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TRENDS IN COOPERATIVE LEGISLATION: WHAT NEEDS HARMONIZING?

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Abstract

Taking globalization as a fact and sustainable development as a common goal, the article pleads for a more harmonized approach by legislators as concerns cooperative law. Whilst providing guidance in this respect, public international law also creates uncertainties, not the least the one concerning the very object of cooperative law, namely cooperatives. A harmonized approach is vital, if cooperatives are to contribute to sustainable development. However, instead of unifying cooperative laws, the article suggests harmonizing the interpretation of the universally recognized definition of cooperatives and to develop common cooperative legal principles that would translate into a vital variety of cooperative laws.

Keywords*: cooperatives, cooperative law, sustainable development*

1. Introduction

When starting to work on cooperative law in 1992 the author of this short contribution was thought to have turned his interest toward legal history. Less than ten years ago, some still considered the subject as part of the "archeology of enterprise forms".

As of lately, such views have vanished. Indeed, academics and practitioners alike have come to think again of cooperatives as a legal form of enterprise worth considering. May the fact that cooperatives have been included in 2016 into the List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by the UNESCO demonstrates this renewed interest!

There are three main reasons for this change of mind. Firstly, the economic, social and societal impact of cooperatives cannot be overlooked anymore; secondly, there is a growing awareness that the common goal of sustainable development is difficult to pursue without enterprises, like cooperatives, which by their objective have to address social justice issues; and, thirdly, law is being recognized again as a necessary, albeit not a sufficient, element of the development of enterprises in general.

As concerns the economic, social and societal impact of cooperatives, it is to be noted that cooperatives count more than one billion members world-wide, who improve at least in part their living conditions through cooperatives; that the number of direct employment by cooperatives stands at some 250 million; and that cooperatives contribute considerably to the GNPs of their countries. Cooperatives are active in all sectors, increasingly also in sectors which used to be considered public, such as utilities, education, social and health care. Cooperative enterprises

range from small and medium sized enterprises to very large entities, from single to multi-purpose; they have homogeneous memberships or are composed of so-called multi-stakeholder groups. Their interpenetration of the social, economic and political fabric varies – it being probably the strongest in Switzerland. It is hard to belief, although not sufficiently researched, that it is a pure coincidence that countries with a stable political system over long periods of time are also those where the cooperative sector is strong. Famous examples of cooperatives are the London Philharmonic Orchestra; the Toulouse Chamber Orchestra, which is the oldest chamber orchestra in the world; the Himmelb(l)au architects bureau; the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication, SWIFT; Mondragon Corporation; the World Air Traffic Controllers´ Association; the enterprise that organizes the logistics in most airports, operating out of Geneva; the most common housing scheme in New York City; KPMG international; Intersport international; Best Western international etc.

As concerns the common goal of sustainable development, it has been recognized by the International Court of Justice since 1997 as a concept of public international law. [1] Sustainable development presupposes the possibility of development. The only known source of development is diversity in its two aspects, biological diversity and cultural diversity, including a diversity of forms of enterprises. The central aspect of sustainable development is social justice. It regenerates most effectively through democratic participation in the decisions on what and how to produce and how to distribute the produced wealth. The factors of globalization render the state and the labor market partners, who used to organize this kind of participation, ever less capable of doing so. This is why attention must shift toward enterprises that allow for democratic participation, like cooperatives.

As concerns the role of law in the development of enterprises, lawyers are not prepared for the change of attitude toward cooperative law. Decades of neglect have left us without a theory of cooperative law, i.e. without a canon of mutually referential principles, notions, rules and praxes which would institutionalize the idea of cooperatives and would help us find answers to questions which I shall raise here.

After a brief review of the history of cooperative law and highlighting its trends, and before concluding with few remarks on the harmonization of cooperative law, I shall discuss some certainties and many more uncertainties concerning cooperative law.

2. Results and discussions

2.1. Trends in cooperative legislation

The history of cooperative law starts in the mid-19th century in England, shortly after the founding of what is considered to be [2] the first modern cooperative, namely the cooperative set up by the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers in 1844 and similar enterprises. These first cooperatives

[1] For details see Henrÿ, Hagen, Sustainable Development and Cooperative Law: Corporate Social Responsibility or Cooperative Social Responsibility?, in: International and Comparative Corporate Law Journal Vol.10, Issue.3, 2013, 58-75.

