

AWARDING INFLUENCE

No-Bid Contracts and Big Paydays for Gov. Greg Abbott's Donors

By Adrian Shelley and Cassidy Levin
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Executive Summary

Public Citizen compared donors to Texans for Greg Abbott Political Action Committee to companies awarded non-competitive, emergency contracts over the last decade. We identified eight companies that received non-competitive, emergency contracts from the state, most of which were tied to recent disasters such as COVID-19, hurricanes, or border security. In each instance, a company, its owners, or its executives donated large amounts to Gov. Abbott through his Texans for Greg Abbott PAC. After making the donations, the companies and their subsidiaries received one or more contracts, some for tens of millions of dollars. Donations were made by companies, their subsidiaries, their political action committees (PACs), their officers and executives, as well as the spouses of their officers and executives.

In one example, the number of a company's non-competitive contract awards decreased, the company's founder made several contributions to Texans for Greg Abbott PAC, and the flow of contract awards resumed. In another example, a contributor to the PAC received two contracts worth \$1,676,100, which were labeled simply as "fees."

The contributions were made from February 2014 to June 2025, and the contracts were awarded between April 2020 and October 2024. Public Citizen identified eighty-nine contracts, worth over \$950 million in total and ninety-six contributions worth over \$2.9 million.

We recommend the following improvements to state law:

1. A ban on no-bid contract awards to companies whose PACs, officers, and immediate family members of officers have made political contributions above a given threshold within the last election cycle.
2. Recipients of no-bid contracts, their PACs, their officers, and their immediate family members should not be allowed to make political contributions above a given threshold for a set period of time.
3. More thorough and transparent reporting of the award of non-competitive contracts after a disaster declaration.
4. Penalties for noncompliance including contract forfeiture and a ban on future contract eligibility for serious violators.

Background

Contract Procurement in Texas

Purchasing authority lies with the Comptroller of Public Accounts, the chief financial officer of the State of Texas.¹ The Comptroller is an elected statewide office with a term of four years. State law directs the Comptroller to employ a chief procurement officer with

the authority to enter into contracts on behalf of the state and to delegate contracting authority to state agencies.²

Contract procurement in Texas requires a competitive bidding process for the purchase of goods or services by the state government.³ This is meant to ensure that the process of awarding contracts is transparent and fair. It also allows government agencies to seek the highest quality goods or services for the best price, saving taxpayer money.⁴

Emergency purchases are exempt from the competitive bidding process, although state law allows the Comptroller to set a limit on the amount of an emergency purchase.⁵

Competitive bid opportunities are announced through posting to the electronic state business daily.⁶ State law suspends the posting requirement, “in an emergency requiring the state agency to make the procurement more quickly to prevent a hazard to life, health, safety, welfare, or property or to avoid undue additional cost to the state.”⁷

Emergency non-competitive contracts are a type of sole-source procurement that is meant to occur only when a delay from the competitive contract process poses a threat to public health and safety.⁸ For example, in the aftermath of a natural disaster, the competitive contract process would slow the delivery of necessary resources, possibly costing lives. For emergency non-competitive procurement to occur, the governor must issue an emergency declaration, allowing state agencies to begin procuring contracts relevant to the emergency through the non-competitive process.

For example, Governor Abbott issued an emergency declaration in March 2020 at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic,⁹ enabling state agencies to expedite the process of procuring relevant medical equipment, such as testing kits.

Agencies are required to provide notice to the Legislative Budget Board before any expenditure on a contract that is expected to exceed \$10 million in cost.¹⁰ For emergency procurement, the notice requirement begins with contracts exceeding \$1 million.¹¹ The Legislative Budget Board maintains a publicly available database of all Texas state contracts at <https://contracts.llb.texas.gov/>.

Ethical Requirements of Contract Procurement

State law requires state officials to behave ethically even in emergency situations. This includes not granting contracts to parties with whom the officer granting the contract may have a conflict of interest. Texas law states:

It is the policy of this state that a state officer or state employee may not have a direct or indirect interest, including financial and other interests, or engage in a business transaction or professional activity, or incur any obligation of any nature

that is in substantial conflict with the proper discharge of the officer's or employee's duties in the public interest.¹²

However, state agencies are given substantial flexibility to set their own specific ethics policies. Typically, agencies model their policies after the policy set by the Texas Attorney General's office.¹³ Still, they can also choose to create their own policies, while adhering to state law and Texas Ethics Commission rules.¹⁴ Unfortunately, many of these standards apply only to the individual granting the contract or to the agency appointee, leaving a gap in specific regulation regarding the governor.¹⁵

This does not mean the granting of a contract by a state agency to a major donor of the governor is acceptable, especially without a competitive process. Federal law prohibits individuals (including corporations) who have active government contracts from making contributions to candidates for public office or their committees.¹⁶ However, this restriction does not extend to employees of corporations that hold federal contracts.¹⁷

A 2016 report by Public Citizen identifies 15 states, politically blue and red, with regulations on campaign contributions from contractors.¹⁸

In Kentucky, neither an elected official nor their appointees may award a non-competitive contracts to an entity whose officers and employees, as well as their immediate family, have made political contributions to that elected official of more than \$5,000 in the previous election cycle.¹⁹ No person or an entity in which they have a substantial interest (defined as 10% ownership) may be given a contract if that person or their immediate family has contributed more than a given limit during the previous election cycle.²⁰ Unfortunately, these limits do not apply to PACs affiliated with the contracting company.²¹

