

LOBBY WATCH



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His Master's Voice:

April 10, 2015

Lawmakers Line Up To End Frack Attacks

Industry Gave Lawmakers \$5.5 Million in Latest Cycle

The Energy and Natural Resources industry was the No. 1 funder of Texas politicians in the 2014 cycle, supplying 17 cents of every non-judicial campaign dollar. No wonder swarms of lawmakers rushed to the rescue when the industry complained about local governments restricting fracking operations. As state officials indulge such fracking hazards as earthquakes, air, noise and water pollution, local governments are fighting back.

Oil and gas interests gave 31 Texas Senators a total of \$1.7 million in the 2014 cycle, or an average of more than \$56,000 apiece. They gave \$3.8 million to 144 Texas House members—or an average of more than \$25,000 each. Researchers did not find oil and gas money in the war chests of five members: Roberto Alonzo, Ana Hernandez, Celia Israel, Gilbert Pena and Ron Reynolds (district 124 is currently vacant).

At least five bills have been introduced to curtail local regulation of the oil and gas industry.¹ [HB 40](#) and an identical [SB 1165](#) are the greased frontrunners. Lead authors Drew Darby and Troy Fraser chair the House Energy Resources

and Senate Natural Resources Committees that already passed these measures.

About half of the top oil-and-gas contributors to current lawmakers have publicly endorsed these lead bills to preempt fracking regulations (see table on page 3). In perhaps the best measure of the industry's political sponsorships, more than a third of the House signed on to sponsor HB 40.

Fraser leads the senate in dependency on oil and gas, which supplied 19 percent of his latest war chest. The energized senator also has a [bill](#) to end the state's wildly successful renewable-electricity mandate and [another](#) to make it harder for citizens to contest permits for industrial facilities such as power plants and refineries.

The data below understate the political influence of oil and gas interests. Tea-Party-aligned Empower Texans is not treated as oil-and-gas PAC, even though 99 percent of its money came from that sector (led by Empower founder Tim Dunn). Treating Empower as oil-and-gas money would boost Sen. Konni Burton's dependence on this sector, for example, from 9 to 13 percent.

Senate Financial Dependency on Oil & Gas (2013 & 2014)

Oil & Gas Donations	Oil-Gas % of Total	Senator	Dist. (Party)	Top Oil/Gas Donor(s)
\$111,351	19.4%	*Troy Fraser	24 (R)	Julia J. Matthews (Dodge Jones)
\$107,166	18.2%	Van Taylor	8 (R)	Catherine Taylor (Taylor Ent.)
\$157,463	13.2%	*Kel Seliger	31 (R)	Don Wood (Permian Ent.)
\$54,050	10.3%	Robert Hall	2 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech)
\$71,001	9.7%	Kelly Hancock	9 (R)	Good Gov. Fund (Bass Bros.)
\$56,101	9.6%	Craig Estes	30 (R)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$261,667	9.4%	*Konni Burton	10 (R)	Tim Dunn (CrownQuest)
\$66,750	8%	Jane Nelson	12 (R)	Edward Bass (Bass Bros.)
\$20,250	7.3%	Jose Menendez	26 (D)	William Greehey (NuStar)
\$77,900	6.9%	Lois Kolkhorst	18 (R)	Charles Scianna (Sim-Tex)
\$52,001	6.7%	Joan Huffman	17 (R)	Ray Davis (Avatar Investments)
\$65,350	6.5%	Charles Perry	28 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech)
\$83,654	6.2%	Chuy Hinojosa	20 (D)	Sam Susser (Susser Holdings)
\$118,900	6.1%	Don Huffines	16 (R)	Al Hill Jr. (AG Hill Partners)
\$56,207	5.4%	Senate Average		
\$44,250	5.2%	Charlie Uresti	19 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$43,751	4.8%	Robert Nichols	3 (R)	Paul Foster (West. Rfg.)/Occidental
\$24,951	4.1%	Paul Bettencourt	7 (R)	David/Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)
\$75,101	3.8%	Brandon Creighton	4 (R)	Jeff Sandefer (Sandefer Capital)
\$38,950	3.6%	Charles Schwertner	5 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$27,500	3.6%	*Kevin Eltife	1 (R)	Good Gov./PSEL PACs (Bass Bros.)
\$17,500	3.2%	Brian Birdwell	22 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$38,250	2.6%	Judith Zaffirini	21 (D)	Norbert Dickman (Fasken Oil)
\$12,250	2.2%	*Eddie Lucio Jr	27 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$11,001	2.2%	Rodney Ellis	13 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$36,001	1.9%	Larry Taylor	11 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$23,000	1.7%	*Donna Campbell	25 (R)	Walter Brown (DelRay Oil)
\$20,001	1.5%	John Whitmire	15 (D)	TX Energy Assn.
\$9,050	1.2%	Royce West	23 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$12,500	0.7%	Sylvia Garcia	6 (D)	TX Energy Assn.
\$4,500	0.5%	Kirk Watson	14 (D)	Four-way tie
\$250	0.1%	Jose Rodriguez	29 (D)	Oneok PAC
\$1,742,408	5.4%	TOTALS		

Bold: Sits on Senate Natural Resources & Economic Development Committee.

