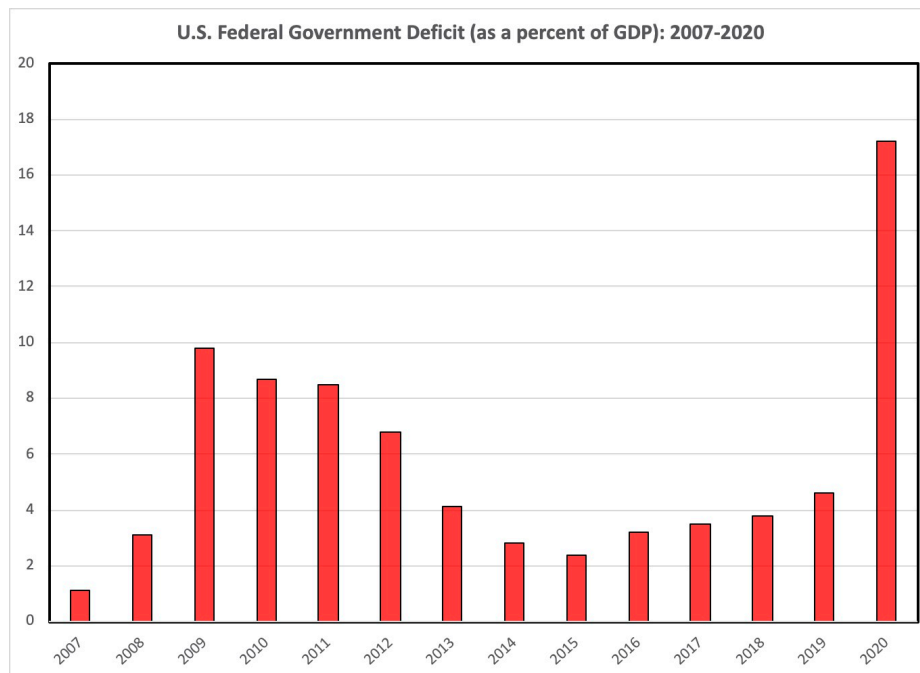**2020: the year they opened the spigots**
Clifford F. Thies

During 2020, the government shut down the economy and opened the spigots of spending. The deficit, which had been rising since 2016, hit a level that dwarfed the deficits of George W. Bush and Barack Obama during and following the Great Recession, and were only exceeded in U.S. history during World War II. For the Democrats in Congress, no appropriation was too big; and, for the Republicans, it wasn't much different while a Republican was President.

Spending bills rose from the billions to the hundreds of billions and then to the trillions. While focused on the pandemic during 2020, by 2021, with a change in the administration, the spending disease had metastasized to other areas of spending. At the G-7 meeting, in mid 2021, there were supposedly serious talks about spending <u>tens of</u> trillions of dollars. For the American taxpayer, for those who save and invest, and for those who work for a living, it's Katy bar the door. Confiscatory levels of taxation – including that thief in the night known as inflation – are coming.

The flood of money began innocently enough with an appropriation of $8.3 billion to spur research and development of vaccines for the coronavirus. Considering that the cost of developing a new prescription drug averages $1 billion or even more depending on the study, this emergency appropriation didn't sound unreasonable.

Furthermore, in real time, we were being advised by Dr. Anthony Fauci of the National Center for Infectious Diseases that we were facing a disease a thousand times more virulent than the seasonal flu and – we later learned – that at the time Dr. Fauci had reason to suspect the disease was developed as a bioweapon by the Chinese. Justification of a possible leak of the coronavirus from a Chinse military lab by reference to prior leaks of anthrax from U.S. and Russian military labs is invalid because, #1, those prior leaks were bad and, #2, this leak was much worse involving as it did "gain of function."

The appropriation to spur development of vaccines became known as "Phase 1" after Phase 2 (expanding sick leave and unemployment insurance) and Phase 3 (involving something described as "paycheck protection"). These follow-on appropriations upped the ante from billions of dollars, to hundreds of billions of dollars, to trillions of dollars.

Phase	Bill	Cost	Key provisions
1 – 3/6/20	Coronavirus Response Act	$8.3 billion	R&D vaccines
2 – 3/18/20	Families First Act	$104 billion	paid sick leave, unemployment benefits
3 – 3/27/20	CARES Act	$2.2 trillion	cash payments, paycheck protection
4 – 12/7/20	attached to omnibus appro.	$900 billion	more
5 – 2/11/21	American Rescue Plan	$1.9 trillion	more

The idea of paycheck protection wasn't absolutely stupid. At least, not at first. The President's coronavirus team was asking the American people for 15 days, later expanded to 45 days to "flatten the curve." The idea was to slow the spread of the disease to give the medical sector time to gear up for the expected flood of sick people. If this plan worked, people could soon return to work, indeed to the very employer for which they worked prior to the shutdown, as paycheck protection meant their employer kept them on the payroll for the short period of the shutdown.

U.S. Senator Rand Paul, an M.D., volunteers at a local hospital after recovering from the coronavirus. The USN Mercy, a hospital ship, sails into New York to deal with the expected flood of patients. An army field hospital sits empty in Wisconsin.

Because of a combination of social distancing and the virulence of the disease being nowhere near what was originally feared, the medical sector was at no time overwhelmed. Many resources that had been mobilized stood empty. Indeed, hospitals and other health care providers suffered from the lack of patients, as people with "elective surgeries" were deferred, and many people declined to seek routine and preventive care out of fear of contracting the disease.

So, at the end of the 45 days, did we declare victory and get back to work? No. Governors – many of them ignoring the advice of the Centers for Disease Control – kept their states in lockdown. The issue of lockdowns became political. It would be how the Democrats appealed to those made fearful by the disease, and enabled them to change the administration of the election so as to harvest votes in key battleground states.

As 15 days, then 45 days, turned into six months and even a year, the idea that people would simply return to their former employers at the end of a short shutdown period, became impossible. Many businesses had gone bankrupt. Others had adapted themselves to the acceleration of the digital revolution. People out of work for long periods of time lost the habit of work and acclimated themselves to extended and more generous welfare benefits. Some remained fearful even after vaccination. Others defied reasonable guidelines for social

distancing to protest continued lockdowns. The hoped-for V-shaped recession (a sharp drop followed by a sharp recovery) has yet to materialize and may be disrupted by low labor force participation and accelerating inflation.

During the pandemic, many of us lost loved ones and friends. President Trump and other world leaders and their families were themselves hit with the disease. Essential workers such as health care providers, police and fire, and food industry workers braved the risks involved to serve us.

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The 2020 Liberty Index of Congress, like its predecessors, measures the voting tendencies of members in two distinct dimensions: (1) economic liberties and (2) personal liberties. In each dimension, twenty roll call votes are identified for 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.

