

APPROVED FOR RELEASE: 2007/02/08: CIA-RDP82-00850R000200040006-9

4 JANUARY 1980

POLIT

(FOUO 1/80)

- RF >

1 OF 1

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/8841

4 January 1980

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 1/80)

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

For further information on report content
call (703) 351-2938 (economic); 3468
(political, sociological, military); 2726
(life sciences); 2725 (physical sciences).

COPYRIGHT LAWS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING OWNERSHIP OF
MATERIALS REPRODUCED HEREIN REQUIRE THAT DISSEMINATION
OF THIS PUBLICATION BE RESTRICTED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/8841

4 January 1980

USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS
(FOUO 1/80)

	PAGE
INTERNATIONAL	
Book Views U.S. Protest Movement in 1970's (R. Ye. Kantor; VOPROSY ISTORII, No 6, 1979)	1
REGIONAL	
Anticommunist Conjecture on USSR Nationality Relations Scored (T. Khydyrov; IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKMENSKOY SSR SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK, No 3, 1979)	7
Tenacity of Religion Among Turkmen Women Examined (O. Pal'vanova; IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKMENSKOY SSR SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK, No 4, 1979)	15
Legal Aspects of Union Republic Level Economic Planning Discussed (M. O. Khaitov; IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKMENSKOY SSR SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK, No 4, 1979)	24

- a -

[III - USSR - 35 FOUO]

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

INTERNATIONAL

BOOK VIEWS U.S. PROTEST MOVEMENT IN 1970'S

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII in Russian No 6, 1979 signed to press 5 Jun 79 pp 130-133

[R. Ye. Kantor review of book* on U.S. protest movements in the 1970's]

[Text] Published by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States and Canada, the collective monograph** is devoted to the complex of very acute and complicated questions of contemporary U.S. history. On the basis of an analysis of the country's socioeconomic and political position and with regard for the basic trends of the development of the United States since the war the authors aspire to determine the principal directions of the development of democratic movements and reveal on the basis of concrete material the specific features of each of them and the possibilities of the working people's joint struggle against monopoly capital.

The authors approach the phenomena they investigate from the standpoints of the historical method. They aspire to reveal the sources of the contemporary social struggle and turn repeatedly for this purpose to the recent and distant past. The book exposes the assertions of bourgeois historians, political pundits and sociologists who depict the "stormy" 1960's as a departure from the mainstream of U.S. development and who serve up the 1970's as the embodiment of "social harmony" under whose conditions the social protest movements are utterly without substance. The facts assembled in the book show that the democratic struggle and the social protest movements not only have not ceased but have in a number of areas even expanded and, in others, reached deeper down and in this connection acquired new forms and advanced new program and tactical requirements and principles.

*"Massovyye dvizheniya sotsial'nogo protesta v SShA (semidesyatyye body)" [Mass Social Protest Movements in the United States (1970's)], Moscow, Izd-vo Nauka, 1978, pp 344, print of 2,400. R1.80.

**Author collective: V. A. Voyna, I. A. Geyevskiy, Ye. N. Yershova, A. A. Popov, L. A. Salycheva and S. A. Chervonnaya. Executive editors: I. A. Geyevskiy and L. A. Salycheva.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The authors point out that despite the somewhat asynchronous nature of the demonstrations of different detachments of the mass struggle, they are all characterized by a common antimonopoly directivity. The 1970's have, as it were, taken up the baton of mass struggle which developed in the 1960's. Although the scale of the demonstrations and fighting speeches has declined since the start of the 1970's, the sources of social protest have not disappeared. The main point, as the book emphasizes, is that socioeconomic problems reflecting--directly or indirectly--the basic social antagonism of American society have come to the forefront in the 1970's. Such phenomena as a deepening of the "crisis of confidence" in business and the social policy of state-monopoly capitalism and the working people's refusal to be content with the illusory "equal opportunity" and the increasingly strong demand for "equal results" have appeared in the forefront of the struggle.

The authors are perfectly justified in devoting paramount attention to the workers movement--the main force opposing the domination of the monopolies (pp 34-35). The methodological foundation for the analysis of the processes occurring in the social psychology and class consciousness of American workers was V. I. Lenin's indication that under capitalism "poverty grows not in the physical but in the social sense, that is, in the sense of the lack of correspondence between the rising level of requirements of the bourgeoisie and the requirements of all of society and the living standard of the working people's masses."* Unfortunately, the question of the contemporary forms of the alienation of the worker's personality, which is extremely important for the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, is only outlined in the book (pp 64-66). And the position of the bourgeois sociologists and their approach, for example, to the problem of the nature of labor as exclusively technological deserved more thorough criticism.

The book traces the development of the militant trends in the U.S. working class (the union rank and file movement, increased strikes, particularly "wildcat" strikes--that is, those not authorized by the union leadership--the development of trends toward national unity and the strengthening of the antimonopoly direction). The authors raise in this connection the question of the politicization of the working class and the correlation of economic and political demands. The facts contained in the book afford, however, an opportunity of more pointedly posing the question of the class nature of the social policy of U.S. state-monopoly capitalism and, consequently, an intensification of the political nature of the various forms of social protest, which is a response to this policy which exposes the class import and true direction both of bourgeois reformism and at the same time "practical unionism" and similar concepts.

The authors justifiably emphasize the widening of the gulf "between the objective need for the development of the political struggle of the working

*V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 4, p 208.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

class and the political backwardness of the union movement" (p 74). Evidently, this problem is closely interwoven with the question of the struggle of trends in the U.S. workers movement, which, it seems to us, requires further elaboration. From this viewpoint it would be advisable, in our view, to examine certain aspects of the movement of rank and file union members, particularly its relations with the conservative policy of the union leaders. The retrospective analysis of the rank and file movement in the United States and its continuity with the demonstrations of the 1920's and 1930's is of interest. Describing the political policy "of the most reactionary union leaders in the political world" (p 75), the authors investigate the system of the AFL-CIO leadership's links with the state apparatus, show the union leadership's place in the political structure of state-monopoly capitalism and conclude that, thanks to this leadership's policy, "the unions have been put in a subordinate position in the American system of political power" (p 76). Further studies in this direction would appear very important.

The monograph analyzes the changes in the movement of American blacks compared with the 1960's. Despite the concessions made by the ruling circles, racial discrimination and segregation have not been eliminated, and the United States is still far from the point of racial equality. The imprint of racial discrimination is preserved in the social and professional structure, in the day-to-day practice of federal and state establishments and employers and municipal bodies and in labor relations and the schools. The blacks and chicanos (Americans of Mexican extraction) bear the particularly heavy brunt of economic crises. In examining the complex question of changes in the mass psychology of black Americans the authors are cautious in their assessments, and this is perfectly well founded, especially when it is considered that the negro movement is passing through a transitional period: new militant trends are maturing in it connected with the demand for "a radical improvement in the socioeconomic position of the black population" (p 125) being made of paramount importance, and a process of surmounting the sectarian-nationalist trends which gained prevalence at the end of the 1960's is underway (p 146). The chapter on the sociopolitical activeness of the chicanos is one of the first investigations of this problem. And the struggle for actual equality with white English-speaking Americans, primarily in the socioeconomic sphere, is increasingly occupying first place in the chicano movement.

Speaking of the antiwar movement in the United States in the 1970's, the authors rightly note the broadening of its social base (p 193) and the linking of antimilitarist demands with socioeconomic demands. Bourgeois sociologists (and, in unison with them, certain ultraleft sociologists of a predominantly Maoist persuasion) aspire to create the impression of the fruitlessness of the antiwar movement in the United States. The material of the monograph testifies that this mass movement forced the country's ruling circles to agree to definite concessions and reared a generation of fighters for peace and the security of the peoples. The book notes that this movement goes beyond the framework of traditional bourgeois pacifism

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

(p 193). It is particularly important that, despite the chauvinist posture of the union leaders, American workers are joining in the active struggle against the danger of war increasingly broadly.

The monograph continues the study of the student movement, which entered a new phase in the mid-1970's which differs considerably from the previous stage in intensiveness, in forms of activeness, in types of organization and in its political significance (p 237). The authors show that the government employed the entire might of the state apparatus against the "rebellious students." The moral-political discrediting of the student movement (as of other forms of social protest also) by government bodies represents a very important direction of reaction's offensive. The processes occurring in the student movement in the 1970's largely coincide with the general lines of the democratic struggle in the United States. The significance of socio-economic problems is growing, an aspiration to unity of action with other social protest detachments is strengthening, and new forms of struggle are appearing. It would seem that it would have been possible to have illustrated in greater detail the question of increased sociopolitical differentiation in the youth movement.

The mass movements of the United States in the 1970's are characterized by a shift of the center of activity to the local level, which in a certain sense reflects the priority of socioeconomic problems. To what has been said by the authors it may be added that leaders of the "new left movement"* themselves have also attempted to comprehend this fact, linking it with an aspiration to unite the community, express the sentiments of all strata of the population and oppose the oppression of the mighty corporations and state apparatus on a local level more accessible and close to the masses. "Undoubtedly, work at the local level," the book emphasizes, "is central for each movement. However, it produces few results if it is performed over a long period of time in isolation from the movement at a higher level" (p 211).

