

Governor Perry's Patronage



Texans For Public Justice - September 2010

Governor Perry's Patronage:

Donor-Appointees Gave the Governor \$17 Million

Contents:

I.	Summary	1.
II.	Introduction	2.
III.	Most-Expensive Offices	5.
IV.	Big-Donor Appointees	7.
V.	Notes	11.

I. Summary

- Texas Governor Rick Perry tapped 3,995 appointees 5,662 times to serve on hundreds of state agencies, boards and commissions between January 2001 and February 23, 2010 (some appointees were appointed multiple times).
- From 2001 through June 2010 Perry's campaign received \$17,115,865 from 921 of these appointees or their spouses. Gubernatorial appointees accounted for an impressive 21 percent of the \$83.2 million that Perry's campaign has raised since 2001.
- Perry's most-lucrative appointee is Wendy Lee Gramm, whom he appointed to the A&M Board of Regents and the Texas Tax Reform Commission. The U.S. Senate campaign of Gramm's husband transferred \$610,000 to Perry's campaign in 2002. It was the largest same-day contribution of the governor's political career.
- Only two other appointees gave Perry more than \$450,000 apiece: Peter Holt and T. Dan Friedkin. Perry appointed both of them to the Parks and Wildlife Commission. Parks and Wildlife is Perry's favorite appointee fishing hole. He bagged more than \$2 million from this commission (\$118,477 per appointee).
- A&M Regents were Perry's No. 2 source of appointee cash, yielding \$113,127 per appointee. Four A&M appointees besides Wendy Gramm gave the governor more than \$200,000 apiece.
- Inaugural Committee appointees gave the governor an average of \$102,194 apiece, making this Perry's No. 3 source of appointee contributions.
- University of Texas regents ranked fourth, giving Perry an average of \$83,463 each.

II. Introduction

As Texas' longest serving governor, Rick Perry appointed 3,995 people to 592 boards, committees, councils, corporations, task forces, compacts, authorities, teams, groups and departments as of February 2010 (he appointed some of them to multiple posts). The governor has been in office so long that he has outlived 80 defunct state entities upon which his appointees once served. Yet Texans should not forget the sacrifices of Perry's appointees. This includes the 921 appointees who contributed to Perry's campaign or had a spouse that did so. These donor-appointees supplied \$17.1 million of the \$83.2 million total that Governor Perry's campaign raised since 2001 (donations occurred before and after the appointments). This political patronage system accounts for an impressive one out of every five dollars ever raised by Perry's gubernatorial campaigns.

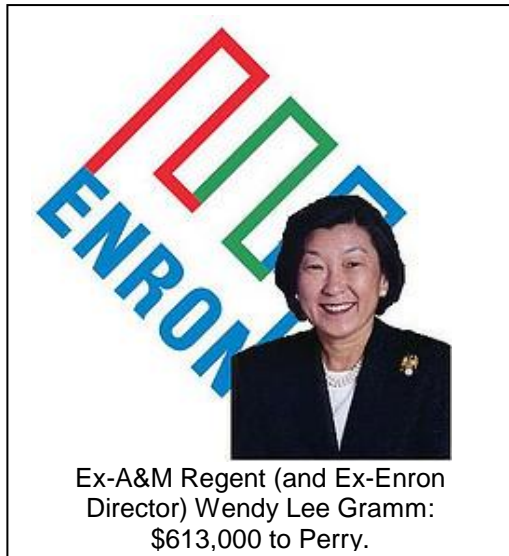
Governor Perry's Donor-Appointees at a Glance

No. of Appointments	No. of Appointees	No. of Donor Appointees	Appointee Donations To Perry	Average Contribution By a Donor-Appointee
5,662	3,995	921	\$17,115,865	\$18,584

CORRECTION

Today appointees account for 21 percent of all the money that Perry has raised since 2001. Analyzing a much smaller appointee universe, a 2006 edition of "[Governor Perry's Patronage](#)" found that gubernatorial appointees contributed \$4.5 million to Perry, which was 10 percent of what he had then raised.¹ An earlier edition of this report compared that percentage to the 21 percent figure found in 2010. That was an invalid comparison because the current study is based on better data than the earlier one. While the first study was based on an incomplete Perry appointee data going back to December 2002, this study tracks appointees who Governor Perry tapped for the two preceding years--as early as January 2001. During that early period, Governor Perry named more than 1,000 appointees who were not in the appointee database used for TPJ's first patronage study. Missing campaign contributions by those appointees, artificially reduced the percentage of campaign funds coming from appointees. Using a more complete appointee data set, shows that Perry's campaign has consistently raised between 20 percent and 21 percent of its money from appointees. TPJ regrets the error.

