

M. Tuhon-Baranovsky's Struggle for the Success of Ukrainian Cooperation

Received: 16.08.2022

Available online: 31.03.2024

Kseniia Lopukh*

Abstract

The paper seeks to consider a given period of the lifetime of M. Tuhon-Baranovsky (1865-1919), the world-famous economist from Eastern Europe. I examine the cooperative activity of Tuhon-Baranovsky in the Ukrainian period from 1917-1919. I attempt to discover the origins of Tuhon-Baranovsky's fascination with cooperative ideas during this period. The paper also discusses the idea that he began to explore the cooperation theory from 1901-1905 and partly implemented his concepts from 1917-1919. The paper argues in favor of Tuhon-Baranovsky's undeniable influence and support of the Ukrainian cooperative movement through the reflection of his practical and scientific activities. In addition, the dynamic development of cooperation in Ukraine determined the content of Tuhon-Baranovsky's last works, which were on cooperative topics in the Ukrainian context. The paper consists of three parts. The first part gives a brief history of development and the importance of cooperation for the national revival of the Ukrainian people at the beginning of the XX century. The second part focuses on the practical and cooperative activities of Tuhon-Baranovsky in Ukraine, 1917-1919.

The third part reveals the cooperative ideal, a concept about the future society Tuhon-Baranovsky expanded in his latest works.

Keywords: M. Tuhon-Baranovsky, Ukraine, cooperative theory, cooperative ideal, ethical aspects of cooperation.

JEL: B14, B31, N93, N94

Introduction

The life, scientific, and practical activity of Tuhon-Baranovsky in Ukraine from 1917-1919 is almost unknown in the West. His interest in Ukraine after the October Revolution of 1917 and the Ukrainian national liberation movement, in general, caused many questions and even surprised most of his colleagues. This interest did not arise spontaneously. He did not lose contact with Ukraine throughout his life. Tuhon-Baranovsky was born in the village of Solianykyvka (Kharkiv region) and studied at Kharkiv University. From 1901-1905 he lived in the village of Piznyky (Lokhvytsky district, Poltava region). He married Olga Rusinova, sister of Vasyl Rusinov¹. Later, Tuhon-Baranovsky pursued the farmstead "Krynytsia" to live separately from his relatives, but not far from them. That is what his wife wanted.

During his stay in Lokhvytsia and Piznyky, Tuhon-Baranovsky took the most active part in the educational and cultural

* Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv – Department of Economic theory, Macro- and Microeconomics

¹ Vasyl Rusinov was a landowner, a leader of the Lokhvytskyi nobility, and an Ukrainophile.

activities of the local Ukrainian intelligentsia and publicly supported the movement for the national revival of the Ukrainian people, the preservation and development of the Ukrainian language, and education. In particular, he participated in the "Mutual aid to the rural teachers" of the Lohvytsia district, in the Lohvytsia agricultural society, and in provincial zemstvo² (Kuchyn, 2005). At the same time, he conducted intense scientific activity and researched the background, and needs of agriculture in the region. Tuhan-Baranovsky had the idea to make an ascent of the first monument to Taras Shevchenko in Ukraine. In 1905, he appealed to the Poltava Provincial Zemstvo Assembly with this proposal and initiated the collection of funds for this purpose, which was implemented.

However, it is more important to emphasize that Tuhan-Baranovsky, while in "exile" in an Ukrainian village, delves into Kant's philosophy and rethinks his scientific views. In his letters to A. Kaufman, Tuhan-Baranovsky wrote that "the supreme good in life for me is freedom [...]. I like the village because I feel even freer here" (Shirokorad and Dmitriev, 2008, p. 78). Delving into the local environment of the native intelligentsia, Zemstvo officials and landowners were new and insistent on Tuhan-Baranovsky. He was practically involved in the discussions of various economic and social problems that faced the local population. It shows that Tuhan-Baranovsky had the desire and strength to participate in solving practical problems at the local level. This activity became the basis for many publications on the topic of agrarian reforms and the development of cooperatives.

During his stay in the village of Piznyky, Tuhan-Baranovsky wrote the work "Essays

from the Modern History of Political Economy" (1903). There, as is known, he declares a complete break with orthodox Marxism and claims that it, as a social system, it has no future (Tuhan-Baranovsky, 1903). Besides, he studied the moral philosophy of Immanuel Kant and the Neo-Kantians. Their philosophical ideas are perceived by Tuhan-Baranovsky and determine the philosophical basis of his scientific views in the future.

The central idea of Kant's moral philosophy is the idea of the infinite value of the human personality, its theoretical and practical abilities, and the ability to implement them creatively. A person can become a moral person under the condition of realizing individual liberty in combination with respect for the freedom of other members of society. Kant understood freedom as the independence of a person from the coercive arbitrariness of anyone. Moreover, everyone's liberty is limited only by moral standards. The viability of society depends on the unity not only of its similar elements (people, social groups, interests, values, relationships), but also on the diversity of their differences. The essential unity of society consists of the coexistence of heterogeneous social forces, institutions, organizations, and interested groups, united by a common desire for a harmonious life. The basis of this unity is the individual in the process of realizing his freedom (Podkovenko, 2015). These philosophical ideas about the value and liberty of the individual undoubtedly influenced the belief system of Tuhan-Baranovsky. Eventually, he used these ideas to comprehend the essence and structure of cooperatives as well as the theory of cooperation.

² Zemstvo was an elective district council one the pre-revolutionary Russian Empire.

Tuhan-Baranovsky's cooperative ideal is the ideal of a new society, a new economic system. Cooperation is a new form of social economy, which can be successful only under the encouragement and moral raising of the participants of this economy (Tuhan-Baranovsky, 1919a). Cooperation is a voluntary association of free people to improve the well-being of every individual and thus of society as a whole. There is no coercive power, and relations have an ethical ground and build based on equal contracts, which could always be changed. Tuhan-Baranovsky believed that freedom, equality, and ethics were the strength of the cooperative movement. In Ukraine, cooperation became an essential indication of the vital needs of the broad masses of the population and additionally the necessity for reconstruction and democratization of the Ukrainian economy. It is in such a context that Tuhan-Baranovsky interpreted the development of the cooperative movement. In his article "The Last Goal of Cooperation" (1918), he wrote that cooperation is a crucial means of uniting Ukrainians into a nation, a way to preserve the "young sprouts of Ukrainian freedom" and the national revival of Ukrainian statehood (Didkivska, 2015).

To reveal the events of the personal life story and scientific achievements of Tuhan-Baranovsky in Ukraine, 1917-1919, I analyzed publications of famous Ukrainian scientists, economists, and public and political figures who personally knew M. Tuhan-Baranovsky and worked with him during this period. Among them were B. Martos, S. Yefremov, A. Nikovsky, O. Lototsky, M. Hrushevsky, A. Antsyferov, K. Vobly, M. Ptukha. The studies of the life and scientific activity of M. Tuhan-Baranovsky, especially his

theory and practice of cooperation, were prepared by such representatives of the Ukrainian scientific diaspora as O. Mytsiuk, I. Vytanovych, K. Kobersky, I. Shymonovych, K. Borodaievsky, L. Koval, V. Tymoshenko, A. Kachor. Modern Ukrainian economists and historians of economic thought are paying great attention to the study of the scientific heritage of M. Tuhan-Baranovsky nowadays. Among the researchers of his cooperative heritage S. Zlupko, L. Horkina, A. Panteleimonenko, L. Didkivska, S. Kuchyn, V. Polovets, O. Nestulya, L. Matvieieva, V. Feshchenko, etc should be highlighted. I would like to note that a number of famous European historians of economic thought, including N. Nenovsky, F. Alisson, V. Barnett, M. Boianovsky, J. Zweinert, have fundamental studies on Tuhan-Baranovsky's scientific heritage. However, his active scientific and practical work in Ukraine remained unknown in the West.

