

Bob Perry: GOP ATM



**Texans for Public Justice
October 2012**

Bob Perry: GOP ATM

Contents:

Introduction	3
One-Room Homebuilder	3
Texas Republican Revolution	4
Brio Superfund	5
Taking Texas' Supreme Court	6
<i>Robert and Jane Cull v. Perry Homes</i>	8
Torts Drive Texas' Biggest PAC	9
Tom DeLay and the 2002 Election	9
Launching Swift Boat	11
527s and Super PACs	12
Texas' No. 1 Contributor	14
Appendix: All in the Family	15
Notes	17

Texans for Public Justice is a non-profit, non-partisan research and advocacy organization that monitors money in Texas politics and promotes campaign finance and judicial-selection reforms.

Texans for Public Justice
609 W. 18th St., Suite E
Austin, TX 78701
PH: (512) 472-9770
tpj@tpj.org
<http://www.tpj.org>

©Copyright Texans for Public Justice

Bob Perry: GOP ATM

Introduction

Houston Republican Jack Fields rode Ronald Reagan's wave to narrowly defeat veteran Democratic Congressman Bob Eckhardt in 1980. Shortly thereafter Fields paid less than \$1,000 for 150 shares in a company founded three weeks after his election. Within 26 months that extraordinary investment was worth somewhere between \$50,000 and \$100,000, a stock pop of more than 5,000 percent. In 1982 that investment also paid the congressman *dividends of \$50,000 to \$100,000*. The following year the stock—then valued at no more than \$100,000—paid Fields dividends surpassing \$100,000.¹ Rep. Fields owed this extraordinary fortune to a passive investment of less than \$1,000 in Perry Contractors, Inc. Houston homebuilder Bob Perry cut his friend Fields into this 1980 start-up.² In the short term, stock in Perry Contractors far outperformed Apple Computer—which went public that year at \$22 a share.³

Time and again over the past four decades, Bob Perry's money has helped Republicans seize or defend public offices nationwide. Less frequently, Perry dollars have found their way into the personal bank accounts of GOP operatives or officials. For decades this 80-year-old⁴ homebuilder has been the nation's Republican ATM, ranking in some years as America's No. 1 individual donor.⁵

Media reports date Perry's political awakening to Republican Bill Clements' successful 1978 gubernatorial campaign.⁶ "Prior to 1978, he [Perry] was a Democrat and mainly gave to Democrats," a *Texas Monthly* profile reported. After conservative Democratic Governor Dolph Briscoe lost the 1978 Democratic Primary to liberal John Hill,⁷ that account says, Perry co-chaired Clements' campaign and headed "Democrats for Clements." *Texas Monthly* reported that then-Reagan Chief of Staff James Baker converted Perry to the Republican Party three years later.⁸ These accounts don't fully mesh with history. Two years before heading "Democrats for Clements," Bob Perry did on a small scale what made him famous much later. In 1976 he secretly spent his own money on legally dubious ads in a failed bid to help ultra-conservative Republican U.S. Rep. Ron Paul defeat a liberal Democratic challenger.

Obstreperous obstetrician Ron Paul ran a failed 1974 congressional bid before defeating liberal Democrat Bob Gammage in a 1976 special election.⁹ Gammage won a November rematch by 268 votes¹⁰—only to narrowly lose to Paul two years later.¹¹ Weeks before Gammage nosed out Paul in November 1976, billboards advocating Ron Paul's reelection popped up along Houston's Gulf Freeway. An attorney with Gammage ties filed a [complaint](#) with the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) alleging that the ads illegally failed to identify their sponsor.¹² The FEC found that Bob Perry—not the Paul campaign—bought the ads.¹³ The agency dropped the matter after the billboard company modified the signs to identify Perry as the sponsor a week after the FEC complaint was filed.

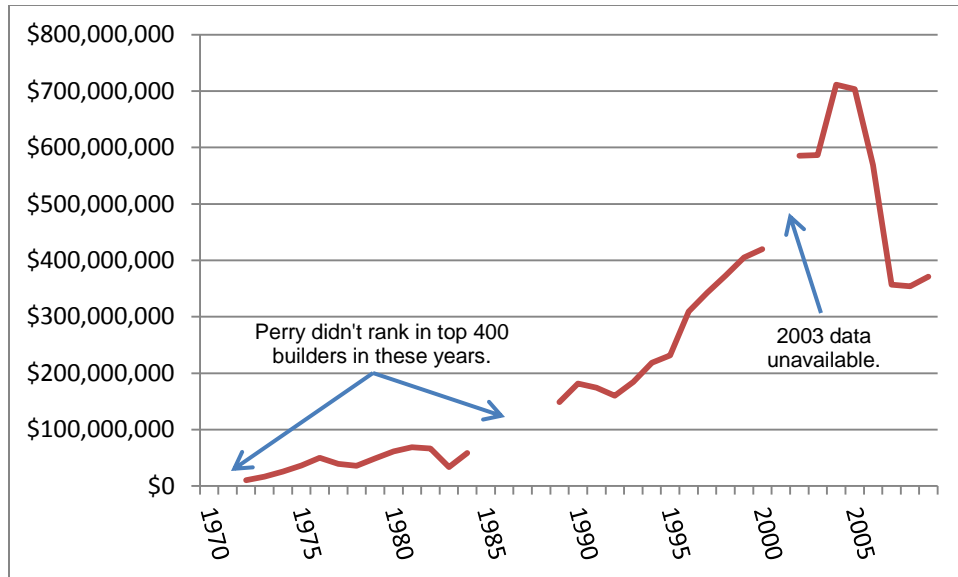
Less than 10 years after Bob Perry launched his homebuilding business, then, the newly formed FEC found that this Texas businessman made legally questionable independent political expenditures.¹⁴ In the coming decades, the frequency and scale of Perry's political interventions escalated, eventually generating front-page news.

One-Room Homebuilder

Bob Perry was born in a one-room house outside Waco on October 30, 1932. His father, W.C. Perry, was an upwardly mobile teacher who retired in 1980 as Baylor University's vice president of student affairs.¹⁵ Bob Perry attended Baylor, earning a physical education degree in 1953. After graduation Perry worked as a high school teacher and football coach, marrying his wife, Doyle R. Perry, in 1961 and apparently receiving a master's in education at Baylor the following year.¹⁶ Perry took a 1965 summer job on a

Houston homebuilding crew shortly after President Lyndon Baines Johnson pushed a major civil rights package through Congress (Perry’s father worked on LBJ’s 1948 U.S. Senate campaign).¹⁷ In 1967 or 1968 Bob Perry started his own Houston homebuilding business,¹⁸ diving into a boom-bust market that that would make—and break—many competitors.¹⁹

Perry Homes Revenues, 1974 through 2011



Source: All data from *Professional Builder's* "Giant 400" top U.S. homebuilders, except 2008-2009 numbers from *Houston Chronicle* list of Houston's "Top Private Companies."

The 1973 Arab oil embargo quintupled oil prices over the next seven years, fueling inflation and spiking interest rates.²⁰ Oil prices hammered the nation but enriched Texas. Perry Homes, which did not make Professional Builder’s “Giant 400” list of top U.S. homebuilder in the early 1970s, ranked at No. 348 in 1974, with 150 home closing generating \$10.2 million. By 1982 Perry ranked among the nation’s top 100 builders, raking in more than \$60 million. When the oil boom reversed itself into a bust, Perry Homes dropped off the list of America’s top builders from 1987 through 1990.²¹ Meanwhile, Texas emerged as the epicenter of the S&L crisis, which knocked the staggering Texas giant flat on its back. Yet Perry Homes bounced back and the roots of the Texas Republican Revolution were forged in this boom-bust crucible. The recent global crisis again hammered Perry Homes; revenues plummeted from \$711 million in 2006 to \$354 million in 2010. Even as these revenues shrunk by half, the Texas housing market fared better than the national one and Perry Homes ranked for the first time among the nation’s top 25 builders.²² Before the crisis Bob Perry had an estimated net worth of \$650 million.²³

Texas’ Republican Revolution

Oil lubricated the ascent of Bill Clements, Jr., whom voters elected as Texas’ first GOP Governor since reconstruction in 1978 (that year in the Gulf of Mexico Clements’ SEDCO oil company produced one of the world’s worst oil spills).²⁴ Clements previously had recruited George H.W. Bush to run for the U.S. Senate in 1964;²⁵ and Nixon tapped Clements to be deputy defense secretary just before the declaration of the 1973 oil embargo.²⁶ In his first run for office Clements demolished former state Rep. Ray Hutchison in the 1978 Republican Primary.²⁷ The same day liberal Attorney General John Hill beat conservative Governor Dolph Briscoe in the Democratic Primary, pushing Briscoe-backer Bob Perry into the Clements camp (Hill had helped push through a 1973 Texas law that subjected businesses that cheat consumers to triple damages).²⁸

A less obvious harbinger of the Texas Republican revolution was George W. Bush's failed 1978 congressional race in West Texas. Bush's father loaned GOP operative Karl Rove to his son's campaign. Marrying a Texan in 1976, Rove had moved to Houston, where he found work raising money for CIA Director George H.W. Bush's Fund for Limited Government (chaired by James W. Baker III). After Rove's 1979 divorce, Governor Clements hired him to retire a \$7 million campaign debt.²⁹ That same year Governor Clements appointed \$40,000-donor Bob Perry to the State Banking Board.³⁰ Perry, Clements and Rove developed lasting ties. A quarter century after Rove built a money machine to bankroll Texas' political overhaul, many of the same Texas tycoons (including Perry) were still bankrolling Rove's agenda—on a national stage in 2012.³¹

Nonetheless, back when Governor Clements ran his failed 1982 reelection campaign no Republican won a statewide office in Texas. Clements lost that year to Democrat Mark White (who had defeated James A. Baker III in Texas' 1978 Texas Attorney General race). For his successful 1986 rematch with White, Clements first defeated party-switcher Kent Hance in the GOP primary.³² This time Rove ran Clements' fundraising machine, with Bob Perry serving as campaign treasurer and as a top donor.³³ Rove later said he met Perry soon after coming to Texas. "When I moved to Texas," he said, "you can count the wealthy Republicans who are willing to write checks to support Republican candidates."³⁴

Brio Superfund

Between Clements' first and second gubernatorial administrations a mass of big, ugly toxic tort cases commanded the attention of every Houston homebuilder. Developer Ayrshire Corp. and an S&L called the Farm and Home Savings Association created the Southbend subdivision 20 miles southeast of Houston,³⁵ selling tracts to five homebuilders, including Perry Homes.³⁶ Builders began selling 667 new homes there in 1981, a year before neighbor Brio Refining, Inc. went bankrupt. Covering 50 acres, Brio abandoned 15 unlined pits where petrochemical companies had dumped toxic waste for 25 years.³⁷

Discovering elevated levels of toxins associated with liver, kidney, lung, blood and brain cancers,³⁸ the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency told Southbend residents in 1984 that Brio would become a federal Superfund site (the EPA pronounced Brio one of the nation's worst Superfund sites a year later).³⁹ Spurred by New York's Love Canal tragedy, Houston Congressman Bob Eckhardt chaired 1979 hearings that documented the careless, post-war disposal of 762 million tons of toxic waste at 1,605 sites nationwide. Eckhardt championed enactment of a Superfund law to make responsible parties clean up such sites.⁴⁰ President Carter signed the bill into law in late 1980—one month after Eckhardt lost his seat to Bob Perry's new business partner, Jack Fields.