In Ohio, an entity cannot receive a non-competitive contract worth more than \$500 if an individual who owns more than 20% of a corporation or business trust, or their spouse, has contributed more than \$1,000 within the previous two years to officials responsible for awarding the contract or appointing the individual who is responsible for awarding the contract.²² Again and unfortunately, these limits do not apply to PACs affiliated with the contracting company.²³

The state of Texas has faced criticism from advocates of campaign finance reform for its weak campaign finance laws²⁴ and failure to enforce the campaign finance laws it does have.²⁵ Texas places no limits on campaign contributions, meaning corporations and individuals are free to contribute as much as they are willing to spend, allowing for some of the massive contributions we see here.²⁶ We urge the Texas Legislature to impose pay-to-play laws restricting the awarding of contracts to corporate donors, as other states have, and to increase enforcement of campaign finance laws.

Contracts Awarded to Abbott Donors

Gothams LLC

Gothams LLC is an emergency management company whose mission, according to its website, is to “forge innovative and resilient solutions to the nation’s most challenging crises in our endeavor to strengthen our homeland security and make a progressive impact in the communities in which we live and work.”²⁷ It advertises responses to natural disasters, border security, and more.

Since 2020, Gothams has received forty-eight non-competitive emergency contracts from the Texas Division of Emergency Management worth \$748,581,769. Between 2020 and 2021, Gothams received a total of thirty-seven contracts, totaling \$639,179,591. In 2022, pandemic contracts began to slow, and Gothams only received one contract worth \$43,154,072. The same year, the company’s founder, Matthew Michelsen, started contributing large sums of money to Texans for Greg Abbott. Between August and October 2022, Michelsen made five contributions of \$50,000 each. Over the next two years, he contributed an additional \$350,000, for a total of \$600,000. Between 2023 and 2024, Gothams received another ten contracts, worth \$66,248,106 in total.

These contracts were procured under various emergency declarations, including the COVID-19 declaration, the border security declaration, and the Hurricane Beryl declaration. Contracts procured under the COVID emergency declaration involved the purchase of testing kits and the establishment of regional, mobile infusion centers. The COVID contracts also included two rentals described only as “3 chair RIC, turnkey.”²⁸ Contracts procured under the border security emergency declaration also related to the purchase of test kits, and those procured under the Hurricane Beryl declaration involved establishing a base camp and the purchase/shipment of ice. The contracts that do not specify the emergency declaration under which they were procured involved the Jim Hogg migrant processing facility, as well as laundry, shower, and restroom trailers, and generators.

Doggett Equipment Services Group

William “Leslie” Doggett is the owner of Doggett Equipment Services Group, also referred to as Leslie Doggett Industries. According to its website, it owns and operates more than 50 locations in Texas and neighboring states, providing services across the heavy equipment industry.²⁹ The company’s website states that, “Doggett is comprised of sixteen John Deere construction and forestry equipment dealerships, seven Toyota material handling equipment dealerships, fourteen Freightliner truck and trailer dealerships, one Vernon Gene’s dealership, two Link-Belt crane dealerships, and ten automotive dealerships.”³⁰

William Doggett is also a longtime donor to Gov. Abbott. Since 2014, Doggett and his companies have contributed \$1,744,500 to Texas for Greg Abbott. Doggett has contributed an additional \$131,998.40 in-kind by allowing Texans for Greg Abbott to use a plane. In 2022 and 2023, Doggett Freightliners of South Texas, one of Doggett's companies, received two non-competitive emergency contracts worth \$1,676,100. One of those contracts was received just eight days after a June 29, 2023, contribution by Doggett of \$500,000 to Texans for Greg Abbott. Both contracts state that their subject was fees, one states, "Fees for Inflation for TSB POs" and the other "Fees (not otherwise classified)," neither includes further information on the nature of the contract.

In late 2023, Abbott appointed Doggett to the Texas Parks and Wildlife Commission.³¹

HNTB Holdings

HNTB Holdings is a Missouri-based infrastructure development company. HNTB received a non-competitive emergency contract in 2021 worth \$2,601,009. According to the purchase order, the contract was procured to provide software updates.

Since 2015, HNTB Holdings, through its PAC, HNTB Holdings Ltd. Political Action Committee, and individuals who hold senior positions at the company, have contributed \$193,750 to Texans for Greg Abbott.

Between May 30, 2024, and June 4, 2024, high-ranking staff with HNTB contributed \$64,250. Nine of the ten individuals contributed exactly \$7,000. In the donation records, each individual noted that HNTB was their employer.

