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# THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MID-TECH AND HIGH-TECH TRADE OF THE VISEGRAD COUNTRIES AND THE GERMAN IMPACT<sup>1</sup>

#### Bartosz Michalski\*

The collapse of the Soviet bloc, internal multidimensional problems typical for political and economic transition as well as the globalisation of the world economy induced many challenges for Central European countries and their economic systems. Deep structural reforms, often politically rationalised by the growing obsession of competitiveness, as Paul Krugman put it<sup>2</sup>, were aimed at keeping pace with most significant tendencies in the world economy, transferred and accelerated through the channels of international capital flows and foreign trade.

Embarking on the issue from the perspective of current knowledge may shed light on the lack of key competences of political and economic decision-makers in the 1990s, which resulted in the false identification of crucial challenges, opportunities and threats. One of them was the changing nature of the geoeconomic and geopolitical rivalry, where multinational companies (MNCs) expanding their international businesses and lessening the power of states<sup>3</sup> play an essential role. Offering attractive locational incentives for foreign direct investments (FDIs) was believed to be the most efficient way to get access to up-to-date knowledge and skills and create optimal circumstances for a kind of leapfrogging development.

However, to be a creator of rules of the game, one has to have sufficient resources generating non-easily imitable competitive advantages in the world trading system. That is why competitiveness of contemporary economic systems is usually brought about by the institutional environment<sup>4</sup> which accelerates processes of creation and enforcement of advanced technologies. If this fails, the only alternative seems to be the growing openness to trade and foreign investments. They are supposed to pave the way for transferring necessary mid-tech and high-tech skills, embodied both in goods as well as in the investors' know-how, while the competition is increasing because other emerging economies (especially so-called Factory Asia) strive to do the same. If so, there appears an essential doubt whether it is possible to reduce the structural and technological gap and how to address new developmental

Having said that, the analysis conveyed in this paper relates to the theoretical paradigm of the middle-income trap<sup>5</sup> which offers a promising explanatory potential to zero in on problems characteristic for the Visegrad countries (V4): the Czech Republic (CZ), Hungary (HU), Poland (PL), and Slovakia (SK). A certain emphasis is put on the

structure of their foreign trade in mid-tech and high-tech goods. The general context relates to growing risks for these countries of becoming just passive receivers of technologies and producers of intermediates under the framework of corporate added-value chains (CVCs), exerting ongoing pressure on lowering costs, increasing productivity, possible delocalisation and moving selected processes offshore.

If national innovation systems cannot balance these tensions, and they are not capable of accelerating growth and development by making more efficient use of domestic advantages, the political temptation to aggressively attract new foreign investments becomes more rationalised. It happens by putting aside though strategic choices as long as economic growth and development remain satisfactory. If there are neither incentives nor attempts to launch complex programs aimed at modernising the domestic economy and its structure of foreign trade, this creates a real threat of sustaining dependency on decisions made by non-state actors (MNCs and international economic organisations), rarely taking into account what needs to be done. Hence, this forms subtly a structural developmental glass ceiling easy to hit, but difficult to break through. As a consequence, domestic small and medium-sized companies usually experience a lot of regulatory, capital or market burdens ("sticky floor"), in contrast to preferences foreign firms enjoy. That is why they may dominate value creation process making internalisation of knowledge and skills less and less likely by accumulating industrial human capital<sup>6</sup>.

What one should bear in mind is that one of the most important political and economic motives supporting the membership in the European Union (EU) was the reduction of existing differences. However, the EU's financial framework does not necessarily reflect essential interests of less developed countries and their regions. If a strategic priority defined at the European decision-makers' level is to build a globally competitive economic system, this may mean for (semi-)peripheral member states the necessity of imperfect institutional imitation concentrating around national centres of growth and development and thus ineffectively addressing their specific challenges.

### Purpose of the research and methodological remarks

The main goal is to conduct a comparative study of the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak total exports and imports in the period 2001–2015 taking into particular consideration their technological intensity. The author remains aware that research covering similar issues has been thoroughly undertaken so far by numerous scholars<sup>7</sup>. However, the author's ambition is to offer a complimentary study which would shed light on slightly different developments in the foreign trade of the V4 countries and provide their

interpretation from the standpoint of international political economy.

Another relevant aim of the analysis is also to check whether the membership of the V4 in the EU may have induced positive developments as far as the technological intensity of their exports is concerned. Particular attention will be paid to their relations with Germany (their largest trading partner in the EU).

Against this backdrop, the author has formulated the following research hypothesis: the beneficial transformation of the technological intensity of the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak trade after the accession to the European Union is represented by growing shares of mid-tech and high-tech goods, but it fosters economic dependency on the German economy. This situation brings about challenges typical for the middle-income trap. In the author's opinion, conferred as a proposal for academic debate, this particular phenomenon may be coined as a bane of German geographical proximity. Hence, a spin-off hypothesis may also relate to the paradigm of corporate neo-colonialism which means the sequential creation of optimally defragmented production structures8. They are dispersed geographically through selective direct investment projects, but no further than 1-2 days required for a truck to reach a downstream producer elsewhere in the region (here: Central Europe and Germany).