Evidence of a squeeze on gubernatorial appointees leaked out of Lubbock in late 2009. Two Texas Tech appointees told the *Austin American-Statesman* that Perry campaign intermediaries pressured them to resign after they endorsed Perry's primary opponent, Kay Bailey Hutchison.² The sources for the story, ex-Tech Regents Mark Griffin and Windy Sitton, contributed less than \$4,000 each to Perry.³



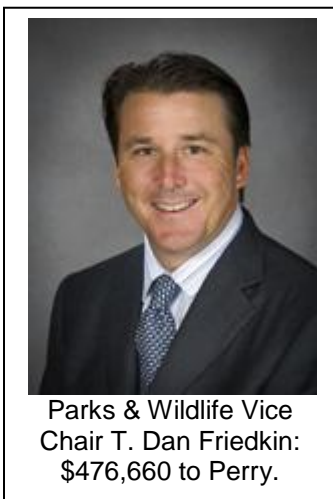
Ex-A&M Regent (and Ex-Enron Director) Wendy Lee Gramm: \$613,000 to Perry.

Much of this report was completed when researchers discovered a grievous error. They had failed to credit Wendy Lee Gramm with the truckload of campaign cash that her husband transferred to Perry's campaign as then-Senator Phil Gramm retired from Congress in late 2002. That \$610,000 from Friends of Phil Gramm was the largest same-day contribution of Perry's career.⁴ With the \$613,000 that the Gramms donated to Perry over the years, Wendy Gramm is Perry's No. 1 donor-appointee. Perry appointed Wendy Gramm to be a regent of his A&M alma mater in 2001; in 2005 he appointed her to the Tax Reform Commission.

Meanwhile, as vice president of UBS investment bank, Phil Gramm pitched the Governor's Office on unsuccessful schemes to privatize the Texas Lottery and buy "dead-peasant" life insurance policies on state employees (UBS hired Governor Perry's son around that time).⁵

Texas governors have a rich history of using their appointment powers for patronage. It is difficult to compare Perry's patronage to that of his predecessors due to his unprecedented gubernatorial stint and because this is the most comprehensive study of its kind.⁶ Historically, Parks and Wildlife Commission appointments and university regents appear to be some of the fattest patronage plums, perhaps because they channel the twin Lone Star obsessions of hunting and football.⁷

Besides Wendy Gramm, the only other donor-appointees to give Governor Perry more than \$400,000 apiece are wheeler dealers who landed coveted Texas Parks & Wildlife Commission slots. San Antonio Spurs owner Peter Holt made a fortune off the nation's largest Caterpillar equipment dealership. T. Dan Friedkin owns one of the planet's biggest Toyota dealerships.



Toyota announced in 2003 that state and local incentives helped persuade it to build a new truck plant in San Antonio. Governor Perry has said that courting Toyota inspired the creation of the Texas Enterprise Fund, the state's "deal-closer" fund that gives tax dollars to private companies to locate or expand in Texas.

Perry's Democratic challenger, Bill White, recently suggested that Texans for Rick Perry is a deal-making fund in its own right. The Enterprise Fund awarded \$8.5 million to Caterpillar, Inc. in 2009 to build a plant in Seguin that promises to employ 1,714 workers by 2015. In May 2010 White denounced this state Caterpillar grant as a "kickback" to Perry donor Peter Holt. "I wish I could say I had a big role in bringing them [Caterpillar] here," Holt told the *Houston Chronicle*, "but they were already rolling when I got involved."⁸

Another appointee in the news is Clifton L. Thomas, Jr., the Victoria-based owner of Speedy Stop convenience stores. Thomas contributed \$251,000 to Governor Perry, who appointed him to the Guadalupe-Blanco River Authority. Thomas is the lead investor behind a proposal to build a simulcast horseracing facility outside Austin.⁹ The plan requires approval by Perry appointees to the Texas Racing Commission.

