

September 6, 1996

CORRECTION OF FLAW IN TAXPAYER GROUP VOTE TALLY SHOWS ALL MEMBERS OF CONGRESS VOTED TO CUT SPENDING

by Karen Lightfoot and Robert Greenstein

A National Taxpayers Union Foundation report released today claims that nearly all Members of Congress — all Senators and 383 of the 434 Members of the House — voted to increase spending during the 104th Congress. But analysis of the NTUF's own data shows that in fact, all Senators and Representatives voted to decrease spending, not to raise it.

Under federal law, costs for federal entitlement programs such as Social Security and Medicare automatically rise from year to year. This is due to several factors, including: statutory cost-of-living adjustments in Social Security benefits, veterans benefits, and benefits for certain other programs to keep them even with inflation; increases each year in the number of elderly people in the United States and therefore in the number of Social Security and Medicare beneficiaries; and an increase in hospital charges for medical treatments due to health care cost inflation. The NTUF treats these automatic increases in costs due to inflation and demographic factors as increases in spending for which all Members of Congress voted, despite the fact that no such votes occurred. When this flaw in the NTUF methodology is corrected — and the automatic cost increases for which no votes were cast are removed from the tally — all Members of Congress are found to have voted to lower overall spending during the past two years. (See tables at the end of this analysis.)

This aspect of the NTUF methodology is likely to create misleading impressions, since the NTUF press release and analysis do not make clear this aspect of the NTUF methodology. One must read a detailed methodological appendix to grasp this aspect of the NTUF approach.

As a result, many constituents hearing their Senator or Representative "voted" to increase spending \$60 billion will not understand their Member actually voted to reduce spending \$46 billion but was charged by NTUF with voting for \$106 billion of increases that occurred automatically due to such developments as the Social Security cost-of-living adjustment, medical price inflation, and the aging of the population.

The NTUF tally also has some other shortcomings. While the NTUF claims to have included votes through July 18, it cut off Senate votes on July 10, thereby missing

votes between July 10 and July 18 on the welfare bill. As a result, votes that some Senators cast to reduce spending are omitted.

The NTUF also counts votes to *authorize* various non-entitlement programs as votes to increase spending even though authorization bills cause no spending to occur. Only appropriations bills do that.

Entitlement Treatment Makes Members Who Voted to Reduce Spending Appear to Have Voted to Increase Spending

The NTUF report charges Members of Congress as having voted for increases in entitlement spending that occurred automatically. The cost of federal entitlement programs will automatically rise \$106 billion between fiscal years 1995 and 1997 due to factors such as annual cost-of living adjustments in Social Security and other benefits, the increase in the number of Americans reaching the age at which they qualify for Social Security and Medicare, and normal year-to-year increases in doctor and hospital fees. No Members voted on such increases in expenditures, which result automatically from existing law.

The NTUF charges all Members of Congress, however, with voting for these increases in entitlement spending. The NTUF mingles this automatic increase in entitlement costs with actual votes that Members made to increase or decrease spending. This has the effect of making it appear that most Members voted to increase spending simply because they did not vote to cancel Social Security cost-of-living adjustments, deny Medicare benefits to those newly turning 65, or make other cuts yielding equivalent savings. This distorts and diminishes the value of the NTUF tally.

When the automatic increases in entitlement costs for which Members did not vote are put to the side, every Member of Congress, regardless of party, is found to have voted to cut spending during the 104th Congress. This is shown in the attached tables.

On a related front, five Members of Congress were sworn in during the 2nd session of the 104th Congress. Four of these new members were Democrats, while one was a Republican. All four of the new Democratic Members were charged with a full year of automatic increases in entitlement spending (\$57 billion) even though some of them have been in the Congress for only a fraction of the year. For example, Rep. Earl Blumenauer is charged with voting for this additional \$57 billion in spending; he has been in Congress only since June. (The one new member who was a Republican was not included in the NTUF tally. The reason given is that this member, Senator Sheila Frahm, lost her primary. Other Members of Congress who lost primaries this year, however, were not excluded.)

Exclusion of Welfare Votes Affects Records of Some Senators

While the NTUF report on the House of Representative includes votes through July 18, the Senate report contains votes only through July 10. Therefore, the analysis does not include votes the Senate cast this year on the welfare bill.

Among the welfare votes omitted are those cast on the Senate floor between July 10 and July 18, the date through which the report claims to cover votes. Omission of these votes inequitably affects some Senators, all Democrats, who voted for a Democratic welfare substitute bill on July 18 that would have reduced spending. The combined effect of the NTUF's treatment of automatic increases in entitlement costs and its lack of inclusion of the Senate welfare votes substantially alters the voting records of some Members of Congress.

- The NTUF scores Senator Paul Wellstone as voting to increase spending \$76 billion during the 104th Congress. When automatic entitlement growth is removed and Wellstone's vote on July 18 for the Democratic welfare bill is counted, his tally shows he voted to *cut* spending \$38 billion.
- The NTUF charges Senator Thad Cochran with voting to increase spending \$24 billion. When the automatic increase in federal entitlement costs is removed, his tally shows he voted to decrease spending \$82 billion.¹

NTUF Exaggerates Size of Some Spending Cuts and Inaccurately Treats Some Votes

While the NTUF charges Members with automatic cost increases for which they did not cast votes, it gives some Members more credit than they are due for reducing spending because of mistakes made in counting votes for certain bills. The NTUF also incorrectly charges some Members with votes to increase spending because of its treatment of authorization bills.

The NTUF overstates the cuts in the FY 1996 and FY 1997 agriculture appropriations bills due to errors involving farm price supports. NTUF's accounting rules dictate that only changes in discretionary spending in appropriations bills be counted when appropriations bills are scored. Entitlement spending funded in appropriations bills — such as funding for Medicaid, farm price supports, veterans' pensions, and school lunches — is not supposed to be counted in the appropriations area. This is

¹ The lack of inclusion of the welfare votes in July affects six Senators. Cochran is not one of those affected, all of whom are Democrats.

because a Member's vote on an appropriation bill has no effect on the costs of the entitlement programs in the bill.