The first part of the analysis covers all commodity clusters at the 4-digit disaggregation level of the Harmonised System (HS) data classified as primary products, labourand resource-intensive, low-tech, mid-tech and high-tech, according to the methodological approach of UNCTAD9. An indication of exports and imports' market concentration of each country relies on the concept of the Herfindahl-Hirschmann Index (HHI). Commonly accepted in antitrust and anticompetitive merger cases<sup>10</sup> may find here its alternative implementation as the HHI is calculated by squaring the market share of each foreign market and then summing the resulting numbers. Then a special focus concentrates on trade relations of the V4 with Germany. This part of the study covers following chapters: HS 39 (plastics and articles thereof), HS 84 (machinery), HS 85 (electrical, electronic equipment) and HS 87 (road transport vehicles). The reason behind is that they dominate in the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak trade with Germany (see Tables 1 and 2).

The primary data being the subject of the author's calculations were downloaded from the database of the International Trade Centre (ITC)<sup>11</sup> at the 2-, 4- and 6-digit disaggregation level covering the period 2001–2015. Because the methodology of UNCTAD measuring technological intensity is founded on the Standardised International Trade Classification (SITC; at the 3-digit disaggregation level of trade data), the author has converted this approach into the one consistent with the Harmonised System (at the 4-digit disaggregation level).

Table 1

Average shares (%) of mid-tech and high-tech goods and dominant HS chapters in the total exports of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, 2001–2015

Country	2001	-2003	2004	-2008	2009	-2015
Country	mid-tech	high-tech	mid-tech	high-tech	mid-tech	high-tech
	41.7	18.4	41.7	21.1	42.3	23.8
cz	HS 84 – 11.7	HS 39 – 1.7	HS 84 – 12.7	HS 39 - 2.0	HS 84 – 11.5	HS 39 – 2.1
CZ	HS 85 - 9.8	HS 84 – 5.8	HS 85 - 9.2	HS 84 – 7.0	HS 85 - 9.3	HS 84 – 7.7
	HS 87 – 16.1	HS 85 - 4.2	HS 87 – 15.8	HS 85 - 6.3	HS 87 – 17.6	HS 85 – 7.6
	36.3	31.6	36.3	34.3	38.9	31.6
HU	HS 84 - 15.4	HS 39 - 2.0	HS 84 - 15.9	HS 39 - 2.3	HS 84 - 14.0	HS 39 - 2.2
по	HS 85 – 10.9	HS 84 – 7.4	HS 85 - 9.3	HS 84 - 6.0	HS 85 – 10.7	HS 84 – 3.9
	HS 87 - 8.0	HS 85 – 16.1	HS 87 - 8.8	HS 85 - 18.3	HS 87 – 11.0	HS 85 - 14.4
	29.3	11.9	34.2	13.3	32.0	18.6
PL	HS 84 – 10.4	HS 39 – 1.5	HS 84 – 12.6	HS 39 - 2.0	HS 84 – 10.4	HS 39 - 2.3
PL	HS 85 - 6.6	HS 84 - 0.3	HS 85 - 6.6	HS 84 - 0.6%	HS 85 - 5.9	HS 84 – 2.2
	HS 87 – 8.9	HS 85 - 4.3	HS 87 – 11.2	HS 85 – 4.7%	HS 87 – 11.5	HS 85 - 6.1
	39.7	10.9	39.0	17.8	41.1	23.8
SK	HS 84 - 8.2	HS 39 - 2.2	HS 84 - 8.3	HS 39 - 2.1	HS 84 - 8.7	HS 39 – 1.7
3K	HS 85 - 6.5	HS 84 - 0.9	HS 85 - 6.5	HS 84 – 1.9	HS 85 – 5.7	HS 84 – 1.7
	HS 87 – 21.5	HS 85 – 2.7	HS 87 – 20.8	HS 85 – 10.0	HS 87 – 22.9	HS 85 – 16.4

Source: Author's calculations based on http://www.trademap.org (3.10.2016).

