October 2006

## A Congressional Tax Report Card

Over the past six years, Congress and President Bush have made major changes to the federal tax system, dramatically affecting tax fairness, revenues and budget deficits. This Congressional Tax Report Card looks at the five key tax votes in the House and Senate that have produced these changes, plus one additional vote on an important recent tax bill that Congress narrowly rejected.

The Tax Report Card details how members of Congress voted on these six bills, and grades each member on the combination of his or her votes. The grading system is based on the combination of two criteria: tax fairness and fiscal responsibility principles that all sides of the political debate at least pretend to honor.

The good news is that 138 members of the House and 19 members of the Senate earned perfect scores - 100 percent - on the votes they cast over the past six years. These 157 legislators earn our "Taxpayers' Friend" award for their perseverance in defending tax fairness and fiscal responsibility. A total of 185 Representatives voted for fair and responsible tax policies at least two-thirds of the time, as did 38 Senators.

The bad news is that 209 members of the House and 49 Senators earned grades of 0 percent. That means they invariably voted against tax fairness and sound fiscal policy. Instead, they consistently voted to make our tax system less fair and set our nation on a course toward fiscal ruin. These 258 legislators each richly deserve our "Enemy of the Taxpayers" designation.

The Congressional Tax Report Card
Friends of the Taxpayers, Enemies of the Taxpayers \& Others

|  | House | Senate | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Friends of the Taxpayers (100\%) | 138 | 19 | 157 |
| $80 \%$ to $83 \%$ score | 30 | 15 | 45 |
| $67 \%$ to $75 \%$ score | 17 | 4 | 21 |
| $40 \%$ to $60 \%$ score | 7 | 10 | 17 |
| $17 \%$ to $33 \%$ score | 29 | 3 | 32 |
| Enemies of the Taxpayers (0\%) | 209 | 49 | 258 |

Oddly, these Enemies of the Taxpayers often try to pose as taxpayer "heroes." It's as if someone took your credit card, ran up $\$ 10,000$ in debt in your name, sent you a check for $\$ 2,000$, and then absurdly claimed to be doing you a favor.

Among the Congressional leadership in the House, Speaker Dennis Hastert, Majority Leader John Boehner and Ways and Means Chairman Bill Thomas all earned grades of 0 percent. House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi and Ways and Means Committee Ranking Minority Member Charles Rangel each earned grades of 100 percent.

In the Senate, Majority Leader Bill Frist and Senate Finance Committee Chairman Charles Grassley each scored 0 percent. Minority Leader Harry Reid scored 80 percent, while Finance Committee Ranking Minority Member Max Baucus scored 40 percent.

## Computing the Grades

Each of the bills that we evaluated has failed the tests of tax fairness and sound fiscal policy. The Report Card grades votes that rejected these harmful policies as A's, and votes that supported these bad policies as F's. There have been six key tax votes in the House. The Senate did not have a roll call vote on one of these bills, and thus Senators are rated only on five votes. Members were graded only on votes they actually cast, and only current office holders were graded.

## Descriptions of the Tax Votes Evaluated

## Overview:

In his 2000 campaign for President, George W. Bush offered an optimistic vision for America's fiscal future. According to Bush, prior fiscal policies had been so successful that our country could afford a major tax cut, while at the same time maintaining or expanding public services and still balancing the budget without borrowing from the Social Security Trust Fund. Many were pleased to hear Bush's message, although prescient critics challenged Bush's arithmetic as inconsistent with reality.
When Bush took office in January of 2001, he immediately put forward his tax-cut program. It was adopted by Congress in May of 2001 on a largely party-line vote. When fully phased in by 2010, half of the enacted tax cuts were targeted to the best-off one percent of the population.
It's at least slightly understandable that in early 2001 Bush's supporters in Congress might have believed Bush's rhetoric about the plausibility of slashing taxes and still balancing the budget. By August of 2001, however, it was clear that Bush's predictions were incorrect. The Congressional Budget Office reported that after several years of balanced budgets, the federal budget was slipping back into deficits, with larger and larger shortfalls on the way.
Worried about the return of deficits, a chastened Congress began to seriously consider stopping the phase-ins of Bush's tax cuts, which had only begun to take effect. But the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks shifted political and public attention away from fiscal issues.

Feeling free from fiscal restraints, a majority in Congress rejected any thought of rolling back or freezing Bush's tax cuts. Instead, over the next five years, Congress continually added to the tax cuts, building their 10-year cost to a staggering \$2.4 trillion, including added interest on the national debt. Over the entire 2001-10 period, those in the best-off one percent, whose incomes average $\$ 1.3$ million this year, will see their taxes reduced by an average of $\$ 483,000$ each. In contrast, the average annual tax cut for middle-income taxpayers is only $\$ 659 .{ }^{1}$
Coupled with enormous new spending on security and the Iraq occupation, the effects of the tax cuts on the federal budget deficit have been stunning. In fiscal 2002 through 2006, personal income tax revenues have averaged only 7.3 percent of the economy. That's 28 percent below the 10.1 percent share that Bush inherited. The federal budget went from a small surplus before Bush took office, to huge sustained deficits, averaging almost $\$ 500$ billion a year counting the amounts borrowed from Social Security. Over the past five years, a shocking quarter of non-Social Security federal spending has been financed on the national credit card.

