

Perry Appointees Morph Into Lobbyists



Mario Max Yzaguirre.

This whooping crane-slaying Enron executive migrated into the lobby after Perry appointed him to the Public Utility Commission (PUC) in 2001. The PUC in 2009 awarded a \$402 million contract to a company that hired Yzaguirre as an executive.

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Texas' longest-serving governor appointed more than 4,000 people to more than 600 state posts. To better understand the gubernatorial-appointee lobby, researchers assembled a list of 50 state boards that smelled like they could be influential or lucrative for would-be lobbyists. From 2001 to July 2011, 25 appointees to these boards registered as Texas lobbyists (at least one other lobbied without registering). These 25 revolving-door appointees have reported 502 annual lobby contracts with 198 different clients who paid them from \$15.3 million to \$29.2 million since 2001 (Texas lobbyists report their incomes in ranges).

The revolving door swings both ways. Perry looked to the lobby for some appointees, while others launched lobby careers *after* receiving a gubernatorial appointment. Six of the seven lobbyists who reported maximum incomes exceeding \$1 million were gubernatorial appointees *before* they hit the lobby. The sole exception is Ray Sullivan, who lobbied in between two stints on Governor Perry's payroll and then landed a Perry appointment to the Economic Development Corp. in 2009.

Perry's economic development programs create jobs—in the lobby. This report includes four Perry economic development point men who have worked the lobby: Sullivan, David Cabrales, Jeff Moseley and Phil Wilson. All of these men appeared in a previous revolving-door report, "Rick's Revolvers: The Gubernatorial Farm Team for Lobbyists," because Perry tapped them to be both gubernatorial appointees *and* employees.

Former Health & Human Services Executive Commissioner Don Gilbert, a Bush and Perry appointee, dominated the appointee lobby. He reported that 46 clients paid him from \$7.3 million to \$13.2 million, with Gilbert pocketing 45 cents of every lobby dollar tracked in this report. Gilbert's top clients were the powerful Texas Medical Association and drug giant Eli Lilly, which each paid him maximum totals exceeding \$1 million.

Albert Hawkins, whom Perry appointed as Gilbert's successor, first hit the lobby in 2010. Yet he already ranks as Perry's No. 6 appointee lobbyist. Hawkins reported that 11 clients paid him up to \$1.35 million. Gilbert and Hawkins draw most of their clients from the health industry. That industry spent up to \$13.3 million on the 25 appointee lobbyists analyzed here, accounting for 46 percent of the total lobby income tracked here.



Don Gilbert

The Perry administration has aggressively promoted the idea that privatizing government services magically reduces government spending. Texas' multi-billion-dollar spending on human services is the ultimate testing ground for this belief, which pre-dates Perry.

Governor George W. Bush's first Health & Human Services (HHS) commissioner was physician Mike McKinney, who was a close colleague of Perry's when they served in the Texas House. Commissioner McKinney implemented a program to provide Medicaid services through HMO contractors before he resigned in 1998. Now headed by Gilbert, HHS awarded HMO Medicaid contracts to Centene Corp., which had hired Mike McKinney as an executive lobbyist. Governor Perry appointed Hawkins as commissioner when Gilbert entered the lobby in 2003. There was never a richer moment in history for a Texas health commissioner to hit the revolving door.

A 2003 bill by GOP Rep. Arlene Wohlgemuth folded 12 human service agencies into five and ramped up human-service privatizations,¹ igniting a lobby frenzy that Wohlgemuth herself could not resist. In late 2004 the retiring lawmaker organized a health-care lobby shop and proceeded to bill clients up to \$2.9 million. One such client was a state contractor headed by Gregg Phillips, a former HHS deputy commissioner who had helped Hawkins implement Wohlgemuth's HHS restructuring.²

Perry Appointees Spotted In the Lobby (2001 to 2011)

