

# Austin's Oldest Profession:

## *Texas' Top Lobby Clients & Those Who Service Them (Analyzing 2011 Lobby Contracts)*

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**Source:** Data analyzed in this report come from lobby reports filed with the Texas Ethics Commission by the end of 2011. Texas lobbyists report their income in ranges (such as "\$50,000 to \$99,999"). For brevity's sake, this study sometimes reports the maximum amount, labeling it "maximum" or "up to."

Texans for Public Justice is a non-profit, non-partisan research and advocacy organization that monitors money in Texas politics and promotes campaign finance and judicial-selection reforms.

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## I. Lobby Facts

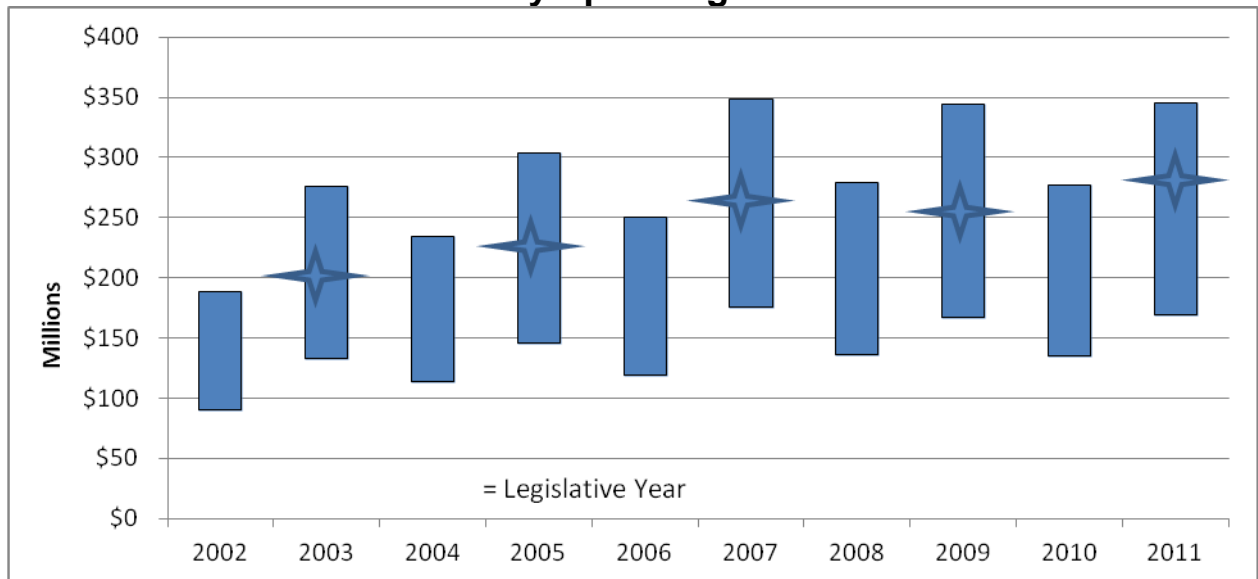
- Special interests spent up to \$2.8 billion over the past decade on more than 68,000 Texas lobby contracts.
- During 2011, 2,908 clients paid 1,836 Texas lobbyists up to \$345 million, a tiny increase over the \$344 million spent during the last legislative session in 2009.
- Twenty-seven clients boasted maximum lobby expenditures exceeding \$1 million apiece in 2011. AT&T, which perennially tops this list, spent up to \$10.6 million on 110 contracts.
- The biggest “new” client was Global Gaming, a company created by the Chickasaw Nation to acquire Lone Star Park racetrack. Global Gaming spent up to \$1.6 million on lobbyists, with the Chickasaw spending up to \$850,000 more.
- Led by the Energy Future Holdings Corp., “Energy & Natural Resources” clients spent more on the lobby than any other industry (up to \$64 million), accounting for 19 percent of Texas’ total lobby expenditures.
- Health clients ranked No. 2, spending up to \$53 million, or 15 percent of the total. The Texas Association for Home Care led this group as it fought proposed state budget cuts for Medicaid and Medicare.
- “Ideological & Single-Interest” clients, led by local governments, ranked No. 3, spending up to \$44 million and accounting for 13 percent of all lobby spending.
- Gambling and alcohol interests dominated the Miscellaneous Business sector, which spent up to \$41 million to rank No. 4.
- Thirty lobbyists reported maximum 2011 incomes exceeding \$1.5 million apiece. These elite lobbyists collectively received up to \$68 million, accounting for 20 percent of all lobby dollars.
- Carol McGarah reported up to \$4.3 million from 77 clients, making her the top-billing lobbyist. Rusty Kelly, her partner at Blackridge, Inc., ranked No. 2, followed by Andrea McWilliams.
- Texas lobbyists reported 32 mega-contracts with maximum values of \$300,000 or more. A Connecticut-based executive for London’s Henderson Global Investors reported the largest contract worth \$1 million.

## II. Lobby Clients

### A. Record Lobby Spending

This report reveals the clients and industries that spent the most to influence state officials in 2011, as well as Texas' top hired guns (exact contract values are unknown because Texas lobbyists typically report them in ranges such as "\$50,000 to \$99,999"). Special interests have spent up to \$2.9 billion on more than 68,000 Texas lobby contracts over the past 10 years. Texas lobby spending peaks in odd-numbered years when the biennial legislature convenes its regular sessions. Apart from the recessionary years 2009 and 2010, lobby spending increased over the past decade, regardless of whether you compare odd-numbered legislative years or even-numbered years. Special interests spent up to \$345 million on the Texas lobby in 2011, marking a negligible increase from 2009. During that same period, nine percent more lobbyists chased maximum lobby expenditures that increased by just one-half of one percent.

**Record Lobby Spending in 2011**



Year	Min. Value of Contracts	Max. Value of Contracts	No. of Contracts	No. of Lobbyists	No. of Clients
2002	\$90,175,079	\$188,305,115	4,737	1,256	1,827
2003	\$132,485,543	\$275,585,578	6,593	1,578	2,283
2004	\$113,960,043	\$234,210,077	5,321	1,371	1,896
2005	\$145,735,247	\$304,122,043	7,455	1,525	2,471
2006	\$119,315,500	\$250,400,439	6,120	1,315	2,125
2007	\$175,823,000	\$348,263,054	8,166	1,629	2,706
2008	\$135,775,000	\$278,674,935	6,545	1,463	2,295
2009	\$167,459,570	\$343,639,570	8,125	1,690	2,866
2010	\$134,964,000	\$276,579,000	6,826	1,577	2,357
2011	\$169,170,000	\$345,430,005	8,716	1,836	2,908
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,384,862,982</b>	<b>\$2,845,209,816</b>	<b>68,604</b>	*	*

\*These totals would mislead since many lobbyists and clients reappear each year.

Note: Data cover contracts valued greater than zero and reflect year-end numbers (when lobby data tend to peak).

## B. Million-Dollar Clients

By the end of 2011, 27 clients spent more than \$1 million apiece on 617 lobby contracts. Collectively these mega-clients paid lobbyists up to \$46 million, accounting for 13 percent of all the money spent on Texas lobbyists. As usual, AT&T flexed Texas' largest lobby muscle, spending up to \$10.6 million on 110 contracts.