Living 250 yards from a Brio pit, Donna Black had the uterine disorder endometriosis and problems with her colon and facial nerves. Her teenage son had immune troubles, weight loss, chronic fatigue, colitis and kidney failure. "In the eight houses on our street," Black told the Associated Press, "there were two infant deaths; the next-door neighbor had uterine cancer; across the street the woman suffered from a severe bladder condition, while the children all had auto-immune deficiencies. That's just not normal."⁴¹ Going door-to-door, residents documented elevated rates of miscarriages and birth defects. The federal Agency for Toxic Substance and Disease Registry later confirmed a high incidence of such problems but found no proof that Brio was the cause.⁴²

Soon after the EPA nominated Brio to be a Superfund site on Halloween 1984 almost 200 spooked residents filed the first of many lawsuits seeking damages from Brio's developers, builders and polluters.⁴³ Saying they didn't know about the hazards, builders settled the homeowners' claims in early 1987 for a reported \$100,000 apiece.⁴⁴ Weeks later one of the S&L's executives testified that the developers had no disclosure obligations to buyers, who should have noticed "very obvious" odors.⁴⁵ After a jury found that the developers engaged in "fraudulent inducement,"⁴⁶ they confidentially settled lawsuits that the builders filed against them. Everyone involved in the mess sued each other.

Meanwhile, in what local papers dubbed the “largest trial in Harris County history,” 222 Southbend homeowners filed a lawsuit targeting Monsanto Co., which dumped 519 million pounds of styrene and 20 million pounds of vinyl chloride at the Brio site.⁴⁷ The jury ruled for Monsanto in 1990, saying the plaintiffs failed to prove that the company caused any health problems.⁴⁸ Dwarfing that suit, a battalion of lawyers led by Houston trial lawyer Joe Jamail pressed the consolidated claims of 1,700 residents against the S&L developer, Monsanto and five other Brio polluters. Without admitting wrongdoing, the defendants agreed in 1992 to a pre-trial settlement of \$208 million, setting a toxic tort record.⁴⁹ The money bought out homes, established a college fund for 700 kids and covered medical expenses that capped out at \$3 million for leukemia kids.⁵⁰

A Bob Perry spokesman downplayed Brio’s role in forming his boss’ world view, telling the *Dallas Morning News* that Perry Homes just built 11 homes in Southbend.⁵¹ Marie Flickinger, the local journalist widely credited with raising awareness about Brio’s dangers,⁵² confirmed this account. She told TPJ that she became familiar with Perry’s politics when she attended a conservative lecture with Bob Perry and then-State Senator Mike Richards before Brio became a Superfund.⁵³ Houston homebuilders “might’ve got a little more cognizant of the surroundings of their subdivisions” as a result of Brio, Flickinger said, but Bob Perry “was on the road he’s on today before Brio reared its ugly head.”

Wherever Bob Perry was then, legal experts interpreted the 1990 jury verdict for Monsanto as a veritable indictment of Southbend’s developers. “The jury’s verdict in the Brio waste site case sends a warning to developers about their future projects,” the *Houston Post* wrote at the time. “Several jurors later said they felt the Southbend addition’s developers—not Monsanto—should be the homeowners’ target.”⁵⁴

The Texas Supreme Court issued one Brio-related opinion. A state judge decided in 1991 that the court no longer needed the *ad litem* attorney whom the court had appointed to ensure that the parents in a lawsuit against Farm & Home Savings acted in the best interests of their plaintiff children. The judge who dismissed attorney Valorie Davenport also barred her from talking to the plaintiffs or to the media. As Davenport appealed her gag order, the parties to the underlying case reached a \$19 million settlement that Davenport deemed insufficient. The Texas Supreme Court overturned Davenport’s gag order in 1992 but upheld the settlement that she denounced.⁵⁵

Taking Texas’ Supreme Court

The Davenport ruling came at a tipping point when Texas’ high court was swinging from a trial-lawyer-funded Democratic court that favored plaintiffs to a business-funded Republican court that favored defendants. The court then had four Republicans and five Democrats (including Ron Paul’s 1976 nemesis Bob Gammage). In fact, with conservative Democratic Justice Raul Gonzalez regularly joining rulings for defendants, the court already had begun to establish its new anti-plaintiff bias.⁵⁶

Trial-lawyer-funded justices had obtained a majority on the Texas Supreme Court in the early 1980s, sparking a war with business interests that escalated the cost of winning court campaigns. Raising the stakes were eye-popping civil verdicts, topped by the \$11 billion one that Joe Jamail won in 1985 on Pennzoil’s claim that Texaco sabotaged its acquisition of Getty Oil.⁵⁷ “Enormously expensive campaigns for the Supreme Court are a relatively recent phenomenon,” noted a 1992 study. “During the 1988-1990 election cycles [when Karl Rove managed his first high court campaign], the amount of money spent just by political action committees on Supreme Court races exceeded all the money that was spent on all Supreme Court races combined throughout the 1970s.”⁵⁸

CBS’ “60 Minutes” kicked-off the business community’s 10-year take back of the court when it aired “Justice for Sale” in December 1987. The show exposed how Texas justices ran \$1 million campaigns, taking much of it from lawyers and litigants with cases before the court. Earlier that year Texas justices

preserved Jamail's huge Pennzoil award by declining to hear Texaco's appeal of the case. CBS wired Jamail before he schmoozed justices at a judicial conference. Mike Wallace then ambushed Jamail, grilling the "King of Torts" about the \$45,000 he contributed to his friend, Democratic Justice Oscar Mauzy. "Is he gonna go to his enemies and are they going to give him contributions?" Jamail thundered on camera. "That's bullshit and naïve. You know it and I know it."⁵⁹

The late Democratic Chief Justice John Hill who pushed Perry into the Clements camp by beating conservative Governor Dolph Briscoe in the 1978 Democratic primary, criticized his fellow justices on the show for taking campaign money "from lawyers who practice in their court." Soon thereafter Hill resigned his office, saying he would devote himself to reforming judicial selection in Texas. Hill failed to reform even himself or his firm. Engaging in the practice he denounced, Hill and other Liddell Sapp Zivley Hill & LaBoon lawyers practiced before justices upon whom they showered tens of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions.⁶⁰

Hill's resignation allowed Governor Clements to appoint a Republican chief justice to complete Hill's term. Clements appointed former Baker & Botts defense lawyer Tom Phillips as chief in January 1988, with Phillips hiring Rove to run his 1988 election campaign (operatives Jim Arnold, Kevin Brannon, Jeff Norwood and Andy Taylor also worked on that campaign).⁶¹ Rove's statewide direct-mail machine raised \$2 million for Phillips that cycle, targeting businesses and defense interests. Bob Perry and his wife gave \$10,000 to that campaign at a time when \$5,000 registered as a substantial contribution.⁶² The campaign spent heavily to publicize what it acquired in an early \$3 expenditure: a "60 Minutes transcript."⁶³

Rove cast the 1988 election as a referendum on the "60 Minutes" scandal, with Chief Phillips leading a so-called "Clean Slate" of business-bankrolled candidates. Business candidates won five of the six races.⁶⁴ The thrust of that campaign—replayed for a decade until no Democratic justice survived—was that greedy trial lawyers had corrupted the court's liberal justices. Rove took this direct-mail issue to the bank in the coming years, running the campaigns of seven justices. After Rove candidate George W. Bush won the 1994 gubernatorial election, his judicial appointments sped the establishment of an all-Republican Supreme Court that took good care of its donors.⁶⁵ In a single day in 1996, the court issued two tax decisions that overturned lower courts to save hundreds of thousands of dollars for two major donors to the justices: Enron and HEB Grocery Co.⁶⁶ The GOP finished its takeover of the court in 1998, when Harriet O'Neill—the ex-wife of Bob Perry pal and Swift Boat Veterans for Truth founder Joe O'Neill—rubbed out the court's last surviving Democrat.⁶⁷ A "60 Minutes" sequel that same year found the GOP court to be strikingly similar to its Democratic predecessor. The chief distinction was that the justices now took money from—and ruled for—business interests.⁶⁸

Texas infamously imposes no limits on how much a wealthy individual such as Joe Jamail or Bob Perry can give candidates for state office. Responding to persistent scandals prompted by state judges taking campaign money from lawyers and litigants with cases in their courtrooms, the legislature put indulgent limits on judicial contributions in 1995. These limits bar a Supreme Court candidate from taking more than \$30,000 from a law firm, \$25,000 from a PAC or \$5,000 from an individual for a given election (candidates can hit these limits in the primary, again in the general and in any runoff). Even these indulgent limits cramp the style of Texas' No. 1 political contributor.

Bob Perry pumped just over \$4 million into Texas' 2002 election cycle, including a total of \$35,000 to three Republican Supreme Court candidates. These direct contributions understate Perry's influence since he also bankrolled two political committees that gave heavily to the same judicial candidates. Texans for Lawsuit Reform PAC (discussed more below) gave \$58,498 to Supreme Court candidates in the 2002 cycle (when Perry accounted for 9 percent of TLR's PAC money). A PAC run by the HillCo Partners lobby firm (which represents Perry Homes and other companies) gave \$40,000 to those court candidates that cycle (when Bob Perry provided 25 cents of every dollar that HillCo PAC raised).

The *Texas Observer* reported that Perry-backed HillCo PAC gave heavily to justices who already had taken the maximum legal amount from Bob Perry.⁶⁹ This would've violated Texas' judicial limits *if* Perry directed HillCo's contributions to the justices. Such coordination is difficult to prove. Chief Justice Wallace Jefferson (who took big checks from both HillCo and Perry) and HillCo partner Bill Miller told the *Observer* that Bob Perry was too "honest" and "straight-up" to knowingly circumvent the law. Besides, Chief Justice Jefferson told the *Observer*, "I can't tell you what cases Perry has before the court." This would soon change in 2005, when Perry Homes appealed an extraordinary case to Texas' highest court.

