in most cases	29	69	0	1
13	Illegal in all cases	22	74	2	1

**☉ Lieberman's religion make him more/less likely to do a good job as V.P.?**

% of total	category		% of category		
17	More likely	61	36	1	1
8	Less likely	22	72	0	5
72	No difference	49	47	0	3

**☉ Which one issue mattered most in deciding how you voted for President?**

% of total	category		% of category		
12	World Affairs	40 <i>+14</i>	54 <i>+14</i>	1	4
7	Medicare/RX drugs	60 <i>-21</i>	39 <i>+21</i>	0	1
8	Healthcare	64 <i>-31</i>	33 <i>-31</i>	0	3
18	Economy/Jobs	59 <i>-22</i>	37 <i>-22</i>	0	2
14	Taxes	17 <i>+63</i>	80 <i>+63</i>	0	2
15	Education	52 <i>-8</i>	44 <i>+8</i>	0	3
14	Social Security	58 <i>-18</i>	40 <i>+18</i>	1	1

**☉ Which one candidate quality mattered most in deciding how you voted?**

% of total	category		% of category		
13	Understands Issues	75	19	0	4
24	Honest	15	80	1	3
12	Cares	63	31	1	5
15	Experience	82	17	0	1
2	Likeable	38	59 <i>✓</i>	0	2
14	Strong Leader	34	64 <i>✓</i>	0	1
13	Good Judgment	48	50	0	1

**☉ Which was more important in your vote for President today?**

% of total	category		% of category		
62	Issues	55	40	1	3
35	Personal qualities	35	62	0	2

**☉ Which candidate do you think would say anything to get elected President?**

% of total	category		% of category		
33	Only Gore	15	83	0	1
17	Only Bush	83	16	0	2
41	Both	57	38	0	4
7	Neither	57	39	0	2

**☉ Do you think that Gore would say anything to get elected?**

% of total	category		% of category		
74	Yes	39	58	0	2
24	No	75	23	0	2

**☉ Do you think that Bush would say anything to get elected?**

% of total	category		% of category		
58	Yes	64	32	0	3
40	No	23	76	0	1

**☉ Which candidate has the knowledge to serve effectively as President?**

% of total	category		% of category		
37	Only Gore	92	5	0	2
24	Only Bush	4	95	0	0
30	Both	27	71	0	2
7	Neither	40	45	2	11

**☉ Does Gore have the knowledge to serve effectively as President?**

% of total	category		% of category		
67	Yes	63	34	0	2
30	No	12	84	0	3

**☉ Does Bush have the knowledge to serve effectively as President?**

% of total	category		% of category		
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54	Yes	17	81	0	1
44	No	84	11	0	4

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Do you think Al Gore's positions on the issues are:</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
43	Too Liberal	7	91	0	1
9	Too conservative	45	42	0	10
44	About right	89	9	0	2

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Do you think George W. Bush's positions on the issues are:</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
13	Too Liberal	81	15	1	3
34	Too conservative	83	11	0	5
47	About right	10	89	0	1

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Regardless of how you voted today, do you think Al Gore is trustworthy?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
52	Yes	81	16	0	2
45	No	11	84	1	3

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Regardless of how you voted today, do you think George Bush is trustworthy?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
55	Yes	25	73	0	1
40	No	79	14	1	5

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Did you have any reservations about your vote for President?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
55	No reservations	46	51	0	2
43	Reservations	50	47	0	2

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>What best describes your feelings about what Gore will do as President?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
17	Excited	94	6	0	1
31	Optimistic not excited	82	14	0	3
27	Concerned not scared	22	74	0	3
23	Scared	4	94	1	1

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>What best describes your feelings about what Bush will do as President?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
21	Excited	4	95	0	1
29	Optimistic not excited	11	87	0	1
21	Concerned not scared	82	13	0	4
26	Scared	94	1	1	3

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Which one of these candidates would handle international crisis better?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
35	Only Gore	92	5	1	2
27	Only Bush	5	93	0	1
29	Both	40	57	0	2
7	Neither	35	48	2	12

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Gore would do a good job at handling international crisis?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
64	Yes	69	28	1	2
34	No	11	84	1	3

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Bush would do a good job at handling international crisis?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
55	Yes	23	75	0	1
42	No	83	12	1	4

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Which candidate reflects your view of the role of government in society?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
29	Only Gore	95	4	0	1
33	Only Bush	4	95	0	1
17	Both	50	48	0	2
18	Neither	52	37	1	8



		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Gore shares my views of the role of government in society</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
46	Yes	78	20	0	1
51	No	21	75	1	3

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Bush shares my views of the role of government in society</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
51	Yes	20	79	0	1
47	No	78	17	0	4

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Which is more important in a president?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
60	Manage the government	61	34	0	3
34	Moral leadership	27	70	1	2



		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>If these were the only two presidential candidates, who would you vote for?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
48	Gore	96	1	0	2
49	Bush	2	96	0	1
2	Would not have voted	23	28	9	31

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Did either of these candidates for president attack the other unfairly?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
25	Al Gore did	8	91	0	1
14	George W. Bush did	92	6	0	2
35	Both did	52	43	0	4
21	Neither did	54	44	0	2

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Do you think Gore attacked Bush unfairly?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
60	Yes	33	63	0	3
35	No	69	29	0	2

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Do you think Bush attacked Gore unfairly?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
49	Yes	63	33	0	3
46	No	29	69	0	1

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Who would you vote for if you only voted for the vice president?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
46	Lieberman	84	12	1	3
48	Dick Cheney	15	82	0	2

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Do you consider yourself a political supporter of John McCain?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
34	Yes	37	59	1	2
58	No	56	40	1	3



		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Which comes closer to your view on government involvement?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
43	More	74	23	0	3
53	Less	25	71	1	2



		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Which is more important to you?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
46	Protect environment	59	36	1	4
48	Economic growth	39	58	0	1

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>What should the new president do first?</b>					
% of total	category	% of category			
26	Cut taxes	27	71	0	1
11	Curb RX drug prices	56	39	1	3
30	Improve education	58	37	0	4
23	Strengthen Soc. Sec.	58	40	0	1

		GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER	
<b>Is it better to have the president and congress of the same party?</b>					

		GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
% of total	category	% of category		% of category		% of category	
53	Same party	48	50	0	1		
40	Different parties	49	45	1	4		
<b>Q</b> <b>In the past eight years, do you think the U.S. military has:</b>							
17	Become stronger	68	26	1	5		
47	Become weaker	25	72	1	2		
34	Stayed about the same	71	25	1	2		
<b>Q</b> <b>Which is the best way to help senior citizens pay for prescription drugs?</b>							
57	Increase Medicare	60	37	0	3		
36	Private insurance plans	30	67	0	2		
<b>Q</b> <b>Which of these should be the top priority for the federal budget surplus?</b>							
28	Cut federal income taxes	29	69	0	1		
24	Reduce national debt	50	47	0	2		
35	Strengthen Soc. Sec.	57	41	0	2		
5	Other domestic programs	64	25	0	10		
<b>Q</b> <b>Do you support/oppose a partial stock market investment of Social Security?</b>							
57	Support	32	66	0	2		
39	Oppose	69	27	0	3		
<b>Q</b> <b>Which tax cut plan do you prefer?</b>							
51	Across the board	29	68	0	2		
44	Targeted tax cuts	67	29	0	3		
<b>Q</b> <b>When a public school fails, the federal government should help:</b>							
78	Fix schools problem	55	42	0	2		
16	Parents pay priv school.	20	76	0	2		
<b>Q</b> <b>Do you support or oppose stricter gun control legislation?</b>							
60	Support	62	34	0	3		
36	Oppose	23	74	0	2		
<b>Q</b> <b>Compared to four years ago, is your family's financial situation:</b>							
50	Better	61	36	0	2		
11	Worse	33	63	0	4		
38	Same	35	60	1	3		
<b>Q</b> <b>During the next year, do you think the nation's economy will:</b>							
19	Excellent	70	26	0	2		
66	Good	45	52	1	2		
12	Not good	33	62	1	3		
2	Poor	33	58	1	6		
<b>Q</b> <b>Do you think the condition of the nation's economy will be:</b>							
28	Better	53	46	0	1		
12	Worse	38	53	2	6		
57	Same	47	49	0	3		
<b>Q</b> <b>Do you or your spouse have any investments in the stock market?</b>							
70	Yes	46	51	0	2		
30	No	52	44	0	3		
<b>Q</b> <b>How worried are you about the future performance of the stock market? (4)</b>							

% of total	category		% of category		
7	Very worried	54	39	1	4
36	Somewhat worried	50	47	0	2
40	Not too worried	44	54	0	2
14	Not at all worried	45	52	0	3

**How worried are you about future performance of the stock market?**

% of total	category	GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
7	Very worried	53	38	2
39	Somewhat worried	51	47	0
43	Not too worried	42	56	0
10	Not at all worried	37	59	0

**Do you approve or disapprove of the way Clinton is handling the Presidency?**

% of total	category	GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
57	Approve	77	20	1
41	Disapprove	9	88	0

**Is your opinion of Bill Clinton as a person:**

% of total	category	GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
36	Favorable	83	13	1
60	Unfavorable	26	70	0

**Approval of Clinton job/ Opinion of Clinton as a person (combined)**

% of total	category	GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
35	Approve/favorable	85	12	1
20	Approve/unfavorable	63	33	0
1	Disapprove/favorable	43	50	1
39	Disapprove/unfavorable	7	89	0

X

**Do you think history will remember Bill Clinton:**

% of total	category	GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
29	For his leadership	83	14	1
68	For his scandals	33	63	1

**How important to your vote for President were the Clinton admin. scandals?**

% of total	category	GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
24	Very important	18	80	1
20	Somewhat	28	70	0
17	Not too important	59	37	1
37	Not at all	75	19	1

**Was one reason for your vote for president today to express:**

% of total	category	GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
10	Support for Clinton	94	4	1
18	Opposition to Clinton	5	92	1
70	Neither	53	43	0

**Would you rather see the next President's policies:**

% of total	category	GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
40	Cont. Clinton policies	87	11	0
46	Be more conservative	13	85	0
10	Be more liberal	56	36	0

**How responsible is the Clinton administration for the economy's condition?**

% of total	category	GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
28	Very responsible	79	18	1
40	Somewhat responsible	52	43	0
19	Not too responsible	15	82	0
10	Not at all responsible	5	91	0

**Things in this country today are going in the:**

% of total	category	GORE	BUSHBUCHANAN	NADER
65	Right direction	61	36	0
31	Wrong track	20	74	1

**Considering the moral climate of the country, do you think things are:**

X

% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
39		Right direction	70	27	0		2	
57		Wrong track	33	62	1		3	
<b>Do you expect life for the next generation of Americans to be:</b>								
% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
48		Better	53	45	0		2	
21		Worse	37	58	0		4	
29		Same	50	46	1		3	
<b>Which do you agree with more that the country needs?</b>								
% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
41		Fresh start	24	71	1		4	
56		Stay on course	68	29	1		2	
<b>Would you like your child to grow up to be President?</b>								
% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
31		Yes	51	45	1		2	
66		No	47	49	1		3	
<b>Breaking news</b>								
% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
14		Very important	77	20	1		2	
14		Somewhat	76	21	0		3	
20		Not too important	56	40	1		3	
48		Not at all	29	67	1		3	
<b>Region</b>								
% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
23		East	56	39	0		3	
26		Midwest	48	49	1		2	
31		South	43	55	0		1	
21		West	48	46	0		4	
<b>Size of population (five)</b>								
% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
9		Over 500,000	71	26	0		3	
20		50,000-500,000	57	40	0		2	
43		Suburb	47	49	0		3	
5		10,000-50,000	38	59	0		2	
23		Rural or town	37	59	1		2	
<b>Size of population</b>								
% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
29		City	61	35	0		2	
43		Suburb	47	49	0		3	
28		Rural or town	37	59	1		2	
<b>Who did you vote for in today's election for Governor?</b>								
% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
49		Democratic Candidate	71	26	1		2	
50		Republican Candidate	7	91	0		0	
1		Other	0	0	0		0	
<b>Who did you vote for in today's election for U.S. senator?</b>								
% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
48		Democratic Candidate	85	11	1		3	
50		Republican Candidate	14	84	0		2	
2		Other	39	32	2		19	
<b>Who did you vote for in today's election for U.S. House of Rep.?</b>								
% of total		category	GORE		BUSHBUCHANAN		NADER	
49		Democratic Candidate	85	11	1		3	
49		Republican Candidate	12	86	0		1	
2		Other	35	42	2		15	

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President - Full Poll

1442 Respondents

Vote by Gender	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
	(read down)	(read across)			
<b>Men</b>	47 %	43 %	54 %	1 %	2 %
<b>Women</b>	53 %	51 %	47 %	0 %	1 %

Race by Sex	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>White Males</b>	47 %	38 %	59 %	1 %	2 %
<b>White Females</b>	53 %	45 %	52 %	0 %	1 %

Vote by Race	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>White</b>	86 %	42 %	55 %	0 %	2 %
<b>African-American</b>	12 %	84 %	14 %	0 %	2 %
<b>Hispanic</b>	1 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Asian</b>	1 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Other</b>	1 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %

Vote by Age	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>18-29</b>	17 %	48 %	48 %	1 %	3 %
<b>30-44</b>	33 %	44 %	53 %	0 %	2 %
<b>45-59</b>	29 %	51 %	47 %	1 %	1 %
<b>60 or Older</b>	21 %	44 %	54 %	0 %	1 %

Vote by Age	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>18-64</b>	87 %	47 %	51 %	0 %	2 %
<b>65 and Older</b>	13 %	47 %	52 %	0 %	0 %

Vote by Education	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>No H.S. Degree</b>	5 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
<b>High School Graduate</b>	24 %	47 %	52 %	0 %	1 %
<b>Some College</b>	28 %	45 %	52 %	1 %	1 %
<b>College Graduate</b>	25 %	43 %	54 %	0 %	3 %
<b>Post-Graduate Degree</b>	19 %	50 %	47 %	0 %	2 %

Vote by College Education	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>College Educated</b>	56 %	47 %	50 %	1 %	1 %
<b>No College</b>	44 %	46 %	51 %	0 %	2 %

Vote by Income	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>Under \$15,000</b>	7 %	61 %	34 %	0 %	4 %
<b>\$15-30,000</b>	18 %	50 %	49 %	0 %	1 %
<b>\$30-50,000</b>	24 %	49 %	48 %	1 %	2 %
<b>\$50-75,000</b>	22 %	43 %	54 %	0 %	3 %
<b>\$75-100,000</b>	15 %	39 %	59 %	1 %	0 %

Results

Over \$100,000	14 %	47 %	52 %	0 %	1 %
Are You Married?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
Yes	67 %	44 %	54 %	0 %	1 %
No	33 %	52 %	43 %	1 %	3 %
Do You Have Children Under 18?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
Yes	44 %	47 %	51 %	0 %	1 %
No	56 %	47 %	50 %	0 %	2 %
Married and Have Children?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
Yes	34 %	45 %	53 %	0 %	1 %
No	66 %	48 %	49 %	0 %	2 %
Do You Work Full-Time?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
Yes	67 %	48 %	49 %	0 %	2 %
No	33 %	44 %	54 %	0 %	1 %
Are You a Working Woman?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
Yes	32 %	53 %	45 %	0 %	2 %
No	68 %	43 %	54 %	1 %	2 %
Party Identification	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
Democrat	39 %	90 %	8 %	0 %	1 %
Republican	38 %	9 %	91 %	0 %	0 %
Independent	23 %	38 %	55 %	1 %	5 %
Union Member in Household?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
Yes	30 %	57 %	40 %	1 %	2 %
No	70 %	43 %	55 %	0 %	2 %
Are You a Union Member?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
Yes	17 %	61 %	37 %	1 %	1 %
No	13 %	51 %	45 %	0 %	3 %
No	70 %	43 %	55 %	0 %	2 %
Vote by Religion	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
Protestant	59 %	44 %	54 %	0 %	1 %
Catholic	26 %	44 %	55 %	0 %	1 %
Jewish	2 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
Other	5 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
None	8 %	55 %	37 %	3 %	5 %
Religion - Whites Only	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
Protestant	59 %	39 %	59 %	0 %	1 %
Catholic	27 %	43 %	56 %	0 %	1 %
Jewish	2 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %



## Results

Other	5 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
None	7 %	46 %	45 %	3 %	6 %
<b>Attend Religious Services</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
More Than Weekly	18 %	35 %	62 %	0 %	2 %
Weekly	29 %	43 %	54 %	0 %	2 %
Monthly	13 %	58 %	40 %	1 %	1 %
Seldom	27 %	52 %	46 %	0 %	1 %
Never	12 %	49 %	45 %	2 %	4 %
<b>Abortion Should Be...</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Always Legal	20 %	70 %	27 %	0 %	2 %
Mostly Legal	32 %	60 %	38 %	0 %	1 %
Mostly Illegal	29 %	29 %	69 %	0 %	2 %
Always Illegal	15 %	21 %	77 %	0 %	1 %
<b>White Religious Right?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Yes	18 %	22 %	77 %	0 %	0 %
No	79 %	53 %	44 %	1 %	2 %
<b>Vote by Ideology</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Liberal	20 %	81 %	14 %	0 %	3 %
Moderate	47 %	52 %	45 %	0 %	2 %
Conservative	34 %	18 %	81 %	1 %	0 %
<b>Family's Financial Situation</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Better	51 %	64 %	34 %	0 %	2 %
Worse	12 %	30 %	66 %	0 %	3 %
Same	36 %	28 %	69 %	0 %	2 %
<b>1996 Presidential Vote</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Clinton	46 %	82 %	16 %	0 %	2 %
Dole	35 %	8 %	91 %	0 %	1 %
Perot	5 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
Other	2 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
Did Not Vote	11 %	40 %	57 %	1 %	3 %
<b>Clinton Job Rating</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Approve	55 %	75 %	22 %	0 %	2 %
Disapprove	42 %	9 %	89 %	1 %	1 %
<b>Opinion of Clinton as a Person</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Favorable	36 %	82 %	15 %	0 %	2 %
Unfavorable	59 %	24 %	73 %	1 %	2 %
<b>Opinion of Clinton</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Approve/Like	33 %	87 %	11 %	0 %	2 %

Approve/Dislike	20 %	56 %	42 %	1 %	2 %
Disapprove/Like	3 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
Approve/Dislike	38 %	8 %	90 %	1 %	1 %
<b>Vote in Two-Way Race</b>					
	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Gore	45 %	97 %	1 %	0 %	2 %
Bush	50 %	3 %	96 %	0 %	1 %
Would Not Have Voted	3 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Which Issue Mattered Most?</b>					
	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
World Affairs	13 %	46 %	50 %	1 %	3 %
Medicare/Rx Drugs	10 %	52 %	48 %	0 %	0 %
Health Care	11 %	50 %	49 %	0 %	0 %
Economy/Jobs	18 %	67 %	29 %	1 %	3 %
Taxes	11 %	11 %	87 %	0 %	1 %
Education	12 %	54 %	44 %	0 %	2 %
Social Security	12 %	49 %	50 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Which Quality Mattered Most?</b>					
	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Understands Issues	16 %	75 %	22 %	1 %	2 %
Honest/Trustworthy	30 %	17 %	81 %	1 %	2 %
Cares About People	15 %	68 %	29 %	1 %	2 %
as Experience	13 %	80 %	18 %	0 %	2 %
Likeable	3 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
Strong Leader	9 %	29 %	69 %	1 %	1 %
Good Judgment	10 %	37 %	60 %	0 %	1 %
<b>Which Is More Important?</b>					
	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Issues	59 %	57 %	40 %	1 %	2 %
Qualities	37 %	31 %	67 %	0 %	1 %
<b>Government Should Do...</b>					
	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
More	38 %	77 %	21 %	0 %	1 %
Less	55 %	24 %	73 %	1 %	1 %
<b>Priority for Surplus</b>					
	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Tax Cut	31 %	28 %	71 %	0 %	1 %
Debt Reduction	28 %	50 %	47 %	1 %	2 %
Social Security	31 %	60 %	40 %	0 %	1 %
Other Programs	5 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Who Would Say Anything?</b>					
	<b>All</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Nader</b>
Only Gore	38 %	17 %	83 %	0 %	0 %
Only Bush	22 %	73 %	25 %	0 %	0 %
Both	32 %	63 %	31 %	1 %	4 %
Neither	7 %	54 %	44 %	1 %	1 %

Would Gore Say Anything?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>Yes</b>	70 %	38 %	59 %	0 %	2 %
<b>No</b>	29 %	69 %	30 %	0 %	1 %

Would Bush Say Anything?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>Yes</b>	53 %	67 %	29 %	1 %	3 %
<b>No</b>	45 %	23 %	76 %	0 %	0 %

Has Knowledge to be President?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>Only Gore</b>	37 %	93 %	6 %	0 %	1 %
<b>Only Bush</b>	28 %	3 %	96 %	0 %	1 %
<b>Both</b>	26 %	30 %	68 %	1 %	1 %
<b>Neither</b>	6 %	43 %	39 %	3 %	11 %

Does Gore Know Enough?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>Yes</b>	64 %	67 %	32 %	0 %	1 %
<b>No</b>	34 %	10 %	85 %	1 %	3 %

Does Bush Know Enough?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>Yes</b>	54 %	16 %	83 %	0 %	1 %
<b>No</b>	44 %	86 %	11 %	1 %	2 %

Where Do You Live?	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>Large City</b>	34 %	57 %	40 %	0 %	2 %
<b>Suburbs</b>	37 %	45 %	53 %	0 %	1 %
<b>Rural Area</b>	29 %	38 %	60 %	1 %	1 %

Stricter Gun Control Laws	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>Support</b>	53 %	64 %	33 %	0 %	2 %
<b>Oppose</b>	43 %	26 %	72 %	1 %	1 %

If Jean Carnahan on Ballot	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>Jean Carnahan</b>	47 %	85 %	12 %	0 %	2 %
<b>John Ashcroft</b>	47 %	8 %	91 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Would Not Have Voted</b>	3 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %

Vote for Governor	All	Gore	Bush	Buchanan	Nader
<b>Holden</b>	49 %	86 %	12 %	0 %	2 %
<b>Talent</b>	48 %	7 %	92 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Other</b>	3 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %

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# EXIT POLLS FOR MISSOURI | RESULTS

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Senate - Full Poll

1431 Respondents

Vote by Gender	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
	(read down)	(read across)	
<b>Men</b>	47 %	47 %	52 %
<b>Women</b>	53 %	53 %	46 %

Race by Sex	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
<b>White Males</b>	47 %	42 %	56 %
<b>White Females</b>	53 %	49 %	50 %

Vote by Race	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
<b>White</b>	86 %	46 %	53 %
<b>African-American</b>	12 %	82 %	17 %
<b>Hispanic</b>	1 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Asian</b>	1 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Other</b>	1 %	0 %	0 %

Vote by Age	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
<b>18-29</b>	16 %	55 %	44 %
<b>30-44</b>	33 %	48 %	51 %
<b>45-59</b>	29 %	55 %	44 %
<b>60 or Older</b>	21 %	43 %	56 %

Vote by Age	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
<b>18-64</b>	87 %	51 %	48 %
<b>65 and Older</b>	13 %	44 %	55 %