Scores in the economics dimension correlate well with scores in conservative ratings of Congress such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, American Conservative Union, Club for Growth and Heritage Action. It is the second dimension, personal liberties (from a Libertarian Republican perspective), that differentiates this index from other, similar indexes. Economic concerns include spending, taxing and regulating the economy and important sectors of the economy such as agriculture, energy, finance, health care, industry, labor, and trade. Personal liberties include the rights protected by the Bill of Rights and the post-Civil War amendments, issues of privacy, and foreign interventionism.

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.
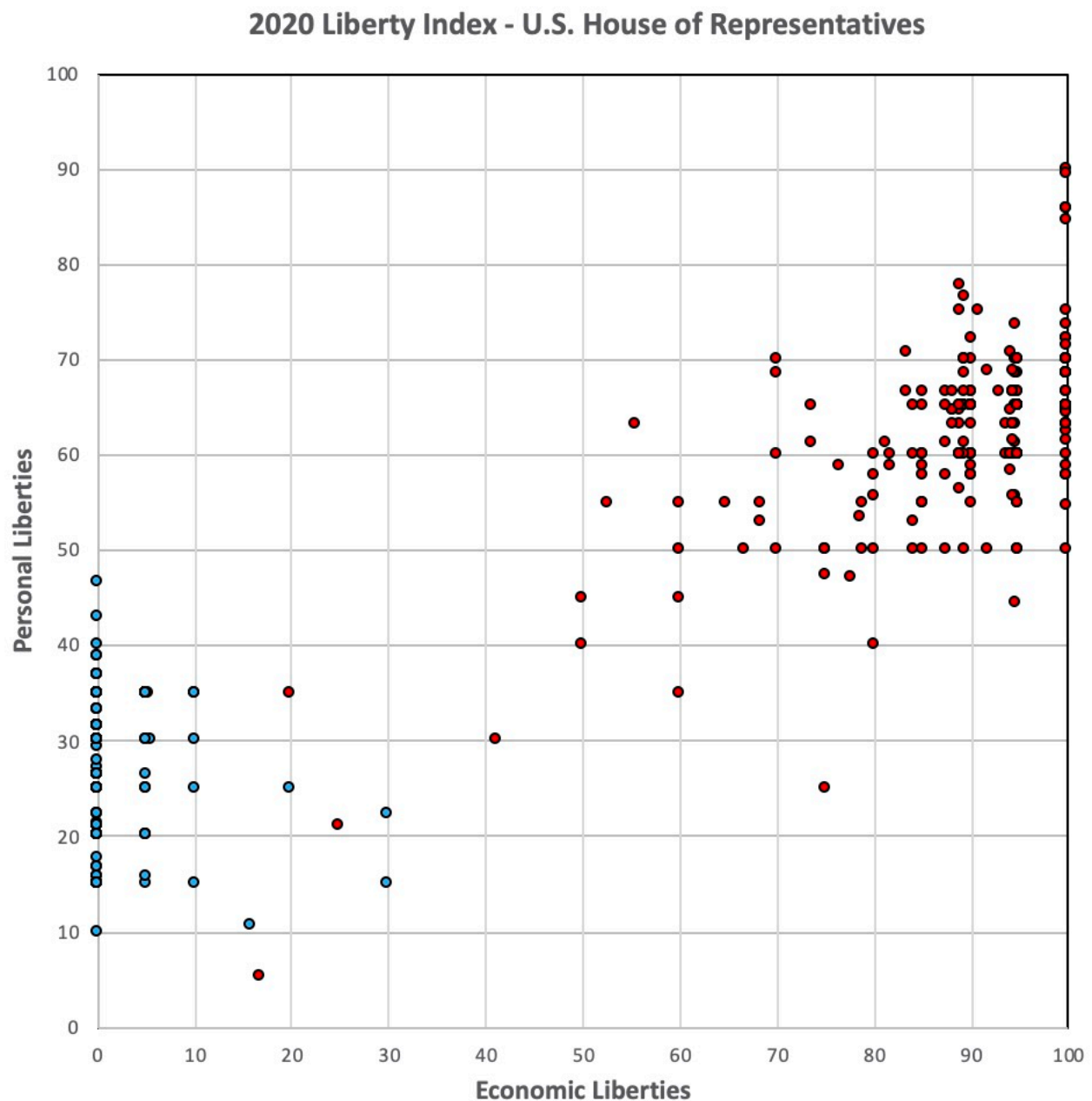
House of Representatives
Scores for individual Congressmen are presented in Table 5 in the Appendix.

As the following table shows, Republicans were very much more pro-liberty on economic issues than Democrats. Indeed, 200 of the 233 Democrats scored zero on economic liberties. Although the difference was not as pronounced, Republicans were also more pro-liberty on personal issues. The combination of low scores in both economic and personal liberties resulted in all 233 Democrats being classified as progressives.

	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index	Progressives	Liberals	Moderates	Conservatives	Libertarians
Democrats	1	26	14	233	0	0	0	0
Republicans (incl. 2 ind.)	88	61	75	4	0	15	15	167

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. The Republicans, in contrast, are stretched out. Most of them are in the libertarian quadrant, but there are some in the conservative and moderate portions of the graph. Four lost souls among the Republicans are found flirting with the Democrats, in the progressive quadrant. These are Brian Fitzpatrick of Pennsylvania, John Katko of New York, and Chris Smith

and Jeff Van Drew of New Jersey. (Van Drew should be given some slack, as he only recently affiliated with the Republicans because of the impeachment charade.)

2020 Liberty Index - U.S. House of Representatives

The next table identifies the highest scoring Congressmen. This year, we have a two-way tie for first place: Thomas Massie of Kentucky and Justin Amash of Michigan. These two fellows finished first and second in the 2019 index. Amash, elected to Congress as a Republican, declared his independence from the Republican Party on July 4, 2019. While he had his misgivings with President Trump, his voting tendencies remained within the range encompassed by Republicans.

Also scoring very high were Matt Gaetz of Florida, Mark Meadows of North Carolina and Barry Loudermilk of Georgia. Meadows, who had been chair of the House Freedom Caucus, resigned mid term in order to serve as President Trump's Chief of Staff. During his tumultuous four years as President, Trump variously criticized and praised the House Freedom Caucus and various individual Libertarian Republicans. For the most part, we

looked past his boorish behavior, appreciating his efforts to "drain the swamp" and extricate our country from foreign interventionism, and sympathized with him as a victim of the surveillance state.

