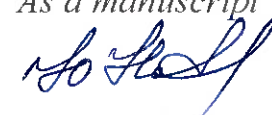


FEDERAL STATE BUDGETARY EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
RUSSIAN PRESIDENTIAL ACADEMY OF NATIONAL ECONOMY
AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

NIZHNY NOVGOROD INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT

As a manuscript


Yuliya Olegovna NOVIKOVA

**THE DYNAMICS OF LEGAL REGULATION AND THE MAIN TRENDS IN
THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION IN RUSSIA IN THE 19TH–20TH
CENTURIES
(HISTORICAL AND LEGAL RESEARCH)**

Specialty: 5.1.1. Theoretical and Historical Legal Sciences

**Abstract of the Dissertation
for the Degree of Doctor of Juridical Sciences**

Scientific Consultant:
Doctor of Juridical Sciences, Professor
Aleksey Andreevich Demichev

Nizhny Novgorod – 2026

Relevance of the research topic. In the modern world, the cooperative movement is a social institution that mobilizes internal forces to modernize national economies, stimulates the population to take initiatives, and is one of the foundations of civil society. According to the calculations of cooperative movement theorist A.P. Korelin, the International Cooperative Alliance—the largest center for the development of cooperation—by the early 10th to 11th centuries included 192 national cooperative unions from 76 countries and 625.6 million members of cooperative societies ¹.

In Russia, the conditions for the development of the cooperative movement historically developed alongside the capitalization of the country's economic ties. By encompassing ever-increasing numbers, primarily peasants, cooperatives facilitated their integration into commodity-money relations and also became a means of modernizing the country's economy, structuring social structures, and laying the foundations of civil society. Cooperatives organized the lives of peasants, fostered self-government skills, and united them around the best and most authoritative individuals promoted to leadership positions within the cooperatives .

It's clear that throughout the existence of cooperatives in Russia, the government viewed them as an effective mechanism for improving the financial and spiritual well-being of the population. However, the essence, form, and structure of this socioeconomic phenomenon changed dramatically depending not only on the economic but also the political climate.

The cooperative movement, which originated in Russia in the mid-1860s, responded to popular demand for forms of interaction that would promote prosperity and homogenize social conditions. At their core, consumer cooperatives were private self-help organizations that combined economic and social functions.

The cooperative movement, a global phenomenon that arose from a simple liberal idea borrowed from European cooperative development practices in the second quarter of the 19th century , had acquired a mass, popular, and self-motivated character in Russia by 1917, primarily in the sphere of commodity-money relations. The period of

¹See: *Korelin A.P.* Cooperation and the cooperative movement in Russia, 1860–1917. Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2009. P. 5.

Russian autocracy laid the legal foundations for the activities of cooperative associations, regulating the legal status of cooperative associations of all types.

The Provisional Government's cooperative legislation largely adopted the norms of pre-revolutionary legislation regulating cooperatives, but granted them a broader range of democratic rights and freedoms. While retaining their name, the cooperatives of the "War Communism" period were subjected to strict nationalization.

During the New Economic Policy, cooperative societies once again became the link between peasant farms and the state, based on contractual agreements. However, as it later turned out, the adoption of special laws on various types of cooperatives in the 1920s was merely a concession by state power to private capital, intended to improve the financial well-being of the population after the devastating periods of World War I, the policies of "War Communism," and the food tax system.

During the period of the command-administrative economy, cooperation in the form in which it began its existence, a free, self-organizing institution that acted with the aim of increasing the financial and spiritual well-being of its members, ceased to exist.

The perestroika period in the USSR, a major stage in the country's political, social, and economic life, also impacted the fate of cooperatives. The state of the economy prompted the government to turn to the experience of Russian cooperatives, which, in terms of improving the population's well-being, relied on private participation, private capital, and self-governance.

The legal relevance of this research topic stems from the fact that cooperative activity throughout history has possessed significant legal specifics, which, as we propose and seek to demonstrate in this study, was characterized by a certain cyclicity. Therefore, it is of interest to examine trends in the legal regulation of such a unique phenomenon as Russian cooperatives, which have come a long way from Western liberal ideas, operating in the early days virtually without a legal basis, to a powerful socio-economic movement with accumulated experience in cooperative legislation, cooperative work, a material and technical base, and effective management mechanisms used to satisfy the economic and spiritual interests of its members.

The current state of cooperation in Russia is characterized by the existence of a diversified and actively functioning system of cooperative organizations. In particular, the Central Union of Consumer Societies of the Russian Federation comprises 2,300 consumer societies from 71 regions of Russia, uniting 102 district consumer unions and over 1,300,000 members ². 435 credit consumer cooperatives and 268 agricultural credit consumer cooperatives operate in the financial market ³. In the agro-industrial complex, there are 2,579 agricultural consumer and 5,367 agricultural production cooperatives ⁴. According to the Chartaev Foundation, there are 81,615 cooperatives in Russia in total ⁵. As noted by modern researchers, cooperative business models can be considered drivers of entrepreneurial potential, given the evidence base for their effectiveness in both international practice and the historical experience of our country ⁶.

Furthermore, the need to improve legal regulation of cooperatives has been recognized by legislators themselves, as evidenced by the parliamentary hearings held by the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation in 2023 on "Improving the Legislation of the Russian Federation on Consumer and Agricultural Cooperatives." The recommendations concluded that current legislation does not fully realize the potential of consumer cooperatives and the advantages of the systemic approach inherent in their very ideology. Furthermore, the lack of a concept for legal regulation of the cooperative sector as a whole and its organizational forms in particular

²See: Official website of the Central Union of Trade Unions of the Russian Federation // Electronic resource: URL: <https://rus.coop.ru/geography/> (date accessed: 05/23/2026).

³See: Official website of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation // Electronic resource: https://cbr.ru/registries/microfinance/#a_14196 (date accessed: 05/23/2026).

⁴Official website of the Federal State Statistics Service // Electronic resource: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/> (date of access: 05/23/2026).

⁵See: Official website of the Magomed Chartaev Foundation for the Systematic Implementation of Economic Settlement Relations // Electronic resource: <https://coop-fund.ru/nasledie-kooperacii/statistika/> (date accessed: 05/23/2026).

⁶ *Frolova E.V., Rogach O.V.* New contours of cooperation development in Russia // Sociological research. 2025. No. 4. P. 35-45.

was highlighted among the most significant legal, organizational, and economic obstacles to the effective development of cooperatives as a unified system ⁷.

Furthermore, on April 29, 2026, the Civic Chamber of the Russian Federation organized a roundtable discussion, "The Russian Cooperative Industry: Status and Prospects for Regional Development." It was noted that modern economic processes are changing the entrepreneurial landscape of Russian business and harkening back to the origins of the cooperative movement. Cooperatives are demonstrating positive results that resonate with such pressing issues as territorial development, addressing demographic issues, industry-specific issues, increasing labor productivity, and the adaptation of participants in special military operations. To develop the cooperative movement and popularize this form of economic activity, it is necessary to systematize Russian cooperative cases and develop a standard for cooperative organization ⁸.

The above circumstances indicate that a comprehensive study of the institution of cooperation and the construction of a concept for its legal regulation in Russia, based on the generalization and systematization of the main trends in the dynamics of legal regulation of the institution of cooperation from the moment of its inception, as well as the identification of trends in the transformation of this institution and the factors that determine them, are in demand at the present time and are capable of forming the basis for both legislative policy in relation to cooperation in general or influencing the legal regulation of its individual types, as well as the formation of a standard for a cooperative organization .

Status of the Scientific Problem. Cooperation among small producers is among the significant socioeconomic phenomena that attract the attention of social scientists. A vast literature has been devoted to the legal, historical, philosophical, and political understanding of the role of smallholder cooperatives in the civilizational process. The

⁷Look in: Official website of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation // Electronic resource: <http://council.gov.ru/activity/activities/parliamentary/151264/> (date accessed: 05/24/2026).

⁸Look in: Official website of the All-Russian organization of small and medium-sized businesses Opora Rossii // Electronic resource: <https://mosopora.ru/news/v-obschestvennoy-palate-rf-obsudili-perspektivy-effektivnoy-kooperacii-v-rossii.html> (date accessed: 05/24/2026).

issues of the cooperative movement have been extensively explored by both pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary researchers.

Cooperative development was given significant attention in pre-revolutionary works, driven by the practical need to describe the process of cooperative development. The first comprehensive works devoted to cooperative issues began to appear in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, due to the underdevelopment of cooperation during this period, these works primarily addressed the ideological aspects of this institution. These works include those by F.V. Raiffeisen, C. Fourier, and F.G. Schulze-Delitzsch, which primarily analyzed the history and contemporary (for that time) state of Western cooperation. The works of these authors were analyzed by the Russian cooperative theorist and practitioner V.F. Totomianets⁹.

Subsequently, the development of the cooperative movement in Russia began to be studied, including its legal and organizational aspects. The first attempts to summarize the existing, but limited, experience of cooperative development was made in the works of F.V. Vasilchikov, V.P. Vorontsov, N.F. Danielson, V.F. Luginin, A.N. Engelhardt, A.V. Yakovlev and others¹⁰. They substantiated the idea that the development of small-scale cooperative labor was traditional for the Russian commune and, as a result, understandable and acceptable to the peasant population.

The rapidly developing cooperative movement in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century provided impetus for research into the scientific foundations of this issue. Renowned economists, legal scholars, and political figures dedicated numerous works

⁹Look in: *Totomians V.F.* Charles Fourier and cooperation. 2nd ed., add. M.: Moscow. consumer union island, 1917. 16 p.; *Aka: Apostles of cooperation G. Schulze-Delitzsch and F. Raiffeisen.* M.: "Benefit", 1914. 48 p.

¹⁰Look in: *Vasilchikov V.F.* Small land credit in Russia St. Petersburg: printing house of A.M. Kotomina, 1876. 112 p.; *Ditto: Savings and loan partnerships in Russia.* St. Petersburg: B.i., 1872. 212 p.; *Vorontsov P.P.* The fate of capitalism in Russia. St. Petersburg: printing house of M.M. Stasyulevich, 1882. 312 p.; *Danielson N.F.* Essays on our post-reform social economy. St. Petersburg: printing house of V. Bezobrazov and Co., 1880. 66 p.; *Luginin V.F.* Rural loan partnerships (their structure and purpose): Rural loan partnerships, their structure and purpose: dedicated to the Russian zemstvo / Comp. V.F. Luginin and A.V. Yakovlev. SPb.: type. A. Kotomina, 1870. 100 pp.; *Engelhardt A.N.* From the village: 12 letters: 1872-1887. 3rd ed. SPb.: A.S. Suvorin, 1897. 693 pp.; *Yakovlev A.V.* Rural savings and loan partnerships. St. Petersburg: Printing house A.M. Kotomina, 1872. 183 p. and others.

to the scientific justification and practical implementation of cooperative activity. This approach was most clearly demonstrated in the works of authors such as A.N. Antsiferov, S.V. Borodaevsky, M.I. Kulisher, A.E. Kulyzhny, V.I. Lenin, I.Kh. Ozerov, A.S. Orlov, S.N. Prokopovich, P.A. Sokolovsky, V.F. Totomians, M.I. Tugan-Baranovsky, M.L. Kheisin, and others ¹¹.

