

The Freedom Index

A Congressional Scorecard Based on the U.S. Constitution

Our first look at the 118th Congress shows how every member of the House and Senate voted on key issues such as the bipartisan debt-limit deal, ending the Covid national emergency, and ESG.

House Vote Descriptions

1 Forced Vaccinations. H.R. 497, the “Freedom for Health Care Workers Act,” would eliminate the Health and Human Services (HHS) Covid-19 vaccine mandate on healthcare providers furnishing items and services in Medicare- and Medicaid-certified facilities. It would also prohibit HHS from publishing any substantially similar rule.

The House passed H.R. 497 on January 31, 2023 by a vote of 227 to 203 (Roll Call 98). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because an executive branch agency, such as HHS, has no lawmaking power according to Article I, Section 1 of the Constitution, and therefore cannot impose vaccine mandates via executive decree. Even with an act of Congress, Covid-19 vaccine mandates would still be unconstitutional due to the lack of constitutional authority for Congress to pass a law mandating what you must put into your body.



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Government’s prerogative? How free are we when government officials can dictate what we must put into our bodies? The House championed freedom of choice in medical therapy by voting to end an HHS-imposed Covid vaccine mandate.

2 Terminate Covid-19 National Emergency. According to H. J. Res. 7, “the national [Covid-19] emergency declared by the finding of the President on March 13, 2020, in Proclamation 9994 ... is hereby terminated.”

The House passed H. J. Res. 7 on February 1, 2023 by a vote of 229 to 197 (Roll Call 104). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because it is unconstitutional to suspend the Constitution by declaring national public-health emergencies.

About This Index

“**T**he Freedom Index: A Congressional Scorecard Based on the U.S. Constitution” rates members of Congress based on their adherence to constitutional principles of limited government, fiscal responsibility, national sovereignty, and a traditional foreign policy of avoiding foreign entanglements. To learn how any representative or senator voted on the key measures described herein, look him or her up in the vote charts.

The scores are derived by dividing a congressman’s constitutional votes (pluses) by the total number he cast (pluses and minuses) and multiplying by 100. The average House score for this index is 39 percent (68 percent for the Republicans and eight percent for the Democrats), and the average Senate score

is 40 percent (71 percent for the Republicans and eight percent for the Democrats). Twenty-one representatives and three senators earned 100 percent. We encourage readers to examine how their own legislators voted on each of the 10 key measures. We also encourage readers to commend legislators for their constitutional votes, and to urge improvement where needed.

This is our first index for the 118th Congress, which began on January 3 of this year. An online version of the “Freedom Index” is also available (click on “Freedom Index” at TheNewAmerican.com), as are Congressional Scorecards on individual members of the House and Senate and Legislative Scorecards on state legislators (see ad on page 12). ■

3 Noncitizen Voting in Washington, D.C. H. J. Res. 24 would nullify the Local Resident Voting Rights Amendment Act of 2022, enacted by the Council of the District of Columbia, which allows noncitizens — including illegal aliens — to vote in local elections beginning in 2024.

The House passed H. J. Res. 24 on February 9, 2023 by a vote of 260 to 162 (Roll Call 118). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the right to vote and choose representatives in America is retained solely by citizens of the United States, who, owing true faith and allegiance to the Constitution, are not subject to any foreign power. According to Article 1, Section 8, Clause 17 of the Constitution, Congress is granted the authority to “exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever” involving Washington, D.C.

4 ESG Fiduciary Rule. H. J. Res. 30 would reverse the December 2022 Labor Department rule modifying standards under the Employee Retirement Income Security Act to allow retirement-plan fiduciaries to consider environmental, social, and governance (ESG) factors in making investment decisions and exercising shareholder rights, including when voting on shareholder resolutions and board nominations.

The House passed H. J. Res. 30 on February 28, 2023 by a vote of 216 to 204 (Roll Call 124). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because “woke” ESG policies, which corporations and governments are increasingly embracing, are aligned with the United Nations’ Agenda 2030. The UN’s Agenda 2030 is inherently contrary to the Constitution, and ESG promotes leftist policies including radical environmentalism, gun control, and the LGBT agenda. Plus, the U.S. Constitution does not authorize the federal government to regulate retirement plans.

5 U.S. Military in Syria. H. Con. Res. 21 would direct the president to remove U.S. armed forces from Syria within 180 days of the adoption of the resolution.

