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COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION AND WORKFORCE
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
2176 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6100

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July 30, 2026

Roxanne Brown
International President
United Steelworkers
1155 Connecticut Avenue, Suite #500
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Ms. Brown:

The Committee on Education and Workforce (Committee) is conducting oversight of labor organizations' representation of rank-and-file workers and whether union leadership is acting as a responsible steward of members' dues while faithfully representing the interests of the workers they claim to represent. Recent news articles and a newly released report raise significant concerns regarding an apparent disconnect between the political activities and advocacy undertaken by the leadership of the United Steelworkers (USW) and the preferences of its membership.

Specifically, a recent news article and a report by the American Accountability Foundation (AAF) highlight that while USW consists of more than 850,000 active and retired members with diverse political opinions, its leadership and affiliated political spending has been directed overwhelmingly toward Democrat candidates and causes.¹ For instance, from 2017 to 2024, USW spent nearly \$43 million in union funds to promote partisan Democrat causes and candidates.² Yet according to the report, USW's rank-and-file membership is composed largely of skilled blue-collar workers who have increasingly supported President Trump and other Republican candidates in recent election cycles.³

¹ AAF, MAGA MEMBERSHIP AND WOKE LEADERSHIP-UNITED STEELWORKERS (USW) (June 11, 2026) [hereinafter AAF Report], <https://static.dailysignalmedia.org/United-Steelworkers-USW-AAF-MAGA-Membership-Union-Leadership-Misalignment-Report.pdf>; Fred Lucas, *Steelworkers Union Spent Millions Against Trump Agenda, Showing Gap With Membership*, THE DAILY SIGNAL, June 9, 2026, <https://www.dailysignal.com/2026/06/09/exclusive-steelworkers-union-spent-millions-against-trump-agenda-showing-gap-with-membership/>.

² AAF Report, *supra* note 1, at 7.

³ *Id.* at 2 ("A crucial part of the President's re-alignment of the Republican Party was his focus on issues that were vital to blue-collar workers, particularly immigration enforcement and adjustment of the U.S. trade regime through preference for bilateral agreements and the willingness to use tariffs as a tool of trade and domestic policy. At the center of the President's base was the working class men without college degrees, many of whom were members of industrial unions.... While the broad support for the Trump-Vance agenda by industrial union members has been

Furthermore, according to campaign finance data cited in the report, USW's political action committee (PAC) and political entities spent millions of dollars supporting Democrat candidates, Democrat-aligned organizations, and progressive advocacy efforts. The report highlights that the overwhelming majority of federal political contributions made by USW's PAC flowed to Democrat candidates and committees despite the high likelihood of Republican voting preferences among the union's membership.⁴ This raises questions regarding the extent to which union leadership considers member views when making political spending decisions.

In addition to direct political contributions, the Committee is concerned about the broader use of union dues and member-funded resources for lobbying, independent expenditures, issue advocacy, political mobilization activities, and contributions to umbrella organizations engaged in partisan electoral activity. Despite federal reporting requirements for union expenditures and campaign donations, contributing to PACs can obscure workers' abilities to understand how their dues are, in fact, used. Workers deserve transparency regarding whether their mandatory dues payments are being used to finance political activities that may conflict with their beliefs.

Beyond the use of union dues for hyper-partisan spending, the Committee is also concerned by the AAF report's allegations that USW leadership failed to be good stewards of member resources. According to the report, between 2017 and 2024, more than \$79 million in union funds were spent on hotels and conferences, travel, swag, food and beverages, golf, and other entertainment activities that appear disconnected from the core mission of representing workers.⁵ The report raises serious questions about whether union leadership has exercised appropriate fiscal responsibility with dues money collected from rank-and-file members, many of whom work physically demanding jobs. Workers expect their dues to be used responsibly and for their benefit, not for lavish conferences or extravagant entertainment.

The Committee has long maintained an interest in ensuring labor organizations remain accountable to the workers whose dues pay for union operations and political activity. Federal labor law grants unions extraordinary privileges, including exclusive representation of workers. With those privileges comes a responsibility to faithfully represent workers' interests—not the ideological preferences of union executives.

Workers deserve transparency regarding how their dues are spent, the extent to which union leadership consults members before endorsing candidates or engaging in political activities, and whether differing viewpoints within the union are being respected.

Accordingly, the Committee requests the following information and documents no later than August 17, 2026:

1. A detailed accounting of all USW political expenditures, independent expenditures, PAC disbursements, PAC contributions, lobbying expenditures, and in-kind support provided

widely reported on, news of this nearly decade old re-alignment has apparently yet to reach the leadership of the [USW] union whose dues-paying members repeatedly cast ballots for President Trump.”).

⁴ *Id.* at 7-13.

