



Texas PACs: 2008 Election Cycle Spending

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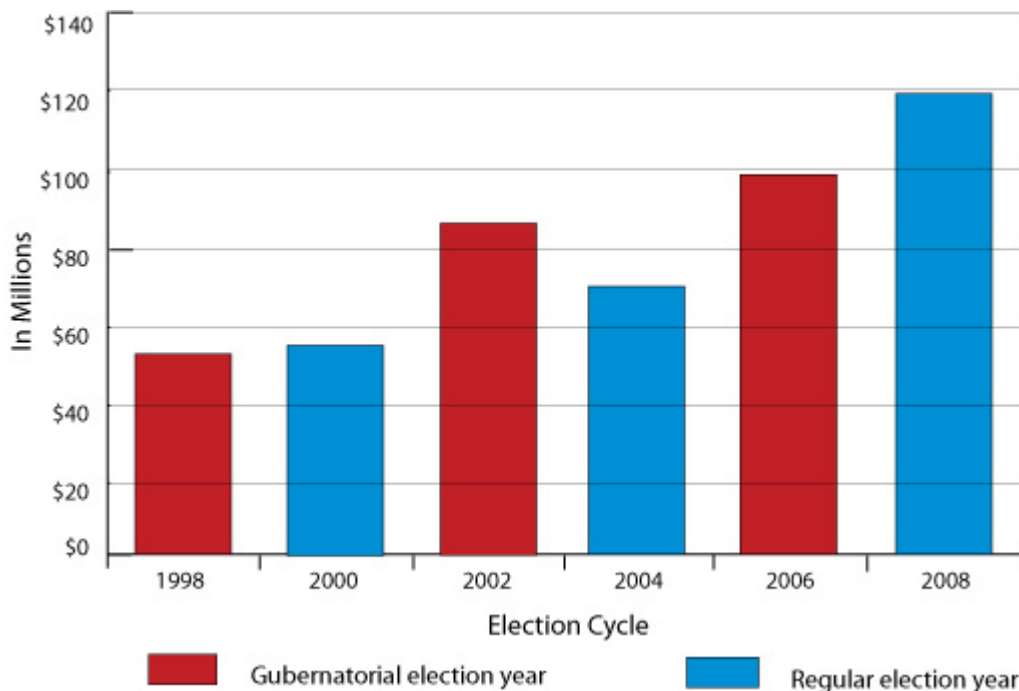
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I. Total Texas PAC Spending

This report identifies and ranks Texas' top general-purpose political action committees (PACs) in the 2008 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 2008, 1,209 general-purpose PACs reported expenditures.¹ The number of PACs active in the 2008 cycle exceeded that of any other election over the past decade. The total 2008 cycle spending by these PACs fell just short of \$120 million. This marked a 21 percent increase from the \$99 million that such PACs spent in the proceeding 2006 cycle.

This increase is striking, given that Texas political spending spikes in gubernatorial election years, when PACs dig deep to influence the elections of a large number of statewide officeholders. There was no gubernatorial election in 2008, which followed an extraordinary 2006 election featuring four well-funded gubernatorial candidates who collectively raised \$42.3 million. The heavy spending in 2008 was driven in part by competing factions seeking to defend or topple recently deposed House Speaker Tom Craddick of Midland.

Texas PAC Spending Spikes In Gubernatorial Election Years



Election Cycle	No. of Active PACs	PAC Spending	Spending Increase From Previous Cycle	Spending Increase (%)
1998*	893	\$51,543,820	\$8,461,274	20%
2000	865	\$53,996,975	\$2,453,155	5%
2002*	964	\$85,320,226	\$31,323,251	58%
2004	850	\$68,904,524	(\$16,415,702)	(19%)
2006*	1,132	\$99,167,646	\$30,263,122	44%
2008	1,209	\$119,561,861	\$20,394,215	21%

*Gubernatorial election year.

One of the fastest-growing PACs from 2006 to 2008 was Texas Builds Jobs & Opportunity For Secure Future PAC. After spending less than \$16,000 in 2006, Texas Jobs PAC received \$250,000 from embattled Speaker Craddick's campaign in January 2008—the largest campaign expenditure of Craddick's career. The next day, Texas Jobs flipped a total of \$150,000 of Craddick's money to three Democratic Craddick allies facing primary challengers. These checks from Texas Jobs were the largest contributions that these candidates ever received.² This prompted Texans for Public Justice to file a pending Travis County District Attorney complaint alleging that the transactions violated a state law that bars speaker candidates from bankrolling the campaigns of candidates for the Texas House.³ House members choose a Speaker from their own ranks. Stars Over Texas PAC, organized to keep Craddick on the Speaker's dais, also increased its 2008 spending 81 percent to almost \$2 million. None of this was enough.



Ex-House Speaker Tom Craddick



House Speaker Joe Straus

II. Comparing Business, Ideological & Labor PACs

Business PACs spent \$63 million in the 2008 cycle, up 12 percent from what these PACs spent in the previous cycle. Business PACs accounted for 52 percent of all PAC spending this round, down from 58 percent in the 2006 cycle (the next section discusses Business PACs in more detail). Ideological and Single-Issue PACs increased spending 34 percent from 2006 to 2008. The \$50 million spent by these PACs gave them 42 percent of the total PAC pie—up from 37 percent in 2006. Finally, Labor PACs have slowly increased their spending over the past decade. Yet the \$6 million that they spent in 2008 still accounted for just 5 percent of all PAC spending.

Top Ideological and Single-Issue PACs

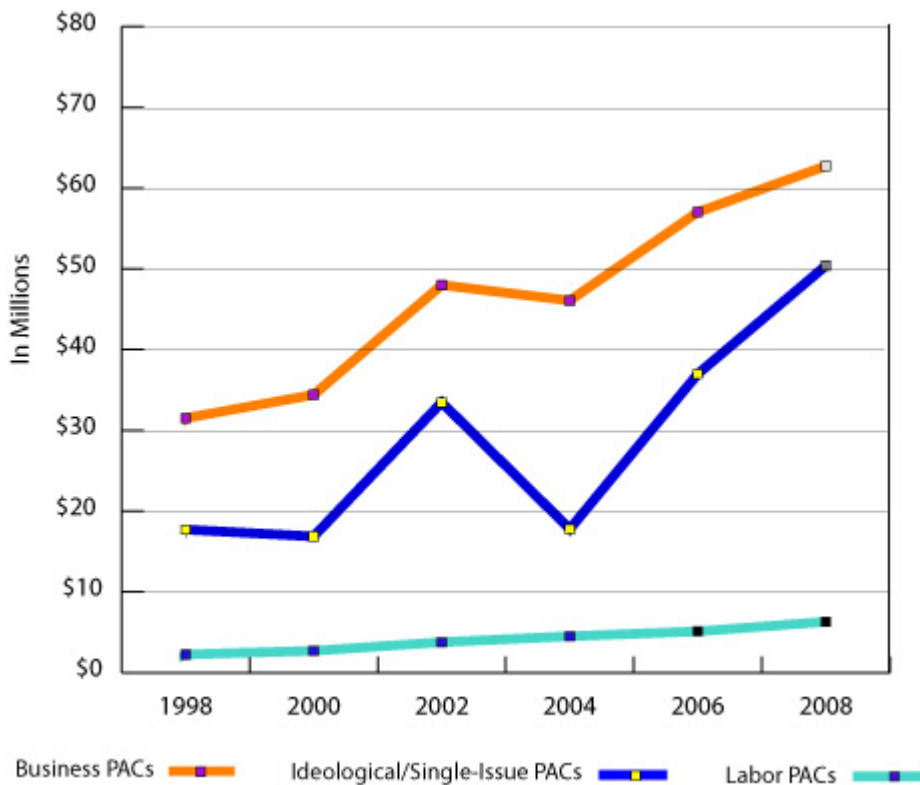
2008 Spending	PAC	2008 Rank	2006 Spending	2006 Rank	'06- '08 Change
\$5,994,140	TX Democratic Trust	1	\$2,256,378	6	166%
\$5,846,116	TX Democratic Party	2	\$1,553,206	9	276%
\$4,436,230	Republican Party of TX	3	\$2,604,523	4	70%
\$4,305,212	Texans For Lawsuit Reform	4	\$4,224,428	1	2%
\$1,967,814	Stars Over TX	9	\$1,085,121	14	81%
\$1,902,322	House Dem. Campaign Com.	10	\$1,051,894	15	81%
\$1,621,838	Annie's List	11	\$1,098,083	13	48%
\$1,176,228	Texans for Economic Development	13	\$164,000	125	617%
\$1,076,559	TX Parent PAC	15	\$492,799	38	118%
\$971,909	First Tuesday	16	\$0		
\$942,353	Associated Republicans of TX	18	\$1,472,061	10	-36%
\$919,892	Blue TX	20	\$0		
\$804,992	ActBlue TX	24	\$4,517	831	17,720%
\$661,589	Empower Texans	27	\$0		
\$636,657	Travis Co. Democratic Party	31	\$375,270	53	70%
\$585,954	Vote Texas	33	\$29,303	436	1,900%
\$553,018	TX Federation of Republican Women	34	\$523,562	36	6%
\$478,622	TX Values in Action Coalition	39	\$467,473	41	2%
\$464,104	TX Progress Council	41	\$340,138	62	36%
\$442,937	Friends of Phil Gramm	45	\$473,039	39	-6%
\$427,739	TX 2020 PAC	51	\$337,892	64	27%
\$423,475	Denton Co. Democratic Club	53	\$38,670	379	995%
\$403,538	TX Builds Jobs & Opportunity...	57	\$15,878	567	2,441%

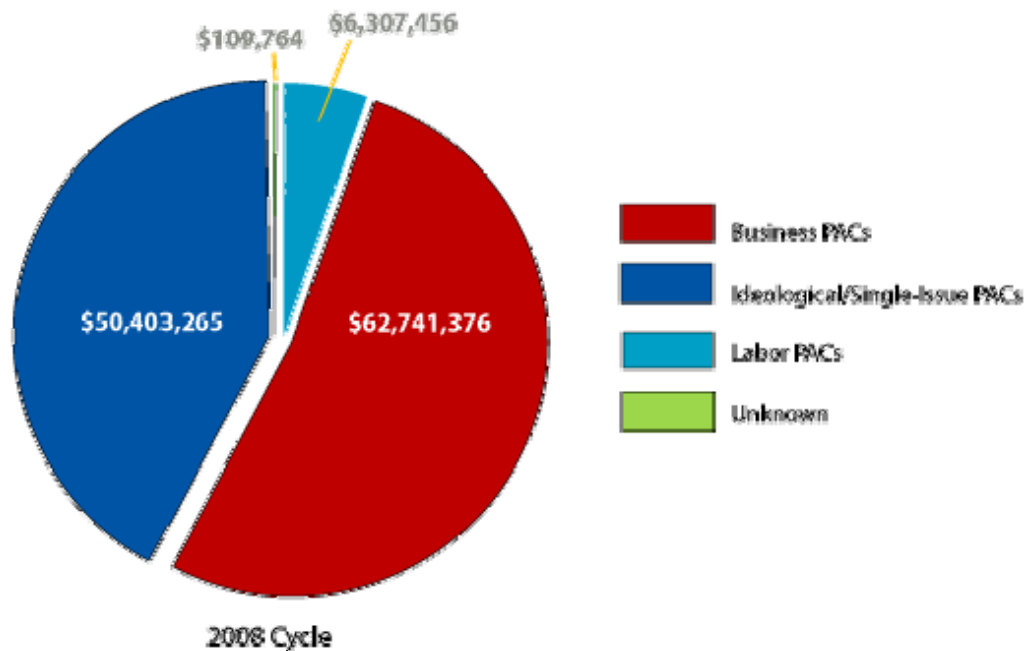
While Labor PAC spending has been relatively steady, the expenditures of the other primary PAC sectors have fluctuated over the past decade. From 1995 through 2000 Business PACs averaged 63 percent of the total, Ideological and Single-Issue PACs averaged 33 percent and Labor PACs 5 percent. In the 2002 cycle Ideological PAC spending expanded to 39 percent of the total, fueled by conservative PACs that successfully sought Republican control of the Texas House. In the following 2004 cycle, Ideological PAC spending plummeted to 26 percent of the total, as then-Travis County District Attorney Ronnie Earle sought to prosecute Tom DeLay's Texans for a Republican Majority PAC and the Texas Association of Business for allegedly breaking Texas elections laws in 2002. In 2008, Ideological and Single-Issue PACs rebounded to 42 percent of all PAC spending, as the fight to control the Texas House broke out anew. Although Democrats fell two seats short of House control, they gained ground and helped moderate Republican Rep. Joe Straus elbow out hardliner Craddick as speaker.