[2] "Considered to be", because others claim an earlier start, for example by Scottish weavers in the 18th century and by the Decembrists in Russia in the 1830ies already.

emerged as a response to the social questions, which industrialization caused, but did not address. They were, so to speak "children of necessity".

Since then, three trends have marked cooperative law, namely, a pronounced distinction of the cooperative form of enterprise from other organizational forms over a period of ca. 120 years, roughly from 1850 to 1970; an approximation of the legal structural features of cooperatives with those of capital-centered enterprises ("companization"), starting at the beginning of the 1970ies; and a mutual approximation of enterprise forms as of the 1990ies, while the center of cooperative law-making has been shifting since then from the national to the regional and international levels.

The first trend covers several divides between countries, which are still relevant today. In the planned economy countries cooperatives and cooperative law are seen as part and parcel of the execution of the state economic plans. In the colonies, which later became the so-called developing countries, and contrary to what had occurred in the countries where cooperatives and cooperative law originated, namely Europe, cooperatives and cooperative law were seen as a development tool for governments. There, the establishment of the first modern cooperatives was a consequence of cooperative law and not the result of a sociological reality. [3] Another divide pertained to the fact that the type of the first cooperatives in a country would also be the mould for the cooperative law, with lasting consequences until today. Still another divide relates to the development of the welfare state, labor law and consumer protection legislation. On the one hand, this led to the neglect of the social aspect of the objective of cooperatives. On the other hand, it allowed for cooperatives to become "children of choice", instead of perceiving them only as "children of necessity". But it also led to a persisting divide of countries, depending on which aspect of the objective of cooperatives they put emphasis on: more on the economic or more on the social aspect. Finally, this period, 1850-1970, is also the time when a cooperative legal theory developed. [4]

The second trend, the "companization" [2] [5] leads to the neglect of the non-economic aspects of the objective of cooperatives, as it disregards the functional relationship between the objective of an enterprise and its legal form. In addition, the companization exacerbates the specific control risks in cooperatives that ensue from a triple information gap: one between the management and the board of directors, one between the board of directors and the supervisory committee, if any, and one between that committee and the members.

The companization of cooperatives is reinforced by the application of other laws, such as for example labor law, competition law, accounting standards, tax laws, if these are modeled on capital-centered companies and not adapted to the specifics of cooperatives.

The companization is a consequence of economics being reduced to econometrics and of the assessment of the competitiveness of enterprises by the sole criterion of their financial performance. As from that period, the 1970ies, the cooperative idea is being questioned.

[3] This brief account neglects the development in other parts of the world, especially in countries, which were not colonized by European powers.
[4] To mention but one name: Otto von Gierke.
[5] As for details concerning this "companization", see Henrÿ, Hagen, Quo Vadis Cooperative Law?, in: CCIJ Report No. 72/2014, 50-61 (in Japanese. Manuscript in English).

Cooperatives disappear from political party programs, from bilateral and multilateral development programs, from the policy agendas of national governments, regional and international organizations and also from the research and education curricula [3]. [6] As a consequence, cooperative legal theory does not develop any further.

The third trend, post 1989, is marked by growing social disparities [7] and a diminishing capacity of the welfare state and the labor market partners to cater for social justice [4, 5, 6]. [8] Social injustice is the major stumbling block to sustainable development. This is one of the reasons why Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is juridifying. As the debate on the CSR is shifting from behavioral aspects to governance issues, this leads to a convergence of enterprise forms. The awareness grows that the isomorphization of enterprise forms contradicts the requirement of diversity as a source of development and that it weakens the resilience of economic systems against shocks [7]. [9]

A number of international texts, adopted post 1989, recognize the importance of a cooperative law that distinguishes cooperatives from other enterprise forms. The most important among these texts are the 1995 International Cooperative Alliance Statement on the co-operative identity (ICA Statement) [8], [10] the 2001 United Nations Guidelines aimed at creating a supportive environment for the development of cooperatives [9] [11] and the 2002 International Labour Organization Recommendation No. 193 concerning the promotion of cooperatives (ILO R. 193) [10]. [12] The latter text is central to our discussion. It constitutes the nucleus of the public international cooperative law. Despite its denomination as "recommendation" it is legally binding as far as cooperative law is concerned. Two groups of arguments support this opinion: (1) the democratic legitimacy of ILO R. 193, demonstrated, amongst others, by its integrating the text of the ICA Statement, and (2) the behavior of governments before and after the adoption of ILO R. 193, respectively prefiguring and endorsing the content of the ILO R. 193 [11]. [13]

