

The 2009 Liberty Index of Congress:

Congressman Jeff Flake: Mr. Perfect

By Clifford F. Thies

Dedicated to the memory of David Nolan.

For the first time in the now 22 year history of the Liberty Index, a member of Congress has scored a perfect 100, 100 in the economic liberties component *and* 100 in the personal liberties component. That person, the Nadia Comaneci of the Liberty Index, is Congressman Jeff Flake of Arizona. Close behind were Congressmen Ron Paul of Texas and Dana Rohrabacher of California. Their scores of 98 would have been history-setting, if not for Jeff Flake's perfect score.¹

This year, as in the past, the Liberty Index is compiled from forty roll call votes, twenty each in the areas of economic liberties and personal liberties, for each chamber of the U.S. Congress. Also as in the past, I have been assisted in selecting these roll call votes by an anonymous panel of trusted advisors, some of whom have been assisting me in this work for many years. As always, the final decision has been mine. The roll call votes are described in Tables 4 to 7.

It is with great respect for his life work that I dedicate this year's Liberty Index to the memory of David Nolan, 1943-2010, originator of the two-dimensional political axis known as the Nolan Chart. David saw that, by the early 1970s, neither side of the left-right political spectrum reflected the thinking of libertarians. By developing a two-dimensional political axis, he was able to communicate that libertarians were like conservatives (at least the good ones) in supporting a market-oriented economy and like liberals (again, at least the good ones) in supporting personal liberty. His idea was later adapted to the purpose of scoring the voting records of members of Congress by Don Ernsberger, another pioneer activist in the modern libertarian movement. For many years, the three of us worked together in the rough and tumble of third-party politics. David, the founder of the Libertarian Party, remained third-party through to his passing from this life.

The House of Representatives

In 2009, the Republicans in Congress were not only in the minority, they were in the opposition. With the Presidency and total control of the Congress, the Democrats advanced an ambitious agenda. As is well-known, this agenda involved raising taxes, increasing regulations, huge subsidies for green industry, and a very significant increase in the federal government's involvement in health care. Although not so well-known, the agenda also involved the nanny state, political correctness, national service, and government-funded propaganda. Resisting these changes made many Republicans look like libertarians.

¹ Ron Paul was dinged on an earmark vote, Dana Rohrabacher on a technology vote.

The shift of Republicans to a libertarian orientation has been very dramatic. Figure 1 displays a scatterplot of the economic and personal liberties scores of individual Congressmen for 2009. Republicans are shown as red crosses and Democrats as blue circles. Notice that the marks originate in the southwest quadrant and are scattered about something like a 45 degree line to the northeast quadrant.² This is almost an “up–down” political axis, as opposed to a left–right political axis.

Figure 2 shows that, back in 2005, the old, left-right political axis was alive and well. While Republicans were better than Democrats on economic liberties, they were no better or even worse on personal liberties. Ron Paul and Jeff Flake, the two highest scorers of that year, were outliers, not part of the political continuum.³ Clearly, the corrupting influence of power had taken its toll on the Republicans.

As Table 1 shows, the average Republican score in economic liberties was far superior to the average Democratic score, 86 to 9. Forty-nine Republicans scored perfect 100s on economic liberties; and, 104 Democrats scored perfect zeros (from a socialist perspective). Republicans also scored better on personal liberties, although not by as wide a margin, 72 to 21. One Republican, Jeff Flake, scored a perfect 100; and, four Democrats perfect zeros.

While there was a more or less continuum of scores, approximately from zero-zero to 100-100, there was very little overlap between members of the two parties. The most conspicuous cross-dresser was Congressman Bobby Bright of Alabama, the highest scoring Democrat, who voted like a moderate Republican. The lowest-scoring Republican was Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen of Florida. Results for individual Congressmen are given in Table 2.

The Senate

Results for the Senate were only slightly less dramatic than those for the House of Representatives. As Table 1 shows, Republican Senators on average scored better than Democratic Senators on personal liberties, and much better on economic liberties.

There was a two-way tie for highest: Senators John Ensign of Nevada and Jim DeMint of South Carolina, with 93. Both scored 100 in economic liberty and 86 in personal liberty. In addition to these two, three others had perfect 100s in economic liberty, namely Senators Coburn, Kyl and McCain. Table 3 gives the scores for individual Senators.

Judging by the Senators who were one vote short of a perfect 100 or a perfect zero, the toughest economic vote was the vote to cut \$1.8 billion from the acquisition of F-22 Raptors. Fifteen of the 22 Senators who fell just short of perfect were tripped up by this vote. The other seven were dinged on a variety of other roll call votes. It was an odd combination of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans passed this measure. We imagine that the motivations for these two groups were very different.

The F-22 is an awesome weapon system. It is, however, very expensive both in its cost per copy and in the assets required to support it. Its stealth comes at a cost in terms of range and the number of missiles

² The first component is not exactly a 45 degree line going from (0, 0) to (100, 100), but a slightly lower angled line going approximately from (0, 15) to (100, 85).

³ Dana Rohrabacher, while part of the political continuum that year, nevertheless finished #3.

it can carry. And, it is not capable of supporting ground operations. It is essentially a boutique weapon system. The F-22s that the air force currently has give it an air dominance weapon system, which can be very important in a variety of scenarios. But, with limited resources, additional investment in this weapon system would come at a high cost in terms of other weapon systems.

Being both in the minority and in opposition, it should not be surprising that the Republicans appear to be much more libertarian than they did just a few years ago. Politically, this enables the Republicans to appeal both to libertarian-oriented voters as well as to conservative voters. The challenge will be to go beyond merely resisting the Democrats, and to develop an agenda for change that maintains this broad appeal when the time comes.

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Table 1. 2009 Liberty Index. Summary Statistics.

