

AFSCME Council 13

WHERE DO YOUR UNION DUES GO?

A LOOK AT AFSCME C13 SPENDING IN FISCAL YEAR 2024 (Jul 1, 2023 – Jun 30, 2024)

Since 2019, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 13 (AFSCME Council 13) has shed 18,851 members – a collapse of 35.6% in just five years.¹ Workers are fleeing the largest public-sector union in Pennsylvania, and the financial wreckage left behind explains why. Council 13 is one of the Pennsylvania’s largest unions and claims to represent 34,032 state, county, and municipal employees across the Commonwealth, collecting \$28,300,536 in receipts in fiscal year 2024. Yet the union ended that year with negative \$50,192,899 in net assets, crushed by a \$50,946,670 post-retirement benefit obligation – a liability nearly five times the union's total assets of \$10,475,897 – with just \$410,830 in cash on hand.²

The spending picture is equally damning. Of the \$28,275,474 Council 13 disbursed in FY 2024, the largest single expenditure category was employee benefits at \$6,790,452 (24.0%) – narrowly edging out the \$6,614,964 (23.4%) spent on the grievance handling, collective bargaining, and arbitration that justify the union's existence.³ The union spent more on its own staff's health insurance and pensions than on representing the workers whose dues fund the operation. Per capita tax payments forwarded to the national AFSCME union consumed an additional \$6,320,376 (22.3%),⁴ and general overhead absorbed \$5,309,426 (18.8%) more. Together, benefits, national per capita payments, and overhead claimed more than 65 cents of every dollar spent.

Council 13 reported \$210,793 in political activities and lobbying on its LM-2 – money diverted from worker representation for partisan purposes without individual member authorization.⁵ But the LM-2 figure tells only part of the story: through its affiliated state PAC, Council 13 channeled an additional \$2,086,790 in political donations from 2018 through early 2026, with 96% flowing to Democratic or left-leaning candidates and committees.⁶ **The PAC's single largest recipient — \$257,500 to state Senator Vincent Hughes — funds a legislator who has publicly opposed even debating restrictions on state dollars covering puberty blockers and gender-transition procedures for minors.⁷ Hughes is also a co-sponsor of Senate Bill 150, which would codify “gender identity or expression” as a protected class in Pennsylvania law.⁸** Over the past decade, Council 13 has a combined political footprint exceeding \$7,324,818. The union also runs an entirely in-house lobbying operation, with five staff members registered as lobbyists with the Pennsylvania Department of State – including Executive Director David Henderson himself – all funded by member dues.⁹

Council 13's payee records reveal \$656,553 blown at resorts and hotel properties – from Hershey Entertainment and Resorts (\$292,742) to Vail Resorts (\$64,188) – all categorized as union administration, not representation.¹⁰ The resort tab is the most visible slice of a far larger administrative excess: the union's 56 disclosed employees collected \$9,810,213 in total compensation while the organization spent only \$6,614,964 representing workers.¹¹ Director Thomas Tosti, the top-compensated employee, received \$194,256 – roughly 2.6 times the average Pennsylvania state employee salary of \$75,000.¹² Executive Director David Henderson collected \$193,400.¹³ Staff Representative Shane Clark's pay soared 119% over the past decade, from \$85,122 in FY 2015 to \$186,312 in FY 2024 – nearly four times the cumulative inflation rate of roughly 30% over the same period.

The bottom line: AFSCME Council 13 spends more on its own staff's benefits and retirement than it does representing the workers who fund it. It is \$50,192,899 in the red, hemorrhaging members, funneling millions into politics its rank-and-file never voted for, and paying its executives salaries that dwarf the wages of the public employees it claims to champion. For the 34,000 members still paying dues, the question is unavoidable: what exactly are they getting in return?¹⁴

FINANCIAL POSITION

Council 13's \$10,475,897 in total assets breaks down to roughly \$6,029,193 in fixed assets (primarily its office building) and \$2,688,961 in investments – against \$60,668,796 in total liabilities, of which the \$50,946,670 post-retirement benefit obligation is by far the largest line item. Even if the union liquidated every asset it owns – its building, its investments, its receivables, everything – it would still fall \$50,192,899 short. Every dollar locked up in unfunded pension promises is a dollar that can't be spent representing the workers whose dues are footing the bill.¹⁵