Vote by Education	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
<b>No H.S. Degree</b>	5 %	0 %	0 %
<b>High School Graduate</b>	23 %	51 %	49 %
<b>Some College</b>	28 %	48 %	51 %
<b>College Graduate</b>	25 %	46 %	53 %
<b>Post-Graduate Degree</b>	19 %	54 %	45 %

Vote by College Education	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
<b>College Educated</b>	56 %	51 %	48 %
<b>No College</b>	44 %	50 %	49 %

Vote by Income	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
<b>Under \$15,000</b>	6 %	58 %	41 %
<b>15-30,000</b>	18 %	54 %	45 %
<b>\$30-50,000</b>	24 %	56 %	43 %
<b>\$50-75,000</b>	22 %	44 %	54 %
<b>\$75-100,000</b>	15 %	40 %	59 %

<b>Over \$100,000</b>	<b>14 %</b>	<b>49 %</b>	<b>50 %</b>
<b>Are You Married?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>67 %</b>	<b>48 %</b>	<b>52 %</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>33 %</b>	<b>55 %</b>	<b>43 %</b>
<b>Do You Have Children Under 18?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>43 %</b>	<b>50 %</b>	<b>48 %</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>57 %</b>	<b>50 %</b>	<b>49 %</b>
<b>Married and Have Children?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>34 %</b>	<b>50 %</b>	<b>49 %</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>66 %</b>	<b>50 %</b>	<b>48 %</b>
<b>Do You Work Full-Time?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>66 %</b>	<b>52 %</b>	<b>47 %</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>34 %</b>	<b>46 %</b>	<b>52 %</b>
<b>Are You a Working Woman?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>32 %</b>	<b>57 %</b>	<b>42 %</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>68 %</b>	<b>46 %</b>	<b>52 %</b>
<b>Party Identification</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Democrat</b>	<b>39 %</b>	<b>88 %</b>	<b>12 %</b>
<b>Republican</b>	<b>38 %</b>	<b>13 %</b>	<b>86 %</b>
<b>Independent</b>	<b>23 %</b>	<b>47 %</b>	<b>50 %</b>
<b>Union Member in Household?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>30 %</b>	<b>58 %</b>	<b>40 %</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>70 %</b>	<b>47 %</b>	<b>53 %</b>
<b>Are You a Union Member?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>17 %</b>	<b>60 %</b>	<b>37 %</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>13 %</b>	<b>55 %</b>	<b>44 %</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>70 %</b>	<b>47 %</b>	<b>53 %</b>
<b>Vote by Religion</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Protestant</b>	<b>59 %</b>	<b>49 %</b>	<b>50 %</b>
<b>Catholic</b>	<b>26 %</b>	<b>45 %</b>	<b>54 %</b>
<b>Jewish</b>	<b>2 %</b>	<b>0 %</b>	<b>0 %</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>6 %</b>	<b>70 %</b>	<b>29 %</b>
<b>None</b>	<b>7 %</b>	<b>57 %</b>	<b>40 %</b>
<b>Religion - Whites Only</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Protestant</b>	<b>58 %</b>	<b>44 %</b>	<b>55 %</b>
<b>Catholic</b>	<b>27 %</b>	<b>44 %</b>	<b>56 %</b>
<b>Jewish</b>	<b>2 %</b>	<b>0 %</b>	<b>0 %</b>

Other	5 %	0 %	0 %
None	7 %	49 %	47 %

Attend Religious Services	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
More Than Weekly	18 %	42 %	57 %
Weekly	29 %	44 %	56 %
Monthly	13 %	63 %	35 %
Seldom	26 %	56 %	42 %
Never	12 %	50 %	48 %

Abortion Should Be...	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Always Legal	20 %	74 %	25 %
Mostly Legal	32 %	61 %	39 %
Mostly Illegal	29 %	35 %	64 %
Always Illegal	15 %	25 %	75 %

White Religious Right?	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Yes	17 %	28 %	71 %
No	79 %	55 %	44 %

Vote by Ideology	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Liberal	20 %	81 %	18 %
Moderate	47 %	59 %	40 %
Conservative	34 %	19 %	79 %

Family's Financial Situation	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Better	52 %	66 %	34 %
Worse	12 %	30 %	66 %
Same	36 %	34 %	65 %

1996 Presidential Vote	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Clinton	46 %	83 %	16 %
Dole	35 %	12 %	88 %
Perot	5 %	0 %	0 %
Other	2 %	0 %	0 %
Did Not Vote	11 %	42 %	57 %

Clinton Job Rating	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Approve	55 %	78 %	22 %
Disapprove	42 %	14 %	84 %

Opinion of Clinton as a Person	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Favorable	36 %	84 %	15 %
Unfavorable	59 %	29 %	70 %

Opinion of Clinton	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Approve/Like	33 %	89 %	11 %

<b>Approve/Dislike</b>	20 %	59 %	41 %
<b>Disapprove/Like</b>	3 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Disapprove/Dislike</b>	38 %	13 %	85 %
<b>Vote in Two-Way Race</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Gore</b>	45 %	92 %	8 %
<b>Bush</b>	50 %	13 %	87 %
<b>Would Not Have Voted</b>	3 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Which Is More Important?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Issues</b>	59 %	60 %	39 %
<b>Qualities</b>	37 %	33 %	65 %
<b>Government Should Do...</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>More</b>	38 %	80 %	20 %
<b>Less</b>	54 %	27 %	71 %
<b>Priority for Surplus</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Tax Cut</b>	31 %	32 %	67 %
<b>Debt Reduction</b>	28 %	55 %	44 %
<b>Social Security</b>	31 %	61 %	38 %
<b>Other Programs</b>	5 %	0 %	0 %
<b>Who Would Say Anything?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Only Gore</b>	38 %	22 %	78 %
<b>Only Bush</b>	22 %	74 %	25 %
<b>Both</b>	32 %	66 %	32 %
<b>Neither</b>	7 %	59 %	40 %
<b>Would Gore Say Anything?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Yes</b>	70 %	42 %	57 %
<b>No</b>	29 %	70 %	29 %
<b>Would Bush Say Anything?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Yes</b>	54 %	69 %	29 %
<b>No</b>	45 %	28 %	72 %
<b>Has Knowledge to be President?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Only Gore</b>	37 %	91 %	9 %
<b>Only Bush</b>	28 %	10 %	89 %
<b>Both</b>	26 %	38 %	61 %
<b>Neither</b>	6 %	48 %	44 %
<b>Does Gore Know Enough?</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Carnahan</b>	<b>Ashcroft</b>
<b>Yes</b>	64 %	69 %	31 %
<b>No</b>	34 %	17 %	81 %

Does Bush Know Enough?	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Yes	54 %	23 %	76 %
No	44 %	84 %	14 %

Where Do You Live?	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Large City	35 %	62 %	37 %
Suburbs	37 %	43 %	55 %
Rural Area	29 %	45 %	54 %

Stricter Gun Control Laws	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Support	54 %	66 %	33 %
Oppose	42 %	32 %	67 %

If Jean Carnahan on Ballot	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Jean Carnahan	48 %	97 %	3 %
John Ashcroft	47 %	5 %	95 %
Would Not Have Voted	3 %	0 %	0 %




Vote for Governor	All	Carnahan	Ashcroft
Holden	49 %	89 %	11 %
Talent	48 %	12 %	88 %
Other	3 %	0 %	0 %

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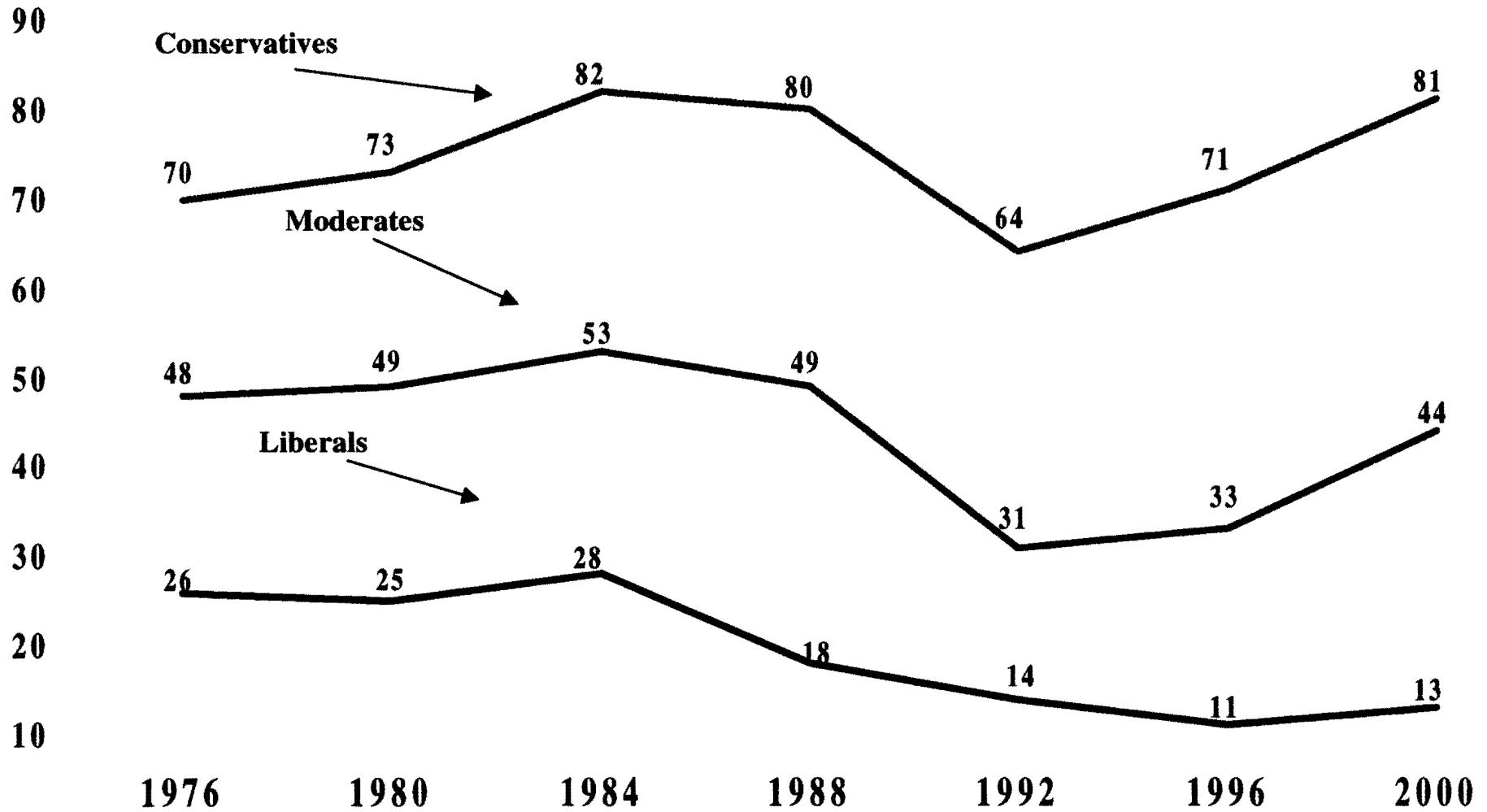
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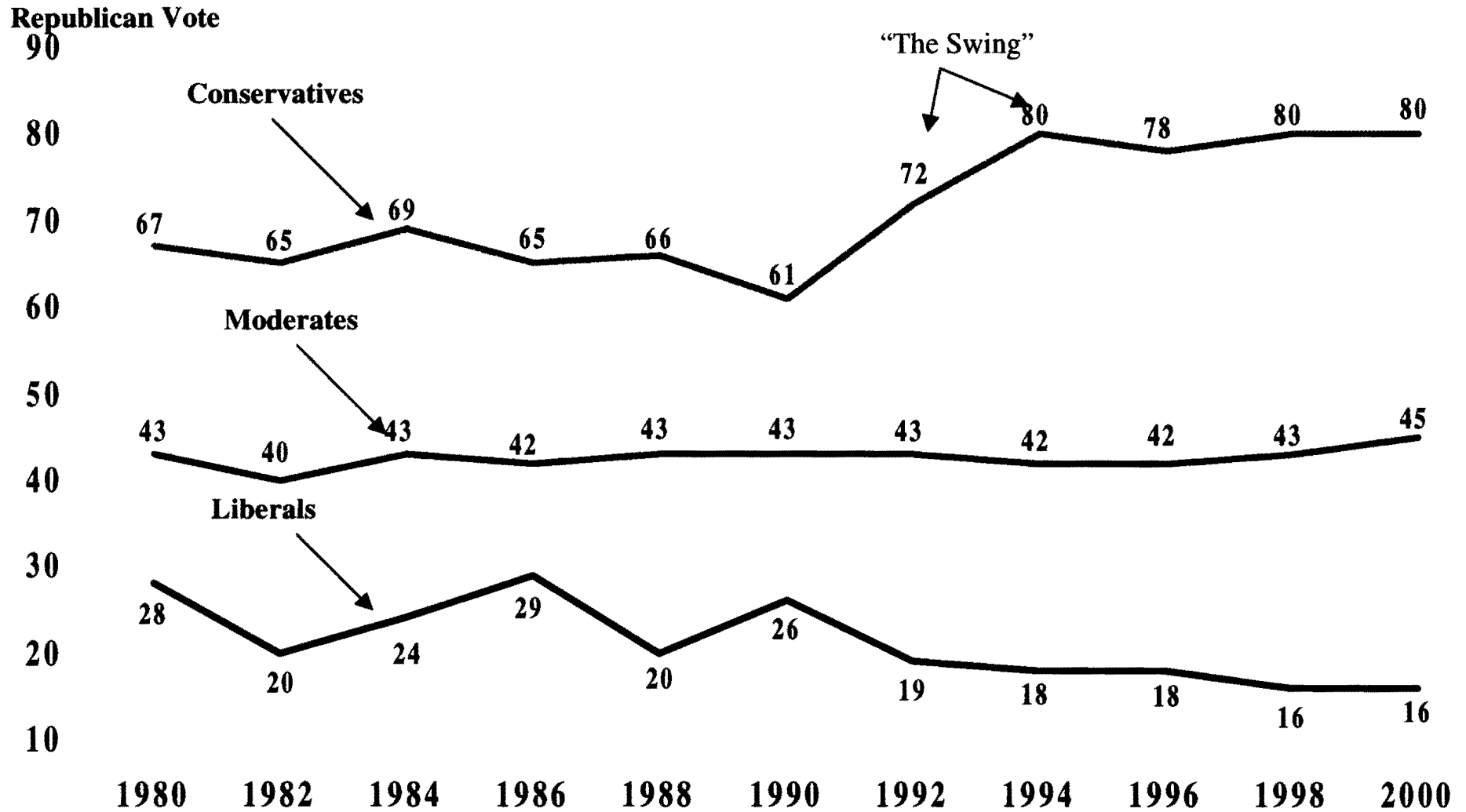
H18/20N W17E

# Ideological Patterns to the Presidential Vote

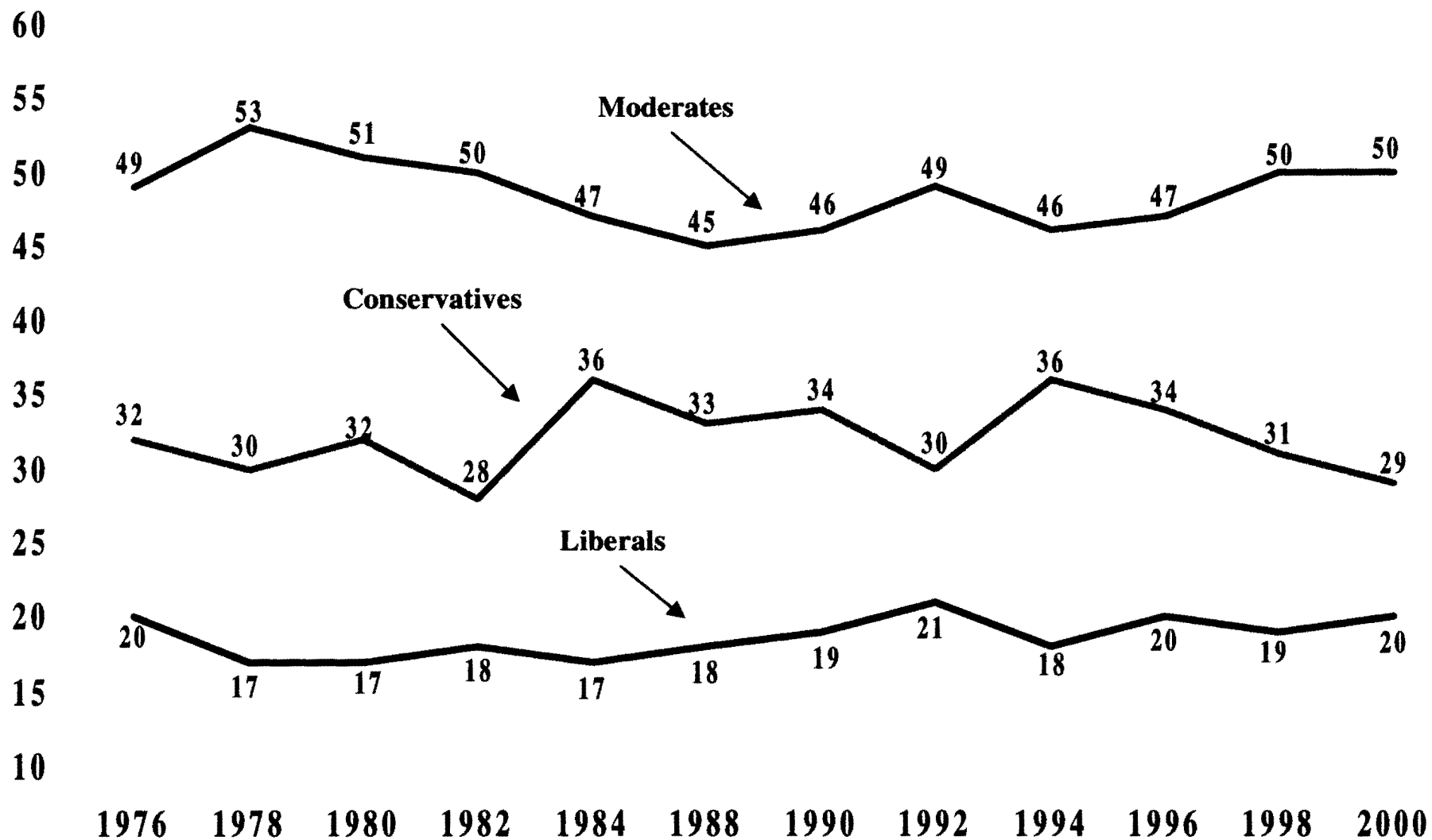
Republican Vote



# Ideological Patterns to U.S. House Vote

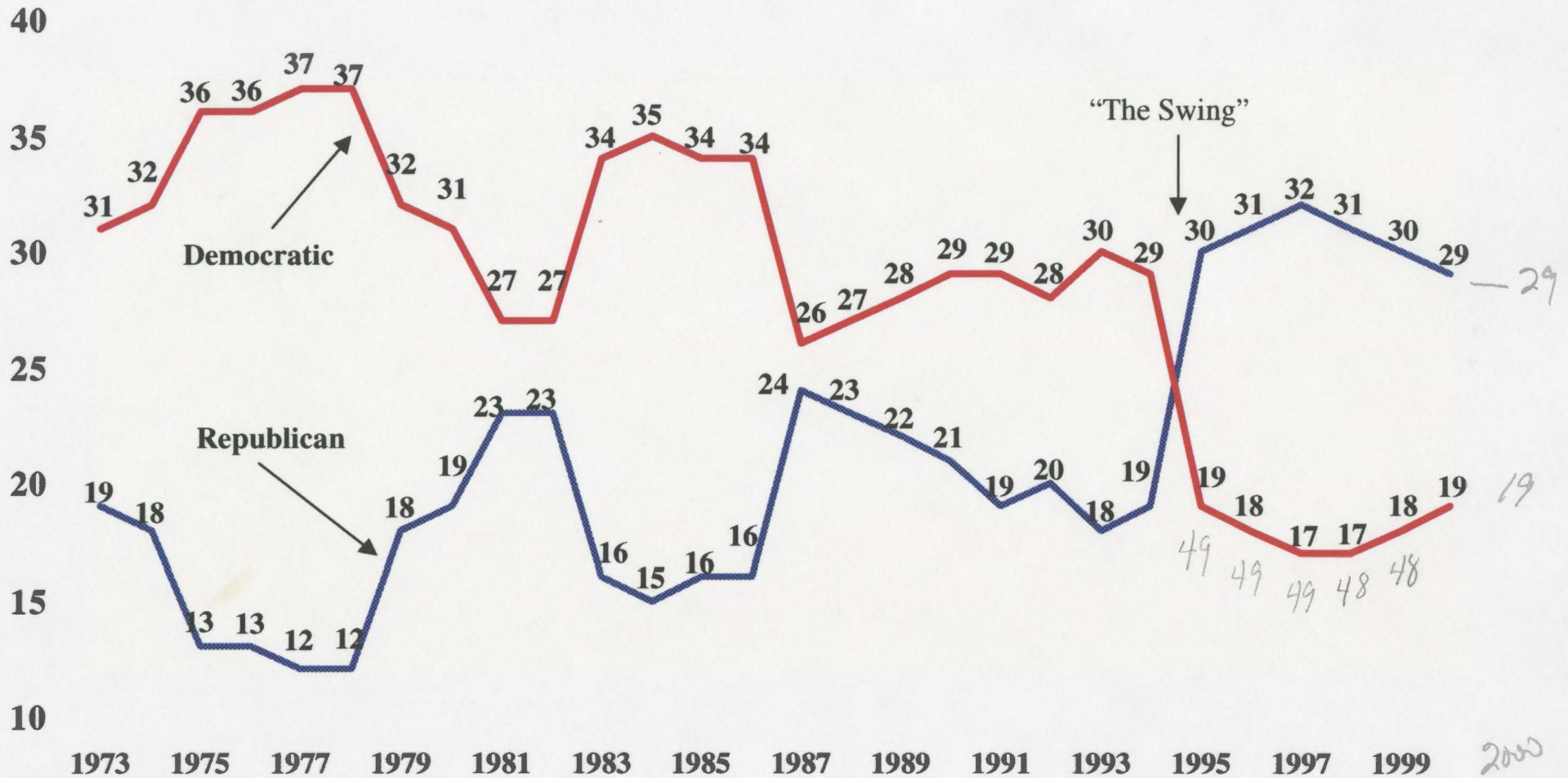


# Ideological Composition of Voters: 1976-2000

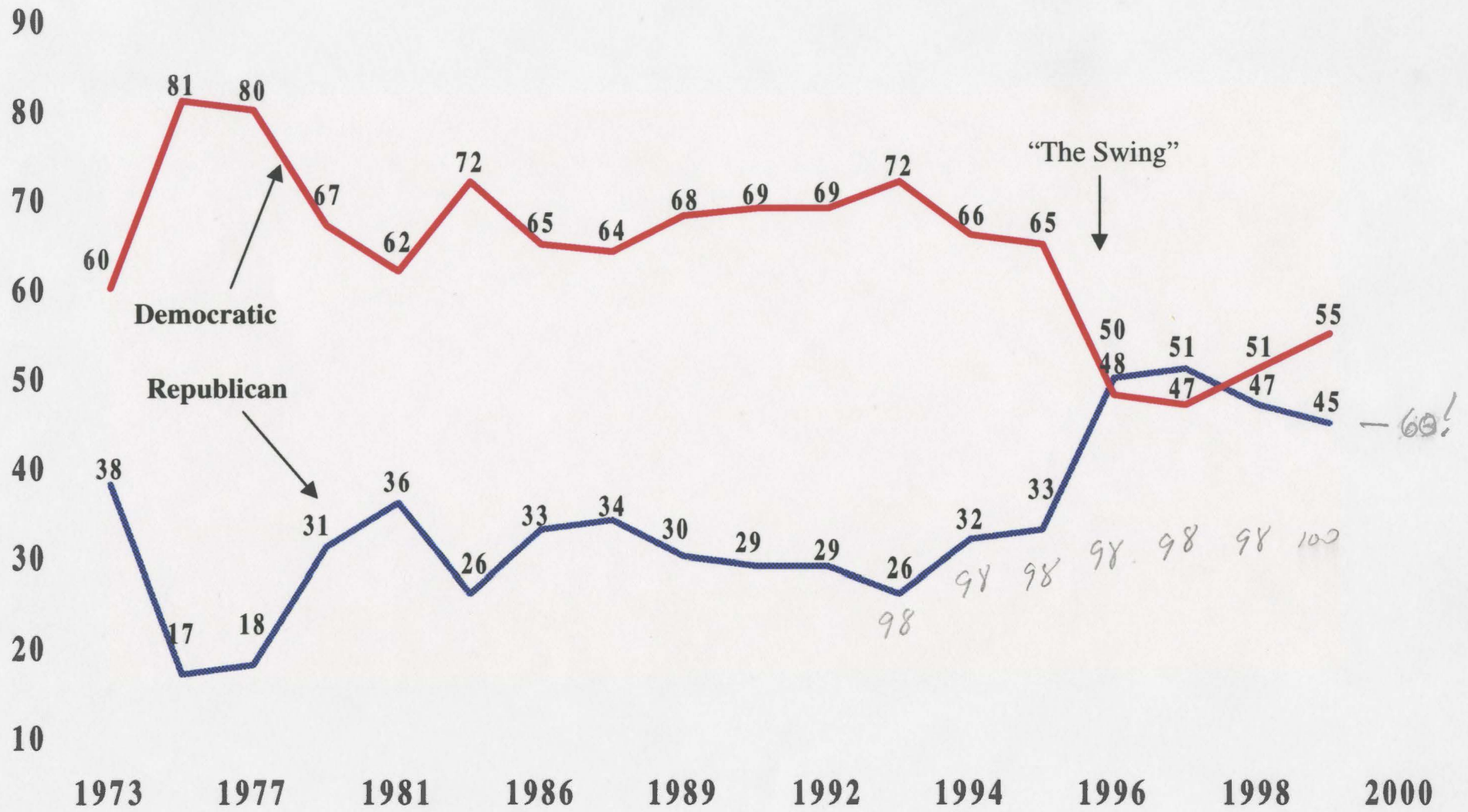


Sources: CBS 1976-1978; CBS/NYT 1980-1984, 1988; VRS 1990-1992; VNS 1994-1998  
Results for 1986 are not available; VNS 2000.