I. A brief history of the cooperative movement in Ukraine

The first cooperative organizations in Ukraine appeared in the second half of the 19th century. First, there were consumer cooperatives, and later credit cooperatives. Mykola Balin³ was one of the pioneers and founders of the first Ukrainian consumer cooperatives in Kharkiv (1866). Their cooperative activities contributed to the popularization of the idea of consumer cooperation of the English type throughout Ukraine. At first, consumer cooperation spread exclusively in large cities – Kharkiv, Kyiv, and Mykolaiv. Credit cooperatives started in villages. It is worthy to note that initially, representatives of the intelligentsia founded

³ *Mykola Balin* (1829-1904) was the founder of the cooperative movement in Ukraine, an outstanding public figure of the second half of the 19th century;

the cooperation in Ukraine. For instance, Hryhoriy Galagan was one of the pioneers of the Ukrainian and Russian credit cooperatives, a representative of a wealthy landowner family. According to P. Pozharsky, "Galagan knew and loved his people. His Ukrainian upbringing helped him to appreciate the Ukrainian people and to love it" (Pozharsky, 2010, p. 205). At the same time, despite the support of the intelligentsia of the cooperative movement, cooperation in Ukraine, as in Russia, did not take root for a long time. The main problem remained the lack of institutional conditions essential for the extension of cooperation. P. Pozharsky noted, "In the second half of the 1870s and during the 1880s, not only Ukraine as well as all of Russia were as an almost total cooperative desert" (Pozharsky, 2010, p. 210). In the 1890s, there was a certain revival of the cooperative movement in the form of agricultural artil⁴ (cooperative). The founder of this prior form of the agricultural cooperative was Mykola Levitsky⁵. He has been nicknamed "the father of artils". His goal was to improve the welfare of the people by considering self-activity and self-help as the most important tools for this. The peculiarity of Levitsky's activity was spreading the idea of cooperation among the peasants. With the support of the peasants, Levitsky quite quickly managed to organize agricultural artils. In 1894, Levitsky founded the first agrarian artil. In 1895, there were 10 artils, and in 1896, there were already 85 of them. However, they could not exist for a long time (from 1 to 3 years) because of the

Levitsky persecution by the authorities and peasants' punishment for anti-state activities as they joined artils. In addition, the lack of cooperative awareness, indefinite institutions, and administrative oppression also obstructed the development of cooperation.

Researching the history of Ukrainian cooperation, P. Pozharsky wrote that "after the Russian revolution of 1905, Ukrainian people woke up; there was hope for economic, as well as national, liberation" (Pozharsky, 2010, p. 222). After this revolution, the third period in the development of cooperation began in Ukraine. In the 70s and 90s of the 19th century, cooperative ideas appeared in Ukraine, and the first attempts to create cooperative organizations were undertaken. After 1905, cooperation developed rapidly, especially this progress accelerated after the revolutionary events of 1917. Ukrainian cooperative activists of this period considered cooperation both as a socio-economic organization aimed at improving the material welfare of the Ukrainian peasants and as a source of propaganda for the Ukrainian culture and national revival.

The national cooperative movement was not recognized until 1917. Cooperation in Ukraine expanded as a part of the All-Russian cooperative movement. S. Borodaievsky wrote, "With the political pressure that prevailed in Ukraine at that time, to talk about Ukrainian cooperation in the national sense would, of course, be an exaggeration. Those days, even a hint of Ukrainian nationality was considered a high crime, and if it was possible

⁴ Artil was a type of voluntary association of people for joint economic activity with further distribution of the received income between them

⁵ Mykola Levitsky was a publicist and an organizer of the cooperative movement in Ukraine (mostly) and Russia. He believed that the background for the well-being of peasants and artisans could only be their organized self-activity, one of the forms of which was the cooperative movement. He published articles in many periodicals ("Russkie vedomosti", "Vestnik melkogo kredita", "Kooporativnaya zhizn", "Kooporativny vestnik", "Muraveynyk", "Ukrainskaya zhizn").

to create cooperatives in Ukraine, it was only thanks to the fact that their initiators and participants did not even show that they were interested in Ukrainian nationality issues” (Borodaievsky, 1924, p. 474). If after 1905, the national specifics of Ukrainian cooperation just launched to manifest themselves, then after 1913, Ukrainian trends in cooperation intensified and led to its rapid development.

Ukrainian cooperation had national differences and affected various economic, cultural, and political areas. According to the general population census of 1897, just 5.6% of Ukrainians lived in cities, and more than 94% lived in the countryside (Volkov, 1916). Therefore, it is natural that the peasants generated the basis for the cooperative movement development in Ukraine. Cooperation in agriculture increased rapidly. The rural people were Ukrainian by nationality, so the cooperatives were pro-Ukrainian; in contrast to the urban ones, where cooperatives had a pro-Russian character. “At that time, only the peasants and part of the workforce and handicrafts were Ukrainian. Landowners, manufacturers, and merchants were Russians, Poles, Jews, Germans, and French, but not Ukrainians. Trade, industry, and banks were in foreign hands. B. Martos emphasized, “Economic life in Ukraine was managed by foreigners, and they were managed by financial centers in Moscow and St. Petersburg” (Martos, 1989, p. 223). However, the rural people in Ukraine were the majority, consequently, cooperative ideas spread actively in rural regions. On the one hand, it was supposed to strengthen the economy in Ukraine, and on the other hand, raise the national consciousness of the majority of the Ukrainian people through cooperation.

Steadily, the Ukrainian national movement connected with the cooperative movement. All political parties in Ukraine at that time included comprehensive assistance in developing cooperation in their political programs. The Ukrainian intelligentsia and active elements of the peasantry were also joining the cooperative movement.

One of the most significant problems hindering the development of Ukrainian cooperation was the problem of peasant education. It concerned the ignorance of the majority of the peasantry and the reform of the education system, especially, the organization of national cooperative schools. Special schools were required in agricultural areas, where it was urgent to teach peasants agricultural sciences, accounting, etc. For this reason, educating peasants was considered one of the main goals of cooperation in Ukraine. Educated peasants will not set up cooperatives mechanistically, they will understand the purpose of cooperatives, develop creative abilities, and engage in self-activity. They saw in cooperation an opportunity to improve universal individual principles and values – solidarity, unity, equality, honesty, and justice, as well as Ukrainian culture, traditions, and language. Its founders did not limit cooperation to credit and trade transactions and gave the leading role to it in cultural and educational activities. Particularly, participants of cooperatives emphasized that cooperation in Ukraine should be Ukrainian. “This is a national issue – for us, Ukrainians, it is very acute and significant. Meanwhile, all the nationalities inhabiting the territory of the former Russian empire knew, regardless of the obstacles from the administration, that their right to national culture was recognized by the state, Ukrainians always had to prove their right to exist, fight with a complete denial

Articles

of the possibility of the existence of Ukrainian culture along with the Russian" (Zarudny, 1919, p. 17). Nevertheless, Ukrainians were always considered separatists because of the struggle for their culture and language. Language has always been the most persecuted. Therefore, a cooperator is the same as a citizen for Ukrainian cooperation. Thereby, cooperatives were tasked with raising a citizen with a Ukrainian national identity. For instance, at the first regional congress on the cultural and educational activity of cooperatives in Kharkiv in September 1919, a resolution was adopted that "cultural and educational activity can only be productive when it is conducted among the people in the language of that people..." (Shelest, 1919, p. 24).

