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The vision for Agrarian and Forestry Sector Development in the Election Programmes of Political Parties in the 2019 Elections to the Verhovna Rada (Supreme Council)

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German-Ukrainian Agricultural Policy Dialogue

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The project “German-Ukrainian Agricultural Policy Dialogue (APD)” has been implemented with the support of the Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture (BMEL) since 2006 and is currently being implemented until 2021 at its request through the executor of GFA Consulting Group LLC, as well as a consortium consisting of IAK Agrar Consulting, Leibniz Institute for Agricultural Development in Transition Economies and AFC Consultants International. The recipient of the project is the National Association of Agricultural Advisory Services of Ukraine “Dorada”. When implementing important measures for the development of the land market, the use of state land and privatization, the APD works in cooperation with the land management company (BVVG). The beneficiary of the project is the Ministry of Agrarian Policy and Food of Ukraine.

The project should support Ukraine in the areas of sustainable agriculture, efficient processing industry and international competitiveness in accordance with the principles of market and regulatory policies taking into account the development potential that arises under the Association Agreement between the EU and Ukraine. To meet this goal, the Project should provide information on German experience, in particular, East German, as well as international European experience in development of agrarian and forestry policy framework, as well as on the organization of relevant agrarian and political institutions.



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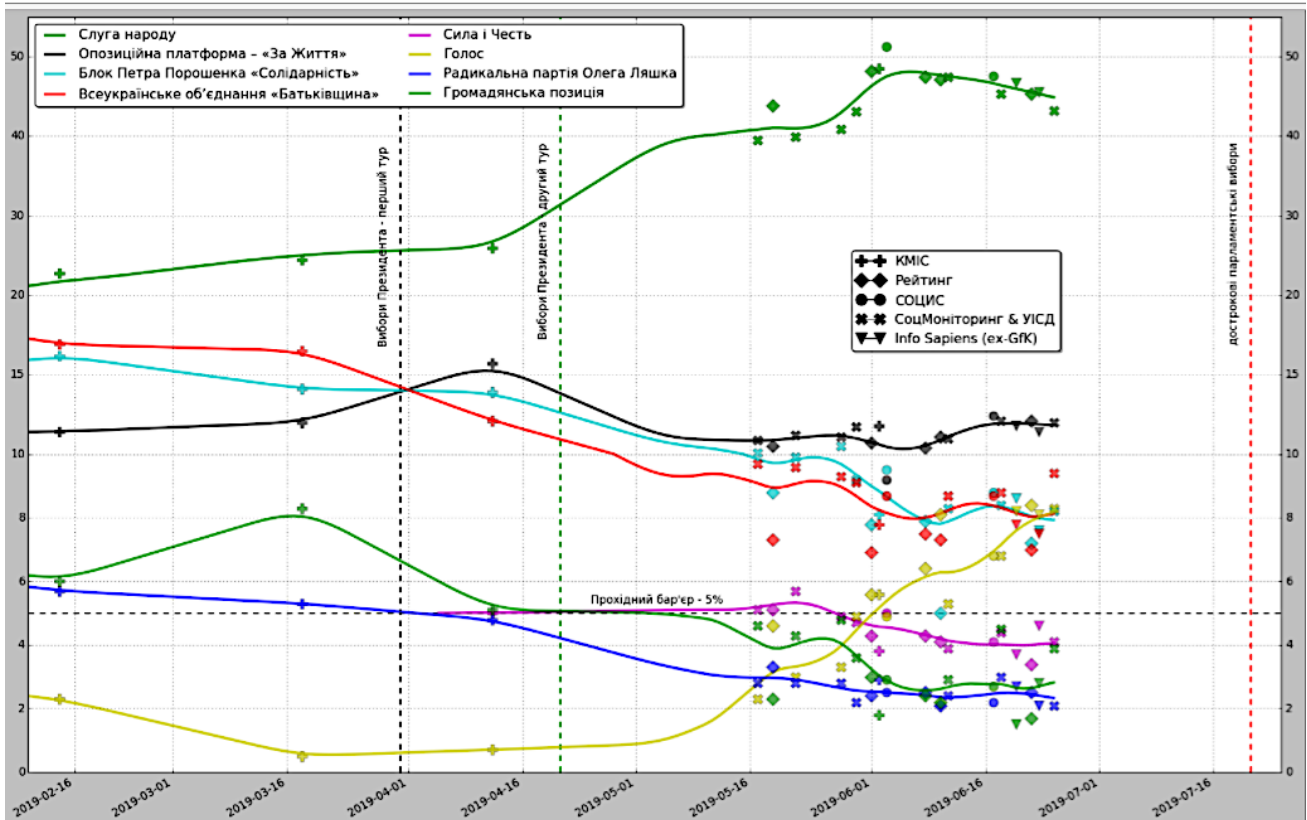
The vision for Agrarian and Forestry Sector Development in the Election Programmes of Political Parties in the 2019 Elections to the Verhovna Rada (Supreme Council)

