

The Texas Capitol

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IN RE: THE TEXAS CAPITOL

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TRANSCRIPT OF AUDIO RECORDING

11

MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN

12

DUSTIN BURROWS

13

DENNIS BONNEN

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1 (Background conversation.)

2 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Howdy.

3 DUSTIN BURROWS: Been a while.

4 DENNIS BONNEN: So what are you thinking?

5 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I'm thinking that I'm  
6 glad it's not raining.

7 DENNIS BONNEN: Okay.

8 DUSTIN BURROWS: That was good.

9 DENNIS BONNEN: Did you get to do any of the -- I  
10 don't know if I'd call it presidential stuff but in  
11 Normandy, when you were there for (Unintelligible).

12 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, it was fantastic.  
13 It was great.

14 DUSTIN BURROWS: First time to go?

15 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: No, this was my third  
16 time to be at the American cemetery. First ceremony.

17 DENNIS BONNEN: First 75th anniversary?

18 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah. First 75th  
19 anniversary. I'd never heard Macron speak. I'd met him  
20 three or four years ago. Pretty -- pretty interesting  
21 fellow, for French politics, but his speeches -- he's  
22 never afraid -- similar to Trump -- to just, you know, say  
23 whatever is going through his head politically, right? And  
24 so it was very interesting to see both of their speeches.  
25 Neither one of whom -- allegedly their offices had not

1 communicated what their speech topics were, other than the  
2 obvious, you know, and it was very interesting to see  
3 Macron's speech. He tends to be far more political in his  
4 speeches, you know when there's the big black eye turned  
5 on at him and yet his speech was just amazing down the  
6 line. Just the relationship between France and the United  
7 States, the gratitude towards the veterans and the  
8 families and that kind of thing and Trump similarly was  
9 just --

10 DENNIS BONNEN: I didn't know Trump said any of  
11 that stuff. I heard he said Nancy Pelosi was a woman or  
12 something.

13 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, I think he had a  
14 Laura Ingraham interview or something like that.

15 DENNIS BONNEN: No, I'm kidding. (Unintelligible)

16 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: His speech -- if you get  
17 a chance, go back and watch it. So the Macron speech they  
18 had all these TV's, you know, set up, with kind of a live  
19 transcript going on and it was -- even the live transcript  
20 was pretty good, but then reading a more, you know,  
21 thoughtful text.

22 DENNIS BONNEN: It was just...

23 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Just fantastic. And then  
24 Trump's speech was just really wonderful.

25 DENNIS BONNEN: I did not get to see that. I

1 actually did hear I heard he was pretty, I think Fox,  
2 someone on Fox I heard said it was probably the best  
3 speech he had ever given.

4           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I wouldn't disagree.  
5           There was at least once when Macron got visibly,  
6 you know, kind of --

7           DENNIS BONNEN: A little emotional.

8           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, kind of choked up  
9 on his words, and Trump the same thing. Not when he was  
10 speaking, when he had spoken and he had recognized one of  
11 the veterans and walked over to him, something was said  
12 there, because when Trump came back you could kind of see  
13 this little catch in his throat.

14           DENNIS BONNEN: They all kind of got it. I love  
15 that.

16           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: It was amazing. So, I  
17 chatted with several of the fellows who had been presented  
18 the Legion of Merit and each one of them just really neat  
19 fellows to talk with. And the next day my daughter and I  
20 were visiting with another one of the fellows and he had  
21 jumped with the 101st on 5:00 a.m. or whatever on D-Day  
22 and then he was in the jump into Market Garden and had  
23 been one of the liberators of one of the concentration  
24 camps, and was talking about just the smell when he came  
25 into the city, not knowing. He was an enlisted man. He had

1 no idea. You know. There's increasing evidence that  
2 Eisenhower and the allied command had become aware about  
3 the concentration camps at some point in the early, early  
4 '40s but of course he knew nothing about it, but there's  
5 this weird smell in town, and he was saying, they were  
6 just kind of going: I've never been in Germany before.  
7 Maybe this is normal -- I don't know -- kid from  
8 Minnesota, you know, and he said that then, you know, two,  
9 two of the guys out in the countryside, doing their sweeps  
10 for Germans, and they come across this camp. And so then  
11 he was there that afternoon and that's where the smell was  
12 coming from. And so he was there with, you know, his  
13 company commander and others talking to the mayor of the  
14 little town (unintelligible). Did you know what the smell  
15 was?

16 DENNIS BONNEN: Right.

17 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: He said looking back he  
18 was even more (unintelligible), but at the time. What  
19 about the smell? Let alone everything else. Just the  
20 smell. And anyway, it was very interesting talking to him.  
21 The guy is 96 years old.

22 DENNIS BONNEN: That's (unintelligible). We're  
23 losing these guys.

24 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, but after his --  
25 this little talk, he jumped off the stage, me and my

1 daughter were sitting there, and he came back and sat next  
2 to us, and I mean he literally bounded off of the stage. I  
3 mean, not -- not, you know, feeble, someone, it was like,  
4 holy moly, I hope when I'm 96.

5 DENNIS BONNEN: We can only hope.

6 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I hope when I'm 56.

7 Anyway, it was...

8 DENNIS BONNEN: That's cool.

9 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: It was interesting. My  
10 daughter had never been to the American cemetery and the  
11 point I tried to make to her, this was a cemetery full of  
12 boys her age.

13 DENNIS BONNEN: That's right. These are your  
14 classmates.

15 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, yeah. It's 10,000,  
16 yeah, 20 to, and you have some of the old guys.

17 DENNIS BONNEN: Not many though. No, it was 19 to  
18 23.

19 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: You're talking --

20 DENNIS BONNEN: The outlier would be  
21 (unintelligible).

22 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, it was the company  
23 commander who got hit, that kind of thing, but it's  
24 overwhelming a bunch of 20-year-olds.

25 DENNIS BONNEN: I don't know, your being there, I

1 don't know if you saw this or experienced it, but I was  
2 seeing it, watching it on TV. They had current  
3 paratroopers and these guys climbed the side of the hill  
4 and they were like, wow.

5 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah. Point du Hoc.

6 DENNIS BONNEN: They had 'em on ropes and  
7 harnesses.

8 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: The things that would  
9 have been secured at the top, not shot up with a --

10 DENNIS BONNEN: Yes. Wow.

11 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Grappling hook, yeah. It  
12 was pretty neat. Also there was a little ceremony at  
13 Sainte Mere Eglise, which is the first real town that was  
14 liberated. Every year they have a commemoration of their  
15 liberation day, which was the 7th of June and this year  
16 for the first time they had, they had American and Danish  
17 paratroopers which were the ones that came into the city  
18 first and one American actually landed on the church  
19 steeple, his parachute did, and hung there for two hours  
20 trying to shoot the Germans from up there. Crazy stories.  
21 The guy lived. Survived the war.

22 But for the first time they had a German paratrooper unit  
23 there also and they later -- I barely speak English, but a  
24 fellow who was with us, kind of translating, you know,  
25 loosely translating what the guy was saying and then of

1 course this was a little small -- you know, there were a  
2 hundred people standing around at this little  
3 (unintelligible) but just emotions. We can't undo our  
4 wrongs, but you did.

5 DENNIS BONNEN: Wow.

6 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: It was really neat. It  
7 was just a neat thing. Again, he was German. He could have  
8 just stayed at home that day.

9 DENNIS BONNEN: Wow.

10 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, so that was...

11 DENNIS BONNEN: That's cool. That's awesome.

12 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: And of course we had to  
13 eat snails.

14 DUSTIN BURROWS: They must have been really  
15 hungry in France at one time.

16 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Apparently so, yeah.  
17 Apparently so, yeah. I just don't get it.

