

Original article

UDC 347:091

doi 10.46741/2713-2811.2026.74.2.003



Specifying Legal Regulation of Crime Prevention in the Field of Cooperation in the 1920s

YULIYA O. NOVIKOVA

Vladimir Branch of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Vladimir, Russia, novikova-yo@ranepa.ru, <https://orcid.org/0009-0004-5722-4141>

Abstract

Introduction: the article considers a range of issues related to the development of legal regulation of cooperation during the implementation of the New Economic Policy and measures to counteract those illegal acts that were caused by the growth of the cooperative movement. The measures of financial support for the cooperative movement implemented by the state in the stated historical period could not but attract criminals' attention, and therefore the state was forced to supplement criminal legislation with a new corpus delicti. *Purpose:* to specify legal regulation of crime prevention in the field of cooperation in the 1920s by analyzing the dynamics of legal regulation, stages of criminalization of pseudo-cooperatives' activities, determining elements of an illegal act, formulating and justifying factors that contributed to the growth of crime in the field under study. *Research methods:* formal legal analysis of the norms of legislation and subordinate normative legal acts, empirical research method. Certain aspects of the issue under consideration are studied using the methodology of chronodiscret monogeographic comparative jurisprudence. *Results:* during the period of the implementation of the New Economic Policy, with the democratization of activities of cooperative associations and the involvement of the poor in cooperative activities in order to form the middle peasantry, the state authorities attempted at the legislative level to combat not so much financial fraud as small business and private capital. At the same time, the list of elements of pseudo-cooperatives was formulated in a fairly streamlined manner, which gave authorities the opportunity to make decisions based on the discretion of the law enforcement officer, even in the absence of clear evidence of illegal activity on the part of representatives of the relevant cooperative.

Key words: legal regulation of cooperation; history of legal regulation; pseudo-cooperative; elements of a pseudo-cooperative; the 1926 Criminal Code of the RSFSR; crimes in the field of cooperation.

5.1.1. Theoretical and historical legal sciences.

For citation: Novikova Yu.O. Specifying legal regulation of crime prevention in the field of cooperation in the 1920s. *Penitentiary Science*, 2026, vol. 20, no. 2 (74), pp. 133–141. doi 10.46741/2713-2811.2026.74.2.003.

Introduction

The cooperative movement in Russia, from the formation of the first cooperative partner-

ships in the middle of the 19th century to the development of a powerful social organization by 1917, underwent several periods of trans-

formation of legal regulation – from democratization of activities and expansion of the rights of cooperative partnerships to strict nationalization. The trends in legal regulation of cooperation have changed in accordance with the economic and political course of government and the attitude of the latter towards this socio-economic movement.

By the time of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in the country, as a result of war communism, cooperative partnerships of various types had been eliminated by reorganizing and merging into a single consumer commune. The government tried to strengthen the budget through the policy of surplus appropriation system during the difficult wartime. However, as a result of the seizure of the surplus from the peasant population, it led to even greater ruin. Agriculture, destroyed by the war, required huge financial resources during the reconstruction period. Poor and middle peasant farms needed funds to purchase livestock, agricultural implements, mineral fertilizers, building materials, and other industrial and agricultural supplies.

As a result, the socio-economic impasse, which was a direct consequence of the military-communist methods of management, forced the Soviet government to look for new economic forms of building a socialist form of government.

The forced proclamation of the New Economic Policy based on market relations did not at all mean abandoning the Bolshevik doctrine of a commodity-free economy. This meant only a temporary, transitional period in order to form a stratum of the middle-income peasantry, as well as to construct an economic bond between the city and the countryside [1, p. 162]. In the early years of the NEP, cooperation was considered as a tool to involve the broad masses in building socialism [2, p. 370].

Research

For successful restoration of the national economy and creation of the economic foundation of socialism, it was necessary to create conditions for the economic initiative of the working masses. To solve this problem, it was required to legislate small loans [2, p. 370].

In almost parallel, four main cooperative laws were adopted concerning the legal regulation of commercial, consumer, credit and agricultural cooperation [3–6]. The forced measures

of the Soviet government to revive cooperation based on private capital, private labor and independence in all spheres of economic life dictated its legal regulation.