Following the Presidential elections, snap elections of people's deputies of Ukraine will take place in July. It is expected that with the coming of the new Government, fundamental changes in politics will take place in the near future, which will affect the agrarian sector of the country and influence its further development. During the preparation for the Supreme Council elections, political parties are preparing and presenting their programmes to the general public with the provisions on political initiatives for the reform of the Ukrainian agrarian sector. This report aims to highlight the vision for further development of the agrarian sector, presented in the election programs of the eight most popular political parties, which, according to the polls, have a good chance of making it into the Supreme Council and forming a new Government in the country.

Elections of people's deputies to the Supreme Rada of Ukraine will take place on July 21, 2019, on the initiative of the newly elected President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyi, who signed the decree on early termination of mandate of the Supreme Council of the VIII convocation the day after his inauguration. It was previously reported that the President intended to change the electoral system to the Supreme Council, but these elections will continue to be held in a mixed system with majority districts and proportional lists with a five per cent threshold. The Central Election Commission has registered 22 parties that will take part in elections in the national single-member constituency.¹

In order to understand the vision of the further development of the agrarian sector by political parties which are going to the parliamentary elections, eight election programmes of the most popular parties have been analysed, which, according to sociological surveys, have high chances of passing the five per cent threshold and getting to the Supreme Council of Ukraine. According to the results of polls as of July, 3, the political party of the current President of Ukraine "Servant of the People" takes first place in the ratings, the second place is for "Opposition Platform - For Life", the third place is taken by the All-Ukrainian union "Fatherland" and the party "Voice", which has almost caught up with by the "European Solidarity" party. Three other parties – "Power and Honour", "Citizen Position" and "Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko" - according to polls, have not yet overcome the threshold of five percent, but are staying within reach of the eight of the most popular political parties.

¹ Quantitative characteristics of the election campaign <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp001#>



Слуга народу - Servant of the People
 Опозиційна платформа «За життя» - Opposition platform "For Life"
 Блок Петра Порошенка «Солідарність» - Petro Poroshenko Block "Solidarity"
 Всеукраїнське об'єднання «Батьківщина» - All-Ukrainian union "Fatherland"
 Сила і честь - Power and Honor
 Голос - Voice
 Радикальна партія Олега Ляшка - Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko
 Громадянська позиція - Citizen position
 КМІС - KIIS
 Рейтинг - Rating
 СОЦІС - SOCIS
 СоцМоніторинг & УІСД – Social Monitoring & UISR
 Вибори Президента перший тур - Presidential election, the first round
 Вибори Президента другий тур - Presidential election, the second round
 Прохідний бар'єр - Threshold

Figure 1. Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine 2019 as of July, 3, 2019
 Source: https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Парламентські_вибори_в_Україні_2019

The next part of the report presents the ideas for the development of the agrarian sector in electoral programmes of the political parties, published on the site of the Central Election Commission. The ranking is based on the popularity rating according to the results of polls².

² Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine 2019 https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Парламентські_вибори_в_Україні_2019

Political parties participating in Parliamentary elections

The **“Servant of the People”** party was officially registered on December, 2, 2017. The leader of the party is the current Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyi, who won the election in April, 2019, receiving 73.22% of the vote in the second round. The party ideology is based on populism, direct democracy, pro-Europeanism and libertarianism.

On May 27th, 2019, the party announced its leader to be Dmitrii Razumkov, who was the speaker of the electoral headquarters of Volodymyr Zelenskyi’s Presidential campaign. The name of the political party comes from the eponymous television series (2015) and the movie (2017) produced by the “Quarter 95” studio, whose main role was played by Volodymyr Zelenskyi.

According to the polls, more than 40% of voters intend to give their votes for the “Servant of the People” party, which makes it an undisputed leader in the 2019 Parliamentary elections.

The programme of the party states: “We will implement President Zelenskyi’s course in particular bills and political decisions, forming a professional Government that will be trusted by the Ukrainian people, and we will together introduce the fundamental changes that will help us make Ukraine a free, independent, successful Country of the Dream.”³

Unfortunately, the issues of the development of the agrarian sector in Ukraine were not a priority in the programme of this political party. The party promises to pass the laws necessary for the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, as well as for the implementation of “targeted transparent support of industries that can become the engine of economic development”⁴, which the agricultural sector with no doubt is.

It is important to note that Vladimir Zelenskyi’s election programme outlined the need for a transparent land market. So, we can expect that the political party “Servant of the People” will support this political initiative of the current President. Moreover, the leader of the party Dmitrii Razumkov in an official interview with the publication strana.ua told that the party had already begun the work on issues of introduction of the land market in Ukraine⁵.

The **“Opposition Platform - For Life”** party was registered on December, 9, 1999 as “All-Ukrainian Union “Centre”. It was renamed after leaving the “Opposition Block” in 2016 as a party “For Life”. Iurii Boiko, co-head of the “Opposition Block”, and the party “For Life” in November, 2018 signed an agreement on the creation of the oppositional union “Opposition Platform - For Life”. The ideology of the party is social democracy, social liberalism, Euroscepticism and Russophilia.

^{3,4} Election program of the political party “Servant of the people”
<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=403.html>

⁵ <https://strana.ua/news/206129-razumkov-zajavil-o-namerenii-snjat-moratorij-na-prodazhu-zemli-uzhe-cherez-hod.html>

The co-leaders of the party are Vadim Rabinovich and Iurii Boiko. Mr. Boyko got 11.7% of the vote in the first round of Presidential election 2019.

The data of public polls on the snap Parliamentary elections indicate that "Opposition Platform - For Life" is ranked the second in the ratings. About 12% of voters are ready to vote for the party.

One of the priorities of the party is "the policy of reconciliation and consent, which will allow uniting the Ukrainians from the West to the East and from the North to the South, "to keep the country together." ⁶

The only thesis concerning the agrarian sector of the country in the election program of the party is the following: "the preservation of the land owned by Ukrainian peasants. The opening of the agricultural market is solely based on the results of a national referendum!"⁷

The "**European Solidarity**" party is the successor of the party "Petro Poroshenko Block "Solidarity", having such a name until May, 24, 2019. During the extraordinary elections to the Supreme Council in 2014, the party "Petro Poroshenko Block "Solidarity" was the absolute winner, gaining the largest faction in the Supreme Council. The ideology of the party is Christian democracy, liberal conservatism, pan-Europeanism.

The Head of the Central Council of the party is the former President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, who won 24.4% of the vote in the second round in Presidential election 2019.

According to the polls, about 8% of voters intend to cast their vote for the "European Solidarity" party.