The House rejected the resolution on March 8, 2023 by a vote of 103 to 321

(Roll Call 136). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the military intervention in Syria was initiated by the president without congressional approval, despite the fact that the power to declare war belongs to Congress.

6 Federal Water Rule. H. J. Res. 27 would disapprove of a rule submitted by the Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, Department of Defense, and Environmental Protection Agency on January 18, 2023 that again revises the definition of the “Waters of the United States.” During House debate on the bill, Representative Tracey Mann (R-Kan.) declared, “Agricultural producers have been forced to operate their businesses under three different definitions of water in the last 10 years, and this most recent rule removes long-standing bipartisan exemptions for common water features like ponds and streams found on family farms and other private property. With this vote, Congress has a golden opportunity to stand up not only for people who feed, fuel, and clothe us all, but also for all Americans whose businesses and private lives will be affected by this Big Government encroachment onto their property.”

The House passed H. J. Res. 27 on March 9, 2023 by a vote of 227 to 198 (Roll Call 142). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because both federal water regulations and the EPA are unconstitutional, and if the latest Biden administration rule were allowed to stand, activities such as farming and real estate development would be greatly hampered, since farmers and developers would be subject to increased unconstitutional permit requirements and fines concerning their treatment of almost any body of water, no matter how small.

7 ASEAN Relations. H.R. 406 would extend provisions of the International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945 to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). If enacted, the United States would formally recognize ASEAN as an international organization, providing for a permanent ASEAN mission to the United States with the same diplomatic immunities and privileges enjoyed by other foreign embassies.

The House passed H.R. 406 on March 23, 2023 by a vote of 338 to 33 (Roll Call 148). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because ASEAN is a political and eco-



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Exercising the franchise: Voting is one of the great responsibilities of citizenship. The Council of the District of Columbia undermined this responsibility by extending it to noncitizens.

House Vote Scores ✓

Votes:		1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALABAMA												
1	Carl (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
2	Moore (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3	Rogers (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
4	Aderholt (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
5	Strong (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
6	Palmer (R)	67%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	?	-	+
7	Sewell (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ALASKA												
AL	Peltola (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ARIZONA												
1	Schweikert (R)	78%	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	-
2	Crane (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3	Gallego (D)	11%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-
4	Stanton (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Biggs (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6	Ciscomani (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
7	Grijalva (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
8	Lesko (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
9	Gosar (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ARKANSAS												
1	Crawford (R)	44%	+	+	+	?	-	+	-	-	-	-
2	Hill (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
3	Womack (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
4	Westerman (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
CALIFORNIA												
1	LaMalfa (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
2	Huffman (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
3	Kiley (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
4	Thompson (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	McClintock (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
6	Bera (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	Matsui (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	Garamendi (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	Harder (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	DeSaulnier (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
11	Pelosi (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	Lee (D)	22%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	+
13	Duarte (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
14	Swalwell (D)	0%	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	Mullin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-
16	Eshoo (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	Khanna (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
18	Lofgren (D)	0%	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	Panetta (D)	20%	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
20	McCarthy (R)	50%	+	?	+	?	-	?	-	+	?	-
21	Costa (D)	25%	-	-	+	-	-	+	?	?	-	-
22	Valadao (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
23	Obornolte (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
24	Carbajal (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	Ruiz (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	Brownley (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	Garcia (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
28	Chu (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
29	Cárdenas (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	Schiff (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	Napolitano (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-

Votes:		1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
32	Sherman (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	Aguilar (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	Gomez (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
35	Torres (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
36	Lieu (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	-	-
37	Kamlager-Dove (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
38	Sánchez (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
39	Takano (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	Kim (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
41	Calvert (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
42	Garcia (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
43	Waters (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	Barragán (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
45	Steel (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
46	Correa (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	Porter (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
48	Issa (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
49	Levin (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	Peters (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	Jacobs (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
52	Vargas (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
COLORADO												
1	DeGette (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	Neguse (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Boebert (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?
4	Buck (R)	89%	+	+	+	?	+	+	-	+	+	+
5	Lamborn (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
6	Crow (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	Pettersen (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	Caraveo (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CONNECTICUT												
1	Larson (D)	13%	-	-	?	-	?	-	-	-	-	+
2	Courtney (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	DeLauro (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4	Himes (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Hayes (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
DELAWARE												
AL	Blunt Rochester (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
FLORIDA												
1	Gaetz (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2	Dunn (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
3	Cammack (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
4	Bean (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
5	Rutherford (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
6	Waltz (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
7	Mills (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
8	Posey (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+
9	Soto (D)	0%	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	Frost (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	Webster (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
12	Bilirakis (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
13	Luna (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14	Castor (D)	0%	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	Lee (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
16	Buchanan (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
17	Steube (R)		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	+	+	+
18	Franklin (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A "?" means a representative did not vote. If a representative cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 1, 2, and 4.