18 DENNIS BONNEN: I don't get that at all either.  
19 It's kind of like London. When we took the boys to London  
20 for spring break two years or so ago I finally  
21 (unintelligible). We don't need to eat the British food.  
22 It was bland and awful and whatever else. And the funny  
23 thing is apparently in London they have good restaurants  
24 for everything else.

25 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Some of the best Indian



1 food I've ever had in my life is there in London. Of  
2 course when you go in and colonize some established  
3 country, against their will, you'll bring back some good  
4 (unintelligible) but some of the best food there off of  
5 this little place, I actually went there again this time,  
6 the name of it is some name I can't pronounce but right  
7 off Trafalgar Square. It's just It's amazing. Anyway, so,  
8 that was fun.

9 DENNIS BONNEN: All right, so...

10 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: What's going on?

11 DENNIS BONNEN: I'm trying to win in 2020.

12 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Okay.

13 DENNIS BONNEN: In November. And when we had  
14 breakfast, one of the things I visited with you about was,  
15 is there any way that for 2020 we sort of say -- and when  
16 I say "we," I'm not really being in the middle of it, but  
17 we're not trying to kill each other.

18 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Whoever the "we" is.

19 DENNIS BONNEN: Yeah, whoever the "we" is, let's  
20 not spend millions of dollars fighting in primaries, when  
21 we need to spend millions of dollars trying to win in  
22 November.

23 And so honestly, I just wanted to see if we can  
24 try and figure that out, and I mean this in a polite way.  
25 If you need some primaries to fight in, I will leave and

1 Dustin will tell you some that we would love it if you  
2 fought in them -- not that you need our permission -- but  
3 what I would love to be able to do, candidly, is kind of  
4 have -- I don't want to say an agreement -- but kind of an  
5 understanding, look, you want to go pop some guys, if  
6 you're asking us -- which you don't have to -- let me put  
7 it this way: Am I going to always make you happy? No. Am I  
8 perfect? No way.

9           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: In 26 years you haven't  
10 tried to, so (unintelligible).

11           DENNIS BONNEN: I've tried.

12           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I'm kidding, I'm  
13 kidding, I'm kidding.

14           DENNIS BONNEN: But here's my point.

15           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: He once had this  
16 glorious mane of hair, and he'd go block walking in Lake  
17 Jackson.

18           DENNIS BONNEN: Why Ron Paul would ride his bike.

19           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Ron Paul would ride his  
20 bike.

21           DENNIS BONNEN: But I... again, it's not going to  
22 always be what you would tell, dictate if you were in  
23 charge, okay? But I have been and will continue to govern  
24 from the conservative perspective of our caucus over. So  
25 the problem I'm going to have is that either way, whether

1 we lose a few seats or we gain a few seats or we just stay  
2 stagnant, if I still have the same ten moderate  
3 Republicans who don't want to help on anything, I'm still  
4 unable to do what you and I would want done and then maybe  
5 not even more what you would want done, okay? And that's a  
6 monumental shift. Joe Straus wanted to govern from there  
7 and screw here. I wanted to govern from here and screw  
8 there, you follow me?

9 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yep.

10 DENNIS BONNEN: So my frustration...

11 DUSTIN BURROWS: You know that's accurate? I can  
12 give you stories and examples of where that's from.

13 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah.

14 DUSTIN BURROWS: So you accept that?

15 DENNIS BONNEN: So my point is, instead of  
16 killing each other and wasting a lot of money and energy  
17 -- and I'm not being funny when I say this, and in 2022 if  
18 you want to come try and kill me and Dustin and every  
19 other person you can find, I would hope you would not feel  
20 you should or you need to, but fair. I just think we've  
21 got to get through 2020, guarantee if we try and hold this  
22 majority -- which, with all due respect to Trump, who I  
23 love, by the way -- he's killing us in urban-suburban  
24 districts. I mean, Angie Chen Button by polling, she's  
25 even, he's down 15 points. Yeah, I mean like -- anyway. So

1 I guess that's where I'm going, is can we kind of not  
2 waste our resources, yours and mine and everyone else's,  
3 fighting over members that aren't really a huge problem.  
4 You might not find they'll be your favorites, but they're  
5 not particularly a problem, and even help us out, and  
6 maybe kill off one or two or three that are never going to  
7 help. And then let's also turn our guns completely on --  
8 and I'm not making a joke when I tell you this -- I can't  
9 stand Ana Marie Ramos. I mean, Jon Rosenthal makes my skin  
10 crawl. He's a piece of shit. Gavin Massingill said it  
11 well, begging this is all confidential -- after we meet  
12 with him the first time he leaves us, I said what did you  
13 think of him? And he goes, well, his wife's going to be  
14 really pissed when she learns he's gay. I said yep. But my  
15 point is we've got Michelle Beckley, who's vile, okay? But  
16 we've got people who beat our Republicans, that are not  
17 even trying to act like moderate Democrats, okay? Which is  
18 good for us because we ought to be able to take their  
19 heads off. But I need you firing harder that way than  
20 these ways. Does that make sense? And let me tell you what  
21 I'll do for you -- real quick, you need to hear what I  
22 want to do for you.

23           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I don't need anything  
24 done.

25           DENNIS BONNEN: Well, no, you do. You do. If we

1 can make this work. I'll put your guys on the floor next  
2 session.

3 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Or take them all off.  
4 I'm fine either way. So...

5 DENNIS BONNEN: Well, here's what I will do: I'll  
6 do what Patrick did, I'll take Braddock off. But anyhow,  
7 so in general, I think it's a value to have your guys out  
8 there, to be truthful.

9 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: So the easiest way in a  
10 suburban district, that I've seen, for a candidate or for  
11 an incumbent to be tarnished is when you're able to have  
12 the surrounding people say, that person stinks, that  
13 person's a problem, that person's not delivering for us.  
14 So how does that work like with Michelle Beckley, I can't  
15 remember her name I'm hoping I don't have to remember her  
16 name for very long...

17 DENNIS BONNEN: Correct, we are too.

18 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: ...I make it a point not  
19 to remember any of those people's names, but, you know, to  
20 be able to have Tan Parker and Jared Patterson and Justin  
21 Holland, who their districts, you know touch, to be able  
22 to say to the -- you know, to the local Republican club,  
23 the Rotary Club, the others, we've got to get rid of her.

24 DENNIS BONNEN: So here's the issue and you may  
25 not love the answer: Can they go to that club and say

1 that?

2 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Mm-hmm.

3 DENNIS BONNEN: Maybe a little careful. But they  
4 can't and we've never done that. When Craddick was  
5 speaker. We didn't put names on a list against a sitting  
6 member but can they go in there and talk to these groups  
7 and tell them that? Yeah, because -- not to be arrogant --  
8 as long as they don't get over the top. The goal is for me  
9 to get to decide who screwed up and when I said no one  
10 campaign against each other and I've had the feedback from  
11 people I trust, Trey Martinez Fischer is totally turned in  
12 a knot because he isn't sure what the hell to do because I  
13 blew his plans up. And so that's what I was cutting off.  
14 So if Justin Holland wants to go talk to the Republican  
15 club and say, let me tell you, Michelle Beckley is  
16 heinous. I'm fine with that. Fair. -- But I want to be  
17 honest. Can Justin Holland put his name on a mail piece  
18 that says, "I hate Michelle Beckley" or "She's horrible"?  
19 He shouldn't do that. That won't --

20 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, no one knows that  
21 but it's the, you know, guys being timid, because let's  
22 face it, there are 181 timid people. We have a political  
23 system. Designed for timid people.

24 DENNIS BONNEN: (Unintelligible) That's part of  
25 why he's here.

1           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: And so the frustration,  
2 the concern --

3           DENNIS BONNEN: I get it.

4           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Is that giving someone  
5 an excuse to do nothing is always better. Keeping I  
6 forget her name, 61, Beckley, Michelle -- keeping her in  
7 is easier. It's just easier. It's just easier. For  
8 everyone.

