

# F.A.S. PUBLIC INTEREST REPORT

Journal of the Federation of American Scientists (FAS)

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## Federation Celebrates Its 50th Anniversary!



Lester R. Brown (left) being presented the FAS 1995 Public Service Award by FAS President Jeremy J. Stone

Founded--on October 22, 1945 by Manhattan Project Atomic Scientists--as the action arm of the same movement that produced the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, FAS celebrated its 50th anniversary with a successful two-day retreat at the Airlie House Conference Center in Airlie, Virginia.

Although no longer a Federation of Chapters--its last two chapters, Union of Concerned Scientists and the Southern California Federation of Scientists, became independent organizations in 1970--it has continued as a membership organization with a tax-deductible arm.

The anniversary retreat was a working meeting at which nine different briefing workshops took place on diverse subjects: weapons of mass destruction, U.S. security and governance (including conventional arms sales, secrecy and defense budget reduction), the global environment, drug abuse, ethics of scientists and scientific credibility, foreign policy, issues of human capability and society, science advice to government, issues of information technology and society, international health and infectious disease surveillance.

Lester R. Brown of Worldwatch Institute received the FAS Annual Public Service Award for 1995 with a plaque that read:

*Agricultural Ambassador  
Public Interest Pioneer  
Educator Extraordinaire  
Global Guru*

His acceptance, and our after dinner dialogue with him, symbolized FAS's emergence into global security issues generally on the occasion of our 50th anniversary.

A special citation was provided to John P. Holdren, former elected FAS Chairman, to reflect his key role, over two decades, in sustaining and strengthening Pugwash, without which, it was argued, Pugwash would not have secured its half of this year's Nobel Peace Prize or Joseph Rotblat, Pugwash's steward, the other half.

### FAS Seeks Capital Gifts

FAS is seeking to increase the size of its stabilization fund, designed to deal with hiatuses in foundation funding, so as to ensure the preservation of its in-house staff directors during transition periods and, also, to permit the Federation to set its own agenda in subjects not yet ripe for foundation appeals.

Because there is currently so much disarray in the foundation world on the kinds of global security issues of concern to FAS, and because a number of these directors have come to the end of a natural funding cycle, the need for increasing the Federation's capital buffer is quite real. Accordingly, persons who are in a position to provide large sums, or who know people who are, should contact the FAS President.

**FAS Chairman Over the Last 50 Years**

1946	W. A. Higinbotham
	Robert R. Wilson
1947	Robert E. Marshak
1948	Arthur Roberts
1949	Hugh C. Wolfe
1950	W. A. Higinbotham
1951	Lyle B. Borst
1952	Jules Halpern
1953	David L. Hill
1954	M. Stanley Livingston
1955	Donald J. Hughes
1956	Charles C. Price
1957	Paul M. Doty
1958	Augustus H. Fox
1959	David R. Inglis
1960	M. Stanley Livingston
1961	John S. Toll
1962	Freeman J. Dyson
1963	Robert R. Wilson
1964	Peter G. Bergmann
1965	W. A. Higinbotham
1966	Marvin Kalkstein
1967	Jay Orear
1968	Cameron Satterthwaite
1969	John Rasmussen
1970-71	Herbert F. York
1971-73	Marvin Goldberger
1973-76	Philip Morrison
1976-79	George Rathjens
1979	Jerome Frank
1979-84	Frank von Hippel
1984-86	John P. Holdren
1986-88	Matthew Meselson
1988-92	Andrew Sessler
1992-96	Robert M. Solow

**FAS Fund Chairman (Since 1971)**

1971-76	George Rathjens
1979-84	Martin Stone
1984-86	Herbert F. York
1986-1993	Frank von Hippel
1993-94	Richard Garwin
1994-	George Rathjens

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**FAS**

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*Vice Chairman:* CARL KAYSEN

*President:* JEREMY J. STONE

*Secretary:* ANN DRUYAN

*Treasurer:* CHARLES C. PRICE

The Federation of American Scientists (FAS), founded October 31, 1945 as the Federation of Atomic Scientists by Manhattan Project scientists, engages in research and advocacy on science- and society issues, especially global security.

