



Texas PACs: 2010 Election Cycle Spending

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Texans for Public Justice is a non-profit, non-partisan advocacy and research organization that tracks the role of money in Texas politics.

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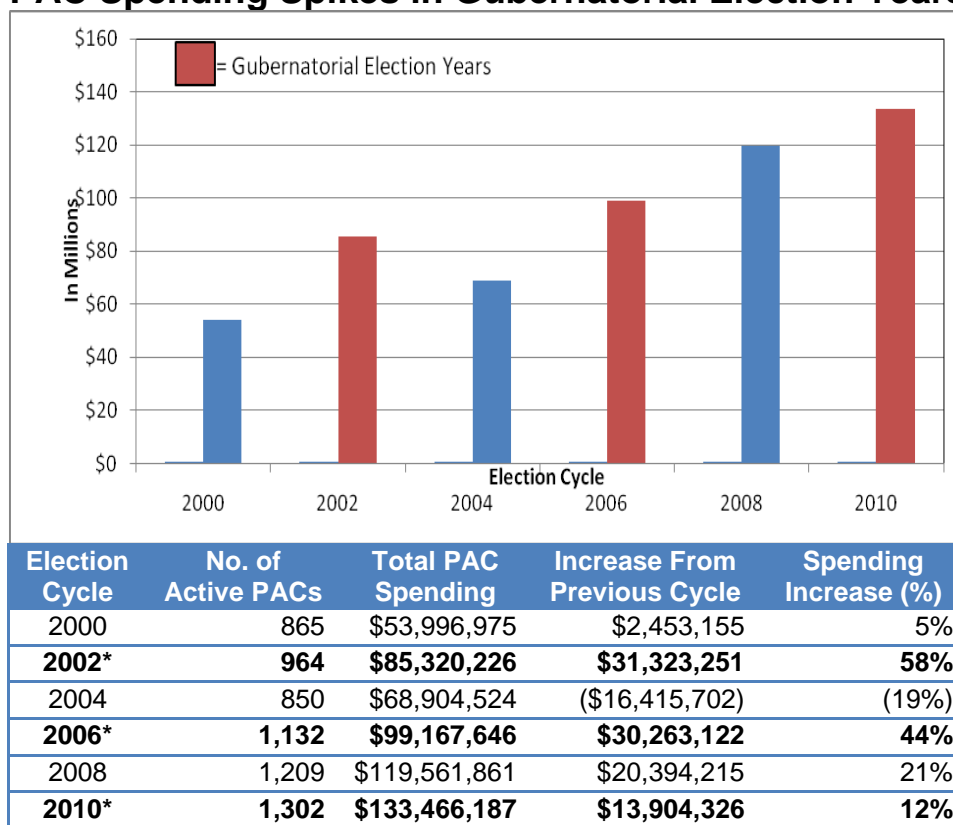
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I. Total Texas PAC Spending

This report identifies and ranks Texas' top general-purpose political action committees (PACs) in the 2010 election cycle. These rankings are based on the total amount of expenditures that PACs electronically reported to the Texas Ethics Commission. During the two-year election cycle ending in December 2010, 1,302 general-purpose PACs reported expenditures.¹ There were more PACs active in 2010 than any other election over the past decade. PACs spent \$133 million in the 2010 cycle, a 12 percent increase over the 2008 cycle.

Texas' political spending spikes in gubernatorial election years, when donors dig deep to influence the elections of many statewide officeholders. Three well-funded gubernatorial candidates spent a total of \$88.2 million in the 2010 cycle. Incumbent Governor Rick Perry spent \$42.3 million to defeat Republican Kay Bailey Hutchison (\$21.1 million) and Democrat Bill White (\$24.8 million).

PAC Spending Spikes in Gubernatorial Election Years

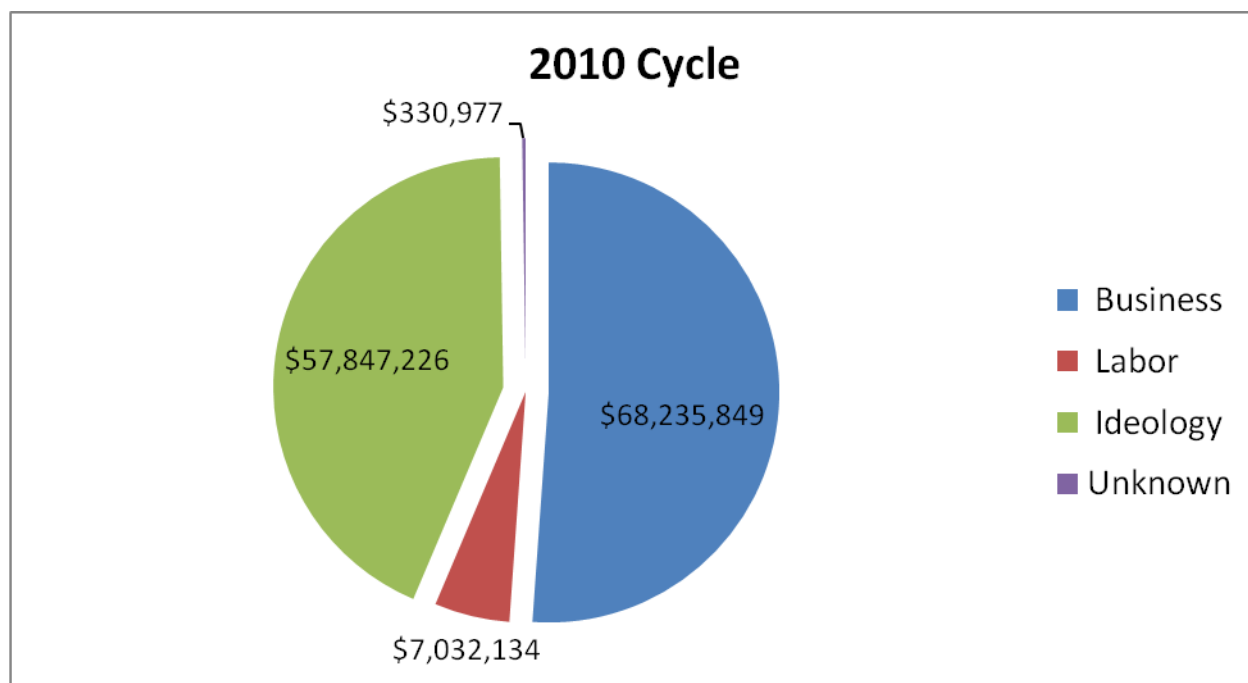


*Gubernatorial election cycle.

II. Business, Ideological & Labor PACs

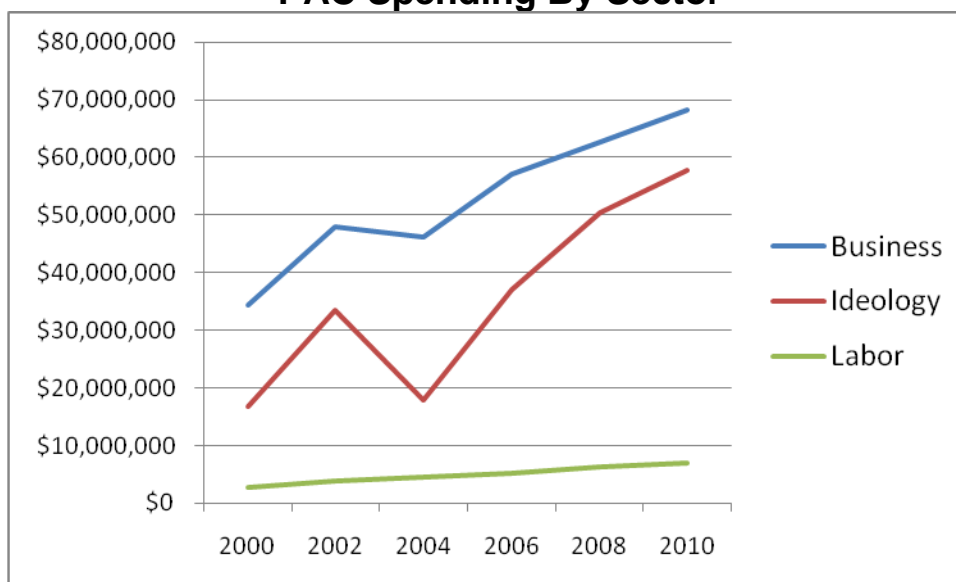
Business PACs spent \$68 million in the 2010 cycle, up 8 percent from what these PACs spent in the previous cycle. Business PACs accounted for 51 percent of all PAC spending this round (the next section discusses Business PACs in more detail). Ideological and Single-Issue PACs increased spending 11 percent from 2008 to 2010. The \$58 million spent by these PACs gave them 43 percent of the total PAC pie. Finally, Labor PACs increased their spending just 2 percent to \$7 million, accounting for just 5 percent of all PAC money. While PAC spending by all three PACs increased from 2008 to 2010, there was little change in each sector's share of total PAC spending.

PAC Spending By Sector



Sector	2000 Cycle	2002 Cycle	2004 Cycle	2006 Cycle	2008 Cycle	2010 Cycle	'08-'10 Growth
Business	\$34,416,627	\$48,000,676	\$46,088,137	\$57,034,732	\$62,741,376	\$68,235,849	8%
Ideology	\$16,870,715	\$33,466,788	\$17,789,167	\$37,003,210	\$50,403,265	\$57,847,226	11%
Labor	\$2,707,704	\$3,776,290	\$4,512,391	\$5,116,613	\$6,307,456	\$7,032,134	2%
Unknown	\$1,929	\$76,473	\$514,829	\$13,099	\$109,764	\$330,977	168%
TOTALS:	\$53,996,975	\$85,320,226	\$68,904,524	\$99,167,654	\$119,561,86	\$133,446,187	12%

PAC Spending By Sector



“Big Labor” is small in this big state. Labor PACs increased spending 12 percent to \$7 million, accounting for 5 percent of all PAC spending. The compact between labor unions and the Democratic Party doesn’t seem to be saving either of them. Fifteen of the 20 Labor PACs that spent more than \$100,000 represent public sector employees. State and local officials are demanding big cuts in these payrolls and pensions. The recession’s “jobless recovery” does not make things brighter for unions representing workers in the private sector.

Top Labor PACs

2010 Spending	PAC	2010 Rank	2008 Spending	'08-'10 Growth	2008 Rank
\$513,538	Fort Worth Firefighters Committee	45	\$706,235	-27%	26
\$512,868	TX State Teachers Assn.	46	\$496,298	3%	38
\$437,920	San Antonio Police Officers Assn.	53	\$190,936	129%	131
\$368,311	Houston Police Officers Union	66	\$398,924	-8%	58
\$303,308	Plumbers Local #68	84	\$266,086	14%	99
\$258,926	Houston Federation of Teachers	104	\$0	NA	NA
\$245,422	Houston Professional Fire Fighters Assn.	111	\$136,082	80%	171
\$204,054	Deputy Sheriff's Assn. of Bexar County	129	\$202,762	1%	124
\$196,975	San Antonio Firefighters PAC	134	\$216,959	-9%	117
\$190,750	ACT For TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	142	\$285,180	-33%	88
\$167,750	Assn. of TX Professional Educators	151	\$202,465	-17%	126
\$149,249	TX AFL-CIO	164	\$86,942	72%	230
\$144,872	Teamsters Local 988	166	\$112,531	29%	195
\$137,755	Education Austin PAC 'AFT/AEW PAC'	176	\$135,607	2%	172
\$136,559	Arlington Police Assn.	178	\$44,396	208%	369
\$135,291	Fort Worth Police Officer's Assn.	179	\$125,581	8%	180
\$132,726	Pipe Fitters Local Union 211	183	\$118,395	12%	189
\$128,750	United Transportation Union	188	\$120,350	7%	186
\$123,680	Arlington Professional Fire Fighters Assn.	194	\$63,383	95%	284
\$118,107	Plano Fire Fighters Committee	201	\$28,980	308%	464

III. Ideological and Single-Issue PACs

Ideological and Single-Issue PACs is the most dynamic sector, with 565 PACs (43 percent of the total). This sector claims six of Texas' 10 biggest-spending PACs. It accounts for 16 of the 25 biggest new PACs that surfaced in the 2010 cycle. The biggest "vanishing" PACs, which spent nothing in 2010 after making big plays in 2008, were Ideological. Ideological PACs also dominated the "Fastest Shrinking Large PACs," which contracted expenditures by 66 percent or more from 2008 to 2010. The only category that the Ideological sector did not utterly dominate was "Fastest Growing Large PACs."

