

## Fred Upton (MI-06): Swamp Creature

### Significant Findings

- ✓ Upton has received more than \$4.5 million in taxpayer-funded salary since joining Congress in 1987
- ✓ Upton is the heir to a home appliances fortune, and his net worth has increased an estimated \$8.8 million since 1990
- ✓ Upton owned a home in Alexandria, Virginia since 1994
- ✓ Upton voted against establishing the Office of Congressional Ethics in 2008
- ✓ Upton received \$239,905 in privately-funded travel, taking 42 gifted trips since 2000

### Biography



Fred Upton is a Member of Congress representing Michigan's 6<sup>th</sup> Congressional District and has served in that position since 1987.

- ✓ Born in April, 1953 in St. Joseph Michigan
- ✓ Education: University of Michigan, B.A. (1975)
- ✓ Grandfather founded Whirlpool Corporation, which owns brands including Whirlpool, Kitchen Aid and Maytag
- ✓ Was an original organizer of the "Tuesday Lunch Bunch," a group of moderate Republicans now known as the Tuesday Group

### Upton Benefitted From The Perks Of Congress

#### Upton Has Received \$4,537,600 In Taxpayer Funded Salary And His Yearly Salary Has Almost Doubled Since Taking Office

When Upton first took office in Congress, he made \$89,000 as a Congressional salary. Today, Upton receives a Congressional salary of \$174,000, an increase of \$85,000. Over his 30 years in Congress, Upton has received a total of \$4,537,600 in taxpayer-funded salary.

Year	Congressional Salary
1987	\$89,000
1988	\$89,500
1989	\$89,500
1990	\$96,600
1991	\$125,100
1992	\$129,500
1993	\$133,600

1994	\$133,600
1995	\$133,600
1996	\$133,600
1997	\$133,600
1998	\$136,700
1999	\$136,700
2000	\$141,300
2001	\$145,100
2002	\$150,000
2003	\$154,700
2004	\$158,100
2005	\$162,100
2006	\$165,200
2007	\$165,200
2008	\$169,300
2009	\$174,000
2010	\$174,000
2011	\$174,000
2012	\$174,000
2013	\$174,000
2014	\$174,000
2015	\$174,000
2016	\$174,000
2016	\$174,000
2017	\$174,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$4,537,600.00</b>

[Congressional Research Service, [6/21/16](#)]

### Upton Voted To Raise His Own Pay

**2011: Upton Voted Against A Motion That Included Language To Block COLA For Members.** In 2011, Upton voted against a motion to recommit that included language blocking member pay increases. According to the CRS, “Section 5421(b)(1) of H.R. 3630, as introduced in the House, would have prohibited any adjustment for Members of Congress prior to December 31, 2013. Section 706 of the motion to recommit also contained language freezing Member pay.” **A vote yes was a vote to block pay increases.** The motion was rejected 183-244. [Congressional Research Service, [6/20/13](#); HR 3630, [Vote #922](#), 12/13/11]

**2010: Upton Voted Against Freezing GS Base Pay, Effectively Freezing Congressional Pay.** In December 2010, Upton Voted Against: “Obey, D-Wis., motion to concur in the Senate amendment to the House amendment to the Senate amendment to the bill. The Senate amendment would continue most appropriations at fiscal 2010-enacted levels through March 4, 2011. The measure would provide an overall annualized spending rate that is \$1.16 billion more than fiscal 2010 levels. It would provide additional funding for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) and Pell grants. It also would allow the awarding of a Navy contract for shipbuilding of Littoral Combat Ships to multiple suppliers.” According to the Congressional Research Service, “P.L. 111-322, which was enacted on December 22, 2010, prohibited any adjustment in GS base pay before December 31, 2012. Since the percent adjustment in Member pay may not exceed the percent adjustment in the base pay of GS employees, Member pay also was frozen during this period.” **A vote yes was a vote to block pay increases.** The bill passed 193-165 and became Public Law No: 111-322 on December 22, 2010. [CRS, [6/21/16](#); CQ, [12/21/10](#); HR 3082, [Vote #662](#), 12/21/10]

**2007: Upton Voted For Blocking An Amendment To Stop A Member Pay Increase.** In June 2007, Upton voted for a motion “to order the previous question on the rule (H.Res. 517) for consideration of H.R. 2829, the FY2008 Financial Services and General Government Appropriations bill. By ordering the previous question, the House

voted to prevent an amendment to the rule from being offered and brought the rule to an immediate vote. The House bill did not contain Member pay language, and the House did not vote on an amendment to accept or reject a Member pay increase.” **A no vote was a vote to consider an amendment to stop pay increases.** The motion to kill the amendment passed 244-181. [CRS, [6/21/16](#); CQ, [6/27/07](#); HRes 517, [Vote #580](#), 6/27/07]

*NOTE: When using this research, keep in mind that Upton has also voted on various occasions against raising his own pay.*

### **Upton Would Receive \$80,040 Per Year In Taxpayer Funded Pension**

According to the Office of Personnel Management, a “Member of Congress or Congressional Employee (or any combination of the two) must have at least 5 years of service as a Member of Congress and/or Congressional Employee” to qualify for their retirement annuity.

The annual pension is calculated as “1.7% of your high-3 average salary multiplied by your years of service as a Member of Congress or Congressional Employee which do not exceed 20, PLUS 1% of your high-3 average salary multiplied by your years of other service.” [Office of Personnel Management, accessed [7/18/17](#)]

For Members who joined after 1991, the annual pension is calculated as:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{High-3} \\ \text{Salary} \end{array} \times .017 \times \begin{array}{c} \text{Years of} \\ \text{Service} \\ \text{through 20} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{High-3} \\ \text{Salary} \end{array} \times .01 \times \begin{array}{c} \text{Years of} \\ \text{Service} \\ \text{over 20} \end{array} \right] = \text{Annual Pension}$$

[The Atlantic, [10/2/15](#); Congressional Research Service, [11/10/16](#)]

For any current Member eligible for their pension, their High-3 would be \$174,000, making the formula:

$$[\$174,000 \times .017 \times \text{Years of Service (20)}] + [\$174,000 \times .01 \times (12)] = \text{Annual Pension} = \$80,040$$

**At the end of his current term, Upton would receive \$80,040 in annual taxpayer-funded pension.**

### **Upton’s Wealth Increased An Estimated \$8.8 Million Since 1990**

In 1990, Upton’s net worth was an estimated \$2.2 million. In 2017, after 17 years, all spent in Congress, Upton’s net worth grew to an estimated \$11 million – an estimated \$8.8 million increase. According to Roll Call, Upton ranks as the 40<sup>th</sup> most wealthy member of congress in 2017.