Other Instances of Contracts Awarded to Abbott Donors

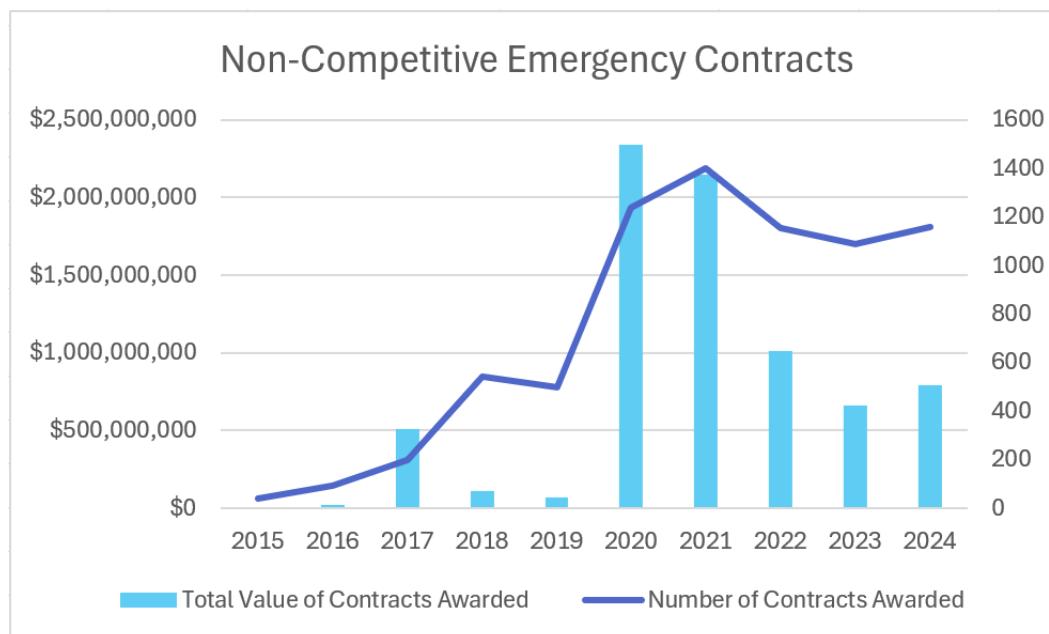
- **Abbott Laboratories** is a medical equipment manufacturer, unrelated to Gov. Abbott. Between 2014 and 2020, Abbott Laboratories contributed \$15,000 to Texans for Greg Abbott through the Abbott Laboratories Employee PAC. Between 2020 and 2023, Abbott Laboratories and its subsidiaries³² received ten non-competitive emergency contracts from the Texas government totaling \$63,977,637.
- **Deloitte LLP** has been awarded four non-competitive emergency contracts worth \$89,875,426. These contracts were awarded between 2020 and 2021 to Deloitte Consulting LLP and Deloitte & Touche LLP, both subsidiaries of Deloitte LLP.³³

Between 2014 and June 2025, Deloitte LLP and its senior officers (who noted their affiliation with Deloitte in their contributions) contributed \$126,660 to Texans for Greg Abbott. In a single day, August 28, 2014, six individuals associated with Deloitte, as well as the Deloitte PAC, contributed \$29,5000.

- **Enterprise Mobility** contributed \$52,500 through its PAC to Texans for Greg Abbott between mid-2014 and 2020. Between 2020 and 2024, Enterprise received nine non-competitive emergency contracts worth \$30,228,152, of which \$54,558 represented fines incurred by the government due to damage to rental vehicles.
- **McKesson Corporation** was awarded in 2021 and 2022 two noncompetitive emergency contracts worth \$8,179,449 through its subsidiaries, McKesson Medical Surgical Minnesota Supply Inc. and McKesson Medical Surgical Inc. McKesson Corporation Employees Political Fund donated \$25,000 in late 2018 and \$25,000 in 2022 to Texans for Greg Abbott.
- **Motorola Solutions** contributed \$21,500 to Texans for Greg Abbott between 2014 and 2020. Between 2020 and 2024, Motorola Solutions received thirteen non-competitive emergency contracts worth \$11,124,935 in total.

Award of Non-Competitive Contracts During Emergencies

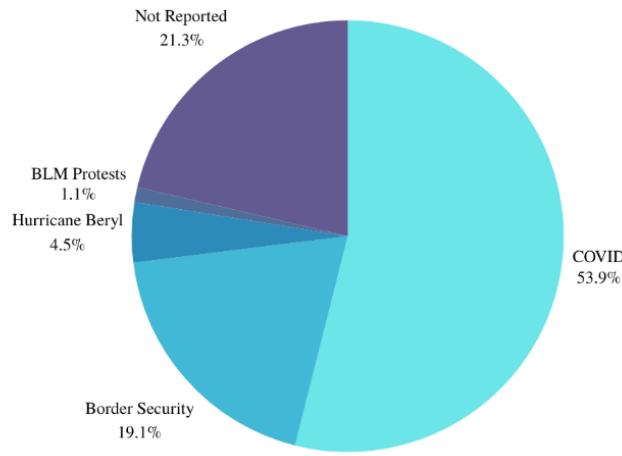
The size and number of non-competitive emergency contracts awarded in Texas has changed dramatically in recent years.



Hurricane Harvey in 2017 saw a single-year spike in the total value of non-competitive contracts from \$20 million to over \$500 million. With the COVID-19 pandemic beginning in 2020, the number of non-competitive contracts awarded increased from a few hundred

to well over a thousand. In each of the first two years of the pandemic, the total value of non-competitive contracts awarded topped \$2 billion.

A little over half (forty-eight) of the awarded contracts identified by Public Citizen as being issued to major donors to Texans for Greg Abbott PAC were procured under the COVID-19 emergency declaration issued on March 13, 2020.³⁴ Seventeen were procured under the May 31, 2021, border security emergency declaration.³⁵ Four contracts were issued after the July 5, 2024, emergency declaration made by acting Governor Dan Patrick following Hurricane Beryl.³⁶ One contract was procured under Abbott's May 31, 2020, emergency declaration during the Black Lives Matter protests following the murder of George Floyd.³⁷



Unfortunately, no information was provided on the emergency declaration under which several contracts were procured. This information can be accessed through the Legislative Budget Board Contracts Database,³⁸ which only includes information reported by the contract procurers. Agencies are not required to report the emergency declaration under which a contract was procured. If an agency chooses not to disclose the emergency, it is not available in the database. For nineteen of these contracts, which account for just over a fifth of the total, agencies chose not to report the emergency declaration under which a contract was procured.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Public Citizen identified eight companies that received \$950,681,935 worth of state contracts through non-competitive awards between 2014 and 2024. During those same years, these companies, their PACs, their officers, and their employees donated \$2,935,908 to Texans for Greg Abbott PAC.