Item	Amount
Total Assets	\$10,475,897
Total Liabilities	\$60,668,796
Net Assets	-\$50,192,899
Post-Retirement Obligation	\$50,946,670
Accrued Severance	\$1,792,386
Accrued Vacation	\$948,625
Cash on Hand	\$410,830

SPENDING BREAKDOWN

The clearest measure of a union's priorities is where it spends money. In FY 2024, AFSCME Council 13's largest single expenditure category was employee benefits – not representational activities.¹⁶ The \$6,790,452 Council 13 spent on health insurance, pensions, and retiree medical

coverage for its own staff exceeded by \$175,488 the \$6,614,964 spent on the grievance handling, collective bargaining, and organizing that members actually pay dues for.¹⁷ A union that prioritizes its staff's benefits over member representation has its incentives entirely backwards.

The second largest disbursement – \$6,320,376 in per capita tax payments forwarded to the national AFSCME¹⁸ – effectively functions as a pass-through to headquarters. Combined with \$628,896 in additional payments to affiliates of funds collected,¹⁹ Council 13 forwarded nearly \$6,949,272 to the national union and affiliated bodies – more than it spent representing its own members in Pennsylvania. General overhead consumed another \$5,309,426 (18.8%). Together, representational activities, benefits, per capita tax, general overhead, and union administration account for 93.9% of all disbursements, and only the first of those five categories directly serves rank-and-file members.

Category	Amount	% of Total
Employee Benefits (Ln 55)	\$6,790,452	24.0%
Representational Activities (Ln 50)	\$6,614,964	23.4%
Per Capita Tax – AFSCME National (Ln 56)	\$6,320,376	22.3%
General Overhead (Ln 53)	\$5,309,426	18.8%
Union Administration (Ln 54)	\$1,540,968	5.4%
Direct Taxes (Ln 65)	\$861,282	3.0%
To Affiliates of Funds Collected (Ln 63)	\$628,896	2.2%
Political Activities & Lobbying (Ln 51)	\$210,793	0.7%
Contributions, Gifts & Grants (Ln 52)	\$26,415	0.1%
Purchase of Investments & Fixed Assets (Ln 60)	\$1,846	0.0%

What Do These Categories Mean?

Employee Benefits (Ln 55): Health insurance, pension contributions, and other benefits paid for the union's own staff – not member benefits.
Representational Activities (Ln 50): Grievance handling, collective bargaining, arbitration, and organizing – the union's core mission on behalf of members.
Per Capita Tax – AFSCME National (Ln 56): Mandatory per-member payments forwarded to the parent AFSCME national union.
General Overhead (Ln 53): Rent, utilities, office supplies, and administrative costs not allocated to specific functions.
Union Administration (Ln 54): Internal union operations, including conventions, elections, and auditing.
Direct Taxes (Ln 65): Payroll and other tax obligations.
To Affiliates of Funds Collected (Ln 63): Pass-through funds forwarded to affiliated organizations from money collected on their behalf – distinct from per capita tax.

Political Activities & Lobbying (Ln 51): Direct political expenditures and lobbying activity reported under federal disclosure rules.
Contributions, Gifts & Grants (Ln 52): Charitable donations and grants – distinct from political spending.
Purchase of Investments & Fixed Assets (Ln 60): Capital expenditures and investment purchases.

POLITICAL SPENDING

AFSCME Council 13 reported \$210,793 in political activities and lobbying on its FY 2024 LM-2 – money diverted from worker representation and spent on partisan causes without a vote by the members whose dues funded it.²⁰ Over the past decade, the union has funneled a cumulative \$5,238,028 through its LM-2 political budget, averaging \$523,803 per year. Political spending peaked at \$1,006,448 in FY 2015 before declining in recent years – a trajectory consistent with reduced resources after the U.S. Supreme Court's 2018 *Janus v. AFSCME* ruling eliminated automatic dues collection from non-members.

