

# The Freedom Index

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

Our second look at the 116th Congress shows how every member of the House and Senate voted on key issues such as the USMCA, the impeachment of President Trump, and coronavirus stimulus packages.

## House Vote Descriptions

**11 Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 1865) would provide approximately \$540 billion in discretionary spending for eight of the 12 fiscal 2020 appropriations bills: \$184.9 billion for Labor-HHS-Education; \$23.5 billion for Agriculture; \$48.3 billion for Energy-Water; \$36 billion for Interior-Environment; \$5 billion for Legislative Branch; \$110.4 billion for Military Construction-VA; \$54.7 billion for State-Foreign Operations; and \$74.3 billion for Transportation-HUD. Hidden within the above largely boring tabulations of appropriations are a few high-profile, unconstitutional programs, such as \$96 billion for domestic food programs (think “food stamps”); tens of billions of dollars for foreign aid, UN membership, and UN peacekeeping; and \$23.9 billion for HUD’s Section 8 rental assistance voucher program.

The House passed H.R. 1865 on December 17, 2019 by a vote of 297 to



**Non-stop coup attempts:** The impeachment of Trump was simply another salvo in the Deep State’s ongoing efforts to overturn the election results. Earlier coup attempts included the Russia-Trump hoax and the Mueller investigation.

120 (Roll Call 689). We have assigned pluses to the nays because most of the spending programs in this appropriations bill are unconstitutional, and on top of that congressional spending for fiscal 2020 is grossly fiscally irresponsible. Currently our national debt is about \$26 trillion,

and the federal budget deficit for 2020 is expected to be an astounding \$3.8 trillion.

**12 Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 1158) would provide \$860.3 billion in discretionary spending for four of the 12 fiscal 2020 appropriations bills: \$695.1 billion for the Defense Department;

## About This Index

“The 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. The average House score for this index is 35 percent, and the average Senate score is 24

percent. Just one congressman, Representative Thomas Massie of Kentucky, 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.

This is our second index for the 116th Congress. Our first index for the current Congress (votes 1-10) appeared in our November 18, 2019 issue. An online version of the “Freedom Index” is also available (click on “Freedom Index” at TheNewAmerican.com). ■

# House Vote Scores ✓

	Votes:	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
<b>ALABAMA</b>												
1 Byrne (R)	56%	+	+	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	+	58%
2 Roby (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
3 Rogers, M. (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	45%
4 Aderholt (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	40%
5 Brooks, M. (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	70%
6 Palmer (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	70%
7 Sewell (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>ALASKA</b>												
AL Young, Don (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	32%
<b>ARIZONA</b>												
1 O'Halleran (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
2 Kirkpatrick (D)	25%	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	+	-	?	11%
3 Grijalva (D)	33%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	?	-	32%
4 Gosar (D)	75%	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	?	-	+	78%
5 Biggs (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	85%
6 Schweikert (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	80%
7 Gallego (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20%
8 Lesko (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	60%
9 Stanton (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>ARKANSAS</b>												
1 Crawford (R)	44%	+	-	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	+	47%
2 Hill (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
3 Womack (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
4 Westerman (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	53%
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>												
1 LaMalfa (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	50%
2 Huffman (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	30%
3 Garamendi (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
4 McClintock (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	70%
5 Thompson, M. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
6 Matsui (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	16%
7 Bera (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
8 Cook (R)	44%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	?	+	39%
9 McNerney (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
10 Harder (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
11 DeSaulnier (D)	50%	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	?	?	33%
12 Pelosi (D)	0%	?	?	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	8%
13 Lee, B. (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	30%
14 Speier (D)	13%	-	+	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	17%
15 Swalwell (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	17%
16 Costa (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
17 Khanna (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
18 Eshoo (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
19 Lofgren (D)	38%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	?	?	28%
20 Panetta (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20%
21 Cox (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
22 Nunes (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	45%
23 McCarthy (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	40%
24 Carbajal (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
25 Vacant												
26 Brownley (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	11%
27 Chu (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
28 Schiff (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
29 Cárdenas (D)	33%	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	?	-	28%
30 Sherman (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	16%
31 Aguilar (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20%

	Votes:	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
32 Napolitano (D)	25%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	?	22%
33 Lieu (D)	50%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	?	?	33%
34 Gomez (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	30%
35 Torres (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
36 Ruiz (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
37 Bass (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
38 Sánchez (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20%
39 Cisneros (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
40 Roybal-Allard (D)	22%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	?	21%
41 Takano (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
42 Calvert (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
43 Waters, M. (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
44 Barragán (D)	44%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	?	-	32%
45 Porter (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
46 Correa (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	30%
47 Lowenthal (D)	44%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	?	-	32%
48 Rouda (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	16%
49 Levin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
50 Vacant												
51 Vargas (D)	13%	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	29%
52 Peters, S. (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20%
53 Davis, S. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>COLORADO</b>												
1 DeGette (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
2 Neguse (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
3 Tipton (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	65%
4 Buck (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90%
5 Lamborn (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	65%
6 Crow (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
7 Perlmutter (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	11%
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>												
1 Larson, J (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
2 Courtney (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
3 DeLauro (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
4 Himes (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
5 Hayes (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>DELAWARE</b>												
AL Blunt Rochester (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>FLORIDA</b>												
1 Gaetz (R)	75%	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	?	-	+	67%
2 Dunn (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	40%
3 Yoho (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	80%
4 Rutherford (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	37%
5 Lawson (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	-	11%
6 Waltz (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	50%
7 Murphy (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
8 Posey (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	65%
9 Soto (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
10 Demings (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
11 Webster (R)	67%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	?	+	63%
12 Bilirakis (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	40%
13 Crist (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
14 Castor (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
15 Spano (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	60%
16 Buchanan (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	30%
17 Steube (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	68%
18 Mast (R)	44%	-	-	+	+	-	?	+	-	-	+	47%