Upton is heir to the Whirlpool Corporation, which was started by his grandfather and great-uncle. A significant amount of his holdings exist in a trust, which is controlled by his father, according to his 2015 financial disclosure. [Roll Call, accessed [3/8/18](#); Roll Call, updated [11/2/15](#); Roll Call, updated [10/22/14](#); Roll Call, [9/4/09](#); Roll Call, [8/19/08](#); Roll Call, [9/4/03](#); Clerk of U.S. House of Representatives, Rep. Fred Upton, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

### **Upton Owned A Home In Alexandria, Virginia**

In 1994, Upton and his wife bought a newly constructed two-story home in Alexandria, Virginia, 7.7 miles from his House office. According to an Alexandria, Virginia Real Estate Search, the Uptons still own the home as of March 2018. In January 2018, the home was valued at \$1.68 million. [Alexandria, Virginia Real Estate, accessed [3/8/18](#)]

*NOTE: Upton and his wife may still own property in Berrien County. Further research necessary.*

According to a public records search, Upton held a hunting and fishing license in Michigan in which he is registered as a non-resident. [Nexis public records search, accessed 12/6/17]

*NOTE: Further research and primary source documentation necessary to confirm Upton's residency on his licenses.*

### **Upton Voted Against Establishing The Office Of Congressional Ethics**

**Upton Voted Against Establishing The Office Of Congressional Ethics.** In 2008, Upton voted against “adoption of the self-executing rule (H Res 1031) that would provide for automatic adoption of the resolution that would establish an Office of Congressional Ethics to consider alleged violations by House members and employees.” The rule was adopted 229 to 182. [H Res 1031, [Vote #122](#), 3/11/08; CQ Floor Votes, 3/11/08]

### **Republican Conference Voted To Gut The Office Of Congressional Ethics**

**House Republican Conference Voted Behind Closed Doors To Take Away The Independence Of The Office Of Congressional Ethics.** “On the evening of Jan. 2, members of the House Republican Conference voted to change how the U.S. House of Representatives handles allegations of ethical misbehavior. The vote -- done with essentially no advance discussion and behind closed doors on a holiday -- was not proposed by the party’s leadership, but it won wide support among rank-and-file members. After controversy, they quickly reversed course the next day. The change would have placed the sole independent player within the House’s ethics enforcement system -- the Office of Congressional Ethics -- under the control of the House Ethics Committee, which is populated by the lawmakers themselves.” [Politifact, [1/3/17](#)]

**The Proposal Was Approved 119 To 74, With No Recorded Vote, As An Amendment To The Rules Package For The 115<sup>th</sup> Congress.** “The proposal was approved by GOP lawmakers by a 119-74 margin (we know the total but individual lawmakers’ votes were not recorded) as an amendment to a rules package that needed to be taken up in advance of the the [sic] opening of the 115th Congress, which was the following day.” [Politifact, [1/3/17](#)]

**New York Times: Change Would “Effectively Kill” The Office Of Congressional Ethics.** “House Republicans, overriding their top leaders, voted on Monday to significantly curtail the power of an independent ethics office set up in 2008 in the aftermath of corruption scandals that sent three members of Congress to jail. The move to effectively kill the Office of Congressional Ethics was not made public until late Monday, when Representative Robert W. Goodlatte, Republican of Virginia and chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, announced that the House Republican Conference had approved the change.” [New York Times, [1/2/17](#)]

### **Upton Received \$239,905 In Privately Funded Travel**

**Upton Received \$239,905 In Privately Funded Travel Since 2000.** As of December 2017, Upton had gone on 42 privately funded trips since the year 2000, receiving a total of \$239,905 in travel. [Political Moneyline, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

<b>Upton's Privately Funded Travel</b>			
<b>Dates</b>	<b>Sponsor(s)</b>	<b>Location(s)</b>	<b>Total Amount</b>
8/9 - 8/15/17	Aspen Institute	Oslo, Norway	\$11,753
3/10 - 3/13/17	American Enterprise Institute	Sea Island, GA	\$1,750
11/9- 11/14/16	Ripon Society, Franklin Center for Global Policy Exchange	London, United Kingdom	\$13,627
8/10 - 8/20/16	Aspen Institute	London, United Kingdom	\$15,274
3/3 - 3/6/16	American Enterprise Institute	Sea Island, GA	\$3,262
8/8 - 8/20/15	Aspen Institute	Arusha, Tanzania	\$21,835
3/5 - 3/10/15	American Enterprise Institute	Sea Island, GA	\$2,734
11/6 - 11/11/14	Franklin Center for Global Policy Exchange, Ripon Society	Rome, Italy	\$16,815
3/6 - 3/11/14	American Enterprise Institute	Sea Island, GA	\$4,086
3/31 - 4/8/13	Aspen Institute	Istanbul, Turkey	\$14,002