### Million-Dollar Clients

Client	Max. Value of Contracts	No. of Contracts	Interest Group
AT&T Corp.	\$10,560,000	110	Communications
Energy Future Holdings Corp.	\$2,640,000	50	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
American Electric Power	\$1,950,000	13	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
CenterPoint Energy	\$1,805,000	22	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
McGinnis Lochridge & Kilgore	\$1,650,000	8	Lawyers/Lobbyists
Global Gaming, LSP	\$1,600,000	9	Miscellaneous Business
TX Assn for Home Care	\$1,565,000	11	Health
Oncor Electric Delivery Co.	\$1,525,000	26	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
TX Medical Assn.	\$1,480,000	25	Health
TX Assn. of Realtors	\$1,420,000	14	Real Estate
Assn. of Electric Co's of TX	\$1,395,000	32	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
TXU Energy Retail Co.	\$1,340,000	30	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
Linebarger Heard Goggan...	\$1,335,000	15	Lawyers/Lobbyists
TX Cable Assn.	\$1,320,000	12	Communications
Luminant Holding Co.	\$1,255,000	28	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	\$1,250,000	16	Lawyers/Lobbyists
Waste Control Specialists	\$1,190,000	21	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
Verizon	\$1,185,000	50	Communications
Entergy Corp.	\$1,155,000	27	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
NRG Energy	\$1,140,000	15	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
City of Houston	\$1,095,000	19	Ideological/Single-Interest
Baker Botts	\$1,050,000	3	Lawyers/Lobbyists
City of Austin	\$1,030,000	14	Ideological/Single-Interest
Ryan & Co.	\$1,020,000	17	Finance
Atmos Energy Corp.	\$1,020,000	15	Energy/Nat'l Resources/Waste
Altria-Philip Morris	\$1,005,000	14	Agriculture
Henderson Global Investors	\$1,000,000	1	Finance

## C. Biggest “New” Clients

Ten “new” clients that did not register any Texas lobbyists during the preceding legislative session in 2009 spent maximum amounts of \$500,000 or more in 2011.

The biggest “new” client is Global Gaming, an arm of the Oklahoma-based Chickasaw Nation, which spent up to \$200,000 on Texas lobbyists in 2009. Taken together, the Chickasaw and Global Gaming spent up to \$2.5 million on Texas lobbyists in 2011. Global Gaming paid \$48 million in 2009 to buy the Lone Star Park racetrack in a bankruptcy auction. Because state law requires Texans to own a majority of a racetrack, the Chickasaw arranged to sell 51 percent of the track to lobbyist Ricky Knox, trial lawyer Steve Mostyn and insurance executive Phil Adams. Mostyn and Adams withdrew from the deal before Governor Perry’s Racing Commissioners approved that sale in 2011.<sup>1</sup> Mostyn claimed that commissioners would not approve his involvement because he spent millions of dollars on ads attacking Perry.<sup>2</sup> This left Knox, who made millions lobbying for Texas Lottery contractor GTECH,<sup>3</sup> as the track’s majority owner. Racetrack lobbying is discussed in the “Miscellaneous Business” section.

### Biggest “New” Clients

2011 Rank	Client	Max. Value of Contract	No. of Contracts	Interest Group
6	Global Gaming LSP, LLC	\$1,600,000	9	Miscellaneous Business
47	Capitol Consultants, Inc.	\$750,000	14	Lawyers & Lobbyists
71	Hospital Coalition of South TX	\$600,000	4	Health
76	Balanced Energy for TX	\$555,000	7	Energy/Nat’l Resources
83	American Natural Gas Alliance	\$545,000	9	Energy/Nat’l Resources
87	Prolecta Bioscience	\$525,000	2	Health
88	Huawei Technologies Co.	\$510,000	2	Computers & Electronics
91	Lonestar Milk Producers, Inc.	\$500,000	1	Agriculture
96	Green Group Holdings, LLC	\$500,000	6	Energy/Nat’l Resources
96	GreenFirst	\$500,000	6	Energy/Nat’l Resources

Capitol Consultants, Inc. is a firm that employs lobbyists Galt Graydon, Machree Garrett Gibson, Luis Saenz and others.

Hospital Coalition of South Texas is located at Doctors Hospital at Renaissance in the Rio Grande Valley. Surgeon Atul Gawande published a damning 2009 *New Yorker* article about runaway health costs in McAllen, which spends almost twice the national average on Medicare enrollees.<sup>4</sup> Gawande attributed the inflated spending to the entrepreneurial spirit of local doctors, many of whom own interests in Doctors Hospital at Renaissance and refer patients there.

Balanced Energy for Texas is an industry group that promotes burning carbon-based oil, gas and coal. It took particular umbrage to a failed 2011 bill to levy fees on loading or unloading coal from rail cars (HB 355).

The American Natural Gas Alliance trade group promotes fracking gas-bearing shale, which critics say triggers earthquakes and pollutes air and water. Fracking helped produce a gas glut that has hammered Texas lobby giant Energy Future Holdings Corp. (see the “Energy & Natural Resources” section).

California's Prolacta Bioscience makes infant formula for premature babies. Lonestar Milk Producers makes a more traditional dairy product outside Wichita Falls.

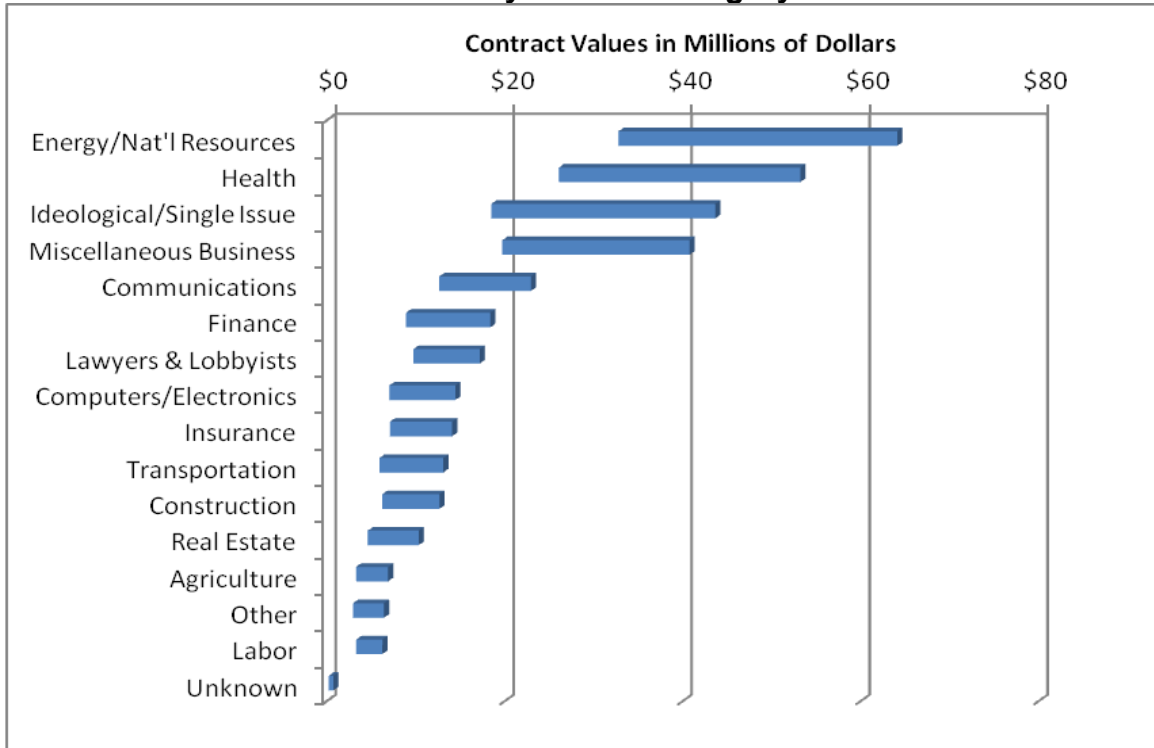
Huawei Technologies is a Chinese telecommunications company. Governor Rick Perry dined with Huawei's chief executive in China and later helped the company open its U.S. headquarters in Plano in 2010. The Obama and Bush administrations both blocked U.S. technology transfers to Huawei out of concerns that it might leak sensitive technology to the Chinese government, the *Washington Post* reported.<sup>5</sup>

Georgia-based Green Group Holdings and its subsidiary, GreenFirst, develop garbage dumps and industrial parks. Green Group announced in 2011 that it planned to build a dump and industrial park near Hempstead outside of Houston. This sparked opposition by the town's mayor and many residents.<sup>6</sup> Green Group's application for a landfill permit is pending before the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality. The company's six-person lobby team includes former state environmental commissioner Ralph Marquez, ex-Texas environmental director Jeff Saitas, ex-lawmaker Ron Lewis and Patricia Shipton, a former legislative director to Governor Perry. Local opponents formed Citizens Against the Landfill, which spent \$10,000 or less on a lobbyist.