9           DENNIS BONNEN: Michael, I get it.

10          MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: So for guys who now have  
11 the out, Oh, you know, Ron, Billy, Sam, Suzie, whoever,  
12 I'd love to help you --

13          DENNIS BONNEN: Can I say this to you?

14          MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah.

15          DENNIS BONNEN: They actually don't. Publicly  
16 they do, but the pressure they're going to feel from me  
17 and him and TLR and others, yeah, you need to be in a  
18 community, talking about (unintelligible).

19          MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: But they also then have  
20 you in the Houston Chronicle saying I don't want anyone  
21 campaigning.

22          DENNIS BONNEN: Michael, we can argue all day.

23          MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I'm just saying  
24 respectfully...(unintelligible).

25          DUSTIN BURROWS: If I can say something too.

1           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah.

2           DUSTIN BURROWS: I think that I can speak for  
3 some of the broader Republicans when they say what the  
4 word campaigning was alluding to, right? We're talking  
5 about Chris Turner putting in \$40,000 against Morgan  
6 Meyer.

7           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Right.

8           DUSTIN BURROWS: We're talking about Trey  
9 Martinez Fischer, others making donations so when there  
10 was no speaker to enforce the unwritten rules of the  
11 house, these guys come back and you basically have to lop  
12 everybody's freaking head off if they, you know, give  
13 pointable money quotes, the things that we all know you  
14 can't cross the line with, and they all understand that.  
15 If they don't, they will understand that.

16           DENNIS BONNEN: Let me say this because this is  
17 pretty important, it's where I'm frustrated with y'all: I  
18 had to be really clear because for the last ten years, the  
19 Democrats were being encouraged the way we're going to  
20 encourage Republicans, and y'all should appreciate that as  
21 much as anybody because you know what we had for ten  
22 years. You see what I mean?

23           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: No, I don't think I  
24 understand what you mean -- I'm sorry. Say it one more  
25 time.



1 DENNIS BONNEN: The, go ahead and screw with  
2 those guys, it's fine...

3 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Oh, I see what you mean.

4 DENNIS BONNEN: ...was what Democrats were being  
5 told. No, I was trying to deliver the message with great,  
6 the people I needed to frighten were the Democrats and we  
7 can privately in the yard we have deliver the message to  
8 the Republicans, go get out there.

9 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: That's good. Then that  
10 would be my advice to you.

11 DENNIS BONNEN: Don't take this wrong way. You're  
12 not giving that advice. We're already doing it.

13 DUSTIN BURROWS: We want to win.

14 DENNIS BONNEN: We're on the same page.

15 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: That is my --

16 DENNIS BONNEN: And that's my point.

17 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: It's that these guys  
18 need to hear --

19 DENNIS BONNEN: Correct.

20 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: -- clearly your -- the  
21 expectation is, we're taking out seats. Because what.

22 DENNIS BONNEN: Michael, now it won't be a PAC  
23 that will go after a sitting Democrat, but I'm going to  
24 put \$3 million into a PAC later this month from my account  
25 to protect Republican House members. That's going to be a

1 pretty clear message that we're here to fight for our  
2 people.

3 (Simultaneous speaking.)

4 DENNIS BONNEN: Time out. Hear me out. Time out.  
5 Then we will continue, which we already are, saying, and  
6 you guys need to go get Michelle Beckley, get Jon  
7 Rosenthal. Let me tell you a quick story. We signed Senate  
8 Bill 2 today, sent it to the governor. What did I do to  
9 you? I said, tell Burrows to come back in. We rode back  
10 over and we were leaving. I said get him back in. I said  
11 here, he's going to call you. Wally's Burgers, his son,  
12 who is a real estate agent, he says, you know, man, I love  
13 what you guys have done. I'm telling you, that Talarico  
14 kid, that Democrat guy, we've got to, he needs to be  
15 challenged. I said, you ready to run? He says, I'm up for  
16 it. I said, are you serious? Because I'm not joking. He  
17 said yeah. I said go get Burrows.

18 DUSTIN BURROWS: I've already texted him.

19 DENNIS BONNEN: I just recruited someone, an  
20 opponent, Michael. Do I need that, I mean --

21 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: My only -- my offer to  
22 you, is what you're doing is I think the guys who do that  
23 -- I'm not necessarily meaning a press release but there  
24 has to be very clear communication because a number of the  
25 guys I'm most worried about sitting on their hands are

1 guys who are going to say to their Republican women's  
2 club, I'd love to help you out but I've got this problem,  
3 the speaker...

4 DENNIS BONNEN: Michael, if they say that,  
5 they're full of shit.

6 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I didn't say they  
7 weren't.

8 DENNIS BONNEN: Here's my point: Whether I send a  
9 press release out, I don't want to be disrespectful, I'm  
10 not, they'd still do that. Fair?

11 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yes, but they won't have  
12 the excuse.

13 DENNIS BONNEN: That's fair. But I don't think  
14 there's going to be a lack of clarity. I would argue there  
15 really isn't any now for them. And I get what you're  
16 saying and I agree with it.

17 DUSTIN BURROWS: I talk to Rodney Anderson every  
18 other day to figure out what's going on in Dallas County,  
19 just to make sure I know.

20 DENNIS BONNEN: And we have a great Hispanic  
21 female candidate against John Turner who I'm going to meet  
22 with soon, you know, (unintelligible). Joe Straus wouldn't  
23 have met with her. Actually, you want to hear an  
24 interesting factoid? Joe Straus did meet her at an event  
25 and said, why are you running against a good moderate

1 Democrat? Why don't you run against Morgan Meyer? Yeah.

2 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: That's funny.

3 You mean like recently.

4 DENNIS BONNEN: A week or two ago.

5 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: That's funny.

6 DENNIS BONNEN: Yes. And that's my frustration,  
7 candidly. This is a whole different place right now and  
8 y'all aren't recognizing that.

9 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: No, I think we do  
10 recognize it. I think it's that what -- I think what you  
11 need to understand is that we don't control things, you  
12 know. Debbie Riddle is out talking about running against  
13 Valoree Swanson.

14 DENNIS BONNEN: And y'all beat her because she  
15 screwed everybody.

16 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Sure. Yeah, yeah. I  
17 don't get to control what Debbie Riddle --

18 (Simultaneous speaking.)

19 DENNIS BONNEN: You do --

20 UNKNOWN PERSON: Mr. Speaker.

21 DENNIS BONNEN: Thank you.

22 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I get to control what I  
23 do, and that's all I get to control. I get to control what  
24 I do and that's why. Now at the same time, I also don't  
25 get to control, that people look out there and see, they

1 see the Democrat governor of Louisiana signing a heartbeat  
2 bill. They see, all these --

3 DENNIS BONNEN: You know who opposed the  
4 heartbeat bill? Elizabeth Graham.

5 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I'm not. Well, yeah, but  
6 Elizabeth Graham doesn't have a vote in these two  
7 chambers. Neither do I.

8 DENNIS BONNEN: But Michael. But time out, real  
9 quick, here's my frustration: How'd that been in the  
10 Senate?

11 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, I'm not  
12 criticizing the House right now.

13 DENNIS BONNEN: You're missing my point. There  
14 has been a ton of criticism of the House -- hold on -- and  
15 of me, that hasn't been equally critical of the Senate,  
16 and I don't want you to beat the Senate up, I really  
17 don't, but here's my point: There are two chambers here.

18 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, and we have been  
19 critical of -- now -- on the other hand there's --

20 DUSTIN BURROWS: Let's talk about some of the  
21 fiscal issues, real quick, because I just want to make  
22 sure. So we come out and we have a 58 billion-dollar  
23 fiscal note because Terry Holcomb and Mark Ramsey come to  
24 my committee, and say the most important bill, RPT number  
25 one priority, is eliminating the M&O property tax. We

1 passed that bill because the speaker wants it to happen,  
2 put it on Major State, gets it through. You guys call it a  
3 freakin' study because it ends in two years. That was the  
4 number one bill, according to Dickey and everybody else at  
5 RPT that we passed.