Bob Perry's Influence on 2002 High Court Races

Republican High Court Candidate	Perry Amount In Cycle	Amount From TLR PAC	Amount From HillCo PAC
Wallace Jefferson	\$15,000	\$18,015	\$10,000
Xavier Rodriguez	\$5,000	\$13,015	\$5,000
'Dale' Wainwright	\$15,000	\$27,468	\$25,000
TOTAL	\$35,000	\$58,498	\$40,000

Robert and Jane Cull v. Perry Homes

Bob and Jane Cull paid Perry Homes \$233,730 for their new retirement home outside Fort Worth in 1996. Thereafter the Culls noticed serious foundation flaws. Bob Cull later said that he was slow to take legal action because he was a conservative who assumed that Bob Perry would fix the defects. The frustrated couple filed a lawsuit in 2000, alleging that their house "shifted and cracked" threatening "the physical safety of the occupants." On the eve of trial in late 2001, the Culls petitioned to transfer the dispute to arbitrator in the hope that this would resolve the matter sooner. The following year an arbitrator ordered Perry Homes and its warranty company to pay the Culls \$800,255 in damages.

The Cull case was bizarre on a couple levels. Usually *builders* are the ones who push arbitration through handpicked arbitration companies and consumer groups allege that the arbitrators favor the defendants who bring them business. In fact, Texas consumer groups had defied anyone to find a single case of a consumer winning a significant arbitration award from a Texas builder. On Christmas Eve 2002 and arbitrator handed consumer activists and the Culls their miracle.

Seeking a miracle of his own, Bob Perry petitioned a state district court to throw out the arbitrator's ruling. This is a tough sell. From the U.S. Supreme Court on down the judicial system bends over backwards to enforce arbitration awards. Perry Homes argued that it was victimized by a bastardized case that proceeded for one year in court before shifting to arbitration. The plaintiffs abused the court process, Perry Homes argued, to obtain documents and testimony that they later presented as evidence to the arbitrator. After two lower courts upheld the Culls' arbitration award, Perry Homes appealed in 2005 to the Perry-built court of last resort.

In amounts ranging from \$5,000 to \$20,000, Bob Perry had contributed a total of \$76,250 to the Texas Supreme Court's nine GOP justices between 2001 and 2008—making him the court's No. 1 individual contributor.⁷⁰ During that period the justices also took \$1.1 million from Texans for Lawsuit Reform PAC (which got 12 percent of its money from Perry) and \$955,000 from HillCo PAC (with Perry providing 46 percent of its funds). Remarkably, not one justice recused him or herself from this case brought by their top individual donor. Instead, the justices overturned two lower courts in 2008 to [vacate the Cull arbitration ruling](#) and to restart the case again in trial court. A Fort Worth jury concluded that trial in 2010, ordering Perry Homes and its warranty company to pay the Culls \$58 million.⁷¹ Judge Tom Lowe then ordered the parties into mediation, resulting in a confidential settlement in 2011.⁷²

Perry Homes has been sued approximately 150 times in its home base of Harris County, according to the *Houston Press*.⁷³ It is impossible to know how much higher these numbers would be if Perry did not include arbitration clauses in most of his sales (often through the warranty).

Torts Drive Texas' Biggest PAC

Three Houston businessmen from the alcohol and construction industries formed an anti-tort group in 1994 with \$15,000 in seed money from the tobacco industry.⁷⁴ Texans for Lawsuit Reform (TLR) soon amassed Texas' biggest political committee. From 1994 through 2011 it raised almost \$30 million, taking more than half of it from just 16 donors who made their fortunes in the litigious construction, energy, finance, medical or waste industries. The \$2.6 million that Bob Perry gave to TLR makes him the No. 1 contributor to Texas' No. 1 PAC. Perry has provided nine cents of every dollar that TLR ever raised.

TLR's war chest helped install a GOP majority in the Texas Senate in 1997 and the House in 2003, with TLR exercised controlling interests in some campaigns.⁷⁵ TLR's war chest also helped flip the civil justice system to favor corporate defendants.⁷⁶

Texas' Fattest PAC

Election Cycle	Money Raised By TLR PAC	Bob Perry's Share
1994	\$630,076	2%
1996	\$1,572,779	1%
1998	\$1,069,976	<1%
2000	\$1,482,734	6%
2002	\$2,136,369	9%
2004	\$3,378,368	10%
2006	\$3,886,888	15%
2008	\$4,587,523	11%
2010	\$6,887,155	9%
2011*	\$2,730,343	9%
TOTAL	\$29,603,522	9%

*First year of 2012 cycle.

The year of TLR's birth George W. Bush and Karl Rove won an upset victory over Democratic Governor Ann Richards. Rove said he convinced Bush to making lawsuits an issue in the campaign.⁷⁷ The fledgling TLR PAC and its wealthy supporters supplied 9 percent of the \$41 million that Bush raised for his two gubernatorial campaigns (including \$46,000 from Perry).⁷⁸

After his 1995 inauguration, Bush declared tort reform to be a legislative "emergency." Over the next two sessions, lawmakers approved anti-plaintiff provisions involving punitive damages, venue, and liability thresholds.⁷⁹ They also eliminated triple damages for some of the most serious claims filed under John Hill's Deceptive Trade Practices Act.⁸⁰ Not only did these changes keep dollars in the pockets of TLR's wealthy donors, they also prevented some of those dollars from flowing to trial lawyers who bankrolled Texas Democrats.

Tom DeLay and the 2002 Election

The tort lobby helped install a Republican majority in the Texas Senate in 1997 but the House proved to be a more resilient Democratic redoubt. With the new millennial census, GOP pressure built in Austin and Washington to seize the Texas House and anoint a GOP Speaker to help Majority Whip Tom DeLay redraw Texas' congressional districts. This objective united three powerful business interests in 2002: Texans for Lawsuit Reform (TLR), the Texas Association of Business (TAB) and DeLay's new Texans for a Republican Majority PAC (TRMPAC).⁸¹ DeLay steered some of this PAC money into his family's

Bob Perry Checks To TLR PAC

DATE	AMOUNT
9/29/94	\$10,000
5/9/96	\$10,000
9/22/97	\$5,000
6/5/00	\$25,000
9/20/00	\$65,000
9/12/01	\$5,000
10/12/01	\$20,000
10/7/02	\$75,000
10/7/02	\$100,000
9/10/03	\$25,000
2/3/04	\$100,000
8/24/04	\$15,000
10/8/04	\$125,000
10/15/04	\$25,000
10/18/04	\$50,000
5/31/05	\$100,000
11/2/05	\$150,000
11/8/05	\$25,000
11/17/05	\$1,000
2/14/06	\$125,000
3/1/06	\$125,000
3/29/06	\$25,000
9/18/06	\$50,000
6/29/07	\$250,000
5/5/08	\$250,000
7/9/09	\$250,000
5/13/10	\$250,000
10/27/10	\$100,000
1/14/11	\$250,000
TOTAL:	\$2,606,000

pockets. From 2000 to 2005, the *New York Times* found, TRMPAC and other DeLay PACs paid more than \$500,000 in consulting fees to the congressman's daughter and wife.⁸² Bob Perry was the No. 1 donor to DeLay's new TRMPAC, giving it \$170,000.⁸³

TLR, TAB and TRMPAC collectively contributed a total of \$1.4 million to 21 Republicans in key 2002 House races (16 of them won). Bob Perry directly contributed another \$295,500 to those same candidates. Meanwhile, TAB, which was funded by corporate insurers, spent another \$1.9 million on "issue ads" attacking Democratic candidates. In an election where all House candidates raised just over \$33 million, this \$3.6 million helped deliver a GOP House majority. One of that new majority's first acts in early 2003 was to make conservative Rep. Tom Craddick speaker. Speaker Craddick then helped Tom DeLay redraw Texas' 32 congressional districts, going from 17 GOP seats to a 21-seat majority.⁸⁴

In its high-stakes quest to take the Texas House, TRMPAC violated Texas election law. During the 2002 cycle, TRMPAC told the Texas Ethics Commission that it raised just over \$894,000. This accounting failed to mention another \$600,000 in corporate funds that the PAC could not legally transfer to Texas state candidates. In October 2002 TRMPAC did just that. It transferred \$190,000 in corporate funds to a Republican PAC in Washington—which then wrote checks totaling \$190,000 to seven Republicans in crucial Texas House races. Finding that TRMPAC broke state law by failing to report corporate contributions to the Ethics Commission, a state judge ordered TRMPAC Treasurer Bill Ceverha to pay \$196,600 in civil damages in 2005.⁸⁵ In 2010 an Austin jury convicted Tom DeLay of criminal conspiracy and money laundering charges related to TRMPAC's \$190,000 transaction. DeLay continues to appeal that conviction and his three-year prison sentence.⁸⁶

Although Bob Perry was TRMPAC's largest contributor he did not provide any of the PAC's illegal corporate funds. Nonetheless, Perry continued to support TRMPAC long after evidence of its criminal activities emerged. Perry made a \$5,000 contribution to TRMPAC in October 2003—seven months after media reported that the Travis County District Attorney received a [criminal complaint](#) about TRMPAC's corporate contributions. Perry also made a personal gift of \$100,000 to embattled TRMPAC Treasurer Bob Ceverha, whom a civil judge had held personally liable for failing to disclose \$600,000 in corporate funding to the Ethics Commission).⁸⁷