Current war and peace issues range from nuclear war to ethnic conflict and from nuclear disarmament to arms sales; sustainable development issues include disease surveillance, climate modification, poverty, food security and environment. FAS also works on human rights of scientists and on reductions in secrecy.

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\*Nobel Laureate

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Ruth S. Adams (Sci. Editing)	Daniel Kammen (Physics)
Rosemary Chalk (Political Science)	Thomas L. Neff (Physics)
*Val Fitch (Physics)	Robert Socolow (Engineering)
Linda Gottfredson (Sociology)	John S. Toll (Physics)
David Hafemeister (Physics)	Jeremy P. Waletzky (Medicine)

**FAS FUND**

The Federation of American Scientists Fund, founded in 1971, is the 501 (c)(3) tax-deductible research and education arm of FAS.

George Rathjens, Chairman

Jeremy J. Stone, President

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Richard Muller	Robert Weinberg
William Revelle	Herbert F. York

John's plaque read:

*The Best That America*

*Can Offer*

*Nobel Peace Prize Laureate*

*(One Quarter)*

A major purpose of the working celebration was to secure suggestions for further FAS Cusp Projects--projects run by experts off-site--but through the Federation. A half-dozen of these are underway and another half-dozen under negotiation.

### Cusp Projects

This FAS Cusp operation, invented and directed by FAS's President, underlies FAS's approach to expanding its work into diverse critical issues of science and society with minimal expenditures and maximized impact.

Once organized, it is believed that such projects, where necessary, can secure the funding for in-house staff.

So far, these projects include: global food sustainability; international organizations' health activities, global systemic risk (i.e. risk of economic collapse), the micronutrient project (i.e. improving the healthfulness of food), drug policy and science advice to government.

### Off-Site FAS Directed Projects

As members know, FAS has also three larger, foundation funded, projects run through FAS by off-site directors.

Frank von Hippel is directing and carrying out work related to: nuclear test ban, deep cuts (disarmament), reforming Russian "plutonium cities" and the fissile material production cut-off.

Barbara Rosenberg is directing and carrying out work on biological and chemical weapons. In particular, the FAS Working Group on biological warfare and its Subgroup on Use and Detection are supplying the Ad Hoc Group of Negotiators with advice on verification protocol issues on this subject.

And Steve Morse of Rockefeller University is directing our work on FAS ProMed, a very successful effort to organize a world-wide system for early detection of emerging infectious diseases. This project has set up an effective international e-mail network--which has received much press.

Through a subsequent world-wide conference in Italy that it is organizing in cooperation with the

Rockefeller Foundation, FAS ProMed plans to have the work taken over by an international health organization.

This project is staffed at FAS by Dorothy Preslar who, in addition, has persuaded a foundation to provide a grant to extend the work to surveillance of some animal diseases as well--important for its own sake and because animal diseases are related to our own.

### In-House Staff Directed Projects

At the inner rung of FAS, there are projects directed by in-house staff: Lora Lumpe's project on conventional arms sales; Steve Aftergood's project on secrecy and John Pike's work on defense budget reduction, on supporting the ABM Treaty, and on Cyberstrategy (helping other collegial groups get into the new world of cyberspace).

Jeremy J. Stone's work, recently, has turned on such diverse subjects as developing a dialogue with Iran, developing a campaign to persuade scientists everywhere to drop out of work on further weapons of mass destruction, and promulgating a new method of securing international agreement as to the illegality of nuclear weapons--about which you will be hearing more in the next newsletter.

Stone has also recently put a good deal of work into a unique conference on climate change, to be held in December by FAS, in conjunction with the World Bank, to investigate whether Bank loans should, or should not, reflect the dangers of CO<sub>2</sub> emitted by such projects.



*FAS Treasurer Charles C. Price and former FAS Fund Chairman Richard Garwin at the annual meeting*

### FAS Constitutional Objectives

"The Federation of American Scientists is formed to meet the increasingly apparent responsibility of scientists in promoting the welfare of mankind and the achievement of a stable world peace.

The value of science to civilization has never been more clear, nor have the dangers of its misuse been greater.

The Federation is concerned with so placing science in the national life that it may make the maximum contribution to the welfare of the people.

The need for a more active political role of the scientist has been brought into sharp focus by the atomic bomb. An immediate concern of the Federation must therefore be the problem of atomic energy.