## D. Top Clients By Interest Category

This report categorizes Texas' 2011 lobby contracts by their underlying interests. Energy & Natural Resources clients led. They spent up to \$64 million, accounting for 19 percent of all lobby dollars. Health clients consumed 15 percent of the lobby pie, spending up to \$53 million. The Ideological/Single-Interest and Miscellaneous Business sectors were the next-biggest sectors.

**Clients By Interest Category**



Interest Group	Max. Value of Contracts	Min. Value of Contracts	No. of Contracts	Share of Max. Value
Energy/Natural Resources	\$64,125,000	\$32,795,000	1,357	19%
Health	\$53,230,000	\$26,085,000	1,239	15%
Ideological/Single Issue	\$43,675,002	\$18,500,000	1,559	13%
Miscellaneous Business	\$40,785,001	\$19,740,000	1,024	12%
Communications	\$22,950,000	\$12,650,000	399	7%
Finance	\$18,390,000	\$8,905,000	479	5%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$17,200,000	\$9,745,000	366	5%
Computers & Electronics	\$14,475,000	\$7,050,000	334	4%
Insurance	\$14,100,000	\$7,105,000	316	4%
Transportation	\$13,105,000	\$5,925,000	360	4%
Construction	\$12,675,000	\$6,230,000	305	4%
Real Estate	\$10,355,000	\$4,625,000	321	3%
Agriculture	\$6,900,000	\$3,300,000	195	2%
Other	\$6,445,000	\$2,965,000	186	2%
Labor	\$6,265,000	\$3,325,000	130	2%
Unknown	\$755,001	\$225,000	146	<1%
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$345,430,004</b>	<b>\$169,170,000</b>	<b>8,716</b>	<b>100%</b>

## 1. Energy & Natural Resources: Up to \$64 Million

Energy & Natural Resources clients spent up to \$64 million, accounting for 19 percent of all lobby spending. Energy Future Holdings Corp. (EFH) led this industry and ranked No. 2 overall, behind behemoth AT&T. Yet three EFH subsidiaries (TXU, Oncor and Luminant) also spent more than \$1 million apiece on lobbyists. Taken together, EFH and its appendages spent up to \$6.8 million on lobbyists in 2011. EFH's \$43 billion acquisition of TXU Corp. in 2007 was the biggest leveraged buyout in history. Due to the way Texas structured electricity deregulation, the health of this buyout depended upon strong natural gas prices. Yet ExxonMobil and other major producers have fed a gas glut. With gas prices hitting a decade low in early 2012, bond markets gave EFH a 91 percent chance of defaulting on its debts within three years.<sup>7</sup>

EFH is one of Texas' two nuclear powers. New Jersey-based NRG Energy became the other when it acquired Reliant Energy in 2009. NRG then teamed up with Tokyo Electric Power Co. (TEPCO) and Toshiba Corp. in 2010 to build two new reactors at its South Texas nuclear project. The tsunami that hammered TEPCO's Fukushima II Nuclear Power Plant in March 2011 caused the full meltdown of three of that plant's four reactors—including both Toshiba reactors.<sup>8</sup> Thanks to the latest "impossible" nuclear accident, it was no longer a marketable idea for NRG, TEPCO and Toshiba to build nuclear reactors near Texas' hurricane-ravaged coast.

### Top Energy & Natural Resources Clients

Client	Max. Value of Contracts	Min. Value of Contracts	No. of Contracts
Energy Future Holdings Corp.	\$2,640,000	\$1,345,000	50
American Electric Power	\$1,950,000	\$1,300,000	13
CenterPoint Energy	\$1,805,000	\$910,000	22
*Oncor Electric Delivery Co.	\$1,525,000	\$760,000	26
Assn. of Electric Co's of TX	\$1,395,000	\$690,000	32
*TXU Energy Retail Co.	\$1,340,000	\$715,000	30
*Luminant Holding Co.	\$1,255,000	\$610,000	28
Waste Control Specialists	\$1,190,000	\$665,000	21
Entergy Corp.	\$1,155,000	\$530,000	27
NRG Energy, Inc.	\$1,140,000	\$750,000	15
Atmos Energy Corp.	\$1,020,000	\$590,000	15
Reliant Energy, Inc.	\$970,000	\$575,000	11
Southwestern Electric Power Co.	\$900,000	\$600,000	6
ExxonMobil Corp.	\$880,000	\$550,000	9
TX Oil & Gas Assn.	\$770,000	\$365,000	15
TX Electric Cooperatives	\$750,000	\$400,000	9
TX Coal. for Affordable Power	\$720,000	\$500,000	8
El Paso Electric Co.	\$650,000	\$340,000	9
Wind Coalition	\$635,000	\$460,000	5
Balanced Energy for TX	\$555,000	\$430,000	7
TX Rural Water Assn.	\$550,000	\$375,000	4
Bass Enterprises Production Co.	\$550,000	\$225,000	17

\*Unit of Energy Future Holdings Corp.

Environmental appointees of Governor Rick Perry awarded a monopoly franchise for a low-level nuclear waste dump in 2009 to Waste Control Specialists.<sup>9</sup> Waste Control's original license just covered waste from Texas and Vermont. The Texas Low-Level Radioactive Waste Compact



Commission opened the dump to 36 other states in 2011.<sup>10</sup> This made Waste Control head Harold Simmons, who gave more than \$1 million to Perry's gubernatorial campaigns, the owner of the nation's default low-level nuclear waste dump. Simmons and the State of Vermont had hoped to shutter the leaky Vermont Yankee nuclear plant and transfer its low-level waste to West Texas. A federal judge ruled in early 2012 that Vermont lacked the authority to order Entergy to close that plant.<sup>11</sup>

After Waste Control's 30-year license ends, the state and federal governments will inherit Simmons' radioactive waste and the attendant liabilities. Waste Control's state license requires the company to post \$140 million as a hedge against these costs. Instead of demanding cash, a letter of credit or insurance, the *Texas Observer* reported that Perry's environmental appointees agreed in November 2011 to let Waste Control cover this obligation with a less secure asset. Simmons backed the obligation with 12 million fluctuating shares of stock in another Simmons company: Titanium Metals Corp.<sup>12</sup> Waste Control increased its Texas lobby spending from up to \$530,000 in 2009 to \$1.2 million in 2011.

The Texas Coalition for Affordable Power (formerly the Cities Aggregation Power Project) pools the purchasing power of more than 150 municipalities to negotiate lower electricity prices.

## 2. Health: Up to \$53 Million

Health industry clients spent up to \$53 million, accounting for 15 percent of all lobby spending. The Texas Association for Home Care & Hospice, which spent up to \$610,000 lobbying in 2009, spent about \$1 million more in 2011. Nursing home interests also spent heavily (Texas Health Care Association, Harden Healthcare and the Texas Association of Homes for Aging).<sup>13</sup> The state's proposed Medicaid and Medicare spending cuts were a key issue for these providers in 2011; they celebrated budget cuts of two percent or less for home services, nursing homes and hospice care.

