

Tort Dodgers:
Business Money Tips
Scales of Justice

Tort PAC Contributions
To the Texas Legislature
1995 Through 1996

By Lynn Tran and Andrew Wheat

Texans for Public Justice

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**from Texans for Public Justice
609 W. 18th St., Suite E.
Austin, TX 78701
(512) 472-9770
tpj@onr.com**

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I. Summary of Findings

- 22 business PACs spent **\$3.1 million** on winning candidates in the last election cycle, finagling to get the Texas Legislature to relieve businesses of their responsibility for seriously injuring employees, customers and neighbors.
- Texas' biggest PAC, **Texans for Lawsuit Reform**, raised \$1.5 million in the last election cycle, spending \$854,826 on the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and current members of the 75th Legislature. TLR alone gave more than twice as much money as did the Texas Trial Lawyers.
- 45% of TLR's money came from just 18 wealthy families. The PAC's biggest boosters are the families of Houston construction magnate and TLR President **Richard Weekley** (\$120,000); Houstonian **Robert McNair**, owner of the largest privately held U.S. power company (\$75,000); Houston construction tycoon **Harlan Crow** (\$52,500); and the richest man in Texas after H. Ross Perot, corporate raider **Harold Simmons** (\$50,000). 79 percent of TLR's money came in the form of 375 large contributions of \$1,000 or more.
- TLR and the Texas Civil Justice League (TCJL) contributed one-third of the money coming from the 22 tort PACs; medical PACs accounted for 30%; land development PACs accounted for 21%; and petro-chemical PACs accounted for 9%.
- **Sen. Troy Fraser** is the biggest recipient of tort PAC largess. Fraser took \$153,911 from the tort PACs, including \$100,000 in TLR-supplied media services. The other four members of the "Tort PAC \$100,000 Club" include: Lubbock **Sen. Robert Duncan**, Dallas **Sen. David Cain**, House **Speaker Pete Laney** and Sherman **Rep. Ron Clark**.
- Civil defense lawyer **Ron Clark** is the poster boy of tort dependency. Clark took \$126,423 from tort PACs—almost \$20,000 more than Speaker Laney. This tort money accounted for 45% of the money in Clark's war chest. Other dependency poster boys include: Center **Rep. Wayne Christian** (42%); Corpus **Rep. Gene Seaman** (29%); Horseshoe Bay **Sen. Troy Fraser** (19%); and Carthage **Sen. Drew Nixon** (18 %).
- Some of the tort PACs' main water carriers have professional or commercial interests that pose appearances of conflicting interests. **Sen. Fraser**, who owns an 800-employee manufacturing company, sponsored a 1989 workers' comp revamp that has robbed compensation from thousands of families of injured and killed workers. Other sponsors of key tort bills, such as **Rep. Rob Junell** of San Angelo and **Sen. Bob Duncan** of Lubbock, have something in common with Rep. Clark: They are civil defense attorneys.
- Although TLR professes to be "bipartisan," Republicans pocketed 73% of the money TLR gave to current members of the Legislature. TLR spent 51% of its money on just eleven close races, giving Republicans 89% of this money. Similarly, TLR spent 52% of all its money on 11 freshmen victors (many of whom ran close races). Republicans took 98% of TLR's freshmen money.

II. Introduction

A basic tenet of the U.S. and Texas Constitutions is that all citizens are equal under the law. Unfortunately, all citizens are not equal under the lawmakers. Corporations and wealthy business people contribute the vast majority of the money that candidates spend to get elected and reelected to the Texas legislature.¹ These business interests capitalize on financial clout in the Legislature to promote an agenda that often runs roughshod over the interests of average, working Texans. The most potent examples of this anti-democratic trend today are the business Political Action Committees (PACs) that are demanding that legislators weaken Texas tort laws. Tort laws protect Texans from injury and harm by sending this message to would-be wrongdoers: If you contribute to someone's injury or death, a jury may hold you responsible.

Recently, however, industries prone to contributing to injuries or deaths also have been contributing lots of money to Texas legislators. In doing so, these business interests hope to relieve themselves from legal responsibility for the serious injuries that they cause. One PAC opposing traditional Texas standards of business responsibility, Texans for Lawsuit Reform (TLR), has spent more money than any other Texas PAC in recent years.²

Had it not already happened, it would be hard to believe that the business tort agenda could be so successful in putting Texas civil courts off limits to so many average Texans. In recent years, the Texas Legislature has restricted the ability of poor victims to hire a lawyer. Its imposition of caps on punitive damages sharply curbs the ability of juries to punish the most grossly negligent individuals and corporations, thereby forfeiting a powerful disincentive to socially destructive behavior. The legislature also has rolled back the ability of victims—regardless of income—to hold wrongdoers responsible for:

- Crippling or fatal workplace injuries;
- Medical malpractice;
- Unsafe products;
- Unfair insurance practices; and
- Violations of the 1973 Texas Deceptive Trade Practices-Consumer Protection Act.

The 1989 revamp of the Texas workers' compensation system is arguably the most callous favor the Legislature has done for tort PACs. From its inception, this system has stripped the families of Texans who are killed or seriously injured on the job of the right to sue employers. Instead, the Texas Workers Compensation Commission (TWCC) settles these compensation claims for a fraction of the full costs incurred by the victims.³ In 1989, the Legislature overhauled this system,

¹ See "Money With Interest: Campaign Contributions to the Standing Committee Chairs of the Texas State Senate, January 1, 1994 Through March 1, 1996," by Lynn Tran, Center For New Democracy, Austin, Texas, June 1996.

² "Top Legislative Donor Fights to Limit Lawsuits," Wayne Slater, Dallas Morning News, February 3, 1997.

³ "Worked to Death," special series by Jim Morris, Houston Chronicle, fall 1994.

making it even harder for the families of injured workers to get legal representation before the TWCC, even as employer insurers continue to be well represented. Not surprisingly with the deck stacked in this fashion, the same TWCC data show a precipitous decline in the amount of compensation paid out to families of Texans who have been injured or killed on the job after the 1989 changes to the workers' compensation law.⁴

A House sponsor of the 1989 workers' compensation legislation, Troy Fraser, is now a Senator. Taking money out of the pockets of the families of Texans who get injured or killed in the workplace has been lucrative for Fraser; he is by far the Legislature's leading recipient of money from PACs that are trying to undermine the Texas civil justice system. Crippling the workers' compensation system also may make sense to Senator Fraser on the home front. He owns Fraser Industries, a large wooden pallet manufacturer with 800 employees in five states (and Mexico).

Now, the tort injustice movement is back. This time it is demanding that Texas legislators:

- Slash legal incentives for owners of commercial property (including apartments, bars, stores and malls) to invest in security devices that can prevent customers and tenants from being robbed, raped or murdered (Rep. Tom Uher's H.B. 1202 and Sen. Fraser's S.B. 428); and
- Restrict incentives for Texas' most dangerous industry—construction—to invest in life-saving worker safety training and equipment (Rep. Robert Junell's H.B. 1020 and Senator Bob Duncan's S.B. 429).⁵

There are at least 44 tort bills before the Legislature (see the appendix). These include 10 bills from San Antonio's king of tort-bill sponsorship, Rep. Frank Corte, Jr. The bills range from the sweepingly dangerous bills mentioned above to bizarre special-interest bills. Conroe Rep. Bob Rabuck's H.B. 1220 would relieve the Forest Service of liability when its "controlled burns" go wild. Dallas Rep. Tony Goolsby has a bill, H.B. 1456, that relieves interior designers of the liability exposure that weighs on them like a bad color scheme. If some of these bills were lawsuits, the tort PACs would brand them "frivolous."

