## Transformation in Hungary

Libor Žídek

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  - Insight to long-run political development
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  - <u>External relationship</u>

The first part

# DEVELOPMENT DURING THE COMMUNIST REGIME

## Insight to long-run political development

#### Aftermath of WWI

- fall of the Austria-Hungarian Empire -> loss of land and population for Hungary
- recreation of "large Hungary" -> main aim of Hungarian diplomacy
- cooperation with fascist Germany

#### Soviet influence after WWII

- establishment of Soviet-style regime
- strong opposition to regime -> uprising (1956)
- "goulash socialism" in 1960s

#### Political relaxing

- creation of the apposition (middle of the 1980s)
- change of the constitution + new democratic Hungary (1989)

## **Economic situation I.**

#### Centrally planned system (after WWII)

- Similar basis but less tough regime
- More evident differences after the reforms of 1968

#### New Economic Mechanism (1968)

- Certain decentralization of the decision-making process (from centre to companies)
- Increasing responsibility of firms (p, w, i)

#### Measures in external sector

- Permission of FDI (1980s)
- Unification of the exchange rate (1981)
- Trade in convertible currencies for enterprises
- Membership in IMF (1988)

Table 1: Chronology of reform measures before 1990

Reform measure	Hungary	Poland	Czechoslovakia
Cancellation of obligatory plans	1968	1982	1990
Cancellation of centralized quotas	1968	1991	1990
First steps leading to liberalization of prices	1968	1957,1975	1991
Unified exchange rate <sup>1</sup>	1981	1990	1991
Admission to IMF and WB	1982	1986	1990
Free private enterprises	1982	No restrictions	1991
Bankruptcy law	1986	1983	1991, 1992
Two-stage banking system	1987	1988	1990
New income tax system	1988	1992	1993
VAT system	1988	1993	1991(sic)
Corporate Law	1989	1990	1991
Trade liberalization	1989	1990	1991
Unemployment benefit system	1989	1990	1991

Source: Kornai (1996)

## **Economic situation II.**

- Other reforms in the 1980s
  - continuous devaluations of the forint
  - change in ownership structure > support for new private
     enterpreneurs
  - price and trade liberalization

Ready for the shift to the market economy ???

## **Economic situation III.**

## Well prepared at the level of formal insitution and microeconomy

#### **BUT**

#### Problems at the macroeconomic level

- Deficits of public finance and trade (goulash socialism)
- Large foreign debt (70% of GDP)
- Structure of the economy
- Declining trend of economic growth
- High inflation

Table 3:Structure of Employment in 1990 (shares in %)

	ČSSR	Hungary	Poland (1989)
Agriculture	11.8	17.5	26.7
Industry	45.4	36.1	36.6
Services	42.8	46.4	36.7

Source: Berend, From the Soviet Bloc to the European Union, 2009.

Table 2: External Debt/Exports of Goods and Services in %

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Czechoslovakia	32.4	33.8	36.2	40.2	45.1	56.3
Hungary	148.5	166	174.9	173.8	169.7	171.7
Poland	252.1	259.5	294.8	254.	261.7	251.5

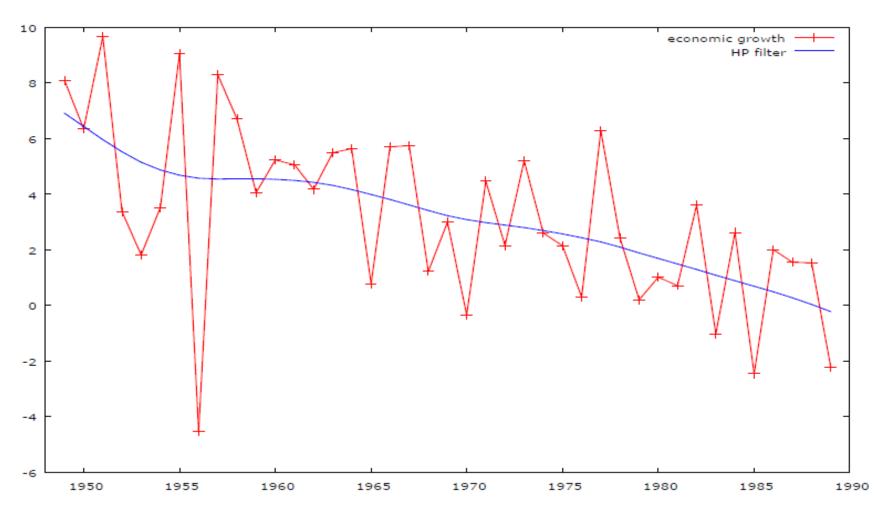
Source: Jonáš, Ekonomická transformace v České republice, 1997.

Table 3: Government Incomes and Expenditures in % of GDP in

Country	Incomes	Expenditure
Czechoslovakia	62.1	64.5
Hungary	61.3	63.7
Poland	46.8	48.7
Rumania	45.7	40.7
Bulgaria	57.7	60.1
Soviet Union	43.8	50.7
USA	34.3	36.5
Germany	45.7	45.9
Canada	40.3	43.9
France	46.2	47.8

Source: Jonáš, Ekonomická transformace v České republice, 1997.

## Chart 2: Economic Growth During the Communist Regime (1948-1989) and its Trend Estimated with HP Filter



Source: Maddison, Historical Statistics - http://www.ggdc.net/MADDISON/oriindex.htm ,(11.10.2010).

