

Texas PACs: 2004 Election Cycle Spending

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I. Total Texas PAC Spending

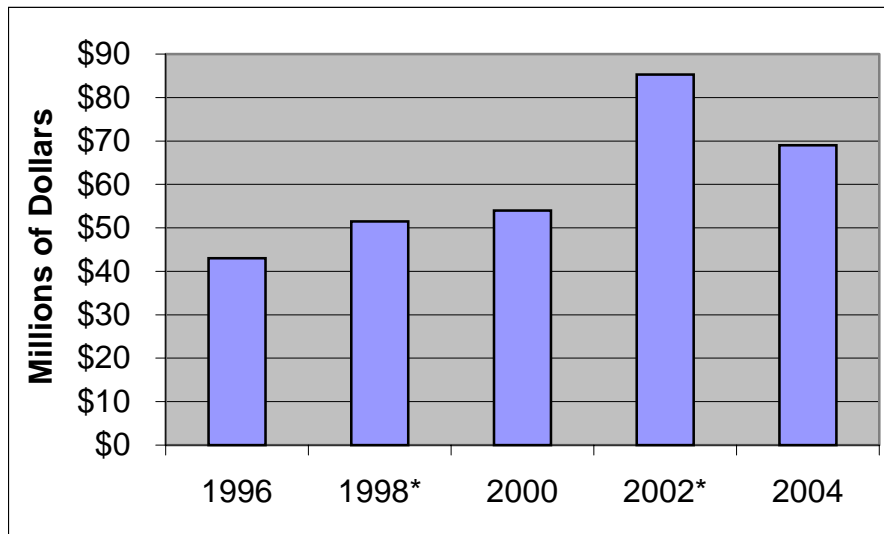
This report identifies and ranks Texas' top general-purpose political action committees (PACs) in the 2004 election cycle. These rankings are based on the total amount of expenditures that PACs electronically reported to the Texas Ethics Commission. During the two-year election cycle ending in December 2004, 850 general-purpose PACs reported such expenditures.¹ After correcting one PAC's \$9.2 million data-entry error, total 2004 spending by these PACs amounted to almost \$69 million.² (Sixteen so-called special-purpose PACs, analyzed separately at the end of this report, spent almost \$20 million more.)

This PAC spending is about one-fifth less than the \$85 million that Texas PACs reported spending in the preceding election cycle. Several factors fed unprecedented PAC spending in 2002. First, Republican leaders made a huge push that year to seize a Texas House majority that would help Congressman Tom DeLay redraw Texas' congressional districts. When combined with the failed defensive expenditures of Democrats, this effort fueled runaway PAC spending.

Texas PAC spending also peaks in gubernatorial election years, when PACs dig deep to influence the elections of a large number of statewide officeholders. While Texas PACs spent considerably less in 2004 than 2002, 2004 PAC expenditures were well above that of the previous non-gubernatorial election in 2000.

Texas PAC Spending Spikes In Gubernatorial Election Years

Election Cycle	No. of Active PACs	PAC Spending	Spending Increase From Previous Cycle	Spending Increase (%)
1996	911	\$43,082,546		NA
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%)



*Gubernatorial election year.

II. Comparing Business, Ideological & Labor PACs

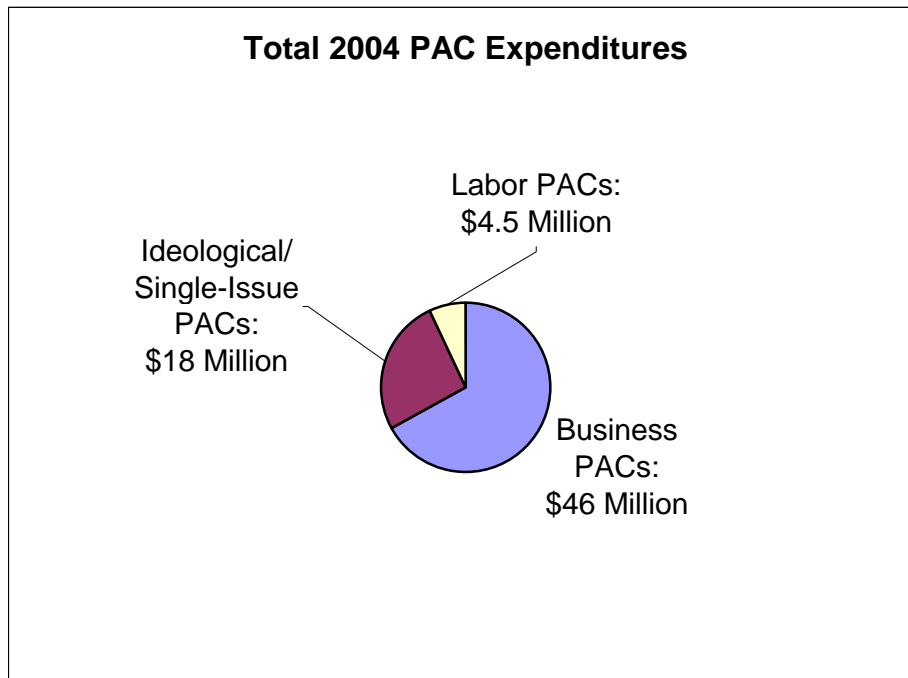
Business PACs accounted for 67 percent of all PAC spending in the 2004 cycle. Meanwhile Ideological and Single-Issue PACs spent 26 percent of all PAC money and Labor PACs spent just 7 percent of the total.

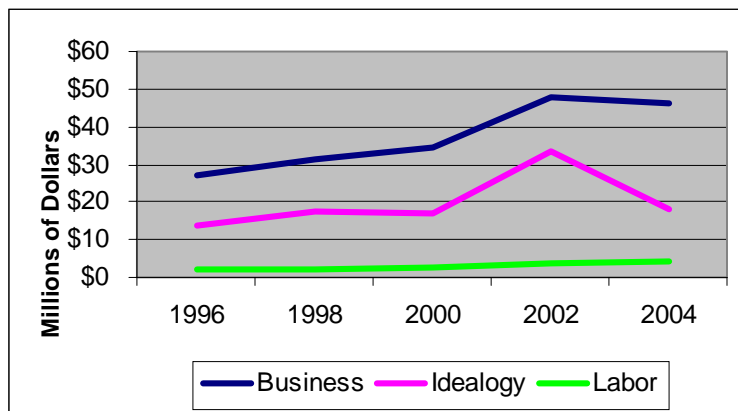
This sectoral distribution marks a significant swing of the pendulum, particularly for Ideological PACs. During the 1996 through 2000 election cycles, the average distribution for PAC spending was: 63 percent Business PACs; 33 percent Ideological and Single-Issue PACs; and 5 percent Labor PACs. As the previous edition of this report discussed, Ideological PAC spending shot up to 39 percent in 2002, as Republican-leaning PACs successfully sought House control. In 2004, however, Ideological PAC spending plummeted to 26 percent of the total--well below the one-third share it claimed in the late 1990s.

As overall PAC spending dropped, Labor was the only major sector to increase PAC spending from 2002 to 2004. While Labor's \$4.5 million expenditure is small compared to the two other sectors, this marked a 19 percent increase for Labor PACs. The Fort Worth Firefighters committee was the only Labor PAC to make the list of 2004's fastest-growing large PACs (discussed below). Their spending leapt from less than \$50,000 in 2002 to \$454,890 in 2004, thanks in part to the \$154,636 it received from Granbury Lieutenant Tommy Abercrombie. The firefighters' largest expenditures—topping \$200,000—went to political consultants and advertising. This PAC appears to have spent this money to mobilize voters for a 2003 constitutional amendment that now requires Texas cities to honor their pension contracts with employees. Similarly, the El Paso Municipal Police PAC more than doubled its expenditures to \$131,304.

PAC Spending By Sector

Sector	1996 Cycle	1998 Cycle	2000 Cycle	2002 Cycle	2004 Cycle	Growth From 2002-2004 (%)
Business	\$27,314,62	\$31,516,87	\$34,416,62	\$48,000,67	\$46,088,12	-4
Ideology	\$13,713,79	\$17,719,15	\$16,870,77	\$33,466,78	\$17,789,16	-47
Labor	\$1,886,32	\$2,259,74	\$2,707,70	\$3,776,29	\$4,512,39	+19
Unknown	\$167,80	\$48,00	\$1,92	\$76,47	\$514,82	
TOTAL	\$43,082,54	\$51,543,82	\$53,996,91	\$85,320,22	\$68,904,51	-19





The forthcoming analysis of PAC spending changes from 2002 to 2004 suggests that two factors contributed to the dramatic contraction of Ideological PAC spending in Texas:

- The Democratic Party’s dwindling political influence is eroding its once-formidable fundraising prowess; and
- The Travis County District Attorney’s criminal investigation of corporate political spending on the 2002 election has had a chilling effect on some of Texas’ most aggressive Ideological PACs.

Indeed, Tom DeLay’s Texans for a Republican Majority PAC (TRMPAC)—a central focus of the grand jury’s probe—casts its shadow over many of the PAC spending patterns analyzed

Major PAC Spending Shifts

Insights into recent PAC-spending shifts can be gleaned from an analysis of the large PACs (spending more than \$100,000 in 2002) that reported the greatest spending changes from 2002 to 2004. Business PACs dominate the list of large PACs with the fastest growth rates. In contrast, Ideological and Single-Issue PACs account for most of the large PACs that reported the greatest spending cuts.

