

# The Freedom Index

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

Our final (fourth) look at the 115th Congress shows how every member of the House and Senate voted on such key issues as a carbon tax (House), tax cuts (House), and farm and food programs (Senate).

## House Vote Descriptions

**31 Law Enforcement Partnership Grants.** This bill (H.R. 3249) would establish a Project Safe Neighborhoods Block Grant Program within the Office of Justice Programs at the Department of Justice to foster and improve existing partnerships between local, state, and federal law-enforcement agencies to create safer neighborhoods through sustained reductions in violent crimes. It would authorize \$50 million a year in each of the fiscal years from 2019 through 2021.

The House concurred with the Senate version of H.R. 3249 on June 6, 2018 by a vote of 394 to 13 (Roll Call 239). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the federal government is not authorized by the Constitution to partner with, train, or subsidize state or local law-enforcement agencies. Too, our continued existence as a free people under the Constitution depends on the continued independence of our local police from federal and state control.



**Federal apparatchiks:** Federal judges commonly side with the federal government in cases against it, even when the government is unequivocally in the wrong. Do we want that with police?

**32 Emissions Standards.** This amendment to H.R. 6147, introduced by Representative Markwayne Mullin (R-Okla.), would prohibit appropriated funds of the Fiscal 2019 Interior-Environment and Financial Services Appropriations Package from being used to enforce the EPA's "Oil and Natural Gas

Sector: Emissions Standards for New, Reconstructed, and Modified Sources" rule, also known as the "methane rule." According to the *Congressional Record* for July 18, 2018, Representative Mullin said the following: "This amendment would prohibit funds from enforcing the Obama administration EPA methane rule. This rule is

## 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. The average House score for this index (votes 31-40) is 32 percent, and the average Senate

score is 22 percent. Five representatives and one senator scored 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 final index for the 115th Congress. Our first index (votes 1-10) for the 115th Congress appeared in our August 7, 2017 issue, our second index (votes 11-20) appeared in our February 19, 2018 issue, and our third index (votes 21-30) appeared in our August 6, 2018 issue. An online version of the "Freedom Index" is also available (click on "Freedom Index" at [TheNewAmerican.com](http://TheNewAmerican.com)). ■

currently facing litigation uncertainty, and Congress must act to block this job-killing regulation estimated to cost our economy \$530 million annually. While oil and gas production has increased more than 25 percent since 2005, related methane emissions have actually decreased almost 40 percent during the same time period.”

The House passed this amendment to H.R. 6147 on July 18, 2018 by a vote of 215 to 194 (Roll Call 346). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the Constitution does not authorize the federal government to regulate the environment in general, let alone regulate methane emissions that accompany oil and natural gas production, processing, and distribution.

**33 Carbon Tax.** This measure (House Concurrent Resolution 119) would express the sense of Congress “that a carbon tax would be detrimental to American families and businesses, and is not in the best interest of the United States.” During debate on the floor of the House, Representative Steve Scalise (R-La.) discussed how a carbon tax would raise and increase costs for families. He pointed out: “There would be an increase by an estimated \$1,900 per family on the cost of things that they buy all across this country.”

The House adopted H. Con. Res. 119 on July 19, 2018 by a vote of 229 to 180 (Roll Call 363). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because Congress has no constitutional authority to limit the use of certain sources of energy, such as carbon-based fuels, by selectively imposing taxes on them.

**34 Medical Device Tax Repeal.** This bill (H.R. 184) would fully repeal, after December 31, 2019, the 2.3-percent excise tax on domestic sales of medical devices. The “medical device tax” was put in place as part of the Affordable Care Act to help cover some of the program’s costs.

The House passed H.R. 184 on July 24, 2018 by a vote of 283 to 132 (Roll Call 372). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because, while implementing an excise tax in itself is not an unconstitutional action of the federal government, this particular excise tax was put in place to help pay for an unconstitutional program — the Affordable Care Act, aka ObamaCare. Repealing

part of the funding for such an unconstitutional federal healthcare program is a good thing and should be supported.

**35 Flood Insurance.** This bill (S. 1182) would extend the authorization of the National Flood Insurance Program through November 30, 2018.

The House passed S. 1182 on July 25, 2018 by a vote of 366 to 52 (Roll Call 373). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the Constitution does not give the federal government authority to get into the insurance business. Having the federal government as an insurer essentially subsidizes risky behavior, such as building in flood-, fire-, and earthquake-prone areas, and forces the taxpayer to pick up the tab. Insurance policies for natural disasters should be offered by private insurers, with the market setting the rates for such coverage.

**36 Appropriations for Defense, Labor-HHS-Education, and Continuing Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 6157) would provide \$855.1 billion in discretionary funding for fiscal 2019, including \$674.4 billion for the Defense Department (including \$67.9 billion in

overseas contingency operations, i.e., Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.), \$90.3 billion for the Health and Human Services Department, \$71.4 billion for the Education Department, \$12.1 billion for the Labor Department, and continuing appropriations for all of the remaining federal government departments not explicitly funded by this bill until December 7, 2018.