[^0]The consequences for the vast majority of American taxpayers of this tax-cutting-andborrowing spree have been extremely negative. Borrowing huge sums in the name of all Americans and giving the bulk of the money to the richest people in the country is not a good deal for the vast majority who end up with higher taxes or reduced public services down the road. Indeed, President Bush's own Treasury Department recently described the borrow-andspend policies of the past six year as "unsustainable." ${ }^{2}$
Through 2006, 99 percent of Americans are much worse off from the Bush fiscal policies. Netting the relatively small tax cuts received by most families and individuals against their share of the added national debt built up over the past six years shows that only the wealthiest one percent of taxpayers are on balance better off. For the typical family of four, the additional net burden averages a staggering $\$ 28,322$ so far, with more on the way. ${ }^{3}$
The Report Card shows which members were wise enough to reject the siren's song of costfree tax cuts throughout the past six years, which members were initially deceived but later learned their lesson, which members have lurched from one position to another, and which members have consistently supported more and more tax cutting and deficit spending, whatever the consequences for our nation's future.

## Details on the Specific Bills:

1. The 2001 Bush Tax Cuts (the "big enchilada"). ${ }^{4}$ This was President Bush’s first tax cut bill. While having a few progressive features, such as an expansion in the child tax credit and a small increase in the earned-income tax credit, the overwhelming majority of the benefits of this bill went to the very rich, largely from cuts in the top tax rates and the phase-out of the estate tax on very large fortunes.
Officially, the 2001 tax legislation was estimated to reduce federal revenues by $\$ 1.35$ trillion over ten years, plus associated added interest on the national debt. The true, much higher cost was masked by phasing in many of the tax cuts over several years.
Receiving scant consideration in the House and Senate, the 2001 tax cut bill was rushed through Congress and became law less than five months after President Bush took office. In the House, it was approved by a margin of 230-197, and in the Senate, by 58-33. Members of Congress who opposed this bill received an "A," while those who voted for it received an "F."
2. The 2002 Corporate Tax Cut. ${ }^{5}$ This bill was originally put forward in the fall of 2001, but was stalled because of public revulsion to enacting new corporate tax loopholes in the immediate wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks. (One of the provisions of the 2001 version of the bill would have refunded all the corporate alternative minimum taxes that companies had ever paid, to the benefit of low-tax companies such as Enron, General Electric and ChevronTexaco.) Congress returned to the bill in early 2002, and passed it after dropping some of its most controversial provisions.
[^1]As passed, the bill concentrated on temporarily speeding up corporate tax write-offs for purchases of equipment. The stated rationale for this measure was to spur business investment, but a subsequent analysis of the big corporations that received the biggest tax reductions from the bill found that most of them actually reduced their investment outlays substantially. ${ }^{6}$ In total, the bill was estimated to reduce corporate taxes by $\$ 114$ billion over its first three years. After that, part of the cost was to be recovered, lowering the net cost over 10 years to $\$ 42$ billion, assuming that the bill's provisions were not extended in subsequent legislation. (In 2003, the write-offs were extended for an additional year.)
In the House, the bill was approved by the exceedingly narrow margin of 216-214. Representatives who opposed this bill received an "A" grade, while those who voted for it received an " $F$." The Senate did not take a roll call vote in passing this legislation.
3. The 2003 Bush Tax Cut (capital gains, dividends, etc.). ${ }^{7}$ This bill temporarily extended the 2002 corporate tax cuts, sharply reduced personal income taxes on capital gains and dividends, and sped up the phase-ins of a number of the provisions of the 2001 Bush tax cut bill.
The corporate provisions were expected to cost \$61 billion over two years. Like the 2002 corporate tax breaks, however, this cost was expected to be largely recovered in later years, reducing the 10 -year cost to only $\$ 14$ billion unless the tax breaks were extended further in later legislation, which has not occurred.
The big winners from the bill were wealthy individuals, whose tax rate on capital gains and dividends was slashed to only 15 percent. For capital gains, that meant a tax reduction of a quarter from the prior top rate of 20 percent. For dividends, it amounted to a cut of more than half from the previous top rate of 35 percent.
High-income people were also the major beneficiaries of the speed-up in the phase-ins of several provisions of the 2001 tax cut bill. Most notably, the 2003 bill made the full reductions in the top income tax rates take effect in 2003 rather than in 2006, as originally scheduled.
The official revenue loss estimate for this legislation was $\$ 350$ billion over ten years. The true cost was masked by the fact that the capital gains and dividends tax cut was slated to expire after 2008. (Not surprisingly, it was later extended through 2010.) The House approved the bill 222-203. The Senate deadlocked on the bill, with a $50-50$ tie vote. Vice President Cheney then cast the deciding vote, making the final tally 51-50. Members of Congress who opposed this bill received an "A" grade, while those who voted for it received an "F."
4. The 2004 Corporate Tax Giveaway Bill. ${ }^{8}$ This bill began as an attempt to resolve a trade dispute between the United States and Europe over a $\$ 5$ billion a year U.S. tax subsidy for American exporters that had been (repeatedly) ruled illegal by the World Trade Organization. It expanded into a huge array of corporate tax giveaways, totaling $\$ 214$ billion over 10 years.
The true cost of the bill was masked by gimmicks and false assumptions, including: $\$ 49$ billion in revenue "saved" from complying with our trade treaties; $\$ 82$ billion in added revenues from what Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mt.), co-sponsor of the Senate bill, accurately called "measures which in themselves should be good public policy and we should pass anyway"; and $\$ 79$ billion in