Chart 3: Basic Economic Indicators at the Beginning of the 1990s\*

10.36	10.36	•••
	10.50	38.11
51.6	52	42.7
37.9	29.7	28.4
37.9	29.7	28.4
98.97	59.6	160.86
9,550	5,750	4,221
873	922	376
945	832	250
686	2,077	1,270
21.9	65.1	82.2
_	37.9 37.9 98.97 9,550 873 945 686	37.9       29.7         37.9       29.7         98.97       59.6         9,550       5,750         873       922         945       832         686       2,077

Source: Chvojka, Zeman, Tendence dosavadního vývoje zemí střední a východní Evropy, 2000

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The second part

## **POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

## Political development

- First post-communist government
  - created in 1990 by Jozsef Antall
  - stable position (60% in the parliament)
  - successes left of Soviet troops, association agreement with EC
- Discussion about the role of previous communist elites and nomenclature
- Elections in 1994
  - winner: MSPZ (post-communist party) social democracy
  - tough economic measures
- Elections in 1998
  - shift to right-wing coalition (Fidesz)
  - membership in NATO
- Elections in 2002
  - Fidesz as winner, but left-wing government



Democratic principles, membership in EU vs. Dissatisfaction with transformation and life in general

Chart 1: Occupational Destinations in 1993 of People Who Were in the Nomenclature Positions in 1988 by Country

Occupation in 1993	Czech Republic	Hungary	Poland
All in position of authority	51.7	43.1	51.2
High political office	3.0	6.4	9.0
High manager-public	16.2	11.2	13.4
High manager-private	12.8	2.4	9.1
High cultural office	1.1	4.4	7.1
Low-level managers	12.6	13.0	8.6
Entrepreneurs	6.0	5.7	4.0
Professionals	12.2	19.9	13.9
Workers	12.6	5.5	9.5
Retired early (younger than 65)	15.4	19.1	17.2
Other retired and unemployed	8.1	12.6	8.2
All respondents	100%	100%	100%
(number)	(468)	(803)	(849)

Source: Eyal, Szelényi, Townsley: Making Capitalism Without Capitalist: Class Formation and Elite Struggles in Post-Communist Central Europe, London Verso, 1998

Table 7: Results of the Survey – A Comparison of Economic Situation in 2008 and 1991

"Thinking back to 1989/1991, do you approve of your country moving from having a state controlled economy to having a market economy?"

			Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Fall	2009	26	45	11	4	13	100
	Spring	1991	25	55	7	4	9	100
Czech Rep.	Fall	2009	28	51	12	3	5	100
	Spring	1991	42	45	4	3	6	100
Hungary	Fall	2009	9	37	27	15	13	100
	Spring	1991	22	58	9	1	10	100

Source: The PEW: Global Attitudes project, www.pewglobal.org, published 2. 11. 2009, 15. 5. 2013

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The third part

## **TRANSFORMATION PERIOD**

## Economic reforms – Gradualism I.

#### Specific feature

reforms started by communist party before the fall of the regime

#### Gradualist reforms - first half of the 1990s

- in contrast to radical reforms and shock therapy
- cosequence of previous steps + public opinion against radical change
- belief that slower reforms lead to similar result with lower cost
- with few exceptions (f.e. bankruptcy law)

#### Macroeconomic imbalances

- 1. creditworthiness of the country
- 2. inflation
- 3. growing public deficit

Main tasks of the government

Table 3: Overall Government Balances and Central-bank Financing of Governments, 1992-1997 (% of GDP)

Country	(	Overall government balances					Cent	ral-ban	k finan	cing		
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Czech R.			-1.2	-1.8	-1.2	-2.1		-2.1	-2.4	-1.0	-0.8	0.7
Hungary	-6.9	-8.5	-8.3	-7.1	-3.1	<b>-</b> 4.6	16.5	13.2	11.2	7.5	7.3	1.7
Poland	-7.5	<b>-4</b> .0	-2.0	-2.7	-2.5	-2.3	5.2	1.5	1.5	0.1	0.1	0.5

Source: Dabrowski, Disinflation Strategies and seef Affatalleness in Transition Economies, 2003

**Table 3: Real Wages: Annually in Percentage Change** 

	1988	1989	1990	1991					
Czechoslovakia	2.1	0.8	-5.8	-23.5*					
Hungary		<b>-</b> 4.3	-3.8	-7.5**					
Poland	15.9	-4.4	<b>-</b> 29.7	2.0**					
* - Jan – Sept 1991; ** - preliminary									

Source: Winiecki; Regional Survey, 1993

## Economic reforms - Gradualism II.

- Reforms of the business and the financial sectors
  - improvement of the legal system
  - privatization
  - improvement of the antitrust policy
  - bankruptcy law
- Transformation recession
  - relatively high U
  - continuously higher inflation
  - deficit of the current account
- Inflow of foreign capital



**Table 10: Selected Economic Indicators for Hungary, 1993–1998** 

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Real sector: % change		•				
Real GDP	-0.6	2.9	1.5	1.3	4.6	5.1
Exports of goods/services (real)	-10.1	13.7	13.4	7.4	26.4	16.3
Imports of goods/services (real)	20.2	8.8	-0.7	5.7	25.5	22.5
Fixed investment (real)	2	12.5	-4.3	6.7	9.2	11.4
Private consumption (real)	1.9	-0.2	-7.1	-2.7	1.7	3.8
Average CPI	22.5	18.8	28.2	23.6	18.3	14.3
Gross wage growth (real)	-0.5	5.1	-8.9	-2.6	3.4	4.4
Real effective exchange rate (unit labor cost)	4.3	7.3	19.4	8.6	2.7	8.5
Unemployment rate (end period)	12.6	10.9	10.9	10.7	10.4	9.1
Real sector: % of GDP						
Exports of goods and services	26.4	28.9	37.3	38.9	45.5	49.8
Imports of goods and services	34.6	35.4	38.5	39.9	46	52.3
Fixed investment	18.9	20.1	20	21.4	22.1	23.2
T III CO III CO III CIII	10.5	20.1	20	22		22.2
General government						
Overall balance (excl. privatization)	-6.6	-8.4	-6.4	-3	-4.8	-4.7
Overall balance (incl. privatization)	-6	-7.5	-3.2	0.8	-1.8	-4.4
Primary balance (excl. privatization)	-2.7	-2.2	2.2	3.7	2.7	1.6
Expenditures	60.8	60.4	54.3	49	49.2	47.1
Public debt	90.4	88.2	86.4	72.8	63.9	60.2
1 done deor	30.4	00.2	00.4	72.0	03.9	00.2
External accounts						
Trade balance	-8.4	-8.8	-5.5	-5.9	-3.8	-4.4
Current-account balance	-9	-9.5	-5.3	-3.7	-2.1	-4.8
Foreign direct investment	6	2.8	10	4.4	3.6	3
Gross external debt	63.7	68.4	70.9	61	51.9	56.3
Net external debt	38.7	45.4	36.6	31.4	24.4	26