	House	House	House	Senate	Senate	Senate
		Rep	Dem		Rep	Dem[1]
Economic (ave.)	41	86	9	47	88	19
Personal (ave.)	42	72	21	48	73	32
Libertarian (L) (#)	115	115	0	31	31	0
Enterpriser (E) (#)	51	50	1	7	7	0
Conservative (C) (#)	10	7	3	4	2	2
Moderate (M) (#)	30	4	26	21	0	21
Liberal (X) (#)	4	2	2	1	0	1
Authoritarian (A) (#)	225	0	225	36	0	36

[1] treating Lieberman (I-CT) and Sanders (I-VT) as a Democrats

Table 2. 2009 Liberty Index. U.S. House of Representatives

				Econ	Pers	Class
Young, D.	AK	01	R	73	72	E
Bonner	AL	01	R	88	76	L
Bright	AL	02	D	70	62	E
Rogers, Mike D.	AL	03	R	68	65	E
Aderholt	AL	04	R	72	69	E
Griffith	AL	05	D	48	50	M
Bachus, S.	AL	06	R	84	69	L
Davis, A.	AL	07	D	7	29	A
Berry	AR	01	D	20	24	A
Snyder	AR	02	D	14	21	A
Boozman	AR	03	R	96	69	L
Ross	AR	04	D	20	36	M
Kirkpatrick	AZ	01	D	39	29	M
Franks, T.	AZ	02	R	100	88	L
Shaddegg	AZ	03	R	100	91	L
Pastor	AZ	04	D	0	14	A
Mitchell	AZ	05	D	46	21	M
Flake	AZ	06	R	100	100	L
Grijalva	AZ	07	D	0	16	A
Giffords	AZ	08	D	13	29	A
Thompson, M.	CA	01	D	7	21	A
Herger	CA	02	R	100	88	L
Lungren	CA	03	R	96	77	L
McClintock	CA	04	R	100	92	L
Matsui	CA	05	D	0	14	A
Woolsey	CA	06	D	0	14	A
Miller, George	CA	07	D	0	15	A
Pelosi	CA	08	D	0	0	A
Lee	CA	09	D	0	14	A
Tauscher/Garamendi	CA	10	D	12	10	A
McNerney	CA	11	D	13	21	A
Speier	CA	12	D	7	21	A
Stark	CA	13	D	7	31	A
Eshoo	CA	14	D	7	14	A
Honda	CA	15	D	0	14	A

Lofgren	CA	16	D	7	8	A
Farr	CA	17	D	0	21	A
Cardoza	CA	18	D	14	30	A
Radanovich	CA	19	R	100	81	L
Costa	CA	20	D	7	21	A
Nunes	CA	21	R	96	77	L
McCarthy, K.	CA	22	R	100	73	L
Capps	CA	23	D	0	14	A
Gallegly	CA	24	R	100	65	L
McKeon	CA	25	R	80	69	E
Dreier	CA	26	R	83	81	L
Sherman	CA	27	D	0	7	A
Berman	CA	28	D	0	0	A
Schiff	CA	29	D	7	14	A
Waxman	CA	30	D	0	21	A
Becerra	CA	31	D	7	8	A
Solis/Chu	CA	32	D	0	0	A
Watson	CA	33	D	0	23	A
Roybal-Allard	CA	34	D	0	8	A
Waters	CA	35	D	0	30	A
Harman	CA	36	D	0	16	A
Richardson	CA	37	D	0	23	A
Napolitano	CA	38	D	0	16	A
Sanchez, Linda	CA	39	D	8	18	A
Royce	CA	40	R	100	77	L
Lewis, Jerry	CA	41	R	80	68	E
Miller, Gary	CA	42	R	73	74	E
Baca	CA	43	D	7	30	A
Calvert	CA	44	R	84	65	E
Bono Mack	CA	45	R	76	54	E
Rohrabacher	CA	46	R	96	100	L
Sanchez, Loretta	CA	47	D	7	24	A
Campbell	CA	48	R	96	87	L
Issa	CA	49	R	96	77	L
Bilbray	CA	50	R	80	58	E
Filner	CA	51	D	0	21	A
Hunter	Ca	52	R	96	77	L
Davis, S.	CA	53	D	7	14	A

DeGette	CO	01	D	7	21	A
Polis	CO	02	D	20	29	A
Salazar, J.	CO	03	D	7	38	A
Markey, B.	CO	04	D	39	29	M
Lamborn	CO	05	R	100	88	L
Coffman	CO	06	R	100	65	L
Perlmutter	CO	07	D	7	38	A
Larson, J.	CT	01	D	0	16	A
Courtney	CT	02	D	7	14	A
DeLauro	CT	03	D	0	15	A
Himes	CT	04	D	20	30	A
Murphy, C.	CT	05	D	14	23	A
Castle	DE	01	R	56	54	E
Miller, J.	FL	01	R	100	88	L
Boyd, A.	FL	02	D	35	36	M
Brown, C.	FL	03	D	0	16	A
Crenshaw	FL	04	R	92	58	E
Brown-Waite, G.	FL	05	R	75	68	E
Stearns	FL	06	R	96	69	L
Mica	FL	07	R	96	73	L
Grayson	FL	08	D	7	21	A
Bilirakis	FL	09	R	100	65	L
Young, C.W.	FL	10	R	84	57	E
Castor	FL	11	D	0	14	A
Putnam	FL	12	R	80	74	L
Buchanan	FL	13	R	75	58	E
Mack	FL	14	R	100	77	L
Possey	FL	15	R	92	76	L
Rooney	FL	16	R	92	65	L
Meek, K.	FL	17	D	0	14	A
Ros-Lehtinen	FL	18	R	39	50	M
Wexler	FL	19	D	0	15	A
Wasserman Schultz	FL	20	D	0	21	A
Diaz-Balart, L.	FL	21	R	56	60	E
Klein, R.	FL	22	D	7	14	A
Hastings, A.	FL	23	D	0	8	A
Kosmas	FL	24	D	33	29	M
Diaz-Balart, M.	FL	25	R	56	58	E