This deal is complicated by ongoing litigation that involves competing claims to the racetrack license that Thomas wants to develop. One litigant asserting these claims is Bryan-based insurer Phil Adams, a Texas A&M University Regent who contributed \$259,914 to Perry's campaign and who has employed Perry's daughter. Adams invested in the racetrack license with Houston trial lawyer Michael Gallagher,¹⁰ who contributed \$150,000 to Perry in recent years (and nothing to Bill White). This trial-lawyer donor has yet to land *his* gubernatorial appointment.





Texas A&M Regent Phil Adams:
\$259,914 to Perry.

III. Most Expensive Offices

Parks & Wildlife Seats Averaged \$118,477



The Parks & Wildlife Commission ranked is the state’s most expensive office. Governor Perry collected an average of \$118,477 from the 17 people whom he appointed to this commission. Fifteen of these appointees contributed to the governor’s campaigns, with five contributing more than \$200,000 apiece (Holt, Friedkin, chemicals executive S. Reed Morian, beer distributor J. Robert Brown and developer Ned Holmes). Governor Perry bagged more than \$2 million from his appointees to this agency.

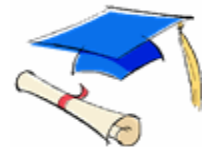
Most Expensive Offices

Average Donation Per Appointee	Appointed Office	No. of Appointees	Appointees' Total To Perry	Top Contributor
\$118,477	Parks & Wildlife	17	\$2,014,109	Peter Martin Holt
\$113,127	A&M Regents	18	\$2,036,290	Wendy Lee Gramm*
\$102,194	Inaugural Committees	21	\$2,146,081	Michele Mosbacher*
\$83,463	University of Texas Regents	20	\$1,669,263	Paul Foster*
\$72,396	Camino Real Reg'l Mob. Auth.	2	\$144,791	Harold W. Hahn
\$70,250	Tax Reform Commission	24	\$1,686,010	Wendy Lee Gramm*
\$64,343	Texas Tech Regents	20	\$1,286,863	Larry Keith Anders
\$59,482	Select Com. on Higher Ed.	6	\$356,894	Woody L. Hunt*
\$48,714	University of Houston Regents	19	\$925,557	Michele Mosbacher*
\$48,342	Higher Ed. Incentives Task Force	7	\$338,394	Woody L. Hunt*
\$41,819	State Board of Ed. Chair	5	\$209,094	Geraldine Miller
\$36,530	Transportation Commission	8	\$292,238	Ned S. Holmes*
\$36,400	Aircraft Pooling Board	1	\$36,400	Richard A. Box
\$32,470	Motor Vehicles Board	9	\$292,233	William Marvin Rush
\$30,339	University of N. Texas Regents	20	\$606,777	George 'Brint' Ryan
\$29,280	Economic Development Corp.	17	\$497,761	Paul Foster*
\$28,111	Facilities Commission	12	\$337,330	Richard Salwen*
\$27,013	Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	23	\$621,292	Paul Foster*
\$26,629	Finance Commission	18	\$479,318	Allan B. Polunsky*
\$26,172	Public Safety Commission	10	\$261,718	Allan B. Polunsky*
\$26,012	Border Security Council	11	\$281,130	Allan B. Polunsky*
\$25,585	Human Services Board	5	\$127,925	Jerry Kane*
\$22,834	Guadalupe-Blanco River Auth.	11	\$251,175	Clifton L. Thomas Jr.
\$22,727	TX Southern Univ. Adv. Com.	11	\$250,000	Richard Salwen*

*Appointed to more than one office.

Texas A&M Regent Seats Averaged \$113,127

UT Regents would have surpassed their cohorts at A&M but for all the campaign cash that Phil Gramm collected while deregulating the banking industry and transferred to the Texas Governor’s Mansion. Led by Wendy Gramm, the governor collected more than \$2 million from 14 of the 18 people he tapped as A&M Regents. Other A&M regents who gave the governor more than \$200,000 apiece are: Clear Channel Communications founder Lowry Mays (father-in-law of Congressman Michael McCaul), insurer Phil Adams, Ex-TXU Corp. chief Erle Nye, and the late Dallas car dealer J.L. Huffines.