The authors also trace the broadening of the social base of the democratic struggle in the United States (p 281) in the example of the movement for equal rights for women, which "in the mid-1970's had become an important social phenomenon and had also begun to exert a definite influence on the country's political life" (ibid.) and also of the consumer-protection movement (consumerism). In general, neither of them go beyond the bourgeois-democratic framework. Nevertheless, the possibilities of a considerable extension of the antimonopoly front are embedded in them.

The book studies the question of the reserves of social maneuvering available to the American monopolies (p 26). In addition to economic resources, the ruling class has a powerful arsenal of means for political coercion

*St. Lynd, C. Alperowitz, "Strategy and Program. The Essay Toward a New American Socialism. Boston, 1973, pp XII-XIII.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

and manipulation of public consciousness. The two-party system continues to keep the working people's political activeness within the framework of bourgeois parliamentarianism. The tactic of separating social groups being pursued by the ruling class is also playing its part. The unity and fighting spirit of the working people is being undermined by the appeasing AFL-CIO leadership. The authors caution against an underestimation of the social reserves of state-monopoly capitalism and at the same time show that an exaggeration of the social possibilities of the monopoly state is also impermissible: the 1970's are graphic confirmation of this.

The book attempts to trace the interconnection of the democratic struggle in the United States with the process of the relaxation of international tension and to reveal the objective concurrence of the aims of the participants in the democratic movements and the tasks of the policy of detente (p 335).

An illustration of the position and role of the Communist Party of the United States occupies an important place in the monograph. The authors reveal the communists' struggle for the ideological liberation of the working class from bourgeois influence and for the strengthening of proletarian unity on the basis of struggle against monopoly capital. The communists proposed a practicable program of fighting unemployment at the start of the 1970's (p 72). Attaching great significance to the movement of rank and file workers, the Communist Party of the United States is participating actively in the creation of various groups of rank and file workers (p 86). Documents of the Communist Party of the United States (the "New Program" and material of its 21st congress, which was held in 1975) invariably stress the very close link between liberation of the blacks and the class struggle in the country (p 141) and determine the principal directions of the struggle of the national minorities and various detachments and strata of the American people. The 21st Communist Party of the United States Congress called on the working people to link the struggle for detente with the broad anti-monopoly struggle, make it a priority task of the mass democratic movement and make the utmost use to this end of the possibilities and prerequisites which have grown out of the previous stage of the antiwar movement. (pp 220-221).

The appeal of the Communist Party of the United States Central Committee March (1979) Plenum to American communists points out that the party is making the strengthening of the unity of the working class against the common class enemy, the strengthening of the coalition of antimonopoly forces, the creation of independent forms of political organization and the further development of the movement of black Americans against racism and

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

discrimination and for economic, political and social equality the center of the struggle.*

The book's entire material leads the reader to the conclusion that the social protest movements in the United States are caused not by transitory but long-standing factors which express "the general regularities of American capitalism and the capitalist system as a whole" (p 334). The monograph appreciably enriches our ideas about U.S. social life and at the same time helps us determine the most important directions of further study thereof.

*PRAVDA 18, 24 March 1970; DAILY WORLD 15, 22 March 1979. The urgent tasks of the struggle of the American proletariat are discussed in detail in G. Hall's report at the Communist Party of the United States Central Committee Plenum of 17-19 June 1978 (G. Hall, "Economic Struggles--The Decisive Arena, POLITICAL AFFAIRS, vol LVII, No 7, July 1978).

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Voprosy istorii", 1979

8850

CSO: 1800

6

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

REGIONAL

ANTICOMMUNIST CONJECTURE ON USSR NATIONALITY RELATIONS SCORED

Ashkhabad IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKMENSKOY SSR SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian No 3, 1979 signed to press 18 Jun 79 pp 3-9

[Article by T. Khydyrov: "Internationalism of the Socialist Way of Life and Criticism of Anticommunist Conjectures on USSR National Relations"]

[Text] One of the most important features of the socialist way of life which has taken shape in our country is the internationalism which permeates every sphere of activity of the Soviet people. It results from the internationalist nature of the socialist social system and first of all from socialist production relations; it is based on the uniformity of the social-class structure of all nations and nationalities of the country, on the communality of their spiritual outlook and Marxist-Leninist ideology.

On the basis of the socialist transformation of all aspects of social life and thanks to the actualization of a Leninist national policy in the Soviet Union, the national question has been completely and irreversibly resolved in those aspects of it inherited by us from the past. Only under socialist conditions has it become possible to resolve the national question successfully, as one of the most painful and dramatic problems in the history of mankind. "This," said L. I. Brezhnev, "is an achievement which can rightfully be placed among the ranks of such victories in building the new society in the USSR as industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution" ([bibliography reference] 4, p 50).

A voluntary alliance of free and equal peoples which is based on the fullest possible trust and a clear awareness of fraternal unity, an alliance of which V. I. Lenin dreamed and which he foresaw, has evolved and become firmly established in our country (1, p 43).

The great achievements of the Soviet people in building developed socialism, including actualization of a Leninist national policy, have been legislatively secured in the new USSR Constitution (3, pp 6, 16-17, 26, 29-30).

Quite understandably, bourgeois ideologues and anti-communists of all stripes are desperately trying to distort and falsify the great fruits of the Leninist national policy, to subvert the indestructible friendship of the peoples

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

of our country. By distorting the results of the Leninist national policy in the USSR, the ideological lackeys of the bourgeoisie are also trying to belittle the importance of the Soviet experience in the eyes of the peoples of both capitalist and developing countries. Unmasking the conjectures of bourgeois ideologues on the national question is therefore one of the important tasks of ideological work at the present stage of building communism.

Contemporary anti-communists are paying special attention to distorting the theoretical foundations of national policy in socialist society. In this regard, they declare nationalism and chauvinism to be an ineradicable phenomenon and the eternal attribute of nations, stemming, they say, from the biological nature of people. Such reactionary and essentially anthropological views in approaching the national question are preached in the writings of such venerable anti-communists as U.S. Presidential Advisor for National Security Zbigniew Brzezinski, Columbia University Professor E. Allworth, Harvard University Professor Hans Kahn, British anti-Soviet Jeffrey Willer, and others. It is therefore no accident that imperialist reaction is gambling especially heavily on kindling nationalism in its struggle against the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, against the international workers' and communist movement. Thus, anti-communists held a series of "scientific" conferences and symposiums to work out an ideological platform -- "smash communism using nationalism" -- in a number of U.S. cities in March-April 1972.

The ideological arms-bearers of monopolistic capital write that relations among socialist countries are based on concepts of nationalism and chauvinism. The comradely mutual assistance and fraternal cooperation of the socialist nations and the development of international features in the socialist way of life are depicted as an ignoring of national interests, as a policy of liquidating national peculiarities. Thus, for example, Harvard University Professor R. Pipes, a vehement anti-communist, wrote in his article "Reflections on the Nationality Question in the Soviet Union," in reference to the policy of the Soviet state with regard to economic development, that, "when planning economic development, Moscow is inclined to ignore national boundaries, viewing the USSR as a unified whole within which it permits special capital investments, but which result from administrative and economic considerations, never from ethnic ones" (8, p 463).

This slanderous assertion by R. Pipes is in glaring contradiction to actuality. While carrying out ambitious plans for creating the material and technical base of communism, the CPSU and Soviet state have paid the most careful attention to the interests of each republic, each nation and nationality, and have organically combined them with the interests of the entire Soviet nation as a whole.

One example of the harmonious combining of national interests with those of each Soviet republic would be the economic development of the Turkmen SSR. Such modern branches of industry as petroleum, oil refining, gas extraction, machine building, chemical, light and food, as well as building materials industry and others, have been created and developed successfully in the

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

republic. During the 60 years of Soviet power, the amount of industrial production in the Turkmen SSR has increased more than 75-fold. During this time, oil production has increased 114-fold. In 1977, the republic produced approximately six times more electric power in a single day as it produced in all of 1913 (see: 6, pp 27-29). All this is a result of the labor of not only the Turkmen people, but of all the peoples of our multinational country. Turkmenistan receives everything it needs for intensive development of all branches of its economy from the fraternal republics: machine tools and automatic production lines, tractors and vehicles, grain and potatoes from the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Belorussia; cotton-picking machines from Uzbekistan; coal from Karaganda and the Kuzbass; lumber from Siberia. In turn, Turkmenistan sends the fraternal republics petroleum and gas, sulfur and superphosphate, ventilators and oil pumps, cotton and silk, rugs, and much other industrial and agricultural output.

Under conditions of developed socialism, the economic cooperation of the socialist nations of the USSR has been elevated to a qualitatively new degree, taking on the form of unified aggregate labor within the framework of a single unionwide national economic complex and on a basis of an effective system of specialization and cooperation. "The economic and social progress of Soviet society," pointed out L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th Party Congress, "is the progress of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, Belorussia and Moldavia, and the Central Asian, Baltic and Transcaucasian republics. The single economic organism which has evolved within the framework of the country is the solid material foundation for the friendship and cooperation of the peoples" (2, p 46).