Kingston	GA	01	R	96	80	L
Bishop, S.	GA	02	D	0	24	A
Westmoreland	GA	03	R	100	91	L
Johnson, H.	GA	04	D	0	24	A
Lewis, John	GA	05	D	0	10	A
Price, T.	GA	06	R	100	88	L
Linder	GA	07	R	100	80	L
Marshall	GA	08	D	39	8	A
Deal	GA	09	R	100	88	L
Broun	GA	10	R	100	91	L
Gingrey	GA	11	R	96	76	L
Barrow	GA	12	D	21	21	A
Scott, D.	GA	13	D	0	7	A
Abercrombie	HI	01	D	0	29	A
Hirono	HI	02	D	0	14	A
Braley	IA	01	D	0	15	A
Boswell	IA	03	D	7	21	A
Latham	IA	04	R	80	62	E
King, S.	IA	05	R	100	85	L
Loebsack	IA	IA	D	0	8	A
Minnick	ID	01	D	52	50	C
Simpson	ID	02	R	76	64	E
Rush	IL	01	D	0	16	A
Jackson, J.	IL	02	D	0	15	A
Lipinski	IL	03	D	7	30	A
Gutierrez	IL	04	D	0	17	A
Quigley	IL	05	D	0	31	A
Roskam	IL	06	R	96	69	L
Davis, D.	IL	07	D	0	23	A
Bean	IL	08	D	28	21	A
Schakowsky	IL	09	D	0	14	A
Kirk	IL	10	R	64	36	C
Halvorson	IL	11	D	13	29	A
Costello	IL	12	D	7	38	A
Biggert	IL	13	R	68	51	E
Foster	IL	14	D	13	36	A
Johnson, Timothy	IL	15	R	70	64	E
Manzullo	IL	16	R	92	80	L

Hare	IL	17	D	0	21	A
Schock	IL	18	R	76	51	E
Shimkus	IL	19	R	88	64	L
Visclosky	IN	01	D	7	21	A
Donnelly	IN	02	D	7	30	A
Souder	IN	03	R	83	76	L
Buyer	IN	04	R	76	77	L
Burton	IN	05	R	96	85	L
Pence	IN	06	R	100	88	L
Carson, A.	IN	07	D	0	14	A
Ellsworth	IN	08	D	20	36	M
Hill	IN	09	D	13	40	M
Moran, Jerry	KS	01	R	92	88	L
Jenkins	KS	02	R	92	85	L
Moore, D.	KS	03	D	7	14	A
Tiaht	KS	04	R	96	80	L
Whitfield	KY	01	R	84	69	L
Guthrie	KY	02	R	84	65	E
Yarmuth	KY	03	D	7	21	A
Davis, G.	KY	04	R	88	73	L
Rogers, H.	KY	05	R	87	62	E
Chandler	KY	06	D	14	21	A
Scalise	LA	01	R	100	81	L
Cao	LA	02	R	48	48	M
Melancon	LA	03	D	15	36	M
Fleming	LA	04	R	100	62	L
Alexander, R.	LA	05	R	92	74	L
Cassidy	LA	06	R	84	64	E
Boustany	LA	07	R	96	68	L
Olver	MA	01	D	0	23	A
Neal	MA	02	D	7	29	A
McGovern	MA	03	D	0	15	A
Frank, B.	MA	04	D	0	30	A
Tsongas	MA	05	D	7	14	A
Tierney	MA	06	D	13	21	A
Markey, E.	MA	07	D	0	21	A
Capuano	MA	08	D	0	16	A
Lynch	MA	09	D	0	23	A

Delahunt	MA	10	D	0	15	A
Kratovil	MD	01	D	52	21	C
Ruppensberger	MD	02	D	14	0	A
Sarbanes	MD	03	D	0	14	A
Edwards, D.	MD	04	D	0	14	A
Hoyer	MD	05	D	0	14	A
Bartlett	MD	06	R	88	77	L
Cummings	MD	07	D	0	14	A
Van Hollen	MD	08	D	0	7	A
Pingree	ME	01	D	0	15	A
Michaud	ME	02	D	7	30	A
Stupak	MI	01	D	28	21	A
Hoekstra	MI	02	R	92	80	L
Ehlers	MI	03	R	66	54	E
Camp	MI	04	R	83	62	E
Kildee	MI	05	D	7	21	A
Upton	MI	06	R	64	54	E
Schauer	MI	07	D	26	14	A
Rogers, Mike	MI	08	R	79	57	E
Peters	MI	09	D	7	21	A
Miller, C.	MI	10	R	68	54	E
McCotter	MI	11	R	76	58	E
Levin, S.	MI	12	D	7	15	A
Kilpatrick	MI	13	D	7	14	A
Conyers	MI	14	D	0	15	A
Dingell	MI	15	D	7	7	A
Walz	MN	01	D	13	29	A
Kline, J.	MN	02	R	96	85	L
Paulsen	MN	03	R	80	58	E
McCollum	MN	04	D	0	14	A
Ellison	MN	05	D	0	15	A
Bachmann	MN	06	R	100	86	L
Peterson	MN	07	D	33	43	M
Oberstar	MN	08	D	0	21	A
Clay	MO	01	D	0	14	A
Akin	MO	02	R	100	88	L
Carnahan	MO	03	D	7	7	A
Skelton	MO	04	D	14	21	A

Cleaver	MO	05	D	0	7	A
Graves	MO	06	R	96	74	L
Blunt	MO	07	R	88	68	L
Emerson	MO	08	R	72	62	E
Luetkemeyer	MO	09	R	100	73	L
Childers	MS	01	D	39	54	X
Thompson, B.	MS	02	D	0	7	A
Harper	MS	03	R	100	76	L
Taylor	MS	04	D	46	38	M
Rehberg	MT	01	R	84	65	E
Butterfield	NC	01	D	0	15	A
Etheridge	NC	02	D	7	15	A
Jones, W.	NC	03	R	72	65	E
Price, D.	NC	04	D	0	14	A
Foxx	NC	05	R	100	92	L
Coble	NC	06	R	88	91	L
McIntyre	NC	07	D	20	36	M
Kissell	NC	08	D	20	29	A
Myrick	NC	09	R	96	85	L
McHenry	NC	10	R	100	88	L
Shuler	NC	11	D	26	55	X
Watt	NC	12	D	0	14	A
Miller, B.	NC	13	D	7	7	A
Pomeroy	ND	01	D	7	29	A
Fortenberry	NE	01	R	80	58	E
Terry	NE	02	R	83	65	E
Smith, Adrian	NE	03	R	92	84	L
Shea-Porter	NH	01	D	7	14	A
Hodes	NH	02	D	7	21	A
Andrews	NJ	01	D	0	14	A
LoBiondo	NJ	02	R	46	50	M
Adler	NJ	03	D	13	14	A
Smith, C.	NJ	04	R	46	54	X
Garrett	NJ	05	R	100	92	L
Pallone	NJ	06	D	0	23	A
Lance	NJ	07	R	64	50	C
Pascrell	NJ	08	D	7	23	A
Rothman	NJ	09	D	0	21	A