The *Janus v. AFSCME* Supreme Court decision relieves nonmembers from obligation to pay any dues or fees to the union as a condition of public employment, however, *Janus* changes nothing about how dues are spent. Council 13's political spending continues regardless of whether individual members support its partisan agenda.

Fiscal Year	Political Spending
FY 2015	\$1,006,448
FY 2016	\$643,152
FY 2017	\$658,004
FY 2018	\$551,432
FY 2019	\$579,702
FY 2020	\$214,164
FY 2021	\$405,790
FY 2022	\$408,406
FY 2023	\$560,137
FY 2024	\$210,793
TOTAL	\$5,238,028

PAC POLITICAL SPENDING

The LM-2 political figure captures only a fraction of AFSCME Council 13's political footprint. Through its affiliated state PAC – AFSCME Council 13 Political and Legislative Account – the union channeled an additional \$2,086,790 in campaign contributions to Pennsylvania candidates and committees from 2018 through early 2026.²¹ Across 835 transactions, 96% of that spending

– \$2,000,340 – flowed to Democratic candidates and left-leaning organizations, compared to just 4% to Republicans. The three largest recipients were Citizens for Hughes (state Senator Vincent Hughes) at \$257,500, Shapiro for PA at \$180,000, and the PA House Democratic Campaign Committee at \$152,500 – all Democrats.

Hughes also occupies one of the most aggressive positions in the Pennsylvania legislature on gender ideology.²² He publicly attacked Republican colleagues for even attempting to debate Senate Bill 1321, which would have stopped state Medicaid dollars from paying for puberty blockers and gender-transition procedures for minors.²³ Hughes is also a co-sponsor of Senate Bill 150 — the so-called Fairness Act — which would write “gender identity or expression” into Pennsylvania’s anti-discrimination law as a protected class.²⁴ The second-largest donation – \$180,000 to Shapiro for PA – backed Josh Shapiro’s successful 2022 gubernatorial campaign. The PA House Democratic Campaign Committee received \$152,500 to help elect more Democratic legislators. Across all recipients, not a single one of the PAC’s top three donations went to a candidate who would represent a counterweight to Democratic state government priorities.²⁵

AFSCME Council 13’s PAC operation reflects a political machine with a singular purpose: electing Democrats to Pennsylvania state office. Whether individual union members agree with that agenda or not, their dues dollars – passed through the union’s organizational structure – fund it. The PAC’s 96% partisan allocation leaves no ambiguity about where the union’s loyalties lie.²⁶

Recipient	Amount	Party
Citizens for Hughes	\$257,500	D
Shapiro for PA	\$180,000	D
PA HDCC	\$152,500	D

AFSCME Council 13’s combined political spending – \$5,238,028 in direct LM-2 outlays over the past decade plus \$2,086,790 through its PAC since 2018 – represents more than \$7,324,818 directed at Pennsylvania politics. Not one dollar of that total was voted on by the rank-and-file members who funded it.²⁷

LOBBYIST CONNECTIONS

AFSCME Council 13 runs an entirely in-house lobbying operation, with five staff members registered as lobbyists with the Pennsylvania Department of State for the 2025–2026 registration period.²⁸ Unlike organizations that retain outside lobbying firms, Council 13 deploys its own paid staff to walk the halls of the Capitol – meaning member dues cover not only their administrative salaries but also their political advocacy in Harrisburg. The five registered lobbyists are Executive Director David Henderson, employees Michael Maguire and William Dando, and staff members Barry Bogarde and Thomas Lipko. Together, these five individuals are registered to lobby on behalf of the union and its affiliated PAC.

