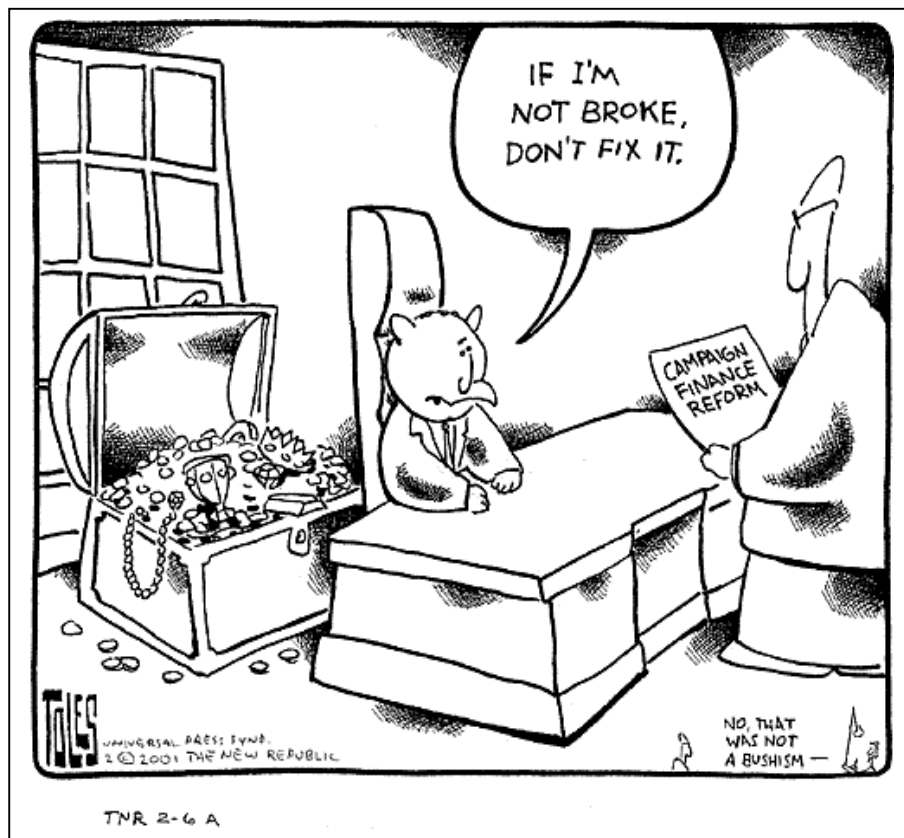


# Campaign Reform

# Heroes & Zeros



## How Members of the Texas House Voted on Campaign Reform

Texans for Public Justice \* May 2001

## Contents

I. Background .....	1
II. Secret Sabotage Votes .....	1
III. Open Sabotage Votes .....	2
IV. Heroes & Zeros .....	2
V. Voting Table .....	3

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**Copies of this and other reports are available from:**

**Texans for Public Justice  
609 W. 18<sup>th</sup> St., Suite E  
Austin, TX 78701  
(512) 472-9770  
tpj@tpj.org  
www.tpj.org**

# Campaign Reform Heroes & Zeros

## How Members of the Texas House Voted on Campaign Reform

### I. Background

When legislation to improve campaign finance disclosure in Texas (HB 2) went before the full Texas House of Representatives on April 17, 2001, several members lay in ambush with five critical amendments to weaken the bill's disclosure requirements. This report examines how members voted on three of these anti-disclosure amendments—as well as how they voted on the bill itself. Ironically, there is no way to analyze votes on the other two anti-disclosure amendments because the House tabulated these votes under procedures that shield members from any public accountability.

Despite Governor Rick Perry's explicit support for key provisions of HB 2 in his State of the State address, members of his party spearheaded most of the efforts to weaken or defeat the bill in the House. The House passed HB 2 by a vote of 82 – 61, with 71 Democrats and 11 Republicans voting for final passage. The members who voted against HB 2 included 57 Republicans and four Democrats.

