

## ***Back from the Appalachian Trail***

### **Mark Sanford Ranked #1 in 2013 Liberty Index**

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Four years ago, Mark Sanford, then Governor of South Carolina, was “on the Appalachian Trail,” smitten by and in pursuit of another woman. Discarding his beautiful wife, risking his relation with his children, and throwing away any chance that he might be the next Republican nominee for President of the United States. Today, he has returned from that place of temporary insanity, divorced and remarried, re-elected to the U.S. Congress, and ranked #1 in the 2013 Liberty Index. It is a crazy and bittersweet story, tender and troubling, and totally real.

The Liberty Index is a unique two-dimensional index of Congressional voting, dating back to 1989. On one scale, it measures the tendency to vote in a pro-free market way on economic issues such as cutting spending and taxes, balancing the budget, freeing up international trade and relying on private enterprise instead of industrial policy. On the other scale, it measures the tendency to vote for personal liberty to include privacy, the non-establishment and free exercise of religion, the Second Amendment, and the rights of the accused; also, a non-interventionist foreign policy.

#### THE VOTES

For each chamber of Congress, for each of the two dimensions, ranking are based on twenty roll call votes (a total of forty), except that this year the index also uses announced positions on the “non-vote” to authorize the use of force in Syria, as compiled by the “Whip Count” of the *Washington Post*. The roll call votes are identified by me, subject to review by a small, carefully-chosen panel of well-respected libertarian Republicans, without prior knowledge as to how particular members cast their votes.

This year, on the economics side, the index reflects votes on “hot issues” such as Health Care Overhaul, the Ryan budget, carbon taxes, the Keystone pipeline, hydraulic fracturing, TANF (welfare) work rules and SNAP (food stamp) eligibility. Some curious votes are also included, among these are price supports for Christmas Trees, declaring stones to be agricultural commodities (and, thus, eligible for price supports), and funding the Navy’s grossly-overpriced Z-class destroyer.

As Table 1 shows, there is a huge difference between the average Democrat and the average Republican when it comes to economic issues. Democrats love government and Republicans love the private sector. This is the defining issue of politics today. Within as well as across parties, there are differences in voting tendencies on personal liberties. But, you can be pro-gun and within the mainstream of the Democratic Party as long as you are for a big government. And, you can be pro-

choice and within the mainstream of the Republican Party as long as you are for a big private sector.

Figure 1 shows the enormous gap that has opened between the parties in another way. The Red Circles, representing Republicans, are all to the right of the chart (signifying support for free markets), although scattered up and down on the vertical axis (which measures support for personal liberty). The Blue Squares, representing Democrats, are almost all to the left of the chart (signifying support for government control of the economy). They, too, are scattered up and down on the vertical axis.

On the personal liberties side, there was some difficulty assembling sets of roll call votes that reflect the breadth of libertarian concerns. The House roll calls over-sample the tension between personal liberty and national security (as neo-conservatives see things). The Senate roll calls over-sample Second Amendment issues. This is a not unusual problem in the history of the Liberty Index. There simply are years when one or the other chamber generates disproportionate numbers of personal liberties votes in certain areas. All that can be said is that, hopefully, over time, the vagaries of this component of the index are evened-out. And, given the skew in the index in the Senate due to the disproportionate number of gun votes, we do not think the index for that body adequately distinguishes libertarians from conservatives.

In the Senate, following the massacre at Sandy Hook, a series of votes were taken on gun control. As per usual, a tragedy was used to try to enact legislation that had been rejected multiple times previously, that on careful examination would not have prevented that massacre. And, as per usual, constituent pressure on Democrats from rural states deep-sixed the effort. In the House, where the Republicans actually go through the motions required by the 1974 Budget Act, the index reflects numerous votes to de-fund the longest war in which this country has gotten into, the War in Afghanistan. Can anybody even say why we stayed in that God-forsaken place after we kicked the Taliban's butt? As the main author of the Liberty Index, I am of course proud that we were right to oppose the 2003 authorization of the use of force in Iraq. But, we were o.k. with the 2001 authorization of the use of force in Afghanistan. We did not anticipate the "mission creep" that would follow, under both Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama.

This year, in an innovation, a "non-vote" is included in the Liberty Index. This involves the President's decision, on August 31<sup>st</sup>, to ask Congress to authorize the use of force in Syria. Of course, as a U.S. Senator, he said it would be unconstitutional for a President to initiate the use of force without Congressional authorization in the absence of an imminent threat to the United States. But, once he put on the ring of power, things changed. It often happens this way, which is why the Constitution requires Congressional authorization. Further, the U.N. Charter, which this country has approved, forbids the initial of force without authorization from the U.N. Security Council, while reserving to all countries the right of self-defense. In defense

of the President, he did ultimately turn to the Congress. But, it was monstrous for him to have argued that he did not have to and was only doing so because that would be more effective than acting on his own.

Upon the announcement that the President would request authorization to use force, members of Congress started to announce their positions. First, the leadership of both parties indicated their support. But, then, back-benchers on both sides of the aisle starting to express their misgivings. A trickle turned into a flood and, soon, tabulations of announced positions began appearing on blogs. Eventually, the established media got into the act of tracking announcements. When a majority in the House of Representatives announced that they were either opposed to or were leaning in opposition to authorization of the use of force, that was it. The idea of requesting Congressional authorization was quietly dropped.

Dropping the idea of asking for authorization to use force, President Obama then sent in the clown and – when President Putin of Russia jumped on a gaffe made by the U.S. Secretary of State concerning acceptable conditions for the removal of chemical weapons – the issue was over. Reports from Syria indicate that Assad’s forces have continued to use chemical weapons against rebel forces, mixed in with conventional artillery, and that he has now gained the upper hand in the civil war. But, at least we’re not involved in yet another intractable situation in that part of the world.

With the many national security votes included in the set of House roll calls in this year’s index, it is clear that a cross-party coalition has emerged on this issue consisting of a majority of the Democrats and a significant minority of the Republicans, few of whom are members of either party’s leadership. It’s both ends against the middle. The people against the establishment. All through history, who is it that bears the cost of war in terms both of lives lost and repaying the debt that is accumulated? It’s the youth of the nation. Who will be our Theseus to slay the Minotaur? Our Katniss to put an end to the Hunger Games?

