

## FEDERAL PORK AND WHITE HOUSE COFFEES

### INTRODUCTION

**M**ost campaign finance reform proposals seek to limit the amount of money that individuals or organizations may donate to political candidates. Meaningful reform, however, may be unattainable unless one of the major reasons for making campaign contributions—the desire to seek special favors from government—is eliminated. Perhaps no recent series of events better illustrates the nexus between big government and the world of campaign fundraising than the White House coffees that the Clinton Administration allegedly used to raise funds for the President's re-election campaign.

The first comprehensive comparison of the list of attendees at these coffees and databases of federal grants and contracts indicates that many of the organizations represented at White House coffees receive federal funds. Indeed, these representatives may have been invited to coffees because their organizations were already doing business with the federal government and, hence, were seen as potential campaign contributors.

The overwhelming majority of these grants and contracts predates the Clinton Administration. Approximately three-quarters of the federal funds disbursed to coffee guests went to five defense contractors whose procurement relationships with the federal government are decades old; these five companies accounted for less than 3 percent of soft money contributions by coffee attendees. Moreover, half of all organizations represented at the coffees and doing business with the federal government suffered a net decline in FY 1996 federal funding when compared with FY 1995.

At the same time, however, a few of the guests at the White House coffees did receive contracts that appear questionable. Among previously undisclosed examples of largesse to coffee attendees, the most prominent are:

- A contract awarded to The Kamber Group while its senior vice president, Lynn Cutler, served as chairman of Back to Business, a committee established to defend the White House against ethics charges;
- Contracts and grants awarded to Triangle Environmental while its chairman, Thomas Hendrickson, was a prominent fundraiser for the Democratic National

Committee (DNC);

- Contracts awarded to the Truman Arnold Companies, whose chief executive officer (CEO), Truman Arnold, served as finance chairman of the DNC; and
- A contract given to the Communications Workers of America (CWA) that had been set aside for a female-owned small business.

## BIG GOVERNMENT AND CAMPAIGN FUNDRAISING

Few recent news items garnered more national attention than the disclosure that, between January 1995 and August 1996, President Bill Clinton, First Lady Hillary Clinton, Vice President Albert Gore, and Mrs. Tipper Gore hosted prospective campaign donors for coffee at the White House.<sup>1</sup> It is illegal to raise campaign funds on federal property, and the 103 coffees held at the White House, the Old Executive Office Building, and the Naval Observatory (the residence of Vice President and Mrs. Gore) were not termed “fundraisers.” At the same time, internal White House documents indicate that these events were orchestrated, as one journalist put it, “to soften up potential contributors” to the DNC.<sup>2</sup> The strategy proved effective: During the 1996 election cycle, attendees and their organizations contributed over \$27 million in “soft money” to the DNC.<sup>3</sup> (Soft money contributions are made to party committees, instead of to individual candidates, and the amount of these contributions is not limited by federal election law.)

At a news conference following these revelations, President Clinton defended the coffees: “I think it’s a good thing when contributors care about the country and have some particular area of expertise they want to contribute. But nobody buys a guaranteed result, nor should they ever. They should get a respectful hearing.”<sup>4</sup>

In the debate over campaign finance reform—largely generated by such controversies as the White House coffees—a central fact is often overlooked: The sheer size and scope of the federal government alone attracts influence seekers to Washington, D.C. The federal government now spends \$1.6 trillion each year—a figure equivalent to the entire economies of Canada, Mexico, and the People’s Republic of China.<sup>5</sup> This sum—spent on programs in nearly every sector of the economy, from border patrols to missile systems to subsidies for mohair farmers—represents 23 percent of the U.S. gross domestic product, up from 18 percent in 1960 and 4 percent in 1930.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Albert Eisele, “Clinton White House: 1,528 served,” *The Hill*, February 26, 1997, p. 1.

2. Eisele, p. 1; Paul Bedard, “Clinton Hosted Fund-Raisers’ ‘Coffees,’” *The Washington Times*, January 25, 1997, p. A1. On explicit White House expectations to raise at least \$400,000 per presidential coffee for the Democratic National Committee, see Documents of Former Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes, released by the White House on February 3, 1997, catalogue numbers CGRO 0004–0007, 0091–0107, 0587–0589, 0731–0742, 0747–0756, 0772–0776, 0804–0812, 0829–0833, 0837–0847, 0869–0873, 0919–0928, 0935–0938, 0960–0979, 0992–1006, 1030–1033, 1036–1048, 1066–1086, 1405, 1799–1808, and esp. 1913–1917; cited hereafter as Ickes Documents.