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. 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 22, 24, and 26.

\$68 billion for the Homeland Security Department; \$73.2 billion for the Commerce and Justice Departments and science and related agencies; and \$23.8 billion for the Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, and other agencies. Here are some highlights of some of the unconstitutional programs hidden within this super-sized appropriations bill: \$70.7 billion in overseas contingency operations funding, primarily for the ongoing, undeclared war in Afghanistan and other counterterrorism operations; \$22.3 billion for the unconstitutional Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA); \$17.4 billion in unconstitutional disaster relief funds; and \$3.28 billion in unconstitutional federal funding for state and local law-enforcement activities.

The House passed H.R. 1158 on December 17, 2019 by a vote of 280 to 138 (Roll Call 690). We have assigned pluses to the nays because many programs within this defense-related minibuss are for unconstitutional purposes, and in light of a \$26 trillion national debt and a \$3.8 trillion budget deficit, this jumbo-sized appropriations bill is also fiscally irresponsible.

**13 Impeachment (Article I — Abuse of Power).** Article I of the impeachment resolution (House Resolution 755) accuses President Donald Trump of “abuse of power” by soliciting the interference of a foreign power, Ukraine, in the 2020 U.S. presidential election. According to Article I, “He did so through a scheme or course of conduct that included soliciting the Government of Ukraine to publicly announce investigations that would benefit his reelection, harm the election prospects of a political opponent [former Vice President Joe Biden], and influence the 2020 United States Presidential election to his advantage.” Article I also alleges that Trump conditioned the release of \$391 million in aid to Ukraine on the Ukrainian government publicly announcing the investigations he requested. Trump’s actions, claims Article I, “compromised” U.S. national security.

The House adopted Article I on December 18, 2019 by a vote of 230 to 197 (Roll Call 695). We have assigned pluses to the nays because, in his actions on Ukraine, Trump did not commit “treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors,” the

constitutional requirement that must be met for impeaching and removing from office a president (or other U.S. “civil officer”). On the contrary, the controversy over Trump’s actions on Ukraine amount to a tempest in a teapot. Where are the “high crimes”? The House did not present evidence of any. Trump is accused of withholding aid from Ukraine, but the aid was provided. He is also accused of requesting an investigation into Hunter Biden and the Ukrainian company Burisma, which paid Hunter \$50,000 per month during a period when his father was vice president. But there is no crime in making such a request.

**14 Impeachment (Article II — Obstruction of Congress).** Article II of the impeachment resolution (House Resolution 755) accuses President Donald Trump of “obstruction of Congress.” According to Article II, Trump “directed the unprecedented, categorical, and indiscriminate defiance of subpoenas issued by the House of Representatives pursuant to its ‘sole Power of Impeachment.’”

The House adopted Article II on December 18, 2019 by a vote of 229 to 198 (Roll Call 696). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the “obstruction of Congress”

charge by no means rises to the level of the “high crimes and misdemeanors” for which a president may be impeached and removed from office. In fact, there is uncontestable truth to the charge: Trump did direct the executive branch to ignore subpoenas issued by highly partisan, pro-impeachment House committees. What is contested is whether a president may constitutionally ignore such subpoenas in the historic tug of war between the executive and legislative branches. But that is an issue for the federal judiciary, not impeachment, to decide.

**15 USMCA.** The United States-Mexico-Canada Trade Agreement (H.R. 5430) was negotiated between the three nations to be a replacement for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The USMCA continues the Deep State’s long-term project of creating a European Union-style, supranational government for North America, aka the North American Union. The USMCA creates a new Free Trade Commission that will play an executive role similar to the role played by the European Commission in developing the EU.

The House passed the USMCA on December 19, 2019 by a vote of 385 to 41 (Roll Call 701). We have assigned pluses



U.S. Department of State from United States

**USMCA signing:** The United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement was portrayed by supporters as a good deal for America. In reality, despite Trump’s support, it further undermines U.S. sovereignty in the name of free trade.