# Trend to Control Of Governorships



# Trend to Control Of State Legislative Chambers



Show Card ONLY, All Years

	Inap	EL	SL	LL	Mod	LC	SC	EC	DK	Fewer Moderates			More Moderates		
										Lib	Mod	Cons	Lib	Mod	Cons
1972	21.7	1.5	7.2	9.8	26.9	14.9	10.2	1.3	6.5	18.5	26.9	26.4	8.7	51.6	11.5
1974	26.9	1.3	6.7	8	25.1	12.3	10.9	2.2	6.6	16	25.1	25.4	8	45.4	13.1
1976	21.1	1.7	11	7.8	25.9	12	11.7	1.9	7.2	20.2	25.9	25.6	12.4	45.7	13.6
1978	22.5	1.6	7.8	9.8	26.5	13.4	11.2	2.3	4.9	19.2	26.5	26.9	9.4	49.7	13.5
1980	31.2	1.5	5.8	8.4	19	13.1	12.3	2	6.7	15.7	19.0	27.4	7.3	40.5	14.3
1982	33.2	1.3	5.7	7.4	22.1	12.6	12	2.2	3.5	14.4	22.1	26.8	7.0	42.1	14.2
1984	26.1	1.6	7.1	8.91	23	13.9	12.8	1.6	5.007	17.6	23.0	28.2	8.7	45.8	14.4
1986	21.4	1.1	6	10.7	27.7	15.1	13	1.52	3.539	17.7	27.7	29.6	7.1	53.5	14.5
1988	26.1	1.7	5.5	9.1	21.9	15.2	13.6	2.9	4.0	16.3	21.9	31.7	7.2	46.2	16.5
1990	31.2	1.4	7.2	8.0	24.3	13.9	9.8	2.1	2.2	16.6	24.3	25.7	8.5	46.2	11.8
1992	39.5	2.9	3.1	8.2	20.5	11.2	9.5	4.2	0.8	14.3	20.5	24.9	6.0	39.9	13.7
1994	21.0	1.4	6.3	7.7	26.5	14.5	18.0	3.2	1.4	15.4	26.5	35.7	7.7	48.7	21.2
1996	21.5	1.4	7.6	10.9	23.5	15.5	16.2	2.6	0.8	19.9	23.5	34.3	9.0	49.9	18.8
1998	20.9	2.0	7.0	9.4	28.5	15.3	12.5	2.4	2.0	18.4	28.5	30.2	9.0	53.2	14.9

- 1972-1982 Show Card. Didn't push anyone.
- 1984 Show card. Pushed DKs and Inaps ONLY. Moderates not pushed.
- 1986 Show card. Pushed DKs and Inaps ONLY. Moderates not pushed.
- 1988 Show card. Pushed moderates, DKs, and Inaps.
- 1990 Show card. Pushed DKs and Inaps ONLY. Moderates not pushed.
- 1992 Show card. Pushed DKs and Inaps ONLY. Moderates not pushed.
- 1994 Show card. Pushed DKs and Inaps ONLY. Moderates not pushed.
- 1996 Show card (probably). Pushed moderates, DKs, and Inaps.
- 1998 Show card (probably). Pushed moderates, DKs, and Inaps.

Percentages above for 1984-1996 are for the show card ONLY, with no pushes, just like 1972-1982.

1972-1982 Consistent and 1984-1996 Consistent

	Inap	EL	SL	LL	Mod	LC	SC	EC	DK	Fewer Moderates			More Moderates		
										Lib	Mod	Cons	Lib	Mod	Cons
1972	21.7	1.5	7.2	9.8	26.9	14.9	10.2	1.3	6.5	18.5	26.9	26.4	8.7	51.6	11.5
1974	26.9	1.3	6.7	8	25.1	12.3	10.9	2.2	6.6	16	25.1	25.4	8	45.4	13.1
1976	21.1	1.7	11	7.8	25.9	12	11.7	1.9	7.2	20.2	25.9	25.6	12.4	45.7	13.6
1978	22.5	1.6	7.8	9.8	26.5	13.4	11.2	2.3	4.9	19.2	26.5	26.9	9.4	49.7	13.5
1980	31.2	1.5	5.8	8.4	19	13.1	12.3	2	6.7	15.7	19.0	27.4	7.3	40.5	14.3
1982	33.2	1.3	5.7	7.4	22.1	12.6	12	2.2	3.5	14.4	22.1	26.8	7.0	42.1	14.2
1984		1.6	7.1	13.9	26.4	24.0	12.8	1.6	12.6	22.6	26.4	38.4	8.7	64.3	14.4
1986		1.1	6.0	14.6	31.0	23.5	13.0	1.5	9.3	21.7	31.0	38.0	7.1	69.1	14.5
1988		1.7	5.5	13.2	25.0	25.9	13.6	2.9	12.2	20.4	25.0	42.4	7.2	64.1	16.5
1990		1.4	7.2	13.2	29.0	25.1	9.8	2.1	12.3	21.8	29.0	36.9	8.5	67.3	11.8
1992		2.9	3.1	18.4	24.0	32.3	9.5	4.2	5.6	24.5	24.0	46.0	6.0	74.7	13.7
1994		1.4	6.3	11.4	29.3	24.4	18.0	3.2	6.1	19.1	29.3	45.6	7.7	65.1	21.2
1996		1.4	7.6	16.4	26.8	25.4	16.2	2.6	3.6	25.4	26.8	44.2	9.0	68.6	18.8
1998		2.0	7.0	14.1	37.9	18.6	12.5	2.4	5.5	23.1	37.9	33.5	9.0	70.6	14.9

- 1972-1982 Show Card. Didn't push anyone.
- 1984 Show card. Pushed DKs and Inaps ONLY. Moderates not pushed.
- 1986 Show card. Pushed DKs and Inaps ONLY. Moderates not pushed.
- 1988 Show card. Pushed moderates, DKs, and Inaps.
- 1990 Show card. Pushed DKs and Inaps ONLY. Moderates not pushed.
- 1992 Show card. Pushed DKs and Inaps ONLY. Moderates not pushed.
- 1994 Show card. Pushed DKs and Inaps ONLY. Moderates not pushed.
- 1996 Show card (probably). Pushed moderates, DKs, and Inaps.
- 1998 Show card (probably). Pushed moderates, DKs, and Inaps.

Percentages above for 1984-1996 are after pushing INAPS/DKs ONLY.



## Election Exit Polls

### Ideology

*On most political matters, do you consider yourself a liberal, moderate or conservative?*

	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994*
Conservative	32	30	32	28	36	na	33	34	30	36
Moderate	49	53	51	50	47	na	45	46	49	46
Liberal	20	17	17	18	17	na	18	19	21	18
Total	101	100	100	96	100		96	99	100	100

### Partisanship

*Do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?*

	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994*
Republican	25	26	30	29	36	na	34	33	35	35
Independent	34	31	26	25	26	na	26	27	27	26
Democrat	41	43	45	44	38	na	37	37	38	38
Total	100	100	101	98	100		97	97	100	101

<u>Sources</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Date</u>
CBS News	1976	15199	11/2
CBS News	1978	8769	11/7
CBS News/NY Times	1980	15202	11/4
CBS News/NY Times	1982	7855	11/2
CBS News/NY Times	1984	9174	11/6
CBS News/NY Times	1988	11539	11/8
Voter Res. & Surveys	1990	19888	11/6
Voter Res. & Surveys	1992	15490	11/3
Voter News Service	1994	9675	11/6
Mitofsky International	1994	5260	11/6

3 of the two exit polls done that year. VNS is given a weight of two, as that poll was conducted with roughly twice as many interviews.

Voting Results

*Post Election*

This is amazing. The Republicans have a 2 to 4 seat majority in the house. 50-50 in the Senate if Gore loses.  
 The second closest electoral college race in history next to the corrupt bargain of 1876 which FL played the major role.  
 Gore has a 337,000 vote lead out of 103,850,000 or so. Electoral Vote Current Estimate Bush 271 Gore 267. Needs 270 to win.

If Bush Wins. He will be the 43rd President. Grover Cleveland counts twice. This chart doesn't count Bush yet.  
 17 Republican Presidents. 14 Democratic Presidents. 4 Whigs. 4 Democratic-Republicans (Jefferson to John Quincy Adams)  
 2 Federalists (Washington and Adams). 1 Unionist (Andrew Johnson)  
 80 Years Republican. 80 Years Democratic. 28 Years Democratic-Republican. 12 Years Federalists. 8 Years Whigs. 4 Years Unionist.

Candidate	Vote	Candidate	Vote	Vote		Total Cast	Major Candidates	Year
				Difference	Winning %			
Gore	50,157,000	Bush	49,820,000	337,000	103,850,000	0.32%	Nader	2000
Clinton	47,401,000	Dole	39,200,000	8,201,000	95,200,000	8.61%	Perot	1996
Clinton	44,908,000	Bush	39,100,000	5,808,000	105,100,000	5.53%	Perot	1992
Bush	48,900,000	Dukakis	41,800,000	7,100,000	91,250,000	7.78%		1988
Reagan	54,300,000	Mondale	37,500,000	16,800,000	92,400,000	18.18%		1984
Reagan	43,900,000	Carter	35,490,000	8,410,000	85,700,000	9.81%	Anderson	1980
Carter	40,820,000	Ford	39,150,000	1,670,000	80,300,000	2.08%		1976
Nixon	47,170,000	McGovern	29,200,000	17,970,000	76,600,000	23.46%		1972
Nixon	31,800,000	Humphrey	31,300,000	500,000	73,500,000	0.68%	Wallace	1968 18 to 21 can vote
Johnson	43,130,000	Goldwater	27,200,000	15,930,000	70,500,000	22.60%		1964
Kennedy	34,230,000	Nixon	34,110,000	120,000	68,500,000	0.18%		1960
Eisenhower	35,585,000	Stevenson	26,031,000	9,554,000	61,800,000	15.46%		1956
Eisenhower	33,937,000	Stevenson	27,315,000	6,622,000	61,300,000	10.80%		1952
Truman	24,106,000	Dewey	21,970,000	2,136,000	48,600,000	4.40%	Thurmond, Wallace	1948
Roosevelt	25,603,000	Dewey	22,006,000	3,597,000	47,750,000	7.53%		1944
Roosevelt	27,244,000	Willkie	22,304,000	4,940,000	49,700,000	9.94%		1940
Roosevelt	27,752,000	Landon	16,680,000	11,072,000	44,500,000	24.88%		1936
Roosevelt	22,822,000	Hoover	15,762,000	7,060,000	38,700,000	18.24%		1932
Hoover	21,392,000	Smith	15,016,000	6,376,000	36,500,000	17.47%		1928
Coolidge	15,725,000	Davis	8,386,000	7,339,000	30,000,000	24.46%	LaFollette	1924
Harding	16,152,000	Cox	9,147,000	7,005,000	25,350,000	27.63%		1920 Women can vote
Wilson	9,130,000	Hughes	8,538,000	592,000	17,800,000	3.33%		1916
Wilson	6,286,000	Roosevelt	4,216,000	2,070,000	14,100,000	14.68%	Taft 3,884,000	1912
Taft	7,679,000	Bryan	6,409,000	1,270,000	14,200,000	8.94%		1908
Roosevelt	7,629,000	Parker	5,085,000	2,544,000	12,800,000	19.88%		1904
McKinley	7,219,000	Bryan	6,358,000	861,000	13,650,000	6.31%		1900
McKinley	7,035,000	Bryan	6,468,000	567,000	13,600,000	4.17%		1896
Cleveland	5,554,000	Harrison	5,191,000	363,000	11,900,000	3.05%	Weaver	1892
Cleveland	5,540,000	Harrison	5,444,000	96,000	11,100,000	0.86%		1888 Harrison Won
Cleveland	4,911,000	Blaine	4,848,000	63,000	9,840,000	0.64%		1884
Garfield	4,449,000	Hancock	4,442,000	7,000	8,960,000	0.08%		1880
Tilden	4,285,000	Hayes	4,034,000	251,000	8,400,000	2.99%		1876 Hayes Won
Grant	3,597,000	Greeley	2,834,000	763,000	6,500,000	11.74%		1872
Grant	3,015,000	Seymour	2,710,000	305,000	5,800,000	5.26%		1868
Lincoln	2,216,000	McClellan	1,809,000	407,000	4,100,000	9.93%		1864
Lincoln	1,867,000	Douglas	1,375,000	492,000	4,730,000	10.40%	Breckinridge, Bell	1860
Buchanan	1,930,000	Fremont	1,392,000	538,000	4,300,000	12.51%	Fillmore	1856
Pierce	1,602,000	Scott	1,387,000	215,000	3,020,000	7.12%		1852
Taylor	1,360,000	Cass	1,221,000	139,000	2,920,000	4.76%	Van Buren	1848
Polk	1,337,000	Clay	1,300,000	37,000	2,700,000	1.37%		1844
Harrison	1,275,000	Van Buren	1,130,000	145,000	2,500,000	5.80%		1840
Van Buren	763,000	Harrison	548,000	215,000	1,350,000	15.93%		1836
Jackson	688,000	Clay	530,000	158,000	1,250,000	12.64%		1832
Jackson	647,000	Adams	509,000	138,000	1,200,000	11.50%		1828
Jackson	156,000	Adams	105,000	51,000	352,000	14.49%	Clay, Crawford	1824 Adams Won

2000 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE COUNT

STATE	PERCENT BUSH	PERCENT GORE	ACTUAL BUSH MARGIN	EST. BUSH MARGIN	BUSH	GORE	NADER	ELECTORAL VOTES	PERCENT REPORTED
Alabama	57	42	15✓	25	940,153	694,734	17,983	9	99
Alaska	59	28	31✓	21	134,829	63,437	22,601	3	97
Arizona	50	46	4✓	15	673,657	609,937	40,301	8	99
Arkansas	51	45	6✓	1	469,918	417,949	13,205	6	99
California	42	54	-12✓	-7	4,054,756	5,254,500	372,543	54	100
Colorado	51	42	9✓	12	883,858	738,378	91,461	8	99
Connecticut	39	56	-17✓	-5	544,704	789,532	59,950	8	99
Delaware	42	55	-13✓	1	137,081	180,638	8,288	3	100
District of Columbia	9	86	-77✓	-40	17,020	162,004	9,925	3	100
Florida	49	49	0✓	0	2,910,203	2,909,872	96,844	25	100
Georgia	55	43	12✓	15	1,404,058	1,101,101	36,221	13	99
Hawaii	38	56	-18✓	-10	137,785	205,209	21,609	4	100
Idaho	69	28	41✓	26	336,299	138,354	7,687	4	98
<b>Illinois</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>-12</b>	<b>-5</b>	<b>2,012,154</b>	<b>2,566,489</b>	<b>103,028</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>99</b>
Indiana	57	41	16✓	21	1,231,713	888,201	0	12	99
<b>Iowa</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>-1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>628,716</b>	<b>633,969</b>	<b>27,898</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>99</b>
Kansas	58	37	21✓	23	614,419	391,026	35,583	6	99
Kentucky	57	41	16✓	12	869,946	637,518	23,125	8	100
Louisiana	53	45	8✓	10	924,670	789,837	20,817	9	100
<b>Maine</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>-5✓</b>	<b>-3</b>	<b>283,988</b>	<b>315,466</b>	<b>37,757</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>99</b>
Maryland	40	57	-17✓	-12	770,911	1,093,344	51,078	10	100
Massachusetts	33	60	-27✓	-18	876,106	1,610,175	173,758	12	100
Michigan	47	51	-4✓	-2	1,936,288	2,140,755	81,089	18	99
Minnesota	46	48	-2✓	-4	1,110,192	1,168,091	126,579	10	99
Mississippi	57	42	15✓	15	548,634	399,306	7,890	7	99
<b>Missouri</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>4✓</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1,189,521</b>	<b>1,110,826</b>	<b>38,488</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100</b>
Montana	58	34	24✓	13	239,755	137,264	24,487	3	100
Nebraska	63	33	30✓	29	408,719	215,616	22,975	5	100
Nevada	49	46	3✓	7	301,539	279,949	15,004	4	100
New Hampshire	48	47	1✓	3	273,135	265,853	22,156	4	100
New Jersey	41	56	-15✓	-8	1,247,791	1,729,021	92,333	15	99
<b>New Mexico</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>-2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>258,795</b>	<b>267,501</b>	<b>19,911</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100</b>
New York	35	60	-25✓	-15	2,218,620	3,742,101	222,075	33	99
North Carolina	56	43	13✓	10	1,607,238	1,236,721	0	14	100
North Dakota	61	33	28✓	22	175,547	95,723	9,524	3	99
Ohio	50	46	4✓	8	2,294,049	2,117,555	114,474	21	99
Oklahoma	60	38	22✓	20	744,335	474,326	0	8	100
<b>Oregon</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>-2</b>	<b>667,803</b>	<b>671,178</b>	<b>68,175</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>99</b>
Pennsylvania	47	51	-4✓	-4	2,264,309	2,465,412	102,453	23	99
Rhode Island	32	61	-29✓	-25	132,212	252,844	24,115	4	99
South Carolina	57	41	16✓	18	804,826	578,143	21,008	8	100
South Dakota	60	38	22✓	17	190,515	118,750	0	3	100
<b>Tennessee</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>3✓</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1,056,480</b>	<b>977,789</b>	<b>19,694</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100</b>
Texas	59	38	21✓	28	3,796,249	2,427,785	137,706	32	99
Utah	67	26	41✓	32	512,161	201,732	35,661	5	99
Vermont	41	51	-10✓	-11	119,273	148,166	19,810	3	100
Virginia	52	45	7✓	10	1,426,951	1,216,925	58,864	13	99
Washington	45	50	-5✓	3	794,567	883,794	69,578	11	99
West Virginia	52	46	6✓	3	329,708	291,088	10,440	5	100
<b>Wisconsin</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>0✓</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1,235,991</b>	<b>1,242,115</b>	<b>92,925</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100</b>
Wyoming	69	28	41✓	27	147,674	60,421	0	3	100

\*Results reported from CNN.com



**Fred Steeper**  
11/13/00 12:06 PM

To: Michelle Kille/MSI@MSI  
cc:  
Subject: Point

Michelle, please print this in color for me

----- Forwarded by Fred Steeper/MSI on 11/13/00 12:03 PM -----

**Mark Allen**  
11/13/00 10:44 AM

To: Fred Steeper/MSI@MSI, Christopher Blunt/MSI@MSI  
cc:  
Subject: Point

More on the swing.  
MCA

----- Forwarded by Mark Allen/MSI on 11/13/2000 10:43 AM -----



**Peter Ventimiglia**  
11/13/2000 09:46 AM

To: Mark Allen/MSI@MSI  
cc:  
Subject: Point

I think this proves Michael Barone's point about rural vs. urban voting patterns in this election.  
PJV

## The vote Tuesday, county by county

View the election results by county and see how the election was decided in each state, according to preliminary results.