3. Glenn F. Bunting and Alan C. Miller, “Clinton Coffee Guests Gave DNC \$27 Million,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 28, 1997, p. A1.

4. “Text of President Clinton’s News Conference,” *The Washington Post*, January 29, 1997, p. A12.

5. Scott A. Hodge, ed., *Balancing America’s Budget: Ending the Era of Big Government* (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1997), p. 6.

6. Stephen Moore, “Downsize the Federal Budget and Cut Taxes,” in David Boaz and Michael Tanner, eds., *Cato Handbook for Congress: 105th Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1997).

Nearly \$250 billion—almost half of all discretionary spending—is disbursed annually by agencies and departments to businesses and nonprofit organizations in the form of grants and contracts. With these tax dollars flowing at a rate of nearly \$700 million per day to tens of thousands of corporations and organizations,<sup>7</sup> it should come as no surprise that some of the contractors and grant recipients who sent officials to White House coffees also receive federal funds.

Aside from DNC and government officials, most of the coffee attendees were lobbyists and corporate or labor leaders. At least 729 attendees represented businesses, labor unions, interest groups, universities, and other nonprofit organizations.<sup>8</sup> 27 percent of them—or 199—represented groups that receive grants or contracts from the federal government.

Census Bureau data indicate that organizations represented at White House coffees received over \$825 million in grants and loans from federal agencies during FY 1995 (the latest year for which figures are available).<sup>9</sup> According to information published by the General Services Administration (GSA), businesses and nonprofit groups represented at these functions received federal contracts totaling \$29.2 billion in FY 1996 and \$30.4 billion in FY 1995.<sup>10</sup> Thus, \$1 out of every \$8 in federal grants and contracts went to organizations represented at White House coffees. Again, nearly all of these contracts and grants represent long-standing relationships and have nothing to do with participation in White House events. Instead, some of these groups may have been invited to coffees because they had not yet been forthcoming with campaign donations.

Nevertheless, one fact stands out: more than half of the \$27 million raised by the Democratic Party through White House coffees—\$14.4 million—was contributed by federal grantees and contractors.<sup>11</sup>

## FEDERAL LARGESSE TO CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTORS

Investigative reporters have revealed instances in which the circumstances surrounding grant or contract awards have created at least the appearance of a connection between policymaking and campaign contributions:

- **The Beacon Companies/Energy Capital Partners.** The president and CEO of Boston-based Beacon Companies, Alan Leventhal, attended three White House

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7. On increasing access to information about federal contracts and grant recipients, see Kenneth R. Weinstein and August Stofferahn, "It's Time for Full Disclosure of All Federal Grants and Contracts," Heritage Foundation *Government Integrity Project Report* No. 11, March 13, 1997. On campaign contributions by federal contractors, see Ken Silverstein and Jeffrey St. Clair, "The Giant Sucking Sound: Inside Al Gore's Insatiable Fundraising Machine," *In These Times*, April 28–May 11, 1997, pp. 14–17, and Michael Weisskopf, "The Money Trail: Gore's Friends in High Places," *Time*, June 9, 1997.

8. Of the 1,528 attendees, 799 were White House or DNC staff employees; state, local or federal officials; or individuals whose place of employment was not disclosed. See "Clinton Cafe: Serving coffee and donors," *The Hill*, February 26, 1997, pp. 21–28.

9. The Bureau of the Census produces the Federal Assistance Award Data System (FAADS), a compilation of grants, cooperative agreements, and guaranteed loans made by federal agencies. FAADS information is necessarily incomplete because not every federal agency chooses to catalogue its grants, agreements, and loans with the Census Bureau. The FAADS report on FY 1996 grants will be made available in July 1997, and therefore could not be included in this report. All subsequent data on government grants and loans are derived from FAADS.