	Votes:	11-20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
19 Rooney, F. (R)	83%	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	?	?	?	?	79%
20 Hastings (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	-	18%
21 Frankel (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	17%
22 Deutch (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	16%
23 Wasserman Schultz (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
24 Wilson, E. (D)	13%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	?	18%
25 Diaz-Balart (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	25%
26 Mucarsel-Powell (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
27 Shalala (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>GEORGIA</b>													
1 Carter, E.L. (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	55%
2 Bishop, S. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
3 Ferguson (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	40%
4 Johnson, H. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
5 Lewis, John (D)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	14%
6 McBath (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10%
7 Woodall (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	35%
8 Scott, A. (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	55%
9 Collins, D. (R)	63%	+	-	+	+	-	+	?	?	?	-	+	50%
10 Hice (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	75%
11 Loudermilk (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	58%
12 Allen (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	55%
13 Scott, D. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
14 Graves, T. (R)	43%	-	-	+	+	-	?	?	?	?	-	+	53%
<b>HAWAII</b>													
1 Case (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10%
2 Gabbard (D)	40%	?	?	?	?	-	?	+	+	-	-	-	21%
<b>IDAHO</b>													
1 Fulcher (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	70%
2 Simpson (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	35%
<b>ILLINOIS</b>													
1 Rush (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	20%
2 Kelly, R. (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
3 Lipinski (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	10%
4 García (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	35%
5 Quigley (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	16%
6 Casten (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
7 Davis, D. (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	20%
8 Krishnamoorthi (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
9 Schakowsky (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	25%
10 Schneider (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	16%
11 Foster (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
12 Bost (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	35%
13 Davis, R. (R)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	30%
14 Underwood (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10%
15 Shimkus (R)	?	?	?	?	?	?	+	-	-	?	?	?	42%
16 Kinzinger (R)	33%	-	-	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	-	+	39%
17 Bustos (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10%
18 LaHood (R)	56%	+	+	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	-	+	61%
<b>INDIANA</b>													
1 Visclosky (D)	22%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	?	-	-	17%
2 Walorski (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	40%
3 Banks (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	65%
4 Baird (R)	44%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	?	+	53%
5 Brooks, S. (R)	44%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	?	+	32%
6 Pence (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	35%
7 Carson (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10%
8 Bucshon (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	47%
9 Hollingsworth (R)	71%	?	?	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	72%
<b>IOWA</b>													
1 Finkenauer (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	15%
2 Loebsack (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%

	Votes:	11-20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
3 Axne (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	15%
4 King, S. (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	70%
<b>KANSAS</b>													
1 Marshall (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	?	?	-	55%
2 Watkins (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	55%
3 Davids (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	15%
4 Estes (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	60%
<b>KENTUCKY</b>													
1 Comer (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	60%
2 Guthrie (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	40%
3 Yarmuth (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
4 Massie (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
5 Rogers, H. (R)	44%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	?	?	+	37%
6 Barr (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	50%
<b>LOUISIANA</b>													
1 Scalise (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	45%
2 Richmond (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20%
3 Higgins, C. (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	79%
4 Johnson, M. (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	68%
5 Abraham (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	65%
6 Graves, G. (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	65%
<b>MAINE</b>													
1 Pingree (D)	30%	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	25%
2 Golden (D)	50%	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	35%
<b>MARYLAND</b>													
1 Harris, A. (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	70%
2 Ruppersberger (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
3 Sarbanes (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
4 Brown, A. (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	20%
5 Hoyer (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
6 Trone (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
7 Mfume (D)													
8 Raskin (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	30%
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>													
1 Neal (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
2 McGovern (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	30%
3 Trahan (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
4 Kennedy (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	30%
5 Clark, K. (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	16%
6 Moulton (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	16%
7 Pressley (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	40%
8 Lynch (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
9 Keating (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>MICHIGAN</b>													
1 Bergman (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	45%
2 Huizenga (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	75%
3 Amash (I)	78%	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	89%
4 Moolenaar (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	40%
5 Kildee (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
6 Upton (R)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	35%
7 Walberg (R)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	55%
8 Slotkin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
9 Levin (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	30%
10 Mitchell (R)	33%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	?	47%
11 Stevens (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
12 Dingell (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	21%
13 Tlaib (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	35%
14 Lawrence (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	11%
<b>MINNESOTA</b>													
1 Hagedorn (R)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	55%
2 Craig (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	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. 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 22, 24, and 26.

to the nays because Congress is not authorized by the Constitution to surrender our national sovereignty to any transnational regional government, such as the nascent North American Union.

**16 Equal Rights Amendment.** This bill (House Joint Resolution 79) would retroactively remove the already-expired ratification deadline from the original 1972 Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) legislation (H. J. Res. 208 of the 92nd Congress). H.J. Res. 79 is a desperate attempt by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and House Democrats to circumvent the legislative process and rule of law in order to provide yet another opportunity to ratify the pro-abortion and already-failed ERA.

The House passed H. J. Res. 79 on February 13, 2020 by a vote of 232 to 183 (Roll Call 70). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the time to ratify the ERA as part of the Constitution has come and gone, and any further attempt to resurrect it in order to continue the ratification process is unconstitutional, being inconsistent with the amendment ratification process as laid out in Article V of the Constitution

**17 FISA.** The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (H.R. 6172) would modify and reauthorize through December 1, 2023 federal surveillance authorities under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act and subsequent laws. The bill would limit a number of authorities under Section 215 of the Patriot Act, such as prohibiting the collection of information when an individual has a “reasonable expectation of privacy.”