3/7- 3/12/13	American Enterprise Institute	Sea Island, GA	\$3,346
11/8 - 11/12/12	Franklin Center for Global Policy Exchange, Ripon Society	Buenos Aires, Argentina	\$23,636
4/21- 5/1/11	Aspen Institute	Vienna, Austria	\$8,036
4/4 - 4/10/09	Aspen Institute	Valencia, Spain	\$8,956
7/27 - 7/28/08	Congressional Institute, Democratic Leadership Council, Entergy-Tulane Energy Institute	New Orleans, LA	\$664
5/24 - 6/2/08	Aspen Institute	Rome, Italy	\$12,053
3/27 - 3/28/08	Wake Forest Univ	Winston-Salem, NC	\$229
3/31 - 4/8/07	Aspen Institute	Shanghai, China, Nanjing, China, Beijing, China	\$27,115
1/8 - 1/9/06	Alliance of Automotive Manufacturing	Detroit, MI	\$458
1/4 - 1/6/06	Consumer Electronics Assn (CEA)	Las Vegas, NV	\$1,682
5/30 - 6/5/05	Aspen Institute	Istanbul, Turkey	\$4,992
4/17- 4/18/05	National Assn of Broadcasters	Las Vegas, NV	\$1,353
3/4 - 3/6/05	Faith & Politics Institute	Selma, AL	\$2,003
1/7 - 1/9/05	Faith & Politics Institute	Charleston, SC	\$1,214
8/8- 8/10/04	Michigan Assn of Broadcasters	Mackinac Island, MI	\$628
4/18 - 4/20/04	National Association of Broadcasters	Las Vegas, NV	\$2,086
1/5 - 1/6/04	Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers	Detroit, MI	\$738
6/13 - 6/14/03	Ford Motor Co.	Detroit, MI	\$1,139
6/6 - 6/8/03	National Cable & Telecommunications Association	Chicago, IL	\$2,882
3/21 - 3/24/03	WGN-TV, Tribune Broadcasting	Scottsdale, AZ	\$3,337
3/16 - 3/17/03	Cellular Telecommunications and Internet Association	New Orleans, LA	\$2,783
1/10 - 1/12/03	Faith and Politics Institute	Santa Barbara, CA	\$2,830
1/8 - 1/10/02	Consumer Electronics Association	Las Vegas, NV	\$942
10/12 - 10/14/01	Faith and Politics Institute	AL	\$1,205
6/18 - 6/19/01	EchoStar Communications Corp.	Not specified	\$2,048
6/10 - 6/11/01	National Cable Television Association	Chicago, IL	\$1,823
6/1- 6/3/01	Detroit Regional Chamber of Commerce	Detroit, MI	\$1,471
3/23 - 3/27/01	Electronic Industries Institute	Not specified	\$2,145
3/16 - 3/16/01	Recording Industry Association of America	New York, NY	\$439
3/9 - 3/11/01	Aspen Institute	White Sulphur Springs, WV	\$2,224
12/1 - 12/4/00	Congressional Economic Leadership Institute	Rome, Italy, Venice, Italy	\$1,260
11/24 - 12/4/00	Ripon Educational Fund	Rome, Italy, Venice, Italy	\$9,050
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$239,905</b>

[Political Moneyline, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

## Upton Consistently Voted With The Republican Establishment

### Upton Has Voted With His Party 90% Of The Time

**Upton Has Voted With The Republican Party 90% Of The Time.** According to CQ, in 2017, Upton had voted with other members of the Republican Caucus 90% of the time. [CQ Vote Studies, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

Party Unity		
Year	Support	Oppose
2017	90%	10%
2016	93%	7%
2015	89%	10%
2014	91%	9%
2013	96%	4%

2012	93%	7%
2011	91%	9%
2010	94%	6%
2009	80%	20%
2008	84%	16%
2007	86%	14%
2006	81%	19%
2005	87%	13%
2004	88%	12%
2003	86%	14%
2002	92%	8%
2001	88%	12%
2000	79%	21%
1999	80%	20%
1998	79%	21%
1997	83%	17%
1996	82%	18%
1995	85%	15%
1994	83%	17%
1993	76%	24%
1992	78%	22%
1991	79%	21%
1990	89%	11%
1989	85%	15%
1988	86%	14%
1987	90%	10%
<b>Lifetime Average</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>14%</b>

[CQ Vote Study, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

### Upton Voted With Paul Ryan 100% Of The Time

**Upton Voted With Ryan 100% Of The Time.** According to ProPublica, in the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress, Upton had voted with Speaker Ryan 100% of the time. [ProPublica, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

<b>Vote Comparison</b>			
<b>Congress</b>	<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>Votes Disagreeing</b>	<b>Percent Agreement</b>
115 <sup>th</sup>	19	0	100%
114 <sup>th</sup>	576	43	93%
113 <sup>th</sup>	1165	86	93%
112 <sup>th</sup>	1552	145	91%
111 <sup>th</sup>	1585	164	90%
110 <sup>th</sup>	1817	248	86%
<b>Lifetime Average</b>	<b>6702</b>	<b>686</b>	<b>90%</b>

[ProPublica, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

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**Funded By Republican Leadership, Receiving \$15,000 From Paul Ryan**

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Over his career, Upton has received \$15,000 in donations from Paul Ryan and his associated entities:

Donations From Paul Ryan		
Date	Candidate/Committee	Amount
9/18/17	Prosperity Action, Inc	\$5,000
7/11/16	Prosperity Action, Inc	\$5,000
10/22/14	Prosperity Action, Inc	\$5,000
	<b>Total</b>	<b>\$15,000</b>

[FEC, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

### Voted To Elect Paul Ryan Speaker Of The House

**2017: Voted To Make Rep. Paul Ryan Speaker Of The House.** In January 2017, Upton voted for Paul Ryan to be Speaker of the House. Ryan was elected by a vote of 239-189. [Election to the Speaker, [Vote #2](#), 1/3/17; CQ, [1/3/17](#)]

**2015: Voted To Make Rep. Paul Speaker Speaker Of The House.** In October 2015, Upton voted for Paul Ryan to be Speaker of the House. Paul Ryan received 236 votes, Nancy Pelosi received 184 votes, and Daniel Webster received 9 votes. [Election to the Speaker, [Vote #581](#), 10/29/15]

### Funded By Special Interests

#### Top Overall Industries

Upton's Top Contributors to Campaign Committee By Industry	
Industry	Total
Health Professionals	\$1,712,118
Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	\$1,426,006
Electric Utilities	\$1,397,373
Retired	\$1,097,738
Oil & Gas	\$1,005,800
TV/Movies/Music	\$748,602
Lawyers/Law Firms	\$707,510
Telecom Services	\$685,985
Lobbyists	\$636,924
Automotive	\$612,424

[Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

#### Top Overall Sectors

Upton's Top Contributions To Campaign Committee By Sector			
Sector	Total	Other Cmtes	Indivs
Health	\$3,862,995	\$3,375,110	\$487,885
Energy & Natural Resources	\$2,923,131	\$2,482,910	\$440,221
Communications/Electronics	\$2,326,494	\$1,823,021	\$503,473
Misc Business	\$2,081,835	\$1,452,717	\$629,118
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	\$1,876,523	\$1,346,507	\$530,016
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$1,344,434	\$432,395	\$912,039
Other	\$1,275,649	\$10,500	\$1,265,149
Transportation	\$1,072,201	\$905,511	\$166,690

Agribusiness	\$781,989	\$673,982	\$108,007
Ideological/Single-Issue	\$751,721	\$649,161	\$102,560

[Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

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### **Upton Received \$507,625 From Insurance Companies**

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**Career: Upton Received \$507,625 From Insurance Companies.** According to Center for Responsive Politics, over the course of his congressional career, Upton received \$507,625 from insurance companies and their employees. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

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### **Upton Received \$1,426,006 From Pharmaceutical And Health Product Interests**

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**Career: Upton Received \$1,426,006 From Finance And Securities And Investments Interests.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, over the course of his congressional career, Upton received \$1,426,000 from finance and securities & investment interests and their employees. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

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### **Upton Received \$108,250 From The Telecommunications Industry**

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**Career: Upton Received \$108,250 From The Telecommunications Industry.** According to the Verge, during his most recent election, Upton received \$108,250 from telecommunications industry and its employees. [The Verge, [3/29/16](#)]

## **Upton Voted For Key Republican Priorities In The 115<sup>th</sup> Congress**

### **Upton Voted For Final Passage Of The Republican Tax Scam Bill**

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#### **Upton Voted For Final Passage Of The Republican Tax Scam Bill**

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**Upton Voted For Adopting The Conference Report Of The Tax Cuts And Jobs Act.** In December 2017, Upton voted for “adoption of the conference report on the bill that would revise the federal income tax system by lowering the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 21 percent; lowering individual tax rates through 2025; limiting state and local deductions to \$10,000 through 2025; decreasing the limit on deductible mortgage debt through 2025; and creating a new system of taxing U.S. corporations with foreign subsidiaries. Specifically, it would repeal personal exemptions and would roughly double the standard deduction through 2025. It would raise the child tax credit to \$2,000 through 2025, would repeal the alternative minimum tax for corporations and provide for broader exemptions to the tax for individuals through 2025. It would double individual exemptions to the estate tax and gift tax through 2025, and would establish a new top tax rate for "pass-through" business income through 2025.” The conference report was adopted 227-203. [HR 1, [Vote #692](#), 12/19/17; CQ Floor Votes, [12/19/17](#)]

**Upton Voted For Final Passage Of The Tax Cuts And Jobs Act By Concurring With A Senate Amendment.** In December 2017, Upton voted for “Brady, R-Texas, motion to concur in the Senate amendment to the tax overhaul that would revise the federal income tax system by: lowering the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 21 percent; lowering individual tax rates through 2025; limiting state and local deductions to \$10,000 through 2025; decreasing the limit on deductible mortgage debt through 2025; and creating a new system of taxing U.S. corporations with foreign subsidiaries. Specifically, it would repeal personal exemptions and would roughly double the standard deduction through 2025. It would raise the child tax credit to \$2,000 through 2025, would repeal the alternative minimum tax for corporations and provide for broader exemptions to the tax for individuals through 2025. It would double individual exemptions to the estate tax and gift tax through 2025, and would establish a new top tax rate for "pass-through" business income through 2025. It would effectively eliminate the penalty for not purchasing health insurance under the 2010 health care overhaul law in 2019. It would also open portions of the

Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling.” The motion was passed 224-201. [HR 1, [Vote #699](#), 12/20/17; CQ Floor Votes, [12/20/17](#)]

**House Was Forced To Vote For A Second Time On The Final Bill After Small Changes Were Made To Comply With Senate Budget Rules.** “The House, forced to vote a second time on the \$1.5 trillion tax bill, moved swiftly to pass the final version on Wednesday, clearing the way for President Trump to sign into law the most sweeping tax overhaul in decades. House lawmakers approved the tax bill 224 to 201 on Wednesday, after being forced to vote on the bill again after last-minute revisions were made to it in the Senate, which passed the measure 51 to 48 early Wednesday morning. The final House vote was essentially a formality, as the changes, which were made to comply with Senate budget rules, did not significantly alter the overall bill.” [New York Times, [12/20/17](#)]

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### **Tax Cuts And Jobs Act Benefitted The Wealthy, Corporations, And Special Interests...**

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**New York Times: Tax Bill “Creates As Many New Preferences For Special Interests As It Gets Rid Of” After Republican Ambitions “Fell To The Powerful Forces Of Lobbying And The Status Quo.”** “The Republican tax bill does not pass the postcard test. It leaves nearly every large tax break in place. It creates as many new preferences for special interests as it gets rid of. It will keep corporate accountants busy for years to come. And no taxpayer will ever see the postcard-size tax return that President Trump laid a kiss on in November as Republican leaders launched their tax overhaul effort. This was not the grand simplification of the code that Republicans promised when they set out to eliminate tax breaks and cut the number of tax brackets as they lowered rates. As their bill tore through Congress, their ambitions fell to the powerful forces of lobbying and the status quo.” [New York Times, [12/16/17](#)]

**Washington Post: Final Tax Bill Included A “Significant Tax Break For The Very Wealthy” And “A Massive Tax Cut For Corporations.”** “A new tax cut for the rich: The final plan lowers the top tax rate for top earners. Under current law, the highest rate is 39.6 percent for married couples earning over \$470,700. The GOP bill would drop that to 37 percent and raise the threshold at which that top rate kicks in, to \$500,000 for individuals and \$600,000 for married couples. This amounts to a significant tax break for the very wealthy, a departure from repeated claims by Trump and his top officials that the bill would not benefit the rich. [...] A massive tax cut for corporations “A massive tax cut for corporations: Starting on Jan. 1, 2018, big businesses' tax rate would fall from 35 percent to just 21 percent, the largest one-time rate cut in U.S. history for the nation's largest companies.” [Washington Post, [12/15/17](#)]

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### **...While Millions Of Americans Would Pay More In Taxes**

