

AFSCME Minnesota Council No. 5

WHERE DO YOUR UNION DUES GO?

A LOOK AT AFSCME COUNCIL 5 SPENDING IN FISCAL YEAR 2025 (Jan 1 – Dec 31, 2025)

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Minnesota Council No. 5 is the largest union of state, county, and municipal employees in Minnesota. In FY 2025, AFSCME Council 5 spent \$27.0 million,¹ and \$13.4 million of it, nearly 50%, was forwarded straight up the chain to its national and affiliated AFSCME organizations before a single dollar reached a grievance, a contract, or an organizing drive in Minnesota.² To fund the operation, the council collected \$26.0 million in membership dues from public workers across the state.³

Where did the rest go? For the most part, not to representation. After the per capita payments to AFSCME's national apparatus, the next largest expenses were the council's own payroll and perks: \$5.0 million in staff salaries and wages⁴, \$2.1 million in employee benefits⁵, \$865,522 in pension contributions, \$479,635 in payroll taxes,⁶ and \$514,203 in compensation for officers and directors.⁷ Together the union spent \$9.0 million, roughly 33 cents of every dollar, on its own people. The single line the council itself labels negotiations, grievance, arbitration, and organizing, the very work a union exists to perform, totaled just \$244,682, nine tenths of one percent of spending.⁸⁹

AFSCME Council 5 also runs a political operation on the side. Its treasury sent \$600,000 to MN PEOPLE, the AFSCME political fund, in fiscal year 2025. Across its last eight annual filings, it has sent \$6.3 million, peaking at \$2.1 million during the 2018 election cycle.¹⁰¹¹ Once inside the PAC, the money moves in one direction: over the past decade, all but \$2,000 of the fund's \$4.3 million in political giving went to Democrats and liberal causes.¹² The largest checks went straight to the party apparatus: \$1.7 million to the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL) State Central Committee, \$840,000 to the DFL House Caucus, and \$480,000 to the DFL Senate Caucus. The fund added \$211,991 in independent expenditures backing Tim Walz's two runs for governor. That giving helped build the DFL majority that in 2023 made Minnesota a destination for child gender transitions. The law it enacted shields puberty blockers, cross-sex hormones, and gender-transition procedures for minors from other states' laws. That political money has since collided with the largest welfare fraud scandal in Minnesota history — and AFSCME's own members sit at the center of it. Council 5 represents thousands of the state employees who staff the Department of Human Services. That agency ignored years of written fraud warnings while its Housing Stabilization Services program ballooned from a projected \$2.6 million a year to more than \$100 million. As late as January 2025, the DHS commissioner told lawmakers, "There's a lot of rumors of fraud more than there is actual fraud." All told, an estimated \$1 billion in fraud moved

through the Feeding Our Future, Housing Stabilization Services, and autism programs under the Walz administration the fund helped elect. The workforce that was supposed to catch the fraud pays dues to AFSCME Council 5. The politicians who ran the agencies were elected with its money.¹³ And in 2025, with the scandal in full public view, the council's political operation endorsed the re-election of Minneapolis City Council Member Jamal Osman. Osman's wife's nonprofit, Urban Advantage Services, was dissolved in a settlement with Attorney General Keith Ellison after allegedly mismanaging \$461,000 in Feeding Our Future-related child-nutrition funds. Osman himself founded the nonprofit Stigma-Free, which was later taken over by men who ran it as a phony meal site in the \$250 million scheme. He has not been charged with a crime and won re-election with AFSCME Council 5's endorsement.¹⁴

At the top of the payroll sits Executive Director Bart Andersen, who collected \$219,777 in total compensation in fiscal year 2025, more than three times what a typical Minnesota public worker earns.¹⁵¹⁶ Finance Director Nicole Ayres received \$180,595 and Business Director Krist Hendlel \$179,731. The council's elected officers, by contrast, draw only token stipends; President Eric Hesse reported \$27,836.¹⁷ It is the professional staff, not the leaders members elect, who are the financial beneficiaries of the dues public workers are asked to send.