## TOP SCORERS

As mentioned above, the top scorer in this year’s Liberty Index is Mark Sanford of South Carolina. Congressman Sanford in fact scored a double perfect 100-100 score. We have had perfect scores in the past, but this is the first double-perfect score. In a four-way tie for second place are Tim Huelskamp of Kansas, Tom McClintock of California, Mark Mulvany of Oklahoma and Dana Rohrabacher of California, with scores of 95-95 or 100-90. Other high scorers include Justin Amash of Michigan, Paul Broun of Georgia, Raul Labrador of Idaho, Cynthia Lummis of Wyoming, and Ted Poe of Texas.

At the bottom, as we see things, we had a double-zero, Ed Markey of Massachusetts. Of course, from the progressive point of view, a double-zero would be their version

of perfect and, so, it should not be surprising that he was promoted from Congressman to Senator in a special election.

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**TABLE 1. 2013 Liberty Index, summary**

	<b>Economic Liberties</b>	<b>Personal Liberties</b>	<b>2013 Liberty Index</b>	<b>Progressives</b>	<b>Liberals</b>	<b>Moderates</b>	<b>Conservatives</b>	<b>Libertarians</b>
Senate Democrats (incl. 2 Ind.)	6	14	10	54	2	0	0	0
Senate Republicans	86	81	83	0	0	2	1	42
House Democrats	11	55	33	66	123	10	1	0
House Republicans	90	50	70	0	0	1	145	86

**TABLE 2. 2013 Liberty Index – U.S. Senate**

			Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	2013 Liberty Index
Alexander, Lamar	TN	R	80	84	82
Ayotte, Kelly	NH	R	85	85	85
Baldwin, Tammy	WI	D	5	15	10
Barrasso, Joe	WY	R	95	89	92
Baucus, Max	MT	D	15	37	26
Begich, Mark	AK	D	11	33	22
Bennet, Michael	CO	D	5	11	8
Blumenthal, Richard	CT	D	5	11	8
Blunt, Roy	MO	R	80	80	80
Boozman, John	AR	R	80	90	85
Boxer, Barbara	CA	D	0	0	0
Brown, Sherrod	OH	D	0	6	3
Burr, Richard	NC	R	80	70	75
Cantwell, Maria	WA	D	5	5	5
Cardin, Ben	MD	D	5	5	5
Carper, Tom	DE	D	0	5	3
Casey, Bob	PA	D	10	12	11
Chambliss, Saxby	GA	R	75	68	72
Coats, Dan	IN	R	85	90	88
Coburn, Tom	OK	R	95	82	89
Cochran, Thad	MS	R	60	79	69
Collins, Susan	ME	R	40	50	45
Coons, Chris	DE	D	0	5	3
Corker, Bob	TN	R	80	68	74
Cornyn, John	TX	R	95	85	90
Crapo, Mike	ID	R	100	100	100
Cruz, Ted	TX	R	95	95	95
Donnelly, Joe	IN	D	10	37	23
Durbin, Dick	IL	D	5	5	5
Enzi, Mike	WY	R	95	90	93
Feinstein, Diane	CA	D	0	5	3
Fischer, Deb	NE	R	85	80	83

Flake, Jeff	AZ	R	100	63	82
Franken, Al	MN	D	5	5	5
Gillibrand, Kirsten	NY	D	5	5	5
Graham, Lindsey	SC	R	75	68	72
Grassley, Charles	IA	R	90	95	92
Hagan, Kay	NC	D	20	30	25
Harkin, Tom	IA	D	0	5	3
Hatch, Orrin	UT	R	95	79	87
Heinrich, Martin	NM	D	0	25	13
Heitkamp, Heidi	ND	D	15	47	31
Heller, Dean	NV	R	85	95	90
Hirono, Mazie	HI	D	0	0	0
Hoeven, John	ND	R	75	85	80
Inhofe, John	OK	R	100	85	93
Isakson, Johnny	GA	R	75	80	78
Johanns, Mike	NE	R	75	74	74
Johnson, Ron	WI	R	95	90	93
Johnson, Tim	SD	D	5	11	8
Kaine, Tim	VA	D	15	5	10
Kerry, John	MA	D	7	0	4
King, Angus	ME	I	5	11	8
Kirk, Mark	IL	R	80	35	58
Klobuchar, Amy	MN	D	5	11	8
Landrieau, Mary	LA	D	15	28	21
Lautenberg, Frank	NJ	D	0	0	0
Leahy, Patrick	VT	D	0	5	3
Lee, Mike	UT	R	95	100	98
Levin, Carl	MI	D	0	5	3
Manchin, Joe	WV	D	26	58	42
Markey, Ed	MA	D	0	18	9
McCain, John	AZ	R	80	63	72
McCaskill, Claire	MO	D	15	16	15
McConnell, Mitch	KY	R	95	85	90
Menendez, Bob	NJ	D	5	5	5
Merkley, Jeff	OR	D	10	16	13
Mikulski, Barbara	MD	D	5	5	5
Moran, Jerry	KS	R	100	90	95
Murkowski, Lisa	AK	R	63	50	57
Murphy, Chris	CT	D	5	10	8
Murray, Patti	WA	D	6	6	6

Nelson, Bill	FL	D	5	0	3
Paul, Rand	KY	R	95	95	95
Portman, Rob	OH	R	85	75	80
Pryor, Mark	AR	D	20	55	38
Reed, Jack	RI	D	5	5	5
Reid, Harry	NV	D	5	5	5
Risch, Jim	ID	R	100	100	100
Roberts, Pat	KS	R	90	90	90
Rockefeller, Jay	WV	D	5	5	5
Rubio, Marco	FL	R	95	90	93
Sanders, Bernie	VT	I	0	11	6
Schatz, Brian	HI	D	0	15	8
Schumer, Carl	NY	D	5	5	5
Scott, Tim	SC	R	100	83	92
Sessions, Jeff	AL	R	85	78	81
Shaheen, Jeanne	NH	D	10	15	13
Shelby, Richard	AL	R	80	90	85
Stabenow, Debbie	MI	D	5	0	3
Tester, Jon	MT	D	10	26	18
Thune, John	SD	R	85	84	85
Toomey, Pat	PA	R	95	68	82
Udall, Mark	CO	D	5	22	14
Udall, Tom	NM	D	0	30	15
Vitter, David	LA	R	90	84	87
Warner, Mark	VA	D	15	24	19
Warren, Elizabeth	MA	D	5	6	5
Whitehouse, Sheldon	RI	D	5	5	5
Wicker, Roger	MS	R	75	80	78
Wyden, Ron	OR	D	10	11	10

Both Kennedy and his eventual replacement Markey rated. Lautenberg but neither Chiesa nor Booker rated for lack of votes.