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[6] As for the latter, see the recurrent reference to this shortcoming by many of the authors who contributed to: Hagen Henrÿ, Pekka Hytinkoski and Tytti Klén (eds.), Co-operative Studies in Education Curricula. New Forms of Learning and Teaching, Senäjoki and Mikkeli: University of Helsinki, Ruralia Institute Publications series No.35, 2017.

[7] See interview with Angus Deaton (Nobel Prize 2015) based on his book "La grande évasion" (orig. in English), Paris: PUF 2016), in: La Matin Dimanche 11.9.2016, 26: "Or, les inégalités se renforcent depuis les années 70 et se sont accélérées avec une mondialisation … ».

[8] See Henrÿ, Hagen, Superar la crisis del Estado de bienestar: El rol de las empresas democráticas. Una perspectiva jurídica [To Overcome the Crisis of the Welfare State: The Role of Democratic Enterprises. A Legal Perspective], in: Revista Jurídica de Economía Social y Cooperativa (CIRIEC-España) 24/2013, 11-20; Idem, Social Justice through Enterprises. The End of the 1972/1973 Conjuncture? A Legal Perspective, in: International Journal of Social Quality 5(2), Winter 2015: 81–96; Idem, Social Justice in the Global World – the Role of Enterprises, in: Justice and Solidarity: The European Utopia in a Globalising Era, European Academy of Sciences & Arts, eds. Juhani Laurinkari & Felix Unger, Kuopio: Grano 2015, 88-99.

[9] As for the resilience of a multi-pillar banking system for example, see Groeneveld, Hans, The Value of European Co-operative Banks for the Future Financial System, in : Johanna Heiskanen, Hagen Henrÿ, Pekka Hytinkoski and Tapani Köppä (eds.), New Opportunities for Co-operatives: New Opportunities for People. Proceedings of the 2011 ICA Global Research Conference, Mikkeli and Seinäjoki/Finland: University of Helsinki/Ruralia Institute Publications No.27, 2012, 185-199.

[10] International Co-operative Review, Vol. 88, no. 4/1995, 85 f.; http://ica.coop/en/whats-co-op/co-operative-identity-values-principles

[11] UN doc. A/RES/54/123 and doc. A/RES/56/114 (A/56/73-E/2001/68; Res./56)

[12] The Promotion of Cooperatives Recommendation, 2002. ILC 90-PR23-285-En-Doc, June 20, 2002. At : www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:R193

[13] For a detailed discussion of these arguments, see Henrÿ, Hagen, Public International Cooperative Law: The International Labour Organization Promotion of Cooperatives Recommendation, 2002, in: International Handbook of Cooperative Law, ed. by Dante Cracogna, Antonio Fici and Hagen Henrÿ, Heidelberg: Springer 2013, 65-88.

This public international cooperative law leaves us with some certainties, but also with many more uncertainties as concerns cooperative law [12]. [14]

2.2. Certainties and uncertainties as concerns cooperative law

1. Certainties

Paragraph 2 of the ILO R. 193 integrates the definition of cooperatives as contained in the ICA Statement. This definition makes no reference to the size, sector (reinforced by Paragraphs 1 and 12) or social strata of the members. Apart from laying down the objective of cooperatives, it outlines the basics of the legal form through which and how this objective is to be pursued. Paragraph 7 of ILO R. 193 emphasizes the principle of equal treatment of cooperatives. The (ICA) cooperative values and principles are contained in Paragraph 3 and in the Annex to the ILO R. 193. Together with the definition, they constitute the identity of cooperatives. Cooperative law needs to translate this identity. Furthermore, in its Paragraph 6 the ILO R. 193 emphasizes the importance for cooperatives to form unions and federations and to be audited regularly, taking their specifics into consideration.