*Sponsor of Senate Bill 1165.

Top Oil-Gas Contributors to all Current Lawmakers (2013 & 2014)

Lawmaker Total	Contributor	City	Favorite Lawmakers
\$295,942	*Atmos Energy	Dallas	Straus, Hinojosa
\$239,500	Farris & Joann Wilks (Frac Tech Service)	Cisco	Burton, Shaheen
\$176,500	Chesapeake Energy	OK City	Straus, Fraser
\$174,707	*TX Oil & Gas Assn. PAC	Austin	Straus, Keffer
\$165,750	Good Government Fund [Bass family]	Fort Worth	Straus, Nelson
\$165,100	*Koch Industries PAC	Washington	Straus, Hunter
\$163,000	*Valero PAC	San Antonio	Straus, Fraser, Hunter
\$154,452	Timothy M & Terri Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest Oil)	Midland	Burton, Krause
\$143,400	Jeff Davis & Laura Sandefer (Sandefer Capital)	Austin	Sc. Turner, Creighton, Perry
\$132,500	NuStar Energy PAC	San Antonio	Straus, Alvarado, Uresti
\$128,350	*Marathon Oil PAC	Houston	Keffer, Straus
\$110,835	Curtis W Mewbourne (Mewbourne Oil Co.)	Tyler	Straus, Cook, Keffer
\$108,507	Trevor & Janice Rees-Jones (Chief Oil & Gas)	Dallas	Keffer, Meyer, Villalba
\$87,750	PSEL PAC [Bass family]	Fort Worth	Straus, Creighton, Geren
\$85,000	*Occidental Petroleum PAC	Los Angeles	Seven-way tie
\$82,500	AI G Hill Jr (A.G. Hill Partners)	Dallas	Huffines, Meyer
\$82,000	Edward P Bass (Bass Brothers Enterprises)	Fort Worth	Straus, Nelson
\$78,000	Tenaska Employees PAC	Omaha	Straus
\$76,500	Kyle L Stallings (Permian Basin Acquisitions)	Midland	Sc. Turner, Stickland
\$75,000	Dan & Staci Wilks (Frac Tech Service)	Cisco	Schaefer, Buton
\$67,750	MJB Operating LP	Dallas	Straus, Estes, Nichols
\$66,000	*Chevron TX Employees PAC	Austin	Four-way tie
\$64,715	Julia Jones Matthews (Dodge Jones Foundation)	Abilene	Fraser, Keffer
\$64,581	Sam & Lydia Susser (Susser Holdings)	Corpus	Hinojosa, Straus
\$59,500	*Energy Transfer Partners	Houston	Straus, Fraser
\$59,500	Dan Allen Hughes Jr (Dan A. Hughes Co.)	Beeville	Straus, Hunter, Otto
\$55,500	*BP North America PAC	Warrenville IL	Seliger, Kolkhorst, Turner
\$54,267	Paul L Foster (Western Refining Co.)	El Paso	Huffines, Marquez
\$53,467	David M & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy Co.)	Houston	Sc. Turner, Hall
\$53,250	*Devon Energy Corp PAC	OK City	Straus
\$53,000	J Ralph Ellis (Belmont Oil & Gas Corp.)	Irving	Straus
\$49,400	Catherine 'Trinka' Taylor (Taylor Enterprises)	Dallas	V. Taylor, Straus
\$46,250	Denbury Resources PAC	Plano	V. Taylor, E. Thompson
\$43,528	Phillips 66 PAC	Houston	Straus, Huffman, Seliger
\$43,500	Ray L Hunt (Hunt Consolidated)	Dallas	Straus, Koop, Meyer
\$40,500	*ConocoPhillips PAC	Houston	Straus, Seliger
\$39,462	*Pioneer Natural Resources PAC	Dallas	Seliger, Straus
\$36,400	Donald E & Lynne Wood (Permian Enterprises)	Odessa	Seliger, Craddick
\$36,057	*TX Pipeline Assn. PAC	Austin	Fraser, Straus, Darby
\$35,950	*Oneok Employees PAC	Tulsa OK	Straus, Fraser, Isaac
\$35,500	Spectra Energy Corp	Houston	Straus, Fraser, Hinojosa
\$35,000	*ExxonMobil Corp PAC	Irving	Five-way ties
\$34,427	Mickey L & Renee Long (Westex Well Services)	Midland	Straus, Darby, Seliger
\$34,000	William E Greehey (NuStar Energy)	San Antonio	Straus, Menendez
\$32,000	*Anadarko Petroleum Corp	Woodlands	Creighton, Straus
\$31,000	Charles 'Dick' Saulsbury (Saulsbury Industries)	Odessa	Stickland, Landgraf, Burton