The promise of a union is a simple one: that the dues a worker pays will come back as representation, a stronger contract, a grievance pursued, a voice on the job. AFSCME Council 5's own tax filings tell a different story. Nearly half of everything it spends is forwarded to a national organization headquartered a thousand miles away, nearly a third is consumed by the council's own salaries and benefits, hundreds of thousands of dollars flow to a political fund every year, money that helped bankroll the DFL majority that made Minnesota a destination for child gender transitions and shielded puberty blockers and gender-transition procedures for minors from other states' laws,¹⁸ and the work of grievance, arbitration, and organizing appears on the books as a rounding error. All the while, the council has quietly turned a \$1.7 million deficit in 2017 into a \$6.3 million surplus.¹⁹ Minnesota's public employees deserve to know that when they pay AFSCME Council 5, most of what they pay does anything but represent them.

FINANCIAL POSITION

AFSCME Council 5 is not a union in financial distress. It closed fiscal year 2025 with \$16.4 million in total assets against \$10.0 million in liabilities, leaving \$6.3 million in net assets.²⁰ That cushion did not exist a few years ago. As recently as fiscal year 2017 the council reported a net asset deficit of \$1.7 million. In eight years it swung more than \$8.0 million into the black²¹, even as its spending on direct representation stayed minimal. And while the council spent \$437,512 more than it took in this year, its representation line remains a fraction of what it ships out of state.

Item	Amount
Total Assets (FY 2025)	\$16,388,094
Total Liabilities (FY 2025)	\$10,048,751
Net Assets (FY 2025)	\$6,339,343

Net Assets (FY 2017, for comparison)	-\$1,683,230

SPENDING BREAKDOWN

The council's fiscal year 2025 disbursements, drawn directly from its IRS Form 990, show an organization built around a single dominant expense: the money it ships to the broader AFSCME structure.²² Payments to affiliates, the per capita tax that flows to the national and state AFSCME bodies, consumed \$13.4 million, nearly half of all spending and more than fifty times what the council itemized for negotiations, grievance, arbitration, and organizing.²³ The council's own compensation and benefits came next. The representational functions that justify a union's existence sit near the bottom of the ledger.

Category	Amount	% of Total
Payments to Affiliates (per capita to national and state AFSCME)	\$13,391,110	49.5%
Salaries and Wages (staff)	\$4,987,481	18.5%
Employee Benefits	\$2,115,677	7.8%
Post Retirement Benefits Expense	\$1,265,013	4.7%
Pension Plan Contributions	\$865,522	3.2%
Travel	\$693,783	2.6%
Political Contributions (MN PEOPLE)	\$600,000	2.2%
Compensation of Officers and Directors	\$514,203	1.9%
Information Technology	\$482,779	1.8%
Payroll Taxes	\$479,635	1.8%
Occupancy	\$426,691	1.6%
Office Expenses	\$345,785	1.3%
Negotiations, Grievance, Arbitration, and Organizing	\$244,682	0.9%
Conferences, Conventions, and Meetings	\$194,169	0.7%
Legal Fees	\$114,392	0.4%
Program Consulting	\$104,720	0.4%
Advertising and Promotion	\$90,702	0.3%
Accounting Fees	\$62,100	0.2%
All Other Expenses	\$41,449	0.2%
Depreciation	\$7,458	0.0%

TOTAL	\$27,027,351	100%
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What Do These Categories Mean?