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**Politifact: GOP Tax Bill Would Raise Taxes For The Middle Class After Individual Tax Cut Provisions Expired In 2025.** “Gillibrand said the Republican ‘tax [plan] raises middle-class taxes.’ That's not true during the first years of the new tax provisions. If not for the sunset for the tax changes for individuals, we likely would have rated Gillibrand's statement False or perhaps Mostly False. Middle-income taxpayers will either benefit or see no change in their tax liability through 2025. But her claim could hold up after the bill's individual provisions expire that year. There's no guarantee a future Congress will extend those parts of the bill.” [Politifact, [12/22/17](#)]

**Tax Policy Center: In 2018, 5 Percent Of Taxpayers Would Pay More In Taxes Under The GOP Tax Bill, But Would Increase To 53 Percent Of Taxpayers In 2027.** “Some taxpayers would pay more in taxes under the proposal in 2018 and 2025 than under current law: about 5 percent of taxpayers in 2018 and 9 percent in 2025. In 2027, however, taxes would increase for 53 percent of taxpayers compared with current law.” [Tax Policy Center, [12/18/17](#)]

**RESOURCE: The Final Trump-GOP Tax Plan: National and 50-State Estimates for 2019 & 2027** [ITEP, [12/16/17](#)]

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## **Tax Cuts And Jobs Act Increased The Federal Debt – Increasing Pressure To Cut Program Like Medicare**

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### **Official CBO Estimate Found Final Tax Bill Would Increase The Federal Deficit By \$1.46 Trillion.**

“Republicans decided it would be all right to go into debt up to \$1.5 trillion to fund the tax cut. In the end, they nearly hit that mark. The official estimate -- released Friday evening alongside the bill -- came in at \$1.46 trillion.” [Washington Post, [12/15/17](#)]

**Center For A Responsible Federal Budget Found True Cost of Tax Bill Would Be \$2 Trillion Or More, After Budget Gimmicks Were Accounted For.** “Adding these gimmicks to the cost of the bill would increase the total cost to \$2.0 trillion to \$2.2 trillion. Though the dynamic effect of making the bill permanent is unknown, we estimate a permanent bill would produce roughly \$450 billion of feedback,\* leading to a dynamic cost of roughly \$1.6 trillion to \$1.7 trillion. With interest, these costs would rise to \$2.4 trillion to \$2.5 trillion, or \$1.9 trillion to \$2 trillion with dynamic effects included, over a decade.” [CRFB, [12/18/17](#)]

**After Passing A Tax Bill That Added Trillions To The Deficit, Speaker Ryan Said Medicare And Medicaid Would Need To Be “Reformed” In Order To Decrease The Deficit.** “With his dream of tax reform now realized, Ryan is hoping to make progress on two other issues he’s targeted during his two-decade career in Washington: entitlement and welfare reform. ‘We’re going to have to get back next year at entitlement reform, which is how you tackle the debt and the deficit,’ Ryan, a former Budget Committee chairman, said in a recent interview this month on the Ross Kaminsky radio talk show. Medicare and Medicaid are the ‘big drivers of debt,’ Ryan said, suggesting Republicans could once again use the budget reconciliation process to avoid a Democratic filibuster. Medicare is the ‘biggest entitlement that’s got to have reform,’ Ryan added.” [The Hill, [12/27/17](#)]

**HEADLINE: After Tax Overhaul, GOP Sets Sights on Medicare, Social Security** [US News, [12/7/17](#)]

**HEADLINE: Ryan says Republicans to target welfare, Medicare, Medicaid spending in 2018**  
[Washington Post, [12/6/17](#)]

**HEADLINE: Paul Ryan Pushes to Keep Overhaul of Safety-Net Programs on GOP Agenda** [Wall Street Journal, [2/4/18](#)]

**AP: “A Wide Range Of Economists And Nonpartisan Analysts Have Warned That The Bill Will Likely Escalate Federal Debt, Intensify Pressure To Cut Spending On Social Programs And Further Widen America's Troubling Income Inequality.”** “The tax overhaul of 2017 amounts to a high-stakes gamble by Republicans in Congress: That slashing taxes for corporations and wealthy individuals will accelerate growth and assure greater prosperity for Americans for years to come. The risks are considerable. A wide range of economists and nonpartisan analysts have warned that the bill will likely escalate federal debt, intensify pressure to cut spending on social programs and further widen America's troubling income inequality.” [Associated Press, [12/17/17](#)]

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## **Tax Cuts And Jobs Act Would Increase Incentives To Move Jobs Overseas**

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### **Tax Experts Said The Tax Cuts And Jobs Act Increased Incentives For Companies To Move Jobs Overseas.**

“What happened to the workers in Clinton, tax experts say, will probably happen to more Americans if the Republican tax overhaul becomes law. The legislation fails to eliminate long-standing incentives for companies to move overseas and, in some cases, may even increase them, they say. ‘This bill is potentially more dangerous than our current system,’ said Stephen Shay, a senior lecturer at Harvard Law School and former Treasury Department international tax expert in the Obama administration. ‘It creates a real incentive to shift real activity offshore.’” [Washington Post, [12/15/17](#)]

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## **Tax Cuts And Jobs Act Would Lead To More Expensive Health Insurance; 13 Million More Uninsured**

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**Final Tax Bill Eliminated Central Affordable Care Act Provision, Leading To 13 Million Fewer Americans With Insurance.** “The individual mandate is part of the Affordable Care Act, and removing it was a top priority for Trump and congressional Republicans. The Congressional Budget Office projects the change will increase insurance premiums and lead to 13 million fewer Americans with insurance in a decade, while also cutting government spending by more than \$300 billion over that period.” [Washington Post, [12/15/17](#)]

**GOP Tax Bill Would Cause Health Insurance Premiums To Rise, And Could Lead Insurers To Drop Out Of Regional Markets.** “The final GOP plan will repeal the Affordable Care Act’s individual insurance mandate, which would allow young and healthy people to leave the insurance pool, forcing insurers to compensate by raising prices due to the higher costs of insuring only less-healthy people. Not only would premiums likely rise, but many insurers could drop out of regional markets.” [Newsweek, [12/18/17](#)]

