

The 2008 Republican Liberty Index of Congress:

Year of the Bailout

By Clifford F. Thies

The 2008 Republican Liberty Index of Congress continues to show a shift of the political spectrum from a “left-right” orientation, as was exhibited during the middle years of the Bush Administration, to an “up-down” orientation. By “up-down,” I refer to President Ronald Reagan’s saying that the real choice we face is not “left” or “right,” but “up” to the maximum liberty consistent with order, or “down” to the abyss of an all-powerful government.

During the middle years of the Bush Administration, Republicans voted better on economic liberties and Democrats better on personal liberties. With the War in Iraq, the corrupting tendency of power, and the social conservative agenda in ascendency, libertarians who might have been inclined to support Republicans became increasingly conflicted. Support for Republicans eroded and they lost their majorities in Congress, state legislatures and Governors in 2006, and they lost the Presidency in 2008.

In 2008, with Democratic majorities in Congress and with Republicans in Congress acting increasingly independent of the President, Republicans looked like veritable Champions of Liberty. But, this might only mean that they oppose increasing the speed of the nation’s movement toward socialism.

As always, construction of the 2008 Liberty Index involved the identification of 20 roll call votes on each of two dimensions of freedom: economic liberties and personal liberties. In the process of deciding upon the lists of votes, I relied on advice from a small group of people each of whom is a current or past officer of the Republican Liberty Caucus. The final decisions were mine and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Republican Liberty Caucus.

As always, identifying 20 votes is relatively easy with regard to economic liberties. My lists of economic liberty votes for each chamber cover a wide range of issues. These include spending, taxation, and industrial, labor and trade policy. The most prominent votes of the 2008 session involved the bailouts of the FHA, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the mortgage industry, and the automobile industry. I’ll say about these votes below.

My personal liberty votes include some personal liberties associated with conservatives such as the right to keep and bear arms, and some associated with liberals such as the rights of the accused. It also includes some orphan liberties such as the right of adults to decide what they do when in private. We uphold the family, local government and free association, and we oppose government-funded speech (i.e., propaganda).

The personal liberties votes with which I have to work reflect the agenda of the session and may not be representative of a Congressional member’s true voting tendency. I cull many of these votes from proposed amendments to bills, and, in particular, from proposed amendments to appropriations. During much of 2008, the House of Representatives operated under rules for considering bills that allowed few if any amendments and government was funded mostly by continuing resolution, which had the result of limiting my choices.

The Bailout Votes

The most crucial votes of 2008 involved bailouts of the Federal Housing Authority, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac (the two federally-chartered mortgage bankers), the mortgage industry, and the automobile industry. The underlying problem, it became clear, was that, with the collapse of the housing bubble, many mortgages were “underwater.” That is, the values of the homes securing the mortgages were less than the mortgages. In these cases, the borrower often has little interest in making mortgage payments. And, defaults by many threaten to collapse the values of houses in general, resulting in a spiralling-down of housing values.

The first bailout votes involved a recapitalization of the Federal Housing Authority, which had become insolvent due to problem with the low- and zero-downpayment mortgages that it had guaranteed. The next bailout vote involved Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, two depression-era mortgage banks created by the federal government which - although somewhat privatized - continue to enjoy the perception of a federal guarantee. Thus far, we’re talking about \$300 billion for the FHA and \$100 billion each for Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

The third bailout vote involved the creation of a \$700 billion authorization to borrow, known as the TARP fund, for the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury to be used to buy various and sundry damaged assets, such as mortgage-backed securities. And, the fourth bailout vote was to lend billions of dollars to the domestic automobile manufacturers.

Including loans from the Federal Reserve to induce JPMorganChase to acquire Bear Stearns and to keep AIG afloat, and various Congressional add-ons to the TARP bill, and we’re talking of \$1.5 trillion. And, to paraphrase the late Senator Everett Dirksen, a trillion here and a trillion there, and soon we’re talking about real money.

The idea of all these bailouts was to prevent damaged assets from being dumped onto the market, causing their values and the values of similar assets to fall, perhaps causing a financial panic, and perhaps even a deep and prolonged recession. Thank goodness for the sudden revival of Keynesian economics in Washington or else – who knows – the stock market might have collapsed, our domestic automobile companies may have gone bankrupt and we might have fallen into a severe recession.

Other Votes

Among the other interesting roll call votes used in this year’s Liberty Index were several concerning foreign aid. In the Senate, roll call vote #181 was an amendment to a bill that would greatly expand AID’s Relief by eliminating its tie to meeting the conditions set forth in the Millennial Challenge (e.g., democratic governance). The amendment would have maintained the program as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy, as opposed to converting it into an international entitlement program. The amendment failed 64 to 31. In an analogous vote in the House, roll call vote #197 would have established a condition for debt relief to be democratic government. Only 41 Democrats voted against establishing this criterion, although 2 others voted “present.”

In the House, roll call vote #414 was to ban the sale or importation of “non-human primates,” this year’s manifestation of the animal rights agenda. It passed 302 to 96. In the Senate, this measure was subsumed into roll call vote #189, which did not survive a filibuster vote, 52 to 40. Monkey business thus remains legal for yet another year in the United States.

In the House, I have roll call votes on U.S. involvement in both the Mexican drug war (#393) and the Colombian drug war (#499), both of which passed overwhelmingly.

Also in the House, I have both an amendment (#600) toughening up a proposed DC gun ban (that's right, to ban the D.C. gun ban) and the vote on passage (#601). As sometimes happens, the crucial vote is on the amendment, although both votes are meaningful.

The House

In the House of Representatives, Congressman Ron Paul of Texas returned to the top spot, with a combined average score of 96. In a seven-way tie for second place were: Congressmen Flake (AZ), Franks (AZ), Lamborn (CO), Broun (GA), Price (GA), Foxx (NC) and Hensarling (TX). In a four-way tie for ninth place were: Congressmen Rohrabacher (CA), Feeney (FL), Marchant (TX) and Bishop (UT). Virginia Foxx becomes the first female to score as high as second in the Liberty Index.