10. The General Services Administration produces the Federal Procurement Data System (FPDS), a compilation of government contracts exceeding \$25,000 that were awarded by executive and independent agencies. All subsequent data on government contracts are derived from the FPDS.

coffees and spent the night at the White House. Leventhal's business partner, Fred Seigel, attended two coffees at the White House. White House records list Seigel's corporate affiliation as Beacon Energy Company; however, he also serves as president of Energy Capital Partners, a company that was spun off from the Beacon Companies and that the two men co-own. Leventhal and Seigel raised more than \$3 million for President Clinton's re-election campaign,<sup>12</sup> and President Clinton once dubbed them the "energizer bunnies" of political fundraising.<sup>13</sup> The Beacon Companies also contributed \$190,000 to the DNC and another \$148,600 to the Presidential Inaugural Committee during the 1996 election cycle.<sup>14</sup>

In 1996, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, Energy Capital Partners won a lucrative federal lending contract.<sup>15</sup> Under this deal, Energy Capital Partners was designated the first and only company pre-approved for participation in a risk-free \$200 million lending program administered by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to service Fannie Mae loans.<sup>16</sup> The deal could have generated millions of dollars in profits; but after the *Journal* story appeared, HUD canceled the program and referred the matter to its inspector general for examination. Energy Capital Partners is suing HUD in federal court for breach of contract.<sup>17</sup>

- **West Publishing Company.** Vance Opperman, president of West Publishing Company, a leading publisher of legal and educational information, attended a White House coffee with President Clinton on June 6, 1996. In 1994, West Publishing, which purportedly had cornered the market in publishing court decisions, became the subject of an investigation by the Department of Justice for allegedly monopolistic practices.<sup>18</sup> At a fundraiser later that year, Opperman is said to have asked President Clinton, "Can you get the Justice Department off my back?"<sup>19</sup> In 1995, abandoning its plans to make judicial opinions available to the public at no charge on its World Wide Web home page, the Department of Justice awarded a \$14.2 million contract to West Publishing to provide the government with on-line legal research.<sup>20</sup>

West's business with the Department of Justice reportedly led Opperman to forego a high profile role as DNC fundraiser. Instead, he and his wife donated \$30,000 to the DNC and contributed \$329,000 in soft money to ten state Democratic parties.

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11. These figures do not include soft money donations to state political parties. Organized labor, for example, committed \$8 million in contributions to state Democratic parties; see Ickes Documents, CGR0-1087, 1262. Figures on soft money contributions are derived from data from the Federal Election Commission (FEC), compiled at the FECInfo World Wide Web site, <http://www.tray.com/fecinfo/soft.htm>, and in Jennifer Keen and John Daly, "Beyond the Limits: Soft Money in the 1996 Elections," Center for Responsive Politics, February 1997, available at <http://www.crp.org/btl/contents.html>.
  12. Bob Hohler, "Big donors dominated 'cleanest' inaugural," *Boston Globe*, May 5, 1997, p. A1.
  13. Bob Hohler, "Mass. businessman denies US contract tied to fund-raising," *Boston Globe*, February 8, 1997, p. A4.
  14. Keen and Daly, "Beyond the Limits," and Center for Responsive Politics World Wide Web site: <http://www.crp.org/Pubs/97inaug/vensum.htm>.
  15. Hohler, "Mass. businessman denies US contract tied to fund-raising," p. A4.
  16. *Ibid.*
  17. Bob Hohler, "Boston lending firm sues HUD; Says contract halted wrongfully over story," *Boston Globe*, May 8, 1997, p. A28.
  18. Viveca Novak and Michael Weisskopf, "The Cheerful Giver," *Time*, April 21, 1997, p. 80.
  19. *Ibid.*
  20. *Ibid.*

Because state parties are not subject to federal disclosure requirements, these contributions came to light only recently.<sup>21</sup> *Time* reports that Opperman's appointment by the President to a federal advisory panel on patent issues gave him the political clout to merge West Publishing Company with Thomson Corporation of Canada in a deal worth \$3.4 billion.<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, The Heritage Foundation has uncovered several other examples of organizations present at the White House coffees that may have received federal funds under questionable circumstances or may have felt obliged to make campaign contributions because of the federal funds awarded to them.