Speaking of the anti-communist fabrications about CPSU national policy, we must note the scientific groundlessness of the methodological principles of bourgeois sociology on this question, their metaphysical nature. Bourgeois ideologues tear the national question away from specific social conditions, and instead of a scientific analysis of the actual status of nations and national relations in socialist society, they concern themselves with gross falsification of these relations. Thus, American politicists R. Pipes and S. Brown ascribe the relations of mistrust and enmity between bourgeois nations, the growth of nationalism in the countries of monopolistic capitalism and in the developing countries, which are unavoidable consequences of the capitalist economic system, to the socialist countries as well and conclude that nationalism and friction between nations are eternal (9, p 21; 7, p 177).

The departure from reality is especially evident when the apologists for imperialism state the reality they wish were so. Thus, R. Pipes asserts in the article mentioned above that an "explosive situation" exists in the area of national relations in the USSR (8, p 464). And British anti-communist Arnold Toynbee goes even further, asserting that nationalism has gained the upper hand over communism in the USSR (13, p 29).

Their malicious hatred of communism and animal terror of the inescapable downfall of capitalism clearly do not permit its hired scribblers to analyze

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

objectively the reality of the modern era and to draw the correct conclusions from that reality. In this regard, bourgeois ideologues are closing their eyes and refusing to see that the socialist system in the USSR has ensured a true flowering of all nations and nationalities and established relations of fraternal mutual assistance and cooperation among them, that socialist internationalism has become a characteristic feature of their daily lives.

Also typical of the bourgeois ideologues is their concept of the international character of the socialist way of life as a rejection of the national, as national nihilism; they equate national to nationalistic. Thus, London University Professor H. Seton-Watson writes, "Soviet representatives praise the 'fraternity of socialist nations,' which, they say, has come to replace 'feudal' and 'bourgeois' nationalism. However, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians and the peoples of Central Asia continue to retain their own national cultures..." (12, p 5).

As is known, "national" and "nationalistic" are entirely different concepts. Whereas nationalism is a phenomenon profoundly foreign to the essence of socialism, what is national -- national language, national culture, progressive national traditions -- is preserved under socialism; it is transformed and developed under new conditions.

The mutual enrichment and mutual influence of the cultures of the socialist nations is a most important law of development of the culture of each socialist nation and of all Soviet culture. Therefore, there is every justification for saying that Soviet culture is a synthesis, an organic alloying of spiritual values created by all the peoples of our country.

One of the clearest expressions of the systematic internationalism of the socialist way of life in the USSR is the formation of the Soviet people, an historically new social and international community of people.

Formation of the Soviet people is declared by anti-communists, and in particular by Canadian Professor Theresa Rakovsk-Harmstow, American Professor S. Vardis and others, to be a confirmation of the forced assimilation and Russification of non-Russian nations and nationalities (10, p 1; 11, pp 32, 48).

Quite understandably, such assertions are in obvious conflict with reality. The formation of the Soviet people as a multinational social community in no way signifies the assimilation of nations and nationalities. In his report on 4 October 1977 at the USSR Supreme Soviet session which adopted the new Constitution, L. I. Brezhnev said: "The socio-political unity of the Soviet people does not at all signify a disappearance of national differences. In building socialism, thanks to consistent implementation of a Leninist national policy, we have simultaneously and for the first time in history successfully resolved the national question. The friendship of peoples is indestructible; during the course of building communism, they have grown steadily closer to one another and their spiritual lives have been mutually enriched. But we would be embarking on a dangerous path were we to begin to artificially force this objective process of bringing nations closer to one

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

another. V. I. Lenin insistently cautioned against this, and we will not deviate from his counsel" (5, p 525).

The Soviet people is the most brilliant model of a unifying of all classes, social groups and nations of a country into a single international community. At the basis of its formation lies the objective process of internationalizing social life during the course of building socialism and communism.

While speaking out against the artificial forcing of the process of bringing nations closer together, the CPSU at the same time "considers any attempts whatsoever to retard the process of bringing nations closer to one another, to impede it on any pretext, to artificially reinforce national isolation, to be impermissible, as it would contradict the general direction of development of our society, the internationalist ideals and ideology of communists, and the interests of building communism" (4, pp 63-64).

Under developed socialism and in connection with the increasingly broad process of exchanging material and spiritual values and intensifying the exchange of personnel among the Soviet republics, the multinationality of the population of each republic is growing. Thus, representatives of more than 100 nations and nationalities currently live in the Turkmen SSR. The collectives of all factories, plants, institutions and academic institutions, many kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the republic are also multinational.

In this regard, special stress should be placed on the fact that genuine comradeship and fraternal mutual assistance, and highly productive joint labor in the name of the victory of communism are characteristic of the moral and psychological atmosphere of multinational collectives, as of all labor collectives in Soviet society.

One example characterizing human relations in our labor collectives is the work experience of a weaver at the Ashkhabad Cotton Combine imeni Dzerzhinskiy, Heroine of Socialist Labor Ena Ovezova, a famous tutor who has brought up more than 50 young girls and transmitted to them the secrets of her production skill. Among her pupils have been Turkmens, Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars and representatives of other nationalities. Many of her former "wards" are now themselves production leaders and outstanding tutors of young people.

The principles of socialist internationalism are an integral feature of the way of life of members of socialist society. All this taken together repudiates the slanderous fabrications of the apologists of imperialism about the life of socialist nations in the USSR.

The demands of building communism require continued perfection of the entire system of educating workers, and especially the younger generation, in a spirit of communist consciousness, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, intensifying the struggle against manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

The patriotic and internationalist consciousness of the workers is developed by our entire life, by all the experience in building communism. "But here,"

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

as L. I. Brezhnev points out, "we also need the conscious efforts of the party and of all workers on the political-ideological front" (4, p 26). In order to do this, comprehensive use must be made of all the means, forms and methods of educational work.

Party and Komsomol political education are of exceptionally important significance to shaping the dialectical-materialist world-view of the workers, to rearing them in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. From this point of view, studying the theoretical theses advanced by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses on building developed socialism in our country, on its gradual growth into communism, on the international and national dialectic under conditions of socialism, on the Soviet people as a new historical and international community of people, and on the national pride of the Soviet man, in the political education network play an important positive role.

The works, speeches and appearances by L. I. Brezhnev, and in particular his works "Aktual'nyye voprosy ideologicheskoy raboty KPSS" [Pressing Problems of CPSU Ideological Work], "Dokaldy i vystupleniya o Konstitutsii SSSR" [Reports and Speeches on the USSR Constitution], and the books of memoirs, "Malaya zemlya" [Little Land], "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Lands], are an invaluable guide in the communist development of the workers, in the offensive struggle against reactionary bourgeois ideology, against reformism and revisionism of all stripes. Along with other very important theoretical and practical questions of building communism, they give a pivotal place to a thorough analysis and profound generalization of the processes of further flowering and rapprochement of socialist nations in all areas of the life of Soviet society. L. I. Brezhnev also describes the tireless activity of the CPSU to further strengthen the community of the fraternal countries of socialism, the unity of the international workers' and communist movement, and supporting all the revolutionary forces of today.

Socialist competition is an effective factor not only in economic development, but also in international and patriotic education. Fulfillment of state plans and socialist obligations by each enterprise, each brigade and each worker is at the same time fulfillment of a patriotic and international duty.

Socialist competition among union republics, between oblasts and cities, between one's own and related enterprises, and between individual workers of the fraternal republics, is of enormous importance.

Clubs of international friendship in the production collectives, VUZ's, tekhnikums and schools are an important means of international education.

One powerful means of cooperation among and rapprochement of socialist nations and the international education of the masses has become the Russian language.

Certain bourgeois ideologues, citing the fact that a broad range of people of non-Russian nationalities of the USSR know Russian, attempt to use this

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

to subvert the friendship of the peoples and would have them look on it as a threat to their national originality. Thus, American politician S. Brown slanderously depicts this fact as forced "Russification" and assimilation of non-Russian peoples (see: 7, p 177).

But in reality, full equality and the free development of the languages of all the country's peoples are ensured in the Soviet Union. Each member of society has the right to speak in any language and to have his children reared and taught in any language. According to the 1970 census, 90 to 99 percent of the indigenous-nationality population of the Soviet republics consider the language of their nationality one of their native languages and use it fluently in all spheres of social life.

The socialist, international character of the economy, political system and culture of the country, and the necessity for fraternal cooperation of the peoples, exchange of personnel and material and spiritual values have objectively resulted in the transformation of Russian into the language of international intercourse and cooperation. Very rich values of scientific, artistic, technical and other branches of spiritual culture have been and are being created in Russian. The best achievements of the spiritual culture of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and world civilization have been and are being translated into Russian. Thanks to this, Russian provides access to the invaluable treasure-houses of all world culture. That is why millions and tens of millions of people of the country's non-Russian nationalities are voluntarily studying Russian. It is remarkable that, according to the 1970 census, in addition to the Russians themselves, who comprise 53 percent of the country's population, 13 million people of non-Russian nationalities called Russian their native language and 42 million fluent in it called it their second native language.