[^2]probably phony "sunsets" on many of the new tax breaks in the bill. So, despite the fact that these supposed offsets fall into the categories of things that Congress had to do, ought to do anyway or probably won't do, the bill was officially "scored" as cost-free.
The vote on the bill was taken just prior to the 2004 elections. There is little doubt that many members of Congress voted for the bill in an attempt to show a friendly face to business, and thereby gain campaign contributions. As a result, the vote is the most lopsided of any of the votes we surveyed. In the House, the vote was 251-178, and in the Senate, 69-17. Members of Congress who opposed this bill received an " $A$ " grade, while those who voted for it received an "F."
5. The 2005 Bush Tax Cut (enacted in 2006). ${ }^{9}$ This bill was proposed in 2005, but was not enacted until the spring of 2006. It centered on extending through 2010 the preferential 15 percent top tax rate on capital gains and dividends, which had been scheduled to expire after 2008. It also extended a few otherwise-expiring corporate tax breaks.

The total revenue loss from the bill was estimated to be $\$ 69$ billion over 10 years, with $\$ 51$ billion of that coming in 2009 and 2010 from the two-year extension of the capital gains and dividends tax cut. As usual, the true cost was partially hidden through gimmicks.
Although not the most costly of the Bush tax cuts, this bill was probably the most regressive. Almost two-thirds of the tax reductions from its centerpiece, the extension of the low rates on capital gains and dividends, will go to the best-off one percent of all taxpayers.
The House approved the bill 244-185, and the Senate 54-44. Members of Congress who opposed this bill received an "A" grade, while those who voted for it received an "F."
6. The 2006 Proposal to Repeal the Estate Tax Permanently. ${ }^{10}$ In an effort to mask the true cost of the various Bush tax cuts, all of them are officially scheduled to expire after 2010. But congressional leaders, backed by President Bush, proposed to make the repeal of the estate tax permanent. The House voted on the bill in 2005; the Senate voted in 2006.
The estate tax is the most progressive of all federal taxes, affecting only one percent of all estates. Spurred on by an intensive lobbying campaign by some of America's wealthiest families who feared that voters might elect more progressive, fiscally responsible legislators in the future, Congressional leaders scheduled a vote to make repeal of the estate tax permanent. Officially, this bill was estimated to cost $\$ 280$ billion over its first five years (201115), with a ten-year cost, counting interest, approaching a trillion dollars.

The House approved the estate-tax-repeal bill by a 272-162 margin. In the Senate, consideration of the legislation required 60 votes, because of Senate budget rules. The vote in the Senate was $57-41$ in favor of repeal, meaning the bill was defeated. ${ }^{11}$ Members of Congress who opposed this bill received an "A" grade, while those who voted for it received an "F."