Payments to Affiliates: Per capita payments the council forwards to the national American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and its Minnesota affiliates. This money leaves the local before it can be spent on members, and it is the council's single largest expense.
Salaries and Wages (staff): Wages for the council's staff employees other than its officers and directors.
Employee Benefits: Health and other non-pension benefits for the council's own staff, distinct from any benefit to the members it represents.
Post Retirement Benefits Expense: The year's accrued cost of retiree benefits for the council's own former staff.
Pension Plan Contributions: Employer contributions to retirement plans for the council's own staff, reported on Line 8.
Travel: Airfare, lodging, meals, and mileage for the council's officers and staff.
Political Contributions (MN PEOPLE): Treasury money contributed to Public Employees Organized to Promote Legislative Equality, the AFSCME political fund.
Compensation of Officers and Directors: Pay for the council's elected officers, directors, and key employees.
Information Technology: Hardware, software, and information technology services.
Payroll Taxes: The employer's share of Social Security, Medicare, and unemployment taxes on the council's own payroll.
Occupancy: Rent, utilities, maintenance, and other costs of the council's buildings and offices.
Office Expenses: Supplies, printing, postage, telephone, and other general office costs.
Negotiations, Grievance, Arbitration, and Organizing: The council's itemized core representational work: bargaining contracts, pursuing member grievances, arbitrating disputes with employers, and organizing workers.
Conferences, Conventions, and Meetings: Registration, facilities, and related costs for conferences, conventions, and meetings.
Legal Fees: Payments to outside lawyers.
Program Consulting: Outside consultants engaged for council programs.
Advertising and Promotion: Paid advertising and promotional costs.
Accounting Fees: Payments to outside accountants and auditors.
All Other Expenses: The catch-all line for smaller expenses that fit none of the categories above.
Depreciation: The annual accounting charge for wear and aging on the council's buildings and equipment.

POLITICAL SPENDING

Beyond its per capita obligations, AFSCME Council 5 channels a substantial amount of money into partisan politics through MN PEOPLE, the AFSCME political fund.²⁴ In fiscal year 2025 the council contributed \$600,000 to the fund.²⁵ Over its last eight filings it has moved \$6.3 million into political contributions, peaking at \$2.1 million during the 2018 election cycle, a figure that included \$237,362 in independent political expenditures.²⁶

Fiscal Year	Political Spending
2018	\$2,149,362
2019	\$350,000
2020	\$850,000
2021	\$600,000
2022	\$600,000
2023	\$600,000
2024	\$600,000
2025	\$600,000
TOTAL	\$6,349,362

PAC SPENDING

Where does the MN PEOPLE money go once it leaves the treasury? Minnesota campaign finance records for the council's two political committees, the AFSCME Council 5 PEOPLE Fund and the AFSCME Minnesota PEOPLE Committee C5 PAC, show \$6.2 million in disbursements from 2017 through mid-2026, including \$4.3 million in political contributions and independent expenditures.²⁷ The direction of that money is not in doubt: \$4.0 million went to Democratic candidates and party committees and another \$359,127 to liberal causes and DFL-endorsed local candidates, while Republican candidates received \$2,000, less than five hundredths of one percent of the political total.²⁸ Conservative causes received nothing at all.

Category	Amount
Democratic candidates and committees	\$3,975,579
Liberal issue and DFL-endorsed local candidates	\$359,127
Republican candidates	\$2,000
Conservative causes	\$0
POLITICAL TOTAL	\$4,336,706

The largest checks went straight to the party apparatus: \$1,731,349 to the Minnesota DFL State Central Committee, \$840,000 to the DFL House Caucus, and \$480,000 to the DFL Senate Caucus.²⁹ The PAC also spent \$211,991 in independent expenditures backing Tim Walz's runs for governor in 2018 and 2022.³⁰

Recipient	Amount
1. Minnesota DFL State Central Committee	\$1,731,349
2. DFL House Caucus	\$840,000
3. DFL Senate Caucus	\$480,000
4. 2024 Fund	\$197,000
5. Working America Minnesota Political Committee	\$87,500
6. Leadership Matters MN	\$75,000
7. Working America	\$55,000
8. A Minnesota for All of Us	\$50,000
9. Fresh Start Minneapolis	\$50,000
10. People for Melvin Carter	\$50,000
TOTAL (top ten recipients)	\$3,615,849