As the internationalization of all aspects of social life under conditions of developed socialism continues, the social role of Russian as an effective instrument of international intercourse and cooperation, an effective tool for the international development of members of society, will increase more and more.

The more than 60 years of historical experience in developing the Soviet nation en route to socialism and communism have irrefutably proven that the genuine happiness and flowering of all of the upwards of 100 nations and nationalities of our homeland have been linked to the party of Lenin and to its guiding and directing activity. And no attempts or slanderous fabrications of any kind whatsoever by anti-communists are capable of causing any wavering of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, which friendship has become a moving force in the onward movement of the Soviet society on the path towards communism.

Department of Philosophy and Law, Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences

Date of Receipt: 29 January 1979

13

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Lenin, V. I. "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40.
 2. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976.
 3. "Konstitutsiya (Osnovnoy Zakon) Soyuzo Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik" [Constitution (Basic Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics], Moscow, 1977.
 4. Brezhnev, L. I. "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" [Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 4, Moscow, 1974.
 5. Brezhnev, L. I. "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" [Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978.
 6. Gapurov, M. G. "Sovetskiy Turkmenistan" [Soviet Turkmenistan], Moscow, 1978.
 7. Brown, S. "New Forces in World Politics," Washington, 1974.
 8. "Ethnicity Theory and Experience," Cambridge, Mass., 1975.
 9. "Nationalities and Nationalism in the USSR. A Soviet Dilemma," edited by Carl A. Linden and Dimitri K. Simes, Washington, 1977.
 10. PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, Vol 23, No 3, 1974.
 11. PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, Vol 24, No 5, 1974.
 12. THE JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, Vol 6, No 1, 1971.
 13. Toynbee, A. "The Import of the Russian Revolution, 1917-1967," London, 1970.
- COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Ylym", "Izvestiya Akademii nauk Turkmenskoy SSR, seriya obshchestvennykh nauk", 1979

11052
CSO: 1800

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

REGIONAL

TENACITY OF RELIGION AMONG TURKMEN WOMEN EXAMINED

Ashkhabad IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKMENSKOY SSR SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian No 4, 1979 signed to press 7 Aug 79 pp 13-19

[Article by O. Pal'vanova: "Some Results of a Specific Sociological Study of the Level of Religious Belief Among Women in the Turkmen Village"]

[Text] Marx and Engels, discussing the fact that all forms of social consciousness, including religion, are subject to changes, commented: "It is obvious that with every great historical upheaval in the system of society, there also takes place an upheaval in people's views and concepts, including their religious views" [1, page 211].

Undermining of the social roots of religion as a result of the victory of socialism in this country and the fact that mass atheism has become an inseparable part of the spiritual and intellectual countenance of Soviet citizens is corroboration of this. Profound socioeconomic and cultural reforms, involvement of the toiler masses in building a new life, and the party's considerable ideological and indoctrinational work have resulted in tens of millions of people making a permanent break with religion.

However, in spite of the mass withdrawal of Soviet citizens from religion and their acceptance of a scientific philosophical position, due to objective and subjective causes there still remain a certain number of people who are not free of religious beliefs and traditions; they are particularly numerous among women. Studies conducted in various parts of this country attest to the fact that women comprise approximately 70-80% of all religious believers [9, page 37; 7, page 124].

According to very recent studies, women comprise 89.8 and men 10.2% of religious believers in Novozybkovskiy Rayon, Bryanskaya Oblast, while the figures for Novozybkov are 87 and 13% respectively [5, page 93]. A substantial difference is also observed in degree of religious belief among men and women [2, page 232; 3, 137; 6, page 94].

Another reason the problem of overcoming religious faith among women is one of the principal tasks of atheist indoctrination under present-day conditions is that women, as we know, play a special role within the home and family,

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

in the upbringing of the younger generation. Woman's functions as mother and educator of children inevitably result to one degree or another in implanting her own philosophy in the new generation. Scientists correctly believe that the problem of overcoming religious beliefs in general involve to a considerable degree overcoming religious beliefs among women. All this places before theory of scientific atheism and practical atheist indoctrination of women a number of fundamental problems, makes the study of religious faith among women an important task, and makes their atheist indoctrination a task of practical necessity.

For a purposeful and effective campaign against religious faith, it is important to know the degree and status of religious belief, the character and forms of its manifestation, and to investigate the sociopsychological, domestic and other causes promoting its retention, as well as trends of change. It was precisely with this objective that we conducted a sociological study of religious faith among Turkmen rural women. Our study centered on the Sovet Turkmenistany Kolkhoz of Gyaurskiy Rayon, the Mir and Leningrad kolkhozes of Ashkhabadskiy Rayon.

We used lists of registered voters as the most suitable basis for selecting persons for our survey. We employed the selective questionnaire technique, with a questionnaire to be filled out by one out of every five women on the kolkhoz 18 years of age and older, which provided a 20% sampling. We prepared an anonymous-subject survey questionnaire, the principal feature of which was its comprehensive nature. It contained, alongside questions pertaining to personal philosophy, special questions pertaining to type identification of the subject (sex, age, level of education, family status, etc). All this made it possible to classify as an aggregate the philosophical orientation of the women surveyed and the degree of a subject's ideological maturity in relationship with her practical activities and living conditions.

The questionnaire contained a total of 42 questions of an obvious and non-obvious nature. Each question was paired with multiple-choice answers, on the basis of which one could judge the depth and firmness of the religious convictions of the women surveyed.

The questionnaires were prepared in the Turkmen language in order to eliminate any language barrier and to achieve mutual understanding and trust. A large number of women were surveyed in order to create an atmosphere of greater sincerity. A total of 700 questionnaires were distributed, with 630 returned. Other methods of sociological investigation were also extensively employed in addition to the questionnaire: observation, personal interview, and study of current materials of the party and public organizations of the rayons. A household-by-household tour was also made in order to study the women's living conditions, the level of their cultural requirements and interests.

We know that one of the central items of the method of concrete study of religious carryovers in any social group is the question of criteria of religious faith: who should be considered a religious believer and on what

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

criteria should that person be distinguished from the nonbeliever or waverer? In determining criterion of religious belief we took into consideration both subjective indications (content and level of religious consciousness) as well as objective indicators (religious behavior of subjects). The religious consciousness of believers, not their behavior was the principal component of these two indicators, but objective data served as a supplement or detailing of a person's actual attitude toward religion [10, page 21].

We also took into account the fact that different types of religious behavior can be connected to a differing degree with religious consciousness. Some may be of an accustomed, automatic nature, others may be performed under the influence of public opinion, while still others may be motivated by needs of an emotional-aesthetic character. Therefore in order to acknowledge a given action as religious, we had one criterion in mind -- to what degree was this act connected with a person's religious views, that is, oriented on those behavioral actions which could not be caused by non-religious motives [12, page 110].

Since religious consciousness and religious behavior are a complex aggregate of different elements, we took into consideration in determining the criteria of religious belief the principal and nonprincipal components of religious consciousness, the principal and nonprincipal forms of religious behavior. We considered belief in God or in some other supernatural force to be the main subjective indicator of religious belief, while everything else (belief in life after death, immortality of the soul, etc) was secondary. As regards religious behavior, we considered those actions which are performed only from religious motives to be the principal forms.

Analysis of the obtained information made it possible to isolate the following philosophical groups or types of female religious believers on the basis of their attitude toward religion and atheism: atheists -- 9.2%; non-believers -- 28.7%; waverers and indifferent -- 25.4%; religious believers -- 31.4%; strong religious believers -- 5.3%.

The study indicated that there exists a difference in degree of religious belief of women in relation to age, level of education and occupation (Table 1).

Table 1. Correlation Between Philosophical Belief Categories and Age Groups

Typological Group	Above 60	51-60	41-50	31-40	18-30
Strong religious believers	32.2	9.4	9.8	-	-
Religious believers by tradition	51.6	75.0	52.7	25.7	-
Wavering and indifferent	15.8	12.5	24.4	45.5	22.3
Nonbelievers	3.3	3.5	15.3	19.2	63.7
Atheists	-	-	3.8	10.6	14.0

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

According to the table, the degree of secularization of these women is in an inverse relationship to age. The most strongly religious women are observed in the age group from 51 to 60 and older. This is quite understandable, since this age group contains for the most part low-literacy individuals, most of whom are retirement-age.

We should like to draw attention to the last age group -- young women between the ages of 18 and 30. Typically these are women who are married and under the conservative influence of the husbands parents and relatives primarily in matters of family ethics, morality and traditions. Many of them are housewives who do not participate in socially useful labor and who have a low level of education. As a result 22.3% of this category are waverers, in whom as they grow older there will take place a differentiation of views "by shifting to a position of denial or a position of approval of religion" [11, page 43].

What we are saying here is that alongside the existing view of scientists that the category of religious waverers is a transitional category from faith to absence of faith, there is also another quite correct category in which some waverers on the contrary move from absence of faith to faith: while nonbelievers in their youth, as they enter old age, under the influence of various factors (low level of literacy, loneliness, little social activity) they join the ranks of the believers if appropriate work is not done with them (Table 2). Consequently the existence of waverers among young women is an extremely undesirable factor, which demands great attention on the part of atheists.