The tort PACs decry the litigation "explosion," "runaway" civil jury damage awards and the liability insurance "crisis," though they have failed to provide evidence that these skies are falling. What these PACs lack in evidence, however, they wield in financial influence. To persuade the Legislature to act on a fictitious crisis, the tort dodgers have become the leaders of the PACs. PACs representing these commercial interests are the single largest source of the special-interest campaign money that is undermining the democratic foundations of Texas.

If this session of the Texas Legislature once more sacrifices the interests of the many for the interests of a few, money again will be the reason. This report follows the last election cycle's \$3,110,947 tort-dodging money trail. The report identifies the individuals and industries that wrote the biggest checks to shield themselves from traditional legal responsibilities. The report then follows those campaign checks into the Capitol, identifying the lawmakers who are most indebted to these special-interest dollars.

⁴ "Texas Workers' Compensation System Data Report," Texas Workers' Compensation Commission, March 1997.

⁵ Rep. Junell and Sen. Duncan are both civil defense attorneys.

III. Methodology

This report is based on contribution and expense reports filed with the Texas Ethics Commission by 22 Political Action Committees (PACs) that have asserted their commercial interests in weakening the Texas civil justice system (hereafter collectively referred to as “the tort PACs”). These tort PACs include two that work exclusively to weaken Texas’ civil justice system: Texans for Lawsuit Reform (TLR) and the Texas Civil Justice League (TCJL). The other 20 PACs included in this study have representatives on either the executive committee or board of directors of TCJL (a complete tort PAC list appears on page 6).⁶ This report focuses on contributions that these 22 tort PACs made to current members of the Texas Legislature during the last election cycle, which covers January 1995 through December 1996.

Since Texas legislators do not require electronic filings of the contributions they receive, these data were entered into a database. In addition to these data, data on the largest contributors to the two PACs that work exclusively on tort issues, TLR and TCJL, were tabulated. These contributions of \$1,000 or more identify the leading tort dodgers in Texas.

⁶ For a full list of these Texas Civil Justice League affiliates, see the League’s ad in the Austin American-Statesman, January 14, 1997, page A8.

IV. General Findings

(A) Industrial-Strength Tort Dodgers

In the latest election cycle (January 1995 through December 1996), the 22 Texas business PACs with a self-proclaimed tort agenda tossed \$3,110,947 into the campaign war chests of:

- Governor George W. Bush;
- Lieutenant Governor Bob Bullock; and
- All but one of the 181 legislators who represent Texas Senate and House districts.⁷

In return for this hefty investment in Texas lawmakers, these business PACs demand to be excused from the traditional liabilities that they have faced when they contribute to the serious injury of an employee, neighbor or customer.

As noted, two of these 22 PACs work exclusively on undermining Texas' civil justice system: the 800-pound gorilla, Texans for Lawsuit Reform (TLR), and the smaller Texas Civil Justice League (TCJL).⁸ Two others, the National Federation of Independent Businesses and the Business and Commerce PAC (BACPAC) are general business PACs. The other business PACs with self-professed tort interests fall into five business groupings, each with its own axe to grind:

- Health care professions and corporations;
- Land developer, construction and real estate PACs;
- Energy and petro-chemical industries;
- Corporate defense lawyers; and
- Tobacco and food industries.

The two PACs that work exclusively on undermining the Texas civil justice system, contributed \$1,008,030 or 32 percent of all of this tort money. TLR far outspent TCJL, \$854,826 to \$153,204. **Health care PACs** coughed up 30 percent of the tort PAC total. The top health care contributors were the Texas Medical Association (\$372,596) and the Texas Dental Association PAC (\$371,184). **Land development interests**, including the construction and real estate industries, gave 21 percent of the tort pie. These interests were led by the Texas Real Estate PAC, with \$520,979, the Association of Texas General Contractors, with \$103,300, and the San Antonio-based H.B. Zachry [construction] Company PAC, with \$24,300. **Energy and**

⁷ Rep. Bill Roman of College Station took no tort PAC money.

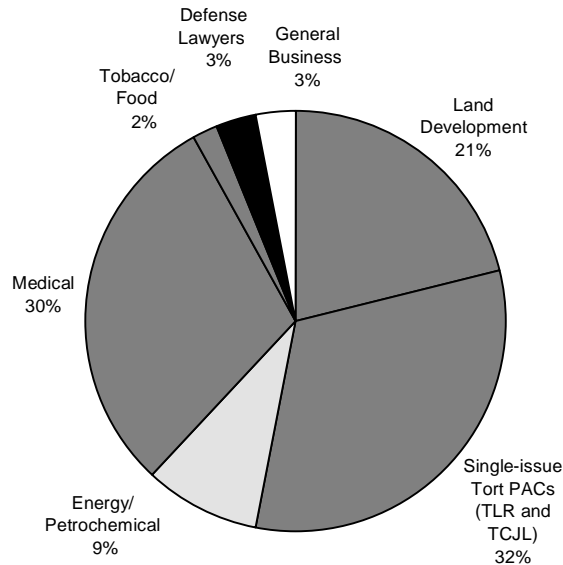
⁸ TLR alone gave twice as much to the Legislature as the leading PAC defending the civil justice system, the Texas Trial Lawyers Association. See "Top Legislative Donor Fights to Limit Lawsuits," Wayne Slater, Dallas Morning News, February 3, 1997.

PACs WITH A TORT AXE TO GRIND

<i>Tort PACs by Industry</i>	<i>Total Political Donations</i>	<i>% of All Tort Money (22 PACs)</i>	<i>Average Payment to a Politician</i>	<i>Maximum Payment to a Politician</i>
<u>TORT-EXCLUSIVE PACS</u>				
<i>Texans for Lawsuit Reform</i>	\$854,826		\$4,253	\$100,000
<i>Texas Civil Justice League</i>	<u>\$153,204</u>		\$449	\$10,000
<u>Subtotal</u>	\$1,008,030	32%		
<u>MEDICAL PACS</u>				
<i>Texas Medical Assoc. PAC</i>	\$372,596		\$860	\$12,500
<i>Texas Dental Assoc. PAC</i>	\$371,184		\$1,250	\$15,000
<i>Texas Hospital Assoc. PAC</i>	\$113,636		\$842	\$10,000
<i>Texas Chiropractic Assoc. PAC</i>	<u>\$79,601</u>		\$381	\$1,250
<u>Subtotal</u>	\$937,017	30%		
<u>LAND DEVELOPMENT PACS</u>				
<i>Texas Assoc. of Realtors PAC</i>	\$520,979		\$1,104	\$20,000
<i>Assoc. Gen'l Contractors of TX PAC</i>	\$103,300		\$1,057	\$5,000
<i>H.B. Zachry Co. PAC</i>	\$24,300		\$419	\$1,000
<i>Brown and Root States PAC</i>	<u>\$6,000</u>		\$353	\$1,000
<u>Subtotal</u>	\$654,579	21%		
<u>PETROCHEMICAL/ENERGY PACS</u>				
<i>ENSERCH Corp. Employees PAC</i>	\$57,557		\$519	\$5,000
<i>DOW Chemical Co. Employees' PAC</i>	\$55,200		\$968	\$5,000
<i>Valero Energy Corp.</i>	\$53,939		\$729	\$2,000
<i>Texas Mid-Continent Oil and Gas</i>	\$53,150		\$793	\$5,000
<i>Texas Chemical Council</i>	\$35,500		\$592	\$3,000
<i>Entergy/Gulf States PAC</i>	\$21,914		\$447	\$5,000
<i>Shell Oil Employees' PAC</i>	<u>\$14,100</u>		\$613	\$1,000
<u>Subtotal</u>	\$291,360	9%		
<u>GENERAL BUSINESS PACS</u>				
<i>TX Assoc. of Business, Commerce PAC</i>	\$75,100		\$744	\$5,000
<i>National Fed. of Independent Business</i>	<u>\$11,645</u>		\$140	\$1,000
<u>Subtotal</u>	\$86,745	3%		
<u>CORPORATE DEFENSE LAWYERS</u>				
<i>Texas Assoc. of Defense Counsel</i>	\$85,216	3%	\$693	\$10,000
<u>TOBACCO AND FOOD PACS</u>				
<i>Philip Morris USA Texas PAC</i>	\$46,000		\$767	\$5,000
<i>Texas Food Industry Assoc. PAC</i>	<u>\$2,000</u>		\$1,000	\$1,000
<u>Subtotal</u>	\$48,000	2%		
<u>22 -PAC TOTAL</u>	<u>\$3,110,947</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>\$1,010</u>	<u>\$100,000</u>