### Square miles of counties won

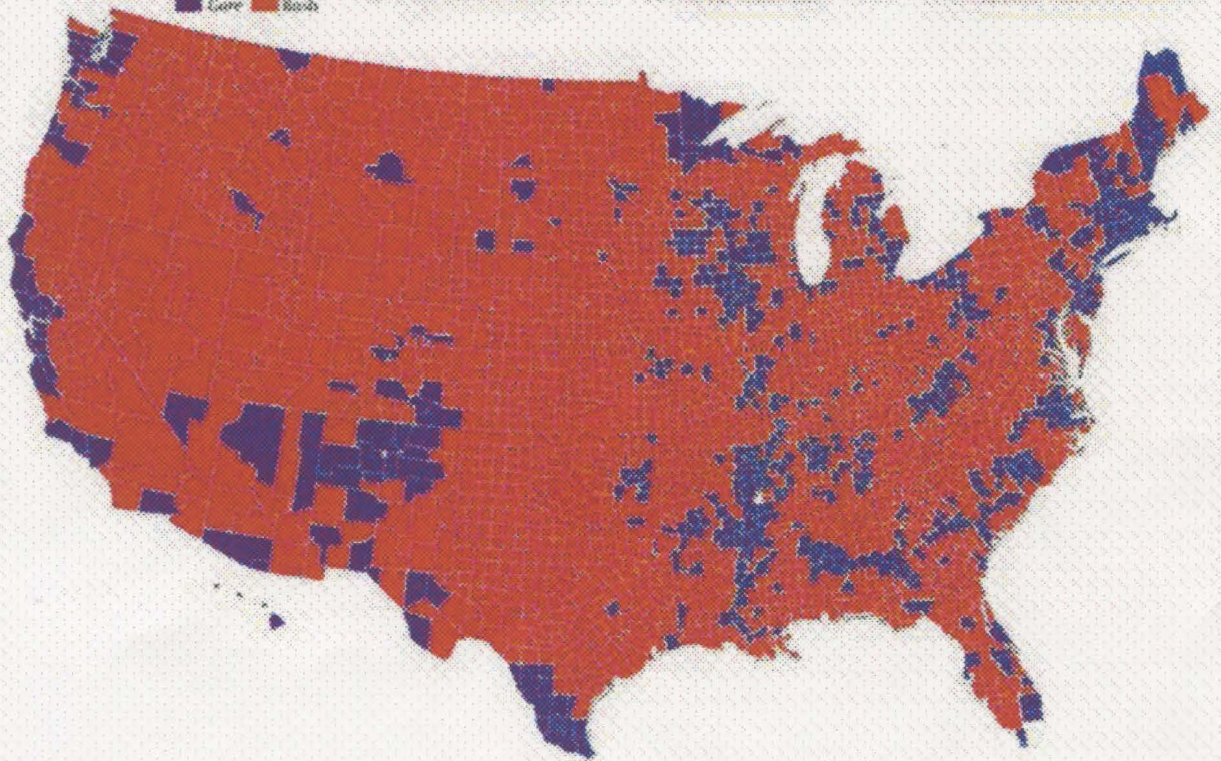
Clinton: 586,138  
Bush: 2,427,039

### Population (1999) of counties won

Clinton: 127 million  
Bush: 143 million

### Growth (1990-99) of counties won

Clinton: 0%  
Bush: 26%



# SENATE RESULTS SUMMARY FOR ALL STATES

results as of 1:02 p.m. EST | [refresh this page](#) | [close this window](#)

## U.S. SENATE

34 at stake, 1 undecided

Party	Up	Nov. 7	Old	New	Gain/Loss
<b>D</b> Democrats	15	18	46	49	3
<b>R</b> Republicans	19	15	54	50	-3

results as of 9:56 a.m. EST

## SENATE TOP STORIES

- [GOP retains control of Senate](#)
- [Hillary Rodham Clinton scores historic win in New York](#)
- [Web Exclusive: CNN's Frank Buckley on the Hillary victory](#)
- [GOP ends 12 year losing streak in Nevada Senate race](#)
- [Democrat unseats incumbent in Delaware Senate race](#)

State	Candidate	Votes	Vote %	Precincts	Declared	P Close
<b>Arizona</b> winner declared	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Kyl (Incumb.)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	964,070	79%	99%		9:00p EST
	<b>I</b> <a href="#">Toel</a>	97,975	8%	<a href="#">by county</a>	9:00p EST	
	<b>I</b> <a href="#">Hansen</a>	97,220	8%			
	<b>I</b> <a href="#">Hess</a>	63,749	5%			
<b>California</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Feinstein (Incumb.)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	5,312,984	57%	100%	11:00p EST	11:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Campbell</a>	3,450,322	37%	<a href="#">by county</a>		<a href="#">exit polls</a>
<b>Connecticut</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Lieberman (Incumb.)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	807,429	64%	98%	8:00p EST	8:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Giordano</a>	438,441	35%	<a href="#">by county</a>		<a href="#">exit polls</a>
<b>Delaware</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Carper (Pick-Up)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	181,387	56%	100%	8:00p EST	8:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Roth (Incumb.)</a>	142,683	44%	<a href="#">by county</a>		<a href="#">exit polls</a>
<b>Florida</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Nelson (Pick-Up)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	2,978,983	52%	100%		7:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">McCollum</a>	2,691,748	47%	<a href="#">by county</a>	7:36p EST	<a href="#">exit polls</a>
	<b>I</b> <a href="#">Logan</a>	19,458	1%			

State	Candidate	Votes	Vote %	Precincts	Declared	P Close
<b>Georgia</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Miller (Incumb.)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1,374,755	57%	99%		7:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Mattingly</a>	923,108	39%	<a href="#">by county</a>	7:00p EST	<a href="#">exit polls</a>
	<b>I</b> <a href="#">Others</a>	94,305	4%			
<b>Hawaii</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Akaka (Incumb.)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	247,899	73%	100%	11:00p EST	11:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Carroll</a>	83,618	25%	<a href="#">by county</a>		<a href="#">exit polls</a>
<b>Indiana</b> winner declared	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Lugar (Incumb.)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1,415,807	67%	99%	6:00p EST	6:00p EST
	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Johnson</a>	681,589	32%	<a href="#">by county</a>		<a href="#">exit polls</a>
<b>Maine</b> winner declared	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Snowe (Incumb.)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	429,407	69%	99%	8:00p EST	8:00p EST
	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Lawrence</a>	196,741	31%	<a href="#">by county</a>		<a href="#">exit polls</a>
<b>Maryland</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Sarbanes (Incumb.)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1,171,151	63%	100%	8:00p EST	8:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Rappaport</a>	678,376	37%	<a href="#">by county</a>		<a href="#">exit polls</a>

State	Candidate	Votes	Vote %	Precincts	Declared	P Close
<b>Mass.</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Kennedy (Incumb.)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1,818,687	73%	97%		8:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Robinson</a>	325,554	13%	<a href="#">by county</a>	8:00p EST	<a href="#">exit polls</a>
	<b>I</b> <a href="#">Howell</a>	299,328	12%			
<b>Michigan</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Stabenow (Pick-Up)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	2,032,378	50%	98%	9:56a EST	8:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Abraham (Incumb.)</a>	1,978,755	49%	<a href="#">by county</a>		<a href="#">exit polls</a>
<b>Wisconsin</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Dayton (Pick-Up)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1,180,659	49%	99%		9:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Grams (Incumb.)</a>	1,048,949	44%	<a href="#">by county</a>	9:41p EST	<a href="#">exit polls</a>
	<b>I</b> <a href="#">Gibson</a>	141,604	6%			
<b>Mississippi</b> winner declared	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Lott (Incumb.)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	620,363	67%	99%	8:00p EST	8:00p EST
	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Brown</a>	294,917	32%	<a href="#">by county</a>		<a href="#">exit polls</a>
<b>Missouri</b> winner declared	<b>D</b> <a href="#">Carnahan (Pick-Up)</a> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1,191,424	51%	100%	1:58a EST	8:00p EST
	<b>R</b> <a href="#">Ashcroft (Incumb.)</a>	1,142,552	49%	<a href="#">by county</a>		<a href="#">exit polls</a>

State	Candidate	Votes	Vote %	Precincts	Declared	P Close
<u>Montana</u>	<b>R</b> Burns (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	206,806	51%	99%		10:00p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Schweitzer	193,243	48%	by county	5:19a EST	exit polls
<u>Nebraska</u>	<b>D</b> Nelson <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	330,366	51%	100%		9:00p EST
winner declared	<b>R</b> Stenberg	318,368	49%	by county	3:19a EST	exit polls
<u>Nevada</u>	<b>R</b> Ensign (Pick-Up) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	330,663	56%	100%		10:00p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Bernstein	238,243	40%	by county	10:00p EST	exit polls
	None Of These	11,501	2%			
<u>New Jersey</u>	<b>D</b> Corzine <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1,454,050	51%	99%		8:00p EST
winner declared	<b>R</b> Franks	1,369,471	48%	by county	9:00p EST	exit polls
<u>New Mexico</u>	<b>D</b> Bingaman (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	323,818	63%	99%		9:00p EST
winner declared	<b>R</b> Redmond	190,953	37%	by county	9:00p EST	exit polls

State	Candidate	Votes	Vote %	Precincts	Declared	P Close
<u>New York</u>	<b>D</b> Clinton <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	3,415,286	56%	99%		9:00p EST
winner declared	<b>R</b> Lazio	2,675,829	44%	by county	9:00p EST	exit polls
<u>North Dakota</u>	<b>D</b> Conrad (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	176,428	61%	99%		9:00p EST
winner declared	<b>R</b> Sand	110,651	39%	by county	9:00p EST	exit polls
<u>Ohio</u>	<b>R</b> DeWine (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	2,590,796	61%	99%		7:30p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Celeste	1,538,863	36%	by county	7:30p EST	exit polls
<u>Pennsylvania</u>	<b>R</b> Santorum (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	2,464,230	53%	99%		8:00p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Klink	2,125,203	46%	by county	8:00p EST	exit polls
<u>Rhode Island</u>	<b>R</b> Chafee (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	225,887	57%	99%		9:00p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Weygand	164,634	42%	by county	9:00p EST	exit polls

State	Candidate	Votes	Vote %	Precincts	Declared	P Close
<u>Tennessee</u>	<b>R</b> Frist (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1,244,216	66%	100%		8:00p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Clark	616,198	33%	by county	8:00p EST	exit polls
<u>Texas</u>	<b>R</b> Hutchison (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	4,079,881	66%	99%		8:00p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Kelly	2,024,974	33%	by county	8:00p EST	exit polls
<u>Utah</u>	<b>R</b> Hatch (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	501,917	66%	99%		10:00p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Howell	241,127	32%	by county	10:00p EST	exit polls
<u>Vermont</u>	<b>R</b> Jeffords (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	188,070	66%	100%		7:00p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Flanagan	72,909	26%	by county	7:00p EST	exit polls
	<b>I</b> Hubbard	5,466	2%			
<u>Virginia</u>	<b>R</b> Allen (Pick-Up) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1,407,835	52%	99%		7:00p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Robb (Incumb.)	1,282,583	48%	by county	7:40p EST	exit polls





State	Candidate	Votes	Vote %	Precincts	Declared	P Close
<u>Washington</u>	<b>R</b> Gorton (Incumb.)	854,271	49%	99%		11:00p EST
not declared	<b>D</b> Cantwell	850,560	49%	by county		exit polls
<u>West Virginia</u>	<b>D</b> Byrd (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	462,566	78%	100%		7:30p EST
winner declared	<b>R</b> Gallaher	119,958	21%	by county	7:30p EST	exit polls
consin	<b>D</b> Kohl (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1,544,516	62%	99%		9:00p EST
winner declared	<b>R</b> Gillespie	929,342	38%	by county	9:00p EST	exit polls
<u>Wyoming</u>	<b>R</b> Thomas (Incumb.) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	157,316	74%	100%		9:00p EST
winner declared	<b>D</b> Logan	47,039	23%	by county	9:00p EST	exit polls

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ELECTION NIGHT REPORTING

November 7, 2000 General Election

All Results Specify A Race Ballot Issues County Customized

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MISSOURI

Statewide Races

Unofficial Election Returns  
 State of Missouri General Election  
 Tuesday, November 07, 2000

[Click here for a printer friendly version](#)

Office	Candidate Name		Votes	% Of Votes	
U.S. President And Vice President			Precincts Reporting 4450 of 4450		
	Al Gore, Joe Lieberman	DEM	<b>1,110,776</b>	47.1%	
	George W. Bush, Dick Cheney	REP	<b>1,189,504</b>	50.4%	
	Harry Browne, Art Olivier	LIB	<b>7,432</b>	.3%	
	Howard Phillips, J. Curtis Frazier	CST	<b>1,956</b>	.1%	
	Pat Buchanan, Ezola Foster	REF	<b>9,804</b>	.4%	
	John Hagelin, Mike Tompkins	NAT	<b>1,103</b>	.0%	
	Ralph Nader, Winona LaDuke	GRE	<b>38,488</b>	1.6%	
	<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,359,063</b>		

Office	Candidate Name		Votes	% Of Votes	
U.S. Senator			Precincts Reporting 4441 of 4441		
	Carnahan, Mel	DEM	<b>1,191,423</b>	50.5%	
	Ashcroft, John	REP	<b>1,142,512</b>	48.4%	
	Stauffer, Grant Samuel	LIB	<b>10,194</b>	.4%	
	Foley, Hugh	REF	<b>4,164</b>	.2%	
	Dockins, Charles	NAT	<b>1,930</b>	.1%	
	Taylor, Evaline	GRE	<b>10,609</b>	.4%	
	<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,360,832</b>		

Office	Candidate Name		Votes	% Of Votes	
Governor			Precincts Reporting 4432 of 4432		
	Holden, Bob	DEM	<b>1,152,211</b>	49.1%	
	Talent, Jim	REP	<b>1,130,963</b>	48.2%	
	Swenson, John M.	LIB	<b>11,268</b>	.5%	
	Smith, Richard L.	CST	<b>3,140</b>	.1%	
	Kline, Richard Allen	REF	<b>4,906</b>	.2%	
	Reed, Lavoy (Zaki Baruti)	GRE	<b>9,010</b>	.4%	
	Rice, Larry	IND	<b>34,439</b>	1.5%	
	<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,345,937</b>		

Office	Candidate Name		Votes	% Of Votes	
Lieutenant Governor			Precincts Reporting 4432 of 4432		
	Maxwell, Joe	DEM	<b>1,201,579</b>	52.1%	
	Bailey, Wendell	REP	<b>1,013,837</b>	44.0%	
	Horras, Phillip W.	LIB	<b>20,338</b>	.9%	
	Wells, Bob	CST	<b>15,617</b>	.7%	
	Weber, George D.	REF	<b>17,861</b>	.8%	
	Griffard, Patricia A.	NAT	<b>18,244</b>	.8%	
	Kjelshus, Ben	GRE	<b>16,728</b>	.7%	
	<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,304,204</b>		

Office	Candidate Name		Votes	% Of Votes	
Secretary Of State			Precincts Reporting 4432 of 4432		
	Gaw, Steve	DEM	<b>1,036,441</b>	45.1%	
	Blunt, Matt	REP	<b>1,179,822</b>	51.4%	
	Southard, Jane Spence	LIB	<b>32,320</b>	1.4%	

Ivanovich, Donna L.	CST	<b>10,024</b>	.4%
<u>Pankey, Marvalene</u>	REF	<b>7,101</b>	.3%
Benge, Lois	NAT	<b>5,007</b>	.2%
Elias, Paula	GRE	<b>25,383</b>	1.1%
<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,296,098</b>	

**State Treasurer**

Precincts Reporting 4432 of 4432

Farmer, Nancy	DEM	<b>1,186,058</b>	51.5%
Graves, Todd	REP	<b>1,057,109</b>	45.9%
<u>Trembley, Arnold J.</u>	LIB	<b>19,067</b>	.8%
Culligan, Kerry	CST	<b>7,822</b>	.3%
<u>Frank, Terrence D. (Terry)</u>	REF	<b>8,304</b>	.4%
Carter, Marvin	NAT	<b>5,702</b>	.2%
Vanlandingham, Ray	GRE	<b>18,493</b>	.8%
<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,302,555</b>	

**Attorney General**

Precincts Reporting 4432 of 4432

Nixon, Jeremiah W. (Jay)	DEM	<b>1,378,817</b>	60.3%
<u>Jones, Sam</u>	REP	<b>855,530</b>	37.4%
Moore, Mitch	LIB	<b>53,513</b>	2.3%
<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,287,860</b>	

**Constitutional Amendment 1**

Precincts Reporting 4432 of 4432

<u>Budget Reserve Fund</u>	Yes	<b>1,222,708</b>	59.2%
	No	<b>844,115</b>	40.8%
<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,066,823</b>	

**Constitutional Amendment 2**

Precincts Reporting 4432 of 4432

<u>Bingo</u>	Yes	<b>671,241</b>	32.5%
	No	<b>1,395,386</b>	67.5%
<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,066,627</b>	

**Constitutional Amendment 3**

Precincts Reporting 4432 of 4432

<u>Compensation Commission</u>	Yes	<b>779,865</b>	39.1%
	No	<b>1,216,903</b>	60.9%
<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>1,996,768</b>	

**Proposition A**

Precincts Reporting 4432 of 4432

<u>Outdoor Advertising</u>	Yes	<b>1,074,895</b>	48.9%
	No	<b>1,121,719</b>	51.1%
<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,196,614</b>	

**Proposition B**

Precincts Reporting 4432 of 4432

<u>Campaign Finance</u>	Yes	<b>748,717</b>	35.4%
	No	<b>1,364,748</b>	64.6%
<b>Total Votes</b>		<b>2,113,465</b>	

\* Election results as of 11:32:16 on 11/08/2000

**Party Code Definitions**

CST	Constitution	IND	Independent	REF	Reform
DEM	Democratic	LIB	Libertarian	REP	Republican
GRE	Green	NAT	Natural Law	WI	Write-In
		NP	Nonpartisan		

**Office of Secretary of State Rebecca McDowell Cook**

600 W. Main and 208 State Capitol, P.O. Box 1767 Jefferson City, Missouri 65102 / **Telephone: (573) 751-4936**

Atkins

# The Hotline

NATIONAL JOURNAL'S DAILY BRIEFING ON POLITICS

Friday, November 10, 2000

## SPOTLIGHT

### Over And Under

In debating the FL machine-ballot results, keep in mind the two main reasons a machine might reject a ballot: (#2)

-- **Undervoting:** Machines reject ballots where voters haven't made clear holes, even if they tried. A hand count would probably produce many ballots where the intent was clear if the hole was not -- which could be just as true in **Bush** counties as in the 4 counties where **Gore** has asked for a hand count.

-- **Overvoting:** Two-thirds of the rejected Palm Beach ballots were from over-voters. Those who mistakenly voted for **Buchanan** and **Gore** might have a weak case for redress if they failed to ask for another ballot. But there is a different explanation: Some may have voted twice, once for **Al Gore** and once for **Joe Lieberman**, on a ballot that lists both names, seems to provide a place to vote for each, and nowhere says to vote only for one.

## QUOTE OF THE DAY

"We're now living in a nation where after voters cast ballots, somebody needs to ask them: 'Is that your final answer.'"

-- *Los Angeles Times*' **Mike Downey**, 11/10

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National Journal

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11/10/00

??? OVERLOOKED ???

**If Sens. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-CO) and Richard Shelby (R-AL) had not switched parties, the Dems would effectively control the new Senate regardless of who wins the presidency or the WA SEN race. -- courtesy ex-Hotliner Eron Shosteck.**

► INDECISION 2000

1 FLORIDA: Waiting To Exhale

As reported by the AP, the latest recount numbers with 67 out of 67 precincts reporting has **George W. Bush** ahead by 327 votes (AP, 11/10). The 327-vote gap "showed a much closer race" than the results released yesterday by FL Sec./State **Katherine Harris**. Harris "moved cautiously" yesterday, releasing figures from 53 counties where recount totals were certified by county officials. Harris announced the margin at 1,784 -- the exact margin Bush had before the recount, which Harris aide **Ben McKay** called "completely coincidental." Harris noted that counties must have their recounts in by 11/14 and that while absentee ballots must be received by 11/17, they must also be postmarked by Election Day (Bousquet and Clark, *Miami Herald*, 11/10). Harris: "Hear this: We will continue to perform our responsibilities and this process with all due speed, but with a determination to assure the full accuracy and independence of this process" (Lauer, *Tallahassee Democrat*, 11/10). In addition, Harris announced that FL Agriculture Commis. **Bob Crawford** will replace FL GOP Gov. **Jeb Bush** on the canvassing board that will eventually certify the state's recount results (Kam, *AP/Naples Daily News*, 11/10).

Crawford, on whether the AP tally is incorrect: "I don't know if it's incorrect or not. I do know that at 54 counties late last night, we had George Bush up by 1784 votes. Now that didn't seem to be tracking the AP projection. So there is a little bit of a discrepancy there but we have some more counties to count and it may end up being the same by the end of the day" ("Today," NBC, 11/10).

**Focus Shifts To Overseas Ballots**

After the AP report indicated that Bush held onto the lead after all 67 precincts had reported, Bush spokesperson **Karen Hughes** released a statement maintaining, "The vote count on Thursday night showed Governor Bush won Florida's election, and a recount has now confirmed his victory. The only votes left to be counted are the overseas ballots, which in the past have favored Republican candidates. ... We hope Vice President **Al Gore** and his campaign will reconsider their threats of lawsuits or still more recounts, which could undermine the constitutional process of selecting a President and has no foreseeable end" (11/10). FL law "allows votes cast overseas to be counted as long as they arrive within 10 days of the election, which is Nov. 17. But those that arrive after Election Day aren't opened and counted until that deadline arrives" (Davis and Jaffe, *Wall Street Journal*, 11/10).

*Palm Beach Post's* Van Sickler reports that "more than 7,000" absentee votes from FL residents overseas still had not yet been counted yesterday, "making them a possible final swing vote in a razor thin race for president." The *Palm Beach Post* "checked with elections officials in 52 counties" yesterday and "found that at least 7,479 votes still were not counted out of the 15,230 absentee votes issued overseas from those offices." However, the 7,479 number "does not include large counties like Broward and Pinellas, or counties like St. Johns that are home to large pockets of Navy personnel, the type of profession that would most likely station people overseas." The number of outstanding ballots for these 15 counties was not yet available late yesterday (11/10).

A survey conducted by the *Miami Herald* of 17 counties indicated that 2,975 overseas ballots had not yet been returned (Bousquet and Clark, *Miami Herald*, 11/10).

*USA Today's* Leinwand writes that "about 5,000 overseas ballots are outstanding, according to estimates." However, "no one can predict how many of those will be returned" (11/10).

**A Sampling Of What May Be Out There**

**Duval County:** Has had "less than 60% of its overseas ballots come in." However, Supervisor of

Elections **John Stafford** maintained that is "about normal" (Van Sickler, *Palm Beach Post*, 11/10).

**Bay County:** It may be a "small" county in the Panhandle, but the Air Force and Navy employ "about 10,000 people there, which might account for their 650 ballots issued overseas." The county still has about 306 overseas ballots outstanding. Deputy Supervisor of Elections **Larry Roxby**: "There's no way to tell how many overseas ballots are to come in. ... I wouldn't be surprised if we saw a lot, but in the last few days we haven't seen any" (Van Sickler, *Palm Beach Post*, 11/10).

**Brevard County:** 1,379 ballots were sent from the county and "only 23.6% haven't been accounted for." Supervisor of Elections **Fred Galey** maintained that he "expects about 65 of the remaining 325 to come in based on the history of absentee voting from overseas in that county" (Van Sickler, *Palm Beach Post*, 11/10).

*Salon.com's* Chocano writes civilian DoD employee **Elaine Gatley** has said that "at least five" FL residents serving at a US Air Force Base in England received two absentee ballots for this year's presidential race. Gatley said yesterday that she "and four fellow Floridians who work in her office received two ballots in the mail from the state of Florida." Gatley, a registered Dem, "completed and returned only one of the ballots," but she added that her friends, who are registered GOPers, "told her that they filled out and returned the second ballots as well." Gatley: "These people thought there was something wrong with the original ballot. ... They just sent the second ballot in, thinking maybe something was wrong." However, according to a FL elections official, if someone sends in two ballots, election officials "simply void one of them, not both" (11/9).