Despite this sensible rule, the NTUF shows the fiscal year 1996 and fiscal year 1997 agriculture appropriations bills as decreasing spending by \$4.8 billion and \$11 billion, respectively, and counts votes for these bills as votes to decrease spending by these amounts. Most of these decreases, however, resulted from entitlement spending decreases of \$5.1 billion and \$8.9 billion, respectively, required under federal law to restore losses in the accounts of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the federal agency that pays farm price support subsidies and disposes of surplus agricultural commodities. The fluctuations in spending for the CCC result not from a Member's vote on the agricultural appropriation bill but from factors such as the weather and farm prices. This appears to be an inadvertent, but significant, error in the NTUF tally.

 Other problems stem from the fact that NTUF counts votes for authorization bills for discretionary programs as votes to increase or decrease spending even though these authorization bills do not cause discretionary spending to increase or decrease. Only the discretionary spending caps and appropriations bills do that.

Authorization bills are substantive pieces of legislation that provide the basic design for an agency or program, setting forth its purpose and guidelines. While these bills usually set an upward limit on the amount that may be appropriated for a program, Congress typically appropriates less than the maximum levels the authorization bills allow.

A vote to authorize a program is essentially a vote to allow it to compete with other non-entitlement programs for the limited funding available under the discretionary spending caps and the allocations the budget resolution provides for appropriations bills. By counting changes in authorization ceilings — and classifying them as votes to increase or decrease spending — the NTUF incorrectly charges Members with having voted to spend billions of dollars that will never be appropriated or expended.

Largest Deficit Reduction Plan Not Given Appropriate Credit

While the NTUF sometimes presents its vote tally as a measure of fiscal responsibility, the NTUF ignores some votes that would reduce or enlarge the deficit. Specifically, the NTUF does not count votes to increase or decrease government subsidies provided through the tax code, which many experts, the General Accounting

Office, the Joint Tax Committee, and individuals such as Alan Greenspan have called "tax expenditures." If a member votes to cut health programs to fund a corporate tax subsidy without reducing the deficit, the NTUF rates the member as voting to cut spending. A member who votes against such a measure does less well in the NTUF rankings. In addition, votes to reduce or increase "corporate welfare" subsidies provided through the tax code are ignored.

This approach adversely affects the rankings of a substantial number of House and Senate members who voted for the "Coalition" budget. The Coalition budget, developed by a group of deficit-conscious House Democrats and endorsed by the Concord Coalition, reduced the deficit more than the Republican reconciliation bill. While the Republican budget plan cut programs more, it also contained large tax cuts, including expansion of a number of corporate and individual tax expenditures. By contrast, the Coalition budget contained no tax cuts and reduced some tax corporate tax subsidies. Although the Coalition budget reduced the deficit more, members voting for it fare less well in the NTUF rankings than members voting for the Republican budget.²

² This approach is nevertheless far superior than that followed by the NTUF's sister organization, the National Taxpayers Union. That organization gives no credit whatsoever to Members who voted for the Coalition budget and rewards Members for voting *against* that budget.

Senate Report (figure in millions of dollars)

Amount of automatic

Amount the Member

Member	Amount NTUF says Member voted to increase spending.	increase in Social Security, Medicare, and other entitlements which NTUF counted as a vote to increase spending.	actually voted to raise or lower spending, using NTUF's methodology, when automatic increases that were never voted on are removed from the tally.
Member	•	oponanig.	•
ABRAHAM S (R-MI)	\$14,191	\$106,355	(\$92,164)
AKAKA D (D-HI)	37,986	106,355	(68,369)
ASHCROFT J (R-MO)	36,152	106,355	(70,203)
BAUCUS M (D-MT)	67,390	106,355	(38,965)
BENNETT R (R-UT)	25,273	106,355	(81,082)
BIDEN J (D-DE)	53,493	106,355	(52,862)
BINGAMAN J (D-NM)	64,259	106,355	(42,096)
BOND C (R-MO)	23,113	106,355	(83,242)
BOXER B (D-CA)	65,921	106,355	(40,434)
BRADLEY B (D-NJ)	18,362	106,355	(87,993)
BREAUX J (D-LA)	48,250	106,355	(58,105)
BROWN H (R-CO)	9,250	106,355	(97,105)
BRYAN R (D-NV)	64,409	106,355	(41,946)
BUMPERS D (D-AR)	72,254	106,355	(34,101)
BURNS C (R-MT)	25,154	106,355	(81,201)
BYRD R (D-WV)	68,015	106,355	(38,340)
CAMPBELL B (R-CO)	24,967	106,355	(81,388)
CHAFEE J (R-RI)	23,308	106,355	(83,047)
COATS D (R-IN)	15,164	106,355	(91,191)
COCHRAN T (R-MS)	23,706	106,355	(82,649)
COHEN W (R-ME)	70,685	106,355	(35,670)
CONRAD K (D-ND)	27,850	106,355	(78,505)
COVERDELL P (R-GA)	25,761	106,355	(80,594)
CRAIG L (R-ID)	27,960	106,355	(78,395)
D'AMATO A (R-NY)	27,176	106,355	(79,179)
DASCHLE T (D-SD)	66,588	106,355	(39,767)
DEWINE M (R-OH)	25,464	106,355	(80,891)
DODD C (D-CT)	40,138	106,355	(66,217)
DOMENICI P (R-NM)	22,638	106,355	(83,717)
DORGAN B (D-ND)	62,305	106,355	(44,050)
EXON J (D-NE)	72,592	106,355	(33,763)
FAIRCLOTH L (R-NC)	27,271	106,355	(79,084)
FEINGOLD R (D-WI)	46,339	106,355	(60,016)
FEINSTEIN D (D-CA)	44,401	106,355	(61,954)
FORD W (D-KY)	81,501	106,355	(24,854)
FRIST B (R-TN)	25,762	106,355	(80,593)
GLENN J (D-OH)	30,983	106,355	(75,372)
GORTON S (R-WA)	24,991	106,355	(81,364)
GRAHAM B (D-FL)	30,793	106,355	(75,562)
GRAMM P (R-TX)	27,206	106,355	(79,149)
GRAMS R (R-MN)	15,610	106,355	(90,745)
GRASSLEY C (R-IA)	13,223	106,355	(93,132)
GREGG J (R-NH)	12,570	106,355	(93,785)
HARKIN T (D-IA)	65,631	106,355	(40,724)
HATCH O (R-UT)	26,286	106,355	(80,069)
HATFIELD M (R-OR)	7,337	106,355	(99,018)
HEFLIN H (D-AL)	83,419	106,355	(22,936)