Appointee Lobbyist	Max. Value of Contracts	Annual Contracts	Lobby Periods From 2001-2011	Board(s)	Appointment Date(s)
Don Gilbert	\$13,205,000	159	1/03-12/11	Health & Human Serv. Exec. Commissioner	2/01
Ray Sullivan	\$3,690,000	58	1/03-6/09	Economic Development Corp.	11/09
Geoffrey S. Connor	\$1,880,000	35	3/06-12/11	Secretary of State	8/03
Albert Betts Jr.	\$1,860,000	22	11/08-12/11	Workers' Compensation Commissioner	9/05; 2/07
Rebecca A. Klein	\$1,410,000	30	11/05-12/06	Public Utility Commission	6/01; 11/01
				Gov's Clean Coal Tech. Council	1/03
				Lower Colorado River Authority	10/07
Albert Hawkins III	\$1,350,000	19	6/10-12/11	Health & Human Serv. Exec. Commissioner	1/03; 8/05; 2/07
Robby Cook	\$1,190,000	25	2/09-12/11	Rock Crushers/Quarries Study Committee	8/03
Robert C. Wilson	\$985,000	14	'01-'03; '05-'07; '09-'11	Low-Lev. Radioact. Waste Disposal Compact	11/08
Gwyn Shea	\$610,000	57	8/05-12/07	Secretary of State	1/02
				Border Commerce Coordinator	5/02
				Health & Human Services Council	11/04
				Univ. of N. TX Board of Regents	11/07
'Ralph' B. Marquez	\$530,000	18	1/07-12/11	Gov's Clean Coal Tech. Council	1/03
S. Phil Wilson	\$470,000	6	7/08-10/11	Secretary of State	7/07
Mario M. Yzaguirre	\$470,000	11	3/07-12/10	Public Utility Commission	6/01
*Grant Billingsley	\$400,000	11	1/01-12/11	Emerging Tech. Advisory Com.	8/05; 9/07
Lawrence Jacobi Jr.	\$320,000	6	2001; 2003; 2011	Radiation Advisory Board	5/04; 8/09
*Paul Plunket	\$190,000	10	1/01-6/08	Finance Commission	6/08
Greg 'Alan' Waldrop	\$120,000	3	4/05-5/05; 3/11-12/11	3rd Court of Appeals Justice	8/05
				Securities Board	5/11
*David G. Cabrales	\$100,000	1	1/11-12/11	Occupational Therapy Examiners	3/02
				Racing Commission	12/06
				Gulf Coast/Atl. States Reg'l Task Force	8/08
				Economic Development Corp.	12/09
*Charlotte R. Clifton	\$100,000	2	9/06-6/07	Teacher Retirement System	2/08
Tom Ramsay	\$85,000	3	3/03-12/03; 7/05-12/05	Ethics Commission	3/10
Larry Ross Soward	\$80,000	4	6/10-12/11	Commission on Enviro. Quality	10/03
				Energy Planning Council	2/04
*Jeff Moseley	\$60,000	3	8/05-12/07	Economic Development Corp.	2/04
*Linda L. McKenna	\$25,000	1	1/03-8/03	Public Finance Authority	4/05
				State Tech. College Board of Regents	9/09
*William J. White	\$20,000	2	1/01-12/02	Finance Commission	6/04; 4/10
*Colleen McHugh	\$10,000	1	2/07-12/07	Inaugural Committee	11/02
				Public Safety Commission	2/04
				U.T. Board of Regents	10/05
*William E. Morrow	\$10,000	1	3/05-12/05	Emerging Tech. Advisory Committee	8/05; 9/07; 9/09
David Nance	Did Not Register		2010	Gov's Council of Science & Biotech Develop.	2/02
				Emerging Tech. Advisory Committee	8/05
TOTALS:	\$29,170,000	502			

*Lobbyist represented just one client during this period (see list at end of this report).