*Endorsed one or more bills to restrict local fracking bans.

House Financial Dependency on Oil & Gas (2013 & 2014)

Oil & Gas Donations	Oil-Gas % of Total	Representative	Dist. (Party)	Top Oil/Gas Donor(s)
\$236,945	35.1%	*Scott Turner	33 (R)	Wallace Hall/Jeff Sandefer
\$63,450	35%	Tom Craddick	82 (R)	Donald Wood (Permian Ent.)
\$53,824	31.3%	*Matt Krause	93 (R)	Tim Dunn (CrownQuest)
\$44,500	20.4%	*Brooks Landgraf	81 (R)	Dick Saulsbury (Saulsbury Industries)
\$183,301	18.7%	*Jim Keffer	60 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$38,003	18.6%	*David Simpson	7 (R)	Daniel Mitchell (Danmark Energy)
\$30,250	15.1%	Ken King	88 (R)	Monty James (Drilling Fluids Tech.)
\$64,699	14.6%	*Matt Schaefer	6 (R)	Dan Wilks (Frac Tech Serice)
\$21,500	14.4%	*James Frank	69 (R)	Tom Medders (Medders Oil)
\$43,975	14.3%	*Chris Paddie	9 (R)	Ken Carlile (Carlile Companies)
\$17,250	13.8%	Terry Canales	40 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$22,900	13.3%	*Bryan Hughes	5 (R)	Ken Carlile (Carlile Companies)
\$92,150	13.2%	Charlie Geren	5 (R)	Good Gov. Fund (Bass Bros.)
\$42,001	13.1%	Myra Crownover	64 (R)	Koch Industries
\$17,376	13.1%	Gene Wu	137 (D)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$53,200	12.6%	*Jason Villalba	114 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$41,501	12.4%	*Phil King	61 (R)	G. Malcolm Loudon (Walsh Holdings)
\$22,750	12.2%	John Frullo	84 (R)	Kirk Rogers (SK Rogers Oil)
\$63,600	12.2%	*Jonathan Stickland	92 (R)	Kyle Stallings (Permian Basin Acq.)
\$32,150	12.2%	Matt Shaheen	92 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Service)
\$1,022,322	11.4%	Joe Straus	121 (R)	Curtis Mewbourne (Mewbourne Oil)
\$35,851	10.2%	*Tony Dale	136 (R)	Aubrey Holt (Bench Tree Group)
\$118,950	9.3%	*Morgan Meyer	108 (R)	Three-way tie
\$20,850	9.3%	Abel Herrero	34 (D)	Sam Susser (Susser Holdings)
\$45,500	8.9%	Byron Cook	8 (R)	Koch Industries
\$6,000	8.7%	Stephanie Klick	91 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Service)
\$29,600	8.6%	Jim Murphy	133 (R)	Koch Industries
\$32,050	8.6%	Lyle Larson	122 (R)	NuStar Energy
\$16,500	8.3%	*B Allen Fletcher	130 (R)	Charles Scianna (Sim-Tex)
\$10,000	8.3%	*Drew Springer	68 (R)	Koch Industries
\$5,200	8.2%	*Bill Zedler	96 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Service)
\$17,400	8.2%	*Tracy King	80 (D)	Chesapeake Energy
\$25,001	8.1%	Dennis Bonnen	25 (R)	Koch Industries
\$64,251	8.1%	*Drew Darby	72 (R)	Mickey Long (WesTex Well Services)
\$16,750	8%	*Patricia Harless	126 (R)	Marathon Oil Co.
\$7,950	7.7%	Dustin Burrows	83 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Service)
\$21,900	7.7%	Susan King	71 (R)	Julia J. Matthews (Dodge Jones Fdn.)
\$7,500	7.7%	Ruth Jones McClendon	120 (D)	NuStar Energy
\$7,250	7.5%	*Stuart Spitzer	4 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Service)
\$21,001	7.4%	Doug Miller	73 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$23,501	7.4%	*Trent Ashby	57 (R)	Dan Hughes (Dan A. Hughes Co.)
\$7,000	7.4%	*Scott Sanford	70 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Service)
\$6,250	7.1%	*Molly White	55 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Service)
\$7,080	6.9%	*James White	19 (R)	Koch Industries
\$25,350	6.9%	House Average		
\$24,001	6.7%	Wayne Smith	128 (R)	Koch Industries
\$21,250	6.5%	John Kuempel	44 (R)	Dan Hughes (Dan A. Hughes Co.)
\$14,500	6.4%	Craig Goldman	97 (R)	Good Gov. Fund (Bass Bros.)

