

# The Freedom Index

*A Congressional Scorecard Based on the U.S. Constitution*

*Our first look at the 116th Congress shows how every member of the House and Senate voted on key issues such as the so-called Equality Act (House), the Paris climate agreement (House), federal funding of abortion (Senate), and the two-year budget deal (House and Senate).*

## House Vote Descriptions

### 1 Consolidated Appropriations.

This bill (House Joint Resolution 31) would provide \$333 billion in discretionary spending for the seven remaining fiscal 2019 appropriations bills: Agriculture (\$23 billion); Commerce-Justice-Science (\$64.1 billion); Financial Services (\$23.4 billion); Homeland Security (\$61.6 billion); Interior-Environment (\$35.6 billion); State-Foreign Operations (\$54.2 billion); and Transportation-Housing and Urban Development (\$71.1 billion).

The House passed the final version of the bill (the conference report) on February 14, 2019 by a vote of 300 to 128 (Roll Call 87). We have assigned pluses to the nays because most of the bill's spending programs are unconstitutional, our nation's national debt is about \$23 trillion, and our nation's 2019 federal budget deficit was nearly \$1 trillion.



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**Spend and spend; borrow and borrow:** Congress continues to spend much more than it collects in taxes, causing deficits and debt to skyrocket.

**2 Public Lands.** This bill (S. 47) would permanently reauthorize the Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF), which was first authorized in 1964 to assist states in the planning, acquisition, and development of "recreation" lands. The LWCF was initially funded by proceeds from the sales of surplus federal

property, motorboat fuel taxes, and fees for recreational use of federal lands, but by 1969 a major funding source was added: fees charged to oil and gas companies for extracting resources from public lands. In this way this could be portrayed as making more "recreational" public land available without any cost to taxpayers (neglecting

## About This Index

**T**he Freedom Index: A Congressional Scorecard Based on the U.S. Constitution" rates congressmen based on their adherence to constitutional principles of limited government, fiscal responsibility, national sovereignty, and a traditional foreign policy of avoiding foreign entanglements. To learn how any representative or senator voted on the key measures described herein, look him or her up in the vote charts.

The scores are derived by dividing a congressman's constitutional votes (pluses) by the total number he cast (pluses and minuses) and multiplying by 100. This is our first index for the

116th Congress. The average House score for this index is 36 percent, and the average Senate score is 28 percent. Two representatives (Thomas Massie of Kentucky and Justin Amash of Michigan) and two senators (Rand Paul of Kentucky and Mike Lee of Utah) earned 100 percent. We encourage readers to examine how their own congressmen voted on each of the 10 key measures. We also encourage readers to commend legislators for their constitutional votes, and to urge improvement where needed.

An online version of the "Freedom Index" is also available (click on "Freedom Index" at [TheNewAmerican.com](http://TheNewAmerican.com)). ■

to admit that ending the LWCF funding would benefit taxpayers by freeing up the fossil-fuel royalties for other purposes). The LWCF has been spending about \$1 billion per year in recent years. This bill would also authorize other federal activities pertaining to natural resources, such as designating “National Heritage Areas” and “Conservation Districts.”

The House passed S. 47 on February 26, 2019 by a vote of 363 to 62 (Roll Call 95). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the Constitution does not authorize Congress to purchase private property except “all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings.”

**3 Firearms Background Checks.** The Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019 (H.R. 8) would mandate universal background checks, essentially ban all private firearm sales, and create a federal registry of all gun owners in the United States. Michael Hammond, the legislative counsel for Gun Owners of America, noted, “Bottom line, H.R. 8 was not about public safety. Over and over again we see that mass shooters, who don’t steal their weapons, pass background checks before purchasing their firearms. So extending the background checks to private sales will do nothing to keep guns ‘out of the wrong hands.’”

The House passed H.R. 8 on February 27, 2019 by a vote of 240 to 190 (Roll Call 99). We have assigned pluses to the nays because this bill would severely infringe upon the Second Amendment-protected right to keep and bear arms, since the bill’s onerous regulations would make it very difficult for law-abiding citizens to privately sell their firearms or to purchase firearms from a private seller.

**4 Yemen.** This bill (Senate Joint Resolution 7) would direct “the President to remove United States Armed Forces from hostilities in or affecting the Republic of Yemen ... unless and until a declaration of war or specific authorization for such use of United States Armed Forces has been enacted.” The measure exempts U.S. forces “engaged in operations directed at al Qaeda or associated forces.”

The House passed S.J. Res. 7 on April 4, 2019 by a vote of 247 to 175 (Roll Call 153). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because Congress is vested with the power to declare war, and Congress has not authorized any intervention or war in Yemen. Nor should Congress do so, since the civil war in Yemen does not threaten the United States.

**5 Paris Agreement.** This bill (H.R. 9) would prohibit the use of federal funds for U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Agreement on climate change and would require the president to develop a plan for the United States to meet contributions promised under the Obama administration.