UnitedHealth lobbyist and Perry pal Mike Toomey razed HHS Commissioner Hawkins during the 2005 session for moving too slowly to expand Texas' HMO Medicaid program. "Goddamit, Albert, I told you you should have rolled this out before the session," Toomey told Hawkins at the Capitol. Hawkins said Toomey was "teasing."³ Yet Hawkins did expand the program in 2007, awarding two of the contracts to UnitedHealth's Evercare and Centene's Superior Health. Nursing homes and health care providers soon complained that the HMOs refused to pay their bills⁴ and Medicaid patients complained that Evercare saved money by not providing in-network doctors.⁵ Hawkins and Perry Secretary of State Gwyn Shea later became Centene lobbyists.



Albert Hawkins

Perry's No. 3 appointee lobbyist is former Secretary of State Geoffrey Connor, who has reported 16 clients worth up to \$1.9 million. Connor's top clients have been AT&T (which spent \$18,349 to buy 700 copies of Perry's *Fed-Up* book), Osage Environmental and Texas Disposal Systems. After a truck hauling lead-filled TV tubes overturned outside Austin in 1997, the waste wound up at a nearby Texas Disposal dump. The trucking company and Connor's client then spent a decade fighting with regulators and the courts over who was responsible for hazardous lead.⁶

No. 4 appointee lobbyist Albert Betts reported that seven clients have paid him up to \$1.9 million. Betts served as chief of staff to Texas' toothless Insurance Commissioner before Perry appointed him to be Workers' Compensation Commissioner. Betts quit that position in 2008 to become an insurance lobbyist. His top clients at the firm Thompson Coe have been the Association of Fire & Casualty Companies, the Texas Association of Life & Health Insurers and Prudential Financial.

Some of the many contracts that the HHS Commission awarded under Hawkins went to Centene Corp. and Image API, which became top Hawkins clients after he left the agency in 2009.⁷ Other top Hawkins clients are the Harden Healthcare nursing home chain and House Speaker Joe Straus' campaign.

Perry appointed Rebecca Klein to the Public Utility Commission, the Clean Coal Technology Council and the Lower Colorado River Association. Klein, who lost a 2004 challenge to Democratic Congressman Lloyd Doggett, has reported 20 clients worth up to \$1.4 million. Her top clients include cyber-security company SecureInfo Corp., St. Luke's Episcopal Health System, nursing home chain Touchstone Communities and the physician-owned Doctors Hospital at Renaissance.⁸

In 2009 Democrat Robby Cook went straight from the Texas House into the lobby. Cook had served on land and resource committees, with the lawmaker winning a 2003 Perry appointment to the Rock Crushers and Quarries Study Committee. Cook has billed up to \$1.2 million. His top clients have been the oil-rich D.M. O'Connor estate, cigarette giant Reynolds American and water interests led by the Lost Pines Groundwater Conservation District.

Robert Wilson lobbied on environmental matters at McGinnis Lochridge and Kilgore before joining Jackson Sjoberg McCarthy & Wilson. Wilson reported that six clients paid him up to \$985,000. Other than his law firms, Wilson's top clients have been the Plum Creek Conservation District and the chemical company Solutia. Perry appointed Wilson in 2008 to the Low Level Radioactive Waste Disposal Compact Commission, which oversees the West Texas nuclear waste dump operated by Dallas billionaire Harold Simmons. That dump originally was limited to taking low-level radioactive waste from Texas and Vermont. The eight-member commission voted in 2011 to let Simmons take waste from 36 other states. Wilson cast one of two "No" votes against Simmons.⁹