[^3]
## The Congressional Tax Report Card

How Your Senators \& Representatives Voted on Major Tax Bills, 2001-2006

| State \& Name | House or Senate | PartyDistrict | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| Alabama |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jeff Sessions | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Richard Shelby | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jo Bonner | House | R-1 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Terry Everett | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mike Rogers | House | R-3 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Robert Aderholt | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Robert E. "Bud" Cramer | House | D-5 | F | A | F | F | F | F | 17\% |
| Spencer Bachus | House | R-6 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Artur Davis | House | D-7 | na | na | A | F | A | A | 75\% |
| Alaska |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lisa Murkowski | Senate | R | na | na | na | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Ted Stevens | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Don Young | House | R-at large | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Arizona |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jon Kyl | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| John McCain | Senate | R | A | na | A | na | F | F | 50\% |
| Rick Renzi | House | R-1 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Trent Franks | House | R-2 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| John Shadegg | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Ed Pastor | House | D-4 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| J.D. Hayworth | House | R-5 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jeff Flake | House | R-6 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Raul Grijalva | House | D-7 | na | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Jim Kolbe | House | R-8 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Blanche Lincoln | Senate | D | F | na | A | F | A | F | 40\% |
| Mark Pryor | Senate | D | na | na | A | F | F | A | 50\% |
| Marion Berry | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Vic Snyder | House | D-2 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| John Boozman | House | R-3 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mike Ross | House | D-4 | A | A | A | F | A | F | 67\% |
| California |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Barbara Boxer | Senate | D | na | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Dianne Feinstein | Senate | D | F | na | A | A | A | A | 80\% |
| Mike Thompson | House | D-1 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| Wally Herger | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Daniel E. Lungren | House | R-3 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| John Doolittle | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Doris O. Matsui | House | D-5 | na | na | na | na | A | A | 100\% |
| Lynn Woolsey | House | D-6 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| George Miller | House | D-7 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Nancy Pelosi | House | D-8 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Barbara Lee | House | D-9 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Ellen Tauscher | House | D-10 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Richard Pombo | House | R-11 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Tom Lantos | House | D-12 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Fortney Pete Stark | House | D-13 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |


| State \& Name | House or Senate | PartyDistrict | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| California, continued |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Anna G. Eshoo | House | D-14 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Mike Honda | House | D-15 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Zoe Lofgren | House | D-16 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Sam Farr | House | D-17 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Dennis Cardoza | House | D-18 | na | na | A | A | na | F | 67\% |
| George P. Radanovich | House | R-19 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jim Costa | House | D-20 | na | na | na | na | A | F | 50\% |
| Devin Nunes | House | R-21 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Bill Thomas | House | R-22 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Lois Capps | House | D-23 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Elton Gallegly | House | R-24 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Buck McKeon | House | R-25 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| David Dreier | House | R-26 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Brad Sherman | House | D-27 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Howard Berman | House | D-28 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Adam Schiff | House | D-29 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Henry Waxman | House | D-30 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Xavier Becerra | House | D-31 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Hilda Solis | House | D-32 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Diane E. Watson | House | D-33 | na | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Lucille Roybal-Allard | House | D-34 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Maxine Waters | House | D-35 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Jane Harman | House | D-36 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Juanita Millender-McDonald | House | D-37 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Grace Napolitano | House | D-38 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Linda Sanchez | House | D-39 | na | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Ed Royce | House | R-40 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Jerry Lewis | House | R-41 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Gary Miller | House | R-42 | F | F | na | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Joe Baca | House | D-43 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Ken Calvert | House | R-44 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mary Bono | House | R-45 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Dana Rohrabacher | House | R-46 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Loretta Sanchez | House | D-47 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| John Campbell | House | R-48 | na | na | na | na | F | na | 0\% |
| Darrell Issa | House | R-49 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Brian P. Bilbray | House | R-50 | na | na | na | na | na | na | na |
| Bob Filner | House | D-51 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Duncan Hunter | House | R-52 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Susan Davis | House | D-53 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Colorado |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Wayne Allard | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Ken Salazar | Senate | D | na | na | na | na | A | A | 100\% |
| Diana DeGette | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Mark Udall | House | D-2 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| John T. Salazar | House | D-3 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Marilyn Musgrave | House | R-4 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Joel Hefley | House | R-5 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Tom Tancredo | House | R-6 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Bob Beauprez | House | R-7 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |


| State \& Name | House or Senate | PartyDistrict | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| Connecticut |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Christopher Dodd | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Joseph Lieberman | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| John B. Larson | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Rob Simmons | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Rosa L. DeLauro | House | D-3 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Christopher Shays | House | R-4 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Nancy L. Johnson | House | R-5 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Delaware |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Joseph Biden | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Thomas Carper | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Michael N. Castle | House | R-at large | F | F | A | A | F | F | 33\% |
| Florida |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mel Martinez | Senate | R | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Bill Nelson | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | F | F | 40\% |
| Jeff Miller | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Allen Boyd | House | D-2 | A | A | na | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Corrine Brown | House | D-3 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Ander Crenshaw | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Virginia Brown-Waite | House | R-5 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Cliff Stearns | House | R-6 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| John Mica | House | R-7 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Ric Keller | House | R-8 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Michael Bilirakis | House | R-9 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| C.W. Bill Young | House | R-10 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Jim Davis | House | D-11 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| Adam Putnam | House | R-12 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Katherine Harris | House | R-13 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Connie Mack | House | R-14 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Dave Weldon | House | R-15 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Kendrick Meek | House | D-17 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Ileana Ros-Lehtinen | House | R-18 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Robert Wexler | House | D-19 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Debbie Wasserman Schultz | House | D-20 | na | na | na | na | A | A | 100\% |
| Lincoln Diaz-Balart | House | R-21 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| E. Clay Shaw Jr. | House | R-22 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Alcee L. Hastings | House | D-23 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Tom Feeney | House | R-24 | na | na | na | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mario Diaz-Balart | House | R-25 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Georgia |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Saxby Chambliss | Senate | R | na | na | F | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Johnny Isakson | Senate | R | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Jack Kingston | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Sanford D. Bishop Jr. | House | D-2 | F | A | A | F | A | F | 50\% |
| Lynn A. Westmoreland | House | R-3 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Cynthia McKinney | House | D-4 | A | A | na | na | A | A | 100\% |
| John Lewis | House | D-5 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Tom Price | House | R-6 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| John Linder | House | R-7 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jim Marshall | House | D-8 | na | na | A | F | F | A | 50\% |
| Nathan Deal | House | R-9 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |


| State \& Name | House or Senate | PartyDistrict | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| Georgia. continued |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Charlie Norwood | House | R-10 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Phil Gingrey | House | R-11 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| John Barrow | House | D-12 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| David Scott | House | D-13 | A | A | A | F | A | F | 67\% |
| Hawaii |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Daniel Akaka | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Daniel Inouye | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Neil Abercrombie | House | D-1 | F | A | A | F | A | A | 67\% |
| Ed Case | House | D-2 | na | na | A | A | F | A | 75\% |
| Idaho |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Larry Craig | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mike Crapo | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Butch Otter | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mike Simpson | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Illinois |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Richard Durbin | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Barack Obama | Senate | D | na | na | na | na | A | A | 100\% |
| Bobby L. Rush | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Jesse L. Jackson Jr. | House | D-2 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Daniel Lipinski | House | D-3 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Luis Gutierrez | House | D-4 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Rahm Emanuel | House | D-5 | na | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Henry Hyde | House | R-6 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Danny K. Davis | House | D-7 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| Melissa L. Bean | House | D-8 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Jan Schakowsky | House | D-9 | na | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Mark Kirk | House | R-10 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Jerry Weller | House | R-11 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jerry Costello | House | D-12 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Judy Biggert | House | R-13 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Denny Hastert | House | R-14 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Timothy V. Johnson | House | R-15 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Donald Manzullo | House | R-16 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Lane Evans | House | D-17 | A | A | A | A | na | A | 100\% |
| Ray Lahood | House | R-18 | F | A | na | F | F | F | 20\% |
| John Shimkus | House | R-19 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Indiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Evan Bayh | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Richard Lugar | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Peter Visclosky | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Chris Chocola | House | R-2 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mark E. Souder | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Steve Buyer | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Dan Burton | House | R-5 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mike Pence | House | R-6 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Julia Carson | House | D-7 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| John N. Hostettler | House | R-8 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Michael E. Sodrel | House | R-9 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |


| State \& Name | House or Senate | PartyDistrict | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| Iowa |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Chuck Grassley | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Tom Harkin | Senate | D | na | na | A | F | A | A | 75\% |
| Jim Nussle | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jim Leach | House | R-2 | F | A | A | F | A | A | 67\% |
| Leonard Boswell | House | D-3 | A | A | A | F | A | F | 67\% |
| Tom Latham | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Steve King | House | R-5 | na | na | na | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Kansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sam Brownback | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Pat Roberts | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jerry Moran | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jim Ryun | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Dennis Moore | House | D-3 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| Todd Tiahrt | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Kentucky |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jim Bunning | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mitch McConnell | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Ed Whitfield | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Ron Lewis | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Anne Northup | House | R-3 | F | F | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Geoff Davis | House | R-4 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Harold Rogers | House | R-5 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Ben Chandler | House | D-6 | na | na | na | F | A | F | 33\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mary Landrieu | Senate | D | F | na | A | F | A | A | 60\% |
| David Vitter | Senate | R | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Bobby Jindal | House | R-1 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| William J. Jefferson | House | D-2 | A | A | A | F | A | F | 67\% |
| Charlie Melancon | House | D-3 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Jim McCrery | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Rodney Alexander | House | R-5 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Richard Baker | House | R-6 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Charles W. Boustany Jr. | House | R-7 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Maine |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Susan Collins | Senate | R | F | na | F | A | F | F | 20\% |
| Olympia Snowe | Senate | R | F | na | A | F | A | F | 40\% |
| Tom Allen | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Michael Michaud | House | D-2 | na | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Maryland |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Barbara Mikulski | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Paul Sarbanes | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Wayne Gilchrest | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Dutch Ruppersberger | House | D-2 | na | na | A | F | A | F | 50\% |
| Benjamin L. Cardin | House | D-3 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Albert Wynn | House | D-4 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Steny H. Hoyer | House | D-5 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Roscoe Bartlett | House | R-6 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Elijah Cummings | House | D-7 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Chris Van Hollen | House | D-8 | na | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |


| State \& Name | House or Senate | Party- <br> District | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall <br> Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| Massachusetts |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Edward Kennedy | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| John Kerry | Senate | D | na | na | A | na | A | A | 100\% |
| John Olver | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Richard E. Neal | House | D-2 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| James McGovern | House | D-3 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Barney Frank | House | D-4 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Marty Meehan | House | D-5 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| John Tierney | House | D-6 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Ed Markey | House | D-7 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Michael E. Capuano | House | D-8 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Stephen F. Lynch | House | D-9 | na | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| William Delahunt | House | D-10 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Michigan |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Carl Levin | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Debbie Stabenow | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Bart Stupak | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Pete Hoekstra | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Vernon J. Ehlers | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Dave Camp | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Dale Kildee | House | D-5 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Fred Upton | House | R-6 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| John J.H. "Joe" Schwarz | House | R-7 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Mike Rogers | House | R-8 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Joseph Knollenberg | House | R-9 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Candice Miller | House | R-10 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Thaddeus McCotter | House | R-11 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Sander Levin | House | D-12 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Carolyn Kilpatrick | House | D-13 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| John Conyers Jr. | House | D-14 | A | A | A | na | A | A | 100\% |
| John D. Dingell | House | D-15 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Minnesota |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Norm Coleman | Senate | R | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mark Dayton | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Gil Gutknecht | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| John Kline | House | R-2 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jim Ramstad | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Betty McCollum | House | D-4 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Martin Olav Sabo | House | D-5 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Mark Kennedy | House | R-6 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Collin C. Peterson | House | D-7 | A | A | A | F | F | F | 50\% |
| James L. Oberstar | House | D-8 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Thad Cochran | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Trent Lott | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Roger Wicker | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Bennie G. Thompson | House | D-2 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| Charles W. "Chip" Pickering | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Gene Taylor | House | D-4 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |


| State \& Name | House or Senate | PartyDistrict | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| Missouri |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Christopher "Kit" Bond | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| James Talent | Senate | R | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| William "Lacy" Clay Jr. | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Todd Akin | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Russ Carnahan | House | D-3 | na | na | na | na | A | A | 100\% |
| Ike Skelton | House | D-4 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Emanuel Cleaver | House | D-5 | na | na | na | na | A | A | 100\% |
| Sam Graves | House | R-6 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Roy Blunt | House | R-7 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jo Ann Emerson | House | R-8 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Kenny Hulshof | House | R-9 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Montana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Max Baucus | Senate | D | F | na | A | F | A | F | 40\% |
| Conrad Burns | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Dennis Rehberg | House | R-at large | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Nebraska |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Chuck Hagel | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Benjamin Nelson | Senate | D | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jeff Fortenberry | House | R-1 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Lee Terry | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Tom Osborne | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Nevada |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| John Ensign | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Harry Reid | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Shelley Berkley | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Jim Gibbons | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jon Porter | House | R-3 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| New Hampshire |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Judd Gregg | Senate | R | F | na | F | A | F | F | 20\% |
| John Sununu | Senate | R | na | na | F | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Jeb Bradley | House | R-1 | na | na | F | A | F | F | 25\% |
| Charles Bass | House | R-2 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| New Jersey |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Frank Lautenberg | Senate | D | na | na | A | na | A | A | 100\% |
| Robert Menendez* | Senate | D | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Robert E. Andrews | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Frank LoBiondo | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jim Saxton | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Chris Smith | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Scott Garrett | House | R-5 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Frank Pallone Jr. | House | D-6 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Michael Ferguson | House | R-7 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Bill Pascrell Jr. | House | D-8 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Steven Rothman | House | D-9 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Donald M. Payne | House | D-10 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Rodney Frelinghuysen | House | R-11 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Rush Holt | House | D-12 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| *Includes House votes in 2001-04. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| State \& Name | House or Senate | PartyDistrict | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| New Mexico |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jeff Bingaman | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Pete Domenici | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Heather Wilson | House | R-1 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Steve Pearce | House | R-2 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Tom Udall | House | D-3 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| New York |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Hillary Clinton | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Charles Schumer | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | na | 75\% |
| Timothy Bishop | House | D-1 | na | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Steve Israel | House | D-2 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Pete King | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Carolyn McCarthy | House | D-4 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Gary Ackerman | House | D-5 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Gregory W. Meeks | House | D-6 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Joseph Crowley | House | D-7 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Jerrold Nadler | House | D-8 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Anthony D. Weiner | House | D-9 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Edolphus Towns | House | D-10 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Major Owens | House | D-11 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Nydia M. Velázquez | House | D-12 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Vito Fossella | House | R-13 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Carolyn Maloney | House | D-14 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Charles B. Rangel | House | D-15 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| José E. Serrano | House | D-16 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Eliot Engel | House | D-17 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Nita Lowey | House | D-18 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Sue Kelly | House | R-19 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| John E. Sweeney | House | R-20 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Michael R. McNulty | House | D-21 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Maurice Hinchey | House | D-22 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| John M. McHugh | House | R-23 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Sherwood L. Boehlert | House | R-24 | F | F | F | F | A | F | 17\% |
| Jim Walsh | House | R-25 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Thomas M. Reynolds | House | R-26 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Brian Higgins | House | D-27 | na | na | na | na | A | A | 100\% |
| Louise Slaughter | House | D-28 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| John R. "Randy" Kuhl Jr. | House | R-29 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| North Carolina |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Richard Burr | Senate | R | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Elizabeth Dole | Senate | R | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| G.K. Butterfield | House | D-1 | na | na | na | na | A | F | 50\% |
| Bob Etheridge | House | D-2 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| Walter B. Jones | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| David Price | House | D-4 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| Virginia Foxx | House | R-5 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Howard Coble | House | R-6 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mike McIntyre | House | D-7 | F | A | A | F | F | F | 33\% |
| Robin Hayes | House | R-8 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Sue Myrick | House | R-9 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Patrick T. McHenry | House | R-10 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |


| State \& Name | House or Senate | PartyDistrict | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| North Carolina, continued |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Charles H. Taylor | House | R-11 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Mel Watt | House | D-12 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| Brad Miller | House | D-13 | na | na | A | F | A | A | 75\% |
| North Dakota |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Kent Conrad | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Byron Dorgan | Senate | D | A | na | A | na | A | A | 100\% |
| Earl Pomeroy | House | D-at large | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Ohio |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mike Dewine | Senate | R | F | na | F | A | F | F | 20\% |
| George Voinovich | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | A | A | 40\% |
| Steve Chabot | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jean Schmidt | House | R-2 | na | na | na | na | F | na | 0\% |
| Michael Turner | House | R-3 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Michael G. Oxley | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Paul Gillmor | House | R-5 | F | F | F | F | F | na | 0\% |
| Ted Strickland | House | D-6 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| David Hobson | House | R-7 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| John A. Boehner | House | R-8 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Marcy Kaptur | House | D-9 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Dennis J. Kucinich | House | D-10 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Stephanie Tubbs Jones | House | D-11 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Pat Tiberi | House | R-12 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Sherrod Brown | House | D-13 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Steven C. LaTourette | House | R-14 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Deborah Pryce | House | R-15 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Ralph Regula | House | R-16 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Tim Ryan | House | D-17 | na | na | A | A | A | F | 75\% |
| Oklahoma |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tom Coburn | Senate | R | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| James Inhofe | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| John Sullivan | House | R-1 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Dan Boren | House | D-2 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Frank Lucas | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Tom Cole | House | R-4 | na | na | na | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Ernest J. Istook Jr. | House | R-5 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Oregon |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gordon Smith | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Ron Wyden | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| David Wu | House | D-1 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| Greg Walden | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Earl Blumenauer | House | D-3 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Peter DeFazio | House | D-4 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Darlene Hooley | House | D-5 | A | A | A | F | A | F | 67\% |
| Pennsylvania |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rick Santorum | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Arlen Specter | Senate | R | F | na | F | na | na | F | 0\% |
| Robert Brady | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Chaka Fattah | House | D-2 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Phil English | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Melissa Hart | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |


| State \& Name | House or Senate | PartyDistrict | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| Pennsylvania, continued |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| John E. Peterson | House | R-5 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Jim Gerlach | House | R-6 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Curt Weldon | House | R-7 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Michael G. Fitzpatrick | House | R-8 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Bill Shuster | House | R-9 | na | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Don Sherwood | House | R-10 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Paul E. Kanjorski | House | D-11 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| John Murtha | House | D-12 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Allyson Y. Schwartz | House | D-13 | na | na | na | na | A | A | 100\% |
| Mike Doyle | House | D-14 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Charles W. Dent | House | R-15 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Joseph R. Pitts | House | R-16 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Tim Holden | House | D-17 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Tim Murphy | House | R-18 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Todd Platts | House | R-19 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Rhode Island |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lincoln Chafee | Senate | R | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Jack Reed | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Patrick Kennedy | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | na | A | 100\% |
| Jim Langevin | House | D-2 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| South Carolina |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jim Demint | Senate | R | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Lindsey Graham | Senate | R | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Henry Brown | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Joe Wilson | House | R-2 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| J.Gresham Barrett | House | R-3 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Bob Inglis | House | R-4 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| John Spratt | House | D-5 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| James E. Clyburn | House | D-6 | A | A | na | F | A | A | 80\% |
| South Dakota |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tim Johnson | Senate | D | F | na | A | F | A | A | 60\% |
| John Thune | Senate | R | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Stephanie Herseth | House | D-at large | na | na | na | F | A | A | 67\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lamar Alexander | Senate | R | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| William Frist | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| William L. Jenkins | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| John J. Duncan Jr. | House | R-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Zach Wamp | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Lincoln Davis | House | D-4 | na | na | A | F | F | F | 25\% |
| Jim Cooper | House | D-5 | na | na | A | F | A | A | 75\% |
| Bart Gordon | House | D-6 | F | A | A | F | F | F | 33\% |
| Marsha Blackburn | House | R-7 | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| John Tanner | House | D-8 | A | A | A | F | A | A | 83\% |
| Harold Ford | House | D-9 | A | A | A | F | F | A | 67\% |
| Texas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| John Cornyn | Senate | R | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Kay Bailey Hutchison | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Louie Gohmert | House | R-1 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Ted Poe | House | R-2 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Sam Johnson | House | R-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |



| State \& Name | House or Senate | PartyDistrict | Vote |  |  |  |  |  | Overall Grade |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005(06) | 2006 |  |
| Washington |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Maria Cantwell | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Patty Murray | Senate | D | na | na | A | F | A | A | 75\% |
| Jay Inslee | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Rick Larsen | House | D-2 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Brian Baird | House | D-3 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Doc Hastings | House | R-4 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Cathy McMorris | House | R-5 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Norman D. Dicks | House | D-6 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Jim McDermott | House | D-7 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| David G. Reichert | House | R-8 | na | na | na | na | F | F | 0\% |
| Adam Smith | House | D-9 | A | A | A | A | na | A | 100\% |
| West Virginia |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Robert Byrd | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| John D. Rockefeller IV | Senate | D | A | na | A | A | na | na | 100\% |
| Alan B. Mollohan | House | D-1 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Shelley Moore Capito | House | R-2 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Nick Rahall | House | D-3 | A | A | A | A | A | F | 83\% |
| Wisconsin |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Russell Feingold | Senate | D | A | na | A | F | A | A | 80\% |
| Herb Kohl | Senate | D | F | na | A | na | A | A | 75\% |
| Paul Ryan | House | R-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Tammy Baldwin | House | D-2 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Ron Kind | House | D-3 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Gwen Moore | House | D-4 | na | na | na | na | A | A | 100\% |
| F. James Sensenbrenner | House | R-5 | F | F | F | A | F | F | 17\% |
| Thomas Petri | House | R-6 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| David R. Obey | House | D-7 | A | A | A | A | A | A | 100\% |
| Mark Green | House | R-8 | F | F | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Wyoming |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Michael Enzi | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Craig Thomas | Senate | R | F | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |
| Barbara Cubin | House | R-at large | na | na | F | F | F | F | 0\% |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ For more details, see Citizens for Tax Justice, "The Bush Tax Cuts Enacted Through 2006: The Latest CTJ Data," June 22, 2006, www.ctj.org/pdf/gwbdata.pdf.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Office of Tax Analysis, U.S. Department of the Treasury, "A Dynamic Analysis of Permanent Extension of the President's Tax Relief," July 25, 2006, p. 5. See also Robert S. McIntyre, "Report Retort," The American Prospect, June 28, 2006, www.prospect.org/web/page.ww?section=root\&name=ViewWeb\&articleId=11782.
    ${ }^{3}$ For more details, see Citizens for Tax Justice, " $99 \%$ of Americans Are Net Losers Under Bush Tax and Spending Policies," June 29, 2006, www.ctj.org/pdf/debtus.pdf.
    "The optimistic official title of this bill was "The Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001," H.R. 1836.
    ${ }^{5}$ The official name of this bill was "The Job Creation and Worker Assistance Act of 2002," H.R. 3090.

[^2]:    ${ }^{6}$ For more details, see Citizens for Tax Justice and the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, Corporate Income Taxes in the Bush Years, Sept. 2004, pp.11-13, www.ctj.org/corpfed04an.pdf.
    ${ }^{7}$ The official name for this bill was "The Jobs and Growth Reconciliation Tax Act of 2003," H.R. 2.
    ${ }^{8}$ The official title of this bill was "The American Jobs Creation Act of 2004," H.R. 4520.

[^3]:    ${ }^{9}$ This bill was officially titled "The Tax Relief Extension Reconciliation Act of 2006," H.R. 4297.
    ${ }^{10}$ This bill was officially called "The Death Tax Repeal Permanency Act of 2006," H.R. 8.
    ${ }^{11}$ Later in 2006, a "compromise" attempt was made to repeal about three-quarters of the estate tax permanently. To try to gain support from congressional moderates, this bill also proposed an increase in the minimum wage, extension of some expiring (or expired) corporate tax loopholes, which are popular with many members of Congress because they encourage corporate campaign donations, and a few other special-interest tax measures designed to appeal to particular legislators. The official revenue cost of what became known as the "trifecta" bill was $\$ 310$ billion, mostly from the first five years of proposed permanent estate tax reduction. The bill passed the House by a 230-180 margin. In the Senate, where once again 60 votes were required for passage, the bill was defeated 56-42.