Table 2

Average shares (%) of mid-tech and high-tech goods and dominant HS chapters in the total imports of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, 2001–2015

Country	2001-	-2003	2004	-2008	2009	-2015
Country	mid-tech	high-tech	mid-tech	high-tech	mid-tech	high-tech
	31.6	25.9	31.0	27.1	29.2	29.7
67	HS 84 – 11.7	HS 39 - 3.5	HS 84 – 11.1	HS 39 - 3.7	HS 84 – 10.0	HS 39 – 3.6
CZ	HS 85 - 8.3	HS 84 - 5.0	HS 85 - 8.2	HS 84 - 6.0	HS 85 - 7.9	HS 84 – 7.4
	HS 87 - 8.0	HS 85 - 6.4	HS 87 - 8.4	HS 85 - 7.6	HS 87 - 8.1	HS 85 - 8.6
	34.7	30.2	32.3	28.9	30.3	28.8
	HS 84 - 13.8	HS 39 - 2.4	HS 84 - 12.5	HS 39 - 2.3	HS 84 – 11.4	HS 39 – 2.5
HU	HS 85 – 10.5	HS 84 – 5.3	HS 85 - 9.9	HS 84 – 3.9	HS 85 - 9.6	HS 84 – 3.1
	HS 87 – 7.7	HS 85 - 13.5	HS 87 – 7.5	HS 85 - 14.4	HS 87 – 6.7	HS 85 – 13.3
	28.1	25.8	27.6	24.0	24.9	26.2
DI	HS 84 – 11.9	HS 39 - 4.3	HS 84 – 11.2	HS 39 - 4.3	HS 84 - 9.4	HS 39 - 4.3
PL	HS 85 - 4.9	HS 84 - 3.0	HS 85 - 4.9	HS 84 - 2.6	HS 85 - 5.2	HS 84 – 3.0
	HS 87 – 8.6	HS 85 - 5.6	HS 87 – 8.8	HS 85 - 5.7	HS 87 – 7.5	HS 85 - 6.2
	34.0	19.7	32.5	23.8	30.9	27.1
CV	HS 84 – 11.7	HS 39 - 2.5	HS 84 – 10.2	HS 39 - 2.4	HS 84 - 9.0	HS 39 – 2.5
SK	HS 85 – 7.0	HS 84 - 2.3	HS 85 - 6.8	HS 84 - 2.1	HS 85 - 7.0	HS 84 – 2.2
	HS 87 – 11.9	HS 85 - 4.3	HS 87 – 12.3	HS 85 – 8.1	HS 87 – 12.1	HS 85 – 12.3

Source: Author's calculations based on http://www.trademap.org (3.10.2016).

When embarking on the analysis of the intensity of the intra-industry trade of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia with Germany the author has made use of the classical concept of Grubel and Lloyd<sup>12</sup> calculating the values of GL-indices at the 6-digit disaggregation level of the Harmonised System. The reason was to identify the shares of horizontal intra-industry trade (HIIT), vertical-low quality intra-industry trade (VIIT-LQ) and vertical-high quality intra-

industry trade (VIIT-HQ). The condition to be fulfilled follows the method provided by Greenaway, Hine and Milner<sup>13</sup>, based on the assumption that the unit value reflects – or to be more precise, approximates – the quality of a given commodity. Hence, HIIT occurs when the difference between the unit value of a product being the subject both of exports and of imports does not exceed more than –/+ 15%. Therefore, VIIT-LQ or VIIT-HQ streams are identi-

fied when the difference in unit values of respective goods is below or above 15%. However, an essential drawback of this approach results from the nature of trade statistics available in USD which does not capture the volatility (appreciation/depreciation) of national currencies (CZK, HUF, PLN, SKK, then EUR) in particular years covered in the research<sup>14</sup>.

### The technological intensity of the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak total exports and imports in the period 2001-2015. General outlook

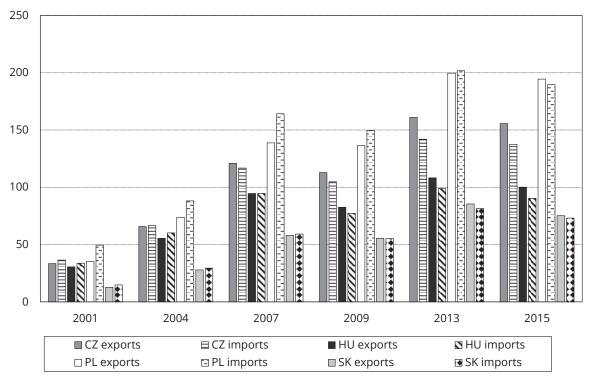
The years 2001-2015 were the period of a steady growth of trade volume (see Chart 1) and the openness of all analysed economies. The only exceptions happened in 2009 and 2012 when the world economy suffered the consequences of global financial/economic crisis and these also hit economies of the V4 countries. In the long run in each case, the growth rate of foreign trade was higher than the one of GDP which was stimulating for the openness. Smaller economies (CZ, HU and SK) would be naturally stronger oriented towards comprehensive trade relations (openness as the ratio of GDP higher than 150%), whereas Polish economy, mainly due to the size of its domestic market<sup>15</sup> experienced the kind of growth resulting in the ratio of GDP exceeding 75%.