LEADERS OF THE PACS

Share of \$3.1 Million in Tort PAC Contributions by Type of PAC



petro-chemical interests accounted for 9 percent of the total. Leading these interests were the Valero Energy PAC, Texas Mid-Continental Oil and Gas, DOW Chemical and Enserch, each of which gave more than \$50,000. **General business PACs** and a **corporate defense lawyer PAC** accounted for three percent apiece of the tort money. Finally, **Philip Morris** and the **Texas Food Industry PAC** collectively contributed 2 percent.

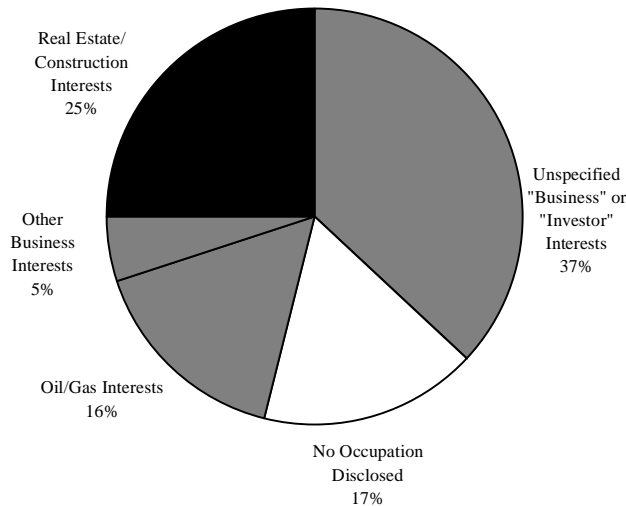
A higher resolution picture of who drives the tort agenda emerges when the money that tort PACs spend on Texas legislators is traced back to its ultimate source. This section analyzes individual contributions of \$1,000 or more to the two PACs that dedicate themselves exclusively to crippling the Texas civil justice system: TLR and TCJL. In the last election cycle, contributors gave TLR \$1,520,000 and TCJL \$287,507, for a total of \$1,807,507.⁹ These PACs then turned around and distributed 55 percent of this amount to the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and current members of the Legislature.

Given the interests represented by these 22 tort PACs, it is not surprising that the wealthy individual donors who fund the tort PACs tend to come from the same industries. One-fourth of all contributions of \$1,000 or more to TLR and TCJL came from people in the construction (16 percent) and real estate (9 percent) industries. An additional 16 percent of this big money came from the oil and gas industry, which has major construction interests. Kenneth Lay, for example gave \$31,000 to TLR and TCJL. Lay is the chief executive officer of Houston-based Enron

⁹ TLR appears to have underreported its total contributions receipts. The totals that TLR reported to the Texas Ethics Commission indicate that the PAC received \$1,386,178 during this period. But adding the individual contributions that it reported in the same filings yields a greater sum: \$1,520,000.

WHO FUNDS THE TORT PACS?

What Top TLR and TCJL Patrons Do for A Living



Corporation, which builds gas-fired generating plants. The contributors of about 37 percent of the big money received by these two PACs identified themselves generally as business people, using such limited occupational monikers as “business” person or “investor.” Finally, contributors of about 17 percent of the big money received by TLR and TCJL either failed to identify their occupation on Texas Ethics Commission filings or identified themselves as being retired.

Deepest Pockets in Texas Bankroll TLR

TLR stands out among the tort PACs in several startling respects. In terms of contributions to the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and sitting members of the Legislature, TLR at \$854,826 far outstrips the \$520,979 ponied up by the runner up, the Texas Real Estate PAC. In addition, the average political recipient of TLR’s largess in the last election cycle received \$4,253. This is several times larger than what the average recipient of the next largest tort PAC received.¹⁰ The single largest contribution TLR made to a member in the last election cycle was \$100,000, which it contributed in the form of media services to Senator Troy Fraser. This was five times bigger than the largest single contribution by any other tort PAC.¹¹

The bulk of TLR’s daunting financial firepower derives from relatively few huge checks from backers with extraordinarily deep pockets. Construction magnate Harlan Crow and energy tycoon Robert McNair wrote the two largest single checks to TLR, worth \$50,000 apiece. Crow is a

¹⁰ The Texas Dental Association PAC gave the average politician \$1,250.

¹¹ The Texas Real Estate PAC contributed \$20,000 each to Senators Chris Harris and Jeff Wentworth.

TLR SUGAR DADDIES AND MOMMAS

Largest TLR Contributors, 1995-1996

<i>CONTRIBUTOR</i>	<i>HOME</i>	<i>TLR GIFTS</i>	<i>BUSINESS SECTOR</i>	<i>COMPANY AFFILIATION</i>
<i>Richard Weekley Family</i>	Houston	\$120,000	Construction	Weekley Homes, Weekley Development
<i>Robert McNair</i>	Houston	\$75,000	Energy	Cogen Technologies (power company)
<i>Harlan Crow</i>	Houston	\$52,500	Construction	Trammel Crow, Crow Family Holdings
<i>Harold Simmons</i>	Dallas	\$50,000	Corporate raider	Contran, Valhi, Sybra, Medford ...
<i>Peter O'Donnell Family</i>	Dallas	\$45,000	Banker/Investor	Former director, First National Bank
<i>David Underwood</i>	Houston	\$37,500	Stockbroker	Lovett, Underwood, Neuhaus & Webb
<i>William McMinn</i>	Brenham	\$35,000	Mines/Fertilizer	Arcadian Corp., Freeport-McMoRan
<i>Kenneth Lay Family</i>	Houston	\$30,000	Energy	Enron Corp. (natural gas)
<i>Hunt Family</i>	Dallas	\$30,000	Energy	Hunt Oil, Woodbine Development
<i>Terry Huffington Family</i>	Houston	\$28,000	Energy	Huffco, Inc. (oil/gas exploration)
<i>Robert Folsom</i>	Dallas	\$25,000	Developer	Folsom Investments Inc.
<i>James Leininger, M.D.</i>	Sn. Antonio	\$25,000	Medical devices	Kinetic Concepts (KCI)
<i>James McIngvale</i>	Houston	\$25,000	Furniture retail	Gallery Furniture chain
<i>S. Reed Morian</i>	Houston	\$25,000	Energy (oil/gas)	DX Holding Co., DX Service Co.
<i>Robert Rowling</i>	Corpus	\$25,000	Energy/Hotels	TRT Holdings, Omni Hotel chain
<i>Mike Manners</i>	Houston	\$20,000	Construction	Royce Homes, Houston Builders Assoc.
<i>Gordon Cain</i>	Houston	\$15,000	Petro-chemicals	Sterling Chemicals
<i>J.C. Pace Family</i>	Fort Worth	\$15,000	Construction	J.C. Pace Co., Kimbell Inc.
Top 18 Family Total		\$678,000		

Trammel Crow director and the CEO of a \$2 billion real estate company, Crow Family Holdings. McNair is the founder and controlling owner of the \$1 billion Houston-based Cogen Technologies, the largest privately owned energy company in the United States.