\$36,501	6.4%	John Otto	18 (R)	Dan Hughes (Dan A. Hughes Co.)
\$40,100	6.4%	Walter Four Price	87 (R)	Ralph Ellis (Bevo Prod.)/Dan Hughes
\$86,051	6.3%	Todd Hunter	32 (R)	Sam Susser (Susser Holdings)
\$24,450	6.2%	*Travis Clardy	11 (R)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$2,500	6.1%	Leighton Schubert	13 (R)	Christopher Evers (Evers & Sons)
\$13,000	6.1%	*Matt Rinaldi	115 (R)	Jeff Sandefer/Farris Wilks
\$28,000	5.7%	*J M Lozano	43 (R)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$38,000	5.7%	Richard Raymond	42 (D)	Alfonso Arguindegui (Arguindegui Oil)
\$12,750	5.5%	*Jeff Leach	67 (R)	TX Energy Assn./Farris Wilks
\$17,500	5.3%	Rafael Anchia	103 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$9,000	5.2%	Ed Thompson	29 (R)	Denbury Resources
\$6,000	5.2%	Geanie Morrison	30 (R)	Koch Industries
\$10,000	5.2%	*Tony Tinderholt	94 (R)	Jeff Sandefer/Farris Wilks
\$14,750	5%	Tan Parker	63 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$15,501	4.9%	*Kyle Kacal	12 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$12,000	4.9%	Chris Turner	101 (D)	Good Gov. Fund (Bass Bros.)
\$37,098	4.6%	Kenneth Sheets	107 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$38,916	4.6%	*Sarah Davis	134 (R)	Patrick Rutherford (Rutherford Oil)
\$14,500	4.6%	*Ryan Guillen	31 (D)	Chesapeake Energy
\$25,048	4.2%	Cindy Burkett	113 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$25,751	4.2%	*Jason Isaac	45 (R)	Koch Industries
\$9,000	4.2%	Justin Rodriguez	125 (D)	William Greehey (NuStar Energy)
\$11,000	4.1%	Eddie Lucio III	38 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$10,500	4%	*Dwayne Bohac	138 (R)	Larry Buxton (Buxton Interests)
\$23,517	4%	Marisa Marquez	77 (D)	Paul Foster (Western Refining)
\$3,500	3.9%	Doc Anderson	56 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$7,750	3.9%	Dan Huberty	127 (R)	Chesapeake Energy
\$11,601	3.9%	John Wray	10 (R)	Ali Sharaf (Victron Energy)
\$19,800	3.9%	Linda Koop	102 (R)	Al Hill Jr. (AG Hill Partners)
\$5,750	3.9%	Joe Deshotel	22 (D)	Valero PAC
\$5,250	3.7%	Harold Dutton Jr	142 (D)	Atmos Energy/Chesapeake Energy
\$16,751	3.6%	Angie Chen Button	112 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$4,250	3.5%	Marsha Farney	20 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$9,250	3.5%	Mike Schofield	132 (R)	Koch Industries
\$18,750	3.5%	Rodney Anderson	105 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$45,451	3.5%	*Carol Alvarado	145 (D)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$5,925	3.4%	*Cecil Bell Jr	3 (R)	Denbury Resources
\$3,750	3.4%	*Oscar Longoria Jr	35 (D)	Occidental Petroleum Corp
\$8,750	3.4%	Bobby Guerra	41 (D)	Koch Industries
\$4,500	3.3%	*Giovanni Capriglione	98 (R)	Good Gov. Fund (Bass Bros.)
\$5,000	3.3%	Phil Stephenson	85 (R)	David Pratka/Ramiro Ramirez (Vi-Wolf)
\$2,200	3.2%	*Mark Keough	15 (R)	ExxonMobil Corp
\$3,000	3.2%	Dawanna Dukes	46 (D)	Koch Industries
\$6,500	3.1%	*Jimmie Don Aycock	54 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$6,600	3.1%	John Raney	14 (R)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$7,501	3.1%	Larry Phillips	62 (R)	Atmos Energy/Chesapeake Energy
\$3,750	3.1%	*Ron Simmons	65 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$6,750	3%	Joe Pickett	79 (D)	Chesapeake Energy
\$6,500	2.9%	*Dan Flynn	2 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$6,500	2.9%	Pat Fallon	106 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$6,600	2.7%	Dade Phelan	21 (R)	Koch Industries

