

sor Paul J. Flory, a Nobel laureate in chemistry, was formerly identified with the view that scientists should withdraw from the exchanges, but now sees a case for a revival of cooperation, although not on the old terms. Flory has been active

in the organization Scientists for Sakharov, Scharansky, and Orlov which was formed to promote human rights for scientists and advocated nonparticipation in exchanges with the Soviets.

Flory says he perceives a strong senti-

ment against resumption of the exchanges on past terms. He cites the widely held view among U.S. scientists that the Soviets profited much more from the program than did the United States. "We were so eager to get some-

Soviets Take Tougher Line on Human Rights

The position of Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov is a matter of growing disquiet among Western scientists concerned with issues of human rights and scientific freedom. Since Sakharov's relegation to the city of Gorky 3 years ago he reportedly has been the target of harassment, including the theft of research materials. Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner have suffered increasingly serious health problems—Sakharov has sought and been denied treatment in the Soviet academy clinic in the Moscow area after expressing mistrust of the care he would receive in Gorky, a closed city 250 miles east of Moscow.

The possibility of more serious punitive action by the Soviet government has been raised recently by the reaction to publication here in the summer issue of *Foreign Affairs* of a letter on nuclear arms policy written by Sakharov and smuggled from Gorky to the West. The letter is mainly an elaboration of the argument that nuclear war would lead inevitably to the destruction of the countries involved and possibly to the extinction of most life forms on earth. But Sakharov is also openly critical of the Soviet Union, for example, characterizing its policies since World War II as aggressive and suggesting that the United States might have to proceed with plans for deployment of the MX missile to induce the Soviets to enter meaningful arms control negotiations. Sakharov was condemned for the letter in a statement in the official newspaper *Izvestia* by four members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The attack concentrated on portions of the Sakharov letter they interpreted as anti-Soviet and the authors directly questioned his loyalty.

In May, Sakharov was the subject of contradictory reports, first that he would be permitted to leave the Soviet Union to teach in Vienna, and then a statement immediately following in the press that he would not be allowed to leave because of his knowledge of state secrets. Publicity given to the letter in *Foreign Affairs* is thought to indicate that Sakharov's position is now more precarious.

Evidence has been accumulating that Soviet authorities are also taking a generally harder line toward other dissidents and refuseniks. Government pressures appear to have prompted the disbanding last September of the Helsinki watch committee formed to monitor Soviet compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki accords signed in 1975.

An imprisoned former member of the group, human

rights activist Yuri Orlov, was reported to have suffered skull and brain injuries from a beating in the prison camp in the Urals where he is serving a 7-year sentence for anti-Soviet agitation. Details of how and when the injury occurred were not provided by authorities.

A new pattern is said to be emerging of the resentencing of "prisoners of conscience" as their terms near an end. A number of cases have been documented in which prisoners had their sentences extended or were sentenced as a result of new charges.

Since dissolution of the Helsinki watch committee, the only independent group that has operated fairly openly is

the Committee to Establish Trust Between the USSR and the U.S.A. Although some of its members have been arrested or expelled, the peace group puts the Soviets in an awkward position, since the Soviet government has applauded peace groups in Western countries which have criticized their governments and it would be unbecoming for the Soviets to squelch their own citizens' group.

General communications with the West appear to have been deliberately attenuated by the Soviets. For example, direct dial telephone service provided for the 1980 Olympics was reduced, then cut off. Reservations for calls to the Soviet Union from this country must now be made a week in advance during a 1-hour-a-day period.

And rates for calls from the Soviet Union have been raised to prohibitive levels.

Western visitors to Moscow report that official pressures have caused a withering of the so-called Sunday seminars held to enable refusenik scientists who have lost their posts to discuss scientific work and meet visiting Western scientists. Recent U.S. visitors say, however, that a mathematics-physics seminar apparently still meets, but only when foreign scientists are able to attend.

Discrimination against Jews who seek to emigrate appears to be growing more severe and systematic. Only about 2700 Jews were allowed to emigrate in 1982 compared with more than 51,000 in the peak year of 1979, and the rate is even lower so far this year. Refuseniks who are scientists and engineers now almost invariably lose their posts. Formation of an Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public and initiation of an "anti-Zionist" campaign are regarded as signs that the government is changing the relatively lenient conditions that permitted the exodus of the 1970's.—J.W.



Andrei Sakharov

A new controversy