### **The Kamber Group**

Lynn Cutler, then a senior vice president of The Kamber Group, attended a coffee with President Clinton on June 17, 1996.<sup>23</sup> The Kamber Group is a Washington, D.C., consulting and public relations firm with ties to organized labor and the DNC. Cutler served in varying capacities as a senior official in the DNC, the Clinton Administration, and Clinton-Gore '96. Most significantly, since spring 1994, she has chaired Back to Business, an organization established to defend the President and First Lady in the burgeoning Whitewater scandal.<sup>24</sup>

In FY 1995, The Kamber Group received a \$1.9 million "communication support services" contract from the U.S. Department of Labor (which already maintains its own Office of Public Affairs).<sup>25</sup> Then, in FY 1996, it received a \$230,000 public relations contract from the office of the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Administration and Management. The period of these contracts overlaps the period during which Cutler chaired Back to Business and worked for Clinton-Gore '96.<sup>26</sup> The second contract had been set aside specifically for a small business.<sup>27</sup> The Kamber Group netted \$11 million in fees in 1996.<sup>28</sup>

### **Triangle Environmental, Inc.**

Triangle Environmental, Inc., is a 43-person engineering and environmental services firm based in Raleigh, North Carolina. Triangle Environmental's chairman, Thomas Hendrickson, attended White House coffees hosted by the President on May 16 and June 5, 1995, and another hosted by the Vice President on March 5, 1996. Hendrickson

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21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Mother Jones* magazine's World Wide Web site has a searchable database of White House coffee guests at [http://www.motherjones.com/cgi-bin/Database\\_search/db\\_search.cgi?setup\\_file=coffee.setup](http://www.motherjones.com/cgi-bin/Database_search/db_search.cgi?setup_file=coffee.setup).

24. See "Back to Business is Back in Business," at <http://204.157.211.7/btb.html>. According to one Back to Business employee, "we don't have an actual Back to Business office." Instead, Back to Business has been headquartered at The Kamber Group. See Tucker Carlson, "Hillary's Defenders," *The Weekly Standard*, January 29, 1996, p. 18.

25. "Contract Awards," *Commerce Business Daily*, October 25, 1994.

26. Department of Labor contracts were awarded to Kamber in February, July, and September 1996; see 1996 FPDS. On Cutler's activities during this period, see David Jackson, "Three Found Guilty in Whitewater Trial; Issue Expected to Play Role in Fall Political Campaign," *Dallas Morning News*, May 29, 1996, p. A1; Kevin Merida, "Talking a Fine Line in Search of Crucial Support; Message Aimed at Women Sidesteps Emotional Mines," *The Washington Post*, August 29, 1996, p. A25; Hilary Stout, "Millions for Defense—Representing Clinton as Big Business," *Sacramento Bee*, March 9, 1997, p. F1.

27. 1996 FPDS.

28. Ann Shin, "From the K Street Corridor," *National Journal*, March 15, 1997, p. 521.

chaired then-Senator Gore's 1988 presidential campaign in North Carolina, served as chairman of the North Carolina Democratic Party from 1993 to early 1995, and was in charge of Raleigh-area fundraising for the DNC during the 1996 campaign.<sup>29</sup>

During the first fiscal year following Hendrickson's term as state party chairman, Triangle Environmental received \$296,000 in federal contracts for architectural and engineering services—a tenfold increase over the previous year.<sup>30</sup> Hendrickson rode on Air Force Two on June 26, 1995, from Moscow to Washington, D.C., and on Air Force One on August 9, 1995.<sup>31</sup> On the day after Hendrickson's trip on Air Force One, Triangle Environmental received a bond guarantee from the Small Business Administration (SBA) for \$656,000.<sup>32</sup>

### **Oneida Nation of Wisconsin**

The chairwoman of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, Donna Doxtator, attended a White House coffee with the President on March 28, 1996. In FY 1996, the tribe received at least \$60 million from the federal government for housing, education, health care, and other programs. Even more significant, however, was a 1995 ruling by the Clinton Administration.