The House passed H.R. 9 on May 2, 2019 by a vote of 231 to 190 (Roll Call 184). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the Paris Agreement never should have been signed by the United States in the first place. The Paris Agreement essentially functions as a treaty, and the United States entered into it without ratification by the U.S. Senate, which is required under the Constitution. Furthermore, from a practical standpoint, fulfilling the terms

of the agreement would stifle the U.S. economy and energy sector while making almost no impact whatsoever on alleged man-made global warming.

**6 Equality Act.** This bill (H.R. 5) would expand the definition of protected classes in federal law to include “sexual orientation and gender identity.” Regarding the latter, the Equality Act explicitly states that “an individual shall not be denied access to a shared facility, including a restroom, a locker room, and a dressing room, that is in accordance with the individual’s gender identity.” That is, males who identify as females would be able to use the public restrooms, locker rooms, and dressing rooms of the opposite sex — and visa versa. Moreover, the bill not only fails to include religious exemptions (e.g., allowing a church adoption agency to refuse placing children with homosexual couples), but explicitly states that the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 cannot be used as a defense against the bill’s applications.

The House passed the Equality Act on May 17, 2019 by a vote of 236 to 173



AP Images

**When disaster strikes,** helping hands should provide aid. Yet federal disaster assistance has a poor track record of efficiently helping the needy, compared to local or private efforts.

# House Vote Scores ✓

Votes:		1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>ALABAMA</b>												
1	Byrne (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2	Roby (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
3	Rogers, M. (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
4	Aderholt (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
5	Brooks, M. (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
6	Palmer (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
7	Sewell (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>ALASKA</b>												
AL	Young Don (R)	22%	-	-	+	-	+	?	-	-	-	-
<b>ARIZONA</b>												
1	O'Halleran (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	Kirkpatrick (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Grijalva (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
4	Gosar (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
5	Biggs (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
6	Schweikert (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
7	Gallego (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
8	Lesko (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
9	Stanton (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>ARKANSAS</b>												
1	Crawford (R)	50%	+	-	+	-	?	+	-	-	+	?
2	Hill (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
3	Womack (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
4	Westerman (R)	56%	+	-	+	-	+	?	-	-	+	+
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>												
1	LaMalfa (R)	60%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2	Huffman (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
3	Garamendi (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
4	McClintock (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
5	Thompson, M. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
6	Matsui (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	+	-	-
7	Bera (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
8	Cook (R)	33%	-	-	+	?	+	+	-	-	-	-
9	McNerney (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
10	Harder (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
11	DeSaulnier (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
12	Pelosi (D)	17%	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	?	?	-
13	Lee, B. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
14	Speier (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	+	-	-
15	Swalwell (D)	25%	-	-	-	+	-	?	?	+	-	-
16	Costa (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	Khanna (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
18	Eshoo (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
19	Lofgren (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
20	Panetta (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
21	Cox (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	Nunes (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
23	McCarthy (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
24	Carbajal (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
25	Hill (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	Brownley (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
27	Chu (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
28	Schiff (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
29	Cárdenas (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	+	-	-
30	Sherman (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	+	-	-
31	Aguilar (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-

Votes:		1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
32	Napolitano (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
33	Lieu (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
34	Gomez (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
35	Torres (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
36	Ruiz (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
37	Bass (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
38	Sánchez (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
39	Cisneros (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
40	Roybal-Allard (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
41	Takano (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
42	Calvert (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
43	Waters, Maxine (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
44	Barragán (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
45	Porter (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	Correa (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
47	Lowenthal (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
48	Rouda (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	+	-	-
49	Levin (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
50	Hunter (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
51	Vargas (D)	44%	+	-	-	+	?	-	-	+	-	+
52	Peters, S. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
53	Davis, S. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
<b>COLORADO</b>												
1	DeGette (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
2	Neguse (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
3	Tipton (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
4	Buck (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
5	Lamborn (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
6	Crow (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
7	Perlmutter (D)	11%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	-	-
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>												
1	Larson, J. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
2	Courtney (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
3	DeLauro (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
4	Himes (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
5	Hayes (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>DELAWARE</b>												
AL	Blunt Rochester (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>FLORIDA</b>												
1	Gaetz (R)	60%	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2	Dunn (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
3	Yoho (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
4	Rutherford (R)	33%	-	-	+	?	+	+	-	-	-	-
5	Lawson (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	Waltz (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
7	Murphy (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
8	Posey (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
9	Soto (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
10	Demings (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
11	Webster (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
12	Bilirakis (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
13	Crist (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	Castor (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
15	Spano (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
16	Buchanan (R)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
17	Steube (R)	78%	+	+	+	-	+	?	+	-	+	+
18	Mast (R)	50%	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A "?" means a rep. did not vote; a "P" means he voted "present." If a rep. cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 1, 2, and 4.

(Roll Call 217). We have assigned pluses to the nays because of the harm it would cause to heterosexual children and adults, as well as threatening religious freedom and the right of association.

**7 Disaster Supplemental Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 2157) would provide \$19.1 billion in supplemental disaster funds for response efforts to damage caused by hurricanes, wildfires, earthquakes, tornadoes, floods, and other natural disasters that occurred in 2017, 2018, and 2019. It includes nutrition assistance for individuals impacted by natural disasters in Puerto Rico, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and American Samoa. And it provides funds for economic assistance, employment training, healthcare, agricultural losses, and infrastructure repairs in disaster-stricken areas.