### Top Health Clients

Client	Max. Value of Contracts	Min. Value of Contracts	No. of Contracts
TX Assn. for Home Care	\$1,565,000	\$1,260,000	11
TX Medical Assn.	\$1,480,000	\$705,000	25
Blue Cross & Blue Shield	\$950,000	\$445,000	24
TX e-Health Alliance	\$750,000	\$500,000	5
CHRISTUS Health	\$725,000	\$385,000	9
TX Assn. of Health Plans	\$665,000	\$385,000	11
UnitedHealth Group	\$650,000	\$400,000	6
AMERIGROUP Corp.	\$645,000	\$360,000	8
TX Chiropractic Assn.	\$640,000	\$325,000	10
TX Hospital Assn.	\$600,000	\$300,000	11
Hospital Coal. of South TX	\$600,000	\$400,000	4
Prolacta Bioscience	\$525,000	\$510,000	2
Grace Holdings LLP	\$510,000	\$250,000	6
Pamlab, LLC	\$500,000	\$500,000	1
Superior HealthPlan, Inc.	\$460,000	\$250,000	14
Hospital Corp. of America	\$460,000	\$300,000	5
Pfizer, Inc.	\$445,000	\$285,000	6
Methodist Healthcare	\$435,000	\$210,000	8
TX Health Care Assn.	\$410,000	\$170,000	12
Harden Healthcare	\$410,000	\$170,000	11
Sandata Technologies	\$400,000	\$200,000	4
TX Dental Assn.	\$375,000	\$185,000	6
Baylor College of Medicine	\$370,000	\$275,000	5
Methodist Hospital	\$360,000	\$175,000	6
Abbott Laboratories	\$360,000	\$200,000	4
TX Assn. of Homes for Aging	\$350,000	\$175,000	4
Teaching Hospitals of TX	\$350,000	\$150,000	8
Extend Health, Inc.	\$350,000	\$200,000	4

The Texas Medical Association (TMA) spent up to \$1.5 million. The doctors trade group said it fended off proposed cuts in Medicaid payments to doctors but bemoaned cuts to medical education, women's health and family planning.<sup>14</sup> Lawmakers imposed an 8 percent cut on Medicaid reimbursements to hospitals (CHRISTUS Health, Texas Hospital Association, Hospital Coalition of South Texas, Hospital Corp. of American Methodist Healthcare).

Many TMA victories came at the expense of other health interests. Doctors euthanized bills to let Optometrists or advanced practice nurses prescribe certain drugs<sup>15</sup> and to let patients see physical

therapists without doctor referrals.<sup>16</sup> The TMA celebrated new laws that require insurers (Blue Cross, Texas Association of Health Plans and UnitedHealth) to cover oral chemotherapy drugs and curtail them from mandating cheaper drug substitutes.<sup>17</sup> Doctors also obtained a state court ruling in late 2011 barring chiropractors from performing vestibular ear tests.<sup>18</sup>

Taking a more cooperative approach, the Texas e-Health Alliance claims to be promoting best practices for electronic health records on behalf of health providers, academics, corporations and non-profits. This fast-growth group increased its lobby spending from up to \$30,000 in 2009 to a maximum of \$350,000 in 2011.

UnitedHealth, AMERIGROUP and SuperiorHealthPlan are health maintenance organizations (HMOs) that have had state contracts to deliver Medicaid services and have hired former state health administrators as lobbyists.<sup>19</sup> Lawmakers in 2011 eliminated a state prohibition against expanding the Medicaid HMO program into South Texas.<sup>20</sup>

California's Prolecta Bioscience, which registered no Texas lobbyists in 2009, makes infant formula for premature babies. Louisiana-based PamLab makes dietary supplements. In 2011 PamLab settled lawsuits accusing three competitors of false advertising and unfair business practices for allegedly underselling them with inferior products.<sup>21</sup> PamLab's lobby spending shot up from \$25,000 in 2009 to \$500,000 in 2011. Lillie Gilligan is the sole lobbyist representing both PamLab and Prolecta. Gilligan has been the special assistant to the Texas Commissioner of Health, according to the group [Executive Women in Texas Government](#). The [Retired State Employees Association of Texas](#) affiliates her with the Governor's Office and the Department of Health. A spokesman for the Texas Department of Health Services told TPJ that Gilligan did legislative work for the Department of Health in the 1990s.

### 3. Ideological & Single-Issue: Up to \$44 Million

Ideological & Single-Issue clients spent up to \$44 million, accounting for 13 percent of all lobby spending. Led by Houston and Austin, local governments dominated this category in the quest for dwindling state funds. The Texas Municipal League told its members at the end of the regular session that lawmakers cut out about one-third of the \$200 million that the state distributes to Texas cities each year. Lawmakers also cut \$5.4 billion in public school funding. This inevitably triggered pending lawsuits by school districts (led by the Texas Association of School Boards). Those lawsuits argue that the state reneged on its constitutional duty to adequately fund schools.<sup>22</sup>

#### Top Ideological & Single-Issue Clients

Client	Max. Value of Contracts	Min. Value of Contracts	No. of Contracts
City of Houston	\$1,095,000	\$550,000	19
City of Austin	\$1,030,000	\$500,000	14
Texans for Lawsuit Reform	\$920,000	\$470,000	14
Chickasaw Nation	\$850,000	\$625,000	9
TX Municipal League	\$760,000	\$430,000	15
Port of Houston Authority	\$760,000	\$370,000	11
Harris County	\$760,000	\$450,000	8
TX Assn. of School Boards	\$625,000	\$335,000	8
National Rifle Assn.	\$610,000	\$500,000	3
Raise Your Hand for Public Schools	\$565,000	\$235,000	16
American Cancer Society	\$535,000	\$235,000	12
Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of TX	\$500,000	\$270,000	7
City of Waco	\$500,000	\$200,000	14
Lower Colorado River Authority	\$500,000	\$220,000	13
City of Irving	\$475,000	\$185,000	17
Bexar County	\$450,000	\$250,000	4
Tarrant Regional Water District	\$440,000	\$190,000	12
TX Charter Schools Assn.	\$360,000	\$165,000	11
TX Assn. of Counties	\$360,000	\$120,000	18
TX Conference of Urban Counties	\$360,000	\$175,000	5
Metro. Transit Authority of Harris	\$350,000	\$170,000	7
National Heritage Academies	\$340,000	\$150,000	7
Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of TX	\$340,000	\$200,000	6
TX Alliance for Patient Access	\$320,000	\$145,000	8
Stand for Children, Inc.	\$305,000	\$105,000	14

Several other education interests lobbied heavily. Raise Your Hand for Public Schools supports traditional public schools and has been critical of an excessive focus on testing. National Heritage Academies runs publicly funded charter schools, which are represented by the Texas Charter Schools Association. Charters cheered a 2011 measure that lets the state guarantee charter bonds, thereby lowering their borrowing costs.<sup>23</sup>

A son of Children’s Defense Fund founder Marian Wright Edelman founded Stand for Children to boost the performance and funding of public schools. Some grassroots members say the group’s leaders lost their way pursuing money and influence.<sup>24</sup> In a recent speech Jonah Edelman boasted about spending millions of dollars on Illinois politicians and lobbyists to pass 2010 restrictions on bargaining rights for teacher unions.<sup>25</sup> We had the “potential to jam this proposal

down their [unions] throats the same way we jammed pension reform down their throats six months earlier,” Edelman said in the speech. The group hired its first Texas lobbyists in 2011 and said it helped pass a Texas bill to base school layoffs on performance as well as seniority.<sup>26</sup>

The largest private entity in this category, Texans for Lawsuit Reform (TLR), is a business-funded group that works to curtail plaintiff lawsuits. In 2011 TLR touted passage of a bill to dun losing parties in lawsuits for their opponents’ court costs.<sup>27</sup> Lawmakers neutered the bill to the point where even TLR’s nemesis, the Texas Trial Lawyers Association, did not object to it.<sup>28</sup>

TLR and trial lawyers also clashed over the Texas Windstorm Insurance Association (TWIA), the insurer of last resort for storm-whipped coastal residents. Two factors drove the TWIA battle: 1. The insurer has long been ethically and financially shaky;<sup>29</sup> and 2. Houston lawyer Steve Mostyn—who spent millions of dollars promoting Democratic candidates—represents many TWIA plaintiffs. Democratic and GOP lawmakers agreed that the bill they passed in June does not fix TWIA’s finances.<sup>30</sup> But it offers a discount to policyholders who opt for binding-arbitration, which could cut into Mostyn’s TWIA business.