The House adopted the final version of the bill (the conference report) on September 26, 2018 by a vote of 361 to 61 (Roll Call 405). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because social-welfare spending falls outside the enumerated powers of the federal government, and lumping multiple appropriations bills into one mega-bill reduces lawmakers’ accountability to their constituents. Moreover, even though defense spending is constitutional, the “defense” budget is bloated with funding for overseas military operations that have not contributed to the defense of our own country.

**37 FAA Reauthorization and Supplemental Disaster Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 302) would reauthorize the Federal Aviation Administration though fiscal year 2023, with annual au-



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**Building in flood zones:** All across this country, people build in flood zones — including along marshes, rivers, lakes, and oceans — because the U.S. government provides flood insurance.

# House Vote Scores ✓

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>ALABAMA</b>												
1 Byrne (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
2 Roby (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	49%
3 Rogers, M. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
4 Aderholt (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
5 Brooks, M. (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	70%
6 Palmer (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	64%
7 Sewell (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
<b>ALASKA</b>												
AL Young, Don (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
<b>ARIZONA</b>												
1 O'Halleran (D)	20%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
2 McCally (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
3 Grijalva (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21%
4 Gosar (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83%
5 Biggs (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90%
6 Schweikert (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	68%
7 Gallego (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21%
8 Lesko (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	73%
9 Sinema (D)	38%	-	?	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	25%
<b>ARKANSAS</b>												
1 Crawford (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
2 Hill (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
3 Womack (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
4 Westerman (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	60%
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>												
1 LaMalfa (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
2 Huffman (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
3 Garamendi (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
4 McClintock (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83%
5 Thompson, M. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
6 Matsui (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
7 Bera (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
8 Cook (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
9 McNerney (D)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16%
10 Denham (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	51%
11 DeSaulnier (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	13%
12 Pelosi (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	8%
13 Lee, B. (D)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21%
14 Speier (D)	17%	-	?	?	?	?	-	+	-	-	-	23%
15 Swalwell (D)	11%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	13%
16 Costa (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20%
17 Khanna (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	25%
18 Eshoo (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	?	-	14%
19 Lofgren (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23%
20 Panetta (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	18%
21 Valadao (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
22 Nunes (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	50%
23 McCarthy (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
24 Carbajal (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	16%
25 Knight (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
26 Brownley (D)	11%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	13%
27 Chu (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
28 Schiff (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
29 Cárdenas (D)	13%	-	?	?	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	24%
30 Sherman (D)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
31 Aguilar (D)	13%	?	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
32 Napolitano (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
33 Lieu (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	29%
34 Gomez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	26%
35 Torres (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
36 Ruiz (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
37 Bass (D)	0%	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20%
38 Sánchez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
39 Royce (R)	56%	-	+	?	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	56%
40 Roybal-Allard (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
41 Takano (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
42 Calvert (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
43 Waters, Maxine (D)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
44 Barragán (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	23%
45 Walters, Mimi (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	51%
46 Correa (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	25%
47 Lowenthal (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
48 Rohrabacher (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	67%
49 Issa (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%
50 Hunter (R)	43%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	?	?	?	56%
51 Vargas (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	23%
52 Peters, S. (D)	13%	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	8%
53 Davis, S. (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
<b>COLORADO</b>												
1 DeGette (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
2 Polis (D)	13%	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	24%
3 Tipton (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%
4 Buck (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	73%
5 Lamborn (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	65%
6 Coffman (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%
7 Perlmutter (D)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>												
1 Larson, J. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
2 Courtney (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
3 DeLauro (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
4 Himes (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
5 Esty (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
<b>DELAWARE</b>												
AL Blunt Rochester (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
<b>FLORIDA</b>												
1 Gaetz (R)	67%	+	?	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	74%
2 Dunn (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	51%
3 Yoho (R)	56%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	69%
4 Rutherford (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
5 Lawson (D)	11%	-	-	?	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
6 DeSantis (R)	50%	-	?	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	63%
7 Murphy (D)	20%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
8 Posey (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	63%
9 Soto (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
10 Demings (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	10%
11 Webster (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	70%
12 Bilirakis (R)	56%	?	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	54%
13 Crist (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	16%
14 Castor (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
15 Ross (R)	56%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	?	51%
16 Buchanan (R)	40%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	45%
17 Rooney, T. (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	50%
18 Mast (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	48%

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 yea or nay. 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.

thorizations for federal aviation programs increasing from \$10.2 billion in fiscal 2018 to \$11.6 billion in fiscal 2023. It also eases restrictions on FAA regulation of drones, authorizes the federal Transportation Security Administration (TSA), and includes \$1.7 billion for Hurricane Florence disaster relief.

