

**2019: Democrats set the Agenda**

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Following their big victory in the midterm elections of 2018, the Democrats set the agenda in the U.S. Congress. During 2019, this agenda included massive spending bills negotiated by party leaders instead of the process described by the Budget Act of 1974, a schizophrenic foreign policy, and continuing investigations of President Donald Trump.

The 2019 Liberty Index of Congress, like its predecessors, attempts to measure voting tendencies in two distinct dimensions: (1) economic liberties and (2) personal liberties. In each dimension, twenty roll call votes are identified in each chamber of Congress. These votes should span the range of concerns of each dimension. And, in order to distinguish better (or worse) members from the mere average, the votes should include some votes with lop-sided majorities, as well as some votes with knife-edge majorities.

The economic liberties votes should include some overall spending votes and some votes on particular areas of spending. They should cover taxation, economic regulation, and international trade, and deal with a variety of industries and regions of the country. The personal liberties votes should include some liberties traditionally-defended by conservatives such as gun rights, some traditionally-defended by liberals such as the rights of the accused, and some orphan liberties not traditionally-defended by either.

The times, as Bob Dylan put it, they are a-changin'. A political axis once described by left-right thinking is increasingly up-down. Today's left is no longer liberal, but is progressive socialist. Contrast the "cancel culture" of today to these classic expressions in the liberal tradition:

I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.

Evelyn Beatrice Hall, *The Friends of Voltaire*

If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*

As in the past, I have shared tentative lists of the votes with a small number of trusted advisors for comment, while remaining the final decision-maker. The votes are presented in Tables 1 to 4 in the Appendix.

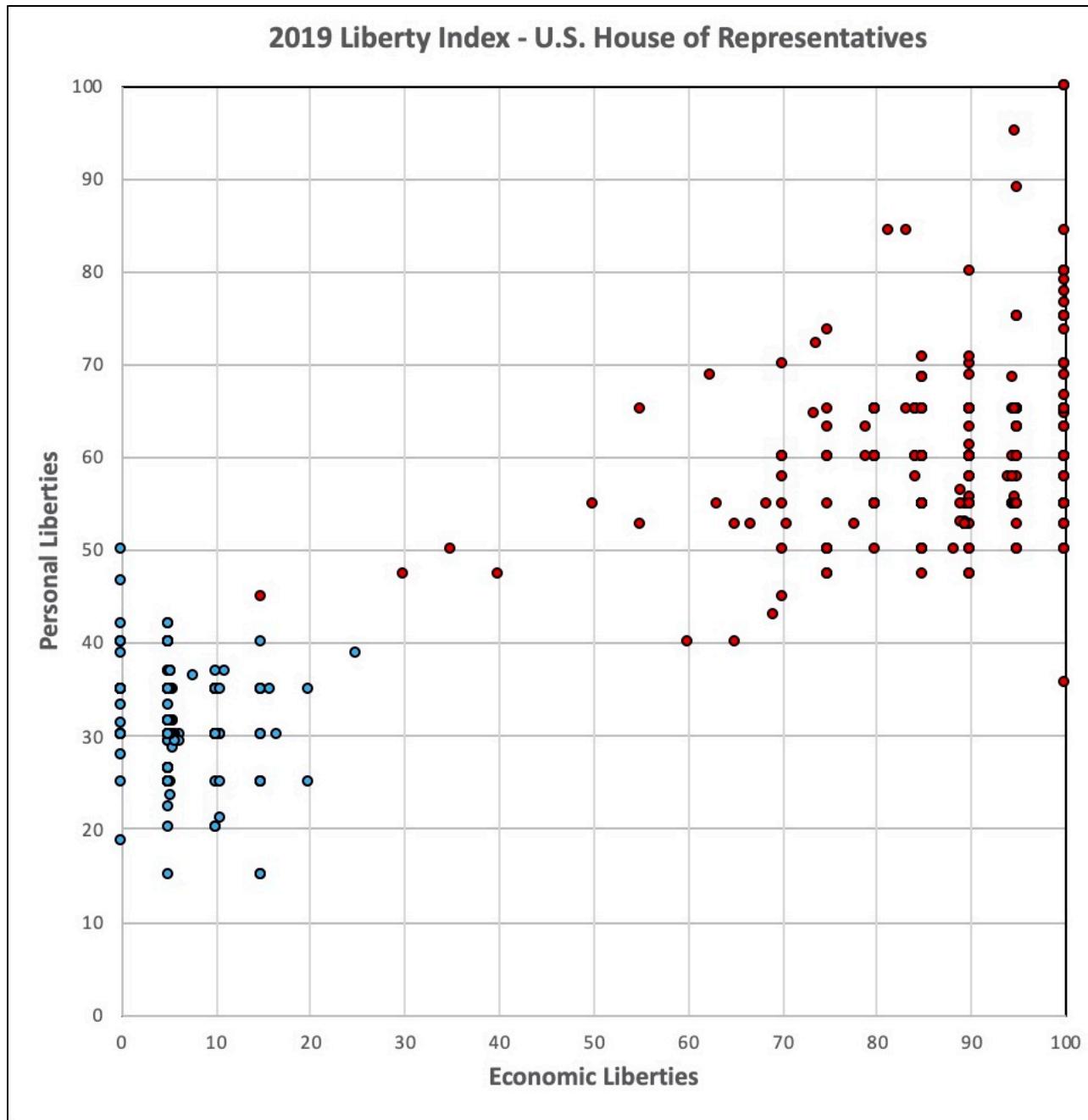
**House of Representatives**

As the following table shows, Republicans were very much more pro-liberty on economic issues than Democrats. Although the difference was not as pronounced, Republicans were also more pro-liberty on personal issues.

The following chart displays the distribution of House members in two-dimensions. Notice that the Democrats are clumped rather tightly in the southwest quadrant of the chart. Republicans, in contrast, fan out as they

move to the right, according to whether they are relatively conservative or relatively libertarian on personal liberties.