At the same time, cultural and educational activity was not limited to cooperative education (clarification of the nature, purpose, methods of cooperative activity, spreading of cooperative ideas publicly, conducting cooperative courses, etc.). The cooperation shaped the principles of sociality and the national identity of the Ukrainian people.

With the strengthening of Ukrainian national trends in the cooperative movement, the question of creating national cooperative organizations arose. Such a desire was understandable because cooperative unions on the territory of Ukraine consisted mainly of nationally conscious peasants and rural intelligentsia. Most Ukrainians also occupied management bodies of cooperative organizations. However, the cooperative centers remained in Moscow (Moscow National Bank and Moscow Union of Consumer Cooperation (Tsentrosoyuz)). Their activities also extended to Ukraine. Ukrainians were forced to use the services of these organizations, which did not always regard the intentions and wishes of local

cooperative activists. In 1912, the Consumer Cooperation of the South of Russia (POYUR) was established in Kharkiv, which claimed the role of an all-Ukrainian center of consumer cooperation. This cooperative organization was pro-Russian because it was created with the support of the Tsentrosoyuz and actively opposed the organization of the central consumer union of pro-Ukrainian cooperators. On this occasion, S. Borodaievsky wrote, "POYUR was eager to play the role of the central consumer cooperative organization in Ukraine and at the same time pursue the policy of the Moscow Union" (Borodaievsky, 1925, p. 321).

After the revolutionary events of 1917, as a result of Ukraine's moving off from the direct influence of Moscow as well as the beginning of the development of Ukrainian statehood, the cooperative movement in Ukraine disposed of the legislative and administrative obstacles of the autocratic Russian government. In 1917, the Dnipro Union of Consumer Cooperation (Dniprosoyuz) was founded, which became the commercial and cultural center of Ukrainian consumer cooperation. The same year, the Ukrainian People's Cooperative Bank (Ukrainbank) was established. Its purpose was to provide funds to small credit institutions and cooperatives to facilitate the conduct of business activities. It was the central body of the credit cooperative. At the beginning of 1918, the All-Ukrainian Agricultural Cooperative Union ("Central") was founded. The Central's goal was to develop agricultural cooperation in Ukraine, both through cultural and educational activities and financial and material support of cooperatives and organizing new enterprises (Borodaievsky, 1925). Thus, the cooperative movement in Ukraine gained a wide scale and influenced the national liberation revival of the

Ukrainian people. Its main task was economic independence and constructing the national economy based on cooperation.

II. Tuhan-Baranovsky and Ukrainian cooperation

2.1. *Tuhan-Baranovsky and Ukraine before 1917.* M. Tuhan-Baranovsky closely followed the events taking place in Ukraine. While staying in St. Petersburg until 1917, he participated in many activities related to Ukraine. Returning to St. Petersburg in 1905, he published articles in the journal "Ukrainsky Vestnik". Shortly before the First World War, O. Lototsky⁶ suggested that Tuhan-Baranovsky should become one of the editors of the first Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies "Ukrainian people in its past and present" along with famous intellectuals F. Vovk, M. Hrushevsky, M. Kovalevsky, F. Korsh, O. Shakhmatov, A. Krymsky. Tuhan-Baranovsky was the editor of Volume III, which was supposed to cover the development of Ukraine's economy. The third volume was never published. However, the work on the first two volumes, which were published in 1914 and 1916 and related to the history, ethnography, geography, and anthropology of the Ukrainian people, influenced the national self-determination of Tuhan-Baranovsky strongly. Since then, Tuhan-Baranovsky deliberately became pro-Ukrainian (Lototsky, 1934, p. 165). According to Tuhan-Baranovsky, his participation as an editor of the Encyclopedia was an attempt to fight back against the "ideological struggle" (Kleinbort, 2008) against Ukrainianism, which was started by P. Struve in his article "All-

Russian culture and Ukrainian particularism. Answer to the Ukrainian" (1912).

From 1914-1916, Tuhan-Baranovsky was in Ukraine, in the village of Lohhvitsia. In 1915, he was appointed as vice-chairman of the Red Cross Society in Lohhvitsia. In 1916, Tuhan-Baranovsky became the chair of this society (Matvieieva, 1996). In the same period, he tried to apply his cooperative theories in practice and took part in establishing various cooperatives in the village of Piznyky. In February 1917, he returned to Petrograd University to occupy the post of full professor at the Department of Political Economy and Statistics (Shirokorad, 2005). However, Tuhan-Baranovsky did not start teaching at the University. The national liberation movement that began in Ukraine captured him. The idea of national and state revival, which formed the basis of the Ukrainian revolution, was more meaningful for Tuhan-Baranovsky than the Russian revolution. He was enthusiastic about it. Then, in August 1917, he accepted the offer to become the Minister of Finance of the newly created Ukrainian People's Republic and moved to Kyiv.

So Tuhan-Baranovsky joined the political, economic, cultural, and, especially, cooperative activities of the Ukrainian society. A. Nikovsky mentioned, "Looking closely at Ukrainian life in Kyiv, M.I. understood that the cooperation recognized and theoretically proved by him had prevalent practice in Ukraine. [...] ... and soon we see that he led the Ukrainian cooperation movement, as the head of the All-Ukrainian Cooperative Committee" (Nikovsky, 1919, p. 178).

⁶ *Oleksandr Lototsky* (1870-1939) was a Ukrainian public and political figure, writer, publicist, scientist, Orthodox Church and church law historian, economist. Co-founder of the weekly "Ukrainsky Vestnik" (1906). Chief on the Office of Ukrainian Central Rada (1917). Minister of Religions (1918). Ambassador Extraordinary in Türkiye (1919-1920). Since 1920 in exile. Professor of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich (1923).

At the beginning of 1917, the circumstances incepted the creation of a central body of Ukrainian cooperation in Ukraine. The main tasks of this body were to be the organizational planning of cooperative activities on the territory of Ukraine, the unification of the cooperative movement and establishment of a united organization for all types of cooperatives (consumer, credit, and agricultural), the development of cooperative policy directions and its ideological self-determination (Vytanovych, 1964). In August 1918, the Central Ukrainian Cooperative Committee (TSUKK, CoopCenter) was established. It was the central organization of Ukrainian cooperatives with the right to operate on the entire territory of Ukraine. Tuhan-Baranovsky occupied the post of chairperson of the Council of the TSUKK, its deputy was K. Matsiievych⁷, and the chair of the Board (the chief organizer of activities of the organization) was B. Martos⁸. In addition, Tuhan-Baranovsky was appointed the head of the editorial department of the TSUKK. In July 1918, he initiated the creation of one of

the TSUKK's periodicals – the fundamental scientific and practical journal “Ukrainian Cooperation” and was its editor. The mission of this journal was to publish scientific works on cooperative theory. Tuhan-Baranovsky's articles in this magazine, written in Ukrainian, were particularly interesting and valuable. According to B. Martos, “At first, Tuhan-Baranovsky wrote his articles in Russian, and we had to translate them into Ukrainian. But later, he declared that he wanted to learn to write in Ukrainian, and full pages written in Ukrainian began to appear in his manuscripts” (Martos, 1989, p. 240). In addition, Tuhan-Baranovsky's latest scientific works are “Cooperation, its socio-economic nature and purpose” and “Political economy. The Popular Course” was first published in Ukrainian by the Dniprosoyuz⁹ publishing house in 1919. The fascinating scientific work “The Influence of the Ideas of Political Economy on Natural Science and Philosophy” was published in the Notes of the Socio-Economic Division of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1923 in

⁷ *Kostiantyn Matsiievych* (1873-1942) was a prominent academic agronomist-economist, politician, diplomat, and Ukrainian patriot. Professor of the Ukrainian Economic Academy and the Ukrainian Institute of Technology and Economics (Prague). Member of the Ukrainian Central Rada; Deputy Secretary of land affairs (1917). Founder and chair of the Board of the First All-Ukrainian Agricultural Cooperative Union (“Central”) (1918). Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic (1919). Since 1924 in exile.