Moreover, during this period, regulatory legal acts regulating private business activities were approved. Such documents include, for example, the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of May 21, 1921 "On Exchange", which in Article 3 gave individuals and legal entities the right to freely exchange, sell and buy agricultural products remaining after paying the in-kind tax in markets, bazaars, from stalls, as well as in closed retail premises [7]. At the same time, the decree did not establish requirements for the organization of trade and the functioning of retail premises.

Locally, the norms of this law were implemented through the licensing system. Provincial Executive Committees issued permits to trade (State Archive of the Vladimir Oblast (hereinafter – GAVO). Archive 669. Vladimir Provincial Union of Consumer Societies. List 1. Case 40. Page 10).

Despite the fact that the Decree "On Exchange" did not explicitly raise the issue of restoring private trade, however, it became one of the Soviet government's steps, which allowed the revival of legal retail trade.

By these decrees, the Soviet government made it possible to revive state cooperation on the basis of principles of private, free economic activity on the basis of which it existed before its nationalization in 1919.

The resolutions of 1921–1922 gave impetus to the dynamic development of the cooperative network. Thus, by 1924, the network of agricultural cooperatives had included 19,700 agricultural partnerships [8, p. 111], 55,734 consumer partnerships [9], and 18,112 commercial artels [10, p. 440].

In the context of the expansion of the democratic rights of cooperatives in matters of self-organization, self-financing, and self-government, there has appeared fertile ground for the growth of the so-called pseudo-cooperatives.

Since 1927, there has been an active struggle against this phenomenon.

The main reason for the appearance of pseudo-cooperatives can be considered the state policy in the field of attracting the poor to cooperation. The illiterate peasant population,

who did not understand the basics of cooperative activity, but was in dire need of funds to develop and maintain their farms, created various types of cooperatives, but did not operate within the legal framework.

Thus, the Resolution of the XIV Conference of the Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of April 29, 1925 "On Cooperation" stipulated that all activities related to cooperation were to be carried out in strict accordance with the economic policy of the Union [11]. The resolution set the task to strengthen measures to increase the access of the poor to cooperation, as well as to increase agricultural loans for this group of the population [11].

By cooperating the poor and middle peasant population, the government hoped to rally the broad masses of the population around itself. The XIV Congress of the Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, held on December 18-31, 1925, approved the Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks in 1925, proclaiming the leading role of the poor in the fight against the kulaks and the strengthening of the proletariat with the "small" and "smallest" peasants as the basis for building the future state, its maximum involvement in cooperation [12, p. 25].

In order to fulfill these tasks, the Protocol of the Presidium of the Central Cooperative Council No. 003/367 of October 26, 1926 defined areas of cooperation for attracting the poor, which were expressed in creating conditions in primary cooperative organizations for the economic self-activity of the poor, carrying out activities in the field of involving farmhands in cooperation, facilitating the formation of funds of Provincial Cooperative Unions to attract the poor, creating funds for social assistance to the poor, carrying out measures to address issues of rural unemployment (GAVO. Archive R-3535. List 1. Case 71. Page 16. Correspondence with district unions (11.10.1926 – 15.11.1927)).

The social composition of agricultural cooperatives in some provinces and regions, according to the All-Union Central Cooperative Council for 1925–1926, is represented by the following figures:

- in the Crimean Republic: the poor – 60.1%, the middle class – 38.5%, the wealthy – 1.4 %;
- in Siberia: the poor – 54%, the middle class – 43%, the wealthy – 3%;

- in Voronezh Province: the poor – 28.3%, the middle class – 71.4%, the wealthy - 0.3 %;
- in Stavropol Province: the poor – 38%, the middle class - 56%, the wealthy - 6%;
- in Taganrog Okrug: the poor – 57.4%, the middle class – 37.7%, the wealthy – 4.9% (GAVO. Archive R-3535. Protocols of the CCCC plenums. List 1. Case 74. 1926. Page 152).

Through cooperation of the poor, the government took a number of serious measures in the field of lending, the use of funds from the poor, the supply of means of production, and cultural services [13].

At the same time, the task of cooperation was to further develop cooperative turnover based on lower market prices and the availability of consumer goods [11, p. 468]. The directions of cooperative's activities to attract the poor, including through the formation of funds, were identified.

According to the All-Union Central Cooperative Council, the social composition of cooperatives in some provinces and regions for 1925–1926 is represented as follows:

- in Siberia: the poor in consumer cooperatives accounted for 51.9% of the total number of members, the middle class – 45.1%, the wealthy – 3%.
- in the Voronezh Province: poor – 38.7%, middle-class - 55.7%, well-off – 5.6%;
- in the Belarusian Republican Union of Consumer Societies: the poor – 45.4%, the middle-class - 37.4%, the wealthy – 1.3% (GAVO. Archive R-3535. Plenums protocols of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. List 1. Case 74. 1926. Page 152).