Source: Stojanov, Hungary and Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Success and a Failure of Transition, 2004

## Economic reforms – Bokros Package I.

- Reforms of social democrats (1995), supported by IMF
  - Austerity for loans from IMF and EBRD
  - Bokros ministry of finance

#### Measures – Bokros Package

- Devaluation + shift to crawling peg
- Temporary import surchage and restrictions
- New jobs in public sector
- Tightening of social benefits
- Agreements on real wage reduction
- Privatization of state companies (FDI)

#### Consequences ???

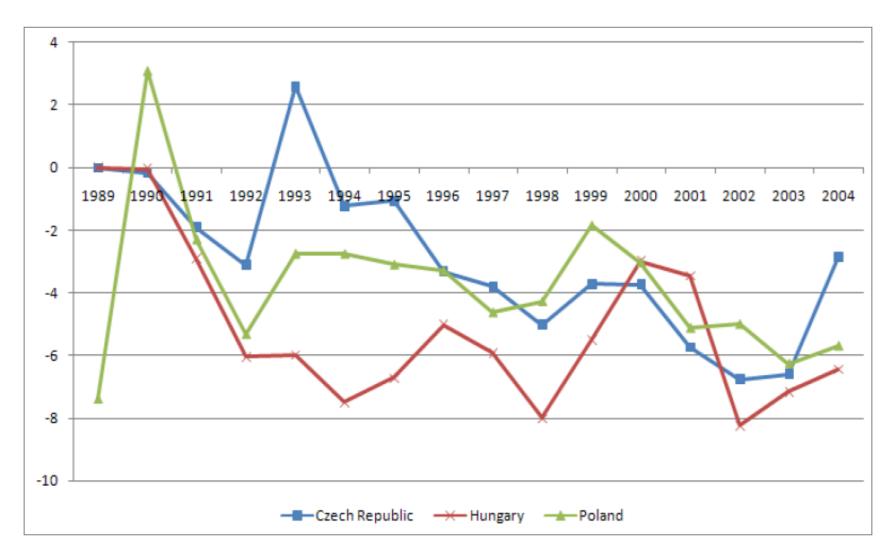
Table 11: FDI Inflows in Hungary in USD mil (1972-2000)

	In cash	Of which privatization income	as%	Investment in kind	Total
1972-1989	387	-	•	783	1170
1990	311	20	6.4	589	900
1991	1459	435	29.8	155	1614
1992	1471	492	33.4	170	1641
1993	2,339	1,163	49.7	142	2,481
1994	1,147	103	9.0	173	1,320
1995	4,453	3,370	75.7	185	4,638
1996	1,983	618	31.2	57	2,040
1997	2,085	1,827	87.6	22	2,107
1998	1,935	485	25.1	11	1,946
1999	1,651	295	17.9	6	1,657
2000	1,600	0	0.0	0*	1,600
1990-2000	20,434	8,808	43.1	1510	21,876

<sup>\*-</sup> in the fiscal year 2000, this figure was equal to USD 280.00 – which is 0 while rounded to millions

Source: Csáki, From Transition to Integration, 2002, own calculations

Figure 2: Deficit in Public Finance in % GDP

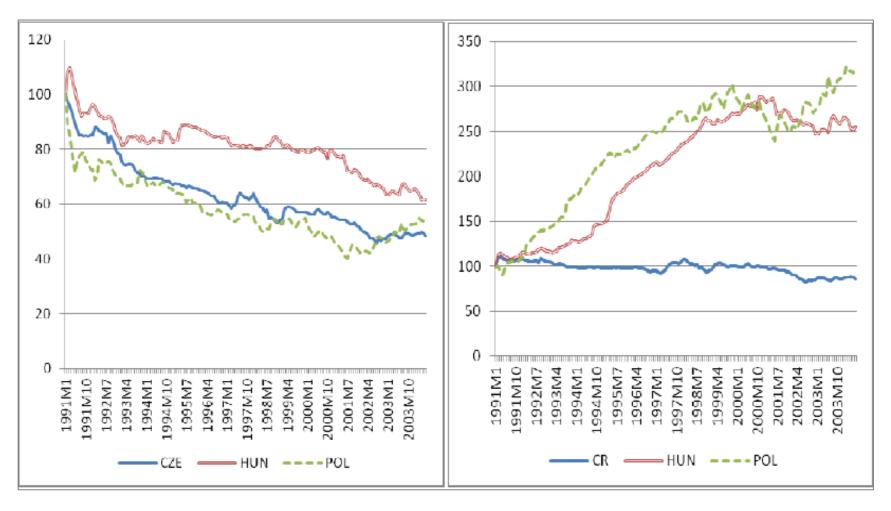


Source: EBRD: Selected economic indicators data, 26. 11. 2007.

