

LOBBY WATCH



★ TEXANS FOR PUBLIC JUSTICE 609 W. 18TH ST., SUITE E, AUSTIN, TX 78701 PH: (512)472-9770 FAX: (512)472-9830

The Audacity of 'Hope'

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First Latina Secretary of State Led Voter-Suppression Drive

Perry's Chief Elections Officer Used 'Weak Matches' To Burn Not-Dead-Yet Voters. Will Andrade's Donors Want Refunds?

"Reports of my death have been greatly exaggerated." –the late Mark Twain¹

Secretary of State Esperanza 'Hope' Andrade and Attorney General Greg Abbott recently settled a voting-rights lawsuit filed by four voters whom Andrade prematurely suspected of dying.

As Texas' chief elections officer, Andrade directed local voting officials to notify 76,990 people that they would be purged from voting rolls before a major election unless they prove that they're alive. Andrade admitted that she based 89 percent of the names on her list on "weak matches" that loosely associated voter identification data with death records.²

Basing the majority of these names on weak matches suggests that this gubernatorial appointee was not content to stop corpses from voting. Texas' top elections official exceeded her mandate and went too far by sending long lists of garbage "weak matches" to voting officials. The *Houston Chronicle* found that one-third of the people on Andrade's Harris County blacklist "live" in historically black Precinct 1.³

Using weak evidence to try to disenfranchise voters attracts intense legal scrutiny in a state with a bitter history of race-based voter exclusion. Last month State District Judge Tim Sulak ordered a temporary halt to election officials purging Andrade-named voters. On the eve of a hearing to consider a permanent purging ban, Andrade settled the lawsuit. Where targeted voters previously had to prove they had a heartbeat to not be purged, now officials must prove death to purge a name.⁴

After Governor Rick Perry appointed her Secretary of State in 2008,⁵ Andrade raised \$134,391 in political contributions—even though she is not an elected office. Andrade taps her officeholder account to wine and dine, to buy gifts, to pay her phone bill and to pay accountants, fundraisers and other staff (see expenditure table below). Andrade loaned her officeholder account another \$5,000 last year.⁶ In her single largest expense, she blew \$9,218 on her 2008 swearing-in luncheon at Austin's Four Seasons Hotel.

Lobby Watch suspects some people who gave money to Texas’ “first Latina Secretary of State” will be delighted with her discretionary choice to use “weak matches” to try to suppress voter turnout. Others may be disgusted.

Did voter suppression prompt ex-Clinton Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros to give Andrade \$250, for example? HEB Grocery chain CEO Charles Butt gave Andrade \$3,000. Does HEB—or its customers—approve of voter suppression schemes?

Many Andrade contributors hail from her hometown of San Antonio. Others are lobby interests tight with her gubernatorial patrón.

The table on the next page shows how much top contributors gave Andrade, as well as to Governor Perry and Attorney General Abbott. Abbott is the chief defender of Texas’ legally challenged efforts to disenfranchise certain voters.⁷ Since Andrade started raising money in 2008, her top contributors have given \$830,808 to Abbott and almost \$2 million to Perry. •