The House passed H.R. 2157 on June 3, 2019 by a vote of 354 to 58 (Roll Call 232). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the federal government does not have authority under the Constitution to rebuild areas stricken by natural disasters. Such activity should be undertaken by private companies and charities first, and, as a last resort, handled by local or state governments. This would arguably result in disasters being handled much more efficiently and effectively, as the federal government is often criticized for its slow, inefficient, and ineffective response to such events (think FEMA).

**8 Indefinite Military Detention.** During consideration of the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA; H.R. 2500), Representative Justin Amash (R-Mich.) introduced an amendment to prohibit the indefinite military detention of any person (including American citizens) detained in the United States, its territories, or its possessions under the Authorization for the Use of Military Force or the NDAA. Instead, such persons would be immediately transferred from military detention for trial and afforded “all the due process as provided for under the Constitution.”

The House rejected Amash’s amendment on July 12, 2019 by a vote of 187 to 236 (Roll Call 460). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because indefinite de-



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**Steppingstones to confiscation:** The House passed legislation requiring background checks for all gun purchases, hurdles to make private sales of guns very difficult, and a federal gun registry. How many more steps will there be until outright gun seizures?

tention without trial is a serious violation of long-cherished legal protections, including the right to habeas corpus, the issuance of a warrant based on probable cause (Fourth Amendment), and the right to a “speedy and public” trial (Sixth Amendment).

**9 Budget Deal.** This two-year budget bill (H.R. 3877) would establish sufficiently high spending limits to allow the Washington spendathon to continue (and then some) through fiscal years 2020 and 2021. It would also suspend the national debt ceiling until July 31, 2021, in order to accommodate accumulating federal debt between now and then without having to vote to raise the debt limit. *Congressional Quarterly (CQ)* noted that the bill would “add \$324 billion to spending limits over the next two years, not counting an extra \$157 billion mainly for overseas military operations.” And although \$77 billion of that would be offset, *CQ* further noted that the supposed cuts “don’t take effect until fiscal 2027.” Representative Thomas Massie (R-Ky.) was so outraged by the budget deal that he attempted (but failed) to change the bill’s title to read, “A bill to kick the can down the road, and for other purposes.”

The House passed the budget deal on

July 25, 2019 by a vote of 284 to 149 (Roll Call 511). We have assigned pluses to the nays not only because spending needs to be brought under control and deficits eliminated to avoid fiscal disaster — not “down the road,” but now — but also because much of the spending is unconstitutional.

**10 Short-term Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 4378) would provide funding for federal government operations and services through November 21, 2019, at fiscal 2019 levels. Passage of this bill, known as a continuing appropriations resolution, was necessary because the House Democrats had passed only 10 of the 12 major 2020 fiscal year appropriations bills so far, and the Senate had not even passed one of the 12, even though the 2020 fiscal year began on October 1, 2019.

The House passed H.R. 4378 on September 19, 2019 by a vote of 301 to 123 (Roll Call 538). We have assigned pluses to the nays because with this continuing appropriations bill, Congress is failing to address its fiscally and constitutionally irresponsible budgeting and appropriating process that is currently yielding annual federal deficits of about \$1 trillion that contribute directly to the dramatic growth of our \$23 trillion national debt. ■