In 1925, the fund for attracting the poor to consumer cooperation amounted to 176,800 rubles. For some provinces, this information was presented as follows: in the Nizhny Novgorod province, the Nizhny Novgorod Provincial Union formed a consumer cooperative fund in 10,061 rubles to attract the poor, the Saratov Provincial Union – 26,620 rubles, the Tatarstan Provincial Union – 42,000 rubles (GAVO. Archive R-3535. Circulars and orders. List 1. Case 65).

Since 1926, this line of development of cooperation through an organized form of sale of consumer goods to the cooperative system of large-scale state industry began to be based on contractual principles between syndicates and cooperative centers (district unions and

EPO). The rules of the relationship between the state industry and the trading network of the cooperative system were approved by the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of August 16, 1926 "On the relationship between the state industry and consumer cooperation" [14]. Paragraphs 8-9 of this resolution obliged the Central Union, regional consumer unions, and district consumer unions to strictly control the surplus value of products set by the USSR People's Commissariat for Food, and in case of violation by the primary cooperative network of these regulations, to take measures to ensure compliance with the established marginal prices, up to the temporary cessation of the supply of goods to the organization.

In accordance with the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of October 5, 1928 "On measures to develop and strengthen economic assistance to the rural poor" [13] in the field of lending, meetings were established under the regional, regional and provincial executive committees, as well as under the councils of People's commissars of the autonomous republics to consider the direction and regulation of the use of funds for the cooperation of the poor within cooperative organizations of each systems of the given area (Paragraph 2). In the field of lending, lending to the rural poor was increased from the funds of the agricultural credit system, 50% was allocated to preferential loans to the poor for the issuance of loans on particularly preferential terms exclusively for production needs (Paragraph 8). In the field of supplies of means of production, reduced fees were established for the poor when using rolling, grain cleaning and emergency points, as well as installment payments up to harvesting (Paragraph 25).

The protocols of provincial cooperative congresses testified to the support of agricultural cooperatives in the field. For example, the Protocol of the provincial planning commission of the Vladimir province and the Cooperative Congress of October 28, 1927 No. 52 recorded the petition of the Vladimir Provincial Union to the People's Commissariat of Food of the RSFSR on the inadmissibility of competition between the union and the state procurement enterprise Kizhi Syndicate in the case of leather goods and the removal of the latter from the Murom mar-

ket. This was explained by the directives of the Soviet and party authorities in the field of promoting agricultural cooperation and giving it all the advantages over other bodies in covering marketing and supply activities, as well as the elimination of parallel suppliers (GAVO. Archive R-3535. Resolutions and correspondence between cooperative unions. List 1. Case 200).

Further regulation of the issues of attracting the poor to cooperation at the legislative level was reflected in the Resolution of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of September 18, 1929 "On agricultural cooperation and its work" [15]. Paragraph "d" of the aforementioned document sets the task of organizing the poor and middle peasant population of the village, but already in the reconstructed economy, more complex forms of cooperation - to the collective farms.

In the Circular Letter of the Central Cooperative Congress of January 14, 1927 No. 003/10 "On pseudo-cooperatives and measures to combat them", the Congress raised the question to cooperative centers of various types of cooperation about the existence of cooperative organizations that do not operate in accordance with regulatory legal acts and pursue selfish goals (GAVO. Archive R-3535. Resolutions and correspondence between cooperative unions. List 1. Case 200).

According to the Tambov, Ryazan, Penza, North Caucasus, Stalingrad, North Dvinsk, Orel, Vologda, Vyatka provincial unions, the largest number of pseudo-cooperatives was observed in agricultural and handicraft cooperation. For example, in the Ryazan Province, 526 out of 867 agricultural cooperatives were pseudo-cooperatives, 50 were not active, in the Tambov Province – 1,288 out of 2,068 were pseudo-cooperatives, 200 were not active, in the Voronezh Province – 1,971 out of 2,816, in the Penza Province – 86 out of 506, respectively (GAVO. Archive R-3535. Circulars and orders. List 1. Case 65).