	Amount NTUF	Security, Medicare, and other entitlements which NTUF counted	or lower spending, using NTUF's methodology, when automatic increases that
	says Member voted	as a vote to increase	were never voted on are
Member	to increase spending.	spending.	removed from the taily.
HELMS J (R-NC)	\$36,358	\$106,355	(\$69,997)
HOLLINGS E (D-SC)	79,076	106,355	(27,279)
HUTCHISON K (R-TX)	30,323	106,355	(76,032)
INHOFE J (R-OK)	38,599	106,355	(67,756)
INOUYE D (D-HI)	85,647	106,355	(20,708)
JEFFORDS J (R-VT)	3,652	106,355	(102,703)
JOHNSTON J (D-LA)	48,208	106,355	(58,147)
KASSEBAUM N (R-KS)	19,743	106,355	(86,612)
KEMPTHORNE D (R-ID)	28,668	106,355	(77,687)
KENNEDY E (D-MA)	63,775	106,355	(42,580)
KERREY B (D-NE)	34,472	106,355	(71,883)
KERRY J (D-MA)	53,896	106,355	(52,459)
KOHL H (D-WI)	54,967	106,355	(51,388)
KYL J (R-AZ)	36,935	106,355	(69,420)
LAUTENBERG F (D-NJ)	57,513	106,355	(48,842)
LEAHY P (D-VT)	25,217	106,355	(81,138)
LEVIN C (D-MI)	25,115	106,355	(81,240)
LIEBERMAN J (D-CT)	47,491	106,355	(58,864)
LOTT T (R-MS)	25,536	106,355	(80,819)
LUGAR R (R-IN)	19,282	106,355	(87,073)
MACK C (R-FL)	26,365	106,355	(79,990)
MCCAIN J (R-AZ)	22,678	106,355	(83,677)
MCCONNELL M (R-KY)	25,600	106,355	(80,755)
MIKULSKI B (D-MD)	66,652	106,355	(39,703)
MOSELEY-BRAUN C (D-IL)	72,408	106,355	(33,947)
MOYNIHAN D (D-NY)	26,775	106,355	(79,580)
MURKOWSKI F (R-AK)	39,138	106,355	(67,217)
MURRAY P (D-WA)	65,488	106,355	(40,867)
NICKLES D (R-OK)	24,799	106,355	(81,556)
NUNN S (D-GA)	44,961	106,355	(61,394)
PELL C (D-RI)	20,091	106,355	(86,264)
PRESSLER L (R-SD)	24,911	106,355	(81,444)
PRYOR D (D-AR) REID H (D-NV)	27,741 67,026	106,355 106,355	(78,614)
ROBB C (D-VA)	39,209	106,355	(39,329) (67,146)
ROCKEFELLER J (D-WV)	62,094	106,355	(67,146) (44,261)
ROTH W (R-DE)	14,621	106,355	(91,734)
SANTORUM R (R-PA)	27,193	106,355	(91,754) (79,162)
SARBANES P (D-MD)	68,875	106,355	(37,480)
SHELBY R (R-AL)	24,139	106,355	(82,216)
SIMON P (D-IL)	27,867	106,355	(78,488)
SIMPSON A (R-WY)	24,414	106,355	(81,941)
SMITH R (R-NH)	40,188	106,355	(66,167)
SNOWE O (R-ME)	22,844	106,355	(83,511)
SPECTER A (R-PA)	25,398	106,355	(80,957)
STEVENS T (R-AK)	26,284	106,355	(80,071)
THOMAS C (R-WY)	23,286	106,355	(83,069)
THOMPSON F (R-TN)	17,130	106,355	(89,225)
THURMOND S (R-SC)	24,029	106,355	(82,326)
WARNER J (R-VA)	24,342	106,355	(82,013)
WELLSTONE P (D-MN)	76,103	106,355	(30,252)
WYDEN R (D-OR)	33,228	57,248	(24,020)
,	•	· , — -	(= ,-=-)

increase in Social

Security, Medicare,

Amount the Member

actually voted to raise

or lower spending, using

House of Representatives Report (figure in millions of dollars)

Amount of automatic

increase in Social

Amount the Member

actually voted to raise

Member	Amount NTUF says Member voted to increase spending.	Security, Medicare, and other entitlements which NTUF counted as a vote to increase spending.	or lower spending, using NTUF's methodology, when automatic increases that were never voted on are removed from the tally.
			•
1000001015 11 (D 11)	007.400	# 100.055	(\$10.046)
ABERCROMBIE N (D-HI)	\$87,409	\$106,355	(\$18,946) (46,023)
ACKERMAN G (D-NY)	60,322	106,355 106,355	(46,033) (112,013)
ALLARD W (R-CO)	(5,658)	•	•
ANDREWS R (D-NJ)	41,178	106,355	(65,177) (104,568)
ARCHER B (R-TX)	1,787	106,355	(104,568)
ARMEY D (R-TX)	4,613	106,355	(101,742)
BACHUS S (R-AL)	443	106,355	(105,912)
BAESLER S (D-KY)	49,294	106,355	(57,061) (104,858)
BAKER B (R-CA)	1,497	106,355	(104,858)
BAKER R (R-LA)	7,264	106,355	(99,091) (75,871)
BALDACCI J (D-ME)	30,484	106,355	(75,871)
BALLENGER C (R-NC)	4,406	106,355	(101,949)
BARCIA J (D-MI)	30,141	106,355	(76,214)
BARR B (R-GA)	3,146	106,355	(103,209)
BARRETT B (R-NE)	6,551	106,355	(99,804)
BARRETT T (D-WI)	23,784	106,355	(82,571)
BARTLETT R (R-MD)	4,717	106,355	(101,638)
BARTON J (R-TX)	(1,337)	106,355	(107,692)
BASS C (R-NH)	1,887	106,355	(104,468)
BATEMAN H (R-VA)	6,047	106,355	(100,308)
BECERRA X (D-CA)	81,293	106,355	(25,062)
BEILENSON A (D-CA)	35,483	106,355	(70,872)
BENTSEN K (D-TX)	32,940	106,355	(73,415)
BEREUTER D (R-NE)	4,793 56,537	106,355	(101,562)
BERMAN H (D-CA)	56,527 80,303	106,355	(49,828) (26,052)
BEVILL T (D-AL) BILBRAY B (R-CA)	6,948	106,355 106,355	(99,407)
BILIRAKIS M (R-FL)	4,750	106,355	(101,605)
BISHOP S (D-GA)	50,912	106,355	(55,443)
BLILEY T (R-VA)	5,318	106,355	(101,037)
BLUMENAUER E (D-OR)	31,418	57,248	(25,830)
BLUTE P (R-MA)	12,370	106,355	(93,985)
BOEHLERT S (R-NY)	3,877	106,355	(102,478)
BOEHNER J (R-OH)	4,479	106,355	(101,876)
BONILLA H (R-TX)	6,990	106,355	(99,365)
BONIOR D (D-MI)	54,566	106,355	(51,789)
BONO S (R-CA)	5,452	106,355	(100,903)
BORSKI R (D-PA)	57,687	106,355	(48,668)
BOUCHER R (D-VA)	76,325	106,355	(30,030)
BREWSTER B (D-OK)	30,743	106,355	(75,612)
BROWDER G (D-AL)	41,218	106,355	(65,137)
BROWN C (D-FL)	73,733	106,355	(32,622)
BROWN G (D-CA)	23,560	106,355	(82,795)
BROWN S (D-OH)	60,397	106,355	(45,958)
BROWNBACK S (R-KS)	(1,276)	106,355	(107,631)
BRYANT E (R-TN)	4,025	106,355	(102,330)
, ,	•	•	\ /