Hope Andrade’s Biggest Officeholder Account Expenditures

Amount	Date	Payee	Description
\$9,218	9/26/08	Four Seasons Hotel	Luncheon for swearing-in ceremony
\$5,000	1/23/12	Esperanza Andrade	Loan Repayment/Reimbursement
\$4,000	9/5/08	Garcia Art Glass Inc.	Gifts
\$3,150	9/15/08	David Kurio Floral Designs	Centerpieces for swearing-in luncheon
\$2,723	8/13/10	Lockart Atchley & Associates	Accounting & compliance services
\$2,301	6/30/12	Esperanza Andrade	Loan Repayment/Reimbursement
\$2,000	4/9/12	Esperanza Andrade	Loan Repayment/Reimbursement
\$2,000	3/8/12	Esperanza Andrade	Loan Repayment/Reimbursement
\$1,933	2/15/11	Atchley & Associates, LLP	Accounting & compliance services
\$1,568	2/3/10	Lockart Atchley & Associates	Accounting Services
\$1,482	2/3/09	Lockart Atchley & Associates	Accounting Services
\$1,436	11/3/08	The RK Group	Election night watch event
\$1,324	12/22/11	Fogo De Chao Austin	Staff Luncheon
\$1,271	12/4/08	Garcia Art Glass Inc.	Gifts
\$1,248	4/12/10	Headliner’s Club	Reception Expense dues & foundation contribs
\$1,125	9/22/08	Thomas Graphics Inc.	Invitations for swearing-in ceremony
\$1,098	2/6/12	Atchley & Associates, LLP	Accounting and compliance services
\$1,032	10/29/08	Thomas Graphics Inc.	Invitations/programs for swearing-in ceremony
\$978	8/10/09	Lockart Atchley & Associates	Accounting Services
\$935	2/6/12	RedWave Consulting LLC	Fundraising commission
\$848	11/2/10	Pappas Restaurants	Reimburse Hope Andrade - Election night staff meals
\$846	8/17/11	Atchley & Associates, LLP	Accounting and compliance services
\$829	4/10/09	Lockart Atchley & Associates	Accounting Services
\$800	3/1/11	Shawna Russell	Administrative/Professional services
\$780	10/13/08	ACI	Lapel pins
\$750	6/29/10	Shawna Russell	Administrative Services
\$750	6/21/11	Shawna Russell	Administrative/Professional services
\$750	4/6/11	Shawna Russell	Administrative/Professional services
\$750	11/29/10	Shawna Russell	Administrative/professional services
\$750	6/5/11	Shawna Russell	Administrative/Professional services
\$744	11/3/08	Pappas Catering	Election night watch event
\$734	5/29/12	Ironworks BBQ	Election Workers’ Meal
\$710	9/8/10	AT&T Wireless	Reimburse Hope Andrade - Telephone expense
\$700	12/30/11	Shawna Russell	Administrative/Professional services
\$700	7/12/10	AT&T Wireless	Reimburse Hope Andrade - Telephone expense
\$664	5/18/09	Headliner’s Club	Lunch meetings dues & foundation contributions
\$662	12/5/09	AT&T Mobility	Cellular service
\$660	9/10/09	ACI	Lapel Pins
\$660	3/12/09	ACI	Lapel pins
\$660	4/11/12	RedWave Consulting LLC	Fundraising commission
\$659	12/3/10	Hallmark Creations	Reimburse Hope Andrade - Holiday cards
\$656	5/8/10	AT&T Mobility	Reimburse Hope Andrade - Telephone Expense
\$618	11/23/11	AT&T	Office Expense – Telephone Service
\$602	3/15/10	Headliner’s Club	Reception Expense dues & foundation contributions

Top Contributors to Esperanza 'Hope' Andrade July 2008 to July 2012

Andrade Amount	Contributor (identification)	City	Abbott Amount	Perry Amount
\$12,500	United Services Auto. Assn. (USAA)	San Antonio	\$32,500	\$102,500
\$9,500	AT&T, Inc. PAC	Austin	\$95,000	\$366,490
\$6,560	Steve P. Koebele (lobbyist)	Austin	\$0	\$1,000
\$6,000	International Bank of Commerce PAC	Laredo	\$0	\$18,500
\$5,000	John L. Nau III (Silver Eagle beer distrib.)	Houston	\$115,447	\$84,919
\$3,000	Bracewell & Giuliani, LLP	Houston	\$15,000	\$0
\$3,000	Charles C. Butt (HEB Grocery CEO)	San Antonio	\$25,000	\$75,000
\$3,000	Garry D. Castro (LogistiCorp. CEO)	Denton	\$0	\$0
\$2,500	Independent Insurance Agents of TX	Austin	\$15,000	\$75,000
\$2,500	Fernando Reyes, Jr. (Reyes Industries)	San Antonio	\$0	\$1,000
\$2,000	Arcilia Acosta (Carcon Industries owner)	Gr. Prairie	\$0	\$2,500
\$2,000	Charles E. Amato (Southwest Business Corp.)	San Antonio	\$1,500	\$19,650
\$2,000	B.J. McCombs (Red McCombs Auto. Group)	San Antonio	\$20,000	\$217,225
\$2,000	Valero Energy Corp. PAC	San Antonio	\$60,000	\$88,078
\$1,754	Gregg T. Reyes (Raytec President)	Houston	\$0	\$0
\$1,500	Nancy Kelley (retired)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,500	Judy Lynn Perez (homemaker)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,500	County Judge Nelson Wolff	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,254	Rolando Pablos (R.B. Pablos, P.C)	San Antonio	\$0	\$1,000
\$1,250	John Feik (DFB Pharmaceuticals president)	San Antonio	\$0	\$2,000
\$1,250	David A. Spencer (Mandelbrot Ventures)	San Antonio	\$15,000	\$20,000
\$1,100	David Wright (Tesoro Corp. VP)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,004	Jacob M. & Adelina Monty (Monty Law Firm)	Houston	\$0	\$20,000
\$1,000	Ernesto Ancira, Jr. (Ancira Enterprises)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Atmos Energy	Dallas	\$10,000	\$25,000
\$1,000	Bank of America PAC	Austin	\$30,000	\$55,000
\$1,000	Cal & Barbara Banker (Masco Contracting Services)	San Antonio	\$0	\$500
\$1,000	Blackridge Consulting LLP (lobby)	Austin	\$25,000	\$91,157
\$1,000	J. Bruce Bugg, Jr. (Argyle Investment Co.)	San Antonio	\$20,000	\$8,500
\$1,000	CenterPoint Energy Inc.	Houston	\$10,000	\$30,000
\$1,000	Chesapeake Operating, Inc.	OK City	\$5,000	\$36,000
\$1,000	Compass BancPAC	Austin	\$20,000	\$1,000
\$1,000	David Cortez (MTC restaurateur)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Cyndi Taylor Krier Campaign	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	James Dannenbaum (Dannenbaum Engineering)	Houston	\$35,000	\$125,000
\$1,000	Patricia DeBerry (Guerra DeBerry Cody)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Richard W. Evans, Jr. (Frost Bank)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Fulbright & Jaworski LLP	Houston	\$81,208	\$53,682
\$1,000	Chave Gonzaba (Gonzaba Mgmt Group)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	D. Rick Hayes (Waveland Ventures CEO)	Austin	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Michelle Wood Healy (homemaker)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Ronald J. Herrmann (Columbia 300, Inc.)	San Antonio	\$8,000	\$5,500
\$1,000	Jerry & Glenda Kane (Sam Kane Beef Processors)	Corpus Christi	\$5,000	\$54,355
\$1,000	Law Offices of Frank Herrera	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Steven Lee (Three Lee Investments Ltd.)	San Antonio	\$2,000	\$1,000