Top Clients of Perry's Appointee Lobbyists

Max. Value of Contracts	Client	Annual Contracts	Industry	Top Appointee Lobbyist
\$1,025,000	TX Medical Assn.	9	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$1,025,000	Eli Lilly & Co.	8	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$850,000	HNTB Corp.	7	Construction	*Ray Sullivan
\$850,000	TX Assn. of Voluntary Hospitals	9	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$750,000	Valley Baptist Health System	9	Health	Don Gilbert
\$700,000	Assn. of Fire & Casualty Co's	4	Insurance	*Albert Betts
\$700,000	H.E. Butt Grocery Co.	7	Misc. Business	*Don Gilbert
\$650,000	Community Hospital Corp.	5	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$650,000	Trinity Mother Frances Health	7	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$600,000	McGinnis Lochridge & Kilgore	3	Lawyers/Lobbyists	*Robert Wilson
\$600,000	SBC Communications, Inc.	5	Communications	Don Gilbert
\$600,000	Schaller Anderson, Inc.	5	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$600,000	UBS	6	Finance	*Ray Sullivan
\$580,000	AT&T Corp.	12	Communications	Geoffrey Connor
\$450,000	DaVita, Inc.	5	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$450,000	D. M. O'Connor Heirs	3	Energy	*Robby Cook
\$450,000	Luminant Holding Co.	4	Energy	*Phil Wilson
\$450,000	Tara Energy, Inc.	6	Energy	Max Yzaguirre
\$450,000	TX Medical Foundation	5	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$400,000	TX Assn. of Life & Health Insurers	4	Insurance	*Albert Betts
\$400,000	TX Children's Hospital	2	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$400,000	Wagner & Brown	11	Energy	*Grant Billingsley
\$380,000	Affiliated Computer Services (ACS)	7	Computers	Don Gilbert
\$350,000	BCA Permian Basin Behav.Hosp.	5	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$300,000	ADAPT of America	3	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$300,000	Healthcare Distrib. Mgmt. Assn.	2	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$300,000	Nix Healthcare System	4	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$300,000	Silver Eagle Distributors	5	Misc. Business	*Ray Sullivan
\$300,000	St. Joseph Health System	4	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$250,000	Covenant Health System	6	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$250,000	Driscoll Children's Hospital	4	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$250,000	EBAY, Inc.	5	Misc. Business	*Ray Sullivan
\$250,000	Envirocare	2	Waste	*Lawrence Jacobi
\$250,000	Good Shepherd Health System	4	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$250,000	Osage Environmental, Inc.	3	Waste	*Geoffrey Connor
\$250,000	Methodist Medical Center	4	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$250,000	Shannon Medical Center	4	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$250,000	University Health System	3	Health	*Don Gilbert
\$240,000	TX Disposal Systems Landfill	6	Waste	*Geoffrey Connor
\$230,000	Centene Corp. (Superior Health)	5	Health	Albert Hawkins
\$18,580,000	Subtotals	212		

*This is the only known Perry appointee to represent this client while Perry was governor.

After Perry's Commission on Environmental Quality awarded Waste Control permits to accept radioactive waste in 2007, three agency employees who believed the site endangered the vital Ogallala Aquifer resigned in protest. Larry Soward was the only one of Perry's three environmental commissioners to vote against the permit for Simmons (who has given more than \$1 million to Perry's

gubernatorial campaigns). “Everybody was aware that this was an important item for the people that were seeking the license as well as for the governor’s office,” Soward later said.¹⁰ After leaving the commission in 2009, Soward lobbied for three anti-pollution groups: Air Alliance Houston, the Environmental Integrity Project and the Environmental Defense Fund.

Lawrence Jacobi lobbied for radioactive waste disposal companies Envirocare and Lotus LLC before Perry first appointed him to the Radiation Advisory Board in 2004. As vice president of Waste Control competitor Envirocare in 1999, Jacobi expressed concern that the proposed dump might be too close to the Ogallala Aquifer.¹¹ By 2004, when Perry appointed him to the board that advised state agencies on radioactive matters, Jacobi was a Waste Control consultant (though not a registered lobbyist).¹² Jacobi did register in 2011 to lobby for Waste Control and the uranium mining company Signal Equities.

Between 2002 and 2007 Perry appointed former GOP Rep. Gwyn Shea as Secretary of State and Border Commerce Coordinator, as well as to the Health & Human Service Council and the University of North Texas Board of Regents. Shea reported that 25 clients paid her up to \$610,000 from 2005 through 2007. Her top clients have been the Schlueter Group lobby firm and casino giant Harrah’s Entertainment.