\$7,426	2.7%	Will Metcalf	16 (R)	Valero
\$7,501	2.5%	Greg Bonnen	24 (R)	Koch Industries
\$2,500	2.3%	Rick Miller	26 (R)	Energy Transfer Partners/Jim Wise
\$2,000	2.1%	*Poncho Nevarez	74 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$5,361	2%	DeWayne Burns	58 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$5,250	2%	*Paul Workman	47 (R)	Koch Industries
\$5,750	2%	*Rene Oliveira	37 (D)	Tenaska
\$2,500	1.9%	Donna Howard	48 (D)	NuStar Energy
\$2,500	1.8%	Gary Elkins	135 (R)	Koch Industries
\$3,100	1.8%	Jessica Farrar	148 (D)	Atmos Energy/Charles Grichar
\$2,000	1.8%	Nicole Collier	95 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$6,000	1.8%	Ramon Romero	90 (D)	Five-way tie
\$2,750	1.7%	Dennis Paul	129 (R)	Pat Black (Apache Corp)
\$4,000	1.7%	Larry Gonzales	52 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$3,250	1.7%	*Armando Martinez	39 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$5,500	1.7%	Sergio Munoz	36 (D)	Occidental Petroleum/Valero
\$14,500	1.7%	Trey Martinez Fischer	116 (D)	Charles Matthews (Exxon)
\$6,500	1.6%	Garnet Coleman	147 (D)	William Hill (Houston Oil Producing)
\$8,251	1.6%	*Senfronia Thompson	141 (D)	NuStar Energy
\$5,500	1.5%	J D Sheffield	59 (R)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$1,500	1.5%	John Smithee	86 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$7,500	1.4%	John Zerwas	28 (R)	Chesapeake Energy
\$1,000	1.3%	Armando Walle Jr	140 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$1,000	1.3%	Diego Bernal	123 (D)	Valero
\$2,500	1.3%	Eddie Rodriguez	51 (D)	MJB Operating/Tenaska
\$1,500	1.3%	Toni Rose	110 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$4,000	1.3%	Yvonne Davis	111 (D)	PSEL PAC (Bass Bros.)
\$10,201	1.2%	Sylvester Turner	139 (D)	BP North America
\$3,750	1.1%	*Andrew Murr	53 (R)	Stephen King (King Energy)
\$1,000	0.9%	Alma Allen	131 (D)	Three-way tie
\$1,500	0.9%	Helen Giddings	109 (D)	Chevron
\$4,000	0.8%	Cesar Blanco	76 (D)	Paul Foster (Western Refining)
\$750	0.8%	Joe Moody	78 (D)	MJB Operating
\$1,000	0.7%	*Debbie Riddle	150 (R)	Chevron
\$1,000	0.7%	Gary VanDeaver	1 (R)	ExxonMobil Corp
\$500	0.7%	Joe Farias	118 (D)	NuStar Energy
\$11,350	0.6%	Wayne Faircloth	23 (R)	Marathon Oil Co.
\$1,550	0.5%	*Rick Galindo	117 (R)	ExxonMobil Corp
\$500	0.5%	Elliott Naishtat	49 (D)	Oneok
\$1,750	0.5%	Eric Johnson	100 (D)	Tenaska
\$1,250	0.5%	Mary Edna Gonzalez	75 (D)	Lee Fikes (Bonanza Oil)
\$500	0.5%	Roland Gutierrez	119 (D)	NuStar Energy
\$250	0.3%	John Cyrier	17 (R)	Jimmy Luecke (Luecke Ranching)
\$500	0.2%	*Jodie Laubenberg	89 (R)	Chevron
\$250	0.2%	Borris Lee Miles	146 (D)	Hugo Gutierrez (Marathon Oil)
\$300	0.1%	Hubert Vo	149 (D)	John Martinez (Production Associates)
\$3,777,135	6.90%	TOTAL		

Bold = Sits on Energy Resources Committee.

*Author or coauthor of House Bill 40.

¹ HB 40 (Darby), SB 1165 (Fraser), SB 440 (Burton) and HB 539 and HB 540 (both by Phil King).