¹¹Look in: *Antsyferov A.N.* Essays on Cooperation: Collection of Lectures and Articles, 1908-1912. Moscow: Typo-Literary Society of I.N. Kushnerev and Co., 1912. 259 p.; *Borodaevsky S.V.* Small Credit. St. Petersburg: B.i., 1906. 88 p.; *the same*: Collection on Small Credit: (Legislation, model charters of small credit institutions, administrative orders, operating rules, Senate decisions, practical advice and instructions). 2nd ed., supplemented and corrected. St. Petersburg: Administration for Small Credit Affairs, 1909. 492 p.; *the same*: Unions of Small Credit Institutions: (History of their origin, nature of activity, model charters, procedure for organization, advice and instructions). St. Petersburg: Printing House of the Gramotnost Partnership, 1911. 62 p.; *the same*: Collection on Small Credit. Petrograd: Petrograd Branch of the Committee on Rural Savings, Loan and Industrial Partnerships. St. Petersburg: B.i., 1912. 514 p.; *the same*: Collection on Small Credit: (Legislation, model charters of small credit institutions, administrative orders, operating rules, Senate decisions, practical advice and instructions). 6th edition, supplemented and corrected. Petrograd: Petrograd Branch of the Committee on Rural Savings, Loan and Industrial Partnerships, 1915. 642 p.; *the same*: History of Cooperative Credit. 1st edition. Prague: Slavic Publishing House, 1923. 216 p.; *Kulisher I.M.* Review of Russian and foreign legislation on cooperative associations: Russian cooperative legislation. Moscow: URSS, Lenand, 2016. 346 p.; *Kulyzhny A.E.* Village cooperation: with the appendix of charters. Moscow: B.i., 1912. 274 p.; *Also*: Course of credit cooperation. Moscow: Type. N. Zheludkova, 1918. 36 p.; *Lenin V.I.* Speech at the First All-Russian Congress of Land Departments, Poor Committees and Communes on December 11, 1918 // Complete Works. Vol. 37. Moscow: Publishing House of Political Literature, 1969. Pp. 352-364; *Ozerov I.Kh.* Consumer societies: Historical overview of their development in Western Europe, America and Russia, and a brief guide to the establishment and management of consumer societies. SPb., 1894. 327 p.; *Orlov A.S.* Cooperation in Russia on the Eve and During the War. Historical Commission of the O.R.T.Z. Moscow: Partnership of I.N. Kushnerev and Co., 1915. 72 p.; *Prokopovich S.N.* Cooperative Movement in Russia. SPb.: E.D. Kuskov Printing House, 1903. 243 p.; *Ditto*: The Cooperative Movement in Russia. Its Theory and Practice. Moscow: B.i., 1913. 198 p.; *Sokolovsky P.A.* Savings and Loan Associations in Russia, Based on Literature Reviews. SPb., 1889; *Sokolovsky P.A.* Activities of the Zemstvo in the Organization of Savings and Loan Associations. SPb.: St. Petersburg Branch of the Committee on Rural Affairs, savings and loans and industrial T-Vakh, 1890. 16 p.; *Aka*: Savings and loan partnerships in Russia, according to literature reviews. St. Petersburg: printing house of V. Kirshbaum, 1889. 150 p.; *Totomians V.F.* Forms of the labor movement. 2nd ed. St. Petersburg: N. Gogolev, 1906. 208 p.; *Tugan-Baranovsky M.I.* About "profit" in cooperatives // Bulletin of Cooperation. 1912. No. 3. P. 50-59; *Also*: The economic nature of cooperatives and their classification. M.: Tipo-lit. t-va I.N. Kushnerev and Co., 1914. 127 pp.; *the same*: Theory of Cooperation // Bulletin of Cooperation. St. Petersburg, 1914. No. 1. pp. 7-12; *the same*: The Current State of Credit Cooperation in Russia // Bulletin of Cooperation. 1916. No. 6. pp. 54-83; *the same*: Historical Essay on Credit Cooperation in Russia. Petrograd: Mysl, 1917. 184 pp.; *the same*: Social Foundations of Cooperation. Moscow: [Typo-lit. T-va I. N. Kushnerev and Co.], 1919. 512 pp.; *the same*: Credit Cooperation in Russia: (historical essay and current situation). 2nd supplemented ed. Petrograd: Mysl, 1919. 199 pp.; *the same*: History of Cooperation in Russia. Leningrad: B.I. 1926, etc.

These works are a valuable source of factual material, primarily statistical in nature, covering the theory, genesis, and transformation of the Russian cooperative movement. The authors examined the structure, functions, and factors that contributed to the emergence of the first cooperatives, paying particular attention to the administrative and legal environment in which this movement developed. Furthermore, attention was paid to the role of economic and political processes in the development of cooperation (especially the First Russian Revolution, Stolypin's agrarian reform, and the First World War). Pre-revolutionary authors noted the critical role of the development of agricultural cooperation in an agrarian country. Also common to most of these works was the idea that the growth of small-scale cooperative farming in Russia occurred in close connection with the existing communal form of economic organization.

A significant, comprehensive study of the pre-revolutionary period is the work of S.N. Prokopovich, who examined in detail the administrative and legal foundations and prerequisites for the development of cooperative activity in Russia, describing its essence and functions ¹². Professor A.N. Antsyferov, in a collection of his lectures, draws conclusions on various issues of the cooperative movement, emphasizing the need for committed, honest, and steadfast initiators of this endeavor ¹³. The problems of rural cooperation were examined by M.I. Tugan-Baranovsky in his work "The Social Foundations of Cooperation," in which he outlined the history of the development of Russian cooperation in comparison with Western European cooperation. A proponent of the theory of "cooperative socialism," he paid particular attention to the non-capitalist nature of cooperation and defended its political neutrality. M.I. Tugan-Baranovsky was one of the first in Russian literature to use the term "peasant cooperation." Assessing the importance of agricultural cooperatives, the author noted that "thanks to cooperation, farmers gain the opportunity to enjoy the benefits and advantages of large-scale farming

¹²Look in: *Prokopovich S.N.* Cooperative movement in Russia. St. Petersburg: E.D. Kuskov printing house, 1903. P. 129.

¹³Look in: *Antsyferov A.N.* Essays on cooperation. Collection of lectures and articles from 1908-1912. Moscow: typo-lit. company I.N. Kushnerev and Co., 1912. 259 p.

¹⁴." The scholar believed that a necessary condition for the successful functioning of cooperatives is their unification into unions.

A similar trend can be traced in the works of V.F. Totomianets, who researched and reflected in his works the general problems and features of the activities, structure and functions of rural cooperatives in Russia ¹⁵.

The works of V.I. Lenin deserve special mention, as he examined the development of cooperatives primarily before 1914. Nevertheless, he examined the cooperative movement in relation to the development of cooperative work in the country in a later period. He highly valued the importance of cooperation as an economic program, demonstrating its "petty-bourgeois" nature, whereby rich owners received more benefits than the poor. Therefore, according to V.I. Lenin, the best time to implement cooperative principles is the transition to socialism. Summarizing the results of previous research in his work, he wrote that "proletarian cooperatives enable the working class to improve its position by reducing intermediary exploitation, influencing the working conditions of suppliers, and improving the status of employees..." ¹⁶

The problems of rural cooperatives were raised in the works of S.L. Maslov, N.P. Oganovsky, and others. The authors examined the reasons for the emergence of rural cooperatives, their varieties, and identified the specifics of the agrarian question during the war. They considered the primary goal of cooperatives to be the transition from organizing distribution to production ¹⁷.

¹⁴ *Tugan-Baranovsky M.I.* Social foundations of cooperation. Moscow: typo-lithography company I.N. Kushnerev and K. 1916. P. 289.

¹⁵ Look in: *Totomians V.F.* Agricultural cooperation: Essays with attached charters. SPb.: ed. M.I. Semenova, 1908. 368 pp.; *Aka:* Cooperation in the Russian village. M.: Publishing house. M. and S. Sabashnikova, 1912. 456 p.

¹⁶ *Lenin V.I.* Complete Works. Vol. 19. June 1909 – October 1910. Moscow: Political Literature Publishing House. 1968, p. 310.

¹⁷ Look in: *Maslov S.L.* The Agrarian Question in Russia (Conditions for the Development of Peasant Farming in Russia). 3rd ed. St. Petersburg: Printing House of the "Public Benefit" Partnership, 1906. 462 p.; *the same:* Peasant Farming and Agricultural Cooperation. Petrograd: "Mysl", 1918. 206 p.; *Oganovsky N.P.* The Agrarian Question and Cooperation. Moscow: Zadruga. 1917. 62 p.

In 1915, a special collection of scientific and practical cooperative literature was published¹⁸. Its compilers were I.F. Gritsenko and A.V. Merkulov, both representatives of the Shanyavsky Moscow City University. This collection was intended primarily for practical cooperative workers.

Works of the pre-revolutionary period was primarily devoted to the study of credit and consumer cooperatives. This is explained by the fact that these types of cooperatives were rapidly developing in Russia during this period. In the second decade of the 20th century, a significant number of specialized works devoted to credit cooperatives appeared¹⁹. Authors analyzed the experience of the first credit cooperatives both in Russia and abroad, studied their social composition, characteristics, and main areas of activity, and made recommendations for development. Overall, the important role of credit cooperatives in providing peasant farms with capital was noted.

Traditionally, the post-revolutionary historiography of the cooperative movement in Russia is divided into four periods: 1) 1917–1960s; 2) 1960–1990s; 3) 1990–2000s; 4) 2000s – present.

The first stage of the study of Russian cooperatives appears to be the most intensive, as these issues continued to be explored by authors (both theorists and practitioners) who stood at the origins of the cooperative movement before the revolutionary upheavals. This period includes the works of I.G. Bulatov, V.I. Lenin, S.L. Maslov, A.V. Merkulov, V.F. Totomianets, M.I. Tugan-Baranovsky, M.L. Kheisin,

¹⁸ Look in: *Gritsenko I.F.* Systematic index of Russian literature on cooperation 1856-1924 / compiled by I.F. Gritsenko, A.V. Merkulov. Moscow: Co-op Publishing House, 1925. 28 p.

¹⁹ *Bondarev I.A.* Organization and practice of small credit cooperative institutions in Russia. Courses on cooperation. Moscow: typo-lit. of the I.N. Kushnerev and Co., 1913. 148 p.; *Zak L.S.* Credit cooperation in Russia for 10 years in figures // *Bulletin of cooperation*. 1916. No. 6. pp. 40-53; *Ilmenev S.* People's partnerships. Small credit partnership: Model charters and instructions on opening with circulars and explanations. 1912. St. Petersburg: Orel 154 p.; *Kulyzhny A.E.* Village cooperation. Agricultural societies. Agricultural partnerships. Butter and dairy artels. Credit partnerships: With appendix of charters. Moscow: Posrednik, no. 273 pp.; *Merkulov A.V.* Historical essay on consumer cooperation in Russia. Moscow: Mosk. soyuz potreb. o-v. 1917. 112 pp.; *the same*: How to organize and run a consumer society: Text, laws, charters, instructions, etc. 2nd ed., completely revised. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg department Committee on rural savings and loan and industrial societies. 1914. 318 pp.; *Kheisin M.L.* Current state of credit cooperation in Russia // *Bulletin of cooperation*. 1916. No. 6. pp. 54-83; *Khizhnyakov V.V.* Credit cooperation in the Moscow province according to reports for 1909, 1910 and 1911. Moscow: SP Printing House Yakovleva", 1913. 250 p.

A.V. Chayanov, and others ²⁰. All these works demonstrated the positive impact of cooperatives on improving the well-being of the population and strengthening peasant farming.

V.I. Lenin's perspective is interesting: he argued that the significance of cooperation in the new historical realities of the transition to socialist property was extremely important, but at the expense of the movement's original voluntary, self-governing, and democratic foundations. Instead, he initially envisioned cooperation between the cooperative and the state on a contractual basis, with subsequent integration into the state's system of redistribution ²¹.

Further discussion of the classification and systematization of cooperative societies was interrupted by the revolutionary events of 1917. The cooperative movement established by the Soviet government, which was fundamentally different and lacked its diversity and democratic principles, led to the emergence of works based on the perception of the kulak-capitalist nature of pre-revolutionary cooperation. Research on cooperation continued in this vein until the second half of the 1980s.