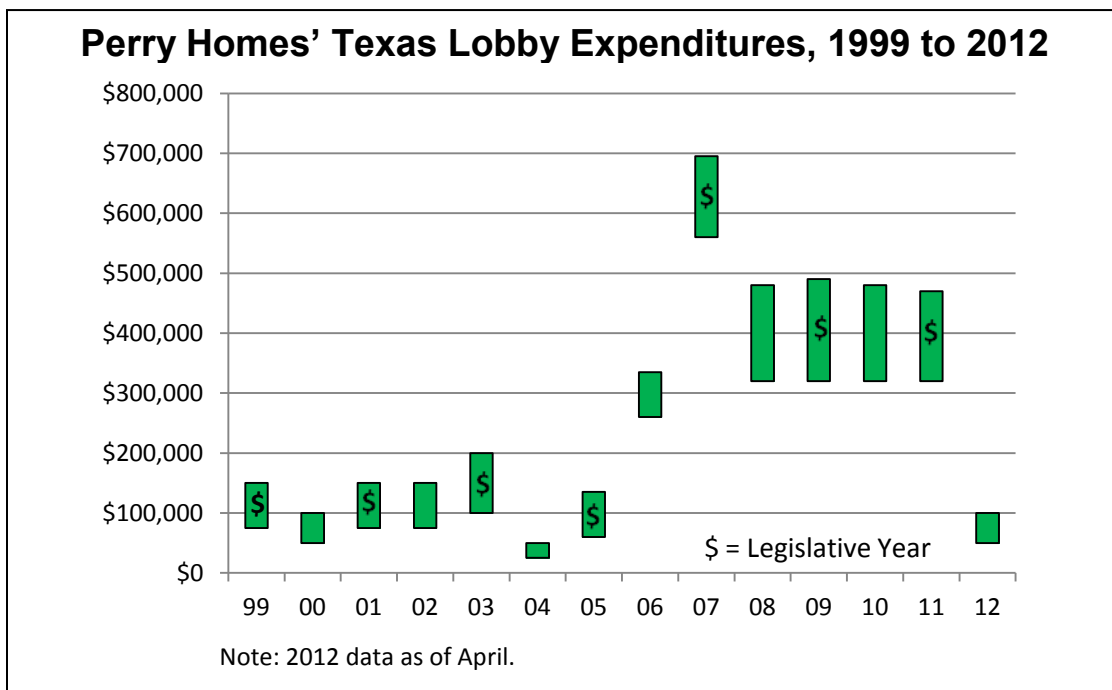
DeLay and Bob Perry's family have roots. As a Baylor University administrator in 1967, Perry's father expelled DeLay for such antics as drinking and liberally spreading Baylor-green paint around Texas A&M's campus (the expulsion prompted DeLay's transfer to the University of Houston).⁸⁸ Nonetheless, W.C. Perry backed DeLay's first congressional run in 1984, as did Bob & Doylene Perry and their eldest child, then-18-year-old Jennie Perry. When DeLay led the Animal House called Congress, Bob Perry pledged to this DeLay fraternity. The Perry family later hosted a Houston-area fundraiser to show support for the troubled majority whip four months before his indictment in September 2005. After DeLay resigned from Congress, Perry served as finance chair to Republican Shelley Sekula-Gibbs, who lost the 2006 race for DeLay's seat to Democrat Nick Lampson.⁸⁹

A month before his indictment, DeLay opened an \$8 million group foster-care home outside Houston, featuring eight large homes that Bob Perry built at cost. DeLay planned to build 24 more homes there but funding dried up with the death of DeLay's political career.⁹⁰ After DeLay's 2010 conviction, the non-profit foster home transferred its \$7.3 million in remaining assets to Catholic Charities of Houston.⁹¹

Once the 2002 election gave the GOP control of the Texas House, the GOP majority richly rewarded TRMPAC donors.⁹² TRMPAC's No. 1 contributor received his own regulatory agency, prompting Democratic Rep. Garnet Coleman to quip about Bob Perry, "In Texas you can buy your own state agency, then regulate yourself."⁹³ The Texas Residential Construction Commission's ostensible purpose was to mediate disputes between builders and buyers of new homes. Perry Homes Corporate Counsel John

Krugh helped design the agency and Governor Rick Perry just appointed industry representatives—including Krugh—to run the new agency (Governor Perry’s top individual donor is Bob Perry).⁹⁴ The new agency forced homeowners to pay for inspectors, who would recommend solutions to a dispute—recommendations that builders were free to ignore. Endorsed by Perry,⁹⁵ the agency created red tape that forced homeowners to waste money and an average of eight months before they could take lemon-home cases to court or to arbitration.⁹⁶

The accompanying graph of Texas lobby expenditures by Perry Homes reveals the importance of the Residential Construction Commission. Texas lobbyists reported the first Perry Homes contracts in 1999, when the company was combating proposed Houston ordinances to make developers preserve historic homes and fund parks.⁹⁷ Perry’s company first spent up to \$200,000 on Texas lobbyists during the 2003 creation of the Residential Construction Commission. Its lobby expenditures spiked again in 2006 and 2007,⁹⁸ when withering attacks against its beloved agency by activists and the media began to reach politicians. Republican Comptroller Carole Keeton Strayhorn released a blistering 2006 [report](#) calling for the commission’s abolition. Builders became worried that her report might prompt lawmakers to kill or overhaul the agency in 2007.⁹⁹ After Texas’ Sunset Advisory Commission issued another scathing [report](#) in 2009, lawmakers abolished this industry trade group masquerading as a state agency in 2009.¹⁰⁰



Launching Swift Boat

Following his success in Texas’ 2002 election, privacy-relishing Bob Perry made himself a national news story as the No. 1 donor to Swift Boat Veterans for Truth. Swift Boat and other so-called 527 political groups (named for a section of the federal tax code) provided a means for donors to circumvent federal campaign contribution limits of \$2,100. Swift Boat spent \$23 million attacking a key strength of Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry. This Vietnam War volunteer earned three Purple Hearts and a Bronze Star as a lieutenant commanding Navy Swift Boats.

As Kerry faced enemy fire in 1968, then-Texas House Speaker Ben Barnes covertly helped secure a coveted spot in the Texas Air National Guard for George W. Bush.¹⁰¹ Serving in that “champagne unit,” dominated by the sons of well-connected Texans, the closest Bush came to combat is when his father got

him transferred to Alabama to assist a failed 1972 U.S. Senate campaign.¹⁰² That occurred a year after Kerry, speaking as a leader of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, asked the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, “How do you ask a man to be the last man to die for a mistake?”

With U.S. troops battling in Afghanistan and Iraq and Bush and Kerry battling for the White House 32 years later, the Swift Boat Veterans group launched attacks on Kerry’s military record in August 2004. Some of the attacks featured Van O’Dell, a Swift boat veteran who was present on the day when Kerry reportedly pulled a fellow soldier to safety while under fire in 1969. In an account disputed by military records and Special Forces Lt. Jim Rassmann, whom Kerry rescued, O’Dell said there was no enemy fire and “Kerry lied to get his Bronze Star.”¹⁰³ Several veterans who attacked Kerry in Swift Boat ads previously had praised his bravery and honor.¹⁰⁴

The Swift Boat group had many ties to the Bush campaign. Attorney Benjamin Ginsberg simultaneously counseled Swift Boat and Bush’s campaign.¹⁰⁵ Ken Cordier advised the Bush campaign on veteran affairs before attacking Kerry in a Swift Boat ad.¹⁰⁶ Rear Admiral William Schachte, Jr., who organized veteran attacks on Bush rival John McCain in 2000, vouched for Swift Boat claims that Kerry lied to get a Purple Heart. Three of Schachte’s law partners at the [Blank Rome](#) firm bundled more than \$100,000 apiece for the Bush campaign. The firm then helped a client land a \$40 million contract from the Bush administration.¹⁰⁷

Two years after the election, the not-so-swift Federal Elections Commission fined Swift Boat \$299,500. Agency lawyers said it spent \$20.5 million on Kerry attack ads; accepted \$715,000 in illegal corporate contributions and illegally raised another \$12.5 million that violated the individual contribution limit of \$5,000 per year.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Swift Boat took \$4.45 million from Bob Perry alone. The dates and amounts of Perry’s Swift Boat contributions make clear that he supported its message. After Swift Boat committed itself to running nasty attacks without regard for their truth, Perry increased his contributions to the group.

527s and Super PACs

Perry bankrolled the political attacks of many other 527 groups. In 2006 he gave \$5 million to the Economic Freedom Fund, \$2 million to Americans for Honesty on Issues and \$1 million to the Free Enterprise Fund.¹⁰⁹ Headed by a California Republican Party attorney, the Economic Freedom Fund attacked vulnerable Democrats in a failed bid to preserve the GOP’s majority in the U.S. House. In Georgia it falsely portrayed conservative Democrat Jim Marshall as a liberal (Rep. Marshall squeaked through).¹¹⁰ It also funded robo-call push polls in Indiana to smear Baron Hill, a Democratic challenger who ousted GOP Rep. Mike Sodrel. Hill “voted to allow the sale of a broad range of violent and sexually explicit materials to minors,” the poll said. “Does knowing this make you less likely to vote for Baron Hill?” Indiana’s attorney general sued the Freedom Fund to block the calls, arguing that they violated the state’s ban on unsolicited robo-calls.¹¹¹

DeLay crony Sue Walden tapped Perry to bankroll Americans for Honesty on Issues. Its 2006 ads accused nine vulnerable Democrats of being soft on crime, coddling illegal immigrants and trying to cut funding for U.S. troops in Iraq.¹¹² The Perry-funded Free Enterprise Fund teamed up with Swift Boat consultants on Democratic attack ads and a spot that denounced Tom DeLay’s prosecution as politically motivated. Another Free Enterprise ad featured smoking images of New York’s Twin Towers and accused Ohio Senate candidate Sherrod Brown of being weak on national security.¹¹³

Minnesota’s 2006 Democratic gubernatorial candidate Mike Hatch sustained fierce attacks from A Stronger America, a group that shared Swift Boat’s mailing address. By the time voters discovered that Bob Perry supplied two-thirds of the group’s \$750,000 budget, Republican Tim Pawlenty already had won.¹¹⁴ The following year Perry gave more money than anyone else (\$165,000) to help pass a Texas constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage. This prompted some gay real estate agents to

refuse to show that homebuilder's townhomes in Dallas. "Why feed the enemy?" agent Jack Evans told the *Dallas Voice*. "The more profit he makes from the community, the more he's going to try to bury it."¹⁵ Perry spokesman Anthony Holm told the *Voice* that if his boss were anti-gay "he wouldn't be building homes in these areas."¹⁶

A conservative PAC taking 89 percent of its money from Bob Perry mailed racist ads attacking Democratic Texas House candidate Joel Redmond in 2008. Those Empower Texans ads featured a picture of Redmond, who is white, surrounded by photos of five minority lawmakers under the caption, "Bad company corrupts good character." The flipside reproduces the same photos under the silhouettes of blackbirds and the tagline, "Birds of a feather flock together."¹⁷

Top 2012 Super PAC Contributors (as of October 22, 2012)

Super PAC Amount	Contributor	Company	Location
\$36,500,000	Sheldon Adelson	Las Vegas Sands	Las Vegas
\$20,450,000	Bob Perry	Perry Homes	Houston
\$18,850,000	Harold Simmons	Contran Corp.	Dallas
\$12,850,000	John J. Ricketts	Hugo Enterprises	Omaha

Source: Center for Responsive Politics.

The U.S. Supreme Court's 2010 *Citizens United* decision enabled the creation of so-called "Super PACs." These loosely regulated committees can raise unlimited funds from individuals, unions and corporations so long as they do not overtly coordinate their political activities with candidates or their campaigns. In the first Super PAC presidential cycle, Bob Perry ranked as the nation's No. 2 Super PAC contributor after casino mogul Sheldon Adelson. As of late October 2012, Perry had given Super PACs in that election cycle more than \$20 million.