Disaster response includes the rapid deployment of resources to areas of need. The speed involved may make normal contract bid and award procedures impossible. However, some of the disasters that have been used to justify no-bid contracts in Texas—such as the COVID-19 pandemic and border security—have lasted for years.

Ethics laws should be sufficient to eliminate conflict and the appearance of conflict in government decision-making. Many states have chosen to place restrictions on donations by companies and their principals to state leaders while holding government contracts.

We recommend that Texas lawmakers adopt stronger restrictions on pay-to-play practices in government contracting and implement reporting requirements for the governor's office in the aftermath of an emergency. Key elements of a strong law include a broad definition of contractors subject to the restrictions, which includes senior executive personnel, disclosure requirements that allow for compliance monitoring, and penalties, including contract forfeiture and bans for serious violations.³⁹

Methodology

Public Citizen downloaded the Texas State Contracts database maintained by the Legislative Budget Board at <https://contracts.llb.texas.gov/> on March 6, 2025. The database contained 197,327 entries beginning on September 1, 2015, and extending into early 2025. From that database, we extracted the 7,443 contracts for which the procurement method was listed as "Non-Comp, Emergency." Using the dates provided for these contracts, we were able to identify most of the emergency declarations under which the contracts were procured.

We downloaded from the Texas Ethics Commission website⁴⁰ the list of donations to Texans for Greg Abbott PAC from 2014 to the present. We sorted this list by the size of donations and informed our search through the list using independent sources, including [Transparency USA](#) (individual donors) and [Open Secrets](#) (corporate donors). To connect individual donors to companies and link subsidiaries to parent companies, we utilized resources that include LinkedIn and the companies' own websites.

Appendix

Table 1: Abbott Laboratories Contributions

Name on Record	Amount	Date	TEC Report Number
Abbott Laboratories Employee PAC	\$2,500	06/26/2014	622708
Abbott Laboratories Employee PAC	\$2,500	10/22/2015	100615450
Abbott Laboratories Employee Political Action Committee	\$2,500	11/02/2016	100660429
Abbott Laboratories Employee Political Action Committee	\$2,500	01/24/2018	100696211
Abbott Laboratories Employee Political Action Committee	\$2,500	01/17/2020	100787666
Abbott Laboratories Employee Political Action Committee	\$2,500	12/04/2020	100809044

Table 2: Abbott Laboratories Contracts

Name of Vendor *	Amount	Date	Emergency	Subject	Agency
ABBOTT LABORATORIES	\$5,127,446	4/24/2020	COVID	Reagent, Control, Calibrator	Texas Department of Emergency Management
ABBOTT RAPID DX NORTH AMERICA LLC	\$179,565	6/10/2020	COVID	Test Kits	Texas Department of Emergency Management
ABBOTT RAPID DX NORTH AMERICA LLC	\$197,325	9/9/2020	COVID	COVID 19 Test Kits	Texas Department of Emergency Management

* Vendor names are rendered in these tables exactly as they appear in the Comptroller's contracts database. Public Citizen confirmed that each table refers to a single vendor despite name variations in the database.

ABBOTT RAPID DX NORTH AMERICA LLC	\$334,866	10/7/2020	N/A	COVID Testing Equipment	Texas Department of Emergency Management
ABBOTT RAPID DX NORTH AMERICA LLC	\$3,569,760	1/19/2021	COVID	ID NOW COVID19 Test Cartridge	Texas Department of Emergency Management
ABBOTT RAPID DX NORTH AMERICA LLC	\$5,025,250	1/21/2021	COVID	BinaxNOW – Test Kits	Texas Department of Emergency Management
ABBOTT RAPID DX NORTH AMERICA LLC	\$17,760,000	8/23/2021	COVID	Abbott ID NOW – Test Kits	Texas Department of Emergency Management
ABBOTT RAPID DX NORTH AMERICA LLC	\$7,537,875	8/30/2021	COVID	Abbott BinaxNOW – Test Kits	Texas Department of Emergency Management
ABBOTT RAPID DX NORTH AMERICA LLC	\$24,120,000	9/8/2021	COVID	Abbott BinaxNOW – Test Kits	Texas Department of Emergency Management
ABBOTT LABORATORIES INC	\$125,550	11/10/2023	N/A	Radiopharmaceuticals	The University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston

Table 3: Deloitte Contributions

Name on Record	Amount	Date	TEC Report Number
Krishnakant, Dave (Deloitte Principle)	\$500	5/12/2014	622708
Blume, Jessica and Kenneth (Deloitte Principle)	\$2,500	8/28/2014	628592
Deloitte PAC	\$10,000	8/28/2014	628592