conomic union, as opposed to an individual sovereign nation. Providing a permanent ASEAN mission in the United States with the same privileges and immunities as embassies further accelerates globalist designs of collectivizing nations into regional unions rather than dealing with them as individual sovereign states. Furthermore, two of the 10 member-states that comprise ASEAN officially have Marxist-Leninist governments: the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic. This resolution expands U.S. relations with the communist regimes that oppress those two nations and that heavily influence the policies of the ASEAN union.

8 Terminating Department of Education. During consideration of an education-policy bill (H.R. 5), Representative Thomas Massie (R-Ky.) offered an amendment to express the sense of Congress that the authority of the Department of Education “to operate or administer any office or program related to elementary or secondary education should be terminated on or before December 31, 2023.”

The House rejected Massie’s amendment on March 24, 2023 by a vote of 161 to 265 (Roll Call 156). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because education is not the role of government, let alone among the limited and specified powers enumerated for Congress in Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution. A child’s education is the responsibility of, as well as a fundamental right of choice retained by, his or her parents. Forcing American citizens to furnish taxpayer money for a compulsory, failing, and government-run K-12 school system violates their individual liberties.

9 Federal Air-pollutants Law. During consideration of an energy and permitting package (H.R. 1), Representative Scott Perry (R-Pa.) offered an amendment to repeal Section 115 of the Clean Air Act, which allows the Environmental Protection Agency to impose emissions-reduction requirements on state governors if an “international agency” or the Department of State determines that “pollutants” emitted in the United States “endanger public health or



Targeted for destruction? Ratcheting up emissions-reduction regulations under the guise of fighting pollution would greatly harm the energy sector.

welfare in a foreign country.”

The House rejected Perry’s amendment on March 29, 2023 by a vote of 96 to 336 (Roll Call 173). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because Section 115 of the Clean Air Act has for decades served to disguise the federal government’s unconstitutional seizure of control over the domestic energy sector — a plan designed to not only erode state sovereignty, but implement United Nations-led global “climate change” policy. The 10th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution clearly reserves any such regulatory powers to the “States respectively, or to the people,” as opposed to unelected, unaccountable foreign bureaucrats.

10 Bipartisan Debt-limit Deal. H.R. 3746, titled the Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2023, would suspend the debt limit through January 1, 2025 and create caps on “discretionary” spending for fiscal years 2024 and 2025. In fiscal 2024, defense spending would increase three percent, to \$886.4 billion, and nondefense spending would decrease five percent, to \$703.7 billion; both limits would increase by one percent for fiscal 2025. Among multiple other provisions,

H.R. 3746 would provide \$44.8 billion for the veterans’ toxic exposure fund and \$22 billion for a Commerce Department fund, rescind \$27.7 billion in unspent federal Covid-related funds, rescind \$1.4 billion of the \$79.3 billion provided in 2022 for IRS enforcement, enact time limits on environmental reviews under the National Environmental Policy Act, and raises the age of SNAP work requirements for able-bodied individuals to 55 while exempting certain other groups. Furthermore, the bill requires discretionary spending to decrease by one percent if Congress fails to enact on-time appropriations legislation for fiscal years 2024 and 2025. In an April 28, 2023 op-ed opposing a previous iteration of the bill, Representative Andy Biggs (R-Ariz.) stated, “Going off the cliff at the Republicans’ 60-mph or the Democrats’ 80-mph results in the same thing: A horrific crash.”