In the context of the above-indicated data, it is worth emphasising the fact that large companies owned by foreign investors generate most of foreign trade of the V4 countries<sup>16</sup>. Small and medium-sized businesses remain rather local and thus hesitant about their internationalisation, also partly because of the lack of essential competencies for this critical decision. Foreign subsidiaries possess resources and capabilities that affect their survival in the long term, and because of this advantage, they can pose a threat to small and medium-sized firms<sup>17</sup>. Therefore it is justified to recognise MNCs and their supplier networks as a force changing the economic landscape of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. The task is to assess their impact on certain developments like in this case on the technological intensity and the ability to generate trade surplus (see Tables 3. 4 and 5) as well as its further consequences for the role of these economies in the new international division of labour (NIDL).

What one can easily discern in the case of each economy is a dominating tendency of growing shares of mid-tech and high-tech goods in their total exports (for the latter also in imports). It is attributed to the activity of MNCs as domestic innovation systems and internal knowledge-intensive resources do not have enough power to determine a different path of economic development. Each economy covered by this study has been sustaining its trade surplus in the group of mid-tech goods, especially since they joined the EU, because of relatively cheaper local workforce mixed with foreign technology being the source of their advantage characteristic for the middle-income trap.

Chart 1

Total exports and imports of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia (bn USD), selected years



Source: Author's calculations based on http://www.trademap.org (3.10.2016).

Table 3
Technological intensity (% shares) of the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak total exports, 2001-2015

Country	Category	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	RL	17.6	15.2	15.7	14.3	13.7	12.5	12.2	11.0	11.4	10.8	10.5	10.2	10.7	10.9	11.0
	LT	13.6	10.9	13.0	13.7	13.1	13.1	13.2	12.9	10.8	10.8	11.7	11.3	11.3	10.5	10.2
CZ	MT	41.8	41.2	42.1	42.0	41.7	42.1	42.4	40.3	40.0	40.3	41.4	42.0	43.3	44.2	45.2
	HT	15.9	20.8	18.4	19.8	19.2	20.6	22.6	23.2	24.4	24.8	25.2	24.1	22.9	23.2	22.2
	PP	11.0	11.8	10.8	10.2	12.3	11.7	9.5	12.6	13.3	13.3	11.3	12.4	11.9	11.1	11.4
	RL	13.9	13.8	11.3	9.8	8.6	7.4	6.8	6.4	7.0	6.6	6.7	6.4	6.6	6.9	6.8
	LT	6.7	6.3	6.2	6.5	6.4	6.6	6.3	6.2	5.1	5.5	6.1	6.1	6.2	6.2	6.1
HU	MT	36.0	35.9	37.2	35.8	36.1	37.3	36.9	35.7	33.3	33.9	35.8	37.1	39.9	44.5	47.3
	HT	30.0	31.5	33.4	37.2	35.0	33.9	32.5	32.9	37.4	37.4	34.2	30.8	29.1	26.5	25.6
	PP	13.5	12.5	11.9	10.8	13.8	14.8	17.6	18.8	17.1	16.6	17.2	19.6	18.1	15.9	14.3
	RL	25.1	24.4	23.7	20.6	18.6	17.0	16.5	15.2	15.5	15.3	15.2	14.5	14.7	15.4	15.7
	LT	18.4	18.4	17.5	17.5	16.2	16.9	16.8	16.2	13.6	14.0	15.4	14.8	14.7	14.3	13.9
PL	MT	28.0	29.2	31.0	33.1	33.7	34.7	35.3	34.4	33.8	32.8	32.7	31.4	31.2	30.9	31.3
	HT	11.8	12.1	11.9	11.5	11.8	13.1	14.2	16.0	18.5	19.9	17.6	18.0	18.1	18.8	19.2
	PP	16.7	15.9	15.9	17.4	19.8	18.3	17.3	18.3	18.5	18.0	19.2	21.3	21.3	20.6	19.9
	RL	21.0	21.5	18.5	16.5	15.0	12.6	11.4	10.8	12.0	10.6	10.3	9.2	9.0	9.5	9.3
	LT	17.7	16.4	15.5	16.9	16.9	16.4	15.8	15.1	13.4	14.5	13.7	13.2	12.2	12.1	11.5
SK	MT	35.7	38.1	45.2	41.4	37.1	37.7	40.0	38.7	36.0	37.8	39.9	41.1	42.4	43.4	46.9
	HT	11.8	11.1	9.9	12.1	15.6	18.6	20.4	22.3	26.8	25.2	22.4	22.3	23.5	23.7	22.3
	PP	13.8	12.8	10.9	13.1	15.4	14.8	12.3	13.1	11.9	12.0	13.7	14.1	12.9	11.3	10.0

RL: resource- and labour-intensive; LT: low-tech; MT: mid-tech; HT: high-tech; PP: primary products and others.

Source: Author's calculations based on http://www.trademap.org (3.10.2016).