**TABLE 2. 2013 Liberty Index – U.S. House of Representatives**

				Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	2013 Liberty Index
Aderholt, Robert	AL	4	R	82	32	57
Alexander, Rodney	LA	5	R	82	44	63
Amash, Justin	MI	3	R	84	95	90
Amodei, Mark	NV	2	R	94	42	68
Andrews, Rob	NJ	1	D	10	53	31
Bachmann, Michele	MN	6	R	100	55	78
Bachus, Spencer	AL	8	R	80	47	64
Barber, Ron	AZ	2	D	33	16	25
Barietta, Lou	PA	11	R	80	44	62
Barr, Andy	KY	6	R	100	45	73
Barrow, John	GA	12	D	70	11	40
Barton, Joe	TX	6	R	100	50	75
Bass, Karen	CA	37	D	0	68	34
Beatty, Joyce	OH	3	D	0	56	28
Becerra, Xavier	CA	34	D	0	71	35
Benishek, Dan	MI	1	R	90	60	75
Bentivolio, Kerry	MI	11	R	95	70	83
Bera, Ami	CA	7	D	25	47	36
Bilirakis, Gus	FL	12	R	100	45	73
Bishop, Rob	UT	1	R	90	42	66
Bishop, Stanford	GA	2	D	25	32	28
Bishop, Tim	NY	1	D	10	53	31
Black, Diane	TN	6	R	100	40	70
Blackburn, Marsha	TN	7	R	95	45	70
Blumenauer, Earl	OR	3	D	5	74	39
Bonamici, Suzanne	OR	1	D	5	68	37
Bonner, Jo	AL	1	R	75	29	52
Boustany, Charles	LA	3	R	90	45	68
Brady, Bob	PA	1	D	0	63	32
Brady, Kevin	TX	8	R	100	30	65
Braley, Bruce	IA	1	D	10	68	39
Bridenstine, Jim	OK	1	R	85	53	69

Brooks, Mo	AL	5	R	95	40	68
Brooks, Susan	IN	5	R	100	32	66
Broun, Paul	GA	10	R	85	85	85
Brown, Corrine	FL	5	D	5	40	23
Brownley, Julia	CA	26	D	15	39	27
Buchanan, Vern	FL	16	R	95	80	88
Bucshon, Larry	IN	8	R	95	42	69
Burgess, Michael	TX	26	R	100	75	88
Bustos, Cheri	IL	17	D	35	33	34
Butterfield, G.K.	NC	1	D	10	39	24
Calvert, Ken	CA	42	R	90	32	61
Camp, Dave	MI	4	R	95	58	76
Cantor, Eric	VA	7	R	95	26	61
Capito, Shelley Moore	WV	2	R	75	47	61
Capps, Lois	CA	24	D	5	63	34
Capuano, Michael	MA	7	D	0	74	37
Cardenas, Tony	CA	29	D	11	47	29
Carney, John	DE	1	D	5	47	26
Carson, Andre	IN	7	D	0	58	29
Carter, John	TX	31	R	90	30	60
Cartwright, Matt	PA	17	D	0	58	29
Cassidy, Bill	LA	6	R	95	65	80
Castor, Kathy	FL	14	D	5	55	30
Castro, Joaquin	TX	20	D	10	42	26
Chabot, Steve	OH	1	R	100	42	71
Chaffetz, Jason	UT	3	R	100	75	88
Chu, Judy	CA	27	D	0	65	32
Cicilline, David	RI	1	D	5	74	39
Clarke, Yvette	NY	9	D	0	74	37
Clay, Lacy	MO	1	D	10	68	39
Cleaver, Emmanuel	MO	5	D	6	75	41
Clyburn, Jim	SC	6	D	12	53	32
Coble, Howard	NC	6	R	85	64	74
Coffman, Mike	CO	6	R	100	79	89
Cohen, Steve	TN	9	D	0	68	34
Cole, Tom	OK	4	R	84	47	66
Collins, Chris	NY	27	R	90	37	63
Collins, Doug	GA	9	R	95	47	71
Connolly, Gerry	VA	11	D	20	35	28
Conoway, Mike	TX	11	R	85	32	58

Conyers, John	MI	13	D	0	61	31
Cook, Paul	CA	8	R	90	26	58
Cooper, Jim	TN	5	D	25	53	39
Costa, Jim	CA	16	D	44	37	41
Cotton, Tom	AR	4	R	100	35	68
Courtney, Joe	CT	2	D	15	68	42
Cramer, Kevin	ND	1	R	80	53	66
Crawford, Rick	AR	1	R	80	45	63
Crenshaw, Ander	FL	4	R	79	35	57
Crowley, Joe	NY	14	D	0	53	26
Cuellar, Henry	TX	28	D	40	32	36
Culberson, John	TX	7	R	95	45	70
Cummings, Elijah	MD	7	D	5	74	39
Daines, Steve	MT	1	R	95	65	80
Davis, Danny	IL	7	D	0	53	26
Davis, Rodney	IL	13	R	80	70	75
Davis, Susan	CA	53	D	10	42	26
DeFazio, Peter	OR	4	D	10	80	45
DeGette, Diana	CT	1	D	11	68	40
Delaney, John	MD	6	D	25	32	28
DeLauro, Rosa	CT	3	D	5	63	34
DelBene, Susan	WA	1	D	15	58	36
Denham, Jeff	CA	10	R	80	28	54
Dent, Charlie	PA	15	R	80	30	55
DeSantis, Ron	FL	6	R	100	55	78
DesJarlais, Scott	TN	4	R	100	55	78
Deutch, Ted	FL	21	D	5	45	25
Diaz-Balart, Mario	FL	25	R	72	24	48
Dingell, John	MI	12	D	11	37	24
Doggett, Lloyd	TX	35	D	20	70	45
Doyle, Mike	PA	14	D	11	68	39
Duckworth, Tammy	IL	8	D	21	40	31
Duffy, Sean	WI	7	R	84	70	77
Duncan, Jeff	SC	3	R	100	60	80
Duncan, John	TN	2	R	100	80	90
Edwards, Donna	MD	4	D	0	68	34
Ellison, Keith	MN	5	D	0	65	33
Ellmers, Renee	NC	2	R	95	40	68
Engel, Eliot	NY	16	D	0	37	18
Enyart, Bill	IL	12	D	20	47	34