Farlow, Kathleen and Robert (Deloitte Managing Partner)	\$5,000	8/28/2014	628592
Schwerdtfeger, Kathryn (Deloitte Partner)	\$1,000	8/28/2014	628592
Scott, Susan and George (Deloitte Partner)	\$9,000	8/28/2014	628592
Sethi, Sangeeta and Sanjeev (Deloitte Partner)	\$1,000	8/28/2014	628592
Warner, Karen and Ray (Deloitte Partner)	\$1,000	8/28/2014	628592
Scott, George (Deloitte Partner)	\$160	9/8/2014	628592
Amjad, Adnan S. (Deloitte Partner)	\$1,000	9/23/2014	628592
Stills, Deborah and Richard (Deloitte Principles)	\$500	10/9/2014	631303
Deloitte Political Action Committee	\$1,500	7/7/2016	100660429
Deloitte Political Action Committee	\$5,000	12/7/2016	100660429
Ward, Lori (partner in Deloitte)	\$500	9/21/2017	100695435
Deloitte Political Action Committee	\$5,000	12/14/2017	100695435
Deloitte Political Action Committee	\$10,000	9/11/2018	100722075
Deloitte Political Action Committee	\$15,000	10/17/2019	100769514
Deloitte Political Action Committee	\$5,000	9/25/2020	100809044
Kleinhammer, Rodney (Deloitte Principal)	\$5,500	12/20/2021	100846880
Lobo, Aldila (Deloitte Principle)	\$1,000	12/20/2021	100846880
Wyatt, Michael (Deloitte Cyber Risk Leader)	\$1,500	12/20/2021	100846880
Cooper, Christopher (Deloitte CPA)	\$25,000	3/19/2024	100962939
Deloitte Political Action Committee	\$10,000	12/12/2024	100987892
Deloitte Political Action Committee	\$10,000	6/30/2024	101011609

Table 4: Deloitte Contracts

Name of Vendor	Amount	Date	Emergency	Subject	Agency
DELOITTE & TOUCHE LLP	\$400,000	6/17/2020	N/A	Benefits Proportionality Audit	Texas Woman's University
DELOITTE CONSULTING LLP	\$71,439,989	3/23/2021	N/A	COVID Vaccine Call Center	Department of Health and Human Services
DELOITTE & TOUCHE LLP	\$15,982,049	6/10/2021	COVID	COVID 19 - General Program Services	Department of Housing and Community Affairs
DELOITTE CONSULTING LLP	\$2,053,388	8/25/2021	Border Security	SPART-N SMS Licenses	Department of Public Safety

Table 5: Doggett Equipment Services Group Contributions

Name on Record	Amount	Date	TEC Report Number
Doggett, Leslie (Doggett Equipment President)	\$100,000	12/10/2014	643383
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$7,148.41 (In Kind)	8/6/2015	100615450
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$100,000	10/7/2015	100615450
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$150,000	12/10/2016	100660429
Doggett, Leslie (Doggett Equipment President)	\$12,083.33 (In Kind)	2/17/2020	100787666
Doggett, Leslie (Doggett Equipment President)	\$12,083.33 (In Kind)	2/18/2020	100787666
Doggett, Leslie (Doggett Equipment President)	\$12,083.33	2/21/2020	100787666

	(In Kind)		
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$12,500	8/11/2020	100809044
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$32,000	10/28/2020	100809044
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$27,000 (In Kind)	5/5/2022	100866845
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$50,000	6/20/2022	100866845
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$9,000 (In Kind)	7/16/2022	100875755
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$19,800 (In Kind)	8/27/2022	100875755
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$19,800 (In Kind)	10/19/2022	100880317
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$300,000	10/19/2022	100880317
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$500,000	6/29/2023	100911494
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment President)	\$13,000 (In Kind)	10/17/2023	100934880
Doggett, William (Doggett Equipment)	\$500,000	06/26/2025	101011609

Table 6: Doggett Equipment Services Group Contracts

Name of Vendor	Amount	Date	Emergency	Subject	Agency
DOGGETT FREIGHTLINER OF SOUTH TEXAS LLC	\$704,600	8/24/2022	N/A	FEES (NOT OTHERWISE CLASSIFIED)	Department of Transportation

DOGGETT FREIGHTLINER OF SOUTH TEXAS LLC	\$971,500	7/7/2023	N/A	Fees for inflation for TSB POs	Department of Transportation
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Table 7: Enterprise Holdings Contributions

Name on Record	Amount	Date	TEC Report Number
Enterprise Holdings Inc. PAC	\$5,000	10/24/2014	631303
Enterprise Holdings, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$7,500	11/04/2016	100660429
Enterprise Holdings, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$3,000	04/27/2018	100717221
Enterprise Holdings, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$7,000	10/08/2018	100725045
Enterprise Holdings, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$10,000	12/04/2020	100809044
Enterprise Holdings, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$10,000	10/27/2022	100880317
Enterprise Holdings, INC. / Enterprise Mobility Political Action Committee	\$10,000	11/08/2024	100987892

Table 8: Enterprise Holdings Contracts

Name of Vendor	Amount	Date	Emergency	Subject	Agency
ENTERPRISE HOLDINGS	\$3,000,000	9/1/2020	COVID	Vehicle Rentals	Texas Division of Emergency Management
ENTERPRISE RENT-A-CAR COMPANY	\$637	12/1/2020	N/A	Rental Car Damage	Texas Division of Emergency Management
ENTERPRISE HOLDING INC	\$1,191,830	5/2/2022	Border Security	SAD - Feb 2022 Enterprise OLS Invoices	Military Department
ENTERPRISE HOLDING INC	\$1,524,815	6/9/2022	N/A	SAD - ENTERPRISE MAY 2022	Military Department