## Currency problems

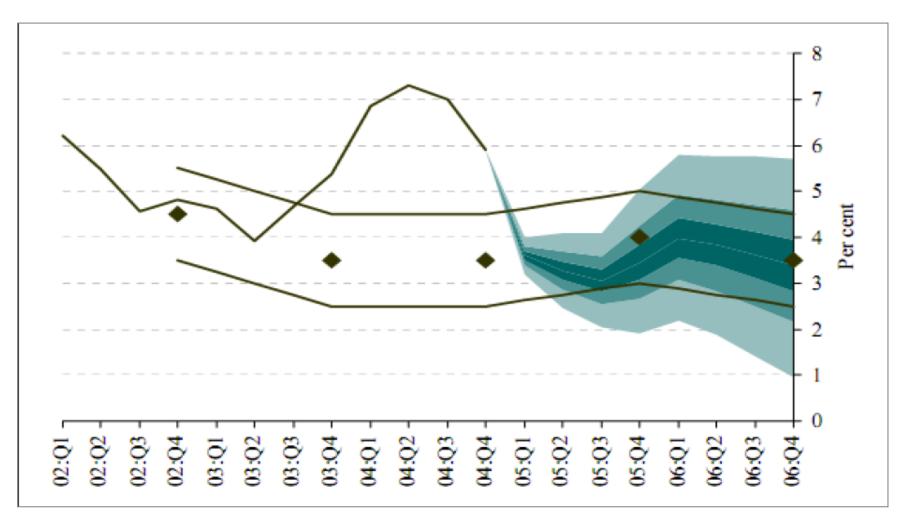
- Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century problems are back
  - Notorious problems with fiscal dicipline
  - Growing trade deficit
  - Increasing wages -> declining competitiveness
- Monetary policy response to inflation pressures
  - Monetary restriction
  - Widening the flutuation band
  - Inflation targeting (2001)
  - Full convertibility of the forint + fixed central parity
  - Interest rates as a sigle tool to hit targets
- Loose fiscal policy
- Massive interventions on the foreign exchange market
  - Loss of the CB's credibility, decline of confidence in the currency, inflation

Figure 3: Nominal (left) and Real Exchange Rate (1991 = 100) in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic 1991-2004



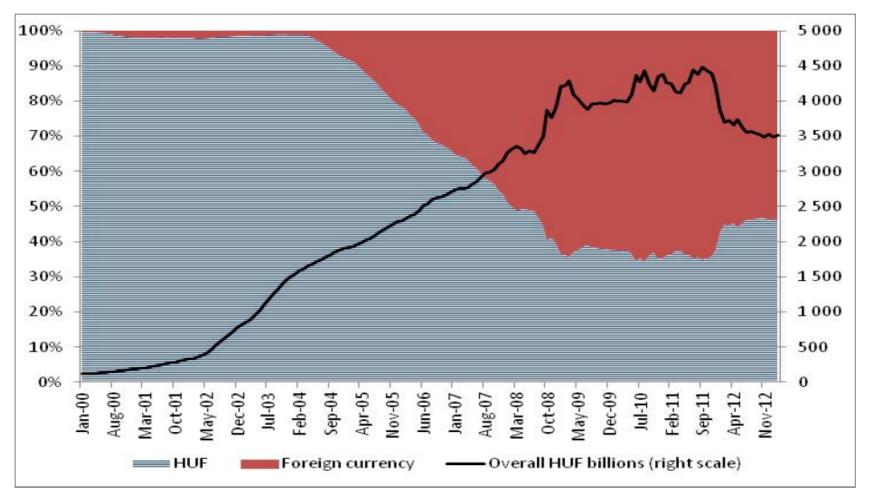
Source: IMF, International financial statistics, http://elibrary-data.imf.org/

Figure 4: Inflation, Its Projection and Inflation Target at the End of 2004



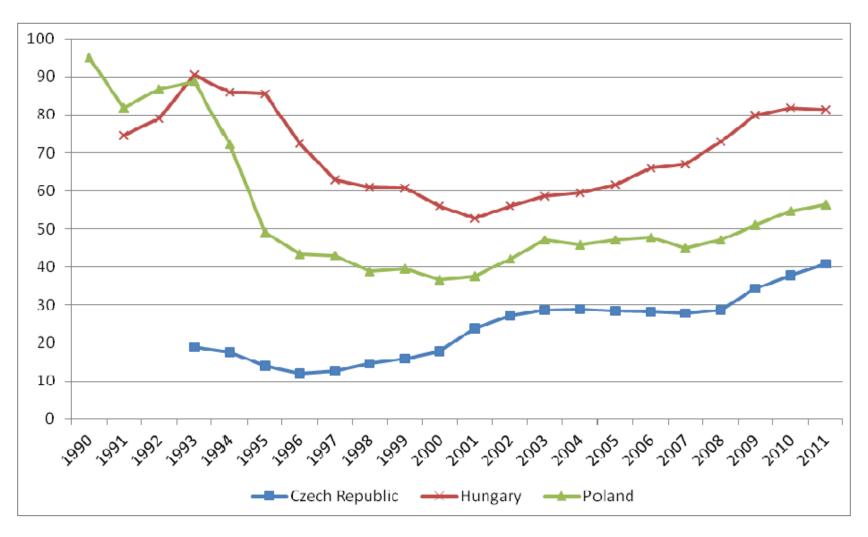
Source: Magyar Nemzeti Bank, Quarterly Report on Inflation, February 2005

Figure 5: Household Indebtedness Over One Year Maturity. Share of Debt in Forints (HUF) and Foreign Currency; and Overall Volume of Debt in Billions of HUF (right scale)



Source: Magyar Nemzeti Bank, http://english.mnb.hu/Statisztika/data-and-information/mnben\_statisztikai\_idosorok, 15. 4. 2013

Figure 6: Government Debt as Percent of GDP



Source: Eurostat ec.europa.eu/eurostat 15. 4. 2013, EBRD Selected economic indicators data, 26. 11. 2007

## Privatisation

Table 12: Public Survey – How Would you Solve The Problem of Ownership November 1990/August 1991

	Bulgaria	Czechoslovakia	Estonia	Hungary	Lithuania	Poland	Rumania	Slovenia	Ukraine
Return to the previous owner	21	34	34	12	14	17	7	20	5
Sell for the highest price offered	15	17	10	29	10	12	19	22	12
Self-management	35	27	39	28	57	47	31	40	53
Keep in state possession	30	22	18	31	19	24	44	18	31

Source: Kende, Rovnostářské a etatistické dědictví ve střední a východní Evropě in Politická a ekonomická transformace v zemích střední a východní Evropy, 1993

