

Success and Failure of Land and Agrarian
Reform in CEE and CIS Countries

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OUTLINE OF PRESENTATION

- The framework of agrarian reform in the CEE and CIS countries.
- Process of land reform and outcomes.
- An assessment of the status of agrarian reform in selected country groups.
- Problems and future of agrarian reform.

About the CEE & CIS Region:

- About 20% of global land resources.
- Only 7% of global population.
- 9% of GDP from agriculture.
- 18% of population is active in agriculture.

Reform Agenda

- Market liberalization.
- Land reform / farm restructuring.
- Privatization of processing and services.
- Creating working rural financial system.
- Institutional reform.

Land privatization

- Restitution
- Distribution
 - + paper shares
 - + in physical units
- Transition from paper shares to physical units.
- Importance of procedures
- Cadaster and registration.

Restructuring Modes

| Allocation strategy | Immediate outcome | Resulting farm structures | Countries |
|--|---|--|--------------------------------|
| Physical distribution of land and assets | Dismantling of collective structure | Individual farms | All CEE Transcaucasia, Moldova |
| | | New corporate units created by reconfiguration of individual holdings | CEE (except Albania), Moldova |
| Distribution of "paper shares" | Retention of former collective structure as new organizational form | Individual farms established by withdrawal of shareowners | All other CIS |
| | | Corporate units created by reconfigurations of shares inside former collective shell | |
| | | "Stay as is": Successor farm created by keeping the shares in former collective | |

Characteristics of Land Policy in Transition Countries

| Region | Potential private ownership | Privatization strategy | Allocation strategy | Transferability | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| Poland | CEE | All land | Sale of state owned land | None | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Romania | CEE | All land | Restitution+distribution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Bulgaria | CEE | All land | Restitution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Estonia | CEE | All land | Restitution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Latvia | CEE | All land | Restitution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Lithuania | CEE | All land | Restitution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Czech Rep. | CEE | All land | Restitution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Slovakia | CEE | All land | Restitution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Hungary | CEE | All land | Restitution+distribution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Albania | CEE | All land | Distribution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Armenia | CIS | All land | Distribution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Georgia | CIS | All land | Distribution | Plots | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Moldova | CIS | All land | Distribution | Plots (from shares) | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Azerbaijan | CIS | All land | Distribution | Plots (from shares) | Buy-and-sell, leasing |
| Russia | CIS | All land | Distribution | Shares | Leasing, buy-and-sell dubious |
| Ukraine | CIS | All land | Distribution | Shares | Leasing, buy-and-sell dubious |
| Kyrgyzstan | CIS | All land | Distribution/conversion | Shares | 5-year moratorium on land transactions |
| Kazakhstan | CIS | Household plots only | None | Shares | Use rights transferable; buy-and-sell of private plots dubious |
| Tajikistan | CIS | None | None | Shares | Use rights transferable |
| Turkmenistan | CIS | All land | None; up to 50 ha of virgin land to farmers | Intra-farm leasehold | Use rights nontransferable |
| Uzbekistan | CIS | None | None | Intra-farm leasehold | Use rights nontransferable |
| Belarus | CIS | Household plots only | None | None | Use rights nontransferable; buy-and-sell of private plots dubious |

Central Europe / Baltics

- Advanced land privatization.
- Fragmented land ownership, less fragmented use.
- Dual farming structure.
- Low profitability of farming.
- CAP and national policies provide significant support.
- Recovering agricultural output.

Russia / Ukraine

- First phase of large farm restructuring finished.
- Independent private farming has a marginal role.
- Household plots provide over half of output.
- Traditional Large farm performance has not improved – majority are loss-making ventures.
- Emergence of large commercial farms with high efficiency.
- Outputs are stabilized at 50-60% of pre-reform level.
- Signs of recovery in privatized agroprocessing.

Caucasus

- Small private farms are dominant.
- Difficult rural situation.
- Private farming offers the opportunity to survive.
- Agroprocessing is in disarray.
- Outputs are recovering in primary agriculture.

Central-Asia

- First phase of land reform completed.
- Diverging outcomes.
- State land ownership is still dominate.
- Lease-based land use rights.
- Serious social problems.

Actions Required to Promote Privatized Agriculture

- Creation of a competitive land market and mortgage system.
- Facilitate land consolidation and creation of viable private farming entities.
- Development of a competitive bank credit system for financing the establishment of farms.
- Maintaining free and competitive markets for inputs and outputs.
- Strengthening infrastructure and transportation systems for the rural sector.
- Establishment of appropriate advisory and extension services.

Options for Farm Consolidation

- "Recollectivization"
- Consolidation driven by liberal land market.
- Land market-based consolidation. facilitated by a supportive legal and budgetary framework.