The House passed the bill on September 26, 2018 by a vote of 398 to 23 (Roll Call 407). We have assigned pluses to the nays because of the bill's unconstitutional federal overreach in both aviation and disaster relief. One example of this overreach is the TSA, which is known for groping and violating air travelers in the name of providing security. Instead of relying on an inefficient federal bureaucracy, security should be provided by the airlines, which have a vested interest in keeping their customers safe. Another area the feds should stay out of is the regulation of private-sector drones, which instead should be managed by local ordinances or (at most) state laws. And the market, not the feds, should determine such issues as the dimensions of seats on passenger airliners. Regarding disaster relief, this should be handled by private charitable efforts, not the federal government.

**38 Tax Cuts.** This bill (H.R. 6760) would make permanent tax cuts for individuals in the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017 that were set to expire at the end of 2025, including lowered tax rates, increased standard deductions (from \$13,000 to \$24,000 for joint filers), and an increased child tax credit (from \$1,000 to \$2,000).

The House passed H.R. 6760 on September 28, 2018 by a vote of 220 to 191 (Roll Call 414). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because tax cuts keep money in the hands of those who earned it and can spur economic growth. Unfortunately, however, neither the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act nor this new legislation addresses runaway federal spending, which needs to be reined in via other legislation.

**39 Opioid Abuse Prevention and Health Programs.** This bill (H.R. 6), as amended by the House, would expand Medicare and Medicaid to cover medication-assisted treatment for substance abuse and would place new requirements on states regarding Medicaid



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**Opioid opposition:** While opioids certainly are a menace, the U.S. Constitution gives no authority to the federal government to wage a war on drugs. State or local efforts would do much more to fight the opioid epidemic than a federal bureaucracy whose existence depends on perpetuating the problem.

drug review and utilization requirements. It would appropriate \$15 million annually, from fiscal 2019 through fiscal 2023, to support the establishment or operation of public-health laboratories to detect synthetic opioids. The House amendment to the Senate-amended bill would allow Medicaid patients with opioid- or cocaine-abuse problems to stay for up to 30 days per year in certain treatment facilities with more than 16 beds.

The House agreed to an amendment to the Senate-amended version of H.R. 6 on September 28, 2018 by a vote of 393 to 8 (Roll Call 415). We have assigned pluses to the nays because Medicare and Medicaid are both unconstitutional programs. The U.S. Constitution gives no authority to the federal government to pay people's medical expenses, no matter how poor or disabled they are. Such assistance should be handled by states, charity, or the free market. Any expansion of Medicare or Medicaid, which is what this bill authorizes, should be voted against.

**40 Gray Wolves.** This bill (H.R. 6784) would direct the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to issue a rule re-

moving the gray wolf from the list of endangered and threatened wildlife, thus removing federal protections for the species in the 48 contiguous United States. It would also direct the Interior Department to reissue a 2011 rule delisting gray wolves in the Western Great Lakes region of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, and would exempt both rules, and another rule delisting the species in Wyoming, from judicial review.

The House passed H.R. 6784 on November 16, 2018 by a vote of 196 to 180 (Roll Call 420). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because decisions regarding human interaction with various animal species, if handled by government at all, should be handled at the state and local levels. The U.S. Constitution does not give the federal government the authority to declare animals endangered and thus off-limits to hunt or otherwise manage. The growing gray wolf population has been a menace to farmers and ranchers in many states, and farmers are not allowed to protect their own property owing to federal regulations. Working to overturn such regulations is a good thing. ■