Democratic demolition

Democratic Party wreckage is liberally littered across the list of large Texas PACs that suffered the worst contractions in the 2004 election cycle. The biggest PAC on the list is that of the Texas Democratic Party itself, which plummeted from \$15 million in expenditures in 2002 to less than \$2 million in 2004. The defunct Texas Partnership PAC—organized to maintain a House Democratic majority when there was one—filed its last PAC report a few months after Republican Speaker Tom Craddick took office in 2003. Its disappearance was only partly offset by the rapid growth of the Majority PAC, which House Democrats optimistically created shortly before the 2002 Republican House takeover that rendered this PAC’s name anachronistic. Also taking a nosedive was the Democratic Party of Tarrant County. This Fort Worth region is the home base of former Democratic Congressman Martin Frost, whom Republicans redistricted out of office. Frost’s Lone Star Fund, which spent \$220,219 in 2002, vanished from the Texas Ethics Commission’s radar screen. All this Democratic hemorrhaging could not be stanchied by the birth of two other large Democratic PACs that wielded \$820,689 between them: the House Democratic Campaign Committee and Annie’s List. A co-founder of Annie’s List is Anne Kitchen, who got knocked out of the House in 2002 after being targeted by TRMPAC.

Fastest Shrinking Large PACs

PAC	Interest	2002 Rank	2002 Spending	2004 Spending	2002-2004 % Change
Texas 2000	Lawyers/Lobbyist	8	\$1,500,132	\$567	-99.96%
Texans For Governmental Integrity	Ideological	50	\$261,563	\$100	-99.96%
Constitutional Defense Fund	Lawyers/Lobbyist	78	\$200,857	\$4,950	-97.54%
American Airlines	Transportation	24	\$515,755	\$16,500	-96.80%
Progressive Voters In Action	Ideological	43	\$272,147	\$9,746	-96.42%
Texas Partnership	Ideological	11	\$955,102	\$52,517	-94.50%
Texas Tea PAC	Ideological	128	\$108,246	\$10,410	-90.38%
El Paso Energy Corp.	Energy	39	\$313,200	\$35,416	-88.69%
Texas Democratic Party	Ideological	1	\$15,041,05	\$1,922,185	-87.22%
Tarrant Co. Democratic Party	Ideological	69	\$210,906	\$27,507	-86.96%
Free Enterprise PAC	Ideological	21	\$597,238	\$79,135	-86.75%
Campaign for Republican Leadership	Ideological	90	\$171,039	\$26,297	-84.63%
Texans for a Republican Majority	Ideological	13	\$800,441	\$133,784	-83.29%
Texas Assn. of Business	Misc. Business	42	\$275,956	\$48,720	-82.34%

Two large 2002 PACs that all but disappeared represented trial lawyers, who long stood as leading Democratic underwriters. Unlike the Democrats, however, the trial lawyers replaced their retiring PACs with larger new ones. After moving \$1.7 million through the Texas 2000 PAC and the Constitutional Defense Fund in 2002, trial lawyers pumped a combined \$2.3 million through two new PACs in 2004: Texans for Insurance Reform and the Good Government PAC. Here again, however, the Democrats took a whipping. While the Texas Democratic Party and its candidates received almost all of the money that trial lawyers moved through the two 2002 PACs discussed here, this no longer held true in 2004.

In the 2004 cycle, the trial lawyers' Texans for Insurance Reform and the Constitutional Defense Fund spent most of their money on a narrowly defeated effort to shoot down a 2003 constitutional amendment (Proposition 12) that now authorizes lawmakers to cap damages awarded in lawsuits. Most of this money went to political consultants and media buys rather than to Democrats. What's more, some of the candidates who did get trial-lawyer money were—gasp—Republicans. Good Government PAC gave \$10,000 to Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst and even gave \$25,000 to TRMPAC-backed House candidate Bryan Hughes. It gave \$100,000 more to the HillCo lobby PAC, which gave 65 percent of its money to Republicans. Medical and business interests led by Texans for Lawsuit Reform (TLR) opposed the trial lawyers in the battle over lawsuit damages. TLR spent more than \$3.1 million, usurping the Texas Democratic Party as Texas' largest PAC in 2004. The newborn Heart Place PAC also spent heavily to cap the legal damages faced by cardiologists who commit malpractice.

Curbing abuse

While a wide swath of Democratic PACs took financial hits in 2004, most of the conservative PACs that withered were ones that developed a reputation in 2002 for playing fast and loose with Texas elections laws. Notable among them are Texans for a Republican Majority (TRMPAC) and the Texas Association of Business. Both of these organizations are the subjects of a Travis County District Attorney criminal investigation into allegations that they illegally spent corporate funds to win a Republican House majority in 2002.

After Republicans took the House and installed Tom Craddick as speaker they created a new PAC in 2003 to help Craddick retain his new title. This Stars Over Texas PAC (SOT) is 2004's largest new PAC after Texans for Insurance Reform. SOT's actions suggest that the District Attorney's probe is exerting a chilling effect on political fundraising abuses. In September 2004 SOT acknowledged that it had failed to disclose \$108,900 in corporate funds that it received six months earlier; the PAC then returned these questionable funds to AT&T and a group of predatory lending corporations.

Largest New PACs in 2004

PAC	Interest Category	2004 Spending	2004 Rank
Texans for Insurance Reform	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$1,911,888	6
Stars Over Texas	Ideological	\$956,675	12
Good Government PAC	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$465,915	27
Annie's List	Ideological	\$454,177	30
House Democratic Campaign Committee	Ideological	\$366,512	36
Texas Federation of Republican Women	Ideological	\$347,460	40
BG Distribution Partners	Miscellaneous Business	\$162,300	93
Citizens For A Better Fort Worth	Miscellaneous Business	\$148,133	105
Heart Place PAC	Health	\$136,262	109
Occidental Petroleum Corp.	Energy & Natural Resources	\$127,759	121
Carter & Burgess, Inc.	Construction	\$119,425	128
American Electric Power	Energy & Natural Resources	\$111,300	129
Citizens For Public Transportation	Ideological	\$110,138	132
All Children Matter, Texas	Ideological	\$100,456	139

Prosecutors also reportedly are investigating if Craddick broke state laws that bar speaker candidates from contributing anything of value to other House candidates whom—if elected—elect a speaker from their ranks. The withered Campaign for Republican Leadership (CRL) PAC could figure into such a probe. Craddick's regular House campaign committee was the top donor to CRL, which doled out \$176,500 to eight GOP House candidates in 2002.

Another withering conservative fund, the former Free Enterprise PAC, earned notoriety in the 2002 primary for attack ads portraying moderate Republicans as champions of gays, abortionists and mercy killers (Free Enterprise rechristened itself the Heritage Alliance PAC later that year). The dwindling of the Texas Tea PAC was partly offset by the birth of the Texas Federation of Republican Women, which counts Texas Tea among its members. The Associated Republicans of Texas (ART)—by far the largest of 2004's fast-growing PACs—expanded in the void left by these contracting conservative PACs. ART's expenditures more than tripled in the 2004 cycle to almost \$1.7 million.

The newborn All Children Matter PAC lost its school-voucher battle late in the 2005 session—even after the PAC's sole sugar daddy, James Leininger, personally visited the House to twist members' arms. Businesses supplied most of the money that Citizens for a Better Fort Worth spent to help pass \$274 million worth of local infrastructure bonds in 2004. Citizens for Public Transportation raised much of its money from contractors favoring the light-rail initiative that Houston voters narrowly approved in November 2003. On the losing side of this fight were Citizens to Lower Our Unfair Taxes (CLOUT), which spent \$77,566, and Texans for True Mobility (TTM), which refused to disclose its finances. CLOUT reported receiving \$15,000 from TTM, which got a total of \$30,000 from Tom DeLay's ARMPAC and congressional committee, according to disclosures filed by DeLay PACs.

Surging business PACs

Thirteen PACs that spent at least \$100,000 apiece in the 2004 cycle posted spending increases of more than 250 percent over the previous cycle. Nine of these fast-growth funds are Business PACs. Not surprisingly, they hail from highly regulated industries that read like a who's who of the special interests that have been clamoring state officials.

Fastest Growing Large PACs

PAC	Sector	2002 Spending	2004 Spending	2002-2004 Growth (%)
MAXXAM, Inc.	Finance	\$9,000	\$277,768	2,986%
Jobe PAC	Construction	\$7,951	\$162,103	1,939%
Majority PAC of Texas	Ideological	\$49,806	\$660,310	1,226%
Friends of Phil Gramm	Ideological	\$48,254	\$514,274	966%
Fort Worth Firefighters	Labor	\$45,495	\$454,890	900%
Centex Corp.	Construction	\$13,000	\$110,822	752%
TX Assn. of Mortgage Attorneys	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$95,090	\$647,500	581%
TXU Power & Energy PAC	Energy	\$41,516	\$230,418	455%
Apartment Assn. of Tarrant Co.	Real Estate	\$36,200	\$154,452	327%
Grande Communications	Communications	\$55,000	\$212,950	287%
TX Podiatric Medical PAC	Health	\$46,677	\$177,618	281%
Vought Aircraft Industries	Transportation	\$33,000	\$120,750	266%
Associated Republicans of TX	Ideological	\$480,820	\$1,688,087	251%
TOTAL:		\$961,809	\$5,411,942	

Texas' fastest growing big PAC is that of corporate-raider Maxxam, Inc. A 2002 TRMPAC memo recorded a \$5,000 pledge from Maxxam CEO Charles Hurwitz along with a note on Hurwitz's agenda: "Horseracing, #1." Maxxam owns two Texas race tracks and has applied to regulators to open a third. Heavily funded efforts to legalize slot machines at Texas race tracks failed in the 2005 session. Yet too much money is at stake to declare this horse dead yet.