The Oneida Nation hired a Washington, D.C., lobbying firm to persuade Leon Panetta (then White House chief of staff), Harold Ickes (then deputy White House chief of staff), and the U.S. Department of the Interior to reject an application for a new casino operation by competing Indian tribes on the Wisconsin–Minnesota border.<sup>33</sup> On April 28, 1995, Oneida officials met with then-DNC chair Don Fowler. One of the tribe's lobbyists summarized the meeting:

[T]ribal members at the meeting appealed to Mr. Fowler for help in convincing [Interior] Secretary [Bruce] Babbitt of the deleterious ramifications.... Mr. Fowler stated he would speak with the president's assistant, Harold Ickes. He would urge Mr. Ickes to urge Secretary Babbitt to make a closer examination of impact of the proposed operation.<sup>34</sup>

On May 31, 1995, the tribe contributed \$3,000 in soft money to the DNC.<sup>35</sup> A memo written the following week by another of the tribe's lobbyists noted that the Oneida Nation needed to "increase pressure and communications with the White House through Vice President Gore's office, the National Democratic Committee [*sic*] and the committee to re-elect the president."<sup>36</sup> From September 1995 through September 1996,

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29. Charles Jarvis, United Press International, March 9, 1988; "Democratic party chairman won't seek another term," *The Herald-Sun*, November 24, 1994, p.B1; Rob Christensen, "Road to the White House follows a different route now," *The News and Observer*, January 21, 1996, p. B1.

30. 1996 FPDS and 1995 FPDS.

31. "Travel by supporters on Air Force One," *USA Today*, April 15, 1997, p. A7.

32. 1995 FAADS.

33. Jeff Mayers, "Tribes That Opposed Casino Lobbied Hard; Documents Indicate Contribution to DNC Surrounded Decision," *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 30, 1997, p. A1.

34. *Ibid.*

35. From FEC data on the FECInfo World Wide Web site: <http://www.tray.com/fecinfo/soft.htm>.

36. Mayers, "Tribes That Opposed Casino Lobbied Hard." Democratic Party fundraisers reportedly also used promises of executive branch actions to raise a \$100,000 soft money contribution from the impoverished Cheyenne–Arapaho tribe in Oklahoma; see Silverstein and St. Clair, "The Giant Sucking Sound," for a brief synopsis.

the Oneida Nation provided the DNC with an additional \$100,000 in soft money contributions.<sup>37</sup>

A federal court and state courts in Wisconsin and Minnesota are examining both the tribe's lobbying efforts and the decision of the Department of the Interior to reject the new casino, despite the support of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the project.<sup>38</sup>

### **Truman Arnold Companies**

Truman Arnold is CEO of the Truman Arnold Companies, a petroleum sales and distribution conglomerate based in Texarkana, Texas, with \$600 million in sales last year.<sup>39</sup> He also served as DNC finance chairman during 1995. Arnold and his wife attended White House coffees on June 21, 1995, and March 7, 1995, respectively, and flew aboard Air Force One on an April 7, 1995, trip from Washington, D.C., to Dallas to McClellan Air Force Base to Los Angeles and back to Washington, D.C.<sup>40</sup>

Truman Arnold Companies received contracts worth \$15 million in FY 1995 and \$4 million in FY 1996, primarily for fuel and other petroleum products. These totals represent a dramatic increase over previous years: from FY 1987 to FY 1994, the Truman Arnold Companies had received only \$11.8 million in federal contracts. During 1996, the Truman Arnold Companies contributed \$110,000 in soft money to the DNC.<sup>41</sup> Payments by the Truman Arnold Companies to former Associate Attorney General Webster Hubbell during the period between Hubbell's resignation and subsequent indictment and conviction, as well as the DNC's possible use of a White House database during Arnold's tenure as DNC finance chairman, currently are under investigation.

### **Adler Group**

Michael Adler, chairman of the Adler Group, a real estate management company, attended a White House coffee hosted by Vice President Gore on October 25, 1995. The Adler Group contributed \$70,000 in soft money to the DNC during the 1995-1996 election cycle.<sup>42</sup>

In May 1995, the Adler Group received a \$750,000 guaranteed loan from the SBA.<sup>43</sup> The express purpose of Certified Development Company Loans (the SBA program under which the Adler Group benefited) is "to assist small businesses in the acquisition of land and buildings, expansion, renovation and modernization, machinery and equipment."<sup>44</sup> The Adler group has over \$100 million worth of real estate holdings.<sup>45</sup> With such sizable assets, it presumably should have been able to obtain a commercial loan to finance its expansion plans.<sup>46</sup>

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37. From FEC data on the FECInfo World Wide Web site: <http://www.tray.com/fecinfo/soft.htm>.