McNair wrote a separate check to TLR for \$25,000, making him the biggest individual donor to Texas' biggest tort PAC, giving \$75,000 to TLR in the last election cycle. Crow was the runner up, giving a total of \$52,500, followed by Harold Simmons' total of \$50,000. A leading corporate raider, Simmons controls the diversified Dallas-based Contran and Valhi holding companies, with substantial interests in sugar, steel, hardware, timber, oil services, chemicals and fast food. Estimates of this billionaire's net worth often rank him second in Texas, after fellow Dallasite H. Ross Perot.

The largest single contributions to TCJL were three checks worth \$2,500 each. Two of these checks came from Peter O'Donnell, Jr., and the other came from John Ebeling. O'Donnell, 75, is a former director of Dallas' First National Bank and a former chair of the Texas Republican Party. Ebeling is the Houston-based president of Enterprise [auto] Leasing Co. Enron's Kenneth Lay is another major backer of both TCJL and TLR.

At the clan level, no family's generosity to TLR approaches that of the \$120,000 given by TLR President Richard Weekley with a little help from his brothers Robert and David. Like Harlan

Crow, the Weekley boys are construction magnates, controlling Houston-based Weekley Homes and Weekley Development. Other construction and developer interests that gave TLR \$15,000 or more include: Robert Folsom of Dallas-based Folsom Investments; Corpus Christi-based Omni Hotel chain owner Robert Rowling; Royce Homes owner and Greater Houston Builders' Association President Mike Manners; and Fort Worth's J.C. Pace family, which owns J.C. Pace Co. and Kimbell Inc.

Additional top TLR donors come from the energy and mining sector: Brenham-based William McMinn, whose Arcadian Corp. recently merged with mining giant Freeport-McMoRan; and Dallas' H.L. Hunt family. Three other families that have shared their petroleum and chemical wealth with TLR hail from Houston: Terry Huffington and family of Huffco, S. Reed Morian of DX Service Co. and Sterling Chemicals Chair Gordon Cain. Three other donors who have given TLR more than \$15,000 each include: medical device manufacturer Kinetic Concepts' James Leininger, M.D., of San Antonio; James McIngvale, owner of Houston's Gallery Furniture chain; and Houston stockbroker David Underwood of Lovett, Underwood, Neuhaus & Webb.

In short, 18 individuals or families gave TLR \$15,000 or more during 1995 and 1996. These 18 sources contributed a total of \$678,000, or 45 percent of the \$1,520,000 that TLR raised during that period. Of the \$1,807,507 raised by both TLR and TCJL in the last election cycle, \$1,423,500—or 79 percent—came in the form of 375 individual contributions of \$1,000 or more.

(B) Lawmakers Legalize Tort Dodging

Collectively, the tort PACs invested \$3,110,947 in Texas' current lawmakers in the latest election cycle (from January 1994 to December 1996). Of this amount, \$140,500 (4.5 percent) went to Governor George W. Bush and \$262,542 (8 percent) went to Lieutenant Governor Bob Bullock, both statewide positions. The tort PACs distributed the remaining 87.5 percent (\$2,708,706) of this money among 180 of the 181 current members of the Texas Legislature.

The \$2,708,706 tort PAC pie that went to current members of the Legislature was not distributed equally. Some candidates took huge slabs, some contented themselves with crumbs, while one Representative, Bill Roman of College Station, did without. Four members made it into the "Tort PAC \$100,000 Club." The initiates into this exclusive fraternity are Senators Troy Fraser, Robert Duncan (a civil defense lawyer) and David Cain (a personal injury lawyer), who are joined by Sherman Rep. Ron Clark (a civil defense lawyer) and cotton farmer and House Speaker Pete Laney. Four other House members cleared \$35,000 in tort PAC contributions in the last cycle: real estate appraiser Todd Staples of Palestine, investment advisor Wayne Christian of Center, real estate developer and insurer Gene Seaman of Corpus Christi and flight instructor Arlene Wohlgemuth of Burleson.

THE SENATE'S TORT TAKE, 1995-1996

RANK	SENATOR	DIST.	PARTY	ALL TORT PACS	TCJL	TLR	OCCUPATION
1.	Troy Fraser	24	R	\$153,911	\$1,515	\$110,446	Owns pallet company
2.	Robert Duncan	28	R	\$106,764	\$11,341	\$40,114	Civil defense lawyer
3.	David Cain	2	D	\$100,519	\$4,678	\$10,000	Personal injury lawyer
4.	Drew Nixon	5	R	\$77,101	\$5,195	\$7,500	CPA/Insurer/Real estate
5.	Jeff Wentworth	25	R	\$71,978	\$1,000	\$10,000	Attorney/Realtor
6.	Chris Harris	10	R	\$70,789	\$2,300	\$10,000	Personal injury lawyer
7.	John Carona	16	R	\$66,171	\$1,037	\$2,500	Heads management Co.
8.	Judith Zaffirini	21	D	\$63,306	\$2,500	\$20,000	Communication specialist
9.	David Sibley	22	R	\$55,302	\$2,025	\$5,627	Corporate lawyer/dentist
10.	Eliot Shapleigh	29	D	\$54,286	\$1,500	\$10,000	Corporate defense lawyer
11.	John Whitmire	15	D	\$46,215	\$1,500	\$10,000	Attorney
12.	Mike Moncrief	12	D	\$37,230	\$1,510	\$10,000	Businessman
13.	Frank Madla	19	D	\$29,353	\$1,052	\$2,500	Real estate/Insurer
14.	Ken Armbrister	18	D	\$29,274	\$7	\$2,500	Businessman
15.	Eddie Lucio	27	D	\$27,043	\$2,516	\$5,000	Advertising executive
16.	Buster Brown	17	R	\$26,820	\$1,000	\$1,000	Attorney/Mediation
17.	Jane Nelson	9	R	\$24,221	\$1,530	\$2,500	Businesswoman
18.	Jon Lindsay	7	R	\$23,729	\$1,516	\$2,500	Business consultant
19.	Bill Ratliff	1	R	\$22,100	\$1,000	\$2,500	Consulting engineer
20.	Steve Ogden	3	R	\$18,170	\$2,755	\$5,500	Oil and gas producer
21.	Jerry Patterson	11	R	\$16,533	\$1,533	\$2,500	Health benefits consultant
22.	Florence Shapiro	8	R	\$17,741	\$547	\$2,500	Agency head
23.	Tom Haywood	30	R	\$15,876	\$1,063	\$3,500	Businessman
24.	Michael Galloway	4	R	\$14,850	\$0	\$2,500	Oil and gas
25.	Mario Gallegos	6	D	\$14,486	\$0	\$1,000	Retired firefighter
26.	Carlos Truan	20	D	\$14,200	\$0	\$0	Insurance
27.	Gregory Luna	26	D	\$13,500	\$0	\$0	Attorney
28.	Teel Bivins	31	R	\$10,647	\$1,015	\$2,500	Businessman/Rancher
29.	Gonzalo Barrientos	14	D	\$8,000	\$0	\$0	Advertising/PR
30.	Royce West	23	D	\$7,647	\$0	\$0	Attorney
31.	Rodney Ellis	13	D	\$7,500	\$500	\$1,000	Attorney/Investment bank
	Senate Total			\$1,245,262	\$52,135	\$285,687	

Not surprisingly, Texas' top political leaders accepted considerable amounts of money from the tort PACs. Yet these leaders took a relatively small share of this tort money from TLR. While TLR accounted for 27 percent of the \$3.1 million that the tort PACs contributed in the last election cycle, the biggest tort PAC accounted for 18 percent (\$25,000) of Governor Bush's tort take, 13 percent (\$33,700) of Lieutenant Governor Bullock's tort take and just 5 percent of the tort take of Speaker Laney (who received \$5,000 from TLR). While two of these three political leaders took substantial amounts of money from TLR, all three leaders are, in relative terms, much less reliant on the biggest tort PAC than many regular members of the Legislature.