Eight of the 12 Ideological PACs that spent more than \$1 million in the 2010 cycle are openly partisan, including five fat Democratic PACs and three fat Republican ones. The four remaining huge Ideological PACs may not be partisan in name but—to varying degrees—are in deed.

Top Ideological and Single-Issue PACs

2010 Spending	PAC	2010 Rank	2008 Rank	'08-'10 Growth
\$6,689,743	Texans For Lawsuit Reform	1	4	55%
\$5,346,265	Texas Democratic Trust	2	1	-11%
\$4,217,946	Back to Basics	3	NA	NA
\$3,400,156	Texas Democratic Party	5	2	-42%
\$3,237,159	Associated Republicans of Texas	7	18	244%
\$2,773,482	House Democratic Campaign Committee	9	10	46%
\$2,393,380	Annie's List	11	11	48%
\$2,332,883	Republican Party of Texas	12	3	-47%
\$1,733,320	Republican State Leadership Committee	14	NA	NA
\$1,536,385	ActBlue Texas	15	24	91%
\$1,522,330	North Texas Leadership PAC	16	312	2664%
\$1,063,101	Coal. of Harris Co. Democratic Elected Officials	19	NA	NA

Spending \$6.7 million, Texas' fattest PAC, **Texans for Lawsuit Reform** (TLR), took 12 percent of all the money that it raised in the 2010 cycle from Dallas billionaire Harold Simmons. Simmons is importing staggering volumes of toxic and radioactive waste into Texas.² TLR gave more than \$5 million to 132 Republicans and less than \$800,000 to 15 Democrats. It gave more than \$500,000 apiece to GOP Reps. Marva Beck of Centerville and Stefani Carter of Dallas (they won with 52 percent and 55 percent of the vote respectively). TLR also gave more than \$250,000 to Democratic House candidates Naomi Gonzalez of El Paso and Tara Rios Ybarra of Padre Island. These women pocketed 74 cents of every every dollar that TLR gave to Democrats.

TLR endorsed Governor Rick Perry's plan to force unsuccessful plaintiffs to pay their opponents' court costs (Perry received \$158,025 from TLR). This "loser pays" scheme would penalize civil plaintiffs who spurn a settlement offer and later recover less than 90 percent of the offered amount.³ As initially proposed, these one-sided punitive measures would not have applied to *defendants* who reject solid settlement offers. Even the head of the Texas Association of Defense Counsel told the *Dallas Morning News* that Texas' anti-tort movement "may have gone too far" with this scheme.⁴ The legislature ultimately adopted a defanged version of this bill.⁵

In the waning hours of the 2011 regular session, House members voted to strangle legislation to reform anti-consumer homeowners associations. Rep. Burt Solomons, the author of the reform, blamed its defeat on the

clout of homebuilder Bob Perry, Perry's HillCo lobby firm and Texans for Lawsuit Reform. Campaign contributions from these big donors correlated closely with how House members voted on that reform bill.⁶

Texas' No. 2 PAC, the **Texas Democratic Trust**, spent \$5.3 million, down 11 percent from the previous cycle. The brainchild of late Dallas trial lawyer Fred Baron, the Trust pumped most of its millions into the Texas Democratic Party, Democratic consultant Matt Angle and **Texas Values in Action** PAC. The Trust's top donors include Fred Baron's widow, Lisa Blue, The Container Store's Garrett & Cecilia Boone, daughter Aimee Boone, the Williams Kherkher plaintiff firm and Bonanza Oil's Lee & Amy Fikes.



Builder Bob Perry.

The new **Back to Basics** PAC spent \$4.2 million, becoming the state's No. 3 PAC in its first election cycle. The plaintiff law firm of Houston attorney Steve Mostyn supplied all but \$30,730 that this huge PAC raised. Back to Basics spent millions on independent ad blitzes supporting Democrats and attacking Republicans. Post-election Mostyn told the *Houston Chronicle* that he probably would not have spent as heavily as he did if he "had known that [Republican] sweep at that level was coming."⁷

Mostyn's partisan crusade is intertwined with his showdown with House Republican Caucus Chair Larry Taylor. Rep. Taylor co-chaired a legislative panel overseeing the troubled Texas Windstorm Insurance Association (TWIA). In 2010 Rep. Taylor, who sells TWIA policies, asked TWIA to release details about a confidential TWIA settlement that Mostyn negotiated on behalf of people with hurricane-damaged homes.⁸ The *Houston Chronicle* reported that Mostyn grossed more than \$6 million off TWIA settlements in 2010.⁹ House and Senate negotiations broke down in the regular 2011 session over whether homeowners who are unjustly denied TWIA claims deserve punitive damages (Mostyn was ejected from these negotiations).¹⁰ A measure that lawmakers passed in a 2011 special session allows policy holders to collect double damages only if they meet strict criteria that include proving that TWIA intentionally denied a legitimate claim.¹¹

Annie's List spent \$2.4 million in a largely failed effort to elect Democratic women lawmakers. It gave more than \$13,000 apiece to 12 female House candidates, all of whom lost. Annie's List gave \$10,000 apiece to its top winning candidates: Reps. Veronica Gonzales of McAllen and Donna Howard of Austin. Top donors to this PAC include Naomi Aberly, who's tight with Dallas hedge fund HBK Investments, the Container Store's Garrett and Cecilia Boone, Bonanza Oil's Lee & Amy Fikes, Kinder Morgan spouse Sara Morgan and the ubiquitous Steve Mostyn.

Dallas dental-clinic magnate David Alameel supplied almost all of the \$1.5 million raised by **North Texas Leadership**, 2010's fastest-growing large PAC. It backed would-be Democratic leaders led by failed gubernatorial candidate Bill White. Of 16 Democrats backed by this PAC, just Reps. Garnet Coleman and Harold Vo prevailed. Alameel previously hooked up with Democratic Rep. Yvonne Davis in a failed attempt to get a state license to operate a horse track in Dallas.¹² Alameel was one of the many gambling interests who placed losing bets on Texas Democrats in 2010.¹³

Largest New PACs

2010's next-biggest new PAC after Back to Basics was the **Republican State Leadership Committee**. This Virginia-based PAC reported \$1.7 million in expenditures, spending 57 percent of this money in Texas. It gave \$750,000 to the Associated Republicans of Texas and \$100,000 to Attorney General Greg Abbott. Karl Rove's **American Crossroads** gave \$1.2 million to this PAC, accounting for 56 percent of all the money that it raised.

Ubiquitous Steve Mostyn supplied 86 percent of the more than \$1 million raised by the **Coalition of Harris County Democratic Elected Officials**. It gave the firms Elite Change and Campaign Strategies more than half its money to turn out Democratic voters. It also gave \$274,606 to the Houston Federation of Teachers.

The conservative **Grass Roots Institute of Texas** reported spending close to \$700,000 despite raising less than \$27,000 in legal tender. Conservative activist Robert Eberle of GOPUSA.com made an in-kind contribution of an email list to the PAC (Eberle also loaned GRIT PAC another \$12,500). Instead of giving candidates money, GRIT PAC contributed its electronic list to Republican candidates. GRIT PAC valued this list at \$75,000 a pop for five statewide GOP candidates.¹⁴

Largest New PACs in 2010

2010 Spending	'10 Rank	PAC	Interest Category
\$4,217,947	3	Back to Basics PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
\$1,733,320	14	*Republican State Leadership Committee	Ideological/Single Issue
\$1,063,102	19	Coal. of Harris Co. Democratic Elected Officials	Ideological/Single Issue
\$681,448	31	Grass Roots Institute of TX	Ideological/Single Issue
\$582,616	37	TX House Leadership Fund	Ideological/Single Issue
\$535,941	43	New American PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
\$323,316	78	TX Republican Representatives Campaign Com.	Ideological/Single Issue
\$267,732	99	Hispanic Republicans of TX	Ideological/Single Issue
\$258,926	104	Houston Federation of Teachers	Labor
\$251,919	108	Turn TX Blue	Ideological/Single Issue
\$231,170	115	WellMed Medical Management, Inc.	Health
\$227,550	118	TX Fed'n of Republican Women 2011 Convention	Ideological/Single Issue
\$224,247	121	Greenberg Traurig	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$209,991	126	HDCC Incumbent Protection Fund	Ideological/Single Issue
\$202,014	130	Mednax, Inc.	Health
\$198,166	133	GOPAC-TX	Ideological/Single Issue
\$196,419	135	Liberty Campaign for TX	Ideological/Single Issue
\$192,333	139	Houston Realty Business Coalition	Real Estate
\$142,500	168	Old American Holdings, LLC	Insurance
\$141,052	170	Valley PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
\$112,502	210	Delisi Communications	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$111,975	211	Moving WilCo [Williamson Co.] Forward	Ideological/Single Issue
\$111,100	213	Secure Energy & Economy for San Antonio	Energy/Natural Resources
\$103,770	224	Texans for Public Education	Ideological/Single Issue
\$102,723	229	Ebby Halliday Centennial Fund	Real Estate

*The Republican State Leadership PAC spent 57 percent of this amount in Texas.

Associated with House Speaker Joe Straus, the **Texas House Leadership Fund** spent \$582,616 to strengthen the GOP majority in the Texas House. With Straus pledging not to attack incumbent Democrats, this PAC supported sitting Republicans and Republicans running for open seats. The top recipients of this aid won reelection under ethical clouds. Straus' Leadership Fund gave \$60,000 to Rep. Joe Driver, whom the Associated Press revealed double-billed his campaign *and* the legislature tens of thousands of dollars for the same travel expenses.¹⁵ The PAC also gave \$41,950 to Rep. Linda Harper-Brown. The *Dallas Morning News* exposed that this lawmaker and her spouse drove a Mercedes and a Chevrolet Tahoe owned by a state highway contractor.¹⁶ The top donor to

this PAC was Speaker Straus, who gave \$45,000. Other big donors include developer Harlan Crow, executives of highway contractor Pate Engineers, Joe Camel's RJ Reynolds and the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma.

GOP PACs that did attack incumbent House Democrats include the rapidly growing Associated Republicans of Texas and the **Texas Republican Representative Campaign Committee (TRCC)**.¹⁷ The favorite candidates of this PAC were successful GOP challengers Stefani Carter, Barbara Nash and Sarah Davis. Val LaMantia Peisen, whose family owns a beer distributorship and racetrack interests, was the top donor to TRCC, followed by concrete magnate John Lattimore. State and federal lawmakers also backed TRCC.

Dallas-based **New American PAC** spent more than \$500,000 on consultants and ads to promote the political involvement of immigrants. Most of this money came from ex-lawmaker and plaintiff attorney Domingo Garcia and his dentist wife, Elba Garcia. The North Texas Leadership PAC (see above) chipped in \$50,000.

Ubiquitous Steve Mostyn supplied 80 percent of the money that **Turn Texas Blue** spent on ads, robocalls and canvassing to mobilize slumbering Democratic voters. Turn Texas Blue got the rest of its money from plaintiff firm Baron & Budd and the campaign of Dallas prosecutor Craig Watkins. Turn Texas Blue also gave \$40,000 to the Independent Texans PAC, which promoted Libertarian gubernatorial candidate Kathie Glass.