Technically, Congressman Rush of Illinois finished last (or, first from the pro-government point of view) with a combined average score of zero. However, he was absent from Congress for much of the year and only registered a few roll call votes. Finishing next to last was the troika of Scott (GA), Cleaver (MO) and Nadler (NY). Close behind them were Gutierrez (IL) and Meeks (NY).

The lowest-scoring Republican was Gilchrest (MD), with a 26; and, the highest-scoring Democrat was Cooper (TN) with a 42.

In the area of economic liberties, 18 Republicans scored perfect 100s, while 68 Democrats scored perfect 0s.

The toughest votes for Congressmen who otherwise voted correctly were (in order): the Mortgage Bailout, Earmarks and AIDs Relief. The toughest votes for Congressmen who otherwise voted incorrectly were (in order) the Mortgage Bailout and the Progressive Caucus Budget.

In the area of personal liberties, Congressman Paul registered a perfect 100, followed by three of his fellow Texas Republicans, Carter, Gohmert and Marchant. Thirteen Democrats scored 7 or 8.

The toughest votes for Congressmen who otherwise voted correctly were (in order): Colombia Drugs, FISA and Detainee Interrogation. The toughest votes for Congressmen who otherwise voted incorrectly were Detainee Interrogation and Debt Relief.

The Senate

Over in the Senate, we have a two-way tie for first place, with Senators Coburn of Oklahoma and DeMint of South Carolina both scoring 76. These were the only two Senators classified as "Libertarian." Finishing tied for third were Senators Kyl and McCain of Arizona, with 75's, and finishing fifth was Senator Ensign of Nevada, with a 74.

From the opposite perspective, Senators Lautenberg and Menendez of New Jersey shared the Party of Big Government's gold medal, with scores of 20. Sharing the Party of Big Government's bronze medal were Senators Boxer of California, Klobacher of Minnesota and Schumer of New York, with 22's.

On the economic component of the index, three Senators achieved perfect 100s, Senators Ensign, Kyl and DeMint. Most of those who did well but fell short of perfection were tripped up by the farm votes. Other tough votes for otherwise free-market Senators involved the Fannie and Freddie Bailout, Earmarks, Auto Company Bailout and Flood Insurance.

From the socialistic perspective, there were a total of 13 perfect zeros. Another 14 would have scored zero but for the Flood Insurance vote, which – while it would promote the cause of socialism – would be environmentally problematic. Another three would have scored zero but for the Income Tax vote which was mostly window-dressing. In the Senate, the so-called Blue Dog Democrats were simply Running Dogs for the radical left-wing of their party.

On the personal liberties component of the index, there is little to say about the scores of individual Senators. Almost all the action was between the 40 yard lines. Some of the votes on one measure were, nevertheless, curious.

In the 2003 Liberty Index, I counted the vote to authorize the use of force in Iraq as an anti-liberty vote. This was my personal call and did not reflect any official stance by the Republic Liberty Caucus. Every year since then, I have called for an exit strategy. From 2003 until 2007, I observed a shift of the political axis from something like a libertarian versus authoritarian (“up-down”) direction to a conservative versus liberal (“right-left”) direction. And, I have observed the deterioration and eventual loss of the Republican political majority.

By 2008, the Democrats were calling if not for an immediate withdrawal from Iraq then for a timetable for withdrawal. At the time, Senator (now President) Obama was the leading proponent. So, why is it that so many Democrats did not vote “aye” on the Iraqi Mission vote? Is it that Senator Obama and other Democrats, like Senator Kerry, vote “aye” when they mean “nay,” and “nay” when they mean “aye” on war resolutions? Or, is it that they wanted the issue for the election more than they wanted a resolution of the issue?

Over on the Republican side, four Republicans crossed over to the Liberty Index position, every Republican Senator and these four in particular having voted to authorize the use of force in Iraq five years prior. These were Senators Hagel of Nebraska, who had become an outspoken critic of the war, Voinovich of Ohio, Dole of North Carolina and Smith of Oregon. The latter two were in tough re-election campaigns that they would eventually lose.

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Table 1. Summary Statistics.						
	House	House	House	Senate	Senate	Senate
		Rep	Dem		Rep	Dem[1]
Economic (ave.)	41	79	10	42	75	10
Personal (ave.)	44	71	21	50	50	50
Libertarian (L) (#)	117	117	0	2	2	0
Enterpriser (E) (#)	52	52	0	22	22	0
Conservative (C) (#)	13	10	3	22	22	0
Moderate (M) (#)	28	12	16	22	3	19
Liberal (X) (#)	8	8	0	19	0	19
Authoritarian (A) (#)	216	0	216	13	0	13
[1] treating Lieberman (I-CT) and Sanders (I-VT) as a Democrats						

Table 2. U.S. House of Representatives

				Econ	Pers	Class
Bonner	AL	01	R	80	84	L
Everett	AL	02	R	81	82	L
Rogers, Mike D.	AL	03	R	44	64	X
Aderholt	AL	04	R	73	84	L
Cramer	AL	05	D	14	21	A
Bachus, S.	AL	06	R	80	64	E
Davis, A.	AL	07	D	20	26	A
Young, D.	AK	01	R	60	71	E
Renzi	AZ	01	R	60	50	E
Franks, T.	AZ	02	R	100	88	L
Shadegg	AZ	03	R	96	83	L
Pastor	AZ	04	D	0	20	A
Mitchell	AZ	05	D	33	26	M
Flake	AZ	06	R	100	87	L
Grijalva	AZ	07	D	7	21	A
Giffords	AZ	08	D	13	29	A
Berry	AR	01	D	20	27	A
Snyder	AR	02	D	14	7	A
Boozman	AR	03	R	72	72	E
Ross	AR	04	D	13	26	A
Thompson, M.	CA	01	D	7	33	A
Herger	CA	02	R	88	84	L
Lungren	CA	03	R	83	80	L
Doolittle	CA	04	R	87	77	L
Matsui, D.	CA	05	D	7	20	A
Woolsey	CA	06	D	0	23	A
Miller, George	CA	07	D	0	13	A
Pelosi	CA	08	D			
Lee	CA	09	D	0	20	A
Tauscher	CA	10	D	14	13	A
McNerney	CA	11	D	7	26	A
Speier	CA	12	D	0	28	A
Stark	CA	13	D	21	23	A
Eshoo	CA	14	D	7	20	A
Honda	CA	15	D	0	14	A