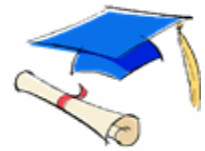
Inaugural Committee Seats Averaged \$102,194



The 21 people that Governor Perry appointed to his 2003 and 2007 inaugural committees gave him a total exceeding \$2.1 million. Perry collected the most from Michele “Mica” Mosbacher and her late husband Robert Mosbacher, Sr. of Mosbacher Energy (\$411,534).¹¹ The other inaugural donors who gave more than \$200,000 apiece are: Paul Foster of El Paso-based Western Refining Co., Ramona Bass of Fort Worth’s oil-rich Bass family, Dallas real estate executive Moshe Azoulay, insurance executive Phil Adams and Dellionaire Mort Topfer.

UT Regent Seats Averaged \$83,463

Governor Perry took almost \$1.7 million from 14 of the 20 people whom he tapped as University of Texas Regents. Regent Paul Foster graduated first in this class, giving the governor \$370,157. Other regents clearing \$200,000 were engineering firm executive James Dannenbaum, investor R. Steve Hicks and Robert Rowling. Rowling’s TRT Holdings, which owns Gold’s Gym, recently gave \$1 million in corporate funds to American Crossroads, the Karl Rove operation pushing Republican majorities in Congress.¹² UT Regent appointee Colleen McHugh, who gave \$3,137 to Perry’s campaign, helped the governor finagle a sweet personal tax break on a Hill Country investment property.¹³



Camino Real Regional Mobility Authority Seats Averaged \$72,396



Governor Perry appointed two people to El Paso’s Camino Real Regional Mobility Authority. While both appointees are Perry donors, it was the \$140,291 that mortgage broker Harold Hahn gave Perry that accelerated this local transportation board into the donor-appointee big leagues.

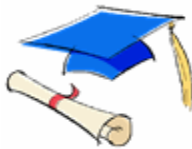
Tax Reform Commission Seats Averaged \$70,250

Buoyed by Wendy Gramm, the Perry campaign withheld a total of almost \$1.7 million from 11 of the 24 people whom he appointed to the 2005 Tax Reform Commission. Other appointees who surpassed the \$200,000 bracket were El Paso builder Woody Hunt, James Dannenbaum and Robert Rowling. Tax-reform appointees gave Perry \$1.7 million.



Texas Tech Regent Seats Averaged \$64,343

Governor Perry collected more than \$1.2 million from 15 of the 20 people whom he appointed as Texas Tech Regents. Insurance executive Larry Keith Anders and banker Lawrence “Rick” Francis were the highest Tech regents, giving Perry well over \$200,000 apiece.



Select Commission on Higher Education Seats Averaged \$59,482

Governor Perry counts five out of the six people that he selected for the now-defunct Select Commission on Higher Education as donors. Most of the \$356,894 that the governor got from this commission came from El Paso builder Woody Hunt.

University of Houston Regent Seats Averaged \$48,714

Fourteen of the 19 people that Governor Perry appointed as University of Houston Regents gave him a total of \$925,557. Michele “Mica” Mosbacher and her late husband coughed up the most. Landry’s Restaurants President Tilman Fertitta is this regency’s next-largest Perry donor. The Fertittas own Nevada casino interests and have pushed to legalize high-stakes gambling here.

IV. Big-Donor Appointees

This table lists 140 appointees who, along with their spouses, contributed from \$15,000 to \$613,000 to Governor Perry's campaign. These top contributor-appointees supplied 91 percent of the money that the governor received from appointees. They also account for 19 cents of every dollar ever raised by Perry's gubernatorial campaigns.