Top Labor PACs

2008 Spending PAC	2008 Rank	2006 Spending	2006 Rank	'06-'08 Growth
\$706,235 Fort Worth Firefighters	26	\$387,785	51	82.12%
\$496,298 TX State Teachers Assn.	38	\$547,839	34	-9.41%
\$398,924 Houston Police Officers Union	58	\$320,129	68	24.61%
\$285,180 TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	88	\$246,508	85	15.69%
\$266,086 Plumbers Local #68	99	\$249,097	83	6.82%
\$235,226 Teamsters Local #745	112	\$145,344	143	61.84%
\$216,959 San Antonio Firefighters	117	\$178,302	117	21.68%
\$202,762 Deputy Sheriff's Assn. of Bexar Co.	124	\$199,464	105	1.65%
\$202,465 Assn. of TX Professional Educators	126	\$140,590	152	44.01%
\$190,936 San Antonio Police Officers Assn.	131	\$206,191	101	-7.40%
\$162,924 Alliance of Dallas Educators	150	\$132,175	160	23.26%
\$136,082 Houston Professional Fire Fighters Assn.	171	\$163,438	128	-16.74%
\$135,607 Education Austin PAC	172	\$183,115	113	-25.94%
\$125,581 Fort Worth Police Officer's Assn.	180	\$70,990	253	76.90%
\$120,350 United Transportation Union	186	\$94,700	209	27.09%
\$118,395 Pipe Fitters Local Union 211	189	\$79,226	233	49.44%
\$112,531 Teamsters Local 988 DRIVE	195	\$0		

PAC Spending By Sector





Sector	1998 Cycle	2000 Cycle	2002 Cycle	2004 Cycle	2006 Cycle	2008 Cycle	'06-'08 Growth	2008 Share
Business	\$31,516,817	\$34,416,627	\$48,000,676	\$46,088,137	\$57,034,732	\$62,741,376	12%	52%
Ideology	\$17,719,192	\$16,870,715	\$33,466,788	\$17,789,167	\$37,003,210	\$50,403,265	34%	42%
Labor	\$2,259,742	\$2,707,704	\$3,776,290	\$4,512,391	\$5,116,613	\$6,307,456	23%	5%
Unknown	\$48,068	\$1,929	\$76,473	\$514,829	\$13,099	\$109,764		<1%
TOTALS:	\$51,543,820	\$53,996,975	\$85,320,226	\$68,904,524	\$99,167,654	\$119,561,861	21%	100%

This partisan showdown is played out in the accompanying list of the 19 “new” PACs that spent more than \$100,000 apiece in the 2008 cycle after being inactive in the 2006 cycle. Twelve major new PACs fall into the Ideological and Single-Interest category. The two largest new PACs were trial-lawyer backed, Democratic committees that rank among Texas’ top 20 PACs: First Tuesday and Blue Texas PAC.

First Tuesday reported that it received two \$300,000 checks from the Texas Democratic Trust on October 14, 2008. The checks came a couple weeks before the death of Dallas trial lawyer Fred Baron, the Trust’s founder and chief funder.⁴ Before Baron’s death, First Tuesday spent almost \$600,000 on media buys through Virginia-based Democratic consultants McMahon Squier Lapp & Associates. First Tuesday also gave heavily to two other new Democratic PACs: Texans Together and Texas Forward Committee.⁵

New entrant Blue Texas PAC cleared \$900,000 in spending. It raked in \$50,000 donations from: Corpus-based Watts Law Firm, Austin Ventures partner John Thornton, and Midland oil man Michael Klein. Blue Texas backed Democrats in close House races (including Diane Maldonado, Dan Barrett, Chris Turner and Carol Kent).

Trial-lawyer sources (including First Tuesday, Texans for Insurance Reform and Houston attorney Fred Hagans) were top funders of new PAC Texans Together, which heavily backed Chris Bell’s failed state Senate campaign. After a failed 2006 gubernatorial campaign, Bell formed Faith in Texas Fund with \$110,000 in leftover campaign funds.⁶ Bell said his PAC would support candidates “who view public service as an honor and responsibility to serve the needs of ordinary Texans.” Such a candidate surfaced when Bell launched his failed 2008 bid for retiring state Senator Kyle Janek’s seat. Faith in Texas’ top expenditure was a \$12,000 donation to Bell.

Largest New PACs in 2008

2008 Spending	2008 Rank	PAC	Interest Category
\$971,909	16	First Tuesday	Ideological/Single Issue
\$919,892	20	Blue TX	Ideological/Single Issue
\$661,589	27	Empower Texans PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
\$349,639	67	TX Business for Clean Air	Ideological/Single Issue
\$316,000	75	Twenty-One PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
\$311,005	77	Best for TX PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
\$238,828	109	Medical Defense PAC	Health
\$222,471	116	Texans Together PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
\$207,500	121	Gulf Greyhound Partners & Employees	Miscellaneous Business
\$180,525	135	TX Energy Future Capital Holdings	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$178,398	139	Texans for Better Education	Ideological/Single Issue
\$167,051	147	TX Fed. of Rep. Women Convention '07	Ideological/Single Issue
\$165,985	148	TX Consumer Lenders PAC	Finance
\$133,332	175	Faith in TX Fund	Ideological/Single Issue
\$129,200	178	PBSJ Corp. PAC	Construction
\$121,850	183	Spectra Energy Corp PAC	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$118,060	191	Human Rights Campaign TX Families	Ideological/Single Issue
\$107,592	202	Fort Bend Conservative Club	Ideological/Single Issue
\$106,765	204	Chesapeake Energy For Texans	Energy/Nat'l Resources

Fastest-Growing PACs

2006-2008 Growth	2008 Spending	2006 Spending	PAC Name	Interest Category
17,720%	\$804,992	\$4,517	ActBlue TX	Ideological/Single Issue
2,501%	\$301,719	\$11,600	Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund	Ideological/Single Issue
2,441%	\$403,538	\$15,878	TX Builds Jobs & Opportunity For Secure Future	Ideological/Single Issue
1,900%	\$585,954	\$29,303	Vote TX	Ideological/Single Issue
1,382%	\$172,558	\$11,643	Maverick PAC USA	Ideological/Single Issue
1,309%	\$211,320	\$15,000	NRG Energy Inc.	Energy/Nat'l Resources
1,179%	\$125,280	\$9,794	Conservative Republicans of TX	Ideological/Single Issue
1,156%	\$301,900	\$24,044	Devon Energy Corp.	Energy/Nat'l Resources
1,098%	\$131,227	\$10,950	American Subcontractors Assn. of TX	Construction
1,078%	\$124,605	\$10,579	TX Democratic Women of the Brazos Valley	Ideological/Single Issue
995%	\$423,475	\$38,670	Denton Co. Democratic Club	Ideological/Single Issue
765%	\$127,391	\$14,725	Northside Bond Committee	Ideological/Single Issue
617%	\$1,176,228	\$164,000	Texans for Economic Development	Miscellaneous Business
481%	\$374,360	\$64,461	A&M PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
338%	\$283,911	\$64,753	Lone Star Fund	Ideological/Single Issue
200%	\$102,580	\$25,655	Northwest Democrats of Bexar Co.	Ideological/Single Issue
279%	\$161,066	\$42,530	TX Construction Assn.	Construction
276%	\$5,846,116	\$1,553,206	TX Democratic Party	Ideological/Single Issue
235%	\$3,118,794	\$929,601	TX Assn. of Realtors Issues Mobilization PAC	Real Estate
225%	\$323,815	\$99,609	TX Deer Assn. ⁷	Ideological/Single Issue

Bell also was by far the top beneficiary of Texas' fastest-growing PAC, ActBlue Texas, which jumped from less than \$5,000 in 2006 spending to almost \$805,000 in 2008. Top ActBlue donors include Rep. Garnet Coleman, Houston Democratic donor Poppi Massey and Annie's List activists: Robert Jones and Erica Prosser. ActBlue also funded the fast-shrinking Democracy for Texas PAC. Matt Angle, an ex-aide to former Democratic Congressman Martin Frost, runs the fast-growth Lone Star Fund. Top Lone Star PAC donors include labor unions, plaintiff lawyers Fred Baron and Tom Hall, and the federal trial-lawyer American Association for Justice PAC. The Lone Star Fund spent heavily on rent, legal services from Angle's Texas Litigation Fund and transfers to Baron's Texas Democratic Trust.

Another fast-growing committee was the Texas Democratic Party itself, which leapt from \$1.6 million in expenditures in 2006 to \$5.8 million in 2008. It collected \$2.6 million from the Texas Democratic Trust and received \$250,000 or more from four plaintiff firms: Watts Law Firm, Nix Patterson & Roach, Provost & Umphrey and Williams Kherkher Hart & Boundas (previously Williams Bailey). The Democratic Party paid \$1.6 million to consultants McMahon Squier Lapp & Associates and \$674,467 to the Washington-based political advertising firm MSHC Partners. Candidates receiving major party support include Dallas Senator Royce Williams and Mark Thompson, who failed to topple GOP Railroad Commissioner Michael Williams. Local Democratic chapters in Bryan, Denton and San Antonio also experienced rapid growth. Fueled by trial-lawyer money, fast-growth Vote Texas PAC also promoted Democratic candidates.

Fewer new or fast-growth committees promoted Republicans. Top donors to Empower Texans PAC include James Leininger, Bob Perry and Tim Dunn, the Midland oilman who founded Empower. Empower—which tried to keep Speaker Craddick in power⁸—gave heavily to GOP House candidates Tom Annunziato, Linda Harper-Brown, Nathan Macias and Mark Shelton. Twenty-One PAC sought to elect 21 Republicans to the 31-seat Texas Senate, which traditionally does not move legislation without the backing of a supermajority of 21 senators. Republicans wound up with 19 seats, due in part to the victory of Democrat Wendy Davis, who unseated Fort Worth Republican Kim Brimer—the top recipient of Twenty-One PAC funds.⁹ At \$25,000 apiece, the top donors to this PAC were Senators Kip Averitt, Troy Fraser, Florence Shapiro, Tommy Williams and Kyle Janek.¹⁰ After Twenty-One PAC failed its mission, the Senate voted at the start of the 2009 session to waive the two-thirds rule for voter-identification bills. Democrats say such measures suppress minority voting.

Before retiring to become a lobbyist, Senator Kyle Janek topped \$302,335 from his war chest to create Best For Texas PAC. In a failed effort to pick Janek's successor, Best for Texas gave more than \$200,000 to Republican Austen Furse. Furse trailed Chris Bell and Joan Huffman in a special election to replace Janek. Huffman won the runoff in December 2008.



Ex-Bush Press Secretary Tony Snow

The new Fort Bend Conservative Club dropped \$40,000 on a 2008 speech by former White House Press Secretary Tony Snow. The club's top funder was former Sugar Land Mayor David Wallace.¹¹ The fast-growth Conservative Republicans of Texas got most of its money from sister PAC Conservative Republicans of Harris County. It spent its money on consultants and printing costs. Maverick PAC of Texas, which shut down in 2008, is an outgrowth of the under 40-year-old "Mavericks" who raised more than \$50,000 for George W. Bush's 2004 reelection campaign. A successor Maverick PAC USA continues to be a vehicle for the under-40 crowd to support state and federal GOP candidates.

A PAC that Craddick once used to help him ascend to the Speaker's dais was one of the fastest-shrinking PACs in 2008. With the Craddick campaign as its No. 1 contributor in 2002, the Campaign for Republican Leadership (CRL) funneled \$176,500 to eight House Republicans candidates, six of whom were elected and voted to make Craddick speaker.¹² This dwindling PAC changed its name to Texas Smart PAC in 2006.

Two other new ideological PACs promoted Democrats, who tend to be more supportive of their issues. Texans for Better Education got 76 percent of its money from grocery magnate and school-voucher opponent Charles Butt. This PAC gave heavily to the kindred Texas Parent PAC and to Democratic House incumbents Hubert Vo and Juan Garcia. The Human Rights Campaign Texas Families PAC supports gay rights. Its top donors were Cleveland's David Maltz, who has broadcasting and real estate interests, and Michigan's Jon Stryker, the heir to a medical-implements fortune. The kindred Human Rights PAC supported Democrats in close legislative races (including Bell, Maldonado and Turner). Maltz and Stryker also were the top donors to the Washington-based Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, which ranked among Texas' fastest-growing PACs. This PAC focused on local government candidates, led by Dallas County Sheriff Lupe Valdez, failed Dallas mayoral candidate Ed Oakley and new Travis County District Attorney Rosemary Lehmborg. The gay-rights Texas Equity PAC ranked among the fastest-shrinking PACs over the past election cycle.

Dallas businessmen formed new PAC Texas Business for Clean Air after TXU Corp. announced in 2006 that it would build 11 new coal-fired power plants in Texas. Texas Business for Clean Air combats the notion that filthy air is good for business. Developer Trammell Crow sunk \$150,000 into this crusade. Two other Metroplex businessmen contributed \$50,000 apiece: oil-rich investor Ed Bass and David Litman, who started the online-shopping Consumer Club. The group spent \$127,000 on PR firm Laurey Peat & Associates and paid \$75,000 lobby retainers to Alan Erwin and the firm Johnson & Johnson.

Three vanishing PACs did not spend a dime this cycle after spending more than \$100,000 in the 2006 cycle. All of these vanishing PACs were major dependents of San Antonio conservative activist James Leininger. The Future of Texas Alliance, Texas Opportunity PAC and All Children Matter depended heavily on Leininger's money.¹³ They also aided Leininger's 2006 to try to knock out moderate GOP lawmakers who rejected school vouchers.¹⁴ This strategy met little success. Two other Leininger PACs that were part of this effort rank among the fastest-shrinking PACs. Leininger's Texas Republican Legislative Campaign Committee and Texans for School Choice collectively spent less than \$15,000 in 2008 after spending \$2.9 million in the preceding cycle.