	State	Dist.	Party	Econ.	Pers,	Index
Amash, Justin	MI	3	I	100	90	95
Massie, Thomas	KY	4	R	100	89	95
Gaetz, Matt	FL	1	R	100	86	93
Meadows, Mark	NC	11	R	100	86	93
Loudermilk, Barry	GA	11	R	100	85	92
Graves, Tom	GA	14	R	100	75	88
McClintock, Tom	CA	4	R	100	74	87
Gohmert, Louie	TX	1	R	100	72	86
Norman, Ralph	SC	5	R	100	72	86
Ratcliffe, John	TX	4	R	100	71	86
DesJarlais, Scott	TN	4	R	100	70	85
Fulcher, Russ	ID	1	R	100	70	85
Hern, Kevin	OK	1	R	100	70	85
Tiffany, Tom	WI	7	R	100	70	85

Senate
Scores for individual Senators are presented in Table 6 in the appendix.

While Republicans and Democrats were not as different in the Senate as they were in the House of Representatives, they were more different than in prior years for the Senate. About half of the Democrats in the Senate put up zero's on economic liberties, and their highest mark was 11 (Doug Jones of Alabama, Joe Manchin of West Virginia and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona). Democratic Senators did better on personal liberties than their counterparts in the House, but considerably worse than Republican Senators. All but one Democrat was put in the category of progressive.

	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index	Progressives	Liberals	Moderates	Conser-vatives	Libertarians
Democrats (incl. 2 Ind.)	4	34	19	46	1	0	0	0
Republicans	73	68	71	0	0	7	0	46

Most Republicans were classified as libertarians. The seven that were classified as moderates were Susan Collins of Maine, John Cornyn of Texas, Lindsay Graham of South Carolina, Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, Shelley Capito Moore of West Virginia, Mitt Romney of Utah, and Dan Sullivan of Alaska. With the alternative being what it is, we are very happy these Senators were on our side.

APPENDIX

Table 1. 2020 House Roll Call Votes - Economic Freedom

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
9	EPA/per- and polyfluoroalkyl/delay implementation	until EPA completes its own action plan	161	247	Y
13	EPA/per- and polyfluoroalkyl	require these be designated as hazardous	247	159	N
22	Congressional Disapproval of Dpt of Education rule on student loans	rule requires individual borrowers to demonstrate misrepresentation	231	180	N
37	USPS	not require USPS fund its pensions	309	106	N
45	Right to Organize/state right to work	strike provision restricting state right to work laws	187	232	Y
54	Disaster relief supplemental	provide another $20 billion	237	161	N
90	TSA workers	extend them rights of civil service workers	230	171	N
102	Families First	provide $3.4 billion for coronavirus relief	363	40	N
124	Enhancing the Affordable Care Act	penalize states that don't expand Medicaid	234	179	N
126	Credit Scores	require removal of negative information even if true	234	179	N
128	Housing Protection	prevent eviction	232	180	N
138	Infrastructure	provide $1.5 trillion	233	188	N
147	Defense Appro/mining	prohibit mining in a million acres adjacent to Grand Canyon National Park	234	181	N
149	Defense Appro/student loans	forgive $10,000 per person	217	198	N
166	State, etc. Appro	provide $231 billion for State, Interior, Ag, Mil Construction and other agencies	224	189	N
172	Child Care Act	provide $50 billion	250	161	N
175	Defense, Commerce, etc. appro/Affordable Care Act	prohibit use of funds to undermine legal basis of the act	234	181	N
182	USPS bailout	provides $25 billion	257	150	N
206	Expanding Access to Sustainability	set goals, mandates and provide subsidies of $135 billion for alternative energy	220	185	N
252	CASH Act	provide $900 billion in coronavirus relief	275	134	N

Table 2. 2020 House Roll Call Votes - Personal Freedom

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
7	War Powers Act/Iran	direct President to terminate use of force	224	194	Y
21	Older Workers Anti-discrimination	lower standard from "but-for" cause to merely "a" cause	261	155	N
32	Fentanyl	reauthorize emergency scheduling	320	88	N
42	Right to Organize/personal information	remove requirement that employers turn personal information over to unions	190	229	Y
43	Right to Organize/secret ballot	remove provision enabling NLRB to certify elections not having a secret ballot	187	235	Y
70	Equal Rights Amendment	remove the deadline	232	183	N
78	Tobacco	to reverse "the youth epidemic"	213	195	N
98	Foreign Surveillance Reauthorization		278	36	N
101	Iran	direct disengagement of U.S. armed forces	227	186	Y
119	George Floyd Justice in Policing	raise standard for use of force from "reasonable" to "last resort"	236	181	N
122	D.C. Statehood		232	180	N
142	Defense Appro/nuclear testing	prohibit	227	179	N
144	Defense Appro/Afghanistan	accelerate withdrawal	129	284	Y
174	Defense, Commerce, etc. appro/marijuana	prohibit use of funds to interfere with state marijuana programs	254	163	Y
187	Strength in Diversity Act/flexibility	give states flexibility in promoting diversity	171	243	Y
189	Strength in Diversity Act	promote diversity in education	248	167	N
192	Equity and Enforcement Act	replace standard of "intentional" with "disparate impact" in civil rights suits	232	188	N
195	Pregnant Workers Fairness Act	require accommodation of pregnant workers	329	73	N
232	Big Cat Safety Act	regulate ownership of big cats including prohibiting charging for photos with them	272	114	N
235	Marijuana Opportunity Act	remove from list of controlled substances	288	164	Y

Table 3. 2020 Senate Roll Call Votes - Economic Freedom

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
13	USMCA/waive budget restrictions		78	21	N
65	Emergency Supplemental	kill an amendment to offset appropriations with rescissions	81	15	N
70	Congressional Disapproval of Dpt of Education rule on student loans	rule requires individual borrowers to demonstrate misrepresentation	53	42	N
72	James P. Danly	Federal Energy Regulatory Commission	52	40	Y
74	Emergency Supplemental Appro/sick leave	provide paid sick leave	47	51	N
76	Emergency Supplemental Appro	provide $3.4 billion for coronavirus relief	90	8	N
79	CARES Act/unemployment benefits	ensure additional unemployment benefits don't exceed employee's prior pay	48	48	Y
131	Russell Vought	Dir., Office of Management and Budget	51	45	Y
134	Defense Appro/Cornyn amendment	promote semiconductor industry	96	4	N
135	Defense Appro/Sanders amendment	reduce by 10 percent and increase spending in poverty-stricken places	23	77	N
149	Marvin Kaplan	National Labor Relations Board	52	46	Y
151	Lauren McGarity McFerran	National Labor Relations Board	53	42	N
197	Continuing Appro	provide $1.4 trillion in additional budgetary authority	84	10	N
200	Affordable Care Act/Obamacare	proceed to bill preventing Dpt of Justice from challenging the act in court	51	43	N
201	Congressional Disapproval of Comptroller of Currency rule	rule revises application of community reinvestment act	43	48	N
204	Health Insurance Portability	kill an amendment to expand portability	45	52	N
233	Judy Shelton	proceed to consideration of nomination to Federal Reserve Board	47	50	Y
236	Stephen A. Vaden	U.S. Court of International Trade	49	44	Y
251	Christopher Walker	Federal Reserve Board	48	47	Y
292	Defense Appro/veto override	provide $641 billion in 2021; and $3.7 trillion over next five years	81	13	N