⁵ *Id.* at 13.

to federal candidates, political committees, advocacy organizations, labor coalitions, or ballot initiatives since January 1, 2023, including the dollar amount and recipient of each expenditure.

2. Documents sufficient to identify the total amount of union dues revenue collected annually from members from January 1, 2023, through the present, and the percentage of those funds used directly or indirectly for political advocacy, lobbying, campaign activity, or contributions to politically active organizations.
3. A detailed accounting of all transfers, contributions, or dues remittances made by USW to the AFL-CIO, state labor federations, or other umbrella organizations engaged in political activity from January 1, 2023, to the present.
4. An explanation of all policies governing USW's endorsement process for federal candidates, including any procedures used to solicit or evaluate member feedback.
5. An explanation of all policies governing the use of member dues for political or lobbying purposes, including procedures for notifying members of their rights to opt out of payment of political expenditures.
6. Documents sufficient to show the compensation, bonuses, expense reimbursements, and political consulting payments made to USW officers and senior staff from January 1, 2023, to the present.
7. Documents sufficient to identify any member complaints, grievances, or objections submitted to USW regarding political spending, endorsements, or lobbying activity since January 1, 2023.
8. An explanation of what steps USW has taken to ensure political advocacy undertaken in its name reflects the views and priorities of its dues-paying members.
9. Documents sufficient to identify all expenditures related to conferences, retreats, entertainment, meals, alcohol, sporting events, golf, travel, lodging, or hospitality expenses incurred by USW officers, employees, consultants, or affiliates from January 1, 2023, to the present.
10. An explanation of all USW policies governing officer and employee reimbursement for meals, entertainment, travel, gifts, alcohol, and hospitality expenses.
11. Documents sufficient to identify whether any USW funds were used for expenses incurred by spouses, family members, guests, political allies, or non-employees attending union-sponsored events, from January 1, 2023, to the present.

12. All USW ethics rules, internal controls, auditing procedures, or compliance reviews concerning officer spending, expense reimbursements, or use of union-issued credit cards.
13. Any internal or external audits, investigations, complaints, or findings related to alleged misuse of USW funds, excessive spending, or inappropriate reimbursement practices since January 1, 2023.
14. Documents sufficient to show the total annual amount spent by USW on conferences, entertainment, meals, travel, and hospitality expenses for each year from January 1, 2023, to the present.

The Committee reminds you that federal law imposes a duty of fair representation on labor organizations. Workers should not be compelled to subsidize political advocacy fundamentally at odds with their beliefs or interests. In addition, with its enactment of the *Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act* (LMRDA) in 1959, Congress recognized the importance of transparency and accountability within labor organizations and sought to ensure union members have the information necessary to make informed decisions about the operations of their unions. The Committee will continue examining whether current labor law adequately protects workers from political coercion and whether additional transparency requirements are warranted.

The Committee has jurisdiction over “labor generally,” as set forth in House Rule X,⁶ including jurisdiction over matters relating to the LMRDA.⁷ Your responses to the Committee’s requests will assist the Committee in determining whether any legislative changes are warranted.⁸ Your prompt response to this letter’s requests is appreciated. If you have any questions about these requests, please contact Committee staff at 202-225-4527.

Sincerely,



Tim Walberg
Chairman



Rick W. Allen
Chairman
Subcommittee on Health, Employment,
Labor and Pensions

Enclosure

⁶ RULES OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Rule X cl. 1(e)(6) (119th Cong.) (2025), <https://rules.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/rules.house.gov/files/documents/houserules119thupdated.pdf>.

⁷ RULES OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND WORKFORCE, Rule 3(a) (119th Cong.) (2025) (Subcommittee on Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions has jurisdiction over the LMRDA), <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/ED/ED00/20250115/117778/HMTG-119-ED00-20250115-SD002.pdf>.

⁸ See *Watkins v. United States*, 354 U.S. 178, 187 (1957) (“It is unquestionably the duty of all citizens to cooperate with the Congress in its efforts to obtain the facts needed for intelligent legislative action.”).