Table 4

Technological intensity (% shares) of the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak total imports, 2001-2015

Country	Category	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	RL	12.0	11.9	11.9	11.7	11.2	10.4	10.2	9.7	10.4	9.1	9.4	9.2	9.5	9.9	9.9
	LT	11.8	9.9	11.8	13.2	13.2	13.9	14.8	14.0	11.2	11.6	12.8	12.5	12.5	12.2	12.0
CZ	MT	33.0	29.4	32.6	32.8	30.2	29.9	30.2	28.4	27.0	26.0	28.3	29.1	29.7	31.4	32.7
	HT	24.8	26.4	26.5	25.8	24.7	25.9	28.2	27.6	30.4	31.6	30.0	29.1	28.2	28.8	29.5
	PP	18.5	22.4	17.2	16.6	20.6	19.9	16.5	20.3	21.0	21.7	19.5	20.2	20.0	17.6	15.9
	RL	11.9	11.9	11.7	10.5	9.0	7.9	7.6	6.9	7.4	6.7	6.6	6.2	6.6	7.1	7.2
	LT	8.5	8.6	8.6	9.3	8.2	9.2	9.4	9.1	7.4	8.0	8.8	8.6	9.1	9.3	9.5
HU	MT	34.3	34.8	35.1	34.6	33.0	31.4	32.0	30.4	27.1	27.3	28.5	27.7	30.4	34.4	36.3
	HT	30.5	30.2	30.0	31.1	28.2	28.1	28.9	27.9	31.7	32.1	29.5	28.3	27.3	25.4	26.9
	PP	14.8	14.5	14.6	14.5	21.7	23.3	22.1	25.8	26.6	25.9	26.5	29.2	26.6	23.8	20.1
	RL	14.5	14.6	14.0	12.9	11.8	11.0	10.7	10.1	11.2	10.7	10.5	10.0	10.2	11.2	11.9
	LT	11.0	12.3	13.3	14.4	13.2	14.0	14.7	13.4	11.7	12.7	13.3	13.0	13.4	13.5	13.8
PL	MT	27.1	27.9	29.3	29.1	27.1	27.2	27.7	26.8	25.7	24.7	24.6	23.4	24.2	24.8	26.5
	HT	26.6	25.9	24.8	24.4	24.2	24.0	23.6	24.0	26.9	27.7	24.9	25.2	25.8	25.9	26.7
	PP	20.9	19.3	18.6	19.2	23.7	23.9	23.2	25.7	24.4	24.1	26.7	28.5	26.5	24.6	21.2
	RL	13.3	13.5	13.1	12.1	10.9	10.1	9.9	9.3	10.7	9.2	9.4	9.0	9.1	9.6	9.9
	LT	9.7	10.1	10.3	11.4	11.1	11.0	11.8	12.0	9.7	10.7	11.1	10.8	10.3	10.9	10.8
SK	MT	32.3	33.2	36.6	34.5	31.8	31.7	33.0	31.4	29.5	29.6	30.4	30.5	30.2	31.8	34.3
	HT	19.5	20.1	19.4	20.2	22.3	24.7	25.9	25.7	28.4	27.5	24.2	26.1	27.5	27.9	28.2
	PP	25.3	23.1	20.6	21.8	23.8	22.4	19.4	21.7	21.7	23.0	25.0	23.5	22.9	19.8	16.9

RL: resource- and labour-intensive; LT: low-tech; MT: mid-tech; HT: high-tech; PP: primary products and others.

Source: Author's calculations based on http://www.trademap.org (3.10.2016).

Table 5
Structure of the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak trade balance (bn USD), selected years

Country	Category	2001	2004	2007	2009	2013	2015
	RL	1.52	1.60	2.89	1.97	3.62	3.41
	LT	0.22	0.19	-1.31	0.45	0.43	-0.59
cz	MT	1.94	5.76	15.93	16.87	27.42	25.40
	нт	-3.72	-4.14	-5.63	-4.35	-3.18	-5.97
	PP	-3.05	-4.35	-7.80	-6.91	-9.28	-4.06
	RL	0.21	-0.89	-0.76	0.10	0.65	0.32
	LT	-0.82	-1.96	-2.98	-1.50	-2.28	-2.50
HU	MT	-0.56	-1.04	4.56	6.63	13.20	14.52
	нт	-1.14	1.87	3.39	6.45	4.48	1.32
	PP	-0.87	-2.76	-4.28	-6.38	-6.69	-3.87
	RL	1.71	3.82	5.32	4.42	8.77	8.09
	LT	1.08	0.18	-0.84	1.17	2.34	0.99
PL	MT	-3.49	-1.24	3.47	7.69	13.50	10.51
	HT	-8.98	-13.04	-19.13	-14.88	-15.80	-13.33
	PP	-4.39	-4.08	-14.21	-11.33	-10.94	-1.49
	RL	0.70	1.04	0.78	0.76	0.20	-0.20
	LT	0.80	1.34	2.20	2.09	1.98	0.78
SK	MT	-0.26	1.38	3.67	3.72	11.67	10.19
	нт	-1.38	-2.58	-3.49	-0.80	-2.25	-3.84
	PP	-2.00	-2.78	-4.33	-5.38	-7.64	-4.82

RL: resource- and labour-intensive; LT: low-tech; MT: mid-tech; HT: high-tech; PP: primary products and others.