That money did more than elect a party; it built the majority that made Minnesota a destination for child gender transitions. In 2023 the DFL-controlled Legislature passed House File 146, which shields puberty blockers, cross-sex hormones, and gender-transition procedures for minors from other states' laws and lets Minnesota courts take temporary emergency jurisdiction in custody disputes over a child's gender-transition care. It passed 68 to 62 in the House and 34 to 30 in the Senate, both on party lines, and Governor Walz, the beneficiary of those \$211,991 in PAC independent expenditures, signed it.³¹ Every DFL senator voted yes, among them Senate Majority Leader Erin Murphy, whose 2018 campaign for governor this PAC backed with \$28,579 in independent expenditures of its own.³² The giving has not slowed: one of the PAC's recent direct candidate checks is \$10,000 to sitting DFL Representative Kaohly Her's 2026 campaign for mayor of Saint Paul.³³

That political machine now runs headlong into Minnesota's estimated \$1 billion welfare fraud scandal. The administration this PAC helped elect ran the agencies that let the fraud happen — and AFSCME's own members staff them. At the Department of Human Services, where Council 5 represents thousands of employees, officials ignored years of written fraud warnings while the Housing Stabilization Services program grew from a projected \$2.6 million a year to more than \$100 million.³⁴ And in 2025, with the scandal in full view, the council's political operation endorsed and helped re-elect Minneapolis City Council Member Jamal Osman, whose wife's charity was shut down by Attorney General Keith Ellison over \$461,000 in Feeding Our Future-related child-nutrition funds. Osman has not been charged.³⁵

MINNESOTA STATE LOBBYING

Separately from the money it routes to the MN PEOPLE political fund, AFSCME Council 5 runs an in-house lobbying operation at the Minnesota Capitol. It reported \$400,000 in state lobbying disbursements for 2025³⁶, and \$1.5 million across the 2023 through 2025 reporting years, to the

Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board.³⁷ The council retains no outside lobbying firms; every one of its registered state lobbyists is on its own payroll³⁸, so this spending is in addition to the staff compensation already counted above.

Among the council's five registered lobbyists is Kent Eken, who spent roughly two decades in the Minnesota Legislature, most recently in the State Senate from 2013 until January 2023, before becoming AFSCME's political action director.³⁹ A former lawmaker now lobbies his onetime colleagues on the union's behalf.⁴⁰ Minnesota does not disclose how much a principal pays each individual lobbyist, so the per lobbyist cost of this operation is not public; only the aggregate totals below are reported.

Period	Amount	Filing Type
2023	\$570,000	In-house
2024	\$535,000	In-house
2025	\$400,000	In-house
TOTAL	\$1,505,000	
Lobbyist	Covered Position	Registrant
Kent Eken	Former MN State Senator (2013 to 2023)	AFSCME Council 5 (in-house)
Ethan Vogel		AFSCME Council 5 (in-house)
Laura Askelin		AFSCME Council 5 (in-house)
Max Hall		AFSCME Council 5 (in-house)
Patrick Benner		AFSCME Council 5 (in-house)

TOP COMPENSATION

AFSCME Council 5 separates its elected leadership from its paid management, and it is the managers who are paid.⁴¹ Executive Director Bart Andersen received \$219,777 in total compensation in fiscal year 2025. Two other staff executives cleared six figures.⁴² The council's elected officers, including its president, drew only modest stipends. The contrast makes clear where the dues dollar concentrates: in professional staff salaries, not in the volunteer officers members elect.

Employee	Total Compensation
1. Bart Andersen, Executive Director	\$219,777
2. Nicole Ayres, Finance Director	\$180,595

3. Krist Hendlel, Business Director	\$179,731
TOTAL (top three staff)	\$580,103

The council's directors and elected officers, by contrast, received only nominal stipends in fiscal year 2025, none exceeding \$28,000.⁴³ No elected officer earned six figures; the money at the top of AFSCME Council 5 goes to hired professional staff.