Largest Vanishing PACs

2006 Spending	PAC Name	Interest Category
\$655,655	Future of TX Alliance	Ideological/Single Issue
\$395,419	TX Opportunity PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
\$141,088	All Children Matter	Ideological/Single Issue

Fast-growth A&M PAC formed in 2006 to promote the university's legislative agenda. This it did in early 2009 when it landed an unusual \$50 million state grant to build a drug-development center.¹⁵ A&M PAC's top expenditures went to PAC treasurer Michael White, PR firm Guerra DeBerry & Coody and direct-mail spending through Costa Tercera Productions. A&M PAC's top contributions went to Democratic Senator Judith Zaffirini and to Speaker Craddick. The Craddick contribution flowed one month before that Speaker signed signed off on the A&M grant and then—days later—acknowledged that he did not have the votes to lead the House any more.

Houston trial lawyer George Fleming and then-Rep. Borris Miles funded the fast-shrinking Texans for Good Leaders PAC. It previously funded unsuccessful attack ads against Houston Republican Rep. Patricia Harless. TakingBackTexas.org was another fast-shrinking Democratic PAC in the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex. More

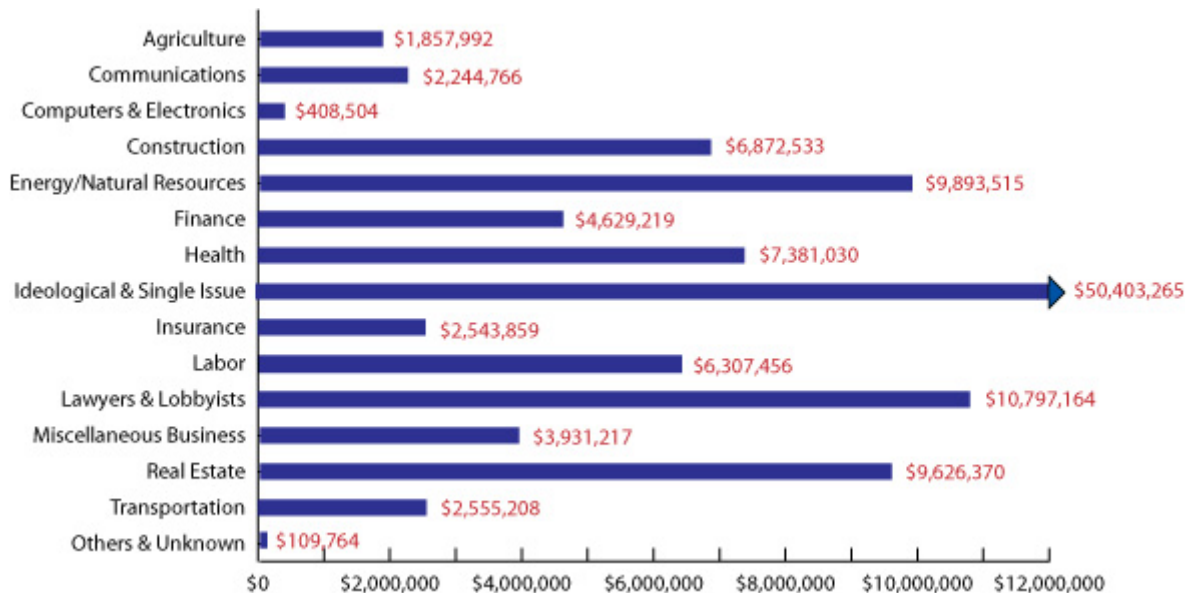
PACs are discussed in the next section, which analyzes PACs spending in the five top-spending industries: Lawyers & Lobbyists, Energy/Natural Resources, Real Estate, Health and Construction.

Fastest-Shrinking PACs

2006-2008 Change	2008 Spending	2006 Spending	PAC Name	Interest Category
-99.97	\$727	\$2,726,907	TX Repub. Legislative Campaign Com.	Ideological/Single Issue
99.53	\$3,750	\$794,263	TX Assn. Of Mortgage Attorneys	Lawyers & Lobbyists
-98.94	\$2,128	\$201,585	TX Smart PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
-98.90	\$10,232	\$931,233	Good Government PAC	Lawyers & Lobbyists
-98.67	\$4,599	\$345,750	ACC Capital Holdings	Finance
-96.84	\$4,066	\$128,610	Wells Fargo	Finance
-.94.66	\$6,431	\$120,333	Maverick PAC of TX	Ideological/Single Issue
-94.39	\$6,500	\$115,798	Select Milk Southwest PAC	Agriculture
-93.61	\$13,533	\$211,757	Texans for School Choice	Ideological/Single Issue
-92.93	\$7,630	\$107,900	Jenkins & Gilchrist	Lawyers & Lobbyists
-92.61	\$8,106	\$109,744	People for Efficient Transportation	Ideological/Single Issue
-92.48	\$8,090	\$107,574	TX Horsemen's Partnership	Miscellaneous Business
-90.90	\$11,000	\$120,909	MAXIMUS, Inc.	Computers
-89.14	\$13,589	\$125,103	Texans For Good Leaders	Ideological/Single Issue
-87.51	\$15,999	\$128,058	Democracy for TX	Ideological/Single Issue
-81.86	\$24,364	\$134,308	TX Equity PAC	Ideological/Single Issue
-81.64	\$19,605	\$106,762	TakingBackTX.org	Ideological/Single Issue

III. PACs By Interest Category

The 12 percent increase in Business PAC spending fell short of the 34 percent increase posted by the Ideological and Single Issue PACs discussed above. Yet the \$63 million that Business PACs spent in 2008 eclipsed the \$50 million spent by Ideological and Single Issue PACs. This section discusses the five Business sectors that spent more than \$6 million apiece: Lawyers & Lobbyists, Energy & Natural Resources, Real Estate, Health and Construction.



Interest Category	No. of Active 2008 PACs	2008 PAC Spending	Share of '08 Spending	'06 - '08 Change
Agriculture	29	\$1,857,992	2%	-11%
Communications	16	\$2,244,766	2%	-7%
Computers & Electronics	10	\$408,504	<1%	-25%
Construction	90	\$6,872,533	6%	22%
Energy/Natural Resources/Waste	66	\$9,893,515	8%	33%
Finance	40	\$4,629,219	4%	-6%
Health	64	\$7,381,030	6%	10%
Ideological/Single Issue	528	\$50,403,265	42%	36%
Insurance	25	\$2,543,859	2%	21%
Labor	121	\$6,307,456	5%	23%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	52	\$10,797,164	9%	-12%
Miscellaneous Business	67	\$3,931,217	3%	-6%
Real Estate	44	\$9,626,370	8%	56%
Transportation	30	\$2,555,208	2%	6%
Unknown & Other	27	\$109,764	<1%	
TOTALS	1,209	\$119,561,861	100%	21%

Lawyers & Lobbyists

The \$10.8 million spent by Lawyers and Lobbyists PACs was the most spent by any sector other than Ideological PACs. Nonetheless, spending by this business sector was down 12 percent from 2006. This sector's largest PAC swung the other way, increasing its spending by 36 percent. Texans for Insurance Reform spent much of its \$2.7 million on Democratic candidates for the legislature. Trial lawyers such as Watts Law Firm, Michael Gallagher, Nix Patterson & Roach, Provost & Umphrey and Williams Kherkher Hart & Boundas armed this war chest.

Spending by the Texas Trial Lawyer Association (TTLA) dipped slightly to \$866,051. TTLA mostly backed Democrats running for the legislature. In a notable exception, it reported bankrolling a \$12,290 poll for Republican Senator Kim Brimer in 2007. After Democratic challenger Wendy Davis snuffed Brimer in the 2008 election, TTLA sped \$15,000 in late-train money to the victor. Trial lawyer Mikal Watts' Good Government PAC, which ranked among the largest PACs in 2006, was one of 2008's fastest-shrinking PACs.¹⁶

Corporate defense firms accounted for most of the attrition by Lawyers & Lobbyists PACs. Akin Gump cut its PAC expenditures by more than 50 percent. Baker Botts, Gardere and Thompson & Knight all cut their PAC spending more than 20 percent. The last dying spasms of Jenkins & Gilchrist occurred in the 2008 cycle. That firm went extinct in 2007 after acknowledging that it had sold wealthy clients on fraudulent tax-evasion schemes.¹⁷ Corporate firms that expanded their PAC spending significantly include Andrews & Kurth, Brown McCarroll, Jackson Walker and Winstead.

Taking one-third of its money from Houston homebuilder Bob Perry, HillCo's lobby PAC dipped below \$1 million in spending.¹⁸ HillCo gave \$101,000 to five Supreme Court incumbents, \$71,282 to Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst, \$45,000 to Comptroller Susan Combs, \$27,500 to new GOP Senator Joan Huffman, and a total of \$34,000 to three House Democrats who previously supported Craddick as Speaker.¹⁹ HillCo also backed Senator Brimer with \$21,000, before loading \$15,000 on the late train to Senator-Elect Wendy Davis.

Top Lawyers & Lobbyists PACs

2008 Spending PAC	2008 Rank	2006 Spending	2006 Rank	'06-'08 Growth
\$2,731,273 Texans for Insurance Reform	7	\$2,015,611	7	35.51%
\$959,620 HillCo PAC	17	\$1,010,227	18	-5.01%
\$866,051 TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	21	\$883,547	22	-1.98%
\$849,635 Vinson & Elkins	22	\$918,700	21	-7.52%
\$657,599 Fulbright & Jaworski	28	\$718,666	24	-8.50%
\$640,035 Andrews & Kurth	30	\$528,250	35	21.16%
\$537,708 Winstead PC	36	\$458,133	43	17.37%
\$439,982 Bracewell & Patterson	47	\$425,796	44	3.33%
\$387,955 K & L Gates LLP*	60	\$396,643	47	-2.19%
\$369,905 Baker Botts	64	\$471,772	40	-21.59%
\$366,050 Haynes & Boone	65	\$330,045	65	10.91%
\$330,834 Jackson Walker	72	\$280,781	73	17.83%
\$273,122 Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld	96	\$587,827	29	-53.54%
\$232,350 Brown McCarroll LLP	114	\$140,850	151	64.96%
\$195,678 Gardere Wynne Sewell LLP	128	\$248,375	84	-21.22%
\$171,500 Thompson & Knight	143	\$228,500	90	-24.95%

*Absorbed Dallas-based Hughes & Luce in late 2007.

Energy & Natural Resources

The price of oil cleared \$125 a barrel in the summer of 2008, before the recession drove it down to \$33 by year's end. PACs in the extractive Energy & Natural Resources increased their spending one-third in the 2008 cycle, falling just shy of \$10 million. The two Texas oil companies topping the list are misleading because their PACs reported nationwide political expenditures to the Texas Ethics Commission. Valero Energy Corp. spent 40 percent of its \$2.4 million in its home state (\$971,720), led by \$130,000 to David Dewhurst. Similarly, ConocoPhillips spent 36 percent of its PAC money in Texas (\$233,079), led by \$17,500 to Speaker Craddick and \$8,500 to Dewhurst. (Burlington Resources PAC became one of the 2008 cycle's largest vanishing PACs after ConocoPhillips acquired this competitor.) The PAC of the state's top energy trade group, the Texas Oil & Gas Association, increased expenditures 23 percent, spending more than \$400,000.

The main PAC of Texas Energy Future Capital Holdings (TEFH), which bought out electric utility giant TXU Corp. in 2007, ranked as one of 2008's largest new PACs, spending more than \$180,000. Five PACs affiliated with TEFH and its Luminant subsidiary ranked among Texas' top energy PACs, collectively spending \$1,352,197 in the 2008 cycle. Most of these TEFH PACs are renamed retreads of former TXU PACs.

Top Energy & Natural Resources PACs

2008 Spending PAC	2008 Rank	2006 Spending	'06-'08 Growth	2006 Rank
\$2,436,203 Valero Energy Corp.	8	\$2,347,879	3.76%	5
\$627,965 ConocoPhillips	32	\$220,580	184.69%	93
\$436,431 TX Oil & Gas PAC	48	\$354,000	23.29%	58
\$433,058 TEFH Electric Delivery PAC	49	\$217,103	99.47%	94
\$408,819 CenterPoint Energy, Inc.	55	\$402,694	1.52%	45
\$362,425 Reliant Energy, Inc.	66	\$356,111	1.77%	56
\$336,480 American Electric Power	70	\$286,619	17.40%	72
\$301,900 Devon Energy Corp.	81	\$24,044	1,155.62%	475
\$297,688 Dow Chemical Co.	85	\$173,689	71.39%	118
\$286,279 Luminant Holding Co. Power PAC	87	\$182,619	56.76%	114
\$283,375 Luminant Corp. TX Employee PAC	90	\$296,385	-4.39%	71
\$275,406 Atmos Energy Corp.	95	\$121,356	126.94%	171
\$263,613 Lyondell Petrochemical Co.	101	\$275,918	-4.46%	74
\$259,200 Rural Friends of TX Electric Co-ops	103	\$159,050	62.97%	131
\$211,320 NRG Energy Inc.	118	\$15,000	1,308.80%	574
\$180,525 TEFH PAC	135			
\$171,233 El Paso Corp.	144	\$156,682	9.29%	135
\$168,960 TEFH Energy PAC	146	\$94,577	78.65%	211
\$160,750 Good Government Fund*	152	\$170,250	-5.58%	120
\$156,505 Occidental Petroleum Corp.	156	\$163,683	-4.39%	127

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

*Oil-rich Bass Family of Fort Worth.

