

EU-Beschluss

Beschlüsse sind Teil der Rechtssetzung der EU und werden nach dem durch den Vertrag vorgegeben Modus, verabschiedet. Beschlüsse werden hauptsächlich in Bereich gefasst, für die es keine Regelungsmöglichkeiten durch Verordnungen oder Richtlinien gibt. Dies sind besonders Einzelfallentscheidungen, Ernennungen oder in der Gemeinsamen Sicherheits- und Außenpolitik der Fall. (EU 2008a – Art. 288)

Fazit

Die Entscheidungsstrukturen der EU sind sehr stark mit der Gesetzgebungsstruktur verbunden. Viele Rechtsakte – also Entscheidungen der EU – sind auf dem Weg durch die Institutionen der EU einer starken Veränderung unterzogen. Um nachvollziehen zu können, wie der Inhalt eines EU-Rechtsakts bei der Beschlussfassung entstanden ist, muss man oft den Weg dieses Rechtsaktes mit allen seinen Zwischenschritten betrachten. Dabei wird oft deutlich, dass in der hohen Anzahl der Verhandlungen, die nötig sind, in vielen Fällen der Inhalt des einzelnen Rechtsaktes nicht die zentrale Rolle spielt. Vielmehr übernehmen oft das Interesse der Nationalstaaten und das Kompetenzgerangel zwischen den EU-Organen die entscheidende Rolle in der Entscheidungsfindung der EU. Hier wäre ein guter Ansatz, die Entscheidungsstruktur der EU zu Überarbeiten.

Es ist wichtig, dass innerhalb der EU ein größeres Wissen über die Entscheidungen und die Entscheidungsstruktur entsteht, denn ein Großteil der Gesetze kommt schon heute von der EU. Ebenso ist es für den Agrarsektor von elementarer Bedeutung die Entscheidungen auf EU zumindest misstrauisch zu begleiten, da die Rolle der EU in der Agrarpolitik zentral ist.

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REORGANIZATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IN EAST GERMANY AFTER 1989

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Introduction

The fall of the Berlin Wall on November, 9 in 1989 marked the end of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) and together with the German reunion on October, 3 in 1990 the beginning of a new chapter in German history. Little more than 20 years later, it is time to put a spotlight on how the agricultural sector in the new states of East Germany has developed and reorganized after this important event. After a brief revision of the key developments that transformed the agriculture within the GDR until 1989, this paper will concentrate mainly on the structural changes in terms of legal structures, farm sizes, livestock numbers, intensity of labour and productivity from 1989 till 1996.

Situation in the agricultural sector before 1989

First of all it is important to recapitulate the substantial development of the GDR's agriculture from the difficult post-war period until the collapse in 1989 in order to understand how such a large-scale production potential could evolve. This development can be divided into distinct phases: land reform, collectivization, industrialization and specialization.

During the first phase, from 1945 till 1949, the agricultural sector was still devastated from World War II. The land reform was initiated that led to the dispossession of large landowners, who owned more than 100 ha. By this measure 3.3 Mio ha of land were expropriated and provided to more than 550.000 people, consisting mainly of poor or landless farmers. Five percent of the land was used to establish state controlled pilot farms, so called Volkseigene Güter (VEG), in order to push the development of agricultural production (Schmidt, 2009: 27). The land reform ended in 1948 after a continuous abandonment of fresh established farms and a persistent flow of refugees across the border towards West Germany (Schöne, 2005: 13).

As a consequence the initiation of the collectivization of land marked the second phase which began in 1952 and lasted till 1960. In a process of additional dispossessions previously privately owned farms were taken and unified in order to create agricultural production cooperatives. In the following chapters these former cooperatives will be named simply by the abbreviation LPG, according to the German term Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaft, since this will not cause any confusion since the successor companies of the former LPGs are similarly referred to as agricultural cooperatives. These LPGs consisted of a more or less voluntarily joint union of farmers. This systematically planned development was declared by the leading party, the so called Socialist Unity Party (SED), as a mass social movement as part of a self-determining process of the farmers. Eventually it simply resulted in a rise of refugee numbers and 620.000 ha of arable land that lay fallow. Finally in 1960 during another wave of dispossessions, called the "Socialist Spring", the last 400.000 farmers were forced to join LPGs, which eventually counted 500.000 members and managed 83.7 % of the arable land. Three types of LPGs were created, type I, II and III which differed in the extent in which private means of production were incorporated into the LPG (Schöne, 2005:26ff).