	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index	Progressives	Liberals	Moderates	Conservatives	Libertarians
Democrats	6	31	18	233	1	0	0	0
Republicans (incl. 1 ind.)	86	60	73	1	0	20	18	161



We are not the only ones to notice the emergence of pronounced differences between Republicans and Democrats in Congressional voting. But, while others merely attribute these differences to “polarization,” we recognize their basis in the shift of the Democratic Party from liberalism to progressive socialism. Harry Truman and Jack Kennedy represented a more pragmatic Democratic Party, anti-communist, and promoting the interests of the less well-off within the context of a liberal, democratic capitalist society. But, since George McGovern, that party has been drifting toward dogmatic positions. A 2019 Pew Research poll<sup>1</sup> found that, among Democrats, support for socialism registered 65 percent. Support for socialism was even higher among younger Democrats.

The next table identifies the highest scoring Congressmen among those with more than ten roll call votes.

	State	Dist.	Party	Econ.	Pers.	Index
Massie, Thomas	KY	4	R	95	95	95
Roy, Chip	TX	21	R	100	84	92
Amash, Justin	MI	3	I	95	89	92
Biggs, Andy	AZ	5	R	100	80	90
Jordan, Jim	OH	4	R	100	80	90
Meadows, Mark	NC	11	R	100	80	90
Buck, Ken	CO	4	R	100	79	89
Gosar, Paul	AZ	4	R	100	78	89
Higgins, Clay	LA	3	R	100	76	88
Cloud, Michael	TX	27	R	100	75	88
Comer, James	KY	1	R	100	75	88
Mooney, Alex	WV	2	R	100	75	88
McClintock, Tom	CA	4	R	100	74	87



This year’s top scorer is Representative Thomas Masie of Kentucky. The bespectacled Congressman is an MIT engineer, inventor, tech entrepreneur and self-described “libertarian Republican.” But, don’t let any of that bother you. He comes from good people. He was born in West Virginia, raised in Kentucky, and his father was a beer distributor.

Masie got turned on to engineering at the age of seven, watching the MIT 2.70 contest on television. He said he wanted to go to that school and win that contest; which he did, in 1992.

Anybody interested in peering into the soul of this man can read his undergraduate thesis: “Design of a three-degree of Freedom force-reflecting haptic interface.” Or, his master’s thesis: “Initial haptic explorations with the phantom: virtual touch through point interaction.”

Masie married his high school sweetheart and, together, they have four children.

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/25/stark-partisan-divisions-in-americans-views-of-socialism-capitalism/>

## Senate

Votes in the Senate were not as disparate as those in the House of Representatives. Republicans in the Senate were nowhere near as good on economic liberties as Republicans in the House. Both parties in the Senate scored well on personal liberties. Most Democrats in the Senate were categorized as Liberals, and most Republicans as Moderates.

	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index	Progressives	Liberals	Moderates	Conservatives	Libertarians
Democrats (incl. 2 Ind.)	11	47	29	3	23	0	0	0
Republicans	63	63	63	0	4	31	0	18

There was a tie for the Gold Medal in the Senate, with Mike Lee of Utah and Rand Paul of Kentucky sharing the honor. There was also a tie for the Bronze Medal: Pat Toomey of Pennsylvania and Ted Cruz of Texas.

			Econ.	Pers.	Index
Lee, Mike	UT	R	100	100	100
Paul, Rand	KY	R	100	100	100
Toomey, Pat	PA	R	100	60	80
Cruz, Ted	TX	R	84	75	80
Braun, Mike	IN	R	100	58	79
Moran, Jerry	KS	R	58	83	71
Enzi, Mike	WY	R	84	55	70
Blackburn, Marsha	TN	R	80	58	69
Risch, Jim	ID	R	80	55	68
Romney, Mitt	UT	R	80	55	68

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**Table 1. 2019 House Roll Call Votes - Economic Freedom**

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
87	Budget Resolution	provide \$397 billion in spending authority	300	128	N
134	Paycheck Fairness	promote gender equality in pay	242	187	N
146	Condemn legal efforts to end Obamacare		240	186	N
184	Climate Action	remain in Paris Agreement	231	190	N
202	Supplemental Appropriations	provide \$17.9 billion additional spending authority	257	150	N
228	Consumer Protection	reauthorize Consumer Finance Protection Bureau	231	191	N
232	Disaster relief supplemental	provide \$18 billion additional spending authority	354	58	N
335	State Dpt Appropriations	eliminate \$19.1 billion for bilateral economic aid	110	315	Y
336	State Dpt Appropriations	strike paragraph preventing U.S. from withdrawing from the Paris Agreement	184	241	Y
496	Minimum Wage	increase to \$15/hour	231	199	N
505	Multiemployer Pensions	provide \$70 billion in low-cost loans to bail-out mostly union-sponsored pensions	264	169	N
511	Budget Act	remove 2011 budget caps and thus provide \$320 billion additional spending authority	284	149	N
521	Gulf of Mexico oil production	restrict energy development	248	180	N
530	Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plains	restrict energy development	225	193	N
567	Outsourcing Accountability	require disclosure of number of employees in every country of the world	226	184	N
597	Chaco Cultural Heritage Area	restrict energy development	245	174	N
602	Grand Canyon	restrict energy development	236	185	N
624	Import-Export Bank	extend ten years	235	184	N
700	State and Local Taxes	increase deductibility of state and local taxes when computing federal income tax	218	206	Y
701	US-Mexico-Canada Agreement	extend and amend NAFTA	385	41	Y