\$1,000	Richard Leigh (CMS Cash Mgmt.)	Dallas	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Linebarger Goggan Blair & Sampson	Austin	\$75,000	\$69,875
\$1,000	Locke Lord Bissell & Liddell, LLP	Houston	\$36,086	\$49,000
\$1,000	Loeffler Group (lobby)	Austin	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Mike Novak (Novak Group, LLC)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Ricardo Perez (SA Hispanic Chamber)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Marc A. Rodriguez (lobby)	Austin	\$0	\$14,500
\$1,000	Dr. Richard Schlosberg III	San Antonio	\$10,000	\$0
\$1,000	Dr. Robert Schnitzler	San Antonio	\$0	\$3,000
\$1,000	James B. Smith, Jr. (Cox & Smith, Inc.)	San Antonio	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	John Steen, Jr. (attorney)	San Antonio	\$1,500	\$21,098
\$1,000	Michael Stoltz (Ernst & Young)	San Antonio	\$0	\$3,000
\$1,000	Sam & Lydia Susser (SSP Partners)	Corpus Christi	\$8,386	\$1,000
\$1,000	TXU Energy PAC	Dallas	\$7,000	\$102,500
\$1,000	Nina G. Vaca (Pinnacle Technical Resources)	Dallas	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	Macedonio Villarreal (Precision Task Group)	Missouri City	\$0	\$7,500
\$1,000	Mark Watson III (Argonaut Group)	San Antonio	\$1,000	\$6,250
\$1,000	J. Tullos Wells (Bracewell & Giuliani LLP)	San Antonio	\$0	\$1,000
\$1,000	Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	Austin	\$40,181	\$83,550
\$1,000	Lucious L. Williams (Dikitas Engineering)	Desoto	\$0	\$0
\$1,000	David S. Zachry (Zachry Construction)	San Antonio	\$1,000	\$22,500
\$1,000	H. B. 'Bartell' Zachry, Jr. (Zachry Construction)	San Antonio	\$5,000	\$25,000
\$117,672	TOTALS		\$830,808	\$1,991,329

Notes

¹ Twain said this in 1897 to a reporter investigating rumors of his death. The Hope Andrades of Twain's day just flubbed their timing. Twain did indeed die 13 years later in 1910—one day after an earthly visit by Halley's Comet. Twain had been born during that comet's 1835 passing and had predicted that he would "go out with it."

² "Dems Hit Listing of 'Dead Voters,'" *Houston Chronicle*, September 13, 2012

³ "'Dead' Voter Controversy Raises Even More Concern," *Houston Chronicle*, October 2, 2012.

⁴ "Deal on 'Dead Voters' Reached," *Austin American-Statesman*, October 4, 2012. "Deadline Lifted on Voter-Roll Purge," Associated Press, October 4, 2012.

⁵ Perry previously appointed Andrade to the Texas Transportation Commission in 2003.

⁶ She loaned her account the extra money in June 2011, soon after passage of voter-identification legislation.

⁷ "Voter ID Rules Fail Court Tests Across Country," *New York Times*, October 3, 2012. "Court Tosses Texas Voter-ID Law," *Wall Street Journal*, August 31, 2012. "Texas Voter ID Law Blocked," *Dallas Morning News*, March 13, 2012.