Table 4. 2020 Senate Roll Call Votes - Personal Freedom

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
33	Article II of Impeachment	Abuse of Power	48	52	N
34	Article I of Impeachment	Obstruction of Congress	47	53	N
36	Andrew Lynn Brasher	11th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals	52	43	Y
52	Iran	direct disengagement of U.S. forces from hostilities with Iran	55	45	Y
84	Iran/veto override	direct disengagement of U.S. forces from hostilities with Iran	49	44	Y
89	FISA/certain internet browsing records	remove from scope of authority	59	37	Y
90	FISA/disclosure	expand disclosure	77	19	Y
92	FISA	reauthorize Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act	80	16	N
125	Cory T. Wilson	5th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals	52	48	Y
129	Afghanistan	kill an amendment to force U.S. withdrawal	60	33	N
132	Defense Appro/transfers to police	restrict	51	49	Y
187	Andrea R. Lucas	Equal Employment Opportunities Commission	49	44	Y
189	Keith Sonderberg	Equal Employment Opportunities Commission	52	41	Y
207	China	procced to resolution condemning human rights violations of Turkic Muslims	51	44	Y
224	Amy Coney Barrett	U.S. Supreme Court	52	48	Y
257	Nathan A. Simington	Federal Communications Commission	49	46	Y
258	Allen Dickenson	Federal Elections Commission	49	47	Y
260	Sean J. Cooksey	Federal Elections Commission	50	46	Y
262	UAE	Congresional Dissapproval of certain arms sales	47	49	Y
266	Thomas L. Kirsch II	7th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals	51	44	Y

Table 5. 2020 House of Representatives - Scores (1 of 5)

	St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Indx		St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Indx
Abraham, Ralph	LA	5	R	100	67	83	Cardenas, Tony	CA	29	D	0	26	13
Adams, Alma	NC	12	D	0	26	13	Carson, Andre	IN	7	D	0	25	13
Aderholt, Robert	AL	4	R	89	65	77	Carter, Earl L. 'Buddy'	GA	1	R	90	72	81
Aguilar, Pete	CA	31	D	0	20	10	Carter, John	TX	31	R	94	60	77
Allen, Rick	GA	12	R	95	67	81	Cartwright, Matt	PA	8	D	0	20	10
Allred, Colin	TX	32	D	0	20	10	Case, Ed	HI	1	D	5	20	13
Amash, Justin	MI	3	I	100	90	95	Casten, Sean	IL	6	D	0	25	13
Amodei, Mark	NV	2	R	84	65	75	Castor, Kathy	FL	14	D	0	25	13
Armstrong, Kelly	ND	AL	R	90	70	80	Castro, Joaquin	TX	20	D	0	39	19
Arrington, Jodey	TX	19	R	95	65	80	Chabot, Steve	OH	1	R	95	55	75
Axne, Cindy	IA	3	D	0	20	10	Cheney, Liz	WY	AL	R	89	65	77
Babin, Brian	TX	36	R	100	59	79	Chu, Judy	CA	27	D	0	35	18
Bacon, Don	NE	2	R	75	47	61	Cicilline, David	RI	1	D	0	25	13
Baird, Jim	IN	4	R	90	65	78	Cisneros, Gil	CA	39	D	0	20	10
Balderson, Troy	OH	12	R	85	50	68	Clark, Katherine	MA	5	D	0	30	15
Banks, Jim	IN	3	R	100	65	83	Clarke, Yvette	NY	9	D	0	40	20
Barr, Andy	KY	6	R	95	56	75	Clay, Lacy	MO	1	D	0	33	17
Barragan, Nanette	CA	44	D	0	30	15	Cleaver, Emmanuel	MO	5	D	0	39	19
Bass, Karen	CA	37	D	0	37	18	Cline, Ben	VA	6	R	100	65	83
Beatty, Joyce	OH	3	D	0	35	18	Cloud, Michael	TX	27	R	100	65	83
Bera, Ami	CA	7	D	0	20	10	Clyburn, James E.	SC	6	D	0	26	13
Bergman, Jack	MI	1	R	85	65	75	Cohen, Steve	TN	9	D	0	25	13
Beyer, Don	VA	8	D	0	17	8	Cole, Tim	OK	4	R	85	55	70
Biggs, Andy	AZ	5	R	100	65	83	Collins, Doug	GA	9	R	89	75	82
Bilirakis, Gus	FL	12	R	89	50	70	Comer, James	KY	1	R	90	60	75
Bishop, Dan	NC	9	R	100	68	84	Conaway, Mike	TX	11	R	95	65	80
Bishop, Rob	UT	1	R	88	58	73	Connolly, Gerry	VA	11	D	0	32	16
Bishop, Sanford	GA	2	D	0	21	11	Cook, Paul	CA	8	R	76	59	68
Blumenauer, Earl	OR	3	D	0	35	18	Cooper, Jim	TN	5	D	0	20	10
Blunt Rochester, Lisa	DE	AL	D	0	25	13	Correa, Lou	CA	46	D	0	35	18
Bonamici, Suzanne	OR	1	D	0	35	18	Costa, Jim	CA	16	D	0	20	10
Bost, Mike	IL	12	R	80	50	65	Courtney, Joe	CT	2	D	0	25	13
Boyle, Brendan	PA	2	D	0	35	18	Cox, TJ	CA	21	D	0	16	8
Brady, Kevin	TX	8	R	94	63	79	Craig, Angie	MN	2	D	0	20	10
Brindisi, Anthony	NY	22	D	5	15	10	Crawford, Rick	AR	1	R	88	65	76
Brooks, Mo	Al	5	R	95	68	82	Crenshaw, Dan	TX	2	R	94	60	77
Brooks, Susan W.	IN	5	R	74	61	67	Crist, Charles	FL	13	D	0	20	10
Brown, Anthony G	MD	4	D	0	21	11	Crow, Jason	CO	6	D	0	20	10
Brownley, Julia	CA	26	D	0	17	8	Cuellar, Henry	TX	28	D	5	26	16
Buchanan, Vern	FL	16	R	78	47	62	Cunningham, Joe	SC	1	D	10	25	18
Buck, Ken	CO	4	R	95	74	84	Curtis, John	UT	3	R	95	44	70
Bucshon, Larry	IN	8	R	90	59	74	Davids, Sharice	KS	3	D	0	20	10
Budd, Ted	NC	13	R	100	67	83	Davidson, Warren	OH	8	R	100	63	82
Burchett, Tim	TN	2	R	95	60	78	Davis, Danny K.	IL	7	D	0	35	18
Burgess, Michael C.	TX	26	R	89	63	76	Davis, Rodney	IL	13	R	50	40	45
Bustos, Cheri	IL	17	D	0	15	8	Davis, Susan	CA	53	D	0	20	10
Butterfield, G.K.	NC	1	D	0	25	13	Dean, Madeleine	PA	4	D	0	30	15
Byrne, Bradley	AL	1	R	100	55	77	DeFazio, Peter	OR	4	D	0	47	23
Calvert, Ken	CA	42	R	85	59	72	DeGette, Diana	CO	1	D	0	30	15
Carbajal, Salud	CA	24	D	0	20	10	DeLauro, Rosa	CT	3	D	0	25	13

