



General Abbott's Blitzkrieg:

January 30, 2013

# Possible Abbott-Perry Rivalry Squeezes Wealthy Supporters

When Rick Perry self-destructed on the presidential trail in late 2011 prospects for a 2014 gubernatorial shootout between Perry and Attorney General Gregg Abbott escalated—even though neither man has committed to the race yet.

Last year the duo raised a total of almost \$13 million, with Abbott pocketing 60 percent. Many of the same big donors have long supported both men. As the potential Perry-Abbott rivalry hit new heights last year, supporting one of these politicians increasingly suggested a snub of the other.

Dissecting this touchy subject, *Lobby Watch* assembled a list of the 42 top contributors who gave more than \$50,000 to Perry and/or Abbott last year (see next page). These elite donors gave almost \$2 million to Perry and almost \$3 million to Abbott, accounting for 39 percent of all the money given to both politicians in 2012.

While homebuilder Bob Perry, AT&T PAC,

highwayman James Doug Pitcock and HillCo PAC wrote comparable checks to both Abbott and Perry, relatively few of the top contributors took this diplomatic approach. Among the big donors who heavily favored one potential rival over the other, General Abbott commanded the early advantage.

Trial lawyer Anthony Buzbee is the only one of the 42 big contributors who failed to give Abbott anything in 2012. Meanwhile 15 big donors stiffed the governor last year. Rich folks who gave Abbott \$100,000 or more while giving Perry nothing include: beer magnate John Nau, Trammell Crow heir Howard Crow, deer-hunt rancher Stuart Stedman, oil magnates Ray Hunt and Nancy Hunt and investors Steven Hicks, T. Boone Pickens, Charles Tate and Ardon Moore.

Support for Kay Bailey Hutchison's failed 2010 bid to unseat Perry was a predictor of who exclusively backed Abbott in 2012. Nine of the 15 big donors who stiffed Perry were big Hutchison backers.

## 2012 Fundraising by Greg Abbott & Rick Perry

Man Who Would Be King	Amount Raised CY2012	Bank Balance 12/31/12
Rick Perry	\$5,490,231	\$6,028,636
Greg Abbott	\$7,239,427	\$18,032,304
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>\$12,729,658</b>	<b>\$24,060,940</b>