The House passed H.R. 6172 on March 11, 2020 by a vote of 278 to 136 (Roll Call 98). We have assigned pluses to the nays because, while many of the modifications to the FISA are positive from a freedom and privacy standpoint, Congress should have instead voted to *not* reauthorize the FISA and let it expire. Despite being labeled the “Foreign” Intelligence Surveillance Act, the act *does* permit surveillance of Americans who are not charged with any crime.

**18 War Powers.** The Iran War Powers Resolution (Senate Joint Resolution 68) would direct the president to terminate the use of U.S. armed forces for hostilities against Iran or any part of its government



**Action in the reaction:** The economic stimulus provided in response to the coronavirus lockdowns will have long-term and severe economic consequences.

or military unless Congress has declared war or provided specific statutory authorization for the use of armed forces. It would clarify that nothing in the joint resolution may be construed to prevent the president from using military force to defend the United States against imminent attack.

The House passed S. J. Res. 68 on March 11, 2020 by a vote of 227 to 186 (Roll Call 101). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because, according to the U.S. Constitution, only Congress has the authority to declare war. The fact that Congress has to pass a resolution enforcing this concept is unfortunate, but doing so puts a check on the war powers assumed by recent presidents and should be commended.

**19 Coronavirus.** The Paycheck Protection Program and Health Care Enhancement Act (H.R. 266) was the fourth coronavirus aid package that Congress passed. It was primarily passed to replenish the funds of and give additional lending power to the Small Business Administration and its Paycheck Protection Program (PPP). The PPP was originally established by the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act, or CARES Act, (H.R. 748), the third and massive \$2.2 trillion coronavirus stimulus package previously passed by voice vote in the House.

The House passed H.R. 266 on April

23, 2020 by a vote of 388 to 5 (Roll Call 104). We have assigned pluses to the nays because nowhere in the Constitution is the federal government authorized to disburse loans to small businesses or cover the salaries of laid-off employees. It should never be the responsibility of the federal government to bail out businesses or people forced out of business or work.

**20 Coronavirus.** The Health and Economic Recovery Omnibus Emergency Solutions Act, or HEROES Act, (H.R. 6800) is another bloated unconstitutional coronavirus aid package, to the tune of \$3.2 trillion — even more ambitious than the already swollen \$2.2 trillion CARES Act (H.R. 748) passed by Congress. The HEROES Act would provide a second round of stimulus checks to qualifying individuals and families. It also includes about \$1 trillion in aid for state and local governments to pay essential workers, such as first responders, healthcare workers, and teachers, who are at most at risk of losing their jobs due to state and local budgetary shortfalls.

The House passed H.R. 6800 on May 15, 2020 along partisan lines by a vote of 208 to 199 (Roll Call 109). We have assigned pluses to the nays because there is no provision in the Constitution for Congress to bail out the economy. ■

	Votes:	11-20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
3 Phillips (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
4 McCollum (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	15%
5 Omar (D)	50%	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	47%
6 Emmer (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	65%
7 Peterson (D)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	32%
8 Stauber (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	45%
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>													
1 Kelly, T. (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	55%
2 Thompson, B. (D)	13%	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	13%
3 Guest (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	47%
4 Palazzo (R)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	?	?	-	+	40%
<b>MISSOURI</b>													
1 Clay (D)	30%	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	25%
2 Wagner (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	42%
3 Luetkemeyer (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
4 Hartzler (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	40%
5 Cleaver (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
6 Graves, S. (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	63%
7 Long (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	55%
8 Smith, J. (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	70%
<b>MONTANA</b>													
AL Gianforte (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	55%
<b>NEBRASKA</b>													
1 Fortenberry (R)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	?	?	-	+	40%
2 Bacon (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
3 Smith, Adrian (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	50%
<b>NEVADA</b>													
1 Titus (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	26%
2 Amodei (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	40%
3 Lee (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
4 Horsford (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>													
1 Pappas (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
2 Kuster (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>													
1 Norcross (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	25%
2 Van Drew (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	25%
3 Kim (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	30%
4 Smith, C. (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	30%
5 Gottheimer (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
6 Pallone (D)	50%	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	35%
7 Malinowski (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
8 Sires (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
9 Pascarella (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	25%
10 Payne (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	16%
11 Sherrill (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
12 Watson Coleman (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	30%
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>													
1 Haaland (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
2 Torres Small (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	15%
3 Luján, B.R. (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
<b>NEW YORK</b>													
1 Zeldin (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	65%
2 King, P. (R)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%
3 Suozzi (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20%
4 Rice, K. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
5 Meeks (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
6 Meng (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	30%
7 Velázquez (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	35%
8 Jeffries (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
9 Clarke, Y. (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	35%