		Amount of automatic	Amount the Member
		increase in Social	actually voted to raise
		Security, Medicare,	or lower spending, using
		and other entitlements	NTUF's methodology, when
	Amount NTUF	which NTUF counted	automatic increases that
	says Member voted	as a vote to increase	were never voted on are
Member	to increase spending.	spending.	removed from the tally.
	to more and openiumg.	oponang.	romovou irom are tany.
BRYANT J (D-TX)	\$57,199	\$106,355	(\$49,156)
BUNN J (R-OR)	(588)	106,355	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
• •			(106,943)
BUNNING J (R-KY)	4,669	106,355	(101,686)
BURR R (R-NC)	4,319	106,355	(102,036)
BURTON D (R-IN)	7,486	106,355	(98,869)
BUYER S (R-IN)	3,377	106,355	(102,978)
CALLAHAN S (R-AL)	5,183	106,355	(101,172)
CALVERT K (R-CA)	16,312	106,355	(90,043)
CAMP D (R-MI)	(11,275)	106,355	(117,630)
CAMPBELL T (R-CA)	31,029	106,355	(75,326)
CANADY C (R-FL)	4,999	106,355	(101,356)
CARDIN B (D-MD)	36,198	106,355	(70,157)
CASTLE M (R-DE)	4,211	106,355	(102,144)
CHABOT S (R-OH)	4,491	106,355	(101,864)
CHAMBLISS S (R-GA)	4,574	106,355	(101,781)
CHAPMAN J (D-TX)	32,729		
		106,355	(73,626)
CHENOWETH H (R-ID)	11,892	106,355	(94,463)
CHRISTENSEN J (R-NE)	(1,217)	106,355	(107,572)
CHRYSLER D (R-MI)	(3,338)	106,355	(109,693)
CLAY W (D-MO)	73,718	106,355	(32,637)
CLAYTON E (D-NC)	27,879	106,355	(78,476)
CLEMENT B (D-TN)	55,409	106,355	(50,946)
CLINGER W (R-PA)	5,721	106,355	(100,634)
CLYBURN J (D-SC)	77,480	106,355	(28,875)
COBLE H (R-NC)	(6,476)	106,355	(112,831)
COBURN T (R-OK)	(3,273)	106,355	(109,628)
COLEMAN R (D-TX)	92,105	106,355	(14,250)
COLLINS B (D-MI)	58,098	106,355	(48,257)
COLLINS C (D-IL)	67,015	106,355	(39,340)
COLLINS M (R-GA)	1,274	106,355	(105,081)
COMBEST L (R-TX)	4,678	106,355	(101,677)
CONDIT G (D-CA)	23,229	106,355	(83,126)
CONYERS J (D-MI)	63,124	106,355	(43,231)
COOLEY W (R-OR)	9,084	106,355	(97,271)
COSTELLO J (D-IL)	52,428	106,355	
COX C (R-CA)	904	106,355	(53,927) (105,451)
• •	76,943	*	(105,451)
COYNE W (D-PA)		106,355	(29,412)
CRAMER R (D-AL)	44,312	106,355	(62,043)
CRANE P (R-IL)	5,214	106,355	(101,141)
CRAPO M (R-ID)	13,202	106,355	(93,153)
CREMEANS F (R-OH)	829	106,355	(105,526)
CUBIN B (R-WY)	1,593	106,355	(104,762)
CUMMINGS E (D-MD)	30,738	57,248	(26,510)
CUNNINGHAM R (R-CA)	2,014	106,355	(104,341)
DANNER P (D-MO)	34,758	106,355	(71,597)
DAVIS T (R-VA)	8,023	106,355	(98,332)
DE LA GARZA E (D-TX)	37,658	106,355	(68,697)
DEAL N (R-GA)	4,363	106,355	(101,992)
DEFAZIO P (D-OR)	73,473	106,355	(32,882)
DELAURO R (D-CT)	67,415	106,355	(38,940)
DELAY T (R-TX)	4,636	106,355	(101,719)
	,,000	100,000	(101,710)