TOP 25 TORT BENEFICIARIES IN THE HOUSE, 1995-1996

Rank	Representative	Dist.	Party	All Tort PACs	TCJL	TLR	Occupation
1.	Ron Clark	62	R	\$126,423	\$0	\$122,923	Civil defense attorney
2.	Pete Laney	85	D	\$106,628	\$10,448	\$5,000	Farmer
3.	Todd Staples	11	R	\$71,271	\$1,946	\$45,039	Real estate appraiser
4.	Wayne Christian	9	R	\$68,427	\$0	\$63,927	Investment advisor
5.	Gene Seaman	32	R	\$65,885	\$250	\$61,035	Insurance/Developer
6.	Arlene Wohlgemuth	58	R	\$36,791	\$519	\$27,515	Flight instructor
7.	Mark Stiles	21	D	\$32,850	\$1,500	\$4,500	Owens a concrete company
8.	David Counts	70	D	\$31,285	\$1,415	\$17,000	Insurance/Real estate
9.	Hugo Berlanga	34	D	\$29,582	\$1,010	\$0	Businessman
10.	Judy Hawley	31	D	\$26,242	\$798	\$17,000	Former educator
11.	Robert Junell	72	D	\$25,152	\$1,534	\$5,000	Civil defense attorney
12.	Clyde Alexander	12	D	\$23,303	\$1,939	\$9,000	Rancher, businessman
13.	Keith Oakley	4	D	\$23,203	\$883	\$12,000	Rancher/Advertising/Sales
14.	Dan Kubiak	13	D	\$19,500	\$786	\$12,000	Rancher/Construction
15.	Edmund Kuempel	45	R	\$19,466	\$1,268	\$2,000	Structural materials sales
16.	Bill Siebert	121	R	\$19,338	\$1,500	\$4,000	Insurer/Marketing/Telcom
17.	Tom Uher	29	D	\$19,227	\$1,790	\$7,000	Family law attorney
18.	Harvey Hilderbran	53	R	\$17,003	\$358	\$4,000	Businessman
19.	Ron Lewis	19	D	\$14,150	\$250	\$7,000	Insurance/Real estate
20.	Kim Brimer	96	R	\$13,600	\$500	\$500	Insurance
21.	Allen Hightower	18	D	\$13,476	\$1,514	\$0	Transit manager
22.	Allen Place	59	D	\$13,301	\$1,920	\$0	Attorney
23.	Paul Hilbert	150	R	\$12,782	\$778	\$2,000	Attorney/Mediation
24.	Garnet Coleman	147	D	\$12,215	\$506	\$2,000	Business owner
25.	Tom Craddick	82	R	\$11,500	\$500	\$1,000	Oil services sales
Top 25 House Total				\$852,600	\$33,912	\$431,439	
All House Total				\$1,462,643	\$66,532	\$510,439	

Republican Party Animals

Just as the copious tort handouts were not doled out in equal shares to each member, they were not distributed equally between the parties. Although 64 percent of Texas legislators are Democrats,¹² Republicans pocketed most of the money that was spent in the last election cycle to weaken the Texas civil justice system. Victorious House and Senate Democrats took 45 percent of the \$2,707,905 in tort PAC money contributed in the last election cycle; victorious Republicans pocketed 55 percent.

Richard Weekley, president of the grand kahuna of tort-dodging PACs, Texans for Lawsuit Reform, insists that he runs a “bipartisan” PAC.¹³ Weekley’s bipartisan rhetoric notwithstanding, TLR’s contributions exhibit a much more pronounced party skew than the tort PACs as a whole.

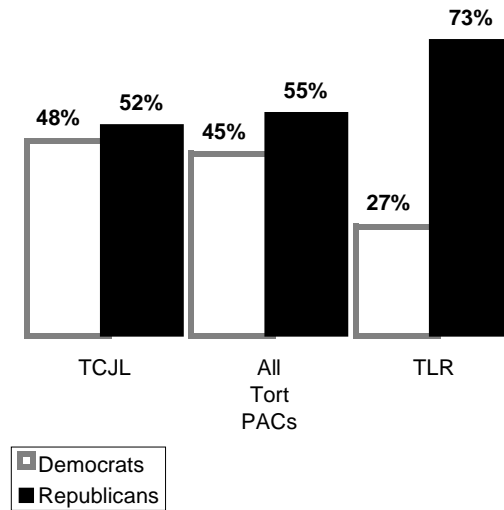
¹² Seventeen of Texas’ 31 Senators (or about 55 percent) are Republican; 68 of 150 Texas Representatives (or about 45 percent) are Republicans.

¹³ “Texans for Lawsuit Reform a Bipartisan PAC,” letter to the editor, Austin American-Statesman, March 10, 1997.

Republicans pocketed 73 percent of the \$796,126 that TLR lavished on winning Legislature candidates in the last election cycle. The much smaller PAC with an exclusive tort focus, Texas Civil Justice League (TCJL), spent 52 percent of its \$118,667 winning-candidate budget on Republicans. Collectively, the other 20 tort PACs—which have more diverse agendas—spent 53 percent of their \$1,911,779 in winning-candidate money on Democrats. TLR’s propensity to back Republicans is even more pronounced in big-money races that were won by narrow margins or by freshmen.

TORT PAC SPENDING BY POLITICAL PARTY

ALL LEGISLATORS:



Squeaker Races

The clout of opponents of tort responsibility is most graphically illustrated in Texas’ closest legislative races, where money was spent freely to determine outcomes. There were 17 Legislative races in the last election that were won by margins of 10 percent of the vote or less. The tort PACs spent \$744,950 on the victors of these 17 races, or 24 percent of the money that they spent on all of the 181 current members of the Legislature. TLR accounted for 59 percent of all of the tort PAC money spent on close races, even though it financed just eleven of the 17 victors of competitive races. TLR spent \$439,846 on these eleven close races, or 51 percent of all the money that it dropped on winning candidates. Of the \$744,950 that the tort PACs poured into these close races, Republicans grabbed 61 percent; TLR dropped a remarkable 89 percent of its close-race money on Republicans.