Responding to Committee Document Requests

1. The United Steelworkers' (USW) response to questions and request(s) should be answered or provided in a separate document and not included inside a narrative response.
2. In complying with this request, you should produce all responsive documents that are in USW's possession, custody, or control, whether held by you or other past or present employees of USW, or a representative acting on your behalf. Your response should also produce documents that you have a legal right to obtain, that USW has a right to copy or to which you have access, or that you have placed in the temporary possession, custody, or control of any third party.
3. Records, documents, data, or information that have been requested and/or are related to underlying requests should not be destroyed, modified, removed, transferred or otherwise made inaccessible to the Committee on Education and Workforce (the "Committee").
4. If any entity, organization, or individual denoted in this request has been, or is also known by any other name than that herein denoted, the request shall be read also to include that alternative identification.
5. The Committee's preference is to receive documents in electronic form (i.e., email, CD, memory stick, or thumb drive) in lieu of paper productions. To the extent responses are provided in paper form, any documents that are stapled, clipped, or otherwise fastened together should not be separated. Documents produced in response to a request should be produced together with copies of file labels, dividers, or identifying markers with which they were associated when this request was issued.
6. Regardless of format, documents produced pursuant to this request should be produced in the order in which they appear in your files and should not be rearranged. Indicate the office or division and person from whose files each document was produced.
7. Regardless of format, documents produced to the Committee should include an index describing the contents of the production and a total page count for the entire production. To the extent more than one CD, hard drive, memory stick, thumb drive, box or folder is produced, each CD, hard drive, memory stick, thumb drive, box, or folder should contain an index describing its contents. Documents produced in electronic format should also be identified and indexed electronically.
8. Electronic document productions should be prepared according to the following standards:
 - (a) The production should consist of single page Tagged Image File ("TIF"), files accompanied by a Concordance-format load file, an Opticon reference file, and a file defining the fields and character lengths of the load file.
 - (b) Document numbers in the load file should match document Bates numbers and TIF file names.

- (c) If the production is completed through a series of multiple partial productions, field names and file order in all load files should match.
9. All documents shall be Bates-stamped sequentially and produced sequentially.
 10. When you produce documents, you should individually identify the paragraph, question number, or request number in the Committee's request to which the documents respond.
 11. It shall not be a basis for refusal to produce documents that any other person or entity—either inside or outside of USW—also possesses non-identical or identical copies of the same documents.
 12. If any of the requested information is only reasonably available in machine-readable form (such as on a computer server, hard drive, or computer backup tape), USW's staff should consult with the Committee staff to determine the appropriate format in which to produce the information.
 13. If compliance with any request cannot be made in full, compliance shall be made to the extent possible and shall include a written explanation of why full compliance is not possible.
 14. If USW does not expect to produce all documents responsive to a request by the date requested, USW's staff shall consult with the Committee as soon as it is known USW cannot meet the deadline, but no later than 24 hours before the due date to explain:
 - (a) what will be provided by the due date;
 - (b) why USW believes certain materials cannot be produced by the due date; and
 - (c) USW's proposed timeline for providing any omitted information.
 15. If any document responsive to this request was, but no longer is, in your possession, custody, or control, or has been placed into the possession, custody, or control of any third party and cannot be provided in response to this request, you should:
 - (a) identify the document, including its date, author, subject, and recipients;
 - (b) explain the circumstances under which the document ceased to be in your possession, custody, or control, or was placed in the possession, custody, or control of a third party;
 - (c) state how the document was disposed of;
 - (d) identify the name, current address, and telephone number of the person who currently has possession, custody, or control over the document;
 - (e) state the date of disposition; and
 - (f) identify the name, current address, and telephone number of each person who authorized said disposition or who had or has knowledge of said disposition.
 16. If any document responsive to this request cannot be located, identify the document and describe with particularity the efforts made to locate the document and the specific reason for its disappearance, destruction, or unavailability.

17. In the event that a document or portion of a document is withheld on the basis of alleged privilege, provide a privilege log containing the following information concerning any such document or redaction:

- (a) Bates number(s);
- (b) the alleged privilege asserted and the grounds therefor;
- (c) the type of document;
- (d) the general subject matter;
- (e) any other description necessary to identify the document;
- (f) the date, author, and addressee; and
- (g) the relationship of the author and addressee to each other.

If a claimed privilege applies to only a portion of any document, that portion only should be withheld and the remainder of the document should be produced.

18. Any objections or claims of privilege are waived if you fail to provide an explanation of why full compliance is not possible and a log identifying with specificity the ground(s) for withholding each withheld document prior to the request compliance date.

19. In complying with the request, be apprised that (unless otherwise determined by the Committee) the Committee does not recognize: any purported non-disclosure privileges associated with the common law including, but not limited to, the deliberative-process privilege, the attorney-client privilege, and attorney work product protections; any purported privileges or protections from disclosure under the *Freedom of Information Act*; or any purported contractual privileges, such as non-disclosure agreements.

20. Any assertion by a request recipient of any such non-constitutional legal bases for withholding documents or other materials, for refusing to answer any deposition question, or for refusing to provide hearing testimony, shall be of no legal force and effect and shall not provide a justification for such withholding or refusal, unless and only to the extent that the Committee (or the chair of the Committee, if authorized) has consented to recognize the assertion as valid.

21. If a date or other descriptive detail set forth in this request referring to a document, communication, meeting, or other event is inaccurate, but the actual date or other descriptive detail is known to you or other USW employees, or is otherwise apparent from the context of the request, you should produce all documents that would be responsive as if the date or other descriptive detail were correct.