**Table 2. 2019 House Roll Call Votes - Personal Freedom**

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
99	Background Checks	prohibit gun transfers between individuals (must go through a dealer)	240	190	N
111	Campaign Finance	lower voting age in federal elections to 16	126	305	N
118	Campaign Finance	restrict political speech	234	193	N
153	Yemen	remove U.S. armed forces from Yemen	247	175	Y
167	Internet	re-establish net neutrality	232	190	N
217	Anti-discrimination	extend protected status to LBGTQ	236	173	N
304	Schedule 1 Drugs	strike section prohibiting use of funds to promote legalization	91	331	Y
369	2020 Census	strike lines prohibiting the inclusion of a citizenship question	192	240	Y
370	State marijuana programs	prohibit funds from interfering with	267	165	Y
459	Overseas Contingency Operations	reduce funding by \$16.8 billion	115	307	Y
463	Use of force in Iran	prohibit the unauthorized use of force in Iran	251	170	Y
465	2001 use of force resolution	express that the resolution has been used beyond the scope intended	237	183	Y
510	Horse Training	prohibit 'soring' technique	333	96	N
514	Venezuela refugees	make Venezuelans eligible for refugee status	272	158	Y
560	Turkey in Syria	expresses opposition to Turkish action against Syrian Kurdish forces	354	60	N
634	Shark Fin sales	prohibit the sales of shark fins	310	107	N
654	Voting Rights	require federal approval of state changes to voter laws	228	187	N
682	Drug Cost	regulate drug prices	230	192	Y
695	Article I of Impeachment	Abuse of Power	230	197	N
696	Article II of Impeachment	Obstruction of Congress	229	198	N

**Table 3. 2019 Senate Roll Call Votes - Economic Freedom**

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
20	National Monuments	kill an amendment to limit National Monuments in Utah	60	33	N
26	Continuing Appro./Homeland Security	provide \$397 billion in spending authority	83	16	N
52	Green New Deal	recognize duty of U.S. government to develop a Green New Deal	0	57	N
55	Farm Relief	Add another \$3 billion, in farm relief, to supplement appropriations	44	49	N
56	Supplemental Appropriations	Add \$13 billion in supplemental appropriations	46	48	N
64	Mark Anthony Calabria	to be Director of Federal Housing Finance Authority	52	44	Y
83	Gordon Hartogensis	to be Director of Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp.	72	27	Y
129	Supplemental Appropriations	to increase budget authority by \$19 billion	85	8	N
182	Emergency Supplemental Appropriations	to add \$4.5 billion in spending	37	55	N
183	Foreign Aid	to kill an amendment to rescind \$4.5 billion in foreign aid	77	15	N
223	9/11 Victims Fund/sequester certain funds	sequester certain funds	22	77	Y
260	Budget Act/Paul amendment	cut spending by \$14 billion	23	70	Y
262	Budget Act	increase spending by \$106 billion over two years, end Budget Control Act of 2011, and suspend debt ceiling	67	28	N
305	Paid family leave for federal workers	instruct Senate conferees insist on paid family leave	47	48	N
311	Supplemental Appropriations	increase spending by \$2 billion	81	16	N
313	Eugene Scalia	to be Secretary of Labor	53	44	Y
324	Disapprove EPA rule related to greenhouse gas emissions	the EPA rescinded its rule under the Clean Act Plan setting emission standards	41	53	N
339	Suppl. Commerce, Justice, etc. Appro./Lee amendment	to prohibit funds for land acquisition	29	64	Y
365	Suppl. Commerce, Justice, etc. Appro./concur with House	increase spending by \$15.6 billion	75	19	N
399	Supplemental Military Appro./conf. rpt.	authorize additional \$2 billion	82	12	N

**Table 4. 2019 Senate Roll Call Votes - Personal Freedom**

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
6	Russia Sanctions/closure	Disapprove lifting of sanctions on three Russian companies previously controlled by Oleg Deripaska	57	42	N
14	Syria and Afghanistan	Oppose precipitous withdrawal	70	26	N
29	Eric D. Miller	to 9th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals	53	46	Y
35	Allison Jones Rushing	to 4th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals	53	44	Y
37	Chad A. Readler	to 6th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals	52	47	Y
39	Eric E. Murphy	to 6th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals	52	46	Y
71	John P. Abizaid	Ambassador to Saudi Arabia	92	7	Y
94	Yemen/veto override	Direct removal of U.S. forces from Yemen	53	45	Y
104	Janet Dhillon	to the Equal Rights Commission	50	43	Y
106	Michael H. Park	to 2nd Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals	52	41	Y
110	Kenneth Kiyul Lee	to 9th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals	52	45	Y
161	Bahrain	to disapprove sale of certain military articles and services	43	56	Y
162	Qatar	to disapprove sale of certain military articles and services	42	57	Y
189	Iran	to prohibit "unauthorized military operations" against Iran	50	40	Y
325	U.S.-Mexico border Emergency	to disapprove emergency declaration	53	36	Y
231	Saudi Arabia/veto override	to disapprove sale of certain military articles and services	45	40	Y
232	UAE/veto override	to disapprove sale of certain military articles and services	45	39	Y
233	Saudi Arabia/veto override	to disapprove sale of certain military articles and services	46	41	Y
289	Robert A. Destro	Asst. Sec. of State for Human Rights	49	44	Y
396	John Joseph Sullivan	Ambassador to Russia	70	22	Y