A special place in the theoretical legacy on cooperation belongs to the work of economist A.V. Chayanov, who analyzed the typology of cooperatives and their social

²⁰Look in: *Bulatov I.G.* The Struggle of the CPSU for the Development of the Cooperative Movement in the USSR. Penza: B.i., 1961. 362 p.; *Lenin V.I.* Komsomol and Cooperation. Resolutions and Decrees of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Komsomol, Government and Cooperative Bodies. Moscow: Publication of the Central Cooperative Council, 1928. 192 p.; *the same*: On Cooperation: Articles and Speeches. 4th ed., reprinted. Moscow: Leningrad: State Publishing House, 1930. 181 p.; *the same*: Complete Works. T. 19 June 1909 - October 1910. 1968. 627 p.; *the same*: Speech at the First All-Russian Congress of Land Departments, Poor Committees, and Communes on December 11, 1918 // Complete Works. Vol. 37. Moscow: Political Literature Publishing House, 1969. pp. 352-364; *Maslov S.L.* Peasant Economy and Agricultural Cooperation. Petrograd: Mysl', 1918. 90 p.; *Totomianstvo V.F.* Theory of Cooperation: A Course of Lectures Delivered at the University and the Commercial Institute. Moscow: Svoboda, 1918. 208 p.; *the same*: Theory of Cooperation. 2nd ed. Prague: Slavic Publishing House, 1921. 96 p.; *the same*: Fundamentals of Cooperation. Berlin: Slovo, 1923. 167 p.; *Tugan-Baranovsky M.I.* Social Foundations of Cooperation. 3rd supplemented ed. Moscow: [Typo-lit. t-va I. N. Kushnerev and Co.], 1919. 512 p.; *Kheisin M. L.* What Can Cooperation Give to Workers? Ekaterinburg: magazine "Ural. Kooperator", 1914; *the same*: Fundamentals of the cultural and educational activities of cooperatives. Petrograd: Kniga, 1919. 72 p.; *the same*: Essays on the history of credit cooperation in pre-October Russia. 3rd ed., revised and supplemented. Leningrad: Kooperatsiya, 1925. 182 p.; *Chayanov A. V.* Basic ideas and forms of organization of peasant cooperation. Moscow: B. i., 1919. 434 p. and others.

²¹For more details, see: *Lenin V.I.* On Cooperation: Articles and Speeches. 4th ed., reprinted. Moscow: Leningrad: State Publishing House, 1930. 181 p.

and economic nature. Defending the theory of "marginal cooperation," the researcher proposed collectivizing only those sectors of the economy where large-scale production had a significant advantage over small-scale production ²².

Since the 1920s, the historiography of cooperatives has included a small number of works published in the early years of Soviet power. These works focused on the problems of agricultural and industrial cooperation, based on the development of a theory of peasant labor economy in its interaction with the economic system. This line of research was linked to the prospects of the cooperative movement, which were transformed by the evolution of peasant farming. Works by N.P. Makarov, A.N. Minin, A.A. Rybnikov, A.V. Chayanov, A.N. Chelintsev, and others can be attributed to this period ²³.

At the same time, works were published that, while not entirely rejecting the previous cooperative theory, at least recognized it as incompatible with the new state system. These works were edited by I.F. Gritsenko, A.V. Merkulov, and V.E. Cheshikha -Vertinsky ²⁴. The works of this period attempted to substantiate the new role of cooperation, based on socialist principles, and to integrate it into the new socioeconomic conditions of management.

²² See: *Chayanov A.V.* Brief course of cooperation: Council of All-Russian cooperative congresses. 2nd ed., revised and enlarged. Moscow: B.i., 1919. 78 p.

²³ Look in: *Makarov N.P.* Market dairy farming and cooperation. Moscow; Leningrad: Knigosoyuz, 1926. 223 p.; *the same*: New cooperation in agriculture and potato-starch production. Kostroma: Kostroma gubernia zemstvo. 1911. 6. 82, 14. XIV p.; *Minin A.A.* War, economy and cooperation. Moscow: A.I. Mamontov printing company, 1915. 54 p.; *the same*: Agricultural cooperatives in the system of Russian legislation on cooperation // Journal of Russian Law. No. 4. 2019. pp. 549-60; *the same*: Agricultural cooperation of the USSR. Moscow, Leningrad: Coop. publishing house, 1925. 172 p.; *Ozerov I.Kh.* What is a consumer society, how to establish and run it. Moscow: printing house of I.D. Sytin, 1909. 136 p.; *Rybnikov A.A.* The next tasks of cooperation in the handicraft industry: Cooperative society for the sale of handicrafts and the purchase of raw materials for artisans. Moscow: B.i., 1918. 16 p.; *Chayanov A.V.* Organization of cooperative marketing. Moscow: B.i., 1918. 80 p.; *the same*: Basic ideas and forms of organization of agricultural cooperation. Moscow: Knigosoyuz, 1927. 383 p.; *Chelintsev A.A.* On the construction of agricultural cooperation. Kharkov: B.i., 1919. 56 p. and others.

²⁴ Look in: *Gritsenko I.F.* Social composition of members of agricultural credit partnerships. Moscow: Kooperatsiya, 1926. 42 p.; *Merkulov A.V.* Rochdel founders: Their history and significance for consumer cooperation. Kiev: Mysl, 1920. 32 p.; *Cheshikhin-Vertinsky V.E.* Kooperatsiya: Selected thoughts and sayings. Ryazan: [b. i.], 1920. 100 p.

In the 1920s, political and government figures, as well as publicists, began to explore the cooperative phenomenon ²⁵. It's also worth noting that a number of works from this period, free from state influence, were published abroad ²⁶.

In the cooperative movement of the 1920s, discrepancies between the democratic principles of cooperative activity and the programmatic principles of Soviet power quickly became apparent. Consequently, those features of pre-revolutionary cooperation that had previously been considered advantages (self-organization, initiative, self-governance) began to be seen as shortcomings, the main one being that cooperation was considered an element of the capitalist system ²⁷.

V.I. Lenin's works written in the 1920s occupy a special place in cooperative historiography. In these works, the author departed from the previous concept of cooperation, which he considered to be the lowest stage of social development, as it was a form of state capitalism. Lenin highly valued the importance of cooperation for the development of agriculture.

This was reflected both in its programmatic documents and in the regulatory legal acts of the 1920s. However, the "Leninist cooperative plan" radically changed the approach to building a cooperative system, believing that the transformation of small-scale peasant farming into large-scale socialist production would create the opportunity

²⁵Look in: *Balabanov S. M.* History of workers' cooperation in Russia: Essays on the history of the workers' cooperative movement. (1864-1917). 2nd ed. K.: Sorabkop, 1924. 198 p.; *the same*: General doctrine on cooperation: Based on the course of lectures given at the Leningrad Institute of People's Economy. M.: Leningrad: State Publishing House, 1928. 368 p.; *Brutskus B. D.* Agricultural savings: National economic foundations. Petrograd: Kooperatsiya, 1924. VIII. 248 p.; *Ilinsky D. I.* The crisis of cooperation. M.: All-Russian Central Union of Consumers, 1922. 44 p.; *the same*: Essays on the theory of cooperation. 2nd ed. M.: Leningrad: Co-op. Publishing House, 1925. 136 p. *Cellarius, V. M.* Cooperation and the Struggle for Socialism: A Brief Essay on the Modern Cooperative Movement. 4th ed., reprinted. Kharkov: Knigospilka, 1927. 205 p.

²⁶Look in: *Brutskus B.D.* The Agrarian Question and Agrarian Policy. Prague: Publishing House of the Russian Institute of Agricultural Cooperation, 1922. 231 p.; *the same*: Socialist Economy: Theoretical Thoughts on the Russian Experience. Berlin: Tritemis, 1923. 71 p.; *Totomians V.F.* Theory of Cooperation. 2nd ed. Prague: Slavic Publishing House, 1921. 96 p.; *Totomians V.F.* Fundamentals of Cooperation. Berlin: Slovo, 1923. 167 p. and others.

²⁷Look in: *Vyshinsky A. Ya.* Policy of Soviet Power of Distribution and Exchange. Moscow: State Publishing House. Moscow Department, 1921. 16 p.; *Meshcheryakov N. L.* Cooperation and Socialism: Collection of Articles. Moscow: State Publishing House, 1920. 111 p.; *the same*: Tasks of Modern Cooperation. Moscow: All-Russian Central Union of Consumers, 1922. 15 p.

for agricultural development, in which a close alliance between the working class and the peasantry would become one of the tools for building a new social order.

In his article "On Cooperation," V.I. Lenin clearly outlined his fundamental position on cooperative societies, whose activities were based on the principles of self-initiative, self-governance, and ensuring the material and spiritual interests of their members, emphasizing the need to transition from "lower forms of cooperation" to their "higher form"—collective farms²⁸. Lenin's views on cooperation as a mechanism for the transition to a socialist system undoubtedly determined the direction of all subsequent research in the field of the cooperative movement.

The second stage of post-revolutionary research on cooperatives (the 1960s–1990s) was characterized by a desire by scholars to revisit issues of the cooperative movement in the Russian countryside, based on democratic principles of self-government and popular initiative. At this time, interest was aroused by an analysis of the material potential of pre-revolutionary cooperatives, their economic, cultural, and educational activities. Works published during this period by I.G. Bulatov, V.V. Kabanov, V.I. Lenin, L.F. Morozov, P.N. Pershin, I.I. Sergeev, S.P. Trapeznikov, L.E. Fain, and others²⁹ examined a wide range of new sources and explored the general patterns of the cooperative movement in Russia.

²⁸Look in: *Lenin V.I. On Cooperation // Complete Works. Vol. 35. Moscow: Political Literature Publishing House, 1974. P. 209.*

²⁹Look in: *Bulatov I.G. The Struggle of the CPSU for the Development of the Cooperative Movement in the USSR. Penza: B.i., 1961. 362 p.; Kabanov V.V. The October Revolution and Cooperation: 1917 – March 1919. Moscow: Nauka, 1973; Lenin V.I. The Agrarian Question in Russia at the End of the 19th Century. Moscow: Politizdat, 1983. 79 p.; Morozov L.F. From Bourgeois Cooperation to Socialist Cooperation. Moscow: Mysl, 1969. 240 p.; Pershin P.N. The Agrarian Revolution in Russia. Book 1. Moscow: Nauka, 1966. 490 p.; the same: The Agrarian Revolution in Russia. Book 2. M.: Nauka, 1966. 576 p.; Sergeev I.I. Development of the cooperative plan of 1917–1923 by V.I. Lenin. Saratov: Publishing house of Saratov University, 1966. 144 p.; Trapeznikov S.P. Leninism and the agrarian-peasant question. Vol. 1. M.: Mysl, 1983. 653 p.; Fain L.E. Socio-economic characteristics of cooperation in Russia // Class struggle and socio-political life of pre-revolutionary Russia. Tyumen. 1975. pp. 34–51; the same: Soviet historiography of the cooperative movement in Russia // Problems of the historiography of the socio-political movement in Russia in the 19th - early 20th centuries. Ivanovo, 1986. pp. 71–85; the same: Domestic cooperation: historical experience. Ivanovo: IvGU, 1994. 275 p.; Ditto. Formation of Lenin's Concept of Cooperation and Modernity. Ivanovo: Ivan. state University, 1991. 57 p.*

A fairly complete analysis of pre-revolutionary cooperation was carried out in the work of P.N. Pershin. According to the researcher, the peasant population's need for a cooperative form of management was explained by their involvement in commodity-money relations. He praised credit cooperatives as a key factor in the development of credit-money relations ³⁰.

Since the early 1990s, new trends have emerged in the study of the pre-revolutionary cooperative movement. L.E. Fain reexamined the issues of the cooperative movement from a new perspective ³¹. His achievement is to address the extremely underexplored issue of the principles and mechanisms of Russian cooperatives. According to the researcher, historical experience has shown that the essential internal mechanism of cooperative management must be its independence in financial, economic, and organizational activities. One must agree with the author's categorical conclusion that cooperatives are "a product of all human civilization, and cannot be either capitalist, state capitalist, or socialist" ³².

In 1997, V.V. Kabanov's monograph, "The Peasant Community and Cooperation in 20th-Century Russia," was published. It addresses many controversial issues and, in some ways, represents a generalization of the author's earlier works ³³. The researcher maintains his previously formulated conclusion that cooperation had a destructive effect on the community. He writes that "the community could not, without collapsing, be completely transformed into either an artel or a marketing and supply form of cooperation" ³⁴. V.V. Kabanov's work is of considerable interest from the perspective of comparing pre-revolutionary and Soviet cooperation. In his work, "Agricultural Credit in Russia in the Late 19th – Early 20th Centuries," the author examines and analyzes the

³⁰Look in: *Pershin P.N.* Agrarian revolution in Russia: hist. – economic. Research. Moscow: Nauka. 1966. 22 p.