TXU's takeover prompted legislative debates over TXU's reliance on filthy coal plants and about whether or not Texas needs to rollback its deregulation of electric markets. Cities Aggregation Power Project (CAPP), which represents Texas municipalities pushing for lower rates, commissioned recent studies that found that Texas electric rates skyrocketed after deregulation took effect in 2002.²⁰ CAPP-backed bills introduced in 2009 would decrease the market shares of power wholesalers and allow cities to negotiate power deals for their citizens.²¹ Other electrical power PACs ranking among the top Energy PACs include CenterPoint, Reliant, American Electric Power and NRG Energy.²² One month after rebuffing a hostile takeover bid by Exelon Corp., NRG

Energy announced in March 2009 that it would buy Houston-based Reliant Energy.²³ Increasing its spending more than 1,300 percent, NRG's PAC ranked among 2008's fastest-growing PACs.

The PACs of natural gas companies rapidly expanded in the 2008 cycle, including two Oklahoma companies that are developing the Barnett Shale formation that covers 18 Texas counties. Recent drilling advances and price spikes triggered a Barnett gas boom in and around Fort Worth. Houston-based Mitchell Energy pioneered development of the Barnett Shale before being acquired in 2001 by Devon Energy, which ranked among 2008's fastest-growing PACs. Another major Barnett driller, Chesapeake Energy, was one of 2008's largest new PACs.²⁴ Nonetheless, falling gas prices are taking a toll on Barnett drilling in 2009.²⁵ Gas giant El Paso Corp. also ranked among the top Energy PACs.

A few downstream gas companies also made the grade. Duke Energy spun off its gas operations in 2007 to create Houston-based Spectra Energy, which ranked among the largest new PACs of 2008. Atmos Energy also had a major gas PAC. Investigative reporting by WFAA-TV of Dallas implicated Atmos and the Texas Railroad Commission in a cover-up of faulty pipeline couplings that appear to have caused explosions that killed five Texans in recent years. Under media pressure, two of the three commissioners voted in late 2007 to order the replacement of the suspect couplings.²⁶

Energy companies were leading beneficiaries of recent activist rulings by the Texas Supreme Court. In April 2009 the court reaffirmed its 2007 ruling in *Entergy Gulf States Inc. v. John Summers*. The ruling holds that owners of industrial facilities that provide workers compensation insurance cannot be held liable for on-site injuries of contract workers. In the six years preceding their initial *Entergy* decision, that court's nine justices collected \$724,863 in campaign contributions—or 10 percent of their total—from the energy and chemical industries that most benefited from the decision.²⁷ Denouncing this decision for violating legislative intent, lawmakers of both parties have introduced legislation to undo this ruling.²⁸

Electric cooperatives ostensibly are owned and governed by member customers. Yet members of the Johnson City-based Pedernales Electric Cooperative recently fought a bruising battle to overthrow the entrenched, inept, secretive and corrupt leaders of that utility. The Rural Friends of TX Electric Cooperatives trade group increased its PAC spending 63 percent. It is lobbying to undermine 2009 bills that would subject co-ops to open records and open meeting laws, as well as regulation by the Texas Public Utility Commission.²⁹

Real Estate

From 2006 to 2008 Real Estate PAC spending increased 56 percent to \$9.9 million. Real Estate was the only business sector that grew more than Ideological and Single-Interest PACs. The Texas Association of Realtors (TAR) and its sister PAC, the Texas Association of Realtors Issues Mobilization PAC, collectively spent \$7.2 million. These twin PACs accounted for 75 cents of every Real Estate PAC dollar and made the Realtors association the state's fattest trade group. Increasing its spending by 235 percent from 2006, TAR's Issues Mobilization PAC ranked among 2008's fastest-growing PACs.

TAR PAC is a traditional PAC that supports candidates' campaigns. It gave: \$75,000 apiece to the governor and lieutenant governor and \$40,000 apiece to the comptroller, attorney general and Senator Tommy Williams. It sunk \$38,250 into Sen. Kim Brimer's failed reelection campaign. Sen. Judith Zaffirini was the top Democratic recipient of TAR money, bagging \$27,500. TAR's 2009 legislative priorities include: Killing proposals to tax real estate agents or real estate transfers; Preventing public disclosures of property sales-prices; and Smothering bills mandating green-building standards and expanding county land-use regulations.

Fueled by \$5.7 million in corporate funds from the Texas Association of Realtors, the TAR Issues Mobilization PAC reported \$2.9 million in expenditures as nothing more than "issues advocacy." Texans for Tax Relief, which helped pass a 2007 constitutional amendment allowing individuals to exempt one personal vehicle from business value-added taxes, reported receiving \$803,865 of this money (see Specific-Purpose PACs). Sometimes TAR Issues PAC specified the purpose of its expenditures, which typically promoted local road-building bonds or opposed development restrictions. Issues Mobilization PAC spent more than \$50,000 in 2008 to oppose Austin's Retrofit proposal mandating audits to improve energy efficiency. It spent \$25,000 pushing \$236 million in Collin County road bonds and \$5,000 promoting road bonds in Hays County. It paid the Bryan College Station Homebuilders \$5,147 in 2008 to oppose a City of College Station proposal to set a minimum lot size for development in the city's extra-territorial jurisdiction (ETJ). Area realtors and homebuilders became agitated in 2007 after a city-hired consultant recommended adopting 20 acres as the minimum ETJ lot size. The ordinance that the city adopted in late 2008 whittled this down to a one-acre standard. With money to burn, the Texas Association of Realtors even gave \$4,000 to the powerful Texas Medical Association PAC.

Top Real Estate PACs

2008 Spending PAC	2008 Rank	2006 Spending	2006 Rank	06-08 Growth
\$4,113,444 TX Assn. of Realtors	5	\$3,334,075	2	23.38%
\$3,118,794 TX Assn. of Realtors Issues Mobilization	6	\$929,601	20	235.50%
\$424,000 TX Apartment Assn.	52	\$382,733	52	10.78%
\$276,651 Houston Apartment Assn.	94	\$230,660	88	19.94%
\$255,930 Houston Realty Breakfast Club	105	\$185,073	111	38.29%
\$211,134 Apartment Assn. of Greater Dallas	119	\$170,347	119	23.94%
\$203,150 MetroTex Assn. of Realtors	123	\$86,700	222	134.31%
\$141,088 Real Estate Council of Austin	166	\$95,253	208	48.12%

Health PACs

The \$7.4 million that Health PACs spent in the 2008 cycle marked a 10 percent increase over the preceding election cycle. The Texas Medical Association's \$1.4 million led the herd, despite the fact that TMA PAC spending dropped 26 percent from 2006 levels. A remarkable \$657,591 of the money flowing into TMA PAC came from corporate contributions from the Texas Medical Association itself. TMA PAC's largest expenditures included a \$93,400 contribution to the American Medical Association's federal PAC, contributing \$40,000 to Dr. Mark Shelton's successful GOP challenge to Democratic Rep. Dan Barrett and spending a total of \$33,709 on the three Republican Supreme Court Justices who stood for reelection in 2008.³⁰ TMA PAC also contributed \$25,000 apiece to Governor Perry, then-Speaker Tom Craddick and Senators Jane Nelson and Judith Zaffirini. It paid almost \$210,000 in political consulting fees to the Eppstein Group and contributed \$15,000 to the Texas Bipartisan Justice Committee, which funnels doctor and defense-attorney money to judicial candidates.

During the 2009 session, TMA is trying to: Enact tough health-insurer regulations;³¹ Expand insurance coverage; Boost immunizations and Medicaid payments; Counter tobacco and the obesity epidemic; and Increase med-school subsidies. TMA and the Texas Society of Anesthesiologists opposes trial-lawyer efforts to rollback caps on medical-malpractice damages. This doctor trade group perennially suppresses competition from non-physicians, clashing with the likes of the Texas Optometric PAC and the Texas Podiatric Medical PAC.³² TMA also opposes restrictions on physicians profiting from patient referrals. The Texas Radiological Society, for example, advocates a TMA-opposed study to determine if doctors who own interests in CT and MRI scanning equipment order more scans. Some radiologists argue that self-serving scans drive up costs and needlessly expose patients to excessive radiation.³³

Top Health PACs

2008 Spending	PAC	2008 Rank	2006 Spending	2006 Rank	'06-'08 Growth
\$1,409,775	TX Medical Assn.	12	\$1,896,648	8	-25.67%
\$940,440	Border Health PAC	19	\$667,788	25	40.83%
\$655,269	TX Optometric PAC	29	\$576,722	32	13.62%
\$477,510	TX Dental Assn.	40	\$367,010	54	30.11%
\$319,076	TX Pharmacy Assn.	74	\$155,268	137	105.50%
\$258,229	TX Society of Anesthesiologists	104	\$216,284	96	19.39%
\$242,500	TX Health Care Assn.	107	\$136,950	156	77.07%
\$238,828	Medical Defense PAC	109			
\$233,185	TX Hospital Assn.	113	\$206,734	100	12.79%
\$200,000	Heart Place PAC	127	\$146,000	141	36.99%
\$189,978	TX Homecare PAC	132	\$120,191	174	58.06%
\$189,332	TX Radiological Society	133	\$87,719	220	115.84%
\$160,690	TX Ophthalmological Assn.	153	\$212,070	97	-24.23%
\$147,889	Friends of Baylor Med	160	\$139,250	153	6.20%
\$141,500	TX Podiatric Medical PAC	165	\$123,289	169	14.77%
\$103,329	HCA TX	207	\$126,814	167	-18.52%
\$100,130	American College of Cardiology	211	\$109,592	183	-8.63%

The owners of Edinburg's physician-owned Doctors Hospital at Renaissance run the Border Health PAC, which spent \$940,440, up 41 percent from the preceding cycle. Border Health PAC contributed \$75,000 to Senator Juan Hinojosa and \$25,000 apiece to Governor Perry, Lieutenant Governor Dewhurst, then-Speaker Craddick, Senator Judith Zaffirini and to Hidalgo County Judge JD Salinas. After meeting with Doctors Hospital doctors in July



Doctor's Hospital at Renaissance

2008, Senator Hinojosa said that he would fight to bring a four-year medical school to the Rio Grande Valley.³⁴ Border Health PAC also operates a federal PAC that has fought bills to impose referral restrictions on physician-owned hospitals.³⁵ The PAC paid more than \$100,000 in salary and reimbursements to Doctors Hospital's Humberto Garza, who is active in the Rio Grande Valley Partnership. Weeks after Speaker Craddick toppled, this business group brought a delegation of lawmakers led by new Speaker Joe Straus to the valley in January 2009.³⁶

Medical Defense PAC ranks among Texas' top new PACs after spending \$238,828. This new PAC raised more than \$300,000 in its first cycle from 17 specialty clinics around the state. Tossing in \$65,000, top donor KS Management Services LLC of Houston operates Kelsey-Seybold Clinics, which are part of the St. Luke's Episcopal Health System. Medical Defense PAC Treasurer Spencer Berthelsen is a KS internal medicine specialist who has served as the managing director and board chair of KS. Other big donors to this PAC include Greater Houston Anesthesiology, Medical Edge Healthcare Group of Dallas and Arlington-based Urology Associates of North Texas. Medical Defense's favorite candidate was Dr. Mark Shelton, Fort Worth's newly elected GOP representative. Medical Defense PAC was partial to Republicans in close legislative races. Apart from giving \$10,000 apiece to Perry, Dewhurst and Craddick, it also contributed \$10,000 to Bryan Daniel, John Davis, Joan Huffman, Ken Legler, Dee Margo, and Bill Zedler.



Dr. Spencer Berthelsen

The Texas Health Care Association (THCA) PAC increased spending 77 percent as the nursing-home trade group pushes to increase Medicaid reimbursements. Texas' daily nursing-home reimbursement rate ranks 49th in the nation at \$113.³⁷ The Texas Homecare PAC also promotes higher Medicaid and Medicare payments. Top contributors to THCA PAC were HealthMark Partners owner Greg Lentz, P&M Healthcare executive Bill Jacobson and MCK Holdings owner Craig Kelly. THCA PAC gave \$25,000 apiece to Perry, Dewhurst and Craddick and \$7,500 apiece to Attorney General Greg Abbott, Rep. Warren Chisum and Senators Robert Duncan, Steve Ogden and Judith Zaffirini.

