

LOBBY WATCH



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Power Brokers:

October 4, 2002

50 People, 30 Institutions Supply 26% of TX Political Money

- These 80 Donors *Already* Spent \$35.6 Million In 2002 Cycle

By the end of June, 50 powerful Texas families and 30 institutional donors already had spent \$35.6 million to influence this November's state elections. By one measure, these 80 sources account for 26 percent of the state's total political funding.

These figures are based on *electronic* disclosure reports that candidates and political action committees (PACs) file with the Texas Ethics Commission (TEC). While the numbers are imperfect, they are the best available.¹ This report tracks political funds reported to the TEC thus far in the 2002 election cycle (January 2001 through June of 2002). New disclosures are due October 7.

So far this cycle, \$137.4 million in political contributions have been electronically disclosed, with 18 percent of this money coming from 50 top individual donors and another 8 percent coming from 30 top institutional donors (see tables).

Top Individual Donors

Three individual Texans already have spent more than \$1 million apiece this election cycle. Two of them are oil tycoons who are self-financing much of their own campaigns for top state offices: Gubernatorial candidate **Tony Sanchez** (\$10.2 million); and lieutenant governor candidate **David Dewhurst** (\$2.6 million). The No. 3 donor is homebuilder **Bob Perry**, who has given \$1.6 million, largely to Republican PACs and candidates.

Fifteen energy tycoons dominated The Texas 50, spending almost \$16 million. Even without the

\$12.7 million from the two oil tycoons who are financing their own campaigns, the Energy sector accounts for just over half of all the state political money spent by The Texas 50.

Seven Construction industry donors, led by homebuilder Bob Perry, spent \$2.4 million, accounting for 10 percent of The Texas 50 money. Road builder **James Pitcock** of Williams Brothers Construction came next (\$188,250), followed by Richard and **David Weekley** of David Weekley Homes (\$161,911).

Nine Finance industry donors, led by Dallas financiers **Charles** and **Sam Wyly** (\$345,000), spent \$1.6 million, or 7 percent of The Texas 50 money.

Economic Interests of 'The Texas 50'

Interest	Amount	Percent
Energy	\$15,907,464	64%
Construction	\$2,416,998	10%
Finance	\$1,636,720	7%
Chemicals	\$1,011,750	4%
Health	\$993,256	4%
Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$763,884	3%
Real Estate	\$593,288	2%
Agriculture	\$544,150	2%
Transportation	\$457,000	2%
Communications	\$265,000	1%
Miscellaneous	\$162,000	1%
Insurance	\$143,500	1%
TOTAL:	\$24,895,010	100%