Lofgren	CA	16	D	0	21	A
Farr	CA	17	D	0	20	A
Cardoza	CA	18	D	13	27	A
Radanovich	CA	19	R	80	82	L
Costa	CA	20	D	22	26	A
Nunes	CA	21	R	96	74	L
McCarthy, K.	CA	22	R	100	76	L
Capps	CA	23	D	0	20	A
Gallegly	CA	24	R	72	57	E
McKeon	CA	25	R	88	68	L
Dreier	CA	26	R	82	67	E
Sherman	CA	27	D	14	13	A
Berman	CA	28	D	14	13	A
Schiff	CA	29	D	7	14	A
Waxman	CA	30	D	13	20	A
Becerra	CA	31	D	7	20	A
Solis	CA	32	D	0	22	A
Watson	CA	33	D	0	20	A
Roybal-Allard	CA	34	D	13	20	A
Waters	CA	35	D	0	14	A
Harman	CA	36	D	16	7	A
Richardson	CA	37	D	7	8	A
Napolitano	CA	38	D	7	21	A
Sanchez, Linda	CA	39	D	7	20	A
Royce	CA	40	R	100	84	L
Lewis, Jerry	CA	41	R	80	74	L
Miller, Gary	CA	42	R	81	79	L
Baca	CA	43	D	0	33	A
Calvert	CA	44	R	87	70	L
Bono-Mack	CA	45	R	56	64	E
Rohrabacher	CA	46	R	100	86	L
Sanchez, Loretta	CA	47	D	14	20	A
Campbell	CA	48	R	91	83	L
Issa	CA	49	R	96	70	L
Bilbray	CA	50	R	92	64	L
Filner	CA	51	D	13	36	A
Hunter	CA	52	R	81	82	L
Davis, S.	CA	53	D	7	20	A

DeGette	CO	01	D	7	20	A
Udall, M.	CO	02	D	13	26	A
Salazar, J.	CO	03	D	13	20	A
Musgrave	CO	04	R	87	83	L
Lamborn	CO	05	R	100	88	L
Tancredo	CO	06	R	95	86	L
Perlmutter	CO	07	D	7	13	A
Larson, J.	CT	01	D	0	21	A
Courtney	CT	02	D	13	20	A
DeLauro	CT	03	D	7	20	A
Shays	CT	04	R	47	13	M
Murphy, C.	CT	05	D	7	13	A
Castle	DE	01	R	40	33	M
Miller, J.	FL	01	R	96	88	L
Boyd	FL	02	D	33	26	M
Brown, C.	FL	03	D	8	7	A
Crenshaw	FL	04	R	87	73	L
Brown-Waite	FL	05	R	66	77	E
Stearns	FL	06	R	92	88	L
Mica	FL	07	R	92	80	L
Keller	FL	08	R	76	52	E
Bilirakis	FL	09	R	72	64	E
Young, C.W.	FL	10	R	76	59	E
Castor	FL	11	D	7	7	A
Putnam	FL	12	R	80	73	L
Buchanan	FL	13	R	47	51	X
Mack	FL	14	R	100	82	L
Weldon, D.	FL	15	R	87	87	L
Mahoney	FL	16	D	7	21	A
Meek, K.	FL	17	D	0	31	A
Ros-Lehtinen	FL	18	R	33	34	M
Wexler	FL	19	D	0	15	A
Wasserman-Schultz	FL	20	D	0	21	A
Diaz-Balart, L.	FL	21	R	52	34	C
Klein, R.	FL	22	D	7	13	A
Hastings, A.	FL	23	D	0	15	A
Feeney	FL	24	R	100	86	L
Diaz-Balart, M.	FL	25	R	49	41	M

Kingston	GA	01	R	88	87	L
Bishop, S.	GA	02	D	7	26	A
Westmoreland	GA	03	R	96	86	L
Johnson, H.	GA	04	D	7	21	A
Lewis, John	GA	05	D	0	21	A
Price, T.	GA	06	R	100	88	L
Linder	GA	07	R	100	76	L
Marshall	GA	08	D	33	33	M
Deal	GA	09	R	96	87	L
Broun	GA	10	R	100	88	L
Gingrey	GA	11	R	92	88	L
Barrow	GA	12	D	27	33	M
Scott, D.	GA	13	D	0	7	A
Abercrombie	HI	01	D	0	34	A
Hirono	HI	02	D	0	21	A
Sali	ID	01	R	92	84	L
Simpson	ID	02	R	76	62	E
Rush	IL	01	D	0	0	A
Jackson, J.	IL	02	D	0	13	A
Lipinski	IL	03	D	13	14	A
Gutierrez	IL	04	D	0	7	A
Emanuel	IL	05	D	7	13	A
Roskam	IL	06	R	92	68	L
Davis, Danny	IL	07	D	0	20	A
Bean	IL	08	D	33	13	A
Schakowsky	IL	09	D	0	26	A
Kirk	IL	10	R	60	26	C
Weller	IL	11	R	54	54	E
Costello	IL	12	D	14	34	A
Biggert	IL	13	R	76	62	E
Foster	IL	14	D	24	38	M
Johnson, Timothy	IL	15	R	64	59	E
Manzullo	IL	16	R	84	84	L
Hare	IL	17	D	0	20	A
LaHood	IL	18	R	25	55	X
Shimkus	IL	19	R	76	62	E
Visclosky	IN	01	D	13	14	A
Donnelly	IN	02	D	13	20	A