The bipartisan co-sponsors of HB 2 were Reps. Debra Danburg (D-Houston), Pete Gallego (D-Alpine), Rob Junell (D-San Angelo), Jerry Madden (R-Richardson) and David Swinford (R-Dumas). On the three recorded votes to weaken HB 2, both Republican co-sponsors voted to water down their own bill. Rep. Swinford went so far as to vote against final passage of his bill.

As unanimously reported out of committee, HB 2 would have eliminated glaring loopholes in current campaign disclosure requirements. For the first time, that version of the bill would have required:

- ✓ Out-of-state PACs to report their expenditures;
- ✓ Contributors of more than \$200 to disclose their employer and occupation;
- ✓ 24-hour reporting of all contributions of more than \$1,000 received in the last nine days of an election;
- ✓ Disclosures of who paid for all candidate-specific ads run in the last 60 days of an election campaign.
- ✓ The Texas Ethics Commission to include donors' street names in its electronic disclosures posted on the Internet.

### II. Secret Sabotage Votes

When HB 2 hit the full House floor it ran a gauntlet of five key amendments to weaken its disclosure requirements. Fittingly, two of these anti-disclosure amendments were “division” votes that were tabulated in a way that shields members from public accountability for how they voted.

On a secret vote, the House adopted an anti-disclosure amendment offered by Rep. Helen Giddings (D-Dallas) and supported by Rep. Steve Wolens (D-Dallas). That amendment eliminated an HB 2 provision that mandated disclosure of the employer and occupation of large donors.

In the other secret vote, a razor-thin House majority defeated an amendment to block electronic disclosure of donors' street names. The House narrowly defeated this amendment by HB 2 co-sponsor Jerry Madden on an unrecorded 69-68 vote.

### **III. Open Sabotage Votes**

Although the House voted secretly on two anti-disclosure amendments, it publicly disclosed how members voted on three other anti-disclosure amendments. It also disclosed if members voted for or against final passage of HB 2. Based on how members voted on these four key open votes, a “Pro-Reform Voting Score” was calculated for each House member. Members earned a score of 100% if they voted *against* the three anti-disclosure amendments and voted *for* final passage of HB 2. In contrast, members who voted for the anti-disclosure amendments while voting against final passage of HB 2 wound up with a score of 0%.

As shown below, the House passed just one of the three anti-disclosure amendment votes that occurred out in the open. This was another Jerry Madden amendment that extended the reporting requirements for last-minute contributions from 24 hours to 48 hours.

### **IV. Heroes & Zeroes**

#### **Pro-Reform Heroes**

Sixty-two House members received a 100% Pro-Reform Voting Score. These members, all of whom are Democrats, are:

Alexander; Bailey; Bosse; Burnam; Capelo; Chavez; Coleman; Cook; Counts; Danburg; Deshotel; Dukes; Dunnam; Ehrhardt; Eiland; Farabee; Farrar; Flores; Gallego; Glaze; Gray; Gutierrez; Hinojosa; Hochberg; Hodge; Homer; Hopson; Junell; Kitchen; Longoria; Luna; Martinez Fischer; Maxey; McClendon; McReynolds; Menendez; Moreno, P.; Moreno, J.; Naishtat; Najera; Noriega; Oliveira; Olivo; Pickett; Puente; Rangel; Raymond; Reyna, A.; Ritter; Sadler; Salinas; Solis; Telford; Thompson; Tillery; Turner, S.; Uher; Uresti; Villarreal; Wise; Yarbrough; Zbranek

#### **Anti-Reform Zeros**

Fifty-six House members received a 0% Pro-Reform Voting Score. These members, including lone Democrat Ron Wilson, are:

Allen; Berman; Bonnen; Brimer; Brown, B.; Brown, F.; Callegari; Christian; Clark; Corte; Crabb; Craddick; Davis; Delisi; Denny; Driver; Elkins; George; Geren; Goodman; Green; Grusendorf; Hamric; Hardcastle; Hartnett; Heflin; Hill; Hope; Howard; Hunter; Hupp; Isett; Janek; Keel; Keffer; King; Kolkhorst; Krusee; Kuempel; Marchant; McCall; Morrison; Nixon; Reyna; Seaman; Shields; Smithee; Solomons; Swinford; Talton; Williams; Wilson; Wohlgemuth; Woolley

#### **Reform Turncoats**

Fifty-two current House members who voted *for* passage of a similar reform bill in the 1999 session voted *against* final passage of HB 2 this session. The earlier reform bill, HB 4, overwhelmingly passed the House 138-3 on May 13, 1999.