Table 5. 2020 House of Representatives - Scores (2 of 5)

	St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Indx		St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Indx
DelBene, Suzan	WA	1	D	0	30	15	Graves, Garret	LA	6	R	95	67	81
Delgado, Antonio	NY	19	D	0	20	10	Graves, Sam	MO	6	R	85	67	76
Demings, Val	FL	10	D	0	20	10	Graves, Tom	GA	14	R	100	75	88
DeSaulnier, Mark	CA	11	D	0	35	18	Green, Al	TX	9	D	0	35	18
DesJarlais, Scott	TN	4	R	100	70	85	Green, Mark E.	TN	7	R	94	63	79
Deutch, Ted	FL	22	D	0	25	13	Griffith, Morgan	VA	9	R	89	78	83
Diaz-Balart, Mario	FL	25	R	79	50	64	Grijalva, Raul	AZ	3	D	0	37	18
Dingell, Debbie	MI	12	D	0	30	15	Grothman, Glenn	WI	6	R	100	58	79
Doggett, Lloyd	TX	35	D	5	35	20	Guest, Miichael	MS	3	R	95	60	78
Doyle, Michael F.	PA	18	D	0	35	18	Guthrie, Brett	KY	2	R	94	60	77
Duncan, Jeff	SC	3	R	100	63	81	Haaland, Deb	NM	1	D	0	30	15
Dunn, Neal	FL	2	R	88	65	76	Hagedorn, Jim	MN	1	R	89	65	77
Emmer, Tom	MN	6	R	88	67	77	Harder, Josh	CA	10	D	0	20	10
Engel, Eliot	NY	16	D	0	32	16	Harris, Andy	MD	1	R	95	65	80
Escobar, Veronica	TX	16	D	0	25	13	Hartzler, Vicky	MO	4	R	90	60	75
Eshoo, Anna	CA	18	D	0	32	16	Hastings, Alcee	FL	20	D	0	26	13
Espaillat, Adriano	NY	13	D	5	35	20	Hayes, Jahana	CT	5	D	0	25	13
Estes, Ron	KS	4	R	90	65	78	Heck, Dennis	WA	10	D	0	26	13
Evans, Dwight	PA	3	D	0	32	16	Hern, Kevin	OK	1	R	100	70	85
Ferguson, Drew	GA	3	R	95	68	82	Herrera Beutler, Jaime	WA	3	R	67	50	58
Finkeenauer, Abby	IA	1	D	5	20	13	Hice, Jody	GA	10	R	100	68	84
Fitzpatrick, Brian	PA	1	R	17	5	11	Higgins, Brian	NY	26	D	0	25	13
Fleischmann, Chuck	TN	3	R	90	60	75	Higgins, Clay	LA	3	R	89	76	83
Fletcher, Lizzie	TX	7	D	0	25	13	Hill, French	AR	2	R	95	50	73
Flores, Bill	TX	17	R	89	70	80	Himes, Jim	CT	4	D	0	25	13
Fortenberry, Jeff	NE	1	R	68	53	61	Holding, George	NC	2	R	79	53	66
Foster, Bill	IL	11	D	0	25	13	Hollingsworth, Trey	IN	9	R	95	60	77
Foxx, Virginia	NC	5	R	94	67	81	Horn, Kendra	OK	5	D	10	15	13
Frankel, Lois	FL	21	D	0	20	10	Horsford, Steven	NV	4	D	0	25	13
Fudge, Marcia	OH	11	D	0	33	17	Houlahan, Chrissy	PA	6	D	0	20	10
Fulcher, Russ	ID	1	R	100	70	85	Hoyer, Steny	MD	5	D	0	20	10
Gabbard, Tulsi	HI	2	D	0	43	21	Hudson, Richard	NC	8	R	81	61	71
Gaetz, Matt	FL	1	R	100	86	93	Huffman, Jared	CA	2	D	0	35	18
Gallagher, Mike	WI	8	R	88	50	69	Huizenga, Bill	MI	2	R	85	60	73
Gallego, Ruben	AZ	7	D	0	25	13	Hurd, Will	TX	23	R	60	35	48
Garamendi, John	CA	3	D	0	20	10	Jackson Lee, Sheila	TX	18	D	0	30	15
Garcia, Jesus 'Chuy'	IL	4	D	5	35	20	Jacobs, Christopher	NY	27	R	75	25	50
Garcia, Mike	CA	25	R	92	50	71	Jayapal, Pramila	WA	7	D	5	35	20
Garcia, Sylvia	TX	29	D	0	30	15	Jeffries, Hakeem	NY	8	D	0	35	18
Gianforte, Greg	MT	AL	R	90	67	78	Johnson, Bill	OH	6	R	85	58	71
Gibbs, Bob	OH	7	R	88	63	76	Johnson, Dusty	SD	AL	R	95	65	80
Gohmert, Louie	TX	1	R	100	72	86	Johnson, Eddie Bernice	TX	30	D	0	25	13
Golden, Jared	ME	2	D	5	30	18	Johnson, Hank	GA	4	D	0	35	18
Gomez, Jimmy	CA	34	D	5	35	20	Johnson, Mike	LA	4	R	94	71	82
Gonzalez, Anthony	OH	16	R	80	58	69	Jordan, Jim	OH	4	R	100	65	83
Gonzalez, Vicente	TX	15	D	0	20	10	Joyce, David	OH	14	R	65	55	60
Gooden, Lance	TX	5	R	100	65	83	Joyce, John	PA	13	R	95	60	78
Gosar, Paul	AZ	4	R	100	65	82	Kaptur, Marcy	OH	9	D	0	29	15
Gottheimer, Josh	NJ	5	D	0	10	5	Katko, John	NY	24	R	41	30	36
Granger, Kay	TX	12	R	82	59	70	Keating, Bill	MA	9	D	0	25	13