Souder	IN	03	R	68	72	E
Buyer	IN	04	R	79	80	L
Burton	IN	05	R	100	84	L
Pence	IN	06	R	96	82	L
Carson	IN	07	D	0	33	A
Ellsworth	IN	08	D	7	33	A
Hill	IN	09	D	20	33	M
Braley	IA	01	D	7	15	A
Loebsack	IA	02	D	7	21	A
Boswell	IA	03	D	8	29	A
Latham	IA	04	R	76	62	E
King, S.	IA	05	R	88	87	L
Moran, Jerry	KS	01	R	92	72	L
Boyda	KS	02	D	13	26	A
Moore, D.	KS	03	D	7	21	A
Tiaht	KS	04	R	79	67	E
Whitfield	KY	01	R	75	72	E
Lewis, R.	KY	02	R	66	83	E
Yarmuth	KY	03	D	7	13	A
Davis, G.	KY	04	R	84	80	L
Rogers, H.	KY	05	R	76	76	L
Chandler	KY	06	D	13	20	A
Scalise	LA	01	R	100	71	L
Jefferson	LA	02	D	14	21	A
Melancon	LA	03	D	27	26	M
McCrery	LA	04	R	80	75	L
Alexander, R.	LA	05	R	80	70	L
Cazayoux	LA	06	D	21	19	A
Boustany	LA	07	R	64	68	E
Allen, T.	ME	01	D	7	33	A
Michaud	ME	02	D	13	33	A
Gilcrest	MD	01	R	22	30	M
Ruppersberger	MD	02	D	7	7	A
Sarbanes	MD	03	D	7	20	A
Wynn / Edwards, D.	MD	04	D	0	17	A
Hoyer	MD	05	D	7	13	A
Bartlett	MD	06	R	84	68	L
Cummings	MD	07	D	0	21	A

Van Hollen	MD	08	D	7	21	A
Olver	MA	01	D	0	13	A
Neal	MA	02	D	0	21	A
McGovern	MA	03	D	0	20	A
Frank, B.	MA	04	D	0	20	A
Tsongas	MA	05	D	0	13	A
Tierney	MA	06	D	0	21	A
Markey	MA	07	D	0	20	A
Capuano	MA	08	D	13	14	A
Lynch	MA	09	D	7	20	A
Delahunt	MA	10	D	7	22	A
Stupak	MI	01	D	13	26	A
Hoekstra	MI	02	R	84	77	L
Ehlers	MI	03	R	71	46	C
Camp	MI	04	R	76	72	E
Kildee	MI	05	D	7	13	A
Upton	MI	06	R	52	51	E
Walberg	MI	07	R	86	80	L
Rogers, Mike	MI	08	R	72	72	E
Knollenberg	MI	09	R	60	57	E
Miller, C.	MI	10	R	56	59	E
McCotter	MI	11	R	64	79	E
Levin, S.	MI	12	D	0	20	A
Kilpatrick	MI	13	D	0	14	A
Conyers	MI	14	D	7	27	A
Dingell	MI	15	D	7	34	A
Walz	MN	01	D	27	33	M
Kline	MN	02	R	84	84	L
Ramstad	MN	03	R	49	13	M
McCollum	MN	04	D	0	27	A
Ellison	MN	05	D	0	29	A
Bachmann	MN	06	R	100	83	L
Peterson, C.	MN	07	D	27	20	A
Oberstar	MN	08	D	0	34	A
Childers	MS	01	D	44	19	M
Thompson, B.	MS	02	D	7	13	A
Pickering	MS	03	R	64	64	E
Taylor, G.	MS	04	D	27	27	M

Clay	MO	01	D	7	20	A
Akin	MO	02	R	92	87	L
Carnahan	MO	03	D	7	26	A
Skelton	MO	04	D	7	26	A
Cleaver	MO	05	D	0	7	A
Graves	MO	06	R	72	66	E
Blunt	MO	07	R	84	83	L
Emerson	MO	08	R	47	68	X
Hulshof	MO	09	R	83	55	E
Rehberg	MT	01	R	72	68	E
Fortenberry	NE	01	R	76	41	C
Terry	NE	02	R	92	59	L
Smith, Adrian	NE	03	R	88	80	L
Berkley	NV	01	D	7	20	A
Heller	NV	02	R	80	68	E
Porter	NV	03	R	33	26	M
Shea-Porter	NH	01	D	13	33	A
Hodes	NH	02	D	13	33	A
Andrews	NJ	01	D	8	15	A
LoBiondo	NJ	02	R	56	34	C
Saxton	NJ	03	R	72	44	C
Smith, C.	NJ	04	R	40	20	M
Garrett	NJ	05	R	100	84	L
Pallone	NJ	06	D	0	21	A
Ferguson	NJ	07	R	71	48	C
Pascrell	NJ	08	D	7	22	A
Rothman	NJ	09	D	13	21	A
Payne	NJ	10	D	7	27	A
Frelinghuysen	NJ	11	R	68	50	E
Holt	NJ	12	D	0	22	A
Sires	NJ	13	D	7	21	A
Wilson, H.	NM	01	R	82	59	E
Pearce	NM	02	R	88	70	L
Udall, T.	NM	03	D	13	34	A
Bishop, T.	NY	01	D	7	15	A
Israel	NY	02	D	7	20	A
King, P.	NY	03	R	58	57	E
McCarthy, C.	NY	04	D	7	13	A