	Votes:	11-20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
10 Nadler (D)	14%	?	?	-	-	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	18%
11 Rose (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
12 Maloney, C. (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	30%
13 Espaillat (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	35%
14 Ocasio-Cortez (D)	60%	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	45%
15 Serrano (D)	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	+	+	?	?	-	31%
16 Engel (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	25%
17 Lowey (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	-	16%
18 Maloney, S.P. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
19 Delgado (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
20 Tonko (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	30%
21 Stefanik (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	25%
22 Brindisi (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
23 Reed, T. (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	37%
24 Katko (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	28%
25 Morelle (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
26 Higgins, B. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
27 Vacant													
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>													
1 Butterfield (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
2 Holding (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	65%
3 Murphy (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	55%
4 Price (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
5 Foxx (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	55%
6 Walker (R)	63%	?	?	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	71%
7 Rouzer (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	60%
8 Hudson (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	55%
9 Bishop (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	73%
10 McHenry (R)	44%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	?	+	37%
11 Vacant													
12 Adams (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	+	-	17%
13 Budd (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	75%
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>													
AL Armstrong (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	55%
<b>OHIO</b>													
1 Chabot (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	65%
2 Wenstrup (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	60%
3 Beatty (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	22%
4 Jordan (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	75%
5 Latta (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	60%
6 Johnson, B. (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	33%
7 Gibbs (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	45%
8 Davidson (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	80%
9 Kaptur (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	20%
10 Turner (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	32%
11 Fudge (D)	30%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	22%
12 Balderson (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	45%
13 Ryan, T. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	11%
14 Joyce (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
15 Stivers (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	42%
16 Gonzalez, A. (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	45%
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>													
1 Hern (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	65%
2 Mullin (R)	71%	+	+	+	+	-	-	?	?	?	-	+	71%
3 Lucas (R)	43%	?	?	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	41%
4 Cole (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
5 Horn (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	10%
<b>OREGON</b>													
1 Bonamici (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
2 Walden (R)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	35%
3 Blumenauer (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	30%
4 DeFazio (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	32%
5 Schrader (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	25%

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	Notes:	11-20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>													
1	Fitzpatrick (R)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	15%
2	Boyle (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
3	Evans (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
4	Dean (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
5	Scanlon (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
6	Houlahan (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
7	Wild (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	15%
8	Cartwright (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
9	Meuser (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	45%
10	Perry (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	75%
11	Smucker (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	58%
12	Keller (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	61%
13	Joyce (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	65%
14	Reschenthaler (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	40%
15	Thompson, G. (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
16	Kelly, M. (R)	78%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	?	+	68%
17	Lamb (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	15%
18	Doyle (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>													
1	Cicilline (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
2	Langevin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>													
1	Cunningham (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	21%
2	Wilson, J. (R)	44%	-	-	+	+	-	?	+	-	-	+	44%
3	Duncan, J. (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	70%
4	Timmons (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	65%
5	Norman (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	75%
6	Clyburn (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	17%
7	Rice, T. (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	63%
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>													
AL	Johnson (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	55%
<b>TENNESSEE</b>													
1	Roe (R)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	45%
2	Burchett (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	68%
3	Fleischmann (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
4	Desjarlais (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	?	63%
5	Cooper (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20%
6	Rose (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	60%
7	Green (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	63%
8	Kustoff (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	37%
9	Cohen (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	21%
<b>TEXAS</b>													
1	Gohmert (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	75%
2	Crenshaw (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	50%
3	Taylor (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	70%
4	Vacant												
5	Gooden (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	70%
6	Wright (R)	71%	+	+	+	+	-	?	+	-	?	?	81%
7	Fletcher (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
8	Brady, K. (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	39%
9	Green, A. (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
10	McCaul (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
11	Conaway (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	35%
12	Granger (R)	33%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	?	33%
13	Thornberry (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	40%
14	Weber (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	63%
15	Gonzalez, V. (D)	22%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	?	32%
16	Escobar (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	25%
17	Flores (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	50%
18	Jackson Lee (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20%
19	Arrington (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	65%

	Notes:	11-20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
20	Castro (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	30%
21	Roy (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	80%
22	Olson (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	55%
23	Hurd (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	25%
24	Marchant (R)	57%	+	-	+	+	-	?	+	-	?	?	69%
25	Williams (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	65%
26	Burgess (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	60%
27	Cloud (D)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	80%
28	Cuellar (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
29	Garcia (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	25%
30	Johnson, E.B. (D)	17%	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	19%
31	Carter, J. (R)	38%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	?	?	39%
32	Allred (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	11%
33	Veasey (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	-	11%
34	Vela (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	30%
35	Doggett (D)	44%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	?	-	37%
36	Babin (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	?	+	58%
<b>UTAH</b>													
1	Bishop, R. (R)	44%	?	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	37%
2	Stewart (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	50%
3	Curtis (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	60%
4	McAdams (D)	30%	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	25%
<b>VERMONT</b>													
AL	Welch (D)	33%	-	+	-	-	-	?	+	+	-	-	26%
<b>VIRGINIA</b>													
1	Wittman (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	60%
2	Luria (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	10%
3	Scott, R. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
4	McEachin (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	17%
5	Riggleman (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	50%
6	Cline (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	75%
7	Spanberger (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	20%
8	Beyer (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	12%
9	Griffith (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	85%
10	Wexton (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
11	Connolly (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
<b>WASHINGTON</b>													
1	DelBene (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
2	Larsen, R. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
3	Herrera Beutler (R)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	47%
4	Newhouse (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	40%
5	McMorris Rodgers (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	60%
6	Kilmer (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
7	Jayapal (D)	50%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	40%
8	Schrier (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10%
9	Smith, Adam (D)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	25%
10	Heck (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	15%
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>													
1	McKinley (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	40%
2	Mooney (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	70%
3	Miller (R)	50%	-	-	+	+	-	+	?	?	-	+	39%
<b>WISCONSIN</b>													
1	Steil (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	55%
2	Pocan (D)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	32%
3	Kind (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	25%
4	Moore (D)	33%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	?	-	26%
5	Sensenbrenner (R)	67%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	?	+	74%
6	Grothman (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	63%
7	Vacant												
8	Gallagher (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	65%
<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. 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 22, 24, and 26.