Principles of Market-Based Land Consolidation Program

- Voluntary, based on a functioning land market.
- Principles and objectives of program are clearly defined and publicized.
- Specific entry barriers and excessive transaction costs on land markets are removed.
- Supportive legal measures (e.g., pre-emptive purchasing rights) are well defined and easily implementable.
- Support measures such as grants, tax breaks, are transparent and monitorable.
- System of reporting for monitoring all land sales, including sales prices, profile of investor, and type and condition of farm are in place.

Reform Agenda

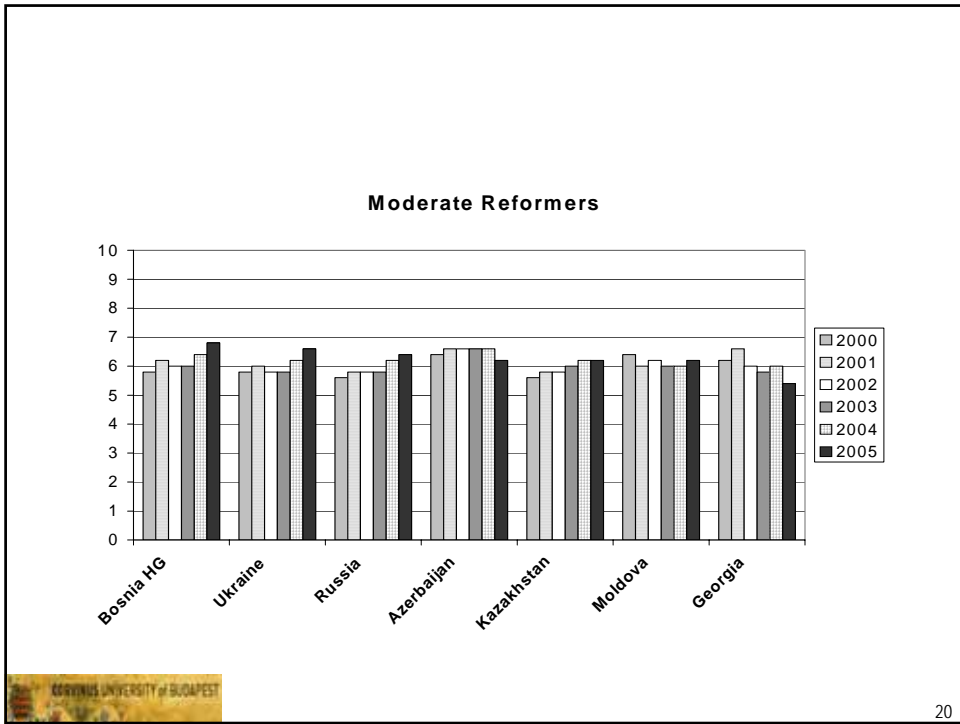
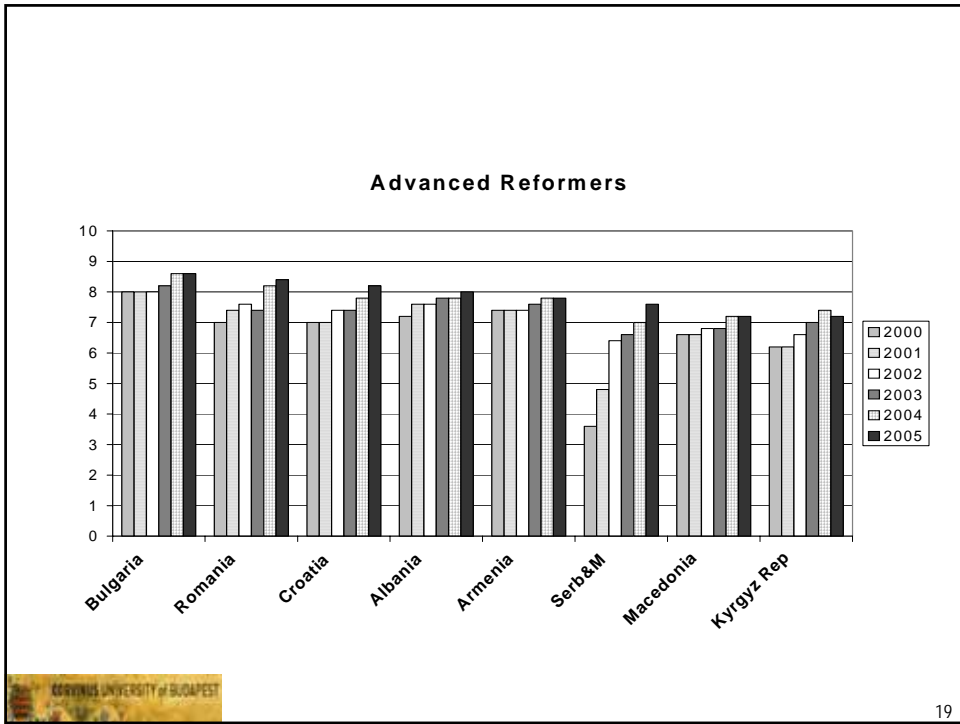
- Market liberalization.
- Land reform / farm restructuring.
- Privatization of processing and services.
- Creating working rural financial system.
- Institutional reform.