In general, according to A.R. Khusnulin's calculations, the ratio of pseudo-cooperatives to the total number of cooperatives at the end of 1925–1926 ranged from 50% (RSFSR) to 100% in the Turkmen SSR [16, p. 449].

Since the main reason for the existence of pseudo-cooperatives was the possibility of

lending, the issue of combating this phenomenon, according to the Central Cooperative Congress, could be solved by increasing the number of cooperative members to more than a hundred. However, not all union cooperation centers supported this initiative. For example, the All-Russian Cooperative Forest Union proposed to increase the number of members to 25, the Tobacco Union – to 50, the Potato Union – to 100, the All-Russian union of commercial cooperation – to 10, the All-Russian Union of Commercial and Hunting Cooperative Organizations – to 500 (GAVO. Archive R-3535. Circulars and orders. List 1. Case 65).

The Central Cooperative Congress identified elements of pseudo-cooperatives. They included:

- 1) closeness of cooperatives (membership with a small circle of people);
- 2) social composition of a cooperative with a predominance of the well-to-do peasantry;
- 3) presence of close relatives in the governing bodies;
- 4) high amount of the share contribution, significantly exceeding the established minimum;
- 5) lack of benefits in the share system;
- 6) presence of significant amounts of contributions to the cooperative by one of the members of the partnership receiving high interest, the presence of benefits of one person;
- 7) uneven use by cooperative members of the benefits of cooperative activities;
- 8) organization of economic activity mainly on the basis of wage labor;
- 9) purchase of goods and raw materials not from cooperative partnerships and state-owned enterprises, but from private individuals;
- 10) frequent resale of goods on the private market;
- 11) development of the cooperative's activities outside the area of registration;
- 12) conducting operations that are not typical of cooperatives;
- 13) deviation in activity from norms of the normal / exemplary charter, etc. (GAVO. Archive R-3535. Resolutions and correspondence between cooperative unions. List 1. Case 200).

The circular letter also outlined measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives, since this issue had not been resolved at the legislative level by 1927.

In this regard, all provincial unions followed principles of combating pseudo-cooperatives:

- 1) periodic and mandatory audit of the activities of cooperatives;
- 2) keeping the cooperative's turnout registration system, however, in the newly created unified provincial registration center;
- 3) introduction of restrictions on the relationship of founders;
- 4) conducting cooperative activities outside the area of registration solely with the permission of a higher cooperative organization (district union) or a cooperative council;
- 5) increasing criminal liability of the heads of pseudo-cooperatives;
- 6) lending only to those cooperatives that have financial instructors in their structure;
- 7) establishing the practice of cooperatives working with government agencies only through union centers or cooperative councils;
- 8) involvement of the public, state and party bodies to combat false cooperatives (GAVO. Archive R-3535. Circulars and orders. List 1. Case 65).

The Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of December 28, 1928 "On measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives" [17] was issued, the preamble of which stated that the reason for the transformation of the partnership into a pseudo-cooperative was the penetration of kulak elements for the purpose of exploitative activities. There also was a large number of pseudo-cooperatives in agricultural and handicraft and commercial cooperation due to the insufficient coverage of primary cooperative organizations by union centers.

Researchers distinguish two types of pseudo-cooperatives: 1) initially organized for the purpose of fraud; 2) having a pseudo-cooperative bias in financial, economic and organizational activities [18, p. 1,107].

Paragraph 1 of the resolution "On measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives" fixes elements of pseudo-cooperatives, including those defined by the Central Cooperative Congress:

- 1) membership in the cooperative of those who are not allowed by law;
- 2) predominance of well-to-do peasants in the cooperative;
- 3) activities that deviate in the direction contrary to the interests of socialist construction, and speculation.

Paragraphs 2–7 regulated measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives, including those formulated by the Central Cooperative Congress. These included re-elections to governing bodies, audits, enhanced instructional leadership, the exclusion of kulak elements, if necessary, and increased cooperation and economic services for the poor. The cooperative centers were asked to take measures to include all cooperatives in the union centers in order to systematically monitor their work.

The republican authorities needed to create and strengthen bodies that register cooperatives in order to better monitor and control cooperatives' activities, as well as take measures to strengthen criminal liability of organizers and actual leaders of pseudo-cooperatives, as well as officials of state bodies and cooperatives that assist false cooperatives in their work.