Big-Donor Appointees

Amount To Perry	Donor-Appointee	Appointed Office	City	Business
\$613,000	Wendy Lee Gramm*	A&M Regents	Helotes	Mercatus Center
\$537,740	Peter Martin Holt	Parks & Wildlife	Blanco	Holt CAT
\$476,660	T. Dan Friedkin	Parks & Wildlife	Houston	Friedkin Co's
\$411,534	Michele Mosbacher* ¹¹	University of Houston Regents	Houston	Mosbacher Energy
\$395,070	Charles Tate	Gov's Council on Science & Biotech.	Dallas	Capital Royalty, LP
\$383,171	Larry Keith Anders	TX Tech Regents	Plano	Summit Alliance Co's
\$370,157	Paul Foster*	University of TX Regents	El Paso	Western Refining Co.
\$327,420	Ramona Bass	2007 Inaugural Committee	Fort Worth	Bass Bros Enterprises
\$319,144	Woody L. Hunt*	Select Commission on Higher Ed.	El Paso	Hunt Building Co.
\$313,334	George 'Brint' Ryan	University of North TX Regents	Dallas	Ryan, Inc.
\$300,000	Moshe Azoulay	2003 Inaugural Committee	Dallas	Skyrise Properties, LLC
\$297,500	S. Reed Morian	Parks & Wildlife	Houston	DX Service Co.
\$287,179	Richard Scott	Lower Colorado River Authority	Wimberley	Trans-Global Solutions
\$282,889	Jeff D. Sandefer	Interstate Oil & Gas Compact Com.	Austin	Sandefer Capital
\$277,500	James Dannenbaum*	University of TX Regents	Houston	Dannenbaum Eng.
\$265,002	R. Steve Hicks	University of TX Regents	Austin	Capstar Partners
\$261,400	Lowry Mays	A&M Regents	San Antonio	Clear Channel Com.
\$259,914	Phillip David Adams*	A&M Regents	Bryan	Phil Adams Co.
\$257,262	Robert B. Rowling*	University of TX Regents	Dallas	TRT Holdings
\$253,000	Erle Nye	A&M Regents	Dallas	TXU Corp.
\$251,000	Clifton L. Thomas Jr.	Guadalupe-Blanco River Authority	Victoria	C.L. Thomas, Inc.
\$250,000	Allan B. Polunsky*	Public Safety Commission	San Antonio	Polunsky & Beitel
\$250,000	Richard Salwen*	TX Southern University Regents	Austin	Dell, Inc.
\$248,999	John L. Nau III	Historical Commission	Houston	Silver Eagle Distrib.
\$241,290	Lawrence 'Rick' Francis	TX Tech Regents	El Paso	Bank of the West
\$238,666	J. Robert Brown*	Parks & Wildlife	El Paso	BrownCo Capital
\$227,910	Tilman Fertitta	University of Houston Regents	Houston	Landry's Restaurants
\$215,830	Ned S. Holmes*	Parks & Wildlife	Houston	Parkway Investments
\$209,094	Geraldine Miller	State Board of Ed. Chair	Dallas	Henry S. Miller Co.
\$207,000	Mort Topfer	2007 Inaugural Committee	Austin	Castletop Capital
\$201,879	J.L. Huffines	A&M Regents	Dallas	Huffines Auto Group
\$193,115	John 'Bobby' Ray	University of North TX Regents	Plano	K Hovnanian Homes
\$189,318	James H. Lee*	Teacher Retirement System Board	Houston	JHL Capital Invest.
\$185,000	Rita C. Clements	University of TX Regents	Dallas	SEDCO
\$177,300	James P. Wilson Jr.	A&M Regents	Sugar Land	JK Acquisition Corp.
\$166,667	J. Frank Miller III	TX Tech Regents	Dallas	JPI Partners