Table 14: Privatization Revenues of the State Privatization Companies, 1990-2000, HUF billion

	Sales and asset	Cash revenues	Of which hard	Hard currency/	
	management	. Cash revenues	currency	Cash (%)	
1990	0,67	0,67	0,53	79	
1991	30,43	30,35	24,61	81	
1992	66,91	65,90	40,98	62	
1993	164,50	133,63	110,67	83	
1994	148,87	46,36	10,95	25	
1995	471,93	437,80	411,48	94	
1996	162,63	119,46	92,73	77	
1997	340,61	317,70	208,60	66	
1998	104,80	98,70	38,62	39	
1999	114,95	99,23	70,00	71	
2000	21,13	19,83	0,00	0	
Total:	1628,2	1369,6	970,6	71	

Source: Csáki, From Transition to Integration, 2002

Table 15: Ownership of Manufacturing Firms, % of Registered Capital

Types of ownership	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
State	55.2	39.2	29.3	19.9	14.4
Municipal	8.8	1.6	1.6	1.0	0.9
Individual private		8.8	9.4	10.1	9.5
Domestic corporate	0.1	15.0	17.9	18.2	19.4
Employee	20.5	1.0	1.5	1.4	1.2
Foreign	3.6	30.9	37.1	46.7	51.1
Cooperative		2.6	1.9	1.4	1.2
Other		0.9	1.3	1.3	2.3

Source: Csáki, From Transition to Integration, 2002

Table 11: Change in the Affiliation of Units in the Retail and Catering Sector from 1988 to 1992

Year	1988	1990	1992	
State enterprises	26,366	17,410	14,000	
Incorporated companies*	671	6,240	30,000	
Cooperatives	27,349	22,323	18,000	
Private entrepreneurs	34,541	60,141	102,755	
Total	88,927	106,114	164,755	

<sup>\*-</sup> including limited partnership, limited liability companies, and joint stock companies. They ca be private or state-owned

Source: Earle, Frydman, Rapaczynski, Turkewitz, Small privatization, 1994

**Table 12:Private Sector Share in GDP (in %)** 

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001-2004
Czech	10	15	30	45	65	70	75	75	75	80	80	80
Republic												
Hungary	25	30	40	50	55	60	70	75	80	80	80	80
Poland	30	40	45	50	55	60	60	65	65	65	70	75

Source: EBRD: Selected economic indicators data, 26. 11. 2007.

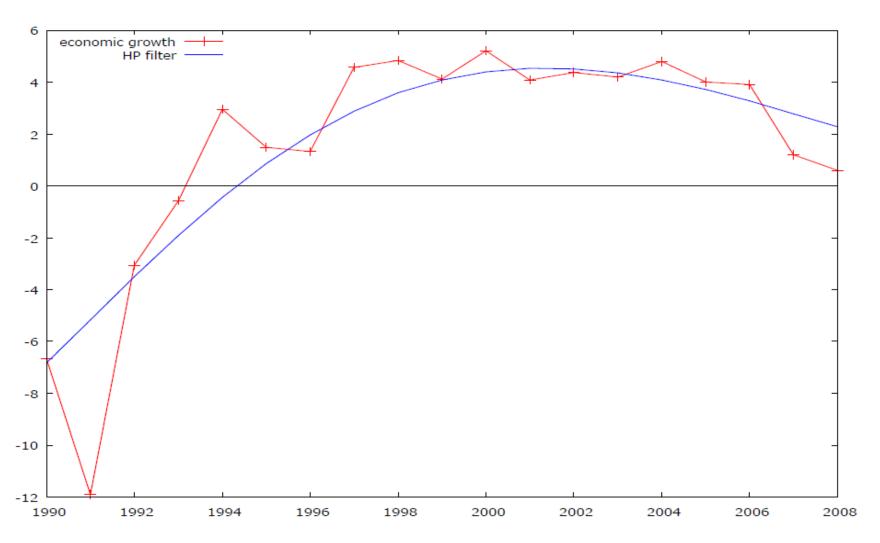
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The fourth part

## **ECONOMIC RESULTS**

# Chart X: Economic Growth After 1990 (in %) and Its Trend Estimated by HP Filter



Source: Maddison, Historical Statistics - http://www.ggdc.net/MADDISON/oriindex.htm, (11.10.2010)

Figure 8: GDP per Person in USD Based on Purchasing Power Parity (1989-2004)