**Table 5. 2019 House of Representatives - Scores (1 of 5)**

	St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Idx		St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Idx
Abraham, Ralph	LA	5	R	100	67	83	Cardenas, Tony	CA	29	D	0	35	18
Adams, Alma	NC	12	D	5	30	18	Carson, Andre	IN	7	D	10	30	20
Aderholt, Robert	AL	4	R	85	60	73	Carter, Earl L. 'Buddy'	GA	1	R	90	50	70
Aguilar, Pete	CA	31	D	5	35	20	Carter, John	TX	31	R	79	63	71
Allen, Rick	GA	12	R	90	65	78	Cartwright, Matt	PA	8	D	5	37	21
Allred, Colin	TX	32	D	11	30	20	Case, Ed	HI	1	D	5	25	15
Amash, Justin	MI	3	R	95	89	92	Casten, Sean	IL	6	D	5	25	15
Amodei, Mark	NV	2	R	90	47	69	Castor, Kathy	FL	14	D	5	35	20
Armstrong, Kelly	ND	AL	R	84	65	75	Castro, Joaquin	TX	20	D	16	35	25
Arrington, Jodey	TX	19	R	95	50	73	Chabot, Steve	OH	1	R	100	50	75
Axne, Cindy	IA	3	D	10	25	18	Cheney, Liz	WY	AL	R	80	60	70
Babin, Brian	TX	36	R	89	53	71	Chu, Judy	CA	27	D	5	30	18
Bacon, Don	NE	2	R	75	60	68	Cicilline, David	RI	1	D	5	30	18
Baird, Jim	IN	4	R	95	65	80	Cisneros, Gil	CA	39	D	5	30	18
Balderson, Troy	OH	12	R	90	65	78	Clark, Katherine	MA	5	D	5	26	16
Banks, Jim	IN	3	R	100	55	78	Clarke, Yvette	NY	9	D	5	35	20
Barr, Andy	KY	6	R	90	53	71	Clay, Lacy	MO	1	D	0	39	19
Barragan, Nanette	CA	44	D	0	35	18	Cleaver, Emmanuel	MO	5	D	5	42	24
Bass, Karen	CA	37	D	5	37	21	Cline, Ben	VA	6	R	100	70	85
Beatty, Joyce	OH	3	D	6	30	18	Cloud, Michael	TX	27	R	100	75	88
Bera, Ami	CA	7	D	5	35	20	Clyburn, James E.	SC	6	D	6	30	18
Bergman, Jack	MI	1	R	79	60	69	Cohen, Steve	TN	9	D	5	40	23
Beyer, Don	VA	8	D	5	35	20	Cole, Tim	OK	4	R	70	70	70
Biggs, Andy	AZ	5	R	100	80	90	Collins, Chris	NY	27	R	69	43	56
Bilirakis, Gus	FL	12	R	75	50	63	Collins, Doug	GA	9	R	85	65	75
Bishop, Dan	NC	9	R	100	100	100	Comer, James	KY	1	R	100	75	88
Bishop, Rob	UT	1	R	84	60	72	Conaway, Mike	TX	11	R	85	55	70
Bishop, Sanford	GA	2	D	5	32	18	Connolly, Gerry	VA	11	D	5	30	18
Blumenauer, Earl	OR	3	D	10	35	23	Cook, Paul	CA	8	R	65	53	59
Blunt Rochester, Lisa	DE	AL	D	5	30	18	Cooper, Jim	TN	5	D	5	32	18
Bonamici, Suzanne	OR	1	D	5	35	20	Correa, Lou	CA	46	D	11	30	20
Bost, Mike	IL	12	R	70	58	64	Costa, Jim	CA	16	D	10	30	20
Boyle, Brendan	PA	2	D	5	25	15	Courtney, Joe	CT	2	D	5	30	18
Brady, Kevin	TX	8	R	90	69	79	Cox, TJ	CA	21	D	5	30	18
Brindisi, Anthony	NY	22	D	15	25	20	Craig, Angie	MN	2	D	5	25	15
Brooks, Mo	AI	5	R	100	60	80	Crawford, Rick	AR	1	R	89	53	71
Brooks, Susan W.	IN	5	R	75	50	63	Crenshaw, Dan	TX	2	R	85	60	73
Brown, Anthony G	MD	4	D	0	25	13	Crist, Charles	FL	13	D	5	25	15
Brownley, Julia	CA	26	D	5	25	15	Crow, Jason	CO	6	D	5	30	18
Buchanan, Vern	FL	16	R	70	45	58	Cuellar, Henry	TX	28	D	15	15	15
Buck, Ken	CO	4	R	100	79	89	Cummings, Elijah	MD	7	D	0	50	25
Bucshon, Larry	IN	8	R	95	58	76	Cunningham, Jow	SC	1	D	15	30	23
Budd, Ted	NC	13	R	100	53	76	Curtis, John	UT	3	R	100	60	80
Burchett, Tim	TN	2	R	90	56	73	Davids, Sharice	KS	3	D	5	25	15
Burgess, Michael C.	TX	26	R	90	60	75	Davidson, Warren	OH	8	R	100	70	85
Bustos, Cheri	IL	17	D	5	30	18	Davis, Danny K.	IL	7	D	5	35	20
Butterfield, G.K.	NC	1	D	5	35	20	Davis, Rodney	IL	13	R	68	55	62
Byrne, Bradley	AL	1	R	95	63	79	Davis, Susan	CA	53	D	5	25	15
Calvert, Ken	CA	42	R	75	50	63	Dean, Madeleine	PA	4	D	5	35	20
Carbajal, Salud	CA	24	D	5	25	15	DeFazio, Peter	OR	4	D	0	35	18