\$159,946	Frank D. Yturria	Historical Commission	Brownsville	Yturria Ranch
\$150,000	Michael Stevens	TX Task Force on Appraisal Reform	Houston	M. Stevens Interests
\$141,500	William M. Rush	Dept. of Motor Vehicles Board	San Antonio	Rush Admin. Services
\$140,291	Harold W. Hahn	Camino Real Reg'l Mobility Auth.	El Paso	Rocky Mountain Mort.
\$137,845	Christina M. Crain	Criminal Justice Board	Dallas	Christina M. Crain, PC
\$135,000	Mickey Long	TX Tech Regents	Midland	Westex Well Service
\$127,925	Jerry Kane*	Health & Human Services Council	Corpus	Sam Kane Beef
\$126,000	William McMinn	Tax Reform Commission	Houston	Sterling Group
\$110,000	Robert Stillwell	University of TX Regents	Houston	BP Capital
\$107,000	Michael Rutherford	Racing Commission	Houston	Rutherford Oil Corp.
\$106,380	William E. Powell	University of TX Regents	San Antonio	Bitterblue, Inc.
\$103,700	John Lattimore Jr.	Rock Crushers/ Quarries Study Com.	McKinney	Lattimore Materials
\$103,500	Morris Edwin Foster	A&M Regents	Salado	ExxonMobil
\$100,000	Scott Kubitz	Gov's Adv. Co. on Physical Fitness	El Paso	Flex Enterprises
\$100,000	Charles E. Miller	Nursing Facility Quality Assurance	Houston	Geriatric Association
\$99,500	David A. Spencer	Emerging Tech. Advisory Com.	San Antonio	Mandelbrot Ventures
\$95,000	Alan W. Dreeben	TX State University Regents	San Antonio	Republic Beverage Co.
\$87,567	Tom Loeffler	Gov's Council on Science & Biotech.	San Antonio	GrayLoeffler, LLC
\$86,983	Ramsay H. Gillman	Dept. of Motor Vehicles Board	Houston	Gillman Co's
\$85,000	Richard A. Smith	Workers Compensation Com.	Bryan	Richard Smith Co.
\$85,000	Jimmy E. Westcott*	Gov's Commission for Women	Dallas	Jayhawk Acceptance
\$79,984	Nicholas Serafy Jr.	Economic Development Corp.	Brownsville	Proficiency Testing
\$78,378	Rick Campbell*	Parks & Wildlife	Center	Campbell Portable Bldg.
\$78,000	Robert A. Nickell	University of North TX Regents	Dallas	Investor
\$75,000	David G. Nance*	Emerging Tech. Advisory Com.	Austin	Introgen Therapeutics
\$69,293	William F. Scott	Jefferson/Orange Co. Pilot Com.	Nederland	Trans-Global Solutions
\$68,958	Tim Timmerman	Lower Colorado River Authority	Austin	Commerce TX Properties
\$68,604	Lance Richard Byrd	Judicial Council	Dallas	Sendero Energy, Inc.
\$67,500	Karen Hixon*	Parks & Wildlife	San Antonio	Hixon Ventures
\$59,784	Karl W. Swann	2003 Inaugural Committee	San Antonio	Neurosurgical Assoc.
\$59,000	Kent C. Sullivan*	14th Court of Appeals Justice	Houston	14th Court of Appeals
\$56,900	Welcome Wilson Sr.	University of Houston Regents	Houston	GSL Industrial Hold.
\$56,000	James Schwertner Jr.	A&M Regents	Austin	Schwertner Farms
\$55,700	Oliver John Bell	Criminal Justice Board	Austin	Oliver J. Bell & Assoc.
\$55,277	Kevin J. Lilly	TX State University Regents	Houston	Avalon Advisors
\$55,000	John W. Johnson	Private Toll Legis. Study Com.	Houston	Champion Technologies
\$51,769	Nancy R. Neal*	TX Tech Regents	Lubbock	Ex-school nurse
\$50,344	Robert P. Gauntt	Teacher Retirement System	Houston	Avalon Advisors
\$50,000	Truman Arnold	Tax Reform Commission	Texarkana	Truman Arnold Co's
\$50,000	Nancy C. Marcus	Humanities Texas	Dallas	University of Dallas
\$43,000	Carroll R. Ray	University of Houston Regents	Houston	Andrews & Kurth
\$41,949	James R. Huffines*	University of TX Regents	Austin	PlainsCapital Bank
\$40,436	Mollie Maresh	Upper Guadalupe River Authority	Hunt	Texas Star Builders
\$39,201	Neal W. Adams	Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	Eules	Adams Lynch & Loftin
\$38,000	Jacob M. Monty	University of Houston Regents	Houston	Monty Partners
\$37,498	Ida L. Clement Steen*	A&M Regents	San Antonio	Attorney's spouse