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
19 Rooney, E. (R)	75%	+	-	+	?	?		+	+	-	+	+
20 Hastings (D)	25%	-	-	-	+	?		-	?	+	-	-
21 Frankel (D)	25%	-	?	?	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
22 Deutch (D)	22%	?	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
23 Wasserman Schultz (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
24 Wilson, F. (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-		-	?	+	-	-
25 Diaz-Balart (R)	10%	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-
26 Mucarsel-Powell (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
27 Shalala (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
<b>GEORGIA</b>												
1 Carter, E.L. (R)	50%	+	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	-
2 Bishop, S. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
3 Ferguson (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	-
4 Johnson, H. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
5 Lewis, John (D)	22%	-	?	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
6 McBath (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
7 Woodall (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	-
8 Scott, A. (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
9 Collins, D. (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	-
10 Hice (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
11 Loudermilk (R)	56%	+	-	+	-	?		+	-	-	+	+
12 Allen (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
13 Scott, D. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
14 Graves, T. (R)	60%	+	+	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	-
<b>HAWAII</b>												
1 Case (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
2 Gabbard (D)	11%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	?	-	-
<b>IDAHO</b>												
1 Fulcher (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+		+	+	-	+	+
2 Simpson (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	-
<b>ILLINOIS</b>												
1 Rush (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
2 Kelly, R. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
3 Lipinski (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	+	-
4 García (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
5 Quigley (D)	22%	?	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
6 Casten (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
7 Davis, D. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
8 Krishnamoorthi (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
9 Schakowsky (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
10 Schneider (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-		-	?	+	-	-
11 Foster (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
12 Bost (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	-
13 Davis, R. (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	-
14 Underwood (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
15 Shimkus (R)	44%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	?
16 Kinzinger (R)	44%	?	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	+
17 Bustos (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
18 LaHood (R)	67%	+	-	+	-	+		?	-	-	+	+
<b>INDIANA</b>												
1 Visclosky (D)	11%	-	-	-	?	-		-	-	+	-	-
2 Walorski (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	-
3 Banks (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+		+	+	-	+	+
4 Baird (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
5 Brooks, S. (R)	20%	-	-	+	-	+		-	-	-	-	-
6 Pence (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	-
7 Carson (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
8 Bucshon (R)	56%	+	-	+	-	+		?	-	-	+	+
9 Hollingsworth (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+		+	+	-	+	+
<b>IOWA</b>												
1 Finkenauer (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
2 Loeb sack (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3 Axne (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
4 King, S. (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
<b>KANSAS</b>												
1 Marshall (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
2 Watkins (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
3 Davids (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
4 Estes (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+		+	+	-	+	+
<b>KENTUCKY</b>												
1 Comer (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+		+	+	-	+	+
2 Guthrie (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	+
3 Yarmuth (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
4 Massie (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
5 Rogers, H. (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	-
6 Barr (R)	60%	-	-	+	-	+		+	+	-	+	+
<b>LOUISIANA</b>												
1 Scalise (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	+		+	-	-	-	-
2 Richmond (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
3 Higgins, C. (R)	89%	+	+	+	-	+		+	+	?	+	+
4 Johnson, M. (R)	78%	+	+	+	-	+		?	+	-	+	+
5 Abraham (R)	71%	+	+	+	-	?		+	?	-	+	?
6 Graves, G. (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
<b>MAINE</b>												
1 Pingree (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
2 Golden (D)	20%	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	-	-	-
<b>MARYLAND</b>												
1 Harris, A. (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+		+	+	-	+	+
2 Ruppersberger (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
3 Sarbanes (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
4 Brown, A. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
5 Hoyer (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
6 Trone (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
7 Cummings (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	?
8 Raskin (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>												
1 Neal (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
2 McGovern (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
3 Trahan (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
4 Kennedy, Joseph P. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
5 Clark, K. (D)	11%	-	-	-	?	-		-	-	+	-	-
6 Moulton (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-		?	-	+	-	-
7 Pressley (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	+	-
8 Lynch (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
9 Keating (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
<b>MICHIGAN</b>												
1 Bergman (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+		+	+	-	-	+
2 Huizenga (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+
3 Amash (I)	100%	+	+	+	?	+		+	+	+	+	+
4 Moolenaar (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+		+	-	+	-	-
5 Kildee (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
6 Upton (R)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		+	-	-	-	-
7 Walberg (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
8 Slotkin (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
9 Levin (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
10 Mitchell (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
11 Stevens (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
12 Dingell (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-		?	-	+	-	-
13 Tlaib (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-
14 Lawrence (D)	11%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	?	-	-
<b>MINNESOTA</b>												
1 Hagedorn (R)	60%	-	+	+	-	+		+	-	-	+	+
2 Craig (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A “?” means a rep. did not vote; a “P” means he voted “present.” If a rep. cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 1, 2, and 4.

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3 Phillips (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4 McCollum (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Omar (D)	44%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	+	+	-
6 Emmer (R)	60%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
7 Peterson (D)	33%	-	-	+	+	-	-	?	-	-	+	-
8 Stauber (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>												
1 Kelly, T. (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2 Thompson, B. (D)	13%	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	?
3 Guest (R)	44%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	?	-	+	-
4 Palazzo (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
<b>MISSOURI</b>												
1 Clay (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2 Wagner (R)	44%	-	?	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
3 Luetkemeyer (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
4 Hartzler (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
5 Cleaver (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
6 Graves, S. (R)	78%	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	+	+
7 Long (R)	50%	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
8 Smith, J. (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
<b>MONTANA</b>												
AL Gianforte (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
<b>NEBRASKA</b>												
1 Fortenberry (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2 Bacon (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
3 Smith, Adrian (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
<b>NEVADA</b>												
1 Titus (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	+	-	-	-
2 Amodei (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
3 Lee (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Horsford (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>												
1 Pappas (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2 Kuster (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>												
1 Norcross (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2 Van Drew (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Kim (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Smith, C. (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
5 Gottheimer (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Pallone (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
7 Malinowski (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
8 Sires (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
9 Pascrell (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
10 Payne (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
11 Sherrill (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
12 Watson Coleman (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>												
1 Haaland (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2 Torres Small (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Luján, B.R. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>NEW YORK</b>												
1 Zeldin (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2 King, P. (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
3 Suozzi (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4 Rice, K. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
5 Meeks (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
6 Meng (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
7 Velázquez (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
8 Jeffries (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
9 Clarke, Y. (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10 Nadler (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
11 Rose (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	-	+	-	-
12 Maloney, C. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
13 Espaillat (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
14 Ocasio-Cortez (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
15 Serrano (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
16 Engel (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
17 Lowey (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
18 Maloney, S.P. (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19 Delgado (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20 Tonko (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
21 Stefanik (R)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22 Brindisi (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
23 Reed, T. (R)	33%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	?
24 Katko (R)	13%	-	-	?	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
25 Morelle (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
26 Higgins, B. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
27 Collins, C. (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>												
1 Butterfield (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2 Holding (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
3 Murphy (R)												+
4 Price (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
5 Foxx (R)	60%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
6 Walker (R)	78%	+	+	+	-	+	-	?	+	-	+	+
7 Rouzer (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
8 Hudson (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
9 Bishop (R)												+
10 McHenry (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
11 Meadows (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
12 Adams (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	+	-	-
13 Budd (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>												
AL Armstrong (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
<b>OHIO</b>												
1 Chabot (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
2 Wenstrup (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
3 Beatty (D)	25%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	+	-	?
4 Jordan (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
5 Latta (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
6 Johnson, B. (R)	25%	-	-	+	-	+	?	?	-	-	-	-
7 Gibbs (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
8 Davidson (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
9 Kaptur (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
10 Turner (R)	22%	-	-	+	-	+	-	?	-	-	-	-
11 Fudge (D)	13%	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	?	-	-
12 Balderson (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
13 Ryan, T. (D)	13%	-	-	-	?	-	-	?	-	+	-	-
14 Joyce (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
15 Stivers (R)	44%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	?	-	+	-
16 Gonzalez (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>												
1 Hern (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2 Mullin (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
3 Lucas (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
4 Cole (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
5 Horn (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>OREGON</b>												
1 Bonamici (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2 Walden (R)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Blumenauer (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4 DeFazio (D)	22%	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
5 Schrader (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-