Hispanic Republicans of Texas spent \$247,231 helping Republican Hispanics unseat incumbent Democrats (including new Reps. Raul Torres, Larry Gonzales and John Garza). Hispanic surnames are scarcer where the PAC's funding and operation are concerned. Half of its money came from Houston homebuilder Roberto Perry and the Texas Republican Campaign Committee (discussed above). PAC Treasurer Milton Newton of Gateway Policy Group consulting firm was this PAC's No. 3 donor.

The new **HDCC Incumbent Protection Fund** has ties to the larger **House Democratic Campaign Committee**. HDCC defended seven embattled House members, with just Reps. Veronica Gonzales and Donna Howard surviving. HDCC collected \$20,000 from the LaMantia horseracing and beer-distributing clan, \$45,000 from Rep. Pete Gallego's campaign and \$100,250 from its sister fund. The top donors to the House Democratic Campaign Committee, in turn, were the ubiquitous Mostyn (\$1.15 million), the **Texas Democratic Trust** (\$265,000), the **Texas Progress Council** (\$167,500), and the LaMantias (\$126,081). **Border Health PAC** and the new **Texans for Public Education** also contributed \$100,000 apiece (Mostyn's law firm single handedly financed the latter PAC).

Fastest-Growing PACs

Sixteen large PACs increased their spending by more than 200 percent from the 2008 to the 2010 election cycle. The aforementioned **North Texas Leadership** led these ballooning PACs, expanding by 2,664 percent. The **National Rifle Association** increased spending 1,471 percent. It spent most of its \$630,771 on advertising. It gave just over \$50,000 to candidates, led by a coyote-killer governor (\$2,500).

State Farm Agents PAC increased spending by well over 1,000 percent. Under Texas' backward approach to regulation, insurers increase rates at will, leaving regulators to sometimes whine about it afterwards. In 2009 the Texas Department of Insurance ordered State Farm to repay customers \$350 million that regulators said it had overcharged customers *six years earlier* (the agency's public insurance counsel put the overcharge closer to \$1 billion).¹⁸ With State Farm raising rates again,¹⁹ a state judge once more ordered the insurer to return the overcharges that the company collected eight years earlier.²⁰ If time is money, surely money can buy time. State Farm's PAC gave \$20,000 in political insurance to fellow insurer and House Speaker Joe Straus. It also gave \$10,000 apiece to the governor, the lieutenant governor and Rep. Jim Landtroop of Plainview.

Fast-growing **Texas Events PAC** doles out money from cutting-horse interests, who have been big beneficiaries of the Major Events Trust Fund administered by the Texas Comptroller Susan Combs. The PAC gave \$15,000 to Combs and \$10,000 apiece to the state's top three leaders. The events trust fund originally helped cities host sports events by tapping projected increases in local sales taxes to pay for event costs. As the XLV Super Bowl demonstrated, sales-tax projections often are rosier than actual tax collections.²¹ Yet pots of money foster constituencies. The legislature appropriated \$25 million for the fund in 2009 to help private developers bring Formula One car racing to Austin. The legislature passed a 2011 bill to let the fund also sponsor music and political events.²²

Fastest-Growing Large PACs

Percent Growth	2010 Spending	2008 Spending	PAC	Interest Category	'10 Rank	'08 Rank
2,664%	\$1,522,330	\$55,074	North TX Leadership PAC	Ideological/Single Issue	16	312
1,471%	\$630,771	\$40,143	National Rifle Assn.	Ideological/Single Issue	35	388
1,369%	\$304,860	\$20,750	State Farm Agents	Insurance	83	544
812%	\$114,318	\$12,534	TX Events PAC	Miscellaneous Business	206	656
590%	\$864,046	\$125,280	Conserv. Repub. of TX	Ideological/Single Issue	24	181
411%	\$380,233	\$74,435	NuStar	Energy/Natural Resources	63	256
377%	\$120,345	\$25,209	TX Alliance for Life	Ideological/Single Issue	197	491
377%	\$113,268	\$23,752	Wells Fargo & Co	Finance	208	504
360%	\$292,226	\$63,500	TX Gaming Association	Miscellaneous Business	87	283
308%	\$118,106	\$28,979	Plano Fire Fighters	Labor	201	464
297%	\$483,795	\$121,850	Spectra Energy	Energy/Natural Resources	47	183
256%	\$160,032	\$45,000	Fund For The Future	Construction	158	365
245%	\$318,159	\$92,102	San Antonio Bd. of Realtors	Real Estate	79	226
245%	\$300,564	\$87,180	University of Houston	Ideological/Single Issue	86	229
244%	\$3,237,159	\$942,352	Assoc. Republicans of TX	Ideological/Single Issue	7	18
208%	\$136,559	\$44,396	Arlington Police Assn.	Labor	178	369

The only other PAC to surpass 500 percent growth was **Conservative Republicans of Texas**, associated with Houston Dr. Steven Hotze. This cycle this PAC outspent its cousin, the Conservative Republicans of Harris County. Conservative Republicans of Texas spent heavily on turning out voters in support of Republicans in close House races. This also was the strategy of the **Associated Republicans of Texas**, the fattest fast-growth PAC. It boosted spending 244 percent to \$3.2 million, ranking as Texas' No. 7 PAC. Associated Republicans gave almost \$2.3 million to 23 Republicans challenging incumbent House Democrats.²³ Just two of them lost.²⁴

Largest Vanishing PACs

Three Ideological PACs that had spent more than \$300,000 apiece in 2008 spent nothing in 2010. Vanishing PACs Blue Texas and Texas Builds Jobs & Opportunity had ranked among 2008's top new PACs. **Blue Texas** vanished before its party became a super minority in the Texas House. One of its top donors, venture capitalist John Thornton, went on to launch the *Texas Tribune*.

Then-Speaker Tom Craddick used **Texas Builds Jobs & Opportunity for Secure Future PAC** (Jobs PAC) in a failed effort to cling to power. Jobs PAC flipped \$150,000 of Craddick money to three Democratic allies facing 2008 primary challengers.²⁵ Texans for Public Justice alleged that the PAC illegally hid the source of

Largest Vanishing PACs

PAC	2008 Spending	2008 Rank
Blue Texas	\$919,892	20
Friends of Phil Gramm PAC	\$442,937	45
TX Builds Jobs & Opportunity	\$403,538	57

Craddick's contributions to these candidates. The Texas Ethics Commission fined Jobs PAC \$10,000 in 2011 for refusing to cooperate with its investigation.²⁶

Also gone but not forgotten is **Friends of Phil Gramm**. With former U.S. Senate Banking Chair Phil Gramm no longer in a position to grant financial companies their every deregulatory whim, this PAC—like the U.S. economy—eventually collapsed.

Fastest-Shrinking Large PACs

Ideological PACs dominated the accompanying list of fastest-shrinking PACs. **Twenty-One PAC** all but vanished after trying to win a 21-seat Republican super-majority in the Texas Senate. The same goes for **Best for Texas**, which former Republican Senator Kyle Janek used to try to tap his own successor. Best for Texas gave more than \$200,000 to Austen Furse, who lost his 2008 race to fellow Republican Joan Huffman. Shrinking **Stars Over Texas** and **Empower Texans** both invested in failed 2008 efforts to help Speaker Tom Craddick cling to power.²⁷ Empower Texans' sister group, Texans for Fiscal Responsibility, has positioned itself as a Tea-Party voice.²⁸

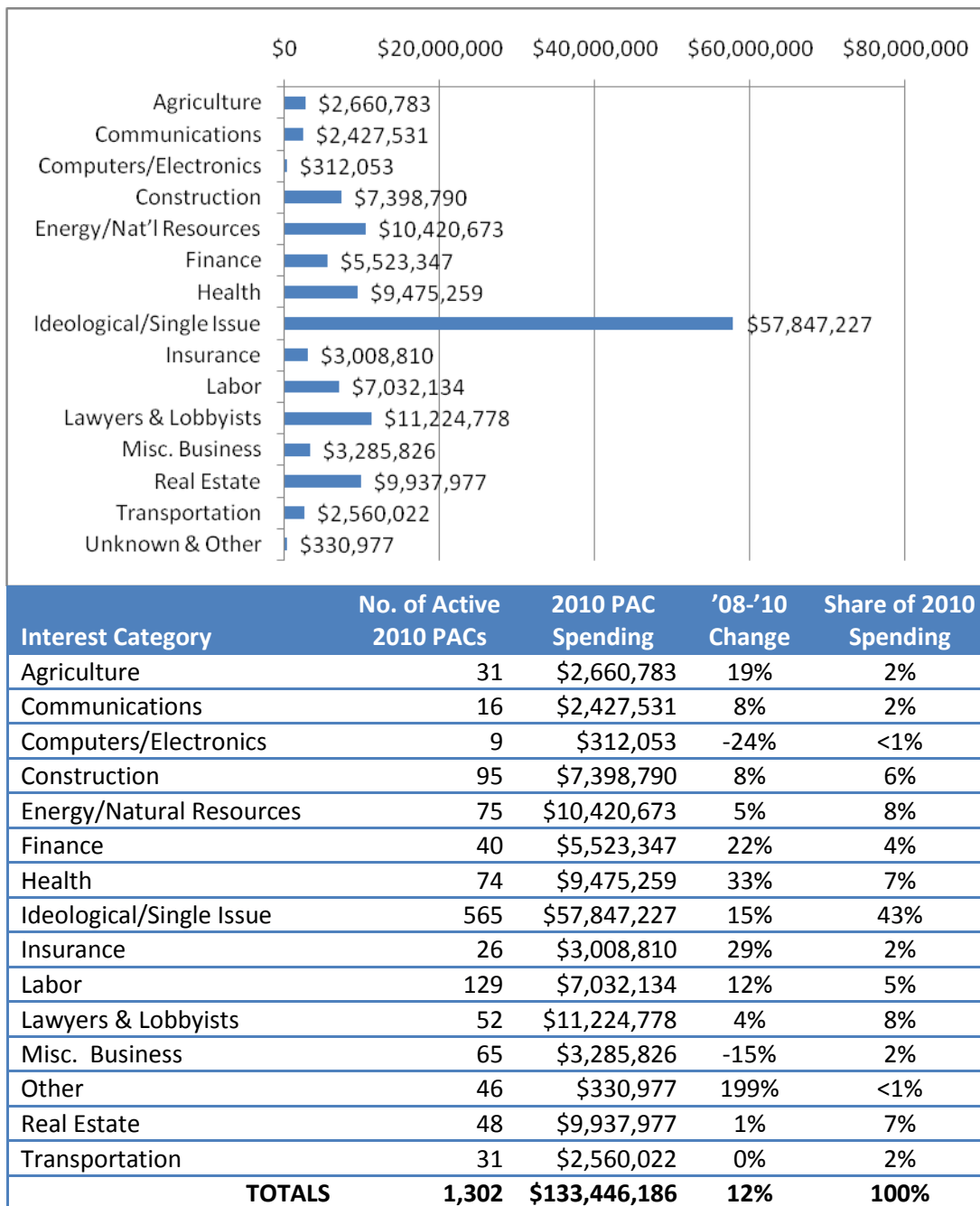
Fastest-Shrinking Large PACs

Percent Change	2010 Spending	2008 Spending	PAC	Interest Category	'10 Rank	'08 Rank
-100%	\$938	\$316,000	Twenty-One PAC	Ideological/Single Issue	1,150	75
-100%	\$75	\$311,005	Best for Texas	Ideological/Single Issue	1,281	77
-98%	\$5,000	\$207,500	Gulf Greyhound	Miscellaneous Business	918	121
-98%	\$4,220	\$202,623	Compass Bancshares	Finance	949	125
-95%	\$94,224	\$1,967,814	Stars Over Texas	Ideological/Single Issue	246	9
-95%	\$22,939	\$423,475	Denton Co. Democratic Club	Ideological/Single Issue	557	53
-95%	\$10,979	\$222,471	Texans Together	Ideological/Single Issue	741	116
-94%	\$11,384	\$189,327	TCB (Turner Collie & Braden)	Construction	732	134
-91%	\$13,113	\$142,280	Coca-Cola	Miscellaneous Business	699	162
-91%	\$11,823	\$124,605	TX Demo. Women of Brazos Valley	Ideological/Single Issue	725	182
-90%	\$11,121	\$107,592	Fort Bend Conservative Club	Ideological/Single Issue	739	202
-86%	\$24,849	\$177,231	Home Builders Assn. of Gr. Austin	Construction	534	140
-84%	\$172,939	\$1,076,559	TX Parent PAC	Ideological/Single Issue	148	15
-84%	\$22,000	\$137,998	GDF SUEZ Energy North America	Energy/Natural Resources	570	167
-80%	\$40,707	\$208,755	Travis Republican Advisory Council	Ideological/Single Issue	412	120
-80%	\$24,202	\$118,060	Human Rights Campaign	Ideological/Single Issue	541	191
-79%	\$138,260	\$661,589	Empower Texans	Ideological/Single Issue	175	27
-78%	\$58,800	\$263,613	Lyondell Chemical Co.	Energy/Natural Resources	339	101
-75%	\$57,925	\$235,226	Teamsters Local #745	Labor	347	112
-74%	\$256,303	\$971,909	First Tuesday	Ideological/Single Issue	105	16
-72%	\$40,299	\$141,927	Owens Corning	Construction	413	163
-71%	\$102,974	\$349,639	Texas Business for Clean Air	Ideological/Single Issue	228	67
-70%	\$50,953	\$171,233	El Paso Corp.	Energy/Natural Resources	368	144