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
19 Rooney, F. (R)	33%	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	58%
20 Hastings (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	13%
21 Frankel (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
22 Deutch (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
23 Wasserman Schultz (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
24 Wilson, F. (D)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	9%
25 Diaz-Balart (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	47%
26 Curbelo (R)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	32%
27 Ros-Lehtinen (R)	22%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	40%
<b>GEORGIA</b>												
1 Carter, E.L. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
2 Bishop, S. (D)	40%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	37%
3 Ferguson (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
4 Johnson, H. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23%
5 Lewis, John (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
6 Handel (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	48%
7 Woodall (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%
8 Scott, A. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
9 Collins, D. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
10 Hice (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	70%
11 Loudermilk (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	69%
12 Allen (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
13 Scott, D. (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
14 Graves, T. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
<b>HAWAII</b>												
1 Hanabusa (D)	0%	-	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	6%
2 Gabbard (D)	14%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	?	?	31%
<b>IDAHO</b>												
1 Labrador (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	?	?	81%
2 Simpson (R)	56%	-	+	+	+	?	-	-	+	-	+	53%
<b>ILLINOIS</b>												
1 Rush (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	25%
2 Kelly, R. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
3 Lipinski (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
4 Gutiérrez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	22%
5 Quigley (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
6 Roskam (R)	33%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	50%
7 Davis, D. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14%
8 Krishnamoorthi (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
9 Schakowsky (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
10 Schneider (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
11 Foster (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
12 Bost (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
13 Davis, R. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
14 Hultgren (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	51%
15 Shimkus (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	51%
16 Kinzinger (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
17 Bustos (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
18 LaHood (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%
<b>INDIANA</b>												
1 Visclosky (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
2 Walorski (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
3 Banks (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	65%
4 Rokita (R)	83%	-	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	?	?	64%
5 Brooks, S. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
6 Messer (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	59%
7 Carson (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
8 Bucshon (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
9 Hollingsworth (R)	60%	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	62%
<b>IOWA</b>												
1 Blum (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	63%
2 Loebsack (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
3 Young, David (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
4 King, S. (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	60%
<b>KANSAS</b>												
1 Marshall (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
2 Jenkins, L. (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	50%
3 Yoder (R)	44%	-	+	+	?	-	-	-	+	-	+	54%
4 Estes (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	48%
<b>KENTUCKY</b>												
1 Comer (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	60%
2 Guthrie (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
3 Yarmuth (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
4 Massie (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	98%
5 Rogers, H. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
6 Barr (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
<b>LOUISIANA</b>												
1 Scalise (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	60%
2 Richmond (D)	0%	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
3 Higgins, C. (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	61%
4 Johnson, M. (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	65%
5 Abraham (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	60%
6 Graves, G. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	65%
<b>MAINE</b>												
1 Pingree (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
2 Poliquin (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	46%
<b>MARYLAND</b>												
1 Harris, A. (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	75%
2 Ruppersberger (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
3 Sarbanes (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
4 Brown, A. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
5 Hoyer (D)	0%	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
6 Delaney (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
7 Cummings (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7%
8 Raskin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>												
1 Neal (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
2 McGovern (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
3 Tsongas (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	15%
4 Kennedy, Joseph P. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
5 Clark, K. (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	21%
6 Moulton (D)	13%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	?	-	16%
7 Capuano (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	21%
8 Lynch (D)	13%	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	22%
9 Keating (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>MICHIGAN</b>												
1 Bergman (R)	44%	-	+	?	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	54%
2 Huizenga (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
3 Amash (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90%
4 Moolenaar (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
5 Kildee (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
6 Upton (R)	33%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	39%
7 Walberg (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
8 Bishop, M. (R)	44%	?	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	51%
9 Levin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
10 Mitchell (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
11 Trott (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	47%
12 Dingell (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
13 Jones (D)												
14 Lawrence (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>MINNESOTA</b>												
1 Walz (D)		?	?	?	?	?	-	-	?	?	?	23%
2 Lewis, Jason (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	63%

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 yea or nay. 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: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
3 Paulsen (R)	44%	-	?	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	51%
4 McCollum (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
5 Ellison (D)	?	-	?	?	?	-	-	-	?	?	?	24%
6 Emmer (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	68%
7 Peterson (D)	25%	-	?	?	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	45%
8 Nolan (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	?	?	?	?	?	21%
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>												
1 Kelly, T. (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	65%
2 Thompson, B. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
3 Harper (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	?	?	+	53%
4 Palazzo (R)	56%	?	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	53%
<b>MISSOURI</b>												
1 Clay (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14%
2 Wagner (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	58%
3 Luetkemeyer (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	55%
4 Hartzler (R)	44%	-	+	+	?	-	-	-	+	-	+	51%
5 Cleaver (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
6 Graves, S. (R)	44%	-	+	+	?	-	-	-	+	-	+	53%
7 Long (R)	44%	-	+	+	?	-	-	-	+	-	+	60%
8 Smith, J. (R)	67%	-	+	+	?	+	+	-	+	-	+	66%
<b>MONTANA</b>												
AL Gianforte (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	59%
<b>NEBRASKA</b>												
1 Fortenberry (R)	56%	?	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	54%
2 Bacon (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
3 Smith, Adrian (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	60%
<b>NEVADA</b>												
1 Titus (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
2 Amodei (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	47%
3 Rosen (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	13%
4 Kihuen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>												
1 Shea-Porter (D)	0%	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
2 Kuster (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>												
1 Norcross (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	16%
2 LoBiondo (R)	30%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	43%
3 MacArthur (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	45%
4 Smith, C. (R)	20%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	35%
5 Gottheimer (D)	11%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	15%
6 Pallone (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
7 Lance (R)	20%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	43%
8 Sires (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
9 Pascrell (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	13%
10 Payne (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
11 Frelinghuysen (R)	40%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	46%
12 Watson Coleman (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20%
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>												
1 Lujan, Grisham M. (D)	0%	-	-	?	-	-	?	?	?	?	-	18%
2 Pearce (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	62%
3 Luján, B.R. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>NEW YORK</b>												
1 Zeldin (R)	40%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	56%
2 King, P. (R)	33%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	43%
3 Suozzi (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	18%
4 Rice, K. (D)	11%	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
5 Meeks (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
6 Meng (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
7 Velázquez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
8 Jeffries (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
9 Clarke, Y. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
10 Nadler (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
11 Donovan (R)	30%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	44%
12 Maloney, C. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
13 Espaillat (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
14 Crowley (D)	0%	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	16%
15 Serrano (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
16 Engel (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
17 Lowey (D)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
18 Maloney, S.P. (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
19 Faso (R)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	40%
20 Tonko (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
21 Stefanik (R)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	40%
22 Tenney (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
23 Reed, T. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
24 Katko (R)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	49%
25 Morelle (D)												
26 Higgins, B. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
27 Collins, C. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	49%
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>												
1 Butterfield (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16%
2 Holding (R)	56%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	?	59%
3 Jones (R)	50%	+	+	?	-	-	+	-	?	?	?	82%
4 Price (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
5 Foxx (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	63%
6 Walker (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	62%
7 Rouzer (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%
8 Hudson (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	58%
9 Pittenger (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	54%
10 McHenry (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
11 Meadows (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	69%
12 Adams (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
13 Budd (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	73%
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>												
AL Cramer (R)	56%	-	+	+	+	?	-	-	+	-	+	54%
<b>OHIO</b>												
1 Chabot (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	63%
2 Wenstrup (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	58%
3 Beatty (D)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16%
4 Jordan (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	82%
5 Latta (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%
6 Johnson, B. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
7 Gibbs (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
8 Davidson (R)	80%	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	73%
9 Kaptur (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
10 Turner (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
11 Fudge (D)	0%	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
12 Balderson (R)	40%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	40%
13 Ryan, T. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
14 Joyce (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	54%
15 Stivers (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	51%
16 Renacci (R)	56%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	57%
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>												
1 Hern (R)											+	
2 Mullin (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	63%
3 Lucas (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
4 Cole (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
5 Russell (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%
<b>OREGON</b>												
1 Bonamici (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
2 Walden (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
3 Blumenauer (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	23%
4 DeFazio (D)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16%
5 Schrader (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%