## Top Contributors to Rick Perry and Greg Abbott in Calendar 2012

Perry & Abbott Total	Rick Perry Total	Greg Abbott Total	Contributor	2010 K.B.H. Total	City	Company
\$510,000	\$35,000	\$475,000	Harold C. Simmons	\$0	Dallas	Contran Corp.
\$410,000	\$385,000	\$25,000	N. Cypress Medical Ctr.	\$5,000	Houston	
\$410,000	\$200,000	\$210,000	Bob & Doylene Perry	\$0	Houston	Perry Homes
\$175,000	\$125,000	\$50,000	Border Health PAC	\$0	McAllen	
\$155,434	\$0	\$155,434	*John & Barbara Nau III	\$154,312	Houston	Silver Eagle Distributors
\$141,000	\$100,000	\$41,000	Mickey & Renee Long	\$0	Midland	Westex Well Services
\$130,477	\$80,477	\$50,000	Jeffery D. Hildebrand	\$10,000	Houston	Hilcorp Energy Co.
\$130,000	\$100,000	\$30,000	David L. Haug	\$0	Houston	Arctas Capital Group
\$125,137	\$25,000	\$100,137	S. Reed Morian	\$0	Houston	DX Holding Co.
\$125,000	\$0	\$125,000	R. Steven & Donna Hicks	\$0	Austin	Capstar Partners LLC
\$125,000	\$25,000	\$100,000	Kenny & Lisa Troutt	\$0	Dallas	Mt. Vernon Investments
\$120,707	\$85,707	\$35,000	*Thomas Dan Friedkin	\$0	Houston	Gulf States Toyota
\$110,000	\$50,000	\$60,000	AT&T, Inc. PAC	\$55,000	Austin	
\$110,000	\$0	\$110,000	T. Boone Pickens	\$0	Dallas	BP Capital
\$109,311	\$49,311	\$60,000	*Paul L. Foster	\$0	El Paso	Western Refining Co.
\$105,000	\$0	\$105,000	Charles W. & Judy Tate	\$110,000	Sugar Land	Capital Royalty, LLC
\$102,110	\$0	\$102,110	Ray L. Hunt	\$104,154	Dallas	Hunt Consolidated
\$100,231	\$0	\$100,231	Ardon E. Moore III	\$0	Fort Worth	Lee M. Bass, Inc.
\$100,000	\$0	\$100,000	Howard Crow	\$50,000	Dallas	Trammell Crow's son
\$100,000	\$0	\$100,000	Nancy Ann Hunt	\$0	Dallas	Hunt Consolidated
\$100,000	\$50,000	\$50,000	James Doug Pitcock Jr.	\$0	Houston	Wms. Bros. Construction
\$100,000	\$0	\$100,000	Stuart West Stedman	\$0	Houston	Faith Ranch Co.
\$95,000	\$75,000	\$20,000	James Dannenbaum	\$0	Houston	Dannenbaum Engin'ring
\$78,838	\$38,838	\$40,000	HillCo PAC	\$0	Austin	HillCo Partners
\$76,000	\$50,000	\$26,000	Drayton McLane Jr.	\$139,974	Temple	McLane Co., Inc.
\$75,000	\$50,000	\$25,000	Chickasaw Nation	\$0	Ada, OK	
\$75,000	\$65,000	\$10,000	Richard Fant	\$0	Houston	New Process Steel
\$75,000	\$0	\$75,000	AI G. Hill Jr.	\$50,000	Dallas	A.G. Hill Partners
\$75,000	\$0	\$75,000	Laurence Hirsch	\$60,000	Dallas	Highlander Partners
\$75,000	\$50,000	\$25,000	*Peter & Julianna Holt	\$0	Blanco	Holt Co's/S.A. Spurs
\$75,000	\$0	\$75,000	*John Lattimore Jr.	\$10,000	McKinney	Lattimore Materials
\$75,000	\$25,000	\$50,000	James R. Moffett	\$50,000	New Orleans	Freeport-McMoRan
\$75,000	\$0	\$75,000	Repub. State Leader. PAC	\$0	DC	
\$73,749	\$73,749	\$0	Anthony G. Buzbee	\$0	Galveston	Buzbee Law Firm
\$65,500	\$50,000	\$15,500	Vernon Reaser III	\$0	Bellaire	Texas Teachers, LLC
\$65,000	\$60,000	\$5,000	Texans 4 Lawsuit Reform	\$0	Austin	
\$60,000	\$25,000	\$35,000	J. Richard 'Richie' Ray	\$0	Montgomery	Pharmacist
\$60,000	\$50,000	\$10,000	*Clifton L. Thomas Jr.	\$0	Victoria	Speedy Stop
\$55,000	\$30,000	\$25,000	Stanley K. Harper	\$0	Arlington	Lenders/Members Srv.
\$51,904	\$31,904	\$20,000	Dan Allen Hughes Jr.	\$0	Beeville	Dan A. Hughes Co.
\$51,782	\$0	\$51,782	Harlan & Katherine Crow	\$114,638	Dallas	Crow Holdings
\$51,000	\$0	\$51,000	Thomas A. Reiser	\$0	Houston	Upstream Insurance
<b>\$4,978,178</b>	<b>\$1,984,986</b>	<b>\$2,993,194</b>	<b>SUBTOTALS</b>	<b>\$913,078</b>		

**Note:** These 42 contributors provided 36% of Perry's money and 41% of Abbott's money in 2012.

**Red** donors favored Abbott with  $\geq 75\%$  of their cash to both men; **Purple** donors heavily favored Perry.

\* Perry appointed this contributor to one or more state offices.

K.B.H. = Perry's 2010 Republican challenger Kay Bailey Hutchison.

Eight big contributors who gave much more money to Perry than Abbott in the 2010 election cycle overwhelmingly favored Abbott last year.