⁸ *Borys Martos* (1879-1977) was a politician, academic economist, cooperative figure. Member of the Ukrainian Central Rada; Secretary of land affairs (1917), Minister of food affairs (1918), Minister of finance (1919). One of the founders and professor (since 1924) of the Ukrainian Economic Academy in Podiebrady. Founder and Rector of the Ukrainian Higher School of Economics (1945-49) (Munich). Scientific research was related to the theory of the cooperative movement and finance. Since 1920 in exile.

⁹ Dniprosoyuz (Dnipro Union of Consumer Cooperatives) was the organizational center of the Ukrainian consumer cooperatives in 1917-1920.

Ukrainian. Tuhán-Baranovsky was the founder of this division¹⁰.

In various issues of the journal "Ukrainian Cooperation" for 1918, the articles "The Final Goal of Cooperation" (Vol. 1), "Productive Enterprises of Cooperatives from the View of Cooperative Theory" (Vol. 2), "Money Crisis of Ukrainian Cooperation" (Vol. 4), "Response to Mr. L. Umansky" (about productive enterprises) (Vol. 5-6). The controversy between Tuhán-Baranovsky and L. Umansky arose over the separation of the activities of cooperative unions of different types of cooperatives. Tuhán-Baranovsky proved that the establishment of productive enterprises by credit unions does not correspond to one of the main characteristics of a cooperative – self-help and self-activity. If a credit union organizes such an enterprise, it is not a self-help campaign for either producers or consumers. In the best case, this is the credit union supporting the consumer or production cooperative, and in the worst case – the use of the received capital for the credit union's enrichment. Tuhán-Baranovsky concluded that productive enterprises could be managed by credit unions, but temporarily. As soon as appropriate cooperative

organizations of consumers or producers emerged, credit unions had to transfer their productive enterprises or their shares to them (Vytanovych, 1964).

In the article, "Does Ukraine need its national centers?" Tuhán-Baranovsky responded to narrow chauvinism and accusations of separatism by Moscow cooperators against Ukrainian cooperators. He argued that Moscow cooperation should not only not delay the development of Ukrainian cooperative centers as well as use all means to support and increase their strength. The thirty-million Ukrainian people must have their cooperative centers. The efforts of some Ukrainian cooperators of Moscow orientation¹¹ to make Ukrainian centers subordinate to Moscow ... cannot be justified regarding the ideals of cooperative independence and self-reliance (Prykhozhenko, 1919, p. 1707).

Another vivid example of Tuhán-Baranovsky's commitment to the creation of a separate Ukrainian cooperative organization is his polemic with the head of the Council of All-Russian Cooperative Congresses (Moscow) V. Khizhniakov, who was present at the founding meeting of the TSUKK in September 1918. Speaking with a greeting,

¹⁰ The Division of Social Sciences (III Division) was one of three departments of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (UAS), along with the Historical-Philological Division (I Division) and the Physical-Mathematical Division (II Division). The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was established on November 14, 1918. Academician V. Vernadsky became the first president of the Academy. The Division of Social Sciences (later – socio-economic sciences) headed Tuhán-Baranovsky. He also elaborated on the structure of the Division. According to his plan, the Division divided into two major sub-divisions: economics and law. The economic division included 11 scientific institutions (9 departments and 2 institutes). Three departments should have been in theoretical sciences (sociology, statistics, and political economy). In parallel, Tuhán-Baranovsky proposed to create an Institute for the study of the economic fluctuations and an Institute for the statistical study of the population of Ukraine. According to Tuhán-Baranovsky, UAS should have provided not only theoretical as well as scientifically based applied knowledge. Therefore, the other six departments assigned to applied economic knowledge. These were departments of agricultural economics; industry and trade; credit, banks, and money circulation; social policy and cooperation; science of finance.

¹¹ It is about POYUR (Consumer's Association of the South of Russia) (Kharkiv), Odesa, and Chernihiv Unions that did not want to recognize Ukrainian cooperative centers (TSUKK, Dniprosoyuz) and considered themselves organizationally connected to Moscow.

he called for cooperative unity, stressing that the Council of All-Russian Cooperative Congresses strives to unite the cooperatives of the former Russian Empire to establish a cooperative international. Nevertheless, Tuhan-Baranovsky emphasized, responding to this speech, that Ukrainian cooperation at the current stage of its development does not need to have as its center a foreign organization, which was the Council of All-Russian Cooperative Congresses. After all, the Ukrainian cooperation is united in its TSUKK. Relations between Moscow and Ukrainian cooperation can be friendly, as well as with German, Austrian, French, Swedish, Finnish, etc. cooperation (Vytanovych, 1964).

Emphasizing the requirement of creating an autonomous system of Ukrainian consumer cooperation, Tuhan-Baranovsky gave three most important reasons, which were as follows. First, the thirty-million-strong Ukraine, in which 558 consumer societies functioned in 1905, required its central organization, which would not be territorially remote, and therefore ineffective for local cooperatives. Secondly, the functioning of the Moscow Union was based on strict centralism, which contradicted the democratic nature of cooperatives. Thirdly, the intensification of the national movement in the Ukrainian provinces stimulated independent tendencies toward establishing a separate national system of Ukrainian cooperation. However, it should be noted that Tuhan-Baranovsky recognized

the “national neutrality of cooperation” and emphasized the openness of cooperatives for the entry of persons of any nationality (Panteleimonenko, 2006).

At the same time, pro-Russian cooperative unions strongly opposed the “Ukrainization” of Ukrainian cooperatives, accusing them of politicizing the cooperative movement in Ukraine. Despite that, Tuhan-Baranovsky perceived the Ukrainian cooperative movement in a completely different way regarding nationality. Answering a question in the questionnaire of the journal “Ukrainskaya zhizn” in 1914, he wrote that “since his youth and when he was a student, he considered himself a Ukrainian patriot, then cooled a little to Ukrainianism and now he feels more like a Russian in general” (Mytsiuk, 1931). However, while remaining a Russian, he stood for the broad autonomy of Ukraine and did not finally reject its connection with Russia. Nevertheless, these were his thoughts 7-8 years before the Ukrainian revolution and his deep participation in the Ukrainian national movement (Kondratieff, 1923).

2.2. Tuhan-Baranovsky and Ukraine after 1917. After returning to Ukraine in the summer of 1917, Tuhan-Baranovsky settled down on his farmstead “Krynytsia” in the village of Piznyky. There he received a telegram from V. Vynnychenko¹² asking him to take the position of General Secretary of Finance of the Central Rada. According to S. Iefremov's¹³ memoirs, after accepting

¹² *Volodymyr Vynnychenko* (1880-1951) was a Ukrainian politician and statesman, writer. One of the leaders of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921. He was a member and Deputy Chair of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the Head of the first Ukrainian government – the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the General Secretary of internal affairs, the author and co-author of all the significant legislative acts of the Ukrainian Central Rada.