Bexar PAC, which San Antonio doctors used to finance local judicial campaigns, ranked among 2008's fastest-shrinking PACs, spending just \$36,889 this round. Bexar PAC's biggest expenditures were two \$10,000 contributions to GOP state district Judges Joe Brown and David Berchermann. San Antonio voters threw out Judge Brown, while Judge Berchermann prevailed with just 50.07 percent of the vote.³⁸ The Texas Supreme Court then selected Judge Berchermann in April 2009 to preside over the trial of Court of Criminal Appeals Presiding Judge Sharon Keller. The State Commission on Judicial Conduct has accused Judge Keller of dereliction of duty in a death penalty case.³⁹

Construction PACs

Construction PACs raised 2008 cycle spending 22 percent to \$6.9 million, led by the Texas Association of Builders Home PAC. Home PAC boosted its spending 18 percent to \$436,766. The Texas Association of Builders subsidized Home PAC with \$99,389 in corporate contributions. Home PAC also received \$80,000 from the Home Builders Association of Greater Dallas PAC, which was one of four local residential construction PACs to rank among the top construction PACs. These five homebuilding PACs spent a combined total of almost \$1.2 million.⁴⁰

The homebuilding industry had a big hand in the 2003 legislation creating the Texas Residential Construction Commission (TRCC). Billed as a consumer-protection agency, the industry-dominated TRCC forces lemon-home buyers to spend more time and money before they get their day in court. TRCC recently came up for periodic review by the Texas Sunset Advisory Commission, which reviews state agencies with an eye to eliminating wasteful bureaucracy. Last year the Sunset staff recommended eliminating this “fundamentally flawed” agency, with consumer groups also calling for its abolition.⁴¹ Yet the 10 lawmakers who control the Sunset Commission urged the legislature to preserve this builder-friendly bureaucracy after taking \$223,050 from the industry over three years. Houston homebuilder Bob Perry—who gave Home PAC \$10,000—supplied 63 percent of this money. Perry’s general counsel helped draft the bill that created the TRCC.⁴²

Top Construction PACs

2008 Spending PAC	08 Rank	2006 Spending	2006 Rank	'06-'08 Growth
\$463,766 TX Assn. of Builders Home PAC	42	\$390,639	50	18.72%
\$314,597 HDR, Inc.	76	\$206,075	102	52.66%
\$308,525 Assoc. General Contractors of TX	80	\$256,316	79	20.37%
\$282,935 TX Architects Committee	91	\$311,011	70	-9.03%
\$280,100 Greater Houston Builders Assn.	92	\$254,400	82	10.10%
\$264,400 Assoc. General Contractors TX Building	100	\$203,000	103	30.25%
\$259,486 TX Aggregates & Concrete Assn.	102	\$274,704	75	-5.54%
\$244,532 TX Manufactured Housing Assn.	106	\$262,970	77	-7.01%
\$189,327 TCB PAC	134	\$191,285	107	-1.02%
\$177,231 Home Builders Assn. of Greater Austin	140	\$61,878	279	186.42%
\$161,066 TX Construction Assn.	151	\$42,530	360	278.71%
\$150,031 Zachry Construction Corp.	158	\$163,716	126	-8.36%
\$145,954 Houston Council of Engineering Co's	161	\$101,027	199	44.47%
\$141,927 Owens Corning	163	\$95,342	207	48.86%
\$141,578 TX Industries, Inc. PAC	164	\$142,774	147	-0.84%
\$134,357 Lockwood, Andrews & Newnam, Inc.	174	\$117,404	176	14.44%
\$131,227 American Subcontractors Assn. of TX	176	\$10,950	650	1098.42%
\$129,200 PBSJ Corp.	178			
\$121,514 Trinity Industries Employee PAC	184	\$144,600	146	-15.97%
\$121,325 Raba-Kistner	185	\$141,367	149	-14.18%
\$118,230 Temple Area Builders Assn.	190	\$85,718	224	37.93%
\$117,038 Halff Associates	192	\$107,386	187	8.99%
\$115,775 Home Builders Assn. of Greater Dallas	193	\$129,039	162	-10.28%
\$109,550 Houston Associated General Contractors	197	\$86,275	223	26.98%
\$109,300 PSI PAC	199			
\$107,198 Houston Contractors Assn.	203	\$99,450	201	7.79%
\$105,716 Jacobs Carter & Burgess, Inc.	205	\$150,801	140	-29.90%

The Home Builders Association of Greater Austin (HBAGA) increased its 2008-cycle PAC spending 186 percent to \$177,231—a remarkable expansion during a collapsing housing market. HBAGA paid \$43,900 to Kelly Fero’s political consulting firm Fero Hewitt Global. It contributed \$15,000 in 2007 to a Chamber of Commerce PR campaign promoting toll roads and mass transit as a solution to local gridlock. It paid Kolar Advertising the same amount for “media placed at net” in mid-2007. It paid lobbyist Lisa K. Anderson \$22,500 and contributed \$12,500 to Keep Austin’s Word PAC, which led opposition to a citizen’s initiative to rollback taxpayer subsidies to a shopping mall.⁴³ It gave \$5,000 apiece to two PACs promoting Hays County road bonds: Hays Families for Safe Mobility and Hays Future Now. Hays Future Now also took money from a couple highway contractors on the top Construction PACs list: Carter & Burgess and Lockwood Andrews & Newnan.

Other Texas highway contractors with big-spending PACs include PBSJ Corp, Raba-Kistner and Halfff Associates. PBSJ ranked among 2008’s largest new PACs. PAC-wielding TXDOT contractors that have sought or landed Trans Texas Corridor work include HDR, Inc., TCB AECOM (formerly Turner Collie & Braden), Zachry Construction and PSI PAC.⁴⁴ The Houston Contractors Association similarly represents civil construction contractors. These PACs collided head on with People for Efficient Transportation (PET) PAC, which reduced its 2008 spending from \$109,744 to \$8,106. Road warrior Sal Costello formed PET PAC to turn Governor Rick Perry’s grandiose toll-road vision into road kill. Citing a troubled marriage and personal finances in 2008, Costello moved up the freeway to Illinois.⁴⁵ Top PET PAC donors in the 2008 cycle include Helotes filmmaker Bill Molina and Austin psychologist Mary Anderson. The PAC’s biggest expenditures in the cycle were \$3,759 paid to Costello and \$1,082 to Molina to make the documentary “Truth Be Told.”

Three general contractor PACs and two subcontractor PACs rank among the top construction PACs. The subcontractors’ Texas Construction Association and American Subcontractors Association ranked among 2008’s fastest-growing PACs. They are feuding with general contractors, led by the Associated General Contractors of Texas, over 2009 bills that would end the practice of making subcontractors liable for the negligence of general contractors.⁴⁶

The fast-growth Northside Bond Committee geared up to help pass \$693 million in bonds for a San Antonio school district. Top donors to this PAC are interested in more than education. Major sponsors include the bond company First Southwest, architecture firm Marmon Mok and construction contractors Bartlett Cocke, Joeris and Zachary Construction. Marmon Mok’s design portfolio includes San Antonio’s Wallace B. Jefferson Middle School.



San Antonio's Wallace B. Jefferson Middle School

IV. Specific-Purpose PACs

This report focuses on the 1,209 so-called “general-purpose PACs” that were active in Texas in the 2008 election cycle. During this same period, however, dozens of so-called “specific purpose PACs” also reported political contributions and 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 19 other specific-purpose PACs spent more than \$1,000 apiece for other purposes. Collectively they spent almost \$2.3 million.

Nine committees that accounted for 69 percent of all specific-purpose PAC expenditures spent almost \$1.8 million to influence proposed constitutional amendments. In 2007 lawmakers proposed 16 constitutional amendments to Texas voters, who passed every last one of them that November. The largest resulting PAC, **Texans for Tax Relief**, formed to push Proposition 6. This amendment allows individuals to exempt one personal vehicle from state value-added taxes. Almost all of this PAC’s money came from the Texas Association of Realtors Issues Mobilization PAC, which pumped close to \$804,000 into this fund. The Independent Insurance Agents of Texas underwrote \$15,000 more, while the Texas Association of Insurance and Financial Advisors donated \$5,000 to the cause.

Top Specific-Purpose PACs

Amount Spent In 2008 Cycle	Political Action Committee
\$828,366	Texans for Tax Relief*
\$321,838	Texans to Cure Cancer*
\$227,124	Yes on 15*
\$194,315	Terri Hodge Defense Fund
\$139,167	Texans For Honesty PAC
\$122,731	Safer Roads Coalition*
\$109,796	Citizens for Lone Star College
\$107,815	Texans for Proposition Four*
\$91,261	Planned Parenthood Prevention PAC*
\$51,398	Texas Medical Association*
\$36,525	Cure in Your Lifetime*
\$25,180	Citizens for Economic Development
\$13,138	H. Bartell Zachry
\$7,074	Carol Alvarado Legal Fund
\$2,579	PROP15 Families Against Cancer Tax*
\$2,527	www.cookecitizens.org
\$2,260	Friends of Sandy Kress
\$1,607	Keep Your Rights
\$1,545	ACC San Marcos Yes

*PAC primarily concerned with a constitutional amendment.

Another big-money amendment was Proposition 15, which authorized the state to create the Cancer Prevention and Research Institute of Texas and to issue \$3 billion in bonds over 10 years to fund cancer research. Prop. 15 metastasized into six specific-purpose PACs that spent \$730,725. The largest of these, **Texans To Cure Cancer**, was associated with cancer and Tour De France champion Lance Armstrong. The PAC’s treasurer, former state Comptroller John Sharp, reported spending \$321,838 in the 2008 cycle. This understates the PAC’s muscle. Texans To Cure Cancer reported receiving \$543,304, for example, from its top two donors: the Lance Armstrong Foundation (\$296,061) and the American Cancer Society (\$247,243). Yet much of this money took the form of



Lance Armstrong sheds the yellow jersey.

in-kind contributions, such as the Armstrong Foundation's independent expenditure of more than \$75,000 on a Prop. 15 bus tour. These independent expenditures are not included in the expenditure totals reported by Texans to Cure Cancer. Other big donors to Texans To Cure Cancer include now-indicted gambling executive Gordon Graves (\$20,050)⁴⁷ and the National Dialogue on Cancer Foundation (\$15,000).

Governor Rick Perry's House liaison Chris Cronn took a leave of absence to form cancer-bond PAC **Yes On 15**, a vehicle for corporations to promote cancer research and curry gubernatorial favor.⁴⁸ Here again, Yes On 15's \$227,124 in reported expenditures grossly understate its true influence. This is because six media companies donated a total of \$991,350 in advertising to the gubernatorial cancer-bond PAC. For cash, Yes On 15 relied heavily on an injection of \$175,000 from pharmaceutical interests led by the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America trade group. In contrast, Texans To Cure Cancer renounced drug-company money.⁴⁹

Yes On 15 PAC's 15 Contributors

Contributor	Amount
Time Warner Cable*	\$500,000
Comcast*	\$150,000
Clear Channel*	\$135,000
Lamar Advertising*	\$110,400
Pharma. Research & Manufacturers of America†	\$100,000
Suddenlink*	\$72,500
AT&T	\$50,000
Pfizer, Inc.†	\$25,000
Novartis†	\$25,000
USAA	\$25,000
Reagan Outdoor*	\$23,450
Eli Lilly†	\$20,000
Centerpoint Energy	\$5,000
Genentech†	\$5,000
Texans to Cure Cancer	\$100
TOTAL: \$1,246,450	

* Provided in-kind contribution of advertising.

† Drug-company interest contributing cash.

Planned Parenthood formed a special **Prevention PAC** that spent \$91,261 promoting Prop. 15. This was almost double what a special **Texas Medical Association PAC** spent on Prop. 15. Planned Parenthood's PAC spent its money on mailers and robo calls. The doctors' PAC spent on radio and print advertising and contributed \$14,000 to Texans To Cure Cancer. Cathy Bonner, who sat on Texans To Cure Cancer's board, founded **Cure in Your Lifetime PAC**, which spent \$36,525. Bonner heads the marketing firm Bonner & Associates and previously served as Governor Ann Richards' head of the Texas Department of Commerce.⁵⁰ Both of her parents had cancer. The top donors to this PAC were Sharon Hyde of Austin (\$25,000) and Fulbright & Jaworski law firm (\$10,000). Cure in Your Lifetime's largest expenditure preceding voter approval of the bonds was \$10,000 on a phone-bank blitz. At the end of 2007 the PAC transferred \$17,897 in leftover funds to Bonner's Kill Cancer.org.

PROP15 Families Against Cancer Tax was the only PAC organizing opposition to the measure. Austin software engineer Don Zimmerman, a backer of Libertarian Republican Ron Paul, formed this PAC late in the game, reporting less than \$3,000 in expenditures. This PAC reported one contribution of \$1,000 from James

Skaggs, an ex-Tracor CEO who has led opposition to light-rail initiatives in Austin. Despite its negligible size, this PAC may have influenced the local Prop. 15 vote.⁵¹ Just 50.3 percent of Travis County voters approved the measure, compared to 61 percent statewide.

Safer Roads Coalition PAC paved the way for Prop. 12, which authorized \$5 billion in state highway-improvement bonds.⁵² Three TXDOT contractors led the funding of this PAC: Williams Brothers Construction Co. (\$25,000), JD Abrams, LP (\$10,000) and APAC, Inc. (\$10,000), a paving division of Old Castle, Inc. Safer Roads spent \$122,731, mostly on mailers and PR fees. Lawrence Olsen of the Texas Good Roads & Transportation Association trade group served as the PAC's spokesman. Another huge construction contractor, San Antonio's **H. Bartell Zachry**, set up a specific-purpose PAC that spent \$13,138 to distribute a letter to employees listing Zachry's preferred candidates for 28 federal, state and local offices.⁵³ The letter also endorsed a San Antonio term-limit initiative.