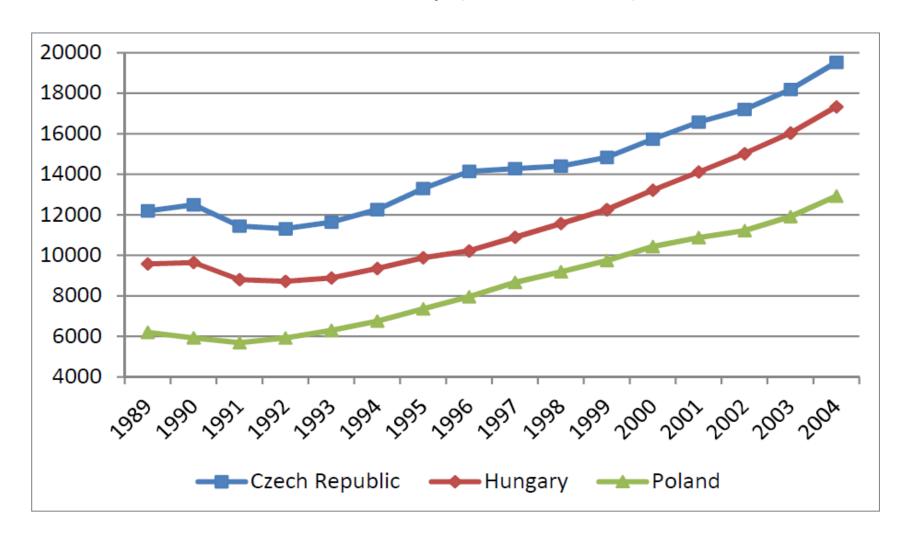
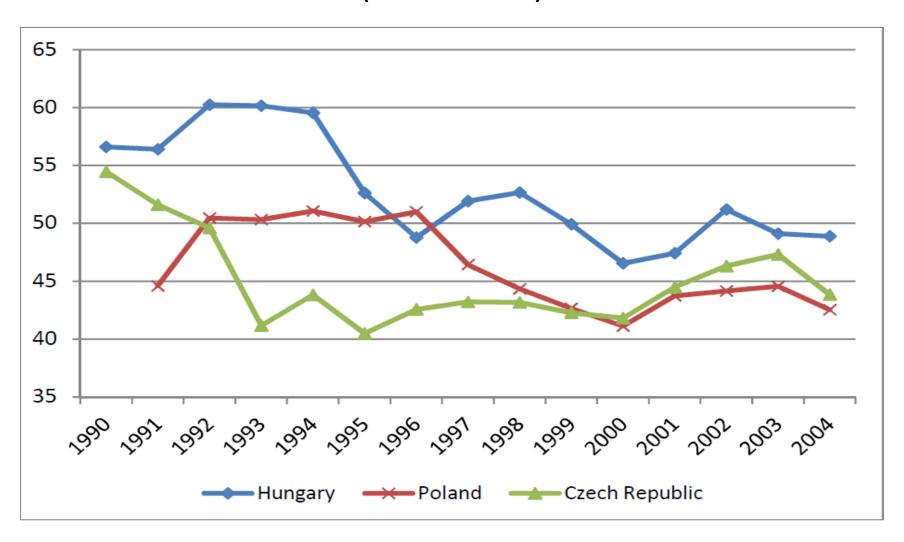


Figure 9: Government Expenditure in Percent of GDP (1990-2004)



Source: EBRD: Selected economic indicators data, 26. 11. 2007.

Table 17: Structure of Economy - Share of Industry (I), Agriculture (A) and Services (S) in % of GDP

Table 17: Structure of Economy - Share of Industry (I), Agriculture (A) and Services (S) in % of GDP											
		1989	1990	1661	1992	1995	1997	6661	2001	2003	2004
Czech Republic	I		36.7	37.9	39.4	33.3	35.9	35.5	37.5	38.2	40.0
	A	6.3	8.2	5.6	4.6	4.7	5.0	3.9	3.7	3.4	3.3
	S		55.1	56.5	56.0	62.0	59.1	60.6	58.7	58.3	56.7
Hungary	I		•	21.0	20.4	23.1	25.0	26.7	26.6	26.7	26.5
	A			7.8	6.5	5.9	5.8	5.3	5.0	4.2	6.1
	S			71.2	73.1	71.0	69.2	68.0	68.4	69.1	67.4
Poland	Ι	44.1	44.9	40.2	34.0	32.1	30.7	29.7	29.5	29.6	30.8
	A	11.8	7.4	6.8	6.7	5.6	4.5	3.2	3.2	2.6	2.5
	S	44.1	47.7	53.0	59.3	62.3	64.8	67.1	67.3	67.8	66.7

Figure 10: Inflation, Average Consumer Prices (Percentage Change) 1980-2004

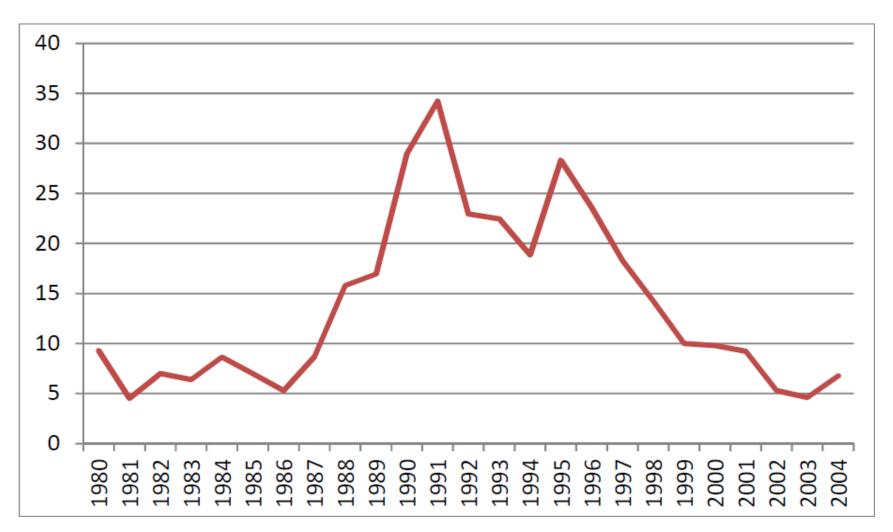
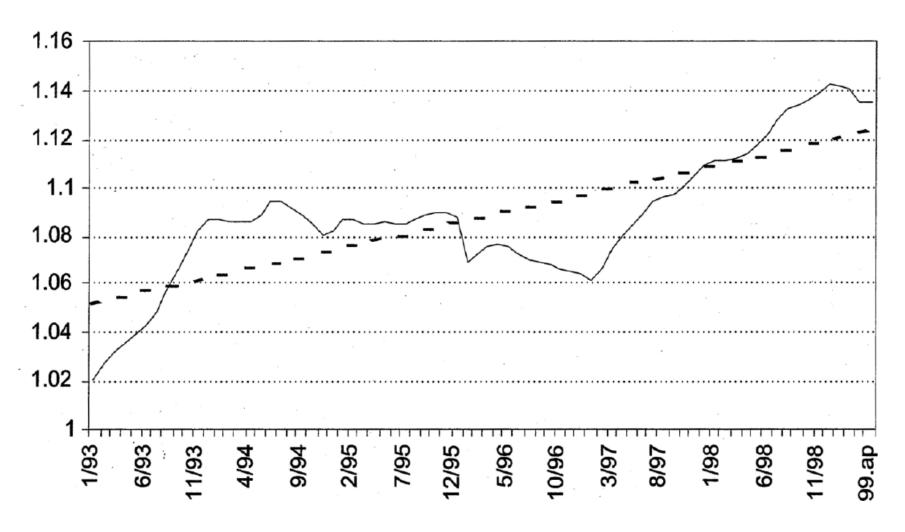