¹³ *Serhii Iefremov* (1876-1939) was a politician and statesman, literary critic, historian of Ukrainian literature. A full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (1919). Vice-president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (1922–1928), Secretary of the Historical and Philological Division (I) of the UAS. In the USSR, he was completely involved in scientific activities, remaining uncompromisingly irreconcilable to the regime.

this offer, Tuhan-Baranovsky declared that “now, when it is practically possible to work on Ukrainian ground, he completely switched to the Ukrainian platform, and cannot work in any other way as a Ukrainian” (Bazhal, 2007). One of Tuhan-Baranovsky’s significant contributions in his position was drafting the program document – the declaration “Economic Policy”, which was adopted by the Central Rada. The document included recommendations on the cooperative affair, the creation of Ukrainian currency, and the independence of the Ukrainian cooperative movement.

A small publication of “Prof. M. Tuhan-Baranovsky on the Ukrainian question” published in the newspaper “Dilo” in July 1917 highlighted Tuhan-Baranovsky’s thoughts on the Ukrainian revival, the Ukrainian language, and Ukraine’s acquisition of autonomy. “[...] freedom led to a rapid rise of Ukrainianism. Before the revolution, there were not many Ukrainian patriots, but they were there. Almost every village had a few or more local intellectuals or educated peasants that read Ukrainian books with pleasure, collected Ukrainian libraries, and subscribed to Ukrainian periodicals. The rest of the population was not very interested in this highbrow stuff but enjoyed their native language. While receiving an education in a Russian school, an ordinary Ukrainian did not feel a real need for Ukrainian literature and joined the Russian culture without accepting the Russian state’s patriotism. Russia did not perceive how to make Ukrainians love it. That is why Ukrainianism, which before the revolution was a barely smoldering flame, immediately burst into a bright flame. [...] 35

million of Ukraine’s population, well-known black-earth, mineral resources, and beautiful seaports could ensure brilliant economic development (F. K., 1917, p. 3). In addition, Tuhan-Baranovsky believed that independent Ukrainian culture would develop rapidly in the new conditions, and the Ukrainian nation would take an honorable place among leading nations of the world. B. Martos, one of Tuhan-Baranovsky’s closest associates in cooperative activities, emphasized his views on the national cooperative movement as apolitical. As an objective scientist, he could not help but admit that the cooperative movement, which united the 85% Ukrainian population, must have a Ukrainian face. As a cooperative theorist, Tuhan-Baranovsky firmly stood on the principle of the political neutrality of cooperation. However, he clearly understood that the recognition of “Dniprosoyuz”, “Ukrainbank” and “Central” as centers of Ukrainian cooperation had nothing to do with politics (Martos, 1989).

B. Martos asserted that it was possible to create independent Ukrainian cooperative centers thanks to the support and authority of Tuhan-Baranovsky. At three significant cooperative events held in Kyiv in 1918¹⁴, Tuhan-Baranovsky, arguing against pro-Russian cooperative unions, consistently and reasonably maintained the idea of creating independent cooperative centers along with a separate monetary system in Ukraine. It is worthy to say that all recommendations of Tuhan-Baranovsky had a practical result both for the development of the Ukrainian cooperative movement and essential changes in the economic policy of the Ukrainian government. At the Third All-Ukrainian

¹⁴ Cooperative events took place under the leadership of Tuhan-Baranovsky: 1) the Third All-Ukrainian Cooperative Congress (May 26-29, 1918), 2) the All-Ukrainian Congress of Cooperative Instructors and Auditors (summer, 1918), 3) the Meeting of the Council of the Central Ukrainian Cooperative Committee (November 6-7, 1918).

Articles

Cooperative Congress, a heated controversy unfolded with cooperative unions from Kharkiv, Chernihiv, and Odesa regarding the organization of the activities of the Ukrainian cooperative movement and Ukrainian cooperative central institutions. Cooperators from Kharkiv, Chernihiv, and Odesa did not want to recognize Ukrainian cooperative centers, such as Dniprosoyuz, and stated that their center was located in Moscow. However, after Tuhan-Baranovsky's statements (Tuhan-Baranovsky, 1918d), the result of the discussion between pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian cooperators was the establishment of the Central Ukrainian Cooperative Committee in August 1918. It was a victory for Ukrainian cooperators.

The All-Ukrainian Congress of Cooperative Instructors and Auditors had vital consequences for Ukrainian cooperation and the forming of the national monetary system. During the Congress, delegates from POYUR again made oppositional speeches regarding the separate Ukrainian cooperative centers and constantly appealed to the unity of the Ukrainian cooperative activity with Russia. In contrast to these statements, a resolution supported by Tuhan-Baranovsky was adopted, to conduct cooperative propaganda and all cultural and educational activities in the Ukrainian language. Another significant issue discussed at this Congress was the necessity to introduce a Ukrainian monetary unit and separate the monetary system of Ukraine from the Russian (Soviet). Pro-Russian cooperators strongly opposed this idea. One of the arguments was that it is not within the competence of Congress to resolve such an important issue. Another relevant argument was that the Ukrainian currency could not

exist in the least since Ukraine had no gold reserves. Tuhan-Baranovsky's contentions were decisive in this matter, in which he argued that it was possible to introduce the Ukrainian currency, and it was obligatory to carry out the monetary reform as soon as possible to escape "the financial abyss into which Soviet Russia was falling" (Tuhan-Baranovsky, 1918b). The end of this argument was the draft of a memorandum to the Ukrainian government. It was about the independence of the Ukrainian monetary system, and the law annulment on the artificial dependence of Ukrainian currency on the Soviet one. On November 19, 1918, the Minister of Finance A. Rzhepetsky¹⁵ announced the stamping of the Russian currency and gradually retired it from circulation, and replaced it with Ukrainian money in the future. However, it was impossible to implement this draft act because of the government's overthrow. Under the new government, B. Martos transformed the draft act into law. After appointing to the post of Minister of Finance, he enforced the law immediately in early January 1919. The main measures defined by this law were: 1) the hryvnia (karbovanets) is the only legal means of payment on the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic; 2) all money from other states was not recognized as legal tender anymore; 3) Russian tsarist and Duma money in denominations of 500 and 1,000 rubles are not recognized and not accepted by the state bank and other state institutions; 4) Russian money from 1 to 100 rubles would have to exchange for Ukrainian currency (Martos and Zozula, 1972). Therefore, the idea proposed by Tuhan-Baranovsky about an independent Ukrainian currency was practically implemented.

¹⁵ Anton Rzhepetsky (1868-1932) was the Minister of Finance in the Ukrainian state headed by Hetman P. Skoropadsky

Tuhan-Baranovsky also opposed the opening of branches of the Moscow National Bank (MNB) on the territory of Ukraine, reporting at the Meeting of the Council of the Central Ukrainian Cooperative Committee in November 1918. Pro-Russian cooperative unions recognized MNB as an all-Russian cooperation financial center and insisted on the branch out of it. Tuhan-Baranovsky introduced a draft resolution in which he noted that branching out of the Moscow National Bank is fundamentally undesirable without the consent of the Ukrainbank and local cooperative institutions (Martos, 1989).