Source: Author's calculations based on http://www.trademap.org (3.10.2016).

Given the fact that competition in mid-tech product clusters usually undergoes price pressure, it makes keeping operational costs low a must. That is why the V4 countries have to face this kind of strategic concern how to reduce foreign dependence, which then would help raise the internal value and emerge as a dynamic exporter of high-quality manufactured products challenging more advanced competitors and reshaping the global industrial landscape<sup>18</sup>. However, being a technology taker determines strongly the structure of exports, which – having in mind the nature of corporate defragmentation of production – is dominated by parts and components<sup>19</sup>. They are the type of goods that do not create viable opportunities to internalise added value and in consequence sustain (semi-)peripheral character of an assembly production line in the NIDL.

As far as high-tech goods are concerned, only Hungarian economy was able to perform better than the rest<sup>20</sup>. What is also characteristic, smaller economies started to generate the overall trade surplus in the period of global economic crisis while Polish trade balance remained negative, although the prospects of cutting it down seemed promising. This change may be interpreted as a result of crisis-triggered, complex and multidirectional re-configuration within CVCs<sup>21</sup>.

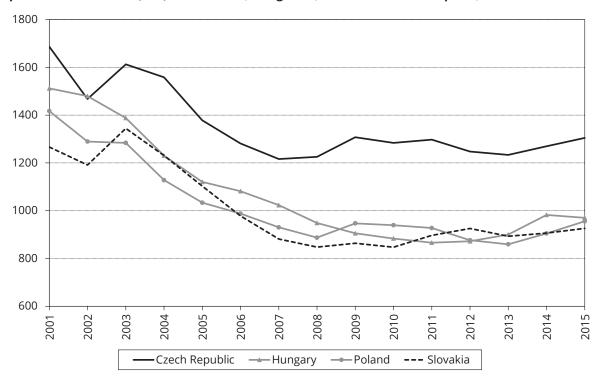
Another remarkable tendency for the V4 countries as far as their international trade is concerned in the period

covered was significant progress in diversification of exporting and supplying markets (HHI; see Charts 2 and 3). It means that Germany, although it maintained its first position, started weighing less and less in their geographical structure of trade.

## The intra-industry trade of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia with Germany in the period 2001-2015. The case of chapters HS 39, 84, 85, and 87

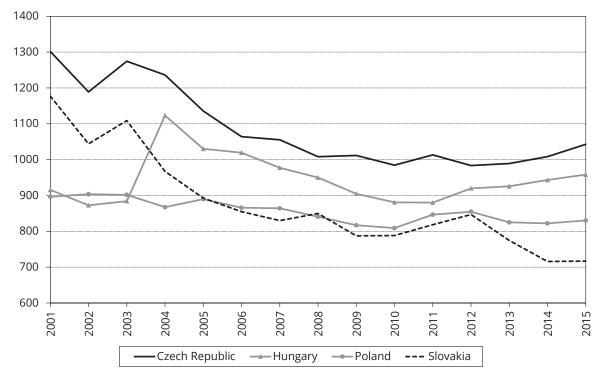
Concentrating this part of the analysis on the intraindustry trade with Germany is based on the assumption that technology diffusion mimics the geographical pattern of the intra-industrial trade<sup>22</sup>. Relations with the main trading partner are thus crucial, especially in the product clusters with the highest shares of the total exports of countries covered (see again Table 1). That is why chapters 39, 84, 85, and 87 of the Harmonised System – consisting of mid-tech and high-tech commodities – were selected for this study. The purpose of a detailed examination of the intra-industry trade, especially its horizontal and vertical components, is to explore long-term tendencies and their consequences for the technological change in the foreign trade of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia brought about by the inflow of FDIs and the involvement in CVCs.

Chart 2
Geographical concentration (HHI) of the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak exports, 2001-2015



Source: Author's calculations based on http://www.trademap.org (3.10.2016).

Chart 3
Geographical concentration (HHI) of the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak imports, 2001-2015



Source: Author's calculations based on http://www.trademap.org (3.10.2016).