6 DENNIS BONNEN: Did the Senate touch it?

7 DUSTIN BURROWS: The Senate did not touch it.  
8 Taxpayer funded lobby got on Major State, survived a point  
9 of order, pushed hard because it started because Dade  
10 Phelan says to me, hey, how much fun do you think it will  
11 be to have Mayor Adler run back and forth between trying  
12 to cover these two things. They go to the speaker's  
13 people, they say, no, no, no, I'm not telling you, you  
14 know, what to do, but you need to do this.

15 DENNIS BONNEN: What did I even tell you. I want  
16 you two texting each other or your clerks communicating to  
17 say, we're calling Adler now, you call Adler now.

18 DUSTIN BURROWS: And this was the whole plan, and  
19 that's the whole reason it even got started over there  
20 because they were not moving that thing. We did  
21 three-and-a-half percent. I tried to take CO's and count  
22 it on M&O, which y'all never recognized, which is probably  
23 the biggest game changer. They can't get rid of this funny  
24 business. We removed schools to put in 3, not because it's  
25 different philosophically --

1           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN:  Dustin, when did you  
2 ever call us back when we called and asked your office  
3 questions? I know the answer to that. I know the answer to  
4 that. I know the answer to that. You never called us back.

5           DUSTIN BURROWS:  Well, yeah, but you called me a  
6 moron on Twitter and (unintelligible). I'm just telling  
7 you, though.

8           DENNIS BONNEN:  The problem is when you call  
9 people "moron" and this and that, they don't trust you to  
10 have the conversation.

11          DUSTIN BURROWS:  SO, I'm just saying though, the  
12 facts are...

13          MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN:  I don't think we called  
14 you a moron.

15          DUSTIN BURROWS:  You said "moronic."

16          MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN:  We may have said  
17 something was moronic. And I will ...

18          DUSTIN BURROWS:  "The moronic Dustin Burrows"  
19 which refers to the person being a "moron." But that being  
20 said, fair is fair.

21          DENNIS BONNEN:  He's right.

22          DUSTIN BURROWS:  That all being said, I mean  
23 whether I give you a quote or not, the facts are the facts  
24 and the policy is the policy.

25          MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN:  But Dustin, we can only

1 act. Let me be very clear. I've never claimed the gift of  
2 omnipotence. Never once. I never claimed to be infallible.  
3 We also don't know what you're doing in the background.  
4 Y'all made sure we did not get to see stuff that was going  
5 on the floor. Y'all made sure of that. That's your call,  
6 not mine. That's fine. All right, so to the extent that  
7 you were trying to do things and we didn't know about it,  
8 maybe you should have let us know about it. You chose to  
9 not let us know what you were doing. You made that  
10 decision I didn't get to -- don't tell us what you're  
11 doing, okay? So if you want us to know what you're  
12 doing --

13 DENNIS BONNEN: Michael, hold on. Was that part  
14 of your legislation?

15 DUSTIN BURROWS: Which one?

16 DENNIS BONNEN: The CX.

17 DUSTIN BURROWS: Oh, yeah.

18 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Then you should have  
19 reached out, hey, guys, I don't know if you saw this or  
20 not, you need to see this, be aware of this. You know, I  
21 have no permanent friends and no permanent enemies. I'm  
22 married to one person, period, and that will happen until  
23 she puts a bullet in my head. When she's tired of me.

24 DUSTIN BURROWS: But here's the thing. I want to  
25 be very clear. I'm also not the guy sitting over there



1 with Scott Braddock telling him shit, because I don't  
2 trust him or like him. I think he's sleazy. I don't do the  
3 same thing with any of the newspapers. I don't have the  
4 relationships with anybody, feeding them information about  
5 what I'm doing because I like to play my cards differently  
6 than that. But that being said, I mean we did some great  
7 things and had some great successes and I'm sitting here  
8 wondering -- you know, there were crickets in the  
9 background on it.

10           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: So to the extent that  
11 there are a lot of big issues, a lot of big things that  
12 people want in there, being seen in other states, and  
13 Texas is -- look, I don't care if Greg Abbott sat there  
14 and said, I want every Democrat priority passed. I don't  
15 care what he said. I don't care if you did it, I don't  
16 care if Patrick did it. I don't care. What people are  
17 seeing is that there are a lot of big initiatives, a lot  
18 of big reforms, that weren't done.

19           DENNIS BONNEN: Michael.

20           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I just named one.  
21           Heartbeat being one, union dues being another,  
22 taxpayer funded lobbying being another.

23           DUSTIN BURROWS: Taxpayer funded lobbying being  
24 killed. And we worked as hard as we could, the Jane Nelson  
25 amendment, we brought that back because we lost the bill

1 on the floor and put that on the Jane Nelson bill. These  
2 were things we fought like hell to get.

3 DENNIS BONNEN: I just want to see equal  
4 treatment.

5 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: And there's -- if there  
6 -- the problem is that when you've got 85 Republicans.  
7 Every single one of those should have passed.

8 DUSTIN BURROWS: 83.

9 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: 83 Republicans, every  
10 single one of them should have passed. 77 Republicans,  
11 every single one of 'em should have passed, but they  
12 didn't. And there's this, the very clear, let's lock arms  
13 and let's all praise each other inwardly, you know, and  
14 that's all we get to see is, let's all sing Kum ba yah.

15 DUSTIN BURROWS: But apparently the Senate never  
16 filing those bills is great?

17 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: No. We've criticized  
18 them.

19 DUSTIN BURROWS: Not nearly enough. I could go  
20 through pound for pound. I don't remember any of their  
21 chairmen being called moronic and talking about dumb  
22 things and not, you know, getting into the nuts and bolts  
23 of it. I mean, there was unequal treatment. Which is fine,  
24 it's your prerogative.

25 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah. Yes, it is, but

1 it's also the fact that --

2 DUSTIN BURROWS: Philosophically --

3 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: They answer a lot more  
4 questions than y'all do, they talk about a lot more  
5 things. They also pass things.

6 DUSTIN BURROWS: So do we. You called you called  
7 the eliminating the M&O property tax, the number one thing  
8 of RPT, you said it was nothing and basically that it was  
9 a study.

10 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: It was a study.

11 DUSTIN BURROWS: It would have freaking ended it  
12 in two years.

13 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: It would not have ended  
14 it. It was a study that would have been undone because the  
15 fiscal note was \$60,000, sixty billion dollars.

16 DUSTIN BURROWS: This is the RPT number one  
17 priority, it is the biggest game changer. Terry Holcomb  
18 and Mark Ramsey coming to me, this is what we want, we  
19 passed it last minute. Maybe your criticism should be, why  
20 is RPT saying this is their number one priority of their  
21 planks, and of course now we're getting these things that  
22 say we didn't pass any of their planks. This was their  
23 plank position, eliminate school M&O property.

24 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: But it didn't. It said  
25 we're going to study it for two years, figure out a way to

1 do it and then it will go away, maybe, unless the  
2 legislature does something differently in two years.  
3 That's the read of the legislation. Now, maybe you have  
4 the absolute certainty that in the next legislative  
5 session, the legislature would have done something to find  
6 \$60 billion.

7           DUSTIN BURROWS: So not even pass the bill?  
8 Essentially we're better off not having (unintelligible).

9           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: We actually supported  
10 the TPPF plan which was what we were loudly and longly  
11 supporting for several years, the (unintelligible). I  
12 didn't think any of us heard word one about the two-year  
13 study end it in two years thing, but look, I'm not on the  
14 SREC, I don't work for the Republican Party of Texas, I  
15 can't, you know, speak for what they suddenly decide they  
16 are going to pass. What I do know is that, you know,  
17 abolition of abortion went nowhere. Taxpayer funded  
18 lobbyists went nowhere.