³¹Look in: *Fain L.E.* Domestic cooperation: historical experience. Ivanovo: Ivanovo State University. 1994. 275 p.

³²*Fain L.E.* Domestic cooperation: historical experience. Ivanovo: Ivanovo State University, 1994. P. 52.

³³*Kabanov V.V.* Peasant community and cooperation in Russia of the twentieth century. Moscow: IRL. 1997. 155 p.

³⁴The same. P. 53.

legislative policies of tsarism regarding small-scale credit institutions, their social composition, and other aspects.³⁵

In the late 1990s, A.V. Lubkov's work "War. Revolution. Cooperation" was published³⁶. In it, the author emphasizes the uniqueness of Russian cooperation, which is a phenomenon of popular, primarily peasant, life, and argues that mutual aid in the Russian village was largely achieved through cooperation³⁷. This position is certainly plausible. A.V. Lubkov's work contains a wealth of statistical material on the cooperative movement in the Central Industrial Region.

The three-volume work "Cooperation: Pages of History," edited by Professor N.K. Figurovskaya³⁸ and published in 1999, is of great importance in the study of Russian cooperatives. This work represents a collection of contributions by Russian economists, public figures, and practicing cooperatives. It explores the formation and development of the cooperative movement in Russia. Of particular note are the articles by E.N. Kozlova, which address both the development of various forms of cooperation and its legal aspects³⁹.

In the 2000s, V.G. Egorov and A.V. Sokolovsky published studies on Russian cooperation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries⁴⁰. In his study, "Cooperation – the 'Third Way' (Towards a Theory of the Question)," V.G. Egorov examined the most important issues in cooperation theory, attempting to understand the place and role of collective forms of social production within civilizational space and social theories

³⁵ *Kabanov V.V.* Agricultural credit in Russia in the late 19th – early 20th centuries. Moscow: Nauka, 1988. 259 p.

³⁶ *Lubkov A.V.* War. Revolution. Cooperation. M.: Prometheus, 1997. 261 p.

³⁷ Look in: the same. P.6.

³⁸ Cooperation: Pages of History: Selected Works of Russian Economists, Public Figures, and Practicing Cooperatives: in 3 volumes / RAS. Institute of Economics. 1860s – Early 20th Century. The Emergence of Credit Cooperation in Russia / edited by N.K. Figurovskaya. Moscow: Nauka, 1998. 673 p.

³⁹ Look in: *Kozlova E.N.* The Origins of Cooperation // Cooperation. Pages of History. Part IV. Moscow: Nauka, 1999. Pp. 94-101.

⁴⁰ Look in: *Egorov V.G.* Cooperation – the "third way": towards a theory of the issue. Chelyabinsk: Rifei, 2003. 152 p.; *the same*: The cooperative movement in pre-revolutionary Russia (a new look) // Questions of History. 2005. No. 6. pp. 3-18; *Sokolovsky A.V.* Rural credit cooperation in Russia in the 1890s: choosing a path // Questions of History. 2002. No. 3. pp. 119-125; *the same*: Cooperative credit in Russia at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century, Ivanovo State University. Ivanovo: IvSU, 2004. 233 p.

reflecting the desire to improve human coexistence. The author emphasizes the role of small economic forms that enable the realization of the individual worker⁴¹.

A.V. Sokolovsky analyzes the role of government structures in the development of the cooperative movement and identifies its patterns⁴².

Of great interest for the study of consumer cooperatives is a collection published in 2012 containing a large number of unique archival documents from the Department of Police, Zakupsbyt, and government agencies. This collection focuses on Siberian consumer cooperatives at the turn of the epochs (1911-1931)⁴³. The collection includes various historical documents from the Russian Empire, the New Economic Policy, and the beginning of collectivization.

Many cooperative theorists and practitioners, historians, and legal scholars have addressed the issue of state cooperative policy during the perestroika period. A.A. Blokhin, A.A. Glushetsky, E.A. Ivanova, R.G. Kirsanov, A.A. Kiryukhin, T.E. Kuznetsova, D.A. Lukashevich, L.V. Nikiforova, S.A. Shashnov, and A.A. Yanik have demonstrated the contradictory nature of state policy toward the new cooperatives⁴⁴.

⁴¹Look in: *Egorov V.G.* Cooperation – the “third way”: towards a theory of the issue. Chelyabinsk: Rifei, 2003. 152 p.

⁴²Look in: *Sokolovsky A.V.* Cooperative credit in Russia at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century. Ivanovo: Ivanovo State University, 2004. 232 p.

⁴³Siberian consumer cooperatives at the turn of the eras (1911-1931): collection of documents / ed. A.A. Nikolaev. Novosibirsk: Institute of History SB RAS, 2012. 559 p.

⁴⁴Look in: *Blokhin A.A., Ivanova E.A.* Cooperative sector of the economy. Moscow: Knowledge, 1989. 61 p.; *Ivanova E.A., Shashnov S.A.* Cooperative structure in the economy. Moscow: Finance and Statistics, 1991. 173 p.; *Kirsanov R.* Kirsanov R.G. Development of the cooperative sector during perestroika and its role in stabilizing the consumer market in the USSR // Domestic history. No. 4. 2014. pp. 30-36; *the same*: Cooperatives during perestroika: difficulties and contradictions in the development of private business in the USSR // Russian history. 2017. No. 1. pp. 181-194; *Kiryukhin A.A.* Consumer cooperation in the USSR during Perestroika: problems and achievements (based on materials from the Penza region) // Bulletin of Perm University. 2015. Issue 2 (29). P. 173-178; *the same*: Consumer cooperation in the USSR during Perestroika: problems and achievements (based on the materials of the Penza region) // Bulletin of Perm University. 2015. Issue 2 (29). P. 173-178; *Lukashevich D.A.* Legal regulation of the process of market economy formation in the USSR in 1985-1991: diss. ... Doctor of Law. Moscow, 2022. 440 p.; *Nikiforov L.V., Kuznetsova T.E.* Problems of cooperation in modern Russia // Cooperation. Pages of history. Issue V. Moscow: Science, 1996. P. 292-313; *Yanik A.A.* History of modern Russia. Origins and lessons of the latest Russian modernization (1985-1999). M.: Contemporary History Fund; Moscow University Publishing House, 2012. 760 p.

Some researchers (for example, L.V. Nikiforova, T.E. Kuznetsova) noted a systematic reduction in the volume of consumer goods produced by consumer cooperatives, while others (for example, A.A. Glushetsky, A.A. Yanik) emphasized the positive role of this type of cooperative movement in improving the well-being of the population.

It is necessary to highlight the works of researchers of the cooperative movement, which had a specific nature. Thus, the works of K.E. Baldin, G.M. Zaporozhchenko, A.Yu. Kabanov were devoted to consumer cooperation as one of the main types of cooperative form of association ⁴⁵, the studies of A.O. Bunin, Yu.B. Budkina, A.V. Sokolovsky, N.P. Shilova and others - to the organizational and legal regulation of credit cooperation in Russia ⁴⁶. The issues of formation and development of consumer cooperation (including at the regional level) in different historical periods were devoted to the research of E.Yu. Industrial cooperation, its organizational structure and legal regulation were studied in the works of A.V. Gusev, Yu.A. Sidorova, L.V. Pechalov, O.V. Yagov and ⁴⁷others ⁴⁸.

⁴⁵Look in: *Bal'din K.E.* The workers' cooperative movement in Russia in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries. Ivanovo: Ivanovo State University, 2006. 311 p.; *Zaporozhchenko G.M.* Urban consumer cooperation in Siberia at the beginning of the 20th century: the search for identity and the experience of civil self-government. Novosibirsk: B. i., 2016. 538 p.; *Kabanov A.Yu.* Cooperation in the processing and marketing of agricultural products of the USSR in 1921–1926: diss. ... Cand. of History. Ivanovo, 1998. 174 p. and others.

⁴⁶Look in: *Bunin A.O.* Agricultural credit cooperation in the system of the Soviet economy, October 1917–1930: Dis. ... Doctor of History. Ivanovo, 1998. 431 p.; *Budkina Yu.B.* Credit cooperation in the Ryazan province: 1870 - October 1917: Dis. ... Cand. Science (Hist.). Ryazan, 2010. 192 p.; *Sokolovsky A.V.* Cooperative credit in Russia in the late 19th - early 20th century. Ivanovo: Ivan. state University, 2004. 232 p.; *Shilova N.P.* Legal regulation of agricultural credit cooperation: Dis. ... Cand. Science (Law). Moscow, 2003. 270 p.

⁴⁷Look in: *Bolotova E. Yu.* Consumer cooperation in Russia in the late 19th - early 20th centuries: Experience of public regulation: Dis. ... Doc. of History. Moscow, 2003. 489 p.; *Volkova E. V.* Don consumer cooperation in the context of the new economic policy: 1921–1929: Dis. ... Cand. of History. Rostov-on-Don, 2004. 190 p.; *Gabriel N. L.* Consumer cooperation in Perm province: the second half of the 19th century - 1917: Dis. ... Cand. of History. Perm, 2010. 242 p.; *Leonova N. A.* Consumer cooperation in the North Caucasus in the 1920s: Dis. ... Cand. of History. Stavropol, 2004. 221 p. and others.

⁴⁸Look in: *Gusev A.V.* Industrial cooperation in the consumer market of the Soviet society: experience of overcoming the commodity crisis: based on the materials of the Ivanovo, Kostroma and Yaroslavl regions in the 1920s–30s: diss. ... Cand. Sci. (Hist.). Kostroma, 2008. 182 p.; *Sidorova Yu.A.* Domestic industrial cooperation in the context of the socialist transformation of the public economy (1920s): projects and reality: diss. ... Cand. Sci. (Hist.). Orekhovo-Zuyevo, 2011. 204 p.; *Pechalova L.V.*

E.E. Bekbaeva, I.N. Konovalov, O.B. Pankratova, M.V. Panova, I.I. Tselovalnikova and others devoted their works to agricultural cooperation, examining its organizational basis, including from a regional perspective.⁴⁹

A.O. Bunin, N.S. Zhdanova, M.V. Pelenitsyna, S.V. Tychinin, and others addressed the legal regulation and practical implementation of agricultural cooperation.

⁵⁰A distinctive feature of research on this type of cooperation was that some authors viewed agricultural cooperation not as a distinct movement, but solely in terms of the sedentary nature of cooperatives: that is, cooperative partnerships operating in rural areas were classified by researchers as agricultural, regardless of the type of their activity.

Particularly noteworthy are the works of V.V. Burdanov, V.V. Gusak, M.I. Kleandrov, O.A. Lipich, T.A. Seliverstov, S.V. Tychinin, M.V. Pelenitsyna, and Z.A. Khadzhuova, whose scientific interest lay in the historical and legislative development

Industrial cooperation and cooperation of the disabled in the implementation of the socio-economic policy of the Soviet state (1920-1960): based on the materials of the North Caucasus and the Don: dis. ... Doctor of Science (Hist.). Stavropol, 2023. 589 p.; *Yagov O.V.* Handicraft and industrial cooperation of the Volga region under the NEP conditions: dis. ... Doctor of Historical Sciences. Samara, 2009. 439 p. and others.

⁴⁹Look in: *Bekbaeva E.E.* Rural cooperation in the Steppe region in the late 19th - early 20th centuries: Based on the materials of the Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions: Dis. ... Cand. of History, Moscow, 1992. 196 p.; *Konovalov I.N.* Agricultural cooperation in Russia in the late 19th - early 20th centuries: Based on the materials of the provinces of the Northern, Ural and Volga regions: Dis. ... Doctor of History. Saratov, 1999. 432 p.; *the same*: The influence of the Stolypin agrarian reform on the development of agricultural cooperation in Russia (1906-1914) // Bulletin of the Saratov University. New series. Series: history. International relations. 2022. No. 4. Vol. 22. pp. 464-469; *the same*: Power and agricultural cooperation in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century // Bulletin of the Saratov University. New series. Series: history. International relations. 2024. No. 2. Vol. 24. Pp. 159-165; *Pankratova O.B.* Agricultural cooperation during the years of the New Economic Policy, 1921-1927: based on the materials of the Upper Volga provinces: Diss. ... Cand. Sci. (Hist.). Kostroma, 1997. 306 p.; *Panova M.V.* Rural cooperation in Western Siberia during the First World War and the Revolution. 1914-1918: Diss. ... Cand. Sci. (Hist.). Moscow, 2001. 230 p.; *Tselovalnikova I.I.* Agricultural cooperation in the Middle Volga region in 1906-1917: Based on materials from the Samara and Simbirsk provinces: diss. ... Cand. of History. Ulyanovsk, 2005. 327 p.