Intensity of the intra-industry trade (GL-index) of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia with Germany (selected chapters, selected years)

		Ę	The Czech Republic	ו Repul	blic				Hungary	gary					Poland	put					Slovakia	akia			
	2001	2004	2007	2009	2013	2015	2001	2004	2007	2009	2013	2015	2001	2004	2007	2009	2013	2015	2001	2004	2007	2009	2013	2015	
GL-index HS 39	50.3	47.4	50.7	55.0	62.5	63.7	39.3	35.4	39.2	47.9	49.2	51.9	34.4	40.5	48.4	52.6	57.3	58.8	29.7	28.1	40.9	42.8	46.3	53.2	
HIIT	8.4	5.3	11.2	28.8	14.3	23.9	13.5	14.4	6.2	9.1	21.2	22.5	9.7	12.7	25.0	19.6	21.9	28.3	8.0	8.2	14.9	5.6	4.8	5.4	
VIIT-LQ	7.4	26.0	25.2	15.6	29.8	23.6	6.5	7.1	16.7	22.7	8.3	12.2	6.8	7.9	11.2	11.3	18.1	11.9	8.3	5.1	13.3	20.5	25.0	31.1	
VIIT-HQ	34.6	16.1	14.3	10.6	18.4	16.1	19.4	13.9	16.3	16.2	19.7	17.2	17.8	20.0	12.3	21.7	17.3	18.6	13.4	14.8	12.7	16.7	16.6	16.7	
GL-index HS 84	51.6	49.7	54.9	54.1	49.8	49.0	21.6	23.8	26.2	21.8	30.5	33.4	35.0	36.4	39.8	42.7	49.8	52.9	29.7	26.4	34.4	35.3	34.1	40.2	
HIIT	7.4	7.9	10.6	11.1	5.5	7.3	1.5	10.5	11.0	6.1	6.4	8.6	8.6	7.5	13.1	10.7	16.3	14.7	0.9	6.2	2.6	9.6	5.8	4.9	
VIIT-LQ	9.5	11.4	15.0	14.6	20.0	18.9	12.2	3.1	7.9	6.9	8.9	14.7	8.6	7.3	9.9	7.6	7.8	13.1	4.8	7.4	12.1	12.8	17.1	22.9	
VIIT-HQ	34.7	30.5	29.2	28.4	24.2	22.8	7.9	10.2	7.3	8.8	15.2	10.1	17.8	21.6	20.1	24.3	25.7	25.2	18.9	12.8	19.8	12.9	11.2	12.4	
GL-index HS 85	57.0	58.1	57.0	59.4	51.9	50.4	46.3	42.6	43.2	33.4	43.2	46.3	35.1	45.5	49.1	39.8	46.6	59.2	40.4	30.9	23.6	21.1	26.1	24.8	
HIIT	20.0	15.9	16.4	11.2	12.4	7.5	12.2	7.4	5.8	9.4	9.9	18.2	5.4	5.2	14.9	13.8	14.3	11.1	6.2	3.0	0.4	1.8	3.7	2.8	
VIIT-LQ	9.4	20.4	6.6	25.5	26.0	22.6	15.4	18.5	19.2	13.6	27.5	18.7	13.7	16.4	9.1	6.1	10.1	15.7	10.8	10.6	6.8	3.4	10.2	17.3	
УІІТ-НО	27.5	21.8	30.7	22.7	13.5	20.3	18.8	16.7	18.2	10.5	9.1	9.4	15.9	23.9	25.0	19.9	22.1	32.5	23.4	17.4	16.4	15.9	12.2	4.7	
GL-index HS 87	58.8	60.1	55.6	49.9	49.6	49.7	34.1	45.1	43.9	53.5	57.8	45.9	53.8	6.09	57.9	9.09	8.09	64.9	36.8	36.2	36.4	44.9	40.3	44.1	
H	9.1	15.3	22.2	16.4	19.7	24.0	2.9	8.3	10.0	2.0	21.3	20.6	1.4	1.3	12.8	29.4	19.0	33.5	8.7	11.8	11.6	15.5	4.0	13.0	
VIIT-LQ	33.9	29.0	20.2	22.9	24.4	21.0	20.8	26.1	21.6	33.2	23.8	15.1	44.7	42.4	17.1	18.8	12.9	12.7	18.3	13.1	5.7	15.6	25.8	15.0	
VIIT-HQ	15.7	15.9	13.2	10.6	5.6	4.7	10.4	10.8	12.3	18.3	12.8	10.1	7.6	17.2	28.0	12.4	28.9	18.7	9.8	11.3	19.1	13.8	10.6	16.1	

Source: Author's calculations based on http://www.trademap.org (3.10.2016).

Table 6

Results of calculations investigating the internal structure of IIT with Germany (see Table 6) point out following observations and interpretations.

In the chapter HS 39 (plastics and articles thereof) competitive advantage against German producers have been lost or essentially weakened (VIIT-LQ > VIIT-HQ) in the case of Czech-, Poland-<sup>23</sup> and Slovakia-based firms, while the position of Hungarian ones remained quite stable. These long-term tendencies may be explained by likely motives of German companies' trade expansion aimed at pushing domestic producers out of the market and taking control over them through acquisitions and greenfield direct investments. The likely effects are new restraints for innovative domestic potential due to dependency on the cooperation within CVCs.