# Senate Vote Descriptions

**11 North Macedonia NATO Membership.** This resolution of ratification would allow North Macedonia to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The NATO military alliance was created in 1949 for the stated purpose of countering the threat posed by the Soviet bloc. Under the North Atlantic Treaty establishing NATO, member nations “agree that an armed attack against one or more of them ... shall be considered an attack against them all.” At first there were 12 countries in the alliance, but the number of member nations has grown over the years to 29 — 30 with North Macedonia’s membership.

The Senate approved the treaty of ratification for admitting North Macedonia into NATO by the very lopsided vote of 91 to 2 on October 22, 2019 (Roll Call 327). We have assigned pluses to the nays not only because the United States should stay clear of entangling alliances such as NATO, but also because the NATO provision that obligates the United States to go to war if any member of NATO is attacked undermines the provision in the U.S. Constitution that assigns to Congress the power to declare war. North Macedonia, which was part of communist Yugoslavia during the Cold War era, is now one of 29 countries the United States is obligated to defend under NATO.

**12 Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 1865) would provide approximately \$540 billion in discretionary spending for eight of the 12 fiscal 2020 appropriations bills: \$184.9 billion for Labor-HHS-Education; \$23.5 billion for Agriculture; \$48.3 billion for Energy-Water; \$36 billion for Interior-Environment; \$5 billion for Legislative Branch; \$110.4 billion for Military Construction-VA; \$54.7 billion for State-Foreign Operations; and \$74.3 billion for Transportation-HUD. Hidden within the above, largely boring tabulations of appropriations are a few high-profile, unconstitutional programs, such as \$96 billion for domestic food programs (think “food stamps”); tens of billions of dollars for foreign aid, UN membership, and UN peacekeeping; and \$23.9 billion for HUD’s Section 8 rental assistance voucher program.



**Worth a war for?** North Macedonia is the newest member of NATO — and one of 29 countries the United States is obligated to defend under our NATO membership.

The Senate passed H.R. 1865 on December 19, 2019 by a vote of 71 to 23 (Roll Call 415). We have assigned pluses to the nays because most of the spending programs in this appropriations bill are unconstitutional, and on top of that, congressional spending for fiscal 2020 is grossly fiscally irresponsible. Currently our national debt is about \$26 trillion, and the federal budget deficit for 2020 is expected to be an astounding \$3.8 trillion.

**13 Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 1158) would provide \$860.3 billion in discretionary spending for four of the 12 fiscal 2020 appropriations bills: \$695.1 billion for the Defense Department; \$68 billion for the Homeland Security Department; \$73.2 billion for the Commerce and Justice Departments and science and related agencies; and \$23.8 billion for the Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, and other agencies. Here are some highlights of some of the unconstitutional programs hidden within this super-sized ap-

propriations bill: \$70.7 billion in overseas contingency operations funding, primarily for the ongoing, undeclared war in Afghanistan and other counterterrorism operations; \$22.3 billion for the unconstitutional Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA); \$17.4 billion in unconstitutional disaster relief funds; and \$3.28 billion in unconstitutional federal funding for state and local law-enforcement activities.

The Senate passed H.R. 1158 on December 19, 2019 by a vote of 81 to 11 (Roll Call 428). We have assigned pluses to the nays because many programs within this defense-related minibus are for unconstitutional purposes, and in light of a \$26 trillion national debt and a \$3.8 trillion budget deficit, this jumbo-sized appropriations bill is also fiscally irresponsible.

**14 USMCA.** The United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (H.R. 5430) was negotiated between the three nations to be a replacement for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The