EMPLOYEE BENEFITS

The council spent \$2.1 million on benefits for its own employees in fiscal year 2025, plus \$865,522 in pension contributions, \$1.3 million in post-retirement benefits, and \$479,635 in payroll taxes.⁴⁴ That benefits figure alone is more than eight times the \$244,682 the council itemized for negotiations, grievance, arbitration, and organizing, its core representational work.⁴⁵ The union's own staff are generously provided for; the representation members pay dues to receive is, by the union's own accounting, an afterthought.

Benefit Type	Amount
Employee Benefits (staff)	\$2,115,677
Post Retirement Benefits Expense	\$1,265,013
Pension Plan Contributions	\$865,522
Payroll Taxes	\$479,635
TOTAL BENEFITS	\$4,725,847

YOUR RIGHT TO LEAVE

Minnesota's public employees have a constitutional right not to pay for any of this. In *Janus v. AFSCME*, decided in 2018 and brought against a fellow AFSCME council, the United States Supreme Court held that no government worker can be compelled to pay union dues or fees as a condition of employment.⁴⁶ Membership, and the dues that come with it, is a choice. Public employees who conclude that AFSCME Council 5 spends their money on everything except representing them are free to leave. To learn more about your rights, visit americansforfairtreatment.org or call (833) 969-FAIR.

Data sourced from AFSCME Minnesota Council No. 5's IRS Form 990 filings (EIN 20-1608505) for fiscal years 2017 through 2025. FY 2017 figures are drawn from the ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer reconstruction of the original filing and were cross verified against the prior year columns of the FY 2018 return. Minnesota state lobbying disbursements are from the Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board, Principal Expenditures and Active Lobbyists data downloads (reporting years 2023 through 2025; cfb.mn.gov). PAC contribution and independent expenditure figures are from Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board disbursement records for the council's PEOPLE Fund committees, 2017 through 2026. All dollar figures are as reported by the union to the Internal Revenue Service or the state.

NUMBERS TO HIGHLIGHT

Key statistics from AFSCME Council 5's 2025 990 filing

49.5% of all spending forwarded to affiliated AFSCME organizations

\$13.4M in per capita payments up the AFSCME chain (FY 2025)

\$244,682 the itemized negotiations, grievance, arbitration, and organizing line (0.9%)

\$600K to the MN PEOPLE political fund in FY 2025

\$400K in Minnesota state lobbying in 2025 (in-house)

\$6.3M in political contributions since FY 2018

\$4.3M in PAC political giving since 2017, all but \$2,000 of it to Democrats and liberal causes

\$2,000 total PAC dollars to Republican candidates across ten years

\$9.0M on the council's own staff pay and benefits (33.2%)

\$219,777 Executive Director Bart Andersen's total compensation

\$2.1M on staff benefits, 8.6 times the grievance line

\$16.4M in total assets

\$6.3M net asset surplus, up from a 2017 deficit

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¹ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Line 25 (total functional expenses, \$27,027,351), FY 2025.

² IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Lines 21 and 25, FY 2025.

³ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part VIII, Line 2a (membership dues, \$26,016,097), FY 2025.

⁴ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Line 7 (other salaries and wages, \$4,987,481), FY 2025.

⁵ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Line 9 (other employee benefits, \$2,115,677), FY 2025.

⁶ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Lines 8 and 10 (pension plan contributions, \$865,522, and payroll taxes, \$479,635), FY 2025.

⁷ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Line 5 (compensation of current officers, directors, trustees, and key employees, \$514,203), FY 2025.

⁸ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Line 24a (negotiations, grievance, arbitration, organizing, \$244,682), FY 2025. $\$244,682 / \$27,027,351 = 0.91\%$.

⁹ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, FY 2025 (statement of functional expenses).

¹⁰ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), FY 2018, Part IX, Line 24 (MN PEOPLE contributions, \$1,912,000, plus independent political expenditures, \$237,362; total \$2,149,362).

¹¹ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Line 24c (MN PEOPLE contributions, \$600,000), FY 2025; history from the Line 24 political items of the FY 2018 through FY 2025 filings.