The National Rifle Association failed to muster the requisite two-thirds Senate vote to pass a bill to let people carry concealed handguns at public colleges and universities. Representatives of the campuses that purportedly would benefit from this measure helped shoot it down.<sup>31</sup> In recent rulings, a Lubbock federal judge tossed out two NRA lawsuits seeking to arm adults under the age of 21. The lawsuits argued that it was unconstitutional for the federal government to block handgun sales to these youngsters and for Texas to prohibit them from carrying concealed handguns.<sup>32</sup>

To battle the No. 1 cause of premature death, the American Cancer Society and Texas Medical Association backed a state ban on smoking in bars and restaurants. Republican Senator Bob Deuell, who is a physician, snubbed out the smoking ban (which also expired in the special session).<sup>33</sup> Tobacco-chewing Rep. Allan Ritter also floated a failed tobacco bill (HB 2599). It sought to reverse a 2009 law that taxes smokeless tobacco on weight rather than value. This policy has hammered sales of chewing tobacco while cutting the cost of concentrated dip.<sup>34</sup>

#### 4. Miscellaneous Business: Up to \$41 Million

The diverse clients falling into the Miscellaneous Business sector spent up to \$41 million, accounting for 12 percent of all lobby spending. Wages of sin bankrolled much lobbying in this category on behalf of the gambling, alcohol and porn industries.

##### Miscellaneous Business

Client	Max. Value of Contracts	Min. Value of Contracts	No. of Contracts
Global Gaming LSP, LLC	\$1,600,000	\$1,250,000	9
Sam Houston Race Park	\$820,000	\$500,000	8
Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	\$800,000	\$415,000	16
GTECH Corp.	\$750,000	\$500,000	5
TX Gaming Assn.	\$745,000	\$410,000	11
TX Assn. of Manufacturers	\$720,000	\$400,000	13
TX Package Stores Assn.	\$700,000	\$340,000	14
Texans for Economic Development	\$580,000	\$325,000	8
H.E. Butt Grocery Co.	\$540,000	\$225,000	15
Landry's Restaurants	\$535,000	\$285,000	9
Licensed Beverage Distributors	\$470,000	\$220,000	10
GEO Group, Inc.	\$470,000	\$250,000	7
Coal. for Survival of Charitable Bingo	\$470,000	\$225,000	7
Anheuser-Busch InBev Worldwide	\$420,000	\$200,000	7
Read and Succeed, LLC	\$400,000	\$300,000	2
Mary Kay Cosmetics, Inc.	\$400,000	\$300,000	2
TX Retailers Assn.	\$400,000	\$250,000	3
Diageo	\$360,000	\$200,000	6
TX Beverage Assn.	\$360,000	\$195,000	10
Gulf Greyhound Partners	\$360,000	\$300,000	2
Silverleaf Resorts, Inc.	\$355,000	\$135,000	12
Teaching Strategies, Inc.	\$335,000	\$210,000	4
PepsiCo, Inc.	\$320,000	\$150,000	5
TX Entertainment Assn.	\$310,000	\$195,000	5
Silver Eagle Distributors	\$310,000	\$175,000	5

Racetrack interests (Global Gaming, Sam Houston Race Park, Texans for Economic Development and Gulf Greyhound Partners) want the legislature to let them install slot machines to avert extinction. Yet Texas' gambling industry bet heavily on Democrats just before 2010's GOP sweep. Gamblers gave almost \$1 million to House candidates, with two-thirds of it going to losers.<sup>35</sup> Lawmakers also have not expanded gambling because racetracks have fought over the projected spoils with casino interests such as the Texas Gaming Association and Landry's Restaurants (which owns Nevada casino interests).

A federal district judge issued rulings in 2010 and 2011 that blocked and then overturned a state law that bars the charitable bingo industry from lobbying. The Texas Attorney General has appealed that decision, after complaining that charitable funds are "being spent at the Austin Club," a lobbyist watering hole.<sup>36</sup> The industry's Coalition for the Survival of Charitable Bingo then lobbied for a failed 2011 bill to let its members operate slot machines.<sup>37</sup>

Alcohol interests have been brawling over whether or not Texas should scuttle its archaic regulatory system which generally requires retailers to buy alcoholic beverages from local wholesalers. The Wholesale Beer Distributors of Texas opposed a failed 2011 bill to let the state's 29 brewpubs sell their products to retailers such as H.E. Butt Grocery and members of the Texas Package Stores Association.<sup>38</sup> Texas law prohibits beer pubs from selling suds off their premises. Opening this market could cut into sales by beer giants such as Anheuser-Busch and its Houston affiliate, Silver Eagles Distributors.

The Texas Entertainment Association represents strip clubs. The legislature hit that industry with a \$5 per head fee in 2007, dedicating part of these funds to assist sexual-assault victims (on the rationale that drinking alcohol and viewing stripteases correlates with increased assaults). Strip clubs and assault groups have unsuccessfully promoted competing bills in subsequent sessions.<sup>39</sup> A Democratic state judge struck down the fee in 2008, arguing that it violated the First Amendment by discriminating against a form of artistic expression. The all-Republican Texas Supreme Court overturned that argument in 2011.<sup>40</sup>

Two educational vendors also spent heavily. Los Angeles-based Read and Succeed provides reading software and tutors. Teaching Strategies, Inc. is an educational publisher in Maryland.

### III. Lobbyists

#### A. Texas' Top Lobbyists

Thirty lobbyists reported maximum lobby incomes exceeding \$1.5 million in 2011, down from 36 lobbyists who cleared this amount in 2009. These top lobbyists received up to \$68 million for 982 contracts, accounting for 20 percent of all Texas lobby dollars.

Data from the Ethics Commission identified Texas' top lobbyist as Kristine Weaver in Bryan. Weaver reported that 29 clients paid her a total of \$13.6 million. Researchers figured out that this American Cancer Society lobbyist reported each one of her board members as a client and reported that most of them paid her \$500,000 apiece. Weaver told TPJ that as a result of an apparent decimal snafu, her salary of "a little over \$50,000" got reported as \$500,000. This report fixes Weaver's decimal problem, downgrading her to a more modest lobby income.