Payne	NJ	10	D	0	15	A
Frelinghuysen	NJ	11	R	72	50	C
Holt	NJ	12	D	0	21	A
Sires	NJ	13	D	7	15	A
Heinrich	NM	01	D	7	14	A
Teague	NM	02	D	39	30	M
Lujan	NM	03	D	7	23	A
Berkley	NV	01	D	7	23	A
Heller	NV	02	R	92	68	L
Titus	NV	03	D	7	14	A
Bishop, T.	NY	01	D	7	21	A
Israel	NY	02	D	7	23	A
King, P.	NY	03	R	64	54	E
McCarthy, C.	NY	04	D	15	16	A
Ackerman	NY	05	D	7	8	A
Meeks, G.	NY	06	D	0	7	A
Crowley	NY	07	D	0	15	A
Nadler	NY	08	D	0	21	A
Weiner	NY	09	D	0	15	A
Towns	NY	10	D	0	24	A
Clarke	NY	11	D	0	23	A
Velaquez	NY	12	D	0	8	A
McMahon	NY	13	D	26	14	A
Maloney	NY	14	D	7	30	A
Rangel	NY	15	D	0	14	A
Serrano	NY	16	D	0	14	A
Engel	NY	17	D	0	15	A
Lowey	NY	18	D	13	15	A
Hall, J.	NY	19	D	7	15	A
Gillibrand/Murphy, S.	NY	20	D	30	36	M
Tonko	NY	21	D	7	14	A
Hinchey	NY	22	D	0	16	A
McHugh/Owens	NY	23	R/D	44	50	M
Arcuri	NY	24	D	13	29	A
Maffei	NY	25	D	7	23	A
Lee, C.	NY	26	R	66	58	E
Higgins	NY	27	D	7	14	A
Slaughter	NY	28	D	7	21	A

Massa	NY	29	D	35	29	M
Driehaus	OH	01	D	7	36	A
Schmidt	OH	02	R	95	72	L
Turner	OH	03	R	52	54	E
Jordan	OH	04	R	100	85	L
Latta	OH	05	R	96	77	L
Wilson, Charlie	OH	06	D	7	29	A
Austria	OH	07	R	84	65	E
Boehner	OH	08	R	96	80	L
Kaptur	OH	09	D	14	38	M
Kucinich	OH	10	D	20	21	A
Fudge	OH	11	D	0	15	A
Tiberi	OH	12	R	76	62	E
Sutton	OH	13	D	0	23	A
LaTourette	OH	14	R	56	54	E
Kilroy	OH	15	D	7	23	A
Bocchieri	OH	16	D	13	29	A
Ryan, T.	OH	17	D	7	29	A
Space	OH	18	D	13	29	A
Sullivan	OK	01	R	95	84	L
Boren	OK	02	D	52	50	C
Lucas	OK	03	R	83	72	L
Cole	OK	04	R	92	69	L
Fallin	OK	05	R	100	73	L
Wu	OR	01	D	0	15	A
Walden	OR	02	R	79	65	E
Blumenauer	OR	03	D	7	14	A
DeFazio	OR	04	D	0	21	A
Schrader	OR	05	D	20	29	A
Brady, R.	PA	01	D	0	21	A
Fattah	PA	02	D	0	14	A
Dahlempfer	PA	03	D	20	30	A
Altmire	PA	04	D	20	36	M
Thompson, G.	PA	05	R	80	68	E
Gerlach	PA	06	R	58	50	C
Sestak	PA	07	D	7	15	A
Murphy, P.	PA	08	D	7	14	A
Shuster	PA	09	R	80	69	E

Carney	PA	10	D	13	23	A
Kanjorski	PA	11	D	20	14	A
Murtha	PA	12	D	7	30	A
Schwartz, A.	PA	13	D	7	14	A
Doyle	PA	14	D	0	30	A
Dent	PA	15	R	64	43	C
Pitts	PA	16	R	92	85	L
Holden	PA	17	D	20	23	A
Murphy, T.	PA	18	R	46	64	X
Platts	PA	19	R	56	50	C
Kennedy, P.	RI	01	D	0	10	A
Langovin	RI	02	D	7	21	A
Brown, H.	SC	01	R	92	69	L
Wilson, J.	SC	02	R	100	85	L
Barrett	SC	03	R	100	91	L
Inglis	SC	04	R	88	88	L
Spratt	SC	05	D	7	14	A
Clyburn	SC	06	D	0	8	A
Hersth Sandlin	SD	01	D	33	30	M
Roe	TN	01	R	92	65	L
Duncan	TN	02	R	88	80	L
Wamp	TN	03	R	78	69	E
Davis, L.	TN	04	D	21	43	M
Cooper	TN	05	D	26	30	M
Gordon	TN	06	D	26	43	M
Blackburn	TN	07	R	96	84	L
Tanner	TN	08	D	22	43	M
Cohen	TN	09	D	0	23	A
Gohmert	TX	01	R	100	83	L
Poe	TX	02	R	92	77	L
Johnson, S.	TX	03	R	100	81	L
Hall, R.	TX	04	R	88	69	L
Hensarling	TX	05	R	100	92	L
Barton	TX	06	R	83	73	L
Culberson	TX	07	R	96	81	L
Brady, K.	TX	08	R	100	80	L
Green, A.	TX	09	D	0	14	A
McCaul	TX	10	R	96	69	L