FL elections board's **Bob Crawford** on DoD employees in England getting two absentee ballots each: "As those ballots come back to the individual supervisors of the election, there's going to be some ability to make sure people don't vote twice and we'll be watching that very closely" ("Today," NBC, 11/10).

**Who Will Overseas Ballots Help?**

"Many say military votes would tend to favor" Bush. In addition, "many of the supervisors say their absentee votes from overseas are two-to-one Republican." Regardless, "whatever they are, many supervisors say they won't touch the votes" until 11/17. Clay Co. deputy supervisor **Stephanie Thomas**: "Right now I have 195 in the vault. ... They came in after Nov. 7, so we don't touch them. But they do tend to be military" (Van Sickler, *Palm Beach Post*, 11/10).

"Many" of the American voters in Israel are retirees "who use regular postal service, which can take a week to reach" the U.S. That "would make them more likely to arrive in Florida after" the 11/17 deadline. In addition, Republicans Abroad dir. **Michael Jones** "scoffs that Americans in Israel will play a significant role." He maintained that "many Americans overseas are business executives" who "tend to vote Republican." However, a spokesperson for the Assoc. of Americans and Canadians in Israel "estimates that 4,000 of the group's members registered to vote in Florida." Of that number, the spokesperson estimated that 90% of them voted for Gore. Of the 120,000 Americans who live in Israel, about 2/3 of them belong to the AACI (Davis and Jaffe, *Wall Street Journal*, 11/10).

The "tight" race in FL "may give the last word" on the presidential election to a "relative handful of overseas voters who are eclectic, often conservative -- and usually an electoral afterthought" (Richter and Pasternak, *Los Angeles Times*, 11/10).

*Chicago Tribune's* Dellios writes that "like Jewish voters elsewhere, 90% of Israeli Floridians were expected" to vote for Gore. The "idea that they could swing the election is a bit far-fetched, but perhaps no more so than other scenarios that have become a reality in the US since Election Day" (11/10).

**Is Gore Camp Ready To Sue?**

Dems yesterday "vowed legal action" yesterday to determine and Gore campaign chair **William Daley** said he and Gore advisor, ex-Sec./State **Warren Christopher**, were "deeply troubled" by the fairness of the election -- "particularly problems resulting from the ballot" in Palm Beach Co. Daley said that Dem officials would "request a hand count of ballots" in Palm Beach Co., as well as Broward, Volusia and Dade. Dem atty **Kendall Coffey** said he "didn't know whether demanding a new election" in Palm Beach Co. would be the "appropriate legal remedy, adding that a judge "might have different options" (Cobb, *Houston Chronicle*, 11/10).

The Gore campaign "vowed" yesterday to "mount a legal challenge" of the FL vote. The decision "means a transfixed nation might have to wait weeks to learn" who will become president. Gore's "determination to contest one of the closest White House races in history added another twist to a gripping political drama." It

was "a moment no one had anticipated -- and one that put to the test the nation's long democratic tradition of a smooth transfer of power" (11/10).

*USA Today's* Keen writes that Bush has been "saying for months" that Gore would "do anything to get elected," now they are "trying to convince the nation that's why Gore appears determined to challenge -- in court if necessary -- the vote count in Florida." Bush chair **Don Evans**: "Vice President Gore's campaign did not like the outcome of Election Day, and it seems they're worried that they won't like the official recount results either" (11/10). ABC's **Stephanopoulos**, on contention beyond FL: "If the result in Florida flips, there are three states where the Republicans are very close to Gore. ... There is a potential if this is prolonged in Florida that it could go on to other states" ("World News," 11/9).

#### Pressure Mounting Against Court Challenge?

*Washington Post's* Lane writes that no presidential election in US history has been decided by federal or state court action, "so if they choose to go to court to reverse the apparent result" of the FL election, Gore "and his supporters would be venturing into uncharted waters" (11/10). Daley "accused" the Bush campaign of trying to "presumptively crown themselves the victors" by planning a transition team. Daley, "fearful that Bush and his strategists were winning the public relations battle by painting Gore as a sore loser," maintained: "We do not want delay. What we do want, however, is democracy fulfilled."

Two Dem senators raised concerns about a possible court challenge yesterday. LA Dem Sen. **John Breaux** maintained that the right thing to do "is to count the votes and respect the decision." NJ Dem Sen. **Bob Torricelli** "warned against getting mired in the courts": "I want Al Gore to win this election ... but more than that, I want somebody to win this election. There is going to have to be a very compelling case for anybody to take this to a court of law." More Torricelli: "It's a downward spiral. It may begin with Florida, but it can go to other states and ultimately the presidency of the United States should not be decided by a judge" (Apple, *New York Times*, 11/10).

CNN's **Schneider**: "Today what we saw was a dangerous escalation of the rhetoric, a sense that people are trying to make politics out of what should be an orderly vote-counting process. Threats of legal suits, recriminations, vote fraud, voter confusion. I think that is very dismaying to voters who want to see a process that is, in the very least, orderly" ("Election 2000," 11/9).

"Step by incredible step, the overtime struggle" for the presidency is "inching toward the constitutional confrontation both sides declare they do not want." However, "stopping short of one will become increasingly difficult should the struggle go to court as Democrats intend" (Mears, AP, 11/9).

*St. Petersburg Times's* Pittman writes that "for the most part" legal experts "were scratching around in vain to find a legal precedent that applies to this particular situation" (11/10).

NBC's **Lauer** on the legal challenges in Palm Beach county: "Legal challenges could keep the race's outcome in doubt long after all the votes have been counted and recounted again" ("Today," NBC, 11/10).

*Washington Times's* **Tony Blankley**, on vote contention being a slippery slope: "As each [vote] gets contested the next one will. ... This can not be contained once it starts, it is a very dangerous moment" ("Rivera Live," CNBC, 11/9).

Election law specialist **Kenneth Gross** on where this could end up: "It will go, I'm sure, to the Florida Supreme Court. It is possible that it could go from there to the U.S. Supreme Court if there is a federal question" ("Early Show," CBS, 11/10).

In "turning to the courts to help resolve" the election, Gore's campaign has "stepped onto unexplored -- and some say, dangerous -- constitutional territory, legal and constitutional experts" said yesterday (Hight, *Cox News/Palm Beach Post*, 11/10).

Constitutional lawyer **Floyd Abrams**: "I don't think that presidential candidates ought lightly to go to court, because it does have the potential for not only slowing things down, but for delegitimizing the system. Here I think it's the opposite. I think in this case you almost need a judge to say, look, this was basically fair. Sure, some people got taken advantage of. That's life" ("LKL," CNN, 11/9).

NBC's **Abrams**, on the votes being contested in court: "What is more political than this? How can you not look at the political affiliation -- look into the political background of each and every judge. ... In this particular case, it is almost if you have ever voted in an election you would have to recuse yourself" ("Rivera Live," CNBC, 11/9).

#### The Daley News

Gore Chair **Bill Daley's** 11/10 suggestion of voting irregularities in FL "seemed an ironic twist on a

family legacy." Daley's late father **Richard Daley**, ex-Chicago mayor, "was accused of using his world-famous machine politics to throw the 1960 election" in **JFK's** favor. While allegations of voter fraud "were never proven," the "story still lives in Chicago lore." **Nixon's** '60 press sec. **Herb Klein**, on Daley's FL remarks: "We felt that his father stole an election and here he is talking about contesting it and we didn't" (Callahan, *Wall Street Journal*, 11/10). Bill Daley "was learning to play campaign hardball from the time he was seven." He was a "schoolboy" when his father's "political machine delivered crucial muscle" to JFK. And it was "Daley who stepped up to the microphone" 11/9, as "pundits pondered whether Gore would concede the election" if the FL recount favored Bush. Daley: "Technicalities should not determine the president of the United States" (Leeds, *Los Angeles Times*, 11/10).

The Bush camp "barely waited an hour to start needling the Daley of Campaign 2000 with barely concealed references to the Daley of 40 years ago." Bush strategist **Karl Rove**: "I really thought it was ironic that Chairman Daley went to great lengths to decry the butterfly ballot as confusing and undemocratic." Rove "waved a butterfly ballot from Cook County" IL and said: "Maybe Mr. Daley is in a better place to decry democracy and confusion in Cook County than he is in Florida, if that's really the case." Daley's friends "insist it was an unfair shot" (Sanger, *New York Times*, 11/10). The *New York Post's* Orin writes under the header, "Ironic Twists: Daley's Dad Stole '60 Election" (11/10).

#### Volusia To Re-Count By Hand

Following a "contentious canvassing-board meeting about allegations of voting irregularities," Volusia County elections officials agreed 11/9 to "begin a ballot-by-ballot recount of more than 183,000 votes as early as today." The board decided 11/9 "that with so few votes deciding the fate of the presidency, they should leave no doubt and conduct the recount." Dems were "thrilled," but GOPers said the Dems "should accept the results of the recount." Volusia Co. officials "plan to direct dozens of their employees ... to help with the effort today and through the weekend." Ballots "will be separated into stacks of Bush, Gore and others and then counted by hand" (Pedicini, *Orlando Sentinel*, 11/10).

#### Pinellas The Tail On The Donkey

Gore "gained a few more precious votes" during a 2nd recount in Pinellas Co. 11/9, but Bush "lawyers and lieutenants maneuvered into the night to try to get them back." After 7 pm in Clearwater, FL, election officials signed the new results giving Gore 417 more votes and Bush 61 fewer than on election night. In the 1st recount 11/8, Gore picked up 404 votes, his "largest single gain" in a 1st recount in the state. Pinellas Co. supervisor of elections blamed "human error" and said some workers on election night "did not count all the ballots given them" and a worker processed some ballot cards more than once. But **Benjamin Ginsberg**, Bush camp counsel, said "there is no credible evidence that the tally recorded on election night was inaccurate." Other Bush attys asked the Pinellas office to open today, though it was scheduled to be closed, so the Bush camp could compare absentee ballots and the envelopes in which they were mailed to voter lists, "hunting for any irregularities" (Witt, *Washington Post*, 11/10).

#### The Scene In The Sunshine State

ABC's **Jennings**: "It is a war out there. The presidential campaign only paused for Election Day, and while we are a long way yet from a constitutional crises, the whole nation is now engaged in a debate about the election results" ("World News," 11/9).

CBS' **Rather**: "The deadlocked Presidential election is still in limbo tonight" ("Evening News," CBS, 11/9).

NBC's **Brokaw**: "The Gore campaign set the tone for the day when its heavyweights appeared in Florida to make the legal and political case in unmistakable and uncompromising language: 'We won't give an inch'" ("Nightly News," NBC, 11/9).

More Rather, on the Gore strategy: "News from the Gore camp is that he is prepared to fight for at least another month." CBS' **Pitts**, on the recount: "Florida election officials had hoped that this would be a simple recount. But tonight it is clear the process has been bogged down by passions and politics" ("Evening News," CBS, 11/9).

CNBC's **Rivera**: "It is an uncivil war in the state of Florida where emotions are running high as today's recount ... has narrowed between Bush and Gore, dramatically" ("Rivera Live," 11/9).

CNN's **Press** on what's going on: "This is like impeachment, round two" ("Spin Room," 11/9).

*National Review's* **Lowry** on the situation: "It's like a horror movie. It's an election that won't die. Every

time there's a stake through its heart, it's up again and right at us" ("Spin Room," CNN, 11/9).

Dem strategist **James Carville** on media reactions to the situation: "Somebody needs to go through some of these TV studios and shoot everybody with a dart tranquilizer. I mean, the country's going to be fine" ("Today," NBC, 11/10).

### Of Lawsuits, Civil Rights And Fraud

NAACP President **Kweisi Mfume** on alleged harassment in FL: "Harassment with checkpoints where men, black men and Latinos, were being stopped by state police for no apparent reason near polling places. Harassment where a lot of people who went to vote were told they already voted when in fact they had not, or told that they had voted by absentee when they had not. And they were later proven but in most instances, it took 90 minutes to two hours to get that done and we believe that a lot of people turned around and went home as a result of that" ("Today," NBC, 11/10).

*Miami Herald's* **Bousquet** on fraud allegations: "The state attorney, the prosecutor's office, is looking into a very, very suspicious set of circumstances. A young man named Todd Vinson, who's a law clerk in Miami, who happens to be the son of a federal judge, asked to have absentee ballots mailed to him. They never got to Miami; they never got to Vinson that is. But they were found by the elections office and Mr. Vinson is saying that his signature was forged. The state attorney's looking into that" ("Early Show," CBS, 11/10).

*New York Times'* Gonzalez writes, "saying that Florida voters were denied the chance to cast a true vote - either through polling place glitches or a confusing ballot in one county -- the Rev. **Jesse Jackson** called tonight" for a DoJ investigation "into irregularities in the state's presidential election." Jackson: "Twenty-two thousand people are begging for their vote to count and for its intent to be realized. ... The last vote caused a crisis in the credibility of this election" (11/10).

*Palm Beach Post's* Crowley writes that as it "got even more incredible" yesterday as Bush's lead narrowed and eight state and federal lawsuits challenging the election were filed (11/10). CBS' **Frankel** on the lawsuits: "As representatives for both candidates met, lawsuits have been filed, with the suggestion that more will follow" ("Early Show," 11/10).

CBS' **Hurley** on the lawsuits: "This controversy is spinning into a growing number of lawsuits against this vote. In fact, just yesterday alone, four such suits were filed in state court here; that as demonstrators promise to continue to take their case as well to the streets" ("Early Show," 11/10).

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## 2 PALM BEACH: Fortunes Told In Palm Reading!

Palm Beach County Circuit Judge **Kathleen Kroll** "seized control" of the county's presidential ballots 11/9, "bringing the courts into an election that has made the county the epicenter of a growing political crisis." Kroll "issued a temporary injunction" preventing county elections canvassing board "from releasing the ballots before a court hearing next week." The injunction was requested by two Boca Raton voters, **Beverly Rogers** and **Ray Kaplan**, who "filed a lawsuit saying they" were "cheated out of their right to vote because the county's two-sided ballot was illegally confusing" (Hiaasen/Caputo/Engelhardt, *Palm Beach Post*, 11/10). Kroll wrote, in response to one of six lawsuits filed in Palm Beach County by voters, that based on the lawsuit filed by two Boca Raton women "it appears they would suffer 'irreparable injury' if the votes are certified before the case can be heard": "To preserve the electoral process in this presidential election and the important voters' rights at stake, there is an immediate need for a resolution in this case" (11/10). Kroll's injunction "prevents state and county officials from certifying as final" the results of the election. The Judges decision said the ballot was confusing and "printed in such a way that Plaintiffs were deprived of their right to freely express their will" (11/10).

### "Too Close To Call" enters "Uncharted Territory"

*Washington Times'* Murray reports, FL case-law "bars state courts from ordering a new election on grounds a ballot was confusing," and fed'l law "could sidetrack any attempt to change that." According to a 1974 District Court of Appeals ruling, the Constitution assumes a voter's "ability to read and his intelligence to indicate his choice with the degree of care commensurate with the solemnity of the occasion" (11/10).

*Los Angeles Times* Savage reports, FL's Supreme Court "has given judges in the state broad power to

overturn an election if flawed ballots create 'reasonable doubt' that the outcome reflects "the will of the voters." The law "is not clear, however, on how to remedy such a mistake." Univ. of FL's Law School Dean Jon Mills: "We are in uncharted territory" (11/10).

*Detroit Free Press'* Mondics/Savino report, Gore's campaign "faces high legal hurdles" in court. State and Fed'l Judges, "following years of legal and political tradition, usually have shown themselves extremely reluctant to reverse elections," and do so "only in instances of fraud or extreme irregularities." To "intervene would open a Pandora's box of time-consuming legal assaults," experts said 11/9. Georgetown Law's **Susan Low Bloch**: "One reason courts don't step in and shouldn't step in is because it would be easy to say, 'My guy didn't win and I'm going to come up with a reason for challenging the election'" (11/10).

*Newsweek's* **Fineman**: "Any judge is going to be very reluctant to overturn balloting on the national election day for president, having in essence a whole second presidential election in one county. I think that is highly unlikely" ("Hardball," MSNBC, 11/9).

Fort Lauderdale *Sun-Sentinel's* Collie/Burstein report, this "is largely uncharted territory -- while there are plenty of cases involving contested results, they mostly have involved local elections." Stanford law professor **Pamela Karlan**: "Trying to predict this is just impossible. .... This is judges making new law. Whatever they do they will be making new law" (11/10). *USA Today's* Biskupic reports, could Palm Beach County "really get to vote again, with the presidency on the line?" GOP election law expert **Jan Baran**: "Highly unlikely." Univ. Miami law prof. **Terence Anderson**: "Unprecedented." William and Mary law prof./Gore advisor **Michael Gerhardt**: "A complete uphill battle." The consensus is, "the hurdles in seeking a do-over in the presidential voting are enormous. Judges are very reluctant to interfere with the political process and generally tolerate considerable confusion -- even mistakes" (11/10).

NPR's **Liasson**, on a PBC re-ballot: "There is no way that a re-do or whatever you call it -- another election -- is going to be held in one of the most Democratic counties in Florida. It is just not going to happen" ("Special Report," FNC, 11/9).

FEC Commissioner **Bradley Smith**, on whether Gore has a case: "Typically, you look at issues of fraud ... or people, usually racial minorities, being intimidated and kept away from the booth. The claims made in Palm Beach seem to have nothing to do with any of those. It's merely the idea that certain voters came out and later made self-serving statements that they were confused. If we are going to start overturning election results because some voters were confused, we could probably never have an election in this country" ("Special Report," FNC, 11/9).

NBC's **Williams**, on Gore's legal challenges to the PB ballot: "Legal experts say the Gore argument is weakened because no one challenged the ballot before election day" ("Nightly News," NBC, 11/9).

ABC's **Judd**, on the FL ballot statutes: "It mandates the order in which the candidates names must appear. And mandates that the punch holes must be to the right of those names. ... A recent case in Florida shows just how tough it can be to contest the legitimacy of election results. A candidate for local sheriff claimed fraud in the counting of absentee ballots. The court found there was gross negligence, but that still did not warrant a new election" ("World News," 11/9).

NBC's **Abrams**, on the Gore challenges and legal precedent: "There is no question it is going to be an uphill battle for the Gore team. ... The [precedent] language generally doesn't help the Gore team. There is some language they can use, but generally, it doesn't help. Those rulings are saying, in essence, you need more than just confusion about the ballot, and you better not come to us after the election is over, and you have lost, and then complain about the way the ballot looked" ("Nightly News," NBC, 11/9).

Atty. **Alan Fein**, on the Palm Beach ballot: "You can contest an election like this for any cause where the will of the people has been frustrated. ... This ballot was clearly illegal. It is not even a close question. ... [The statute] says the major candidates go first. So, the Democrat and then the Republican go first and then in vertical order after that come all the minor party candidates to avoid this very problem" ("Hardball," MSNBC, 11/9).

CNN's **van Susteren**: "I don't think that the ballot was a problem. ... What the law says down here is, 'Voting squares may be placed in front of or in back of the names of candidates and statements.' ... I think the better issue is whether or not they were confused and if there were irregularities associated with perhaps the way the ballot was set up" ("Crossfire," 11/9).

Rep. **Peter Deutsch** (D-FL), to Rep. **Joe Scarborough** (R-FL): "In 1996, you said, there were 15,000 inaccurate votes in Palm Beach County, and you're saying it's the same as this cycle, or 3,000 votes more --



that's not true. The 19,000 votes that occurred on Tuesday were over-votes. That's where people punch two ballots. The Bush campaign has been spreading this lie since early this afternoon. The 16,000 or the 15,000 number you're talking is both what's called undervotes and overvotes. If you include undervotes and overvotes, there were 30,000 under and over-votes in Palm Beach County on Tuesday, twice what occurred" ("Hannity & Colmes," FNC, 11/9).

More Deutsch, on the legality of the ballot: "What has occurred in Palm Beach County -- there was an illegal ballot. It is 100% certain the ballot was illegal. Under Florida law, the top place on the ballot is the party that got the most votes for governor, the second should be the party that got the second-most. ... The second hole was Pat Buchanan."

Scarborough, on the contention that ballots must be marked to the right of the candidate's name: "That's wrong. That is wrong. That is wrong, because if you read that entire chapter of Florida law, that is for counties that only have written ballots. ... In electronic balloting it says what applies when you have electronic balloting, you can place it before the name or after the name" ("Hannity & Colmes," FNC, 11/9).

#### Are Some 10,000 PB "Undervotes" actually "Hanging Chads"?

According to the Palm Beach Elections website, 461,988 ballots were cast in the presidential election, but only 432,286 total votes were counted. A total of 29,702 ballots did not count towards the race, of which 19,120 were "overvotes" (pbcelections.org).

*Miami Herald's* Finerock/Bolstad report, Gore supporters 11/9 "requested a manual recount of ballots in Miami-Dade, Broward, Palm Beach and Volusia counties" -- a move that "could add tens of thousands of votes" to the results. Dems are "pinning their hopes in part on 'hanging chads' -- tiny flaps of paper left hanging from the ballot after the vote hole is punched that cause it to be overlooked by an automatic counting machine." Gore's supporters "are particularly focusing on what are called the 'undervotes' -- 6,686 in Broward, 10,750 in Miami-Dade, about 10,000 in Palm Beach. In Palm Beach, elections officials "decided they will recount part of the 461,988 ballots by hand and all the ballots by machine." If "discrepancies occur between the hand count sample and the machine count, the law does not specify what happens next" (11/10).

Palm Beach County has "agreed to manually recount some ballots this weekend to double-check a machine recount." The County canvassing board voted 3-0 for a "new recount" starting at 9 am on 11/11, that "will cover at least 1 percent of the popular vote and three precincts -- or roughly 4,000 ballots." Dems "will choose the precincts," and GOPers can ask for another 4K votes to be recounted. If "discrepancies surface between the electronic recount and the hand recount, canvassers aren't sure what to do next (11/10).

*Washington Post's* Keating reports, the manual recount "is a laborious process in which election officials wearing rubber gloves plow through stacks of computer cards." One election official holds up "each punch-card ballot to the three members of the local canvassing board." Each member "scans the ballot, and the three" decide how the "voter voted in that race." The standard "for counting a ballot is whether the voter's intent can be discerned. The presence of many pokes, scratches, scrapes, half-punched holes or other markings may be interpreted by officials as indicating a different intent" (11/10).

Rep. **Joe Scarborough** (R-FL), on allegations of voter irregularities: "Now we're hearing this 19,000 vote deal. It sounds awful until you find out that just as many people voted wrong in Palm Beach County in 1996."

Rep. **Peter Deutsch** (D-FL), interrupts: "That's just wrong, Joe. You want to bet your career on that, you're going to have a problem?"

Scarborough: "See, that's the great thing. People like Pete Deutsch don't like facts. They like to make political charges. They don't want to hear the fat that in Palm Beach County, in 1996, there were over 15,000 people that cast their votes improperly, they were thrown out. Four years later ... it's about 3 or 4,000 votes more, but it's a bigger turnout."

FNC's **Hannity**, to Deutsch: "I understand you don't like the results on election day, and you don't like the way the recount is coming out. ... What bothers me is the way Al Gore has unleashed the most partisan people in the country ... to go out there and purposely distort issues. ... Whipping people's minds into a frenzy is irresponsible."