# Senate Vote Scores ✓

	Votes:	11-20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
<b>ALABAMA</b>													
Shelby (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	15%
Jones (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>ALASKA</b>													
Murkowski (R)	40%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	25%
Sullivan (R)	30%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	25%
<b>ARIZONA</b>													
Sinema (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
McSally (R)	25%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	?	?	22%
<b>ARKANSAS</b>													
Boozman (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	15%
Cotton (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	30%
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>													
Feinstein (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Harris, K. (D)	29%	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	33%
<b>COLORADO</b>													
Bennet (D)	11%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	22%
Gardner (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	20%
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>													
Blumenthal (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Murphy, C. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>DELAWARE</b>													
Carper (D)	30%	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	30%
Coons (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	11%
<b>FLORIDA</b>													
Rubio (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	30%
Scott (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	37%
<b>GEORGIA</b>													
Perdue (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	25%
Loeffler (R)	29%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	29%
<b>HAWAII</b>													
Schatz (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	25%
Hirono (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	20%
<b>IDAHO</b>													
Crapo (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	21%
Risch (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	40%
<b>ILLINOIS</b>													
Durbin (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	21%
Duckworth (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>INDIANA</b>													
Young, T. (R)	30%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	30%
Braun (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	63%
<b>IOWA</b>													
Grassley (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	25%
Ernst (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	30%
<b>KANSAS</b>													
Roberts (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	16%
Moran (R)	40%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	37%
<b>KENTUCKY</b>													
McConnell (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	15%
Paul (R)	88%	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	94%
<b>LOUISIANA</b>													
Cassidy (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	30%
Kennedy, J. (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	40%

	Votes:	11-20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
<b>MAINE</b>													
Collins (R)	30%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	25%
King, A. (I)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>MARYLAND</b>													
Cardin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Van Hollen (D)	20%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20%
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>													
Warren (D)	29%	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	38%
Markey (D)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	35%
<b>MICHIGAN</b>													
Stabenow (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Peters, G. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>MINNESOTA</b>													
Klobuchar (D)	13%	-	?	?	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	24%
Smith (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>													
Wicker (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	15%
Hyde-Smith (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>MISSOURI</b>													
Blunt (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	16%
Hawley (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	40%
<b>MONTANA</b>													
Tester (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	25%
Daines (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	45%
<b>NEBRASKA</b>													
Fischer (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	25%
Sasse (R)	38%	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	?	?	50%
<b>NEVADA</b>													
Cortez Masto (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Rosen (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>													
Shaheen (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Hassan (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>													
Menendez (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Booker (D)	29%	?	?	?	?	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	38%
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>													
Udall (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	20%
Heinrich (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	20%
<b>NEW YORK</b>													
Schumer (D)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	25%
Gillibrand (D)	40%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	37%
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>													
Burr (R)	33%	-	-	?	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	19%
Tillis (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	30%
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>													
Hoeven (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	15%
Cramer (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	16%
<b>OHIO</b>													
Brown, S. (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	20%
Portman (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>													
Inhofe (R)	33%	-	+	-	?	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	39%
Lankford (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	40%

	Votes:	11-20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
<b>OREGON</b>													
Wyden (D)	30%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	25%
Merkley (D)	30%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	25%
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>													
Casey (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20%
Toomey (R)	40%	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	58%
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>													
Reed, J. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20%
Whitehouse (D)	22%	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	21%
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>													
Graham, L. (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	11%
Scott, T. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	45%
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>													
Thune (R)	22%	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	16%
Rounds (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	24%
<b>TENNESSEE</b>													
Alexander (R)	38%	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	?	?	-	19%
Blackburn (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	53%
<b>TEXAS</b>													
Cornyn (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	25%
Cruz (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	60%

	Votes:	11-20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1-20
<b>UTAH</b>													
Lee, M. (R)	78%	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	?	+	-	-	89%
Romney (R)	11%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	?	-	-	21%
<b>VERMONT</b>													
Leahy (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Sanders (I)	40%	?	?	?	+	-	-	+	-	?	?	-	36%
<b>VIRGINIA</b>													
Warner (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Kaine (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>WASHINGTON</b>													
Murray (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	20%
Cantwell (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	20%
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>													
Manchin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	25%
Capito (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	16%
<b>WISCONSIN</b>													
Johnson, R. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	35%
Baldwin (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	20%
<b>WYOMING</b>													
Enzi (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	37%
Barrasso (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	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. 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 29, 31, and 32.

USMCA continues the Deep State’s long-term project of creating a European Union-style, supranational government for North America, aka the North American Union. The USMCA creates a new Free Trade Commission that will play an executive role similar to the role played by the European Commission in developing the EU.

The Senate passed the USMCA on January 16, 2020 by a vote of 89 to 10 (Roll Call 14). We have assigned pluses to the nays because Congress is not authorized by the Constitution to surrender our national sovereignty to any transnational regional government, such as the nascent North American Union.

**15 Impeachment (Article I — Abuse of Power).** Article I of the impeachment resolution (House Resolution 755) accuses President Donald Trump of “abuse of power” by soliciting the interference of a foreign power, Ukraine, in the 2020 U.S. presidential election. According to Article I, “He did so through a scheme or course of conduct that included soliciting the Government of Ukraine to publicly announce investigations that would benefit his reelection, harm the election prospects of a political opponent [former Vice President Joe Biden], and influence the 2020 United States Presidential election to his advan-

tage.” Article I also alleges that Trump conditioned the release of \$391 million in aid to Ukraine on the Ukrainian government publicly announcing the investigations he requested. Trump’s actions, claims Article I, “compromised” U.S. national security.