Conaway	TX	11	R	100	85	L
Granger	TX	12	R	87	76	L
Thornberry	TX	13	R	100	85	L
Paul	TX	14	R	96	100	L
Hinojosa	TX	15	D	0	30	A
Reyes	TX	16	D	7	24	A
Edwards, C.	TX	17	D	20	21	A
Jackson Lee	TX	18	D	0	8	A
Neugebauer	TX	19	R	100	88	L
Gonzalez	TX	20	D	7	15	A
Smith, Lamar	TX	21	R	80	77	L
Olson	TX	22	R	100	80	L
Rodriguez	TX	23	D	7	29	A
Marchant	TX	24	R	96	88	L
Doggett	TX	25	D	20	43	M
Burgess	TX	26	R	100	79	L
Ortiz	TX	27	D	7	21	A
Cuellar	TX	28	D	13	21	A
Green, G.	TX	29	D	0	14	A
Johnson, E.	TX	30	D	0	8	A
Carter	TX	31	R	96	88	L
Sessions, P.	TX	32	R	100	85	L
Bishop, R.	UT	01	R	100	79	L
Matheson	UT	02	D	35	36	M
Chaffetz	UT	03	R	100	81	L
Wittman	VA	01	R	84	62	E
Nye	VA	02	D	33	14	A
Scott, R.	VA	03	D	7	21	A
Forbes	VA	04	R	92	73	L
Perriollo	VA	05	D	7	48	M
Goodlatte	VA	06	R	100	81	L
Cantor	VA	07	R	96	88	L
Moran, James	VA	08	D	0	15	A
Boucher	VA	09	D	22	16	A
Wolf	VA	10	R	68	58	E
Connolly	VA	11	D	7	14	A
Welch	VT	01	D	0	14	A
Inslee	WA	01	D	7	15	A

Larsen, R.	WA	02	D	7	14	A
Baird	WA	03	D	26	7	A
Hastings, D.	WA	04	R	92	80	L
McMorris Rodgers	WA	05	R	100	65	L
Dicks	WA	06	D	7	14	A
McDermott	WA	07	D	7	23	A
Reichert	WA	08	R	56	43	C
Smith, Adam	WA	09	D	7	21	A
Ryan, P.	WI	01	R	92	85	L
Baldwin	WI	02	D	0	14	A
Kind	WI	03	D	14	29	A
Moore, G.	WI	04	D	0	14	A
Sensenbrenner	WI	05	R	100	85	L
Petri	WI	06	R	80	69	E
Obey	WI	07	D	0	29	A
Kagan	WI	08	D	7	23	A
Mollohan	WV	01	D	7	30	A
Capito	WV	02	R	56	58	E
Rahall	WV	03	D	7	14	A
Lummis	WY	01	R	96	92	L

Table 3. 2009 Liberty Index. U.S. Senate

			Econ	Pers	Class
Begich	AK	D	22	50	M
Murkowski, L.	AK	R	77	60	E
Sessions, J.	AL	R	94	60	L
Shelby	AL	R	86	65	L
Lincoln	AR	D	34	55	X
Pryor, M.	AR	D	28	60	X
Kyl	AZ	R	100	45	C
McCain	AZ	R	100	55	L
Boxer	CA	D	6	55	X
Feinstein	CA	D	11	50	M
Bennet	CO	D	6	50	M
Udall, Mark	CO	D	22	45	M
Dodd	CT	D	34	52	X
Lieberman	CT	I	45	40	M
Carper	DE	D	11	60	X
Kaufman	DE	D	0	50	A
Belson, Bill	FL	D	39	45	M
Martinez, Mel	FL	R	82	66	E
Chambliss	GA	R	95	40	C
Isakson	GA	R	95	40	C
Akaka	HI	D	11	55	X
Inouye	HI	D	28	55	X
Grassley	IA	R	86	50	C
Harkin	IA	D	11	55	X
Crapo	ID	R	86	45	C
Risch	ID	R	86	50	C
Burris	IL	D	30	55	X
Durbin	IL	D	28	50	M
Bayh	IN	D	45	40	M
Lugar	IN	R	86	55	E
Brownback	KS	R	82	45	C
Roberts	KS	R	86	50	C
Bunning	KY	R	95	42	C
McConnell	KY	R	95	45	C
Landrieu	LA	D	17	50	M

Vitter	LA	R	91	60	L
Kennedy, E./Kirk, P.	MA	D	6	47	M
Kerry	MA	D	35	50	M
Cardin	MD	D	22	50	M
Mikulski	MD	D	22	50	M
Collins, S.	ME	R	59	50	C
Snowe	ME	R	59	50	C
Levin, C.	MI	D	17	55	X
Stabenow	MI	D	22	55	X
Franken	MN	D	28	50	M
Klobouchar	MN	D	17	45	M
Bond	MO	R	77	59	E
McCaskill	MO	D	11	50	M
Cochran	MS	R	82	50	C
Wicker	MS	R	91	50	C
Baucus	MT	D	22	45	M
Tester	MT	D	22	45	M
Burr	NC	R	86	45	C
Hagan	NC	D	6	55	X
Conrad	ND	D	6	47	M
Dorgan, B.	ND	D	6	50	M
Johanns	NE	R	89	44	C
Nelson, Ben	NE	D	39	45	M
Gregg	NH	R	95	58	L
Shaheen	NH	D	6	50	M
Lautenberg	NJ	D	17	42	M
Menendez	NJ	D	6	45	M
Bingaman	NM	D	6	50	M
Udall, T.	NM	D	6	50	M
Ensign	NV	R	100	50	C
Reid, H.	NV	D	11	50	M
Gillibrand	NY	D	28	35	M
Schumer	NY	D	11	50	M
Brown, S.	OH	D	11	52	X
Voinovich	OH	R	72	63	E
Coburn	OK	R	100	45	C
Inhofe	OK	R	95	47	C
Merkley	OR	D	6	41	A