#### Texas' \$1.5 Million Lobbyists

Lobbyist	Max. Value of Contracts	Min. Value of Contracts	No. of Contracts	Lobbyist Description
Carol McGarah	\$4,275,000	\$2,120,000	77	Ex-Senate aide; Blackridge, Inc.
Russell 'Rusty' Kelley	\$4,010,000	\$2,105,000	76	Ex-Speaker aide; Blackridge, Inc.
Andrea McWilliams	\$3,770,000	\$1,915,000	48	Ex-legislative aide
Dean R. McWilliams	\$3,695,000	\$1,875,000	48	Ex-Senate aide
Mignon McGarry	\$3,120,000	\$1,690,000	36	Ex-Senate aide
Randall H. Erben	\$2,785,000	\$1,435,000	32	Ex-Ast. Secretary of State
Stan Schlueter	\$2,655,000	\$1,785,000	22	Ex-legislator
Robert D. Miller	\$2,410,000	\$1,360,000	29	Ex-legislative aide
Ron E. Lewis	\$2,325,000	\$1,285,000	26	Ex-legislator
Jack Roberts	\$2,290,000	\$1,245,000	28	Ex-Comptroller's aide
Demetrius McDaniel	\$2,285,000	\$1,205,000	25	Ex-Agriculture Comm. aide
Stephen P. Koebele	\$2,180,000	\$1,155,000	36	Ex-Comptroller aide
Royce Pabst Poinsett	\$2,175,000	\$1,355,000	21	Ex-Governor's aide
Thomas 'Ted' Delisi	\$2,125,000	\$1,160,000	24	Son of ex-lawmaker
'Reggie' Bashur	\$2,095,000	\$1,150,000	25	Ex-Governor's aide
Michael Toomey	\$2,025,000	\$1,135,000	23	Ex-legislator; Ex-Governor's aide
Christopher Shields	\$1,870,000	\$940,000	38	Ex-Governor's aide
Robert E. Johnson Jr.	\$1,795,000	\$1,185,000	17	Son of ex-lawmaker
Lara Laneri Keel	\$1,755,000	\$935,000	24	Ex-Senate aide; State auditor's wife
Walter Fisher	\$1,735,000	\$910,000	22	Ex-Senate Parliamentarian
Neal 'Buddy' Jones Jr	\$1,720,000	\$525,000	83	Ex-legislator; Ex-speaker's aide
Jim M. Grace Jr.	\$1,695,000	\$985,000	30	Ex-Centerpoint lobbyist at Baker Botts
Galt Graydon	\$1,675,000	\$695,000	59	Ex-Senate aide
Tristan Castaneda Jr.	\$1,670,000	\$900,000	22	Ex-Henry Cisneros aide at Baker Botts
Todd M. Smith	\$1,650,000	\$1,125,000	11	Impact TX Communications
Gerald 'Jerry' Valdez	\$1,585,000	\$785,000	25	Ex-Dept. of Econ. Dev. aide
Jeffrey E. Heckler	\$1,580,000	\$890,000	21	At Solutions Group & Public Svcs Gr.
Heather N. Vasek	\$1,575,000	\$835,000	19	At Delisi Communicatoins
Angelo P. Zottarelli	\$1,550,000	\$775,000	18	Ex-legislative aide
Dianne W. Delisi	\$1,525,000	\$810,000	17	Ex-legislator



## B. Fattest Lobby Contracts

Texas lawmakers fixed a lobby-disclosure failing in 2007. State lobbyists previously reported contract values in ranges that maxed out at “\$200,000 or more.” The 2007 reform pushed the maximum category up to “\$500,000 or more” and required lobbyists to report the exact value of contracts exceeding \$500,000. The change was overdue. Lobbyists reported 29 contracts in 2011 with maximum values of \$300,000 or more. In 11 of these cases, lobbyists reported their firms as the client.<sup>41</sup>

### Fattest Lobby Contracts

Client	Lobbyist	Max. Value of Contracts	Min. Value of Contracts
Henderson Global Investors, Inc.	Dan McDonough	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000
AT&T Corp.	Cameron W. Monroe	\$500,000	\$500,000
Huawei Technologies Co.	Matthew Barr	\$500,000	\$500,000
Lonestar Milk Producers, Inc.	Darren Turley	\$500,000	\$500,000
Pamlab LLC	Lillie B. Gilligan	\$500,000	\$500,000
Prolacta Bioscience	Lillie B. Gilligan	\$500,000	\$500,000
TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	<del>John S. Larson</del>	<del>\$500,000</del>	<del>\$500,000</del>
United Services Auto. Assn. (USAA)	Robert Gilbert	\$500,000	\$500,000
*Baker Botts, L.L.P.	Jim M. Grace, Jr.	\$500,000	\$450,000
*McGinnis Lochridge & Kilgore	<a href="#">Gaylord Armstrong</a>	\$500,000	\$450,000
National Rifle Assn.	Christopher Cox	\$500,000	\$450,000
*TX Assn. of Realtors	TX Assn. of Realtors	\$500,000	\$450,000
Balanced Energy for TX	Michael J. Nasi	\$450,000	\$400,000
Trinity Industries, Inc.	Stan Schlueter	\$400,000	\$350,000
Wind Coalition	Paul L. Sadler	\$400,000	\$350,000
Gulf Greyhound Partners, Ltd.	Robert E. Johnson Jr.	\$350,000	\$300,000
*Impact U.S.	Todd M. Smith	\$350,000	\$300,000
*McGinnis Lochridge & Kilgore	William H. Bingham	\$350,000	\$300,000
FTX Assn. for Home Care	Thomas Loeffler	\$350,000	\$300,000
FTX Assn. for Home Care	Robert H. Finney	\$350,000	\$300,000
Assoc. General Contractors	<a href="#">Corbin Van Arsdale</a>	\$300,000	\$250,000
*Baker Botts, L.L.P.	Royce Pabst Poinsett	\$300,000	\$250,000
Baylor College of Medicine	Thomas W. Kleinworth	\$300,000	\$250,000
*Bicameral Consultants, Inc.	Johnnie B. Rogers, Jr.	\$300,000	\$250,000
Goodman Networks, Inc.	James Frinzi	\$300,000	\$250,000
*HRWK. Inc.	John Kroll	\$300,000	\$250,000
*Impact TX Communications LLP	Todd M. Smith	\$300,000	\$250,000
Indep’t Colleges & Universities of TX	Carol L. McDonald	\$300,000	\$250,000
Perry Homes	Robert D. Miller	\$300,000	\$250,000
*Solutions Group	Jeffrey E. Heckler	\$300,000	\$250,000
TX Industry Project (TIP)	Pamela M. Giblin	\$300,000	\$250,000
*Winstead, PC	James L. Bayless, Jr.	\$300,000	\$250,000

\*Self-referential contract, where lobbyists list their firm as the client, etc.

† Ethics Commission records list this contract twice.

Dan McDonough, a U.S. executive of London-based Henderson Global Investors, reported the largest contract valued at \$1 million. Henderson Global recruits such large institutional investors as foundations, endowments and pensions as clients.

AT&T is Texas' most powerful lobby client so it is not surprising that the company has a lobbyist reporting a \$500,000 contract. What is surprising is that that lobbyist is Cameron Monroe, the company's Amarillo-based regional director of public affairs.

Matthew Barr of Houston-based Strategic Public Affairs landed a \$500,000 contract with China-based telecommunications company Huawei Technologies (U.S. security concerns about Huawei were discussed earlier). Barr previously served as an aide to U.S. Senator John Cornyn, U.S. Rep. Michael McCaul and state Rep. Ken Legler.

Texas Association of Dairymen Executive Director Darren Turley registered to lobby on behalf of four dairy interests—none of which was his employer (ex-Speaker Pete Laney and one other lobbyist registered on behalf of the Dairymen). Turley reported lobby contracts allegedly worth one penny with Dairy Farmers of America, Select Milk Producers, and Texas Enterprise Fund grantee [Hilmar Cheese](#). Making up for the penny contracts, Turley reported that cash cow Lonestar Milk Producers outside Wichita Falls paid him \$500,000.

Dohn Larson is the chief staff attorney at the Texas Classroom Teachers Association, which said it misreported his income, which should have been from \$25,000 to \$50,000. Robert Gilbert is the assistant vice president of government industry relations at insurance giant USAA.