**HEADLINE: Republican Tax Plan Will Make Health Insurance More Expensive** [Newsweek, [12/18/17](#)]

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### **Tax Cuts And Jobs Act Failed To Live Up To Republican Promises**

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**HEADLINE: “New Tax Code Will Still Be Complicated Despite GOP Promise To Simplify.”** [CNN Money, [12/18/17](#)]

**CNN Money: Final Tax Bill “Adds Plenty Of Complications, Particularly For Small Businesses.”** “But the plan Republicans and Trump came up with almost certainly won’t put tax preparers out of business. The final tax bill, released on Friday, does indeed deliver some simplification, but not as much as promised. And it adds plenty of complications, particularly for small businesses.” [CNN Money, [12/18/17](#)]

**Time: Republicans Failed To Follow Through On The “Central Promises” Of Their Tax Bill – To Allow People To File On A Postcard And To Benefit Working And Middle Class Americans.** “As they pushed their sweeping tax bill through Congress, Republicans made two central promises. First, that the bill would simplify the U.S. tax code, allowing citizens to file their taxes ‘on the back of a postcard.’ And second, that the overhaul would primarily benefit working Americans and the middle class. The first claim proved false. And economic experts are skeptical about the second, arguing that the bill aids businesses at the expense of middle-class taxpayers.” [Time, [12/19/17](#)]

### **Upton Voted For House Passage Of The Republican Tax Scam Bill**

**Upton Voted For Passage Of The House Version Of The Tax Cuts And Jobs Act.** In November 2017, Upton voted for “passage of the bill that would revise the federal income tax system by: lowering individual and corporate tax rates; consolidating the current seven tax income rates into four rates; eliminating the deduction for state and local income taxes; limiting certain deductions for property taxes and home mortgages; and creating a new system of taxing U.S. corporations with foreign subsidiaries. Specifically, it would eliminate personal exemptions and would nearly double the standard deduction. It would raise the child tax credit through 2022, repeal the alternative minimum tax, repeal the estate tax in 2025 and reduce the gift tax rate in 2025. It would establish a new top tax rate for pass-through business income and would modify tax credits related to energy production.” The bill passed 227-205. [HR 1, [Vote #637](#), 11/16/17; CQ Floor Votes, [11/16/17](#)]

**Upton Voted For Considering The Tax Cuts And Jobs Act.** In November 2017, Upton voted for: “Adoption of the rule (H Res 619) that would provide for House floor consideration of the bill (HR 1) that would revise the federal income tax system by: lowering individual and corporate tax rates; consolidating the current seven tax income rates into four rates; eliminating the deduction for state and local income taxes; limiting certain deductions for property taxes and home mortgages; and creating a new system of taxing U.S. corporations with foreign subsidiaries.” The rule was adopted 235-191. [HRes 619, [Vote #633](#), 11/15/17; CQ, [11/15/17](#)]

### **Upton Voted For FY18 Senate Republican Budget That Set The Stage For Tax Reform**

**Upton Voted For Agreeing To The Senate Republican's Version Of The FY18 Budget.** In October 2017, Upton voted for "Black, R-Tenn., motion to concur in the Senate amendment to the concurrent resolution that would provide for \$3.1 trillion in new budget authority in fiscal 2018, not including off-budget accounts. It would allow the cap on defense spending to be raised to \$640 billion for fiscal 2018, without the need for offsets. It would require the Senate Finance Committee to report legislation under the budget reconciliation process that would increase the deficit by no more than \$1.5 trillion over the period of fiscal 2018 through fiscal 2027. It would also instruct the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee to report legislation under the budget reconciliation process that would reduce the deficit by \$1 billion over the period of fiscal 2018 through fiscal 2027. The concurrent resolution would authorize the establishment of various reserve funds, including a deficit-neutral reserve fund related to repealing or replacing the 2010 health care overhaul law, and a revenue-neutral reserve fund related to modifying the federal tax system." The budget passed 216-212. [H Con Res 71, [Vote #589](#), 10/26/17; CQ Floor Votes, [10/26/17](#)]

**Washington Times: "The Goal Of The Budget Was To Set Up What's Known As The 'Reconciliation' Process" For Tax Reform.** "Already months overdue the fiscal year began Oct. 1 the budget calls for about \$1 trillion in discretionary spending this year, and envisions deficits of \$641 billion. But even Republicans said those numbers were probably irrelevant, and it will take a bipartisan deal later this year to set actual spending levels for 2018. Instead, the goal of the budget was to set up what's known as the 'reconciliation' process, which allows big financial measures to pass the Senate by majority vote, without having to overcome a filibuster." [Washington Times, 10/20/17]

**HEADLINE: House approves Senate-passed budget plan, paving way for tax reform** [CBS News, [10/26/17](#)]

**Senate Budget Cut \$473 Billion From Medicare And More Than \$1 Trillion From Medicaid Over 10 Years.** "Under Capitol Hill's byzantine budget rules, the nonbinding budget resolution is supposed to lay out a long-term fiscal framework for the government. This year's measure calls for \$473 billion in cuts from Medicare over 10 years and more than \$1 trillion from Medicaid. All told, Senate Republicans would cut spending by more than \$5 trillion over a decade, though they don't attempt to spell out where the cuts would come from." [Associated Press, [10/19/17](#)]

**Senate Budget Eliminated House Republican's Requirement That Tax Legislation Be Revenue Neutral.** "The path to a compromise earlier looked contentious. The House's budget writers, led by fiscal hawk Rep. Diane Black of Tennessee, drew out a legislative map that would require any tax bill to be deficit-neutral and to be coupled with billions in mandatory cuts. Members of the Senate budget panel, by contrast, have given themselves much more flexibility. The Senate's budget allows the GOP's tax plan to add up to \$1.5 trillion to the deficit over 10 years, which proponents say will allow for more aggressive tax cuts." [NPR, [10/20/17](#)]