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	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>												
1 Brady, R. (D)	0%	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
2 Evans (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
3 Kelly, M. (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	54%
4 Perry (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	78%
5 Thompson, G. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
6 Costello (R)	22%	-	-	?	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	42%
7 Scanlon (D)												
8 Fitzpatrick (R)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	30%
9 Shuster (R)	38%	-	?	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	49%
10 Marino (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	54%
11 Barletta (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
12 Rothfus (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	63%
13 Boyle (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	19%
14 Doyle (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
15 Wild (D)												
16 Smucker (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	60%
17 Cartwright (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
18 Lamb (D)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	27%
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>												
1 Cicilline (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
2 Langevin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>												
1 Sanford (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	73%
2 Wilson, J. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
3 Duncan, Jeff (R)	78%	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	72%
4 Gowdy (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	51%
5 Norman (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	69%
6 Clyburn (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	11%
7 Rice, T. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>												
AL Noem (R)	50%	?	+	+	?	?	-	-	+	-	?	62%
<b>TENNESSEE</b>												
1 Roe (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%
2 Duncan, John (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	83%
3 Fleischmann (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
4 DesJarlais (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	63%
5 Cooper (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
6 Black, D. (R)	20%	-	?	?	?	?	-	-	+	-	?	58%
7 Blackburn, M. (R)		-	?	+	?	-	+	?	?	?	?	67%
8 Kustoff (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
9 Cohen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>TEXAS</b>												
1 Gohmert (R)	89%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	+	78%
2 Poe (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	68%
3 Johnson, S. (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	62%
4 Ratcliffe (R)	67%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	?	62%
5 Hensarling (R)	78%	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	62%
6 Barton (R)	71%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	?	?	66%
7 Culberson (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	54%
8 Brady, K. (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	53%
9 Green, A. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
10 McCaul (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
11 Conaway (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	55%
12 Granger (R)	50%	-	+	?	+	-	-	-	+	?	+	53%
13 Thornberry (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
14 Weber (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	63%
15 Gonzalez (D)	30%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	33%
16 O'Rourke (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20%
17 Flores (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
18 Jackson Lee (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
19 Arrington (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
20 Castro (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	18%
21 Smith, L. (R)	56%	-	+	+	+	?	-	-	+	-	+	55%
22 Olson (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	?	?	+	54%
23 Hurd (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
24 Marchant (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	60%
25 Williams (R)	57%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	?	?	?	62%
26 Burgess (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	58%
27 Cloud (R)	67%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	67%
28 Cuellar (D)	40%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	40%
29 Green, G. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	25%
30 Johnson, E.B. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
31 Carter, J. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
32 Sessions (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	52%
33 Veasey (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	23%
34 Vela (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	33%
35 Doggett (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
36 Babin (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	61%
<b>UTAH</b>												
1 Bishop, R. (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	63%
2 Stewart (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
3 Curtis (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	57%
4 Love (R)	44%	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	?	56%
<b>VERMONT</b>												
AL Welch (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
<b>VIRGINIA</b>												
1 Wittman (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	60%
2 Taylor (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	54%
3 Scott, R. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
4 McEachin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
5 Garrett (R)	89%	-	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	81%
6 Goodlatte (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
7 Brat (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	73%
8 Beyer (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
9 Griffith (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	70%
10 Comstock (R)	44%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	54%
11 Connolly (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>WASHINGTON</b>												
1 DelBene (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
2 Larsen, R. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
3 Herrera Beutler (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	63%
4 Newhouse (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	59%
5 McMorris Rodgers (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	55%
6 Kilmer (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
7 Jayapal (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	21%
8 Reichert (R)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	44%
9 Smith, Adam (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
10 Heck (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>												
1 McKinley (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	50%
2 Mooney (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	70%
3 Jenkins, E. (R)	57%	-	+	+	+	-	?	?	+	-	?	57%
<b>WISCONSIN</b>												
1 Ryan, P. (R)		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	+	?	?	
2 Pocan (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
3 Kind (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	19%
4 Moore (D)	13%	-	-	-	?	?	+	-	-	-	-	26%
5 Sensenbrenner (R)	78%	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	74%
6 Grothman (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	63%
7 Duffy (R)	70%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	63%
8 Gallagher (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	58%
<b>WYOMING</b>												
AL Cheney (R)	67%	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	+	62%