A possible explanation of this schizophrenic behavior is that some members who secretly oppose reform knew that the Senate was not going to pass its version of the 1999 bill (which died quietly in a Senate committee). This would have presented members who oppose reform with a risk-free opportunity to pose

as reformers. This time around, such grandstanding was much riskier because the Senate had already passed a weaker reform bill (SB 6) on March 14, 2001.

The 52 Reform Turncoats included four Democrats: Harold Dutton, Glenn Lewis, Ron Lewis and Ron Wilson. The full Reform Turncoat list is:

Allen; Berman; Bonnen; Brimer; Brown, B.; Brown, F.; Christian; Clark; Craddick; Davis, J.; Delisi; Denny; Driver; Dutton; Elkins; George; Goodman; Goolsby; Green; Hamric; Hardcastle; Hartnett; Hill; Hope; Howard; Hunter; Hupp; Isett; Janek; Keel; Keffer; King, P.; Krusee; Kuempel; Lewis, G.; Lewis, R.; Marchant; McCall; Merritt; Morrison; Mowery; Nixon; Reyna, E.; Seaman; Smithee; Solomons; Swinford; Talton; Williams; Wilson; Wohlgemuth; Woolley

## V. Voting Table - How Each Member Voted on HB 2

### Vote Descriptions

#### **Vote 1. Substitute Weaker Senate Bill for HB 2.**

Sponsor: Mary Denny, R-Aubrey

Amendment to replace HB 2 with the Senate's weaker reform bill (SB 6). House defeats the Denny amendment 74-69 on Rep. Gallego's motion to strike the amendment.

#### **Vote 2. Weaken Late Reporting Requirements.**

Sponsor: Jerry Madden, R-Richardson

Amendment to extend the reporting requirement from 24 hours to 48 hours for all contributions of \$1,000 or more that are received in the last nine days of an election. House adopts the Madden amendment 74-66.

#### **Vote 3. Strip 'Issue-Ad' Disclosure Requirement.**

Sponsor: Phil King, R-Weatherford

Amendment to strip HB 2 of provisions that would mandate the disclosure of who paid for all candidate-specific ads that run in the last 60 days of an election campaign. House defeats the King amendment 76-66 on Rep. Danburg's motion to strike the amendment.

#### **Vote 4. Final Passage of HB 2.**

Sponsor: Pete Gallego, D-Alpine

House passes HB 2 with a 82-61 vote on April 17, 2001.

### **Voting Table Key:**

+	= Pro-reform vote
-	= Anti-reform vote
Ex	= Excused Absence
O	= Absent or voting present
S	= Speaker (does not routinely vote)

Member		Party	Dist.	Vote 1	Vote 2	Vote 3	Vote 4	Pro-Reform Voting Record
Clyde	Alexander	D	12	+	+	+	+	100%
Ray	Allen	R	106	-	-	-	-	0%
Kip	Averitt	R	56	-	-	+	+	50%
Kevin	Bailey	D	140	+	+	+	+	100%
Leo	Berman	R	6	-	-	-	-	0%
Dennis	Bonnen	R	25	-	-	-	-	0%
Fred	Bosse	D	128	+	+	+	+	100%
Kim	Brimer	R	96	-	-	-	-	0%
Betty	Brown	R	4	-	-	-	-	0%
Fred	Brown	R	14	-	-	-	-	0%
Lon	Burnam	D	90	+	+	+	+	100%
William	Callegari	R	130	-	-	-	-	0%
Jaime	Capelo	D	34	+	+	+	+	100%
Bill	Carter	R	91	+	-	+	+	75%
Norma	Chavez	D	76	+	+	+	+	100%
Warren	Chisum	R	88	-	-	-	+	25%
Wayne	Christian	R	9	-	-	-	-	0%
Ron	Clark	R	62	-	-	-	-	0%
Garnet	Coleman	D	147	+	+	+	+	100%
Robert	Cook	D	28	+	+	+	+	100%
Frank	Corte	R	123	-	-	-	-	0%
David	Counts	D	70	+	+	+	+	100%
Joe	Crabb	R	127	-	-	-	-	0%
Tom	Craddick	R	82	-	-	-	-	0%
Myra	Crownover	R	64	-	+	-	-	25%
Debra	Danburg	D	137	+	+	+	+	100%
Yvonne	Davis	D	111	-	-	+	+	50%
John	Davis	R	129	-	-	-	-	0%
Dianne	Delisi	R	55	-	-	-	-	0%
Mary	Denny	R	63	-	-	-	-	0%
Joe	Deshotel	D	22	+	+	+	+	100%
Joe	Driver	R	113	-	-	-	-	0%
Dawonna	Dukes	D	50	+	+	+	+	100%
Jim	Dunnam	D	57	+	+	+	+	100%
Harold	Dutton	D	142	+	+	+	-	75%
Al	Edwards	D	146	-	+	+	O	50%
Harryette	Ehrhardt	D	107	+	+	+	+	100%
Craig	Eiland	D	24	+	+	+	+	100%
Gary	Elkins	R	135	-	-	-	-	0%
Dan	Ellis	D	18	+	-	+	+	75%
David	Farabee	D	69	+	+	+	+	100%