**Senate Budget Promoted Reducing The State And Local Tax Deduction.** "The Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may revise the allocations of a committee or committees, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this resolution, and make adjustments to the pay-as-you-go ledger, for one or more bills, joint resolutions, amendments, amendments between the Houses, motions, or conference reports relating to changes in Federal tax laws, which may include reducing federal deductions, such as the state and local tax deduction which disproportionately favors high-income individuals, to ensure relief for middle-income taxpayers, by the amounts provided in such legislation for those purposes, provided that such legislation would not increase the deficit over either the period of the total of fiscal years 2018 through 2027." [H Con Res 71, Text As Engrossed In The Senate, [10/19/17](#)]

### **Upton Voted For FY18 House Republican Budget That Cut Medicare And Medicaid**

**Upton Voted For FY18 Republican House Budget.** In October 2017, Upton voted for "adoption of the concurrent resolution that would provide for \$3.2 trillion in new budget authority in fiscal 2018, not including off-budget accounts. It would assume \$1.22 trillion in discretionary spending in fiscal 2018. It would assume the repeal of the 2010 health care overhaul law. It also would propose reducing spending on mandatory programs such as Medicare

and Medicaid and changing programs such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (also known as food stamps). It would call for restructuring Medicare into a "premium support" system beginning in 2024. I would also require the House Ways and Means Committee to report out legislation under the budget reconciliation process that would provide for a revenue-neutral, comprehensive overhaul of the U.S. tax code and would include instructions to 11 House committees to trigger the budget reconciliation process to cut mandatory spending. The concurrent resolution would assume that, over 10 years, base (non-Overseas Contingency Operations) discretionary defense spending would be increased by a total of \$929 billion over the Budget Control Act caps and non-defense spending be reduced by \$1.3 trillion." The budget pass 219-206. [H Con Res 71, [Vote #557](#), 10/5/17; CQ Floor Votes, [10/5/17](#)]

**AP: House Budget “Reprises A Controversial Plan To Turn Medicare Into A Voucher-Like Program.”**

“The House on Thursday passed a \$4.1 trillion budget plan that promises deep cuts to social programs while paving the way for Republicans to rewrite the tax code later this year. The 2018 House GOP budget reprises a controversial plan to turn Medicare into a voucher-like program for future retirees as well as the party's efforts to repeal the "Obamacare" health law. Republicans controlling Congress have no plans to actually implement those cuts while they pursue their tax overhaul.” [Associated Press, [10/5/17](#)]

**CBPP: FY18 Budget As Passed By House Budget Committee “Would Cut Medicare Spending By \$487 Billion Over The 2018-27 Period, Largely By Shifting More Health Care Costs To Beneficiaries.”**

“The 2018 budget resolution that the House Budget Committee approved this week would end Medicare’s guarantee of health coverage by converting the program to a premium support system. Overall, it would cut Medicare spending by \$487 billion over the 2018-27 period, largely by shifting more health care costs to beneficiaries. President Trump’s budget, by contrast, would spare Medicare from cuts.” [CBPP, [7/21/17](#)]

**House Budget Called For \$5 Trillion In Spending Cuts, Including Slashing Medicaid By \$1 Trillion.** “The plan, passed by a nearly party-line 219-206 vote, calls for more than \$5 trillion in spending cuts over the coming decade, promising to slash Medicaid by about \$1 trillion over the next 10 years, repeal the ‘Obamacare’ health law, and force huge cuts to domestic programs funded each year by Congress.” [Associated Press, [10/5/17](#)]

**AP: “Republicans Are Not Actually Planning To Impose Any Of Those Cuts... Those GOP Proposals For Spending Cuts Are Limited To Nonbinding Promises.”** “But Republicans are not actually planning to impose any of those cuts with follow-up legislation that would be required under Washington's Byzantine budget rules. Instead, those GOP proposals for spending cuts are limited to nonbinding promises, and even a token 10-year, \$200 billion spending cut package demanded by tea party House Republicans appears likely to be scrapped in upcoming talks with the Senate.” [Associated Press, [10/5/17](#)]

**Washington Post: House Budget “Set The Stage For An Ambitious Tax-Overhaul Bill They Are Planning To Pass Without Democratic Help.”** “House Republicans passed crucial budget legislation Thursday, setting aside months of intraparty squabbles to set the stage for an ambitious tax-overhaul bill they are planning to pass without Democratic help. The House budget resolution includes major spending cuts demanded by the party’s conservative wing, but the party’s focus is now on passing a tax bill that could add as much as \$1.5 trillion to the budget deficit. Special procedures set out in the legislation would ultimately allow Republicans to pass the bill over a potential Democratic filibuster in the Senate.” [Washington Post, [10/5/17](#)]

## **Upton Voted For Republican Repeal & Ripoff**

**Upton Voted For The American Health Care Act.** In May 2017, Upton voted for repeal and replace major parts of the Affordable Care Act. According to the New York Times, the bill “would eliminate tax penalties for people who go without health insurance. It would roll back state-by-state expansions of Medicaid, which covered millions of low-income Americans. And in place of government-subsidized insurance policies offered exclusively on the Affordable Care Act’s marketplaces, the bill would offer tax credits of \$2,000 to \$4,000 a year, depending on age. [...] The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office said the first version of the bill would trim the federal budget

deficit considerably but would also leave 24 million more Americans without health insurance after a decade. Average insurance premiums would be 15 percent to 20 percent higher in 2018 and 2019, but after that, they would be lower than projected under current law.” The bill passed by a vote of 217-213. [HR 1628, [Vote #256](#), 5/4/17; New York Times, [5/4/17](#)]

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### **American Health Care Act Would Gut Protections For People With Pre-Existing Conditions**

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**Politifact Found That AHCA “Would Weaken Protections” For Those With Pre-Existing Conditions, “Would Allow States To Give Insurers The Power To Charge People Significantly More.”** “An ad by the American Action Network says that under the American Health Care Act ‘people with pre-existing conditions are protected.’ The only kernel of truth here is that the amendment has language that states insurers can’t limit access to coverage for individuals with pre-existing conditions. However, the ad omits that the House GOP health plan would weaken protections for these patients. The legislation would allow states to give insurers the power to charge people significantly more if they had a pre-existing condition. While Republicans point to the fact that those patients could get help through high-risk pools, experts question their effectiveness. Current law does not allow states to charge people with pre-existing conditions significantly more. We rate this claim Mostly False.” [Politifact, [5/24/17](#)]

