



NAMES IN THE NEWS: TOM DELAY

BY MARK DIXON
APRIL 27, 2005

House Majority Leader Tom DeLay — under scrutiny for his fund-raising activities and travel expenses paid by outside interests — has wielded power for more than a decade in Congress. But his influence spread into state politics, as well. Committees he has established and advised have given more than \$1.25 million in campaign contributions to legislative and gubernatorial candidates, as well as state political parties around the country.

DeLay has been involved in two highly publicized political action committees: Americans for a Republican Majority, or ARMPAC, and Texans for a Republican Majority, also known as TRMPAC.

ARMPAC has been a force in national politics, giving nearly \$2.9 million to federal candidates in the last three election cycles.¹

But this so-called “leadership PAC” also has given more than \$500,000 to state-level candidates and party committees around the country during the same time period. DeLay is chairman of the committee, while former DeLay aide, Jim Ellis, serves as the director.² Meanwhile, TRMPAC — formed by DeLay and Ellis³ — gave nearly \$750,000 to Texas State House candidates in 2002. TRMPAC gave no contributions to any other type of candidates in 2002. Ellis and two other DeLay associates have been indicted over possible campaign-finance violations involving TRMPAC. The Texas investigation, still underway, is separate from the current political firestorm heating up in Washington around DeLay about possible congressional ethics violations.

ARMPAC REACHES ACROSS THE COUNTRY

The Institute’s 50-state database for the past three election cycles shows ARMPAC has distributed its funds widely around the country. ARMPAC gave nearly \$323,000 to state-level political party committees over the six-year period, with about one-third of the money going to the Texas Republican Party. It gave another \$185,000 directly to Republican candidates in 10 states. Texas candidates received more than half of those contributions, at \$99,000.

The table below shows ARMPAC contributions to Republican Party Committees across the country since the 2000 election cycle, which includes states holding elections in 1999.

ARMPAC CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE PARTY COMMITTEES, 1999-2004

YEAR	PARTY COMMITTEE	TOTAL
2000	Arkansas Republican Party	\$5,000
2002	Colorado Republican Party	\$10,000
2004	Georgia Republican Party	\$5,000
2002	Maine Republican Party	\$5,000
2000	Missouri Republican Party	\$50,000
2000	Montana Republican Party	\$5,000
2002	Nebraska Republican Party	\$53,224

¹ Center for Responsive Politics, <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.asp?strid=C00292946&cycle=2004>, April 21, 2004.

² Kit R. Roane, Dan Morrison and Carol Flake Chapman, “Will the Hammer Fall?,” *U.S. News & World Report*, March 28, 2005.

³ Lou Dubose, “Justice DeLayed,” *Mother Jones*, November/December 2004.

YEAR	PARTY COMMITTEE	TOTAL
2001	New Jersey Republican Party	\$12,373
2003	New Jersey Republican Party	\$50,000
2002	Nevada Republican Party	\$10,010
2000	Tennessee Legislative Campaign Committee	\$5,000
2000	Texas Republican Party	\$1,000
2002	Texas Republican Party	\$111,350
TOTAL		\$322,957

The table below shows ARMPAC contributions to state-level candidates around the country during the past three election cycles.

ARMPAC CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE CANDIDATES, 1999-2004