Texans for Proposition Four spent \$107,815 to authorize the state to issue up to \$1 billion in bonds to fund maintenance and construction projects at 11 state agencies. Like media coverage of the issue, Texans for Proposition Four's finances give the impression that all this money benefits the Texas Historical Commission (THC) and the Texas Parks & Wildlife Department (TPWD). These agencies arguably boast more voter appeal than do other Prop. 4 beneficiaries. Prop. 4 also authorized funding for five other state departments (Adjutant General's, Aging, Criminal Justice, Health Services and Public Safety), two other commissions (Youth and Building & Procurement); as well as the state schools for the Blind and the Deaf. Data provided by the Texas Comptroller indicate that the state issued \$93 million in Prop. 4 bonds as of April 2009. Two-thirds of this money was earmarked for the departments of Criminal Justice and Public Safety and a total of just 14 percent for the Historical Commission and Parks & Wildlife.

Allocation of Proposition 4 Bonds To Date

State Agency	Bonds Issued To Date	Percent of Total
Criminal Justice	\$40,580,518	44%
Public Safety	\$20,279,889	22%
Aging & Disability	\$10,082,984	11%
Historical Commission	\$10,000,000	11%
Health Services	\$9,060,166	10%
Parks & Wildlife	\$2,635,146	3%
TOTAL:	\$92,638,703	100%

Source: Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts



John Nau III

As with Prop. 15, the governor cast a big shadow over passage of Prop. 4. Four of Texans for Proposition Four's top donors are gubernatorial appointees to the board of the Texas Parks & Wildlife Commission, a plum post that governors long have bestowed upon big donors.⁵⁴ Texas Historical Commission appointee John Nau, who runs a Houston beer distributorship, also was a big donor to Perry and Texans for Proposition Four. That PAC paid \$70,168 for radio ads to Crossroads Media, a Virginia-based shop favored by Governor Perry's campaign strategist, Dave Carney.⁵⁵ Governor Perry, Carney and Nau took a Bahamas excursion together in 2004 to discuss school finances.⁵⁶ Former Perry Press Secretary Ray Sullivan, a longtime lobbyist for Nau's company, did Prop. 4 work for Texans for Proposition Four and the Texas Historical Commission. Texans for Proposition Four paid a \$9,000 salary to conservationist George Bristol, who served as PAC treasurer.

Although TPWD and THC both promoted Prop. 4 there have been inter-agency rifts. When a proposal surfaced in 2007 to shift control of as many as 21 state historical sites from TPWD to Nau's Commission, environmentalists cited then-THC Chairman Nau's influence as the catalyst, arguing that he wanted to expand his turf.⁵⁷ Another THC Commissioner, Sarita Armstrong Hixon, is from a family that produced a couple of Texas Parks and Wildlife Commissioners. Her late mother, Anne Armstrong, was Kay Bailey Hutchison's political mentor.⁵⁸ In late January 2009 Hutchison released a list of former Perry supporters who now backed her campaign to evict Perry from the Governor's Mansion in 2010. Notable among them was her new campaign finance chair John Nau.⁵⁹ Three weeks later, Governor Perry a new chairman of the Texas Historical Commission.⁶⁰

Top Contributors To Texans for Proposition Four

Amount	Contributor	Agency Link	Amount To Perry In 2006 Cycle	Perry-Donor Ranking In 2006 Cycle
\$25,000	Dan Friedkin	TPWD Vice-Chair	\$279,175	No. 4
\$25,000	Peter Holt & Holt Co's	TPWD Chair	\$99,265	No. 20
\$25,000	Silver Eagle Distributors	CEO John Nau THC Board	\$60,783	No. 44
\$10,000	Alice Walton		\$110,000	No. 12
\$10,000	Karen & George Hixon	Karen: TPWD Board	\$80,000	No. 29
\$3,311	Trust for Public Land	Ties to TPWD		
\$2,500	Assn. of Electric Co's of TX			
\$2,000	J. Robert Brown	TPWD Board	\$60,727	No. 45

The **Terri Hodge Defense Fund** is the largest specific-purpose PAC unrelated to state constitutional amendments. Dallas Democratic Rep. Terri Hodge faces a post-session federal trial on corruption charges. Prosecutors say Hodge used her office to promote the low-income housing projects of indicted Dallas developer Brian Potashnik, who provided the lawmaker with housing and utilities at no cost. The indictments also allege that Hodge, who has denied wrongdoing, advocated for criminal parolees in exchange for campaign funds.⁶¹



Rep. Terri Hodge (AP Photo)

Hodge's defense fund reported paying Dallas defense firm Kearney Wynn almost \$193,525 in the 2008 cycle, or virtually everything that the PAC raised. Dallas activist Joan Covici gave the defense fund \$100,000 and loaned it \$50,000 more. "If these [indictment] details are correct, this must be what it takes to get first-class, low-cost housing in Dallas — a city that has never been friendly to minorities," Covici said when prosecutors unsealed the indictments in October 2007.⁶² Other top backers of Hodge's defense fund include oilman James Graham (\$25,000), Hodge's campaign (\$24,300), and then-Rep. Borris Miles (\$5,000). Hodge's defense fund also received a total of \$1,700 from seven Aces Wired executives and employees just weeks before these same men were indicted on illegal-gambling charges unrelated to the Hodge case.⁶³

A legal fund for then-Houston City Councilwoman **Carol Alvarado** was winding down during the 2008 cycle. Raising no money in the period, the Carol Alvarado Legal Fund paid \$5,033 to lobbyist and PAC Treasurer Al Luna and \$2,041 to Rusty Hardin & Associates, the firm that defended Alvarado in a 2006 ethics investigation. That probe into a payroll-padding scheme benefiting employees in Alvarado's Mayor Pro Tem Office found no evidence that she had a hand in the scam.⁶⁴ Houston voters elected Alvarado to the Texas House in November 2008, nine months after Houston County District Attorney Chuck Rosenthal, who had investigated Alvarado, resigned amidst a scandal over his racist and pornographic e-mails.⁶⁵

Anthony Holm, the Patriot Group consultant and longtime spokesman for mega-donor Bob Perry, formed a specific-purpose PAC in late August 2008. Filing its initial disclosure on October 14, 2008 as the Give the Money

Back PAC, Holm reported that the committee opposed four Democratic candidates: Senate candidate Joe Jaworski and House candidates Chris Turner, Emil Reichstadt and Rielle Hunter. As Holm knew, residency requirements barred Rielle Hunter from running for the Texas House. National media had reported two months earlier that Hunter had moved from North Carolina to California in late 2007—after the *National Enquirer* reported that she had had an affair with Democratic presidential candidate John Edwards.⁶⁶ The man who paid Hunter's relocation costs was Edwards' finance chair and Dallas trial lawyer Fred Baron, who was simultaneously bankrolling the rebirth of the Texas Democratic Party. When news of Baron's role in the affair broke in August 2008, the Texas Republican Party pledged to link Rielle Hunter to Baron's contributions to Democratic candidates in Texas. "Making that connection is absolutely in-bounds, and we would be remiss if we didn't," Texas Republican Party spokesman Hans Klinger told the *Austin American-Statesman*.⁶⁷ In the same article, Texans for Lawsuit Reform said Baron's damage-control role in the Edwards-Hunter affair showed "an appalling disregard for honesty and integrity." This was the apparent genesis of Give the Money Back PAC, which is now called **Texans for Honesty**.

Holm, whose firm has close ties to Texans for Lawsuit Reform,⁶⁸ filed the papers creating Give the Money Back PAC on October 14—less than two weeks after the news broke about Baron's subsidy of Hunter. This new PAC raised just over \$150,000 in the 2008 cycle from six donors: Bob Perry (\$60,000), John Nau (\$40,000), Texans for Lawsuit Reform (\$35,000), the Patriot Group (\$17,500), Holm (\$3,600) and Holm's Patriot colleague Denis Calabrese (\$100). The PAC spent most of this money on mailings. Yet making Rielle Hunter an issue in Texas legislative campaigns may have been a tough sell and Holm struggled with how to package it. Two days after forming Give the Money Back, Holm changed the PAC's name to Texans for Honesty. Later that same day, he filed papers with the Ethics Commission to change the name to Texans for the Truth. This moniker stuck for four days before this PAC—funded by the top donor to Swift Boat Veterans for Truth—reverted to Texans for Honesty. Shortly thereafter the PAC's nemesis made it impossible to ever Give the Money Back. Fred Baron died of cancer six days before the November 2008 election—in which his party picked up a few new legislative seats (yet John Edwards did not win the White House).



How to sell newspapers in an electronic age.

Citizens for Lone Star College spent almost \$110,000 promoting a \$420 million bonds initiative for this Houston-area school in May 2008. Argyle-based **Citizens for Economic Development** spent over \$25,000 on a measure to legalize alcohol sales in that dry town; Treasurer Mike Schroetke is married to an Argyle council member.⁶⁹ If contributions records are an indicator, www.cookecitizens.org represents the views of one citizen of Cooke County, which is on the Oklahoma border north of the Metroplex. Treasurer and lone donor Stephen Gaylord uses the PAC to promote his favorite candidates for local offices.

Ill-fated **ACC San Marcos Yes**, which promoted an aborted initiative to expand Austin Community College (ACC) into Hays County, transferred \$1,545 to Friends of ACC PAC. ACC called off the vote in 2006 after the Hays County District Attorney announced a probe into petition-drive forgery allegations. During the scandal, State Rep. Patrick Rose fired longtime aide Mark Littlefield, who headed the signature drive.⁷⁰ Seventy-one people filed affidavits saying that their signatures were forged on the petition. Yet prosecutors wound up the case by filing a lone misdemeanor charge against Littlefield for possessing documents containing the forged signature of one deceased man.⁷¹

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 education policies. Kress is the treasurer of the PAC, which filed its "last" disclosure report in 2003.⁷² In the 2008 cycle, however, it donated \$1,500 to Houston-based YES Prep Public Schools, which prepares low-income students for college.

McAllen-based **Keep Your Rights PAC** gave \$700 to Austin consumer group Texas Watch and \$300 to the farmworkers' group LUPE.

V. 200 Biggest PACs In Texas

'08 Rank	'06 Rank	'04 Rank	'02 Rank	'00 Rank	'08 Rank	PAC Name	2008 Spending	Interest Category
1	6					TX Democratic Trust	\$5,994,140	Ideological/Single Issue
2	9	4	1	1	1	TX Democratic Party	\$5,846,116	Ideological/Single Issue
3	4	3	2	2	2	Republican Party Of TX	\$4,436,230	Ideological/Single Issue
4	1	1	4	5	5	Texans For Lawsuit Reform	\$4,305,212	Ideological/Single Issue
5	2	2	5	4	6	TX Assn. of Realtors	\$4,113,444	Real Estate
6	20	115	196			TX Assn. of Realtors Issues Mobilization	\$3,118,794	Real Estate
7	7	6				Texans for Insurance Reform	\$2,731,273	Lawyers & Lobbyists
8	5	9	12	41	79	Valero Energy Corp.	\$2,436,203	Energy & Nat'l
9	14	12				Stars Over TX PAC	\$1,967,814	Ideological/Single Issue
10	15	36				House Democratic Campaign Committee	\$1,902,322	Ideological/Single Issue
11	13	30				Annie's List	\$1,621,838	Ideological/Single Issue
12	8	5	7	8	12	TX Medical Assn. PAC	\$1,409,775	Health
13	125					Texans for Economic Development	\$1,176,228	Ideological/Single Issue
14	12	10	15	12	11	AT&T, Inc. TX PAC	\$1,152,778	Communications
15	38					TX Parent PAC	\$1,076,559	Ideological/Single Issue
16						First Tuesday	\$971,909	Ideological/Single Issue
17	18	15	32	102		HillCo PAC	\$959,620	Lawyers & Lobbyists
18	10	7	26	6	3	Associated Republicans of TX	\$942,353	Ideological/Single Issue
19	25					Border Health PAC	\$940,440	Health
20						Blue TX	\$919,892	Ideological/Single Issue
21	22	8	3	9	7	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	\$866,051	Lawyers & Lobbyists
22	21	11	9	7	4	Vinson & Elkins	\$849,635	Lawyers & Lobbyists
23	55	67	56	66	43	Independent Insurance Agents of TX	\$824,400	Insurance
24	831					ActBlue TX	\$804,992	Ideological/Single Issue
25	30	41	87	256		Time Warner Cable	\$740,014	Communications
26	51	29	247	284	172	Fort Worth Firefighters Committee	\$706,235	Labor
27						Empower Texans PAC	\$661,589	Ideological/Single Issue
28	24	13	14	19	10	Fulbright & Jaworski	\$657,599	Lawyers & Lobbyists
29	32	18	30	33	35	TX Optometric PAC	\$655,269	Health
30	35	22	85	36	37	Andrews & Kurth	\$640,035	Lawyers & Lobbyists
31	53	98	58	536	336	Travis Co. Democratic Party	\$636,657	Ideological/Single Issue
32	93	206				ConocoPhillips	\$627,965	Energy & Nat'l
33	436	256	202	112	134	Vote TX	\$585,954	Lawyers & Lobbyists
34	36	40				TX Federation of Republican Women	\$553,018	Ideological/Single Issue
35	31	20	57	98		Union Pacific Corp.	\$547,809	Transportation
36	43	47	61	65	45	Winstead PC	\$537,708	Lawyers & Lobbyists
37	63	61	65	60	46	Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	\$508,599	Miscellaneous Business
38	34	32	27	25	22	TX State Teachers Assn.	\$496,298	Labor
39	41					TX Values in Action Coalition	\$478,622	Ideological/Single Issue
40	54	19	20	18	18	TX Dental Assn.	\$477,510	Health
41	62					TX Progress Council	\$464,104	Ideological/Single Issue
42	50	44	53	53	99	TX Assn. of Builders HOME PAC	\$463,766	Construction
43	108	124	51	76	60	TX Restaurant Assn.	\$461,514	Miscellaneous Business
44	37	27	25	28	24	Farmers Employee & Agent PAC	\$455,669	Insurance
45	39	23	234			Friends of Phil Gramm PAC	\$442,937	Ideological/Single Issue