2. Uncertainties

The uncertainties relate principally to the very object of cooperative law, i.e. to the notion of cooperatives. The definition of cooperatives as enshrined in Paragraph 2 the ILO R. 193 reads as follows. "For the purpose of this Recommendation, the term "cooperative" means an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise." This definition deviates in some respects from the one enshrined in the ICA Statement.

The cooperative values and principles guide the interpretation of this definition [13] [15] and must be read in the context of globalization. Globalization is driven by the digitalization of economic processes and social relationships. It brings about radical socio-politico-economic changes. Challenges are the internet of things, Big data and the disappearance of employment, not that of "work".

I shall demonstrate this by briefly raising questions concerning each of the elements of the cited definition of cooperatives.

- *"For the purpose of this Recommendation*". This formulation hints to the fact that the ILO R. 193 is part of general public international law. Two of its elements, namely the repeated recognition of sustainable development as a concept of public international law by the International Court of Justice and the two binding 1966 Covenants on Human Rights, oblige legislators to strike two balances. One between the three aspects of the objective of cooperatives and one between the two elements of the structure of cooperatives, namely "association" and "enterprise".

[14] As for a detailed presentation of the contents of the ILO R. 193 cf. Henrÿ, Hagen, The Relevance of ILO Recommendation No. 193 Concerning the Promotion of Cooperatives for Cooperative Legislation, in: Analele Stiintifice ale Universitatii Cooperatist-Comerciale din Moldova, 2012, vol. 11, 19-28.

[15] See also ICA Guidance notes to the cooperative principles, 2015, at: www.ica.coop

- *"autonomous (association of persons)".* Apart from accommodating the notion of autonomy as regards its literary sense, the legislator must be aware of the fact that the autonomy of (potential) cooperators is both widened and narrowed by the effects of globalization. It is widened as ever more rules of the cooperative laws are formulated as default rules, allowing cooperators to regulate almost any issue through their statutes/byelaws. Where this widens the scope of their autonomy, it limits the government to pursue policy aims through organizational enterprise law. It is narrowed by the phenomenon of Big data and the organizational integration of enterprises into vertical and horizontal value chains.

- *"association (of persons):".* There is no consensus on whether cooperatives are partnerships, societies, a special kind of capitalistic company, or a sui generis type. The answer to this question is relevant, for example, for statistics, for the liability of the members, the application of default rules. There is also a trend in legislation to bilateralize (by contract) the relationship between the members and the cooperatives. Where such contractual arrangements might be necessary in single cases, for example in the case of a risky investment by the cooperative that requires assurance that the members will use the services of the cooperative for which the investment is made, such bilateralization/contractualization changes the very nature of cooperatives as being *associations* of persons. *Obligationes in solidum* (as an expression of the legal principle of solidarity) are vital for cooperatives and difficult to materialize through contractual relationships. Contracts relate to specified purposes, whereas associations allow for the pursuit of a wider range of purposes under a general one.

- *"(association of) persons".* The question is whether also legal persons may be members of primary cooperatives. Public international law and the general understanding of the term "person" by lawyers point to that being possible. However, in many countries, legal persons are not allowed to be members of primary cooperatives. This restriction is a hindrance for the development of enterprises, especially of small and medium sized enterprises that in a number of countries have been pooling successfully their strengths and mitigating their weaknesses by setting up primary cooperatives [14]. [16] The possible risk of legal persons overriding the interests of natural persons in cooperatives with mixed membership, where such membership is accepted by the natural person members, may be reduced through adequate rules in the byelaws of the cooperative [15]. [17]

- *Economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations".* These aspects of the objective of cooperatives need to be kept in a balance, considering overarching policy aims, such as sustainable development and Human Rights issues (cf. above "for the purpose of this Recommendation"). The reasons that led to companizing cooperatives are not valid anymore. Financial performance is still an important aspect of the competitiveness of enterprises, but it is not the only one anymore. Equally important is the normative capacity of enterprises to contribute to sustainable development. This shift is also prompted by a

[16] See Göler von Ravensburg, Economic and other benefits of the entrepreneurs´ cooperative as a specific form of enterprise cluster, Dar es Salaam: International Labour Office 2010.