19           DUSTIN BURROWS: Abolition of abortion never got  
20 filed in the Senate. You saw an amendment got on -- that  
21 he put on for Stickland, because he was pissed at the D's,  
22 that basically says cities will not be banned from doing  
23 this because our first city has come around and actually  
24 banned abortion. You can see, that's why they don't just  
25 completely ban it. That is now something you can now

1 anchor on to in law.

2           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: We increased state  
3 spending 14 percent.

4           DUSTIN BURROWS: By the way. My question is, when  
5 did y'all become the abolish abortion, heartbeat side?

6           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I'm not suggesting these  
7 things are our priorities, I'm telling you, why are the  
8 grassroots upset? This is what we're hearing from people.  
9 This is what we're hearing from people.

10           DUSTIN BURROWS: They're also upset because  
11 they're being told to be upset.

12           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I don't think people are  
13 stupid. I tend to believe that Texas voters can actually  
14 see whether or not legislation passes or not.

15           DUSTIN BURROWS: Oh, I think Texas voters are  
16 incredibly bright, but what I'm saying is they're being  
17 gaslighted and told daily how bad this is with  
18 extraordinarily high -- anyways.

19           DENNIS BONNEN: Here's the thing, and I mean this  
20 politely: I don't care about that right now.

21           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: All I care about is  
22 results. I cannot give a rip who the State rep from  
23 Lubbock, Texas.

24           (Simultaneous speaking.)

25           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Do they get to go to

1 church they get to have their job, they get to have their  
2 lives.

3 DENNIS BONNEN: Here's my point: I don't think  
4 there's -- and honestly what I'm about say, I don't want  
5 to even waste time on, because I'm here trying to figure  
6 out what we're going to do in the next 18 months. I don't  
7 think there's the same question, argument about what the  
8 Senate chooses to do versus what the house chooses to do.

9 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: (Unintelligible).

10 DENNIS BONNEN: But with that said, honestly, we  
11 don't even care about that. And I mean that.

12 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I appreciate that.

13 DENNIS BONNEN: What matters to me right now is  
14 that I don't want to have to see you and now it will be  
15 me, truthfully, you know, and I'm not saying you are,  
16 don't take it that way but if y'all fund a candidate that  
17 runs against Dustin Burrows then I'm going to have to help  
18 make sure Dustin has his money, I don't want to waste that  
19 money, and if we want to do that in 2020, fine, and I'm  
20 not being funny saying let's do it, I get it, but we're in  
21 a unique election cycle where we don't need to burn that  
22 money up this time, and between you and I, he has some  
23 folks -- because the speaker of the House shouldn't tell  
24 you some folks to go pop, but he has some folks, if you  
25 want to go pop, they're going to have to find their own

1 money. I may give them a pittance here and there but I  
2 ain't going to do what Joe Straus did. If Phil Stephenson  
3 is finding himself needing help in a primary, he's not  
4 getting \$150,000 out of me. And what does that mean? Think  
5 about that for a while. They're left to find their own  
6 funding. They're in a pretty stuff spot.

7 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I think there's the  
8 sense that I actually like being involved in primaries, I  
9 actually don't. That's actually not something I enjoy.

10 That is our, that is a --

11 DENNIS BONNEN: Well, let's not touch any of  
12 them.

13 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: What is beyond tertiary?  
14 Whatever is beyond tertiary. Now, we have, and we  
15 probably will continue to be involved in elections.

16 Whatever that means.

17 DENNIS BONNEN: I'm not saying you shouldn't be  
18 involved in elections. I want you to be involved in the  
19 November elections.

20 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: But there's this  
21 presumption that we feel some urge to spend the money in  
22 an election.

23 DENNIS BONNEN: That's fair.

24 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Not a single person on  
25 my staff gets fed because we spend money on elections. No

1 one does. No salaries --

2 DENNIS BONNEN: I'm not even saying --

3 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: No no, But I'm saying,  
4 it's not a -- it's not a mission critical thing for us.  
5 It's an outgrowth of things that we care about and things  
6 that we do. It's an outgrowth. If the... but it's not  
7 something that we look for, it's not something that we're  
8 anxious for.

9 DENNIS BONNEN: Fair enough.

10 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: But it is something,  
11 that, at the end of the day --

12 DENNIS BONNEN: But with that said, I do think  
13 there's some opportunities here because there are a few  
14 people that I'm not going to go dump money in to protect  
15 them.

16 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: But TLR will.

17 DENNIS BONNEN: No, they won't.

18 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Think so? I hope so.  
19 I can look.

20 DENNIS BONNEN: I can't make promise you. Let me  
21 put it this way: I'm not going to call and ask them to.

22 And truthfully --

23 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: There's guys like Travis  
24 Clardy, who there was a fantastic candidate that ran  
25 against him.



1 DENNIS BONNEN: Wait, time out. They endorsed  
2 against Travis Clardy.

3 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: No, no. Yeah, I was  
4 shifting people.

5 DENNIS BONNEN: Started with the wrong guy. I'm  
6 kidding.

7 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: No, I was shifting  
8 people there. You had a number of people like the ART's  
9 and some of the Austin lobby guys.

10 DENNIS BONNEN: I can't control ART as much, but  
11 I will tell them to leave it alone.

12 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Who were active. We had  
13 a fantastic city council guy, grassroots. He was  
14 disgustingly perfect.

15 DENNIS BONNEN: For which race?

16 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Against Clardy and yet,  
17 you know --

18 DENNIS BONNEN: Yeah, but ART was doing what Joe  
19 Straus told them to do.

20 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I don't --

21 DENNIS BONNEN: I'm not going to tell them to do  
22 that.

23 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Okay.

24 DENNIS BONNEN: That's my point. I can't promise  
25 you --

1           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: No, I understand. You  
2 don't get to control those people.

3           DENNIS BONNEN: I'm not. Because guess what?  
4 Travis Clardy and Phil Stephenson, and I don't want to go  
5 any farther down that list.

6           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I understand.  
7 I'm not asking you to.

8           DENNIS BONNEN: He can. I'm that much closer to  
9 passing taxpayer funded lobbying. Let me tell you  
10 something: In this office and in the conference room on  
11 that end, any mayor, county judge that was dumb ass enough  
12 to come meet with me, I told them with great clarity, my  
13 goal is for this to be the worst session in the history of  
14 the legislature for cities and counties.

15           DUSTIN BURROWS: I hope the next session's even  
16 worse.

17           DENNIS BONNEN: And I'm all for that. But, so I  
18 guess my... Are you comfortable with this?

19           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, I am comfortable,  
20 to the extent that the thing that drives whether or not  
21 people have opponents isn't us. We've never recruited a  
22 single candidate for any office. Never once.

23           DENNIS BONNEN: That's fair.

24           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: That just makes my head  
25 hurt. The -- you know --

1 DENNIS BONNEN: But you do drive whether they  
2 become viable or not by putting money on it.

3 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: That's maybe true.

4 DENNIS BONNEN: And that is different than  
5 recruiting. I want to be very fair about that. It's sort  
6 of what I'm saying in reverse. If I'm not putting money  
7 into Phil Stephenson. It's a little different race.

8 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I just want you to  
9 understand, I can't control when someone runs against  
10 Billy Bob.

11 DENNIS BONNEN: No, no. Let me be clear with you  
12 about that. You have no responsibility who runs. Your  
13 responsibility is whether your money lands there. Fair?

14 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah.  
15 That's exactly true.

16 DENNIS BONNEN: When Damon Rambo ran, he ran on  
17 his own. Seriously, he really did, and then you funded  
18 him. And I want to be clear, I'm okay, I mean that, but  
19 that's a perfect example. He showed up completely on his  
20 own. I know that. I absolutely know that, Michael.

21 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: And that's the, the way  
22 we've always approached things.