Amount the Member

	Amount NTUF says Member voted	Security, Medicare, and other entitlements which NTUF counted as a vote to increase	or lower spending, using NTUF's methodology, when automatic increases that were never voted on are
Member	to increase spending.	spending.	removed from the tally.
DELLUMS R (D-CA)	\$77,267	\$106,355	(\$29,088)
DEUTSCH P (D-FL)	61,687	106,355	(44,668)
DIAZ-BALART L (R-FL)	4,967	106,355	(101,388)
DICKEY J (R-AR)	2,235	106,355	(104,120)
DICKS N (D-WA)	38,806	106,355	(67,549)
DINGELL J (D-MI)	20,847	106,355	(85,508)
DIXON J (D-CA)	81,394	106,355	(24,961)
DOGGETT L (D-TX)	65,711	106,355	(40,644)
DOOLEY C (D-CA)	32,545	106,355	(73,810)
DOOLITTLE J (R-CA)	2,561	106,355	(103,794)
DORNAN R (R-CA)	3,135	106,355	(103,220)
DOYLE M (D-PA)	47,946	106,355	(58,409)
DREIER D (R-CA)	1,679	106,355	(104,676)
DUNCAN J (R-TN)	(15,102)	106,355	(121,457)
DUNN J (R-WA)	3,633	106,355	(102,722)
DURBIN R (D-IL)	46,297	106,355	(60,058)
EDWARDS C (D-TX)	64,668	106,355	(41,687)
EHLERS V (R-MI)	(8,691)	106,355	(115,046)
EHRLICH R (R-MD)	4,796	106,355	(101,559)
ENGEL E (D-NY)	77,457	106,355	(28,898)
ENGLISH P (R-PA)	(5,523)	106,355	(111,878)
ENSIGN J (R-NV)	190	106,355	(106,165)
ESHOO A (D-CA)	40,564	106,355	(65,791)
EVANS L (D-IL)	49,865	106,355	(56,490)
EVERETT T (R-AL)	5,981	106,355	(100,374)
EWING T (R-IL)	3,496	106,355	(102,859)
FARR S (D-CA)	57,345	106,355	(49,010)
FATTAH C (D-PA)	65,137	106,355	(41,218)
FAWELL H (R-IL)	5,906	106,355	(100,449)
FAZIO V (D-CA)	29,204	106,355	(77,151)
FIELDS C (D-LÁ)	74,988	106,355	(31,367)
FIELDS J (R-TX)	(348)	106,355	(106,703)
FILNER B (D-CA)	68,183	106,355	(38,172)
FLAKE F (D-NY)	25,029	106,355	(81,326)
FLANAGÀN M (R-IL)	3,139	106,355	(103,216)
FOGLIETTA T (D-PA)	67,883	106,355	(38,472)
FOLEY M (R-FL)	(5,535)	106,355	(111,890)
FORBES M (R-NY)	5,054	106,355	(101,301)
FORD H (D-TN)	66,960	106,355	`(39,395)
FOWLER T (R-FL)	2,802	106,355	(103,553)
FOX J (R-PA)	(651)	106,355	(107,006)
FRANK B (D-MA)	65 <u>,</u> 755	106,355	(40,600)
FRANKS B (R-NJ)	3,597	106,355	(102,758)
FRANKS G (R-CT)	10,528	106,355	(95,827)
FRELINGHUYSEN R (R-NJ)	15,263	106,355	(91,092)
FRISA D (R-NY)	5,197	106,355	(101,158)
FROST M (D-TX)	77,801	106,355	(28,554)
FUNDERBURK D (R-NC)	(231)	106,355	(106,586)
FURSE E (D-OR)	15,435	106,355	(90,920)
GALLEGLY E (R-CA)	4,044	106,355	(102,311)
GANSKE G (R-IA)	(11,974)	106,355	(118,329)
A. S. A. A.	V	, - - -	(/

Amount the Member

actually voted to raise

or lower spending, using

Amount of automatic increase in Social

Security, Medicare,

Member	Amount NTUF says Member voted to increase spending.	Amount of automatic increase in Social Security, Medicare, and other entitlements which NTUF counted as a vote to increase spending.	Amount the Member actually voted to raise or lower spending, using NTUF's methodology, when automatic increases that were never voted on are removed from the tally.
GEJDENSON S (D-CT)	\$74,170	\$106,355	(\$32,185)
GEKAS G (R-PA)	5,612	106,355	(100,743)
GEPHARDT R (D-MO)	92,383	106,355	(13,972)
GEREN P (D-TX)	13,049	106,355	(93,306)
GIBBONS S (D-FL)	91,275	106,355	(15,080)
GILCHREST W (R-MD)	6,205	106,355	(100,150)
GILLMOR P (R-OH)	14,926	106,355	(91,429)
GILMAN B (R-NY)	6,237	106,355	(100,118)
GINGRICH N (R-GA)	24,091	106,355	(82,264)
GONZALEZ H (D-TX)	85,048	106,355	(21,307)
GOODLATTE R (R-VA)	(3,838)	106,355	(110,193)
GOODLING B (R-PA)	2,540	106,355	(103,815)
GORDON B (D-TN)	53,425	106,355	(52,930)
GOSS P (R-FL)	3,860	106,355	(102,495)
GRAHAM L (R-SC)	285	106,355	(106,070)
GREEN G (D-TX)	77,967	106,355	(28,388)
GREENE E (R-UT)	3,771	106,355	(102,584)
GREENWOOD J (R-PA)	4,658	106,355	(101,697)
GUNDERSON S (R-WI)	(3,419)	106,355	(109,774)
GUTIERREZ L (D-IL)	58,286	106,355	(48,069)
GUTKNECHT G (R-MN)	(1,779)	106,355	(108,134)
HALL R (D-TX)	8,091	106,355	(98,264)
HALL T (D-OH)	45,369	106,355	(60,986)
HAMILTON L (D-IN)	35,395	106,355	(70,960)
HANCOCK M (R-MO)	14,919	106,355	(91,436)
HANSEN J (R-UT)	6,057	106,355	(100,298)
HARMAN J (D-CA)	42,677	106,355	(63,678)
HASTERT D (R-IL)	3,988	106,355	(102,367)
HASTINGS A (D-FL)	75,943	106,355	(30,412)
HASTINGS R (R-WA)	3,418	106,355	(102,937)
HAYES J (R-LA)	15,523	106,355	(90,832)
HAYWORTH J (R-AZ)	2,169	106,355	(104,186)
HEFLEY J (R-CO)	5,513	106,355	(100,842)
HEFNER W (D-NC)	63,429 6,992	106,355 106,355	(42,926) (99,363)
HEINEMAN F (R-NC)		106,355	(106,392)
HERGER W (R-CA)	(37) 1,470	106,355	(104,885)
HILLEARY V (R-TN)	89,261	106,355	(17,094)
HILLIARD E (D-AL) HINCHEY M (D-NY)	50,877	106,355	(55,478)
HOBSON D (R-OH)	5,410	106,355	(100,945)
HOEKSTRA P (R-MI)	(22,214)	106,355	(128,569)
HOKE M (R-OH)	13,326	106,355	(93,029)
HOLDEN T (D-PA)	64,172	106,355	(42,183)
HORN S (R-CA)	15,512	106,355	(90,843)
HOSTETTLER J (R-IN)	780	106,355	(105,575)
HOUGHTON A (R-NY)	17,389	106,355	(88,966)
HOYER S (D-MD)	49,507	106,355	(56,848)
HUNTER D (R-CA)	3,902	106,355	(102,453)
HUTCHINSON T (R-AR)	1,954	106,355	(104,401)
HYDE H (R-IL)	5,842	106,355	(100,513)
INGLIS B (R-SC)	(1,443)	106,355	(107,798)
• •	-		·