Governor Bush appointed lobbyist and Monsanto veteran Ralph Marquez to the Natural Resources Conservation Commission in 1995. Commissioner Marquez declined to recuse himself from voting for pollution permits benefitting cement giant Texas Industries, which had previously retained Marquez as a lobbyist.¹³ In 1999 Bush reappointed Marquez, who served at Perry’s pleasure until 2006. Perry also appointed Marquez to the Clean Coal Technology Council in 2003. Marquez reported that 10 clients paid him up to \$530,000 since 2007. His top clients have been the lobby firm of Carl R. Griffith and Associates, Georgia-based environmental services firm Green First and the Texas Chemical Council.

As Texas prepared to implement electricity deregulation in 2001 Governor Perry appointed an Enron executive to the Public Utility Commission. Before releasing Mario Max Yzaguirre’s application to the media, Perry’s office whitened out information about Yzaguirre’s conviction for shooting an endangered whooping crane. Perry’s office presented Yzaguirre as if he just had been an executive of Enron’s Mexico unit. State rules that bar those who have worked for public utilities from serving on the utility commission for two years may have encouraged Yzaguirre to obscure his other Enron affiliations. Yzaguirre resigned in January 2002 after Enron’s implosion. He later reported that four clients have paid him up to \$470,000. His top clients have been AT&T, Mexican steelmaker Deacero and electricity retailer Tara Energy, which owes its business to Enron-pushed deregulation. Yzaguirre is CEO of the U.S. unit of Spanish engineering firm Isolux Corsan. Yzaguirre’s successors at the Public Utility Commission awarded a \$402 million contract to Isolux and a partner in 2009 to build electric transmission lines to tap wind energy in West Texas.¹⁴

Midland oil company Wagner & Brown’s longtime public affairs manager is Grant Billingsley. Over the past decade he has reported up to \$400,000 in lobby income from his company, making him the top single-client lobbyist in this report. Perry appointed Billingsley to the Emerging Technology Advisory Committee in 2005 and 2007.

Perry’s Emerging Technology Fund awards taxpayer money to promising technological companies. Regional and statewide advisory committees are supposed to approve the grants. Yet Convergen LifeSciences won a \$4.5 million award in 2010 after a regional advisory committee rejected its



David Nance

application. Convergen chief David Nance is a Perry pal whom the governor appointed to the Governor's Council of Science & Biotechnology Development and to the statewide Emerging Technology Advisory Committee.¹⁵ Nance and Perry's ex-director of the Emerging Technology Fund, Alan Kirchhoff, lobbied state officials in 2010 to finance refueling stations for natural-gas powered vehicles.¹⁶ Neither man registered to lobby. Kirchhoff left the Governor's Office in 2010 as the state investigated business ties that he formed with William Morrow.¹⁷ Morrow is an Emerging Technology Advisory Committee appointee who lobbied in 2005 for his Internet company Grande Communications.

Perry appointed Paul Plunket, a retired executive lobbyist of TXU Corp's Oncor unit to the Finance Commission in 2008. Headed by Perry appointee William White, an executive to payday-lending company Cash America, this agency has been a patsy for Texas' booming predatory-loan industry.¹⁸ By law, finance industry representatives control four of the commission's nine seats. Apart from Plunket, the *Texas Observer* reported that Perry's four other "public" appointees to that agency all work for accounting or law firms that service finance-industry clients.¹⁹

Locke Liddell & Sapp attorney Alan Waldrop lobbied for Houston Auto Auction and Texans for Lawsuit Reform (TLR) when Perry appointed him to a vacancy on Austin's 3rd Court of Appeals in 2005. Judicial conflicts seemed inevitable, given that TLR opposes plaintiff lawsuits. TLR also worked closely with Tom DeLay's outlaw Texans for a Republican Majority PAC (TRMPAC) to elect a Republican House majority in 2002. Waldrop headed TLR's efforts to resist civil subpoenas about the group's TRMPAC ties.²⁰ Waldrop then wrote an activist 2008 opinion in the criminal TRMPAC case that indicted DeLay for laundering illegal corporate funds into that election. Raising an issue not before then before his court, Justice Waldrop wrote that state laundering laws did not apply to checks in 2002.²¹ Waldrop resigned from the bench in 2010, returned to his firm and registered as a TLR lobbyist in 2011.