STATE	YEAR	CANDIDATE	OFFICE	STATUS	TOTAL
Alabama	2002	Riley, Robert R.	Governor	Won	\$15,000
Kentucky	2003	Fletcher, Ernie/Pence, Stephen	Governor/Lt. Governor	Won	\$1,000
Louisiana	2003	Downer, Hunt	Governor	Lost Primary	\$1,000
Maryland	2002	Ferguson, Timothy R.	Senate	Lost Primary	\$4,000
Maryland	2002	Mooney, Alex X.	Senate	Won	\$4,000
Missouri	2000	Blunt, Matt	Secretary of State	Won	\$398
Missouri	2004	Blunt, Matt	Governor	Won	\$1,200
Mississippi	1999	Parker, Mike	Governor	Lost	\$2,000
Pennsylvania	2002	Jubelirer, Robert C.	Senate	Won	\$1,000
Tennessee	2002	Hilleary, Van	Governor	Lost	\$10,000
Texas	2000	Avery, Mary Jane	House	Lost	\$5,000
Texas	2000	Bius, Ben (Walter)	House	Lost	\$5,000
Texas	2000	Brown, Betty	House	Won	\$2,500
Texas	2000	Brownlow, Darrell T.	House	Lost	\$5,000
Texas	2000	Christian, Walter (Wayne)	House	Won	\$2,500
Texas	2000	Deuell, Bob	Senate	Lost	\$10,000
Texas	2000	Fryar, Steve	House	Lost	\$5,000
Texas	2000	Hardcastle, Richard L. (Rick)	House	Won	\$2,500
Texas	2000	Harrison, Alec	House	Lost	\$5,000
Texas	2000	Miller, Sidney C.	House	Won	\$5,000
Texas	2000	Staples, Todd	Senate	Won	\$10,000
Texas	2000	Woodard Jr., Paul S.	House	Lost	\$5,000
Texas	2002	Baxter, Todd A.	House	Won	\$2,000
Texas	2002	Bohac, Dwayne	House	Won	\$2,000
Texas	2002	Brown, Betty	House	Won	\$2,500
Texas	2002	Dawson, Glenda	House	Won	\$1,000
Texas	2002	Getterman, Holt	House	Lost	\$2,000
Texas	2002	Green, Rick	House	Lost	\$2,500
Texas	2002	Hamilton, Mike (Tuffy)	House	Won	\$1,000
Texas	2002	Hughes, D. Bryan	House	Won	\$1,000
Texas	2002	Jefferson, Wallace B.	Supreme Court	Won	\$2,000
Texas	2002	Miller, Sid	House	Won	\$2,500
Texas	2002	Patterson, Jerry	Public Lands	Won	\$5,000
Texas	2002	Seaman, Eugene J.	House	Won	\$2,500

STATE	YEAR	CANDIDATE	OFFICE	STATUS	TOTAL
Texas	2002	Shauburger, Edward R.	House	Lost	\$1,000
Texas	2002	Stick, Jack	House	Won	\$1,000
Texas	2002	Taylor, Larry	House	Won	\$1,000
Texas	2002	Williams, Michael L.	Railroad Commission	Won	\$2,500
Texas	2004	Carrillo, Victor G.	Railroad Commission	Won	\$5,000
Virginia	1999	Craig, Christopher T.	House	Lost	\$10,000
Virginia	1999	Devolites, Jeannemarie A.	House	Won	\$5,000
Virginia	1999	Fitzsimmonds III, Robert S.	Senate	Lost	\$10,000
Virginia	1999	Rinzel, Daniel F.	Senate	Lost	\$10,000
Virginia	1999	Smith, Stephen F.	House	Lost	\$10,000
Virginia	2003	Cuccinelli II, Ken T.	Senate	Won	\$1,500
TOTAL					\$185,098

The Institute on Money in State Politics is still gathering final 2004 cycle contribution data. The ARMPAC total for 2004 is likely to rise as more contributions are added to the 50-state database.

TRMPAC ACTIVITIES IN TEXAS

DeLay was the founder and adviser to Texans for a Republican Majority.⁴ This political action committee gave exclusively in the state of Texas in the 2002 election cycle. TRMPAC and its fund-raising and spending have come under investigation by Ronnie Earle, a district attorney in Austin, for possible violations of state campaign-finance laws. Since the investigation began, DeLay has maintained that he was not involved in running TRMPAC. Jim Ellis, who also runs DeLay's ARMPAC, and two other DeLay associates face indictments in TRMPAC's operations. The crux of the investigation is whether or not the PAC raised corporate money that it then doled out as campaign contributions to Republican candidates for the Texas House of Representatives prior to the 2002 elections. Direct corporate contributions are prohibited in Texas. However, PACs formed by corporations can give.