Table 2. Correlation Between Levels of Religious Belief and Education Among Women

Typological Group	Illiterate and Semi-literate	Elementary	Seven-Year	Secondary	Higher
Strong religious believers	22.0	-	-	-	-
Religious believers by tradition	56.1	43.7	22.6	12.4	-
Wavering and indifferent	21.9	27.1	35.7	19.6	-
Nonbelievers	29.2	29.2	47.1	57.7	40
Atheists	-	-	-	10.3	60

As is evident from the table, religious belief among women is in an inverse relationship to level of education, that is, the number of female religious believers decreases as educational level rises.

Studies have also shown that the process of secularization takes place more rapidly in those social strata of females who experience to the greatest degree the influence of socialist production collectives, scientific and technological advance, and socialist culture. For example, among the rural intelligentsia (teachers, medical personnel) there were no religious believers whatsoever, while waverers or vacillators comprise the majority of religious believers among blue-collar and white-collar workers. The

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

percentage of religious believers is high among retired females (96.6%) and housewives (34.4% religious believers and 34% waverers).

For a more detailed investigation of the process of overcoming religious carryovers, it is very important to know the state of religious consciousness of female religious believers, the character of religious conceptions, the degree of their depth and stability, and trends of change. Proceeding from this, in this sociological investigation we sought to determine the women's concept and view of the world, natural phenomena, as well as their attitude toward religious ceremonies and rituals. Analysis of this data will indicate those areas in which atheist efforts among the female population should be focused.

As already noted, belief in God is considered the principal subjective criterion of religious belief. God is the essential ideological foundation, the beginning and end of religious belief of every contemporary believer. It is not surprising that former religious believers testify that they became atheists only when they became convinced that there is no God [4, page 8]. While remaining very persistent and tenacious, the idea of God undergoes changes in the consciousness of female religious believers. Typical of women's religious concepts of God is an increasing interweave of traditional dogmatic elements with spontaneous and scientific-materialistic elements.

According to the results of the study, women perceive of God as follows: anthropomorphically -- 14.9%; in the form a spirit -- 12.8%; in the form of nature -- 2.3%; doubt the existence of God -- 13.9%; cannot picture God -- 56.1%. It is characteristic that the majority of women (56.1%) cannot picture God at all. These are obviously women who are on the path from belief to absence of belief, as well as women who believe that to picture God is sinful; during an interview they are reluctant to respond to this question. Evidently for them the idea of God is not a subject for reflection or meditation but an object of faith, which once again confirms the traditional character of their religious belief. Departure of a significant percentage of religious believers from the Islamic interpretation of the object of their worship, a lack of well-defined concepts of God as well as doubts about his existence constitute vivid evidence of a gradual breakdown of the religious views of these women.

An important indicator of the religious faith of female believers is the idea of the immortality of the soul, belief in the existence of hell and heaven, and a conceptual idea of these places. According to the study 53% of the women believe in immortality of the soul, 23.4% do not believe, while 22.8% have doubts. As for their concept of heaven and hell, one notes in these women the absence of a clear-cut picture of life after death.

As studies indicate, religious and scientific concepts of the world interweave in the consciousness of rural female religious believers, although these concepts are diametrically opposite: 22.8% of women believe that the world is eternal and was not created by anybody; 35.0% believe that the world was created by God, and 42.2% had difficulty answering this question.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Religious concepts of nature proved to be the most vulnerable in the consciousness of these women: the majority of subjects pointed to natural causes of natural phenomena. Here also practical activity is the main thing, which gradually breaks down the concept of female religious believers about nature. Emphasizing the important role of man's practical activities and knowledge in overcoming religion G. V. Plekhanov wrote that "a religious ideology is an ideology of ignorant people. It is grounded on ignorance. But the boundaries of the unknown narrow as man's control over nature increases; when man is able to influence without prayer but by means of technical action, he ceases to pray" [8, page 61].

Study of the consciousness of female religious believers indicated that they have no systematized understanding of the teachings of Islam. Almost all surveyed subjects replied in the negative to the question of whether they were acquainted with religious literature and whether they understood its meaning and content.

Of course the data presented here is only approximate, since the women did not give frank and candid replies to all the questions on the questionnaire. They do, however, characterize the overall picture of religious belief to a certain degree.

The religious consciousness of female religious believers finds expression in the performance of religious rites. We should note that of the three elements of the religious complex (ideological, psychological, and worship), the worship or cult element, with its complex rites and ceremonies, is the most widespread in Islam.

Namaz is one of the five basic demands imposed by Islam on its followers. Only 15% of the women regularly observe namaz, however, and these are for the most part women of advanced years. Women read prayers most frequently for their calming effect or by tradition, and least frequently due to fear of divine punishment or to receive forgiveness for sins, and this also is evidence of diminishing religious component in a woman's consciousness. There is no need to state what harm fasting causes the organism. According to our studies, however, approximately 40% of all women observe fast, although its regular observance is characteristic only of women of advanced years. A small number of young women observe fasting by habit or under pressure by those around them.

The Islamic holiday of Kurban-Bayram is considered to be an important event for female religious believers; it was determined that 85.5% of women observe this holiday. Facts indicate that participants include many female nonbelievers, young people, and even some members of the intelligentsia. Motivation to celebrate this holiday is as follows: women and adults are drawn by the solemnity of the occasion, the holiday mood, the opportunity to visit other homes and entertain guests, as well as tasty holiday dishes. In addition they enjoy wearing their most attractive clothes, going out, swinging on the traditional swing, and particularly engaging in social intercourse.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

One widely practiced religious ritual in our republic is the sunnet (circumcision). This ritual is harmful not only in its essence, constituting a means of setting peoples of the Moslem faith apart from people of other faiths, but also because, when performed in unsanitary conditions, it is a threat to the child's health. Nevertheless our study indicated that many women (88.9%) consider it to be essential, explaining that it is a national custom which serves as a sign of the Moslem faith. Manifested here is the historically established sociopsychological factor of identification of national and religious affiliation. In addition, in recent years there has appeared another view on the necessity of the sunnet -- its alleged hygienic benefit.

A special place among the religious carryovers of Islam is occupied by religious funeral ceremonies, which involve considerable expenditures. These customs, however, which are connected with the loss of dear one, subsequent grief and the desire somehow to lighten that grief, are very tenacious. A total of 93.4% of the women surveyed replied in the affirmative to the question of whether they consider the religious funeral and religious funeral feast ritual to be necessary. And the majority of these women are religious non-believers.

Religious carryovers are also manifested in the religious wedding ceremony, which 85.1% of the women consider essential. In the interview they explain it as follows: "Our forefathers did it this way, and this ceremony does not hurt anybody."

In the process of the sociological survey we selectively visited the homes of village women and discovered the presence of religious objects (small felt prayer rugs -- namazlyk -- amulets affixed above the doors, bunches of children's hair hanging in a prominent place, etc). Approximately 60% of the women believe they have a supernatural force, while the remainder motivated their presence in the home as a matter of tradition or respect for religious parents. Thus the religious consciousness of female religious believers lacks continuity and integrity; religious beliefs are becoming deformed, are weakening and in the final analysis ceasing to play the role of principal motivations in their lives. The most important factor here is not convictions but rather the emotional-psychological aspect, linked with rituals and traditions.

Synthesis of the results of this study enables us to draw certain conclusions and to offer several recommendations.

Atheist indoctrination of women should pursue the goal of raising their level of education, culture, Communist consciousness, involvement in social-labor and political activity, and improvement of living conditions.

Analysis of the religious consciousness of women indicated that the religious ritual element is still strong, that the majority of women adhere to conservative religious traditions, equating them with national and folk traditions. For this reason there is an obvious need to step up efforts in the campaign against reactionary Moslem religious practices and successful propoganda of new secular rituals and practices.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

As we have stated, the degree of religious faith varies among the different female age groups: religious belief is insignificant among young women and quite substantial among the middle-aged and old; it is much greater among semiliterate women. Consequently we must draw up long-range plans for the atheist indoctrination of women which specify atheist indoctrination of women of different age groups: elderly, middle-aged, and young. An entire system of measures must be elaborated separately for each of these groups, taking into account the features of age and level of education; single women, widows and pensioners should be singled out and surrounded with care and attention.

In order to raise scientific-atheist efforts among women to the level of contemporary demands, it is essential to improve the training of atheist cadres, particularly female cadres. Propaganda of atheism should be conducted in a sophisticated manner, with an understanding of the psychology of Turkmen women.

In connection with the fact that in the village there are many women the entire sphere of activities of whom is limited to running a household, one should extensively work on an individual basis with female religious believers, as well as performance of atheist propaganda within the village. The mass information media should devote greater attention to atheist indoctrination of women.

Studies indicate that conservative public opinion is an important factor supporting religious faith among females. In connection with this it is essential to strengthen the role of rural Communists, Komsomol members, intelligentsia, as well as women's councils, village meetings, and especially the tried and proven councils of elders, which can do much toward shaping progressive public opinion in the village and strengthening the new Communist principles in village life.

Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences,
Division of Philosophy and Law

Submitted 23 January 1979

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Marks, K. and Engel's, F. "Soch." [Writings], Vol 7.
2. Alekseyev, N. P. "Reasons for the Retention of Religious Belief in the Psychology of the Kolkhoz Peasantry and Ways to Overcome It," in the volume "Kollektiv kolkhoznikov" [Collective of Kolkhoz Farmers], Moscow, 1970.
3. "Voprosy nauchnogo ateizma" [Problems of Scientific Atheism], Issue 4, Moscow, 1967.
4. Duluman, Ye. K. "Ideya boga" [The Concept of God], Moscow, 1970.
5. Konovalov, B. N., and Novikov, V. I. "Chelovek, svobodnyy or religii" [Man Free of Religion], Tula, 1977.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

6. Orlov, A. "Investigation of the Process of Secularization in Tatar Villages," in the volume "Voprosy nauchnogo ateizma" [Problems of Scientific Atheism], Issue 16, Kazan', 1974.
7. Pismanik, M. G. "On the Status of Religious Belief and Certain Features of Scientific-Atheist Indoctrination Among Women," in the volume "Konkretno-sotsiologicheskoye izucheniye religioznosti i opyta ateisticheskogo vospitaniya" [Concrete Sociological Study of Religious Belief and Atheist Indoctrination], Moscow, 1969.
8. Plekhanov, G. V. "Izbrannyye filosofskiye proizvedeniya" [Selected Philosophical Writings], in five volumes, Vol 3, Moscow, 1957.
9. Teplyakov, M. K. "Problemy ateisticheskogo vospitaniya v praktike partiynoy raboty" [Problems of Atheist Indoctrination in Practical Party Work], Voronezh, 1972.
10. Ugrinovich, D. M. "On Criteria of Religious Belief and Their Application in the Process of Sociological Studies," VFSTNIK MGU. FILOSOFIYA, No 4, 1967.
11. Chernyak, V. A. "Plany sotsial'nogo razvitiya kollektivov i ateizm" [Plans of Social Development of Collectives and Atheism], Alma-Ata, 1974.
12. Yablokov, I. N. "Metodologicheskiye problemy sotsiologii religii" [Methodological Problems of Sociology of Religion], Moscow, 1972.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Ylym", "Izvestiya Akademii nauk Turkmenskoy SSR, seriya obshchestvennykh nauk", 1979

3024
CSO: 1800

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

REGIONAL

LEGAL ASPECTS OF UNION REPUBLIC LEVEL ECONOMIC PLANNING DISCUSSED

Ashkhabad IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKMENSKOY SSR SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian No 4, 1979 signed to press 7 Aug 79 pp 3-12

[Article by M. O. Khaitov: "Constitutional Principles of Directing the Economy of a Union Republic (Based on Materials on the Turkmen SS)"]

[Text] The new USSR Constitution and the 1978 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR adopted in conjunction with it devote considerable attention to direction of the socialist economy. This is fully in conformity with the conditions and requirements of development of the socialist society.

It was specially noted at the 25th CPSU Congress that "the nature of the tasks connected with building the material and technological foundation for communism makes it essential to deal in greater detail in the Constitution with the principles of direction of the national economy" [3, page 86]. Pursuant to the congress resolutions, the new constitutions of the union republics clearly define the principles of guidance and direction of the economy of developed socialism.

Previous constitutions lacked this. In the first Constitution of the Turkmen SSR, in 1927, for example, guidance and direction of the economy was not formally stated in any substantial manner. Only Article 21 pointed out that "general supervision of all policy and the economy, as well as establishment of a plan for the entire economy and its individual branches and sectors within this republic shall be exercised by the All-Turkmen Congress of Soviets and the Turkmen Central Executive Committee of Soviets" [5, pp 573-588].

Obviously under conditions where socialism had not yet been built and where private-ownership capitalism and small-scale production still played a substantial role in the economy, constitutional regulation of state supervision and guidance of economic development could not but be of a limited character.

In conformity with the historical situation of that period, the 1927 Constitution specified as the principal task of the Soviet state guaranteeing the dictatorship of the urban and aul proletariat, implemented on the basis of an alliance with the toiling peasantry, for the purpose of complete neutralization of the bourgeoisie and elimination of man's exploitation by man [5, Article 1].

24

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The foundations of a socialist system had been built in the USSR by the mid-1930's; the socialist system in the economy had become totally dominant; private ownership of the implements and means of production and man's exploitation of man had been totally eliminated; industrial output volume had increased enormously; tremendous success had been achieved in accomplishing the economic tasks specified in the First Five-Year Plan.

Article 4 of the 1937 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR stated that "a socialist economic system and socialist ownership of the implements and means of production comprise the economic foundation of the Turkmen SSR" [6, pp 443-468]. Article 11 of the Constitution stated that economic life in the Turkmen SSR was defined and guided by the state economic plan. Questions pertaining to direction of the socialist economy also found reflection in the competence of top-level agencies of government authority and administration of the Turkmen SSR (articles 19, 44). It is true that the term "direction of the economy" proper did not appear in the 1937 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR.

In the years following adoption of the 1936 USSR Constitution and 1937 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR, a developed socialist society was built, the first in the history of mankind, through the heroic labor of the Soviet people, guided by the CPSU; this fact was fully and comprehensively expressed and formally stated in the 1977 USSR Constitution and in the constitutions of the union republics adopted in conformity with the USSR Constitution.

A mature socialist society is developing on a proper foundation. The nation's economy has entered a new stage of development, characterized by a number of distinctive features [see 13].

A powerful economic complex has been established and is successfully operating in the USSR, a complex which is developing on the foundation of combination of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system. Under these conditions the responsibility of each union republic for prompt quantitative and qualitative fulfillment of economic plans and adopted socialist pledges is increasing sharply. The successes and failures of each individual union republic in accomplishing economic tasks affect the development of the other republics. The prosperity of the Turkmen SSR, for example, depends not only on successful work by its toilers but also on the work performed by the toilers of Siberia, the Bashkir ASSR, the machine builders of Moscow, Gor'kiy, etc.

It was emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress that "economic ties between the union republics will become considerably stronger within the framework of the unified economy of the USSR" [3, page 151]. This in turn will constitute a solid material foundation for friendship and cooperation of peoples.

Formation of a unified economic complex is an objective pattern which proceeds from the material conditions of building socialism and communism in a multinational country. In the process of establishing the material and technological foundation of communism, productive resources and economic links increasingly grow beyond the boundaries of individual areas

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

and republics and require interrepublic and nationwide forms of utilization and development. Development of the socialist economy as a unified economic complex ensures the most efficient distribution of the country's productive resources. Today, when the task of equalizing the levels of economic development of the union republics in the USSR has been basically accomplished, we are able to approach matters of economic development primarily from the standpoint of the interests of the state as a whole and increasing the efficiency of the entire national economy, taking into account the specific interests of the union and autonomous republics.

The 1978 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR, in precise conformity with the 1977 USSR Constitution [4, articles 10, 15, 16], contains a detailed description of the goals, tasks and functions of the state as regards direction of the economy, and for the first time presents a political-legal definition of the economy as a complex dynamic system which is a determining factor in the entire economic foundation of the USSR.

The economy is the most important and determining component of society's development. Socialist ownership of the means of production in the form of state (owned by all the people) and kolkhoz-cooperative ownership comprises the foundation of the economic system [7, Article 10].

Article 16 of the Constitution states that the economy of the Turkmen SSR is a component part of the unified national economic complex, which encompasses all elements of societal production, distribution and exchange on the territory of the USSR [7]. This signifies strict centralization in direction and guidance of the economy and subordination of all its components to common tasks and goals.

The entire national economy complex, the entire economic mechanism of the socialist state is in the final analysis directed toward satisfying people's needs. Their interests are the goal of societal production. This republic's Constitution defines the highest goal of societal production under socialism as well as the necessity of improving the forms and methods of direction and guidance of the economy. Article 15 states, for example, that the highest goal of societal production under socialism is fullest satisfaction of the people's growing material and spiritual needs.

The 1978 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR formally states that the republic contains a developed economic base, spells out the powers of the Turkmen SSR in the person of its highest agencies of state authority and control in implementing a unified socioeconomic policy, as well as the basic principles of direction and guidance of the economy.

The Turkmen SSR, within the framework of a unified economic complex, secures within its territory elaboration and ratification of the republic's state economic and social development plans and the state budget [7, articles 141, 142, 148].

Thus the provisions of the constitution clearly reflect the link and inter-relationship of national and republic economic interests.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The 1978 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR formally stated the most important principles of direction and guidance of a national economy of developed socialism, which ensure the forward development of the socialist economy, strengthening of its link with science, and expressing new capabilities of purposeful influence by the socialist state on economic and social development.

The provisions formally stated in the Constitution show a substantial broadening of the scope and boundaries of constitutional regulation of direction and guidance of the economy under conditions of a mature socialist society. These constitutional provisions are of great and fundamental importance and clearly reflect the contemporary stage in development of the economy of the USSR.