**Table 5. 2019 House of Representatives - Scores (2 of 5)**

	St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Idx		St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Idx
DeGette, Diana	CO	1	D	5	40	23	Gottheimer, Josh	NJ	5	D	5	15	10
DeLauro, Rosa	CT	3	D	6	30	18	Granger, Kay	TX	12	R	78	53	65
DelBene, Suzan	WA	1	D	5	25	15	Graves, Garret	LA	6	R	90	60	75
Delgado, Antonio	NY	19	D	5	25	15	Graves, Sam	MO	6	R	85	71	78
Demings, Val	FL	10	D	5	30	18	Graves, Tom	GA	14	R	95	75	85
DeSaulnier, Mark	CA	11	D	0	35	18	Green, Al	TX	9	D	5	30	18
DesJarlais, Scott	TN	4	R	100	65	83	Green, Mark E.	TN	7	R	100	63	82
Deutch, Ted	FL	22	D	5	30	18	Griffith, Morgan	VA	9	R	90	70	80
Diaz-Balart, Mario	FL	25	R	60	40	50	Grijalva, Raul	AZ	3	D	10	35	23
Dingell, Debbie	MI	12	D	5	32	18	Grothman, Glenn	WI	6	R	100	65	82
Doggett, Lloyd	TX	35	D	17	30	23	Guest, Michael	MS	3	R	89	55	72
Doyle, Michael F.	PA	18	D	5	37	21	Guthrie, Brett	KY	2	R	85	55	70
Duffy, Sean	WI	7	R	80	60	70	Haaland, Deb	NM	1	D	5	35	20
Duncan, Jeff	SC	3	R	100	65	83	Hagedorn, Jim	MN	1	R	85	50	68
Dunn, Neal	FL	2	R	75	63	69	Harder, Josh	CA	10	D	10	30	20
Emmer, Tom	MN	6	R	89	53	71	Harris, Andy	MD	1	R	100	65	83
Engel, Eliot	NY	16	D	0	35	18	Hartzler, Vicky	MO	4	R	80	65	73
Escobar, Veronica	TX	16	D	10	30	20	Hastings, Alcee	FL	20	D	6	29	18
Eshoo, Anna	CA	18	D	6	30	18	Hayes, Jahana	CT	5	D	5	26	16
Espaillat, Adriano	NY	13	D	5	35	20	Heck, Dennis	WA	10	D	5	35	20
Estes, Ron	KS	4	R	100	55	78	Hern, Kevin	OK	1	R	95	65	80
Evans, Dwight	PA	3	D	5	30	18	Herrera Beutler, Jaime	WA	3	R	73	65	69
Ferguson, Drew	GA	3	R	85	60	73	Hice, Jody	GA	10	R	94	68	81
Finkeenauer, Abby	IA	1	D	10	20	15	Higgins, Brian	NY	26	D	5	30	18
Fitzpatrick, Brian	PA	1	R	15	45	30	Higgins, Clay	LA	3	R	100	76	88
Fleischmann, Chuck	TN	3	R	80	65	73	Hill, French	AR	2	R	75	60	68
Fletcher, Lizzie	TX	7	D	15	30	23	Hill, Katie	CA	25	D	0	33	17
Flores, Bill	TX	17	R	89	53	71	Himes, Jim	CT	4	D	5	26	16
Fortenberry, Jeff	NE	1	R	63	55	59	Holding, George	NC	2	R	94	60	77
Foster, Bill	IL	11	D	5	25	15	Hollingsworth, Trey	IN	9	R	90	80	85
Foxx, Virginia	NC	5	R	95	60	78	Horn, Kendra	OK	5	D	15	25	20
Frankel, Lois	FL	21	D	5	37	21	Horsford, Steven	NV	4	D	5	25	15
Fudge, Marcia	OH	11	D	0	19	9	Houlahan, Chrissy	PA	6	D	5	30	18
Fulcher, Russ	ID	1	R	95	65	80	Hoyer, Steny	MD	5	D	5	30	18
Gabbard, Tulsi	HI	2	D	8	36	22	Hudson, Richard	NC	8	R	88	50	69
Gaetz, Matt	FL	1	R	83	84	84	Huffman, Jared	CA	2	D	5	40	23
Gallagher, Mike	WI	8	R	90	58	74	Huizenga, Bill	MI	2	R	94	55	75
Gallego, Ruben	AZ	7	D	5	30	18	Hunter, Duncan D.	CA	50	R	89	56	73
Garamendi, John	CA	3	D	5	35	20	Hurd, Will	TX	23	R	65	40	53
Garcia, Jesus 'Chuy'	IL	4	D	5	40	23	Jackson Lee, Sheila	TX	18	D	5	35	20
Garcia, Sylvia	TX	29	D	15	35	25	Jayapal, Pramila	WA	7	D	5	35	20
Gianforte, Greg	MT	AL	R	95	63	79	Jeffries, Hakeem	NY	8	D	5	35	20
Gibbs, Bob	OH	7	R	85	68	77	Johnson, Bill	OH	6	R	89	53	71
Gohmert, Louie	TX	1	R	95	75	85	Johnson, Dusty	SD	AL	R	85	60	73
Golden, Jared	ME	2	D	5	35	20	Johnson, Eddie Bernice	TX	30	D	5	30	18
Gomez, Jimmy	CA	34	D	10	37	23	Johnson, Hank	GA	4	D	5	35	20
Gonzalez, Anthony	OH	16	R	84	65	75	Johnson, Mike	LA	4	R	100	53	76
Gonzalez, Vicente	TX	15	D	11	25	18	Jordan, Jim	OH	4	R	100	80	90
Gooden, Lance	TX	5	R	100	55	78	Joyce, David	OH	14	R	85	68	77
Gosar, Paul	AZ	4	R	100	78	89	Joyce, John	PA	13	R	90	55	73