Deutsch: "Let me respond [with] specifics, okay? What you just said and what [Scarborough] just said is a flat out lie, alright, and a distortion. He said that --"

Scarborough: "Oh, so you're calling me a liar?"

Deutsch: "Well, Joe, you are. You're distorting the truth."

Scarborough: "Okay, you just called me a liar again. ... I didn't call you a liar. Call me a liar again, Peter. Is that what this has come to? That's sad."

Deutsch: "Joe, I listened to you for 5 minutes -- Joe, can you *listen* to me! Joe, can you listen to me? ... Joe, you're not letting me talk!"

Scarborough: "Don't yell, okay? You need to relax. Just don't call me a liar. Let's not make this personal" ("Hannity & Colmes," FNC, 11/9).

#### Milking It?

*Miami Herald's* Silva reports, the DNC "is planning a fundraising drive for a massive legal battle" in court for new elections in Palm Beach County. The drive "would be organized by the party," and not Gore's campaign, thus allowing Dems "to raise unlimited amounts of money without running afoul" of FEC laws. A lawsuit "may come as early as next week, filed by aggrieved voters, with party backing." DNC's spokesperson **Jenny Backus**: "Our bottom-line concern is to make sure the will of the people is upheld" (11/10). *Wall Street Journal's* Hamburger reports, "close advisers to Al Gore are already soliciting funds from deep-pocket" Dem supporters, and have set up a "recount committee" that can "accept unlimited contributions from individuals and isn't subject to any disclosure requirements." Gore campaign com. dir. **Mark Fabiani**: "We are seeking a total of \$3 million to pay for legal costs, staff salaries and office expenses." Fabiani said the effort "is being aided by Silicon Valley venture capitalist **John Doerr**, who is helping raise money for the" cmte (11/10).

#### Pundit Confusion Sets In As Voter Confusion Explained

*New York Times's* Fessenden reports, the "ballot design at the heart" of election results "is seldom used because it can easily confuse voters, industry officials and experts said today." Granite Creek Tech's **Bob Naegle**: "To the best of my knowledge, it's been done, but not often. ... It's not a good practice because it can very easily lead to confusion." Democrats "said that the confusion caused by the design was evident from the relatively large number of disqualified votes" in Palm Beach County (11/10). Votes "thrown out" due to over-voting in Palm Beach County: 4.14%. In Broward County, only 1.3% were tossed for over-voting. In addition, Reform candidate **Pat Buchanan** "received 3,407 votes" in the Dem-leaning county, "more than one in five of all" his FL votes (Smith/Tobin, St. Petersburg Times, 11/10).

*Salon's* Lantigua reports, according to "a memo distributed to poll workers in Palm Beach County" 11/7, the county elections supervisor **Theresa LePore** "was already aware that voters were struggling with the confusing butterfly ballot her office had prepared." The memo states "Please remind all voters coming in that they are to vote only for one (1) presidential candidate and that they are to punch the hole next to the arrow next to the number next to the candidate they wish to vote for" (11/10).

FNC's **O'Reilly**, on **Warren Christopher's** allegations of irregularities: "Yeah, there are irregularities, Mr. Christopher, and you are one of them. All of these spin-meisters should just shut up until all the votes are counted. Then they can mouth off all they want. The Palm Beach situation, in my opinion, is a disgrace. If some voters got confused, hey, that's life. ... In every election, there are folks who make mistakes. That is simply too bad" ("O'Reilly Factor," FNC, 11/9).

NPR's **Liasson**, on the Palm Beach ballot: "It's not [confusing]. I don't know what an elderly person would think. Certainly, there was confusion because I don't believe that that many elderly people in that country, knowing the demographics, would knowingly vote for Pat Buchanan. ... It's clear to me which holes the arrows point to" ("Special Report," FNC, 11/9).

FNC's **Kondracke**, on ballot confusion: "I'm a little old person. I'm walking into the voting booth. I've voted all my life. Florida law says that the box you're supposed to punch is supposed to be on the right side. That's what I'm used to. I might get confused. ... The question is ... whether this ballot violates Florida law" ("Special Report," FNC, 11/9).

Ex-Sen. **Bob Dole** (R-KS), on voter confusion: "If they want to start looking for confusion and people who can't remember who they voted for, they can go to Cook County, Illinois. ... If we are going to start trying to correct every precinct in America, this election will never end" ("O'Reilly Factor," FNC, 11/9).

Sen. **Connie Mack** (R-FL): "To imply that people who have failed to follow the rules and the laws of the state with respect to the way they cast their votes that somehow they've been disenfranchised ... is a distortion and politicization of the process" ("Mitchell Report," MSNBC, 11/9).

MSNBC's **Begala**: "Look at Florida; most of the people who voted on Tuesday were voting for Al Gore."

Now, there are 19,000 people in Palm Beach County whose ballots were thrown out because they were illegally designed. Not the voters fault, it is the fault of the government. George W. Bush says that he trusts people. Why don't we trust people and count their votes and let the chips fall where they may?" (MSNBC, 11/9)

FNC's **Kondracke**: "I think the remedy, probably, would have to be second vote in Palm Beach County. That is an extreme step. That is clearly what the Gore people are headed for" ("Special Report," FNC, 11/9).

FNC's **Barnes**, on the move for a statewide re-ballot: "Why should Bush agree to that if he has already won the state? ... If it winds up with the recount that Gore is ahead, do you really think he'd agree to that? Of course not" ("Special Report," FNC, 11/9).

ex-Federal Election Commission **Kenneth Gross**, on a revote: "I think that there has been improper voting in this county. There is almost no way that a reasonable person can not come to that conclusion, based on the aberration of votes. The problem here is that the only way I can see to rehabilitate the vote is to order a reelection. ... It would be an extraordinary action and a tremendous hurdle for the Democrats to overcome. ... This is a matter of state court" ("Rivera Live," CNBC, 11/9).

Rev. **Jesse Jackson**: "We are going to keep taking these leaves off of these Bushes until we figure out what is happening. All we want is a fair election" ("Rivera Live," CNBC, 11/9).

Ex-Speaker **Newt Gingrich** (R-GA): "I am a little surprised that the Gore camp is talking about things that can't possibly happen. We are not going to have a new election in Palm Beach. ... The fact that a voter went in and voted wrong is the voter's obligation" ("The Edge," FNC, 11/9).

State Sen. **Jim Sebesta** (R-FL): "Folks who vote for two people in one race, surely they must understand what they're doing. ... Somewhere in this individual responsibility has to enter into it. But even if you did vote for two people in one race, there is a mechanism under Florida statues which allows a voter to raise his hand and say, 'Whoops, I goofed, I want another ballot.' And people just did not do that. They didn't do it in Palm Beach County, they didn't do it anywhere" ("NewsHour," PBS, 11/9).

CNN's **Matalin**: "Just because your ballot's invalidated doesn't mean you're unvoted. I talked to a poll-watcher -- apparently one that CNN or MSNBC can't find; all they can find are Jesse's rent-a-rioters -- but I talked to one yesterday who, all day long, had three confused people who said 'I think I screwed up my ballot.' She gave them a new ballot, marks their first ballot 'invalid,' it goes into the 'invalid' pile. That doesn't mean they didn't vote; they went back and voted. This is just ... crap, and I can't believe the press is just going with it" ("Imus," MSNBC, 11/10).

#### I'm Gonna Buke

**Bay Buchanan** 11/9 called it "ridiculous" for **George W. Bush's** campaign aides to call Palm Beach County "a Buchanan stronghold." B. Buchanan: "We do not believe they are all ours. ... We think there was clear confusion and we understand the confusion since we've looked at the ballot ourselves." **Pat Buchanan** also "sided with the Democratic Party's interpretation of the 3,407 votes that he received in Palm Beach County" (Garvey, *Los Angeles Times*, 11/10).

CNN's **King, Pat Buchanan**: "You got 3,407 votes in Palm Beach County. You didn't campaign there, or spend money there. What do you make of it?"

Buchanan: "Well, certainly I think we got some votes in Palm Beach County, but I don't doubt that a number of those votes cast for me probably were intended for Vice President Gore. ... Those ballots were cast for me. My name was the one they registered. I think those votes have to go to me and I don't see how you can take that back" ("LKL," CNN, 11/9).

*USA Today's* **Tom Squitieri**: "The Bush campaign put out today that there is a whole mess of registered voters for the Reform Party in that county. It is just not the case. There is only 226 registered members of the Reform Party in Palm Beach County. ... The Reform Party for congress candidate in that district -- he denounced Buchanan and campaigned for George W. Bush" ("Rivera Live," CNBC, 11/9).

MSNBC's **Lawrence O'Donnell**, on the Palm Beach voters: "Some Holocaust survivors ... in their worst possible ballot box nightmare, may have ended up casting a vote, not for Al Gore, but for Pat Buchanan" (MSNBC, 11/9).

#### I Think Thee Doth Protest Too Much

GOP voters "took their concern to the streets Thursday. Waving hand-lettered signs supporting Bush and denouncing calls to vote again," they gathered amidst Gore supporters (Barton, *Palm Beach Post*, 11/10). At noon Thursday, Palm Beach police shut down a part of Olive Ave. as "hundreds swarmed into the street

outside the count elections supervisor's office to ask for another chance to vote." **Jesse Jackson** "crisscrossed the county, appearing at rallies" where he called "for a coalition of Jews and blacks" to challenge the election (Caputo/Cooper, *Palm Beach Post*, 11/10). Jackson "promised a major South Florida rally Monday that would demand a fair and accurate recount" (Manuel, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/10).

Olive Street is "usually" a "quiet thoroughfare that cuts through downtown." But on one side of the road were Gore supporters, who carried signs like "Bush is too dumb to be president," and on the other were Bush supporters, who carried signs like "I wasn't confused" (Filkins, *New York Times*, 11/10). It "was no typical protest mob" as many of the protesters "were elderly, walking with canes, sitting in wheelchairs and hovered over by health care attendants as they chanted 'Gore Got More' and 'Revote Now'" (Pressley, *Washington Post*, 11/10). The "scene was tense" as Gore supporters blocked traffic and exchanged "insults with a small contingent" of Bush backers (Ornstein, *Dallas Morning News*, 11/10).

NBC's **Faw**, on Palm Beach protests: "The question here is not how much noise disgruntled voters can make. It's how far their demands for a re-vote will be taken" ("Nightly News," NBC, 11/9).

#### Theresa "Two-Punch" LaPore

Palm Beach county supervisor of elections **Theresa LePore** (D) "is at the center of a firestorm" unimaginable just days ago. LePore "is named in several lawsuits" that say her ballot design "led voters to vote for" Reform candidate **Pat Buchanan**. Members of LePore's own party "are now clamoring about an illegal ballot." But all she "wanted to do" was design "a ballot that the county's numerous senior citizens would find easier to read." So she designed a "butterfly" ballot with larger type. LePore: "Hindsight is 20-20. ... But I'll never do it again." LePore "is taking the position that the ballot was legal," according to her attorney **Bob Montgomery**. She concedes it was confusing, but Montgomery said the "confusion didn't rise to the level of noncompliance with the law." LePore "declined to be interviewed for this article." One county aide said the Palm Beach native has spent "much of the day in tears." County commissioner **Mary McCarty** (R): "She's hurt, she's upset. The presidency of the United States is on the line, and all eyes are on Theresa" (McKinnon/Perez, *Wall Street Journal*, 11/10). *Los Angeles Times*' Bailey/Rabin report, "For election officials across America, what's happening this week in Florida is a glimpse of their own private nightmares" (11/10).

*New York Times*' Wayne reports, the Palm Beach controversy "has drawn back the curtain on what election experts have long been saying: that the American voting system is no system at all." Some precincts "vote by computer touch-screen. Others use machines designed in 1892." Still others "use punch cards and 1960's tabulating machines." Ballots size and composition vary from one town to the next, as does voting hours, and resources to conduct elections. UVA's **Larry Sabato**: "The truth is, a lot of sloppiness has crept into our voting system and it has not mattered before. Now it matters" (11/10).

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## 3 RECOUNT WATCH: The New "Battleground" States

*Los Angeles Times*' Martelle writes "as things stood late yesterday," **George W. Bush** had 246 electoral votes and **Al Gore** had 255, "with Florida, New Mexico and Oregon still up in the air. Under those conditions, whichever candidate wins Florida would surpass the 270 votes needed for victory."

But if Bush won recounts in IA and WI, with 7 and 11 EVs respectively, "then Gore's support would erode to the point where he could win Florida and still lose the White House. His position becomes even more precarious should New Mexico, where vote counting was slowed by a technical glitch, give Bush its five electoral votes."

In OR, "a recount may be required by state law if the margin" is less than one-fifth of 1 percent, "or just under 3,000 votes." With about 80K "more votes to be counted, many in Republican leaning areas, Gore led Bush by about 2100 votes," (11/10).

A "senior GOP operative" "said the Republican National Committee has dispatched aides to examine the possibility of recounts" in IA and WI. Those "warning suggest that the struggle for Florida" may "trigger a cascading series of challenges across the country, all designed to prevent either side from claiming the 270 electoral votes needed to win the White House." The GOPer, on the FL recounts spreading: "Once you start

the process, the idea that it is going to stop in a couple of Democratic counties in Florida is ludicrous. It is going to go on everywhere. You are sliding toward a very dangerous situation that is not going to be over in a week or two," (Brownstein/Martelle, *Los Angeles Times*, 11/10).

Ex-Sen. **Bob Dole** on whether Bush plans to request recounts in other states: "I don't know. ... We don't want to taint the presidency as a result of all this. I mean, people all over the world are watching this process and if they see it become a political campaign and who can turn out the most demonstrators, and the most placards, and make the most noise, they'll going to take a dim view. And the American people will. The next time we have an election, they'll probably be fewer people voting because we thought the people would decide this, not the lawyers" ("Early Show," CBS, 11/10).

Ex-SoS **Warren Christopher**, to NBC's **Couric**, on whether the Bush camp will request vote recounts in other states: "That certainly is their right, Katie, if they feel there's really serious inaccuracies there. If the vote is close, and if they think the vote there might make the difference, of course that's their right to do that. I would hope it isn't done in retaliation" ("Today," NBC, 11/10).

### California

*Los Angeles Times'* Tamaki/Rabin write CA officials "estimated" 11/9 "that more than 1 million absentee ballots still wait to be counted" in CA. CA counties have 28 days to "certify their results and turn them over to" Secy/State **Bill Jones**. CA Undersecretary of State **Robert C. Lapsley**: "We are pleased to say that California is still in play."

"Yet to be counted" in CA "are an estimated 1,016,246 absentee, provisional or challenged ballots from 44" CA counties. Most are absentee ballots. "That number is expected to grow once an unknown number of similar ballots from 14 additional counties are added to the total."

Jones issued a statement 11/9 "urging the public and the media to hold off on declaring a presidential winner of the national popular vote until the absentee ballots in California and across the nation have been counted." Jones "also appealed" to TV networks to come up with a plan to avoid the "fiasco" on Tuesday's premature calls. Jones: "A mistake was already made on election night because of the media's zeal for ratings; let's not make that mistake again with prognostications of the national popular vote," (11/9).

### Iowa

"Thousands of special ballots have yet to be counted in Iowa" where Gore won the state by 5069 votes, (Okamoto, *Des Moines Register*, 11/9). Currently, though "Gore appeared to draw 3,115 votes more than Bush," (Martelle, *Los Angeles Times*, 11/10). The "special ballots" are cast "by people whose names were not listed at polling sites." IA Sec/State **Chet Culver** "does not know how many special ballots were cast" but in "Polk County alone, Auditor **Michael Mauro** said 2,164 special ballots were cast and are being reviewed." Mauro: "I presume a good percentage of this will be accepted."

In a press conference 11/9 Bush campaign chairman **Don Evans** said, "In the state of Iowa, the margin is now just several thousand votes. And this -- and several ballot boxes from, we think, Republican counties - have yet to be counted. This may fall under the automatic trigger that exists in Iowa law." But Culver and IA Gov. **Tom Vilsack** (D) "said there is not automatic recount process in Iowa, and no counties with ballots collected but not counted." Culver: "We have no reason to believe that any systemic errors or violations of law have occurred in Iowa. We don't appreciate Karl Rove and the Bush campaign creating doubt about the election process in Iowa for their own political purposes," (Okamoto, *Des Moines Register*, 11/9).

If Bush does request a recount "he'll have to do it one county at a time," sending individual letter to all 99 counties, and he "might have to post a bond of up to 1,000 for each county," (Lynch, *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, 11/10).

Gov. **Tom Vilsack** (R-IA), on whether the Bush camp has asked for a recount: "They don't have to contact us until after the vote has actually been canvassed, which will take place next week. We have a window of opportunity for absentee ballots that were postmarked on or before November 6th to be counted. The canvass will take place Monday and Tuesday of next week, after that there's a three-day window of opportunity for any candidate who was on the ballot or who received votes to request a recount" ("GMA," ABC, 11/10).

### New Hampshire

NH Dem exec. dir. **Kathleen Sullivan** "acknowledged that she contacted the secretary of state there to raise the possibility of a recount" in a state where Bush won by less than 8,000 votes. She labeled the recount

request "remote" but said it was nonetheless a possibility, (Brownstein/Martelle, *Los Angeles Times*, 11/10).

### New Mexico

NBC's **Couric** on New Mexico's voting: "Early this morning, it was announced that 252 ballots are missing in New Mexico, so it's chaos" ("Today," NBC, 11/10).

"Bernalillo County election officials announced" early this AM that "they could not complete county vote tabulations after the third consecutive night of counting since Election Day. The lack of a completed vote count in the state's most populous county left New Mexico's presidential vote up in the air." Though city officials completed and released the results of the 27K absentee ballots, they "ran into problems" when "they tried to total about 40,000 early voting ballots." Cty. Bd. of election dir. **Robert Lucero**: "The issue is accuracy. Until everything is accounted for, we are not releasing anything," (*Albuquerque Journal*, 11/10).

In addition, some 1650 "spoiled" ballots -- "including some that were rejected during Thursday's mechanized counting" -- were being counted by hand. Local officials "misprogrammed election software and failed to catch" an error that led to errors in counting early and absentee ballots on which voters cast "straight-party ticket" ballots, (Sanchez/McKay, *Albuquerque Journal*, 11/10).

### Oregon

An OR recount "seemed all but certain in the tightest presidential race Oregon has seen in years." With Gore leading by 8,485 -- boosted by returns from "two Democratic stronghold" counties -- there are "an estimated 40,000 votes" still to be counted. OR Secy/State **Bill Bradbury** "predicted the margin would narrow as ballots were tallied from Republican-leaning Jackson County, which still had about 13,465 ballots to count due to computer problems." In OR, a recount is triggered automatically if the margin is less than one-fifth of one percent. Bradbury: "I would say the prospect of a recount is pretty high," (AP, 11/10).

OR's "vote-by-mail" has "contributed to the delay in learning" the state's "final results." OR Elections director **Lynn Rosik**: "It's not going as quickly as we'd like. Some counties are moving more slowly than we'd like." Possible the biggest reason for the delay may be the process of verifying the ballots before counting them, a process that "occurs before voting" at in-person polling places elsewhere, (Wright, *Eugene Register-Guard*, 11/10).

### Wisconsin

"It turns out Illinoisans -- at least some of them -- can vote early and often." Northbrook resident **Alice Cook** went online "to obtain an Illinois absentee ballot for her daughter, **Alice Kearney**, a junior at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. But daughter surprised mom by voting Tuesday in Wisconsin, which allows voting without preregistering just by producing a piece of mail showing a Wisconsin address." Though Kearney didn't vote twice, "She could have," said Cook, (*Chicago Tribune*, 11/10).

*Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel's* Chaptman writes, "The presidential recount wildfire that rages in Florida could soon spread north to Wisconsin and Iowa, as **George W. Bush's** campaign mulls double-checking states where **Al Gore** scored narrow victories." A decision on WI could come early next week, "as Bush campaign officials consult with Gov. **Tommy G. Thompson** and assess their chances." The WI "unofficial tally" gave Gore a win by 6099 votes out of 2.6M cast. Bush spokesman **Bob Hopkins**: "There are no immediate plans for a recount in Wisconsin. Of course, things are being looked at and examined. There was some improper activity in the city of Milwaukee."

Rove, on a WI recount: "I've talked to Governor Thompson's chief of staff this morning. He says he believes that after Tuesday's canvass, this may fall under a standard that requires a recount of offers the opportunity of a recount." WI does not have a threshold for automatic recounts. Thompson, who is now in Europe, said on Weds: "I'm hoping that the Bush team in Austin would request a recount. It's going to be completely their call." Thompson spokesman **Tony Jewell**, on 11/9: "The governor is going to wait for the final election tallies to come in from across the state, which likely will be Monday or Tuesday. Once those numbers are in, we will take a look at them and confer with Governor Bush and decide whether to seek a recount." Any recount request "must be made within three days of the state receipt of the final county canvass" giving Bush until "late next week" to make such a request, (11/9).

Gore WI spokesman **John Kraus**: "It is the will of the people of Wisconsin that Al Gore be the next president. The people of Wisconsin went to the polls, and the result was that Al Gore won and George Bush lost. That's the reality." More Kraus: "The vice president not only won the state of Wisconsin but won the popular vote in the nation. Whatever Republicans are saying today, that can't change what the people of

Wisconsin said on Tuesday. They have spoken." But WI GOP ex. dir. **Rob Hise** said, "The irregularities certainly cause us to think more seriously about a recount. The fact is, we don't know how widespread that activity was, nor do we know how long it was going on." The activity "casts a shadow over the results of the election in Wisconsin." Hise "said phones began ringing off the hook Wednesday morning" at the state GOP with "voters complaining about voting irregularities. So many calls have come in that Republicans set up a hotline to handle them," (11/10).

*Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel's* Umhoefer reports the reason for late WI reporting on Election night was that "people at a few city of Milwaukee polling places waited hours to register and cast ballots Tuesday when intense turn-out cause jam-ups." "Three polling places" including a Milwaukee "housing project" didn't report "results until after midnight, delaying the final tally of Milwaukee voters until 2:30am."

Though "hard numbers" haven't yet confirmed it, "there was anecdotal evidence that minority voter turnout was higher than in past presidential elections in Milwaukee." An NAACP national voter fund get-out-the-vote effort "offered lunch or supper to hundreds of voters at tents set up around the inner city. In conjunction, voters were given rides to the polls, a staple of voter-turnout efforts by both political parties." Bush Milwaukee Cty. chairman **Scott Walker** "suggested Wednesday that the meals may have crossed the line into a form of election bribery," a suggestion "that left a bad taste in the mouth of some of those who have worked with the NAACP to mobilize inner-city voters." **Paula Dorsey**, who ran Operation Big Vote in Milwaukee: "People always want to make an issue out of anything that is successful in getting a large number of African-Americans to turn out. If the GOP would have thought of feeding people, they would have done that, too." More Dorsey: "If the Republican Party is truly trying to recruit minorities to their party, they need to be cautious" about making charges, (11/10).

WI GOP Chair **Rick Graber**: "The candidate has three days after the canvassing is complete. We anticipate that that would be early next week. So a decision would have to be made next week. We have rampant reports of voter irregularities and voter fraud, perhaps, in Milwaukee County and outside of Milwaukee County. ... We received over 600 phone calls yesterday at party headquarters with people with reports of irregularities" ("GMA," ABC, 11/10).