Texas-Sized Individual Donors

Top 50 Individual Donors in Texas' 2002 Election Cycle

Donor	Company	Interest	City	Amount
*Tony Sanchez	Sanchez O'Brien Oil & Gas	Energy	Laredo	\$10,172,407
David H. Dewhurst	Falcon Seaboard Oil	State Official	Austin	\$2,570,277
Bob Perry	Bob Perry Homes	Construction	Houston	\$1,550,500
James Leininger	Kinetic Concepts	Health	San Antonio	\$823,506
Albert Huddleston	Hyperion Resources	Energy	Dallas	\$695,000
Lonnie 'Bo' Pilgrim	Pilgrim's Pride	Agriculture	Pittsburg	\$544,150
Harlan Crow	Trammell Crow	Real Estate	Dallas	\$453,750
Robert McNair	Cogen Technologies	Energy	Houston	\$391,150
Gordon Cain	Sterling Group	Chemicals	Houston	\$386,500
Louis Beecherl	Beecherl Investments	Energy	Dallas	\$357,000
Sam & Charles Wyly	Wyly brothers investments	Finance	Dallas	\$345,000
William McMinn	Sterling Group	Chemicals	Houston	\$315,000
B.J. 'Red' McCombs	McCombs Enterprises	Transportation	San Antonio	\$282,000
T. Boone Pickens	Mesa Oil & Gas	Energy	Dallas	\$268,600
Kenny A. Troutt	Excel Communications	Communications	Dallas	\$265,000
Dan Duncan	Enterprise Products Co	Energy	Houston	\$238,080
Geoffrey Raynor	Q Funding	Finance	Fort Worth	\$235,720
Ray Hunt	Hunt Oil	Energy	Dallas	\$230,500
Joe D. Jamail	Jamail & Kolius	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Houston	\$230,500
Harold Simmons	Contran Corp	Finance	Dallas	\$218,250
James Pitcock	Williams Bros. Construction	Construction	Houston	\$188,250
J. Virgil Waggoner	Sterling Group	Chemicals	Houston	\$193,000
Thomas Friedkin	Friedkin Automotive Co's	Transportation	Houston	\$175,000
Mort Topfer	Castletop Capital	Finance	Austin	\$174,500
Peter O'Donnell Jr.	First National Bank-Dallas	Finance	Dallas	\$165,000
Charles Butt	HEB Grocery	Miscellaneous	San Antonio	\$162,000
Richard Weekley	David Weekley Homes	Construction	Houston	\$161,911
J. Ralph Ellis Jr.	Ralph Ellis Co.	Energy	Irving	\$156,500
Robert B. Rowling	Tana Oil & Gas	Energy	Irving	\$156,250
Lucien Flournoy	Flournoy Production Co.	Energy	Alice	\$151,750
Frank L. Branson	Frank L. Branson, P.C.	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Dallas	\$148,180
James Flores	Ocean Energy	Energy	Houston	\$147,000
John McGovern	McGovern Allergy Clinic	Health	Houston	\$169,750
Randall Goss	U.S. Risk Insurance Group	Insurance	Dallas	\$143,500
George Hixon	Hixon Properties	Energy	San Antonio	\$142,250
James Dannenbaum	Dannenbaum Engineering	Construction	Houston	\$141,900
Ned Holmes	Parkway Investments/TX	Real Estate	Houston	\$139,538
Nicholas Kralj	Nicholas Kralj	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Austin	\$137,133
Charles Miller	Meridian Advisors	Finance	Houston	\$136,350
Mikal Watts	Watts & Heard	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Corpus	\$132,721
David Hartman	Hartland Bank	Finance	Austin	\$130,900
Woody Hunt	Hunt Building Corp.	Construction	El Paso	\$129,038
Michael Stevens	Michael Stevens Interests	Construction	Houston	\$126,399
Chaz Glace	Chasco Investments	Construction	Round Rock	\$119,000
Charles Tate	Hicks Muse Tate & Furst	Finance	Dallas	\$118,500
Reed S. Morian	D X Service Co.	Chemicals	Houston	\$117,250
William Clements Jr.	Southeastern Drilling Co.	Energy	Dallas	\$116,650
Dee Kelly	Kelly Hart & Hallman	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Fort Worth	\$115,350
Sid Bass	Bass Bros. Enterprises	Energy	Fort Worth	\$114,050
Thomas Hicks	Hicks Muse Tate & Furst	Finance	Dallas	\$112,500
TOTAL:				\$24,895,010

Note: Contributions includes money given by immediate family members.

*Includes "Sanchez Spousal Trust."

The oft-discussed Lawyers & Lobbyists sector ranked No. 6. This sector's five big donors spent \$763,884, with corporate lawyer Dee Kelly ac-

counting for 15 percent (\$115,350) and four plaintiff lawyers and lobbyists, led by Joe Jamail (\$230,500), accounting for all the rest.

Top Institutional Donors

Two institutional donors already have spent more than \$1 million apiece to influence Texas elections in this election cycle. These are the Washington-based **Republican National State Elections Committee** (\$1.1 million) and the **Texas Association of Realtors** (just over \$1 million).