In its election programme, the party declares the following: "We are going to the Parliament to protect the European future of Ukraine." ⁸

The party vision for achieving a high standard of living for the Ukrainians is to integrate the country into the EU internal market, especially into the energy and digital markets, and "approaching the standards of the Schengen zone and deepening customs cooperation." ⁹ The party believes: "The success on this path will allow Ukraine to attract investments that will revitalize the economy and help to create high-paying jobs - in the agricultural sector, IT, energy, engineering, and science-intensive industries" ¹⁰. The programme does not mention further issues related to the development of the agrarian sector.

^{6,7} Election program of the political party "Opposition platform - For life".
<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=393.html>

^{8,9,10} Election program of the "European Solidarity" political party
<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=335.html>

All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland" was registered by the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine on September, 16, 1999. The party advocates a centre right political ideology, pro-Europeanism, populism, liberal nationalism.¹¹

The leader of the party is Yulia Tymoshenko, who was nominated by the All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland" for the Presidency of Ukraine in elections 2019, receiving 13.4% of votes in the first round.

According to sociological surveys, about 8% of voters intend to vote for the All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland" in Parliamentary elections 2019.

During the Presidential campaign, as well as in Parliamentary elections, Ms. Tymoshenko actively refers to the developed "New Course of Ukraine"¹², the agrarian part of which was considered in detail in the previous report on the Presidential election.¹³

An integral part of the political party programme is devoted to the agrarian sector, entitled "Reforming the Agrarian Sector and Land Relations."¹⁴

Firstly, the party is proposing to provide state support to small and medium-sized farms and agricultural enterprises as the main strategy of agrarian policy.

Secondly, the party supports the extension of the moratorium on the sale of agricultural land. But at the same time, "farmers and small and medium-sized manufacturers of agricultural products who live and work on the soil"¹⁵, will be able to buy this land without auctions taking advantage of preferential loans. At the same time, the state will begin to purchase the land at the market value from the owners who are interested in its sale.

In the end, the party promises to pass a law on the introduction of a single tax per hectare of land for farmers.

The "**Voice**" party was established in May, 2019 after the re-registration of the political party "Platform of Initiatives". Its political ideology is based on the principles of e-democracy, right-centeredness and pro-Europeanism.

The leader of the "Voice" party is the famous Ukrainian musician, the leader of a rock group "Okean Elzy" Sviatoslav Vakarchuk. Mr. Vakarchuk has already tested himself in politics, from 2007-2008 being a people's deputy of Ukraine of the VI convocation.

As can be seen in the graph of Figure 1, after the announcement of it's intention to go for the Supreme Council in May 2019, the "Voice" party very rapidly gained popularity among voters. Currently, about 8% of voters are ready to cast their vote for it (Figure 1).

¹¹ Wikipedia https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Всеукраїнське_об%27єднання_«Батьківщина»#Ідеологія

¹²Tymoshenko Yu.V., 2018, The New Economic Course of Ukraine. Innovation Development Strategy.https://nku.com.ua/wp-content/themes/nku/img/NKU_book.pdf

¹³ Pylaeva A., 2019, Vision of Agrarian and Forestry Sector Development in Pre-election Programs of Presidential Candidates, APD.

^{14,15}Election program of the political party All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland"
<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp007pt001f01=919pf7171=328.html>

Unfortunately, the party programme does not cover issues of reforming the agrarian sector.¹⁶

The "**Power and Honour**" party is registered on October, 26, 2009. The party is centre-right and conservative.

The leader of the party is a Ukrainian military, political and state figure Ihor Smeshko. Mr. Smeshko served as the Head of the Security Service of Ukraine (2003-2005) and the Head of the Committee for Intelligence under the President of Ukraine (2014-2015). In the elections of the President of Ukraine in 2019, he took 6th place, receiving 6% of the vote.