Several large PACs on the other side of the ideological fence shrank to a shadow of their former size. These include **Texans Together** and **First Tuesday**, which were tied to the late trial lawyer Fred Baron's Texas Democratic Trust. The **Texas Parent PAC** and **Denton County Democratic Club** also suffered plummeting finances, as did the gay Human Rights Campaign.

IV. Top Business PAC Categories

The \$68 million that Business PACs spent accounted for 51 percent of all PAC spending, down from a decade high of 67 percent of all PAC spending in the 2004 cycle. Business PACs spent 8 percent more than what they spent in the 2008 cycle. This section focuses on the four Business sectors that spent more than \$9 million apiece: Lawyers & Lobbyists, Energy/Natural Resources, Real Estate and Health.



Lawyers & Lobbyists

Lawyers and Lobbyists PACs spent \$11 million, nosing out the Energy & Natural Resources sector to be the largest Business PAC category. Spending by this business sector grew 4 percent from the preceding cycle. Plaintiff interests operated this sector's two fattest PACs—spending more than \$1 million apiece. Every other leading Lawyers & Lobbyists PAC represents corporate interests. While the two plaintiff PACs increased their total spending by 18 percent from 2008 to 2010, spending by the top corporate PACs listed here contracted 7 percent.

The \$3.2 million **Texans for Insurance Reform** spent heavily on media promoting Democratic House candidates, most of whom did not survive the GOP's November sweep. In its biggest investment, Texans for Insurance Reform spent \$150,000 in October in a failed effort to save Waco Rep. Jim Dunnam, then dean of the House Democratic Caucus. Trial lawyer Steve Mostyn and his firm pumped \$1.2 million into this PAC. Nix Patterson Roach tithed \$400,000 to Texans for Insurance Reform, which collected \$250,000 apiece from the plaintiff firms Provost Umphrey and Williams Kherkher.

Top Lawyers & Lobbyists PACs

2010 Spending	PAC	2010 Rank	2008 Spending	'08-'10 Growth	2008 Rank
\$3,200,598	Texans for Insurance Reform	8	\$2,731,273	17	7
\$1,032,840	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	20	\$866,051	19	21
\$885,453	HillCo PAC	23	\$959,620	-8	17
\$779,949	Vinson & Elkins	26	\$849,635	-8	22
\$661,950	Fulbright & Jaworski	32	\$657,599	1	28
\$645,286	Andrews & Kurth	34	\$640,035	1	30
\$416,881	Winstead, PC	57	\$537,708	-22	36
\$394,047	K & L Gates, LLP	61	\$387,954	2	60
\$334,300	Haynes & Boone	75	\$366,050	-9	65
\$327,773	Baker Botts	76	\$369,904	-11	64
\$255,650	Bracewell & Giuliani	106	\$439,982	-42	47
\$242,315	Jackson Walker Services	112	\$330,834	-27	72
\$232,905	Gardere Wynne Sewell	114	\$195,678	19	128
\$224,246	Greenberg Traurig (national)	121	\$0	NA	NA
\$157,175	Brown McCarroll PAC	159	\$232,350	-32	114
\$134,317	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer ...	182	\$273,122	-51	96
\$127,500	Thompson & Knight PAC	191	\$171,500	-26	143
\$120,486	Santos Alliances PAC	195	\$66,732	81	268
\$119,664	Kelly Hart & Hallman PAC	198	\$57,656	108	298
\$112,501	Delisi Communications PAC	210	\$0	NA	NA
\$92,000	Greenberg Traurig (state)	248	\$0	NA	NA

Mostyn and Lubbock attorney Charles Dunn led donations to the **Texas Trial Lawyers Association**, giving more than \$315,000 apiece. Headed by Mostyn, this trade association spent heavily to repay loans, buy voter data and promote Democratic legislative candidates.

HillCo Partners operated this sector's biggest corporate PAC. Houston homebuilder Bob Perry, a HillCo client, supplied half of HillCo's PAC money. Dallas Cowboys owners Jerral and Stephan Jones gave another \$117,500 to their lobby firm's PAC. HillCo contributed heavily to Texas' top three politicians, as well as the candidates for the Texas Supreme Court, which has bent over backwards for HillCo and court client Bob Perry.²⁹



Houston trial lawyer Steve Mostyn.

Vinson & Elkins also gave generously to Texas' top three politicians and to candidates for the Texas Supreme Court—where Vinson & Elkins attorneys frequently argue cases. Vinson & Elkins also invested heavily in Attorney General Greg Abbott and Annise Parker, Houston's first openly gay mayor.

Three top Lawyers & Lobbyists PACs first registered with the Texas Ethics Commission in the 2010 cycle. These include two PACs affiliated with **Greenberg Traurig**—former home of crooked lobbyist Jack Abramoff. Greenberg Traurig's New York-based national PAC spent almost a quarter of a million dollars, led by \$15,000 apiece to the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the National Republican Congressional Committee and Texas Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst. It also contributed \$6,000 to Greenberg Traurig's Florida-based "Texas PAC." Greenberg's state PAC gave more than a third of the \$92,000 that it spent to Governor Perry, General Abbott and Speaker Straus.

After resigning her Temple-based House seat in July 2009, Republican Rep. Dianne White Delisi joined her son's lobby firm.³⁰ **Delisi Communications** had not previously operated a PAC. But its new recruit was leaving office with leftover campaign funds. Texas law prohibited Rep. Delisi from stuffing her campaign money into her purse. But the law allows revolving-door lawmakers to burnish their lobbying marketability by doling leftover campaign money to the politicians they lobby. Former Rep. Delisi closed out her campaign account in early 2010, contributing the last \$132,527 to the new Delisi Communications PAC. The PAC contributed the money to lawmakers, led by Democratic Reps. Scott Hochberg and Sylvester Turner and Republican Senators Steve Ogden, Jane Nelson and Florence Shapiro. Austin-based Tutors With Computers President Charles Young also gave Delisi Communications PAC \$67,000.

Energy & Natural Resources

Energy & Natural Resources was the No. 2 Business PAC category. PACs in this sector spent \$10.4 million—up 5 percent from the 2008 cycle. Data for several top energy companies are misleading since their PACs reported *national* political expenditures to the Texas Ethics Commission.

The PAC of San Antonio-based **Valero Energy Corp.** spent 37 percent (\$898,255) of its \$2.4 million in its home state (enough to defend its title as Texas' No. 1 Energy PAC). After contributing \$56,000 to Kay Bailey Hutchison's failed gubernatorial campaign, Valero PAC gave Governor Rick Perry \$57,500 and spent another \$20,000 more on a Perry event in June 2010.³¹ Valero PAC gave \$35,000 apiece to Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst and Attorney General Greg Abbott. General Abbott filed seven lawsuits against the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency during the 2010 cycle.³² These included the nation's first frivolous state lawsuit challenging EPA regulation of greenhouse-gas emissions from industrial sites.³³ The rules apply to large industrial plants, including Valero's refineries.

Top Energy & Natural Resources PACs

2010 Spending	PAC	2010 Rank	2008 Spending	'08-'10 Growth	2008 Rank
\$2,411,557	Valero Energy Corp.	10	\$2,436,203	-1	8
\$803,451	*ConocoPhillips	25	\$627,965	28	32
\$483,795	Spectra Energy Corp.	47	\$121,850	297	183
\$444,955	CenterPoint Energy, Inc.	50	\$408,819	9	55
\$436,351	Atmos Energy Corp.	54	\$275,405	58	95
\$409,692	Dow Chemical Co.	58	\$297,687	38	85
\$400,747	Texas Oil & Gas PAC	59	\$436,431	-8	48
\$380,233	NuStar	63	\$74,435	411	256
\$340,700	American Electric Power	73	\$336,480	1	70
\$316,590	TEFH Electric Delivery PAC	80	\$433,058	-27	49
\$269,000	Good Government Fund (Bass Family)	98	\$160,750	67	152
\$230,066	RRI Energy, Inc.	116	\$362,425	-37	66
\$227,000	PSEL PAC (Bass Family)	119	\$136,250	67	169
\$226,813	TEFH Energy PAC	120	\$168,959	34	146
\$201,964	*Devon Energy Corp.	131	\$301,900	-33	81
\$189,970	Rural Friends of TX Electric Cooperatives	143	\$259,200	-27	103
\$161,710	*Chesapeake Energy	157	\$106,765	51	204
\$151,108	Occidental Petroleum Corp.	161	\$156,504	-3	156
\$146,621	NRG Energy, Inc.	165	\$211,320	-31	118
\$141,600	*Exxon Mobil Corp.	169	\$78,000	82	251
\$134,969	TEFH Power PAC	180	\$286,278	-53	87
\$132,307	TEFH Energy Leaders PAC	184	\$180,524	-27	135
\$116,534	TEFH TX Employee PAC	203	\$283,374	-59	90
\$111,100	Secure Energy & Economy for San Antonio	213	\$0	NA	NA
\$106,000	*Chevron	221	\$100,000	6	212

TEFH = Texas Energy Future Capital Holdings Corp. (formerly TXU Corp.)

*One of Texas' top 32 producers of natural gas in 2010.

Valero PAC spent 23 percent of its money (\$561,974) in California, which led the nation in regulating greenhouse gases. Valero PAC gave \$185,000 to the California Republican Party and \$15,000 to a PAC promoting a failed 2010 initiative to repeal California's climate-change law.³⁴ California records show that this repeal PAC raised \$10.7 million, including more than \$4 million from Valero's corporate treasury and more than \$2 million more from Texas-based refiner Tesoro Corp. Then-Governator Arnold Schwarzenegger denounced these refiners as "greedy Texas oil companies."³⁵ Valero CEO Bill Klesse, who once joked that the way to control global warming is to "hold your breath," said Valero acted against an "anti-fossil fuel law."³⁶

Oklahoma-based **ConocoPhillips'** PAC spent \$803,451, dropping 36 percent of that total (\$289,297) in Texas (Conoco's PAC spent just 15 percent of its money in its home state). Some of Conoco's favorite Texas candidates were Rick Perry (\$20,000), Gregg Abbott (\$15,000) Comptroller Susan Combs (\$12,500), Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst (\$7,500) and Justice Paul Green (\$7,000).