\$37,272	Nelda Luce Blair	University of Houston Regents	Woodlands	Blair Law Firm
\$36,400	Richard A. Box	A&M Regents	Austin	Dentist
\$36,000	Victor Vandergriff*	Dept. of Motor Vehicles Board	Arlington	Van Tuyl Group
\$35,150	Gina Bridwell	Gov's Commission for Women	Abilene	Mansefeldt Investment
\$35,000	John R. Weisman	Rock Crushers/Quarries Study Com.	N. Braunfels	Hunter Industries
\$34,600	Kent M. Adams	TX State University Regents	Beaumont	Adams & Boswell
\$33,808	Joe Colonna Jr.	Prepaid Higher Ed. Tuition Board	Dallas	HM Capital
\$33,750	Patrick R. Gordon*	Housing & Community Affairs	El Paso	Gordon Mott & Davis
\$32,550	Fernando Reyes Jr.	Lottery Commission	San Antonio	Reyes Industries
\$31,666	Dennis D. Golden	University of Houston Regents	Carthage	Golden Eye Assoc.
\$31,500	John Lee Morrison	Structural Pest Control Board	San Antonio	Worldwide Pest Control
\$31,250	Charles Amato	TX State University Regents	San Antonio	SW Business Corp.
\$30,679	Fred A. Underwood	Transportation Commission	Lubbock	Trinity Corp.
\$30,380	Robert Holt	Border Security Council	Midland	Holt Oil Properties
\$30,350	Carol Carlson Gunn	Midwestern State Regents	Graford	Investments
\$29,300	Brenda Pejovich*	Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	Dallas	BFG Management Co.
\$27,949	Joe Bob Hinton	Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	Crawford	Mobil Oil
\$27,220	Thomas Whaley Sr.	Econ. Dev. Governing Board	Marshall	Logan & Whaley Co.
\$27,000	Robert Pickering Jr.	Dept. of Information Resources	Houston	LBI International
\$27,000	Stanley Rosenberg	Finance Commission	San Antonio	Tuggey Rosenthal
\$27,000	Jim P. Wise	University of Houston Regents	Kingwood	Haddington Ventures
\$25,267	Kit Moncrief	Humanities Texas	Fort Worth	Moncrief Oil
\$25,100	Dan A. Hughes Jr.	Parks & Wildlife	Beeville	Dan A. Hughes Co.
\$25,000	Robert C. Barnes	Mutual Insurance Co. Board	Granbury	Vision Asset Mgmt.
\$25,000	W. Thomas Beard III*	Facilities Commission	Alpine	Leoncita Cattle Co.
\$25,000	Lawrence Kellner	Public School Accountability Com.	Houston	Continental Airlines
\$25,000	Joaquin Rodriguez	Dept. of Rural Affairs	Eagle Pass	Rodriguez & Kelly
\$25,000	John H. Walker III	Dept. of Motor Vehicles Board	Houston	JH Walker Trucking
\$24,525	Charles Graham	Dept. of Rural Affairs	Elgin	SW Stallion Station
\$24,500	Tony Randall Cain*	Emerging Tech. Advisory Com.	San Antonio	Ernst & Young LLP
\$23,955	Noe Fernandez*	Facilities Commission	McAllen	Rio Bravo Fabric Store
\$23,440	Ed 'Ted' Houghton IV*	Transportation Commission	El Paso	Houghton Financial
\$22,500	Janiece Longoria	University of TX Regents	Houston	Ogden Gibson Broocks
\$22,364	Lonnie Arrington	Lower Neches Valley Auth. Board	Beaumont	Fabricon Intern'l
\$22,000	Cliff A. Skiles Jr.	Red River Authority of TX Board	Dalhart	Veterinarian
\$21,650	Durga D. Agrawal	Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	Houston	Piping Technology
\$21,250	Ray A. Wilkerson*	Lower Colorado River Authority	Austin	Ray Wilkerson Co's
\$21,000	Mark J. Carrabba	Brazos River Authority Board	Bryan	Gooseneck Trailer Mfg
\$21,000	Antonio Falcon	Parks & Wildlife	Rio Gr. City	Family Health Center
\$20,779	Eugene J. Seaman	TX State Technical College Regents	Corpus	Alpha Seaman
\$20,500	Todd F. Barth*	Teacher Retirement System Board	Houston	Bowers Properties
\$20,000	Alfred B. Jones Jr.	Economic Development Corp.	Corpus	American Bank
\$19,622	Nasruddin Rupani	Health & Human Services Council	Sugar Land	World Gold Diamonds
\$19,500	Welcome Wilson Jr.	Guaranteed Student Loan Corp.	Houston	GSL Welcome Group
\$18,500	Don O. Covington	Sabine River Authority Board	Orange	Beacon Maritime, Inc.
\$18,500	Fred Heldenfels IV*	Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	Austin	Heldenfels Enterprises