El Paso-based Jobe Concrete PAC increased its spending by almost 2,000 percent. The industry that mines and combines gravel and cement into concrete has been battling demands for greater environmental regulation. Neighbors of quarries, cement kilns and mixing plants have long complained about the industry's air and water pollution. But the industry finally may have gone too far when it trashed a stretch of the Brazos River that runs past a billionaire's ranch. WalMart heiress Alice Walton got Texas Commission on Environmental Quality Chair Kathleen Hartnett White and gubernatorial advisor Wendy Wyman on a helicopter to survey the damage in 2004. Regulators quickly launched a crackdown on hundreds of unlicensed rock quarries operating around the state. The industry tried to retaliate in 2005 with a failed bill that would have eviscerated regulators' authority to penalize quarries and concrete plants operating without valid Clean Air Act permits.³ Jobe Concrete settled a longstanding environmental battle over its quarrying next to Franklin Mountains State Park by donating 20 acres of the land to this El Paso reserve in 2004.

Although it is classified here as an Ideological PAC, former Senator Phil Gramm effectively converted his leftover Senate campaign fund into a business PAC when he became a federal lobbyist for investment bank UBS. In this role, Gramm lobbied Governor Rick Perry in 2003 on a controversial "dead-peasant" scheme that was derided as too ghoulish once the media exposed it. The state essentially would have taken out life insurance policies on retired teachers in order to later plow their posthumous insurance payouts back into the Teacher Retirement System.

Homebuilder Centex fought a big battle during the 2004 cycle to evict vehicles from a strip of Galveston Island beach that it slated for a \$500 million resort. More generally, the homebuilding industry fought an uphill battle to win respect for the Texas Residential Construction Commission, the new industry-dominated state agency that oversees lemon-home disputes.

In 2004 TXU became the state's first major power company to endorse charging higher rates to customers with poor credit ratings. Severely criticized, the utility postponed this proposal, which it planned to inflict on predominantly Hispanic customers in South Texas. The Texas Public Utility Commission fined TXU \$530,000 in 2004 for ads that falsely claimed that its rates were lower than those of its competitors. Generating goodwill with lawmakers in 2005, TXU provided

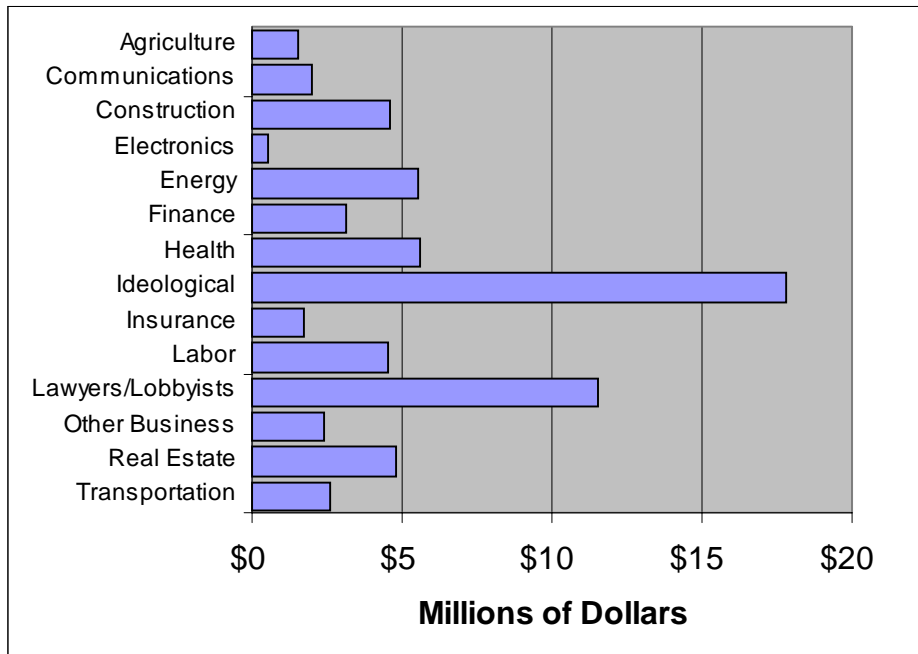
Senators Troy Fraser and Ken Armbrister with coveted tickets to the Masters golf tournament in Georgia and TXU lobbyist Paul Blanton passed the hat to buy House Energy Committee Chair Buddy West a shotgun.

When Governor Rick Perry's Texas Enterprise Fund gave \$35 million in tax dollars to Vought Aircraft in 2004, the recipient pledged to create 3,000 jobs near Dallas by the end of the year. One year later, the *Dallas Morning News* reported that only 200 of the promised jobs had materialized, with the company postponing further hires indefinitely. The next section of this report touches on the interests of several other fast-growth PACs: Grande Communications, the Texas Podiatric Medical PAC and the Tarrant County Apartment Association.

III. PAC Spending By Interest Category

As discussed above, Business PACs accounted for two-thirds of all 2004 PAC spending—despite the fact that Business PACs cumulatively spent 4 percent less than they had in 2002. Indeed, just four out of 12 Business subsectors increased PAC spending from 2002 to 2004, with Lawyers and Lobbyists PACs boosting their spending by a comparatively modest 3 percent over this period. This leaves three fast-growth industries that increased their spending more than 15 percent each: Communications, Health and Real Estate.

Interest Category	No. of Active 2004 PACs	2004 PAC Spending	Share of '04 Spending	Spending Change From '02 (%)
Agriculture	27	\$1,504,376	2%	-18%
Communications	20	\$2,026,617	3%	17%
Construction	69	\$4,615,275	7%	-2%
Electronics	6	\$466,169	1%	-15%
Energy/Natural Resources	54	\$5,539,115	8%	-28%
Finance	38	\$3,167,020	5%	-16%
Health	52	\$5,656,252	8%	17%
Ideological	278	\$17,789,167	26%	-47%
Insurance	21	\$1,710,183	2%	-15%
Labor	79	\$4,512,391	7%	19%
Lawyers/Lobbyists	44	\$11,487,862	17%	3%
Miscellaneous Business	48	\$2,432,734	4%	-6%
Real Estate	33	\$4,801,603	7%	16%
Transportation	24	\$2,680,931	4%	-10%
Unknown	57	\$514,829	1%	
TOTAL:	850	\$68,904,524	100%	19%



Top Communications PACs

PAC	2004 Cycle Spending	2004 PAC Rank	2002 PAC Rank	'02 - '04 Spending Change
SBC Texas	\$1,167,318	10	15	56%
Time Warner Cable	\$338,015	41	87	91%
Grande Communications	\$212,950	69	210	287%
Verizon Communications	\$100,203	140	62	-55%
AT&T	\$93,856	149	88	-47%
MCI Employees	\$91,825	151	160	12%
Valor TELPAC	\$56,133	225	230	-13%

Communications PACs increased their spending 17 percent from 2002 to 2004. Leading this industry were rivals SBC and Time Warner Cable, which faced off in one of the top business showdowns of 2005. SBC suffered a rare defeat during the regular legislative session, when it fumbled a Texas two step. The phone giant sought to deregulate what it can charge for the local phone monopoly that it controls throughout much of the state, even as it demanded entry into television markets—without paying the local franchise taxes paid by the cable industry. After this scheme died, Governor Perry convened a special session—ostensibly to tackle school finances. Failing this objective, lawmakers approved the SBC giveaway instead.

Although SBC's \$1.2 million in PAC expenditures were almost four times that of its rival, Time Warner's PAC dug deep, increasing its spending 91 percent from 2002 to 2004. Internet, phone and cable provider Grande Communications clocked even faster growth, jacking up its PAC spending 287 percent. In contrast, PAC spending by the state's other local phone giant, Verizon, fell 55 percent.

Top Health PACs

PAC	2004 Cycle Spending	2004 PAC Rank	2002 PAC Rank	'02 - '04 Spending Change
TX Medical Assn	\$1,919,026	5	7	15%
TX Optometric PAC	\$598,844	18	30	220%
TX Dental PAC	\$593,590	19	20	-3%
TX Hospital Assn	\$239,932	62	52	-8%
TX Society of Anesthesiologists	\$181,095	80	95	13%
TX Podiatric Medical PAC	\$177,618	82	238	281%
TX Ophthalmological Assn	\$175,763	85	114	37%

Health industry PACs increased their spending 17 percent from 2002 to 2004, led by the \$1.9 million that the Texas Medical Association spent. Doctors, hospitals and nursing homes led the charge to pass Proposition 12, the 2003 constitutional amendment that allowed lawmakers to cap damages that juries award in medical malpractice cases. Optometrists, the non-medical doctors who prescribe corrective lenses, continued their turf battles with medical-doctor ophthalmologists in 2005.⁴ Optometrists notably want a piece of the pricey market for LASIK surgery that can render their lenses obsolete. The Texas Dental PAC continued its turf battles with dental hygienists in the 2005 session while dodging proposals to expand taxes on professionals. The Texas Podiatric Medical PAC has waged a long regulatory game of footsy against orthopedists over how far up the ankle a podiatrist may venture.