The House passed H.R. 3746 on May 31, 2023 by a vote of 314 to 177 (Roll Call 243). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because continuing reckless spending and debt accumulation will result in economic catastrophe, and most federal spending is for programs not authorized by the Constitution. ■

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
19 Donalds (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Cherfilus-McCormick (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21 Mast (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
22 Frankel (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23 Moskowitz (D)	25%		-	+	+	-	-	-	?	?	-	-
24 Wilson (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
25 Wasserman Schultz (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26 Diaz-Balart (R)	67%		+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	-	-
27 Salazar (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
28 Gimenez (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
GEORGIA												
1 Carter (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
2 Bishop (D)	20%		-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
3 Ferguson (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
4 Johnson (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Williams (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
6 McCormick (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
7 McBath (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Scott (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
9 Clyde (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
10 Collins (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
11 Loudermilk (R)	89%		+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-
12 Allen (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
13 Scott (D)	11%		-	-	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
14 Greene (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
HAWAII												
1 Case (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Tokuda (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
IDAHO												
1 Fulcher (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
2 Simpson (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
ILLINOIS												
1 Jackson (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Kelly (D)	14%		-	-	-	-	+	-	?	?	?	-
3 Ramirez (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
4 García (D)	33%		?	?	?	?	+	-	-	-	-	+
5 Quigley (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Casten (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Davis (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-
8 Krishnamoorthi (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Schakowsky (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
10 Schneider (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11 Foster (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 Bost (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
13 Budzinski (D)	10%		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14 Underwood (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15 Miller (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 LaHood (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
17 Sorensen (D)	10%		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
INDIANA												
1 Mrvan (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Yakym (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
3 Banks (R)	78%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	?
4 Baird (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
5 Spartz (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
6 Pence (R)	43%		?	?	?	?	+	-	?	-	-	-
7 Carson (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
8 Bucshon (R)	63%		+	+	+	+	-	+	?	?	-	-
9 Houchin (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
IOWA												
1 Miller-Meeks (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2 Hinson (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3 Nunn (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
4 Feenstra (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
KANSAS												
1 Mann (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
2 LaTurner (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
3 Davids (D)	10%		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Estes (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
KENTUCKY												
1 Comer (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2 Guthrie (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
3 McGarvey (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Massie (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
5 Rogers (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
6 Barr (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
LOUISIANA												
1 Scalise (R)	67%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	?	-
2 Carter (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Higgins (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
4 Johnson (R)	67%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	?	+	-
5 Letlow (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
6 Graves (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
MAINE												
1 Pingree (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2 Golden (D)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
MARYLAND												
1 Harris (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Ruppersberger (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-
3 Sarbanes (D)	0%		-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Ivey (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Hoyer (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Trone (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Mfume (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Raskin (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MASSACHUSETTS												
1 Neal (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 McGovern (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
3 Trahan (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4 Auchincloss (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
5 Clark (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Moulton (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Pressley (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
8 Lynch (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Keating (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MICHIGAN												
1 Bergman (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
2 Moolenaar (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
3 Scholten (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Huizenga (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
5 Walberg (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
6 Dingell (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
7 Slotkin (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
8 Kildee (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
9 McClain (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
10 James (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
11 Stevens (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 Tlaib (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
13 Thanedar (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
MINNESOTA												
1 Finstad (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
2 Craig (D)	33%		-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	?
3 Phillips (D)	13%		-	-	+	-	?	?	-	-	-	-

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A “?” means a representative did not vote. If a representative cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 1, 2, and 4.