Member		Party	Dist.	Vote 1	Vote 2	Vote 3	Vote 4	Pro-Reform Voting Record
Jessica	Farrar	D	148	+	+	+	+	100%
Kino	Flores	D	36	+	+	+	+	100%
Pete	Gallego	D	74	+	+	+	+	100%
Domingo	Garcia	D	104	+	+	+	O	75%
Kenn	George	R	108	-	-	-	-	0%
Charlie	Geren	R	89	-	-	-	-	0%
Helen	Giddings	D	109	+	O	+	+	75%
Bob	Glaze	D	5	+	+	+	+	100%
Toby	Goodman	R	93	-	-	-	-	0%
Tony	Goolsby	R	102	-	O	-	-	0%
Patricia	Gray	D	23	+	+	+	+	100%
Rick	Green	R	46	-	-	-	-	0%
Kent	Grusendorf	R	94	-	-	-	-	0%
Roberto	Gutierrez	D	41	+	+	+	+	100%
Pat	Haggerty	R	78	-	O	O	+	25%
Peggy	Hamric	R	126	-	-	-	-	0%
Rick	Hardcastle	R	68	-	-	-	-	0%
Will	Hartnett	R	114	-	-	-	-	0%
Judy	Hawley	D	31	+	+	O	+	75%
Talmadge	Heflin	R	149	-	-	-	-	0%
Paul	Hilbert	R	150	Ex	Ex	Ex	Ex	-
Harvey	Hilderbran	R	53	Ex	Ex	Ex	Ex	-
Fred	Hill	R	112	-	-	-	-	0%
Juan	Hinojosa	D	40	+	+	+	+	100%
Scott	Hochberg	D	132	+	+	+	+	100%
Terri	Hodge	D	100	+	+	+	+	100%
Mark	Homer	D	3	+	+	+	+	100%
Ruben	Hope	R	16	-	-	-	-	0%
Chuck	Hopson	D	11	+	+	+	+	100%
Charlie	Howard	R	26	-	-	-	-	0%
Bob	Hunter	R	71	-	-	-	-	0%
Suzanna	Hupp	R	54	-	-	-	-	0%
Carl	Isett	R	84	-	-	-	-	0%
Kyle	Janek	R	134	-	-	-	-	0%
Jesse	Jones	D	110	+	-	+	+	75%
Elizabeth	Jones	R	121	-	-	-	+	25%
Delwin	Jones	R	83	-	-	+	+	50%
Robert	Junell	D	72	+	+	+	+	100%
Terry	Keel	R	47	-	-	-	-	0%
Jim	Keffer	R	60	-	-	-	-	0%
Phil	King	R	61	-	-	-	-	0%
Tracy	King	D	43	+	-	+	+	75%