Eshoo, Anna	CA	18	D	0	70	35
Esty, Elizabeth	CT	5	D	15	63	39
Farenthold, Blake	TX	27	R	85	60	73
Farr, Sam	CA	20	D	0	75	38
Fattah, Chaka	PA	2	D	0	53	26
Fincher, Stephen	TN	8	R	90	55	73
Fitzpatrick, Mike	PA	8	R	75	53	64
Fleishmann, Chuck	TN	3	R	100	37	68
Fleming, John	LA	4	R	100	50	75
Flores, Bill	TX	17	R	100	40	70
Forbes, Randy	VA	4	R	80	40	60
Fortenberry, Jeff	NE	1	R	89	50	69
Foster, Bill	IL	11	D	21	37	29
Foxx, Virginia	NC	5	R	100	45	73
Frankel, Lois	FL	22	D	5	47	26
Franks, Trent	AZ	8	R	100	32	66
Frelinghuysen, Rodney	NJ	11	R	90	26	58
Fudge, Marcia	OH	11	D	0	53	26
Gabbard, Tulsi	HI	2	D	15	70	43
Gallego, Pete	TX	23	D	30	16	23
Garamendi, John	CA	3	D	10	70	40
Garcia, Joe	FL	26	D	33	26	30
Gardner, Cory	CO	4	R	95	47	71
Garrett, Scott	NJ	5	R	95	80	88
Gerlach, Jim	PA	6	R	75	26	51
Gibbs, Bob	OH	7	R	100	50	75
Gibson, Chris	NY	19	R	60	80	70
Gingrey, Phil	GA	11	R	95	55	75
Gohmert, Louie	TX	1	R	100	67	83
Goodlatte, Bob	VA	6	R	95	50	73
Gosar, Paul	AZ	4	R	88	65	77
Gowdy, Trey	SC	4	R	100	70	85
Granger, Kay	TX	12	R	78	32	55
Graves, Sam	MO	6	R	89	32	61
Graves, Tom	GA	14	R	100	65	83
Grayson, Alan	FL	9	D	10	75	43
Green, Al	TX	9	D	20	50	35
Green, Gene	TX	29	D	26	63	45
Griffin, Tim	AR	2	R	90	50	70
Griffith, Morgan	VA	9	R	90	79	84

Grijalva, Raul	AZ	3	D	0	75	38
Grimm, Michael	NY	11	R	61	28	44
Guthrie, Brett	KY	2	R	90	50	70
Gutierrez, Luis	IL	4	D	0	71	35
Hahn, Janice	CA	44	D	5	68	37
Hall, Ralph	TX	4	R	85	45	65
Hanabusa, Colleen	HI	1	D	16	60	38
Hanna, Richard	NY	22	R	74	53	63
Harper, Gregg	MS	3	R	75	37	56
Harris, Andy	MD	1	R	100	70	85
Hartzler, Vicky	MO	4	R	80	37	58
Hastings, Alcee	FL	20	D	0	67	33
Hastings, Doc	WA	4	R	90	37	63
Heck, Denny	WA	10	D	5	42	24
Heck, Joe	NV	3	R	85	40	63
Hensarling, Jeb	TX	5	R	100	45	73
Herrera Beutler, Jaime	WA	3	R	79	63	71
Higgins, Brian	NY	26	D	0	75	38
Himes, Jim	CT	4	D	26	63	45
Hinojosa, Ruben	TX	15	D	18	53	35
Holding, George	NC	13	R	95	37	66
Holt, Rush	NJ	12	D	0	67	33
Honda, Mike	CA	17	D	0	74	37
Horsford, Steve	NV	4	D	0	60	30
Hoyer, Steny	MD	5	D	6	30	18
Hudson, Richard	NC	8	R	90	42	66
Huelskamp, Tim	KS	1	R	95	95	95
Huffman, Jared	CA	2	D	0	68	34
Huizenga, Bill	MI	2	R	95	58	76
Hultgren, Randy	IL	14	R	90	58	74
Hunter, Duncan	CA	50	R	100	50	75
Hurt, Robert	VA	5	R	100	53	76
Israel, Steve	NY	3	D	10	35	23
Issa, Darrell	CA	49	R	100	47	74
Jackson Lee, Sheila	TX	18	D	11	42	27
Jeffries, Hakeem	NY	8	D	0	63	32
Jenkins, Lynn	KS	2	R	90	45	68
Johnson, Bill	OH	6	R	95	53	74
Johnson, Eddie Bernice	TX	30	D	10	63	37
Johnson, Hank	GA	4	D	5	42	24

Johnson, Sam	TX	3	R	95	40	67
Jones, Walter	NC	3	R	74	89	82
Jordan, Jim	OH	4	R	100	63	82
Joyce, David	OH	14	R	68	35	52
Kaptur, Marcy	OH	9	D	10	44	27
Keating, Bill	MA	9	D	5	53	29
Kelly, Mike	PA	3	R	90	21	56
Kelly, Robin	IL	2	D	0	58	29
Kennedy, Joe, III	MA	4	D	0	42	21
Kildee, Dan	MI	5	D	5	47	26
Kilmer, Derek	WA	6	D	15	53	34
Kind, Ron	WI	3	D	25	47	36
King, Peter	NY	2	R	70	15	43
King, Steve	IA	4	R	90	42	66
Kingston, Jack	GA	1	R	100	63	82
Kinzinger, Adam	IL	16	R	85	25	55
Kirkpatrick, Ann	AZ	1	D	24	47	35
Kline, John	MN	2	R	100	45	73
Kuster, Anne McLane	NH	2	D	15	63	39
Labrador, Raul	ID	1	R	94	85	90
LaMalfa, Doug	CA	1	R	90	42	66
Lamborn, Doug	CO	5	R	100	42	71
Lance, Leonard	NJ	7	R	80	55	68
Langevin, Jim	RI	2	D	11	47	29
Lankford, James	OK	5	R	90	40	65
Larsen, Rick	WA	2	D	13	33	23
Larson, John	CT	1	D	5	68	37
Latham, Tom	IA	3	R	80	40	60
Latta, Bob	OH	5	R	100	40	70
Lee, Barbara	CA	13	D	5	75	40
Levin, Sander	MI	9	D	5	30	18
Lewis, John	GA	5	D	0	53	26
Lipinski, Dan	IL	3	D	11	37	24
LoBiondo, Frank	NJ	2	R	65	37	51
Loeb sack, David	IA	2	D	15	68	42
Lofgren, Zoe	CA	19	D	20	74	47
Long, Billy	MO	7	R	95	32	63
Lowenthal, Alan	CA	47	D	0	68	34
Lowey, Nita	NY	17	D	5	37	21
Lucas, Frank	OK	3	R	75	42	59