**Table 5. 2019 House of Representatives - Scores (3 of 5)**

	St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Idx		St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Idx
Kaptur, Marcy	OH	9	D	0	30	15	Maloney, Carolyn	NY	12	D	0	40	20
Katko, John	NY	24	R	40	47	44	Maloney, Sean Patrick	NY	18	D	5	25	15
Keating, Bill	MA	9	D	5	30	18	Marchant, Kenny	TX	24	R	100	58	79
Keller, Fred	PA	12	R	100	36	68	Marshall, Roger	KS	1	R	89	55	72
Kelly, Mike	PA	16	R	95	50	73	Massie, Thomas	KY	4	R	95	95	95
Kelly, Robin	IL	2	D	5	30	18	Mast, Brian	FL	18	R	80	65	73
Kelly, Trent	MS	1	R	95	65	80	Matsui, Doris	CA	6	D	5	35	20
Kennedy, Joseph P.	MA	4	D	0	30	15	McAdams, Ben	UT	4	D	20	25	23
Khanna, Ro	CA	17	D	5	35	20	McBath, Lucy	GA	6	D	5	30	18
Kildee, Dan	MI	5	D	5	30	18	McCarthy, Kevin	CA	23	R	80	55	68
Kilmer, Derek	WA	6	D	5	25	15	McCaul, Michael	TX	10	R	75	55	65
Kim, Andy	NJ	3	D	5	30	18	McClintock, Tom	CA	4	R	100	74	87
Kind, Ron	WI	3	D	10	35	23	McCollum, Betty	MN	4	D	5	35	20
King, Peter	NY	2	R	55	53	54	McEachin, Donald	VA	4	D	0	31	16
King, Steve	IA	4	R	90	65	78	McGovern, Jim	MA	2	D	0	35	18
Kinzinger, Adam	IL	16	R	67	53	60	McHenry, Patrick	NC	10	R	75	47	61
Kirkpatrick, Ann	AZ	2	D	5	22	14	McKinley, David	WV	1	R	70	55	63
Krishnamoorthi, R.	IL	8	D	5	35	20	McNerney, Jerry	CA	9	D	5	40	23
Kuster, Ann McLane	NH	2	D	10	35	23	Meadows, Mark	NC	11	R	100	80	90
Kustoff, David	TN	8	R	84	58	71	Meeks, Gregory	NY	5	D	5	32	18
LaHood, Darin	IL	18	R	95	53	74	Meng, Grace	NY	6	D	0	35	18
LaMalfa, Doug	CA	1	R	80	55	68	Meuser, Dab	PA	9	R	85	55	70
Lamb, Conor	PA	17	D	5	20	13	Miller, Carol	WV	3	R	85	65	75
Lamborn, Doug	CO	5	R	100	60	80	Mitchell, Paul	MI	10	R	90	55	73
Langevin, Jim	RI	2	D	5	25	15	Moolenaar, John	MI	4	R	85	50	68
Larsen, Rick	WA	2	D	5	35	20	Mooney, Alex	WV	2	R	100	75	88
Larson, John B.	CT	1	D	5	32	18	Moore, Gwen	WI	4	D	5	40	23
Latta, Bob	OH	5	R	95	55	75	Morelle, Joe	NY	25	D	5	30	18
Lawrence, Brenda	MI	14	D	5	24	14	Moulton, Seth	MA	6	D	6	32	19
Lawson, Al	FL	5	D	5	32	18	Mucarsel-Powell, D.	FL	26	D	5	25	15
Lee, Barbara	CA	13	D	0	35	18	Mullin, Markwayne	OK	2	R	95	65	80
Lee, Susie	NV	3	D	10	20	15	Murphy, Greg	NC	3	R	100	100	100
Lesko, Debbie	AZ	8	R	100	65	83	Murphy, Stephanie	FL	7	D	15	15	15
Levin, Andy	MI	9	D	0	35	18	Nadler, Jerrold	NY	10	D	0	40	20
Levin, Mike	CA	49	D	5	25	15	Napolitano, Grace	CA	32	D	5	40	23
Lewis, John	GA	5	D	5	33	19	Neal, Richard	MA	1	D	5	30	18
Lieu, Ted	CA	33	D	0	42	21	Neguse, Joe	CO	2	D	5	35	20
Lipinski, Dan	IL	3	D	10	30	20	Newhouse, Dan	WA	4	R	75	65	70
Loebssack, Dave	IA	2	D	5	30	18	Norcross, Donald	NJ	1	D	0	30	15
Lofgren, Zoe	CA	19	D	5	35	20	Norman, Ralph	SC	5	R	100	63	82
Long, Billy	MO	7	R	90	60	75	Nunes, Devin	CA	22	R	85	60	73
Loudermilk, Barry	GA	11	R	94	65	80	O'Halleran, Tom	AZ	1	D	5	25	15
Lowenthal, Alan	CA	47	D	0	35	18	Ocasio-Cortez, A.	NY	14	D	15	35	25
Lowey, Nita	NY	17	D	5	25	15	Olson, Pete	TX	22	R	89	53	71
Lucas, Frank	OK	3	R	80	60	70	Omar, Ilhan	MN	5	D	11	37	24
Luetkemeyer, Blaine	MO	3	R	80	60	70	Palazzo, Steven	MS	4	R	84	65	75
Lujan, Ben Ray	NM	3	D	5	30	18	Pallone, Frank	NJ	6	D	0	35	18
Luria, Elaine	VA	2	D	5	25	15	Palmer, Gary	AL	6	R	100	60	80
Lynch, Stephen F.	MA	8	D	5	25	15	Panetta, Jimmy	CA	20	D	5	30	18
Malinowski, Tom	NJ	7	D	5	25	15	Pappas, Chris	NH	1	D	10	35	23