Member		Party	Dist.	Vote 1	Vote 2	Vote 3	Vote 4	Pro-Reform Voting Record
Ann	Kitchen	D	48	+	+	+	+	100%
Lois	Kolkhorst	R	13	-	-	-	-	0%
Mike	Krusee	R	52	-	-	-	-	0%
Edmund	Kuempel	R	45	-	-	-	-	0%
Pete	Laney	D	85	S	S	S	S	-
Ron	Lewis	D	19	+	-	-	-	25%
Glenn	Lewis	D	95	+	-	+	-	50%
John	Longoria	D	117	+	+	+	+	100%
Vilma	Luna	D	33	+	+	+	+	100%
Jerry	Madden	R	67	-	-	-	+	25%
Ken	Marchant	R	99	-	-	-	-	0%
Trey	Martinez Fischer	D	116	+	+	+	+	100%
Glen	Maxey	D	51	+	+	+	+	100%
Brian	McCall	R	66	-	-	-	-	0%
Ruth Jones	McClendon	D	120	+	+	+	+	100%
Jim	McReynolds	D	17	+	+	+	+	100%
Jose	Menendez	D	124	+	+	+	+	100%
Tommy	Merritt	R	7	-	-	+	-	25%
Sidney	Miller	R	59	Ex	Ex	Ex	Ex	-
Paul	Moreno	D	77	+	+	+	+	100%
Joe E.	Moreno	D	143	+	+	+	+	100%
Geanie	Morrison	R	30	-	-	-	-	0%
Anna	Mowery	R	97	-	O	-	-	0%
Elliott	Naishtat	D	49	+	+	+	+	100%
Manny	Najera	D	75	+	+	+	+	100%
Joe	Nixon	R	133	-	-	-	-	0%
Rick	Noriega	D	145	+	+	+	+	100%
Rene	Oliveira	D	37	+	+	+	+	100%
Dora	Olivo	D	27	+	+	+	+	100%
Joseph	Pickett	D	79	+	+	+	+	100%
Jim	Pitts	R	10	-	-	-	+	25%
Robert	Puente	D	119	+	+	+	+	100%
Tom	Ramsay	D	2	+	-	+	+	75%
Irma	Rangel	D	35	+	+	+	+	100%
Richard	Raymond	D	42	+	+	+	+	100%
Arthur	Reyna	D	125	+	+	+	+	100%
Elvira	Reyna	R	101	-	-	-	-	0%
Allan	Ritter	D	21	+	+	+	+	100%
Paul	Sadler	D	8	+	+	+	+	100%
Ignacio	Salinas	D	44	+	+	+	+	100%
Gene	Seaman	R	32	-	-	-	-	0%
John	Shields	R	122	-	-	-	-	0%



Member		Party	Dist.	Vote 1	Vote 2	Vote 3	Vote 4	Pro-Reform Voting Record
Todd	Smith	R	92	-	-	-	+	25%
John	Smithee	R	86	-	-	-	-	0%
Jim	Solis	D	38	+	+	+	+	100%
Burt	Solomons	R	65	-	-	-	-	0%
David	Swinford	R	87	-	-	-	-	0%
Robert	Talton	R	144	-	-	-	-	0%
Barry	Telford	D	1	+	+	+	+	100%
Senfronia	Thompson	D	141	+	+	+	+	100%
Dale	Tillery	D	105	+	+	+	+	100%
Vicki	Truitt	R	98	Ex	Ex	Ex	Ex	-
Bob	Turner	D	73	+	-	+	+	75%
Sylvester	Turner	D	139	+	+	+	+	100%
Tom	Uher	D	29	+	+	+	+	100%
Carlos	Uresti	D	118	+	+	+	+	100%
Michael	Villarreal	D	115	+	+	+	+	100%
Gary	Walker	R	80	-	-	-	+	25%
Buddy	West	R	81	-	-	-	+	25%
Tommy	Williams	R	15	-	-	-	-	0%
Ron	Wilson	D	131	-	-	-	-	0%
Miguel	Wise	D	39	+	+	+	+	100%
Arlene	Wohlgemuth	R	58	-	-	-	-	0%
Steven	Wolens	D	103	+	-	+	+	75%
Beverly	Woolley	R	136	-	-	-	-	0%
Ken	Yarbrough	D	138	+	+	+	+	100%
Zeb	Zbranek	D	20	+	+	+	+	100%