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	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>												
1 Fitzpatrick (R)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Boyle (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
3 Evans (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
4 Dean (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
5 Scanlon (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
6 Houlahan (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Wild (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Cartwright (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
9 Meuser (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
10 Perry (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
11 Snuckler (R)	56%	+	-	+	-	+	?	-	-	+	+	+
12 Keller (R)											+	+
13 Joyce (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
14 Reschenthaler (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
15 Thompson, G. (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
16 Kelly, M. (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
17 Lamb (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18 Doyle (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>												
1 Cicilline (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2 Langevin (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>												
1 Cunningham (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	?	
2 Wilson, J. (R)	44%	+	-	+	-	+	?	-	-	-	+	
3 Duncan, Jeff (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
4 Timmons (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
5 Norman (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
6 Clyburn (D)	25%	-	-	-	+	-	?	-	+	-	?	
7 Rice, T. (R)	67%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	?	+	+	+
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>												
AL Johnson (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
<b>TENNESSEE</b>												
1 Roe (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
2 Burchett (R)	67%	+	-	+	-	+	?	+	-	+	+	+
3 Fleischmann (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
4 Desjarlais (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
5 Cooper (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
6 Rose (R)	60%	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
7 Green (R)	78%	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	+
8 Kustoff (R)	33%	-	-	+	?	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
9 Cohen (D)	22%	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>TEXAS</b>												
1 Gohmert (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
2 Crenshaw (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
3 Taylor (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
4 Ratcliffe (R)	67%	+	-	+	-	+	?	+	-	+	+	+
5 Gooden (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Wright (R)	89%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	?	+	+	+
7 Fletcher (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Brady, K. (R)	38%	+	-	+	-	+	?	-	?	-	-	-
9 Green, A. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
10 McCaul (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
11 Conaway (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
12 Granger (R)	33%	-	-	+	?	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
13 Thornberry (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
14 Weber (R)	67%	+	+	+	-	+	?	-	-	+	+	+
15 Gonzalez (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
16 Escobar (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
17 Flores (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
18 Jackson Lee (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
19 Arrington (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
20 Castro (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
21 Roy (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Olson (R)	60%	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
23 Hurd (R)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
24 Marchant (R)	78%	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	+
25 Williams (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
26 Burgess (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
27 Cloud (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28 Cuellar (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
29 Garcia (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
30 Johnson, E.B. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
31 Carter, J. (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
32 Allred (D)	11%	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33 Veasey (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
34 Vela (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
35 Doggett (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
36 Babin (R)	60%	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
<b>UTAH</b>												
1 Bishop, R. (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
2 Stewart (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
3 Curtis (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
4 McAdams (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
<b>VERMONT</b>												
AL Welch (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>VIRGINIA</b>												
1 Wittman (R)	60%	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2 Luria (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Scott, R. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
4 McEachin (D)	13%	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	+	-	?
5 Riggelman (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
6 Cline (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
7 Spanberger (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
8 Beyer (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	+	-	-
9 Griffith (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Wexton (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
11 Connolly (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>WASHINGTON</b>												
1 DelBene (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2 Larsen, R. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
3 Herrera Beutler (R)	44%	-	-	+	-	+	+	?	-	+	-	-
4 Newhouse (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
5 McMorris Rodgers (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
6 Kilmer (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
7 Jayapal (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
8 Schrier (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Smith, Adam (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
10 Heck (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>												
1 McKinley (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
2 Mooney (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
3 Miller (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
<b>WISCONSIN</b>												
1 Steil (R)	50%	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
2 Pocan (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	+	-	-
3 Kind (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
4 Moore (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
5 Sensenbrenner (R)	80%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
6 Grothman (R)	67%	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	?	+	-	-
7 Duffy (R)	75%	+	+	+	-	+	?	-	?	+	+	+
8 Gallagher (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
<b>WYOMING</b>												
AL Cheney (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	50%

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A "?" means a rep. did not vote; a "P" means he voted "present." If a rep. cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 1, 2, and 4.