**Table 5. 2019 House of Representatives - Scores (4 of 5)**

	St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Idx		St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Idx
Pascrell, Bill	NJ	9	D	0	30	15	Scott, Austin	GA	8	R	90	65	78
Payne, Jr., Donald	NJ	10	D	5	35	20	Scott, David	GA	13	D	5	30	18
Pence, Greg	IN	6	R	80	55	68	Scott, Robert	VA	3	D	5	30	18
Perlmutter, Ed	CO	7	D	5	29	17	Sensenbrenner, Jim	WI	5	R	100	55	78
Perry, Scott	PA	10	R	100	50	75	Serrano, Jose E.	NY	15	D	0	47	23
Peters, Scott	CA	52	D	10	30	20	Sewell, Terri	AL	7	D	5	25	15
Peterson, Collin	MN	7	D	25	39	32	Shalala, Donna	FL	27	D	5	30	18
Phillips, Dean	MN	3	D	5	30	18	Sherman, Brad	CA	30	D	5	35	20
Pingree, Chellie	ME	1	D	0	35	18	Sherrill, Mikie	NJ	11	D	5	30	18
Pocan, Mark	WI	2	D	5	35	20	Shimkus, John	IL	15	R	89	53	71
Porter, Katie	CA	45	D	5	29	17	Simpson, Mike	ID	2	R	70	60	65
Posey, Bill	FL	8	R	90	60	75	Sires, Albio	NJ	8	D	5	30	18
Pressley, Ayanna	MA	7	D	15	35	25	Slotkin, Elissa	MI	8	D	5	30	18
Price, David	NC	4	D	5	35	20	Smith, Adam	WA	9	D	5	30	18
Quigley, Mike	IL	5	D	5	35	20	Smith, Adrian	NE	3	R	90	60	75
Raskin, Jamie	MD	8	D	0	35	18	Smith, Chris	NJ	4	R	30	47	39
Ratcliffe, John	TX	4	R	100	58	79	Smith, Jason T.	MO	8	R	90	65	78
Reed, Tom	NY	23	R	55	65	60	Smucker, Lloyd	PA	11	R	90	47	69
Reschenthaler, Guy	PA	14	R	85	55	70	Soto, Darren	FL	9	D	5	25	15
Rice, Kathleen	NY	4	D	11	21	16	Spanberger, Abigail	VA	7	D	15	25	20
Rice, Tom	SC	7	R	90	71	80	Spano, Ross	FL	15	R	80	65	73
Richmond, Cedric	LA	2	D	6	32	19	Speier, Jackie	CA	14	D	5	32	18
Riggleman, Denver	VA	5	R	85	55	70	Stanton, Greg	AZ	9	D	10	30	20
Roby, Martha	AL	2	R	70	60	65	Stauber, Pete	MN	8	R	70	50	60
Rodgers, Cathy M.	WA	5	R	84	60	72	Stefanik, Elise	NY	21	R	35	50	43
Roe, David 'Phil'	TN	1	R	90	63	77	Stell, Bryan	WI	1	R	90	55	73
Rogers, Hal	KY	5	R	80	55	68	Steube, Greg	FL	17	R	95	63	79
Rogers, Mike D.	AL	3	R	90	61	76	Stevens, Haley	MI	11	D	5	30	18
Rooney, Francis	FL	19	R	63	69	66	Stewart, Chris	UT	2	R	85	55	70
Rose, John	TN	6	R	94	55	75	Stivers, Steve	OH	15	R	71	53	62
Rose, Max	NY	11	D	5	26	16	Suozzi, Thomas	NY	3	D	5	26	16
Rouds, Harley	CA	48	D	5	25	15	Swalwell, Eric	CA	15	D	6	29	18
Rouzer, David	NC	7	R	90	60	75	Takano, Mark	CA	41	D	5	30	18
Roy, Chip	TX	21	R	100	84	92	Taylor, Van	TX	3	R	100	55	78
Royal-Allard, Lucille	CA	40	D	5	30	18	Thompson, Bennie G.	MS	2	D	5	30	18
Ruiz, Raul	CA	36	D	5	30	18	Thompson, Glenn	PA	15	R	85	55	70
Ruppersberger, Dutch	MD	2	D	5	25	15	Thompson, Mike	CA	5	D	6	35	20
Rush, Bobby	IL	1	D	5	37	21	Thornberry, Mac	TX	13	R	80	60	70
Rutherford, John	FL	4	R	74	72	73	Timmons, William	SC	4	R	94	58	76
Ryan, Tim	OH	13	D	6	29	17	Tipton, Scott	CO	3	R	90	50	70
Sanchez, Linda	CA	38	D	5	42	24	Titus, Dina	NV	1	D	0	40	20
Sarbanes, John	MD	3	D	5	35	20	Tlaib, Rashide	MI	13	D	10	35	23
Scalise, Steve	LA	1	R	85	60	73	Tonko, Paul D.	NY	20	D	5	25	15
Scanlon, May Gay	PA	5	D	5	35	20	Torres Small, Xochitl	NM	2	D	10	30	20
Schakowsky, Jan	IL	9	D	5	35	20	Torres, Norma	CA	35	D	5	35	20
Schiff, Adam	CA	28	D	5	30	18	Trahan, Lori	MA	3	D	5	30	18
Schneider, Brad	IL	10	D	5	30	18	Trone, David	MD	6	D	5	30	18
Schrader, Kurt	OR	5	D	15	40	28	Turner, Mike	OH	10	R	75	47	61
Schrier, Kim	WA	8	D	5	30	18	Underwood, Lauren	IL	14	D	5	25	15
Schweikert, David	AZ	6	R	100	65	83	Upton, Fred	MI	6	R	50	55	53

**Table 5. 2019 House of Representatives - Scores (5 of 5)**

	St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Idx			St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Idx
Van Drew, Jeff	NJ	2	D	5	30	18	Webster, Daniel		FL	11	R	90	58	74
Vargas, Juan	CA	51	D	11	35	23	Welch, Peter		VT	AL	D	5	32	18
Veasey, Marc	TX	33	D	5	35	20	Wenstrup, Brad		OH	2	R	95	55	75
Vela, Filamon	TX	34	D	20	35	28	Westerman, Bruce		AR	4	R	94	58	76
Velazquez, Nydia	NY	7	D	5	35	20	Wexton, Jennifer		VA	10	D	5	35	20
Visclosky, Pete	IN	1	D	0	28	14	Wild, Susan		PA	7	D	5	30	18
Wagner, Ann	MO	2	R	80	50	65	Williams, Roger		TX	25	R	95	65	80
Walberg, Tim	MI	7	R	90	60	75	Wilson, Frederica		FL	24	D	5	35	20
Walden, Greg	OR	2	R	75	50	63	Wilson, Joe		SC	2	R	89	53	71
Walker, Mark	NC	6	R	100	55	78	Wittman, Rob		VA	1	R	95	55	75
Walorski, Jackie	IN	2	R	85	47	66	Womack, Steve		AR	3	R	80	65	73
Waltz, Michael	FL	6	R	83	65	74	Woodall, Rob		GA	7	R	85	65	75
Wasserman Schultz, D.	FL	23	D	5	25	15	Wright, Ron		TX	6	R	100	69	84
Waters, Maxine	CA	43	D	5	26	16	Yarmuth, John		KY	3	D	5	35	20
Watkins, Steve	KS	2	R	95	60	78	Yoho, Ted		FL	3	R	81	84	83
Watson Coleman, B.	NJ	12	D	0	35	18	Young, Donald		AK	AL	R	75	74	74
Weber, Randy	TX	14	R	95	56	75	Zeldin, Lee		NY	1	R	85	50	68