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 yea or nay. 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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1

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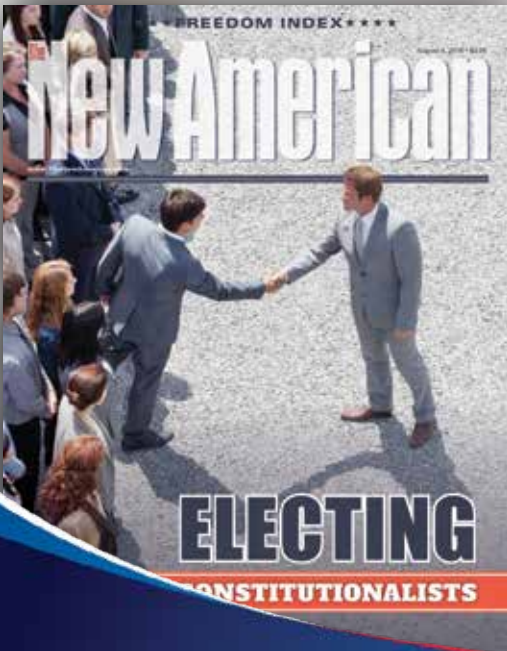
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# Senate Vote Descriptions

**31 Farm and Food Programs.** This bill (H.R. 2) would reauthorize and extend federal farm and nutrition programs through fiscal 2023, including crop subsidies, conservation, rural development and agricultural trade programs, and the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (aka food stamps). The Congressional Budget Office estimates that direct spending on agricultural and nutrition programs under this bill would total \$867 billion over 10 years. And according to an article in *The Hill* entitled “Once again, the farm bill is stuffed with food stamps” (May 14, 2018), “roughly 80 percent of the [Farm] bill’s annual budget is earmarked for food stamps.” This bill would also reauthorize a whole variety of other agricultural and nutritional programs, as well as allow industrial hemp to be grown in the United States, subject to strict state regulation.

The Senate passed H.R. 2 on June 28, 2018 by a vote of 86 to 11 (Roll Call 143). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the Constitution does not authorize the federal government to subsidize food or agriculture. Moreover, food subsidies have done little to lift people out of poverty, and farm subsidies have caused market distortions as the government essentially picks winners and losers in the food production industry.

**32 NATO.** During consideration of the Defense authorization bill (H.R. 5515), Senator Jack Reed (D-R.I.) moved that Senate members in the House-Senate conference committee insist that the final version of the bill reaffirm the commitment of the United States to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military alliance. 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.”

The Senate agreed to Reed’s motion on July 10, 2018 by a vote of 97 to 2 (Roll Call 149). We have assigned pluses to the nays not only because the United States should stay clear of entangling alliances



**Junk food reauthorization bill:** A report by the U.S. Department of Agriculture shows that 20 percent of food stamp money was spent on junk food: “sweetened beverages, desserts, salty snacks, candy and sugar.”

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.

**33 Spending Cuts.** During consideration of the Interior, Environment, Financial Services, and General Government Appropriations Act for 2019 (H.R. 6147), Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.) introduced an amendment to cut funding in each of the bill’s divisions by 11.39 percent. The purpose (in the words of the amendment) is “to reduce the amounts appropriated to comply with the spending limits under the Budget Control Act of 2011.”

The Senate rejected Paul’s amendment on July 25, 2018 by a vote of 25 to 74 (Roll Call 171). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the federal government needs to start reining in climbing federal spending (and deficits) somewhere in order to avert fiscal disaster.

**34 Appropriations for Interior-Environment, Treasury, and Transportation-HUD.** This bill (H.R. 6147) would provide \$154.2 billion in discretionary funding for fiscal 2019 to various departments and agencies, including \$35.9 billion for the Interior Department, the EPA, and related agencies; \$23.7 billion for the Treasury Department; \$23.2 billion for the Agriculture Department and related agencies; and \$71.4 billion for the departments of Transportation and Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and related agencies.