FREE SPENDING ON TIGHT RACES

Texas Legislative Races with Less Than a 10% Victory Margin

	Dist	Prt	Victory Margin	All Tort PAC \$	Tort PAC \$ as % of War Chest	Total TLR Money	TLR % of War Chest	Occupation
Senator								
Troy Fraser	24	R	52%	\$153,911	19%	\$110,446	14%	Owns pallet company
David Cain	2	D	52%	\$100,519	13%	\$10,000	1%	Personal injury lawyer
Drew Nixon	5	R	50%	\$77,101	18%	\$7,500	2%	CPA/Insurer/Real estate
Representative								
Ron Clark	62	R	54%	\$126,423	45%	\$122,923	44%	Civil defense attorney
Wayne Christian	9	R	51%	\$68,427	42%	\$63,927	39%	Investment advisor
Gene Seaman	32	R	51%	\$65,885	29%	\$61,035	27%	Insurance/Developer
Arlene Wohlgemuth	58	R	54%	\$36,791	14%	\$27,515	10%	Flight instructor
David Counts	70	D	51%	\$31,285	14%	\$17,000	8%	Insurance/Real estate
Keith Oakley	4	D	53%	\$23,203	15%	\$12,000	8%	Rancher/Advertising
Tom Uher	29	D	53%	\$19,227	16%	\$7,000	6%	Attorney
Allen Place	59	D	50%	\$13,301	8%	\$0	0%	Attorney
Ken Yarbrough	138	D	51%	\$9,999	5%	\$0	0%	Directs plumbing group
Robert Cook	28	D	54%	\$5,587	5%	\$500	0.5%	Farmer
Suzanna Gratia Hupp	54	R	53%	\$3,977	2%	\$0	0%	Chiropractor
Jim McReynolds	17	D	51%	\$3,729	4%	\$0	0%	Rancher
Zeb Zbranek	20	D	53%	\$2,834	3%	\$0	0%	Attorney/Engineer
Jim Keffer	60	R	54%	\$2,751	2%	\$0	0%	Sales

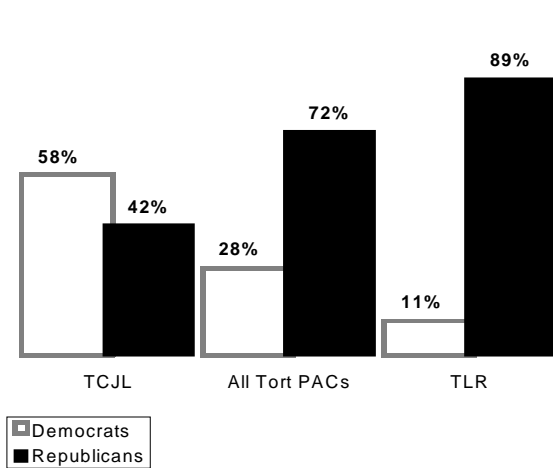
Three of the hotly contested races were for Senate seats. The victors of these races, David Cain, Troy Fraser and Drew Nixon, received \$331,531 from PACs clamoring for less business tort responsibility. Each of these Senators took considerably more than the average Senate tort PAC contribution of \$40,170. Democratic Senator David Cain took more tort money (\$100,519) than Republican Drew Nixon (\$77,101). Nonetheless, the windfall pocketed by Republican tort PAC torchbearer, Troy Fraser (\$153,911), more than offset this anomaly. Tort PAC money accounted for close to 20 percent of all the dollars in the two Republicans' war chests, compared to 13 percent of the war chest amassed by Democratic Senator Cain. TLR alone coughed 14 percent of Senator Fraser's \$807,848 war chest.

House seats accounted for the remaining 14 close legislative races in the last elections. The winners of these 14 tight races were buoyed by an average receipt of \$29,530 in tort PAC money, compared with a House average of \$9,816. Republicans won six of the 14 competitive House races, taking in an average of \$50,709 from tort PACs, compared with a \$13,646 average for the eight Democratic victors in close House races. Several Republicans who won close House races stand out in terms of their campaigns' extraordinary dependence on tort PAC money. The undisputed poster boy of tort-dodging campaign dependence is Rep. Ron Clark of Sherman, who earns a living defending local governments from lawsuits. No less than 45 percent of Clark's \$279,357 total campaign war chest was supplied by tort PACs, with 97 percent of this tort money coming from TLR. The runner up dependents are: Rep. Wayne Christian of Center, an investment

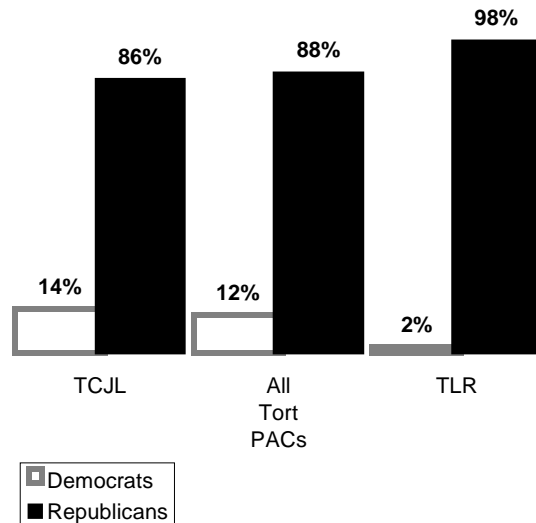
adviser who derived 42 percent of his \$164,486 war chest from tort PACs; and Gene Seaman of Corpus Christi, a real estate developer and insurer who turned to tort PACs for 29 percent of his \$226,190 war chest. TLR single-handedly supplied almost all of the tort money that these three poster boys received.

TORT PAC SPENDING BY POLITICAL PARTY

COMPETITIVE RACES:



FRESHMEN LEGISLATORS:



Fresh Faces, Costly Races

As in competitive races, the tort PACs also played a decisive role in the elections of some of the 27 freshmen in the Texas Legislature. The 22 tort PACs spent \$765,091 on these 27 victorious freshmen, or 25 percent of all the money these PACs spent on current members of the Legislature. Of this \$765,091 freshmen total, the tort PACs spent 88 percent on the 16 victorious Republican freshmen and 12 percent on the 11 victorious Democratic freshmen. TLR accounted for \$417,945, or 55 percent of all the money that the 22 tort PACs spent on victorious freshmen. This freshmen expenditure represents 52 percent of all the money that TLR invested in 1995 and 1996 in current members of the Texas Legislature. Democrats received just 2 percent of the \$417,945 that TLR spent on victorious freshmen.

Six of the 27 freshmen are Senators: Troy Fraser, Robert Duncan, John Carona, Eliot Shapleigh, Jon Lindsay and Steve Ogden. These freshmen Senators received an average of \$68,421 from the tort PACs, compared with a Senate average of \$40,170. Republican Senators Jon Lindsay and Steve Ogden are the only freshman Senators who came in under the average Senate tort PAC contribution. Nonetheless, thanks to the enormous tort PAC takes of fellow Republicans Troy

Fraser and Robert Duncan, the average tort take for a Republican Senate freshman, \$73,249, still far exceeded the \$44,286 take of the lone Democratic Senate freshman, corporate civil defense attorney Eliot Shapleigh. For its part, TLR gave all of its Senate freshmen money to Republicans, channeling 95 percent of this \$158,560 to Troy Fraser and Robert Duncan. Duncan earlier won the hearts of the tort PACs in the House by helping to gut the Deceptive Trade Practices-Consumer Protection Act.

Members of the House account for the remaining 21 freshmen seats. The winners of these races were buoyed by an average receipt of \$16,883 in tort PAC money, compared with a House average of \$9,816. Republican freshmen won 11 of these 21 House seats, taking in an average of \$27,913 from the tort PACs. By contrast, Democratic freshmen took an average of \$4,751, well below the overall House average. TLR only funded 11 of the 21 House freshmen, giving these 11 members a hefty average of \$23,580. Only three of TLR's 11 House freshmen recipients are Democrats. Democrats Norma Chavez, Terri Hodge and Robert Cook received an average of \$2,667 from TLR, compared with an average of \$31,423 for the eight House Republican freshmen who took TLR money.