ENTERPRISE HOLDINGS, INC.	\$1,931,466	7/22/2022	Border Security	Enterprise Vehicle Rental. Operation Lone Star	Military Department
ENTERPRISE HOLDINGS INC	\$53,921	8/19/2022	Border Security	SAD Enterprise Damage Claims 3	Military Department
ENTERPRISE HOLDINGS INC	\$19,892,000	10/24/2023	Border Security	SAD Enterprise Rentals FY24	Military Department
ENTERPRISE HOLDINGS INC	\$2,504,864	10/27/2023	Border Security	SAD Enterprise Dmg Claims FY24	Military Department
ENTERPRISE HOLDINGS INC	\$128,619	2/13/2024	Border Security	SAD Missing Vehicle Payments	Military Department

Table 9: Gothams LLC Contributions

Name on Record	Amount	Date	TEC Report Number
Michelsen, Matthew (Gothams Founder)	\$50,000	08/17/2022	100875755
Michelsen, Matthew (Gothams Founder)	\$50,000	09/01/2022	100875755
Michelsen, Matthew (Gothams Founder)	\$50,000	09/19/2022	100875755
Michelsen, Matthew (Gothams Founder)	\$50,000	10/04/2022	100880317
Michelsen, Matthew (Gothams Founder)	\$50,000	10/25/2022	100880317
Michelsen, Matthew (Gothams Founder)	\$100,000	06/28/2023	100911494
Michelsen, Matthew (Gothams Founder)	\$250,000	12/06/2024	100987892

Table 10: Gothams LLC Contracts

Name of Vendor	Amount	Date	Emergency	Subject	Agency
GOTHAMS LLC	\$45,000,000	4/30/2020	COVID	Test Kits/Collection Kits	Texas Division of Emergency Management (TDEM)
GOTHAMS LLC	\$22,482,525	6/10/2020	COVID	Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$48,752,925	6/29/2020	COVID	Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$101,415,825	7/2/2020	COVID	Test kits and processing	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$22,500,000	9/30/2020	COVID	Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$22,500,000	10/22/2020	COVID	Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$30,877,200	11/3/2020	COVID	COVID-19 Collection Kits with Testing Services	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$22,500,000	11/7/2020	COVID	Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$26,633,851	11/13/2020	COVID	Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$1,054,271	11/19/2020	COVID	COVID 19 Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$21,002,327	11/20/2020	COVID	Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$12,522,075	11/20/2020	COVID	COVID 19 Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$247,875	11/27/2020	COVID	COVID 19 Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$17,003,850	12/3/2020	COVID	Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$22,500,000	12/17/2020	COVID	COVID-19 Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$30,344,400	12/24/2020	COVID	COVID-19 Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$30,000,000	12/29/2020	COVID	COVID-19 Collection Kits with Testing Service	TDEM

GOTHAMS LLC	\$1,121,300	8/6/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$22,500,000	8/16/2021	COVID	Alinity Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$22,488,000	8/16/2021	COVID	Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$14,400,000	8/17/2021	COVID	Infusion Center	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$11,200,000	8/17/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center Site, Odessa	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$5,510,000	8/20/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center, Nacogdoches	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$4,789,999	8/20/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$4,305,000	8/25/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center, Tyler	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$1,224,000	8/26/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center Site, Rockwall	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$5,592,000	8/27/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$5,025,000	8/27/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center Site, Andrews	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$16,251,529	8/30/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$10,051,613	8/30/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center Site, Collin College	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$2,589,000	9/8/2021	COVID	Mobile Infusion Center	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$6,000,000	9/14/2021	COVID	BinaxNOW – Test Kits	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$5,839,010	9/15/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center	TDEM

GOTHAMS LLC	\$5,121,000	9/16/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$1,600,016	9/16/2021	COVID	Regional Infusion Center Site, Waco	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$14,945,000	12/29/2021	COVID	Rapid Antigen Test (INDICAID & Flowflex)	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$1,290,000	12/30/2021	COVID	3 Chair RIC, Turnkey (Burnet)	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$43,154,072	1/12/2022	Border Security	Jim Hogg County - Intake and Processing Center	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$104,900	6/19/2023	N/A	Shower Trailers	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$55,860	6/19/2023	N/A	Generators	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$4,219,496	7/9/2024	Hurricane Beryl	Base Camp	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$3,582,000	7/9/2024	Hurricane Beryl	AB0933352 Base Camp	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$1,911,200	7/11/2024	Hurricane Beryl	AB0934525 Ice Truckloads	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$64,275	7/16/2024	N/A	Laundry Trailer	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$59,000	8/1/2024	N/A	Shower and Restroom Trailer Rental	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$26,635,644	8/30/2024	N/A	Jim Hogg Staffing Operations	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$26,635,645	9/30/2024	N/A	Gothams LLC	TDEM
GOTHAMS LLC	\$2,980,086	10/16/2024	Hurricane Beryl	Ice Truckloads	TDEM