23 DENNIS BONNEN: So all I'm asking is that this  
24 time you don't fund him.

25 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, that was...

1 DENNIS BONNEN: And I've got a lady running this  
2 time. I hope you won't fund her.

3 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: More than likely we  
4 would not.

5 DENNIS BONNEN: And I hope you won't fund about  
6 90 percent of any others that show up in a Republican  
7 primary this time, and he'll show you the list of who we  
8 hope someone will show up and we hope you will fund.

9 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Okay, that's fair.

10 DENNIS BONNEN: Does that make sense?

11 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, that does make  
12 sense. So again, from an expectation perspective.

13 DENNIS BONNEN: Yeah, I want us both --

14 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: So one, you know, that  
15 -- It is a woman, right? A nurse? I know it was a nurse  
16 that's running against you.

17 DENNIS BONNEN: Yeah. A nurse. Yeah.

18 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: The nurse that is  
19 running against you. Flat, hey, this person's running  
20 against the speaker of the house, period. Don't care.

21 DENNIS BONNEN: Y'all said a little more than  
22 that. But that's okay.

23 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I don't really it  
24 actually happened while I was gone.

25 DENNIS BONNEN: Michael, let me be very clear, I

1 would prefer you to not hammer me every chance you get but  
2 if you don't waste your money on me, I'm okay.

3           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: But I want to be clear  
4 that we will write about races.

5           DENNIS BONNEN: Yeah. Fair.

6           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: We will write about  
7 races and, yeah, hopefully my guys are getting better at  
8 the way they write about races, more clear, more flat.

9           DENNIS BONNEN: I want to be clear, the way they,  
10 I'm okay, but the way they wrote about mine, it wasn't  
11 clear or flat. With that said --

12           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I'll take another look  
13 at that. That's fine. But we're not going to ignore the  
14 races that are happening.

15           DENNIS BONNEN: I'm not asking you. Don't put  
16 your money into them, and don't write about them more than  
17 you have to.

18           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: The fact that we don't  
19 have to -- that we're not spending money there is a wholly  
20 different decision tree, made by a wholly different part  
21 of the organization.

22           DENNIS BONNEN: That's my point.

23                   And you see where I'm going.

24           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: And I just want to be  
25 clear, another thing we're not going to be doing is we're

1 not going to be saying, look at the emperor's fine  
2 clothes, because from our perspective, the issues that we  
3 track and care about, which we've talked about all these  
4 other things --

5 DENNIS BONNEN: I'm not asking you to do that.

6 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: They didn't pass, so  
7 we're going to say they didn't pass.

8 So to the extent that --

9 DENNIS BONNEN: You can't say Senate Bill 2  
10 didn't matter to you.

11 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: It did matter to us.

12 DENNIS BONNEN: It's a big win. I said it today.  
13 I thought about quitting last session because I didn't  
14 know how we could get it done. I was pretty demoralized  
15 over that, because it's kind of hard, when you're busting  
16 your ass and you realize it's the speaker who's screwing  
17 you. But, you know, look, don't take this the wrong way: I  
18 don't need you to praise anyone. I would like you to tone  
19 down the pops at people that are decent members. Maybe not  
20 as decent as you want 'em but they're better than others,  
21 and let's unload on those that we need to get rid of.

22 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I would love to have  
23 that list.

24 DENNIS BONNEN: I'm going to walk out and talk to  
25 Boys State.

1           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I'm talking to them in  
2 two hours.

3           DENNIS BONNEN: And I'll let him work with you on  
4 that because I probably shouldn't do that, and I would  
5 prefer you not to say I'm awful or not to say of course  
6 Bonnen's got an opponent, because he wasn't conservative  
7 and he did a shitty job. I mean that. Because don't  
8 forget, when y'all do that, you don't spend your money --  
9 which I appreciate and that is the rule -- but then they  
10 get to spend their money to drive your message.

11           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah.

12           DENNIS BONNEN: So that's why I'd like that toned  
13 back.

14           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Appreciate that.  
15 Appreciate that.

16           DENNIS BONNEN: Across the board. I don't mean on  
17 me. And let's go after these Republicans that and I'm not  
18 kidding when it comes to 2020 if we're successful and we  
19 gain maybe one or two or three Republican seats, we beat  
20 some of these liberal pieces of shit, take people out, and  
21 we maybe flip a couple of these primaries, better R's,  
22 kick my ass if we're not doing a better job.

23           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I appreciate that.

24           DENNIS BONNEN: Fair?

25           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Fair.

1 DENNIS BONNEN: You and I have always gotten  
2 along. Thank you.

3 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: You did look better with  
4 hair, by the way.

5 DENNIS BONNEN: No, you're right. But you know  
6 what. I'm not joking about this. My hair would kind of go  
7 all over the place, so I was very at peace. I was tired of  
8 screwing with that shit. Thanks for taking the time.

9 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Appreciate it.

10 DENNIS BONNEN: All right.

11 So we're clear, the money's the issue. And just  
12 back down on the rhetoric. You follow me?

13 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Anything that we do with  
14 money, I'll make sure an appropriate conversation is had.

15 DENNIS BONNEN: Correct. And there are times you  
16 and I can talk too. I just want to be cautious because I  
17 don't want to get you in trouble or get me in trouble.

18 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: It's 5:00 p.m., I'm not  
19 in jail, it's a good day.

20 DENNIS BONNEN: Exactly.

21 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: And never in this  
22 building.

23 DENNIS BONNEN: That's right. Fair.

24 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Thank you, sir. Adios.

25 DENNIS BONNEN: Hey, and I'm not kidding, we



1 should be able to beat some of these people. They're  
2 horrible. And don't forget, Blakemore told Schofield not  
3 to worry about it and they didn't spend any money, Gary  
4 Elkins spent no money and did nothing. Those two seats, we  
5 should win. Beckley we should beat. Ana Marie Ramos is  
6 awful. And don't forget something else: If a Democrat  
7 member does make a public statement against a Republican,  
8 I'm all in against them.

9           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Excellent. Hey, how was  
10 your trip? We talked about mine.

11           DENNIS BONNEN: Good, thank you. No, good. We had  
12 a very good time.

13           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Sunburn.

14           DENNIS BONNEN: No, actually (unintelligible) Did  
15 you see the article an Austin man 41, 42, drowned, on a  
16 Boy Scout camp... which hits me a little beyond the  
17 obvious, but Jackson, my 15-year-old, is in Canada for  
18 High Adventure Canoeing.

19           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Is it the Northern Tier?

20           DENNIS BONNEN: Yes Northern Tier. Yes. Not  
21 fantastic because I couldn't go because I was told I  
22 couldn't be gone where you have no cell service or  
23 communications while the veto period is going on.

24           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I leave in a week for  
25 Philmont.

1 DENNIS BONNEN: Hey. This is not a hollow offer.  
2 My in-laws have had a house for 50 years in Red River.

3 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Oh, really?

4 DENNIS BONNEN: Which is, Philmont.

5 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, yeah.

6 DENNIS BONNEN: If you need a night on the way in  
7 or a night on the way out --

8 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Thanks. I appreciate  
9 that.

10 DENNIS BONNEN: We can work together and we don't  
11 have to mean we love each other. I'm not asking for the  
12 public image to be, oh look at those two guys they are  
13 doing lovely -- bullshit. I don't need it, you don't need  
14 it. But we can work together. You know that.

15 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I appreciate it.  
16 Thank you, sir.

17 DENNIS BONNEN: Thank you.

18 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Good speech.

19 (Dennis Bonnen leaves the room.)

20 DUSTIN BURROWS: So taxpayer funded lobby is the  
21 benchmark for next session.

22 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Do you mind if I write  
23 down names?