Bob Perry's 2012 Super PAC Contributions (through October 22, 2012)

Amount	Super PAC	Purpose
\$10,000,000	Restore Our Future	Mitt Romney
\$6,500,000	American Crossroads	Republican federal hegemony
\$1,000,000	Club for Growth Action	Top expense attacking David Dewhurst Senate campaign
\$1,000,000	Congressional Leadership Fund	Republican U.S. House candidates
\$1,000,000	Independence Virginia PAC	George Allen's U.S. Senate campaign
\$600,000	Texas Conservatives Fund	David Dewhurst's failed U.S. Senate bid
\$250,000	Freedom PAC	Connie Mack's U.S. Senate campaign
\$100,000	Make Us Great Again	President Rick Perry!
\$20,450,000	TOTAL	

Source: Center for Responsive Politics.

Perry, who served on Mitt Romney's 2008 "Texas Leadership Team,"¹⁸ gave \$10 million to pro-Romney Restore Our Future. He gave \$6.5 million to American Crossroads, which his old pal Karl Rove founded to promote GOP hegemony in Washington. Bob Perry gave \$1 million to Club for Growth, the Congressional Leadership Fund (promoting the U.S. House's Republican majority) and the Independence Virginia PAC (backing George Allen's U.S. Senate bid). He gave a total of \$700,000 to Super PACs unsuccessfully seeking to send Texas Governor Rick Perry and Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst to the place they love to hate: Washington. Bob Perry gave \$600,000 to the Texas Conservatives Fund that

supported Dewhurst’s U.S. Senate run. After Tea Partier Ted Cruz defeated Dewhurst in the Primary, Perry gave \$1 million to Club for Growth Action, which had depleted its coffers attacking Dewhurst. Perry also gave \$250,000 to Freedom PAC, which bolsters Florida Republican Connie Mack’s bid to unseat Democratic U.S. Senator Bill Nelson.

Texas’ No. 1 Contributor

Bob Perry has ranked as the No. 1 individual contributor to Texas state candidates and PACs for more than a decade (though he had competition from Houston trial lawyer Steve Mostyn in the 2010 cycle).¹¹⁹ Perry contributed \$13.1 million to state candidates and PACs from January 2009 to July 2012. The accompanying table shows his contributions in that period to the House Speaker and selected statewide officeholders. The table excludes statewide judicial officeholders (who are subject to contribution limits) and to Railroad Commissioners, who are heavily bankrolled by the energy industry they regulate.¹²⁰ Bob Perry is the No. 1 contributor to the remaining seven officeholders listed below.¹²¹ Perry has given them a total of \$3.5 million since January 2009, providing from 3 percent to 10 percent of all the money that each of these officials raised in that period.

**Bob Perry Contributions to Speaker and Statewide Officeholders
(January 2009 to July 2012)**

Recipient	B. Perry Amount	B. Perry Ranking	Total Raised	B. Perry ‘s Percentage
Governor Rick Perry	\$1,710,000	No. 1	\$1,710,000	4%
Attorney General Greg Abbott	\$550,000	No. 1	\$12,547,564	4%
Comptroller Susan Combs	\$300,000	No. 1	\$5,456,507	5%
Lieutenant Gov. David Dewhurst	\$300,000	No. 1	\$10,886,480	3%
Agriculture Com. Todd Staples	\$300,000	No. 1	\$2,917,106	10%
House Speaker Joe Straus	\$220,000	No. 1	\$8,606,259	3%
Land Com. Jerry Patterson	\$110,000	No. 1	\$1,739,253	6%

Although much appreciated, the scale of Bob Perry’s contributions has, at times, been embarrassing to recipients. Governor Perry attacked Democratic challenger Chris Bell in 2006 for accepting \$1 million from Houston trial lawyer John O’Quinn. Not wanting to invite hypocrisy charges by taking \$1 million from Bob Perry, the governor’s campaign arranged to funnel the money through the Republican Governors Association (RGA), which did not disclose Bob Perry’s contribution until after the election. Bell later sued Rick Perry and the RGA, alleging that they violated state campaign laws by hiding the true source of Bob Perry’s \$1 million gubernatorial contribution. Depositions in the case revealed that Perry campaign officials Dave Carney and Deirdre Delisi solicited funds from then-RGA Chair Mitt Romney in early October. Bob Perry sent \$1 million to the RGA two days later,¹²² with that group flipping the money on to Rick Perry in the last days of the campaign.¹²³ The Perry campaign settled Bell’s complaint for \$426,000; the RGA appealed a \$2 million verdict that Bell won against it in 2010.¹²⁴

Appendix: All in the Family

From 1974 until 2003, individuals could not give a federal candidate more than \$1,000 per election (a primary, general and run-off election each count as separate elections).¹²⁵ The four children of Bob and Doylene Perry often joined their parents in contributing to the same federal PACs and candidates during the 1980s, frequently contributing the maximum amount on the same day. The accompanying table lists \$111,000 in federal contributions that Perry children made in the 1984 cycle *with one or more family members*. Perry's eldest child, Jennie, was 18 on Election Day 1984; her youngest sibling, Will, was 11.

These joint contributions benefitted 21 conservative candidates and four conservative PACs in 1984. One top recipient of Perry family funds was recently converted Republican Phil Gramm, then making his maiden run for the U.S. Senate as an early client of fledgling consultant Karl Rove.¹²⁶ The Perry clan favored North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms and Kentucky's Mitch McConnell, who won his first Kentucky Senate race in 1984 by a hair. They also backed five members of the so-called "Texas Six Pack," six GOP freshmen who took a bite out of the Texas congressional delegation's Democratic majority (Dick Armey, Joe Barton, Beau Boulter, Larry Combest, Tom DeLay and Mac Sweeney).¹²⁷ Outside Texas, the Perry family gave the most to conservative Georgia Democrat Kathy McDonald (who lost her bid to reclaim her husband's House seat after the Soviets shot down a Korean Air Lines plane with John Bircher Larry McDonald aboard).¹²⁸

Perry family members jointly backed four conservative PACs: Paul Weyrich's Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, the National Congressional Club, the National Pro-Life PAC and RuffPAC. RuffPAC was named for Utah-based financial guru Howard Ruff, whose economic-doomsday predictions proved prophetic for his followers. When Ruff's gold-stockpiling company went bankrupt in 1991 it was unable to account for millions of dollars of bullion.¹²⁹ Ruff championed Iran-Contra ringleader Oliver North and GOP Senators Orrin Hatch and Jesse Helms, while attacking Hillary Rodham Clinton and landing Willie-Horton jabs on Michael Dukakis.¹³⁰ RuffPAC President Neal Blair pleaded guilty to failing to file a timely tax return on \$117,000 in income in 1984—the year the Perry family bankrolled the PAC.¹³¹

The few campaign disclosures that identified 11-year-old Will's employer, variously listed him as a "Student," "Self-Employed," or as an employee of "Perry Homes." Not shown here are three contributions that young master Will—independent of other family members—shrewdly gave to three close congressional races that year, including one of the closest races in history.¹³² Multiple family members can legally contribute their own money to the same candidate. Yet contributors such as Dallas billionaire Harold Simmons have run afoul of the law by directing their children to make contributions or by making contributions in the names of their children.

Perry Family Members Backed the Same Federal PACs in the 1984 Cycle—Often the Same Day

Campaign/PAC	Bob		Doyle		Jennie	Jack		Kathy		Will	TOTAL		
Arney, Dick* R-TX (51%)	12/8/83	\$1,000	12/8/83	\$1,000			12/28/83	\$1,000	7/8/84	\$1,000	\$4,000		
Barton, Joe* R-TX (57%)	3/19/84	\$1,000			2/3/84	\$1,000	2/3/84	\$1,000	4/9/84	\$1,000	\$15,000		
Barton, Joe*	3/30/84	\$1,000	3/30/84	\$1,000			5/22/84	\$1,000	4/17/84	\$1,000			
Barton, Joe*	5/11/84	\$1,000							5/30/84	\$1,000			
Barton, Joe*	5/21/84	\$1,000	5/21/84	\$1,000					6/1/84	\$1,000			
Barton, Joe*	8/20/84	\$1,000							7/12/84	\$1,000			
Boulter, Beau* R-TX (53%)							4/18/84	\$1,000	4/18/84	\$1,000	\$4,000		
Boulter, Beau*							6/20/84	\$1,000	6/20/84	\$1,000			
Campbell, Carroll R-SC (64%)					8/27/84	\$1,000	8/27/84	\$1,000			\$2,000		
Cobey, Bill R-NC (51%)					1/19/84	\$1,000	1/19/84	\$1,000			\$2,000		
<i>Cooney, Lloyd R-WA (NR)</i>	10/5/83	\$1,000	10/5/83	\$1,000			10/5/83	\$1,000			\$3,000		
<i>Corcoran, Lloyd R-IL (PL)</i>	11/10/83	\$1,000			10/24/83	\$1,000	3/12/84	\$1,000	11/11/83	\$1,000	\$4,000		
DeLay, Tom* R-TX (65%)	1/17/84	\$1,000	1/17/84	\$1,000	4/20/84	\$1,000					\$3,000		
<i>Denton, Jeremiah R-AL (NR)</i>					10/17/84	\$1,000	10/31/83	\$1,000	10/31/83	\$1,000	10/17/84	\$1,000	\$4,000
Fields, Jack R-TX (65%)	4/27/84	\$1,000	4/27/84	\$1,000	5/3/84	\$1,000					\$3,000		
Fleming, Ronald R-TX (PL)							4/15/84	\$1,000	4/15/84	\$1,000	\$2,000		
Franklin, Webb R-MS (51%)					8/20/84	\$1,000			8/20/84	\$1,000	\$2,000		
Com. 4 Survival of Free	1/13/83	\$5,000	1/13/83	\$5,000	3/20/83	\$5,000							
Com. 4 Survival of Free					3/21/84	\$5,000	2/19/84	\$5,000	4/4/84	\$3,000	6/22/84	\$5,000	\$33,000
<i>Gramm, Phil R-TX (59%)</i>		\$1,000	1/12/83	\$1,000	1/12/83	\$1,000							
<i>Gramm, Phil</i>	1/3/84	\$518	1/3/84	\$1,000	5/2/84	\$1,000	4/30/84	\$1,000	4/30/84	\$1,000			
<i>Gramm, Phil</i>					10/23/84	\$1,000					\$8,518		
<i>Helms, Jessie R-NC (52%)</i>	8/31/83	\$1,000	8/31/83	\$1,000	8/31/83	\$1,000	8/31/83	\$1,000					
<i>Helms, Jessie</i>	11/28/83	\$1,000	11/28/83	\$1,000							\$6,000		
Horn, Carl R-NC (PL)							5/17/84	\$1,000	5/17/84	\$1,000	\$2,000		
<i>Jepsen, Roger R-IA (44%)</i>	6/22/83	\$1,000	6/22/83	\$1,000	6/22/83	\$1,000			6/22/83	\$1,000	\$4,000		
<i>Mcateer, Ed Indep.-TN (5%)</i>					12/20/83	\$1,000	3/5/84	\$1,000	12/20/83	\$1,000	\$3,000		
<i>McConnell, Mitch R-KY (50%)</i>	3/5/84	\$1,000	3/5/84	\$1,000						10/25/84	\$1,000	\$3,000	
McDonald, Kathy D-GA (PL)	10/3/83	\$1,000	10/3/83	\$1,000	10/18/83	\$1,000			10/18/83	\$1,000	\$7,000		
McDonald, Kathy	11/2/83	\$1,000	11/2/83	\$1,000					11/2/83	\$1,000			
National Congressional Club			3/22/83	\$5,000	3/22/83	\$5,000					8/20/84	\$5,000	\$15,000
National Pro-Life PAC	9/30/83	\$5,000					12/27/83	\$5,000	10/30/83	\$5,000	9/27/84	\$5,000	\$20,000
Ruff PAC	12/31/83	\$5,000					3/9/84	\$3,000	3/9/84	\$3,000		\$11,000	
<i>Smith, Albert R-AL (36%)</i>	2/14/84	\$1,000	2/14/84	\$1,000							\$4,000		
<i>Smith, Albert</i>	9/27/84	\$1,000								9/27/84	\$1,000		
Sweeney, Mac* R-TX (51%)	12/9/83	\$1,000	12/9/83	\$1,000	3/19/84	\$1,000	4/10/84	\$1,000	4/10/84	\$1,000	\$10,000		
Sweeney, Mac*	5/14/84	\$1,000	5/14/84	\$1,000	5/24/84	\$1,000	5/25/84	\$1,000	5/31/84	\$1,000			
TOTALS:		\$36,518		\$27,000		\$32,000		\$30,000		\$31,000	\$18,000	\$174,51	