ConocoPhillips bought into the natural-gas producing Barnett Shale with its 2006 acquisition of Burlington Resources. The gas-shale production glut combined with the recession has hammered natural gas prices. A million BTUs of gas that sold for \$14 in 2008 sold for less than \$5 dollars for much of the 18 months ending in June 2011. This had a huge impact on many Texas energy PACs. During the 2010 election cycle, Texas politicians collected \$2 million from the PACs and executives of Texas' top 32 natural gas producers and from their trade group's **Texas Oil and Gas PAC**. Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst and gubernatorial candidates Kay Bailey Hutchison, Bill White and Rick Perry accounted for a third of this money.³⁷ These political investments appeared to pay off in 2011, when the Texas Legislature declined to rescind a natural gas tax break that prevented gas producers from paying the cash-strapped state \$1.5 billion in the 2010 cycle.

Houston-based **Spectra Energy Corp.**, which processes and transports extracted natural gas, increased its PAC spending 297 percent to \$483,795. Spectra PAC's largest contributions were \$15,000 apiece to the Democratic and Republican senatorial campaign committees. Texas accounted for 19 percent of its spending, more than any other state. Spectra invested heavily in Texas Railroad Commissioners. It first gave \$7,500 to Commissioner David Carrillo and then gave another \$5,000 to David Porter, who defeated Carrillo in the GOP Primary. It gave \$3,000 to Railroad Commissioner Elizabeth Ames Jones. It also gave \$6,500 to Speaker Straus and \$3,500 apiece to Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst and Rep. Warren Chisum.

Texas Energy Future Holdings Corp. (TEFH) bought out electric utility giant TXU Corp. in 2007 for \$43 billion—the biggest leveraged buyout in human history. In the 2010 cycle TEFH and its regulated Oncor transmission unit operated eight active PACs that collectively spent just over \$1 million. If TEFH combined all its PACs into one it would rank No. 21 among Texas PACs.

Since Texas electricity prices are heavily shaped by natural gas prices, TEFH has been hammered by falling gas prices. The TXU buyout amounted to a losing bet on sustained gas prices.³⁸ TEFH did better with public funding. Gubernatorial appointees to the Texas Public Utility Commission awarded almost \$5 billion in contracts to build transmission lines to tap West Texas' wind energy in 2009. Regulators awarded \$1.3 billion of this work to TEFH and another \$789 million to a consortium involving PAC operator **American Electric Power**.³⁹ Perry was TEFH's favorite politician, receiving \$97,000 from TEFH PACs in the 2010 cycle. TEFH PACs also gave \$46,000 to Lieutenant Governor Dewhurst, \$39,000 to Speaker Straus and \$15,000 apiece to Congressman Joe Barton and state Senator Troy Fraser.

TEFH is one of Texas' two nuclear powers. New Jersey-based **NRG Energy** became the other when it acquired Houston's Reliant Energy in 2009. NRG then teamed up with Tokyo Electric Power Co. (TEPCO) and Toshiba Corp. in 2010 to build two new reactors at its South Texas nuclear project.⁴⁰ The earthquake and tsunami that hammered TEPCO's Fukushima II Nuclear Power Plant in March 2011 caused the full meltdown of three of that plant's four reactors—including both of its Toshiba reactors.⁴¹ Thanks to another "impossible" nuclear accident, it suddenly was not a marketable idea for NRG, TEPCO and Toshiba to build nuclear reactors near Texas' hurricane-ravaged coast.



Kamikazee janitors mop up at the Fukushima II Nuclear Power Plant.

Fukushima meltdowns dealt a setback to one of Texas' biggest new PACs. **Secure Energy & Economy for San Antonio** PAC had been laboring to convince the people of San Antonio that their municipally owned CPS Energy should commit to buying electricity from the new nukes that NRG planned to build.⁴² The PAC spent money on Bracewell & Giuliani lawyers and pollster Wilson Research Strategies, which found that 59 percent of San Antonio residents supported NRG's nuclear expansion in 2009. If Secure Energy recommissioned that poll post-Fukushima it did not publicize the results. The top businesses bankrolling Secure Energy were hospital-bed maker KCI, Caterpillar equipment dealer Holt Co., insurer United Services Automobile Association and NuStar Energy.

Spun-off by Valero Energy in 2006, San Antonio-based **NuStar Energy**, stores petroleum products, manufactures asphalt and runs a fast-growth PAC. NuStar PAC spent \$380,233 in 2010, a 411 percent increase from the 2008 cycle. Similar to Valero, it gave Kay Bailey Hutchison \$35,000 and then gave \$25,000 to Rick Perry after he beat Hutchison in the Republican Primary. NuStar also gave \$27,500 to Dewhurst, \$25,000 to San Antonio's Free Trade Alliance, \$22,500 to homeboy Joe Straus and \$15,000 to the Fort Worth-based Legacy Victory Fund, which promotes compassionate conservative Republicans.

Real Estate

Forty-eight Real Estate PACs spent almost \$10 million, comparable to what they spent in the 2008 cycle. The **Texas Association of Realtors** (TAR) and its sister **Texas Association of Realtors Issues Mobilization PAC** collectively spent \$7.2 million. Combined, these two PACs would rank as Texas' biggest PAC. Together they accounted for 73 cents of every Real Estate PAC dollar.

Top Real Estate PACs

2010 Spending	PAC	2010 Rank	2008 Spending	'08-'10 Growth	2008 Rank
\$3,557,489	TX Assn. of Realtors	4	\$4,113,444	-14%	5
\$3,238,317	TX Assn. Realtors Issues Mobilization	6	\$3,118,794	4%	6
\$566,250	TX Apartment Assn.	39	\$424,000	34%	52
\$318,159	San Antonio Board of Realtors	79	\$92,103	245%	226
\$291,160	TX Land Title Assn.	89	\$205,750	42%	122
\$264,443	Houston Apartment Assn.	101	\$276,651	-4%	94
\$192,333	Houston Realty Business Coalition	139	\$0	NA	NA
\$183,500	Apartment Assn. of Gr. Dallas	145	\$211,134	-13%	119
\$139,208	MetroTex Assn. of Realtors	172	\$203,150	-31%	123
\$102,723	Ebby Halliday	229	\$0	NA	NA
\$101,877	Apartment Assn. of Tarrant Co.	231	\$93,278	9%	221

The traditional TAR PAC supports candidates' campaigns. It gave: \$125,000 to the governor and \$75,000 apiece to the speaker and lieutenant governor. Senators John Carona, Kevin Eltife and Tommy Williams each collected \$25,000 from TAR, as did Rep. John Otto. The top Democratic recipient, Senator Leticia Van De Putte, bagged \$22,500. This loaded PAC also spent more than \$22,000 on plaques to dole out, \$14,000 at the Capitol Gift Shop and more than \$12,000 on TREPAC jackets. TAR clashed with developers in 2011 over two big issues. It backed efforts to curb the powers of anti-consumer homeowners associations. And it sought to prevent developers from recording deeds that perversely entitle builders to a percentage of the proceeds of the future sale of a home. TAR also opposed taxing Realtors' fees and mandatory disclosure of property sales prices (a reform sought by county appraisers). TAR sought to prohibit Realtors from being held liable for deceptive trade practices and it promoted more limits on governments seizing land through eminent domain.

Fueled by \$3.5 million in corporate funds from the Texas Association of Realtors, the TAR Issues Mobilization PAC spent more than \$170,000 promoting four constitutional amendments that voters approved in November 2009. These measures streamline and standardize property appraisals, bar homesteads from being appraised on the basis of non-residential uses and prohibit governmental takings of land for economic-development purposes.⁴³ This PAC also spent \$2,536 opposing a College Station proposal to require annual inspections of rental properties.⁴⁴

The **Texas Apartment Association** was the only other real estate PAC to spend more than \$500,000. It gave \$75,000 to Governor Perry and \$25,000 each to the lieutenant governor, speaker, attorney general and comptroller. It also helped pass three constitutional amendments relating to property-tax appraisals (see the section on Specific-Purpose PACs).

Two new Real Estate PACs spent more than \$100,000 in the 2010 cycle. The new **Houston Realty Business Coalition** PAC is a cousin of the older Houston Realty Breakfast Club. The PAC made its greatest expenditures in a

failed effort to defeat local Proposition 1.⁴⁵ Fifty-one percent of voters approved that increase on water and wastewater fees in November 2010. Top contributors to the Houston Realty Business Coalition PAC were not limited to real estate interests. Electricity marketer Direct Energy contributed \$6,570 and CenterPoint Energy gave \$5,000. Stranger still, this PAC collected \$3,500 apiece from Texans for Lawsuit Reform, homebuilder Bob Perry and ubiquitous trial lawyer Steve Mostyn's law firm. It's a rare cause, indeed, that attracts money from Mostyn as well as Bob Perry and TLR.

Another new PAC, the **Ebby Halliday Centennial Fund** is named for Ebby Halliday, the grande dame of Texas real estate who turned 100 in March 2011. The \$15,000 that Halliday gave her PAC was surpassed only by two \$25,000 contributions from oil baron T. Boone Pickens and oil heir Al Hunt, Jr. The PAC's largest expenditure was a \$27,000 contribution to Wade Emmert's failed 2010 campaign to head the Dallas County Commissioners Court. Emmert was elected the following year to head the Dallas County Republican Party.



Ebby Halliday:
Grande dame of Texas real estate.

Health

The \$9.5 million that Health PACs spent in the 2010 cycle increased 7 percent above the preceding election cycle. The McAllen-based **Border Health PAC** boosted spending 138 percent to \$2.2 million, surpassing—and all but doubling—what the powerful Texas Medical Association spent.

Surgeon Atul Gawande published a damning *New Yorker* article early in the 2010 cycle about McAllen's runaway health care costs. The city trails the nation in household income yet spends almost twice the national average on local Medicare enrollees.⁴⁶ McAllen is off the charts in the number of specialist visits and medical tests generated per Medicare patient. Gawande attributed the startling numbers to the entrepreneurial spirit of local doctors, many of whom refer patients for medical services in which the doctor has a vested interest. Gawande cited the physician-owned Doctors Hospital at Renaissance as a prime example. Apart from the many doctors underwriting Border Health PAC are a smattering of non-physician investors in Doctors Hospital, including bankers, general contractors and former Texas Comptroller John Sharp. Before he became a felon, then-Rep. Kino Flores exempted the Rio Grande Valley from the managed-care plan that Texas uses to contain Medicaid costs, according to *Texas Monthly*.⁴⁷

Top Health PACs

2010 Spending	PAC	2010 Rank	2008 Spending	'08-'10 Growth	2008 Rank
\$2,237,754	Border Health PAC	13	\$940,440	138%	19
\$1,323,806	TX Medical Assn.	18	\$1,409,775	-6%	12
\$570,251	TX Dental Assn.	38	\$477,510	19%	40
\$546,025	TX Optometric PAC	42	\$655,269	-17%	29
\$358,284	TX Society of Anesthesiologists	68	\$258,229	39%	104
\$287,588	TX Assn. for Home Care & Hospice, Inc.	91	\$189,978	51%	132
\$251,000	TX Health Care Assn.	109	\$242,500	4%	107
\$231,170	WellMed Medical Management, Inc.	115	\$0	NA	NA
\$212,302	TX Radiological Society	125	\$189,332	12%	133
\$205,306	TX Pharmacy Assn.	128	\$319,076	-36%	74
\$202,014	Mednax, Inc.	130	\$0	NA	NA
\$195,020	TX Hospital Assn.	137	\$233,185	-16%	113
\$193,400	Heart Place PAC	138	\$200,000	-3%	127
\$174,560	TX Chiropractic Assn.	147	\$92,950	88%	222
\$149,800	Friends of Baylor Med	163	\$147,889	1%	160
\$141,005	TX Podiatric Medical PAC	171	\$141,500	0%	165
\$138,886	TX College of Emergency Physicians	173	\$66,540	109%	269
\$118,398	Blue Cross & Blue Shield of TX	200	\$96,368	23%	217
\$114,014	HCA TX	207	\$103,329	10%	207
\$110,250	American Pharmacy Coalition, Inc.	214	\$53,400	106%	317
\$107,034	TX Ophthalmological Eye PAC	219	\$160,690	-33%	153
\$106,750	Southwestern Research & Medical PAC	220	\$92,250	16%	225
\$105,592	Centene Corp.	222	\$66,203	59%	271

The federal Border Health PAC has fought proposed congressional restrictions on doctor-owned hospitals. A high percentage of the nation's doctor-owned hospitals are concentrated in Texas. One of them in Tyler joined a

2010 lawsuit challenging federal restrictions on physician-owned hospitals.⁴⁸ Similar allegations of costly, unnecessary medical expenditures have dogged radiologists who own stakes in scanning equipment.⁴⁹ The issue has divided contributors to the **Texas Radiological Society PAC**.