At present, the rating of the party "Power and Honour" does not exceed the five percent threshold estimated by polls (Figure 1)

In its election programme, the party emphasises that for the economic development of the country it is necessary to provide "an effective land reform with the introduction of such a land market model that would ensure equal and competitive access to land for all market participants."¹⁷ The relevant legislation needs to be adopted after expert and public discussion, where the main emphasis will be placed on "the owner of the land, a citizen of Ukraine, who will work on their land."¹⁸

The "**Citizen Position**" party was registered on March, 24, 2005. It is based on liberal democratic ideology.

Since 2010, the leader of the Coordination Council of the party is Anatolii Hrytsenko. Mr. Hrytsenko served as the Minister of Defence of Ukraine in 2005-2007 and the Chairman of the Committee of the Supreme Council of Ukraine on National Security and Defence of the VI convocation. In 2019, he ran for President of Ukraine, gaining almost 7% of the vote.

According to the results of the polls on the Parliamentary elections, the party "Citizen Position" would obtain about 3% of the votes, indicating a low chance of entering the Supreme Council of Ukraine.

The political programme of the party contains several ideas on the reform of the agrarian sector. The party believes that the standard of living in Ukrainian villages should be brought into line with that of European rural areas through the reconstruction of infrastructure (roads, the Internet) and the provision of quality medicine and education.

The land issue occupies a separate place in the electoral programme of parties. In particular, he emphasized: "After overcoming the economic crisis, stabilizing the financial and credit system and ensuring a secure protection of property rights, we will proceed with the introduction of a civilized agricultural land market in Ukraine under two main

¹⁶ The voice of change. Political program of the "Voice" party
<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=389.html>

^{17,18} Election program of the political party "Power and Honor"
<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=344.html>

conditions.”¹⁹ These conditions relate to the filling of the State Land Cadastre by 100% and its correlation with the Register of Property Rights. According to the representatives of the party, it is necessary to create a system of prevention of land raiding and seizure, which make it impossible for foreigners and non-resident companies to buy land.

Due to the implementation of the party policy, the village will produce not raw materials but ready-made products, which will help create new jobs and develop the social sphere.

The party envisages the guarantying the development of the village through providing farmers with cheap loans.

“Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko” is registered by the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine on September, 28, 2010. The previous name until its renaming in connection with the arrival of the new party leader in 2011 was the Ukrainian Radical Democratic Party. The party ideology is based on the principles of Ukrainian nationalism, radicalism, right-wing nationalism, populism, agrarianism and soft European-scepticism.²⁰

The leader of the party is the people's deputy of Ukraine Oleg Lyashko. In 2019, Mr. Lyashko ran for the Presidency and received 5.5% of the vote in the first round of elections.

According to the results of the polls, about 2% of voters intend to cast their vote for the Radical Party in the next Parliamentary elections.

The issues of development of Ukrainian agrarian sector are especially important for Oleg Lyashko's radical party. Some provisions of the election program concern the land issue. First of all, the party states: “The authorities want to force the peasants to give the land for nothing, then sell it to multinational corporations and make the Ukrainians slaves.”²¹ The party promises to consolidate land for Ukrainian peasants and make farms the basis of the agrarian system.

To support livestock breeding, the party promises to grant a minimum of 5.000 UAH per head of livestock.

One of the legislative initiatives of the party is the “Raiders Stop” bill, which, according to party members, will protect the agrarians, their land and property.

The pre-election programme describes the future of the Ukrainian village as follows: “When in each village there will be an agro-processing, bread and sausage plant, then the peasants will work, the youth will return to villages bringing life and children's laughter”.²²

¹⁹ Election program of the political party “Citizen Position”

<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=354.html>

²⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical_Party_of_Oleh_Lyashko

^{21,22} Election program of the political party “Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko”

<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=352.html>

Vision of forestry sector development in electoral programmes of political parties at the elections to the Supreme Council of 2019

The development of the forestry sector is very important for Ukraine. According to the analysis, three of the eight most popular parties that are participating in the Supreme Council elections have defined their vision for the development of this industry.