46	46	35	16	16	13	TX Automobile Dealers Assn. PAC	\$442,772	Transportation
47	44	25	28	34	28	Bracewell & Patterson	\$439,982	Lawyers & Lobbyists
48	58	46	31	35	29	TX Oil & Gas PAC	\$436,431	Energy & Nat'l
49	94	70	125	62	59	Energy Future Holdings Corp. Electric Delivery	\$433,058	Energy & Nat'l
50	78	51	551			MAXXAM Inc.	\$432,461	Finance
51	64	172				TX 2020	\$427,739	Ideological/Single Issue
52	52	43	40	72	49	TX Apartment Assn.	\$424,000	Real Estate
53	379	463	594	650	456	Denton Co. Democratic Club	\$423,475	Ideological/Single Issue
54	17	49	142	623		Ryan TX PAC	\$411,837	Finance
55	45	24	104	95	101	CenterPoint Energy, Inc.	\$408,819	Energy & Nat'l
56	148					TX & Southwestern Cattle Raisers Assn.	\$403,723	Agriculture
57	567					TX Builds Jobs & Opportunity For Secure Future	\$403,538	Ideological/Single Issue
58	68	34	35	49	123	Houston Police Officers Union	\$398,924	Labor
59	33	48	34	42	32	TX Farm Bureau	\$398,031	Agriculture
60	47	45	41	45	36	K & L Gates LLP	\$387,955	Lawyers & Lobbyists
61	59	55	17	13	17	United Services Automobile Assn.	\$387,110	Insurance
62	42	33	46			Q PAC	\$379,959	Finance
63	275					A&M PAC	\$374,360	Ideological/Single Issue
64	40	31	63	73	23	Baker Botts	\$369,905	Lawyers & Lobbyists
65	65	63	37	59		Haynes & Boone	\$366,050	Lawyers & Lobbyists
66	56	38	19	17	15	Reliant Energy, Inc.	\$362,425	Energy & Nat'l
67						TX Business for Clean Air	\$349,639	Ideological/Single Issue
68	16	92				BG Distribution Partners	\$348,750	Miscellaneous Business
69	81	74	98	77	107	TX Credit Union League	\$344,215	Finance
70	72	129				American Electric Power	\$336,480	Energy & Nat'l
71	57	57	48	70	62	Independent Bankers Assn. of TX	\$333,049	Finance
72	73	60	72	46	111	Jackson Walker	\$330,834	Lawyers & Lobbyists
73	200					TX Deer Assn.	\$323,815	Agriculture
74	137	187	140	105	163	TX Pharmacy Assn.	\$319,076	Health
75						Twenty-One PAC	\$316,000	Ideological/Single Issue
76	102	198	158	226	296	HDR, Inc.	\$314,597	Construction
77						Best for TX	\$311,005	Ideological/Single Issue
78	106	75	36	38	16	TX Society of Certified Public Accountants	\$309,780	Finance
79	67	42	102	126	75	Friends of The University	\$308,573	Ideological/Single Issue
80	79	94	68	71	50	Associated General Contractors of TX	\$308,525	Construction
81	475	405	458			Devon Energy Corp.	\$301,900	Energy & Nat'l
82	634					Gay & Lesbian Victory Fund	\$301,719	Ideological/Single Issue
83	87	119	152	151	192	TX Consumer Finance Assn.	\$299,539	Finance
84	80	14	18	23	30	Burlington Northern Santa Fe Corp.	\$299,262	Transportation
85	118	179	189	108	95	Dow Chemical Co.	\$297,688	Energy & Nat'l
86	157					Compass Bancshares, Inc.	\$289,550	Finance
87	114	65	261	80	115	Luminant Holding Co. LLC Power PAC	\$286,279	Energy & Nat'l
88	85	66	77	82	81	TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	\$285,180	Labor
89	271					Lone Star Fund	\$283,911	Ideological/Single Issue
90	71	39	22	51		Luminant Corp. TX Employee PAC	\$283,375	Energy & Nat'l
91	70	88	129	223	104	TX Architects Committee	\$282,935	Construction
92	82	83	112	175	144	Great Houston HOME-PAC	\$280,100	Construction
93	89	87	93	224	265	Kirby Corp.	\$279,395	Transportation
94	88	54	54	90	80	Houston Apartment Assn.	\$276,651	Real Estate

95	171	325				Atmos Energy Corp.	\$275,406	Energy & Nat'l
96	29	28	29	30	42	Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld	\$273,122	Lawyers & Lobbyists
97	195	284	388	384	317	Williamson Co. Republican Party	\$272,841	Ideological/Single Issue
98	92	91	60	47	56	Beef PAC	\$272,411	Agriculture
99	83	59	76	155	117	Plumbers Local #68	\$266,086	Labor
100	103	103	49	92	82	Associated Gen'l Contractors TX Building Branch	\$264,400	Construction
101	74	215	116	146	508	Lyondell Petrochemical Co.	\$263,613	Energy & Nat'l
102	75	64	33	69	40	TX Aggregates & Concrete Assn.	\$259,486	Construction
103	131	135	99	144	139	TX Electric Cooperatives	\$259,200	Energy & Nat'l
104	96	80	95	93	90	TX Society of Anesthesiologists	\$258,229	Health
105	111	127	166	636		Houston Realty Breakfast Club	\$255,930	Real Estate
106	77	102	79	31	21	TX Manufactured Housing Assn.	\$244,532	Construction
107	156	150	131	106	73	TX Health Care Assn.	\$242,500	Health
108	69	147	188	117	98	Licensed Beverage Distributors	\$239,500	Miscellaneous Business
109						Medical Defense PAC	\$238,828	Health
110	129	311				Libertarian Party of TX	\$236,046	Ideological/Single Issue
111	91	189	96	136	124	TX Bankers Assn.	\$235,685	Finance
112	143	195	82	48	68	Teamsters Local #745	\$235,226	Labor
113	100	62	52	56	89	TX Hospital Assn.	\$233,185	Health
114	151	89	97	58	66	Brown McCarroll, LLP	\$232,350	Lawyers & Lobbyists
115	109	77	123			Gulf States Toyota Inc.	\$228,275	Transportation
116						Texans Together	\$222,471	Ideological/Single Issue
117	117	78	150	119	155	San Antonio Firefighters	\$216,959	Labor
118	574					NRG Energy, Inc.	\$211,320	Energy & Nat'l
119	119	126	108	233	110	Apartment Assn. of Greater Dallas	\$211,134	Real Estate
120	194					Travis Republican Advisory Council	\$208,755	Ideological/Single Issue
121						Gulf Greyhound Partners & Employees	\$207,500	Miscellaneous Business
122	123	254	239	218	286	TX Land Title Assn.	\$205,750	Real Estate
123	222	282	179	409	322	MetroTex Assn. of Realtors	\$203,150	Real Estate
124	105	144	527	559	665	Deputy Sheriff's Assn. of Bexar Co.	\$202,762	Labor
125	155	37	10	14	9	Compass Bancshares, Inc.	\$202,623	Finance
126	152	110	183	183	284	Assn. of TX Professional Educators	\$202,465	Labor
127	141	109				Heart Place	\$200,000	Health
128	84	56	45	103	85	Gardere Wynne Sewell LLP	\$195,678	Lawyers & Lobbyists
129	198	53	55	43	34	Conservative Republicans of Harris Co.	\$193,330	Ideological/Single Issue
130	133	116	136	139	181	Beer Alliance of TX, LLC	\$191,901	Miscellaneous Business
131	101	72	130	75	53	San Antonio Police Officers Assn.	\$190,936	Labor
132	174	156	315	407	179	TX Homecare	\$189,978	Health
133	220	288				TX Radiological Society	\$189,332	Health
134	107	73	66	78	69	TCB PAC	\$189,327	Construction
135						TX Energy Future Capital Holdings	\$180,525	Energy & Nat'l
136	66	58	103			Landry's Seafood Restaurants, Inc.	\$179,900	Miscellaneous Business
137	227	259	311	373	229	Contran Corp.	\$179,239	Finance
138	154	347	69	83	54	Tarrant Co. Democratic Party	\$178,857	Ideological/Single Issue
139						Texans for Better Education	\$178,398	Ideological/Single Issue
140	279	207	454	266	836	Greater Austin HOME PAC	\$177,231	Construction
141	112	145	307			TX Right To Life	\$174,517	Ideological/Single Issue
142	633					Maverick PAC USA	\$172,558	Ideological/Single Issue
143	90	117	105	131	159	Thompson & Knight	\$171,500	Lawyers & Lobbyists

144	135	295	39	267	283	El Paso Corp.	\$171,233	Energy & Nat'l
145	76	52	59	52	38	National Assn. of Insurance & Financial Advisors	\$169,945	Insurance
146	211	96	187	67	58	TXU Energy Retail Co. LLC Energy PAC	\$168,960	Energy & Nat'l
147						TX Fed'n of Republican Women Convention 2007	\$167,051	Ideological/Single Issue
148						TX Consumer Lenders PAC	\$165,985	Finance
149	121	208	174	109	128	Galveston Co. Democratic Party	\$164,075	Ideological/Single Issue
150	160	101	191	244	390	Alliance of Dallas Educators United Teachers	\$162,924	Labor
151	360	604	501	633		TX Construction Assn.	\$161,066	Construction
152	120	105	38	24	20	Good Government Fund (Fort Worth)	\$160,750	Energy & Nat'l
153	97	85	114	91	55	TX Ophthalmological Assn.	\$160,690	Health
154	203	168				Deloitte & Touche TX	\$160,020	Finance
155	210	210	173	148	170	TX Package Stores Assn. Beverage Alliance	\$156,623	Miscellaneous Business
156	127	120				Occidental Petroleum Corp.	\$156,505	Energy & Nat'l
157	139	140	62	44	61	Verizon Communications, Inc.	\$152,409	Communications
158	126	108	100	202	108	Zachry Construction Corp.	\$150,031	Construction
159	142	100	83	74	112	TX Petro. Marketers & Convenience Store Assn.	\$148,871	Miscellaneous Business
160	153	113	113	96	87	Friends Of Baylor Med	\$147,889	Health
161	199	235	648	595		Houston Council of Engineering Companies	\$145,954	Construction
162	61	21	23	10	48	Coca-Cola Enterprises, Inc.	\$142,280	Miscellaneous Business
163	207	779	872	671	141	Owens Corning	\$141,927	Construction
164	147	90	84	110	316	TX Industries, Inc.	\$141,578	Construction
165	169	82	238	425	275	TX Podiatric Medical PAC	\$141,500	Health
166	208	176	146	154	152	Real Estate Council of Austin, Inc.	\$141,088	Real Estate
167	281	449				GDF SUEZ Energy North America, Inc.	\$137,998	Energy & Nat'l
168	110	50	101	372	88	C Club	\$137,341	Ideological/Single Issue
169	122	133	44	94	27	PSEL PAC	\$136,250	Energy & Nat'l
170	132					Third Thursday Group	\$136,100	Ideological/Single Issue
171	128	79	70	101	130	Houston Professional Fire Fighters Assn. #341	\$136,082	Labor
172	113	158	148	196	461	Education Austin PAC	\$135,607	Labor
173	196	180	331	411	258	New Braunfels Republican Women	\$134,847	Ideological/Single Issue
174	176	114	121	135	228	Lockwood Andrews & Newnam, Inc.	\$134,357	Construction
175						Faith in TX Fund	\$133,332	Ideological/Single Issue
176	650					American Subcontractors Assn. of TX	\$131,227	Construction
177	346					EZCORP, Inc.	\$131,000	Finance
178						PBSJ Corp.	\$129,200	Construction
179	577					Northside Bond Committee	\$127,391	Ideological/Single Issue
180	253	193	298	445	230	Fort Worth Police Officer's Assn.	\$125,581	Labor
181	680					Conservative Republicans of TX	\$125,280	Ideological/Single Issue
182	660					TX Democratic Women of the Brazos Valley	\$124,605	Ideological/Single Issue
183						Spectra Energy Corp.	\$121,850	Energy & Nat'l
184	146	174	67	50	146	Trinity Industries Employee PAC, Inc.	\$121,514	Construction
185	149	157	201	389		Raba-Kistner PAC, Inc.	\$121,325	Construction
186	209	191	167	147	106	United Transportation Union	\$120,350	Labor
187	166	330	237	335	282	Planned Parenthood of Houston & Southeast TX	\$119,709	Ideological/Single Issue
188	144	137	132	116	83	TX Instruments, Inc.	\$119,089	Computers
189	233					Pipe Fitters Local Union 211	\$118,395	Labor
190	224	201	290	354	378	Temple Area Builders Assn.	\$118,230	Construction
191						Human Rights Campaign TX Families	\$118,060	Ideological/Single Issue
192	187	335	154	253	203	Half Associates	\$117,038	Construction

193	162	154	221	347	340	Greater Dallas Home PAC	\$115,775	Construction
194	95	104		506	272	Citizens For a Better Fort Worth	\$114,706	Miscellaneous Business
195		418	345	569		Teamsters Local 988	\$112,531	Labor
196	163	197				TX Democratic Women	\$110,402	Ideological/Single Issue
197	223	162	194	220	250	Houston Associated General Contractors	\$109,550	Construction
198	161	106	119	97	147	Temple-Inland Forest Products Corp.	\$109,364	Agriculture
199		138	157	336	294	PSI	\$109,300	Construction
200	124	68	75	85	70	TX & Southwestern Cattle Raisers Assn. PAC	\$108,488	Agriculture

End Notes

¹ The largest PAC expenditures typically are contributions to candidates or other PACs; PACs also spend money on overhead and other expenses—which also are included here.