Ackerman	NY	05	D	0	13	A
Meeks, G.	NY	06	D	0	8	A
Crowley	NY	07	D	7	14	A
Nadler	NY	08	D	0	7	A
Weiner	NY	09	D	7	21	A
Towns	NY	10	D	0	13	A
Clarke	NY	11	D	7	22	A
Velazquez	NY	12	D	0	20	A
Fossella	NY	13	R	75	75	E
Maloney	NY	14	D	14	21	A
Rangel	NY	15	D	0	26	A
Serrano	NY	16	D	7	21	A
Engel	NY	17	D	0	14	A
Lowey	NY	18	D	7	13	A
Hall, J.	NY	19	D	7	26	A
Gillibrand	NY	20	D	14	29	A
McNulty	NY	21	D	0	13	A
Hinchey	NY	22	D	7	34	A
McHugh	NY	23	R	33	39	M
Arcuri	NY	24	D	7	26	A
Walsh	NY	25	R	33	53	X
Reynolds	NY	26	R	75	68	E
Higgins	NY	27	D	7	26	A
Slaughter	NY	28	D	0	21	A
Kuhl	NY	29	R	62	59	E
Butterfield	NC	01	D	13	7	A
Etheridge	NC	02	D	7	21	A
Jones, W.	NC	03	R	68	74	E
Price, D.	NC	04	D	7	13	A
Foxx	NC	05	R	100	88	L
Coble	NC	06	R	84	88	L
McIntyre	NC	07	D	33	39	M
Hayes	NC	08	R	47	59	X
Myrick	NC	09	R	92	84	L
McHenry	NC	10	R	96	86	L
Shuler	NC	11	D	27	27	M
Watt	NC	12	D	0	13	A
Miller, B.	NC	13	D	7	20	A

Pomeroy	ND	01	D	7	26	A
Chabot	OH	01	R	92	66	L
Schmidt	OH	02	R	76	70	E
Turner	OH	03	R	56	53	E
Jordan	OH	04	R	96	88	L
Latta	OH	05	R	84	84	L
Wilson, C.	OH	06	D	7	26	A
Hobson	OH	07	R	68	62	E
Boehner	OH	08	R	96	80	L
Kaptur	OH	09	D	14	20	A
Kucinich	OH	10	D	7	33	A
Tubbs-Jones / Fudge	OH	11	D	0	26	A
Tiberi	OH	12	R	88	59	E
Sutton	OH	13	D	7	21	A
LaTourette	OH	14	R	47	34	M
Pryce, D.	OH	15	R	68	56	E
Regula	OH	16	R	52	55	E
Ryan, T.	OH	17	D	0	33	A
Space	OH	18	D	7	20	A
Sullivan	OK	01	R	84	80	L
Boren	OK	02	D	27	20	A
Lucas	OK	03	R	83	74	L
Cole	OK	04	R	80	76	L
Fallin	OK	05	R	80	73	L
Wu	OR	01	D	7	20	A
Walden	OR	02	R	72	62	E
Blumenauer	OR	03	D	20	13	A
DeFazio	OR	04	D	20	34	M
Hooley	OR	05	D	0	21	A
Brady, R.	PA	01	D	7	15	A
Fattah	PA	02	D	0	14	A
English	PA	03	R	47	55	X
Altmire	PA	04	D	20	26	A
Peterson, J.	PA	05	R	77	65	E
Gerlach	PA	06	R	47	39	M
Sestak	PA	07	D	7	16	A
Murphy, P.	PA	08	D	7	26	A
Shuster	PA	09	R	84	79	L

Carney	PA	10	D	13	33	A
Kanjorski	PA	11	D	7	26	A
Murtha	PA	12	D	7	26	A
Schwartz, A.	PA	13	D	7	20	A
Doyle	PA	14	D	0	15	A
Dent	PA	15	R	60	39	C
Pitts	PA	16	R	100	76	L
Holden	PA	17	D	20	26	A
Murphy, T.	PA	18	R	40	51	X
Platts	PA	19	R	68	51	E
Kennedy, P.	RI	01	D	7	21	A
Langevin	RI	02	D	7	14	A
Brown, H.	SC	01	R	76	68	E
Wilson, J.	SC	02	R	88	83	L
Barrett	SC	03	R	92	88	L
Inglis	SC	04	R	88	84	L
Spratt	SC	05	D	7	26	A
Clyburn	SC	06	D	0	13	A
Herseth-Sandlin	SD	01	D	40	33	M
Davis, David	TN	01	R	84	88	L
Duncan	TN	02	R	88	80	L
Wamp	TN	03	R	80	76	L
Davis, L.	TN	04	D	14	33	A
Cooper	TN	05	D	58	26	C
Gordon	TN	06	D	7	26	A
Blackburn	TN	07	R	88	88	L
Tanner	TN	08	D	15	21	A
Cohen	TN	09	D	0	14	A
Gohmert	TX	01	R	87	91	L
Poe	TX	02	R	87	85	L
Johnson, Sam	TX	03	R	96	84	L
Hall, R.	TX	04	R	72	80	L
Hensarling	TX	05	R	100	88	L
Barton	TX	06	R	92	80	L
Culberson	TX	07	R	92	77	L
Brady, K.	TX	08	R	83	80	L
Green, A.	TX	09	D	0	14	A
McCaul	TX	10	R	87	68	L

Conaway	TX	11	R	84	80	L
Granger	TX	12	R	91	79	L
Thornberry	TX	13	R	80	88	L
Paul	TX	14	R	92	100	L
Hinojosa	TX	15	D	21	7	A
Reyes	TX	16	D	16	27	A
Edwards, C.	TX	17	D	7	26	A
Jackson-Lee, S.	TX	18	D	0	16	A
Neugebauer	TX	19	R	87	86	L
Gonzalez	TX	20	D	14	23	A
Smith, L.	TX	21	R	88	83	L
Lampson	TX	22	D	56	16	C
Rodriguez	TX	23	D	33	26	M
Marchant	TX	24	R	96	90	L
Doggett	TX	25	D	13	20	A
Burgess	TX	26	R	96	83	L
Ortiz	TX	27	D	21	21	A
Cuellar	TX	28	D	27	20	A
Green, G.	TX	29	D	21	27	A
Johnson, E.	TX	30	D	0	15	A
Carter	TX	31	R	87	91	L
Sessions, P.	TX	32	R	92	84	L
Bishop, R.	UT	01	R	100	86	L
Matheson	UT	02	D	58	20	C
Cannon	UT	03	R	95	89	L
Welch	VT	01	D	0	39	A
Wittman	VA	01	R	80	68	E
Drake	VA	02	R	84	72	L
Scott, R.	VA	03	D	13	20	A
Forbes	VA	04	R	79	80	L
Goode	VA	05	R	84	88	L
Goodlatte	VA	06	R	88	88	L
Cantor	VA	07	R	96	82	L
Moran, James	VA	08	D	7	14	A
Boucher	VA	09	D	13	29	A
Wolf	VA	10	R	72	64	E
Davis, T.	VA	11	R	79	44	C
Inslee	WA	01	D	20	20	A