Table 11: HNTB Corporation Contributions

Name on Record	Amount	Date	TEC Report Number
HNTB Holdings Ltd. PAC	\$1,000	11/5/2015	100615450
HNTB Holdings Ltd. PAC	\$2,000	6/10/2016	100636925
HNTB Holdings Ltd. Political Action Committee	\$1,000	10/26/2016	100660429
HNTB Holdings Ltd. Political Action Committee	\$5,000	11/2/2016	100660429
HNTB Holdings LTD. PAC	\$25,000	12/11/2017	100695435
Aadnesen, Christopher (HNTB Vice President)	\$500	7/31/2018	100722075
HNTB Holdings Ltd. Political Action Committee	\$10,000	6/28/2019	100753200
HNTB Holdings Ltd. Political Action Committee	\$10,000	12/4/2020	100809044
HNTB Holdings Ltd. Political Action Committee	\$5,000	7/12/2021	100846880
HNTB Holdings Ltd. Political Action Committee	\$5,000	9/22/2021	100846880
HNTB Holdings Ltd. Political Action Committee	\$15,000	12/10/2021	100846880
HNTB Holdings Ltd. Political Action Committee	\$25,000	8/30/2022	100875755
HNTB Holdings Ltd. Political Action Committee	\$25,000	4/29/2024	100962939
Hammond, Harvey (HNTB Director)	\$7,000	5/30/2024	100962939
Inabinet, Michael (HNTB Executive)	\$7,000	5/30/2024	100962939
Mann, Doug (HNTB Corporate President)	\$7,000	5/30/2024	100962939
O'Grady, Thomas (HNTB Engineer)	\$7,000	5/30/2024	100962939
Yarossi, Paul (HNTB Engineer)	\$7,000	5/31/2024	100962939
Sweeney, Michael (HNTB Engineer)	\$7,000	5/31/2024	100962939
Dippel, Michelle (HNTB President)	\$7,000	6/3/2024	100962939
Poppe, Russell (HNTB Engineer)	\$1,250	6/3/2024	100962939
Slimp, Robert (HNTB Civil Engineer)	\$7,000	6/3/2024	100962939
Ray, James (HNTB Consultant)	\$7,000	6/4/2024	100962939

Table 12: HNTB Corporation Contracts

Name of Vendor	Amount	Date	Emergency	Subject	Agency
HNTB CORPORATION	\$2,601,009	9/20/2021	N/A	UPGRADING SERVICES, SOFTWARE	Department of Transportation

Table 13: McKesson Corporation Contributions

Name on Record	Amount	Date	TEC Report Number
McKesson Corporation Employees Political Fund	\$25,000	12/07/2018	100730315
McKesson Corporation Employees Political Fund	\$25,000	10/11/2022	100880317

Table 14: McKesson Corporation Contracts

Name of Vendor	Amount	Date	Emergency	Subject	Agency
MCKESSON MEDICAL SURGICAL MINNESOTA SUPPLY INC	\$8,000,000	12/29/2021	COVID	Quickvue At-Home Otc	Texas Division of Emergency Management
MCKESSON MEDICAL SURGICAL INC	\$179,449	4/18/2022	Border Security	Emergency Medical Items, Laredo, TX-OLS	Military Department

Table 15: Motorola Solutions Contributions

Name on Record	Amount	Date	TEC Report Number
Motorola Solutions Inc. PAC	\$1,000	7/22/2014	628592
Motorola Solutions Inc. PAC	\$5,000	9/11/2014	628592
Motorola Solutions, Inc. PAC	\$1,000	12/1/2015	100615450
Motorola Solutions, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$1,000	12/2/2016	100660429
Motorola Solutions, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$2,500	1/17/2018	100696211

Motorola Solutions, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$2,500	5/8/2018	100717221
Motorola Solutions, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$5,000	11/26/2019	100769514
Motorola Solutions, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$2,500	12/10/2020	100809044
Motorola Solutions, Inc. Political Action Committee	\$1,000	12/10/2020	100809044

Table 16: Motorola Solutions Contracts

Name of Vendor	Amount	Date	Emergency	Subject	Agency
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS INC (formally ENFORCEMENT VIDEO LLC)	\$74,651	6/10/2020	BLM Protests	Body Cameras and Accessories	Department of Public Safety
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS INC	\$113,783	8/12/2021	Border Security	Border Console Upgrade	Department of Public Safety
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS INC	\$260,910	8/26/2021	Border Security	Border Platform 8500 Radios	Department of Public Safety
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS INC	\$61,069	8/27/2021	N/A	Motorola Radio Equipment and Supplies	Texas Division of Emergency Management
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS INC	\$1,469,999	8/31/2021	Border Security	Motorola Radios	Military Department
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS INC	\$4,759,270	11/19/2021	Border Security	Motorola Radios	Military Department
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS INC	\$441,066	1/12/2022	Border Security	Radio Control Heads for THP	Department of Public Safety
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS	\$140,000	5/10/2023	Border Security	M500 Rear Cameras	Department of Public Safety
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS INC	\$504,081	5/31/2023	Border Security	DD APX 8500 Radios	Department of Public Safety
Motorola Solutions	\$602,269	6/9/2023	Border Security	Equipment	Department of Public Safety

MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS	\$76,107	10/27/2023	N/A	Y Cables	Department of Public Safety
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS, INC.	\$640,000	6/3/2024	N/A	MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR SERVICES	Department of Transportation
MOTOROLA SOLUTIONS, INC.	\$1,981,581	7/12/2024	N/A	TWO-WAY RADIO RECEIVERS	Department of Transportation

¹ [Texas Government Code Sec. 2155.061](#).

² [Texas Government Code Sec. 2155.091](#).

³ [Texas Government Code Sec. 2155.063](#).

⁴ "State of Texas Procurement and Contract Management Guide" Comptroller's Office, Appendix 1 – Page 2, available at <https://comptroller.texas.gov/purchasing/publications/procurement-contract.php>.