\$18,100	John David White	A&M Regents	Houston	Standard Renewable
\$17,000	Leroy L. Hermes	University of Houston Regents	Houston	Hermes Consulting
\$16,988	Margaret Martin*	Parks & Wildlife	Boerne	Rancher
\$16,750	Jose Cuevas Jr. *	Alcoholic Beverage Commission	Midland	JumBurrito, Inc.
\$16,700	Dr. Jayaram B. Naidu*	Medical Board Review Com. Dist. 3	Odessa	Naidu Clinic
\$16,000	Peter Felix III	Gov's Council on Science & Biotech.	El Paso	VIVA Environmental
\$16,000	John Field Scovell	TX Tech Regents	Dallas	Woodbine Dev. Corp.
\$15,500	Michael J. Cemo	University of Houston Regents	Houston	Cemo Interests
\$15,500	Lupe Fraga	A&M Regents	Sugar Land	Tejas Office Products
\$15,500	James E. Herring	Water Development Board	Amarillo	Friona Industries
\$15,000	Jarvis Hollingsworth*	University of Houston Regents	Sugar Land	Bracewell & Giuliani
\$15,000	Paul P. Kwan	Professional Land Surveying Board	Houston	Landtech Consultants

*Appointed to more than one office.

V. Notes

¹ TPJ's 2006 report did not credit appointee Wendy Gramm with the more than \$600,000 that her spouse's U.S. Senate campaign gave to Governor Perry. For comparison purposes, TPJ applied Gramm money to the 2006-era numbers.

² "Two former regents say Perry allies pressured them to resign," *Austin American-Statesman*, September 5, 2009.

³ Perry collected \$3,500 from Griffin and \$2,250 from Sitton.

⁴ Friends of Phil Gramm contributed \$300,000 to Governor's Perry's campaign directly on October 15, 2002. The Perry campaign also reported that Gramm's PAC spent another \$310,000 that same day on a media buy benefiting Governor Perry. Perry had received \$2,000 from Gramm's PAC earlier that year. Finally, Wendy Gramm contributed \$1,000 to Perry in 2005.

⁵ "Perry's son hired by firm consulting on lottery," *Dallas Morning News*, February 13, 2007.

⁶ Texans For Public Justice recently put out a release on the political largess of Perry-appointed university regents (see "[No Donor Left Behind](#)"). It also published a 2000 report on then-Governor Bush's [donor appointees](#).

⁷ Two Perry appointees joined then-Vice President Dick Cheney on his ill-fated, South Texas hunting expedition in 2006. Perry appointed future Cheney shooting victim Harry Whittington to the Family & Protective Services Council. He also appointed Sara Armstrong Hixon, who survived the expedition unscathed, to the Historical Commission.

⁸ "White Camp Blasts Perry Over Fund Use," *Houston Chronicle*, May 18, 2010.

⁹ "Speaker Straus' Other Horse Race," *Texas Observer*, April 8, 2010. "Site Purchased for New Horse Racing Track," *Austin American-Statesman*, September 21, 2010.

¹⁰ "Inside Track," *Texas Observer*, December 12, 2008.

¹¹ A recent TPJ [release on regent contributions](#) incorrectly associated Michele Mosbacher with \$440,400 in contributions to Gov. Perry (rather than \$411,534). The earlier report confused Michele Mosbacher's late husband, Robert Mosbacher, Sr., with her stepson, Robert Mosbacher, Jr.

¹² "Groups' Spending for GOP On Rise," *Wall Street Journal*, September 14, 2010. "Republican Groups Benefit From Hidden Money To Overcome Democrats' Cash," *Bloomberg*, September 21, 2010.

¹³ "Reappraising the Governor," *Texas Observer*, May 28, 2009. "Murky Land Deals Mark Gov. Rick Pery's Past," *Dallas Morning News*, July 25, 2010. "Rick Pery's Property Buyer in '07 Land Deal Was Influential But 'Invisible,'" *Dallas Morning News*, July 24, 2010.