Paragraph 3 of the resolution "On measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives" stipulated, on the one hand, work with the poor in order to attract them to cooperation, on the other hand, strengthen cooperative centers in matters of financial and advisory assistance to cooperative forms of management in order to strengthen them and create conditions for preventing crimes in this area.

In accordance with Paragraph 4, cooperative unions needed to establish systematic control over the work of the cooperative network, identify and eliminate pseudo-cooperatives.

Paragraph 6 pointed out the need for the Union republics to develop and introduce into legal circulation criminal liability standards for organizers and actual leaders of pseudo-cooperatives, as well as officials of government agencies and cooperatives that assist pseudo-cooperatives in their work.

As a result of the adopted regulatory legal act, by the end of 1928, the number of legal entities registered in the agricultural cooperative system had increased by 63% [1, p. 339].

In order to implement these provisions, regulatory legal acts regulating the issues of control, supervision and liquidation of pseudo-cooperatives were also adopted at the level of the Union republics. So, in 1929, the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of March 27, 1929 "On measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives" was adopted [19]. However, there were no fundamental dif-

ferences in the norms of the law, except for the presence of additional, detailed signs of false cooperatives.

Thus, in accordance with Paragraph 4, if 1) the dependence of an organization on private entrepreneurs is revealed; 2) trade operations prevail in a production cooperative; 3) the alleged participation of cooperative members in its activities is revealed, these cooperative organizations should be equated with pseudo-cooperatives and sanctions of the relevant legislation should be applied to them.

Subsequently, in order to resolve the issues of combating pseudo-cooperatives, Article 129-a was included in the Criminal Code of the RSFSR in 1926, which defined a pseudo-cooperative as an organization that "hides behind cooperative forms in order to use the benefits and advantages provided to the cooperative, but in reality they are private enterprises and pursue the interests of capitalist elements that have a predominant influence in their composition". Thus, the Soviet government considered the presence of capitalist elements in its activities, alien to the Soviet doctrine, to be the main feature of the pseudo-cooperative.

In the same article, the legislator regulated sanctions for the conduct of activities by pseudo-cooperatives, classifying it as economic crimes (Chapter 5). Thus, in accordance with Paragraph 1 of Article 129-a, criminal liability was provided for the management and conduct of the activities of a pseudo-cooperative in the form of imprisonment for a period of five years with confiscation of all or part of the property of the subject of the crime. In accordance with Paragraph 2 of Article 129-a, imprisonment for up to two years or correctional labor for up to one year was provided for joining a pseudo-cooperative a citizen was aware of.

In general, the measures of responsibility applied, as a rule, were limited to the liquidation of pseudo-cooperatives or the exclusion of individual participants from them, and were not accompanied by actual imprisonment of specific individuals. But in relation to industrial cooperation enterprises involved in connection with the Military Department, as A.R. Khusnulin notes, the risk of actual criminal liability was higher. According to reports of the Military Prosecutor's Office in February 1930, in 1928–1929, a

number of representatives of the Military Department and the handicraft and commercial cooperation were brought to criminal liability for violation of contractual obligations and financial fraud. Officials of the Military Department served imprisonment from 1 to 3 years (50.8%) or from six months to a year (30.9%), while private traders and cooperators served imprisonment (32.4% and 28.5%, respectively) and forced labor (20.9%) [16, p. 455].

Besides, the Union republics adopted regulatory legal acts on detailing norms of criminal legislation to combat false cooperatives at the USSR level.

Further regulation of elements of pseudo-cooperatives was implemented in the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of February 2, 1931 "On amending the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives" [20]. This document added some elements of cooperative activity classified as pseudo-cooperative. Thus, paragraphs 4, 5 of the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of March 27, 1929 "On measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives" were amended in terms of elements of pseudo-cooperatives and the organization of activities of the grassroots part of the cooperative network. The following elements of pseudo-cooperatives were determined in the document:

1) presence of founders or elected persons who were prohibited from being members of the cooperative;

2) presence of a Kulak element in the event that the latter was prohibited from being members of the cooperative;

3) existence of areas of activity that contradicted the doctrinal idea of building a socialist

state. In terms of organizing activities of the pseudo-cooperative, the need to include the working class in cooperatives and exclude the kulaks was regulated. This once again confirms the biased attitude towards cooperative activities in the field of market relations from the point of view of the ideological component of the Soviet government.