Tuhan-Baranovsky quite consciously supported Ukraine in its struggle for economic separation from Russia, protecting the independence of the Ukrainian cooperative movement. Moreover, he emphasized that the cooperative movement in Ukraine was national because it covered half of the entire population and developed quite dynamically. Explaining the necessity of creating a department of the cooperation theory in the "Memorandum on the Division of Social Sciences"¹⁶, Tuhan-Baranovsky wrote, "All this powerful national movement must acquire a completely exceptional significance for the Ukrainian people because the majority of them are farmers. Cooperation marks a significant change for the peasant economy and is considered the transition to rational agronomy and advanced agricultural technology. Therefore, it is necessary to go heart and soul into developing Ukrainian cooperation as soon as possible" (Tuhan-Baranovsky, 1919b).

The Ukrainian peasantry considered cooperation a natural form of organizing their economic life, which provided an

opportunity to reveal real economic interests and consolidate forces for their defense by creating cooperative unions and centers. From 1917-1921, the cooperative movement covered about 60% of the population of Ukraine (Heley, 2013). Cooperative unions played a significant role in popularizing the idea of cooperation and organizing cooperative education. They arranged numerous cooperative courses, which gradually turned into cooperative schools. Cooperative unions provided substantial financial aid to schools, gymnasiums, national universities, and higher courses on the condition that the curricula included lectures on cooperation. In the syllabus of all cooperative courses, besides professional subjects, lectures on Ukrainian studies – language, history, geography, and economy of Ukraine – were compulsory (Vytanovych, 1964). In addition, cooperatives organized the publishing of books on both cooperative topics and other fields of scientific knowledge. They considered it a duty to carry out multifaceted activities to raise the national, cultural, and educational level of the population (Serbynenko, 1919). Cooperation contributed to mass education by developing schools, art, and science.

Tuhan-Baranovsky has deeply attached to the development of cooperative education and science in Ukraine. He considered the growth of Ukrainian cooperation in a close relationship with the expansion of Ukrainian culture. Uniting millions of people cooperation became the "agent" to convey culture to the masses. "First of all, it is necessary to recognize the right of Ukrainians to be sons of their homeland and to work on the development of Ukrainian national culture" (Vytanovych,

¹⁶ The Memorandum on the Division of Social Sciences is a framework document in which Tuhan-Baranovsky proposed the organizational structure and core scientific directions of the Division of Social Sciences of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Articles

1964, p. 201). As an active supporter of the Ukrainization of the cooperative movement, Tuhan-Baranovsky was strongly involved in educational activities in the cooperation area.

During 1917–1920, numerous cooperative courses were held in Ukraine. Often they grew into cooperative schools. In cooperative schools and courses, not only thousands of skilled cooperative personnel trained, but also people's patriotic activists were being prepared. Among the most famous cooperative schools of that time can be distinguished: a one-year V. Domanytsky¹⁷ cooperative school in Kyiv at "Dniprosoyuz"; a one-year V. Domanytsky cooperative school in Zvenyhorod; a three-year cooperative school, which was established in honor of the 50th anniversary of Ukrainian cooperation in Kyiv at Soyuzbank; three-month "primary school-courses" in Kyiv at Central. In the fall of 1917, the Ministry of Land Affairs, on its own initiative, organized the first Higher Instructor Cooperative Courses to train highly qualified cooperative instructors. In the spring of 1918, about 100 experienced instructors in various specialties graduated, and in September 1918, more than 300 students were admitted to the cooperative courses (Horkina, 2010). In the syllabus of the first two months of the courses, one of the disciplines was "History and theory of cooperation" which was taught by Tuhan-Baranovsky.

Gradually, these instructor courses transformed into the Ukrainian Cooperative Institute at TSUKK. M. Tuhan-Baranovsky together with K. Matsievych and B. Martos prepared the draft of the statute and curriculum of the Institute. It included the study of the

following subjects: the theory of political economy; credit, banks, stock exchange; economic policy; economy of agriculture; economy of trade and industry; economic geography; finances; local finances; theory and history of cooperation; cooperative statistics; consumer cooperation; credit cooperative; agricultural and production cooperation (Zlupko, 1992). The resolution on establishing the Higher Cooperative Institute was issued at the Second Cooperative Congress in Kyiv in 1913. Cooperative organizations of all levels in Ukraine were obliged to contribute constantly 1% of their turnover to donate to this Institute. However, it was impossible to organize the activities of the Institute at first due to the beginning of the First World War and the socio-economic and political instability in Ukraine after it. Officially, the Cooperative Institute began its work in January 1920, after the death of Tuhan-Baranovsky. At a meeting of the Council of the Central Ukrainian Cooperative Committee, a decision was made to name the institute after Professor M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky (Martos, 1989). It was the first higher educational cooperative institution in the world (Vytanovych, 1959). The Ukrainian Cooperative Institute named after M.I. Tuhan-Baranovsky was a higher educational and scientific institution, the tasks of which included cooperative education and professional training of specialists in the field of cooperation; promoting the development of theoretical and practical knowledge important for cooperation; organization of temporary courses in certain fields of professional activity, necessary for cooperators (Didkivska, 2018). Therefore, the peculiarity of the

¹⁷ *Vasyl Domanytsky* (1877-1910) was a public figure, historian and ideologist of cooperation in Ukraine. As a scientist, a representative of the progressive Ukrainian intelligentsia defended the idea of a broad cooperative movement in the rural area, considering it a changing factor of the social system and improving the economic prosperity of the people.

cooperative institute was that it provided not only knowledge on the theory of cooperation. The trainees received the whole spectrum of practical knowledge and specialized skills necessary for developing a cooperative business. Under changing authorities and different names throughout its existence, the Ukrainian Cooperative Institute named after M.I. Tuhan-Baranovsky became a scientific center for studying the problems of the theory and practice of cooperation and training highly qualified specialists with higher cooperative education.

III. Tuhan-Baranovsky on the cooperative ideal

Tuhan-Baranovsky was actively interested in the cooperative theory between the two revolutions (1905, 1917). In a relatively short time, he became not only a practitioner as well as a theoretician-ideologist of cooperation. Disillusionment with Marxism and efforts to find ways and theoretical justification for constructing a new, better social order were the reasons for a thorough study of the cooperative idea.

Undoubtedly, Tuhan-Baranovsky's interest in cooperation was influenced by the ideas of utopians as well as one of the most famous critics of capitalism of that time – P.-J. Proudhon. Tuhan-Baranovsky recognized the essence of the “ideal” standing on the positions of the doctrines of utopian socialists. Analyzing an “ideal” he observed that “utopia is an ideal. [...]. The ideal belongs to such ideas of our mind as ideas of infinity, freedom, and duty, which go beyond empirical knowledge or immediate benefit. The purpose of these ideas is to indicate the direction, following which our mind achieves its highest goal – bringing to the supreme unity of our empirical knowledge and practical work”

(Tuhan-Baranovsky, 1903, p. p. 91). At the same time, Tuhan-Baranovsky's development of the cooperative theory was influenced by the socialist ideas of P.- J. Proudhon, his criticism of capitalism, and the rejection of communism. Proudhon believed that it was impossible to achieve anything through violence and revolution. A type of economic organization of society is the basis of national well-being (Tuhan-Baranovsky, 1891, p. 42). The ideas of utopian socialists and Proudhon were laid by Tuhan-Baranovsky as the fundamentals of the cooperative theory.