#### We Therefore Hold These Aims:

1. In the particular field of atomic energy, to urge that the United States help initiate and perpetuate an effective and workable system of world control based on full cooperation among all nations.
2. In consideration of the broad responsibility of scientists today, to study the implications of any scientific developments which may involve hazards to enduring peace and the safety of mankind.
3. To counter misinformation with scientific fact and, especially, to disseminate those facts necessary for intelligent conclusions concerning the social implications of new knowledge in science.
4. To safeguard the spirit of free inquiry and free interchange of information without which science cannot flourish.
5. To promote those public policies which will secure the benefits of science to the general welfare.
6. To strengthen the international cooperation traditional among scientists and to extend its spirit to a wider field."

---Preamble, FAS Constitution

### Past Achievements

In modern day life, even prominent individuals and large organizations have difficulty, with assurance, pinpointing their effectiveness in specific situations. Just as few Senators have their name on legislation, few public interest groups achieve anything by themselves. By this standard, FAS has done remarkably well in tangible achievement.

As shown below, FAS has often been catalytic on important issues while, of course, having had an effect, on a continuing basis, in conjunction with other groups, organizations, persons and entities of all kinds.

Among its achievements over the last 25 years are:

a). Frank Von Hippel's indefatigable work on fissile material since a 1982 newsletter right up to the point, and beyond, when, in June, 1995, international negotiation began on this issue. He has been with FAS since the early 1970s, serving as our elected Chairman for five years and as Chairman of our Fund for six. He has made contributions to science and society work in many different areas and is a key player in Russia, China, India and Germany in the world process of preventing the use of nuclear weapons.

b). John Pike's work, over the last 13 years, on Star Wars where he became its most visible opponent of the effort to wreck the ABM Treaty. This carried on the tradition of Stone, who had been from 1963 to 1972, a major instigator of the ABM Treaty itself.

Pike had a major impact on the scaling back of the B-2 bomber program. He invented a still-viable proposal ("Threshold Limits") actively considered by the Reagan Administration; uncovered much about intelligence satellites; had considerable success in urging international space cooperation and in shaping the Earth Observing System (EOS) from a small number of large satellites to a more secure program with larger numbers of smaller satellites.

c). Over the 25 years of his serving as FAS C.E.O., and the 33 years of work in international security, Stone has had quite a few tangible successes.

Besides his catalytic work, mentioned above, in laying a basis for the ABM Treaty in the U.S. and U.S.S.R.; he stimulated and led the first scientific exchange to the People's Republic of China, working out a return visit while having dinner with Premier Chou En Lai. He induced the scientific community to

**Some issues on the FAS Agenda 40 years ago:**

1. New efforts toward international control of atomic and other weapons
2. Exchange of atomic information with friendly nations
3. Development of atomic power
4. Relaxation of government monopoly in domestic atomic operations
5. Improvement of visa and passport policies and practices
6. Uninhibited inquiry in our laboratories and universities
7. Modification of the Federal loyalty and security program
8. Organization and finance of US science and the role of the NSF
9. The future of the UN and the principle of international organization

--From FAS Newsletter January 12, 1953

set up human rights groups in all of its professional societies including the National Academy of Sciences; and played a key role in the first Congressional defeat of a major weapons project (the B-1 bomber). He also made major contributions to preventing the return of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia and to resisting the Sendero Luminoso in Peru. He played a very salient, and frequently acknowledged, role in helping Andrei Sakharov in each of five hunger strikes from 1975 (when they met) through 1987 (when they met again in the Kremlin at a small meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev).

He created a "bear hug" strategy to avoid Star Wars that was, in the end, adopted by the Soviet Union and which made Start II possible (sometimes called the Sakharov finesse). Earlier he created a "shrink SALT II" approach that was offered by President Carter to Leonid Brezhnev at the June 1979 Summit. He stopped the CIA's twenty-year practice of opening mail from abroad. He has also invented two new legal approaches to preventing the initiation of the use of nuclear weapons (Congressional control by a Committee and a new approach to be discussed in the next newsletter).