WASTEFUL SPENDING

AFSCME Council 13's payee records reveal \$656,553 spent at resort properties and hotel venues – categorized as union administration and representational activities rather than what it plainly is: luxury spending on dues-payer money.²⁹ The single largest identified wasteful expenditure was \$292,742 to Hershey Entertainment and Resorts Company – the upscale Hershey resort complex – followed by \$114,924 to Hershey Lodge. Combined, the two Hershey properties alone account for \$407,666. The union also sent \$86,786 to the Wyndham Lancaster Resort and Convention Center, \$89,180 to the Best Western Premier-The Central, \$64,188 to Vail Resorts – one of the most expensive ski resort companies in the country – and \$8,733 to the Hilton Garden Inn Harrisburg East. For an organization that spent just 23 cents per dollar on actual member representation, a quarter-million-dollar tab at Hershey Resort is an extraordinary misallocation of worker dues.

Vendor	Amount
Hershey Entertainment & Resorts Co	\$292,742
Hershey Lodge	\$114,924
Best Western Premier-The Central	\$89,180
Wyndham Lancaster Resort & Convention Center	\$86,786
Vail Resorts, Inc.	\$64,188
Hilton Garden Inn Harrisburg East	\$8,733
TOTAL	\$656,553

TOP COMPENSATION

AFSCME Council 13 disclosed 56 employees on its Schedule 12 filing, paying them a combined \$9,810,213 in total compensation – nearly \$3,195,249 more than the union spent representing its members.³⁰ The top-paid employee, Director Thomas Tosti, received \$194,256 in total compensation, including salary, allowances, and other disbursements – approximately 2.6 times the average Pennsylvania state employee's annual salary of roughly \$75,000³¹. In total, 13 employees and officers each received more than \$150,000.

The compensation surge is not a recent development. Over the past decade, Council 13 employee pay has grown at rates that dwarf general inflation. Field Coordinator John Galuska's pay rose from \$107,405 to \$186,808 – up 73.9%. Western Regional Director Suzanne McCormick's compensation grew from \$106,783 to \$181,910 – a 70.4% jump. Cumulative U.S. inflation over the same period was approximately 30%. Council 13's staff pay increases ran two to four times faster than inflation – funded by the dues of public employees whose own wages are negotiated by the very union enriching itself at their expense.³²

Executive Director David Henderson received \$193,400 in total FY 2024 compensation, including \$171,000 in gross salary, \$9,550 in allowances, and \$12,850 in other disbursements – 2.6 times the average Pennsylvania state employee salary.³³ The union's elected President, John

Thompson, received just \$8,235 – illustrating where real power and compensation reside within the organization: in the professional staff, not the elected leadership.

Employee	Total Compensation
1. Tosti, Thomas, Director	\$194,256
2. Rayner, Zollie, Chief of Staff	\$191,086
3. Galuska, John, Director	\$186,808
4. Clark, Shane, Staff Representative	\$186,312
5. Caughey-Wilson, Tara, Director	\$184,587
6. McCormick, Suzanne, Council Director	\$181,910
7. Gallagher, Kerri, Staff Representative	\$179,196
8. Maguire, Michael, Legislative Director	\$171,859
9. Cason, Robert, Organizing Director	\$158,953
10. Francis, Walter, Grievance & Arbitration Director	\$158,764
TOTAL TOP 10	\$1,793,731

Employee	FY 2015 Pay	FY 2024 Pay	% Change
Shane Clark, Staff Representative	\$85,122	\$186,312	+118.9%
John Galuska, Director	\$107,405	\$186,808	+73.9%
Suzanne McCormick, Western Regional Director	\$106,783	\$181,910	+70.4%

Beyond employees, Council 13's Executive Director drew compensation exceeding every single elected officer – and the pay reflects it.

Officer	Title	Total Compensation
Henderson, David	Executive Director	\$193,400

EMPLOYEE BENEFITS

AFSCME Council 13 spent \$6,790,452 on employee benefits in FY 2024 – consuming 24.0% of all disbursements and, critically, exceeding the \$6,614,964 the union spent on representational activities by \$175,488.³⁴ A union that spends more on its own staff's health insurance and pension contributions than on the grievance handling and collective bargaining that justify its members' dues payments has inverted its fundamental purpose. The union's benefit spending is driven primarily by hospital and medical insurance (\$4,192,128), followed by 401(k) and defined benefit pension contributions (\$1,898,781), retiree medical coverage (\$295,172), additional health insurance (\$248,112), and life insurance (\$156,259). The \$295,172 in retiree medical costs is

separate from the \$50,946,670 post-retirement benefit obligation sitting on the union's balance sheet – a looming liability that will dwarf any future year's benefit expense.