Top Real Estate PACs

PAC	2004 Cycle Spending	2004 PAC Rank	2002 PAC Rank	'02 - '04 Spending Change
TX Assn of Realtors (TAR)	\$2,967,081	2	5	38%
TX Apartment Assn	\$324,000	43	40	12%
Houston Apartment Assn	\$268,608	54	54	5%
Tarrant Co. Apartment Assn	\$154,452	99	301	327%
TAR Issues Mobilization PAC	\$131,173	115	196	119%
Gr. Dallas Apartment Assn	\$120,416	126	108	-12%
Houston Realty Breakfast Club	\$120,378	127	166	52%

Real Estate PACs pushed spending up 16 percent in 2004, led by the Texas Association of Realtors. Realtors won two big battles in 2005. First, they fended off proposals to increase educational funding through taxes on real estate sales. Second, they got the state to crack down on no-frills competitors, who charge home sellers a fraction of the 6 percent commission commanded by full-service agents. Foiling discount agents—who typically just list and advertise homes—the 2005 legislature required agents to represent homeowners in negotiations with buyers—even if the seller does not want this service. State and local chapters of the Texas Apartment Association constitute another PAC powerhouse. Apartment owners, who can face liabilities for assaults and other injuries on their premises, applauded the 2003 passage of Proposition 12 to allow lawmakers to cap legal damages.

IV. Specific-Purpose PACs

This report focuses on the 850 so-called “general-purpose PACs” that were active in Texas in the 2004 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 “S-PACs” formed for the exclusive support of a specific candidate, as in the case of “Texans for Rick Perry.” Yet 16 S-PACs operated in 2004 for other purposes, most often to weigh in on a proposed state constitutional amendment. These 16 PACs spent almost \$20 million during the 2004 cycle. Proposition 12, the constitutional amendment allowing lawmakers to cap damages on medical and other lawsuits, accounted for most of this money. Trial lawyer money led the opposition to Prop. 12, which got its strongest support from medical interests. The measure passed in September 2003 with 51 percent of the vote.

Prop. 12 S-PACs

Prop 12 PAC	Prop 12	2004 Cycle
	Position	Spending
Yes On 12	Yes	\$7,192,220
Save Texas Courts	No	\$7,594,894
Texans for Patients' Rights	No	\$1,807,806
Physicians Caring for Texas	Yes	\$1,161,138
Keep Your Rights	No	\$209,910
Texans Against Prop. 12	No	\$127,150
Nueces Co. Medical Society	Yes	\$68,710
Gregg Co. Citizens for Prop. 12	Yes	\$28,960
Committee Against Prop. 12	No	\$24,427
TOTAL:		\$18,215,215

Other S-PACs

Specific-Purpose PAC	2004 Cycle
	Spending
TX Conference for Homeowners' Rights	\$779,936
Citizens for Better Transportation	\$342,662
Committee for a Secure Retirement	\$259,815
Yes On 14	\$165,000
People's Nine	\$128,900
Judicial Roundup	\$62,005
Citizens Against Austin Commuter Rail	\$15,000
TOTAL:	\$1,753,318

Several S-PACs formed to promote other 2003 constitutional amendments. Banks floated the Texas Conference for Homeowners' Rights, which helped legalize lines of credit secured by home equity (Prop. 16). The union-backed Committee for a Secure Retirement helped force cities to honor pension contracts with employees (Prop. 15). Bond companies and road builders greased Yes on 14, which authorized the Texas Transportation Commission to issue bonds to build highways.

Most of the other S-PACs promoted local government initiatives. Zachry Construction was a top donor to two business S-PACs promoting San Antonio infrastructure projects. People's Nine helped pass \$214 million in local bonds in November 2003 and a year later Citizens for Better Transportation pushed a new sales tax for area roads. Ex-Tracor executive Jim Skaggs single handedly bankrolled Citizens Against Austin Commuter Rail, which helped derail a 2004 Austin light rail initiative. San Antonio attorneys underwrote Judicial Roundup, which helped Republican District Judges Rebecca Simmons and Lori Massey fend off strong Democratic challenges in 2004.

V. Top 100 PACs in Texas, 2003-2004

'04	'02	'00	'98	'96	PAC Name	2004	Spending	Interest Category
1	4	5	5	3	Texans For Lawsuit Reform	\$3,105,386	Ideological	
2	5	4	6	4	TX Assn. of Realtors	\$2,967,081	Real Estate	
3	2	2	2	2	Republican Party of TX	\$1,927,676	Ideological	
4	1	1	1	1	TX Democratic Party	\$1,922,185	Ideological	
5	7	8	12	16	TX Medical Assn.	\$1,919,026	Health	
6					Texans For Insurance Reform	\$1,911,888	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
7	26	6	3	6	Assoc. Republicans of TX	\$1,688,087	Ideological	
8	3	9	7	7	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	\$1,665,284	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
9	12	41	79	47	Valero Refining & Marketing	\$1,607,132	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
10	15	12	11	9	SBC TX Employee Pac	\$1,167,318	Communications	
11	9	7	4	5	Vinson & Elkins	\$970,289	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
12					Stars Over TX	\$956,675	Ideological	
13	14	19	10	17	Fulbright & Jaworski	\$805,250	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
14	18	23	30	27	Burlington Northern Santa Fe	\$740,964	Transportation	
15	32	102			HillCo PAC	\$705,343	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
16	231				Majority PAC of TX	\$660,310	Ideological	
17	141	129			TX Assn. of Mortgage Attorneys	\$647,500	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
18	30	33	35	14	TX Optometric PAC	\$598,844	Health	
19	20	18	18	19	TX Dental Assn. PAC	\$593,590	Health	
20	57	98			Union Pacific Corp.	\$579,480	Transportation	
21	23	10	48	40	Coca-Cola Enterprises, Inc.	\$564,703	Misc. Business	
22	85	36	37	45	Andrews & Kurth	\$516,813	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
23	234				Friends of Phil Gramm	\$514,274	Ideological	
24	104	95	101	137	Centerpoint Energy, Inc.	\$488,886	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
25	28	34	28	46	Bracewell & Patterson	\$483,421	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
26					Good Government PAC	\$465,915	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
27	25	28	24	30	Farmers Employee & Agent	\$463,705	Insurance	
28	29	30	42	41	Akin Gump Strauss Hauer...	\$461,951	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
29	247	284	172	217	Fort Worth Firefighters	\$454,890	Labor	
30					Annie's List	\$454,177	Ideological	
31	63	73	23	29	Baker Botts	\$435,167	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
32	27	25	22	28	TX State Teachers Assn.	\$405,825	Labor	
33	46				Q Pac	\$398,697	Finance	
34	35	49	123	803	Houston Police Officers Union	\$376,324	Labor	
35	16	16	13	12	TX Automobile Dealers Assn.	\$371,311	Transportation	
36					House Democratic Campaign	\$366,512	Ideological	
37	10	14	9	26	Compass Bancshares, Inc.	\$362,468	Finance	
38	19	17	15	15	Reliant Energy, Inc.	\$361,574	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
39	22	51			TXU Corp TX Employee PAC	\$349,935	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
40					TX Fed'n of Republican Women	\$347,460	Ideological	
41	87	256			TX Friends Time Warner Cable	\$338,015	Communications	
42	102	126	75	73	Friends of the University	\$330,247	Ideological	
43	40	72	49	58	TX Apartment Assn.	\$324,000	Real Estate	
44	53	53	99	120	HOME Pac of TX	\$314,317	Construction	
45	41	45	36	50	Hughes & Luce	\$312,098	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
46	31	35	29		TX Oil & Gas PAC	\$311,500	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
47	61	65	45	67	Winstead Sechrest & Minick	\$310,950	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
48	34	42	32	38	TX Farm Bureau	\$305,194	Agriculture	
49	142	623			Ryan & Co.	\$288,526	Finance	
50	101	372	88	129	C Club	\$280,392	Ideological	