#### Oh Deer

CO elections officials were surprised to hear Bush adviser **Karl Rove's** claim that 10,000 votes in northern CO remained to be counted. **Kruz Watkins**, of the CO Secy/State's office: "As far as we know, no, it's not true. If you added all the deer and antelope out there, maybe you'd get to 10,000. Don't write that down." The Bush campaign, was told by its CO director that the votes remained outstanding, but by day's end acknowledged that the CO votes had been counted," (11/10, *Denver Post*, 11/10).

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## 4 THE TALLY: Gore Gains A Bit In Popular Vote

Until every precinct is reporting, we'll continue to track the popular vote. Results with 99% of precincts reporting (CNN.com, 11/10).

	Raw Vote	%age
Al Gore	49,108,420	49%
George W. Bush	48,889,821	48

Today, the current margin between Gore and Bush is: **218,599**.

Yesterday, the margin between Gore and Bush was: **193,452**.

#### Oregon -- 3,375 Vote Lead For Gore

Results with 99% of precincts reporting (CNN.com, 11/10).

	Raw Vote	%age
Al Gore	671,178	47%
George W. Bush	667,803	47

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## 5 GORE: Private Dem Doubts

*Los Angeles Times'* McManus and Nelson report that "in public," Dem leaders "have rallied" around **Al Gore**, "offering support for their pursuit of a recount," but "in private, however, some leading" Dems say "that if the recount doesn't go Gore's way, he should consider conceding the race" to **George W. Bush** -- "without pursuing lengthy legal appeals." One Dem "who has advised Gore in the past": "At this point, the 'gracious loser' role is not something anyone is the party wants him to do. But at some point, he has to consider whether it makes sense to keep going. He can bow out, have a good life for four years, have a lot of goodwill out there and be the front-runner [for the Democratic presidential nomination] four years from now. He may have to ask himself the question: Is it better to create a president of the United States, or create a constitutional crisis?" Even Dems who "expressed private qualms said they backed Gore's demand for a recount," but if Gore "presses a longshot legal challenge, they said, at least some members of Congress will ask whether it is the wisest course for the party" (11/10). CBS' **Roberts**, on Gore react to the recount: "It changes nothing for them. They are pinning their hopes for the presidency on a hand count of those disputed ballots. They believe that if they can win back even a fraction of them, the White House will be theirs" ("Evening News," CBS, 11/9).

ABC's **Sawyer**, to Daley, on dissension among Dems.: "Senator **John Breaux** ... said that he's questioning the Gore campaign's wisdom in challenging the Palm Beach result. The right thing, he says, is to 'count the votes, respect the decision, without lengthy litigation.' And Senator **Robert Torricelli** ... has said, 'I want Al Gore to win the election, but more than that, I want somebody to win the election,' suggesting sooner is really important. Are you feeling that pressure?"

Daley: "No, not really. The fact of the matter is, we all want this to be done sooner rather than later. Our constitution provides an election in November -- or, pardon me, our laws provide an election in November, the Electoral College meets in December, and we have an inauguration in January. So we have a 3-month period in which there is a transition. But of course, we all would like to see this done. We all wish it had been completed Tuesday. I'm sure the 19,000 people in Palm Beach who went in and, because of the setup of the ballot, did not have their votes counted. ... If that had happened, this -- we wouldn't be ... having any discussion about who really won this election" ("GMA," 11/10).

Ex-SoS **Warren Christopher** on if the official tally shows Bush in the lead, and overseas ballots are coming in for Bush as well, if the Gore camp will bow out gracefully: "We all want this to come to an end as soon as possible. At the same time, we have an obligation to seek a full, fair and complete count."

Christopher, on why the Gore camp wants a four-county handcount: "The four counties that were chosen for the hand counts came about because voters in that county, Democrats in that county, felt there were some anomalous results and things that needed to be looked into."

Christopher, on whether the Gore camp will file a lawsuit in Palm Beach County: "No. We'll be supporting the lawsuits that have been filed, or will be filed by citizens of [Florida] from those counties, from that county" ("Today," NBC, 11/10).

#### Advice From The Players

Ex-Sen. **Bill Bradley** (D-NJ) predicted that Gore would be the winner when the last FL ballots are counted. Bradley, who was addressing Guilford College in Greensboro, also said "it wouldn't be wise for a candidate to mount a drawn-out legal challenge once the final votes are counted." Bradley: "If you appear as a sore loser and draw this thing out and out ... you won't have a political future" (*Young, Winston-Salem Journal*, 11/10). Meanwhile, Sen. **Robert Torricelli** (D-NJ), speaking at Princeton Univ., said that "the nation should preserve its presidential election system, even though it does not guarantee victory to the candidate with the most votes." Torricelli: "I personal will defend (the Electoral College system) to the end." Torricelli also said "neither side should challenge the outcome" of the FL vote, "describing such a move as a 'potentially troubling situation.'" Torricelli: "This should be decided by counting ballots, and I think there would have to be a very compelling case for anybody to take this into a court of law" (*Stern, Trentonian Times*, 11/10).

A Bush campaign release noted that "the Democratic Party's chief Senate campaign strategist urged"

Gore "to avoid turning the disputed Florida ballot into a rancorous court battle that could win up harming the U.S. political system" (release, 11/9). *Wall Street Journal's* Hunt writes that Gore "is likely to face an agonizing decision: having clearly defeated" Bush in the popular vote, but "probably falling critically short in the Electoral College," does he challenge the outcome? His decision depends on "important calculations" he makes about his future. "Some Dems are saying even if Gore loses, "his superior showing in the popular vote could make him the leading candidate to run in 2004" (11/9). Ex-Speaker **Newt Gingrich** (R-GA), on Gore refusing to concede: "I am very surprised. It is the opposite of the approach that Vice President Nixon took in 1960. ... I can't imagine why ... Warren Christopher would be suggesting that we are going to go through a long and difficult process. I don't know who is going to win in Florida when this is over ... but I think that the idea that we are going to go through weeks, months of litigation ... strikes me as very destabilizing for America" ("The Edge," FNC, 11/9).

#### Why Fight?

Gore "resolve to fight" for FL is "fueled by two beliefs: an attitude that Democrats hold the moral high ground and deep resentment" that Bush has begun planning his transition. Gore was doing his own transition planning with ex-CoS **Roy Neel**. Aides said Gore is "comforted by his apparent win in the popular vote, believes he deserves to be declared the victor; and isn't inclined to give in until he has made an effort to get" FL's EVs (Kasindorf, *USA Today*, 11/10). ABC's **Hayes**, on Gore: "Al Gore in not only unwilling to concede, but his campaign generals today declared war. They are making plans and raising money to fight on the legal front. ... Democrats are aware that there is a point where the American public may become weary of this fight. What they are trying to figure out now is how long they can prolong this battle before it backfires on them" ("World News," 11/9). NBC's **Shipman**, on the Gore strategy: "It is those 19,000 votes in Palm Beach County that are giving the Gore campaign reason to believe they can fight this hard, even supporting an effort to take it to court. This isn't to make a point, say officials. This is to win the Presidency. ... Meanwhile, he is effectively starting a second campaign for the White House, this one in the court of public opinion."

CNN's **King**, on the Gore strategy: "The Vice President's ... strategy turned more aggressive on two fronts: a stepped-up legal challenge in Florida and angry criticism of Governor Bush for acting as if he is already the president-elect. ... Talk out of Austin about naming Cabinet members has soured already poor relations between the two camps. The Gore team sees it as a deliberate strategy to steer attention away from the Florida recount, and as an attempt by Republicans to paint the vice president as a sore loser, and to turn public opinion in favor of a quick resolution" ("IP," CNN, 11/9). More King, on Gore calls for a hand recount: "The Gore campaign does not expect this recount to swing into the vice president's favor. That's why they want all that hand-counting in those four big counties" ("IP," CNN, 11/9).

#### Gore Shuts Down Nashville Operations, Returns To DC

Gore went for a jog Thursday and "spent much of the day with his family and in meetings with campaign aides." Gore, during his run, when asked by a reporter if he won the race: "We're having a great run here. Thank you" (Barfield, *Newsday*, 11/10). Gore flew back to DC after spending the day "secluded in his Nashville hotel" where his "campaign aides were clearly in combative mode and ready to prolong the uncertainty of Tuesday's election with a series of legal moves" (Cohen, *Newark Star-Ledger*, 11/10). Gore closed his Nashville campaign headquarters. And "except for the 75 Gore staffers in Florida to keep tabs on the recount, the Gore crusade will be based in Washington." Gore is creating a special cmte to "handle matters related to the recount." The "campaign's mood turned from uncertainty to defiance" (Bendavid, *Chicago Tribune*, 11/10). MSNBC's **Reid**: "The Gore camp is in the process of morphing into a re-count committee" ("The News," 11/9).

Despite Gore's "isolation, aides insist he's feeling confident" (Morris, *New York Post*, 11/10). Gore's move back to DC, "along with newly aggressive comments" by top officials, suggests Gore "was ready to settle in for the long haul in fight" for FL. But the move also allows Gore "to maintain some distance from the escalating political battle and any public perception that he is not prepared to abide by the rules of the game" (Seelye, *New York Times*, 11/10). DNC officials "made plans to keep its large election-year staff in place and begin raising more money to cover the costs" (Connolly, *Washington Post*, 11/10). **Joe Lieberman** spent the day at home in Washington with his family "speaking by telephone with aides" (Gerstenzang/La Ganga, *Los Angeles Times*, 11/10).

#### Anyone Remember The Little Cuban Boy?

*New York Post's* Balfour reports that if Bush wins the election, "he may want to fire off a thank-you note to" **Elian Gonzalez**. "There are indications" that FL's Cuban community, "still steaming" about the administration's handling of Elian, "exacted their revenge at the ballot box." Unofficial results show Gore won Miami by 39K votes, while **Clinton** won it in '96 with 108K votes (11/10). Elian's Miami relatives said "the lawyer who represented them in their effort to keep" Elian "betrayed them by taking up" Gore's cause in the FL vote count. The Gonzalezes "abruptly canceled a Thursday night ceremony to honor **Kendall Coffey** and other members of the legal team that donated their time to the failed custody to fight over" Elian. A statement released by Gonzalezes spokesperson **Armando Gutierrez** called Coffey's new role of assisting Gore "incompressible and indefensible." From the statement: "We now feel betrayed by the action taken by **Kendall Coffey**. We feel profoundly hurt by the actions of this man." Coffey was at the news conference in FL with Gore chair **Bill Daley** and ex-Sec/State **Warren Christopher** (Veiga, *AP/Naples Daily News*, 11/10).

#### Back To This Old Question

WH officials "defended Gore's decision to limit President Clinton's campaign activity -- a move that may have cost the Democrats some crucial votes." WH spokesperson **Jake Siewert** said Clinton agreed with Gore's decision to run independently (Ross, *AP/Miami Herald*, 11/10).

#### How's Gore Playing?

*Wall Street Journal's* Fund: "If judges can be trusted to determine the will of the people, why have elections in the first place?" (11/10).

*Wall Street Journal* editorial: If the election results don't give Gore a victory, "the Gore campaign will try to find a judge to do it instead. In your ordinary banana republic, this would be recognized as a Gore coup d'etat. ... At no point has the Gore campaign suggested that voter *fraud* has cost them votes. Were that the case, we would be in wholehearted support of their complaint" (11/10).

*New York Post* editorial: Gore and Daley "may deserve the benefit of the doubt in the Florida ballot recount. What they *don't* deserve is another election" (11/10).

*Chicago Sun-Times'* Neal: "If Gore loses, there will be finger pointing, but Daley deserves credit for making the hard decisions. Like **Clark Clifford** in **Harry Truman's** 1948 comeback and **James A. Backer III** in **Gerald R. Ford's** 1976 comeback, Daley took a faltering campaign and put it back on track" (11/10).

Ex-Sen. **Bob Dole** (R-KS): "It's always good to hear from Bill Daley, from Chicago, where even the dead vote on a regular basis for Democrats, and where Gore carried Chicago 9 to 1. Maybe we ought to take a look at Chicago" ("GMA," 11/10). More Dole: "I think it's time for Al Gore to saddle up and sort of ride off into the sunset, and say, you know, 'I'm an honorable man, we don't want to start another political campaign ... the election is over, I abide by the recount. Let's get on with the business'" ("GMA," 11/10). Dole, on moving on: "We've had a fair election, but let's not make another political campaign out of this and start setting up campaign headquarters and see who can turn out the most demonstrators and get the most press attention" ("Today," NBC, 11/10).

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## 6 BUSH: We Now Go Back To This Transition Already In Progress

*Houston Chronicle's* Ratcliffe and Reinert report that "the presidential election may remain uncertain," but **George W. Bush** "is not." Bush "starting organizing a new national government that would take office if he is sworn in as president Jan. 20" (11/10). The "Bush campaign found itself walking a thin line Thursday, bragging on one hand that Bush would prevail as the election winner, while at the same time playing down his plans for the transition so as not to look presumptuous." Bush campaign chair **Don Evans**: "We cannot stop and wait until the last ballot struggles in Washington state, or the last ballot struggles in Arizona or Iowa or Wisconsin or Florida. Orderly and necessary steps have to be taken" (Kemper, *Chicago Tribune*, 11/10). "Privately, Bush aides are incensed over Gore's apparent intention to pursue every conceivable legal challenge to the election results. The problem inside the Bush camp is simple but crucial: How to pressure Gore into conceding without making Bush appear arrogant or presumptuous" (Sisk/DeFrank, *New York Daily News*, 11/10).

Bush and his aides "channeled their energy into two directions" -- "waging an aggressive public relations war over the legitimacy of the election" and "tentatively plotting" Bush's transition (Bruni/Yardley, *New York Times*, 11/10). CBS' **Whitaker**, on the Bush strategy: "This Texas campaign has circled the wagons. ... The Bush campaign wants to be seen as taking the high road. But behind the scenes the Bush camp is playing hardball, threatening to challenge Democrats in Iowa, Wisconsin, New Mexico -- states where they claim voting irregularities helped Gore" ("Evening News," CBS, 11/9).

Bush met with campaign foreign policy adviser **Condoleezza Rice** and aides, "speaking on condition of anonymity, said they expect Bush" to offer her WH National Security Adviser (Raum, AP/Bergen **Record**, 11/10). Bush "remained sequestered in the governor's mansion for the third straight tension-filled day." He spent the day in staff meetings (Orr, Newark *Star-Ledger*, 11/10). He spend the morning with ex-Transportation Sec. **Andrew Card**, who is likely to be WH CoS (Gullo, AP, 11/10). OH Rep. **John Kasich** (R) is "under consideration to be Bush's finance and budget chief." MA Gov. **Paul Cellucci** (R) is "likely to be considered for a cabinet post or ambassadorship." Potential AGs include: Boston lawyer **Richard Willard**, OK Gov. **Frank Keating** and VA Gov. **James Gillmore** (Macero, *Boston Herald*, 11/10).

NH Sen. **Judd Gregg** (R) said "he expects not to be offered a Cabinet position" because NH Gov. **Jeanne Shaheen** (D) would appoint someone to fill his spot (Bonamici, Manchester *Union-Leader*, 11/10). The campaign "found itself backtracking from reports that Bush already was filling Cabinet seats" and other WH positions. "Privately aides worried about whether such news would make the campaign appear arrogant, given that the election is still up in the air" (Neal/Allen, *Washington Post*, 11/10). The campaign portrayed Bush "bush with the affairs of state, including his own." Bush met with LG **Rick Perry** (R) in the morning, had lunch with **Dick Cheney** and met with Rice in the afternoon (Gordon, *Newsday*, 11/10).

#### Dems Upset Over Bush Transition Plans

Dems said Bush "was moving ahead prematurely." Gore campaign chair **Bill Daley**: "I believe that their actions to try and put in place a transition runs the risk of dividing the American people and creating a sense of confusion" (Macero, *Boston Herald*, 11/10). But "top advisers" to Bush "are making no apologies for openly building" a WH staff. Bush spokesperson **Karen Hughes**: "All responsible campaigns realize you need to do some preliminary planning" (Danis, *New York Post*, 11/10). CNN's **Crowley**, on the Bush spin: "This is now, between these two camps, a matter of politics. And from the Bush campaign point of view, it is Al Gore who is trying to seed some confusion out there and to perhaps redo an election that took place on Tuesday evening" ("IP," CNN, 11/9). ABC's **Reynolds**: "They are clearly worried ... that these arguments about ballot box irregularities have been gaining some traction with the public. So, today ... they went out and denounced the Democrats as being shrill, distorting the political process."

Ex-Sen. **Bob Dole** (R-KS): "I think that President-elect Bush should act as President-elect Bush, obviously keep the high ground, go ahead and make preparations. If he has won the election, he should move ahead. ... We don't need to send anybody down there to demagogue the issue like **Jesse Jackson** is" ("O'Reilly Factor," FNC, 11/9).

#### What's A Transition Team To Do?

The General Services Admin. is ready to hand over the keys to the official transition office, but "the only thing missing is the next president." The agency had spent six months preparing for this and is now on "hold." GSA spokesperson **Vicki Reath**: "It's like we had a party set but nobody came. We were all ready to go" (Schrader, *Los Angeles Times*, 11/10).

#### Does Jeb Have Higher Name ID Now?

The *Los Angeles Times* Clary reports that "according to the Bush family plan, brother **Jeb** should have slipped quietly out of the national spotlight by now" (11/10). *Miami Herald's* **Fiedler**, on Jeb Bush's handling of the FL flap: "He's handled this as well as you could expect him to. He has taken himself off of the state canvassing board, saying he would not play a part in that, and I think he has to" ("IP," CNN, 11/9).

#### Texas Two-Step

If Bush wins the election, his departure will create "opportunities for ambitious members of his own party and maybe even for Democrat insurgents." Perry will fill the TX gov.'s office for the rest of the term -- two more years. The TX Senate will elect a new LG from its own ranks (Mason, *Houston Chronicle*, 11/10). The TX Senate is divided 15Ds and 16Rs (Hughes, *Houston Chronicle*, 11/10).

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## 7 HOW'S IT PLAYIN': Carter Calls For Patience, Others For An End

In statements made to the media at the National Press Club yesterday, ex-Pres. **Jimmy Carter** said: "I haven't been to Florida, I don't know the details of what's happening today, I haven't had a chance to watch the news. What I do realize is that there are no allegations of fraud or deliberate impropriety. But, we face here an unprecedented circumstance in our nation, certainly in the last hundred years, in that the results of an election are uncertain. And the final result of who will be the next President of the United States is dependent on the final outcome of the decision in Florida. This is a time, I think, not for frivolous delays in the process, which I think would be condemned by the American people. And I don't think it's a time for premature concessions, because we don't yet know the facts about what has occurred in Florida. ... I have full confidence in the constitution of the United States and the laws that govern us ... and also in the integrity of the officials in Florida. I also have full confidence in the integrity of both candidates for President. ... Any challenges to the system that it has not accurately represented the vote of the people needs to be decided in the courts, ultimately. We don't yet know what courts will be involved ... but I think it's very important for the American people to realize that it would be a serious mistake to have the final outcome of the election determined without there being a general consensus that the process has been thoroughly pursued. ... My primary message is that the American people should be patient, that there be no premature decisions made, and that the rule of the people of Florida -- and therefore the nation under our Constitutional system -- should be accurately honored" (release, 11/9).

A New York *Daily News* editorial echoes Carter's remarks: "Never in American has patience been more of a virtue. Never has it been more important to proceed with deliberation. Every ballot must be counted and confirmed, every irregularity probed. This election not only will decide who is the next President ... it must uphold Americans' faith in their electoral process. ... What the nation needs now is patience" (10/11).

#### Post Chastises Gore Camp, Urges Quick End

A *Washington Post* editorial notes the remarks by Gore chair **Bill Daley** when he suggested that the election would be "illegitimate" should Bush win: "A Bush victory would mean the White House had been stolen; that was the plain meaning of the remark. It's a poisonous thing to say in these extraordinary and unsettling circumstances, and Mr. Gore makes a huge mistake if he fails promptly to disown it. The country was almost exactly evenly divided in the election. Half is going to be sorely disappointed no matter who finally takes the oath. Some are going to feel cheated as well. The goal of both candidates, even as they pursue their interests in Florida, should be to minimize that likely sour outcome. They owe it to the office to which they aspire, and to their own reputations over time, to conduct themselves such that whoever wins has the best possible chance of being accepted as the rightful occupant of the office. Mr. Daley yesterday, and Mr. Gore by proxy, crossed to the wrong side of that line. ... Both sides need to back off at this stage. They are risking a political war that could spread far beyond Florida, one that would be far harder to stop than to begin. We say yes to counting a little more, but the legal action about which Mr. Daley spoke elliptically should be approached with enormous caution and restraint. ... One of these candidates -- the one behind in the final Florida count -- is going to have to make a political determination. You have to hope that whoever that turns out to be has in mind the country's interests ahead of his own" (11/10).

#### More Voices

*St. Petersburg Times'* Troxler: "First: There is no doubt, zero, that some of those votes for Pat Buchanan down in Palm Beach County were intended for Al Gore. Even Buchanan agrees that is true. Second: There is no doubt, zero, that the Palm Beach ballot was confusing. Look at the clear proof: More than 19,000 voters were disqualified because they voted for more than one presidential candidate. Third: You can make a good case that the Palm Beach ballot was illegal in the first place. State law says the candidates must be listed 'in order' of the party's finish in the last governor's race. They weren't. And to all three points, I say: So what? Tough luck. ... Do you know what a touchdown is in football? The answer is not when the football reaches the end zone. The answer is, when the referee raises his arms in the air. No arms in the air -- no touchdown. If the game was so close that you had to blame the referee, then you shoulda scored more points anyway" (11/10).

Gannett's Raasch: "No matter who is certified the winner after a recount in divided Florida, a new season

of cynicism undoubtedly is at hand. exactly half the country will think the presidency was stolen by the other guy" (11/10).

Brookings' **Stephen Hess**: "This isn't a constitutional crisis. We have an election crisis, but as this permeates the air, it becomes very dangerous and something to worry about" (Condon, Copley News, 11/10).

New York *Daily News*' Nelson: "After 211 years, the American election system has broken down, and it can't be fixed" (11/10).

A *USA Today* editorial: "If an increasingly cynical public is to trust the outcome of the election, it is imperative that both candidates settle soon on the obvious process for resolving their differences: agree on what the vote was through as many counts as necessary, let the courts resolve whether that vote was legal, and sell that process to the public. Then Bush and Gore must control any of their partisans who would undermine that effort. The same standard should apply to any other state's recounts. That is not only in the nation's interest, it is also in the candidates' self-interest. Neither will be an effective president if a broad swath of the public considers his election illegitimate. Rising above pettiness is, in fact, the essence of presidential behavior -- which at the moment seems in very short supply" (11/10).

*Los Angeles Times*' Downey: "We're now living in a nation where after voters cast ballots, somebody needs to ask them: 'Is that your final answer?'" (11/10).

*New York Post*'s Peysers: "Enough! The most powerful men representing the most stable government of the earth's greatest nation are behaving like cannibals over a cookie" (11/10).

#### Here's An Idea -- Better Ballots

A *Santa Fe New Mexican* editorial: "We think it's time to consider national standards for conducting federal elections -- from composition of ballots through their accurate and timely counting. Setting those standards would raise many constitutional questions -- but now is the time to face up to them" (11/10).  
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## 8 SCENARIOS I: Could A Majority Of 513 Electors Win Presidency?