d). Barbara Hatch Rosenberg, Professor of Environmental Science at SUNY, in Purchase, N.Y. has had a number of successes in championing, through international review conferences, the efforts

to secure a workable verification system for the Biological Weapons Convention. And she has coordinated with Stephen Morse the ProMed (Program for Monitoring Emerging Diseases) Campaign mentioned above with all of its promise for surveillance of diseases before they can really get started.

e). Lora Lumpe has worked effectively for transparency, accountability and restraint in U.S. and global arms export through publication of the *Arms Sales Monitor*, other writing projects, public speaking and media work. She was a key player in drafting, introducing and promoting the Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers Act and has also worked to expose and oppose taxpayer subsidies for weapons exports. She is constantly seeking to broaden the coalition of citizens working to reform U.S. export policies.

f). Steven Aftergood, directing the Project on Government Secrecy, has played an influential role in defining a new national security classification system. His newsletter on government secrecy policy has been acclaimed both by government officials and their critics as an invaluable source of information and new ideas for reducing unnecessary secrecy. Since Aftergood uncovered the secret Timber Wind nuclear rocket program in 1991, he has become the most frequently cited critic of government secrecy programs.



*Mark Kleiman, director of FAS Cusp project on Drugs, and John P. Holdren, former FAS Chairman, at the annual meeting*

Some events of the 1980's and 1990's, not mentioned above in conjunction with individuals were these:

### In the Eighties

In the 1980's, besides continuing its work on arms control and disarmament, FAS worked effectively for U.S.-Soviet detente, nuclear environmental issues, energy conservation, (in automobiles and in buildings), peace and security in Latin-America, prevention of genocide in Cambodia and in Peru and even animal rights (catalyzing a Scientists Center for Animal Welfare).

On U.S.-Soviet detente and realism in U.S.-Soviet relations, a major successful project was a campaign to induce delegations of Congressmen and Senators to visit the Soviet Union by raising the question ("If you have never been there, how can you be sure your views are accurate?").

On U.S.-Soviet arms control, FAS ideas repeatedly reached the highest officials in the Soviet Union, especially after Gorbachev took over in 1985. FAS officials met with Gorbachev on a number of occasions and early urged support in America for his

efforts to end the arms race. FAS links with Soviet scientists paved the way for the famous NRDC seismic monitoring study. A series of U.S.-Soviet workshops co-sponsored by FAS and NRDC laid a technical basis for U.S.-Soviet agreements that could verify nuclear warhead elimination.

In Latin America, FAS organized an active program of contacts with scientists in Brazil and Argentina to organize a cooperative halt to nuclear bomb programs in those countries. And it organized talks between defense experts in Chile and Argentina, two countries that were near to war.

Beginning in 1989, FAS worked strenuously for three years and quite effectively, to prevent the Khmer Rouge from a return to power in Cambodia and to move U.S. policy away from an implicit alliance with the Khmer Rouge against the Phnom Penh Government. In particular, it revealed, in a New York Times op ed, secrets of U.S. involvement in that civil war. Later, it hosted the first visit to Washington of Prime Minister Hun Sen--a visit that contributed importantly to a subsequent Congressional approval of a large grant to the Cambodian peace process.

### FAS, 1945-1947

In her book "A Peril and A Hope: The Scientists' Movement in America, 1945-1947" (University of Chicago Press, 1965), Alice Kimball Smith describes the initial campaign of FAS members to deal with legal and administrative problems posed by the May-Johnson Bill creating an Atomic Energy Commission.

Their slogan concerning nuclear weapons: "No secret, no defense and international control" was not an easy one for the times--which assumed that the secret of the bomb could be kept, that there must be some defense, and that there was no place for international control.

In the conclusion of her book, published in 1965, Alice Kimball Smith wrote the following regarding the effectiveness of FAS in the 1940's and 1950's:

"In the Federation of American Scientists, the movement produced a watchdog over the relations of science and public policy that has done a good

deal over the years to protect science and scientists from attack and also, by providing a medium for self-criticism, from the temptations of their own success. By guarding the rights of a particular profession in a dangerous period in the 1950's the FAS contributed to the general cause of civil liberties. The impulse that produced the federation has also generated and fostered a series of projects to answer particular needs--the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, numerous non-government studies of arms control and defense--and has initiated one step toward agreement, the test ban treaty of 1963. Scientists with their finger on the pulse of power have sometimes tended to write off the FAS and its satellite activities as less effective than their own more direct pressure, but its ability to mobilize opinion in a time of crisis has been on many occasions a bulwark to their own influence."