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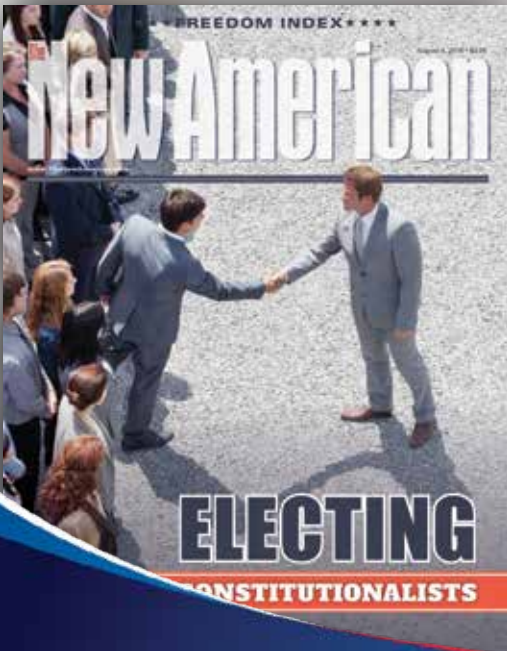
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# Senate Vote Descriptions

**1 Abortion funding.** The No Taxpayer Funding for Abortion and Abortion Insurance Full Disclosure Act of 2019 (S. 109) would prohibit the use of federal funds to cover the cost of abortions, except in cases of rape, incest, or when a woman's life is at risk unless an abortion is performed. The bill would also prohibit qualified health plans from including abortion coverage.

The Senate did not vote directly on the bill, but on a motion to invoke cloture (and thus limit debate) so the bill could come up for a vote. The motion to invoke cloture was rejected on January 17, 2019 by a vote of 48 to 47 (Roll Call 7; a three-fifths majority of the entire Senate is required to invoke cloture). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the government should not subsidize or make provision for the killing of innocent human life.

**2 Public Lands.** This bill (S. 47) would permanently reauthorize the Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF), which was first authorized in 1964 to assist states in the planning, acquisition, and development of "recreation" lands. The LWCF was initially funded by proceeds from the sales of surplus federal property, motorboat fuel taxes, and fees for recreational use of federal lands, but by 1969 a major funding source was added: fees charged to oil and gas companies for extracting resources from public lands. In this way this could be portrayed as making more "recreational" public land available without any cost to taxpayers (neglecting to admit that ending the LWCF funding would benefit taxpayers by freeing up the fossil-fuel royalties for other purposes). The LWCF has been spending about \$1 billion per year in recent years. This bill would also authorize other federal activities pertaining to natural resources, such as designating "National Heritage Areas" and "Conservation Districts."

The Senate passed S. 47 on February 12, 2019 by a vote of 92 to 8 (Roll Call 22). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the Constitution does not authorize Congress to purchase private property except "all Places purchased by the



**A life worth saving ... or killing?** The Senate killed a bill that would have prohibited the use of federal funds to cover abortions.

Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings."

**3 Consolidated Appropriations.** This bill (House Joint Resolution 31) would provide \$333 billion in discretionary spending for the seven remaining fiscal 2019 appropriations bills: Agriculture (\$23 billion); Commerce-Justice-Science (\$64.1 billion); Financial Services (\$23.4 billion); Homeland Security (\$61.6 billion); Interior-Environment (\$35.6 billion); State-Foreign Operations (\$54.2 billion); and Transportation-Housing and Urban Development (\$71.1 billion).

The Senate passed H.J. Res. 31 on February 14, 2019 by a vote of 83 to 16 (Roll Call 26). We have assigned pluses to the nays because most of the bill's spending programs are unconstitutional, our nation's national debt is about \$23 trillion, and our nation's 2019 federal budget deficit was nearly \$1 trillion.

**4 Yemen.** This bill (Senate Joint Resolution 7) would direct "the President to remove United States Armed Forces from hostilities in or affecting the Republic of Yemen ... unless and until a declaration of war or specific authorization for such use of United States Armed Forces has been enacted." The measure exempts U.S. forces "engaged in operations directed at al Qaeda or associated forces."

The Senate passed S.J. Res. 7 on March 13, 2019 by a vote of 54 to 46 (Roll Call 48). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because Congress is vested with the power to declare war, and Congress has not authorized any intervention or war in Yemen. Nor should Congress do so, since the civil war in Yemen does not threaten the United States.