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4 McCollum (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Omar (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Emmer (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
7 Fischbach (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
8 Stauber (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
MISSISSIPPI												
1 Kelly (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
2 Thompson (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Guest (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
4 Zell (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
MISSOURI												
1 Bush (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2 Wagner (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3 Luetkemeyer (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4 Alford (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
5 Cleaver (D)	-	-	-	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	-	-
6 Graves (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
7 Burlison (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
8 Smith (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
MONTANA												
1 Zinke (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
2 Rosendale (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA												
1 Flood (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2 Bacon (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3 Smith (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
NEVADA												
1 Titus (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Amodei (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
3 Lee (D)	20%	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Horsford (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
1 Pappas (D)	20%	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Kuster (D)	0%	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NEW JERSEY												
1 Norcross (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Van Drew (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
3 Kim (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Smith (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
5 Gottheimer (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Pallone (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Kean (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
8 Menendez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Pascrell (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 Payne (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11 Sherrill (D)	20%	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 Watson Coleman (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NEW MEXICO												
1 Stansbury (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2 Vasquez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Leger Fernandez (D)	17%	-	-	+	-	?	?	?	?	-	-	-
NEW YORK												
1 LaLota (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2 Garbarino (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3 Santos (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
4 D'Esposito (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
5 Meeks (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Meng (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
7 Velázquez (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
8 Jeffries (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Clarke (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10 Goldman (D)	11%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
11 Malliotakis (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
12 Nadler (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
13 Espaillat (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
14 Ocasio-Cortez (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
15 Torres (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
16 Bowman (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
17 Lawler (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
18 Ryan (D)	20%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19 Molinaro (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
20 Tonko (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
21 Stefanik (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
22 Williams (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
23 Langworthy (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
24 Tenney (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
25 Morelle (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26 Higgins (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
NORTH CAROLINA												
1 Davis (D)	40%	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2 Ross (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?
3 Murphy (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
4 Foushee (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Foxx (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
6 Manning (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Rouzer (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
8 Bishop (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+
9 Hudson (R)	78%	+	+	+	+	?	+	-	+	+	+	-
10 McHenry (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
11 Edwards (R)	67%	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	+	-	-	-
12 Adams (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13 Nickel (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14 Jackson (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NORTH DAKOTA												
AL Armstrong (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
OHIO												
1 Landsman (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Wenstrup (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
3 Beatty (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Jordan (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
5 Latta (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
6 Johnson (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
7 Miller (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
8 Davidson (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
9 Kaptur (D)	11%	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
10 Turner (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
11 Brown (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 Balderson (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
13 Sykes (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14 Joyce (R)	56%	+	+	+	?	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
15 Carey (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
OKLAHOMA												
1 Hern (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2 Brecheen (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Lucas (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4 Cole (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
5 Bice (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
OREGON												
1 Bonamici (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2 Bentz (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
3 Blumenuer (D)	13%	-	-	-	-	+	-	?	?	-	-	-
4 Hoyle (D)	33%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	-	+
5 Chavez-DeRemer (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
6 Salinas (D)	20%	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PENNSYLVANIA												
1 Fitzpatrick (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Boyle (D)	0%		-	?	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
3 Evans (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Dean (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Scanlon (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
6 Houlahan (D)	10%		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Wild (D)	0%		-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Cartwright (D)	10%		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Meuser (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
10 Perry (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Smucker (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
12 Lee (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
13 Joyce (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
14 Reschenthaler (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
15 Thompson (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
16 Kelly (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
17 Deluzio (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
RHODE ISLAND												
1 Cicilline (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Magaziner (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOUTH CAROLINA												
1 Mace (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
2 Wilson (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
3 Duncan (R)	67%		+	+	?	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
4 Timmons (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
5 Norman (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Clyburn (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Fry (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
SOUTH DAKOTA												
AL Johnson (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
TENNESSEE												
1 Harshbarger (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
2 Burchett (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Fleischmann (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
4 Desjarlais (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
5 Ogles (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Rose (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
7 Green (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
8 Kustoff (R)	56%		+	+	+	?	-	+	-	+	-	-
9 Cohen (D)	0%		-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-
TEXAS												
1 Moran (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
2 Crenshaw (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
3 Self (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
4 Fallon (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
5 Gooden (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
6 Ellzey (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
7 Fletcher (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Luttrell (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
9 Green (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
10 McCaul (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
11 Pfluger (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
12 Granger (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
13 Jackson (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
14 Weber (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
15 De La Cruz (R)	56%		+	?	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
16 Escobar (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17 Sessions (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
18 Jackson Lee (D)	0%		-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19 Arrington (R)	78%		+	+	+	+	?	+	-	+	+	-
20 Castro (D)			-	-	-	?	?	?	?	?	?	+

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
21 Roy (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Nehls (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
23 Gonzales (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
24 Van Duyne (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
25 Williams (R)	67%		+	+	+	?	-	+	-	+	+	-
26 Burgess (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
27 Cloud (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
28 Cuellar (D)	22%		-	-	+	-	-	+	-	?	-	-
29 Garcia (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
30 Crockett (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
31 Carter (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
32 Allred (D)	10%		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33 Veasey (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
34 Gonzalez (D)	30%		-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
35 Casar (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
36 Babin (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
37 Doggett (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
38 Hunt (R)	89%		+	+	?	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
UTAH												
1 Moore (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2 Stewart (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
3 Curtis (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
4 Owens (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
VERMONT												
AL Balint (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
VIRGINIA												
1 Wittman (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
2 Kiggans (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
3 Scott (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4 McClellan (D)	0%		?	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Good (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+
6 Cline (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Spanberger (D)	30%		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Beyer (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
9 Griffith (R)	78%		+	+	?	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
10 Wexton (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11 Connolly (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
WASHINGTON												
1 DelBene (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Larsen (D)	20%		-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3 Gluesenkamp Perez (D)	40%		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4 Newhouse (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
5 McMorris Rodgers (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
6 Kilmer (D)	10%		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Jayapal (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
8 Schrier (D)	13%		-	-	+	-	?	?	-	-	-	-
9 Smith (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 Strickland (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WEST VIRGINIA												
1 Miller (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
2 Mooney (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
WISCONSIN												
1 Steil (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2 Pocan (D)	22%		-	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
3 Van Orden (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
4 Moore (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
5 Fitzgerald (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
6 Grothman (R)	70%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
7 Tiffany (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Gallagher (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
WYOMING												
AL Hageman (R)	100%		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Senate Vote Descriptions