I. Table 2: Key to Numerical Ratings Used in Analysis

| Market Conforming Policy Environment | Land Reform | Privatization of Agroprocessing and Input Supply | Rural Financial Systems | Institutional Framework |
|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1-2. Direct state control of prices and markets. | 1-2. System dominated by large-scale farms. | 1-2. Monopolistic state owned industries. | 1-2. Soviet type system, with "Agrobank" as the sole financing channel. | 1-2. Institutions of command economy. |
| 3-4. Deregulation with indicative prices, and price controls; significant NTB on imports or exports. | 3-4. Legal framework for land privatization and farm restructuring in place, implementation launched only recently | 3-4. Spontaneous privatization and mass privatization in design of early implementation stage. | 3-4. New banking regulations are introduced; little or no commercial banking. | 3-4. Modest restructuring of government and public institutions. |
| 5-6. Mainly liberalized markets constrained by the absence of competition and some remaining controls on trade policy. | 5-6. Advanced stage of land privatization, but large-scale farm restructuring is not fully complete. | 5-6. Implementation of privatization programs in progress. | 5-6. Restructuring of existing banking system, emergence of commercial banks. | 5-6. Partly restructured governmental and local institutions. |
| 7-8. All command economic type interventions are removed. Market and trade policies are in compliance with WTO, however, domestic markets are not fully developed. | 7-8. Most land privatized, but titling is not finished and land market not fully functioning. | 7-8. Majority of industries privatized with a framework conducive for foreign direct investment. | 7-8. Emergence of financial institutions serving agriculture. | 7-8. Government structure has been refocused while research, extensions, and education is being reorganized. |
| 9-10. Competitive markets with market conforming trade and agricultural policies, and no more than modest protection | 9-10. Farming structure based on private ownership and active land markets. | 9-10. Privatized agro-industries and input supply, with improved international competitiveness. | 9-10. Efficient financial system for agriculture, agro-industries, and services. | 9-10. Efficient public institutions focused on the needs of private agriculture |

Status of Agricultural Reforms in CEE and CIS Countries
1 = Centrally Planned Economy 10 = Completed Market Reforms

| year: | Prices&Mark | | | Land Market | | | Agro-Processing | | | Rural Finance | | | Institutions | | | Total Score | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----|-----|-------------|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|---------------|-----|-----|--------------|-----|-----|-------------|-----|-----|
| | 05 | 04 | 00 | 05 | 04 | 00 | 05 | 04 | 00 | 05 | 04 | 00 | 05 | 04 | 00 | 05 | 04 | 00 |
| Bulgária | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8,6 | 8,6 | 8,0 |
| România | 9 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 8,4 | 8,2 | 7,0 |
| Armenia | 8 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8,2 | 7,8 | 7,0 |
| Croatia | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 8,0 | 7,8 | 7,2 |
| Albânia | 8 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 7,8 | 7,8 | 7,4 |
| Serb&M | 8 | 8 | 3 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 7,6 | 7,0 | 3,6 |
| Macedonia | 8 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7,2 | 7,2 | 6,6 |
| Kyrgyz Rep | 8 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 7,2 | 7,4 | 6,2 |
| Bosnia HG | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6,8 | 6,4 | 5,8 |
| Russia | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 6,6 | 6,2 | 5,8 |
| Azerbaijan | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6,4 | 6,2 | 5,6 |
| Kazakhstan | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6,2 | 6,6 | 6,4 |
| Ukraine | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6,2 | 6,2 | 5,6 |
| Moldova | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 6,2 | 6,0 | 6,4 |
| Georgia | 8 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5,4 | 6,0 | 6,2 |
| Uzbekistan | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 4,8 | 4,0 | 3,0 |
| Tajikistan | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4,4 | 5,2 | 4,6 |
| Belarus | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3,0 | 2,6 | 1,8 |
| Turkmenistan | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1,8 | 1,8 | 1,8 |
| AVERAGE | 6,8 | 6,6 | 6,2 | 6,5 | 6,5 | 6,2 | 6,8 | 6,7 | 5,7 | 6,0 | 6,0 | 4,9 | 5,8 | 5,5 | 4,9 | 6,4 | 6,3 | 5,6 |