As local Medicare spending has skyrocketed, so too has spending by the Border Health PAC, which filed its first Texas Ethics Commission report in 2004.⁵⁰ It injected \$150,000 into the campaigns of *hijo nativo* Senator Juan Hinojosa of McAllen (a defender of the region's managed-care exemption), Lieutenant Governor Dewhurst and Governor Perry. Seeking a piece of whoever ran the Governor's Office, this PAC gave \$65,000 to failed gubernatorial candidate Bill White. It also contributed \$100,000 into the Texas House Democratic Campaign Committee.

The fight to fend off draconian cuts in state spending on health care and medical education was a leading issue for many health PACs in 2011. Defending state expenditures on Medicare and the Children's Health Insurance Program was a huge issue for doctor, dental and hospital PACs. Maintaining Medicaid reimbursements was a big deal for the **Texas Health Care Association** and the **Texas Association for Home Care & Hospice**.

Texas Medical Association (TMA) PAC spending dropped six percent since the last cycle to \$1.3 million. TMA again fought turf wars against HMOs and other health-care workers, clashing with the **Texas Podiatric Medical PAC**, the **Texas Chiropractic Association** and **Blue Cross**.⁵¹ To battle the No. 1 cause of premature death, TMA backed a state ban on smoking in bars and restaurants. After one of TMA's own—physician Senator Bob Deuell—snubbed out the smoking ban in the regular session, House author Myra Crownover reintroduced it during the special session.⁵² TMA also backed a proposal to require mandatory vaccinations for certain medical workers.⁵³ Senate Bill 8 died in 2011's regular session but was enacted in the special session as Senate Bill 7.



Sen. Bob Deuell: The doctor who champions smoker rights.

TMA's biggest payments, totaling \$172,500, went to the Eppstein Group political consulting firm. It paid more than \$45,000 apiece to Governor Perry and Speaker Straus. Its largest rank-and-file legislative contributions went to two Republican Primary losers. TMA contributed \$35,000 to revolving-door lobbyist David Sibley, who made a failed bid to win back the Waco Senate seat he previously vacated. It also gave \$30,000 to Susan Curling, who lost a nasty House race to Houston's Dan Huberty.⁵⁴

Federal PACs affiliated with companies that run specialty physician practices recently started filing with the Texas Ethics Commission. The PAC of San Antonio-based **WellMed** and Florida-based **Mednax** both gave most of their money to congressional candidates. The top state contribution by WellMed, which provides medical services to seniors, was \$2,500 to hometown Speaker Straus. Florida-based Mednax, Inc. oversees networks of physicians who specialize in birth services, pediatrics and anesthesiology. Its top Texas state contributions were \$2,500 allotments to seven Texas Senators and to Reps. Lois Kolkhorst, Garnet Coleman and John Zerwas.⁵⁵

V. Specific-Purpose PACs

This report focuses on the “general-purpose PACs” that were active in Texas in the 2010 election cycle. During this period dozens of so-called “specific purpose PACs” also reported expenditures to the Texas Ethics Commission. Most of these specific-purpose PACs formed to exclusively support a specific candidate, as in the case of “Texans for Rick Perry.” Yet 10 other specific-purpose PACs collectively spent \$665,060 for other purposes, led by efforts to influence state constitutional-amendment votes in November 2009. Much of this money went to consultants and advertising, rather than candidates.

Top Specific-Purpose PACs

Amount Spent In 2010 Cycle	Political Action Committee
\$342,295	Texans for Tier One PAC
\$101,510	Supporters of Tax Appraisal Reform STAR PAC
\$82,423	Texas Farm Bureau
\$79,250	PAC OFF, IT'S MY LAND
\$33,514	East Texans United
\$6,000	Texans for Local Option Justice
\$5,922	H. Bartell Zachry Jr. 'H. B.'
\$5,390	Texans For Honesty PAC
\$5,230	Friends of Sandy Kress
\$3,526	Terri Hodge Defense Fund

Texans for Tier One PAC dominated non-candidate specific-purpose PACs. It promoted a statewide initiative to finance as many as seven more premiere research universities (supplementing existing “Tier One” campuses at UT-Austin, Texas A&M and Rice University). In November 2009 57 percent of voters approved the measure, which tapped leftover funds in a dormant higher education account. The PAC spent heavily on advertising and to seed the creation of PACs at three beneficiary schools: Texas Tech, the University of Houston and the University of North Texas.⁵⁶ Top funders of Texans for Tier One include Houston media magnate Bill Hobby, University of North Texas Chancellor Lee Jackson and the Dallas Citizens Council.

Supporters of Tax Appraisal Reform (STAR) PAC successfully promoted three constitutional amendments relating to property-tax appraisals. STAR PAC got almost 75 percent of the money it raised from three other PACs: the Texas Association of Realtors, the Texas Apartment Association and the Texas Chemical Council (chemical companies own property-intensive factories). The measures that voters approved in 2009: Mandate uniform appraisal methods statewide (Prop. 3); Require homesteads to be appraised based on residential property uses (Prop. 2); and Let multiple appraisal districts consolidate appraisal appeal boards (Prop 5).

Two specific-purpose PACs promoted Proposition 11, which requires governmental entities to just use eminent domain to take private land for governmental use. The measure prohibits governments from taking land to promote economic development or to enhance tax revenues. In 2009 voters approved all 11 constitutional amendments, with this one passing by the widest margin (81 percent). A **Texas Farm Bureau** PAC promoted this amendment as did **PAC off! It's my land!** Agriculture Commissioner Todd Staples formed PAC Off! with the Texas Association of Realtors, the Texas Wildlife Association and the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association. These trade groups provided 86 percent of the PAC's funds.

Longview-based **East Texans United** PAC formed to influence local ballot initiatives involving alcohol restrictions. East Texans United got 75 percent of its money from retail liquor interests. This is intriguing given that this PAC opposed rolling back alcohol restrictions in some communities. Voters narrowly defeated a measure to liberalize alcohol restrictions in Smith County in May 2009, for example. Advocates of the failed measure later cried foul. They claimed that liquor stores outside the region used this PAC to bottle up competition.⁵⁷ The \$6,000 **Texans for Local Option Justice** sought to change alcohol ordinances in the towns of Decatur and Gun Barrel. Brinker International, which operates restaurants that serve alcohol, bankrolled that PAC.

Construction magnate **H.B. Zachry Jr.** spent almost \$6,000 on mailers advising Zachry employees how they could vote with the big boss man. Zachry's advice covered votes on the 2009 constitutional amendments and on candidates for Alamo Community College's board.

The Patriot Group, a GOP consulting firm, formed **Texans for Honesty PAC** to capitalize on the pathetic affair that Democrat John Edwards had to relieve the twin stresses of the presidential campaign trail and his wife's battle with breast cancer. The late trial lawyer Fred Baron bankrolled John Edwards' campaign as well as damage-control costs associated with Rielle Hunter, the candidate's lover.⁵⁸ Since Baron gave heavily to Texas Democrats, the GOP wanted to pin the Edwards scandal on Texas Democrats. "Making that connection is absolutely in-bounds, and we would be remiss if we didn't," Texas Republican Party spokesman Hans Klinger said.⁵⁹ Texans for Honesty got all its money this cycle from the Patriot Group and used the money to pay Patriot Ryan Gravatt to "assemble data." The research may have helped Texans for Honesty tackle a key question: Is there anything more to be gained from all this after Fred Baron and Elizabeth Edwards lost their battles with cancer?

Friends of Sandy Kress is named after an Akin Gump attorney best known as an architect of George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind policies (which U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan wants to leave behind). Kress is the treasurer of his PAC, which filed its "last" disclosure report in 2003.⁶⁰ In the 2010 cycle, it donated \$5,000 to two charter schools serving low-income areas in Austin.⁶¹

Allies formed the **Terri Hodge Defense Fund** after federal prosecutors indicted then-Democratic Rep. Terri Hodge on corruption charges in 2007. Prosecutors alleged that Hodge used her office to promote the low-income housing projects of indicted Dallas developer Brian Potashnik, who provided the lawmaker with free housing.⁶² In early 2010 Hodge agreed to resign from the House and pled guilty to failing to pay taxes on \$74,000 in income, including \$32,000 in bribes.⁶³ After serving 10 months in a federal pen, Hodge moved to a halfway house in early 2011 to finish the last couple months of her sentence.⁶⁴ That could end her run of subsidized housing. This round Hodge's largest defense fund expenditure went to pay \$3,000 in back taxes. Donors who helped pay taxes on Hodge's bribes include former Rep. Delwin Jones and Edge Resources Vice President Mike Martinez.



Ex-Rep. Terri Hodge.