22. The time period covered by this request is included in the attached request. To the extent a time period is not specified, produce relevant documents from January 1, 2023, to the present.

23. This request is continuing in nature and applies to any newly-discovered information. Any record, document, compilation of data, or information, not produced because it has not been

located or discovered by the return date, shall be produced immediately upon subsequent location or discovery. Such submission shall include an explanation as to why the information was not produced originally.

24. If physical documents are to be delivered, documents should be delivered to the Majority Staff in Room 2176 of the Rayburn House Office Building during Committee office hours (9am-5pm, unless other arrangements are made) and signed by a member of the staff upon delivery.
25. Upon completion of the document production, USW's written response should include a written certification, signed by International President Roxanne Brown or her designee, stating that:
 - (a) a diligent search has been completed of all documents in your possession, custody, or control that reasonably could contain responsive documents; and
 - (b) all documents located during the search that are responsive have been produced to the Committee.

Definitions

1. The term "document" means any written, recorded, or graphic matter of any nature whatsoever, regardless of how recorded, and whether original or copy, including, but not limited to, the following: memoranda, reports, expense reports, books, manuals, instructions, financial reports, working papers, records, notes, letters, notices, confirmations, telegrams, receipts, appraisals, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, prospectuses, inter-office and intra-office communications, electronic mail (e-mail), contracts, cables, notations of any type of conversation, telephone call, meeting or other communication, bulletins, printed matter, computer printouts, teletypes, invoices, transcripts, diaries, analyses, returns, summaries, minutes, bills, accounts, estimates, projections, comparisons, messages, correspondence, press releases, circulars, financial statements, reviews, opinions, offers, studies and investigations, questionnaires and surveys, and work sheets (and all drafts, preliminary versions, alterations, modifications, revisions, changes, and amendments of any of the foregoing, as well as any attachments or appendices thereto), and graphic or oral records or representations of any kind (including without limitation, photographs, charts, graphs, microfiche, microfilm, videotape, recordings and motion pictures), and electronic, mechanical, and electric records or representations of any kind (including, without limitation, tapes, cassettes, disks, and recordings) and other written, printed, typed, or other graphic or recorded matter of any kind or nature, however produced or reproduced, and whether preserved in writing, film, tape, disk, videotape, or otherwise. A document bearing any notation not a part of the original text is to be considered a separate document. A draft or non-identical copy is a separate document within the meaning of this term.
2. The term "documents in your possession, custody or control" means documents that are in your possession, custody, or control, whether held by you or your past or present agents, employees, or representatives acting on your behalf; documents that you have a legal right to

obtain, that you have a right to copy, or to which you have access; and/or documents that have been placed in the possession, custody, or control of any third party.

3. The term “communication” means each manner or means of disclosure or exchange of information, regardless of means utilized, whether oral, electronic, by document or otherwise, and whether in a meeting, by telephone, facsimile, email, regular mail, telexes, releases, or otherwise.
4. The terms “and” and “or” shall be construed broadly and either conjunctively or disjunctively to bring within the scope of this request any information which might otherwise be construed to be outside its scope. The singular includes plural number, and vice versa. The masculine includes the feminine and neuter genders.
5. The terms “person” or “persons” mean natural persons, firms, partnerships, associations, corporations, subsidiaries, divisions, departments, joint ventures, proprietorships, syndicates, or other legal, business, or government entities, and all subsidiaries, affiliates, divisions, departments, branches, or other units thereof.
6. The term “identify,” when used in a question about individuals, means to provide the following information: (a) the individual’s complete name and title; and (b) the individual’s business address and phone number.
7. The term “referring or relating,” with respect to any given subject, means anything that constitutes, contains, embodies, reflects, identifies, states, refers to, deals with or is pertinent to that subject in any manner whatsoever.
8. The term “entity” includes any lawful association, corporation, partnership, proprietorship, trust, institution, or individual that has the legal capacity to: (1) enter into agreements and contracts; (2) assume obligations; (3) incur and pay debts; (4) sue and be sued in its own right; and (5) be accountable for illegal activities.
9. The term “privilege” includes, but is not limited to, any claim that a document either may or must be withheld from production pursuant to any statute, rule, or regulation.
10. The term “employee” means agent, borrowed employee, casual employee, consultant, de facto employee, joint adventurer, loaned employee, part-time employee, permanent employee, provisional employee, contract employee, contractor, or any other type of service provider.
11. The term “USW” means USW, including (i) its predecessors, successors, wholly or partly owned direct or indirect subsidiaries, divisions, affiliates, local unions, boards, and joint ventures and (ii) any current, past, or future partners, officers, directors, employees, representatives, or agents of any of the above entities.