In the 1960s the previously formed LPGs were still showing a low productivity, caused by a chronic lack of fuel, spare parts, livestock and bad management and a kind of "work slow" ideology of the workforce, since the members could not really identify themselves with these cooperatives. By 1962 16.511 LPGs had been established in the GDR, but 50 % of them were still only around

200 ha in size. This state changed dramatically until 1970 as the number of LPGs decreased from 19.313 to 9.009 while the average size increased to 600 ha. This development marked a tipping point and led to another phase: the industrialization of the agricultural sector. In order to further push the systematically planned establishment of a large-scale agricultural production, measures like mechanization, automatization, increased use of chemicals, etc. were introduced intensively according to the engineering process. At the same time production flows were further concentrated by an increase in cooperation between single LPGs. In addition various institutions were established to support the LPGs in issues like fertilization, plant protection and mastery (Schöne, 2005: 48).

During this development the members of LPGs started to finally identify themselves with their LPG and yields began to increase. This process marked the transition to the last phase, the specialization. Cooperative crop production departments (German: Kooperative Abteilungen Pflanzenproduktion / KAP) were established which were took control of the crop production within the LPGs and organized it in order to further maximize the productivity. Every single KAP managed around 4.100 ha and fields were combined to form even larger fields to allow a higher productivity, the use of large scale agricultural machinery and brigades of combines. The strict separation of animal husbandry and crop production was another step in order to increase the productivity. The KAP were turned into large crop and fodder producing LPGs while other LPGs were responsible exclusively for animal husbandry (Schöne, 2005: 58).

This development led to recurring conflicts between LPGs doing crop production and those dealing with livestock because of lacking fodder quality or similar issues.

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This development led to recurring conflicts between LPGs doing crop production and those dealing with livestock because of lacking fodder quality or similar issues.

Structural development of the agricultural sector after 1989

After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain on September, 9 in 1989 a broad reform package was created in order to drive the transformation of a socialist state to a market oriented economy. The new reforms dealt mainly with the liberalization of markets, the simplification of the reorganization of property and the reestablishment of farms and the modification of institutions of exchange (Schaft et al., 2009: 324). The initiation of an organization for the privatization of the state controlled farms (VEG) in 1990 was a first step in order to reorganize the structure of the agricultural sector. In addition new laws for the restructuring of the 4.530 LPGs were passed and an agricultural union between West and East Germany was established in order to enable the trade of agricultural commodities from East to West Germany based on common agricultural prices in the EU. Until June 1991 former LPGs were allowed to request the cancellation of portions of their debts in order to simplify the transformation process. Therefore investment subsidies were until 1993, eventually extended until 1996. All former LPGs that could not have been transformed into successor companies in form of agricultural cooperatives (e.G.) had to be liquidated by the end of 1991.

In 1992 an organization for the privatization of the 1.5 million ha of state owned arable land (German: Bodenverwertungs- und verwaltungs GmbH / BVVG) was created (Thiele, 1998: 25), which enabled the foundation of new farms in form of private enterprises, joint partnerships, etc.

Changes in legal structures

The focus of this subchapter is put on the development of the various legal structures of farms in East Germany from 1989 till 1996 as shown in table 1. While the corporate entities (most of the agricultural cooperatives) decreased in numbers by 27 % from previously 4.514 to 3.299 in 1996, the number of family-run farms, consisting of single enterprises and joint corporations, increased from 3.588 in 1989 to 27.554 in 1996. In addition to the number of farms there can also be

observed a change in distribution of the arable land. While the share of the arable land managed by the corporate entities decreased from 83 % in 1989 to 62 % in 1996, the area managed by family-run farms increased from 10 % in 1989 to 38 % in 1996. This development differed from most previous predictions that expected a much greater decrease of the corporate entities in numbers as well as in the distribution of the arable land and a much greater increase in family-run farms. Reasons for this different development could be high investment costs for the construction of new stables etc. and the small shares of land of former LPG members that were regarded as too little for a new enterprise investment (Thiele, 1998: 40).