Tuhan-Baranovsky devoted many works to highlighting the essence, nature, types, and features of cooperatives and the cooperative movement in general. His fundamental treatise “Social foundations of cooperation” (1916) had a powerful impact on the understanding and perception of the idea of cooperation not only in Ukraine and Russia but abroad. It is well-known that most of Tuhan-Baranovsky's research on the theory and practice of cooperation was written in Russian and translated into foreign languages. However, the last scientific efforts on the cooperation theory were published for first-ever in Ukrainian. These are the works “Cooperative Ideal” (1918), “Cooperation, its nature and purpose” (1919), and “Political economy: a popular course” (1919). At the same time, the peculiarity of these efforts is not that they are written in Ukrainian. These efforts demonstrate Tuhan-Baranovsky's immersion in the philosophy of cooperation and further analysis of the relationship between the cooperative movement, capitalism, and socialism. Thus, we follow the evolution of his views on the essence and purpose of the cooperative movement based on ethics and the socialist ideal and their influence on the development of society.

In the earlier article “How the socialist order fulfills” (1906), Tuhan-Baranovsky focused on the proletarian revolution and the victory of socialism, which would replace capitalism. He considered cooperation as one of the stages in the transition from capitalism to socialism. After the establishment of the new system (socialism), cooperation was to disappear. However, developing the theory of cooperation and analyzing its practical significance, Tuhan-Baranovsky in his work “Cooperative Ideal” (1918) emphasized that cooperation will gradually displace capitalist enterprises. Moreover, the rapid development of the cooperative movement will lead to the development of another social order – a socialist society. Indeed, the process of concentration of capital that Marx emphasized must necessarily lead to state socialism. In addition to the development of this process, cooperation was a developing process that had a completely different internal nature and completely different direction. Alongside the first process, cooperation was a social development that grew up rapidly and displaced capitalist enterprises with cooperatives of all kinds. “While the first process ends with state socialism, the second process leads to a completely different type of society – anarchism. Because the cooperative organization in its purpose is nothing but anarchism (Tuhan-Baranovsky, 1918c). Of course, anarchism, as a social order, is impossible, because, in essence, it means complete freedom of the individual, the absence of any pressure on him from society. However, it was in pursuit of such an ideal that Tuhan-Baranovsky recognized the progress of society.

The structure of the cooperative organization includes the possibility of the “*widest freedom*”. There is no coercive power

or any kind of violence in the cooperative. It is true that a cooperative presupposes that the freedom of an individual reduces by the will of the whole society, but this constriction of freedom was the least important because every member of the cooperative can leave it at any time. In addition, Tuhan-Baranovsky clearly emphasized that the freedom of the individual in a society does not mean the absence of a certain central authority to coordinate relations between them. Any complex organization has to provide for the subordination of the actions of individuals to “directives” that come from the “social whole”. Without such subordination, it is impossible to coordinate individual parts of the entire social mechanism, and even the work of the mechanism is impossible. For society to exist and function, it is necessary to have a “charge” that also helps to control the functioning of society. The actions of many individuals should also be subject to the instructions of such “charge”. Tuhan-Baranovsky does not identify “charge” with “government” and highlights the fundamental difference between them. The power of charge consists in the understanding of each individual member of this organization to participate in it, to follow the instructions of “charge”, while the authority of the government lies in the coercive power of the state over each of its individual subjects. Tuhan-Baranovsky opposes a cooperative state (state socialism), which is always coercive in relation to individuals. Cooperation is a free treaty organization in which power is devoid of coercion. There are no restrictions on individual freedom and definitely cooperatives do not contradict the ideal of anarchism.

Therefore, there will be combined two forms of economic activity in the future society – a state based on coercion, and cooperation on

the principle of freedom. Social development will take place through the peaceful struggle of these two forms. At the same time, a free organization (cooperation) will gradually displace coercion.

According to Tuhan-Baranovsky, cooperation is the highest type of social organization that one could imagine. Compared to cooperation, state socialism is at a lower stage of the development of society. The whole society will have to turn into all-encompassing cooperation. The point is that the cooperative movement in general has an idealistic character. The cooperative movement contains high social idealism and ethics. This is the key difference between political socialism, which emphasizes the class nature of society, reinforces the hostility to social oppression, and emphasizes the impotence of revolutionary struggle. However, ethics is an extracurricular assessment of certain human actions. Manifestation of ethics is the willingness of an individual to sacrifice his selfish interests for the interests of a higher order – for society. Tuhan-Baranovsky asserts, “The cooperative movement is the only social movement of our time, which is imbued with an ethical idealism and pure inspiration” (Tuhan-Baranovsky, 1918c).

The fact that cooperation is the future of economic development was beyond any doubt for Tuhan-Baranovsky. He argues that cooperation will expand along with the development of society due to the higher moral and intellectual development of its members. This will contribute to the growth of their freedom and therefore the freedom of society. Freedom is the fundamental ethical principle of the cooperative movement.

Conclusion

In the paper, I have considered special details of the life and activities of M. Tuhan-Baranovsky in Ukraine, 1917-1919. This period of his life remained obscure to many Western researchers until nowadays, whereas there are a large number of studies on Tuhan-Baranovsky’s scientific heritage in Ukraine. Tuhan-Baranovsky spent the last years of his scientific and practical activity in Ukraine, and they were highly productive. He strongly engaged in the development of the Ukrainian cooperative movement. To analyze his significant influence on Ukrainian cooperation and the national-liberation movement, it is hard to agree with the opinion of Tuhan-Baranovsky’s student, the famous economist N. Kondratieff, that it was a “temporary fascination” of a subjective figure.

Tuhan-Baranovsky was not a Ukrainian nationalist or separatist, still, he was a true patriot of Ukraine. He believed that the Ukrainian people were a separate nation with its own culture, history, and language, which must be developed. That is why one of the directions of his work was scientific-pedagogical and educational activity, namely participation in the creation of cooperative courses and a cooperative institute, work as a dean of the Faculty of Law at Kyiv University, publishing of cooperative journals and articles in the Ukrainian language. He became one of the first 12 academicians of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and founded one of its three basic divisions.

Tuhan-Baranovsky emphatically advocated the separation of the Ukrainian economy from the Russian one. He consistently criticized Russian centralism in economic relations between Ukraine and Russia. Tuhan-Baranovsky considered cooperation to be the basis of the development of the Ukrainian

economy, as he observed its dynamic growth and efficiency. He also recognized the enthusiasm not only in the cooperative movement but also in the liberation movement of Ukrainians. However, the fundamental value that the cooperative movement included was freedom. Tuhan-Baranovsky has felt this pursuit of freedom, especially freedom of self-determination, in the Ukrainian people.