Table 5. 2020 House of Representatives - Scores (3 of 5)

	St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Indx		St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Indx
Keller, Fred	PA	12	R	95	65	80	Marshall, Roger	KS	1	R	89	65	77
Kelly, Mike	PA	16	R	89	70	80	Massie, Thomas	KY	4	R	100	89	95
Kelly, Robin	IL	2	D	0	35	18	Mast, Brian	FL	18	R	70	68	69
Kelly, Trent	MS	1	R	100	63	82	Matsui, Doris	CA	6	D	0	25	13
Kennedy, Joseph P.	MA	4	D	0	35	18	McAdams, Ben	UT	4	D	30	15	23
Khanna, Ro	CA	17	D	5	35	20	McBath, Lucy	GA	6	D	0	20	10
Kildee, Dan	MI	5	D	0	35	18	McCarthy, Kevin	CA	23	R	89	61	75
Kilmer, Derek	WA	6	D	0	25	13	McCaul, Michael	TX	10	R	70	50	60
Kim, Andy	NJ	3	D	0	25	13	McClintock, Tom	CA	4	R	100	74	87
Kind, Ron	WI	3	D	0	16	8	McCollum, Betty	MN	4	D	0	35	18
King, Peter	NY	2	R	50	45	48	McEachin, Donald	VA	4	D	0	30	15
King, Steve	IA	4	R	93	67	80	McGovern, Jim	MA	2	D	5	35	20
Kinzinger, Adam	IL	16	R	84	53	69	McHenry, Patrick	NC	10	R	94	58	76
Kirkpatrick, Ann	AZ	2	D	0	21	11	McKinley, David	WV	1	R	60	55	58
Krishnamooorthi, Raja	IL	8	D	0	25	13	McNerney, Jerry	CA	9	D	0	30	15
Kuster, Ann McLane	NH	2	D	0	20	10	Meadows, Mark	NC	11	R	100	86	93
Kustoff, David	TN	8	R	95	60	77	Meeks, Gregory	NY	5	D	0	30	15
LaHood, Darin	IL	18	R	90	58	74	Meng, Grace	NY	6	D	5	35	20
LaMalfa, Doug	CA	1	R	84	60	72	Meuser, Dan	PA	9	R	94	63	78
Lamb, Conor	PA	17	D	0	15	8	Mfume, Kweisi	MD	7	D	0	27	14
Lamborn, Doug	CO	5	R	95	70	83	Miller, Carol	WV	3	R	90	67	78
Langevin, Jim	RI	2	D	0	20	10	Mitchell, Paul	MI	10	I	94	65	79
Larsen, Rick	WA	2	D	0	20	10	Moolenaar, John	MI	4	R	90	55	73
Larson, John B.	CT	1	D	0	21	11	Mooney, Alex	WV	2	R	100	65	83
Latta, Bob	OH	5	R	95	60	78	Moore, Gwen	WI	4	D	0	30	15
Lawrence, Brenda	MI	14	D	0	30	15	Morelle, Joe	NY	25	D	0	22	11
Lawson, Al	FL	5	D	0	30	15	Moulton, Seth	MA	6	D	0	20	10
Lee, Barbara	CA	13	D	0	35	18	Mucarsel-Powell, Debbie	FL	26	D	0	20	10
Lee, Susie	NV	3	D	0	20	10	Mullin, Markwayne	OK	2	R	91	75	83
Lesko, Debbie	AZ	8	R	100	58	79	Murphy, Greg	NC	3	R	94	67	81
Levin, Andy	MI	9	D	5	35	20	Murphy, Stephanie	FL	7	D	0	15	8
Levin, Mike	CA	49	D	0	20	10	Nadler, Jerrold	NY	10	D	6	30	18
Lewis, John	GA	5	D	0	33	17	Napolitano, Grace	CA	32	D	0	25	13
Lieu, Ted	CA	33	D	0	35	18	Neal, Richard	MA	1	D	0	26	13
Lipinski, Dan	IL	3	D	16	11	13	Neguse, Joe	CO	2	D	0	30	15
Loebsack, Dave	IA	2	D	0	21	11	Newhouse, Dan	WA	4	R	89	67	78
Lofgren, Zoe	CA	19	D	0	35	18	Norcross, Donald	NJ	1	D	0	21	11
Long, Billy	MO	7	R	100	68	84	Norman, Ralph	SC	5	R	100	72	86
Loudermilk, Barry	GA	11	R	100	85	92	Nunes, Devin	CA	22	R	90	60	75
Lowenthal, Alan	CA	47	D	0	35	18	O'Halleran, Tom	AZ	1	D	0	22	11
Lowey, Nita	NY	17	D	0	20	10	Ocasio-Cortez,	NY	14	D	10	35	23
Lucas, Frank	OK	3	R	85	55	70	Olson, Pete	TX	22	R	89	60	74
Luetkemeyer, Blaine	MO	3	R	90	63	77	Omar, Ilhan	MN	5	D	10	35	23
Lujan, Ben Ray	NM	3	D	0	30	15	Palazzo, Steven	MS	4	R	100	64	82
Luria, Elaine	VA	2	D	5	16	10	Pallone, Frank	NJ	6	D	0	30	15
Lynch, Stephen F.	MA	8	D	0	25	13	Palmer, Gary	AL	6	R	94	69	82
Malinowski, Tom	NJ	7	D	0	20	10	Panetta, Jimmy	CA	20	D	0	20	10
Maloney, Carolyn	NY	12	D	5	35	20	Pappas, Chris	NH	1	D	0	15	8
Maloney, Sean Patrick	NY	18	D	0	20	10	Pascrell, Bill	NJ	9	D	0	25	13
Marchant, Kenny	TX	24	R	80	40	60	Payne, Jr., Donald	NJ	10	D	0	32	16

Table 5. 2020 House of Representatives - Scores (4 of 5)