Conspicuous among them is Dallas billionaire Harold Simmons. Simmons gave almost \$1.2 million to Perry’s gubernatorial campaigns as his Waste Control Specialists built a low-level nuclear waste dump in West Texas. Despite the fact that Perry’s environmental appointees seem to approve Waste Control’s every demand, Simmons gave \$35,000 to Perry and \$475,000 to Abbott last year. Radioactivity far outlasts even the most lucrative political relationships.

Others shifting the bulk of their support from Perry to Abbott include beer magnate John Nau, chemical honcho Reed Morian, retired phone executive Kenny Troutt, insurer Thomas Reiser and investors Steven Hicks, T. Boone Pickens and Charles Tate.

The attorney general pocketed 75 percent or more of all the money that 18 big contributors gave to both politicians in 2012 (this includes the 15 who gave Perry nothing). Just eight big donors gave at least three-quarters of their Perry-Abbott total to the governor.

As the longest-serving governor in Texas history, Perry’s political-appointment patronage system has anchored his fundraising prowess. A 2010 [TPJ study](#) found that 20 percent of the \$83 million that Perry had then raised as governor came from one of the 4,000 people he had appointed to state office—or their spouses.

Six Perry appointees are top contributors to Perry and Abbott. Significantly, two of these Perry appointees gave nothing to Perry in 2012 (beer magnate John Nau and building materials purveyor John Lattimore).<sup>1</sup> Gasoline retailer Clifton Thomas was the only appointee to give Perry more than 75 percent of all the money he gave to the two potential rivals.<sup>2</sup> The other three appointees (auto kingpin T. Dan Friedkin, refinery mogul Paul Foster, and Caterpillar equipment dealer Peter Holt gave substantial amounts to both Abbott and Perry).<sup>3</sup>

Both Perry and Abbott got 70 percent or more of all the money they raised last year from whopper checks of \$10,000 or more. Checks worth from \$10,000 to \$50,000 accounted for 53 percent of Perry’s money, compared to just 36 percent of Abbott’s total. Abbott relied more on both bigger and smaller checks. Checks of less than \$5,000 delivered 17 percent of Abbott’s money and 12 percent of Perry’s total. Meanwhile one-third of Abbott money came from huge checks of \$50,000 or more, compared to just 22 percent of Perry’s total.

[Doctor-owned hospital interests](#) wrote both of Perry’s two biggest checks: North Cypress Medical Center (\$355,000) and Border Health PAC (\$100,000). Harold Simmons wrote Abbott three huge checks totaling \$475,000. Abbott also got six-figure checks from Howard Crow, Steven Hicks, Kenny Troutt, John Nau, Boone Pickens, Stuart Stedman and Charles Tate.

### 2012 Perry and Abbott Contributions by Check Size

Check Size (CY 2012)	No. of Perry Checks	Total Perry Money	Percent of Perry Total	No. of Abbott Checks	Total Abbott Money	Percent of Abbott Total
<\$1,000	777	\$103,478	2%	3,570	320,135	4%
\$1,000 - \$4,999	335	\$567,692	10%	598	942,850	13%
\$5,000 - \$9,999	128	\$683,157	12%	172	\$891,407	12%
\$10,000 - \$24,999	102	\$1,150,904	21%	111	\$1,209,536	17%
\$25,000 - \$49,999	71	\$1,780,000	32%	55	\$1,402,125	19%
\$50,000 - \$99,999	15	\$750,000	14%	26	\$1,343,000	18%
≥ \$100,000	2	\$455,000	8%	10	\$1,175,000	16%
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>1,430</b>	<b>\$5,490,231</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>4,542</b>	<b>\$7,284,053</b>	<b>100%</b>

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> In 2003 Governor Perry appointed Nau to the Historical Commission and Lattimore to the Rock Crushers and Quarries Advisory Committee.

<sup>2</sup> Perry appointed Thomas to the Guadalupe-Blanco River Authority in 2004.

<sup>3</sup> In 2005 the Governor appointed Friedkin and Holt to the Parks and Wildlife Commission. He appointed Foster to the Higher Education Coordinating Board in 2004 and to the Economic Development Corp. in 2006.