Benefit Type	Amount
Hospital and Medical Insurance	\$4,192,128
Pension / 401(k) Contributions	\$1,898,781
Retiree Medical Coverage	\$295,172
Health Insurance (Additional)	\$248,112
Life Insurance	\$156,259
TOTAL BENEFITS	\$6,790,452

MEMBERSHIP DECLINE

AFSCME Council 13 has lost more than a third of its members in just five years. From a peak of 52,883 regular members in FY 2019, membership has collapsed to 34,032 in FY 2024 – a loss of 18,851 members, representing a 35.6% decline.³⁵ The pace of decline has accelerated: the union shed more than 6,000 members in the single year between FY 2023 and FY 2024. Workers are leaving – and it's no mystery why, when leadership blows money on resorts and six-figure salaries instead of fighting for the rank and file.

The broader trend is equally damning. Council 13 has not matched its FY 2019 membership level for a half-decade. The *Janus v. AFSCME* decision in 2018, which gave public employees the constitutional right to leave their union without penalty, appears to have unleashed a sustained exodus. Total receipts fell from \$36,582,356 in FY 2018 to \$28,300,536 in FY 2024 – a decline of 23% – as the membership base that generates per capita dues erodes. The union is collecting less each year but paying its executives more.³⁶

FY 2015	FY 2016	FY 2017	FY 2018	FY 2019	FY 2020	FY 2021	FY 2022	FY 2023	FY 2024
52,543	50,342	50,459	50,509	52,883	48,026	44,466	41,298	40,196	34,032

YOUR RIGHT TO LEAVE

Pennsylvania public employees represented by AFSCME Council 13 have the right to leave their union. The U.S. Supreme Court's 2018 ruling in *Janus v. AFSCME* held that public-sector workers cannot be compelled to pay union dues or fees as a condition of employment – and that right remains fully intact today. Any public employee in Pennsylvania can resign from AFSCME Council 13 and stop paying dues without losing their job or any of their employment rights. For workers who feel their dues are being spent on luxury resort retreats, million-dollar executive payrolls, and one-sided partisan political campaigns rather than on the representation they need, help is available. To learn more about your rights and how to exercise them, visit americansforfairtreatment.org or call (833) 969-FAIR.

Data sourced from Form LM-2 Labor Organization Annual Report (File No. 071-060), AFSCME Council 13, fiscal year July 1, 2023 – June 30, 2024, filed with the U.S. Department of Labor Office of Labor-Management Standards (OLMS); Pennsylvania campaign finance filings via state-pac-widgets.vercel.app; Pennsylvania Department of State Lobbying Disclosure Registration database (palobbyingservices.pa.gov), registration period 2025–2026.