Alan Waldrop

Teacher Charlotte Clifton lobbied as president of the Texas Classroom Teachers Association before Perry appointed her to a Teacher Retirement System seat reserved for school-district employees. Five years earlier Ray Sullivan client UBS pitched the Governor's Office on the idea of taking out "dead peasant" life insurance policies on government workers so the state could profit from their deaths. The macabre idea bombed as soon as it went public. Terence Ellis told the *Dallas Morning News* that Perry sacked him as chair of the Teacher Retirement System because he refused to fire retirement system Executive Director Ronnie Jung. Ellis said the Governor's Office blamed Jung for leaking the scheme to reporters.²²

Perry appointed former Democratic lawmaker Tom Ramsay to the Ethics Commission in 2010. Ramsay left the House in 2003, the same year that he lobbied for the Texas Association of Counties and Robert Trimble of Dallas. This real estate investor is an animal welfare activist who has opposed slaughtering horses for meat. Ramsay also lobbied for the publicly run Northeast Texas Rural Rail in 2005.

Perry appointed Linda McKenna, an executive lobbyist at the Valley Baptist Health System, to the Public Finance Authority in 2005. Four years later he put her on the State Technical College Board of Regents.

Governor Perry named attorney Colleen McHugh to his first gubernatorial inaugural committee in 2002. He then appointed her to the Public Safety Commission in 2004 and to the U.T. Board of Regents in 2005. McHugh lobbied in 2007 for Sam Kane Beef, whose owner contributed \$147,925 to Perry's gubernatorial campaigns. McHugh also advocated for Texas' first family back in 2001. State Senator Troy Fraser had bought land in an exclusive resort on Lake LBJ's Horseshoe Bay from developer Doug Jaffe. Fraser then flipped a parcel to boyhood friend Rick Perry. Burnet County first appraised that property at \$414,700. Representing Perry in a tax protest, McHugh got the appraisal lowered to \$313,762, the price the governor said that he paid for it.²³ Over six year this adjustment prevented Perry from paying \$14,000 in taxes to local governments and schools. An appraiser hired by the *Dallas Morning News* later said the property was worth \$450,000 when Perry bought it.²⁴ Perry sold the lot to Alan Moffat in 2007 for \$1.15 million. The *News'* appraiser said this sales price was \$350,000 above market value. One year earlier Perry's Enterprise Fund awarded \$2.5 million to an aircraft company that counted Moffat business partner Doug Jaffe among its investors.²⁵

Single-Client Lobby Appointees

Lobby Appointee	Max. Value of Contracts	Client	Lobby Period (2001-2011)	Board(s)	Appointment Date(s)
Grant Billingsley	\$400,000	Wagner & Brown	1/01-12/11	Emerging Tech. Adv. Com.	8/05; 9/07
Paul Plunket	\$190,000	TXU Corp./Oncor	1/01-6/08	Finance Commission	6/08
David Cabrales	\$100,000	Dell, Inc.	1/11-12/11	Occup. Therapy Examiners	3/02
				Racing Commission	12/06
				Gulf/Atl. States Task Force	8/08
				Economic Dev. Corp.	12/09
Charlotte Clifton	\$100,000	TX Classroom Teachers	9/06-6/07	Teacher Retire. System	2/08
Jeff Moseley	\$60,000	Gr. Houston Partnership	8/05-12/07	Economic Dev. Corp.	2/04
Linda McKenna	\$25,000	Valley Baptist Health	1/03-8/03	Public Finance Authority	4/05
				State Tech. College Regents	9/09
William J. White	\$20,000	Cash America Intern'l	1/01-12/02	Finance Commission	6/04; 4/10
Colleen McHugh	\$10,000	Sam Kane Beef	2/07-12/07	Inaugural Committee	11/02
				Public Safety Commission	2/04
				U.T. Board of Regents	10/05
William Morrow	\$10,000	Grande Communications	3/05-12/05	Emerging Tech. Adv. Com.	8/05; 9/07; 9/09
TOTALS:	\$915,000				

Notes

¹ House Bill 2292.