**5 Disaster Supplemental Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 2157) would provide \$19.1 billion in supplemental disaster funds for response efforts

# Senate Vote Scores ✓

Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>ALABAMA</b>											
Shelby (R)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jones (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>ALASKA</b>											
Murkowski (R)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sullivan (R)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
<b>ARIZONA</b>											
Sinema (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
McSally (R)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
<b>ARKANSAS</b>											
Boozman (R)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cotton (R)	30%	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>											
Feinstein (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Harris, K. (D)	38%	-	-	+	+	-	?	+	?	-	-
<b>COLORADO</b>											
Bennet (D)	33%	-	-	-	+	-	?	+	+	-	-
Gardner (R)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>											
Blumenthal (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Murphy, C. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>DELAWARE</b>											
Carper (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
Coons (D)	11%	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	-	-	-
<b>FLORIDA</b>											
Rubio (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Scott (R)	33%	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	+	-	+
<b>GEORGIA</b>											
Isakson (R)	11%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-
Perdue (R)	30%	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
<b>HAWAII</b>											
Schatz (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Hirono (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>IDAHO</b>											
Crapo (R)	22%	?	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
Risch (R)	50%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
<b>ILLINOIS</b>											
Durbin (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	?	-	+	-	-	-
Duckworth (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>INDIANA</b>											
Young, T. (R)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
Braun (R)	78%	+	-	+	-	+	+	?	+	+	+
<b>IOWA</b>											
Grassley (R)	30%	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
Ernst (R)	40%	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
<b>KANSAS</b>											
Roberts (R)	11%	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-
Moran (R)	33%	+	-	-	+	?	-	+	-	-	-
<b>KENTUCKY</b>											
McConnell (R)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paul (R)	100%	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<b>LOUISIANA</b>											
Cassidy (R)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Kennedy, John (R)	40%	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-

Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>MAINE</b>											
Collins (R)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
King, A. (I)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>MARYLAND</b>											
Cardin (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Van Hollen (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>											
Warren (D)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	?	+	?	?	?
Markey (D)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>MICHIGAN</b>											
Stabenow (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Peters, G. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>MINNESOTA</b>											
Klobuchar (D)	33%	-	-	-	+	-	?	+	+	-	-
Smith (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>											
Wicker (R)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hyde-Smith (R)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>MISSOURI</b>											
Blunt (R)	11%	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-
Hawley (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
<b>MONTANA</b>											
Tester (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
Daines (R)	50%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
<b>NEBRASKA</b>											
Fischer (R)	30%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Sasse (R)	60%	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
<b>NEVADA</b>											
Cortez Masto (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Rosen (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>											
Shaheen (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Hassan (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>											
Menendez (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Booker (D)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	?	+	?	?	?
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>											
Udall (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Heinrich (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<b>NEW YORK</b>											
Schumer (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Gillibrand (D)	33%	-	-	+	+	-	?	+	-	-	-
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>											
Burr (R)	0%	?	-	?	-	-	-	?	-	-	-
Tillis (R)	40%	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>											
Hoeven (R)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cramer (R)	11%	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-
<b>OHIO</b>											
Brown, S. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Portman (R)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>											
Inhofe (R)	44%	+	+	+	-	-	-	?	-	-	+
Lankford (R)	50%	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>OREGON</b>												
Wyden (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Merkley (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>												
Casey (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Toomey (R)	78%	+	+	+	-	?	+	-	+	+	+	+
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>												
Reed, J. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Whitehouse (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>												
Graham, L. (R)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scott, T. (R)	60%	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>												
Thune (R)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rounds (R)	29%	+	-	-	-	?	?	?	-	-	-	+
<b>TENNESSEE</b>												
Alexander (R)	0%	?	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
Blackburn (R)	67%	+	-	-	-	+	+	?	+	+	+	+
<b>TEXAS</b>												
Cornyn (R)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Cruz (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>UTAH</b>												
Lee, M. (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Romney (R)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>VERMONT</b>												
Leahy (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Sanders (I)	33%	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	+	?	?	?
<b>VIRGINIA</b>												
Warner (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Kaine (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
<b>WASHINGTON</b>												
Murray (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Cantwell (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>												
Manchin (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Capito (R)	11%	+	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>WISCONSIN</b>												
Johnson, R. (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
Baldwin (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
<b>WYOMING</b>												
Enzi (R)	44%	+	-	-	-	?	+	-	+	+	-	-
Barrasso (R)	30%	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A “?” means a senator did not vote; a “P” means he voted “present.” If he cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to Senate vote descriptions on pages 9, 11, and 12.

to damage caused by hurricanes, wildfires, earthquakes, tornadoes, floods, and other natural disasters that occurred in 2017, 2018, and 2019. It includes nutrition assistance for individuals impacted by natural disasters in Puerto Rico, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and American Samoa. And it provides funds for economic assistance, employment training, healthcare, agricultural losses, and infrastructure repairs in disaster-stricken areas.

The Senate passed H.R. 2157 on May 23, 2019 by a vote of 85 to 8 (Roll Call 129). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the federal government does not have authority under the Constitution to rebuild areas stricken by natural disasters. Such activity should be undertaken by private companies and charities first, and, as a last resort, handled by local or state governments. This would arguably result in disasters being handled much more efficiently and effectively, as the federal government is often criticized for its slow, inefficient, and ineffective response to such events (think FEMA).