Luetkemeyer, Blaine	MO	3	R	84	35	60
Lujan Grisham, Michele	NM	1	D	25	42	34
Lujan, Ben Ray	NM	3	D	15	47	31
Lummis, Cynthia	WY	1	R	90	85	88
Lynch, Stephen	MA	8	D	6	68	37
Maffei, Dan	NY	24	D	45	74	59
Maloney, Carolyn	NY	12	D	10	56	33
Maloney, Sean Patrick	NY	18	D	45	42	44
Marchant, Kenny	TX	24	R	100	42	71
Marino, Tom	PA	10	R	80	35	58
Markey, Ed	MA	5	D	0	0	0
Massie, Thomas	KY	4	R	80	95	88
Matheson, Jim	UT	4	D	65	40	53
Matsui, Doris	CA	6	D	0	63	32
McCarthy, Kevin	CA	23	R	90	32	61
McCaul, Michael	TX	10	R	100	37	68
McClintock, Tom	CA	4	R	100	90	95
McCollum, Betty	MN	4	D	10	58	34
McDermott, Jim	WA	7	D	0	68	34
McGovern, Jim	MA	2	D	0	75	38
McHenry, Patrick	NC	10	R	100	44	72
McIntyre, Mike	NC	7	D	60	60	60
McKeon, Buck	CA	25	R	85	37	61
McKinley, David	WV	1	R	70	65	68
McMorris Rodgers, Cathy	WA	5	R	85	47	66
McNerney, Jerry	CA	9	D	20	32	26
Meadows, Mark	NC	11	R	95	68	82
Meehan, Pat	PA	7	R	80	40	60
Meeks, Gregory	NY	5	D	0	53	26
Meng, Grace	NY	6	D	6	44	25
Messer, Luke	IN	6	R	100	40	70
Mica, John	FL	7	R	95	74	84
Michaud, Mike	ME	2	D	10	68	39
Miller, Candice	MI	10	R	90	65	78
Miller, Gary	CA	31	R	93	39	66
Miller, George	CA	11	D	7	68	38
Miller, Jeff	FL	1	R	100	40	70
Moore, Gwen	WI	4	D	10	63	37
Moran, Jim	VA	8	D	0	55	28
Mullin, Markwayne	OK	2	R	90	40	65

Mulvaney, Mick	SC	5	R	100	90	95
Murphy, Patrick	FL	18	D	35	47	41
Murphy, Tim	PA	18	R	90	32	61
Nadler, Jerry	NY	10	D	0	63	32
Napolitano, Grace	CA	32	D	0	63	32
Neal, Richard	MA	1	D	0	69	34
Negrete McLoed, Gloria	CA	35	D	6	76	41
Neugebauer, Randy	TX	19	R	95	63	79
Noem, Kristi	SD	1	R	78	42	60
Nolan, Rick	MN	8	D	5	79	42
Nugent, Rich	FL	11	R	95	65	80
Nunes, Devin	CA	22	R	95	35	65
Nunnelee, Alan	MS	1	R	90	42	66
O'Rourke, Beto	TX	16	D	15	75	45
Olsen, Pete	TX	22	R	95	37	66
Owens, Bill	NY	21	D	40	21	31
Palazzo, Steven	MS	4	R	95	37	66
Pallone, Frank	NJ	6	D	0	64	32
Pascrell, Bill	NJ	9	D	0	58	29
Pastor, Ed	AZ	7	D	0	47	24
Paulsen, Erik	MN	3	R	100	63	82
Payne, Donald, Jr.	NJ	10	D	11	63	37
Pearce, Steve	NM	2	R	90	45	68
Pelosi, Nancy	CA	12	D	0	40	20
Perlmutter, Ed	CO	7	D	15	47	31
Perry, Scott	PA	4	R	95	42	69
Peters, Gary	MI	14	D	15	53	34
Peters, Scott	CA	52	D	40	47	44
Peterson, Colin	MN	7	D	50	75	63
Petri, Tom	WI	6	R	85	79	82
Pingree, Chellie	ME	1	D	0	75	38
Pittenger, Robert	NC	9	R	100	40	70
Pitts, Joe	PA	16	R	100	58	79
Pocan, Mark	WI	2	D	0	75	38
Poe, Ted	TX	2	R	90	84	87
Polis, Jared	CO	2	D	26	85	56
Pompeo, Mike	KS	4	R	100	30	65
Posey, Bill	FL	8	R	100	75	88
Price, David	NC	4	D	0	37	18
Price, Tom	GA	6	R	100	68	84



Quigley, Mike	IL	5	D	5	68	37
Radel, Trey	FL	19	R	100	75	88
Rahall, Nick	WV	3	D	30	55	43
Rangel, Charlie	NY	13	D	0	75	38
Reed, Tom	NY	23	R	85	50	68
Reichert, Dave	WA	8	R	85	26	56
Renacci, Jim	OH	16	R	95	45	70
Ribble, Reid	WI	8	R	90	74	82
Rice, Tom	SC	7	R	100	47	74
Richmond, Cedric	LA	2	D	21	42	32
Rigell, Scott	VA	2	R	100	53	76
Roby, Martha	AL	2	R	85	26	56
Roe, Phil	TN	1	R	95	55	75
Rogers, Hal	KY	5	R	78	26	52
Rogers, Mike	MI	8	R	90	35	63
Rogers, Mike D.	AL	3	R	85	28	56
Rohrabacher, Dana	CA	48	R	100	90	95
Rokita, Todd	IN	4	R	100	64	82
Rooney, Tom	FL	17	R	90	55	73
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana	FL	27	R	72	47	60
Roskam, Peter	IL	6	R	90	21	56
Ross, Dennis	FL	15	R	95	50	73
Rothfus, Keith	PA	12	R	90	37	63
Royball-Allard, Lucille	CA	40	D	0	58	29
Royce, Ed	CA	39	R	100	47	74
Ruiz, Raul	CA	36	D	40	21	31
Runyan, Jon	NJ	3	R	70	25	48
Ruppersberger, Dutch	MD	2	D	20	21	21
Rush, Bobby	IL	1	D	6	65	35
Ryan, Paul	WI	1	R	95	50	73
Ryan, Tim	OH	13	D	15	37	26
Salmon, Matt	AZ	5	R	100	70	85
Sanchez, Linda	CA	38	D	0	63	32
Sanchez, Loretta	CA	46	D	16	74	45
Sanford, Mark	SC	1	R	100	100	100
Sarbanes, John	MD	3	D	0	47	24
Scalise, Steve	LA	1	R	100	65	83
Schakowsky, Jan	IL	9	D	0	63	32
Schiff, Adam	CA	28	D	5	53	29
Schneider, Brad	IL	10	D	20	42	31