1 ESG Fiduciary Rule. H. J. Res. 30 would reverse the December 2022 Labor Department rule modifying standards under the Employee Retirement Income Security Act to allow retirement-plan fiduciaries to consider environmental, social, and governance (ESG) factors in making investment decisions and exercising shareholder rights, including when voting on shareholder resolutions and board nominations.

The Senate passed H. J. Res. 30 on March 1, 2023 by a vote of 50 to 46 (Roll Call 35). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because “woke” ESG policies, which corporations and governments are increasingly embracing, are aligned with the United Nations’ Agenda 2030. The UN’s Agenda 2030 is inherently contrary to the Constitution, and ESG promotes leftist policies including radical environmentalism, gun control, and the LGBT agenda. Plus, the U.S. Constitution does not authorize the federal government to regulate retirement plans.

2 2001 AUMF Repeal. During consideration of the bill (S. 316) to repeal the 1991 and 2002 authorizations for the use of military force against Iraq, Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.) offered an amendment to repeal the 2001 Authorization for Use of Military Force. Enacted in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the 2001 AUMF authorized the president to use military force against the terrorists involved, including those who aided and harbored them, and was used as the legal authority for U.S. military entry into Afghanistan. But that was more than 20 years ago. Since that time, the 2001 AUMF has been used by presidents as a blank check for military interventions in more than 20 countries, from Afghanistan to Libya, Somalia, and Yemen.

The Senate rejected Paul’s amendment on March 22, 2023 by a vote of 9 to 86 (Roll Call 65). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the Constitution does not give the president a blank check to go to war without congressional approval.

3 WHO Pandemic Treaty. During consideration of the bill to repeal the authorizations for the use of military



Global health governance? The World Health Organization could become the seat of a global healthcare system if internationalists get their way.

force against Iraq (S. 316), Senator Ron Johnson (R-Wis.) introduced an amendment that would require any convention or agreement about pandemic prevention, preparedness, and response reached by either the World Health Assembly or the International Negotiating Body of the World Health Organization (WHO) to be deemed as “a treaty that is subject to the requirements of article II, section 2, clause 2 of the Constitution of the United States,” according to the text of the amendment.

The Senate rejected Johnson’s amendment on March 28, 2023 by a vote of 47 to 49 (Roll Call 71). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because in recent decades both the Executive Branch and Congress have regularly skirted the constitutional requirement in Article II, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution that treaties have to be made with the “Advice and Consent of the Senate ... provided two thirds of the Senators present concur.” Instead of recognizing agreements as treaties, they unconstitutionally designate them as “executive agree-

ments,” thereby enabling the president and Congress to avoid seeking the advice and consent of the Senate and pass them by a simple majority of the House and Senate, rather than the more rigorous threshold of two-thirds of the senators present.

4 Federal Water Rule. H. J. Res. 27 would disapprove of a rule submitted by the Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, Department of Defense, and Environmental Protection Agency on January 18, 2023 that again revises the definition of the “Waters of the United States.” During House debate on the bill, Representative Tracey Mann (R-Kan.) declared, “Agricultural producers have been forced to operate their businesses under three different definitions of water in the last 10 years, and this most recent rule removes long-standing bipartisan exemptions for common water features like ponds and streams found on family farms and other private property. With this vote, Congress has a golden opportunity to stand up not only for people who feed, fuel,