Table 1: Development of the legal structures of agricultural enterprises in East Germany from 1989-1996 (modified according to Thiele, 1998)

Legal structure	1989	1990/91	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
	Number of farms							
Corporate entities	4.514	3.687	3.462	3.137	3.191	3.183	3.269	3.299
Family business	3.588	6.735	10.449	15.438	22.195	22.195	24.706	26.979
Total	7.638	9.958	13.447	18.575	25.386	27.892	30.248	30.843
	Distribution of the arable land (%)							
Corporate entities	90	90	84	75	66	61	59	62
Family business	10	10	17	25	34	39	41	38
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Changes in farm size

The effects of these measures on the development of the fresh transformed agricultural cooperatives (e.G.) in terms of farm sizes from 1989 till 1996 are shown in table 2. According to their specialization before 1989, the successor companies in form of reorganized LPGs are divided into crop production, animal husbandry and mixed production. The first noticeable fact is the drastic decrease in farm size of the crop production cooperatives by 61 % while at the same time the animal husbandry and mixed farms show a vast increase after 1989 and which eventually decreases again.

The reason for the development in the first case can be explained by the fact that the crop producing cooperatives had to provide land for the foundation of new or re-established farms. On the other hand, cooperatives specialized in animal husbandry or mixed production systems had to lease land in order to produce fodder. The described decrease of the sizes of cooperatives dealing with animal husbandry or mixed production systems until 1995/96 is a result of a broad downsizing in livestock numbers which will be further explained in the chapter 3.3.

Table 2: Changes in farm sizes of agricultural cooperatives from 1989 till 1996 in ha (According to Thiele, 1998)

	1989	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96
Crop Production	4.284	2.017	2.131	2.101	2.041	1.683
Animal Husbandry	26	1.716	1.533	1.519	1.490	1.373
Mixed Production	-	1.472	1.652	1.719	1.717	1.552
In total	1.120	1.754	1.786	1.736	1.721	

The development of farm sizes of new or re-established family-run farms in form of single enterprises or joint partnerships from 1991 till 1995 can be seen in table 3. In contrast to the rather negative growth tendency of the LPG successor companies, the family-run farms could realize a significant growth in farm size. Single enterprises increased their averaging farming area by 41 % up to 220 ha and joint partnerships increased by 27 % on average up to 415 ha.

Table 3: Changes in farm sizes of family-run single enterprises and joint partnerships from 1989 till 1996 in ha (according to Thiele, 1998)

		1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95
Crop production	Single enterprises	161	197	219	220
	Joint partnerships	425	550	567	594
Animal husbandry	Single enterprises	65	80	89	91
	Joint partnerships	180	266	288	264
In total	Single enterprises	114	141	157	161
	Joint partnerships	328	444	436	415

Changes in livestock

In the beginning of the transformation process a dramatic cut back in livestock took place which is shown in figure 1 for cattle, dairy cows and hogs compared to the rather stable stocks in West Germany from 1989 till 1996. Numbers of cattle and dairy cows decreased by 50 % and those of hogs even by more than 60 % in only two years.

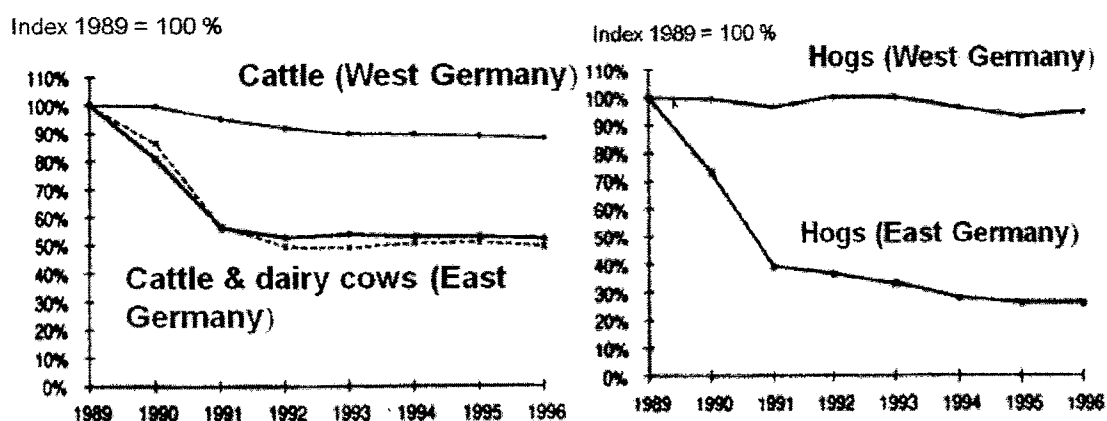


Figure 1: Development of livestock (cattle, dairy cows and hogs) in West and East Germany from 1989-1996 (according to Thiele, 1998)