Schock, Aaron	IL	18	R	74	33	54
Schrader, Kurt	OR	5	D	20	80	50
Schwartz, Allyson	PA	13	D	11	42	26
Schweikert, David	AZ	6	R	100	74	87
Scott, Austin	GA	8	R	90	37	63
Scott, David	GA	13	D	0	39	19
Scott, Robert	VA	3	D	10	68	39
Sensenbrenner, Jim	WI	5	R	100	80	90
Serrano, Jose	NY	15	D	0	75	38
Sessions, Pete	TX	32	R	90	47	69
Sewell, Terri	AI	7	D	26	26	26
Shea-Porter, Carol	NH	1	D	10	56	33
Sherman, Brad	CA	30	D	5	45	25
Shimkus, John	IL	15	R	78	50	64
Shuster, Bill	PA	9	R	89	45	67
Simpson, Mike	ID	2	R	85	44	65
Sinema, Kyrsten	AZ	9	D	28	47	38
Siries, Albio	NJ	8	D	0	61	31
Slaughter, Louise	NY	25	D	12	56	34
Smith, Adam	WA	9	D	11	32	21
Smith, Adrian	NE	3	R	89	26	58
Smith, Chris	NJ	4	R	78	55	66
Smith, Jason	MO	8	R	91	50	70
Smith, Lamar	TX	21	R	95	32	63
Southerland, Steve	FL	2	R	95	60	78
Speier, Jackie	CA	14	D	17	74	45
Stewart, Chris	UT	2	R	100	37	68
Stivers, Steve	OH	15	R	85	50	68
Stockman, Steve	TX	36	R	100	74	87
Stutzman, Marlin	IN	3	R	100	78	89
Swalwell, Eric	CA	15	D	15	53	34
Takano, Mark	CA	41	D	5	42	24
Terry, Lee	NE	2	R	95	50	73
Thompson, Bennie	MS	2	D	10	60	35
Thompson, Glenn	PA	5	R	85	40	63
Thompson, Mike	CA	5	D	0	71	35
Thornberry, Mac	TX	13	R	90	35	63
Tiberi, Pat	OH	12	R	95	42	69
Tierney, John	MA	6	D	0	63	32
Tipton, Scott	CO	3	R	90	60	75

Titus, Dina	NV	1	D	10	42	26
Tonko, Paul	NY	20	D	5	70	38
Tsongas, Niki	MA	3	D	5	53	29
Turner, Mike	OH	10	R	70	32	51
Upton, Fred	MI	6	R	90	63	77
Valadao, David	CA	21	R	85	37	61
Van Hollen, Chris	MD	8	D	5	37	21
Vargas, Juan	CA	51	D	5	35	20
Veasey, Marc	TX	33	D	5	32	18
Vela, Filamon	TX	34	D	42	42	42
Velazquez, Nydia	NY	7	D	5	70	38
Visclosky, Peter	IN	1	D	20	26	23
Wagner, Ann	MO	2	R	95	40	67
Walberg, Tim	MI	7	R	95	50	73
Walden, Greg	OR	2	R	85	65	75
Walorski, Jackie	IN	2	R	95	40	68
Walz, Tim	MN	1	D	16	60	38
Wasserman Schultz, Debbie	FL	23	D	20	30	25
Waters, Maxine	CA	43	D	5	67	36
Watt, Mel	NC	12	D	11	56	33
Waxman, Henry	CA	33	D	0	63	32
Weber, Randy	TX	14	R	95	42	69
Webster, Daniel	FL	10	R	95	55	75
Welch, Peter	VT	1	D	0	68	34
Wenstrup, Brad	OH	2	R	95	32	63
Westmoreland, Lynn	GA	3	R	89	70	80
Whitfield, Ed	KY	1	R	80	44	62
Williams, Roger	TX	25	R	95	50	73
Wilson, Frederica	FL	24	D	0	58	29
Wilson, Joe	SC	2	R	90	40	65
Wittman, Rob	VA	1	R	95	40	68
Wolf, Frank	VA	10	R	85	47	66
Womack, Steve	AR	3	R	90	40	65
Woodall, Rob	GA	7	R	100	70	85
Yarmuth, John	KY	3	D	5	75	40
Yoder, Kevin	KS	3	R	90	55	73
Yoho, Ted	FL	3	R	85	65	75
Young, Bill	FL	13	R	92	19	55
Young, Don	AK	1	R	74	65	69
Young, Todd	IN	9	R	95	45	70

Boehner, Campbell and McCarthy not rated for lack of votes.

**Table 4. 2013 Liberty Index - House Roll Call Votes**

Roll Call Vote No.	Date	Congr. No.	Amen d. No.	Name	Description	LI component	LI position
23	1/15/13	HR_152		Disaster Supplemental	provide \$50.5 billion in relief to communities hit by Superstorm Sandy	Econ	N
68	3/13/13	HR_890		TANF Work Requirement	reauthorize TANF through 2013 and bar the Secretary of HHS from implementing work requirement waivers	Econ	Y
75	3/15/13	HR_803		Job Training Program Consolidation	reauthorize Workforce Investment Act and consolidate 35 programs into a single funding stream for state and local governments	Econ	Y
84	3/20/13	HCONR ES_25		Fiscal 2014 Budget Resolution-Black Caucus Substitute	increase spending and taxes a lot	Econ	N
88	3/21/13	HCONR ES_25		Fiscal 2014 Budget Resolution	decrease spending	Econ	Y
87	3/20/13	HCONR ES_25		Fiscal 2014 Budget Resolution-Democratic Substitute	increase spending and taxes	Econ	N
154	5/16/13	HR_45		Health Care Overhaul Repeal	repeal 2010 Health Care Overall	Econ	Y
179	5/22/13	HR_3		Keystone Pipeline	to authorize the pipeline	Econ	Y
191	6/4/13	HR_221 6		Fiscal 2014 Military Construction Appropriations-Davis Bacon	bar use of funds to enforce Davis-Bacon prevailing wage requirements	Econ	Y
256	6/19/13	HR_194 7		Farm Programs-SNAP Eligibility	strike the bill's restrictions on eligibility	Econ	N
258	6/19/13	HR_194 7		Farm Programs-Milk Price Support	repeal the milk price support program	Econ	Y
274	6/20/13	HR_194 7		Farm Programs-Christmas Trees	strike the provision to require the Secretary of Agriculture to lift the stay on promoting fresh-cut Christmas trees	Econ	N
280	6/20/13	HR_194 7		Farm Programs-Stones	strike the bill's addition of products of stones as agricultural commodities	Econ	Y
313	7/9/13	HR_260 9		Fiscal 2014 Energy Appropriations-Renewable Energy	increase funding by \$245 million for renewable-energy and efficiency programs	Econ	N