Larsen, R.	WA	02	D	7	20	A
Baird	WA	03	D	7	27	A
Hastings, D.	WA	04	R	88	77	L
McMorris Rodgers	WA	05	R	84	68	L
Dicks	WA	06	D	7	14	A
McDermott	WA	07	D	20	26	A
Reichert	WA	08	R	56	39	C
Smith, Adam	WA	09	D	21	13	A
Mollohan	WV	01	D	7	26	A
Capito	WV	02	R	40	46	M
Rahall	WV	03	D	14	26	A
Ryan, P.	WI	01	R	88	88	L
Baldwin	WI	02	D	0	20	A
Kind	WI	03	D	28	27	M
Moore, G.	WI	04	D	13	27	A
Sensenbrenner	WI	05	R	96	84	L
Petri	WI	06	R	88	72	L
Obey	WI	07	D	7	22	A
Kagan	WI	08	D	13	34	A
Cubin	WY	01	R	87	80	L

Table 3. U.S. Senate

			Econ	Pers	Class
Sessions	AL	R	88	55	E
Shelby	AL	R	76	55	E
Murkowski	AK	R	67	45	C
Stevens	AK	R	60	45	C
Kyl	AZ	R	100	50	C
McCain	AZ	R	100	50	C
Lincoln	AR	D	14	50	M
Pryor	AR	D	7	45	M
Boxer	CA	D	0	45	A
Feinstein	CA	D	0	50	A
Allard	CO	R	91	47	C
Salazar	CO	D	7	55	X
Dodd	CT	D	7	53	X
Lieberman	CT	I	14	37	M
Biden	DE	D	0	50	A
Carper	DE	D	7	45	M
Martinez	FL	R	60	45	C
Nelson, Bill	FL	D	0	55	X
Chambliss	GA	R	80	55	E
Isakson	GA	R	80	50	C
Akaka	HI	D	7	55	X
Inouye	HI	D	8	42	A
Craig	ID	R	78	55	E
Crapo	ID	R	75	55	E
Durbin	IL	D	7	45	M
Obama	IL	D	27	30	M
Bayh	IN	D	29	55	X
Lugar	IN	R	72	60	E
Grassley	IA	R	76	55	E
Harkin	IA	D	0	50	A
Brownback	KS	R	79	55	E
Roberts	KS	R	71	55	E
Bunning	KY	R	88	50	C
McConnell	KY	R	80	50	C
Landrieu	LA	D	27	42	M

Vitter	LA	R	80	55	E
Collins	ME	R	41	50	M
Snowe	ME	R	20	40	M
Cardin	MD	D	7	47	M
Mikulski	MD	D	0	50	A
Kennedy	MA	D	17	50	M
Kerry	MA	D	7	50	M
Levin	MI	D	7	55	X
Stabenow	MI	D	0	58	X
Coleman	MN	R	50	40	C
Klobacher	MN	D	0	45	A
Cochran	MS	R	64	40	C
Wicker	MS	R	68	55	E
Bond	MO	R	84	53	E
McCaskill	MO	D	27	47	M
Baucus	MT	D	20	45	M
Tester	MT	D	20	50	M
Hagel	NE	R	74	59	E
Nelson, Ben	NE	D	14	55	X
Ensign	NV	R	100	47	C
Reid, H.	NV	D	34	60	X
Gregg	NH	R	79	50	C
Sununu	NH	R	79	37	C
Lautenberg	NJ	D	0	40	A
Menendez	NJ	D	0	40	A
Bingaman	NM	D	0	55	X
Domenici	NM	R	65	53	E
Clinton	NY	D	14	36	A
Schumer	NY	D	0	45	A
Burr	NC	R	88	53	E
Dole	NC	R	56	58	E
Conrad	ND	D	8	60	X
Dorgan	ND	D	14	53	X
Brown, S.	OH	D	14	50	M
Voinovich	OH	R	68	60	E
Coburn	OK	R	95	58	L
Inhofe	OK	R	91	55	E
Smith	OR	R	29	50	M

Wyden	OR	D	7	45	M
Casey	PA	D	7	60	X
Specter	PA	R	58	40	C
Reed, J.	RI	D	20	50	M
Whitehorse	RI	D	20	40	M
DeMint	SC	R	100	53	L
Graham	SC	R	70	62	E
Johnson	SD	D	14	55	X
Thune	SD	R	84	55	E
Alexander	TN	R	81	53	E
Corker	TN	R	75	55	E
Cornyn	TX	R	82	44	C
Hutchison	TX	R	75	50	C
Bennett	UT	R	76	50	C
Hatch	UT	R	60	50	C
Leahy	VT	D	7	50	M
Sanders	VT	I	0	50	A
Warner	VA	R	52	22	C
Webb	VA	D	7	60	X
Cantwell	WA	D	7	55	X
Murray	WA	D	0	55	X
Byrd	WV	D	21	64	X
Rockefeller	WV	D	7	42	A
Feingold	WI	D	14	50	M
Kohl	WI	D	14	60	X
Barasso	WY	R	92	50	C
Enzi	WY	R	92	50	C