TRMPAC gave only to Republican candidates for the House, in a very targeted strategy that focused primarily on candidates challenging incumbent Democrats and on open races, where the party had a chance of picking up new seats. TRMPAC gave to 35 candidates, and 26 of them — or 74 percent — were candidates running as challengers to incumbents or running in open races. Seventeen of those candidates, or 65 percent, won their races. Overall, 73 percent of TRMPAC-backed candidates won in 2002.

The table on the following page shows the contributions TRMPAC made to Texas House candidates in 2002.

⁴Kit R. Roane, Dan Morrison and Carol Flake Chapman, "Will the Hammer Fall?," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 28, 2005.

TRMPAC CONTRIBUTIONS TO TEXAS HOUSE CANDIDATES, 2002

CANDIDATE	DISTRICT	STATUS	TYPE	TOTAL
Hughes, D. Bryan*	005	Won	Challenger	\$65,087
Taylor, Larry*	024	Won	Open Race	\$55,124
Miller, Sid*	059	Won	Incumbent	\$53,245
Roberts, Dionne L.	137	Lost	Challenger	\$53,224
Stick, Jack*	050	Won	Open Race	\$45,505
Wong, Martha	134	Won	Challenger	\$44,351
Balido, Nelson	125	Lost	Challenger	\$41,251
Hamilton, Mike (Tuffy)*	019	Won	Open Race	\$36,369
Getterman, Holt*	056	Lost	Open Race	\$33,815
Seaman, Eugene J.*	032	Won	Incumbent	\$31,610
Green, Rick*	045	Lost	Incumbent	\$30,315
Flynn, Dan	002	Won	Open Race	\$28,580
Dawson, Glenda*	029	Won	Challenger	\$28,044
Brown, Betty*	004	Won	Incumbent	\$24,904
Baxter, Todd A.	048	Won	Challenger	\$23,517
Cook, Byron Curtis	008	Won	Open Race	\$20,662
Laubenberg, Jodie	089	Won	Open Race	\$13,500
Bohac, Dwayne*	138	Won	Challenger	\$12,373
Gattis, Dan	020	Won	Open Race	\$11,000
Butler, Thomas F.	128	Lost Primary	Open Race	\$10,000
Hardcastle, Rick*	068	Won	Incumbent	\$10,000
Keffer, Bill	107	Won	Open Race	\$8,500
Shauburger, Edward R.*	018	Lost	Challenger	\$8,373
Van Arsdale, Corbin	130	Won	Open Race	\$7,500
Mercer, Ken	117	Won	Open Race	\$5,939
Campbell, Scott	072	Won	Open Race	\$5,000
Denny, Mary	063	Won	Incumbent	\$5,000
Gillespie, Kris	050	Lost Primary	Open Race	\$5,000
Gonzalez, Janie Martinez	117	Lost Primary	Open Race	\$5,000
Harper-Brown, Linda L.	105	Won	Open Race	\$5,000
Matthews, C.L. Matt	070	Lost Primary	Open Race	\$5,000
Swinford, David	087	Won	Incumbent	\$5,000
Welder, Clark	035	Lost	Open Race	\$4,446
Crabb, Joe	127	Won	Incumbent	\$2,500
Madden, Jerry	067	Won	Incumbent	\$2,500
			TOTAL	\$747,234

* Candidate also received funds from ARMPAC in this election cycle.

These TRMPAC contributions accounted for an average of 10 percent of the total funds these candidates raised in 2002.

TRMPAC's giving is significant because of the outcome of the 2002 Texas elections. Democrats claim the targeted contributions were part of a bold political maneuver orchestrated by DeLay to further Republican power in Congress. In 2002, the Republicans won a majority in the Texas House for the first time in 130 years. The Republican Texas House then passed a redistricting bill

that could no longer be stopped by Democrats. The new districts drawn up for Texas put five to seven more Republican Texans in Congress in 2004, claim DeLay opponents. DeLay was personally involved in the drawing of the new district maps.⁵ Strategic campaign contributions aren't against the law, but if the investigation finds that TRMPAC raised money that it should not have, it could spell trouble for DeLay, even though he has distanced himself from this PAC.

⁵ Lou Dubose, "Justice DeLayed" *Mother Jones*, November/December 2004.