V. Conclusion

The \$3.1 million that the tort PACs invested in Texas lawmakers in the last election cycle has bolstered these PACs' attempts to advance a radical agenda that serves narrow business interests at the expense of average Texans. The 800-pound tort PAC gorilla—Texans for Lawsuit Reform—likes to cast itself as a grass roots, bipartisan movement. Yet it's own filings with the Texas Ethics Commission belie this pitch. The biggest PAC in Texas took almost one-half of its money from just 18 of Texas' wealthiest families. These families, most of which have close ties to the Republican Party, command vast commercial empires with specific tort axes to grind.

There is little doubt that construction magnates (such as Richard Weekley, Harlan Crow, Mike Manners and Bartell Zachry) and energy and mining tycoons (such as Robert McNair, William McMinn, Kenneth Lay, Terry Huffington and S. Reed Morian) can profit from persuading legislators to rob the families of killed and injured workers of just compensation. There is little doubt that manufacturers of chemicals and medical devices (such as Gordon Cain and James Leininger) could benefit from a system in which the legal cards are stacked against product liability plaintiffs. And there is little doubt that commercial property owners (such as James McIngvale and Robert Rowling) would welcome a justice system in which tenants and customers have no legal recourse when they get mugged, raped or killed as a result of landowner negligence.

Nonetheless, a civil justice system designed to the specifications of the wealthiest Texans does not do justice to millions of ordinary Texans, the Texans who do not have tens of thousands of dollars to shower on members of the Legislature. It is time for Texans and their ostensible representatives to tell the greedy tort PACs that their radical tort agenda has gone too far, causing injury to the body politic.

VI. APPENDICES

TORT BILLS IN THE 75TH TEXAS LEGISLATURE

<i>House</i>		<i>Senate</i>		<u>Description</u>
<u>Bill</u>	<u>Sponsor</u>	<u>Bill</u>	<u>Sponsor</u>	
Texans for Lawsuit Reform Priority Bills				
1202	Uher	428	Fraser	Limits landowner liability for crimes against customers.
1020	Junell	429	Duncan	Restricts liability of employers who use labor subcontractors.
7	Junell	220	Bivins	Bars out-of-state victims from suing Texas businesses.
1022	Hilbert	419	Armbrister	Limits compensation judgments for injury or death.
886	Brimer	275	Sibley	Restricts lawsuits against accountants.
95	Nixon	648	Brown	Applies strict federal summary judgment rules to state courts.
1021	Corte	427	Haywood	Eliminates plaintiff lawyer contingency fees in settled cases.
Other Tort Bills				
		135	Bivins	Grants immunity to juvenile boards and their employees.
		189	Haywood	Relieves Chambers of Commerce from liability.
26	Corte	207	Haywood	Deprives victims of punitive damage awards.
		287	Haywood	Limits approval of class action suits on appeal.
1022	Hilbert	419	Armbrister	Limits jury awards to victims with access to other funds.
753	Harris			Limits liability of those who make or repair rail lines.
		867	Cain	Restricts residential construction liability.
10/18	Corte			Limits liability in auto accidents.
21/22	Corte			Limits liability for donated medical services and devices.
25	Corte			Further limits joint and several liability.
71	Langoria			Imposes filing fees on all parties in class action suits.
20	Corte			Limits lawsuits against government bodies.
23	Corte			Limits liability recovery by criminal trespassers.
25	Corte			Restricts joint liability of certain defendants.
299/887	Kamel/Turner			Limits premises liability of landowners in certain cases.
1180	Holzhauser	847	Armbrister	Limits liability for installation of LP gas systems on cars.
		455	Duncan	Limits liability of charities.
563	Swinford			Forces loser to pay in civil suits.
601	Carter			Limits liability of shooting range owners/operators.
1220	Rabuck			Immunizes Forest Service when “controlled burns” go wild.
1456	Goolsby			Limits liability of interior designers.
1507	Dutton	808	Ratliff	Limits liability of issuers of small business securities.
1694	Hinojosa			Limits liability of water supply corporations.

TORT REFORM TAKE OF INDIVIDUAL REPRESENTATIVES

Dist.	Name	Party	All Tort PACs	Ranking	TCJL	TLR
1	Barry Telford	D	\$10,682	28	\$578	\$2,000
2	Tom Ramsay	D	\$6,526	54	\$769	\$1,000
3	Pete Patterson	D	\$2,750	127	\$0	\$500
4	Keith Oakley	D	\$23,203	13	\$883	\$12,000
5	Bob Glaze	D	\$9,217	33	\$521	\$0
6	Ted Kamel	R	\$2,750	128	\$0	\$500
7	Tommy Merritt	R	\$7,672	45	\$924	\$500
8	Paul Sadler	D	\$4,848	83	\$266	\$0
9	Wayne Christian	R	\$68,427	4	\$0	\$63,927
10	Jim Pitts	R	\$5,175	70	\$1,025	\$500
11	Todd Staples	R	\$71,271	3	\$1,946	\$45,039
12	Clyde Alexander	D	\$23,303	12	\$1,939	\$9,000
13	Dan Kubiak	D	\$19,500	14	\$786	\$12,000
14	Bill Roman	R	\$0	150	\$0	\$0
15	Thomas Williams	R	\$8,737	39	\$515	\$1,000
16	Bob Rabuck	R	\$4,600	88	\$500	\$500
17	Jim McReynolds	D	\$3,729	103	\$279	\$0
18	Allen Hightower	D	\$13,476	21	\$1,514	\$0
19	Ron Lewis	D	\$14,150	19	\$250	\$7,000
20	Zeb Zbranek	D	\$2,834	123	\$0	\$0
21	Mark Stiles	D	\$32,850	7	\$1,500	\$4,500
22	Albert Price	D	\$6,830	50	\$266	\$2,000
23	Patricia Gray	D	\$8,036	43	\$1,250	\$0
24	Craig Eiland	D	\$3,588	106	\$500	\$0
25	Dennis Bonnen	R	\$9,307	32	\$268	\$1,000
26	Charlie Howard	R	\$4,900	82	\$0	\$500
27	Dora Olivo	D	\$3,309	112	\$0	\$0
28	Robert Cook	D	\$5,587	67	\$281	\$500
29	Tom Uher	D	\$19,227	17	\$1,790	\$7,000
30	Steve Holzheuser	R	\$8,900	36	\$0	\$500
31	Judy Hawley	D	\$26,242	10	\$798	\$17,000
32	Gene Seaman	R	\$65,885	5	\$250	\$61,035
33	Vilma Luna	D	\$3,986	97	\$268	\$0
34	Hugo Berlanga	D	\$29,582	9	\$1,010	\$0
35	Irma Rangel	D	\$5,579	68	\$279	\$0
36	Kino Flores	D	\$3,155	115	\$250	\$0
37	Rene Oliveira	D	\$6,586	53	\$500	\$0
38	Jim Solis	D	\$2,350	133	\$0	\$0
39	Miguel Wise	D	\$4,602	87	\$34	\$0
40	Juan Hinojosa	D	\$1,850	144	\$0	\$0
41	Roberto Gutierrez	D	\$6,488	56	\$250	\$2,000
42	Henry Cuellar	D	\$3,696	104	\$23	\$500
43	Tracy King	D	\$4,983	79	\$817	\$500
44	Richard Raymond	D	\$3,902	99	\$288	\$0
45	Edmund Kuempel	R	\$19,466	15	\$1,268	\$2,000
46	Alec Rhodes	D	\$8,199	40	\$788	\$0
47	Terry Keel	R	\$9,066	35	\$250	\$500
48	Sherri Greenberg	D	\$3,385	111	\$500	\$0