	St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Indx		St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Indx
Pelosi, Nancy	CA	12	D	0	20	10	Scott, David	GA	13	D	0	20	10
Pence, Greg	IN	6	R	90	65	78	Scott, Robert	VA	3	D	0	30	15
Perlmutter, Ed	CO	7	D	0	21	11	Sensenbrenner, Jim	WI	5	R	100	50	75
Perry, Scott	PA	10	R	95	70	82	Serrano, Jose E.	NY	15	D	0	32	16
Peters, Scott	CA	52	D	0	20	10	Sewell, Terri	AL	7	D	0	28	14
Peterson, Collin	MN	7	D	30	22	26	Shalala, Donna	FL	27	D	0	20	10
Phillips, Dean	MN	3	D	0	20	10	Sherman, Brad	CA	30	D	0	30	15
Pingree, Chellie	ME	1	D	0	30	15	Sherrill, Mikie	NJ	11	D	0	20	10
Pocan, Mark	WI	2	D	0	35	18	Shimkus, John	IL	15	R	89	60	74
Porter, Katie	CA	45	D	0	20	10	Simpson, Mike	ID	2	R	89	56	73
Posey, Bill	FL	8	R	80	60	70	Sires, Albio	NJ	8	D	0	26	13
Pressley, Ayanna	MA	7	D	5	35	20	Slotkin, Elissa	MI	8	D	5	25	15
Price, David	NC	4	D	0	20	10	Smith, Adam	WA	9	D	0	35	18
Quigley, Mike	IL	5	D	0	26	13	Smith, Adrian	NE	3	R	90	65	78
Raskin, Jamie	MD	8	D	5	35	20	Smith, Chris	NJ	4	R	25	21	23
Ratcliffe, John	TX	4	R	100	71	86	Smith, Jason T.	MO	8	R	95	65	80
Reed, Tom	NY	23	R	53	55	54	Smucker, Lloyd	PA	11	R	94	60	77
Reschenthaler, Guy	PA	14	R	83	71	77	Soto, Darren	FL	9	D	0	22	11
Rice, Kathleen	NY	4	D	0	20	10	Spanberger, Abigail	VA	7	D	5	30	18
Rice, Tom	SC	7	R	95	50	73	Spano, Ross	FL	15	R	94	56	75
Richmond, Cedric	LA	2	D	0	32	16	Speier, Jackie	CA	14	D	0	18	9
Riggleman, Denver	VA	5	R	83	67	75	Stanton, Greg	AZ	9	D	0	20	10
Roby, Martha	AL	2	R	82	60	71	Stauber, Pete	MN	8	R	68	55	62
Rodgers, Cathy McMorris	WA	5	R	88	65	76	Stefanik, Elise	NY	21	R	60	50	55
Roe, David 'Phil'	TN	1	R	89	68	79	Stell, Bryan	WI	1	R	100	63	82
Rogers, Hal	KY	5	R	85	60	73	Steube, Greg	FL	17	R	95	70	83
Rogers, Mike D.	AL	3	R	94	67	81	Stevens, Haley	MI	11	D	0	20	10
Rooney, Francis	FL	19	R	70	70	70	Stewart, Chris	UT	2	R	95	61	78
Rose, John	TN	6	R	100	65	83	Stivers, Steve	OH	15	R	80	56	68
Rose, Max	NY	11	D	0	15	8	Suozzi, Thomas	NY	3	D	0	15	8
Rouda, Harley	CA	48	D	0	20	10	Swalwell, Eric	CA	15	D	0	25	13
Rouzer, David	NC	7	R	74	65	69	Takano, Mark	CA	41	D	0	35	18
Roy, Chip	TX	21	R	100	68	84	Taylor, Van	TX	3	R	95	65	80
Roybal-Allard, Lucille	CA	40	D	0	20	10	Thompson, Bennie G.	MS	2	D	0	30	15
Ruiz, Raul	CA	36	D	0	25	13	Thompson, Glenn	PA	15	R	89	65	77
Ruppersberger, Dutch	MD	2	D	0	20	10	Thompson, Mike	CA	5	D	0	30	15
Rush, Bobby	IL	1	D	0	35	18	Thornberry, Mac	TX	13	R	95	63	79
Rutherford, John	FL	4	R	84	50	67	Tiffany, Tom	WI	7	R	100	70	85
Ryan, Tim	OH	13	D	0	26	13	Timmons, William	SC	4	R	100	62	81
Sanchez, Linda	CA	38	D	0	26	13	Tipton, Scott	CO	3	R	90	65	78
Sarbanes, John	MD	3	D	0	25	13	Titus, Dina	NV	1	D	0	30	15
Scalise, Steve	LA	1	R	95	60	78	Tlaib, Rashide	MI	13	D	10	30	20
Scanlon, Mary Gay	PA	5	D	0	30	15	Tonko, Paul D.	NY	20	D	0	30	15
Schakowsky, Jan	IL	9	D	0	37	18	Torres Small, Xochiti	NM	2	D	5	20	13
Schiff, Adam	CA	28	D	0	25	13	Torres, Norma	CA	35	D	0	21	11
Schneider, Brad	IL	10	D	5	25	15	Trahan, Lori	MA	3	D	0	30	15
Schrader, Kurt	OR	5	D	20	25	23	Trone, David	MD	6	D	0	20	10
Schrier, Kim	WA	8	D	0	20	10	Turner, Mike	OH	10	R	75	50	63
Schweikert, David	AZ	6	R	95	65	80	Underwood, Lauren	IL	14	D	0	25	13
Scott, Austin	GA	8	R	88	67	77	Upton, Fred	MI	6	R	60	45	53

Table 5. 2020 House of Representatives - Scores (5 of 5)

	St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Indx		St	Dis	P	Ecn	Per	Indx
Van Drew, Jeff	NJ	2	R	20	35	28	Webster, Daniel	FL	11	R	88	61	74
Vargas, Juan	CA	51	D	0	30	15	Welch, Peter	VT	AL	D	0	32	16
Veasey, Marc	TX	33	D	0	30	15	Wenstrup, Brad	OH	2	R	95	60	78
Vela, Filamon	TX	34	D	0	21	11	Westerman, Bruce	AR	4	R	95	65	80
Velazquez, Nydia	NY	7	D	5	35	20	Wexton, Jennifer	VA	10	D	0	25	13
Visclosky, Pete	IN	1	D	0	25	13	Wild, Susan	PA	7	D	0	20	10
Wagner, Ann	MO	2	R	75	50	63	Williams, Roger	TX	25	R	95	65	80
Walberg, Tim	MI	7	R	95	65	80	Wilson, Frederica	FL	24	D	0	30	15
Walden, Greg	OR	2	R	79	55	67	Wilson, Joe	SC	2	R	94	63	79
Walker, Mark	NC	6	R	92	69	80	Wittman, Rob	VA	1	R	95	65	80
Walorski, Jackie	IN	2	R	90	58	74	Womack, Steve	AR	3	R	95	55	75
Waltz, Michael	FL	6	R	89	60	75	Woodall, Rob	GA	7	R	95	60	78
Wasserman Schultz,	FL	23	D	0	20	10	Wright, Ron	TX	6	R	94	62	78
Waters, Maxine	CA	43	D	0	35	18	Yarmuth, John	KY	3	D	0	37	18
Watkins, Steve	KS	2	R	89	60	74	Yoho, Ted	FL	3	R	100	60	80
Watson Coleman, Bonnie	NJ	12	D	0	35	18	Young, Donald	AK	AL	R	56	63	59
Weber, Randy	TX	14	R	100	68	84	Zeldin, Lee	NY	1	R	70	60	65
Webster, Daniel	FL	11	R	88	61	74							

Continued from p. 5

Numbers 1 and 2 in the Senate were Rand Paul of Kentucky and Mike Lee of Utah, who tied for first place in the 2019 Liberty Index. Coming in third, albeit with a gap, was Mike Braun of Indiana. Other high scores were registered by Ted Cruz of Texas, Marsha Blackburn of Tennessee, Bill Cassidy and John Neely Kennedy of Louisiana, and Pat Toomey of Pennsylvania.