Chris W. Cox directs the lobby arm of the Virginia-based National Rifle Association (NRA). The NRA reported in its 2008 tax filing that it paid Cox \$583,664, making him second only to NRA CEO Wayne LaPierre.<sup>42</sup>

Jackson Walker lobbyist Mike Nasi represents a coal-heavy list of clients, led by Balanced Energy for Texas, a new industry group that promotes burning oil, gas and coal. Ex-lawmaker Stan Schlueter reported a contract worth up to \$400,000 with Dallas-based Trinity Industries, which produces railcars, concrete, oil tanks, barges and wind towers. The subsidy-sensitive Wind Coalition paid the same amount to ex-lawmaker Paul Sadler.

The son of a former lawmaker and parliamentarian, Robert Johnson, Jr. reported up to \$350,000 from Gulf Greyhound. Johnson's family owns a 5 percent stake in that dog track near Houston. The track's value would escalate if Texas allowed tracks to install slot machines.

Former Congressman Thomas Loeffler twice reported a lobby contract worth up to \$350,000 with the Texas Association for Home Care, as did Loeffler's partner Robert Finney.

## IV. Top 100 Lobby Clients in Texas

2011 Rank	2009 Rank	Client	Max. Value of Contract	No. of Contracts	Interest Group
1	1	AT&T Corp.	\$10,560,000	110	Communications
2	2	Energy Future Holdings Corp.	\$2,640,000	50	Energy/Nat'l Resources
3	6	American Electric Power	\$1,950,000	13	Energy/Nat'l Resources
4	10	CenterPoint Energy	\$1,805,000	22	Energy/Nat'l Resources
5	4	McGinnis Lochridge & Kilgore	\$1,650,000	8	Lawyers & Lobbyists
6	*	Global Gaming LSP, LLC	\$1,600,000	9	Miscellaneous Business
7	57	TX Assn. for Home Care, Inc.	\$1,565,000	11	Health
8	11	Oncor Electric Delivery Co.	\$1,525,000	26	Energy/Nat'l Resources
9	8	TX Medical Assn.	\$1,480,000	25	Health
10	7	TX Assn. of Realtors	\$1,420,000	14	Real Estate
11	12	Assn. of Electric Companies of TX (AECT)	\$1,395,000	32	Energy/Nat'l Resources
12	9	TXU Energy Retail Co. LLC	\$1,340,000	30	Energy/Nat'l Resources
13	19	Linebarger Heard Goggan...	\$1,335,000	15	Lawyers & Lobbyists
14	18	TX Cable Assn.	\$1,320,000	12	Communications
15	21	Luminant Holding Co.	\$1,255,000	28	Energy/Nat'l Resources
16	5	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	\$1,250,000	16	Lawyers & Lobbyists
17	82	Waste Control Specialists, LLC	\$1,190,000	21	Energy/Nat'l Resources
18	20	Verizon	\$1,185,000	50	Communications
19	38	Entergy Corp	\$1,155,000	27	Energy/Nat'l Resources
20	39	NRG Energy, Inc.	\$1,140,000	15	Energy/Nat'l Resources
21	13	City of Houston	\$1,095,000	19	Ideological/Single Issue
22	15	Baker Botts, LLP	\$1,050,000	3	Lawyers & Lobbyists
23	23	City of Austin	\$1,030,000	14	Ideological/Single Issue
24	24	Atmos Energy Corp.	\$1,020,000	15	Energy/Nat'l Resources
25	36	Ryan & Co.	\$1,020,000	17	Finance
26	39	Altria-Philip Morris & UST	\$1,005,000	14	Agriculture
27	25	Henderson Global Investors, Inc.	\$1,000,000	1	Finance
28	3	Reliant Energy, Inc.	\$970,000	11	Energy/Nat'l Resources
29	42	Blue Cross & Blue Shield, Inc.	\$950,000	24	Health
30	34	Texans for Lawsuit Reform	\$920,000	14	Ideological/Single Issue
31	497	Southwestern Electric Power Co.	\$900,000	6	Energy/Nat'l Resources
32	54	Time-Warner Communications	\$885,000	12	Communications
33	16	ExxonMobil Corp.	\$880,000	9	Energy/Nat'l Resources
34	394	Chickasaw Nation	\$850,000	9	Ideological/Single Issue
35	144	Cottonwood Financial, Ltd	\$845,000	25	Finance
36	902	Sam Houston Race Park, Ltd	\$820,000	8	Miscellaneous Business
37	88	TX Farm Bureau Mutual Insurance	\$820,000	19	Insurance
38	140	TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	\$800,000	7	Labor
39	14	Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	\$800,000	16	Miscellaneous Business
40	84	General Motors	\$790,000	18	Transportation
41	43	Vinson & Elkins, LLP	\$785,000	10	Lawyers & Lobbyists
42	47	TX Oil & Gas Assn.	\$770,000	15	Energy/Nat'l Resources
43	318	IBM Corp.	\$765,000	28	Computers & Electronics
44	32	TX Municipal League	\$760,000	15	Ideological/Single Issue
45	84	Harris Co.	\$760,000	8	Ideological/Single Issue
46	29	Port of Houston Authority	\$760,000	11	Ideological/Single Issue

47	*	Capitol Consultants, Inc.	\$750,000	14	Lawyers & Lobbyists
48	83	Winstead, PC	\$750,000	4	Lawyers & Lobbyists
49	59	GTECH Corp.	\$750,000	5	Miscellaneous Business
49	1,933	TX e-Health Alliance	\$750,000	5	Health
51	28	TX Electric Cooperatives	\$750,000	9	Energy/Nat'l Resources
52	178	TX Gaming Assn.	\$745,000	11	Miscellaneous Business
53	186	United Services Automobile Assn.	\$725,000	4	Insurance
54	269	CHRISTUS Health	\$725,000	9	Health
55	37	TX Assn. of Manufacturers	\$720,000	13	Miscellaneous Business
56	56	TX Coalition for Affordable Power	\$720,000	8	Energy/Nat'l Resources
57	31	TX Package Stores Assn.	\$700,000	14	Miscellaneous Business
58	176	Maximus, Inc.	\$690,000	10	Computers & Electronics
59	66	TX Assn. of Health Plans	\$665,000	11	Health
60	26	UnitedHealth Group	\$650,000	6	Health
61	106	El Paso Electric Co.	\$650,000	9	Energy/Nat'l Resources
62	80	AMERIGROUP Corp.	\$645,000	8	Health
63	394	TX Chiropractic Assn.	\$640,000	10	Health
64	122	Wind Coalition	\$635,000	5	Energy/Nat'l Resources
65	51	TX Assn. of Builders	\$635,000	12	Construction
66	94	TX Assn. of School Boards	\$625,000	8	Ideological/Single Issue
67	71	Burlington Northern Sante Fe	\$625,000	13	Transportation
68	57	TX Soc. Cert. Public Accountants	\$620,000	6	Finance
69	47	National Rifle Assn.	\$610,000	3	Ideological/Single Issue
70	35	Associated General Contractors	\$610,000	11	Construction
71	*	Hospital Coalition of South TX	\$600,000	4	Health
72	50	TX Hospital Assn.	\$600,000	11	Health
73	1,359	Texans for Economic Development	\$580,000	8	Miscellaneous Business
74	201	Dell Computer	\$580,000	14	Computers & Electronics
75	79	Raise Your Hand for Public Schools	\$565,000	16	Ideological/Single Issue
76	*	Balanced Energy for TX	\$555,000	7	Energy/Nat'l Resources
77	126	Select Management Resources LLC	\$555,000	12	Finance
78	71	Indep't Colleges/Universities of TX	\$550,000	4	Other
78	112	TX Rural Water Assn.	\$550,000	4	Energy/Nat'l Resources
80	123	TX State Teachers Assn.	\$550,000	13	Labor
81	304	Independent Bankers Assn. of TX	\$550,000	11	Finance
82	201	Bass Enterprises Production Co.	\$550,000	17	Energy/Nat'l Resources
83	*	American Natural Gas Alliance	\$545,000	9	Energy/Nat'l Resources
84	65	H.E. Butt Grocery Co.	\$540,000	15	Miscellaneous Business
85	80	Landry's Restaurants, Inc.	\$535,000	9	Miscellaneous Business
86	39	American Cancer Society	\$535,000	12	Ideological/Single Issue
87	*	Prolacta Bioscience	\$525,000	2	Health
88	*	Huawei Technologies Co.	\$510,000	2	Computers & Electronics
89	682	Grace Holdings, LLP	\$510,000	6	Health
90	34	Exelon Power TX	\$510,000	11	Energy/Nat'l Resources
91	*	Lonestar Milk Producers, Inc.	\$500,000	1	Agriculture
91	2,011	Pamlab, LLC	\$500,000	1	Health
93	171	Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of TX	\$500,000	7	Ideological/Single Issue
94	903	Image API, Inc.	\$500,000	3	Computers & Electronics
95	64	TX Assn. of Life & Health Insurers ("TALH	\$500,000	5	Insurance