President Zelenskyi's party "Servant of the People" in his election programme promises to introduce electronic tree marking and "criminal responsibility for illegal felling of forests and gross violation of waste management rules".²³

The "Citizen Position" and "Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko" parties express their position in support of the extension of the moratorium on the sale of round logs.

The "Citizen Position" party promises to stop the "barbaric deforestation of forests and green zones" and to develop and implement an "Integrated Programme for the Restoration of the Environment in the East of Ukraine".²⁴

²³ Election program of the political party "Servant of the People"
<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=403.html>

²⁴ Election program of the political party "Citizen Position"
<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=354.html>

Conclusions

Party \ Issue	Withdrawal of the moratorium on the sale of agricultural land	Land ownership for Ukrainian citizens	Opposing raiders	Development of processing enterprises	State support for small and medium enterprises and farmers	Forestry public administration
"Servant of the People"	V	-	-	-	-	V
"Opposition Platform - For Life"	X(V)	V	-	-	-	-
"European Solidarity"	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Fatherland"	X	-	-	-	V	-
"Voice"	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Power and Honor"	V	V	-	-	-	-
"Citizen Position"	V	V	V	V	V	V
"Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko"	X	V	V	V	V	V

Table 1. The answers of the presidential candidates to the main issues of agrarian and forestry policy. «V» – for, «X» – against, «-» – no answer.

Analysing the election programme of political parties, we can conclude that, as during the Presidential campaign, the most popular issue of the agrarian sector is the moratorium on the sale of agricultural land.

The "Servant of the People" party, despite the fact that it officially has not defined its position in the election programme, spreads information in the media regarding the preparation for the opening of the land market. Two other parties that support this idea are "Citizen Position" and "Power and Honour." The first party considers it necessary to fill the land cadastre and bring it in line with the Register of property rights to prepare for "the introduction of a civilized agricultural land market in Ukraine".²⁵

The "Power and Honour" party insists on conducting an effective land reform, in which all market participants will have equal and competitive access.

²⁵ Election program of the political party "Citizen Position"
<https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=354.html>

The "Opposition platform - For life" party permits the possibility of opening a land market only on the basis of a national referendum.

The "Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko" and All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland" oppose the withdrawal of the moratorium on the sale of agricultural land. It is an interesting fact that "Fatherland" proposes to grant the farmer the right to buy the land on which they work, through preferential crediting. Moreover, it proposes that the state will begin to buy the land of the shareholders who are interested in its sale, at market value.

Half of the parties express a position on consolidation of the right only of Ukrainian citizens to own land. "Opposition Platform - For Life", "Power and Honour", "Citizen Position", "Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko" support this idea.

The issue of combatting land raiding is indicated in the election programs of two parties – "Citizen Position" and "Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko". The last party refers to its draft "Raiders Stop", which is designed to protect the land and property of agrarians.

The "Citizen Position" and "Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko" parties are confronted with the idea that the future of the Ukrainian village lies in the creation of processing enterprises. They believe that it will promote the opening of new jobs and the development of the social sphere.

The state support of small and medium sized farms and farmers is indicated in the election programmes of three political parties – "Fatherland", "Citizen Position" and "Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko". The latter insists on the recognition of farms as the basis of the agrarian system and promises to provide the state support for livestock. The All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland", in its turn, raises the issue of the state support of small and medium-sized farms mainly in agrarian policy. The party proposes to introduce a single tax per hectare of agricultural land. "Citizen Position" advocates providing cheap loans to farmers, and considers it a guarantee of the development of the countryside.

Zelenskyi's party "Servant of the People" focuses on the adoption of the laws necessary for the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU. In turn, the party of the former President "European Solidarity" considers integration into the European market to be a guarantee of creation of new jobs in the agrarian sector.

Issues in the development of the forestry sector are highlighted in the election programmes of the three political parties. The "Citizen Position" and "Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko" parties agree on the need to prolong the moratorium on the sale of round logs. The "Servant of the People" party promises to take the next steps to counter illegal logging: to introduce electronic tree marking and criminal liability for illegal logging.