51	551			Maxxam Inc.	\$277,768	Finance
52	59	52	38	31 TX Assn. Insur. & Fin'l Advisors	\$277,029	Insurance
53	55	43	34	44 Conserv. Republicans Harris Co.	\$273,106	Ideological
54	54	90	80	92 Houston Apartment Assn.	\$268,608	Real Estate
55	17	13	17	13 United Services Auto. Assn.	\$262,157	Insurance
56	45	103	85	117 Gardere Wynne Sewell	\$261,524	Lawyers & Lobbyists
57	48	70	62	66 Independent Bankers Assn.	\$260,161	Finance
58	103			Landry's Seafood Restaurants	\$259,615	Misc. Business
59	76	155	117	145 Plumbers Local #68	\$253,993	Labor
60	72	46	111	141 Jackson Walker	\$250,622	Lawyers & Lobbyists
61	65	60	46	43 Wholesale Beer Distributors	\$242,984	Misc. Business
62	52	56	89	68 TX Hospital Assn.	\$239,932	Health
63	37	59		Haynes & Boone	\$238,950	Lawyers & Lobbyists
64	33	69	40	62 TX Aggregates/Concrete Assn.	\$231,732	Construction
65	261	80	115	98 TXU Power & Energy PAC	\$230,418	Energy/Nat'l Resources
66	77	82	81	127 TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	\$225,309	Labor
67	56	66	43	35 Independent Insurance Agents	\$224,090	Insurance
68	75	85	70	54 TX/Southwestern Cattle Raisers	\$220,194	Agriculture
69	210	421		Grande Communications	\$212,950	Communications
70	125	62	59	64 TXU Electric Delivery PAC	\$209,358	Energy/Nat'l Resources
71	115		169	78 Bexar Co. Democratic Party	\$207,195	Ideological
72	130	75	53	61 Sn Antonio Police Officers	\$197,751	Labor
73	66	78	69	90 Turner Collie & Braden	\$193,740	Construction
74	98	77	107	83 TX Credit Union League	\$191,508	Finance
75	36	38	16	25 TX Society of CPAs	\$189,609	Finance
76	211	350	508	309 El Paso Mun'l Police Officers	\$185,438	Labor
77	123			Gulf States Toyota Inc.	\$183,750	Transportation
78	150	119	155	119 Sn Antonio Firefighters PAC	\$182,315	Labor
79	70	101	130	176 Houston Prof. Fire Fighters	\$181,552	Labor
80	95	93	90	375 TX Society of Anesthesiologists	\$181,095	Health
81	92	215	76	TX League Conservation Voters	\$178,142	Ideological
82	238	425	275	277 TX Podiatric Medical PAC	\$177,618	Health
83	112	175	144	136 Gr. Houston Builders Assn.	\$177,075	Construction
84	111	436	686	Harris County GOP PAC	\$176,277	Ideological
85	114	91	55	36 TX Ophthalmological Assn.	\$175,763	Health
86	74			Citizens For Equality	\$175,488	Ideological
87	93	224	265	185 Kirby Corp.	\$174,067	Transportation
88	129	223	104	116 TX Architects	\$170,000	Construction
89	97	58	66	77 BMC PAC	\$168,100	Lawyers & Lobbyists
90	84	110	316	TX Industries, Inc.	\$166,250	Construction
91	60	47	56	70 Beef PAC	\$162,750	Agriculture
92				BG Distribution Partners	\$162,300	Misc. Business
93	575			Jobe PAC	\$162,103	Construction
94	68	71	50	80 Associated General Contractors	\$160,667	Construction
95	94	86	164	133 Trinity Industries, Inc.	\$160,516	Construction
96	187	67	58	74 TXU Corporate PAC	\$158,363	Energy/Nat'l Resources
97	144	87	121	114 TX Thoroughbred Breeders	\$157,278	Agriculture
98	58	536	336	32 Travis Co. Democratic Party	\$156,987	Ideological
99	301	194	196	315 Apartment Assn. of Tarrant Co.	\$154,452	Real Estate
100	83	74	112	118 TX Petro Marketers...	\$153,250	Misc. Business

The 100 Biggest PACs in Texas, 2001-2002

2002 Rank	2000 Rank	1998 Rank	1996 Rank	Political Action Committee (PAC)	2002 PAC Spending	Interest Category
1	1	1	1	TX Democratic Party	\$15,041,055	Ideological
2	2	2	2	Republican Party of TX	\$6,725,988	Ideological
3	9	7	7	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	\$2,862,549	Lawyers & Lobbyists
4	5	5	3	Texans For Lawsuit Reform	\$2,447,618	Ideological
5	4	6	4	TX Assn. of Realtors	\$2,149,380	Real Estate
6	26	421	257	Duke Energy Corp.	\$1,785,449	Energy & Natural Resources
7	8	12	16	TX Medical Assn.	\$1,663,027	Health
8	3			Texas 2000	\$1,500,132	Lawyers & Lobbyists
9	7	4	5	Vinson & Elkins	\$1,376,153	Lawyers & Lobbyists
10	14	9	26	Compass Bancshares	\$1,146,650	Finance
11	11	14	49	TX Partnership PAC	\$955,102	Ideological
12	41	79	47	Valero Refining & Marketing	\$895,661	Energy & Natural Resources
13				Texans For A Republican Majority	\$800,441	Ideological
14	19	10	17	Fulbright & Jaworski	\$760,131	Lawyers & Lobbyists
15	12	11	9	SBC Communications	\$746,242	Communications
16	16	13	12	TX Automobile Dealers Assn.	\$726,199	Transportation
17	13	17	13	United Services Auto Assn.	\$668,439	Insurance
18	23	30	27	Burlington Northern Santa Fe	\$667,806	Transportation
19	17	15	15	Reliant Energy	\$643,371	Energy & Natural Resources
20	18	18	19	TX Dental Assn.	\$612,402	Health
21	20	31	34	Free Enterprise	\$597,238	Ideological
22	51			TXU Corp. Employee PAC	\$588,323	Energy & Natural Resources
23	10	48	40	Coca-Cola Enterprises, Inc.	\$535,605	Miscellaneous Business
24	29	25	18	American Airlines	\$515,755	Transportation
25	28	24	30	Farmers Employee & Agent PAC	\$506,853	Insurance
26	6	3	6	Associated Republicans of TX	\$480,820	Ideological
27	25	22	28	TX State Teachers Assn.	\$446,555	Labor
28	34	28	46	Bracewell & Patterson	\$431,906	Lawyers & Lobbyists
29	30	42	41	Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld	\$404,900	Lawyers & Lobbyists
30	33	35	14	TX Optometric PAC	\$404,700	Health
31	35	29		TX Oil & Gas PAC	\$394,000	Energy & Natural Resources
32	102			HillCo PAC	\$379,174	Lawyers & Lobbyists
33	69	40	62	TX Aggregates & Concrete Assn.	\$376,500	Construction
34	42	32	38	TX Farm Bureau	\$372,205	Agriculture
35	49	123	803	Houston Police Officers Union	\$348,811	Labor
36	38	16	25	TX Society of CPAs	\$347,082	Finance
37	59			Haynes & Boone	\$336,140	Lawyers & Lobbyists
38	24	20	23	Good Government Fund	\$325,076	Energy & Natural Resources
39	267	283	363	El Paso Energy Corp.	\$313,200	Energy & Natural Resources
40	72	49	58	TX Apartment Assn.	\$289,500	Real Estate
41	45	36	50	Hughes & Luce	\$277,800	Lawyers & Lobbyists
42	188	94	94	TX Assn. of Business & Commerce	\$275,956	Miscellaneous Business
43	231			Progressive Voters In Action	\$272,147	Ideological
44	94	27	60	PSEL PAC	\$271,575	Energy & Natural Resources
45	103	85	117	Gardere Wynne Sewell	\$271,150	Lawyers & Lobbyists
46				Q PAC	\$270,048	Finance
47	40	33	72	Jenkins & Gilchrist	\$268,679	Lawyers & Lobbyists
48	70	62	66	Independent Bankers Assn.	\$263,361	Finance
49	92	82	179	Assoc. Gen'l Contractors Bldg Branch	\$263,000	Construction
50			196	Texans For Governmental Integrity	\$261,563	Ideological