Senate Vote Scores ✓

Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALABAMA											
Tuberville (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Britt (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
ALASKA											
Murkowski (R)	40%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Sullivan (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
ARIZONA											
Sinema (I)	20%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Kelly (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
ARKANSAS											
Boozman (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
Cotton (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
CALIFORNIA											
Feinstein (D)		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	-
Padilla (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
COLORADO											
Bennet (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Hickenlooper (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
CONNECTICUT											
Blumenthal (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murphy (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
DELAWARE											
Carper (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Coons (D)	0%	-	-	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-
FLORIDA											
Rubio (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Scott (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
GEORGIA											
Ossoff (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Warnock (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	-	-
HAWAII											
Schatz (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hirono (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IDAHO											
Crapo (R)	78%	?	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Risch (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
ILLINOIS											
Durbin (D)	11%	-	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Duckworth (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
INDIANA											
Young (R)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
Braun (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+
IOWA											
Grassley (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
Ernst (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
KANSAS											
Moran (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
Marshall (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
KENTUCKY											
McConnell (R)	50%	+	?	?	?	?	+	-	+	-	-
Paul (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
LOUISIANA											
Cassidy (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
Kennedy (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+

Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
MAINE											
Collins (R)	40%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
King (I)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
MARYLAND											
Cardin (D)	10%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Van Hollen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MASSACHUSETTS											
Warren (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Markey (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
MICHIGAN											
Stabenow (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peters (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
MINNESOTA											
Klobuchar (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Smith (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MISSISSIPPI											
Wicker (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
Hyde-Smith (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
MISSOURI											
Hawley (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
Schmitt (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
MONTANA											
Tester (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Daines (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
NEBRASKA											
Fischer (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Ricketts (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
NEVADA											
Cortez Masto (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Rosen (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
NEW HAMPSHIRE											
Shaheen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-
Hassan (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
NEW JERSEY											
Menendez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Booker (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NEW MEXICO											
Heinrich (D)	11%	-	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Lujan (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
NEW YORK											
Schumer (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Gillibrand (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NORTH CAROLINA											
Tillis (R)	67%	+	-	+	+	+	+	?	+	-	-
Budd (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
NORTH DAKOTA											
Hoeven (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
Cramer (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
OHIO											
Brown (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Vance (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
OKLAHOMA											
Lankford (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Mullin (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
OREGON												
Wyden (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merkley (D)	11%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
PENNSYLVANIA												
Casey (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fetterman (D)	20%	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	+
RHODE ISLAND												
Reed (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Whitehouse (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Graham (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
Scott (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
SOUTH DAKOTA												
Thune (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
Rounds (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
TENNESSEE												
Blackburn (R)	78%	+	-	+	+	?	+	-	+	+	+	+
Hagerty (R)	71%	+	-	+	+	?	+	-	+	?	?	?
TEXAS												
Cornyn (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
Cruz (R)	78%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	+	+

	Votes:	1-10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
UTAH												
Lee (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+
Romney (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
VERMONT												
Sanders (I)	20%	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Welch (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
VIRGINIA												
Warner (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kaine (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
WASHINGTON												
Murray (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cantwell (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WEST VIRGINIA												
Manchin (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
Capito (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
WISCONSIN												
Johnson (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Baldwin (D)	20%	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
WYOMING												
Barrasso (R)	78%	+	-	+	+	?	+	-	+	+	+	+
Lummis (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+

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and clothe us all, but also for all Americans whose businesses and private lives will be affected by this Big Government encroachment onto their property.”

The Senate passed H. J. Res. 27 on March 29, 2023 by a vote of 53 to 43 (Roll Call 79). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because both federal water regulations and the EPA are unconstitutional, and if the latest Biden administration rule were allowed to stand, activities such as farming and real estate development would be greatly hampered, since farmers and developers would be subject to increased unconstitutional permit requirements and fines concerning their treatment of almost any body of water, no matter how small.

5 Terminate Covid-19 National Emergency. According to H. J. Res. 7, “the national [Covid-19] emergency declared by the finding of the President on March 13, 2020, in Proclamation 9994 ... is hereby terminated.”

The Senate passed H. J. Res. 7 on March 29, 2023 by a vote of 68 to 23 (Roll Call 80). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because it is unconstitutional to suspend the Constitution by declaring national public-health emergencies.

6 Abortion. S. J. Res. 10 would reverse the September 2022 Department of Veterans Affairs rule allowing medical benefit coverage for abortion counseling and procedures. This rule overturned long-standing VA regulations excluding abortion from its coverage.