NUMBERS TO HIGHLIGHT

Key statistics from AFSCME C13's FY 2024 (July 2023 – June 2024) LM-2 filing

35.6% Membership collapse since 2019 – 18,851 workers gone in 5 years

-\$50.2M Net assets – the union is \$50.2M in the hole

\$50.9M Post-retirement liability crushing the balance sheet

23¢ Of every dues dollar spent on actually representing workers

96% Of PAC donations went to Democrats and left-leaning groups

\$2.1M Funneled through the Council 13 PAC since 2018

\$656K Blown at Hershey, Vail, Wyndham and other resort venues

\$9.8M Employee compensation vs. \$6.6M on member representation

\$194K Top employee pay – 2.6x the average PA state worker salary

\$6.8M Spent on staff benefits – more than on worker representation

\$5.2M Cumulative 10-year political spending via LM-2

5 In-house lobbyists including the Executive Director himself

- ¹ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Lines 36–48 (Total Receipts); 10-Year Historical Data
- ² Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Statement A (Assets and Liabilities), Items 29–35; Schedule 10 (Other Liabilities), FY 2025.
- ³ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Lines 50–65
- ⁴ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Line 56
- ⁵ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Line 51; 10-Year Historical Data
- ⁶ State campaign finance filings via state-pac-widgets.vercel.app
- ⁷ palobbyingservices.pa.gov Karen Shuey, "Pa. bill to stop state funding for youth gender transition care advances in the Senate," LancasterOnline (Senate Democratic leaders Costa and Hughes statement criticizing Republican-led restrictions on state funding for puberty blockers and gender-transition care for minors).
- ⁸ Pennsylvania Senate Bill 150 (2023–2024 and 2025–2026 Reg. Sessions), co-sponsored by Sen. Vincent Hughes.
- ⁹ Average PA state employee salary per [GovernmentSalaries.com](https://www.government-salaries.com)
- ¹⁰ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Schedule 11 – Officers
- ¹¹ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Statement B, Lines 50, 51, 55, and 63, FY 2025.
- ¹² Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Statement A (Assets and Liabilities), Items 22–35; Schedule 10 (Other Liabilities), FY 2025.
- ¹³ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Lines 50–65 (Statement B – Disbursements); Schedules 14–19
- ¹⁴ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Line 50 (Representational Activities); Schedule 20 – Benefits
- ¹⁵ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Line 56 (Per Capita Tax)
- ¹⁶ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Line 63 (To Affiliates of Funds Collected)
- ¹⁷ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Line 51; 10-Year Historical Data
- ¹⁸ State campaign finance filings via state-pac-widgets.vercel.app
- ¹⁹ State campaign finance filings via state-pac-widgets.vercel.app.
- ²⁰ State campaign finance filings via state-pac-widgets.vercel.app, aggregated by recipient party affiliation.
- ²¹ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Statement B, Line 51, FY 2016 through FY 2025; State campaign finance filings via state-pac-widgets.vercel.app.
- ²² Pennsylvania Senate Bill 150 (2025–2026 Reg. Sess.), Hughes co-sponsorship; Karen Shuey, "Pa. bill to stop state funding for youth gender transition care advances in the Senate," LancasterOnline (Hughes statement attacking SB 1321 restrictions on gender-transition care for minors).
- ²³ palobbyingservices.pa.gov Karen Shuey, "Pa. bill to stop state funding for youth gender transition care advances in the Senate," LancasterOnline (Costa and Hughes statement opposing SB 1321).
- ²⁴ Pennsylvania Senate Bill 150 (2023–2024 and 2025–2026 Reg. Sessions), co-sponsored by Sen. Vincent Hughes.
- ²⁵ Average PA state employee salary per [GovernmentSalaries.com](https://www.government-salaries.com)
- ²⁶ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Schedule 12 (Disbursements to Employees), FY 2016 and FY 2025.
- ²⁷ Average PA state employee salary per [GovernmentSalaries.com](https://www.government-salaries.com)
- ²⁸ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Schedule 11 – Officers
- ²⁹ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Schedule 20 – Benefits
- ³⁰ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Lines 36–48 (Total Receipts); 10-Year Historical Data
- ³¹ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Schedule 13 (Membership Status), FY 2018 through FY 2025; *Janus v. AFSCME*, Council 31, 138 S. Ct. 2448 (2018).
- ³² Karen Shuey, "Pa. bill to stop state funding for youth gender transition care advances in the Senate," LancasterOnline (Senate Democratic leaders Costa and Hughes statement criticizing Republican-led restrictions on state funding for puberty blockers and gender-transition care for minors). See also Pa. Senate Bill 1321 (2025–2026 Reg. Sess.), sponsored by Sen. Chris Gebhard.
- ³³ Pennsylvania Senate Bill 150 (2023–2024 and 2025–2026 Reg. Sessions), co-sponsored by Sen. Vincent Hughes; amends the Pennsylvania Human Relations Act to add "gender identity or expression" as a protected class.
- ³⁴ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Schedule 20 – Benefits
- ³⁵ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Lines 36–48 (Total Receipts); 10-Year Historical Data
- ³⁶ Form LM-2 (File No. 071-060), Schedule 13 (Membership Status), FY 2018 through FY 2025; *Janus v. AFSCME*, Council 31, 138 S. Ct. 2448 (2018).