Wyden	OR	D	11	45	M
Casey	PA	D	28	50	M
Specter	PA	D	17	45	M
Reed, J.	RI	D	6	52	X
Whitehouse	RI	D	6	52	X
DeMint	SC	R	100	50	C
Graham, L.	SC	R	91	52	E
Johnson, Tim	SD	D	6	55	X
Thune	SD	R	91	60	L
Alexander	TN	R	77	52	E
Corker	TN	R	86	63	E
Cornyn	TX	R	95	50	C
Hutchinson, K.	TX	R	82	47	C
Bennett, R.	UT	R	82	50	C
Hatch	UT	R	91	45	C
Warner, M.	VA	D	22	50	M
Webb	VA	D	28	50	M
Leahy	VT	D	17	55	X
Sanders	VT	I	6	50	M
Cantwell	WA	D	6	55	X
Murray	WA	D	55	55	E
Feingold	WI	D	6	50	M
Kohl	WI	D	41	45	M
Byrd	WV	D	22	55	X
Rockefeller	WV	D	12	41	M
Barasso	WY	R	95	50	C
Enzi	WY	R	95	45	C

Table 4. 2009 Liberty Index, U.S. House Roll Call Votes – Economic Liberties

Vote	Description	Bill#	Amendment#	For	Against	RLC Position
16	Children's Health Insurance - to reauthorize the SCHIP program, expanding it from \$25 to \$60 billion, increasing the eligibility limit to 3 times the poverty level, and increasing taxes on cigarettes (from 39 cents to \$1 per pack) and other tobacco products	HR 2		289	139	N
46	Economic Stimulus - to provide \$820 billion in tax cuts and new spending to stimulate the economy	HR 1		244	188	N
104	Mortgage Loans Modification - to allow bankruptcy judges to write down the principal and interest on loans issued before the bill's enactment to a home's current market value	HR 1106		234	191	N
122	Clean Water Revolving Fund - an amendment to remove the Davis-Bacon Act provisions in the bill	HR 1262	H.AMDT.29	140	284	Y
153	Public Lands Designation - to concur in the Senate amendment to the bill	HR 146		285	140	N
189	Fiscal 2010 Budget Resolution - Republican Substitute - to set expenditures at a lower level than in the Senate budget resolution, reduce mandatory spending, and extend the 2001 and 2002 tax cuts	HCONRES 85	H.AMDT.75	111	322	Y
190	Fiscal 2010 Budget Resolution - Black Caucus Substitute - to increase expenditures even more than provided in the Senate Budget Resolution and increase taxes on those making more than \$500,000 per year	HCONRES 85	H.AMDT.74	113	318	N
216	Fiscal 2010 Budget Resolution - Conference Rpt	SCONRES 13		233	193	N
310	Federal Employee Paid Paternal Leave - for up to four weeks or eight weeks if accrued annual or sick leave is also utilized	HR 626		258	154	N
372	Fiscal 2010 Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - to bar funds for the National Climate Service	HR 2847	H.AMDT.231	161	262	Y
373	Fiscal 2010 Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - to bar funds for the Art Center of the Grand Prairie in Stuttgart, Arkansas	HR 2847	H.AMDT.233	134	294	Y
376	Fiscal 2010 Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - to	HR 2847	H.AMDT.236	129	295	Y

	bar funds for the Jamaica (N.Y.) Export Center					
621	Fiscal 2010 Transportation-HUD Appropriations - to reduce funds for high-speed rail	HR 3288	H.AMDT.365	136	284	Y
682	Car Voucher Funding Program - to suspend the rules and provide \$2 billion for the 'cash for clunkers' program	HR 3435		316	109	N
686	Executive Pay Overhaul - to establish new rules for the compensation of executives of publicly-traded companies	HR 3269		237	185	N
709	Vehicle Research and Development Program - to authorize \$2.9 billion for vehicle R&D to reduce use of petroleum	HR 3246		312	114	N
807	Solar Energy - to authorize \$2.25 billion to develop technology for solar energy	HR 3585		310	106	N
849	Expedited Credit Card Rules - to prohibit interest rate increases for 9 months	HR 3639	H.AMDT.498	249	173	N
887	Health Care Overhaul - to overhaul the nation's health insurance system and require most people to health insurance by 2013	HR 3962		220	215	N
929	Estate Tax - to make permanent the estate and gift tax rates that go up to 45 percent and to limit the exemption to \$3.5 million	HR 4154		225	200	N

Table 5. 2009 Liberty Index, U.S. House Roll Call Votes – Personal Liberties

Vote	Description	Bill#	Amendment#	For	Against	RLC Position
3	House Organizing – to commit to a select cmte, to not remove 6-year term limits for cmte chairs	HRES 5		174	249	Y
37	Wage Discrimination - to allow employees to file charges up to 6 months of the last paycheck affected by the alleged discrimination, as opposed to the decision itself	S 181		250	177	N
62	Elder Abuse - to suspend the rules and authorize \$220 million for grants to local law enforcement to deal with elder abuse	HR 448		397	25	N
76	Nonhuman Primate Sale - to suspend the rules and ban the interstate sale or importation of nonhuman primate	HR 80		323	95	N
140	National Service Programs - to reauthorize and expand	HR 1388		321	105	N
187	Tobacco Regulation - to allow the FDA to regulate tobacco products	HR 1256		298	112	N
206	Community-oriented Policing Services - to suspend the rules and authorize \$1.8 billion for the COPS program	HR 1139		342	78	N
223	Hate Crimes Prosecution - to expand the federal hate crimes law to include sexual orientation, gender or disability	HR 1913		249	175	N
225	Credit Card Regulations - to restrict credit card limits to full-time college students ages 18-20	HR 627	H.AMDT.92	276	154	N
324	State Dept Authorization - to strike the bill's funding of the domestic release of the Voice of America's film 'A Fateful Harvest'	HR 2410	H.AMDT.190	178	254	Y
325	State Dept Authorization - to express a sense of Congress that Eritrea's support of armed insurgents in Somalia poses a threat to the U.S. and east African nations	HR 2410	H.AMDT.195	183	245	N
333	Pakistan Aid Authorization - to authorize up to \$1.9 billion in aid annually through 2013	HR 1886		234	185	N
338	School Overnight Trip Plans - to suspend the rules and require schools receiving funds for the Safe and Drug-free Schools and Communities program to require the schools to develop written safety plans for overnight trips	HR 729		319	60	N