	Amount NTUF says Member voted	increase in Social Security, Medicare, and other entitlements which NTUF counted as a vote to increase	or lower spending, using NTUF's methodology, when automatic increases that were never voted on are
Member	to Increase spending.	spending.	removed from the tally.
ISTOOK E (R-OK)	\$126	\$106,355	(\$106,229)
JACKSON J (D-IL)	31,310	106,355	(75,045)
JACKSON-LEE S (D-TX)	60,258	106,355	(46,097)
JACOBS A (D-IN)	63,585	106,355	(42,770)
JEFFERSON W (D-LA)	79,446	106,355	(26,909)
JOHNSON E (D-TX)	80,673	106,355	(25,682)
JOHNSON N (R-CT)	6,082	106,355	(100,273)
JOHNSON S (R-TX)	300	106,355	(106,055)
JOHNSON T (D-SD)	56,000	106,355	(50,355)
JOHNSTON H (D-FL)	74,506	106,355	(31,849)
JONES W (R-NC)	2,180	106,355	(104,175)
KANJORSKI P (D-PA)	60,605	106,355	(45,750)
KAPTUR M (D-ÒH)	56,054	106,355	(50,301)
KASICH J (R-OH)	(1,727)	106,355	(108,082)
KELLY S (R-NY)	9,163	106,355	(97,192)
KENNEDÝ J (D-MA)	52,445	106,355	(53,910)
KENNEDY P (D-RI)	92,788	106,355	(13,567)
KENNELLY B (D-CT)	81,620	106,355	(24,735)
KILDEE D (D-MI)	75,122	106,355	(31,233)
KIM J (R-CA)	3,020	106,355	(103,335)
KING P (R-NY)	5,489	106,355	(100,866)
KINGSTON J (R-GA)	538	106,355	(105,817)
KLECZKA G (D-WI)	57,419	106,355	(48,936)
KLINK R (D-PA)	71,002	106,355	(35,353)
KLUG S (R-WI)	(27,056)	106,355	(133,411)
KNOLLENBERG J (R-MI)	5,942	106,355	(100,413)
KOLBE J (R-AZ)	2,517	106,355	(103,838)
LAFALCE J (D-NY)	46,822	106,355	(59,533)
LAHOOD R (R-IL)	(1,225)	106,355	(107,580)
LANTOS T (D-CA)	59,065	106,355	(47,290)
LARGENT S (R-OK)	(1,623)	106,355	(107,978)
LATHAM T (R-IA)	1,764	106,355	(104,591)
LATOURETTE S (R-OH)	4,037	106,355	(102,318)
LAUGHLIN G (R-TX)	5,124	106,355	(101,231)
LAZIO R (R-NY)	3,333	106,355	(103,022)
LEACH J (R-IA)	(799)	106,355	(107,154)
LEVIN S (D-MI)	48,702	106,355	(57,653)
LEWIS J (R-CA)	6,118	106,355	(100,237)
LEWIS J (D-GA)	54,147	106,355	(52,208)
LEWIS R (R-KY)	2,314	106,355	(104,041)
LIGHTFOOT J (R-IA)	5,768	106,355	(100,587)
LINCOLN B (D-AR)	19,149	106,355	(87,206)
LINDER J (R-GA)	3,188	106,355	(103,167)
LIPINSKI W (D-IL)	46,094	106,355	(60,261)
LIVINGSTON R (R-LA)	6,075	106,355	(100,280)
LOBIONDO F (R-NJ)	3,715	106,355	(102,640)
LOFGREN Z (D-CA)	77,352	106,355	(29,003)
LONGLEY J (R-ME)	883	106,355	(105,472)
LOWEY N (D-NY)	42,286	106,355	(64,069)
LUCAS F (R-OK)	4,568	106,355	(101,787)
LUTHER W (D-MN)	7,631	106,355	(98,724)
			•