⁵⁰Look in: *Bunin A.O.* Agricultural credit cooperation in the system of the Soviet economy, October 1917-1930: dis. ... doctor of history. Ivanovo, 1998. 431 p.; *Zhdanova N.S.* Agricultural credit cooperation in Altai in the 1920s: dis. ... candidate of history. Barnaul, 2015. 279 p.; *Pelenitsyna M.V.* Legislation of Russia on cooperation: Historical and legal aspect: dis. ... candidate of law. Vladimir, 2004. 156 p.; *Tychinin S.V.* Civil regulation of consumer cooperation in Russia: dis. ... doctor of law. St. Petersburg, 2004. 405 p. and others.

of Russian cooperatives ⁵¹. The organization and activities of "new" cooperatives were covered in the works of E.V. Zlobina, A.Yu. Kabalkin, N.I. Konyaev, L.I. Savenko, and others ⁵².

Thus, a large number of studies currently exist on the formation and development of Russian cooperatives. However, the vast majority of these studies are conducted from the perspective of historical and economic science. However, legal scholarship lacks research that comprehensively analyzes trends in the legal regulation of Russian cooperatives from the establishment of the first cooperative societies in the 1860s to 1991. This study aims to fill this gap.

The Aim of the Dissertation Research is to construct a comprehensive concept of legal regulation of the institution of cooperation in Russia, based on the generalization and systematization of the main trends in the dynamics of legal regulation of the institution of cooperation throughout the entire period under study (19th–20th centuries).

To achieve this aim, the following **tasks** were set:

- 1) define the concept of cooperation as a socio-legal institution, highlight the characteristics and types of cooperation;
- 2) to highlight the main stages and periods of legal regulation of cooperation of various types in Russia and to provide their characteristics;

⁵¹Look in: *Burdanov V.V.* Legal regulation of cooperation in the period of the New Economic Policy of 1921-1928 (historical and legal research): diss. ... Cand. Sciences (Law). Moscow, 2017. 167 p.; *Gusak V.V.* Organizational and legal foundations for the development of cooperation in Russia: diss. ... Cand. Sciences (Law). Chelyabinsk., 2013. 188 p.; *Kleandrov M.I.* Legal organization of consumer cooperation in the USSR: diss. ... Cand. Sciences (Law). Moscow, 1976. 214 p.; *Lipich O.A.* Normative and legal regulation of consumer cooperation in Russia in 1917 - late 1920s: diss. ... Cand. Sciences (Law). Omsk, 2009. 175 p.; *Seliverstov T.A.* Legal regulation of cooperation in Russia in 1865-1917: diss. ... candidate of legal sciences. Moscow, 2001. 153 p.; *Pelenitsyna M.V.* Legislation of Russia on cooperation: historical and legal aspect: diss. ... candidate of legal sciences. Vladimir, 2004. 156 p.; *Tychinin S.V.* Civil-law regulation of consumer cooperation in Russia: dis. ... Doctor of Law. St. Petersburg, 2004. 405 p.

⁵²Look in: *Zlobina E.V.* Individual labor activity. Moscow: Knourus, 1997. 86 p.; *Kabalkin A.Yu.*, *Savenko L.I.* Individual labor activity and the law. Moscow: Legal Literature, 1987. 159 p.; *Konyaev N.I.* Cooperatives and individual labor activity: Legal issues. Kuibyshev: Kn. Publishing House, 1989. 134 p. and others.

3) to identify the specific features and trends in the development of the institution of credit, agricultural, consumer and industrial cooperation in pre-revolutionary Russia;

4) to conduct an analysis of the first legal documents that laid the foundation for the emergence and legalization of the institution of cooperation in the Russian Empire, as well as the practice of their implementation;

5) to determine the forms of interaction between the state and zemstvo self-government in matters of supporting the cooperative movement in the Russian Empire;

6) to characterize the dynamics of the development of cooperation, to identify trends in state policy and the specifics of legal regulation of cooperation during the period of the Provisional Government;

7) to identify the specific features and trends in the development of the institution of credit, agricultural, consumer and industrial cooperation in Soviet Russia and the USSR;

8) to explore the radical transformation of the legal status and activities of cooperative societies of various types after 1917, including the period of "war communism";

9) to identify and illustrate the trends in the development of legal regulation of the institution of credit, agricultural, consumer and industrial cooperation during the period of the new economic policy.

10) to identify and justify the presence of chrono-discrete pauses in the legal regulation of the institution of cooperation by type;

11) to highlight the specific features and trends of legal regulation of the institution of credit, agricultural, consumer and industrial cooperation in the USSR during the perestroika period, taking into account the emerging law enforcement practice;

12) to identify the main legal problems and contradictions that arose during the transition from a planned system to market regulation of the institution of cooperation;

13) to generalize and systematize the main trends in the dynamics of legal regulation of the institution of cooperation throughout the entire period under study

(19th–20th centuries), identifying and substantiating the cyclical nature of changes (stages) – from autonomy to nationalization and back.

The Object of the Dissertation Research is the totality of social relations in the sphere of cooperation in Russia (Russian Empire, Soviet Russia and the USSR) in the 19th–20th centuries.

The subject of the dissertation research are the legal norms that regulated the emergence, transformation, and termination of cooperation in its various manifestations, as well as the practice of their application in Russia in the 19th–20th centuries.

The Methodological Basis of the Research was a combination of traditional and innovative methods of scientific research, formed and applied in accordance with the established paradigm of scientific research activity and the tasks facing the study as a whole and its specific parts.

The study is based on a philosophical approach based on a combination of dialectical materialism and dialectical idealism. It incorporates elements of positivist, phenomenological, and synergetic methodology into the study of legal regulation of cooperation in Russia.

Among general scientific research methods, the method of analysis, both comparative and retrospective, allowed us to identify precisely those elements of the legal source system of a specific historical period that required detailed study in terms of their role in the legal regulation of cooperation in Russia and the trends of its transformation within the period under study. Synthesis was used to generalize the results obtained during analysis or reconstruction, specific to the subject of the study. It facilitated the identification of trends in legal regulation and the social, political, economic, and other factors that determined them. The method of induction was employed in the study of the specifics of individual aspects and stages of legal regulation of cooperation, for example, the specifics of the period of War Communism. This period was characterized by an extremely high role for law enforcement discretion, expressed in the normative recognition of the right to make law enforcement decisions based on "revolutionary legal consciousness" rather than on a specific, legislatively enshrined legal norm. The deductive method made it possible to identify patterns and

trends in the legal regulation of each of the four types of cooperation studied in the 19th century, at the stage of their formation, when there was no basis yet to speak of their normative legal distinction, and empirical analysis already made it possible to identify them.

Moreover, the systematic method used in the research process, essential for studying law as a holistic system, allowed us to identify and substantiate specific relationships between the historical context of legal regulation of cooperation, general trends in the development of the legal system at that time, and specific legal norms that marked the stages of its legal regulation. The statistical method, in turn, supported the conclusions of the study with statistical data reflecting the results of the implementation of state policy regarding cooperation and, consequently, the effectiveness of legal norms.

historical and historical-legal research methods employed deserves special attention. Among these, we highlight the diachronic, historical-systemic, historical-comparative, retrospective, problem-chronological, synchronization, content analysis, and historical-legal reconstruction methods. In particular, the diachronic method allowed us to consider the legal regulation of cooperation in Russia as a process characterized by the systemic reception of individual provisions from previous periods.

The historical-systemic method facilitated the formulation of the concept of legal regulation of cooperation in Russia over nearly two centuries; the historical-comparative method made it possible to evaluate the effectiveness of state cooperative policy; and the retrospective method in formulating the concept of legal regulation of cooperation in Russia provided the opportunity for an objective assessment of the implementation of each of the periods identified in the work.

Problem-chronological method in combination with the methodology of chronodiscrete mono-geographic comparative law⁵³ formed the basis for the periodization of

⁵³Look in: Chronodiscrete Monogeographical Comparative Law: Problems of Methodology: monograph / edited by A.A. Demichev. Moscow: RUSAINS, 2021. 176 p.; Russian Chronodiscrete Institutions: monograph / edited by A.A. Demichev. Moscow: RUSAINS, 2022. 246 p.; Periodization Method in the Methodology of Chronodiscrete Monogeographical Comparative Law: monograph / edited by A.A. Demichev. Moscow: RUSAINS, 2023. 230 p.

legal regulation of cooperation and the identification of chrono-discrete pauses within it; the synchronization method contributed to the identification of general trends in the legal regulation of cooperation within periods; the content analysis method provided the opportunity to use office materials, reference literature, and media publications to identify hidden trends and patterns in the legal regulation of cooperation.

At the same time, as Professor T.F. Yashchuk notes, the most important method is the historicism method, which allows for the evaluation of legal facts taking into account the specific political, socio-economic and ideological conditions of their emergence ⁵⁴ and ensures, in the study, an analysis of legal norms in the context of historical events that determined their adoption and implementation.

Among those listed, the reconstruction method deserves special attention, or, as Professor A.A. Demichev defines it, the method of reconstructing state-legal realities, which, in a specific historical period, based on the study of normative legal acts and other historical sources, allows, by analyzing the facts of historical reality reflected in the sources, to create scientific-historical facts, i.e., to interpret the facts of reality and the facts of the source and, on this basis, to build one's concept, one's vision of the subject of research ⁵⁵.

In the process of studying the legal regulation of cooperation, especially during the period of early Soviet Russia and the NEP, this method made it possible to distinguish between the formal course of developing the legal regulation of cooperation and the political course of perceiving cooperation by the state as a temporary means of achieving the global political goal of establishing trade exchange “between the city and the village,” which ultimately predetermined the emergence of chrono-discrete pauses in its legal regulation.

In addition, in the process of studying the legal regulation of cooperation, the method of interpretation of legal norms was used, which made it possible to form an understanding of a specific norm not on the basis of its formal legal analysis, but in the

⁵⁴ Yashchuk T.F. Preparation of drafts of the Civil Code of the USSR in the 1930s - early 1950s // Law enforcement. 2025. Vol. 9. No. 3. P. 6.

⁵⁵ See: Demichev A.A. On scientific novelty in historical and legal research // Russian Journal of Legal Research. 2016. No. 2 (7). P. 17.

context of interpretation in relation to the historical context of its adoption and implementation, as well as the method of technical and legal analysis, which made it possible to identify specific techniques and means of legal technique used by both the legislator and law enforcement officers in the process of legal regulation of cooperation.

The combination of synchronous and diachronic comparative legal research methods allowed us to supplement the results obtained through historical methods and complete the formation of a comprehensive concept of legal regulation of cooperation in Russia, while the critical legal method provided the opportunity to analyze the contradictions contained in regulatory legal acts, identify the reasons for their occurrence and, as a consequence, the insufficient effectiveness of legislative measures aimed at legal consolidation or transformation of legal relations related to cooperation in Russia.