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### **American Health Care Act Would Lead To 23 Million More Uninsured – Disproportionally Older People With Lower Incomes**

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**CBO Estimated 14 Million More People Would Be Uninsured In 2018; 23 Million More Uninsured By 2026.** “CBO and JCT estimate that, in 2018, 14 million more people would be uninsured under H.R. 1628 than under current law. The increase in the number of uninsured people relative to the number under current law would reach 19 million in 2020 and 23 million in 2026 (see Table 4, at the end of this document).” [CBO, [5/24/17](#)]

**CBO Found Increase In Uninsured Would Disproportionately Impact Older People With Lower Income.** “Although the agencies expect that the legislation would increase the number of uninsured broadly, the increase would be disproportionately larger among older people with lower income—particularly people between 50 and 64 years old with income of less than 200 percent of the federal poverty level (see Figure 2).” [CBO, [5/24/17](#)]

**CBO: Even In States Without Waivers, More People Would Be Uninsured Than Under Current Law.** “CBO and JCT expect that under the current version of the legislation, the effects on health insurance coverage would be similar to those previously estimated for the half of the population that resides in states that would not obtain a waiver from the EHB or community-rating requirements. In general, under H.R. 1628, as passed by the House, fewer people would have coverage through the nongroup market, Medicaid, and employment-based coverage, and more people would be uninsured in those areas than under current law.” [CBO, [5/24/17](#)]

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### **American Health Care Act Would Create An Age Tax On Older Americans**

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**American Health Care Act Allows Insurers To Charge Older Customers Five Times More Than Younger Adults.** “Raises premiums for older people. The Affordable Care Act limited insurers from charging older customers more than three times what they charge younger adults. The House bill would raise that to five times. This may enable younger consumers to find cheaper coverage, but older policyholders would face higher rates.” [Huffington Post, [3/6/17](#)]

**New York Times: ACHA Achieved Lower Premiums Not Through Increased Choice And Competition, But By Making Health Insurance So Unaffordable For Many Older Americans They Would Leave The Market.** “There are a lot of unpleasant numbers for Republicans in the Congressional Budget Office’s assessment of their health care bill. But congressional leadership found one to cheer: The report says that the bill will eventually cut the average insurance premiums for people who buy their own insurance by 10 percent. [...] But the way the bill achieves those lower average premiums has little to do with increased choice and competition. It depends, rather,

on penalizing older patients and rewarding younger ones. According to the C.B.O. report, the bill would make health insurance so unaffordable for many older Americans that they would simply leave the market and join the ranks of the uninsured.” [New York Times, [3/14/17](#)]

## **Upton Voted For Eliminating Limits On Consumer Internet Privacy**

**Upton Voted For A Resolution To Eliminate Limits On What ISPs Could Do With Customer Information, Including Browsing Habits, Usage History, Location Data, And Social Security Numbers.** In March 2017, Upton voted for a resolution “that wipes away landmark online privacy protections, the first salvo in what is likely to become a significant reworking of the rules governing Internet access in an era of Republican dominance. In a party-line vote, House Republicans freed Internet service providers such as Verizon, AT&T and Comcast of protections approved just last year that had sought to limit what companies could do with information such as customer browsing habits, app usage history, location data and Social Security numbers. The rules also had required providers to strengthen safeguards for customer data against hackers and thieves.” The resolution passed 215-205. [S J Res 34, [Vote #202](#), 3/28/17; Washington Post, [3/28/17](#)]

**Washington Post: ISPs “Will Be Able To Monitor Their Customers’ Behavior Online And, Without Their Permission, Use Their Personal And Financial Information To Sell Highly Targeted Ads.”** “If Trump signs the legislation as expected, providers will be able to monitor their customers’ behavior online and, without their permission, use their personal and financial information to sell highly targeted ads — making them rivals to Google and Facebook in the \$83 billion online advertising market. The providers could also sell their users’ information directly to marketers, financial firms and other companies that mine personal data — all of whom could use the data without consumers’ consent. In addition, the Federal Communications Commission, which initially drafted the protections, would be forbidden from issuing similar rules in the future.” [Washington Post, [3/28/17](#)]

**Washington Post: The House just voted to wipe away the FCC’s landmark Internet privacy protections** [Washington Post, [3/28/17](#)]

## **Upton Voted For Repealing Wall Street Reforms**

**Upton Voted For The CHOICE Act To “Overhaul Financial Industry Regulations And Repeal Many Provisions Of The 2010 Dodd-Frank Law.”** In June 2017, Upton voted for “passage of the bill that would overhaul financial industry regulations and repeal many provisions of the 2010 Dodd-Frank law. It would convert the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau into an executive agency funded by annual appropriations and would modify operations at the Federal Reserve and at the Securities and Exchange Commission. It would repeal the prohibition on banking entities engaging in proprietary trading and would modify regulations governing the amount of capital that banks are required to maintain. It would also nullify the Labor Department’s April 2016 “fiduciary” rule regarding standards for individuals who provide retirement investment advice to act in the best interests of their clients.” The bill passed 233-186. [HR 10, [Vote #299](#), 6/8/17; CQ Floor Votes, [6/8/17](#)]

**HEADLINE: House passes Choice Act that would gut Dodd-Frank banking reforms** [CNBC, [6/8/17](#)]

**New York Times: CHOICE Act “To Erase A Number Of Core Financial Regulations,” Including Limits On Risk Taking Enacted After The Financial Crash, And “Would Weaken The Powers Of The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau.”** “The House approved legislation on Thursday to erase a number of core financial regulations put in place by the 2010 Dodd-Frank Act, as Republicans moved a step closer to delivering on their promises to eliminate rules that they claim have strangled small businesses and stagnated the economy. [...] The Choice Act would exempt some financial institutions that meet capital and liquidity requirements from many of Dodd-Frank’s restrictions that limit risk taking. It would also replace Dodd-Frank’s method of dealing with large and failing financial institutions, known as the orderly liquidation authority — which critics say reinforces the idea that some banks are too big to fail — with a new bankruptcy code

provision. In addition, the legislation would weaken the powers of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau.”  
[New York Times, [6/8/17](#)]