References

- Bazhal, Yu., (Ed.), 2007. M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky and H. S. Skovoroda: a scientific and cognitive pilgrimage to the places of life of prominent Ukrainians. Proceedings of the mobile seminar "Kyiv – Chornukhy – Lohvytsia", Kyiv (in Ukrainian).
- Borodaievsky, S., 1924. History of cooperation. Podiebrady: Ukrainian Academy of Economics (in Ukrainian).
- Borodaievsky, S., 1925. History of cooperation. Prague: Ukrainian Public Publishing Fund (in Ukrainian).
- Didkivska, L., 2015. M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky as a theoretician of cooperation and organizer of the cooperative movement, in M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky: scientist, citizen, state builder: To the 150th anniversary of his birth. Kyiv: Naukova Dumka (in Ukrainian).
- Didkivska, L., 2018. On the history of the Ukrainian Cooperative Institute named after M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky. *History of economics and economic thought of Ukraine*, 51, pp. 78-100 (in Ukrainian).
- F. K., 1917. Prof. M. Tuhan-Baranovsky on the Ukrainian affair. *Dilo*, (168), p. 3 (in Ukrainian).
- Heley, S., 2013. Cooperation and national revival of Ukrainian statehood. *Bulletin of the Shevchenko Scientific Society*, 49, pp. 39-44 (in Ukrainian).
- Horkina, L. P., 2021. At the crossroads of paradigms: M. I. Tupan-Baranovsky in the history of economic thought. Kyiv: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; Institute for Economics and Forecasting [Online]. Available: <http://ief.org.ua/docs/mg/336.pdf>.
- Horkina, L.P., (Ed.), 2010. Agricultural cooperation: selected works. Kyiv: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; Institute for Economics and Forecasting (in Ukrainian).
- Iefremov, S., 1919. To objective truth (in memory of M. Tuhan-Baranovsky). *Knyhar: Annals of Ukrainian literature*, 20, pp. 1257-1262 (in Ukrainian).
- Kleinbort, L., N., 2008. Meetings. M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky, in L. Shirokorad and A. Dmitriev (Eds.), Unknown M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky. St. Petersburg: Nestor-Istoria, pp. 181-237 (in Russian).
- Kondratieff, N., 1923. Mikhail Ivanovich Tuhan-Baranovsky. Petrograd: Kolos
- Kowal, L. M., 1968-1969. M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky, His Political Teaching, Scientific and Cooperative Activity in Ukraine, 1917-1919. Munich: Ukrainian Institute of Technology and Economics.
- Kuchyn, S. P., 2005. Mykhailo Ivanovych Tuhan-Baranovsky: some aspects of life and creative work. *History of economics and economic thought of Ukraine*, 37-38, pp. 318-327 (in Ukrainian).
- Lototsky, O., 1934. Pages of the Past. Warsaw: Shevchenko Scientific Society Lviv (in Ukrainian).
- Martos, B., 1989. The Struggle for Independence in Ukraine. New York – Paris – Sydney – Toronto. Shevchenko Scientific Society (in Ukrainian).
- Martos, B., Zozula, J., 1972. Money of Ukrainian State in 1917-1920. Munich:

Articles

- Ukrainian Institute of Technology and Economics (in Ukrainian).
- Matvieieva, L., 1996. M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky: "My roots in Ukraine", *Viche*, 8, pp. 119-132 (in Ukrainian).
- Mytsiuk, O., 1931. Scientific activity of political economist M. Iv. Tuhan-Baranovsky. Lviv (in Ukrainian).
- Nikovsky, A., 1919. M. Tuhan-Baranovsky in Ukrainian politics. *Cooperatyvna Zorya*, (4-5), pp. 60-65, in Iefremov, S., 2018. Publicism in "Knyhar" during the War and Revolution (1917-1920). Kherson: Helvetyka (in Ukrainian).
- Panteleimonenko, A., 2006. Formation of cooperation in the Ukrainian country village: historical and economic aspects. Poltava: Poltava University of Consumer Cooperation of Ukraine (PUSCU) (in Ukrainian).
- Podkovenko, T. O., 2015. The concept of individual liberty in the works of I. Kant. *Scientific Bulletin of Kherson State University*, 1, pp. 45-49 (in Ukrainian).
- Pozharsky, P., 2010. Essays on the history of Ukrainian cooperation (1919), in Horkina, L. P., (Ed.). *Agricultural cooperation: selected works*. Kyiv: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; Institute for Economics and Forecasting (in Ukrainian).
- Prykhozhenko, I., 1919. Ukrainian cooperative press in 1918. *Knygar: the Annals of Ukrainian literature*, 25-26, pp. 1700-1714 (in Ukrainian).
- Serbynenko, A., 1919. Ukrainian Consumer Cooperation and the Central Consumer Union (Dnipro Union of Consumer Associations of Ukraine). Vienna: DNIPROSYUZ (in Ukrainian).
- Shelest, O., 1919. Cultural and educational congress in Kharkiv. *Bulletin of the credit cooperative*, 1, pp. 24-26 (in Ukrainian).
- Shirokorad, L. and Dmitriev, A. (Eds.), 2008. Unknown M.I. Tuhan-Baranovsky. Saint-Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriia (in Russian).
- Shirokorad, L. D., 2005. M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky and St. Petersburg University. *History of economics and economic thought of Ukraine*, 37-38, pp. 327-331 (in Ukrainian).
- Tuhan-Baranovsky, M. I., 1891. P.-J. Proudhon: his life and social activity. St. Petersburg (in Russian).
- Tuhan-Baranovsky, M., 1903. Essays from the Modern History of Political Economy. St. Petersburg: Publishing by the journal "Mir Bozhyi" (in Russian).
- Tuhan-Baranovsky, M., 1914. To our questionnaire: the answer of Professor M. I. Tuhan-Baranovsky. *Ukrainskaya zhysn*, 1, pp. 15-16 (in Russian).
- Tuhan-Baranovsky, M., 1917. Federalism and state sovereignty. *Nova Rada*, (168) (in Ukrainian).
- Tuhan-Baranovsky, M. I., 1918a. The final goal of cooperation. *Ukrainian cooperation*, 1, pp. 2-14 (in Ukrainian).
- Tuhan-Baranovsky, M. I., 1918b. The urgent affair, *Nova Rada*, (133) (in Ukrainian).
- Tuhan-Baranovsky, M., 1918c. Cooperative Ideal. Kyiv: All-Ukrainian Cooperative Publishing Union (in Ukrainian).
- Tuhan-Baranovsky, M., 1918d. Does Ukraine need its cooperative centers? *Cooperatyvna Zoria*, 13-14, in Vytanovych, I., 1964. *History of Ukrainian Co-operative Movement*. New York: TUK – Ukrainian Economic Advisory Association, Inc. (in Ukrainian).
- Tuhan-Baranovsky, M., 1918e. Productive Enterprises of Cooperatives from the View of Cooperative Theory. *Ukrainska kooperaciia*, 2, pp. 1-8 (in Ukrainian).

Tuhan-Baranovsky, M. I., 1919a. Social foundations of cooperation. Moscow (in Russian).

Tuhan-Baranovsky, M., 1919b. The Memorandum on the Division of Social sciences, in The Collection of works of the commission for drafting a bill on establishing the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv. Kyiv: Ukrainian Scientific Society (in Ukrainian).

Vytanovych, I., 1959a. Cooperation. Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies. Vocabulary part (EU-II), Vol. 3. Paris, New York. [Online]. Available: <http://litopys.org.ua/encycl/euii085.htm>.

Vytanovych, I., 1964b. History of Ukrainian Co-operative Movement. New York: TUK –

Ukrainian Economic Advisory Association, Inc. (in Ukrainian).

Volkov, F.K., Hrushevsky, M.S., Kovalevsky, M. M., Korsh, F. E., Krymsky, A. E., Tuhon-Baranovsky, M. I., Shakhmatov, A. A., (Eds.), 1916. The Ukrainian people in their past and present. Vol. 2. Petrograd: Obshzhestvennaya polza (in Russian).

Zarudny, S., 1919. Cultural and educational activities of the cooperation. *Bulletin of the credit cooperative*, 1, pp. 15-17 (in Ukrainian).

Zlupko, S., 1992. Founder of the Economic Cycles Theory, in Axioms for descendants: Ukrainian names in the world of science. Lviv: Memorial, pp. 437-464 (in Ukrainian).