With the present level of socialization of production and with the existence of complex close interlinks among the numerous components of the nation's economy, normal functioning and development of the socialist economy is inconceivable without a smoothly-running mechanism of economy planning and management, organized on a nationwide scale. A socialized state of all the people provides such a mechanism [see 12].

Of basic importance for direction and guidance of the economy are the general principles of organization and activity of the Soviet state, which are stated formally in the Constitution and which express the genuinely democratic essence of the political system of the developed socialist society.

These general principles include democratic centralism, socialist rule of law, participation by the masses in government, and socialist internationalism [20, page 3]. They are characteristic of government administration as a whole. At the same time, Chapter 2 of the 1978 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR establishes more concrete principles of direct supervision and direction of the economy, which include: socialist planning, a combination of centralized direction and economic independence of enterprises and associations, and a democratic character of direction and guidance of the socialist economy.

V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party attached enormous importance to planning. In particular, V. I. Lenin stated that "organization of record keeping, oversight over the major enterprises, and transformation of the entire state economic mechanism into one big machine, into an economic mechanism which operates so that hundreds of millions of people are guided by a single plan" are essential [2, page 7].

The 25th CPSU Congress pointed to the necessity under present-day conditions of securing substantial improvement in planning. Our country was the first to follow the policy of planned direction of the economy. Further improvement of the planning mechanism is taking place under the conditions of a developed socialist society. There is an extensive system of annual, five-year and long-term state plans, which take into account the needs and capabilities of the nation's economy. At the present time, under conditions

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

of rapid scientific and technological advance and in conformity with the enormous scale of the nation's economy, the Communist Party has advanced a new task -- to raise planning activities to a qualitatively higher level.

L. I. Brezhnev noted in his report at the November (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum that "it is essential to raise the practical work of planning and economic agencies to the level of those high demands imposed by party directives pertaining to accomplishment of current economic tasks.... The new tasks demand new solutions and an innovative approach to organization of all planning work" [10, page 15].

V. I. Lenin stated that "elaboration of national economic plans must be performed "both from above and from below. "...The principle of 'only from below' is an anarchic principle" [1, page 244].

Centralized planning of development of the economy is one of the most important factors in establishment and development of the material and technological foundation of communism. In conformity with the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress, centralized direction of economic planning is grounded on improvement of the unified system of state plans of economic and social development of the USSR and the union republics, fuller combination of branch and territorial planning, and elaboration of comprehensive programs on the most important scientific and technical problems.

The 1978 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR specifies that direction of the economy is effected on the basis of the republic's state economic and social development plans, taking into account branch and territorial planning (Article 16). In addition, there is a special chapter entitled "State Economic and Social Development Plan for the Turkmen SSR," which contains a number of articles dealing with the basic principles and rules, procedure of preparation, adoption and execution of the Turkmen SSR state economic and social development plan [7, articles 139-144] and the state budget [7, articles 145-150].

The principal function of state planning is securement of dynamic and balanced development of the economy both in the long-term and short-term future.

We should note that legal literature, especially in recent years, has contained numerous statements on the necessity of drafting a national-level legal instrument dealing with planning [11, page 3; 14, page 10; 16, page 89; 17, page 16; 18; 19; 20, page 3; 21, page 127]. Obviously promulgation of such a Law has assumed particular importance with adoption of the new Constitution. The provisions of the 1977 USSR Constitution constitute the legal basis of the USSR Law on Planning. Its adoption will promote not only elimination of the multiplicity of legal enactments which regulate planning and which in some cases contain contradictions, but will make it possible to secure stability of legislative regulation of all planning work and strengthening of its role in increasing the efficiency of societal production and in strengthening socialist rule of law and state discipline.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

In the 12 December 1977 decree entitled "On Organization of Work to Bring the Laws of the USSR Into Conformity With the USSR Constitution" [23, Article 764], the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet instructed the USSR Council of Ministers to examine in 1978-1981 the question of the necessity of drafting a legislative enactment on the Principles of State Planning directed toward further improvement of economic activity.

A question arises: is it necessary, in addition to a legislative enactment on the national level, to have laws on planning at the level of the union republics?

As stated in the literature [see 21], planning falls within the sphere of joint competence of the USSR and the union republics. The sphere of joint competence of the USSR and union republics encompasses a number of questions pertaining to planning where agencies of the USSR and agencies of the union republics work in coordination. The USSR, in the person of its highest agencies of government authority and administration, exercises general direction of the economy. Immediate direction and supervision, as well as operational-production and economic administration and management within the sectors and branches of the economy which form the sphere of joint competence of the USSR and the union republics are effected by the union republics in the person of their highest agencies of government authority and administration.

The corresponding agencies of the USSR and the union republics, with the active participation of the toilers, elaborate and ratify a system of mutually coordinated plans, organize their execution, arrange for record keeping and oversight, and on this basis secure a unity of actions of all workers in society.

State planning of the national economy of the USSR is inseparably linked with comprehensive development of the economy of the union republics, by securement of efficient distribution of production and planned, orderly exploitation of natural resources, by improvement of socialist division of labor among the republics, by unification and coordination of their labor efforts, and by correct combination of the interests of the entire multinational state with the interests of each union republic. Planning and statistical agencies in the USSR are union-republic. With the participation of the union republics and central administrative agencies of the USSR, USSR Gosplan specifies the principal directions and areas of development of the nation's economy, in conformity with which draft branch and republic economic plans are subsequently elaborated, which attests to a flexible combining under present-day conditions of branch management with interbranch tasks of comprehensive development of the economy of the republics.

A national-level enactment, however, cannot exhaust all questions of planning at the level of the union republics. By dint of this, formally stating the most general points of organization of planning of USSR economic and social development, a USSR Law on Planning should, we feel,

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

be combined with enactments, based on it, on planning economic and social development of the union republics. Particularly since in recent years the authorities of the union republics in the area of planning and their competence have been significantly broadened [24, Article 154; 25, articles 116-119; 26, Article 31; 28, Article 76], and the responsibility of each union republic for prompt quantitative and qualitative execution of the national economic plan and adopted socialist pledges has increased. The successes and failures of each union republic have a direct effect on the development of all or many other republics.

Thus adoption in the republics of laws on planning will make it possible more precisely to demarcate the competence of the USSR and the union republics, better to coordinate economic and social development plans, etc.

Combination of centralized direction with economic independence of enterprises and associations should be pointed out as one of the constitutional principles of direction of the economy. The proceedings of the 25th CPSU Congress stressed the task of organic unification of economic independence and initiative of enterprises and associations in resolving the problems of improving the organizational structure and methods of administration and management. In particular, L. I. Brezhnev noted: "We must simultaneously strengthen both elements of democratic centralism. On the one hand we should develop centralism, thus placing an obstacle in the path of departmental and local tendencies. On the other hand it is necessary to... unburden the top leadership echelons of minor matters and to secure efficiency and flexibility in decision-making" [3, page 60].

At the present time large enterprises and production associations are the principal element of socialist production. Their legal status is specified by the 1965 Statute On the Socialist State Production Enterprise (with a number of subsequent additions) and the 1974 Statute on the Production Association (combine) [24, Article 155; 27, Article 38]. These enactments state that the enterprise (production association) is the principal (primary) element of the economy.

The 1978 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR formally stated the need of centralized direction with economic independence of enterprises and associations. This constitutional principle is the most important principle of direction of the economy.

Centralized direction and economic independence of enterprises, associations and other public organizations is one of the most important manifestations of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. Centralism of direction proceeds objectively from the planned character of societal production. Already under capitalism machine production creates the material foundation for centralized direction of production. But under capitalism centralized direction causes a spontaneously anarchic form of movement of individual plants. Socialist production alone gives centralism a democratic character and national scale.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Therefore in the USSR centralized direction is combined with economic independence of enterprises and associations. Under conditions of mature socialism strengthening of centralism takes place with simultaneous growth in the independence of the primary elements of societal production, which expresses a harmonious combination of the goals and tasks of the different levels.

Adoption of the Constitution is connected with performance of considerable work in the area of improving economic legislation. Obviously legislative enactments on capital construction, on standardization, and others aimed at improving the economic management will be adopted not only on a national scale but also on the scale of the union republics.

The main thrust of that which determines the content of the new Constitutions is broadening and deepening of socialist democracy. Socialist democracy, which is the most all-encompassing and broad, extends not only to the sphere of political affairs but also to economic and cultural affairs.

"Democracy is an empty sound," commented L. I. Brezhnev, "if it does not encompass the sphere in which man labors every day and applies his productive forces. Therefore strengthening of the democratic elements directly in production is of fundamental importance" [8, page 72].

The scientific and technological revolution under conditions of developed socialism is successfully combined with broadened participation by the people in production management and with development of Soviet democracy. The increasing complexity of management of a modern economy by no means places insuperable obstacles in the path of continuous growth in participation of the masses in management.

The scientific and technological revolution has never been the foe of democracy. On the contrary, it is the ally of power by the people, for it makes it possible increasingly more fully to satisfy people's material and spiritual needs and to ensure conditions for comprehensive development of the individual [22, page 195].