Same-day contributions in bold. *Senate candidates in italics.* PL = Primary loser. NR = Not running in 1984.

* Member of the so-called 1984 "Texas Six Pack," the six Republican freshman who cut the Texas delegation's Democratic majority from 22-5 to 17-10.

Notes

¹ “Buford Challenges Fields on Stock Deal,” *Houston Post*, September 20, 1984.

² Perry’s father, a Baylor University dean, introduced the duo when Fields studied at Baylor in the 1970s. As student body president, Fields invited the younger Perry to give inspirational lectures to students. When Democratic challenger Don Buford tried to capitalize on this too-good-to-be-true investment in 1984, Fields prevailed with 65 percent of the vote. After Texas entered a severe recession, Fields reported that the value and dividend payments of his Perry Contractors holdings both dropped to between \$5,000 and \$15,000 in 1984. See “Washington News,” United Press International, May 20, 1985.

³ The company’s website says Apple’s “stock has split three times since the IPO so on a split-adjusted basis the IPO share price was \$2.75.”

⁴ October 30, 2012 marks Bob Perry’s 80th birthday.

⁵ “Builder’s \$8 Million Tops GOP Donor List,” *Houston Chronicle*, October 17, 2006. “[GOP House Builder Bob Perry Lost Bid For Capitol Additions](#),” *TPJ’s Lobby Watch*, December 5, 2006.

⁶ “Builder’s Money Talks, But What’s It Saying,” *Dallas Morning News*, November 1, 2003. “Texan a Reluctant Player in Swift Boat Flap,” *Austin American-Statesman*, August 28, 2004.

⁷ Briscoe won his first gubernatorial campaign in 1972 running in opposition to new taxes and as a government reformer in the wake of the Sharpstown scandal, in which an insurance executive bribed state lawmakers to obtain favorable legislation.

⁸ “Bob Perry Needs a Hug,” *Texas Monthly*, March 28, 2007.

⁹ Ron Paul said that what prompted him to enter politics was President Richard Nixon’s 1971 decision to completely divorce the U.S. dollar from gold. Paul lost his 1974 challenge to Houston Democratic Congressman Bob Casey. After President Ford tapped Casey to serve on the Federal Maritime Commission, Paul beat Democrat Bob Gammage in a special election to complete Casey’s term in early 1976.

¹⁰ Paul filed a failed lawsuit to void that outcome. “Rep. Paul Files Lawsuit Over Defeat to Gammage,” *Houston Post*, November 25, 1976.

¹¹ Paul won that race by 1,056 votes. The candidacy of William Clements, Texas’ first GOP governor since reconstruction, boosted conservative voter turnout in November 1978. “Newsletter Details How Paul Captured Upset Election Win,” *Houston Post*, January 9, 1979. The \$554,348 that fiscal hawk Paul spent on his extended 1976 campaign was that year’s most expensive congressional campaign. See “Ron Paul Heads List in Campaign Spending,” *Houston Post*, October 2, 1977.

¹² Now retired from the University of Houston’s law faculty, attorney [John Jay Douglass](#) told TPJ that his son worked at the time as a low-level campaign worker for Gammage. Defending Paul in this FEC case was future federal Judge Jerry E. Smith, who generated recent controversy in Obamacare and women’s health cases. “Holder: Justice Department Will Respond to Judge,” Associated Press, April 4, 2012. Judge Smith’s emergency stay on May 1, 2012 lifted a court injunction barring Texas officials from excluding Planned Parenthood from a women’s health program. Five months earlier Smith was one of three judges who upheld a Texas law requiring women seeking an abortion to have an invasive vaginal sonogram. “Appeals Judge OKs Ban on Planned Parenthood,” *Austin American-Statesman*, May 2, 2012.

¹³ “Our investigation indicates that you leased these billboards,” the FEC’s general counsel wrote to Perry in March 1977, “without complying with the provisions of 2 U.S.C. §441d.”

¹⁴ Congress created the FEC in 1975.

¹⁵ “The Grand Prairie Years: A Biography of W.C. Perry,” Ron Arnold, Merril Press, 1987.

¹⁶ In 2007 *Texas Monthly* reported in “Bob Perry Needs a Hug” that Perry got a history degree. According to the Baylor registrar, a Bobby Jack Perry with the right date of birth started at Baylor in 1950, receiving a B.S. in physical education in 1953 and an M.S. in education in 1962.

¹⁷ The 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Perry’s father met LBJ at Southwest Texas State Teachers’ College (now Texas State University), which they both attended at different times. W.C. Perry later served as Bosque County chair of LBJ’s 1984 Senate campaign. “The Grand Prairie Years: A Biography of W.C. Perry,” Ron Arnold, Merril Press, 1987.

¹⁸ Perry profiles provide various dates for his launching his business, ranging from 1967 to 1969. From the earliest to the latest of these founding dates, see “Bob Perry Needs a Hug,” *Texas Monthly*, March 28, 2007 (1980s editions

of *Professional Builder's* "Giant 400" list of top U.S. builders also reports a 1967 founding); "Builder's Money Talks, But What's It Saying," *Dallas Morning News*, November 1, 2003; "Mason Best Buys 50% of Perry," *Houston Post*, May 5, 1989.

¹⁹ Bob Perry is a private man and this report does not psychoanalyze him. Related material crops up in litigation involving troubled son Will Perry. A local newspaper columnist discussed Will Perry's business and divorce litigation in 2008, including a document in which this son blames his "sexual addiction" in part on a verbally abusive, alcoholic father. "[Bev's Burner](#)," *Fort Bend Star*, May 14, 2008.

²⁰ In inflation-adjusted 2011 dollars, annual average oil prices increased from \$21.5 a barrel in 1972 to \$103 in 1980.

²¹ In inflation-adjusted 2011 dollars, annual average oil prices dropped from \$62 a barrel in 1984 to under \$30 in both 1986 and 1988.

²² *Professional Builder's* 2012 "Giant 400" list of top U.S. builders (based on 2011 revenues).

²³ "Buying of the Presidency," Center for Public Integrity, 2008 edition.

²⁴ SEDCO sold in 1984 for \$1.2 billion.

²⁵ "The Heritage of Texas Business," Texas Business Hall of Fame Foundation, 1997.

²⁶ "Rough-Cut Governor Helped Turn Texas Red," *Wall Street Journal*, May 31, 2011.

²⁷ Clements won 75 percent of the vote. Hutchison's booby prize was future U.S. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, whom he married two months before blowing the May 6 primary. The Hutchisons both made the *Houston Chronicle's* list of the "[Ten Worst Campaigns in Modern Texas History](#)." "Texas on the Potomac," *Houston Chronicle*, March 3, 2010.

²⁸ The Deceptive Trades Practices Act. Hill won multi-million plane-crash cases against Lockheed and Braniff as a trial lawyer in the 1960s. As attorney general he aggressively prosecuted environmental violations and orchestrated media leaks that led to the shuttering of La Grange's Chicken House, better known as the Best Little Whorehouse in Texas. "Former Texas Chief Justice John Hill Dies," *Houston Chronicle*, July 9, 2007.

²⁹ *Bush's Brain*, James Moore and Wayne Slater, John Wiley & Sons, 2003.

³⁰ The three-member agency approves state bank charters; Perry had sat on the board of the First Bank of Houston. "Unknowns Fill Posts in Austin," *Houston Post*, February 18, 1979.

³¹ "Karl Rove: How To Build a Multi-Million Dollar Money Machine," *Dallas Morning News*, February 12, 2012.

³² Clements also beat ex-Congressman Tom Loeffler in that Republican Primary.

³³ "White Funds Double Those of GOP Candidates," *Houston Chronicle*, April 4, 1986.

³⁴ "Rove: 'No One' in Bush Camp Worked with Swift Boat Vets," Special Report with Brit Hume, *Fox News*, August 25, 2004.

³⁵ Ayrshire's owner, Billy Burge III, was a close ally of developer Bob Lanier, Houston's future mayor.

³⁶ The other builders were Pulte Home Corp., Ryland Group, Inc., Park Avenue Homes and T.B. Campbell, Inc.

³⁷ "Bloopersfund: That's Supposed to Be Cleanup, Not Coverup," *Washington Monthly*, April 1990. "Polluters Directing Cleanups," *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1990. The toxic Dixie Oil Processors site covered another eight acres nearby. Environmental agencies previously documented chemical leaks and spills into nearby Mud Gully and Clear Creek. "The Effects of a Grassroots Environmental Movement at the Brio Superfund Site," Kimberly Youngblood, in *Energy Metropolis*, Martin Melosi and Joseph Pratt editors, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007. Ex-Friendswood Mayor Ralph Lowe was a major polluter of the Brio site and was a 1963 charter member of the Clear Creek Drainage District. Two years after he paid \$1 million to settle his Brio liabilities, Lowe unsuccessfully ran for that board again in 1994. "Ex-Friendswood Mayor Denied Drainage Position," *Houston Chronicle*, May 8, 1994. "Settlement Reached Between U.S., Brio Stockholder Lowe," *Houston Chronicle*, December 30, 1992.