Dist.	Name	Party	All Tort PACs	Ranking	TCJL	TLR
49	Elliott Naishtat	D	\$2,600	130	\$0	\$0
50	Dawnna Dukes	D	\$2,772	125	\$250	\$0
51	Glen Maxey	D	\$2,000	140	\$0	\$0
52	Mike Krusee	R	\$5,650	66	\$250	\$2,000
53	Harvey Hilderbran	R	\$17,003	18	\$358	\$4,000
54	Suzanna Gratia Hupp	R	\$3,977	98	\$277	\$0
55	Dianne Delisi	R	\$5,000	76	\$0	\$500
56	Kip Averitt	R	\$4,500	93	\$0	\$1,000
57	Jim Dunnam	D	\$2,250	136	\$0	\$0
58	Arlene Wohlgemuth	R	\$36,791	6	\$519	\$27,515
59	Allen Place	D	\$13,301	22	\$1,920	\$0
60	Jim Keffer	R	\$2,751	126	\$251	\$0
61	Ric Williamson	R	\$2,500	131	\$0	\$500
62	Ron Clark	R	\$126,423	1	\$0	\$122,923
63	Mary Denny	R	\$2,222	138	\$250	\$500
64	Jim Horn	R	\$6,633	51	\$261	\$2,000
65	Burt Solomons	R	\$5,126	72	\$598	\$500
66	Brian McCall	R	\$3,828	101	\$250	\$500
67	Jerry Madden	R	\$1,878	143	\$26	\$500
68	Charles Finnell	D	\$2,833	124	\$328	\$500
69	John Hirschi	D	\$750	148	\$0	\$0
70	David Counts	D	\$31,285	8	\$1,415	\$17,000
71	Bob Hunter	R	\$4,242	95	\$757	\$500
72	Robert Junell	D	\$25,152	11	\$1,534	\$5,000
73	Bob Turner	D	\$2,890	121	\$259	\$500
74	Pete Gallego	D	\$6,591	52	\$258	\$500
75	Gilbert Serna	D	\$8,128	41	\$0	\$7,000
76	Norma Chavez	D	\$11,480	26	\$1,011	\$5,000
77	Paul Moreno	D	\$700	149	\$0	\$0
78	Pat Haggerty	R	\$3,624	105	\$0	\$500
79	Joseph Pickett	D	\$4,555	91	\$265	\$0
80	Gary Walker	R	\$2,950	118	\$250	\$500
81	Buddy West	R	\$3,570	107	\$505	\$500
82	Tom Craddick	R	\$11,500	25	\$500	\$1,000
83	Delwin Jones	R	\$5,230	69	\$780	\$500
84	Carl Isett	R	\$2,300	134	\$0	\$500
85	Pete Laney	D	\$106,628	2	\$10,448	\$5,000
86	John Smithee	R	\$10,250	29	\$0	\$500
87	David Swinford	R	\$5,771	63	\$250	\$500
88	Warren Chisum	R	\$5,000	77	\$0	\$500
89	Sue Palmer	R	\$3,251	113	\$1	\$0
90	Lon Burnam	D	\$2,950	119	\$0	\$0
91	Bill Carter	R	\$4,800	85	\$500	\$500
92	Todd Smith	R	\$4,837	84	\$1	\$0
93	Toby Goodman	R	\$5,695	64	\$1,015	\$500
94	Kent Grusendorf	R	\$1,950	142	\$500	\$500
95	Glenn Lewis	D	\$2,921	120	\$0	\$0
96	Kim Brimer	R	\$13,600	20	\$500	\$500
97	Anna Mowery	R	\$1,650	146	\$0	\$500
98	Nancy Moffat	R	\$8,753	38	\$778	\$2,000
99	Kenny Marchant	R	\$5,000	78	\$0	\$500

Dist.	Name	Party	All Tort PACs	Ranking	TCJL	TLR
100	Terri Hodge	D	\$6,150	58	\$0	\$2,500
101	Elvira Reyna	R	\$2,722	129	\$250	\$500
102	Tony Goolsby	R	\$5,869	61	\$334	\$500
103	Steve Wolens	D	\$5,986	59	\$268	\$0
104	Domingo Garcia	D	\$4,586	89	\$0	\$0
105	Dale Tillery	D	\$2,432	132	\$0	\$0
106	Ray Allen	R	\$7,536	47	\$759	\$2,000
107	Harryette Ehrhardt	D	\$7,569	46	\$786	\$2,000
108	Carolyn Galloway	R	\$2,887	122	\$13	\$500
109	Helen Giddings	D	\$2,054	139	\$14	\$0
110	Jesse Jones	D	\$1,150	147	\$0	\$0
111	Yvonne Davis	D	\$3,550	108	\$250	\$0
112	Fred Hill	R	\$3,550	109	\$0	\$500
113	Joe Driver	R	\$6,263	57	\$771	\$500
114	Will Hartnett	R	\$1,950	141	\$0	\$500
115	Leticia Van de Putte	D	\$5,082	73	\$16	\$0
116	Leo Alvarado	D	\$3,805	102	\$0	\$0
117	John Longoria	D	\$3,900	100	\$0	\$500
118	Ciro Rodriguez	D	\$4,350	94	\$0	\$0
119	Robert Puente	D	\$5,148	71	\$0	\$0
120	Ruth Jones McClendon	D	\$2,250	135	\$250	\$0
121	Bill Siebert	R	\$19,338	16	\$1,500	\$4,000
122	John Shields	R	\$5,000	75	\$750	\$500
123	Frank Corte	R	\$9,716	31	\$750	\$2,000
124	Christine Hernandez	D	\$4,571	90	\$0	\$0
125	Art Reyna	D	\$4,959	80	\$27	\$0
126	Peggy Hamric	R	\$9,089	34	\$500	\$2,000
127	Joe Crabb	R	\$7,900	44	\$1,250	\$500
128	Fred Bosse	D	\$3,484	110	\$0	\$0
129	Mike Jackson	R	\$5,924	60	\$250	\$500
130	John Culberson	R	\$1,650	145	\$0	\$500
131	Ron Wilson	D	\$4,900	81	\$0	\$0
132	Scott Hochberg	D	\$5,650	65	\$250	\$0
133	Joe Nixon	R	\$5,038	74	\$260	\$1,000
134	Kyle Janek	R	\$4,750	86	\$250	\$500
135	Gary Elkins	R	\$3,235	114	\$285	\$1,000
136	Beverly Woolley	R	\$8,047	42	\$0	\$2,000
137	Debra Danburg	D	\$7,392	48	\$750	\$2,000
138	Ken Yarbrough	D	\$9,999	30	\$0	\$0
139	Sylvester Turner	D	\$3,100	116	\$0	\$0
140	Kevin Bailey	D	\$4,550	92	\$0	\$0
141	Senfronia Thompson	D	\$2,229	137	\$0	\$0
142	Harold Dutton	D	\$8,800	37	\$250	\$2,000
143	Gerard Torres	D	\$5,865	62	\$250	\$0
144	Robert Talton	R	\$10,800	27	\$500	\$4,000
145	Diana Davila	D	\$6,500	55	\$0	\$4,000
146	Al Edwards	D	\$3,100	117	\$0	\$0
147	Garnet Coleman	D	\$12,215	24	\$506	\$2,000
148	Jessica Farrar	D	\$6,850	49	\$250	\$1,000
149	Talmadge Heflin	R	\$4,004	96	\$277	\$500
150	Paul Hilbert	R	\$12,782	23	\$778	\$2,000

Texans for Public Justice

Texans for Public Justice is a non-partisan, non-profit, consumer-oriented policy and research organization that focuses on corporate responsibility.