Table 4. 2008 House Roll Call Votes – Economic Liberties

Vote	Description	Bill#	Amendment#	For	Against	RLC Position
22	To override veto and expand Children's Health Insurance Program from \$25B to \$60B	H R 3963		260	152	N
84	To extend and create several tax incentives for energy conservation and renewable-energy production, including a new tax credit for plug-in hybrid vehicles	H R 5351		236	182	N
101	To require health insurers to offer mental health benefits equal in cost and scope to medical health benefits and to cover a wide variety of mental health conditions	H R 1424		268	148	N
138	Progressive Caucus Budget - to repeal the 2001 and '03 tax cuts for the top 1%, eliminate certain corporate tax provisions, increase funding for transportation, global warming efforts, education, housing, health care and job training, and tax credits and deductions for energy conservation and alternative energy	H CON RES 312	H.AMDT.971	98	322	N
140	Republican Budget - cut spending while extending the 2001 and '03 tax cuts, place a moratorium on earmarks and establish procedures for a legislative line-item veto	H CON RES 312	H.AMDT.972	157	263	Y
158	Global HIV/AIDS - to authorize \$50B from 2009 to '13	H R 5501		308	116	N
181	To suspend "fast-track" for Colombia-US FTA	H RES 1092		224	195	N
301	FHA Bailout - to concur in Senate amendments to recapitalize FHA and expand its loan guarantee program	H R 3221		266	154	N
346	Farm Bill - to override veto	H R 2419		316	108	N
417	Farm Bill Reauthorization - Veto Override	HR 6124		319	109	N
469	Oil and Gas Leases - to suspend rules and require current holders of oil or natural gas exploration leases to develop or relinquish their existing leases before they could acquire new ones	H R 6251		223	195	N
519	Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac Bailout - to concur in Senate amendment to grant authority to Treasury Dept to borrow to buy stock in Fannie Mae and Freddie	H R 3221		272	152	N
560	Military construction - to eliminate 103 earmarks	H R 6599	H.AMDT.1165	63	350	Y
561	Military construction - to bar use of funds to enforce Davis-Bacon Act	H R 6599	H.AMDT.1167	143	275	Y

598	Offshore Oil - to recommit to Natural Resources Cmte with instructions to report back with a substitute amendment that to repeal existing moratorium on oil and gas exploration and production	H R 6899	191	226	Y
608	To authorize federal regulators to set limits on over-the-counter trading	H R 6604	283	133	N
623	To enact new regulations on credit cards	H R 5244	312	112	N
660	To appropriate \$61 billion to (again) extend unemployment benefits and provide additional funds for food assistance, infrastructure projects, etc.	H R 7110	264	158	N
680	Mortgage Bailout - to concur in Senate amendment to allow Treasury Dept to borrow \$700B to buy certain mortgage-backed securities	H.R. 1424	205	228	N
690	Auto Company Bailout - allow up to \$14 billion in loans to eligible domestic automakers	H R 7321	237	170	N

Table 5. 2008 House Roll Call Votes – Personal Liberties

Vote	Description	Bill#	Amendment#	For	Against	RLC Position
27	To recommit with instructions that it prohibit use of eminent domain to add lands to the New England National Scenic Trail	H R 1528		183	205	Y
105	Summer of Service - to strike "summer of service" grant program from bill	H R 2857	H.AMDT.968	153	260	Y
106	Energy Conservation Corps - for projects that support energy conservation, infrastructure and transportation improvement, and emergency operations	H R 2857		252	161	N
131	Americorps - to suspend rules and authorize \$51 million for national service programs, including AmeriCorps	H R 5563		227	140	N
188	Paper Ballots - to suspend rules and authorize reimbursement for states and counties that convert to paper ballot voting machines	HR 5036	-	239	178	N
197	Debt Relief - to require countries to have free elections in order to be eligible for debt relief	HR 2634	H.AMDT.992	382	41	Y
362	Detainee Interrogation - to require interrogations be videotaped or electronically recorded	H R 5658	H.AMDT.1062	218	192	Y
379	Public Schools - to authorize \$6.4 billion modernize and make repairs to public schools,	H R 3021		250	164	N
393	Mexican drug war - to suspend rules and authorize \$1.1B for Mexican armed forces and law enforcement agencies to control drug trafficking	H R 6028		311	106	N
414	Non-human Primates - to suspend rules and ban sale or importation of non-human primates	HR 2964	-	302	96	N
437	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act - to authorize certain warrantless wiretaps	H R 6304		293	127	N
459	Child abuse - to suspend rules and establish federal regulations for private residential programs for children with emotional, behavioral or mental health problems, or problems with alcohol and substance abuse	H R 6358		318	103	N
477	Electronic Records - to direct National Archives and Records Administration to create regulations on electronic messages that would be searchable	H R 5811		286	137	N

499	Colombian drug war - to express sense of Congress that defeat of Colombian paramilitary organizations is in best interest of the United States	H R 5959	H.AMDT.1112	414	10	N
542	Tobacco - to suspend rules and authorize FDA to regulate tobacco products	H R 1108		326	102	N
556	Gender Paycheck Equality - make it easier for women to bring suits against employers	H R 1338		247	178	N
600	DC Gun Ban - substitute amendment to repeal DC laws prohibiting firearm possession including semiautomatic firearms	H R 6842	H.AMDT.1171	260	160	Y
601	DC Gun Ban - repeal DC laws prohibiting firearm possession	H R 6842		266	152	Y
611	Environmental Education - to establish grant program to develop environmental education curricula	H RES 1441		293	109	N
616	Indian job-training - to suspend rules and establish program to train iron-working skills in Indian tribes	H R 6685		302	72	N