¹² Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board, disbursement records for the council's PEOPLE Fund committees, 2017 through May 2026: \$4,334,706 of \$4,336,706 in political giving went to Democratic candidates, party committees, and liberal causes; Republican candidates received \$2,000.

¹³ KARE 11 Investigates, "Flying Blind: State agency missed or ignored repeated housing fraud warnings" (2025) (Hennepin County sent DHS its first written fraud warning in early 2024; then-Commissioner Jodi Harpstead told a January 2025 Senate hearing, "There's a lot of rumors of fraud more than there is actual fraud"; the Housing Stabilization Services program, projected to cost \$2.6 million annually, paid out more than \$100 million before the state shut it down in 2025). Office of the Legislative Auditor, Special Review: Minnesota Department of Education — Oversight of Feeding Our Future (June 2024); Star Tribune, "Here's what to know about Minnesota's fraud crisis" (2026). FOX 9, "Fraud in Minnesota: Detailing the nearly \$1 billion in schemes" (tallying roughly \$300 million in Feeding Our Future, \$302 million in Housing Stabilization Services, and about \$220 million in autism-program fraud).

¹⁴ AFSCME Council 5, "2025 Election Results and 2026 Endorsements," afscmemn.org/election (endorsing Jamal Osman, Ward 6; elected). Star Tribune, "Keith Ellison shuts down nonprofit run by Minneapolis Council Member Jamal Osman's wife" (Nov. 12, 2024) (Urban Advantage Services, run by Ilo Amba, dissolved by settlement after the attorney general alleged a "sham" charity mismanaged \$461,000 in federal child-nutrition funds; neither Osman nor Amba has been charged). Star Tribune, "Minneapolis City Council Member Jamal Osman entangled in fraud trial" (Feb. 2025); Sahan Journal, "Minneapolis leader's former nonprofit named in Feeding Our Future trial" (Feb. 2025) (Osman incorporated Stigma-Free in 2019). KARE 11 (July 22, 2025) (guilty plea of Asad Abshir, who with others took over Stigma-Free from Osman and ran it as a phony food-distribution site in Mankato).

¹⁵ Aggregated Minnesota state payroll data for 2024 and 2025 report average state employee pay of roughly \$63,000 to \$73,000; \$219,777 is roughly three times the midpoint of that range.

¹⁶ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part VII, Section A, FY 2025.

¹⁷ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part VII, Section A, FY 2025: \$10,448 from the organization plus \$17,388 from related organizations.

¹⁸ Minnesota House File 146 (2023), Laws of Minnesota 2023, Chapter 29, signed April 27, 2023; House vote 68-62, Senate vote 34-30, both party-line. PAC funding of DFL candidates and committees per Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board disbursement records for the council's PEOPLE Fund committees; see the PAC Spending section.

¹⁹ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part X, FY 2025; FY 2017 net assets from the ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer reconstruction of the original filing, cross verified against the prior-year column of the FY 2018 return.

²⁰ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part X, FY 2025, with FY 2017 comparison from the prior-year column of the FY 2018 return.

²¹ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part X, FY 2025, and FY 2017 return: from -\$1,683,230 to \$6,339,343, a swing of \$8,022,573.

²² IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Lines 1 through 25, FY 2025.

²³ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Lines 21 and 24a, FY 2025. $\$13,391,110 / \$244,682 = 54.7$.

²⁴ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Line 24 (MN PEOPLE contributions and independent political expenditures), FY 2018 through FY 2025 filings.

²⁵ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Line 24c (MN PEOPLE contributions, \$600,000), FY 2025.

²⁶ IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), FY 2018, Part IX, Line 24b (independent political expenditures, \$237,362).