327	7/9/13	HR_260 9		Fiscal 2014 Energy Appropriations-Science	increase funding by \$500 million for Energy Dept science programs	Econ	N
422	7/30/13	HR_261 0		Fiscal 2014 Transportation Appropriation-Essential Air Service	eliminate the \$100 million provided for the Essential Air Service program	Econ	Y
445	8/2/13	HR_367		Congressional Approval of Federal Regulations	require Congressional approval of major regulations of executive departments and agencies	Econ	Y
602	11/20/13	HR_272 8		Hydraulic-Fracturing Regulation-Export Ban	ban the export of gas produced as a result of this bill	Econ	N
604	11/20/13	HR_272 8		Hydraulic-Fracturing Regulation	prohibit the Interior Dept from enforcing federal hydraulic-fracturing rules in states that have such oversight rules	Econ	Y
587	11/15/13	HR_335 0		Grandfathered-in Health Insurance Plans	allow health insurance companies to continue to offer in 2014 plans that were in effect as of Jan. 1, 2013	Econ	Y
198	6/5/13	HR_221 7		Fiscal 2014 Homeland Security Appropriations-ICE Detention Facilities	strike requirement to maintain at least 34,000 detention beds through Sept. 30, 2014	Pers	Y
204	6/5/13	HR_221 7		Fiscal 2014 Homeland Security Appropriations-Ammunition Purchase	bar use of funds to purchase ammunition until the Secretary reports on the department's purchase and use of same	Pers	Y
205	6/5/13	HR_221 7		Fiscal 2014 Homeland Security Appropriations-Behavior Detection	bar use of funds for TSA behavior detection program	Pers	Y
208	6/6/13	HR_221 7		Fiscal 2014 Homeland Security Appropriations-Discretionary Enforcement	bar use of funds for discretionary enforcement of immigration laws	Pers	Y
209	6/6/13	HR_221 7		Fiscal 2014 Homeland Security Appropriations-Non-Airport Activities	bar use of funds for activities outside airports by TSA agents	Pers	Y
226	6/13/13	HR_196 0		Fiscal 2014 Defense Authorization-Afghanistan	require completion of the transition of combat operations to Afghan forces by the end of 2013 and withdrawal of US forces by the end of 2014	Pers	Y
227	6/13/13	HR_196 0		Fiscal 2014 Defense Authorization-Habeas Corpus	allow the government to detain US citizens pursuant to the 2001 use of force authorization if it can show that the citizen is an unprivileged enemy combatant	Pers	N

269	6/20/13	HR_194 7		Farm Programs- Industrial Hemp	allow institutions of higher education in states the permit industrial hemp to be cultivated, to conduct research into industrial hemp	Pers	Y
374	7/19/13	HR_5		Education Law Overhaul	identify states as proper authority to establish academic standards, require evaluation of teachers and administrators, have funds "follow the child" to other public schools or to charter schools	Pers	Y
388	7/23/13	HR_239 7		Fiscal 2014 Defense Appropriations- Afghan Infrastructure	reduce funding by \$279 million for Afghanistan Infrastructure Fund	Pers	Y
389	7/23/13	HR_239 7		Fiscal 2014 Defense Appropriations- Afghan Infrastructure	reduce funding by \$139 million for Afghanistan Infrastructure Fund	Pers	Y
390	7/23/13	HR_239 7		Fiscal 2014 Defense Appropriations- Afghan Security Forces	reduce funding for Afghan Security Forces by \$553.8 million	Pers	Y
391	7/23/13	HR_239 7		Fiscal 2014 Defense Appropriations- Afghan Security Forces	reduce funding for Afghan Security Forces by \$2.6 billion	Pers	Y
401	7/24/13	HR_239 7		Fiscal 2014 Defense Appropriations-US- Afghan Partnership	bar use of funds for the 2012 US-Afghanistan Strategic Partnership Agreement unless Congress authorizes the same	Pers	Y
403	7/24/13	HR_239 7		Fiscal 2014 Defense Appropriations- Overseas Contingency Operations	reduce funding for overseas contingency operations by \$3.5 billion	Pers	Y
410	7/24/13	HR_239 7		Fiscal 2014 Defense Appropriations-Use of Force	bar use of funds for use of force under the 2001 use of force resolution, after 2014	Pers	Y
412	7/24/13	HR_239 7		Fiscal 2014 Defense Appropriations-NSA Phone Record Collection	bar use of funds to execute FISA court orders unless it pertains to "tangible things"	Pers	Y
581	11/14/13	HR_265 5		Frivolous-Lawsuits Sanctions	require courts to impose sanctions on those filing frivolous lawsuits such as paying attorney's fees and court costs of the other party	Pers	Y

	9/3/13			Authorization of Use of Force in Syria	as compiled by the Washington Post, unannounced or for counted as "Y," against or leans against as "N"	Pers	N
	9/3/12			Authorization of Use of Force in Syria	for counted as "Y," against counted as "N," unannounced or leans against as "abstain"	Pers	N