VI. Texas' 200 Biggest PACs

'10 Rank	'08 Rank	'06 Rank	'04 Rank	'02 Rank	'00 Rank	Committee Name	2010 Spending	Interest Category
1	4	1	1	4	5	Texans for Lawsuit Reform	\$6,689,744	Ideological/Single Issue
2	1	6				TX Democratic Trust	\$5,346,265	Ideological/Single Issue
3						Back to Basics PAC	\$4,217,947	Ideological/Single Issue
4	5	2	2	5	4	TX Assn. of Realtors	\$3,557,489	Real Estate
5	2	9	4	1	1	TX Democratic Party	\$3,400,157	Ideological/Single Issue
6	6	20	115	196		TX Assn. Realtors Issues Mobilization	\$3,238,317	Real Estate
7	18	10	7	26	6	Associated Republicans of TX	\$3,237,159	Ideological/Single Issue
8	7	7	6			Texans for Insurance Reform	\$3,200,598	Lawyers & Lobbyists
9	10	15	36			House Democratic Campaign Committee	\$2,773,483	Ideological/Single Issue
10	8	5	9	12	41	Valero Energy Corp.	\$2,411,557	Energy/Natural Resources
11	11	13	30			Annie's List	\$2,393,380	Ideological/Single Issue
12	3	4	3	2	2	Republican Party of TX	\$2,332,884	Ideological/Single Issue
13	19	25				Border Health PAC	\$2,237,754	Health
14						Republican State Leadership Committee	\$1,733,320	Ideological/Single Issue
15	24	831				ActBlue TX	\$1,536,385	Ideological/Single Issue
16	312					North TX Leadership	\$1,522,331	Ideological/Single Issue
17	14	12	10	15	12	AT&T, Inc.	\$1,369,620	Communications
18	12	8	5	7	8	TX Medical Assn.	\$1,323,806	Health
19						Coal. Harris Co. Dem. Elected Officials	\$1,063,102	Ideological/Single Issue
20	21	22	8	3	9	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	\$1,032,840	Lawyers & Lobbyists
21	54	17	49	142	623	Ryan TX	\$976,706	Finance
22	23	55	67	56	66	Independent Insurance Agents of TX	\$965,677	Insurance
23	17	18	15	32	102	HillCo PAC	\$885,453	Lawyers & Lobbyists
24	181	680				Conservative Republicans of TX	\$864,046	Ideological/Single Issue
25	32	93	206			ConocoPhillips	\$803,451	Energy/Natural Resources
26	22	21	11	9	7	Vinson & Elkins	\$779,949	Lawyers & Lobbyists
27	25	30	41	87	256	Time Warner Cable	\$771,620	Communications
28	13	125				Texans for Economic Development	\$729,821	Ideological/Single Issue
29	31	53	98	58	536	Travis Co. Democratic Party	\$727,855	Ideological/Single Issue
30	34	36	40			TX Federation of Republican Women	\$682,131	Ideological/Single Issue
31						Grass Roots Institute of TX	\$681,448	Ideological/Single Issue
32	28	24	13	14	19	Fulbright & Jaworski	\$661,950	Lawyers & Lobbyists
33	59	33	48	34	42	TX Farm Bureau	\$648,871	Agriculture
34	30	35	22	85	36	Andrews & Kurth	\$645,287	Lawyers & Lobbyists
35	388	328	318	297	325	National Rifle Assn.	\$630,772	Ideological/Single Issue
36	56	148				TX & SW Cattle Raisers Assn. State	\$584,275	Agriculture
37						TX House Leadership Fund	\$582,616	Ideological/Single Issue
38	40	54	19	20	18	TX Dental Assn.	\$570,251	Health
39	52	52	43	40	72	TX Apartment Assn.	\$566,250	Real Estate
40	37	63	61	65	60	Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	\$557,019	Miscellaneous Business
41	35	31	20	57	98	Union Pacific Corp.	\$554,900	Transportation
42	29	32	18	30	33	TX Optometric PAC	\$546,025	Health
43						New American PAC	\$535,941	Ideological/Single Issue
44	61	59	55	17	13	United Services Automobile Assn.	\$527,139	Insurance
45	26	51	29	247	284	Fort Worth Firefighters Committee	\$513,538	Labor
46	38	34	32	27	25	TX State Teachers Assn.	\$512,868	Labor
47	183					Spectra Energy Corp	\$483,796	Energy/Natural Resources
48	76	102	198	158	226	HDR, Inc.	\$466,687	Construction
49	41	62				TX Progress Council	\$459,335	Ideological/Single Issue
50	55	45	24	104	95	CenterPoint Energy, Inc.	\$444,956	Energy/Natural Resources
51	71	57	57	48	70	Independent Bankers Assn. of TX	\$440,959	Finance
52	42	50	44	53	53	TX Assn. of Builders	\$439,171	Construction
53	131	101	72	130	75	San Antonio Police Officers Assn.	\$437,920	Labor
54	95	171	325			Atmos Energy Corp.	\$436,351	Energy/Natural Resources
55	110	129	311			Libertarian Party of TX	\$425,564	Ideological/Single Issue
56	69	81	74	98	77	TX Credit Union League	\$424,744	Finance
57	36	43	47	61	65	Winstead PC	\$416,882	Lawyers & Lobbyists
58	85	118	179	189	108	Dow Chemical Co.	\$409,692	Energy/Natural Resources
59	48	58	46	31	35	TX Oil & Gas PAC	\$400,748	Energy/Natural Resources

60	39	41				TX Values in Action Coalition	\$398,620	Ideological/Single Issue
61	60	47	45	41	45	K & L Gates LLP	\$394,047	Lawyers & Lobbyists
62	78	106	75	36	38	TX Society of Certified Public Accountants	\$386,945	Finance
63	256					NuStar	\$380,233	Energy/Natural Resources
64	83	87	119	152	151	TX Consumer Finance Assn.	\$379,350	Finance
65	44	37	27	25	28	Farmers Employee & Agent	\$371,145	Insurance
66	58	68	34	35	49	Houston Police Officers Union	\$368,311	Labor
67	80	79	94	68	71	Associated General Contractors of TX	\$367,530	Construction
68	104	96	80	95	93	TX Society of Anesthesiologists	\$358,284	Health
69	91	70	88	129	223	TX Architects Committee	\$356,463	Construction
70	100	103	103	49	92	Assoc. Gen'l Contractors TX Bldg. Branch	\$354,778	Construction
71	33	436	256	202	112	Vote TX	\$354,015	Ideological/Single Issue
72	89	271				Lone Star Fund	\$348,844	Ideological/Single Issue
73	70	72	129			American Electric Power	\$340,700	Energy/Natural Resources
74	46	46	35	16	16	TX Automobile Dealers Assn.	\$336,719	Transportation
75	65	65	63	37	59	Haynes & Boone	\$334,300	Lawyers & Lobbyists
76	64	40	31	63	73	Baker Botts	\$327,774	Lawyers & Lobbyists
77	148					TX Consumer Lenders PAC	\$325,022	Finance
78						TX Repub. Representatives Camp. Com.	\$323,316	Ideological/Single Issue
79	226	797	672	233	438	San Antonio Board of Realtors	\$318,159	Real Estate
80	49	94	70	125	62	TEFH Electric Delivery PAC*	\$316,590	Energy/Natural Resources
81	115	109	77	123		Gulf States Toyota, Inc.	\$311,750	Transportation
82	62	42	33	46		Q PAC	\$311,162	Finance
83	544					State Farm Agents	\$304,860	Insurance
84	99	83	59	76	155	Plumbers Local #68	\$303,308	Labor
85	84	80	14	18	23	BNSF Railway Co.	\$300,643	Transportation
86	229	284	268	265	163	University of Houston PAC	\$300,565	Ideological/Single Issue
87	283					TX Gaming Assn.	\$292,226	Miscellaneous Business
88	51	64	172			TX 2020	\$292,035	Ideological/Single Issue
89	122	123	254	239	218	TX Land Title Assn.	\$291,160	Real Estate
90	43	108	124	51	76	TX Restaurant Assn.	\$288,167	Miscellaneous Business
91	132	174	156	315	407	TX Assn. for Home Care & Hospice	\$287,588	Health
92	93	89	87	93	224	Kirby Corp.	\$285,827	Transportation
93	109					Medical Defense PAC	\$276,485	Ideological/Single Issue
94	79	67	42	102	126	Friends of the University PAC	\$272,739	Other
95	130	133	116	136	139	Beer Alliance of TX	\$271,908	Miscellaneous Business
96	151	360	604	501	633	TX Construction Assn.	\$271,561	Construction
97	68	16	92			BG Distribution Partners	\$269,750	Miscellaneous Business
98	152	120	105	38	24	Good Government Fund	\$269,000	Energy/Natural Resources
99						Hispanic Republicans of TX	\$267,732	Ideological/Single Issue
100	138	154	347	69	83	Tarrant Co. Democratic Party	\$265,558	Ideological/Single Issue
101	94	88	54	54	90	Houston Apartment Assn.	\$264,443	Real Estate
102	50	78	51	551		MAXXAM, Inc.	\$259,057	Finance
103	111	91	189	96	136	TX Bankers Assn.	\$258,992	Finance
104						Houston Federation of Teachers	\$258,926	Labor
105	16					First Tuesday	\$256,303	Ideological/Single Issue
106	47	44	25	28	34	Bracewell & Giuliani	\$255,650	Lawyers & Lobbyists
107	73	200				TX Deer Assn.	\$253,125	Agriculture
108						Turn TX Blue	\$251,919	Ideological/Single Issue
109	107	156	150	131	106	TX Health Care Assn.	\$251,000	Health
110	176	650				American Subcontractors Assn. of TX	\$249,968	Construction
111	171	128	79	70	101	Houston Professional Fire Fighters Assn.	\$245,422	Labor
112	72	73	60	72	46	Jackson Walker	\$242,316	Lawyers & Lobbyists
113	149	121	208	174	109	Galveston Co. Democratic Party	\$235,469	Ideological/Single Issue
114	128	84	56	45	103	Gardere Wynne Sewell LLP	\$232,906	Lawyers & Lobbyists
115						WellMed Medical Management, Inc.	\$231,170	Health
116	66	56	38	19	17	RRI Energy, Inc.	\$230,067	Energy/Natural Resources
117	63	275				A&M PAC	\$227,821	Other
118						TX Fed'n Repub. Women Convention	\$227,550	Ideological/Single Issue
119	169	122	133	44	94	PSEL PAC	\$227,000	Energy/Natural Resources
120	146	211	96	187	67	TEFH Energy PAC*	\$226,814	Energy/Natural Resources
121						Greenberg Traurig	\$224,247	Lawyers & Lobbyists
122	98	92	91	60	47	Beef PAC	\$223,207	Agriculture

123	174	176	114	121	135	Lockwood Andrews & Newnam, Inc.	\$223,000	Construction
124	158	126	108	100	202	Zachry Construction Corp.	\$221,687	Construction
125	133	220	288			TX Radiological Society	\$212,302	Health
126						HDCC Incumbent Protection Fund	\$209,991	Ideological/Single Issue
127	86	157				Compass Bancshares, Inc.	\$209,500	Finance
128	74	137	187	140	105	TX Pharmacy Assn.	\$205,306	Health
129	124	105	144	527	559	Deputy Sheriff's Assn. of Bexar Co.	\$204,054	Labor
130						Mednax, Inc.	\$202,014	Health
131	81	475	405	458		Devon Energy Corp.	\$201,965	Energy/Natural Resources
132	92	82	83	112	175	Gr. Houston Builders Assn.	\$200,662	Construction
133						GOPAC-TX	\$198,166	Ideological/Single Issue
134	117	117	78	150	119	San Antonio Firefighters	\$196,975	Labor
135						Liberty Campaign for TX	\$196,419	Ideological/Single Issue
136	168	110	50	101	372	C Club	\$195,116	Ideological/Single Issue
137	113	100	62	52	56	TX Hospital Assn.	\$195,020	Health
138	127	141	109			Heart Place	\$193,400	Health
139						Houston Realty Business Coalition	\$192,333	Real Estate
140	197	223	162	194	220	Houston Associated General Contractors	\$192,144	Construction
141	214	263	146	165	153	Cash America International, Inc.	\$191,889	Finance
142	88	85	66	77	82	ACT For TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	\$190,750	Labor
143	103	131	135	99	144	Rural Friends of TX Electric Cooperatives	\$189,970	Energy/Natural Resources
144	129	198	53	55	43	Conservative Republicans of Harris Co.	\$187,173	Ideological/Single Issue
145	119	119	126	108	233	Apartment Assn. of Greater Dallas	\$183,500	Real Estate
146	145	76	52	59	52	Nat'l Assn. of Insurance & Fin' Advisors	\$177,173	Insurance
147	222	175	111	122	120	TX Chiropractic Assn.	\$174,560	Health
148	15	38				TX Parent PAC	\$172,939	Ideological/Single Issue
149	82	634				Gay & Lesbian Victory Fund	\$169,076	Ideological/Single Issue
150	179	577				Northside Bond Committee	\$168,137	Ideological/Single Issue
151	126	152	110	183	183	Assn. of TX Professional Educators	\$167,750	Labor
152	173	196	180	331	411	New Braunfels Republican Women	\$167,181	Ideological/Single Issue
153	216	206	371	190	212	TEXO-PAC	\$164,596	Construction
154	102	75	64	33	69	TX Aggregates & Concrete Assn.	\$164,500	Construction
155	161	199	235	648	595	Houston Council of Engineering Co's	\$163,560	Construction
156	108	69	147	188	117	Licensed Beverage Distributors	\$163,550	Miscellaneous Business
157	204					Chesapeake Energy	\$161,710	Energy/Natural Resources
158	365	384	322	332		Fund For the Future	\$160,033	Construction
159	114	151	89	97	58	Brown McCarroll	\$157,175	Lawyers & Lobbyists
160	177	346				EZCORP, Inc.	\$152,000	Finance
161	156	127	120			Occidental Petroleum Corp.	\$151,109	Energy/Natural Resources
162	210	202	122	137	107	TX Veterinary Medical Assn.	\$149,803	Agriculture
163	160	153	113	113	96	Friends of Baylor Med	\$149,800	Health
164	230	184	188	110	57	TX AFL-CIO	\$149,249	Labor
165	118	574				NRG Energy, Inc.	\$146,622	Energy/Natural Resources
166	195		418	345	569	Teamsters Local 988	\$144,872	Labor
167	231	214	185	156	152	S & B Engineers & Constructors, Ltd.	\$144,700	Construction
168						Old American Holdings, LLC	\$142,500	Insurance
169	251	192	414	186	259	Exxon Mobil Corp.	\$141,600	Energy/Natural Resources
170						Valley PAC	\$141,052	Ideological/Single Issue
171	165	169	82	238	425	TX Podiatric Medical PAC	\$141,005	Health
172	123	222	282	179	409	MetroTex Assn. of REALTORS	\$139,208	Real Estate
173	269	297	253	349	262	TX College of Emergency Physicians	\$138,886	Health
174	192	187	335	154	253	Half Associates	\$138,866	Construction
175	27					Empower Texans	\$138,260	Ideological/Single Issue
176	172	113	158	148	196	Education Austin PAC	\$137,755	Labor
177	200	124	68	75	85	TX & SW Cattle Raisers Assn. Fed'l	\$137,208	Agriculture
178	369	531	409	483	432	Arlington Police Assn.	\$136,559	Labor
179	180	253	193	298	445	Fort Worth Police Officer's Assn.	\$135,291	Labor
180	87	114	65	261	80	TEFH Power PAC*	\$134,969	Energy/Natural Resources
181	159	142	100	83	74	TX Petro. Marketers/Conven. Store Assn.	\$134,506	Miscellaneous Business
182	96	29	28	29	30	Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld	\$134,317	Lawyers & Lobbyists
183	189	233				Pipe Fitters Local Union 211	\$132,726	Labor
184	135					TEFH Energy Leaders PAC*	\$132,308	Energy/Natural Resources
185	257	361	400	344	295	TX Nursery & Landscape Assn.	\$132,189	Agriculture