2002 Rank	2000 Rank	1998 Rank	1996 Rank	Political Action Committee (PAC)	2002 PAC Spending	Interest Category
51	76	60	42	TX Restaurant Assn.	\$261,194	Miscellaneous Business
52	56	89	68	TX Hospital Assn.	\$260,175	Health
53	53	99	120	Home PAC of TX	\$257,381	Construction
54	90	80	92	Houston Apartment Assn.	\$256,333	Real Estate
55	43	34	44	Conservative Republicans Harris Co.	\$248,885	Ideological
56	66	43	35	Independent Insurance Agents of TX	\$247,711	Insurance
57	98			Union Pacific Corp.	\$236,313	Transportation
58	536	336	32	Travis County Democratic Party	\$235,658	Ideological
59	52	38	31	TX Assn. of Insurance & Fin'l Advisors	\$229,974	Insurance
60	47	56	70	Beef PAC	\$227,264	Agriculture
61	65	45	67	Winstead Sechrest & Minick	\$224,882	Lawyers & Lobbyists
62	44	61	55	Verizon Communications, Inc.	\$223,225	Communications
63	73	23	29	Baker Botts	\$220,695	Lawyers & Lobbyists
64	721			Lone Star Fund - TX	\$220,219	Ideological
65	60	46	43	Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	\$215,219	Miscellaneous Business
66	78	69	90	Turner Collie & Braden PAC	\$214,714	Construction
67	50	146	95	Trinity Industries	\$212,224	Construction
68	71	50	80	Associated General Contractors of TX	\$210,979	Construction
69	83	54	59	Tarrant County Democratic Party	\$210,906	Ideological
70	101	130	176	Houston Prof'l Fire Fighters Assn.	\$210,735	Labor
71	79	63	87	Chase Bank of TX	\$209,143	Finance
72	46	111	141	Jackson Walker	\$208,565	Lawyers & Lobbyists
73	15	19	20	Enron Corp.	\$207,751	Energy & Natural Resources
74				Citizens For Equality	\$206,507	Ideological
75	85	70	54	TX & Southwestern Cattle Raisers	\$206,362	Agriculture
76	155	117	145	Plumbers Local No. 68	\$205,832	Labor
77	82	81	127	ACT TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	\$202,800	Labor
78	27	71		Constitutional Defense Fund	\$200,857	Lawyers & Lobbyists
79	31	21	71	TX Manufactured Housing Assn.	\$200,535	Construction
80				MAXIMUS, Inc.	\$199,025	Computers
81	181	386	756	Real Estate Council of Austin	\$197,231	Real Estate
82	48	68	113	Teamsters Local No. 745	\$196,476	Labor
83	74	112	118	TX Petro Marketers/Conven. Store Assn	\$194,281	Energy & Natural Resources
84	110	316		TX Industries, Inc.	\$190,281	Construction
85	36	37	45	Mayor Day Caldwell & Keeton	\$189,317	Lawyers & Lobbyists
86				Southeast TX Democrats	\$178,655	Ideological
87	256			TX Friends of Time Warner Cable	\$176,704	Communications
88	61	39	65	AT&T	\$176,050	Communications
89	149	26	48	TX Civil Justice League	\$171,713	Ideological
90	850	227	164	Campaign For Republican Leadership	\$171,039	Ideological
91	89	102	122	Stratus, Inc.	\$170,650	Real Estate
92	215	76		TX League of Conservation Voters	\$170,324	Ideological
93	224	265	185	Kirby Corp.	\$169,000	Transportation
94	86	164	133	Trinity Industries	\$162,074	Construction
95	93	90	375	TX Society of Anesthesiologists	\$160,600	Health
96	136	124	93	TX Bankers Assn.	\$156,750	Finance
97	58	66	77	Brown Maroney & Oaks Hartline	\$154,327	Lawyers & Lobbyists
98	77	107	83	TX Credit Union League	\$151,750	Finance
99	144	139	131	Rural Friends of TX Electric Coops	\$151,351	Energy & Natural Resources
100	202	108	126	H.B. Zachry Co.	\$151,240	Construction

The 100 Biggest PACs in Texas, 1999-2000

2002 Rank	2000 Rank	1998 Rank	1996 Rank	Political Action Committee (PAC)	2000 PAC Spending	Interest Category
1	1	1	1	TX Democratic Party	\$5,989,561	Ideological
2	2	2	2	Republican Party of TX	\$2,743,376	Ideological
8	3			TX 2000	\$2,022,735	Lawyers & Lobbyists
5	4	6	4	TX Assn. of Realtors	\$1,529,044	Real Estate
4	5	5	3	Texans For Lawsuit Reform	\$1,420,738	Ideological
26	6	3	6	Associated Republicans of TX	\$1,255,423	Ideological
9	7	4	5	Vinson & Elkins	\$910,398	Lawyers & Lobbyists
7	8	12	16	TX Medical Assn.	\$836,776	Health
3	9	7	7	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	\$788,596	Lawyers & Lobbyists
23	10	48	40	Coca-Cola Enterprises, Inc.	\$739,871	Miscellaneous Business
11	11	14	49	TX Partnership PAC	\$718,561	Ideological
15	12	11	9	SBC Communications	\$717,866	Communications
17	13	17	13	United Services Automobile Assn.	\$656,350	Insurance
10	14	9	26	Compass Bancshares, Inc.	\$618,100	Finance
73	15	19	20	Enron Corp.	\$613,618	Energy & Natural Resources
16	16	13	12	TX Automobile Dealers Assn.	\$595,781	Transportation
19	17	15	15	Reliant Energy	\$590,830	Energy & Natural Resources
20	18	18	19	TX Dental Assn.	\$587,072	Health
14	19	10	17	Fulbright & Jaworski	\$581,986	Lawyers & Lobbyists
21	20	31	34	Free Enterprise PAC	\$550,593	Ideological
519	21	120	266	Hobby TX Fund	\$490,178	Ideological
417	22	64	57	American General Corp.	\$458,617	Insurance
18	23	30	27	Burlington Northern Santa Fe Corp.	\$437,343	Transportation
38	24	20	23	Good Government Fund	\$404,200	Energy & Natural Resources
27	25	22	28	TX State Teachers Assn.	\$401,308	Labor
6	26	421	257	Duke Energy Corp	\$389,177	Energy & Natural Resources
78	27	71		Constitutional Defense Fund	\$383,748	Lawyers & Lobbyists
25	28	24	30	Farmers Employee & Agent PAC	\$352,971	Insurance
24	29	25	18	American Airlines	\$350,394	Transportation
29	30	42	41	Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld	\$350,270	Lawyers & Lobbyists
79	31	21	71	TX Manufactured Housing Assn.	\$346,425	Construction
162	32	67	88	GTE	\$340,416	Communications
30	33	35	14	TX Optometric PAC	\$336,500	Health
28	34	28	46	Bracewell & Patterson	\$335,848	Lawyers & Lobbyists
31	35	29		TX Oil & Gas PAC	\$303,000	Energy & Natural Resources
85	36	37	45	Mayor Day Caldwell & Keeton	\$291,219	Lawyers & Lobbyists
436	37	136	279	6th District Republican Assn.	\$276,112	Ideological
36	38	16	25	TX Society of CPAs	\$269,442	Finance
	39			Texans For Proposition 17	\$259,669	Ideological
47	40	33	72	Jenkins & Gilchrist	\$254,092	Lawyers & Lobbyists
12	41	79	47	Valero Refining & Marketing	\$246,361	Energy & Natural Resources
34	42	32	38	TX Farm Bureau	\$245,483	Agriculture
55	43	34	44	Conservative Republicans of Harris Co.	\$245,196	Ideological
62	44	61	55	Verizon Communications	\$236,225	Communications
41	45	36	50	Hughes & Luce	\$234,591	Lawyers & Lobbyists
72	46	111	141	Jackson Walker	\$217,548	Lawyers & Lobbyists
60	47	56	70	Beef PAC	\$215,916	Agriculture
82	48	68	113	Teamsters Local No. 745	\$212,957	Labor
35	49	123	803	Houston Police Officers Union	\$211,010	Labor
67	50	146	95	Trinity Industries	\$207,050	Construction

2002 Rank	2000 Rank	1998 Rank	1996 Rank	Political Action Committee (PAC)	2000 PAC Spending	Interest Category
22	51			TXU Employee PAC	\$203,950	Energy & Natural Resources
59	52	38	31	TX Assn. of Insurance & Fin'l Advisors	\$200,555	Insurance
53	53	99	120	HOME PAC	\$200,104	Construction
151	54	47	56	Bank of America	\$199,263	Finance
	55	165		Democratic Legislative Campaign Com.	\$197,500	Ideological
52	56	89	68	TX Hospital Assn.	\$194,471	Health
110	57	51	79	AFL-CIO State COPE Fund	\$187,424	Labor
97	58	66	77	Brown Maroney & Oaks Hartline	\$185,500	Lawyers & Lobbyists
37	59			Haynes & Boone	\$185,350	Lawyers & Lobbyists
65	60	46	43	Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	\$184,860	Miscellaneous Business
88	61	39	65	AT&T PAC	\$183,200	Communications
125	62	59	64	Customer Services PAC of TXU	\$182,425	Energy & Natural Resources
804	63	52	51	Coastal Employee Action Fund	\$182,050	Energy & Natural Resources
568	64	44	86	Bank One	\$180,200	Finance
61	65	45	67	Winstead Sechrest & Minick	\$179,875	Lawyers & Lobbyists
56	66	43	35	Independent Insurance Agents of TX	\$178,543	Insurance
187	67	58	74	TX Utilities Co.	\$176,550	Energy & Natural Resources
195	68	92	107	Central Power & Light Co.	\$175,750	Energy & Natural Resources
33	69	40	62	TX Aggregates & Concrete Assn.	\$171,500	Construction
48	70	62	66	Independent Bankers Assn.	\$167,002	Finance
68	71	50	80	Associated General Contractors	\$161,250	Construction
40	72	49	58	TX Apartment Assn.	\$160,360	Real Estate
63	73	23	29	Baker Botts	\$158,416	Lawyers & Lobbyists
83	74	112	118	TX Petro Marketers/Conven. Store Assn.	\$158,064	Energy & Natural Resources
130	75	53	61	San Antonio Police Officers Assn.	\$152,753	Labor
51	76	60	42	TX Restaurant Assn.	\$147,278	Miscellaneous Business
98	77	107	83	TX Credit Union League	\$142,700	Finance
66	78	69	90	Turner Collie & Braden	\$139,100	Construction
71	79	63	87	Chase Bank	\$135,612	Finance
261	80	115	98	Power PAC of TXU	\$134,000	Energy & Natural Resources
276	81	96	206	Texaco, Inc.	\$133,900	Energy & Natural Resources
77	82	81	127	ACT for TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	\$133,500	Labor
69	83	54	59	Tarrant Co. Democratic Party	\$132,623	Ideological
	84			Texans For Affordable Vehicle Leasing	\$132,000	Transportation
75	85	70	54	TX & Southwestern Cattle Raisers Assn.	\$129,691	Agriculture
94	86	164	133	Trinity Industries	\$127,050	Construction
144	87	121	114	TX Thoroughbred Breeders' Assn.	\$124,268	Agriculture
358	88	198	159	Assoc. Builders & Contractors North TX	\$119,947	Construction
91	89	102	122	Stratus, Inc.	\$118,900	Real Estate
54	90	80	92	Houston Apartment Assn.	\$118,160	Real Estate
114	91	55	36	TX Ophthalmological Assn.	\$116,131	Health
49	92	82	179	Assoc. Gen. Contractors Building Branch	\$113,500	Construction
95	93	90	375	TX Society of Anesthesiologists	\$111,100	Health
44	94	27	60	PSEL PAC	\$110,200	Energy & Natural Resources
104	95	101	137	Entex (Noram Energy Corp.)	\$108,337	Energy & Natural Resources
113	96	87	102	Friends of Baylor Medical	\$106,934	Health
119	97	147	104	Temple-Inland Forest Products Corp.	\$102,454	Agriculture
57	98			Union Pacific Corp.	\$102,150	Transportation
	99	168	138	Hollywood Marine PAC	\$101,000	Transportation
197	100	116	82	Houston Contractors Assn.	\$100,829	Construction