**Table 5. 2013 Liberty Index – Senate Roll Call Votes**

Roll Call Vote No.	Date	Congr. No.	Amend. No.	Name	Description	LI component	LI position
4	1/28/13	HR_152		Disaster Supplemental	provide \$50.5 billion in relief to communities hit by Superstorm Sandy	Econ	N
27	2/28/13	S_388		Democratic Sequestration Replacement-Cloture	replace sequestration cuts mostly with increased taxes on people with high incomes	Econ	N
34	3/13/13	HR_933	Amdt_30	Fiscal 2013 Continuing Appropriations-Health Care	bar use of funds to implement the 2010 health care law	Econ	Y
36	3/14/13	HR_933	Amdt_53	Fiscal 2013 Continuing Appropriations-Education, etc.	add \$593 million in funding to education, medical research and other programs	Econ	N
41	3/20/13	HR_933	Amdt_115	Fiscal 2013 Continuing Appropriations-Biofuels	reduce funding for biofuel production by \$60 million	Econ	Y
46	3/21/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_433	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-House Budget	decrease spending	Econ	Y
47	3/21/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_297	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-Medical Devices	create a deficit-neutral reserve fund to allow repeal of the 2.3 percent excise tax on medical devices	Econ	Y
49	3/21/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_156	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-Tax Overhaul	create a deficit-neutral reserve fund to allow for revenue-neutral tax overhaul	Econ	Y
58	3/22/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_646	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-Carbon Tax	create a deficit-neutral reserve fund to allow a carbon tax	Econ	N
67	3/22/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_307	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-Estate Tax	create a deficit-neutral reserve fund to allow repeal of the estate tax	Econ	Y
69	3/22/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_263	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-Rand Paul Substitute	decrease spending a lot	Econ	Y
76	3/22/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_359	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-Greenhouse Gases	adjust the budget resolution to presume a ban on EPA regulation of greenhouse gas emissions	Econ	Y
84	3/23/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_338	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-Mobile Phone Subsidies	create a deficit-neutral reserve fund to end the subsidy of mobile phones	Econ	Y



90	3/22/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_1 54	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution- Economic Impact	require the CBO to provide an estimate of the economic impact of legislation	Econ	Y
113	5/6/13	S_743		Internet Sales Tax	require large out-of-state retailers to collect sales taxes on internet sales	Econ	N
116	5/8/13	S_601	Amdt_7 99	Water Resources Development Act Reauthorization- National Endowment for the Oceans	create the National Endowment for the Oceans	Econ	N
123	5/15/13	S_601	Amdt_8 66	Water Resources Development Act Reauthorization- American Content	require American iron, steel and manufactured goods for projects eligible for loans, etc., under a financing pilot program in the bill	Econ	N
130	5/21/13	S_965	Amdt_9 48	Farm Programs- SNAP Eligibility	limit the type of assistance a household can receive to be eligible for the SNAP program	Econ	Y
132	5/22/13	S_965	Amdt_9 60	Farm Programs- block grants for nutrition assistance	replace SNAP program with block grants for nutrition assistance to the states	Econ	Y
206	9/27/13		HJRES_ 59	Fiscal 2014 Continuing Appropriations- Cloture	invoke cloture (limit debate) on funding for government operations through Dec. 15, authorize an increase in the debt limit, and defund the 2010 health care overhaul	Econ	N
9	1/31/13	HR_325	Amdt_9	Short-term Debt Limit Increase- Egypt	table (kill) an amendment to prohibit the transfer of F-16 Fighters, M-1 Tanks and other such military equipment to Egypt	Pers	N
63	3/22/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_5 15	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-School Choice	create a deficit-neutral reserve fund to allow funding of school choice for low-income families	Pers	Y
83	3/23/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_5 26	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-Voter Identification	create a deficit-neutral reserve fund to require a government- issued photo identification card for voting	Pers	Y
87	3/23/13	SCONR ES_8	Amdt_6 73	Fiscal 2013 Budget Resolution-Gun Policy-Motion to Waive	waive the Budget Act with respect to an amendment to create a point of order against certain legislation related to gun policy	Pers	Y
97	4/17/13	S_649	Amdt_7 15	Gun Policy Revisions- Background Checks	expand existing background check system to include gun shows and the internet	Pers	N

100	4/17/13	S_649	Amdt_7 19	Gun Policy Revisions- Concealed Carry Reciprocity	allow concealed-carry permits in one state to be valid in all others that issue such permits	Pers	Y
101	4/17/13	S_649	Amdt_7 11	Gun Policy Revisions-Assault Weapons Ban	prohibit future production, import, sale or possession of certain weapons considered to be assault weapons and magazines that can hold more than ten rounds	Pers	N
103	4/17/13	S_649	Amdt_7 14	Gun Policy Revisions-Large Magazines	prohibit the future production, import, sale or possession of magazines having more than ten rounds	Pers	N
104	4/18/13	S_649	Amdt_7 17	Gun Policy Revisions-Gun Owner Privacy	withhold 5 percent of law enforcement grants to states and localities that release gun- ownership data	Pers	Y
115	5/8/13	S_601	Amdt_8 05	Water Resources Development Act Reauthorization- Firearms on federally-managed land	bar the Secretary of the Army from prohibiting the possession of firearms on waters managed by the Army Corps of Engineers	Pers	Y
125	5/15/13			William Orrick Nomination to U.S. District Court for Northern California	prior involvement in a case leading up to Arizona vs US, in which the US argued that the President's decision to selectively enforce federal immigration law pre-empts states from enforcing federal immigration law	Pers	N
137	5/23/13	S_954	Amdt_9 23	Farm Programs- Tobacco Subsidies	eliminate subsidies for tobacco crop insurance premiums	Pers	Y
144	6/10/13	S_954	Amdt_9 98	Farm Programs- rural internet	set up a pilot program to expand high speed broadband to rural areas	Pers	N
195	7/31/13	S_1243	Amdt_1 739	Fiscal 2014 Transportation Appropriations- Egypt	table (kill) an amendment to establish July 3, 2013 as the day a coup d'etat occurred in Egypt and prohibit foreign aid to the same	Pers	N
201	9/9/13			Valerie Caproni Nomination for U.S. District Court for Southern New York	prior involvement as counsel to FBI in surveillance requests found to be lacking	Pers	N
230	11/7/13	S_815	Amdt_2 013	Employment Nondiscrimination- Religious Organization Exemption	expand religious exemption to include employers that are owned by churches, officially affiliated, or have curriculum directed toward a particular faith	Pers	Y

232	11/7/13	S_815		Employment Nondiscrimination	add sexual orientation and gender identity to protected classes with respect to employment	Pers	N
243	11/21/13			Judicial and Executive Branch Nominations-Ruling of the Chair	cloture can be invoked with a majority of those voting, i.e., the nuclear option	Pers	N
	9/3/13			Authorization of Use of Force in Syria	as compiled by the Washington Post, unannounced or for counted as "Y," against or leans against as "N"	Pers	N
	9/3/12			Authorization of Use of Force in Syria	for counted as "Y," against counted as "N," unannounced or leans against as "abstain"	Pers	N

Figure 1.