			Econ.	Pers.	Index
Paul, Rand	KY	R	94	100	97
Lee, Mike	UT	R	100	85	93
Braun, Mike	IN	R	90	75	83
Cruz, Ted	TX	R	88	70	79
Blackburn, Marsha	TN	R	90	65	78
Cassidy, Bill	LA	R	75	80	78
Kennedy, John Neely	LA	R	85	70	78
Toomey, Pat	PA	R	90	65	78

The lowest score by a Republican was 55, achieved by Susan Collins of Maine, and the highest score by a Democrat was 29 achieved by Kamala Harris of California (who scored high enough on personal liberties to be classified as a liberal).

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Table 6. 2020 Senate - Scores

	St	P	Econ.	Pers.	Index		St	P	Econ.	Pers.	Index
Alexander, Lamar	TN	R	63	82	72	Klobuchar, Amy	MN	D	0	37	18
Baldwin, Tammy	WI	D	0	40	20	Lankford, James	OK	R	85	65	75
Barrasso, Joe	WY	R	75	65	70	Leahy, Patrick	VT	D	0	35	18
Bennet, Michael	CO	D	5	37	21	Lee, Mike	UT	R	100	85	93
Blackburn, Marsha	TN	R	90	65	78	Loeffler, Kelly	GA	R	83	67	75
Blumenthal, Richard	CT	D	0	30	15	Manchin, Joe	WV	D	11	32	21
Blunt, Roy	MO	R	68	63	66	Markey, Ed	MA	D	6	37	21
Booker, Corey	NJ	D	5	35	20	McConnell, Mitch	KY	R	65	60	63
Boozman, John	AR	R	70	60	65	McSally, Martha	AZ	R	56	71	64
Braun, Mike	IN	R	90	75	83	Menendez, Bob	NJ	D	5	30	18
Brown, Sherrod	OH	D	5	37	21	Merkley, Jeff	OR	D	5	40	23
Burr, Richard	NC	R	67	72	69	Moran, Jerry	KS	R	71	79	75
Cantwell, Maria	WA	D	0	40	20	Murkowski, Lisa	AK	R	50	89	69
Capito, Shelley Moore	WV	R	65	56	60	Murphy, Chris	CT	D	0	30	15
Cardin, Ben	MD	D	0	35	18	Murray, Patti	WA	D	0	25	13
Carper, Tom	DE	D	5	25	15	Paul, Rand	KY	R	94	100	97
Casey, Bob	PA	D	0	30	15	Perdue, David	GA	R	82	60	71
Cassidy, Bill	LA	R	75	80	78	Peters, Gary	MI	D	5	35	20
Collins, Susan	ME	R	45	65	55	Portman, Rob	OH	R	65	65	65
Coons, Chris	DE	D	5	30	18	Reed, Jack	RI	D	5	30	18
Cornyn, John	TX	R	65	60	63	Risch, Jim	ID	R	75	70	73
Cortez Mastro, Catherine	NV	D	5	35	20	Roberts, Pat	KS	R	70	60	65
Cotton, Tom	AR	R	75	60	68	Romney, Mitt	UT	R	68	55	62
Cramer, Kevin	ND	R	70	70	70	Rosen, Jacky	NV	D	5	30	18
Crapo, Mike	ID	R	75	70	73	Rounds, Mike	SD	R	70	69	69
Cruz, Ted	TX	R	88	70	79	Rubio, Marco	FL	R	71	58	64
Daines, Steve	MT	R	70	80	75	Sanders, Bernie	VT	I	7	31	19
Duckworth, Tammy	IL	D	5	35	20	Sasse, Ben	NE	R	84	71	77
Durbin, Dick	IL	D	0	40	20	Schatz, Brian	HI	D	0	37	18
Enzi, Mike	WY	R	78	74	76	Schumer, Carl	NY	D	0	35	18
Ernst, Joni	IA	R	65	70	68	Scott, Rick	FL	R	80	70	75
Feinstein, Diane	CA	D	5	25	15	Scott, Tim	SC	R	80	70	75
Fischer, Deb	NE	R	75	58	66	Shaheen, Jeanne	NH	D	5	25	15
Gardner, Cory	CO	R	63	75	69	Shelby, Richard	AL	R	75	60	68
Gillibrand, Kirsten	NY	D	0	35	18	Sinema, Kyrsten	AZ	D	11	37	24
Graham, Lindsey	SC	R	65	58	61	Smith, Tina	MN	D	0	35	18
Grassley, Charles	IA	R	67	70	68	Stabenow, Debbie	MI	D	5	35	20
Harris, Kamala	CA	D	7	50	29	Sullivan, Dan	AK	R	55	67	61
Hassan, Maggie	NH	D	5	25	15	Tester, Jon	MT	D	6	40	23
Hawley, Josh	MO	R	75	70	73	Thune, John	SD	R	68	60	64
Heinrich, Martin	NM	D	5	40	23	Tillis, Thom	NC	R	74	61	67
Hirono, Mazie	HI	D	0	40	20	Toomey, Pat	PA	R	90	65	78
Hoeven, John	ND	R	70	70	70	Udall, Tom	NM	D	0	40	20
Hyde-Smith, Cindy	MS	R	68	63	66	Van Hollen, Chris	MD	D	0	35	18
Inhofe, John	OK	R	79	60	69	Warner, Mark	VA	D	5	20	13
Johnson, Ron	WI	R	90	61	76	Warren, Elizabeth	MA	D	6	42	24
Jones, Doug	AL	D	11	30	21	Whitehouse, Sheldon	RI	D	5	26	16
Kaine, Tim	VA	D	5	30	18	Wicker, Roger	MS	R	70	65	68
Kennedy, John Neely	LA	R	85	70	78	Wyden, Ron	OR	D	5	40	23
King, Angus	ME	I	5	35	20	Young, Todd	IN	R	70	70	70