**6 Supplemental Border Appropriations.** During consideration of the supplemental border appropriations bill (H.R. 3401), Senator Rand

Paul (R-Ky.) introduced an amendment to rescind all funding for the East-West Center and the Inter-American Foundation, and funding previously appropriated for global health programs within the fiscal 2019 State and Foreign Operations appropriations measure.

The East-West Center is an education and research organization established by Congress in 1960 to strengthen relations and understanding among the peoples and nations of Asia, the Pacific, and the United States. The Inter-American Foundation is an independent agency of the U.S. government that funds development projects undertaken by nongovernmental organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean. Rescinding funding for both these organizations would save over \$40 million annually.

The Senate tabled (killed) Paul’s amendment on June 26, 2019 by a vote of 77 to 15 (Roll Call 183). We have assigned pluses to the nays because nowhere in the Constitution is Congress authorized to fund such programs. These types of programs should be handled privately, not with U.S. taxpayers’ money. Although Paul’s amendment had little to do with U.S. border appropriations, his effort to eliminate this unconstitutional spending should be commended.

**7 War Authorization.** During consideration of the National Defense Authorization Act (S. 1790), Senator Tom Udall (D-N.M.) introduced an amendment to prohibit any funds authorized by the bill to be used to conduct hostilities against the government of Iran or in the territory of Iran. This amendment would allow U.S. forces to defend themselves and would not affect a congressional declaration of war on Iran.

The Senate voted on Udall’s amendment on June 28, 2019, the day after the underlying legislation (S. 1790) was passed. Per a unanimous consent agreement, 60 votes were required to add the amendment to the bill retroactively. The Senate rejected the amendment by a vote of 50 to 40 (Roll Call 189). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because hostilities conducted against a sovereign nation, in this case Iran, constitute an act of war, and would thus require, constitutionally speaking, a declaration of war by Congress.

**8 Budget Deal.** This two-year budget bill (H.R. 3877) would establish sufficiently high spending limits to allow the Washington spendathon to continue (and then some) through fiscal years 2020 and 2021. It would also suspend the national debt ceiling until July 31, 2021, in order to

accommodate accumulating federal debt between now and then without having to vote to raise the debt limit. *Congressional Quarterly (CQ)* noted that the bill would “add \$324 billion to spending limits over the next two years, not counting an extra \$157 billion mainly for overseas military operations.” And although \$77 billion of that would be offset, *CQ* further noted that the supposed cuts “don’t take effect until fiscal 2027.” In the House, Representative Thomas Massie (R-Ky.) was so outraged by the budget deal that he attempted (but failed) to change the bill’s title to read, “A bill to kick the can down the road, and for other purposes.”

The Senate passed H.R. 3877 on August 1, 2019 by a vote of 67 to 28 (Roll Call 262). We have assigned pluses to the nays because spending needs to be brought under control and deficits eliminated to avoid fiscal disaster — not “down the road,” but now — and also because much of the spending is unconstitutional.

**9 Spending Cut.** During consideration of the short-term appropriations bill

(H.R. 4378), Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.) introduced an amendment to cut the bill’s funding for federal operations and services by two percent. On the Senate floor, Paul pleaded, “The debt is growing at 8 percent a year. Spending is growing only at 4.5 percent, 5 percent a year. The debt is growing more rapidly because we have accumulated so much. We have over a \$22 trillion debt. The interest this year is over \$300 billion. As it grows faster and faster, the interest will exceed what we are spending on the military within about five years.... What I have put forward today ... is an opportunity for the Senators who truly believe the debt is a problem to try to restrain spending with a 2-percent cut across the board.”

The Senate rejected Paul’s amendment on September 26, 2019 by a vote of 24 to 73 (Roll Call 310). We have assigned pluses to the yeas not only because most of the spending falls outside the scope of constitutionally authorized federal powers, but also because the federal government needs to start reining in ballooning federal spending and debt in order to

avert future fiscal disaster. Although two percent may not seem like much, modest cuts are still better than none at all.

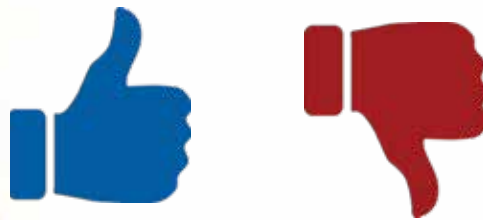
**10 Short-term Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 4378) would provide funding for federal government operations and services through November 21, 2019, at fiscal 2019 levels. Passage of this bill, known as a continuing appropriations resolution, was necessary because the House Democrats had passed only 10 of the 12 major 2020 fiscal year appropriations bills so far, and the Senate had not even passed one of the 12, even though the 2020 fiscal year began on October 1, 2019.

The Senate passed H.R. 4378 on September 26, 2019 by a vote of 81 to 16 (Roll Call 311). We have assigned pluses to the nays because with this continuing appropriations bill, Congress is failing to address its fiscally and constitutionally irresponsible budgeting and appropriating process that is currently yielding annual federal deficits of about \$1 trillion that contribute directly to the dramatic growth of our \$23 trillion national debt. ■

# Freedom Index

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