Lenin's teaching on socialist democracy provides a fundamental methodological foundation for combining administrative and management labor with broadened participation by the toilers in management.

V. I. Lenin stated in the initial version of the article "Current Tasks of the Soviet Government": "The democratic principle of organization -- in that higher form in which with implementation by the Soviets of proposals and demands of active participation by the masses not only in discussion of general regulations, decrees and laws, not only in monitoring their execution, but also directly in their execution -- means that each representative of the masses, each citizen should be enabled to participate both in discussion of the nation's laws, in electing his representatives, and in implementing government laws..." [2, page 156].

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Participation by the toilers in management under the conditions of a developed socialist society is effected in various organizational forms [see 15]: through the Soviets, through the activities of various mass public organizations, as well as by means of utilization of various forms of direct democracy. In conformity with their statutory tasks, the trade unions, Komsomol, cooperative and other public organizations extensively participate in management of governmental and societal affairs and in settling political, economic and sociocultural matters.

Labor collectives are the most important, central element in direction of the economy. Article 8 of the 1978 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR formally states the political and legal status of labor collectives: in particular, it is established in constitutional form that "labor collectives participate in discussion and resolution of governmental and societal affairs, in planning production and social development, in training and placement of cadres, in discussion and resolution of questions pertaining to management of enterprises and establishments, improvement of working and living conditions, utilization of funds designated for production development, as well as for sociocultural measures and material incentive reward" [7]. Also specified are such tasks of labor collectives as development of socialist competition, dissemination of advanced work methods, strengthening of labor discipline, indoctrination of the members of a work force, and improvement of their political consciousness, cultural level and occupational skills.

Formal statement in the Constitution of the status of labor collectives attests to the increased activeness of labor collectives in directing the economy and societal production.

L. I. Brezhnev stated that "drafting of the state plan begins with the labor collective, and it is natural that its fulfillment and overfulfillment depends to a determining degree on their activity. Labor collectives are an important component part of the entire political system, and therefore they are called 'the primary element of our entire organism, not only economic but political as well'" [9, page 35].

Consequently success in managing the economy depends in large measure on ability to direct the energy, will and productive activity of toilers of socialist production to perform the tasks designated by society as well as by the functioning of labor collectives. The entire affairs of society -- economic, political, spiritual and intellectual -- are reflected in the labor collective and in the work of its party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations.

Participation by blue-collar and white-collar workers in production management includes their active participation in all basic stages of production management, from discussing plans to verification and appraisal of management efficiency. According to the Constitution, toilers participate in discussing and resolving all basic problems of production.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Legal regulation of participation by blue-collar and white-collar workers in production management could obtain expanded expression and formal statement in the USSR Law on Labor Collectives, which is to be promulgated in 1980. In addition, statements have been made in the literature about promulgation of a special enactment as well as drafting of laws on trade unions and youth [see 15].

We believe that laws on trade unions and youth can sufficiently broadly reflect the various forms of participation by trade union and Komsomol organizations in production management.

The 1978 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR opens up broad prospects for extensive participation by workers and employees as well as young people in production management. In addition, proceeding from our party's program points on expanded participation of trade unions and an enhanced role by work forces in settling matters of labor and enterprise activities, the Constitution formally states the right of workers and employees, a genuine right which is guaranteed by the state, to broad participation in determining all important matters pertaining to management of enterprises and establishments.

New constitutional legislation specifies that economic accountability, profit, production cost, and other economic instruments and incentives shall be utilized vigorously in managing the economy. The problem of utilization of economic accountability, profit, production cost and other economic instruments and incentives should be separately discussed [20, page 11], and therefore in this article we shall not describe them but merely mention them in connection with the fact that economic instruments and incentives occupy an important place in the system of direction of the economy. Formal specification by the constitution of economic methods in direction of the economy signifies in particular enhancement of the role of economic sanctions for failure to meet pledges or delivery of poor-quality product. Further increase in economic accountability, local economic initiative, and securement of centralized direction is possible with the extensive utilization of economic instruments and incentives in direction and management of the economy.

The 1978 Constitution of the Turkmen SSR, formally stating economic methods in direction of the economy, specifies that the state shall ensure labor productivity growth, increased efficiency of production and improved work quality [7, Article 15].

The above attests to a substantial broadening of the scope and limits of constitutional regulations in the area of direction of the national economy. Now all the basic elements and principles defining economic-organizational activity of the Soviet state have been formally stated by the Constitution. At the same time the Constitution, as the Fundamental Law, cannot and should not regulate all the various matters connected with exercise of economic management. It merely establishes the constitutional foundations of this direction, on the basis of which corresponding legislative activity is carried out and all current organizational work by economic agencies is organized.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Consequently adoption of the new Constitution of the Turkmen SSR is accompanied by development and improvement of current legislation; it specifies adoption of new legislative enactments and the introduction of changes. All the work of economic agencies is carried out in strict conformity with the demands of the Constitution, which dictates the necessity of further improving their activities as well as a substantial improvement in work style and methods. "We have established the Constitution not for decorative purposes," stressed L. I. Brezhnev. "It should be and shall be observed in all its particulars" [9, page 57].

Turkmen State University
imeni A. M. Gor'kiy

Submitted 8 January 1979

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Lenin, V. I. "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 10.
2. Lenin. "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36.
3. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976.
4. Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow, 1977.
5. "Constitution of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, Adopted by the Second All-Turkmen Congress of Soviets on 30 March 1927," in the volume "Istoriya Sovetskoy Konstitutsii, 1917-1956" [History of the Soviet Constitution, 1917-1956], Moscow, 1957.
6. "Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, Adopted by the Extraordinary Sixth Congress of Soviets of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic on 2 March 1937," in the volume "Konstitutsiya SSSR. Konstitutsii soyuznykh Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik" [Constitution of the USSR. Constitutions of the Union Soviet Socialist Republics], Moscow, 1972.
7. "Konstitutsiya (Osnovnoy Zakon) Turkmenskoy Sovetskoy Sotsialisticheskoy Respubliki" [Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic], Ashkhabad, 1978.
8. Brezhnev, L. I. "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" [Following a Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 5, Moscow, 1977.
9. Brezhnev, L. I. "O Konstitutsii SSSR" [On the USSR Constitution], Moscow, 1978.
10. Brezhnev, L. I. "Vystupleniye na Plenum TsK KPSS 27 noyabrya 1978 goda" [Speech at the 27 November 1978 CPSU Central Committee Plenum], Moscow, 1978.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

11. Vishnyakov, V. G. "Konstitutsionnyye osnovy upravleniya sotsialisticheskoy ekonomikoy" [Constitutional Principles of Management of a socialist economy], Moscow, 1978.
12. Zagaynov, L. I. "Ekonomicheskaya deyatel'nost' sotsialisticheskogo gosudarstva i zakony ekonomiki (Teoreticheskiye problemy)" [Economic Activities of the Socialist State and the Laws of Economics (Theoretical Problems)], Moscow, 1977.
13. Kotov, F. I. "Organizatsiya planirovaniya narodnogo khozyaystva SSSR" [Organization of Planning of the USSR National Economy], Moscow, 1974.
14. "Pravovyye voprosy planirovaniya promyshlennosti v SSSR" [Legal Questions of Industrial Planning in the USSR], Moscow, 1962.
15. Prokhorov, V. G. "Uchastiye trudyashchikhsya v upravlenii proizvodstvom. Pravovyye voprosy" [Toiler Participation in Production Management. Legal Questions], Moscow, 1977.
16. Raznatovskiy, I. M. "Pravovoye regulirovaniye planirovaniya narodnogo khozyaystva SSSR" [Legal Regulation of Planning of the USSR National Economy], Kiev, 1977.
17. Samoshchenko, I., and Nozdrachev, A. "Current Problems of Legislation on Planning," PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, No 12, 1977.
18. Khaydas, G. I. "Improving Legal Regulation of Economic Planning," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 3, 1966.
19. Khaydas, G. I. "Planning as a Function of Management of the Socialist Economy," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 6, 1978.
20. Khalfina, R. O. "Constitutional Principles of Direction of the Economy," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 8, 1978.
21. Shafir, M. A. "Kompetentsiya SSSR i soyuznoy respubliki. Konstitutsionnyye voprosy" [Competence of the USSR and the Union Republic. Constitutional Questions], Moscow, 1968.
22. Shakhnazarov, G. Kh. "Sotsialisticheskaya demokratiya. Nekotoryye voprosy teorii" [Socialist Democracy. Some Questions of Theory], Moscow, 1974.
23. VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, No 51, 1977.
24. SP SSSR [Collection of Government Decrees and Regulations], No 19-20, 1965.
25. SP SSSR, No 17, 1967.

26. SP SSSR, No 7, 1973.

27. SP SSSR, No 8, 1974.

28. SP SSSR, No 13, 1975.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Ylym", "Izvestiya Akademii nauk Turkmenskoy
SSR, seriya obshchestvennykh nauk", 1979

3024

CSO: 1800

END