The Informational Basis of the Research includes the research information base includes, first of all, *the normative legal acts of the Russian Empire*, among which the Charter of the Christmas Loan Partnership of October 22, 1865, which was the first independent document dedicated to cooperation as a separate institution and had legal force, should be particularly highlighted. The Regulation of the Committee of Ministers of March 21, 1869 "On the establishment of the Fellin Savings and Loan Bank in the city of Fellin, Livonia Province, and the granting to the Minister of Finance, in consultation with the Minister of the Interior, the right to authorize such institutions by his own authority", the supremely approved Regulation on small credit institutions of June 7, 1904, the Resolutions of the Provisional Government of March 20, 1917 "On cooperative societies and their unions", of June 21, 1917 "On the registration of partnerships, societies and unions" and of August 1, 1917 "On congresses of representatives of cooperative institutions"; *normative legal acts of early Soviet Russia*, the main ones being the decrees of the Council of People's Commissars of March 20, 1919 "On Consumer Communes", of January 27, 1920 "On the Unification of All Types of Cooperative Organizations", of January 27, 1920 "On the Liquidation of the Councils of Cooperative Congresses", of April 7, 1921 "On Consumer Cooperatives", of July 7, 1921 "On Industrial Cooperatives", of July 26, 1921 "On the Means of Cooperatives",

from August 16, 1921 "On agricultural cooperation"; *normative legal acts of the USSR*, among which the following should be particularly noted: the Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of January 24, 1922 "On Credit Cooperation", the Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of May 20, 1924 "On Consumer Cooperation", the Resolutions of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of June 15, 1927 "On Approval of the Regulation on the Procedure for Terminating Cooperative Organizations in the Event of Their Liquidation, Merger, and Division", of June 11, 1928 "On Approval of the Regulation on Industrial Cooperation", of January 30, 1930 "On Credit Reform", the Resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of June 29, 1929 "On the Organizational Structure of Agricultural Cooperation", the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of September 29, 1935 "On the Work of Consumer Cooperation in the Village", the Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR of July 20, 1960 No. 784 "On Industrial Cooperation", Resolutions of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of February 5, 1987 No. 160 "On the Creation of Public Catering Cooperatives", "On the Creation of Consumer Services Cooperatives", "On the Creation of Consumer Goods Production Cooperatives" , the laws of the USSR of November 19, 1986 "On Individual Labor Activity" and of May 26, 1988 No. 8998-XI "On Cooperation in the USSR"; *regulatory legal acts of the Russian Federation*, including Law of the Russian Federation of June 19, 1992 No. 3085-1 " On Consumer Cooperation (Consumer Societies, Their Unions) in the Russian Federation " , Federal Laws of December 8, 1995 No. 193-FZ "On Agricultural Cooperation", of May 8, 1996 No. 41-FZ "On Production Cooperatives" , of February 8, 1998 No. 14-FZ "On Limited Liability Companies" of August 7, 2001 No. 117-FZ "On Citizens' Credit Consumer Cooperatives".

In addition to legal acts of the highest bodies of state power, this study also utilizes regulatory legal and law enforcement acts of ministries and departments of the Russian Empire, early Soviet Russia, and the USSR, provincial and regional

government bodies, instructions, and regulations. The work also draws extensively on documentation of state and local government bodies from various historical periods, minutes and resolutions of the RSDLP(b), RCP(b), VKP(b), and CPSU, office documentation of cooperative associations, cooperative unions, cooperative councils, as well as zemstvo authorities, official and zemstvo statistics, and periodicals.

Of great importance for the research are zemstvo office documentation, materials of all-Russian and provincial cooperative congresses of credit, agricultural, consumer, production cooperation, all-Russian and provincial cooperative councils, annual reports of cooperative partnerships.

Of particular importance for the study were the first legal documents of cooperative societies of the late 19th – early 20th centuries, which substantiated the beginning of the formation of various types of cooperation and regulated the legal status of cooperatives, as well as their unions.

The study is based on both published materials and archival funds, such as fund 102 "Police Department. Special Section" of the State Archives of the Russian Federation, funds 311 "Vladimir Provincial Committee for Small Credit", 342 "Vladimir Union of Credit and Savings and Loan Associations", 14 "Chancery of the Vladimir Governor", 310 "Vladimir Branch of the State Bank", 3535 "Vladimir Provincial Cooperative Council", 669 "Vladimir Provincial Union of Consumer Societies of the City of Vladimir, Vladimir Region", 320 "Murom Branch of the State Bank", 1148 "Rogachev Credit Association of Aleksandrovsky District" of the State Archives of Vladimir Region, including materials that have not previously been introduced into scientific circulation and, accordingly, have not been used by researchers. Moreover, some of the archival documents were introduced into scientific circulation for the first time.

In addition, the study was based on statistical data and information materials, including information on the progress of implementing state policy in the field of cooperation at various historical stages of its development.

The necessary sources for writing the work included journals of district and provincial assemblies, provincial memoranda and calendars, and reviews of zemstvo

statistics. Materials from printed periodicals, primarily provincial gazettes published in the 19th century, were also used.

Thus, it should be noted that the solution of the tasks set in the study is facilitated by the use of various types of sources, both previously known and introduced into scientific circulation for the first time, which made it possible to analyze in sufficient depth the transformation of the legal regulation of cooperation in Russia and the implementation of the rules governing the activities of cooperative partnerships in practice, to identify and substantiate the trends in the legal regulation of cooperation throughout the entire period under study and, ultimately, to substantiate the concept of legal regulation of the institution of cooperation in Russia.

The Theoretical Basis of the Research includes the works of pre-revolutionary, Soviet and modern authors devoted to the cooperative movement in Russia, as well as the conditions and prerequisites for the development of its legal regulation.

Taking into account the authors already named above (when characterizing the degree of scientific development of the problem), whose scientific works were used as a theoretical basis, it should be noted that the theoretical provisions and views on the nature of domestic cooperation from the point of view of legal and organizational aspects, set out in the publications of such pre-revolutionary authors as: A.N. Antsiferov, S.V. Borodaevsky, F.V. Vasilchikov, V.P. Vorontsov, I.F. Gritsenko, N.F. Danielson, Sh. Gide, G. Kaufman, M.I. Kulisher, A.E. Kulyzhny, V.I. Lenin, V.F. Luginin, S.L. Maslov, A.V. Merkulov, A.A. Nikolaev, N.P. Oganovsky, A.S. Orlov, S.N. Prokopovich, N.A. Reitlinger, P.A. Sokolovsky, V.F. Totomians, M.I. Tugan-Baranovsky, M.L. Kheisin, V.V. Khizhnyakov, A.V. Chayanov, A.N. Engelhard, A.V. Yakovlev and others.

In the course of work on the dissertation, taking into account the specifics of the topic under study, considerable attention was paid to the works of such theorists and practitioners of the cooperative movement of the post-revolutionary period, who used rich factual and statistical material, as S.M. Balabanov, B.D. Brutskus, D.I. Ilimsky, A.P. Korelin, N.P. Makarov, N.L. Meshcheryakov, A.N. Minin, L.I. Povolotsky, A.A. Rybnikov, V.M. Cellarius, A.N. Chelintsev, V.E. Cheshikhin, E. Jacob and others.

In addition, when writing the work, the dissertation candidate used scientific approaches, views, analytical materials, conclusions and proposals contained in the publications of authors of the Soviet period, such as: L.I. Abalkin, I.G. Bulatov, V.P. Danilov, V.V. Kabanov, L.F. Morozov, P.N. Pershin, I.I. Sergeev, S.P. Trapeznikov, L.E. Fain and others.

The study is based on the works of recent authors who have studied the legal status, organizational basis and dynamics of development of cooperation, such as: A.A. Blokhin, A.V. Voronin, A.A. Glushetsky, V.G. Egorov, E.A. Ivanova, R.G. Kirsanov, A.A. Kiryukhin, Z.R. Kochkarova, T.E. Kuznetsova, L.V. Nikiforova, A.V. Sokolovsky, V.G. Tyukavkin, N.K. Figurovskaya, S.A. Shashnov, A.A. Yanik and others.

The dissertation author also turned to the works of authors who studied various types of cooperation, such as: K.E. Baldin, E.E. Bekbaeva, E.Yu. Bolotova, Yu.B. Budkina, A. O. Bunin, E.V. Volkova, N.L. Gabriel, A.V. Gusev, N.S. Zhdanova, G.M. Zaporozhchenko, E.V. Zlobina, A.Yu. Kabalkin, A.Yu. Kabanov, I.N. Konovalov, N.I. Konyaev, N.R. Korovina, N.A. Leonova, A.V. Lubkov, M.V. Pelenitsyna, O.B. Pankratova, M.V. Panova, L.V. Pechalova, L.I. Savenko, T.A. Seliverstov, Yu.A. Sidorov, A.V. Sokolovsky, I.I. Tselovalnikova, N.P. Shilova, O.V. Yagov and others.

In terms of the methodological approach to identifying the periods of legal regulation of cooperation, the dissertation author used the works of A.A. Demichev, K.A. Demichev, V.A. Ilyukhina, M.A. Kozhevina and others. Moreover, when studying the problem of cooperation, the dissertation author addressed various aspects of the scientific approaches, views and conclusions contained in the publications of A.A. Dorskaya, E.V. Kalinina, G.M. Lanova, N.V. Malinovskaya, N.V. Makareiko, G.G. Nebratenko, S.N. Revina, V.B. Romanovskaya, Yu.V. Sorokina, A.M. Khuzhin, T.V. Shatkovskaya and others.

The number of regulatory, scientific, analytical, informational, reference and other sources used during the study amounted to more than 850 items.

The Scientific Novelty of the Dissertation lies in the fact that it is the first comprehensive monographic study in legal science devoted to the study of general

patterns and dynamics of legal regulation of the institution of cooperation in Russia in the 19th – 20th centuries.

The novelty of the work also lies in the following:

- a methodological apparatus has been formed that allows for the effective study of the dynamics of legal regulation of the institution of cooperation in Russia in the 19th – 20th centuries;

- a periodization of the history of the institution of cooperation in Russia was carried out on the basis of the use of the methodology of chrono-discrete mono-geographic comparative law;

- the specific features and trends in the development of the institution of credit, agricultural, consumer and industrial cooperation in pre-revolutionary Russia are identified and characterized from the point of view of the dynamics of their legal regulation;

- the first legal documents that laid the foundation for the emergence and legalization of the institution of cooperation in the Russian Empire were studied and characterized;

- forms of interaction between the state and zemstvo self-government in matters of supporting the cooperative movement in the Russian Empire were determined;

- the dynamics of the development of cooperation are characterized, trends in state policy and the specifics of legal regulation of cooperation during the period of the Provisional Government are identified;

- specific features and trends in the legal regulation of the development and functioning of institutions of credit, agricultural, consumer and industrial cooperation in Soviet Russia and the USSR were identified;

- the radical transformation of the legal status of cooperative societies of various types after 1917, including the period of “war communism”, is characterized, its causes and consequences are identified;

- the trends in the development of legal regulation of the institution of credit, agricultural, consumer and industrial cooperation during the period of the new economic policy were identified and illustrated;

- the presence of chrono-discrete pauses in the legal regulation of the institution of cooperation in relation to its types has been established and substantiated;

- specific features and trends in the legal regulation of institutions of agricultural, consumer and industrial cooperation in the USSR during the perestroika period are highlighted;

- the main problems and contradictions that arose in legal regulation during the transition from a planned system to market regulation of the institution of cooperation were identified;

- based on the generalization and systematization of the main trends in the dynamics of legal regulation of the institution of cooperation throughout the entire period under study (19th–20th centuries), the concept of legal regulation of the institution of cooperation in Russia was formulated, and the cyclical nature of the changes that took place (from autonomy to nationalization and back) was revealed;

- previously unused archival materials from the funds of the State Archives of the Vladimir Region were introduced into scientific circulation.

Provisions submitted for defense and possessing scientific novelty:

1. For the first time in legal scholarship, a universal definition of the concept of cooperation as a legal institution has been formulated; this definition accurately reflects the corresponding phenomenon within historical-legal reality and enables the study of cooperation as a unified object of legal regulation across all stages of historical development. Cooperation is understood as a form of organizing joint economic and/or labor activity based on the principles of voluntariness, equality, self-governance and self-organization, the supremacy of the general meeting and the elective nature of governing bodies, self-financing, material incentive, predominantly share-based participation and limited liability, as well as financial and organizational independence from the state; it aims to improve the material and spiritual well-being of its members, operates on the basis of relevant legal norms, and fulfills a socio-economic mission regarding the development of the state and civil society (which corresponds to paragraph 34 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

2. A classification model of cooperation has been developed and theoretically substantiated—one that is universal across the entire lifespan of this institution, regardless of the socio-economic or political context. The novelty of the proposed model lies in its applicability to the study of cooperation from its inception to the present day, without being tied to any specific historical period, legal act, or academic theory of cooperation. This marks a fundamental departure from previous studies, which did not attempt to create a universal classification model but instead focused on specific types of cooperation within particular historical periods.