The 100 Biggest PACs in Texas, 1997-1998

2002 Rank	2000 Rank	1998 Rank	1996 Rank	Political Action Committee (PAC)	1998 PAC Spending	Interest Category
1	1	1	1	TX Democratic Party	\$6,061,414	Ideological
2	2	2	2	Republican Party of TX	\$3,346,263	Ideological
26	6	3	6	Associated Republicans of TX	\$1,432,945	Ideological
9	7	4	5	Vinson & Elkins	\$1,237,225	Lawyers & Lobbyists
4	5	5	3	Texans For Lawsuit Reform	\$1,207,262	Ideological
5	4	6	4	TX Assn. of Realtors	\$1,086,835	Real Estate
3	9	7	7	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	\$957,485	Lawyers & Lobbyists
		8		Eight In Ninty Eight Committee	\$824,434	Ideological
10	14	9	26	Compass Bancshares, Inc.	\$821,750	Finance
14	19	10	17	Fulbright & Jaworski	\$773,446	Lawyers & Lobbyists
15	12	11	9	SBC Communications, Inc.	\$730,438	Communications
7	8	12	16	TX Medical Assn.	\$661,652	Health
16	16	13	12	TX Automobile Dealers Assn.	\$642,237	Transportation
11	11	14	49	TX Partnership PAC	\$568,295	Ideological
19	17	15	15	Reliant Energy	\$563,297	Energy & Natural Resources
36	38	16	25	TX Society of CPA's	\$528,932	Finance
17	13	17	13	United Services Automobile Assn.	\$496,350	Insurance
20	18	18	19	TX Dental Assn.	\$494,287	Health
73	15	19	20	Enron Corp.	\$466,234	Energy & Natural Resources
38	24	20	23	Good Government Fund	\$465,550	Energy & Natural Resources
79	31	21	71	TX Manufactured Housing Assn.	\$456,800	Construction
27	25	22	28	TX State Teachers Assn.	\$432,005	Labor
63	73	23	29	Baker Botts	\$409,120	Lawyers & Lobbyists
25	28	24	30	Farmers Employee & Agent PAC	\$407,696	Insurance
24	29	25	18	American Airlines	\$396,406	Transportation
89	149	26	48	TX Civil Justice League	\$356,331	Ideological
44	94	27	60	PSEL PAC	\$355,750	Energy & Natural Resources
28	34	28	46	Bracewell & Patterson	\$339,185	Lawyers & Lobbyists
31	35	29		TX Oil & Gas PAC	\$335,500	Energy & Natural Resources
18	23	30	27	Burlington Northern Santa Fe Corp.	\$320,491	Transportation
21	20	31	34	Free Enterprise PAC	\$316,920	Ideological
34	42	32	38	TX Farm Bureau	\$313,730	Agriculture
47	40	33	72	Jenkins & Gilchrist	\$305,865	Lawyers & Lobbyists
55	43	34	44	Conservative Republicans of Harris Co.	\$302,538	Ideological
30	33	35	14	TX Optometric PAC	\$280,970	Health
41	45	36	50	Hughes & Luce	\$275,630	Lawyers & Lobbyists
85	36	37	45	Mayor Day Caldwell & Keeton	\$273,062	Lawyers & Lobbyists
59	52	38	31	TX Assn. of Insurance & Fin'l Advisors	\$269,140	Insurance
88	61	39	65	AT&T	\$266,257	Communications
33	69	40	62	TX Aggregates & Concrete Assn.	\$264,988	Construction
	157	41	24	Concerned Associates Employees	\$255,080	Finance
29	30	42	41	Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld	\$243,780	Lawyers & Lobbyists
56	66	43	35	Independent Insurance Agents of TX	\$230,936	Insurance
568	64	44	86	Bank One	\$227,000	Finance
61	65	45	67	Winstead Sechrest & Minick	\$225,542	Lawyers & Lobbyists
65	60	46	43	Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	\$224,424	Miscellaneous Business
151	54	47	56	Bank of America	\$223,355	Finance
23	10	48	40	Coca-Cola Enterprises, Inc.	\$217,310	Miscellaneous Business
40	72	49	58	TX Apartment Assn.	\$205,098	Real Estate
68	71	50	80	Associated General Contractors of TX	\$201,300	Construction

2002 Rank	2000 Rank	1998 Rank	1996 Rank	Political Action Committee (PAC)	1998 PAC Spending	Interest Category
110	57	51	79	AFL-CIO State COPE Fund	\$200,312	Labor
804	63	52	51	Coastal Employee Action Fund	\$191,756	Energy & Natural Resources
130	75	53	61	San Antonio Police Officers Assn.	\$188,835	Labor
69	83	54	59	Tarrant Co. Democratic Party	\$187,298	Ideological
114	91	55	36	TX Ophthalmological Assn.	\$180,745	Health
60	47	56	70	Beef PAC	\$175,616	Agriculture
	814	57		ABC Group	\$172,006	Ideological
187	67	58	74	TXU Corp. PAC	\$171,545	Energy & Natural Resources
125	62	59	64	Customer Services PAC of TXU	\$170,550	Energy & Natural Resources
51	76	60	42	TX Restaurant Assn.	\$169,510	Miscellaneous Business
62	44	61	55	Verizon Communications, Inc.	\$165,800	Communications
48	70	62	66	Independent Bankers Assn. of TX	\$165,743	Finance
71	79	63	87	Chase Bank	\$157,870	Finance
417	22	64	57	American General Corp.	\$155,272	Insurance
773	207	65	21	TX Senate Democratic Campaign Com.	\$154,686	Ideological
97	58	66	77	Brown Maroney & Oaks Hartline	\$150,375	Lawyers & Lobbyists
162	32	67	88	GTE	\$146,600	Communications
82	48	68	113	Teamsters Local No. 745	\$143,720	Labor
66	78	69	90	Turner Collie & Braden	\$142,100	Construction
75	85	70	54	TX & Southwestern Cattle Raisers Assn.	\$141,644	Agriculture
78	27	71		Constitutional Defense Fund	\$141,250	Lawyers & Lobbyists
		72	97	Locke Purnell Rain & Harrell	\$139,150	Lawyers & Lobbyists
131	106	73	33	TX Health Care Assn.	\$138,854	Health
203	159	74	112	TX Sport PAC	\$137,089	Ideological
102	126	75	73	Friends of the University PAC	\$136,855	Ideological
92	215	76		TX League of Conservation Voters	\$134,651	Ideological
156	152	77	150	S&B Engineers & Constructors	\$127,200	Construction
	769	78	10	21st Century Democrats	\$121,866	Ideological
12	41	79	47	Valero Refining & Marketing	\$120,458	Energy & Natural Resources
54	90	80	92	Houston Apartment Assn.	\$119,977	Real Estate
77	82	81	127	ACT For TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	\$119,534	Labor
49	92	82	179	Assoc. Gen'l Contractors Building Branch	\$118,000	Construction
132	116	83	75	TX Instruments	\$117,406	Electronics
106	104	84	111	HCA	\$115,900	Health
45	103	85	117	Gardere Wynne Sewell	\$114,612	Lawyers & Lobbyists
545	165	86	130	Central & South West Corp.	\$113,400	Energy & Natural Resources
113	96	87	102	Friends of Baylor Medical	\$113,100	Health
101	372	88	129	C Club	\$112,955	Ideological
52	56	89	68	TX Hospital Assn.	\$111,098	Health
95	93	90	375	TX Society of Anesthesiologists	\$109,851	Health
		91	135	BetzDearborn, Inc.	\$106,272	Energy & Natural Resources
195	68	92	107	Central Power & Light Co.	\$106,000	Energy & Natural Resources
346	330	93	239	TX Progress Fund	\$104,000	Energy & Natural Resources
42	188	94	94	TX Assn. of Business & Commerce	\$103,879	Miscellaneous Business
189	108	95	89	Employees of Dow Chemical Co. PAC	\$103,640	Energy & Natural Resources
276	81	96	206	Texaco, Inc.	\$102,100	Energy & Natural Resources
172	160	97	106	Compaq Computer Corp.	\$101,980	Electronics
188	117	98	84	Licensed Beverage Distributors	\$101,000	Miscellaneous Business
53	53	99	120	HOME PAC of TX	\$100,679	Construction
649	156	100	69	Transmission & Pipeline PAC of TXU	\$98,150	Energy & Natural Resources