³⁸ The pollutants included vinyl chloride, 1-2-dichloroethane, styrene, benzene, fluorene, xylene and toluene.

"Contaminant Leak Discovered at Brio," *Pearland Journal*, June 3, 2010.

³⁹ "The Effects of a Grassroots Environmental Movement at the Brio Superfund Site," Kimberly Youngblood, in *Energy Metropolis*, Martin Melosi and Joseph Pratt editors, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007.

⁴⁰ "The Effects of a Grassroots Environmental Movement at the Brio Superfund Site," Kimberly Youngblood, in *Energy Metropolis*, Martin Melosi and Joseph Pratt editors, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007. *Eckhardt: There Once Was a Congressman From Texas*, Gary Keith, University of Texas Press, 2007.

-
- ⁴¹ "Polluters Directing Cleanups," *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1990. "Houston Families Settle Toxic Cleanup Lawsuit," Associated Press, *Lawrence Journal-World*, June 27, 1992. "Landmark Toxic Site Deal Struck," *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 1992.
- ⁴² "The Effects of a Grassroots Environmental Movement at the Brio Superfund Site," Kimberly Youngblood, in *Energy Metropolis*, Martin Melosi and Joseph Pratt editors, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007.
- ⁴³ "EPA Details Plan to Dispose of Brio Toxic Waste," *Houston Chronicle* February 10, 1988.
- ⁴⁴ Jury Supports Home Builders in Waste Suit," *Houston Post*, April 11, 1987.
- ⁴⁵ "Brio Site Case Draws Angry Homeowners," *Houston Chronicle*, February 3, 1987. A jury found that the developers learned about the waste site in 1979.
- ⁴⁶ "Builders, Developers Settle Lawsuit in Waste Dump Flap," *Houston Chronicle*, May 14, 1987. "Jury Supports Home Builders in Waste Suit," *Houston Post*, April 11, 1987. "Jury's Verdict Angers Residents," *Houston Chronicle*, February 13, 1990.
- ⁴⁷ "Huge Suit by Residents Against Monsanto Set," *Houston Chronicle*, October 17, 1989. "State Clears Monsanto Co.," *Houston Post*, February 13, 1990. "Houston Families Settle Toxic Cleanup Lawsuit," Associated Press, *Lawrence Journal-World*, June 27, 1992.
- ⁴⁸ "Monsanto Cleared in Homeowners Suit," *Houston Chronicle*, February 13, 1990.
- ⁴⁹ The S&L paid \$160 million and Monsanto paid the largest chemical payout of \$39 million. "Settlement on Brio Hits \$207 Million," *Houston Post*, June 19, 1992.
- ⁵⁰ "Houston Families Settle Toxic Cleanup Lawsuit," Associated Press, *Lawrence Journal-World*, June 27, 1992. "Landmark Toxic Site Deal Struck," *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 1992. Bulldozers razed Southbend in 1997 ("Southbend's Final Days," *Houston Chronicle*, January 19, 1997). Six years after pronouncing Brio contained at a cost of \$100 million, the EPA discovered a new toxic leak there in 2010. "EPA Confirms Leak at Brio," *Ultimate Clear Lake*, May 10, 2012. "Contaminant Leak Discovered at Brio," *Pearland Journal*, June 3, 2010. "Toxic Seepage Causing Concern in S.E. Harris County," *Houston Chronicle*, June 4, 2010. "Brio Site No Longer a Cleanup Priority," *Houston Chronicle*, January 12, 2007.
- ⁵¹ "Builder's Money Talks, But What is It Saying?" *Dallas Morning News*, November 1, 2003.
- ⁵² "I just couldn't not fight the EPA when I saw so many kids getting sick," Flickinger said at the time of the 1992 Brio settlement. "Landmark Toxic Site Deal Struck," *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 1992.
- ⁵³ Flickinger still runs the *Southbelt-Ellington Leader*. The lecture she attended with Perry and Senator Richardson must have occurred between January 1981 and January 1983. Due to redistricting, that's all the longer the Sugar Land Republican served in the legislature.
- ⁵⁴ "Jury Gave a Warning, Experts Say," *Houston Post*, February 13, 1990. "State Court Clears Monsanto Co.," *Houston Post*, February 13, 1990.
- ⁵⁵ *Valorie W. Davenport v. The Honorable Carolyn Garcia*. 834 S.W.2d 4; 1992 Tex. LEXIS 76; 35 Tex. Sup. J. 894. "\$19 Million Settlement in Brio Lawsuit Stands," *Houston Chronicle*, June 20, 1992.
- ⁵⁶ Apart from Gonzalez and Gammage, the other Democratic justices were Lloyd Doggett, Jack Hightower and Oscar Mauzy. The Republican justices were Eugene Cook, John Cornyn, Nathan Hecht and Chief Justice Tom Phillips. Democrat Lloyd Dogget wrote the main *Davenport* opinion, with Republicans Hecht, Cook and Cornyn joining a concurring opinion.
- ⁵⁷ A Houston jury awarded Pennzoil \$7.53 billion in compensatory damages and \$3 billion in punitive damages in 1985. An appeals court reduced the punitive award to \$1 billion in 1987. "Texaco Presses Pennzoil Retrial," *Chicago Tribune*, March 24, 1987. Pennzoil and Texaco were among the dozens of "potentially responsible parties" for the Brio mess.
- ⁵⁸ "Political Contributions to the Supreme Court of Texas: An Appearance of Impropriety," By David Bragg, Public Citizen, Texas Consumer Action, the Gray Panthers and the American Federation of State County & Municipal Employees, September 2, 1992.
- ⁵⁹ "60 Minutes" Visit Finds Court's Defenders in Hiding," *Texas Lawyer*, August 24, 1998.
- ⁶⁰ Hill, who died in 2007, gave \$2,000 to Chief Justice Phillips' 1988 campaign, while his firm and partners gave \$13,500 more. The firm contributed \$53,570 to Supreme Court candidates just in the three years after Hill left the court. "Political Contributions to the Supreme Court of Texas: An Appearance of Impropriety," By David Bragg, Public Citizen, Texas Consumer Action, the Gray Panthers and the American Federation of State County &

Municipal Employees, September 2, 1992. “He is so disturbed by the perception that money is corrupting Texas justice,” Mike Wallace said of Chief Justice Hill, “that he is resigning from the court to end the election of judges and get the money out of the system.”

⁶¹ Clements previously appointed Phillips to be a state district judge in 1981. Phillips’ campaign 1988 disclosures document that Rove clients Clements and Phil Gramm assisted the Phillips campaign.

⁶² Perry gave \$2,500 in February, with he and his wife giving \$7,500 more on September 26, 1988.

⁶³ Texans for Chief Justice Phillips campaign expenditure, January 18, 1988.

⁶⁴ They lost only to current U.S. Representative Lloyd Doggett.

⁶⁵ “Checks & Imbalances: How Texas Supreme Court Justices Raised \$11 million,” Texans for Public Justice, April 2000.

⁶⁶ “Payola Justice: How the Texas Supreme Court Raises Money From Court Litigants,” Texans for Public Justice, February 1988.

⁶⁷ O’Neill raised more than twice as much money as her 1998 opponent, Democratic Justice Rose Spector. See “Checks & Imbalances,” Texans for Public Justice, April 2000.

⁶⁸ See also “Pay To Play: How Big Money Buys Access to the Texas Supreme Court,” Texans for Public Justice, April 2001.

⁶⁹ “PAC Men: Did Bob Perry Use an Influential Lobbying Firm to Circumvent Judicial Campaign Caps?” *Texas Observer*, June 4, 2004.

⁷⁰ [“Justices Rule for No. 1 Individual Campaign Donor,”](#) TPJ News Release, May 2, 2008.

⁷¹ “Home Lawsuit Shifts Again,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 3, 2010.

⁷² “Perry Homes Settles Decade-Old Lawsuit By Mansfield Couple,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, January 27, 2011.

⁷³ “Settlement reached in lawsuit against billionaire homebuilder Bob Perry,” *Dallas Morning News*, January 28, 2011.

⁷³ “The Dead Zone: Houston Buries its Inner Loop Past Under Bright New Shiny Perry Homes Town Houses,” *Houston Press*, February 24, 2005. Another account reported that Perry Homes had been sued 20 times in Harris County since 1985 (“Builder’s Money Talks, But What Is it Saying?” *Dallas Morning News*, November 2, 2003). Without specifying a venue, the *Texas Observer* reported that, “Perry Homes has been sued more than 60 times in the past 15 years.” “PAC Men: Did Bob Perry Use an Influential Lobbying Firm to Circumvent Judicial Campaign Caps?” *Texas Observer*, June 4, 2004.

⁷⁴ Developer Dick Weekley, general contractor Leo Linbeck Jr. and liquor retailer Richard Trabulsi founded Texans for Lawsuit Reform. [“Texans for Lawsuit Reform: How the Texas Tort Tycoons Spent Millions in the 2000 Elections,”](#) Texans for Public Justice, November 2001.

⁷⁵ Other lawmakers feared that TLR would terminate their political careers unless they walked the line. “Toomey the Enforcer,” *Texas Monthly*, May 2003.

⁷⁶ See TPJ’s [“Tort Dodgers: Business Money Tip the Scales of Justice,”](#) April 1997.

⁷⁷ “Bush’s Brain,” James Moore and Wayne Slater, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003.

⁷⁸ [“The Governor’s Gusher: The Sources of George W. Bush’s \\$41 Million Texas War Chest,”](#) TPJ, January 2000.

⁷⁹ “Winning the White House in the ‘Lawsuit Lottery,’” *Multinational Monitor*, March 2005.

⁸⁰ They repealed treble damage awards for cases involving sales exceeding \$500,000 or involving either personal injuries or deaths.

⁸¹ TLR lobbyist Mike Toomey, a friend and former roommate of Governor Rick Perry, oversaw meetings to coordinate the activities of the three groups. See [“Perry’s Roomie Mike Toomey Mobilizes the Corporate Lobby To ‘Make Us Great Again,’”](#) Texans for Public Justice, January 2012.

⁸² “Political Groups Paid Two Relatives of House Leader,” *New York Times*, April 6, 2005. Demand for the consulting services of Christine DeLay and daughter Danielle Ferro mysteriously plummeted after Tom DeLay lost power.

⁸³ Bob Perry’s son Will gave \$5,000 more.