Lawyers & Lobbyists ranked No. 1 among Texas' top 30 institutional donors, supplying \$4.8 million, or 44 percent of the total from top institutional donors. Ten corporate law firms, led by **Fulbright & Jaworski** (\$687,661), led this sector, accounting for 72 percent of the Lawyers & Lobbyists money. Two plaintiff law firms (led by **Provost & Umphrey** (\$572,540) and two plaintiff PACs led by the **Texas Trial Lawyers Association** (\$202,130) accounted for 24 percent of this sector's money. The PAC of a corporate lobby firm, **HillCo**, supplied the remaining money in this sector (\$186,693).

The sole Ideological PAC in the top 30, **Texans for Lawsuit Reform** (\$444,473), also spends its money to support the corporate-defense agenda.

Partisan PACs were the No. 2 source of institutional money. Three GOP PACs accounted for 87 percent of this money. One Democratic PAC, the Washington-based **Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee** (\$235,150), spent the other 13 percent.

The only two Labor PACs, representing the **Teamsters** (\$213,435) and a **Plumber's Union** local (\$196,289), accounted for just 4 percent of the money from the top 30 institutional donors.

Economic Interests of 'The Texas 30'

Interest	Amount	Percent
Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$4,783,031	44%
Partisan PACs	\$1,847,222	17%
Real Estate	\$1,023,987	10%
Health	\$913,799	9%
Communications	\$479,771	4%
Energy	\$475,108	4%
Ideological	\$444,473	4%
Labor	\$409,724	4%
Transportation	\$372,151	3%
TOTALS:	\$10,749,266	100%

Texas-Sized Institutional Donors

Top 30 Institutional Donors in Texas' 2002 Election Cycle

Donor	Interest	City	Amount
Republican National State Elections Com.	Partisan	Washington	\$1,149,372
TX Assoc. of Realtors	Real Estate	Austin	\$1,023,987
†Fulbright & Jaworski	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Houston	\$687,661
TX Medical Assoc.	Health	Austin	\$590,799
*Provost & Umphrey	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Beaumont	\$572,540
†Vinson & Elkins PAC	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Houston	\$568,315
†Bracewell & Patterson	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Houston	\$477,550
Texans For Lawsuit Reform PAC	Ideological	Houston	\$444,473
TX Automobile Dealers Assoc. PAC	Transportation	Austin	\$372,151
†Haynes & Boone	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Dallas	\$363,100
TX Bell Employee PAC	Communications	Austin	\$328,921
Texas Dental PAC	Health	Austin	\$323,000
†Hughes & Luce	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Dallas	\$309,765
*Bass Family	Energy	Fort Worth	\$307,701
Governor Bush Committee	Partisan	Austin	\$290,200
†Locke Liddell & Sapp	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Houston	\$265,378
†Jackson Walker	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Dallas	\$255,150
Democratic Congressional Campaign Com.	Partisan	Washington	\$235,150
*Gallagher Law Firm	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Houston	\$232,000
†Winstead Sechrest & Minick	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Dallas	\$219,599
Internat'l Brotherhood of Teamsters PAC	Labor	Washington	\$213,435
*TX Trial Lawyers Assoc.	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Austin	\$202,130
Plumbers Local Union No. 68 PAC	Labor	Houston	\$196,289
HillCo PAC	Lobby	Austin	\$186,693
Republican Party of TX	Partisan	Austin	\$172,500
Reliant Energy (with Entex) PACs	Energy	Houston	\$167,407
†Thompson & Knight	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Dallas	\$154,000
AT&T PAC	Communications	Austin	\$150,850
†Brown McCarroll	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Austin	\$145,150
*Constitutional Defense Fund PAC	Lawyers/Lobbyists	Port Arthur	\$144,000
TOTAL:			\$10,749,266

† Corporate-defense firm.

* Plaintiff firm.

*Includes the Bass family's PSEL PAC, Good Government Fund and Texas Progress Fund.

¹ The data miss contributions to the minority of candidates and PACs that do not provide electronic disclosures (see "Luddite Lawmakers," Texans for Public Justice, May 2001). Conversely, double-counting problems arise when a donor contributes to a PAC that then contributes that same money to another PAC or candidate.