⁵ [Texas Government Code Sec. 2155.137](#).

⁶ [Texas Government Code Sec. 2155.083](#).

⁷ [Texas Government Code Sec. 2155.083\(i\)](#). See also 34 Tex. Admin. Code Sec. 20.25(b)(21).

⁸ "State of Texas Procurement and Contract Management Guide" Comptroller's Office, Page 39, available at <https://comptroller.texas.gov/purchasing/publications/procurement-contract.php>.

⁹ Governor Greg Abbott, "A proclamation certifying that COVID-19 poses an imminent threat of disaster in the state and declaring a state of disaster for all counties in Texas" (13 Mar. 2020) available

at https://gov.texas.gov/uploads/files/press/DISASTER_covid19_disaster_proclamation_IMAGE_03-13-2020.pdf.

¹⁰ General Appropriations Act, House Bill 1, 88th R.S. at Article IX, Section 7.11(b)(1), available at <https://www.lbb.texas.gov/>.

¹¹ *Id.* at Section 7.11(b)(2)(A).

¹² [Texas Government Code Sec. 572.001\(a\)](#).

¹³ "Model Ethics Policy for Texas State Agencies" Office of the Attorney General available at <https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/sites/default/files/files/divisions/general-oag/ModelEthicsPolicy.pdf>.

¹⁴ "Commission Rules," Texas Ethics Commission, <https://www.ethics.state.tx.us/rules/>.

¹⁵ "A Guide to Ethics Laws for State Officers and Employees" Texas Ethics Commission (1 Jan. 2022) at p. 4, available at <https://www.ethics.state.tx.us/data/resources/guides/Gofficers-employEthics.pdf>.

¹⁶ [52 U.S.C. Sec. 30119\(a\)](#).

¹⁷ [11 C.F.R. Sec. 115.6](#).

¹⁸ Holman, Craig and Kyung rok Wi, "Pay-to-Play Restrictions on Campaign Contributions from Government Contractors, 2016," available at https://www.citizen.org/wp-content/uploads/pay-to-play_state_summary_report.pdf (cited below as "Holman 2016").

¹⁹ [Kentucky Revised Statutes Sec. 121.330](#).

²⁰ Kentucky Revised Statutes Secs. [121.056](#) and [121.150](#).

²¹ Holman, 2016 *citing* K.R.S. Secs. 121.055, 121.056, and 121.330.

²² [Ohio Revised Code Sec. 3517.13\(I\)](#).

²³ Holman, 2016 *citing* O.R.C. Secs. 3517.13 and 3517.992.

²⁴ “Common Cause Texas Statement on Need for Campaign Finance Reform” (9 Aug. 2022) *available at* <https://www.commoncause.org/texas/press/common-cause-texas-statement-on-need-for-campaign-finance-reform/>.

²⁵ Despart, Zach “In Texas, violating campaign ethics laws rarely yields repercussions. The attorney general’s office is to blame.” Texas Tribune (23 July 2024) *available at* <https://www.texastribune.org/2024/07/23/texas-ethics-campaign-finance-attorney-general/>.

²⁶ “Frequently Asked Questions about the 2024 Elections” Texas Ethics Commission, *available at* https://www.ethics.state.tx.us/resources/FAQs/2024election_faqs.php.

²⁷ <https://www.gothams.com/about>.

²⁸ See appendix, Table 10: Gothams Contracts.

²⁹ <https://www.doggett.com>.

³⁰ <https://www.doggett.com>.

³¹ “Governor Abbott Names Hildebrand Chair, Appoints Doggett To Parks And Wildlife Commission” (24 Aug. 2023) *available at* <https://gov.texas.gov/news/post/governor-abbott-names-hildebrand-chair-appoints-doggett-to-parks-and-wildlife-commission>.

³² <https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1800/000110465921025751/abt-20201231xex21.htm>

³³ <https://www.deloitte.com/us/en/about.html>.

³⁴ Governor Greg Abbott, “A proclamation certifying that COVID-19 poses an imminent threat of disaster in the state and declaring a state of disaster for all counties in Texas” (13 Mar. 2020) *available at* https://gov.texas.gov/uploads/files/press/DISASTER_covid19_disaster_proclamation_IMAGE_03-13-2020.pdf.

³⁵ Governor Greg Abbott, “A proclamation certifying that the ongoing surge of individuals unlawfully crossing the Texas-Mexico border poses an ongoing and imminent threat...” (31 May 2021) *available at* https://gov.texas.gov/uploads/files/press/DISASTER_border_security_IMAGE_05-31-2021.pdf.

³⁶ Governor Greg Abbott, “A proclamation amending a previous proclamation that declared a state of disaster...” (5 July 2024) *available at* https://gov.texas.gov/uploads/files/press/DISASTER_Hurricane_Beryl.pdf.

³⁷ Governor Greg Abbott, “A proclamation certifying that threats and incidents of violence constitute and pose an imminent threat of disaster.” (31 May 2020) *available at* https://gov.texas.gov/uploads/files/press/DISASTER_threats_and_incidents_of_violence_IMAGE_05-31-2020.pdf.

³⁸ “Texas State Contracts” Legislative Budget Board, *available at* <https://contracts.llb.texas.gov/>.

³⁹ See Holman, 2016 at p. 1.

⁴⁰ <https://www.ethics.state.tx.us/search/cf/SimpleSearch.php>.