⁸⁴ The new map’s architects targeted 10 incumbent Anglo Democrats, of which three survived as Democrats after the 2004 election (Rep. Ralph Hall switched parties). See *Lines in the Sand*, Steve Bickerstaff, University of Texas Press, 2007. Players in this drama included a couple operatives who worked on Chief Justice Phillips’ 1988 campaign. Kevin Brannon screened GOP House candidates for TRMPAC to ensure that they would back DeLay’s man Craddick as speaker. Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott paid Andy Taylor more than \$750,000 to vet GOP redistricting plans.

-
- ⁸⁵ Ceverha's unsuccessful defense firm, Hance Scarborough, later established a PAC that raised almost \$300,000 from 2008 to October 2012. Bob Perry supplied half of that PACs money.
- ⁸⁶ "Convicted ex-US House Majority Leader Tom DeLay Set to Argue His Case Before Appeals Court," Associated Press, September 22, 2012.
- ⁸⁷ ["TRMPAC Treasurer Fails To Disclose Amount of Cash 'Gift' He Took From Kingmaker Bob Perry,"](#) TPJ news release, January 19, 2006.
- ⁸⁸ DeLay attended from the fall of 1965 to the spring of 1967, according to Baylor's Office of the Registrar. "Builder's Money Talks, But What Is It Saying?" *Dallas Morning News*, November 1, 2003. "Bob Perry Needs a Hug," *Texas Monthly*, March 28, 2007.
- ⁸⁹ DeLay resigned effective June 2006. Son Will Perry hosted the event joined by his parents and his brother Jack. "Local Big Wigs Hold Fundraiser for DeLay," *Fort Bend Southwest Sun*, May 17, 2005.
- ⁹⁰ "DeLay Foster Home Project Opens Outside Houston," Associated Press story published by *Austin American-Statesman*, August 8, 2005. The DeLay Foundation for Kids raised \$500,000 the same year that DeLay was indicted in September 2005. It never raised real money again.
- ⁹¹ The Oaks at Rio Bend transferred those assets in 2011.
- ⁹² For a rundown of some of the major handouts see "Rate of Exchange," *Texas Observer*, March 12, 2004.
- ⁹³ "Unassuming home builder getting more notoriety for latest donation than for record amounts in 2002," *Austin American-Statesman*, August 28, 2004.
- ⁹⁴ "Consumer Groups Skeptical of New Law," *Houston Chronicle*, August 8, 2004. "Lawmakers Say Builders Are Stacking Dispute Panel," *San Antonio Express-News*, August 27, 2004.
- ⁹⁵ "Sunset Commission Vote Keeps TRCC Alive," *Houston Chronicle*, December 17, 2008.
- ⁹⁶ "Sunset Agency: It's Time To Raze Ineffective Construction Panel," *Dallas Morning News*, August 20, 2008.
- ⁹⁷ "The Dead Zone: Houston Buries its Inner Loop Past Under Bright New Shiny Perry Homes Town Houses," *Houston Press*, February 24, 2005.
- ⁹⁸ Perry Homes paid Texas lobbyists a total of \$2.6 million to \$4 million from 1999 through early 2012 (Texas lobbyists report contract values in ranges). Former legislative aide Robert D. Miller of Lord Bissell was the top lobbyist for Perry Homes, collecting from \$1.7 million to \$2 million from the builder from 1999 through 2012. Former lawmaker Neal "Buddy" Jones of HillCo Partners came next. Perry Homes paid him from \$525,000 to \$1 million.
- ⁹⁹ Agency critics argued that the bill enacted in 2007, HB 1038, amounted to too little reform too late.
- ¹⁰⁰ "Senate Votes To Kill Agency," *Austin American-Statesman*, May 24, 2009. "Sun Never Sets on Politicians Taking Homebuilder Money," *TPJ's Lobby Watch*, September 25, 2008.
- ¹⁰¹ Barnes said a visit to the Vietnam Memorial later made him feel ashamed of what he had done. At the time, "I thought that was what people should do when you're in office, you helped a lot of rich people." "Barnes Says He's Ashamed of Getting Bush into Texas Guard," Associated Press, August 30, 2004.
- ¹⁰² Then-U.S. United Nations Ambassador George H.W. Bush's friend Jimmy Allison managed the failed Republican Senate campaign of Winton "Red" Blount; the elder Bush asked Allison give his son a campaign job. "George W. Bush's Missing Year," *Salon*, September 2, 2004. "Two Recollections of Bush's National Guard Service," *Austin American-Statesman*, September 12, 2004. "1-Year Gap in Bush's Guard Duty," *Boston Globe*, May 23, 2000.
- ¹⁰³ "The Missing Medal," *Newsweek*, August 27, 2004. "Group's Ad Says Kerry Lied," *USA Today*, August 5, 2004.
- ¹⁰⁴ "Friendly Fire: The Birth of an Anti-Kerry Ad," *New York Times*, August 20, 2004.
- ¹⁰⁵ "Fight Over Kerry War Record Comes to Crawford," *Dallas Morning News*, August 26, 2004.
- ¹⁰⁶ "Bush Campaign Drops Swift Boat Ad Figure," *Washington Post*, August 21, 2004.
- ¹⁰⁷ "A Swift Shift in Stories," *Washington Post*, August 31, 2004. Another Blank Rome partner hosted the 2004 Republican convention.
- ¹⁰⁸ Under "[FEC Matters Under Review \(MUR\) 5511](#)," for example, see the "Conciliation Agreements" and "General Counsel's Report #3," for example. Swift Boat founder John O'Neill got more than 60 percent of the group's start-up funds from his friend Bob Perry. "Texans Funds Anti-Kerry Vets," *Dallas Morning News*, July 23, 2004. The FEC suggested that Swift Boat's disclosures reported that it spent more than it received because its IRS disclosures only mention donors who gave at least \$200 a year.
- ¹⁰⁹ "Builder's \$8 Million Tops GOP Donor List," *Houston Chronicle*, October 17, 2006.

-
- ¹¹⁰ "Swift Boat Ads Backer Funds New Group," Associated Press, September 14, 2006.
- ¹¹¹ Indiana's High Court ruled in 2012 that robo-call restrictions did not violate Freedom Fund's free-speech rights. "[Indiana Court Rules Autodialer Law Is Constitutional](#)," allclearid.com, April 11, 2012.
- ¹¹² "As Election Nears, Groups Plan Negative Ads," *New York Times*, October 11, 2006.
- ¹¹³ "Swift Boat Money Man Reunites with Swift Boat Media Firm," *Talking Points Memo*, September 19, 2006.
- ¹¹⁴ "Swift Boat Contributor Funded Ads Against Hatch," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, December 20, 2006.
- ¹¹⁵ "Homebuilder's Contributions Raise Concerns," *Dallas Voice*, January 11, 2007.
- ¹¹⁶ A Perry-funded Free Enterprise Fund ad masqueraded as a spoof trailer for the gay-cowboy movie *Brokeback Mountain*. It attacked Montana's Democratic U.S. Senate candidate, Jon Tester, for opposing a ban on gay marriage and allegedly favoring tax hikes. A cowboy in the ad concludes, "I guess old Tester just don't know how to quit taxin'."
- ¹¹⁷ "Houston Homebuilder Bob Perry Continues Reign As King of Dirty Politics," *TPJ's Lobby Watch*, October 22, 2008.
- ¹¹⁸ "'Swift Boat' Figure Joins Romney," *Washington Post*, March 17, 2007.
- ¹¹⁹ Perry pumped \$8.3 million into Texas' 2010 elections, compared to \$2.1 million from Mostyn. Mostyn surpasses Perry, however, if you include the \$7.6 million that the Mostyn Law Firm sunk into those elections.
- ¹²⁰ The Railroad Commission also reshuffled lately. Governor Perry appointed Buddy Garcia to replace Commissioner Elizabeth Ames Jones in April 2012 (Bob Perry gave Jones' failed U.S. Senate campaign \$115,000). In July 2011 the governor appointed Barry Smitherman to replace Commissioner Michael Williams (who took \$50,000 from Bob Perry). Bob Perry has since given Smitherman \$20,000. Bob Perry has not given to Commissioner David Porter, who defeated Perry-backed Commissioner Victor Carrillo in the 2010 Republican Primary.
- ¹²¹ Bob Perry and Harold Simmons were tied for Land Commissioner Jerry Patterson's No. 1 contributor spot.
- ¹²² "Texas Gov. Perry's Camp Denies Trying To Hide Source of Last-Minute \$1 M Donation," *Dallas Morning News*, April 10, 2009.
- ¹²³ "Did Perry Contributor Earmark Contribution?" *Houston Chronicle*, September 3, 2011.
- ¹²⁴ "GOP Governors Group Violated Law, Judge Rules," *Austin American-Statesman*, September 1, 2010.
- ¹²⁵ The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 raised this limit to \$2,000 and allowed it to increase with inflation over time.
- ¹²⁶ *Bush's Brain*, James Moore and Wayne Slater, John Wiley & Sons, 2003. Gramm defeated several Republicans including Ron Paul in the primary before rubbing out Democrat Lloyd Doggett, who was elected to Congress in 1994. Bob Perry's mother contributed \$3,000 to Gramm from 1994 through 1996.
- ¹²⁷ Bob Perry backed Six Packer, Larry Combest, but none of his children did that cycle.
- ¹²⁸ The only other non-Republican the Perry family funded that year was independent Ed Mcateer, who lost to Tennessee Senator Al Gore.
- ¹²⁹ "Firm Formed By Financial Adviser Howard Ruff Files for Bankruptcy," *United Press International*, July 3, 1991.
- ¹³⁰ "An Ollie North Ally Buys a TV Campaign Mocking Mrs. Clinton," *New York Observer*, March 20, 2000. Bob Perry's mother contributed \$500 to North in 1994.
- ¹³¹ "Ruff-PAC President Pleads Guilty to Federal Tax Charge," *Desert News*, April 1, 1989.
- ¹³² Those contributions went to: Jackie McGregor in Michigan (47% of vote); Jefferson Stafford in Virginia (48%); and Rick McIntyre in Indiana (49.8%). The initial count put McIntyre 72 votes behind Democratic incumbent Frank McCloskey. After two precincts said they accidentally counted some McCloskey votes twice, Indiana's Republican Secretary of State certified McIntyre as the winner by 34 votes. Refusing to seat McIntyre, then-Democratic Majority Leader Jim Wright appointed two Democrats and one Republican to oversee a recount. The results of that fetid counting ultimately turned on a party-line decision to count 32 disputed absentee ballots that put McCloskey up by four votes. See "Disputed 1984 Indiana Vote a Bad Omen for Sanchez?" *Los Angeles Times*, May 11, 1997.