186	247	618				Republic Services, Inc.	\$129,657	Miscellaneous Business
187	139					Texans for Better Education	\$129,471	Ideological/Single Issue
188	186	209	191	167	147	United Transportation Union	\$128,750	Labor
189	263					Costello, Inc.	\$128,461	Construction
190	370					HNTB Holdings, Ltd.	\$127,980	Construction
191	143	90	117	105	131	Thompson & Knight	\$127,500	Lawyers & Lobbyists
192	170	132				Third Thursday Group	\$127,280	Ideological/Single Issue
193	285	190	212	118	307	International Bank of Commerce	\$126,592	Finance
194	284	439	546	692	453	Arlington Professional Fire Fighters Assn.	\$123,680	Labor
195	268					Santos Alliances	\$120,486	Lawyers & Lobbyists
196	184	146	174	67	50	Trinity Industries	\$120,448	Construction
197	491	571				TX Alliance for Life	\$120,346	Ideological/Single Issue
198	298	343	294	175	174	Kelly Hart & Hallman	\$119,664	Lawyers & Lobbyists
199	208	455	317	257	176	Northwest Democrats of Bexar Co.	\$119,649	Ideological/Single Issue
200	217	266	316	375	337	Blue Cross & Blue Shield of TX	\$118,398	Health

* TEFH = Texas Energy Future Holding Corp.

VII. End Notes

- ¹ The largest PAC expenditures typically are contributions to candidates or other PACs; PACs also spend money on overhead and other expenses that also are included here.
- ² “Nuclear-Waste Kingpin Helps Anti-Lawsuit PAC Raise \$6.9 Million,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, February 14, 2011.
- ³ Senator Joan Huffman and Rep. Brandon Creighton introduced related bills, SB 13 and HB 274.
- ⁴ “‘Loser Pays’ Pays Plenty,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 29, 2011.
- ⁵ “Unexpected Deal Revises, Revives ‘Loser Pays’ Bill,” *Austin American-Statesman*, May 22, 2011.
- ⁶ “Bob the Builder’s DNA Soils House Floor Where HOA Reform Was DOA,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, June 1, 2011.
- ⁷ “4 Houstonians Top List of Political Donors for 2010,” *Houston Chronicle*, January 18, 2011.
- ⁸ “Lawmaker’s Request for Settlement Data Blocked,” *Austin American-Statesman*, September 14, 2010. “Action Delayed in Dispute About Hurricane Ike Settlement Data,” *Austin American-Statesman*, December 8, 2010.
- ⁹ “State Storm Fund,” *Houston Chronicle*, March 13, 2011.
- ¹⁰ “Insurance Overhaul Talks Stall,” *Austin American-Statesman*, May 29, 2011.
- ¹¹ “Texas Legislature Passes Education Cuts, TWIA Bill,” Associated Press, *Palestine Herald*, June 30, 2011.
- ¹² Speaker Straus’ Other Horse Race,” *Texas Observer*, April 8, 2010.
- ¹³ “Gambling Industry Bet Against Republican-Dominated House,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, December 1, 2010.
- ¹⁴ The statewide candidates were Governor Rick Perry, Comptroller Susan Combs, Railroad Commissioner David Porter, Land Commissioner Jerry Patterson and Agriculture Commissioner Todd Staples. GRIT valued district-based lists at lower values.
- ¹⁵ “Double-Dipping Inquiry Expands,” Associated Press, *Dallas Morning-News*, January 28, 2011.
- ¹⁶ “Lawmaker Parks Controversial Car,” *Dallas Morning-News*, June 30, 2010.
- ¹⁷ “Speaker and Two Big PACs Divide GOP-Majority Labors,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, October 19, 2010.
- ¹⁸ “State Farm Ordered to Pay for Overcharging,” *Dallas Morning News*, November 17, 2009.
- ¹⁹ “State Farm Plans 2nd Rate Hike in 8 Months,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 12, 2010.
- ²⁰ “Insurer Told to Pay Up,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 12, 2011.
- ²¹ “Sales Tax Tally Fails to Dazzle,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 4, 2011.
- ²² SB 309. “Lawmakers Broaden Major Events Fund to Lure Marquee Events,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, April 14, 2011.
- ²³ “Speaker and Two Big PACs Divide Gop-Majority Labors,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, October 19, 2010.
- ²⁴ Jack O’Connor fell a few percentage points short of unseating Houston Rep. Hubert Vo and Dan Neil fell a few votes short of toppling Austin Rep. Donna Howard.
- ²⁵ See “Bipartisan Texas Jobs PAC Defends Speaker’s Job,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, February 14, 2008.
http://info.tpj.org/Lobby_Watch/02-14-08_texasjobs.html
- ²⁶ “PAC Fined For Not Answering Complaint that it Laundered Contributions From Former Texas Speaker,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, May 5, 2011.
- ²⁷ “Saving Speaker Craddick,” *Texas Observer*, January 24, 2008.
- ²⁸ “Tea Party’s Enforcer Makes Waves,” *Dallas Morning News*, May 30, 2011.
- ²⁹ “Bob the Builder Invests In Judges As Lemon-Home Trial Begins,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, February 17, 2010.
- ³⁰ “State Rep. Becomes Lobbyist,” *Temple Daily Telegram*, January 13, 2009.
- ³¹ Similarly, after Valero PAC invested \$20,000 in Gene Locke’s failed Houston mayoral campaign it later gave \$10,000 to Mayor Annise Parker.
- ³² “In Climate Politics, Texas Aims To Be the Anti-California,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 2010. “Tailpipe Emission Regulations Unlawful, Abbott Says,” *Austin American-Statesman*, June 7, 2011.
- ³³ The federal appeals court that threw out Abbott’s lawsuit for the third time ruled that Texas did not meet “the stringent standards” required for him to stay the climate-change regulation.” Court Sides With EPA in Air Case,” *Dallas Morning News*, January 13, 2011.
- ³⁴ A PAC called Protect Jobs the Economy and Education promoted Proposition 23, the failed effort to repeal California’s 2006 climate-change law (AB 320).
- ³⁵ “Valero, Tesoro Cross Fingers On Proposition in California,” *San Antonio Express-News*, November 1, 2010. Flint Hills, a refinery unit of Kansas-based Koch Industries, tossed in another \$1 million. The Koch family is a major Tea Party sugar daddy.
- ³⁶ “Prop. 23 Is a Money Saver, Valero Contends,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 31, 2010.
- ³⁷ “Tax-Dodging Gas Producers Gave Politicos \$2 Million,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, May 3, 2011.

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- ³⁸ “EFH May Pay \$1 Billion To Avoid Default,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 5, 2011. “Texas-Size Woe for KKR, TPG,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 8, 2011. “EFH Debt Downgraded After Deal with Lenders,” *Dallas Morning News*, August 18, 2010.
- ³⁹ “Political Juice Amped Up \$5 Billion Power-Grid Contracts,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, March 15, 2010.
- ⁴⁰ “Tokyo Electric Buys Into Texas Project,” *Dallas Morning News*, May 11, 2010.
- ⁴¹ “3 nuclear reactors melted down after quake, Japan confirms,” CNN, June 6, 2011.
- ⁴² “Majority of San Antonians support nuclear power expansion, survey shows,” *San Antonio Business Journal*, September 18, 2009.
- ⁴³ See Propositions 2, 3, 5 and 11. TAR PAC gave \$50,000 to “PAC Off It’s My Land,” a committee promoting Proposition 11’s restrictions on eminent domain (see the section on Specific-Purpose PACs).
- ⁴⁴ “CS council to gather input on rental inspection plan,” *Bryan-College Station Eagle*, October 21, 2010.
- ⁴⁵ The PAC contributed \$20,000 to the local “No Rain Tax PAC,” which opposed Proposition 1 and paid more than \$51,000 to political consulting firm Blakemore Associates.
- ⁴⁶ “The Cost Conundrum: What a Texas town Can Teach Us About Health Care,” *New Yorker*, June 1, 2009.
- ⁴⁷ “Wealth Care,” *Texas Monthly*, December 2009.
- ⁴⁸ “Hospital Ban Draws Lawsuit,” *Austin American-Statesman*, June 4, 2010.
- ⁴⁹ “Radiologists To Ask Legislators To Settle Dispute Over Scans,” *Austin American-Statesman*, January 8, 2009.
- ⁵⁰ “Texas Hospital Flexing Muscle in Health Fight,” *New York Times*, July 30, 2009.
- ⁵¹ “Ruling Leaves Chiropractic Board to Change Diagnostic Rule,” *Austin American-Statesman*, September 10, 2010.
- ⁵² “Smoking Ban Is Nixed,” *Austin American-Statesman*, May 27, 2011. “Smoking Ban Back on the Table,” *Austin American-Statesman*, June 4, 2011.
- ⁵³ “Vaccination Measure Passes,” *Austin American-Statesman*, June 4, 2011.
- ⁵⁴ “Curling, Huberty embroiled in battle for Texas Legislature,” *The Tribune*, March 15, 2010.
- ⁵⁵ Senators Robert Duncan, Bob Deuell, Rodney Ellis, Glen Hegar, Jane Nelson, Carlos Uresti and Leticia Van de Putte.
- ⁵⁶ The other contenders are the University of Texas campuses in Arlington, Dallas, El Paso and San Antonio.
- ⁵⁷ “New Allegations Regarding Spring Alcohol Election,” KLTV, August 27, 2009. “Wet/Dry Campaign Controversy Continues,” KYTX, August 27, 2009.
- ⁵⁸ “Lawyers’ Ties In Edwards Case suggest Extent of Hiding Affair,” *New York Times*, August 15, 2008.
- ⁵⁹ “Edwards Ally Vital To Texas Democrats,” *Austin American-Statesman*, August 16, 2008.
- ⁶⁰ The PAC previously supported four state Democrats: John Sharp, Paul Hobby, David Cain and Royce West.
- ⁶¹ KIPP Austin and Austin CAN! Academy.
- ⁶² “3 Separate Trials in Tax Evasion Case,” *Dallas Morning News*, December 12, 2008; “Hodge May Be Tried Separately,” *Dallas Morning News*, October 3, 2008.
- ⁶³ “Hodge Plea Ends Career,” *Dallas Morning News*, February 4, 2010.
- ⁶⁴ “Hodge Comes Home After Release from Federal Prison,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 15, 2011.