The Senate rejected S. J. Res. 10 on April 19, 2023 by a vote of 48 to 51 (Roll Call 90). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because taxpayers should not be required to subsidize abortion services. The Declaration of Independence affirms the right to life as the most fundamental, God-given, and inherent right, which is further protected by the Fifth and 14th Amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

7 Federal Firefighter Grants. S. 870 would authorize \$95 million annually through fiscal 2030 for the U.S. Fire Administration, increasing the agency’s funding levels by 24 percent. Among other provisions, S. 870 would authorize \$3.4 million to create standards for assessing new firefighting technologies, reauthorize through fiscal 2030 two Federal Emergency Management Agency grant programs assisting local fire departments, and ban Chinese entities from receiving any of these funds.

The Senate passed S. 870 on April 20,

2023 by a vote of 95 to 2 (Roll Call 94). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution does not authorize any federal spending for firefighting. Furthermore, the strings that come attached to grants for local fire departments move the United States closer to federalizing firefighting.

8 Equal Rights Amendment. This resolution (S. J. Res 4) purports that the Equal Rights Amendment “is valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution, having been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.”

The Senate did not vote directly on S. J. Res. 4, but on a motion to invoke cloture (and thus limit debate) so the bill could be voted on. The motion to invoke cloture was rejected on April 27, 2023 by a vote of 51 to 47 (Roll Call 99; a three-fifths majority of the entire Senate is required to invoke cloture). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the claim that the ERA is a “valid ... part of the Constitution” is a sham. When Congress submitted the ERA to the states for ratification in 1972, it set a seven-year ratification period that ended on March 22, 1979. During that period, 35 states ratified the ERA, but four of those states reconsidered and rescinded

their ratifications. This left the ERA seven states short of the three-fourths majority (38 states) needed to become part of the Constitution. Prior to the deadline, when it became apparent the 38-state threshold would not be reached, Congress extended the deadline to June 30, 1982. This legally dubious extension caused a fifth state to rescind, and during the extension period no new states ratified. In recent years, three new states have ratified the ERA. But to claim that this makes the ERA part of the Constitution is to ignore the long-expired deadlines, as well as the five states that rescinded.

9 Spending Reductions. During consideration of the bipartisan debt-limit deal (H.R. 3746), Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.) offered a substitute amendment to increase the debt limit by \$500 billion (rather than suspend the limit through January 1, 2025) and limit federal outlays to \$4.8 trillion for fiscal 2024, decreasing this limit annually by five percent through fiscal 2028, at \$3.9 trillion. Among other provisions, Paul's amendment would require the Office

of Management and Budget to report annually whether actual outlays exceeded these limits and, if so, require the president to issue a sequestration order to cut spending by the same amount as the excess spending.

The Senate rejected Paul's amendment on June 1, 2023 by a vote of 21 to 75 (Roll Call 136). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because runaway, deficit-laden federal spending, most of which is unconstitutional, must be brought under control, and Paul's proposal would have been a step in the right direction.

10 Bipartisan Debt-limit Deal. H.R. 3746, titled the Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2023, would suspend the debt limit through January 1, 2025 and create caps on "discretionary" spending for fiscal years 2024 and 2025. In fiscal 2024, defense spending would increase three percent, to \$886.4 billion, and nondefense spending would decrease five percent, to \$703.7 billion; both limits would increase by one percent for fiscal 2025. Among multiple other provisions, H.R. 3746 would provide \$44.8 billion for the veterans' toxic exposure fund

and \$22 billion for a Commerce Department fund, rescind \$27.7 billion in unspent federal Covid-related funds, rescind \$1.4 billion of the \$79.3 billion provided in 2022 for IRS enforcement, enact time limits on environmental reviews under the National Environmental Policy Act, and raises the age of SNAP work requirements for able-bodied individuals to 55 while exempting certain other groups. Furthermore, the bill requires discretionary spending to decrease by one percent if Congress fails to enact on-time appropriations legislation for fiscal years 2024 and 2025. In an April 28, 2023 op-ed opposing a previous iteration of the bill, Representative Andy Biggs (R-Ariz.) stated, "Going off the cliff at the Republicans' 60-mph or the Democrats' 80-mph results in the same thing: A horrific crash."

The Senate passed H.R. 3746 on June 1, 2023 by a vote of 63 to 36 (Roll Call 146). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because continuing reckless spending and debt accumulation will result in economic catastrophe, and most federal spending is for programs not authorized by the Constitution. ■

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