359	Fiscal 2010 Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - to strike \$440 million for the Legal Services Corporation which provides legal assistance to low-income people	HR 2847	H.AMDT.359	105	323	Y
453	Fiscal 2010 Defense Authorization - to require an exit strategy for U.S. forces in Afghanistan	HR 2647	H.AMDT.262	138	278	Y
519	Fiscal 2010 State-Foreign Operations Appropriations - to strike provision allowing the president to overrule a ban on funds to Saudi Arabia if it cooperates in efforts to combat terrorism	HR 3081	H.AMDT.309	297	135	Y
577	Wild free-roaming horses and burros - to identify new rangeland for wild free-roaming horses and burros, prohibit their killing, and control their population through sterilization	HR 1018		239	185	N
638	Firearms - to kill an appeal of the ruling of the chair that an amendment to bar funds in the Transportation-HUD appropriations bill from restricting the lawful possession of firearms in federally-assisted housing, was out of order	HR 3288		238	182	N
662	Fiscal 2010 Defense Appropriations - to reduce funding for drug interdiction by \$160 million	HR 3326	H.AMDT.394	48	373	Y
884	Health Care Overhaul - to prevent funds from paying for abortions	HR 3962	H.AMDT.509	240	194	Y

Table 6. 2009 Liberty Index, U.,S. Senate Roll Call Votes – Economic Liberties

Vote	Description	Bill#	Amendment#	For	Against	RLC Position
31	Children's Health Insurance - to reauthorize the SCHIP program at \$33 billion, increase eligibility to three times the poverty level, phase out coverage of childless adults, and loosen citizenship documentation requirements	HR 2		66	32	N
44	Economic Stimulus - to strike the 'buy American' provision in the bill	HR 1	S.AMDT.279	31	65	Y
61	Economic Stimulus - to provide \$838 billion for tax cuts and higher spending to stimulate the economy	HR 1		61	37	N
74	Fiscal 2009 Omnibus Appropriations - a substitute amendment to freeze appropriations to the agencies funded by the bill (those for which appropriations bills were not passed during 2008) at Fiscal 2008 levels	HR 1105	S.AMDT.592	32	63	Y
79	Fiscal 2009 Omnibus Appropriations - to bar funds for 11 earmarks including the Polynesian Voyaging Society of Hawaii	HR 1105	S.AMDT.610	34	61	Y
80	Fiscal 2009 Omnibus Appropriations - to bar funds for 13 earmarks including an adaptive liquid crystal windows project in Ohio	HR 1105	S.AMDT.623	43	52	Y
82	Fiscal 2009 Omnibus Regulations - to preserve a public comment period for any proposed changes to regulations protecting polar bears and regulating carbon dioxide	HR 1105	S.AMDT.599	42	52	Y
106	Public Lands Designation – to designate more than 2 million new acres of wilderness lands	HR 146		77	20	N
119	Fiscal 2010 Budget - National Debt - to create a 60-vote point of order against increasing the national debt to more than 90% of GDP	SCONRES 13	S.AMDT.747	43	55	Y
122	Fiscal 2010 Budget - Income Tax Rates - to create a 60-vote point of order against increasing income tax rates	SCONRES 13	S.AMDT.806	82	16	Y

125	Fiscal 2010 Budget – Climate Change - to waive the Budget Act with respect to a point of order against an amendment that would prohibit the use of reconciliation for climate change or clean energy legislation	SCONRES 13	42	56	N
135	Federal 2010 Budget Resolution - Energy Taxes - to create a 60-vote point of order against energy tax increases that would be widely applicable to taxpayers with annual incomes of \$200,000 or less	SCONRES 13 S.AMDT.910	65	33	Y
140	Federal 2010 Budget Resolution - to establish a national usury law	SCONRES 13 S.AMDT.811	31	67	N
141	Federal 2010 Budget Resolution - Clean Technology - to create new jobs in 'clean technology'	SCONRES 13 S.AMDT.879	73	25	N
147	Federal 2010 Budget Resolution - Estate Tax - to create a 60-vote point of order against estate tax relief beyond what is assumed in the budget resolution	SCONRES 13 S.AMDT.974	56	43	N
173	Federal 2010 Budget Resolution - Conference Rpt	SCONRES 13	53	43	N
174	Housing Loans Modification - 'Cramdown' Provision - to allow bankruptcy judges to write down the principal and interest rates of certain mortgages	S 896 S.AMDT.1014	45	51	N
235	Fiscal 2010 Defense Authorization - to strike authorization of \$1.8 billion for F-22A aircraft	S 1390 S.AMDT.1469	58	40	Y
270	Car Voucher Program - to authorize \$2 billion for the 'Cash for Clunkers' program	HR 3435	60	37	N
396	Health Care Overhaul - to overhaul the nation's health insurance system and require most people to have health insurance by 2013	HR 3590	60	39	N

Table 7. 2009 Liberty Index, U.S. Senate Roll Call Votes – Personal Liberties

Vote	Description	Bill#	Amendment#	For	Against	RLC Position
14	Wage Discrimination - to allow employees to file charges of pay discrimination within six months of the last paycheck affected by an alleged discriminatory decision, as opposed to the decision itself	S 181		61	36	N
67	DC Voting Rights - point of order that the bill is unconstitutional	S 160		36	62	Y
72	DC Voting Rights - to prohibit the district from banning or overly regulating guns	S 160	S.AMDT.575	62	36	Y
92	Fiscal 2009 Omnibus Appropriations - to bar funds for the FCC to reinstate the fairness doctrine	HR 1105	S.AMDT.662	47	50	Y
94	Fiscal 2009 Omnibus Appropriations - to strike the elimination of funds for the DC voucher program	HR 1105	S.AMDT.615	39	58	Y
115	National Service Programs – to reauthorize and expand	HR 1388		79	19	N
150	Fiscal 2010 Budget Resolution - to waive the budget act with respect to a point of order against an amendment to create a 60-vote point of order against legislation that fails to fully-fund the southwest border fence	SCONRES 13	S.AMDT.969	36	61	N
152	Fiscal 2010 Budget Resolution - Health Providers - to prohibit discrimination against health care providers who object to certain medical procedures or drugs on religious or moral grounds	SCONRES 13	S.AMDT.828	41	56	Y
153	Fiscal 2010 Budget Resolution - Drug Testing - to institute mandatory drug testing of those receiving Temporary Assistance to Needy Families, with sanctions for those who test positive	SCONRES 13	S.AMDT.937	18	79	N
188	Credit Card Regulations - to bar the Interior Dept from prohibiting an individual from possessing a firearm in a national park or wildlife refuge	HR 627	S.AMDT.1067	67	29	Y
190	Credit Card Regulations - to require credit card users to verify identities using a Social Security card, driver's license, passport or photo ID issued by Homeland Security	HR 627	S.AMDT.1066	28	65	N