Conclusion

Thus, during the period of the New Economic Policy, when democratizing the activities of cooperative associations and involving the poor in cooperative activities in order to form the middle peasantry, the state attempted at the legislative level to combat not so much financial fraud, but small business and private capital. There was no detailed regulation on the classification of founders and members of partnerships as entities that do not have the right to participate in cooperative activities. Moreover, in 1931, the impossibility of the Kulaks participating in the cooperative business was unequivocally settled.

The list of elements of pseudo-cooperatives was very thoughtful. In terms of the goals of state regulation of the economy at the end of the period of the New Economic Policy, this list created the effect of a closed system. He guaranteed that even in the absence of evidence on one criterion of attribution, officials could easily switch to another, exercising their doctrinal discretion regarding cooperative activities [21, p. 277].

At the same time, it is worth noting that the measures taken by the state to counter illegal activities in the field of cooperation, although often class-based and politically motivated, nevertheless contributed to reducing the level of crimes related to the creation of pseudo-cooperatives and their activities.

REFERENCES

1. Bunin A.O. *Sel'skokhozyaistvennaya kreditnaya kooperatsiya v sisteme sovetskogo khozyaistva, oktyabr' 1917–1930 gg.: dis. ... d-ra istor. nauk* [Agricultural credit cooperation in the system of the Soviet economy, October 1917–1930: Doctor of Sciences (History) dissertation]. Ivanovo, 1998. 431 p.
2. Lenin V.I. On cooperation. In: Lenin V.I. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii: v 55 t. T. 45* [Complete works: in 55 volumes. Vol. 45]. Moscow, 1970. Pp. 369–377. (In Russ.).
3. Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of April 7, 1921 "On consumer cooperation". In: *SU RSFSR* [Collection of laws of RSFSR]. 1921. No. 26. Art. 150. (In Russ.).
4. Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of July 7, 1921 "On commercial cooperation". In: *SU RSFSR* [Collection of laws of RSFSR]. 1921. No. 53. Art. 322. (In Russ.).