Amount the Member

actually voted to raise

Amount of automatic increase in Social

		Amount of automatic increase in Social Security, Medicare,	Amount the Member actually voted to raise or lower spending, using
	Amount NTUF	and other entitlements which NTUF counted	NTUF's methodology, when automatic increases that
	says Member voted	as a vote to increase	were never voted on are
Member	to increase spending.	spending.	removed from the tally.
MALONEY C (D-NY)	\$51,395 55.044	\$106,355	(\$54,960)
MANTON T (D-NY)	55,214	106,355	(51,141) (112,421)
MANZULLO D (R-IL)	(6,066)	106,355	(112,421)
MARKEY E (D-MA)	61,344	106,355	(45,011) (63,183)
MARTINEZ M (D-CA)	43,173	106,355	(63,182) (108,573)
MARTINI B (R-NJ)	(2,218)	106,355 106,355	(45,407)
MASCARA F (D-PA)	60,948 43,150	106,355	(63,196)
MATSUIR (D-CA)	43,159 17,011	106,355	(89,344)
MCCARTHY K (D-MO)	17,011 5,504	106,355	(100,851)
MCCOLLUM B (R-FL)	6,168	106,355	(100,187)
MCCRERY J (R-LA) MCDADE J (R-PA)	16,239	106,355	(90,116)
• •	72,510	106,355	(33,845)
MCDCNALD (D-WA)	25,393	57,248	(31,855)
MCDONALD J (D-CA) MCHALE P (D-PA)	41,553	106,355	(64,802)
MCHUGH J (R-NY)	2,557	106,355	(103,798)
MCINNIS S (R-CO)	223	106,355	(106,132)
MCINTOSH D (R-IN)	965	106,355	(105,390)
MCKEON H (R-CA)	4,750	106,355	(101,605)
MCKINNEY C (D-GA)	55,926	106,355	(50,429)
MCNULTY M (D-NY)	71,166	106,355	(35,189)
MEEHAN M (D-MA)	24,445	106,355	(81,910)
MEEK C (D-FL)	68,835	106,355	(37,520)
MENENDEZ R (D-NJ)	71,100	106,355	(35,255)
METCALF J (R-WA)	(4,473)	106,355	(110,828)
MEYERS J (R-KS)	1,016	106,355	(105,339)
MICA J (R-FL)	1,766	106,355	(104,589)
MILLER D (R-FL)	2,668	106,355	(103,687)
MILLER G (D-CA)	72,801	106,355	(33,554)
MINGE D (D-MN)	14,203	106,355	(92,152)
MINK P (D-HI)	86,864	106,355	(19,491)
MOAKLÈY J (D-MA)	55,521	106,355	(50,834)
MOLINARI S (R-NY)	7,633	106,355	(98,722)
MOLLOHAN A (D-WV)	77,201	106,355	(29,154)
MONTGOMERY G (D-MS)	3,518	106,355	(102,837)
MOORHEAD C (R-CA)	8,538	106,355	(97,817)
MORAN J (D-VA)	59,442	106,355	(46,913)
MORELLA C (R-MD)	(7,625)	106,355	(113,980)
MURTHA J (D-PA)	37,585	106,355	(68,770)
MYERS J (R-IN)	3,216	106,355	(103,139)
MYRICK S (R-NC)	(1,277)	106,355	(107,632)
NADLER J (D-NY)	65,847	106,355	(40,508)
NEAL R (D-MA)	54,740	106,355	(51,615)
NETHERCUTT G (R-WA)	4,402	106,355	(101,953)
NEUMANN M (R-WI)	(7,337)	106,355	(113,692)
NEY B (R-OH)	(2,793)	106,355	(109,148)
NORWOOD C (R-GA)	2,117	106,355	(104,238)
NUSSLE J (R-IA)	580	106,355	(105,775)
OBERSTAR J (D-MN)	54,188	106,355	(52,167)
OBEY D (D-WI)	40,431 55 155	106,355	(65,924) (51,000)
OLVER J (D-MA)	55,155	106,355	(51,200)

Amount the Member

		increase in Social Security, Medicare,	actually voted to raise or lower spending, using
		and other entitlements	NTUF's methodology, when
	Amount NTUF	which NTUF counted	automatic increases that
	says Member voted	as a vote to increase	were never voted on are
Member	to increase spending.	spending.	removed from the tally.
ORTIZ S (D-TX)	\$49,184	\$106,355	(\$57,171)
ORTON B (D-UT)	24,776	106,355	(81,579)
OWENS M (D-NY)	76,750	106,355	(29,605)
OXLEY M (R-OH)	5,170	106,355	(101,185)
PACKARD R (R-CA)	5,602	106,355	(100,753)
PALLONE F (D-NJ)	51,130	106,355	(55,225)
PARKER M (R-MS)	2,207	106,355	(104,148)
PASTOR E (D-AZ)	82,440	106,355	(23,915)
PAXON B (R-NY)	2,463	106,355	(103,892)
PAYNE D (D-NJ)	78,201	106,355	(28,154)
PAYNE L (D-VA)	30,844	106,355	(75,511)
PELOSI N (D-CA)	56,315	106,355	(50,040)
PETERSON C (D-MN)	28,981	106,355	(77,374)
PETERSON P (D-FL)	45,127	106,355	(61,228)
PETRI T (R-WI)	(5,428)	106,355	(111,783)
PICKETT O (D-VA)	72,744	106,355	(33,611)
POMBO R (R-CA)	13,218	106,355	(93,137)
POMEROY E (D-ND)	41,351	106,355	(65,004)
PORTER J (R-IL)	(5,319)	106,355	(111,674)
PORTMAN R (R-OH)	(1,147)	106,355	(107,502)
POSHARD G (D-IL)	16,614	106,355	(89,741)
PRYCE D (R-OH)	4,125	106,355	(102,230)
QUILLEN J (R-TN)	4,881	106,355	(101,474)
QUINN J (R-NY)	9,138	106,355	(97,217)
RADANOVICH G (R-CA)	3,289	106,355	(103,066)
RAHALL N (D-WV)	89,225	106,355	(17,130)
RAMSTAD J (R-MN)	(28,900)	106,355	(135,255)
RANGEL C (D-NY)	68,796	106,355	(37,559)
REED J (D-RI)	56,426 5.261	106,355	(49,929)
REGULA R (R-OH)	5,261 49,800	106,355	(101,094)
RICHARDSON B (D-NM)	49,800 (4,352)	106,355 106,355	(56,555) (110,707)
RIGGS F (R-CA) RIVERS L (D-MI)	56,758	106,355	(110,707) (49,597)
ROBERTS P (R-KS)	13,632	106,355	(92,723)
ROEMER T (D-IN)	8,950	106,355	(92,723) (97,405)
ROGERS H (R-KY)	9,342	106,355	(97,013)
ROHRABACHER D (R-CA)	11,444	106,355	(94,911)
ROS-LEHTINEN I (R-FL)	3,654	106,355	(102,701)
ROSE C (D-NC)	58,187	106,355	(48,168)
ROTH T (R-WI)	(12,935)	106,355	(119,290)
ROUKEMA M (R-NJ)	(12,014)	106,355	(118,369)
ROYBAL-ALLARD L (D-CA)	79,413	106,355	(26,942)
ROYCE E (R-CA)	8,264	106,355	(98,091)
RUSH B (D-IL)	87,042	106,355	(19,313)
SABO M (D-MN)	25,742	106,355	(80,613)
SALMON M (R-AZ)	5,286	106,355	(101,069)
SANDERS B (I-VT)	80,909	106,355	(25,446)
SANFORD M (R-SC)	(18,666)	106,355	(125,021)
SAWYER T (D-OH)	27,846	106,355	(78,509)
SAXTON H (R-NJ)	2,772	106,355	(103,583)
SCARBOROUGH J (R-FL)	15,904	106,355	(90,451)
- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	•	- · , · - -	(,,