38. Jeff Mayers, "Clinton Friend Helped Fight Wisconsin's Casino Bid; He Says He Never Discussed Hudson Proposal with President, Though," *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 16, 1997, p. A1.

39. John Haman, "TAC Air Venture Takes Flight," *Arkansas Business Journal*, March 24, 1997, p. 1.

40. "Travel by supporters on Air Force One," *USA Today*, April 15, 1997, p. A7.

41. From FEC data on the FECInfo World Wide Web site <http://www.tray.com/fecinfo/soft.htm>.

42. *Ibid.*

43. 1995 FAADS.

44. General Services Administration, *Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance*, 30th ed. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996), p. 594.

45. "Adler Group Plots Strategy for Big Expansion Plans," *Miami Daily Business Review*, April 23, 1997, p. A1.

## Communications Workers of America

Organized labor took a leading role in the 1996 campaign with soft money and donations to political action committees, an unprecedented \$35 million “issue advocacy” campaign designed to unseat House Republicans, and another \$8 million committed to state coordinated campaigns.<sup>47</sup> Since the election, the Clinton Administration has announced several policy decisions favorable to organized labor that will cost taxpayers billions of dollars, including an executive memorandum encouraging federal agencies to consider entering into “project agreements” and rulings that will limit severely the ability of states to implement last year’s welfare reform bill.<sup>48</sup>

Two officials from the CWA, an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, attended White House coffees. The CWA was very active in the 1996 elections, sending 62 delegates to the Democratic Party’s convention and targeting 70 congressional races for grassroots campaigns.<sup>49</sup> It also supported the DNC with soft money contributions totaling \$1,130,300 during the 1995–1996 election cycle<sup>50</sup> and spent \$89,878 on tickets to the Inaugural festivities.<sup>51</sup>

The GSA rents office space in Washington, D.C., from the CWA at a cost of \$2.2 million annually. This contract was awarded as part of a woman-owned small business set-aside program even though the CWA has more than 650,000 members, according to its president, Morton Bahr.<sup>52</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Campaign finance reform may be unachievable unless the size and scope of the federal government is radically downsized. More than half of the soft money contributions made to the Democratic Party by White House coffee attendees came from organizations receiving grants and contracts from the federal government. The vast majority of these organizations received federal largesse before the Clinton Administration, and half of those who made soft money contributions suffered a net decline in federal grants and contracts from FY 1995 and 1996. Nonetheless, a serious question remains to be answered: Were federal contractors targeted for fundraising solicitations by the White House?

Moreover, several of the grants and contracts awarded to coffee attendees may merit closer examination. Among these: a contract awarded to The Kamber Group while its senior vice president, Lynn Cutler, served as chairman of a committee established to defend the White House against allegations in the Whitewater affair; contracts awarded to businesses headed by key fundraisers in the President’s re-election campaign; and a

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46. Even if the Adler Group had been unable to secure private loans, taxpayers should not have been forced to subsidize its planned expansion by insuring the company against financial loss. For more information on wasteful spending by the Small Business Administration, see Gareth Davis, “Small Business Administration,” in Hodge, ed., *Balancing America’s Budget*, pp. 200–204.

47. Ickes Documents, CGRO–1087, 1262.

48. See Robert Rector, “Breaking the Welfare Cycle,” *National Review*, June 16, 1997, p. 20; and Sam Howe Verhovek, “Clinton Reining in Role for Business in Welfare Effort,” *The New York Times*, May 11, 1997, pp. A1, A18.

49. “CWA Sends 62 Delegates and Alternates to Democratic Convention,” *Communications Today*, August 27, 1996.

50. Keen and Daly, “Beyond the Limits.”

51. Center for Responsive Politics World Wide Web site: <http://www.crp.org/Pubs/97inaug/vensum.htm>.

52. 1996 FPDS; for more information on the CWA, see <http://www3.cwa-union.org/home/aboutcwa/bahr.htm>.



female-owned small business set-aside contract awarded to the Communications Workers of America.

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