The dramatic cutback in livestock after 1989 in East Germany can be explained by two reasons. First of all, the liquidation of 20 % of the former LPGs and the sale of entire herds led to a vast reduction of livestock. A further reason for this development lies within the high investment needs of animal husbandry, especially for pig husbandry, compared to the relatively low investment needs for crop production. In contrast recent analyses provided evidence that the described development in the case of dairy production after 1996 was stopped and a competitive dairy production with relative low production costs could be established until today based on the large-scale farm structures (Lassen et al, 2009).

Development of the input factor labour

As a consequence of the structural developments in means of farm size, legal structures and livestock, labour requirements in the agricultural sector changed as well. During the transformation process of former LPGs into agricultural cooperatives the intensity of labour was reduced by 80 % from 13.5 workers per 100 ha (1989) down to 2.7 workers per 100 ha (1995). This led to an overall reduction of the agricultural workforce by 85 % from originally 866.000 to 126.000 workers in 1996 (Thiele, 1998:46).

One reason for this progress was a controlled price-reduction of the input factor capital by the government in order to further push the process of transformation. On the other hand government subsidies caused many farms to set parts of their arable land aside and let it lie fallow.

The reduction of the intensity of labour caused high unemployment rates in rural areas, but also increased the labour productivity on the other hand as shown in table 4. In only four years the labour productivity in the agricultural sector in East Germany exceeded the one of West Germany by 18 %, while in 1989 it was down at -911 % (Thiele, 1998: 39).

Table 4: Comparison of the labour productivity in the agricultural sector of East and West Germany measured in gross value added / workforce from 1989 – 1996 (According to Thiele, 1998).

Year	Labour productivity in gross value added / workforce		
	West Germany	East Germany	East vs. West (%)
1989	35.097	3.472	- 911
1990	38.224	8.146	- 369
1991	36.814	22.494	- 64
1992	47.812	43.175	- 11
1993	43.045	53.201	+ 19
1994	45.863	55.852	+ 18

The productivity of crop production

Within just a few years after the German reunion the East German agricultural crop production showed positive yield developments. Compared to the yields just a few years before, yields of cereal and potatoe production could be maximized by 8 to 10 %, oil rapeseed gained 6.4 %, and sugarbeet yields increased by even 35 % (table 5).

The major cause for the yields to tend upwards was the opening of the inner German border which allowed access to yield increasing inputs such as better fertilizers and modern agricultural techniques and machinery (Thiele, 1998: 36).

Table 5: Yields of agricultural products in East Germany in 1986/89 and 1991/93 (according to Thiele, 1998)

Product	Yield in t / ha (1986-89)	Yield in t / ha (1991-93)	Changes in %
Wheat	5.08	5.57	+ 9.7
Barley	4.77	5.22	+ 9.4
Rye	3.35	3.62	+ 8.1
Potato	24.10	26.68	+ 10.7
Sugarbeet	30.60	41.25	+ 34.8
Oil Rapeseed	2.66	2.83	+ 6.4

Summary

The transformation of the agricultural sector in East Germany after 1989 had a great impact. Former LPGs were transformed into successor companies in form of agricultural cooperatives or liquidated and on the other hand new farms in form of single enterprises or joint partnerships were founded. The expected fast decrease in numbers of agricultural cooperatives and fast increase in family-run farms turned out to be rather moderate, which could be explained by high investment needs for the foundation of agricultural enterprises.

Regarding the development of farm sizes, LPG successor companies in the form of agricultural cooperatives that specialized in crop production appeared to be better suited than those involved in animal husbandry, since crop production in general has lower investment needs, while cooperatives with livestock had to sell parts of their land and animals in order to enable further investments. Family-run farms in form of single enterprises or joint partnerships also showed a positive development by increasing farm sizes.