24 DUSTIN BURROWS: Hmm-mm. I mean, that is -- I've  
25 committed to Mayes, I've committed to Dade. We're going to

1 spend the entire interim trying to expose what those  
2 dollars are being used on, try and get public support  
3 built around it and we want to come back and take taxpayer  
4 funded lobbying.

5 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah.

6 DUSTIN BURROWS: So what I think the easiest way  
7 for me to say this, I pulled the vote sheet from  
8 Republicans who voted against taxpayer funded lobbying and  
9 I'm going to go through the list of names and tell you who  
10 I think would flip their vote back on the good side. I  
11 don't have to worry about them. Steve Allison voted  
12 against it, Doc Anderson voted against it, but Doc will  
13 come around. I'm good with Doc. I think he's, we'd be  
14 good.

15 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Is he coming back?

16 I'm hearing rumors that he is not.

17 DUSTIN BURROWS: I don't know. But Doc's one of  
18 us. Ashby, it's 50/50 what he'd do. Same with Ernest  
19 Bailes. Keith Bell voted against it. He's a freshman. I  
20 think Keith would probably come around. Button, she voted  
21 against it, but she's good, especially for her district.  
22 Clardy's the ringleader of all opposition. We'd be  
23 thrilled to see Clardy, somebody else come back from that  
24 district.

25 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Okay.

1           DUSTIN BURROWS: Darby voted against it, Hunter  
2 voted against it. I don't know what Hunter did, to be  
3 honest with you. Kacal voted against it, Lambert voted  
4 against it, Tan Parker voted against it. That makes no  
5 sense to me in his district at all. John Rainey voted  
6 against it Smithee voted against it, Phil Stephenson voted  
7 against it. Those are pretty much the ones that I don't  
8 know how to turn back to vote for it next time.

9           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Mm-hmm. So Smithee keeps  
10 saying he's not running again, but then he keeps running.  
11 For the eight years I've known him, he has said he wasn't  
12 running again, and then he kept running. I'm not sure he  
13 can be beaten.

14           DUSTIN BURROWS: No, not after watching Four's  
15 race. I mean...

16           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Okay. So you'd say  
17 Allison, Ashby, Bailes -- Bell? Keith Bell, is he a --

18           DUSTIN BURROWS: Leave him alone.

19           He's just a dumb freshman.

20           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Clardy, Darby, Kacal,  
21 Lambert, Rainey, Stephenson.

22           DUSTIN BURROWS: Is Parker on that list?

23           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: No. I didn't understand  
24 what you mean about Parker.

25           DUSTIN BURROWS: I'd put Parker on that list.

1           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Interesting. There's a  
2 very wealthy lady in his district who hates him with a  
3 passion. Okay. Good targets.

4           DUSTIN BURROWS: I think that's the benchmark for  
5 the next session, to pass that bill, what do you think?

6           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I would definitely say  
7 it is a benchmark. I think that --

8           DUSTIN BURROWS: There's other good things but if  
9 I had to make one fundamental difference to the state of  
10 Texas, stopping the practice of tax dollars being used to  
11 lobby might make the biggest economic difference.

12           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yes. On the economic  
13 side, yes. On the political side, I would put ending  
14 funding for union dues. The government collection of union  
15 dues. Only because, you know, a good reading of Sun Tzu  
16 notes the first thing you do is cut off your enemy's  
17 supply lines. 98 percent of union money goes to Democrats.  
18 You can justify, with a straight nonpolitical face, not  
19 having government fund the collection of union dues.

20           Make --

21           DUSTIN BURROWS: We get the Republicans on the  
22 floor can -- well, see the problem we get into -- and I  
23 found this out -- I almost didn't have the votes to pass  
24 the bill because the teachers' unions being against it,  
25 which was scary. You get a couple of the Pub Ed

1 Republicans, and then they get scared of the fire, police  
2 stuff. I'm not saying it can't be done.

3           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: That's the problem you  
4 have is that why are you guys scared of the public teacher  
5 unions, the fire and police it's because--

6           DUSTIN BURROWS: We just have to put it on the  
7 floor like we did. Here's the thing: It's also a two-cycle  
8 process. If you can get taxpayer funded lobby. Now we have  
9 the threshold requirement, now, that some of it should be  
10 out there being made public. Most people don't understand  
11 what the hell taxpayer funded lobbying does.  
12 They don't know it's being used against police, fire,  
13 taxpayers everything else. Trying to expose it and build a  
14 case will make a difference to getting it passed next  
15 session. Union dues may be the same type of then you just  
16 have to flop it, get a test vote out of it, you know, and  
17 then push the narrative or try to push the narrative in  
18 between, to get that done.

19           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah.

20           DUSTIN BURROWS: What are the other economic  
21 benchmarks?

22           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Again, from an issue set  
23 I'm expert in, those two are kind of the strongest. You  
24 know, additional property tax reform, additional property  
25 tax relief efforts.

1           DUSTIN BURROWS: Those are two big things that I  
2 want to do.

3           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: The thing you need to be  
4 cautious of is no one believes in the tax swap fairy and  
5 so to the extent --

6           DUSTIN BURROWS: You don't know my plan yet.

7           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I'm just saying -- about  
8 the property tax swap.

9           DUSTIN BURROWS: No, no, you have not heard my  
10 plan.

11          MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Okay.

12          DUSTIN BURROWS: I've pitched this to the  
13 governor, I've started pitching this to some of my  
14 colleagues. Why don't we just take the two local pennies  
15 that are being used for economic development and put those  
16 into driving down property taxes? We don't raise anything,  
17 it's already a statewide average, it's economic  
18 development dollars, we hate cities and counties. I'll  
19 take a hard look at them in the interim on a review, to  
20 see whether or not they've outlived their usefulness.

21          MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Are there any contracts  
22 tied to those two, to the two pennies?

23          DUSTIN BURROWS: Probably. You may have to bring  
24 them on late but I don't think there's a harm in starting.

25          MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: That's like when we

1 talk, we're always careful to talk about eliminating the  
2 school M&O because you've got a 20-year horizon before you  
3 can eliminate the I&S. So you can't eliminate all school  
4 property taxes, just contractually we're in bed with  
5 school I&S for 20 years.

6 DUSTIN BURROWS: The question is the contract --  
7 is it based upon a specific revenue stream or a general  
8 revenue stream?

9 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Right, whereas the I&S  
10 is a specific revenue stream.

11 DUSTIN BURROWS: And I would assume that it's not  
12 It's a sales tax penny, not a debt obligation.

13 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Right.

14 DUSTIN BURROWS: But, I mean, if you want to  
15 drive down property taxes significantly -- as I said, I  
16 just want the local governments to have a worse session  
17 next session, by ending taxpayer funded lobby and stealing  
18 their two pennies, putting them toward the taxpayers.

19 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: You see, that is not  
20 what I'm talking about. When I talk about the tax fairy,  
21 the tax swap, that's what I'm talking about. I'm talking  
22 about the, let us create a new tax or add to an existing  
23 tax, and trust us, we did that in 2006.

24 DUSTIN BURROWS: I want to take tax cuts. That's  
25 my idea, and I'm proud of it.



1           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah, I love it. That's  
2 a great idea.

3           DUSTIN BURROWS: I think it works great. Those  
4 are the economic benchmarks for a strong 86, 87th  
5 legislative session but I can't get my city and county  
6 guys -- I barely passed SB 2. You do know that. It was not  
7 easy. Maybe it looked easy in the House, but I had to whip  
8 votes day in and day out and mayors were calling and  
9 everything else. I mean, I had people who were more  
10 interested in listening to their mayors than they are to  
11 their taxpayers. Still. Those are tall lifts, getting rid  
12 of taxpayer funded lobbying and dedicating their two local  
13 pennies to property taxpayers.