The Senate passed H.R. 6147 on August 1, 2018 by a vote of 92 to 6 (Roll Call 180). We have assigned pluses to the nays because much of the spending falls outside the federal government’s constitutionally delegated powers. The unconstitutional spending includes federal social-welfare programs such as food and farm subsidies and housing subsidies (under HUD). Also, lumping multiple appropriations bills together, as opposed to

# Senate Vote Scores ✓

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>ALABAMA</b>												
Shelby (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	43%
Jones (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20%
<b>ALASKA</b>												
Murkowski (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	35%
Sullivan (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	48%
<b>ARIZONA</b>												
Kyl (R)	20%						-	-	-	+	-	20%
Flake (R)	67%	+	-	+	?	+	-	+	-	+	+	69%
<b>ARKANSAS</b>												
Boozman (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	40%
Cotton (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	55%
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>												
Feinstein (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
Harris, K. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20%
<b>COLORADO</b>												
Bennet (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
Gardner (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	48%
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>												
Blumenthal (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
Murphy, C. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
<b>DELAWARE</b>												
Carper (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13%
Coons (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15%
<b>FLORIDA</b>												
Nelson (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	5%
Rubio (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	46%
<b>GEORGIA</b>												
Isakson (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	41%
Perdue (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	52%
<b>HAWAII</b>												
Schatz (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	+	15%
Hirono (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	+	18%
<b>IDAHO</b>												
Crapo (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	58%
Risch (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	58%
<b>ILLINOIS</b>												
Durbin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
Duckworth (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13%
<b>INDIANA</b>												
Donnelly (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13%
Young, T. (R)	30%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	48%
<b>IOWA</b>												
Grassley (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	48%
Ernst (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	52%
<b>KANSAS</b>												
Roberts (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	40%
Moran (R)	30%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	50%
<b>KENTUCKY</b>												
McConnell (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	40%
Paul (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	95%
<b>LOUISIANA</b>												
Cassidy (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	52%
Kennedy, John (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	52%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>MAINE</b>												
Collins (R)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	28%
King, A. (I)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20%
<b>MARYLAND</b>												
Cardin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
Van Hollen (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>												
Warren (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20%
Markey (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	23%
<b>MICHIGAN</b>												
Stabenow (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15%
Peters, G. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
<b>MINNESOTA</b>												
Klobuchar (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15%
Smith (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	25%
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>												
Wicker (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	43%
Hyde-Smith (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	33%
<b>MISSOURI</b>												
McCaskill (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	23%
Blunt (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	42%
<b>MONTANA</b>												
Tester (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	23%
Daines (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	65%
<b>NEBRASKA</b>												
Fischer (R)	11%	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	+	-	49%
Sasse (R)	50%	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	59%
<b>NEVADA</b>												
Heller (R)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	54%
Cortez Masto (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	8%
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>												
Shaheen (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	11%
Hassan (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13%
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>												
Menendez (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	14%
Booker (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20%
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>												
Udall (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
Heinrich (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
<b>NEW YORK</b>												
Schumer (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15%
Gillibrand (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20%
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>												
Burr (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	44%
Tillis (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	42%
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>												
Hoeven (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	43%
Heitkamp (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
<b>OHIO</b>												
Brown, S. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
Portman (R)	30%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	40%
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>												
Inhofe (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	50%
Lankford (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	60%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>OREGON</b>												
Wyden (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	20%
Merkley (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	23%
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>												
Casey (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13%
Toomey (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	63%
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>												
Reed, J. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	10%
Whitehouse (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	10%
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>												
Graham, L. (R)	30%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	44%
Scott, T. (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	50%
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>												
Thune (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	43%
Rounds (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	40%
<b>TENNESSEE</b>												
Alexander (R)	33%	?	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	44%
Corker (R)	44%	+	-	+	-	?	-	-	-	+	+	55%
<b>TEXAS</b>												
Cornyn (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	43%
Cruz (R)	38%	-	-	+	+	?	-	-	?	+	-	58%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>UTAH</b>												
Hatch (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	43%
Lee, M. (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90%
<b>VERMONT</b>												
Leahy (D)	11%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
Sanders (I)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	28%
<b>VIRGINIA</b>												
Warner (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	8%
Kaine (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15%
<b>WASHINGTON</b>												
Murray (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	+	18%
Cantwell (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>												
Manchin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
Capito (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	40%
<b>WISCONSIN</b>												
Johnson, R. (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	55%
Baldwin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	18%
<b>WYOMING</b>												
Enzi (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	52%
Barrasso (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	55%

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 yeas or nay. 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.

voting on them separately, reduces lawmakers’ accountability.

**35 Planned Parenthood.** During consideration of the appropriations bill for Health and Human Services and other federal departments including Defense (H.R. 6157), Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.), introduced an amendment to prohibit federal funding of Planned Parenthood.

The Senate rejected Senator Paul’s amendment on August 23, 2018 by a vote of 45 to 48 (Roll Call 191). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because Planned Parenthood is the nation’s largest abortion provider, and government should not subsidize the killing of innocent human life. Moreover, under the Constitution, the federal government should not be subsidizing any private entity in the marketplace.