The 100 Biggest PACs in Texas, 1995-1996

2002 Rank	2000 Rank	1998 Rank	1996 Rank	Political Action Committee (PAC)	1996 PAC Spending	Interest Category
1	1	1	1	TX Democratic Party	\$3,210,434	Ideological
2	2	2	2	Republican Party of TX	\$1,873,316	Ideological
4	5	5	3	Texans For Lawsuit Reform	\$1,267,881	Ideological
5	4	6	4	TX Assn. of Realtors	\$1,097,655	Real Estate
9	7	4	5	Vinson & Elkins	\$897,308	Lawyers & Lobbyists
26	6	3	6	Associated Republicans of TX	\$653,921	Ideological
3	9	7	7	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	\$634,788	Lawyers & Lobbyists
			8	Republican Nat'l State Elections Com.	\$612,503	Ideological
15	12	11	9	SBC Communications	\$611,634	Communications
	769	78	10	21st Century Democrats	\$604,033	Ideological
			11	76 in '96 Committee	\$594,822	Ideological
16	16	13	12	TX Automobile Dealers Assn.	\$543,606	Transportation
17	13	17	13	United Services Automobile Assn.	\$531,886	Insurance
30	33	35	14	TX Optometric PAC	\$494,854	Health
19	17	15	15	Reliant Energy	\$493,545	Energy & Natural Resources
7	8	12	16	TX Medical Assn.	\$486,430	Health
14	19	10	17	Fulbright & Jaworski	\$471,503	Lawyers & Lobbyists
24	29	25	18	American Airlines	\$471,236	Transportation
20	18	18	19	TX Dental Assn.	\$422,723	Health
73	15	19	20	Enron Corp.	\$406,100	Energy & Natural Resources
773	207	65	21	TX Senate Democratic Campaign Com.	\$400,906	Ideological
		119	22	A+ PAC For Parental School Choice	\$372,718	Ideological
38	24	20	23	Good Government Fund	\$351,867	Energy & Natural Resources
	157	41	24	Concerned Associates Employees	\$337,731	Finance
36	38	16	25	TX Society of CPA's	\$325,670	Finance
10	14	9	26	Compass Bancshares, Inc.	\$322,190	Finance
18	23	30	27	Burlington Northern Santa Fe Corp.	\$320,308	Transportation
27	25	22	28	TX State Teachers Assn.	\$315,148	Labor
63	73	23	29	Baker Botts	\$315,146	Lawyers & Lobbyists
25	28	24	30	Farmers Employee & Agent PAC	\$304,562	Insurance
59	52	38	31	TX Assn. of Insurance & Fin'l Advisors	\$295,066	Insurance
58	536	336	32	Travis Co. Democratic Party	\$263,256	Ideological
131	106	73	33	TX Health Care Assn.	\$245,294	Health
21	20	31	34	Free Enterprise PAC	\$242,554	Ideological
56	66	43	35	Independent Insurance Agents of TX	\$240,931	Insurance
114	91	55	36	TX Ophthalmological Assn.	\$233,684	Health
			37	Harris Co. Republican Party	\$228,933	Ideological
34	42	32	38	TX Farm Bureau	\$228,425	Agriculture
	137	185	39	Ann Richards Committee	\$227,178	Ideological
23	10	48	40	Coca-Cola Enterprises, Inc.	\$227,068	Miscellaneous Business
29	30	42	41	Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld	\$225,075	Lawyers & Lobbyists
51	76	60	42	TX Restaurant Assn.	\$222,846	Miscellaneous Business
65	60	46	43	Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	\$211,704	Miscellaneous Business
55	43	34	44	Conservative Republicans of Harris Co.	\$209,443	Ideological
85	36	37	45	Mayor Day Caldwell & Keeton	\$208,297	Lawyers & Lobbyists
28	34	28	46	Bracewell & Patterson	\$206,698	Lawyers & Lobbyists
12	41	79	47	Valero Refining & Marketing PAC	\$201,430	Energy & Natural Resources
89	149	26	48	TX Civil Justice League	\$200,832	Ideological
11	11	14	49	TX Partnership PAC	\$200,062	Ideological
41	45	36	50	Hughes & Luce	\$196,915	Lawyers & Lobbyists

2002 Rank	2000 Rank	1998 Rank	1996 Rank	Political Action Committee (PAC)	1996 PAC Spending	Interest Category
804	63	52	51	Coastal Employee Action Fund	\$195,450	Energy & Natural Resources
402	150	105	52	Kellogg Brown & Root Brownbuilders PAC	\$194,403	Construction
299	282	345	53	DuPont	\$189,208	Energy & Natural Resources
75	85	70	54	TX & Southwestern Cattle Raisers Assn.	\$179,389	Agriculture
62	44	61	55	Verizon Communications, Inc.	\$177,505	Communications
151	54	47	56	Bank of America	\$175,535	Finance
417	22	64	57	American General Corp.	\$174,588	Insurance
40	72	49	58	TX Apartment Assn.	\$172,548	Real Estate
69	83	54	59	Tarrant Co. Democratic Party	\$172,098	Ideological
44	94	27	60	PSEL PAC	\$163,667	Energy & Natural Resources
130	75	53	61	San Antonio Police Officers Assn.	\$163,101	Labor
33	69	40	62	TX Aggregates & Concrete Assn.	\$163,033	Construction
			63	Bear Stearns	\$162,000	Finance
125	62	59	64	Customer Services PAC of TXU	\$159,051	Energy & Natural Resources
88	61	39	65	AT&T PAC TX	\$156,350	Communications
48	70	62	66	Independent Bankers Assn. of TX	\$154,001	Finance
61	65	45	67	Winstead Sechrest & Minick	\$150,889	Lawyers & Lobbyists
52	56	89	68	TX Hospital Assn.	\$150,474	Health
649	156	100	69	Transmission & Pipeline PAC of TXU	\$145,322	Energy & Natural Resources
60	47	56	70	Beef PAC	\$144,729	Agriculture
79	31	21	71	TX Manufactured Housing Assn.	\$142,650	Construction
47	40	33	72	Jenkins & Gilchrist	\$139,250	Lawyers & Lobbyists
102	126	75	73	Friends of the University	\$138,370	Ideological
187	67	58	74	TXU Corp.	\$137,050	Energy & Natural Resources
132	116	83	75	TX Instruments	\$136,474	Electronics
256	334	122	76	Local No. 154 PAC	\$128,379	Labor
97	58	66	77	Brown Maroney & Oaks Hartline	\$123,350	Lawyers & Lobbyists
115		169	78	Democratic Party of Bexar Co.	\$123,028	Ideological
110	57	51	79	AFL-CIO State COPE Fund	\$122,565	Labor
68	71	50	80	Associated General Contractors of TX	\$121,050	Construction
118	307	212	81	International Bank of Commerce	\$119,953	Finance
197	100	116	82	Houston Contractors Assn.	\$119,381	Construction
98	77	107	83	TX Credit Union League	\$117,815	Finance
188	117	98	84	Licensed Beverage Distributors	\$115,844	Miscellaneous Business
		145	85	Government Interests, Inc. PAC	\$112,150	Lawyers & Lobbyists
568	64	44	86	Bank One	\$111,543	Finance
71	79	63	87	Chase Bank of TX	\$110,453	Finance
162	32	67	88	GTE	\$109,512	Communications
189	108	95	89	Dow Chemical Co. Employees PAC	\$109,034	Energy & Natural Resources
66	78	69	90	Turner Collie & Braden PAC	\$107,750	Construction
120	128	127	91	TX Assn. of Defense Counsel	\$104,593	Lawyers & Lobbyists
54	90	80	92	Houston Apartment Assn.	\$104,401	Real Estate
96	136	124	93	TX Bankers Assn.	\$104,386	Finance
42	188	94	94	TX Assn. of Business & Commerce	\$102,760	Miscellaneous Business
67	50	146	95	Trinity Industries Employee PAC	\$102,750	Construction
		361	96	Morrison Knudsen Corp.	\$100,691	Construction
		72	97	Locke Purnell Rain & Harrell	\$99,850	Lawyers & Lobbyists
261	80	115	98	Power PAC of TXU	\$95,550	Energy & Natural Resources
		699	99	FHP, Inc.	\$94,257	Health
161	184	129	100	Service Corp. International	\$93,975	Miscellaneous Business

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 This error occurred when the Corpus Christi Firefighters Association reported a presumably minor expenditure for “political merchandise.” A PAC official appears to have reentered the purchase date (9/22/2004) in the “amount” field, thereby erroneously reporting an expenditure of \$9,222,004. This amount is three times more than the state’s largest PAC spent during the 2004 election cycle and twice the total amount spent by all Labor PACs combined.

³ Rep. Ed Kuempel’s HB 1429

⁴ Such as the defeated SB 1025