² 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

³ “Complaint Alleges That Beleaguered Speaker Craddick and Texas Jobs PAC Broke Texas Campaign Laws,” TPJ News Release, February 11, 2008. <http://www.tpj.org/2008/02/tpj-files-complaint-against-speaker.html>

⁴ “Texas Democrats at crossroads in 2010 elections,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, March 22, 2009.

⁵ It also gave \$35,000 to Democrat Adrian Garcia, who took out the Harris County’s Republican sheriff in 2008.

⁶ Dallas developer Trammell Crow gave Faith in Texas \$11,000; Houston Democratic donor Poppi Georges-Massey gave \$10,000.

⁷ See “The Sperm-Donor Lobby: Spending Big Bucks at the Legislature,” *Texas Observer*, April 3, 2009.

⁸ “Saving Speaker Craddick,” *Texas Observer*, January 25, 2008.

⁹ Twenty-One PAC gave \$130,00 to Brimer and \$125,000 to GOP incumbent Mike Jackson of La Porte, who beat Democratic challenger Joe Jaworski with 56 percent of the vote.

¹⁰ Twenty-One PAC also received \$10,000 contributions from Nancy Ann Hunt, spouse of Dallas oil man Ray Hunt, concrete vendor John Victor Lattimore, homebuilder Bob Perry, investor Robert Rowling, nuclear-waste magnet Harold Simmons and Andrews & Kurth law firm. This PAC promoting GOP hegemony also received \$500 from alcohol purveyor Dick Trabulsi, the Texans for Lawsuit Reform founder often described as a Democrat.

¹¹ Wallace donated \$6,250. Marketing executive Cindy Marion contributed design and printing work to the club valued at \$17,504.

¹² See “Craddick-Tied PAC Cash Routed To Just 8 GOP House Candidates,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, April 2, 2004. http://info.tpj.org/Lobby_Watch/04-02-04_gopleaderpac.html

¹³ A smaller vanishing PAC also relied heavily on Leininger money. The Texas Club for Growth vanished in 2008 after spending \$60,746 in 2008.

¹⁴ See “Dr. Leininger Injects \$5 Million Into Election,” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, November 16, 2006.

http://www.tpj.org/page_view.jsp?pageid=1101&pubid=859 Leininger’s Future of Texas PAC and then-Speaker Tom Craddick’s campaign were the top funders of the now-vanished Texas Opportunity PAC, which supported conservative Republicans. Texas Club For Growth had the same agenda. Its top funders were Leininger and Houston apartment developer Michael Boylan. Funded just by Leininger in 2006, All Children Matter PAC’s largest expenditures were two \$54,360 checks. One went to consultant Mike Baseline; the other went to the aforementioned Future of Texas PAC.

¹⁵ The National Center for Therapeutics Manufacturing. See “Did Aggie Contributions Grease \$50 Million Enterprise Fund Deal?” TPJ’s *Lobby Watch*, March 25, 2009. http://info.tpj.org/Lobby_Watch/03-25-09_A&MPAC.html

¹⁶ Good Government PAC gave to candidates for Corpus Christi City Council.

¹⁷ “How Jenkins & Gilchrist Lost Its Way,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 1, 2007.

¹⁸ Other HillCo PAC client donors include Dallas Cowboys owner Stephen Jones (\$55,000), Kirby Corp. head Charles Lawrence (\$30,000) and \$25,000 apiece from HEB Grocery’s Charles Butt, Wal-Mart heiress Alice Walton and the Houston Police Federal Credit Union.

¹⁹ Reps. Kino Flores (\$13,000), Kevin Bailey (\$11,000) and Dawnna Dukes (\$10,000).

²⁰ “Did Electric Dereg Help Texas Consumers?” *Quorum Report*, November 17, 2008. “Price Debate Powers Along,” *Dallas Morning News*, February 20, 2009.

²¹ “Bills Aim To Cut Power Prices,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 9, 2009. “Focus on Electric Deregulation Renewed,” *Austin American-Statesman*, April 11, 2009.

²² Electric company Mirant Corp. ranked among 2008’s fastest-shrinking PACs.

²³ “Power Generator NRG to Buy Reliant for \$388 Million,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 3, 2009.

²⁴ “Devon, Chesapeake Execs Talk Leasing at Conference,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, April 8, 2008. “Two Barnett Shale Measures Clear Senate,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 22, 2009.

²⁵ “Energy Producers’ 2009 Spending Plans Look a Lot Different,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, March 4, 2009. “Glut Expected to Cut Price of Natural Gas Next Winter,” *Austin American-Statesman*, April 11, 2009.

²⁶ “State panel orders replacement of couplings,” *Dallas Morning News*, November 7, 2007. The lone dissenter, Commissioner Victor Carrillo, questioned if the agency had the authority to order the replacement without more evidence that the couplings posed an immediate threat.

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- ²⁷ "Justices in Activist 'Entergy' Ruling Ran on High-Octane Campaign Funds," TPJ news release, April 28, 2008. <http://info.tpj.org/pdf/entergymoneytosupremes.pdf>
- ²⁸ HB 1657. "Justices Affirm Work Site Ruling, Irk Lawmakers," *Austin American-Statesman*, April 4, 2009.
- ²⁹ "Bid To Open Co-ops' Doors Gets Early OK," *Austin American-Statesman*, April 8, 2009. "Focus on Electric Deregulation Renewed," *Austin American-Statesman*, April 11, 2009.
- ³⁰ Chief Justice Wallace Jefferson and Justices Phil Johnson and Dale Wainwright.
- ³¹ "State Urged To Put PPOs Under License," *Dallas Morning News*, May 22, 2008.
- ³² "Medical Doctors Beat Podiatrists in Ankle Turf War," *Austin American-Statesman*, March 19, 2008.
- ³³ "Radiologists To Ask Legislators To Settle Dispute Over Scans," *Austin American-Statesman*, January 8, 2009.
- ³⁴ "Hinojosa: RAHC Likely To Be Split From UTHSCSA In Order To Establish Medical School," *Rio Grande Guardian*, July 9, 2008.
- ³⁵ "Lucio: Valley Veterans Can Raise \$1 Million," *Rio Grande Guardian*, December 31, 2007.
- ³⁶ "New House Speaker Straus, Legislators To Be Hosted on Thursday in Weslaco," *Texas Insider*, January 21, 2009.
- ³⁷ "Nursing Homes Hope for Boost in Funding," *Houston Chronicle*, February 16, 2009.
- ³⁸ "Party affiliation won't mean a lot when justice is the issue," *San Antonio Express-News*, February 11, 2009.
- ³⁹ "Judge Chosen for Keller Trial," *Austin American-Statesman*, April 10, 2009.
- ⁴⁰ Note that \$80,000 spent by the Home Builders Association of Greater Dallas PAC actually was transferred to Home PAC. If Home PAC gave those same dollars to Governor Perry as part of its total PAC expenditures, then the same \$80,000 has been double counted. The Dallas PAC, however, was the only local homebuilder PAC listed that gave a significant amount of money to Home PAC.
- ⁴¹ "Critics: Texas Agency Favors Builders Over Buyers," National Public Radio, March 29, 2009. <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=102367683>
- ⁴² "Sun Never Sets On Politicians Taking Homebuilder Money," TPJ's *Lobby Watch*, September 25, 2008. http://info.tpj.org/Lobby_Watch/09-25-08_homebuildersunset.html
- ⁴³ See "Imminent Domain: Will Austin Voters End Retail Subsidies?" Texans For Public Justice, October 22, 2008. <http://info.tpj.org/watchyourassets/domain/>
- ⁴⁴ See "Trans Texas Corridor: Politicians Get Burned Paving Texas Backwards, From the Top Down," TPJ's Watch Your Assets, January 7, 2009. <http://info.tpj.org/watchyourassets/ttc/>
- ⁴⁵ "Man Who Waged Anti-Toll Road War Quietly Leaves Town," *Austin American-Statesman*, November 17, 2008
- ⁴⁶ SB 555 and identical HB 818. "Major Indemnity Change for Contractors OK'd," *Austin American-Statesman*, March 18, 2009.
- ⁴⁷ "Eight-liner company indicted," *San Antonio Express-News*, November 18, 2008.
- ⁴⁸ "A Herd of Headless Chickens," *Texas Weekly*, September 17, 2007.
- ⁴⁹ Notwithstanding the fact that its top donor's namesake has served as a prominent pitchman for Bristol-Myers Squibb (which did not fund Yes on 15).
- ⁵⁰ "Texan of the Year finalist: Cathy Bonner," *Dallas Morning News*, December 27, 2007.
- ⁵¹ "Cancer Bonds Squeaked Past in Travis County," *Austin American-Statesman*, November 8, 2007.
- ⁵² "\$5 Billion Road Bond Package Outlined," *Tyler Morning Telegraph*, September 25, 2007.
- ⁵³ Zachry's slate of candidates can be seen at: <http://204.65.203.5/public/388984.pdf>
- ⁵⁴ See TPJ's "Perry Patronage: Donor-Appointees Gave the Governor \$3.8 Million, April 2006," <http://info.tpj.org/docs/pdf/perrypatronagereport.pdf> and "Governor Bush's Well-Appointed Texas Officials, October 2000," <http://info.tpj.org/docs/2000/10/reports/appointments/cover.html>
- ⁵⁵ For more on Crossroads, see TPJ's "Supreme Spending: Political Expenditures By Texas' High-Court Justices," March 2008. <http://info.tpj.org/reports/supremespending/index.html>
- ⁵⁶ The Real Sins of Governor Perry, *Austin Chronicle*, February 27, 2004.
- ⁵⁷ The legislature enacted the switcheroo as HB 12 in 2007. "Debate Rages Over Whether To Shift Oversight of Monument Hill and 20 Other State Parks," *Houston Chronicle*, January 22, 2007.
- ⁵⁸ Then-Vice President Dick Cheney shot Austin attorney Harry Whittington in a hunting accident at the ranch of Armstrong Hixon's sister, Katharine Armstrong, in 2006. This prompted a probe by the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, which Katharine Armstrong previously chaired. TPWD sided with the official story—that a lone gunman shot Whittington.
- ⁵⁹ "The Race for Texas Governor Is On," *Houston Chronicle*, January 25, 2009.
- ⁶⁰ Chairman Jon Hansen. See "El Pasoan Named To Texas Historical Commission," *El Paso Times*, February 19, 2009.

⁶¹ "3 Separate Trials in Tax Evasion Case," *Dallas Morning News*, December 12, 2008; "Hodge May Be Tried Separately," *Dallas Morning News*, October 3, 2008.

⁶² "State legislator indicted in Dallas public corruption case," *Austin American-Statesman*, October 2, 2007.

⁶³ Aces' indictees who supported Hodge's defense are: Chairman Gordon Graves, CEO Kenneth Griffith, CFO Christopher Domijan, COO Cornwell Knowles, Controller Nicholas Holt, Vice President Jeremy Tyra and construction manager Clayton Adair.

⁶⁴ "Payroll Scandal Hasn't Sapped Alvarado's Clout," *Houston Chronicle*, August 27, 2006.

⁶⁵ "Rosenthal cites prescription drugs in decision to quit DA post," *Houston Chronicle*, February 16, 2008.

⁶⁶ "Lawyers' Ties In Edwards Case suggest Extent of Hiding Affair," *New York Times*, August 15, 2008.

⁶⁷ "Edwards Ally Vital To Texas Democrats," *Austin American-Statesman*, August 16, 2008. Klinger has since become a spokesman for Kay Bailey Hutchison's gubernatorial campaign.

⁶⁸ "Patriots for Hire," *Texas Observer*, June 1, 2007.

⁶⁹ The PAC's top donors were Stephen C. McGinnis (through an entity called Canyon Falls Town Center Partners, LP), the Argyle Chamber of Commerce and C. Douglas Chandler (through an entity called Dema Partners, LP). The PAC paid almost all of its money to the Eppstein Group to collect the needed signatures. "Local Option Propositions," *Denton Record-Chronicle*, October 21, 2007.

⁷⁰ "Petition Probe," *San Marcos Daily Record*, June 11, 2006.

⁷¹ "ACC Petition Fraud Inquiry Fizzles," *Austin American-Statesman*, March 12, 2009.

⁷² The PAC previously supported four state Democrats: John Sharp, Paul Hobby, David Cain and Royce West.