Based on the criterion of the sphere of activity, four main types of cooperation are identified; while exhibiting internal variation, these types are characteristic of all historical periods: 1) credit cooperation; 2) agricultural cooperation; 3) consumer cooperation; and 4) artisanal (production) cooperation. Each of these types is subject to specific legal regulations and plays a distinct role in social relations across different historical periods.

This approach enables an analysis of the evolution of legal regulation regarding the institution of cooperation in Russia, the identification of key development trends, and, ultimately, the formulation of a comprehensive concept for the legal regulation of the institution of cooperation (which corresponds to paragraphs 34, 42-46 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

3. A periodization of the legal regulation of the cooperative institution in Russia has been developed, based on the methodology of chrono-discrete mono-geographic comparative legal studies. Specific dates—marking the approval or entry into force of regulatory legal acts that established the legal grounds for the creation, dissolution, or significant transformation of the cooperative's legal status—are proposed as the chronological boundaries for these periods.

On this basis, a chronological model was formulated that made it possible to identify six periods in the history of the development of cooperative legislation regulating the activities of credit cooperation, with a maximum chronodiscrete pause of 71 years from 1930 to 2001. *The first period* : October 22, 1865 to March 20, 1917 – the period of the beginning of the normative consolidation of the legal status of credit and

loan and savings cooperatives, as well as the development and approval of the basic cooperative law of 1904, *the second period* : March 20, 1917 - March 20, 1919 - a period marked by the general nature of cooperative legislation, which secured a single legal status for all types of cooperatives in one regulatory legal act, *the third period* : March 20, 1919 - January 24, 1922 - the period of nationalization of credit cooperation at the legislative level through the normative consolidation of the legal status of a single consumer commune, *the fourth period* : January 24, 1922 - January 30, 1930 - the period of development of legal regulation of credit cooperatives based on the democratic principles of cooperative activity and the subsequent legislative prohibition of the activities of credit cooperation, *the fifth period* - January 30, 1930 - August 7, 2001 - the period of a chronodiscrete pause in the history of legal regulation of credit cooperation, *the sixth period* : August 7, 2001 - to the present, the period of the revival of legal regulation of credit cooperation as a separate type of independent cooperative associations operating on democratic principles and regulated by a special regulatory legal act.

In the history of the development of legal regulation of agricultural cooperation, there are seven periods with a chronodiscrete pause of 58 years from 1930 to 1988. *The first period* : June 30, 1897 - to March 20, 1917 - the period of the beginning of the normative consolidation of the legal status of agricultural cooperatives, as well as the development and approval of the Charter of Agriculture of 1903, which secured the general legal status of agricultural partnerships, which was in force until 1917, *the second period* : March 20, 1917 - March 20, 1919 - a period characterized by the adoption of general cooperative laws, *the third period* : March 20, 1919 - August 16, 1921 - the period of nationalization of agricultural cooperation at the legislative level through the normative consolidation of the legal status of a single consumer commune, *the fourth period* : August 16 1921 – July 30, 1930 – the period of development of legal regulation of agricultural cooperatives based on the democratic principles of cooperative activity and the subsequent legislative ban on the activities of agricultural cooperation, *the fifth period*: July 30, 1930 – May 26, 1988 – the period of a chronodiscrete pause in the history of legal regulation of agricultural cooperation, *the sixth period*: May 26,

1988 – December 8, 1995 – the period of revival of legal regulation of agricultural cooperation, *the seventh period*: December 8, 1995 – to the present day – the period of legal regulation of agricultural cooperation as a separate type of cooperative associations, the activities of which are regulated by a special regulatory legal act .

In the history of the development of legal regulation of consumer cooperatives, there are eight periods with a chronodiscrete pause of 52 years from 1935 to 1987. *The first period*: March 13, 1897 - to March 20, 1917 - the period of the beginning of the normative consolidation of the legal status of consumer cooperatives, as well as the development of the approval of the unified Normal Charter of Consumer Societies of 1897, the effect of which regulated the legal status of consumer cooperatives in the Russian Empire until 1917, *the second period*: March 20, 1917 - March 20, 1919 - the period of adoption of general cooperative laws, *the third period*: March 20, 1919 - May 20, 1924 - the period of nationalization of consumer cooperation at the legislative level through the normative consolidation of the legal status of a single consumer commune, *the fourth period*: May 20, 1924 - September 29, 1935 - the period of development of legal regulation of consumer cooperatives based on the democratic principles of cooperative activity with subsequent nationalization and legislative prohibition of the activities of consumer cooperatives, *the fifth period*: September 29, 1935 - February 5, 1987 - the period is characterized by the presence of a chronodiscrete gap in the history of legal regulation of consumer cooperatives, *the sixth period* : February 5, 1987 - May 26, 1988 - the period of the beginning of the implementation of legal norms that made it possible for consumer cooperatives to emerge, whose activities were built on democratic principles, *the seventh period*: May 26, 1988 - June 19, 1992 - the period of functioning of cooperation on the basis of legislation uniform for all types, *the eighth period* - June 19, 1992 - to the present time - the period of functioning of consumer cooperation as a separate type of cooperative associations, whose activities are regulated by a special regulatory legal act .

In the history of the development of legal regulation of industrial (production) cooperation, there are nine periods with a chronodiscrete pause of 26 years from 1960 to 1986. *The first period*: November 12, 1799 - June 1, 1902 - the period of the

establishment of artels on the basis of disparate charters approved by various departments, *the second period*: June 1, 1902 - March 20, 1917 - the period of activity of industrial partnerships on the basis of a special regulatory legal act (Regulations of June 1, 1902 "On labor artels"), *the third period*: March 20, 1917 - March 20, 1919 - the period of legal regulation of industrial cooperation by general cooperative legislation, *the fourth period* : March 20, 1919 - July 7, 1921 - the period of nationalization of industrial cooperation at the legislative level through the normative consolidation of the legal status of a single consumer commune , *the fifth period*: July 7, 1921 - July 20, 1960 - the period of development of legal regulation of industrial cooperation, based on the democratic principles of cooperative activity, *the sixth period*: July 20, 1960 - August 14, 1986 - the period is characterized by the presence of a chronodiscrete gap in the history of legal regulation of industrial cooperation , *the seventh period* : August 14, 1986 - May 26, 1988 - the period of the beginning of the implementation of legal norms that regulated the possibility of creating production cooperatives, *the eighth period*: May 26, 1988 – May 8, 1996 - the period of functioning of the cooperation on the basis of a single legislation for all types, *the ninth period* : May 8, 1996 – to the present day - the period of functioning of production cooperation as a separate type of cooperative associations, the activities of which are regulated by a special regulatory legal act (which corresponds to paragraphs 34, 41-46 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

4. It has been established that the practical implementation of cooperative legislation in the Russian Empire during the 19th and early 20th centuries led to the creation of cooperative societies operating on democratic principles such as grassroots initiative, self-governance, self-financing, and the formation of unions. Based on an analysis of legal practice and archival documents introduced into scholarly discourse for the first time, it is demonstrated that the widespread adoption of the cooperative model in Russia by 1917 resulted not only from the legislative formalization of the first cooperative associations but also from the socio-economic and political processes unfolding in the country during the early 20th century. The dynamic growth of cooperatives was linked to the First Russian Revolution—following which peasant

farms were rapidly drawn into global commodity trade—and to the Stolypin agrarian reform, which boosted agricultural production and increased its marketability. The revolutionary events of 1905, the Stolypin agrarian reform, and World War I provided a significant impetus for the development of various forms of civic engagement. These challenges unleashed a vast societal energy that had been accumulating among the people for years. Through the cooperative movement—particularly in rural areas—new horizontal ties based on informed democratic choices were forged, and novel organizational forms emerged to address both economic and social needs. The cooperative network became a hub of public life, demonstrating a capacity for self-organization, self-governance, and grassroots initiative, thereby fostering the development of elements of civil society in early 20th-century Russia. By harmonizing personal and public interests and developing new economic models that met the population's desire for self-governance, initiative, and social responsibility, the cooperative movement created fertile ground for the effective implementation of the state's new regulatory framework for cooperatives (which corresponds to paragraphs 9, 34, 42, 43 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

5. It is argued that the process of legislatively regulating the activities of the first cooperative societies—across all types of cooperation in Imperial Russia—reflected a Russian legal tradition characterized by a combination of introduced liberal rights and freedoms and strict state control and oversight of the process. The state's ambivalent attitude toward the cooperative movement stemmed from the fact that, on the one hand, there were objective socio-economic needs for cooperative associations. On the other hand, this social movement—grounded in self-governance and grassroots initiative, representing a synthesis of material and spiritual elements, and harboring the latent creative potential of the masses and the capacity for individual self-realization—was viewed as a potential threat to the established foundations of the Russian state (which corresponds to paragraphs 9, 34, 42, 43 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

6. It has been revealed that Russian state policy on the cooperative movement in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries was characterized not only by the development of the first normative legal acts regulating the activities of cooperative

associations, but also by the creation of new state institutions that, on the one hand, facilitated the development of small cooperative associations and, on the other, involved zemstvos in the spread of cooperation in rural areas. This was expressed not only in the right and ability of zemstvos to financially support cooperative associations but also in the ability to simplify their establishment, develop draft "Normal Charters," provide advisory support in the development of cooperative documents and the implementation of their activities through appointed trustees-controllers, verify cooperative activity reports and coordinate their activities, organize joint meetings on current issues, and popularize cooperative ideas among the population. Moreover, the role of zemstvos in the formation and development of cooperation in Russia can be traced from the very beginning of the emergence of the first cooperative associations (which corresponds to paragraphs 9, 34, 42, 43 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

7. It has been proven that, since the early 20th century, the cooperative movement has been recognized by state authorities as one of the most effective mechanisms for developing not only a substantial material base for the population but also a foundation for social development, self-awareness, identity, and the formation of the first elements of civil society in Russia. The fundamental principles of cooperative associations, which determine their social focus (initiative, independence, self-government), required not only cooperative activists but also the state to create specialized institutions that would facilitate, on the one hand, the promotion of cooperative ideas among the masses and the development of a cooperative consciousness, and, on the other, the implementation of educational and outreach work among the population to train cooperative workers.

Thanks in large part to the efforts of the state and the zemstvo in matters of regulatory regulation, financing, and organizing cooperative societies and their activities, Russian cooperatives in the early 20th century developed into a powerful socioeconomic movement capable of mobilizing vast masses of the population. Cooperatives assumed a tremendous cultural mission, transforming the way of life of the Russian people. They provided an opportunity to participate in the national task of supplying the front, thereby fostering a sense of civic duty and social justice.

Thus, the cooperative movement in Russia acted not only as an institution of the financial and economic system, but was also a full-fledged element of the emerging civil society (which corresponds to paragraphs 9, 34, 43-46 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

8. It is argued that the Provisional Government's cooperative legislation differed fundamentally from the normative guidelines of imperial cooperative legislation and quite clearly reflected the cooperators' ideas regarding the development of cooperation. Under the Provisional Government, the scope of activities of cooperative societies was significantly expanded, their structure was streamlined, the definition of a "cooperative society" was formalized, the registration of a legal entity was established by declaration, and the right of the lower network of cooperative associations to freely form unions and convene cooperative congresses was secured. For the first time, at the legislative level, cooperative societies became not only centers for improving the financial well-being of the population but also centers of spiritual and cultural development (which corresponds to paragraphs 9, 34, and 44 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

9. It is demonstrated that the practical implementation of the "War Communism" policy nullified the achievements of the Russian cooperative movement, which had been grounded in democratic principles of private initiative, independent action, self-governance, and self-organization. It is established that the Soviet authorities viewed cooperatives not as a vehicle for developing capitalist commodity-money relations, but rather as a state-run mechanism for the exchange of goods—a measure adopted out of necessity. This led to the consolidation of all cooperative sectors into a unified consumer cooperative system based on the model of the "consumer commune." Consequently, the cooperative evolved from an institution of private law into one of public law. The period from 1918 to 1920 in the movement's history can be characterized as a phase of state appropriation; this era marked the dismantling of pre-revolutionary cooperative legislation and a shift toward the concept of a single, nationwide cooperative—encompassing the entire population and operating under the strict control of the proletarian state.