207	Tobacco Regulation - to authorize the FDA to regulate tobacco products	HR 1256		79	17	N
225	Fiscal 2010 Homeland Security Appropriations - to bar funds to prevent individuals from importing prescription drugs from Canada	HR 2892		55	36	Y
231	Fiscal 2010 Defense Authorization - Hate Crimes - to prevent the expansion of federal hate crimes to include sexual orientation, gender and disability	S 1390	S.AMDT.1611	29	62	Y
237	Fiscal 2010 Defense Authorization - to allow individuals with a valid permit in their home state to carry concealed firearms in other states that permit the same	S 1390	S.AMDT.1618	58	39	Y
262	Sotomayor nomination - confirmation of Sonia Sotomayor to be an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court			68	31	N
280	Fiscal 2010 Transportation-HUD Appropriations - to bar funds for requiring certain adult residents of public housing contribute eight hours of community service each month	HR 3288	S.AMDT.2376	72	25	Y
316	Fiscal 2010 Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - to kill an amendment to bar funds to prohibit states from enforcing immigration laws	HR 2847	S.AMDT.2630	61	38	N
317	Fiscal 2010 Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - to remove \$20 million for public telecommunication facilities	HR 2847	S.AMDT.2626	33	64	Y
369	Health Care Overhaul - to kill an amendment to bar funds to pay for abortions	HR 3590	S.AMDT.2962	54	45	N

Figure 1

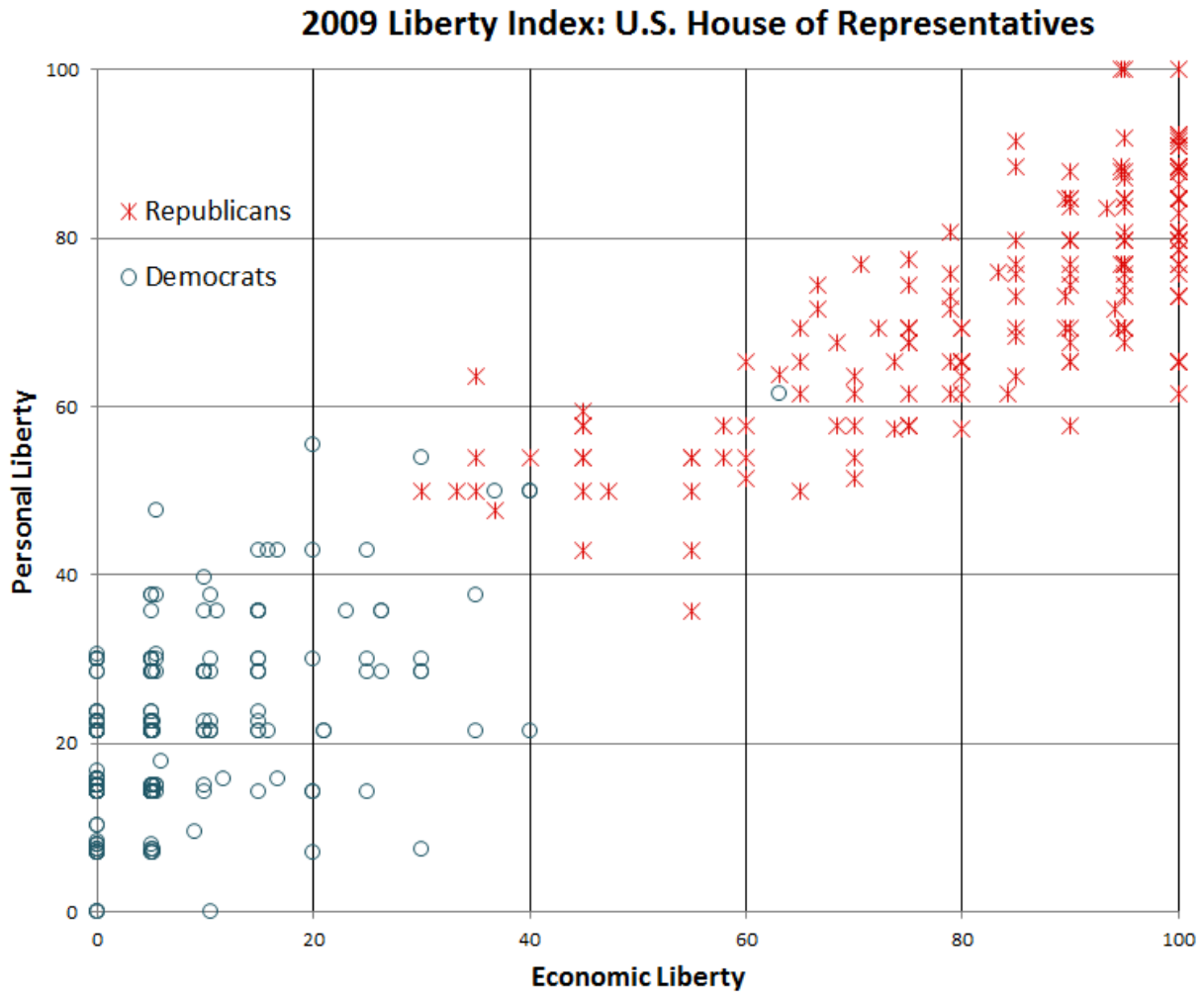


Figure 2

2005 Liberty Index: U.S. House of Representatives