5. Decree of the Central Executive Committee, Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of August 16, 1921 "On agricultural and economic cooperation". In: *SU RSFSR* [Collection of laws of RSFSR]. 1921. No. 61. Art. 434. (In Russ.).
6. Decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of January 24, 1922 "On credit cooperation". In: *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporyazhenii rabocheho i krest'yanskogo pravitel'stva za 1922 g. Otdel pervyi* [Collection of laws and regulations of the Workers and Peasants' Government for 1922. Department One]. Moscow, 1950. Pp. 109–111. (In Russ.).
7. Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of May 21, 1921 "On Exchange". In: *Resheniya Partii i Pravitel'stva po khozyaistvennym voprosam (1917–1967). T. 1* [Decisions of the Party and the Government on economic issues (1917–1967). Volume 1]. Moscow, 1967. Pp. 233, 273. (In Russ.).
8. Minin A.A. Agricultural cooperation. In: *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR za 1923-24 god (IV Statistiko-ekonomicheskii ezhegodnik)* [The National economy of the USSR for 1923-24 (IV Statistical and Economic Yearbook)]. Moscow, 1924. Pp. 110–120.
9. Fishgendler A. Consumer cooperation. In: *Potrebitel'skaya kooperatsiya v narodnom khozyaistve SSSR v 1923-24 khoz. godu. Statisticheskii ekonomicheskii obzor Ch. 1. Nizovaya i soyuznaya sistema potrebkoperatsii v 1923-24 kh. g. Ch. 2. Tsentrosoyuz v 1923-24 kh.g.* [Consumer cooperation in the national economy of the USSR in 1923–1924. Statistical Economic Review. Part. 1. Grassroots and union system of consumer cooperation in 1923–1924. Part 2. Central Union in 1923–1924]. Moscow, 2025. Pp. 488–509. (In Russ.).
10. Fain L.E. *Rossiiskaya kooperatsiya: istoriko-teoreticheskii ocherk: 1861–1930* [Russian cooperation: historical and theoretical essay: 1861–1930]. Ivanovo, 2002. 598 p.
11. Resolution of the XIV Conference of the Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, April 29, 1925 "On Cooperation". In: *Resheniya partii i pravitel'stva po khozyaistvennym voprosam: sb. dok. za 50 let: v 5 t. T. 1. 1917–1928 gg.* [Decisions of the party and the government on economic issues: collection of documents for 50 years: in 5 volumes. Volume 1. 1917–1928]. Moscow, 1967. Pp. 457–470. (In Russ.).
12. Resolution of the XIV Congress of the CPSU of the Bolsheviks (December 18–31, 1925) "On Cooperation". In: *Kommunisticheskaya partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK (1898–1986). T. 3. 1922–1925* [The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in resolutions and decisions of congresses, conferences and plenums of the Central Committee (1898–1986). Vol. 3. 1922–1925]. Moscow, 1984. P. 25. (In Russ.).
13. Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars "On measures to develop and strengthen economic assistance to the rural poor" of October 5, 1928. In: *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporyazhenii Raboche-Krest'yanskogo pravitel'stva RSFSR za 1928 g. № 115-141. Otdel pervyi* [Collection of laws and orders of the Workers and Peasants' Government of the RSFSR for 1928 No. 115-141. Department 1]. Moscow, pp. 1,638–1,645. (In Russ.).
14. Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU of the Bolsheviks of August 16, 1926 "On the relationship between the state industry and consumer cooperation". In: *Resheniya Partii i Pravitel'stva po khozyaistvennym voprosam (1917–1967). T. 1* [Decisions of the Party and the Government on economic issues (1917–1967). Vol. 1]. Moscow, 1967. Pp. 535–537. (In Russ.).
15. Resolution of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of September 18, 1929 "On agricultural cooperation and its work". In: *Resheniya partii i pravitel'stva po khozyaistvennym voprosam: sb. dok. za 50 let: v 5 t. T. 2. 1929–1940 gg.* [Decisions of the party and the government on economic issues: collection of documents for 50 years: in 5 volumes, 1967. Vol. 2. 1929–1940]. Moscow, 1967. Pp. 131–135. (In Russ.).
16. Khusnulin A.R. Issues of "pseudo-cooperatives" in the Soviet commercial cooperation at the turn of the 1920s-1930s. In: *Ryazanovskie chteniya (desyatye): materialy mezhdunar. nauch. konf. "Lyudi, izmenivshie mir"* [Riazanov readings (tenth): proceedings of the International scientific conference "People who have changed the world"]. Moscow, 2025. Pp. 444–458. (In Russ.).
17. Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of December 28, 1928 "On measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives". In: *Sobranie zakonov i rasporyazhenii Raboche-Krest'yanskogo Pravitel'stva SSSR za 1929 g. № 1-39. Otdel pervyi* [Collection of Laws and Orders of the Workers' and Peasants' Government of the USSR for 1929 No. 1-39. Department 1]. Moscow, pp. 70–72. (In Russ.).
18. Shanina A.V. "Pseudo"-cooperation and "wild" cooperation under the conditions of the new economic system (based on the materials of Penza Province). *Izvestiya Penzenskogo gosudarst-*

vennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V.G. Belinskogo = Proceedings of the Penza State Pedagogical University named after V.G. Belinsky, 2012, no. 12, pp. 1, 106–1, 109. (In Russ.).

19. Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of March 27, 1929 "On measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives". In: *Khronologicheskoe sobranie zakonov, ukazov Prezidiuma Verkhovnogo Soveta i postanovlenii Pravitel'stva RSFSR. T. 2. 1929–1939 gg.* [Chronological collection of laws, decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and resolutions of the Government of the RSFSR. Volume 2. 1929–1939]. Moscow, 1959. Pp. 25–27. (In Russ.).

20. Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of February 2, 1931 "On amending the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on measures to combat pseudo-cooperatives". In: *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporyazhenii Raboche-Krest'yanskogo pravitel'stva RSFSR za 1931 g. № 1-8. Otdel pervyi* [Collection of laws and orders of the Workers and Peasants' Government of the RSFSR for 1931 No. 1-8. Department 1]. Moscow. P. 98. (In Russ.).

21. Gabov A.V. Fictive cooperatives in the history of russian law. *Nauchnye vedomosti Belgorodskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: Filosofiya. Sotsiologiya. Pravo = Belgorod State University Scientific Bulletin. Philosophy. Sociology. Law*, 2019, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 262–293. (In Russ.).

INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHOR

YULIYA O. NOVIKOVA – Candidate of Sciences (History), Associate Professor, associate professor at the Department of Constitutional and Municipal Law of the Law Faculty of the Vladimir Branch of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Vladimir, Russia, novikova-yo@ranepa.ru, <https://orcid.org/0009-0004-5722-4141>

Received March 5, 2026