The Senate rejected Article I, acquitting President Trump of the abuse-of-power charge, on February 5, 2020 by a vote of 48 to 52 (Roll Call 33). We have assigned pluses to the nays because, in his actions on Ukraine, Trump did not commit “treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors,” the constitutional requirement that must be met for impeaching and removing from office a president (or other U.S. “civil officer”). On the contrary, the controversy over Trump’s actions on Ukraine amount to a tempest in a teapot. Where are the “high crimes”? The House did not present evidence of any. Trump is accused of withholding aid from Ukraine, but the aid was provided. He is also accused of requesting an investigation into Hunter Biden and the Ukrainian company Burisma, which paid Hunter \$50,000 per month during a period when his father was vice president. But there is no crime in making such a request.

**16 Impeachment (Article II — Obstruction of Congress).** Article II of the impeachment resolution (House

Resolution 755) accuses President Donald Trump of “obstruction of Congress.” According to Article II, Trump “directed the unprecedented, categorical, and indiscriminate defiance of subpoenas issued by the House of Representatives pursuant to its ‘sole Power of Impeachment.’”

The Senate rejected Article II, acquitting President Trump of the obstruction-of-Congress charge, on February 5, 2020 by a vote of 47 to 53 (Roll Call 34). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the “obstruction of Congress” charge by no means rises to the level of the “high crimes and misdemeanors” for which a president may be impeached and removed from office. In fact, there is uncontestable truth to the charge: Trump did direct the executive branch to ignore subpoenas issued by highly partisan, pro-impeachment House committees. What is contested is whether a president may constitutionally ignore such subpoenas in the tug of war between the executive and legislative branches. But that is an issue for the federal judiciary, not impeachment, to decide.

**17 War Powers.** The Iran War Powers Resolution (Senate Joint Resolution 68), as amended, would direct the president to terminate the use of U.S. armed forces for hostilities against Iran

or any part of its government or military unless Congress has declared war or provided specific statutory authorization for the use of armed forces. It would clarify that nothing in the joint resolution may be construed to prevent the president from using military force to defend the United States against imminent attack.

The Senate passed S.J. Res. 68 on February 13, 2020 by a vote of 55 to 45 (Roll Call 52). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because, according to the U.S. Constitution, only Congress has the authority to declare war. The fact that Congress has to pass a resolution enforcing this concept is unfortunate, but doing so puts a check on the war powers assumed by recent presidents and should be commended.

**18** **Coronavirus.** The Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act, or CARES Act, (H.R. 748) was an unprecedented and bloated stimulus package, to the tune of \$2.2 trillion. This was by far the single largest spending bill ever passed in the history of Congress.

The Senate unanimously passed H.R.

748 on March 25, 2020 by a vote of 96 to 0 (Roll Call 80). Unfortunately, we did not assign any pluses for this vote, since not a single senator voted nay, which was the constitutional position since nowhere in the Constitution is Congress authorized to bail out businesses, industries, and people.

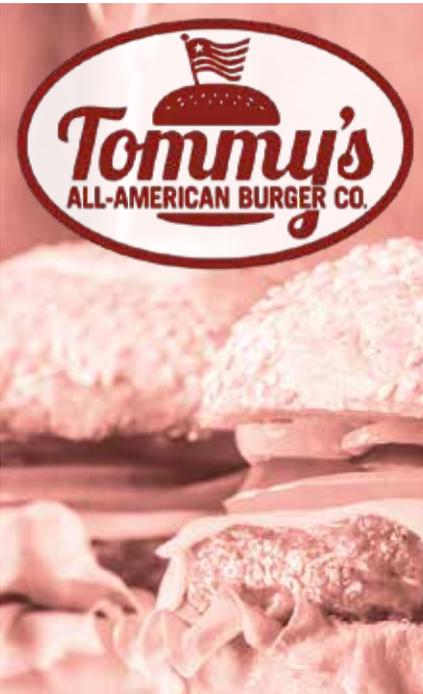
**19** **Surveilling Americans.** During consideration of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA, H.R. 6172), Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.) introduced an amendment to prohibit the use of certain methods to collect information concerning a U.S. person under FISA authorities. Specifically, it would prohibit the collection of electronic surveillance, physical search of premises or property, use of pen register and “trap and trace” phone number identification devices, production of tangible things, and targeting for acquisition of information of a U.S. person. It would require a warrant issued by a non-FISA federal court for the use of such methods.

The Senate rejected Paul’s amendment on May 14, 2020 by a vote of 11 to 85 (Roll Call 91). We have assigned pluses

to the yeas because this amendment seeks specifically to limit FISA authorities and place specific surveillance powers in the hands of non-FISA courts.

**20** **FISA.** The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (H.R. 6172) would modify and reauthorize through December 1, 2023 federal surveillance authorities under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act and subsequent laws. The bill would limit a number of authorities under Section 215 of the Patriot Act, such as prohibiting the collection of information when an individual has a “reasonable expectation of privacy.”

The Senate passed H.R. 6172 on May 14, 2020 by a vote of 80 to 16 (Roll Call 92). We have assigned pluses to the nays because, while many of the modifications to the FISA are positive from a freedom and privacy standpoint, Congress should have instead voted to not reauthorize the FISA and let it expire. Despite being labeled the “Foreign” Intelligence Surveillance Act, the act does permit surveillance of Americans who are not charged with any crime. ■



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