14           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: I think outside of  
15 those, you know, there are the life issues. I mean,  
16 ultimately, for as much as it pains me --

17           DUSTIN BURROWS: I think we can get to Schaefer's  
18 bill.

19           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: -- most voters don't get  
20 excited about voting on economic issues, they get excited  
21 on social issues. That's what drives them out. And so to  
22 the -- and so I think that there's some life issues, there  
23 some gun issues which are kind of a weird middle area,  
24 that need to be addressed.

25           DUSTIN BURROWS: I think that, you know, we come

1 back with a few more Republicans and maybe a few more of  
2 the right Republicans, we've got enough votes for  
3 Schaefer's bill next session. I think that's --

4 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: That's the pre-NDA bill?

5 DUSTIN BURROWS: Yeah. I voted for it in the  
6 past, I'll support it again. I think we can rally support  
7 for something like that. I think when we talk about Second  
8 Amendment issues, I've always told the gun guys, they need  
9 to start with just eliminating any fee whatsoever for the  
10 license and do that one session and then start dialing  
11 back the requirements. But if the Full Monte is what they  
12 want all in one tranche, it ain't going to happen. It's  
13 too big of a lift at one time, to get people socialized  
14 with, especially when you don't have a huge groundswell of  
15 moderate actors explaining it to them in a way they can  
16 digest. So you've got to appreciate the incremental  
17 approach we've got to have.

18 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: But I think from a if  
19 you're looking at the next session, I think that a mistake  
20 that we make is, oh, this is a school finance session, or  
21 whatever. No, no. Everyone knows there's going to be 1500  
22 pieces of legislation that end up sliding across the  
23 governor's desk and to get people excited --

24 DUSTIN BURROWS: Here's the one thing that's  
25 different from the start of this session to last session

1 was this session we have a speaker. I mean all of us -- I  
2 mean I don't think any of us came into with any idea --  
3 number one, I didn't know I was going to be the ways and  
4 means chair, I didn't know what M&O calculation was, much  
5 less having a tax policy. Every chairman that he put in  
6 place, every person who has a conservative bone in their  
7 body didn't come in with an appreciation of what the  
8 session would look like because they were working on the  
9 speaker's race, to make sure it wasn't somebody on the  
10 other side of the spectrum. The good news is the House has  
11 time to get prepared for that session.

12           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Hopefully. We'll see how  
13 November goes.

14           DUSTIN BURROWS: Yeah, but I hope you'll help us  
15 in November. I hope everybody will help us in November.

16           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Our, the whole "should  
17 have" thing, I think that we're going to regret  
18 eliminating straight-ticket voting. I think we're going to  
19 -- I think we are all going to live to regret it. I was  
20 ambivalent on it.

21           DUSTIN BURROWS: I was too.

22           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: When it happened two  
23 years ago. Just...

24           DUSTIN BURROWS: I trusted the governor's office  
25 and others who swore it was the best thing since sliced

1 bread.

2           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: The fact that they  
3 wanted it pushed to a year in which they weren't on the  
4 ballot is what sent up my first red flag, and I just, I  
5 have been going through the over and under votes  
6 historically and particularly with, you know, whatever  
7 everybody thinks of the president and the presidential  
8 contest, a whole lot of people are going to be coming out  
9 and I think turning out to vote for -- I think Trump is  
10 going to win Texas, he's going to win it back to normal  
11 levels. But the people he pulls out are going to be people  
12 who really don't know or care what a state representative  
13 is. And so they're going to go Trump and then they're  
14 going to go, okay, the U.S. senator, I guess that might be  
15 important. I've seen this person on TV. Okay. And now  
16 you're talking about judges and all this other crap that  
17 they don't understand what they are and why they -- you  
18 know, am I supposed to vote for these? I don't know what  
19 these people do. All this, railroad commission. I don't  
20 care about choo-choo trains. So it's going to be really  
21 easy for that person just coming out for Trump to go, I'm  
22 done. That's my fear.

23           DUSTIN BURROWS: I guess we'll have a Republican  
24 caucus meeting, hopefully to elect the most moderate  
25 Democrat speaker and go to war.

1           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: That's where I think we  
2 have to be looking politically, at the how do we... you  
3 know, how do we get those -- if we don't know who they are  
4 and we don't know who is the person who hasn't yet, who  
5 hasn't voted but he's coming out because they're a  
6 Trumper, you know, to get them -- to keep going down the  
7 ballot. Most of the groups have always been reticent to  
8 say, vote straight Republican. There's never been money  
9 spent in Texas. I mean, in the 25 years I've been watching  
10 Texas politics, there's never been a, vote  
11 Republican up and down the ballot, campaign. It just has  
12 not happened. It's always been, you know, vote for this  
13 guy and don't pay attention to what party he is, but vote  
14 for this guy because he's a great conservative. Don't pay  
15 attention to what party he is. And that's got to be  
16 different this time, is my gut read. I think trying to  
17 convince someone who's never heard -- you know, who  
18 doesn't understand the legislature and understand all  
19 these things and get them to go through the pages, if  
20 you're in Harris County, I think State Rep starts on page  
21 5, you know, of the voting machine. I mean, that's a --  
22 you've got a gazillion of those district judges and  
23 appellate level judges, that sort of stuff they've got to  
24 get through. So the voter education has to be different  
25 this time than we've ever done before. That's my, that's

1 the challenge I think we have, that is less about vote for  
2 Matt Shaheen than, vote for every Republican on your  
3 ballot.

4           DUSTIN BURROWS: I've thought about calling some  
5 consultants out of Ohio and Florida that have a little  
6 more experience with more of a swing state, purple state,  
7 general election type of issue and I was getting some  
8 names from a mutual friend of mine, ours Anthony Holm  
9 and trying to get in touch just to get some. I think most  
10 of our consultants have been primary focused and not  
11 general focused, and I want to get some advice from  
12 outside of the realm.

13           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah. All of our folks  
14 are accustomed to -- on both sides -- we've been a very  
15 good one party state for a long, for a hundred years, and  
16 that's what everything's built around. So to the extent  
17 that we need to figure out how to...

18           DUSTIN BURROWS: I hope it goes back the other  
19 way. I'm all about having a one-party state.

20           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah.

21           DUSTIN BURROWS: 2020's kind of the big test.

22           MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: A Democrat House will  
23 produce a Democrat congressional map, and then that will  
24 be the end of the republic. At that point you'll have an  
25 assured majority of Democrats in the U.S. Congress for a

1 decade. You know, as people get used to their congressman  
2 being a Democrat, even if they're not --

3 DUSTIN BURROWS: Then they get socialized to the  
4 idea.

5 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah.

6 DUSTIN BURROWS: They hate babies.

7 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: And even if they don't,  
8 they just go along with it, or they stop voting. So it's  
9 an existential threat.

10 DUSTIN BURROWS: Good to see you.

11 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Yeah.

12 DUSTIN BURROWS: You've got my cell. I'll try to  
13 be more available, I realize I was not good at that this  
14 session.

15 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Well, it's not me who  
16 calls it's Brandon or Destin are the two.

17 DUSTIN BURROWS: You had equal treatment as  
18 everybody, which I've just decided as a first-time chair,  
19 moving things through, I was just going to stay out of the  
20 press.

21 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Well, you'll never get  
22 to do that. You heading home today?

23 DUSTIN BURROWS: (Unintelligible).

24 MICHAEL QUINN SULLIVAN: Do you have a direct  
25 flight?

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C E R T I F I C A T E

I, TERRI NESTORE, Certified Shorthand Reporter/  
Transcriptionist, do hereby certify that I was authorized  
to transcribe the foregoing recorded proceeding, and that  
the transcript is a true and accurate transcription of my  
shorthand notes, to the best of my ability, taken while  
listening to the provided recording.

I further certify that I am not of counsel or  
attorney for either or any of the parties to said  
proceedings, nor in any way interested in the events of  
this cause, and that I am not related to any of the  
parties thereto.

Dated this 11th day of October, 2019.



TERRI NESTORE, CSR 5614, RPR, CRR

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