Based on archival documents newly introduced into scholarly discourse, it is established that the implementation of the Council of People's Commissars (SNK) Decree of March 20, 1919, "On Consumer Communes," entailed the creation of unified worker-peasant consumer societies tasked with supplying the population with essential goods based on principles of socialist communal living. The establishment of this new network of unified consumer societies—underpinned by a state-driven economic logic—continued until 1921; this process involved the formation of interim cooperative boards charged with defining and executing the necessary tasks prior to the liquidation of private cooperative entities and the transfer of their assets (which corresponds to paragraphs 9, 34, and 45 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

10. It has been established that the rigorous state takeover of all types of cooperative associations in 1921 marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the legal regulation of Russian cooperatives. This stage was characterized by the revival of free cooperation as a component of the New Economic Policy; within this framework, a series of regulatory acts were adopted granting cooperatives relative autonomy, previously nationalized property was returned, and cooperative associations were re-established. A key instrument in this legislative process was the adoption of norms from the Provisional Government's cooperative legislation—specifically those providing for registration upon notification (rather than by prior authorization), voluntary membership and withdrawal, a share-based entry requirement, and independent organizational management.

Based on archival documents newly introduced into scholarly discourse, it has been determined that during the period under study:

- cooperative councils began to be re-established locally as governing bodies for the cooperative movement on the initiative of provincial authorities; conditions for membership were defined to address practical operational issues, which subsequently served as the basis for the legislative regulation of the legal status of cooperative councils at the all-Union level;

- measures adopted by state authorities (such as the drafting of model charters, the reduction of the tax burden, and the inclusion of poorer population segments

through the financing of share contributions) resulted in the rapid registration of new cooperative organizations;

- alongside efforts by state authorities, Union-level cooperative associations, and the Central Cooperative Council to foster the development of cooperatives, significant work was undertaken starting in 1927 to combat "pseudo-cooperatives"; the Central Cooperative Council, in collaboration with provincial cooperative unions, developed effective measures to address legal violations in this sector;

- local authorities were actively engaged in implementing the cooperative decrees of the New Economic Policy era, particularly in areas involving organizational management, organizational guidance and instruction, and record-keeping (which corresponds to paragraphs 9, 34, 44, 45 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

11. It has been established that cooperation constitutes a "chrono-discontinuous" institution of private law within the Russian legal system. Its legal regulation—which originated in the 19th century and experienced only a brief interruption between 1919 and the early 1920s—was subsequently suspended for a prolonged period, thereby breaking the legal tradition. It has been determined and substantiated that the years 1927–1960, driven by the country's new course of economic development, marked a process of dismantling the cooperative system and formalizing a "chrono-discontinuous" hiatus in its legal regulation. Regarding specific types of cooperation, this process was linked to several key enactments: the Resolution of the CEC and SNK dated January 30, 1930, "On Credit Reform," which abolished the right of cooperative organizations to engage in lending at the national level; the Resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) dated July 30, 1930, "On the Reorganization of the Collective Farm-Cooperative System," which mandated the creation of a unified rural system headed by the "Union of Unions" and "Kolkhoztsestr"; the Resolution of the SNK of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) dated September 29, 1935, "On the Work of Consumer Cooperatives in Rural Areas"; the Resolution of the SNK of the USSR dated September 29, 1935, "On the Reorganization of Centrosoyuz," which required Centrosoyuz to transfer its entire consumer cooperative network to the People's

Commissariat for Internal Trade of the USSR; and the Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR dated July 20, 1960 (No. 784), "On Industrial Cooperatives," which contained a provision for their abolition (which corresponds to paragraphs 34, 45 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

12. It is argued that the cooperative legislation of the 1980s served as one of the legal foundations for the emergence of a market economy and individual citizen initiative in the USSR, aimed at improving living standards through individual labor activity. The shift toward the state policy of *perestroika* necessitated new forms of economic activity intended to yield significant economic benefits by supplying the population with consumer goods and raising their standard of living. In this context, historical experience regarding the organization and operation of cooperatives proved relevant, aligning perfectly with the requirements of the *perestroika* era. It is established that the question of whether private entrepreneurial activity could exist within a socialist framework remained a critical and highly contentious issue. The experience of various socialist countries, as well as the USSR's own experience during the New Economic Policy (NEP) era, demonstrated that—provided there was adequate state oversight—the development of such activities could, to a certain extent, help resolve a number of significant problems.

It is demonstrated that:

- the trend toward detailed legal regulation of cooperative activities reflected a state-mandated objective: establishing cooperatives as the primary legal and organizational form for legitimate entrepreneurship in the USSR;
- high-level state authorities had high expectations for the rapid and effective development of the cooperative system, the revival of which had been enabled starting in 1986. However, the effectiveness of these measures was undermined by poor implementation at the local level and the passivity of Tsentrosoyuz (the Central Union of Consumer Societies) regarding cooperative development;
- locally established cooperatives gradually expanded the production of various goods, thereby better meeting consumer demand; however, this process also exposed a

number of issues regarding the legal regulation of cooperative development. Fundamentally new forms of economic activity undertaken by cooperatives and individual citizens clashed with established methods of organizing trade; – the state authorities' aim to "recreate the cooperative system—but not in its old forms"—reflects a rejection of the experience gained during the sector's evolution, specifically regarding legal regulation, the methods used to overcome challenges encountered during its inception and growth, and the approaches adopted by the Russian and Soviet states to foster cooperative development;

– the failure to adequately consider the historical experience of the organizational and legal frameworks underpinning domestic economic reform was also evident in the lack of legal regulation governing the formation of cooperative unions; this contributed to the fragmentation of cooperative associations and prevented them from presenting the systemic operational issues they faced to state authorities in a unified, centralized manner (which corresponds to paragraphs 9, 34, 45, 46 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

13. It was revealed that the termination of the chronodiscrete pause in the legal regulation of the institution of cooperation in Russia was not a one-time act, but a process that successively went through three stages: 1) the adoption of the USSR Law of November 19, 1986 "On Individual Labor Activity", which became the basis for the most important perestroika reform in the economic sphere; 2) the adoption of Resolutions of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of February 5, 1987 No. 160 "On the Establishment of Catering Cooperatives", "On the Establishment of Consumer Services Cooperatives", "On the Establishment of Consumer Goods Production Cooperatives" , in accordance with which public catering cooperatives, consumer services cooperatives, and consumer goods production cooperatives could be created and operate; 3) the adoption of the Law of the USSR of May 26, 1988 "On Cooperation", which determined the organizational, legal and socio-economic conditions for the activities of cooperatives and, thereby, finally completed the chronodiscrete gap in the legal regulation of agricultural, consumer and production cooperation and created the preconditions for the development of cooperation, which, subsequently,

predetermined the adoption of independent regulatory legal acts regulating all four types of cooperation we are considering (which corresponds to paragraphs 9, 34, 45, 46 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

14. A concept for the legal regulation of cooperation in Russia has been developed that:

- reflects the process by which rule-making bodies have gradually systematized the diverse social relations within the sphere of cooperation;
- identifies the significance of classical cooperative principles for the effectiveness of the legal regulation of cooperation;
- takes into account the negative experience of the state takeover of cooperative activities and the subsequent abandonment of this form of economic activity;
- emphasizes the rationale for reviving cooperation as a means of developing the national economy;
- considers the effectiveness of specific legal provisions applied during various historical periods to regulate cooperative activity, as well as the role of cooperation in the formation and functioning of civil society and its social mission;
- can serve as a foundation for formulating a state concept for the legal regulation of the cooperative sector as a whole—and its organizational forms in particular—a need highlighted in the recommendations of the 2023 Federation Council hearings on "Improving Russian Legislation on Consumer and Agricultural Cooperation," and for establishing a standard for cooperative organizations, a need identified by participants in the April 29, 2026, Civic Chamber roundtable titled "The Russian Cooperative Sector: Current State and Prospects for Regional Development" (which corresponds to paragraphs 9, 34, 41-47 of the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.1.1).

The Validity and Reliability of the Research are confirmed by the use of a wide range of published and unpublished historical sources: regulatory legal acts from the pre-revolutionary, early Soviet, and Soviet periods, documentation of central and local government bodies, zemstvo and official statistics, a significant number of verifiable academic sources, as well as a broad theoretical framework represented by the works of numerous researchers from the Institute of Cooperation, as well as specialists in the

history and theory of law and government. Formulating conclusions consistent with the study's goals and objectives, based on modern scientific research methodology, allowed for the achievement of substantiated and reliable results.

The Theoretical Significance of the Research. The theoretical significance of this dissertation lies in its formulation, based on an analysis of a wide range of historical sources, of a comprehensive historical and legal concept of the development of cooperation in Russia. It also develops a periodization of cooperation based on the methodology of chrono-discrete monogeographic comparative law, characterizes the periods of its development, and highlights their specific features.

The findings of the dissertation research can be applied in the implementation of research projects aimed at both assessing existing elements of legal reality and constructing new legal structures regulating social relations in the field of cooperation.

The Practical Significance of the Research. Practical significance of the research results the main point is that both the findings reflected in the theses submitted for defense and other conclusions formulated in the dissertation can be used to improve legal regulation and law enforcement practices in the sphere of various types of cooperation in the Russian Federation. As an analysis of current legislation regulating the activities of various types of cooperation has shown, it is quite dynamic. In particular, amendments have been made 6 times to the Law of the Russian Federation of June 19, 1992 No. 3085-1 "On Consumer Cooperation (Consumer Societies, Their Unions) in the Russian Federation" ⁵⁶ since its adoption, 44 times to the Federal Law of December 8, 1995 No. 193-FZ "On Agricultural Cooperation" ⁵⁷, 8 times to the Federal Law of May 8, 1996 No. 41-FZ "On Production Cooperatives" ⁵⁸, and 24 times to the

⁵⁶See: Law of the Russian Federation of June 19, 1992 No. 3085-1 "On Consumer Cooperation (Consumer Societies, Their Unions) in the Russian Federation" // Bulletin of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation dated. 1992. No. 30. Art. 1788.

⁵⁷See: Federal Law of December 8, 1995 No. 193-FZ "On Agricultural Cooperation" // SPS Consultant Plus.

⁵⁸See: Federal Law of May 8, 1996 No. 41-FZ "On Production Cooperatives" // Collected Legislation of the Russian Federation of 1996, No. 20, Art. 2321.

Federal Law of July 18, 2009 No. 190-FZ "On Credit Cooperation"⁵⁹. Such an intensive process of law-making activity in matters of cooperation confirms the relevance of the conducted research and the possibility of applying the results of the dissertation research in the preparation of draft legislative acts in the field of cooperation.

In addition, the concept of legal regulation of cooperation in Russia developed in the study can form the basis for the formation of a state concept of legal regulation of the cooperative sector in in general and its organizational forms in in particular, as well as the formation of the standard of a cooperative organization.

The provisions developed in the dissertation research can also be used in the educational process of higher education institutions when teaching the history of state and law, civil, financial and economic law, when creating special courses dedicated to the historical and legal problems of the formation and development of cooperation in Russia, when writing educational literature and programs in legal areas of training and specialties.

Validation of the Dissertation Research Results. The dissertation materials were tested in the candidate's presentations at 46 public events of various levels, including 22 international ones.

43 works have been published on the topic of the dissertation research, including: 4 monographs, 23 scientific articles in journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science of Russia for the publication of the main scientific results of a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Sciences (including 3 articles in publications included in the list of journals recommended by the Academic Council of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration for the publication of articles on jurisprudence).

The conclusions and main provisions of the study are used by the author when giving lectures and conducting seminars on the courses "History of State and Law" and "Constitutional Law".

⁵⁹Federal Law of July 18, 2009 No. 190-FZ "On Credit Cooperation" // SPS Consultant Plus.

The Structure of the Work is determined by the purpose and objectives of the study. It consists of an introduction, four chapters comprising a total of twenty paragraphs, conclusions and recommendations, and a list of references and literature. However, the structure of the dissertation and the developed model of legal regulation of cooperation in Russia partially differ. This is due to the different chronological durations of the periods of legal regulation of cooperation, the varying volumes of regulatory legal material, and law enforcement practices.