Table 6. 2008 Senate Roll Call Votes – Economic Liberties

Vote	Description	Bill#	Amendment#	For	Against	RLC Position
25	To allow certain Indians to choose between Indian Health Service and private insurance	S. 1200	S.Amdt. 4034	28	67	Y
35	To invoke cloture to set new energy efficiency standards and create alternative fuel programs	H.R. 3221		48	46	N
61	To waive the Budget Act so as to create a 60-vote point of order against raising income tax rates	S.Con.Res. 70	S.Amdt. 4242	58	40	Y
75	To waive the Budget Act so as to allow for a one-year moratorium on earmarks	S.Con.Res. 70	S.Amdt. 4347	29	71	Y
90	To index for inflation the capital gains tax exclusion for selling a primary residence.	H.R. 3221	S.Amdt. 4407	41	44	Y
118	To increase coverage limits in the National Flood Insurance Program for residential properties	S. 2284	S.Amdt. 4722	27	66	N
123	A perfecting amendment relative to energy exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and offshore drilling	S. 2284	S.Amdt. 4720	42	56	Y
126	To invoke cloture to establish certain organized labor rights for state and local public safety officials	H.R. 980		69	29	N
133	To instruct conferees to require any new mandates on greenhouse gases be contingent on enactment of similar mandates in China and India	S.Con.Res. 70		34	61	Y
140	Farm Bill - Veto Override	H.R. 2419		82	13	N
145	To invoke cloture to cap greenhouse gas emissions and set up a trading system for emissions allowances	S. 3036	S.Amdt. 4825	48	36	N
146	To invoke cloture to repeal tax benefits for oil companies worth \$17 billion	S. 3044		51	43	N
147	To invoke cloture to extend and create new energy-related tax incentives	H.R. 6049		50	44	N
151	Farm Act Reauthorization - Veto Override	H.R. 6124		80	14	N
153	FHA Bailout - to waive pay-as-you-go rules to strike a new loan program to provide \$300B for a new loan guarantee program	H.R. 3221	S.Amdt. 4985	21	69	Y

181	To reduce proposed AIDS Relief by \$15B	S. 2731	S.Amdt. 5077	31	64	Y
184	To invoke cloture to increase regulations of energy futures trading	S. 3268		50	43	N
185	Fannie / Freddie Bailout - to invoke cloture to concur in House amendment to allow Treasury Dept to borrow to buy stock in Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac	H.R. 3221		80	13	N
210	Amtrak - to concur in House amendment to authorize \$13.1 billion over five years for Amtrak	H.R. 2095		74	24	N
215	Auto Company Bailout - to invoke cloture to authorize emergency loan package for domestic automakers	H.R. 7005		52	35	N

Table 7. 2008 Senate Roll Call Votes – Personal Liberties

Vote	Description	Bill#	Amendment#	For	Against	RLC Position
2	FISA - to table (kill) an amendment to restrict foreign surveillance to FISA-court-approved procedures	S. 2248		60	36	N
7	FISA - to change sunset provision from 6 to 4 years	S. 2248	S.Amdt. 3930	49	46	Y
11	FISA - to set limits on use of information about U.S. individuals obtained during foreign intelligence targeting procedures	S. 2248	S.Amdt. 3915	40	56	Y
12	FISA - to prohibit wiretapping an individual overseas to target a person in the U.S. the foreign individual is communicating with	S. 2248	S.Amdt. 3913	38	57	Y
15	FISA - to strike provisions providing retroactive immunity from civil liability to telecommunications companies	S. 2248	S.Amdt. 3907	31	67	N
20	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act Revisions -- to authorize certain warrantless wiretaps	S. 2248		68	29	N
29	to bar use of funds in bill to carry out anti-firearm or gun buy-back program	S. 1200	S.Amdt. 4070	78	11	Y
30	to bar use of funds or facilities of Indian Health Service to provide abortions except in case of rape, incest or danger to life of woman	S. 1200	S.Amdt. 3896	52	42	Y
40	to table (kill) amendment that would permit prevailing party in certain civil actions to recover reasonable costs and attorney fees	S. 2663	S.Amdt. 4097	56	39	N
59	To increase criminal and civil penalties against employers who hire undocumented immigrants	S.Con.Res. 70	S.Amdt. 4259	53	45	N
60	To allow increased border security and immigration enforcement, including programs that expand the zero tolerance prosecution policy for illegal entry and completion of 700 miles of border fencing	S.Con.Res. 70	S.Amdt. 4231	61	37	N
69	To table (kill) an amendment to restrict funds to jurisdictions that prohibit local law enforcement from cooperating with federal agencies looking for illegal immigrants	S.Con.Res. 70	S.Amdt. 4309	58	40	Y

71	To allow a \$50 million increase in Justice Dept funding for parental notification law enforcement	S.Con.Res. 70	S.Amdt. 4335	49	49	Y
84	To express sense of Senate that leaders should bring to floor legislation legalizing the importation of prescription drugs	S.Con.Res. 70	S.Amdt. 4299	73	23	Y
110	to invoke cloture on amending 1964 Civil Rights Act to allow employees to file charges of pay discrimination within 180 days of the last received paycheck affected by alleged discriminatory decision, as opposed to 180 days from the decision	H.R. 2831		56	42	N
111	to strike provision requiring \$221 million in new pension benefits for Filipino veterans residing in the Philippines who served in the U.S. armed forces during World War II and were not injured during their time in service	S. 1315	S.Amdt. 4572	41	56	Y
138	to concur in a House amendment that would express sense of Congress that the mission of U.S. forces in Iraq should be transitioned by June 2009 to counterterrorism operations; training, equipping, and supporting Iraqi forces; and force protection	H.R. 2642	S.Amdt. 4817	34	63	Y
164	To strike provisions providing retroactive immunity from civil liability to telecommunications companies	H.R. 6304	S.Amdt. 5064	32	66	N
189	To invoke cloture on nearly three dozen measures, including s ban the interstate sale or trade of monkeys, chimpanzees and other non-human primates	S. 3297		52	40	N
191	To invoke cloture to protect journalists, in some cases, from having to reveal the identity of their sources in court	S. 2035		51	43	Y