increase in Social

Amount the Member actually voted to raise

		increase in Social	actually voted to raise
		Security, Medicare,	or lower spending, using
		and other entitlements	NTUF's methodology, when
	Amount NTUF	which NTUF counted	automatic increases that
	says Member voted	as a vote to increase	were never voted on are
Member	to increase spending.	spending.	removed from the tally.
SCHAEFER D (R-CO)	\$4,450	\$106,355	(\$101,905)
SCHIFF S (R-NM)	8,258	106,355	(98,097)
SCHROEDER P (D-CO)	48,136	106,355	(58,219)
SCHUMER C (D-NY)	46,367	106,355	(59,988)
SCOTT R (D-VA)	48,117	106,355	(58,238)
SEASTRAND A (R-CA)	2,193	106,355	(104,162)
, ,	(8,046)	106,355	(114,401)
SENSENBRENNER F (R-WI)			(20,706)
SERRANO J (D-NY)	85,649	106,355	• • •
SHADEGG J (R-AZ)	(1,953)	106,355	(108,308)
SHAW E (R-FL)	6,238	106,355	(100,117)
SHAYS C (R-CT)	(28,238)	106,355	(134,593)
SHUSTER B (R-PA)	2,947	106,355	(103,408)
SISISKY N (D-VA)	70,125	106,355	(36,230)
SKAGGS D (D-CO)	24,044	106,355	(82,311)
SKEEN J (R-NM)	6,000	106,355	(100,355)
SKELTON I (D-MO)	34,852	106,355	(71,503)
SLAUGHTER L (D-NY)	59,952	106,355	(46,403)
SMITH C (R-NJ)	56,327	106,355	(50,028)
SMITH L (R-TX)	4,777	106,355	(101,578)
SMITH L (R-WA)	621	106,355	(105,734)
SMITH N (R-MI)	(11,191)	106,355	(117,546)
	1,302		(105,053)
SOLOMON G (R-NY)	•	106,355	• • •
SOUDER M (R-IN)	(1,151)	106,355	(107,506)
SPENCE F (R-SC)	3,970	106,355	(102,385)
SPRATT J (D-SC)	36,888	106,355	(69,467)
STARK P (D-CA)	77,268	106,355	(29,087)
STEARNS C (R-FL)	9,767	106,355	(96,588)
STENHOLM C (D-TX)	27,976	106,355	(78,379)
STOCKMAN S (R-TX)	10,465	106,355	(95,890)
STOKES L (D-OH)	74,008	106,355	(32,347)
STUDDS G (D-MA)	62,995	106,355	(43,360)
STUMP B (R-AZ)	8,148	106,355	(98,207)
STUPAK B (D-MI)	54,202	106,355	(52,153)
TALENT J (R-MO)	(471)	106,355	(106,826)
TANNER J (D-TN)	36,260	106,355	(70,095)
TATE R (R-WA)	2,669	106,355	(103,686)
TAUZIN W (R-LA)	18,314	106,355	(88,041)
TAYLOR C (R-NC)	3,318	106,355	(103,037)
TAYLOR G (D-MS)	31,197	106,355	(75,158)
TEJEDA F (D-TX)	82,181	106,355	(24,174)
` '	5,887	106,355	(100,468)
THOMAS B (R-CA)		•	
THOMPSON B (D-MS)	93,225	106,355	(13,130)
THORNBERRY W (R-TX)	2,567	106,355	(103,788)
THORNTON R (D-AR)	36,469	106,355	(69,886)
THURMAN K (D-FL)	75,807	106,355	(30,548)
TIAHRT T (R-KS)	930	106,355	(105,425)
TORKILDSEN P (R-MA)	24,917	106,355	(81,438)
TORRES E (D-CA)	33,364	106,355	(72,991)
TORRICELLI R (D-NJ)	52,737	106,355	(53,618)
TOWNS E (D-NY)	62,125	106,355	(44,230)
TRAFICANT J (D-OH)	74,654	106,355	(31,701)
• •	•	•	• • •

Amount the Member

actually voted to raise

Amount of automatic

Member	Amount NTUF says Member voted to increase spending.	Security, Medicare, and other entitlements which NTUF counted as a vote to increase spending.	or lower spending, using NTUF's methodology, when automatic increases that were never voted on are removed from the tally.
UPTON F (R-MI)	(\$19,332)	\$106,355	(\$125,687)
VELAZQUEZ N (D-NY)	75,495	106,355	(30,860)
VENTO B (D-MN)	24,910	106,355	(81,445)
VISCLOSKY P (D-IN)	28,633	106,355	(77,722)
VOLKMER H (D-MO)	37,743	106,355	(68,612)
VUCANOVICH B (R-NV)	5,509	106,355	(100,846)
WALKER R (R-PA)	4,335	106,355	(102,020)
WALSH J (R-NY)	6,668	106,355	(99,687)
WAMP Z (R-TN)	3,147	106,355	(103,208)
WARD M (D-KY)	33,931	106,355	(72,424)
WATERS M (D-CA)	100,868	106,355	(5,487)
WATT M (D-NC)	64,921	106,355	(41,434)
WATTS J (R-OK)	3,799	106,355	(102,556)
WAXMAN H (D-CA)	66,700	106,355	(39,655)
WELDON C (R-PA)	2,948	106,355	(103,407)
WELDON D (R-FL)	3,289	106,355	(103,066)
WELLER G (R-IL)	1,774	106,355	(104,581)
WHITE R (R-WA)	3,435	106,355	(102,920)
WHITFIELD E (R-KY)	1,679	106,355	(104,676)
WICKER R (R-MS)	6,143	106,355	(100,212)
WILLIAMS P (D-MT)	56,174	106,355	(50,181)
WILSON C (D-TX)	56,171	106,355	(50,184)
WISE B (D-WV)	55,306	106,355	(51,049)
WOLF F (R-VA)	7,965	106,355	(98,390)
WOOLSEY L (D-CA)	46,097	106,355	(60,258)
WYNN A (D-MD)	67,810	106,355	(38,545)
YATES S (D-IL)	82,634	106,355	(23,721)
YOUNG C (R-FL)	9,959	106,355	(96,396)
YOUNG D (R-AK)	12,738	106,355	(93,617)
ZELIFF B (R-NH)	1,998	106,355	(104,357)
ZIMMER D (R-NJ)	(21,338)	106,355	(127,693)

increase in Social

Amount the Member actually voted to raise