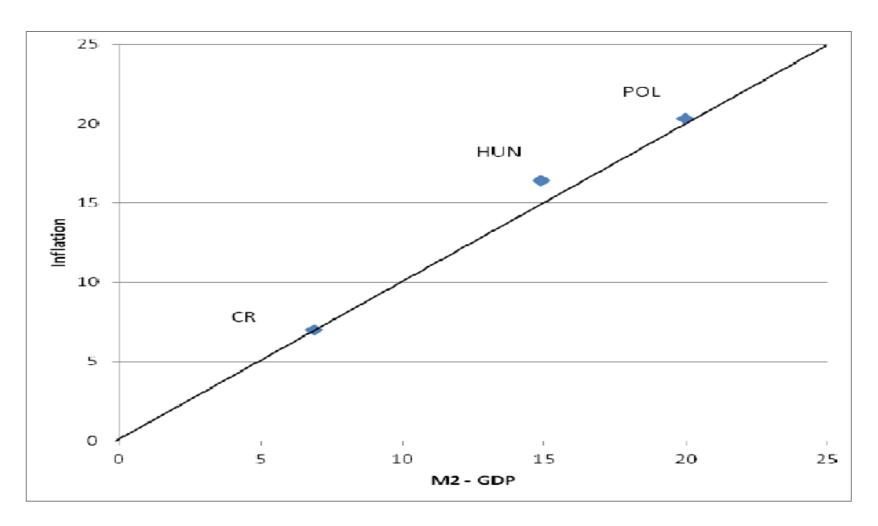
Figure 11: Non-tradable/Tradable Inflation in Hungary (1991=1)



Source: Halpern, Neményi, Fiscal Foundations of Convergence to the European Union, 2001.

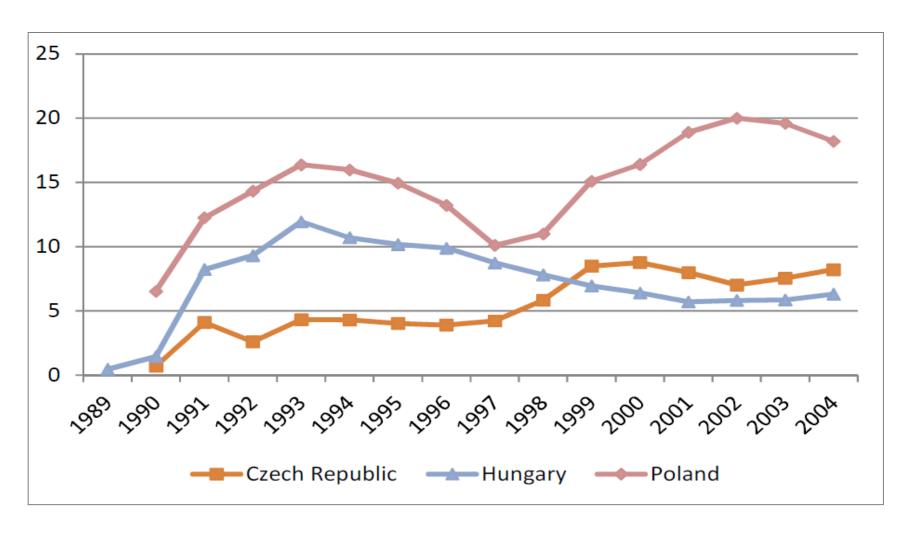
Figure 12: Inflation (Average Percentage Change of CPI) Growth of Broad Money Minus Growth of Real GDP (%)

Between 1993 and 2004



Source: EBRD: Selected economic indicators data, 26.11. 2007.

Figure 13: Unemployment Rate (% of Labor Force) 1989-2004



Source: EBRD: Selected economic indicators data, 26. 11. 2007.

Table 18: Exports to CMEA Markets (mil. USD)

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	% decline between 1989 and 1993		
Czech Republic*	5,103	3,422	2,045	1,103	1,009	80.2		
Bulgaria	7,967	5,887	1,892	1,103	1,009	87.3		
Hungary	4,009	2,933	2,710	2,981	3,122	22.1		
Poland	4,395	4,000	1,799	1,476	1,461	66.8		
Romania	3,890	2,083	1,089	702	720	81.5		
Slovakia	1,827	1,169	1,376	1,200	1,130	38.1		
* without inter Czechoslovak trade								

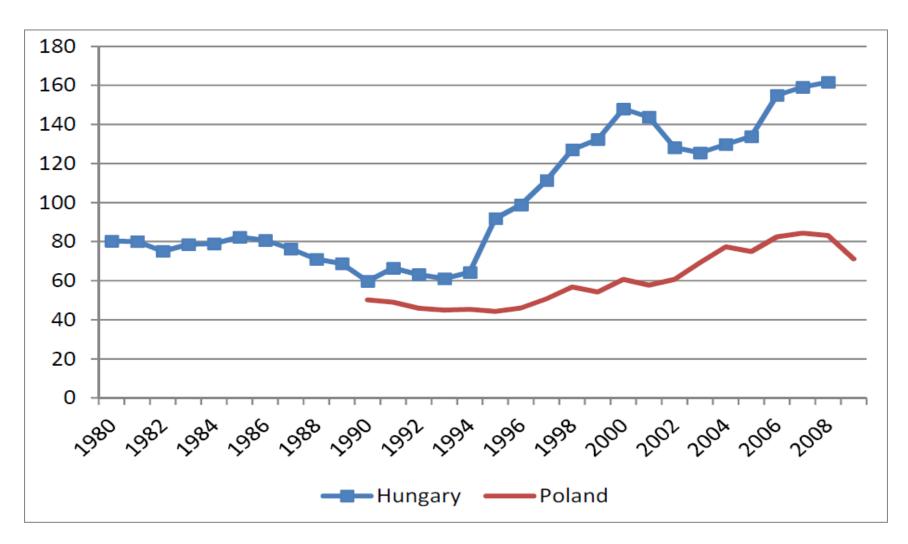
Source: Jonáš, Ekonomická transformace v České republice, 1997; own calculation