**36 Opioid Abuse Prevention and Health Programs.** This bill (H.R. 6) would modify Medicare and Medicaid in relation to opioid abuse. It would authorize \$500 million annually, for fiscal 2019 through fiscal 2021, for opioid-response grants to states and tribes. It would authorize \$10 million annually, for fiscal 2019 through fiscal 2023, for the establishment and operation of opioid recovery centers. It would also authorize the creation of an

Office of National Drug Control Policy and require a study on Medicaid drug review and utilization requirements. A Senate amendment to the bill would remove provisions allowing Medicaid reimbursements for residential substance-abuse facilities.

The Senate passed H.R. 6 on September 17, 2018 by a vote of 99 to 1 (Roll Call 210). We have assigned pluses to the nay because Medicare and Medicaid are both unconstitutional programs. The U.S. Constitution gives no authority to the federal government to pay people’s medical expenses, no matter how poor or disabled they are. Such assistance should be handled by states, charity, or the free market. Any expansion of Medicare or Medicaid, which is what this bill authorizes, should be voted against.

**37 Appropriations for Defense, Labor-HHS-Education, and Continuing Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 6157) would provide \$855.1 billion in discretionary funding for fiscal 2019, including \$674.4 billion for the Defense Department (including \$67.9 billion in overseas contingency operations, i.e., Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.), \$90.3 billion for the Health and Human Services Department, \$71.4 billion for the Education Department, \$12.1 billion for the Labor Department, and continuing appropriations for

all of the remaining federal government departments not explicitly funded by this bill until December 7, 2018.

The Senate adopted the final version of the bill (the conference report) on September 18, 2018 by a vote of 93 to 7 (Roll Call 212). We have assigned pluses to the nays because social-welfare spending falls outside the enumerated powers of the federal government, and lumping multiple appropriations bills into one mega-bill reduces lawmakers’ accountability to their constituents. Moreover, even though defense spending is constitutional, the “defense” budget is bloated with funding for overseas military operations that have not contributed to the defense of our own country.

**38 FAA Reauthorization and Supplemental Disaster Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 302) would reauthorize the Federal Aviation Administration through fiscal year 2023, with annual authorizations for federal aviation programs increasing from \$10.2 billion in fiscal 2018 to \$11.6 billion in fiscal 2023. It also eases restrictions on FAA regulation of drones, authorizes the federal Transportation Security Administration (TSA), and includes \$1.7 billion for Hurricane Florence disaster relief.

The Senate passed the bill on October 3,

2018 by a vote of 93 to 6 (Roll Call 220). We have assigned pluses to the nays because of the bill's unconstitutional federal overreach in both aviation and disaster relief. One example of this overreach is the TSA, which is known for groping and violating air travelers in the name of providing security. Instead of relying on an inefficient federal bureaucracy, security should be provided by the airlines, which have a vested interest in keeping their customers safe. Another area the feds should stay out of is the regulation of private-sector drones, which instead should be managed by local ordinances or (at most) state laws. And the market, not the feds, should determine such issues as the dimensions of seats on passenger airliners. Regarding disaster relief, this should be handled by private charitable efforts, not the federal government.

**39 Short-term Health Insurance Plans.** This measure (Senate Joint Resolution 63) would nullify and disapprove of the rule from the Departments of Treasury, Labor, and Health and Human Services that would expand the dura-

tion of short-term health-insurance plans. Short-term health-insurance plans, which are not required to follow federal health-insurance regulations — such as guaranteed issue, guaranteed renewability, and coverage of essential benefits — are very affordable and can be purchased at any time (i.e., not subject to enrollment periods). “Short-term” originally meant up to one year, but was reduced to three months under the Obama administration to increase enrollment in ObamaCare. The Trump administration sought to restore the original definition of “short-term” to up to one year. S.J. Res. 63, sponsored by left-wing Senator Tammy Baldwin (D-Wis.), seeks to stop this Trump administration “deregulation.”

The Senate rejected S. J. Res. 63 on October 10, 2018 by a vote of 50 to 50 (Roll Call 226). We have assigned pluses to the nays because easing federal regulations is always a good thing, especially in this case since the federal government has no constitutional authority to regulate health insurance in the first place. If people want to purchase “short-term” insurance that has less coverage, but is much more affordable,

they should be allowed to do so. The federal government should stay out of health-care, period.

**40 Yemen.** This resolution (Senate Joint Res. 54) would “direct the removal of United States Armed Forces from hostilities in the Republic of Yemen that have not been authorized by Congress.”

Senator Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) made a motion on November 28, 2018 to discharge the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from further consideration of Senate Joint Res. 54, so that it could be voted on by the full Senate. In his effort to advance the bill, Sanders was supported not only by all Democrat senators who voted but also by constitutional-minded Republicans. Sanders’ motion was agreed to by a vote of 63 to 37 (Roll Call 250). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because only Congress is vested with the power to declare war. A foreign military intervention is an act of 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. ■

# Freedom Index

## Voting Records 1999-2018

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