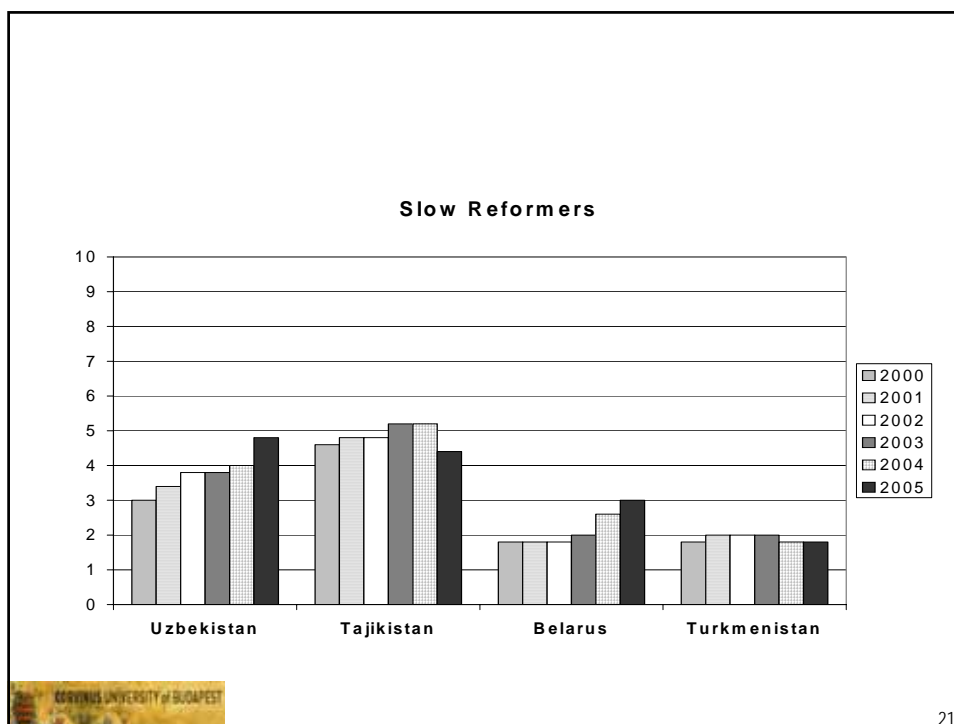


Table 2: Status of Agricultural Reforms in the New EU Member Countries at the end of 2003
 1 = centrally planned economy 10 = completed market reforms

| | Prices & Markets | Land Market | Agro-Processing | Rural Finance | Institutions | Total Score |
|------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| Estonia | 9 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 9,6 |
| Slovenia | 9 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 9,6 |
| Czech Rep | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 9,4 |
| Hungary | 9 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9,4 |
| Latvia | 9 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9,4 |
| Slovak Rep | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9,2 |
| Lithuania | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 8,8 |
| Poland | 9 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 8,8 |

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Overall conclusions

- The results of the reforms have not yet met original expectations.
- The biggest transformation has taken place in the price and market environment, while there has been a substantial lag in solving financing problems and institutional reforms.
- The transition of agriculture is most advanced in Central Europe and, in particular, the EU candidate countries.
- The transition of agriculture in the CIS countries is still in its early stages.

Lessons of countries leading the transformation

- Overall economic recovery is essential for progress on rural reforms.
- Development in the non-agricultural segment of the rural economy is of key importance to the recovery of agriculture.
- An important factor in the successes achieved in reforms is consistency, and the combined implementation of parallel steps in the areas related to reforms.
- The greatest reform progress has been made by those countries that are reforming in very large steps, despite the great difficulties that these efforts are causing in the short-term.
- Politics play a decisive role.

Uneven reform progress

- Liberalization of market and trade policies has been implemented to a much greater degree in CEE countries compared to the CIS countries.
- Privatization of land and the related reorganization of the large farm units have almost been completed in most Central European countries. Land reform and land ownership continues to be the subject of heated debates in practically all CIS countries, however there has been measurable progress, even in the core of these CIS.
- While initial privatization has been accomplished, the technological modernization of agroprocessing has yet to take place in most of the countries.
- Lack of agricultural financing continues to be one of the most serious constraints to agricultural growth.
- Institutional reforms are proceeding much slower than all other areas of reform throughout the region.

Conclusion for the International Community

- Initial recommendations were appropriate

However,

- Market liberalization and land reform were over emphasized.
- Less attention was given to reforms in agro processing / rural finance and to institutions.
- Underestimated the social costs and their potential impacts.
- Focused on agriculture rather than rural.
- Simplified approach to interregional diversity and political economy of transition.
- Inadequate assistance on details and procedures.

CRITICAL ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

- Land titling –physical determination of land parcels.
- Impact of new market relations upon small farmers.
- Future of „privatized” large farms.
- Increasing social tensions.
- Rural development
- Monitoring and policy advice.