96	*	Green Group Holdings, LLC	\$500,000	6	Energy/Nat'l Resources
96	*	GreenFirst	\$500,000	6	Energy/Nat'l Resources
96	764	Intel Corp.	\$500,000	5	Computers & Electronics
99	91	Lower Colorado River Authority	\$500,000	13	Ideological/Single Issue
100	274	City of Waco	\$500,000	14	Ideological/Single Issue

\* Client not registered in 2009.

Note: Clients spending same max. and min. amounts on lobbyists share same ranking number.

## V. Notes

- <sup>1</sup> "Group Withdraws Lone Star Request," *Dallas Morning News*, November 17, 2010.
- <sup>2</sup> "Mostyn: Track Group Booted Me," *Austin American-Statesman*, May 14, 2011.
- <sup>3</sup> "[Texas Revolvers: Public Officials Recast as Hired Guns](#)," Texans for Public Justice, February 1999.
- <sup>4</sup> "The Cost Conundrum: What a Texas town Can Teach Us About Health Care," *New Yorker*, June 1, 2009.
- <sup>5</sup> "Perry Welcomed Chinese Firm Despite Security Concern," *Washington Post*, August 14, 2011.
- <sup>6</sup> "Opposition to Landfill Grows in Waller County," *Houston Chronicle*, July 11, 2011.
- <sup>7</sup> "KKR's TXU Buyout Faces 91% Default Odds in Shale Boom," *Bloomberg*, January 19, 2012.
- <sup>8</sup> "3 nuclear reactors melted down after quake, Japan confirms," CNN, June 6, 2011.
- <sup>9</sup> "[Nuclear Compact with the Devil](#)," TPJ's *Lobby Watch*, April 29, 2010.
- <sup>10</sup> "Commission Approves Rules for Low-Level Radioactive Waste Importation to West Texas," *Midland Reporter-Telegram*, January 4, 2011. "Importing Low-Level Radioactive Waste OK'd," *Austin American-Statesman*, January 5, 2011.
- <sup>11</sup> "A Judge Rules Vermont Can't Shut Nuclear Plant," *New York Times*, January 19, 2012.
- <sup>12</sup> "Harold & Fraud: Dallas Billionaire Harold Simmons Wins Another Radioactive Favor from TCEQ," *Texas Observer*, February 8, 2012.
- <sup>13</sup> The Texas Association of Homes for Aging represents non-profit nursing homes.
- <sup>14</sup> The special session's Senate Bill 7.
- <sup>15</sup> Senate Bill 1056 dealt with optometrists. Advanced practice nurses promoted House Bills 708, 915 and 1266.
- <sup>16</sup> House Bill 637.
- <sup>17</sup> House Bills 438 and 1405.
- <sup>18</sup> "TMA Prevails in Second Lawsuit Against the TBCE," *Texas Journal of Chiropractic*, December 12, 2011.
- <sup>19</sup> "[Peddling Welfare-Privatization Boondoggles](#)," TPJ's Watch Your Assets, July 17, 2007. "[Perry Lobbyists Morph Into Lobbyists](#)," Texans for Public Justice, January 2012.
- <sup>20</sup> The special session's Senate Bill 7.
- <sup>21</sup> "[Pamlab Pushes Out Imposter Medical Foods](#)," *Louisiana Medical News*, September 7, 2011. Note: This piece sometimes sounds more like a Pamlab press release than a news article.
- <sup>22</sup> "[Navigating the Texas School Finance Lawsuits](#)," *Texas Tribune*, December 21, 2011.
- <sup>23</sup> The special session's Senate Bill 1.
- <sup>24</sup> "Why I Stopped Helping Stand for Children," *Washington Post*, July 14, 2011.
- <sup>25</sup> "Simmering Discontent Puts Stand for Children In Hot Water," *Portland Tribune*, July 19, 2011. "Jonah Edelman On Illinois School Reform: Stand for Children Head Talks Political Maneuvers," *Huffington Post*, July 12, 2011.
- <sup>26</sup> The special session's Senate Bill 8.
- <sup>27</sup> "Radio Ads Promote 'Loser Pays' Measure," *Dallas Morning News*, May 20, 2011.
- <sup>28</sup> Senate Passes New Version of Loser Pays," *Texas Lawyer*, May 24, 2011. "Texas Legislature Approves 'Loser Pays,'" *Wall Street Journal*, May 26, 2011. "Texas Loser Pays Law Mixed Bag for Business," *InsideCounsel Magazine*, August 2011.
- <sup>29</sup> "State: Windstorm Agency 'Hazardous to the Public,'" *Austin American-Statesman*, March 1, 2011.
- <sup>30</sup> "Lawmakers Approve Texas Windstorm Insurance Fix," *Texas Tribune*, June 28, 2011.
- <sup>31</sup> "Campus Gun Bill Short on Votes," *Austin American-Statesman*, April 8, 2011.
- <sup>32</sup> "Judge Dismisses Case To Let Adults Under 21 Carry Concealed Guns," *Austin American-Statesman*, January 20, 2012.
- <sup>33</sup> "Smoking Ban Is Nixed," *Austin American-Statesman*, May 27, 2011. "Smoking Ban Back on the Table," *Austin American-Statesman*, June 4, 2011.
- <sup>34</sup> "[Chewing Over a Chaw Tax Cut](#)," TPJ's *Lobby Watch*, May 11, 2011.
- <sup>35</sup> "[Gambling Industry Bet Against Republican-Dominated House](#)," TPJ's *Lobby Watch*, December 1, 2010.
- <sup>36</sup> "Tracking the Cash," *Austin American-Statesman*, February 6, 2011. Judge Sparks issued a temporary injunction in December 2010 and a final order in August 2011. A state appeal is pending in the 5<sup>th</sup> Court of Appeals.

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<sup>37</sup> The bill, HJR 119, sought to propose a constitutional amendment to that effect. "Video Terminals at Bingo Halls?" *Austin American-Statesman*, March 9, 2011.

<sup>38</sup> House Bill 660.

<sup>39</sup> In the 2009 session strip clubs pushed H.B. 982 and advocates for assault victims pushed HB 2070. "Defending 'Little Dogs' But Playing Both Sides," *New York Times/Texas Tribune*, July 22, 2011.

<sup>40</sup> "Supreme Court Backs Pole Tax," *Austin American-Statesman*, August 27, 2011.

<sup>41</sup> In the most bizarre of these filings, the Texas Association of Realtors reported itself as its own lobbyist.

<sup>42</sup> The NRA paid LaPierre \$1,139,568 that year.