[17] For more detail, see Henrÿ, Hagen, Guidelines for cooperative legislation, Geneva: International Labour Organization 2012, Part 3, 4.

changing conception of what is "public" and what is "private". The requirement for private entities to internalize hitherto public concerns and, vice versa, the requirements for public institutions to adopt private enterprise behavior leads to dysfunctionalities and inefficiencies as long as the respective legal structures have not been adapted accordingly [16].[18] This question is also at the heart of new-type cooperatives, so-called multi-stakeholder cooperatives (see below).

- *"common needs and aspirations [of the members]".* There are two schools, which interpret this element in different ways: A more restrictive one limits the element to mean that cooperatives should serve exclusively their members. The definition seems to support this school. The other school recognizes the reality of entities which are registered as cooperatives and/or call themselves cooperatives and which serve also non-members, at times even the general public. It might sound as a sophism to say that service to non-members might be a common need of the members. The issue is closely related with the delimitation of the term "member".
- *"member".* Not the least the debate on the CS and on the social economy has raised the question of whether also the interests of non-members, i.e. stakeholders whose rights are affected by the activities of cooperatives, should be taken into account and whether the shift in the debate on the CSR from behavioral aspects to governance issues requires that stakeholders be integrated with rights and duties into the governance structure of enterprises in general. Such multi-stakeholder cooperatives are emerging especially in the education sector, in health and social care and in the utilities sector.
- *"jointly owned (and democratically controlled enterprise)".* The joint ownership relates foremost to the reserve fund, i.e. the lock-in part of the capital. Ever less laws require the reserve fund to be indivisible. Besides protecting third party interests and improving the creditability of the cooperatives - it has the same function as the minimum capital requirement in other forms of enterprise - and besides diminishing speculative behavior of the members, the (indivisible) reserve is an expression of intergenerational solidarity. This intergenerational solidarity is also one of the founding principles of sustainable development.
- *"democratically controlled (enterprise)".* Democratic participation is, as mentioned, the most effective mechanism through which social justice regenerates. Social justice is part of one of the aspects of the objective of cooperatives and it is the central aspect of sustainable development as it secures political stability. Political stability, in turn, is a prerequisite for economic security. And economic security is a precondition for people to care for the biosphere.

  The often-cited principle of one member/one vote (2nd ICA Principle) is also an important rule. But, it is not sufficient. Democratic participation must permeate all organizational and operational aspects of the cooperative, from the determination of needs of the members and

[18] Henrÿ, Hagen, Basics and New Features of Cooperative Law - The Case of Public International Cooperative Law and the Harmonisation of Cooperative Laws, in: Uniform Law Review. Revue de droit uniforme, Vol. XVII, 2012, 197-233.

transactions between the cooperative and its members, via education/training to cooperative specific audit as a prerequisite for the meaningful exercise by the members of their control rights. Therefore, the "participants", the "loci of participation" and the "modes of participation" need rethinking [17]. [19]

- *"enterprise".* As far as the notion of "enterprise" is concerned, globalization is causing three major changes. Enterprises, including cooperative enterprises, integrate ever more into vertical and horizontal chains, operationally and organizationally interwoven and producing wealth out of data. Networks of machines, linked and operating digitally, replace networks of people and networks of people and machines. The positions of producers and consumers fuse to form co-pro-sumers. Enterprises disappear. Contractually regulated connectivity replaces association-type collectivities, with considerable consequences for solidarity-based entities, like cooperatives.

  All of these changes require adaptations of the organization law on cooperatives and also of other areas of law which regulate for example warranties, liabilities - as responsibilities diffuse and anonymization increases -, labor relationships, taxation, consumer protection, competition, product liability etc.

3. Conclusions

Legislators give different answers to the questions discussed here. To many of them they do not provide any answer. However, globalization urges us to ensure a coherent implementation of existing regional and international rules, [20] and to avoid at the same time an overall harmonization in the sense of a unification of cooperative laws. A coherent implementation of existing regional and international rules requires, nevertheless, a certain degree of harmonization. The question is: what should be harmonized? The answer follows from the conception, we have, of cooperatives. Are they "associations of persons" (cum enterprise) or a specific form of "associations of capital? [18] [21] The more we want them to be associations of persons, the less unification is indicated. What is needed, however, is a harmonization of the interpretation of the definition of cooperatives, of the cooperative values and of the cooperative principles, on the one hand, and the elaboration of cooperative legal principles, which are to inform legislators, on the other hand. The task is not easy as the terminologies of the ICA and the ILO concerning the categories of values and principles differ from one another and as they differ from that of philosophy. The harmonization of the

[19] Henrÿ, Hagen, Cooperative Law in the 21st Century. Keynote to the 1st International Forum on Cooperative Law held in Montevideo on November 16-18, 2016, in conjunction with the II Intercontinental Congress on Cooperative Law on the occasion of the IV Cooperative Summit of the ICA Americas region (to be published by ICA Americas Region).