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- 27 Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board, disbursement records for AFSCME Council 5 PEOPLE Fund (Committee #30686) and AFSCME Minnesota PEOPLE Committee C5 PAC (Committee #30593), 2017 through May 2026: \$6,167,313 in total disbursements across 834 transactions, of which \$4,336,706 was political contributions and independent expenditures. Internal AFSCME transfers (\$1,321,557) and operational vendor payments (\$504,050) are excluded from the political total. Analysis via the AAF State PAC Partisan Tracker.
- 28 Same records: Democratic candidates and committees, \$3,975,579 across 425 transactions; liberal-issue and DFL-endorsed local candidates, \$359,127 across 122; Republican candidates, \$2,000 across 3; conservative causes, \$0. $\$2,000 / \$4,336,706 = 0.046\%$.
- 29 Same records, contributions aggregated by recipient, 2017 through May 2026.
- 30 Same records: independent expenditures supporting Walz for Governor, \$211,991 total, 2018 and 2022 election cycles.
- 31 Minnesota House File 146 (2023), Laws of Minnesota 2023, Chapter 29, signed April 27, 2023; House vote 68-62 (March 24, 2023), Senate vote 34-30 (April 21, 2023), both party-line. See CBS News Minnesota, Minnesota lawmakers approve conversion therapy ban, protection for gender-affirming care (April 2023).
- 32 Minnesota Senate vote on House File 146, 34-30: the Senate's 34 DFL members supplied all 34 yes votes, Sen. Erin Murphy among them. Murphy was elected Senate Majority Leader in February 2024 (Minnesota Legislative Reference Library, Legislators Past and Present). PAC independent expenditures supporting Murphy's 2018 gubernatorial campaign, \$28,579, per the CFB disbursement records above.
- 33 Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board disbursement records: \$10,000 contribution from the C5 PEOPLE Fund (#30686) to Her Kaohly for Saint Paul Mayor, April 27, 2026.
- 34 KARE 11 Investigates, "Flying Blind: State agency missed or ignored repeated housing fraud warnings" (2025); Minnesota DHS, Housing Stabilization Services program termination (effective Oct. 31, 2025). FOX 9, "Fraud in Minnesota: Detailing the nearly \$1 billion in schemes" (tallying roughly \$300 million in Feeding Our Future, \$302 million in Housing Stabilization Services, and about \$220 million in autism-program fraud).
- 35 AFSCME Council 5, "2025 Election Results and 2026 Endorsements," afscmemn.org/election; Star Tribune, "Keith Ellison shuts down nonprofit run by Minneapolis Council Member Jamal Osman's wife" (Nov. 12, 2024).
- 36 Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board, Principal Expenditures data download and 2025 Annual Report of Lobbyist Principal (cfb.mn.gov), AFSCME Council 5 (Entity ID 900): \$400,000 for 2025.
- 37 Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board, Annual Report of Lobbyist Principal, AFSCME Council 5 (Entity ID 900), reporting years 2023 through 2025 (cfb.mn.gov).
- 38 Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board, Active Lobbyists with Associations data download (cfb.mn.gov): all lobbyists registered for AFSCME Council 5 report in-house status; no outside lobbying firms are retained.
- 39 Minnesota Legislative Reference Library, Legislators Past and Present: Kent Eken, Minnesota House 2003-2013, Minnesota Senate 2013-2023. AFSCME Council 5 political action director role per council communications and CFB lobbyist registration.
- 40 Registered-lobbyist roster per Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board, Active Lobbyists with Associations data download (cfb.mn.gov).
- 41 IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part VII, Section A, FY 2025.
- 42 IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part VII, Section A, FY 2025: Nicole Ayres, \$180,595, and Krist Hendlel, \$179,731, in combined organization and related-organization compensation.
- 43 IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part VII, Section A, FY 2025. The highest-compensated elected officer or director, President Eric Hesse, received \$27,836 in combined compensation.
- 44 IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Lines 8, 9, 10, and 24b, FY 2025.
- 45 IRS Form 990 (EIN 20-1608505), Part IX, Lines 9 and 24a, FY 2025. $\$2,115,677 / \$244,682 = 8.6$.
- 46 Janus v. American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Council 31, 585 U.S. 878 (2018).