*New York Times*' Clymer reports, on 12/18, the day that pres. electors are to meet in all 50 state capitals and DC, the result "may produce a political crisis" if FL's 25 EVs "are still in dispute. But the crisis will not be constitutional, scholars say, for the Constitution enables a president to be chosen even if a big state" like FL does not vote. Some have "suggested the election would be thrown" to the House if neither Gore nor Bush gets a majority of the 538 EVs. "But the Constitution requires only that a winning candidate have the votes of a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed." If FL's EVs are not "resolved" by 12/18, or if a "legal restraining order bars" Gov. **Jeb Bush** (R-FL) from "filing a certificate listing" FL's electors, then Gore has "enough votes from other states to reach a majority" of the 513 electors "actually appointed."

Duke Univ. prof. of law **Walter Dellinger** "said the reason the Constitution only requires the votes" of a majority of those electors "actually appointed to elect a President was that in the earliest days of the Union a state might neglect to appoint electors, and there was no reason for the process to be held hostage by that omission."

Dellinger also notes that the current problem "is a Florida problem." If the president "were elected by a direct popular vote like all other federal officials, he said, a national recount would be required in an election this close": "This is less of a problem than we would have had if we had a nationwide recount. At least we know the problem is isolated in Florida" (11/10).

CNN's **Greenfield**, predicting a possible mess: "You could have a situation where, once Florida decides who it thinks has won, on January 5, 2001, the new Congress convenes in joint session to certify the electoral vote. If one senator and one congressman object, the House is then adjourned to their prospective houses and decides. ... It takes both houses to reject electoral votes. So, presumably, the Republican House would approve of them. But think of the legitimacy issue. A new president Bush, coming into office, probably having lost the popular vote, with one of the two houses of Congress saying, 'We don't think you actually won.' We are a long way down that road. Unfortunately we're a heck of a lot closer to it than we were when the votes started being counted on Tuesday" ("IP," CNN, 11/9).

#### If There Is No President On Jan. 20?

The 12th Amendment "calls for the Senate to choose a VP for the purpose of "ascending to the Oval Office in the event a president can't be chosen by Inauguration Day. But those guidelines were drawn when the presidency legally changed hands on March 14 -- a condition that was not fully contemplated when the 20th Amendment moved the day of presidential transfer to Jan. 20" (Macero, *Boston Herald*, 11/10).

#### Flunk The College?

There have been more proposals "for constitutional amendments to change the Electoral College than any other subject -- more than 700 have been introduced in Congress over the past 200 years," according to the Nat'l Archives (Ft. Lauderdale *Sun-Sentinel*, 11/9).

Sen. **Phil Gramm** (R-TX) "warned" 11/9 against abandoning the Electoral College: "If you eliminated the Electoral College, presidential candidates would never campaign outside the 20 large metropolitan areas. The whole objective of the Electoral College was to ensure that a president campaigned all over America." Gramm said he believed the Electoral College system "will survive this latest turmoil" (*Houston Chronicle*, 11/10).

#### Who Are These People?

Various lists of electors from various states:

- **Alaska** (3) -- GOP electors: **Bill Allen, Susan Fischetti, Lucy Groh** (AK GOP release).
- **Florida** (25) -- Dem Electors: Ft. Lauderdale atty/FL Dem Treas. **George Platt, Clarence Anthony, Jon Ausman, T. Wayne Bailey, Mitchell Berger, Lance Block, Terrie Brady, AG Bob Butterworth, Buddy Dyer, Juanita Geathers, Diane Glasser, Dalas Guevara, Robert Henriquez, Tony Hill, Daryl Jones, Karl Koch, Chris Korge, Kendrick Meek, Les Miller, Bob Poe, Marta Prado, Juanita Scott, Patti Wilson Haney, Paulette Wimberly and Jennette Wynn.** GOP Electors: real estate developer/ex-Jeb Bush business partner **Armando Codina**, Tampa state Sen. **John McKay, Charles Kane, Maria De la Milera, Sandra Faulkner, H. Gary Morse, Carole Jean Jordan**, ex-FL GOP Chair **Tom Slade, Marsha Nippert, Robert Woody, John Thrasher, Mel Martinez, Feliciano Foyo, Al Hoffman, Alfred Austin, Tom Feeney, Cynthia Handley, Darryl Sharpton, Bert Moralejo, Jeanne Barber Godwin, Deborah Brooks, Dorsey Miller, Glenda Hood and Dawn Guzzetta** (*Sun-Sentinel*, 11/9/*Miami Herald*, 11/10).
- **Georgia** (13) -- GOP electors: **Anna Cablik, Teresa Jeter Chappell, Charles Clay, Fred Cooper, James Edenfield, Winnie LeClercq, Brenda Lopez, Carolyn Dodgen Meadows, Alec Poitevint, Eric Tanenblatt, Cynthia Teasley, Virgil Williams, Bob Young** (GA Sec/State).
- **Illinois** (22) -- Dem Electors: Cook Co. Commis./Daley brother **John Daley**, IL Dem vice chair **William Marovitz** (*Chicago Tribune*, 11/9).
- **Kansas** (6) -- GOP Electors: **Shari Caywood** of Salina, **Gene Eastin** of Dodge City, **Charlie Hostetler** of Manhattan (*Topeka Capital-Journal*, 11/10).
- **Kentucky** (8) -- GOP Electors: ad exec. **Michael Shea** of Louisville, ex-McCracken Co. GOP Chair **Richard Noss** of Paducah (*AP/Louisville Courier-Journal*, 11/10).
- **Louisiana** (9) -- GOP electors: Gov. **Mike Foster, Patricia Brister, Donald Ensenat, Heulette Fontenot, Jr., Steve Jordan, Elizabeth Levy, Al Lippman, Suzanne Haik Terrell, Michael Woods, Sr.** (LA Sec/State).
- **Massachusetts** (12) -- Dem electors: **Patricia Armstrong, Russell Ashton, George Barnoski, Robert Colt, Stephen Driscoll, John Flynn, Roberta Goldman, Etta Goodstein, Frederick Koed, Margaret MacKenzie, Carolyne DeVore Parks, Marcia Sweeney** (MA Sec/State).
- **Minnesota** (10) -- Dem Electors: **Prudy Cameron** of Duluth, **Carol Bartels** of Ironton, **Elizabeth Kalisch** of White Bear Lake, civil rights activist **Matthew Little** of St. Paul, **Janis Ray, Elmer Dutchman, Georgianna Ruzich, Joan Campbell, Glenda Meixell and John Meurers** (*St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 11/9).
- **Montana** (3) -- GOP electors: **Thelma Baker, Jack Galt, Tillie Pierce** (MT Sec/State).
- **Nebraska** (5) -- GOP electors: **Mildred Curtis, Howard Lamb, Mary Johnson, John McCollister, Lee Terry Sr.** (NE Sec/State)
- **New Jersey** (15) -- Dem electors: **Paul Bangiola, Angelo Bianchi, Mamie Bridgeforth, Dennis Collins, John Garrett, Deborah Lynch, Patricia McCullough, John McGreevey, June Montag,**

- W. Michael Murphy, Jeffrey Nash, Barbara Plumeri, Julia Valdivia, Stephen Weinstein, Charles Wovkanek** (NJ Sec/State).
- **New Mexico (5)** -- Dem electors: **Tom Atcitty, Rick Blea, Diane Denish, Jeep Gilliland, Mary Gail Gwaltney** (NM Sec/State).
  - **Ohio (21)**: GOP Electors: County GOP Chair **Danny Hamilton** of Dayton, businessman **John Chiappetta** of Richmond Heights, '88 elector/ex-Nixon aide **John Chester Sr.** of Columbus, OH House Speaker **Jo Ann Davidson** of Reynoldsburg, Morrow Co. GOP Chair **Pauline Riel** of Marengo, Hamilton Co. GOP Club pres.-elect **Pakkir Rajagopol** of Cincinnati, GOP activist **Deborah Burstian-Donbraye** of Warrensville Heights, Medina Co. GOP Chair **Don Simmons** of Sharon Center, ex-W. Bush business partner **Mercer Reynolds** of Cincinnati, businessman **Pat Hennessey** of Zanesville, ex-Gov. Taft aide **Donna Harter** of New Madison, GOP activist **Doug Miller** of Latham, businessman **Alan Bedol** of Lakewood, Summit Co. GOP Chair **Alex Arshinkoff** of Akron, businessman **John McConnell** of Worthington, businessman **W.R. Tim Timken Jr.** of Canton, businessman **Clarence Smith** of Youngstown, **Shirley Sadler** of Lebanon, **Leanna Coil** of Hicksville, **Paul Hoag** of Holland and Greene Co. GOP Chair **Faye Sparks** of Beavercreek (Akron *Beacon Journal*, 11/10).
  - **Tennessee (11)** -- Lana Bowman Ball of Jonesborough, Raja Jubran of Knoxville, **Jim Henry** of Kingston, ex-Senate Maj. Leader **Howard Baker** of Huntsville, **Winfield Dunn** of Nashville, **Patti Saliba** of Murfreesboro, **Nancy Cunningham** of Memphis, **Jimmy Exum** of Jackson, **Mamon Wright** of Memphis, ex-Educ. Sec. **Lamar Alexander** of Nashville and **Anie Kent** of Memphis (TN GOP release, 11/9).
  - **Texas (32)** -- GOP electors: **Ernie Angelo, James Batsell, Carmen Castillo, Mary Ceverha, Ken Clark, Hally Clements, Mary Cowart, Rep.-elect John Culberson, Sue Daniel, Michael Dugas, Chuck Jones, William Juett, Cruz Hernandez, Jim Hamlin, Betty Hines, Neal Katz, Betsy Lake, Adair Margo, Loyce McCarter, Joseph Oniell, Michael Paddie, Howard Pebley, Robert Peden, Helen Quiram, James Randall, Clyde Moody Siebman, Stan Stanart, Henry Teich, Randall Tye, James Walker, Tom Ward Jr., Gayle West** (TX GOP).
  - **Virginia (13)** -- GOP electors: **Parker Bena, Vincent Callahan, Patsy Drain, Gloria Taylor Fisher, Ann Garrett, Philip Infantino, Edith Light, Luther Miller, Frances Sadler, Evans Thomas, George Thomas Jr., Gary Waddell, Peyton White.**

### Preventing Faithless Electors

On 11/8, FEC officials "said even they are not sure whether oaths or state laws binding presidential electors are constitutional" (Ft. Lauderdale *Sun-Sentinel*, 11/9).

KS' six electors will receive their ballots in Sec/State **Ron Thornburgh's** office at noon Dec. 18. Said Sec/State spokesperson **Kirsten Funk** on whether the vote is a secret ballot: "It's not in a booth, but they don't sign it. So it's kind of private -- but not necessarily" (Grenz, Topeka *Capital-Journal*, 11/10).

The Akron *Beacon Journal* interviewed 13 of the 21 GOP electors about their vote. The electors have been fully identified above. Hamilton on electors switching: "I'd be worried about any defection. ... It's not going to be me. I don't need that kind of fame." Chiappetta: "I'm not going to break the law." Chester: "I never say never (but) I have not thought of any reason why I would not." Riel on outside pressures: "I don't have any concerns. I'm kind of my own person." Rajagopol: "I'm committed to work for Bush." Burstian-Donbraye on not voting for Bush: "The thought never entered my mind." Reynolds: "I think until this has been certified by the Secretary of State, it would be inappropriate to comment." Hennessey on voting for Bush: "I am very excited to have the opportunity. Frankly, it is a great honor to be able to do it." Harter on the scene 12/18: "I foresee that there will be picketers, protesters -- everything -- when we go to cast our vote." Miller on defectors: "As far as I'm concerned, it's ridiculous" (11/10).

The AP interviewed MN's Dem Electors about the chances of them switching their votes. Full I.D.s of these folks are listed above. Cameron: "Never in a million years." Ruzich: "Absolutely not." Bartels: "No way." Kalisch: "You don't think for a minute I'd vote for Bush, do you?" Little voted to vote for Gore "regardless of how much pressure would be applied to me, but I doubt that would even happen" (Minneapolis *Star Tribune*, 11/10).

Sen. **Robert Torricelli** (D-NJ) on the idea of lobbying for faithless electors: "I am adamantly opposed to

that -- the idea of beginning a separate campaign to change the minds of electors. It is a precedent that will destroy our system of national presidential elections if the national political campaign is followed by a separate campaign to change the minds of electors into voting for somebody else." **Lawrence Longley** and **Neal Peirce** in their new book "The Electoral College Primer," note that "the incentives for elector defection ... would be much greater in the case of a very close election." They note an elector might change his/her vote "to gain personal fame or draw attention to some favorite cause or issue" (*Star Ledger*, 11/10).

### Instead Of Faithless Electors, No-Show Electors?!? Sequester Them!

One KS elector, Dodge City resident **Gene Eastin**, "said he recalled an election several years ago where one of the Kansas electors was delayed and arrived too late to cast his vote. In that race, the missing vote didn't matter. But this year, he said, it was conceivable that, say, a December snow storm could tie up two electors somewhere and prevent Bush from obtaining a majority" (Grenz, Topeka *Capital-Journal*, 11/10).

A sampling of how some states prevent faithless electors.

**Florida:** requires electors to sign an oath to vote as pledged (*Sun-Sentinel*, 11/9).

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## 9 SCENARIOS II: What if they held an election and nobody won?

*Hotline* founder **Doug Bailey** is one of the country's foremost experts on one of its most arcane political processes - what happens when a presidential election ends up in the House. Arcane? Yes, but now also possible. Wanting *Hotline* readers to be prepared for anything, we asked him to give us a primer.

**Hotline:** How does a presidential election end up decided in the House of Representatives?

**Bailey:** Under the 12th Amendment to the constitution, if no candidate ends up with a majority of the votes in the Electoral College, the House is to decide which candidate will be President, and the Senate elects the Vice-president.

**Hotline:** But how could that happen this year? Once Florida is decided, either Bush or Gore will have at least 270 Electoral votes.

**Bailey:** Until the Electors vote, neither one of them has any Electoral votes. One way it could happen is faithless Electors. Only about half the states bind their Electors by law, and even in those states there really is no penalty for voting the other way. Let's say that, after all this, Bush wins Florida (where he is ahead), and Gore wins Oregon (where he is ahead), and all other states stay the way they have been since Tuesday night; then Bush should expect 271 electoral votes and Gore should expect 267. If two faithless Electors, who are supposed to vote for Bush but genuinely believe that the will of the people of Palm Beach County has been thwarted, end up voting for Gore (or Mickey Mouse or abstain), each candidate would be short of 270 and the election would head for the House. Of course it's unlikely, but has there been anything likely about anything this week?

**Hotline:** Has an election ever gone to the House under the 12th Amendment before?

**Bailey:** Yes. In that case the popular vote winner from Tennessee was denied the presidency when the House elected the son of the former President. Four years later, with the people believing that he had been robbed, the Tennessean won a big victory for the first of his two terms in the White House. All that began in 1824, when Andrew Jackson won the popular vote, but John Quincy Adams was elected President by the House.

**Hotline:** Well, if it goes to the Republican House, that means Bush gets it, right?

**Bailey:** Not so fast. Under the 12th Amendment, each State gets only one vote in the House, with an absolute majority of 26 votes needed to win.

**Hotline:** In the House just elected, 27 States will have majority GOP delegations, so Bush wins, right?

**Bailey:** Not so fast. The Constitution doesn't say the "new" House; it just says the House. It probably would be the new House, because the results of the Electoral College are delivered to the new Congress. But even that is determined by statute, which could be changed. If it were the old House, the one still in office today, neither party has majority control of more than 24 states.

**Hotline:** OK, but let's say it is the new House. So Bush wins, right?

**Bailey:** Not so fast. I don't think you can automatically assume that in the most emotional, important and memorable vote that any Member will ever make that all of them will simply follow their party. Wouldn't



you think about voting the way the country voted -- or even more likely the way your state voted -- or even more likely still the way your own District voted?

**Hotline:** Give me an example.

**Bailey:** OK, here's a simple one. Mike Castle is the lone Congressman from Delaware. And he's a Republican. He would have as many votes in this process as the 52 Members from California. How do you think he will vote? Delaware voted solidly for Al Gore? Do you really believe that Mike Castle will ever be elected to anything again in Delaware if he were to vote for Bush? And, frankly I think the trauma of the moment will be so great that most Members of Congress will forget the politics of it and do what they think is right - follow their conscience - rather than automatically following their party.

**Hotline:** So each state delegation gets together and takes a vote as to how the state's vote will be cast.

**Bailey:** Well, you would think so, but in fact there are no rules even on that. The constitution doesn't say how each state's vote is determined. It just says each state gets one. A majority vote in the delegation makes sense, but that means States with split delegations would end up not voting. But one guy grabbing the mike first is another way. And I would imagine that in big state delegations you might find the vote that is cast challenged on the floor. It will be chaos - as if we needed any more.

**Hotline:** Well, how did they decide it in 1824.

**Bailey:** That history might give you a clue as to what to expect. No one got a majority in the Electoral College that year because there was a third candidate, House Speaker Henry Clay. They split the electoral votes. Adams won in the House because Clay cut a deal with him. Adams' first act as President was to appoint Clay Secretary of State. Some might see that as a noble act by Clay to step aside; others call it rank opportunism. Whatever it was, it seems certain that the process in the House will require deal-making unlike anything we have seen before - as well as threatened recalls from the folks back home, the most intense public citizen lobbying, and many political careers cut short.

**Hotline:** And do the same rules apply in the Senate?

**Bailey:** Not quite. The Senate would vote for Vice-President, one-Senator-one-vote, with a majority of 51 votes required.

**Hotline:** So a 50-50 Senate, voting on party lines, would let Vice President Gore break the tie and give it to Joe Lieberman.

**Bailey:** No. There is no tie-breaker. So in a 50-50 Senate, some one will have to break party ranks for there to be a winner. But even in the Senate, there will be a lot of pressure to vote the way your state voted, regardless of party. Can you imagine the anger in North Dakota if both its Democratic Senators voted for Joe Lieberman, even though Bush-Cheney carried the state with 61%.

**Hotline:** Is there no silver lining here?

**Bailey:** Sure. The fact that the House picks the President and the Senate the Vice-President actually permits a kind of compromise to restore some national unity. It makes a Bush/Lieberman or Gore/Cheney administration possible. And while that may seem inconceivable today, if the chaos reaches Capitol Hill, this kind of solution might seem a welcome and rational thought.

**Hotline:** How fast is this all supposed to happen?

**Bailey:** Obviously it will take time. It won't get to the House until the Electoral College fails to be able to act. And while it will be their first order of business, it may be a long time before the House can act. There is no required timetable.

**Hotline:** But what happens if January 20th comes and no choice has been made. Does President Clinton stay on?

**Bailey:** No. Come noon on January 20th, his term will end - as will the Vice-President's. Some think the vacancy would be filled by an interim president picked by Congress, perhaps simply following the law of succession, which would anoint the Speaker of the House.

**Hotline:** President Hastert?

**Bailey:** If he is the Speaker. But knowing that the Speaker might be elevated to the top job this way, the House could elect another Speaker for precisely that reason. And, just in case this scenario hasn't seemed bizarre enough for you, it is wise to remember that just as anyone might be chosen by Congress to be interim President, the House of Representatives may elect anyone Speaker - and I mean anyone. You do not have to be a Member of the House to be elected Speaker of the House.

**Hotline:** Why on earth do you know all this stuff?

**Bailey:** In 1968, 32 years ago, while in between presidential candidates, I had a Jeff Greenfield kind of idea and wrote a novel (a bad novel) about the Presidential Election of 1984, called "Will the Gentleman Yield?" In it a third party candidate kept either major party candidate from winning a majority in the Electoral College and sent it into the House. Unlike Greenfield, I never got mine published. As my wife said: "Too much math, not enough sex."

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## 10 MEDIA: Tauzin Makes Last Ever TV Appearance

**Rep. Billy Tauzin (R-03)** said 11/9 that he "was launching an investigation" into the incorrect early predictions by the major TV networks which may have "discouraged some people from voting." Tauzin said that early reports of Gore winning FL "before the polls closed on the West Coast," may have "dampened" GOP turnout for Bush and other GOPers. Said Tauzin: "Did Republicans in California decide during those two hours that it wasn't worth going to the polls because the election had already been decided in the East?" Tauzin, chair of the House subcommittee on Telecommunications, Trade and Consumer Protection, sent his letter to "the heads of CNN, ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox News" and the AP "asking how they made their election-night predictions" (Walsh, New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 11/10). Tauzin also said hearings "were planned, most likely next year." Continued Tauzin: "I don't intend to violate the law or the spirit of the First Amendment, ... The intent is to find out what went wrong in this system." The networks said that they already had been "looking into how the Florida projections went awry" (Anderson, AP, 11/10).

**Ex-Sen. Bob Dole (R-KS)**, on the media's election night performance: "It wasn't so much the premature announcement on Florida. It was the delay in announcing Georgia, where Bush had a 15 point lead, West Virginia, North Carolina. It was almost like a conspiracy, like they were trying to get the word out west that Gore was winning and that even states like Georgia and Virginia were too close to call" ("O'Reilly Factor," FNC, 11/9).

### No More VNS?

Partners in the Voter News Service consortium -- including the major networks -- "said they would review the operations" of the "vote-data service." The four major networks and CNN "held a conference call Wednesday to discuss their perceived problems with VNS, which had provided exit-poll data and vote tabulations" 11/7. Meanwhile, GOPers are planning on placing "radio ads in the Florida Panhandle urging voters to call a toll-free number and join a lawsuit against VNS on grounds that its tabulations led the media to project" Gore the winner in FL "before polls had closed in the Panhandle." The panhandle is in a different time zone, leading to the polls there closing an hour later than the rest of the state (Chen, *Wall Street Journal*, 11/10).

### Deserved Hostility?

A new poll of 1,005 adult residents of the US conducted by Scripps Howard News Service and Ohio University show that supporters of Gore and Bush believe the "press is hostile" to their candidate. 69% of Bush supporters say their "daily newspaper tends to favor" Gore. 64% of Gore supporters say that their newspaper is "biased in favor of Bush." The survey found that "the more strongly voters identify themselves as Democrats or Republicans the more likely they are to perceive bias in newspaper coverage of the presidential race" (Hargrove/Stempell III, Scripps Howard News Service, 11/10).

### Feeding The Junkie's Habit

*Tallahassee Democrat's* Sevigny reports, "Web surfers from Brazil to Canada are aiming their browsers at newspaper and election office Web sites in Florida, clogging the networks, and in some cases, using e-mail to vent their frustrations with the democratic process." Since the polls closed 11/7, "more than 5.2 million people have accessed" the FL Div. of Elec. Web site, "slowing the system until it was impossible for some to access it." In '96, "the presidential election brought only 500,000 hits." Meanwhile, FL newspaper sites also have been hit hard with large amounts of Web traffic. **Mark Graney**, who helps run the *Miami Herald's* Web site, "said the frenzy of Internet activity involving Florida" is similar to what happens "a few days before hurricanes hit the state." Graney: "It seems to be the same rate of increase as when a major storm rolls through" (11/10).