Table 19: The Share of the Main Trading Partners in 2003 (in %)

Imports	% share	Exports	% share
Germany	24.5	Germany	33.9
Italy	7.1	Austria	8.1
China	6.9	Italy	5.8
Austria	6.3	France	5.8
Russia	6.2	United Kingdom	4.6
France	4.8	Netherlands	4.1
Japan	4.2	USA	3.1
USA	3.2	Poland	2.3
Poland	2.8	Czech Republic	2.1
United Kingdom	2.7	Slovakia	2
Czech Republic	2.4	Russia	1.5
Netherlands	2.2	Japan	0.7
Slovakia	1.9	China	0.4

Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office, http://statinfo.ksh.hu/Statinfo/themeSelector.jsp?page=2&szst=QKT (29.12.2010)

Figure 14: Exports and Imports as Percentage of GDP in Hungary and Poland (in %)



Source: The World Bank, Doing Business, www.doingbusiness.org, 1.12.2010

Figure 15: Current Account to GDP (%) 1990 – 2004

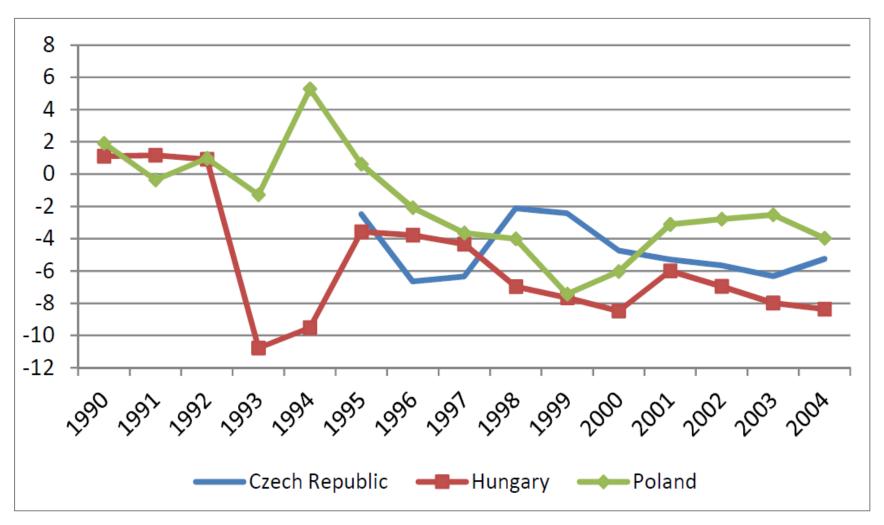
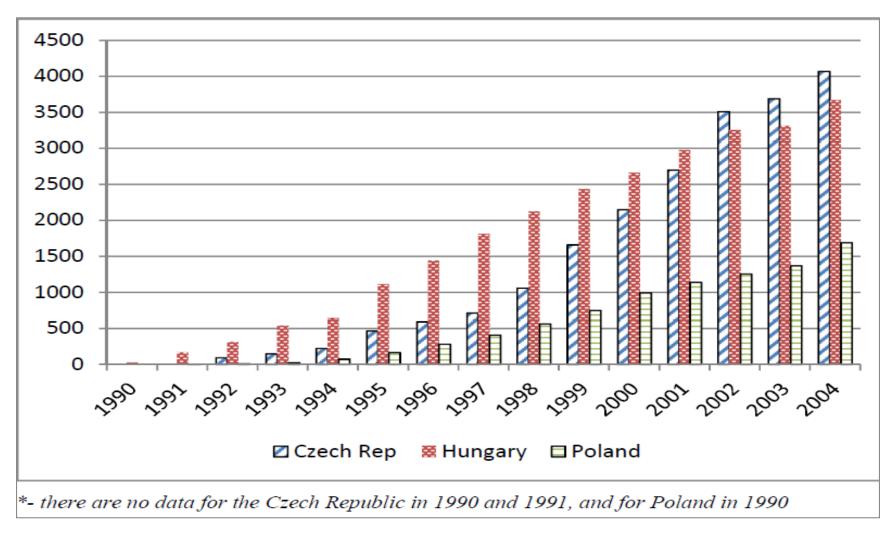


Figure 16: Cumulative FDI Inflows per Capita 1990-2004 in USD



Source: EBRD: Selected economic indicators data, 26. 11. 2007.

Table 20: FDI in the Czech Republic and Hungary 1990 – 2000 in \$ per Person

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
HUN	30	141	142	227	112	435	223	214	201	196	196
C.R.	13	50	97	63	84	248	138	126	361	615	447

Source: Srholec, Vybrané aspekty makroekonomického vývoje v Maďarsku po roce 1995, 2001.

Table 20: Share of Foreign Companies in Industrial Sector at the End of the 1990s

	Employment	Investment	Sales	Exports
Czech Republic	27	53	42	61
Hungary	47	82	73	89
Poland	29	63	49	59

Source: Berend, From the Soviet Bloc to the European Union, 2009

## Conclusions

#### Successful results

- change of overall economic framework and membership in EU
- almost duble increase of GDP p.c.
- establishment of positive growing trend
- catching up with developed countries
- rising competitiveness of Hungarian companies

#### Troubles

- transformation recession
- half-hearted economic reforms -> economic imbalances
- sources of future economic problems

The main goals of transformation were achieved, but some mistakes still occured!

# Thank you for attention!