**Table 8. 2019 Senate - Scores**

	St	P	Econ.	Pers.	Index		St	P	Econ.	Pers.	Index
Alexander, Lamar	TN	R	39	63	51	King, Angus	ME	I	15	40	28
Baldwin, Tammy	WI	D	5	50	28	Klobuchar, Amy	MN	D	17	46	31
Barrasso, Joe	WY	R	65	55	60	Lankford, James	OK	R	70	55	63
Bennet, Michael	CO	D	20	36	28	Leahy, Patrick	VT	D	5	55	30
Blackburn, Marsha	TN	R	80	58	69	Lee, Mike	UT	R	100	100	100
Blumenthal, Richard	CT	D	11	45	28	Manchin, Joe	WV	D	30	42	36
Blunt, Roy	MO	R	45	63	54	Markey, Ed	MA	D	21	45	33
Booker, Corey	NJ	D	29	62	45	McConnell, Mitch	KY	R	50	55	53
Boozman, John	AR	R	45	50	48	McSally, Martha	AZ	R	50	50	50
Braun, Mike	IN	R	100	58	79	Menendez, Bob	NJ	D	5	45	25
Brown, Sherrod	OH	D	11	50	30	Merkley, Jeff	OR	D	11	50	30
Burr, Richard	NC	R	41	56	48	Moran, Jerry	KS	R	58	83	71
Cantwell, Maria	WA	D	11	47	29	Murkowski, Lisa	AK	R	35	83	59
Capito, Shelley Moore	WV	R	37	55	46	Murphy, Chris	CT	D	11	55	33
Cardin, Ben	MD	D	5	53	29	Murray, Patti	WA	D	5	45	25
Carper, Tom	DE	D	16	50	33	Paul, Rand	KY	R	100	100	100
Casey, Bob	PA	D	11	45	28	Perdue, David	GA	R	60	71	66
Cassidy, Bill	LA	R	72	61	67	Peters, Gary	MI	D	5	45	25
Collins, Susan	ME	R	30	70	50	Portman, Rob	OH	R	35	60	48
Coons, Chris	DE	D	5	47	26	Reed, Jack	RI	D	5	45	25
Cornyn, John	TX	R	53	58	55	Risch, Jim	ID	R	80	55	68
Cortez Mastrot, C.	NV	D	11	50	30	Roberts, Pat	KS	R	40	61	51
Cotton, Tom	AR	R	55	50	53	Romney, Mitt	UT	R	80	55	68
Cramer, Kevin	ND	R	45	58	51	Rosen, Jacky	NV	D	11	50	30
Crapo, Mike	ID	R	65	61	63	Rounds, Mike	SD	R	59	56	57
Cruz, Ted	TX	R	84	75	80	Rubio, Marco	FL	R	63	56	59
Daines, Steve	MT	R	65	55	60	Sanders, Bernie	VT	I	14	42	28
Duckworth, Tammy	IL	D	5	38	21	Sasse, Ben	NE	R	79	56	67
Durbin, Dick	IL	D	11	55	33	Schatz, Brian	HI	D	5	50	28
Enzi, Mike	WY	R	84	55	70	Schumer, Carl	NY	D	5	50	28
Ernst, Joni	IA	R	75	55	65	Scott, Rick	FL	R	65	56	60
Feinstein, Diane	CA	D	11	50	30	Scott, Tim	SC	R	75	55	65
Fischer, Deb	NE	R	65	55	60	Shaheen, Jeanne	NH	D	11	40	25
Gardner, Cory	CO	R	45	59	52	Shelby, Richard	AL	R	40	55	48
Gillibrand, Kirsten	NY	D	20	35	28	Sinema, Kyrsten	AZ	D	20	50	35
Graham, Lindsey	SC	R	40	67	53	Smith, Tina	MN	D	5	50	28
Grassley, Charles	IA	R	60	55	58	Stabenow, Debbie	MI	D	6	45	25
Harris, Kamala	CA	D	17	33	25	Sullivan, Dan	AK	R	50	65	57
Hassan, Maggie	NH	D	11	50	30	Tester, Jon	MT	D	11	40	25
Hawley, Josh	MO	R	70	50	60	Thune, John	SD	R	55	55	55
Heinrich, Martin	NM	D	5	53	29	Tillis, Thom	NC	R	60	55	58
Hirono, Mazie	HI	D	5	53	29	Toomey, Pat	PA	R	100	60	80
Hoeven, John	ND	R	42	55	49	Udall, Tom	NM	D	5	53	29
Hyde-Smith, Cindy	MS	R	45	55	50	Van Hollen, Chris	MD	D	5	55	30
Inhofe, John	OK	R	70	58	64	Warner, Mark	VA	D	11	35	23
Isakson, Johnny	GA	R	50	67	58	Warren, Elizabeth	MA	D	22	40	31
Johnson, Ron	WI	R	65	55	60	Whitehouse, Sheldon	RI	D	5	45	25
Jones, Doug	AL	D	15	42	29	Wicker, Roger	MS	R	55	60	58
Kaine, Tim	VA	D	5	50	28	Wyden, Ron	OR	D	16	50	33
Kennedy, John Neely	LA	R	75	55	65	Young, Todd	IN	R	45	75	60