### In the Nineties

In a later effort in the 1990's, to prevent yet another Maoist group from seizing power, FAS mounted a surprisingly effective campaign, publicly and privately, to win U.S. Government support to undermine the Sendero Luminoso movement in Peru. (A problem which FAS worked to resolve was the break in relations that was caused by an auto-coup by Peruvian President Fujimori.)

In 1990, FAS sought, by hosting the President of the Vietnamese Academy of Scientists, to start scientific exchanges with that country; this was the highest-ranking Vietnamese visitor to visit this country (with the exception of diplomats).

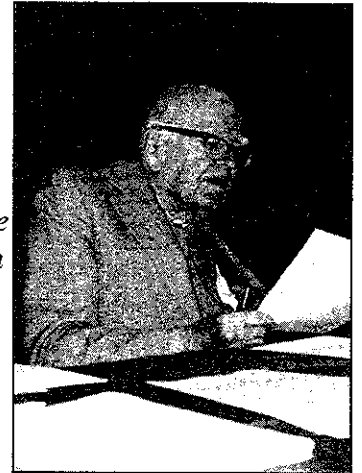
It also sent a representative to North Korea in efforts to defuse the North Korean effort to build an atomic bomb. FAS hosted, in 1994, a notable four-nation conference in Shanghai, of Americans, Chinese, Indians and Pakistanis, looking toward arms control in South Asia. A series of workshops with Russian scientists looking toward control of U.S.-Soviet atomic weapons was held during this period, often in co-sponsorship with the National Resources Defense Council (NRDC).

Beginning in the 1980's, FAS served as an incubator for talent that would move on to other organizations and even form them. In 1986, after working nine years at FAS on energy conservation, Deborah Bleiviss formed the International Institute of Energy Conservation, and serves today as its Executive Director. IIEC has branch offices in Asia and South America and works in conserving energy and recycling materials.

Similarly, after working seven years at FAS on nuclear weapons production and the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries, David Albright moved on to a career that founded his own Institute for Science and International Security (ISIS). In particular, he had helped FAS slow and halt the Brazil-Argentine drive to nuclear weapon status.

Others who have moved on from FAS to continue work in related areas include: Thomas Longstreth (FAS: 1987-1988), now serving as Principle Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy & Requirements in the Department of Defense; Gordon Burck (FAS: 1987-1990), now a leading analyst on chemical weapons for EAI, a Washington consulting firm; and Christopher Paine (FAS: 1981-1983) who is a senior manager of NRDC's nuclear non-proliferation program.

*John T. Edsall, FAS sponsor, turned 93 on the occasion of the FAS 50th Anniversary*



During this period, FAS won many endorsements of which some were:

"There is no other group that so truly represents the conscience of the American scientist as the FAS"--Jerome B. Wiesner, Science Advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. (This statement made in 1963 was reaffirmed by Wiesner in the 1970's and again before his death in 1994.)

"FAS is the best informed, hardest hitting science lobby in Washington...I can think of no other scientific organization that gets as much political punch per dollar as FAS"--Denis Hayes; Founder of Earth Day and Sun Day; former Director, Solar Energy Research Institute.

"Sakharov's release...was won only through ongoing pressure by the international scientific community (particularly the National Academy of Sciences in the United States and the Federation of American Scientists)"--Zhores Medvedev

"FAS has been extremely effective over the years because it is located in Washington, keeps on top of the issues and does its homework."--Matthew Meselson, Professor of Biochemistry and Molecular Biology.

"What Ralph Nader was to Detroit, the Federation has been to the Pentagon."--*WIRED Magazine* (November 1995).



*FAS STAFF (from left to right)*

First row: Alison Ames, David Andersen, Jeremy J. Stone, Lora Lumpe

Second row: Steve Aftergood, John Pike, Dorothy Preslar, Charles Vick

Third Row: Michael Panetta, Marcus Corbin, Paul Pineo

Absent are: FAS Comptroller Eleanor Jensen; Off-site Project Directors Frank von Hippel, Barbara Hatch Rosenberg and Stephen S. Morse; and a half dozen Cusp Project Leaders.

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