[20] By degree of decreasing national sovereignty to regulate freely through the national law: the 2008 Ley marco para las cooperativas de América Latina; the 2009 Mercosur Common Cooperative Statute; the European Union Council Regulation 1435/2003 on the Statute for a European Cooperative Society; the 2010 Uniform act on cooperatives of OHADA, the Organization for the Harmonization in Africa of Business Law and the 2015 Uniform Cooperative Act of the East African Community (not yet in force).

[21] Terms frequently used by Edgar Parnell. See recently Parnell, Edgar, Reason v. Dogma – the Great Challenge and Opportunity for Cooperative Education, in: Henrÿ, Hytinkoski and Klén (eds.), Co-operative Studies in Education Curricula ..., op. cit., 23-36.

interpretation of the cooperative values and principles and the elaboration of cooperative legal principles will be the more successful, the more we clarify how the cooperative principles could fit into the world of existing, universally recognized legal principles, such as the principle of equal treatment, the principle of solidarity and the principle of democracy, instead of trying to fit independently developed cooperative legal principles into the legal systems. Legal principles do not have the function to be the definite reason for a decision; they are the reason in favor of a decision. I.e. harmonized cooperative legal principles allow for necessary variations in cooperative legislation [19]. [22]

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[22] As for Europe, see Gemma Fajardo, Antonio Fici, Hagen Henrÿ, David Hiez, Deolinda Meira, Hans-H. Münkner and Ian Snaith (eds.), Principles of European Cooperative Law. Principles, Commentaries and National Reports, Cambridge et al.: intersentia 2017, written by the members of SGECOL, the Study Group on European Cooperative Law (see Fajardo G., Fici A., Henrÿ H., Hiez D., Münkner H.-H., Snaith I. (2012), New Study Group on European Cooperative Law: "Principles" Project, Euricse Working Paper, N. 024 | 12, at: http://euricse.eu/sites/euricse.eu/files/db_uploads/documents/1329215779_n1963.pdf
Similar study groups will possibly be set up in other parts of the world.

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Rezumat

Considerând globalizarea drept o realitate, iar dezvoltarea durabilă ca un obiectiv comun, articolul pledează pentru o abordare mai armonizată de către legiuitori în ceea ce privește dreptul cooperatist. Deși oferă îndrumare în acest sens, dreptul internațional public creează, de asemenea, incertitudini, nu în ultimul rând cu privire la însăși obiectul dreptului cooperatist, și anume cooperativele. O abordare armonizată este esențială, dacă cooperativele trebuie să contribuie la dezvoltarea durabilă. Totuși, în loc de unificare a legislației în domeniul cooperatist, articolul sugerează armonizarea interpretărilor definiției universal recunoscute a cooperativelor și dezvoltarea unor principii juridice comune cu privire la cooperație, care ar fi puse în aplicare într-o varietate vitală de legi cooperatiste (sau în domeniul cooperației).

***Cuvinte-cheie**: cooperative, drept cooperatist, dezvoltare durabilă*

Аннотация

Рассматривая глобализацию как реальность, а устойчивое развитие как общую цель, статья призывает к более согласованному подходу законодателей к кооперативному праву. Несмотря на определенное руководство в этом вопросе, международное публичное право также создает неопределенности, и не в последнюю очередь в отношении самого предмета кооперативного права, а именно кооперативов. Согласованный подход имеет жизненно важное значение, если кооперативы будут способствовать устойчивому развитию. Однако вместо объединения кооперативных законов в статье предлагается согласовать толкование общепризнанного определения кооперативов и разработать общие юридические принципы по кооперации, которые будут воплощены в жизненно важное разнообразие законов о кооперации.

***Ключевые слова**: кооперативы, кооперативное право, устойчивое развитие*

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