² This client was Phillips' GHT Development. "State's No. 2 Health Official Decides to Resign," *Houston Chronicle*, July 17, 2004. "Lobbyist Hired State Official's Former Partner," *Houston Chronicle*, August 5, 2004. "Lobby's Revision Would Aid Client," *Dallas Morning News*, April 30, 2007. "[Peddling Welfare-Privatization Boondoggles](#)," TPJ's Watch Your Assets, July 18, 2007. "State of Neglect: Outsourcing Enriches Contractors, Ex-Legislators," *Dallas Morning News*, January 5, 2009. Perry's troubled Texas Youth Commission also awarded Phillips a \$275,000, no-bid contract in 2007.

³ "Hawkins' Talk With HMO Lobbyist Eyed," *San Antonio Express-News*, February 13, 2005. "Concern Grows as Lobby Revolves," *Dallas Morning News*, February 17, 2005.

⁴ "[Peddling Welfare-Privatization Boondoggles](#)," TPJ's Watch Your Assets, July 18, 2007.

⁵ "Is Texas Looking Out for You? Health-Care Outsourcing is Rolling On, But Many Patients Suffer from the Silent Treatment," *Dallas Morning News*, January 4, 2009.

⁶ "Hazardous Waste Hauled Away, Finally," *Austin American-Statesman*, December 13, 2007.

⁷ The Image contract is discussed in "[Peddling Welfare-Privatization Boondoggles](#)," TPJ's Watch Your Assets, July 18, 2007.

⁸ For more on Doctors Hospital at Renaissance see TPJ's "[Texas PACs: 2010 Election Cycle Spending](#)," August 2011.

⁹ "[Crony Capitalism: The Republican Governors Association in the Perry Years](#)," Texans for Public Justice, September 2011.

¹⁰ "Perry's Texas Friends Find Donations Dovetail With Contracts," *Bloomberg News*, August 31, 2011.

¹¹ "Chisum Debates Low Level Nuclear Dump for Andrews County," *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, March 21, 1999.

¹² "Radiation Bord Appointee Serves as Consultant to Waste Firm," *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, July 1, 2004.

¹³ "[Governor Bush's Well-Appointed State Boards](#)," Texans for Public Justice, October 2000.

¹⁴ "[Political Juice Amped Up \\$5 Billion Power-Grid Contracts](#)," TPJ's *Lobby Watch*, March 15, 2010.

¹⁵ "Donor Skirted Decision," *Dallas Morning News*, October 13, 2010.

¹⁶ "Ex-Chief of State Fund Makes Own Tech Pitch," *Austin American-Statesman*, October 14, 2010.

¹⁷ "Man with Checkered Financial History Profited on Private Deals While Running Texas Emerging Technology Fund," *Dallas Morning News*, March 5, 2011.

¹⁸ "[Loan-Shark-Financed Campaigns Threaten Payday-Loan Reform](#)," Texans for Public Justice, March 2011.

¹⁹ "Foxes in the Henhouse," *Texas Observer*, January 20, 2011.

²⁰ "[TRMPAC Donors Financed TRMPAC Judges' Campaigns](#)," TPJ's *Lobby Watch*, September 23, 2008.

²¹ "[TPJ Files Complaint Against Justice Waldrop in TRMPAC Case](#)," TPJ News Release, October 14, 2008.

²² "Perry Stocked Boards of Texas Teacher Pension Fund, Other Agencies with Political Allies," *Dallas Morning News*, December 3, 2011.

²³ "Reappraising the Governor," *Texas Observer*, May 29, 2009.

²⁴ "Murky Land Deals Mark Gov. Rick Perry's Past," *Dallas Morning News*, July 25, 2010.

²⁵ "[Phantom Jobs](#)," Texans for Public Justice, September 8, 2010.