In the chapter HS 84 (machinery) the position of Polish and Hungarian firms was slightly improving<sup>24</sup>, probably because of the inflow of more advanced technologies through the channel of FDIs, whereas Czech-based companies have experienced an opposite trend, but the VIIT-HQ sub-component has been the dominant one. It can be a consequence of the characteristics of German supplies for Škoda (diesel and spark-ignition engines, parts of engines, mechanical components of cars like liquid/fuel pumps, valves) and the cost pressure on first- and secondtier suppliers under the framework of intra-corporate linkages in the Volkswagen Group. Interestingly, Slovak companies may have, to some extent, suffered from joining the European Monetary Union (EMU) in 2009 and the adverse impact of global economic slowdown as the share of VIIT-HQ started to decrease.

In the chapter HS 85 (electrical and electronic equipment) GL-indices were generally dropping, except Polish IIT that was essentially strengthened by the growth of VIIT-HQ<sup>25</sup>. It may be a consequence of global reconfiguration of production to Factory Asia (low-cost producers), especially when transportation of these goods becomes less and less geographically sensitive. What is more, the Czech, Hungarian and Slovak IIT in this chapter was gravitating towards low-quality goods which may also be a response to global competitive price pressures.

In the chapter HS 87 (road transport vehicles) the main component of the Czech, Hungarian and Slovak IIT was VIIT-LQ. In the Polish case the long-term trend was quite reverse as the shares of VIIT-HQ/VIIT-LQ started to rise/shrink respectively after the accession to the European Union. It may mean that Polish economy truly became a "European automotive assembly plant" transforming cheaper suppliers of intermediates into more advanced, thus more expensive goods of higher quality re-exported then to Germany. However, the significant share (since 2007 more than 50%) of these in the Polish exports in the chapter HS 87 has been generated by parts and accessories (HS 8708), which on the whole represents the essence of the middle-income trap. Any technological improvement remains under the corporate control, so

there are justified doubts whether and if so to what extent this positive situation may be considered as sustainable and relatively free from the threat of delocalisation and exposure to the volatility of global demand for automotive products.

#### Conclusion

To sum up, there are clear positive developments in the technological intensity of trade of countries covered by this study. What is a promising feature, the shares of mid-tech and high-tech product clusters have tended to grow steadily. At the same time, however, they were significantly exposed to the activity of MNCs and priorities of their FDI projects in a given country, benefiting to some extent from the transfer of advanced technologies, which in turn generates further potential challenges for domestic innovation system and the threat of the middle-income trap.

As far as the IIT with Germany in the most important mid-tech and high-tech chapters of Harmonised System is concerned, it does not bring the V4 countries a positive impact on fundamental technological change through technology diffusion which could create opportunities to reduce existing developmental/imitation gap. Quite the opposite, the patterns of cooperation within CVCs – even though they clearly strengthen the intensity of IIT and increase shares of mid-tech and high-tech goods in the exports of the V4 – fosters technological dependency and structural burdens typical for the middle-income trap. It takes the form of being first- or second-tier suppliers for further stages of production. Therefore, the research hypothesis proposed for this paper can be regarded as confirmed.

Another aspect refers to the loss of competitive potential due to the market expansion of more technologically advanced German corporations and goods which may limit space required for the development of innovative domestic businesses. Hence, this kind of structural underdevelopment stimulates political orientation on making use of simple kinds of locational incentives (e.g. taxes, costs of labour and land, local infrastructure) and a necessity in competing for relative attractiveness as a cheaper location for foreign investors. All these factors pose viable concerns rooted in the realm of international political economy how to effectively address these challenges emphasising economic dominance and political power of corporations (see the spin-off hypothesis) as they may hamper the potential for unconstrained decision-making processes.

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- <sup>1</sup> The preliminary version of this paper was presented and discussed during the conference "Addressing Competitiveness Challenges with Innovation and Institutional Change" organised by the Warsaw School of Economics, World Economy Research Institute, 13<sup>th</sup> June 2016. The author would like to thank the Institute of International Studies, University of Wroclaw for the financial support provided for this research, as well as two anonymous referees for their valuable comments and suggestions. Any errors that remain are my sole responsibility.
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- <sup>14</sup> Another drawback is that prices in exports are calculated according to FOB and in imports according to CIF formula.
- <sup>15</sup> Polish GDP surpasses accumulated GDP of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia.
  - <sup>16</sup> Around 2/3 in the case of Poland.
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  - <sup>19</sup> See more: http://www.trademap.org (3.10.2016).
- <sup>20</sup> However, the success story of Hungary in high-tech goods between 2007–2011 was achieved because of mobile phones (HS 851712) made by Nokia. In the mentioned period they accounted for 10-12% of the total Hungarian exports. The company ceased its production and relocated it to Asia. So this may be clear evidence how much pressure is put on transition economies as it comes to cost advantages and how to foster them with all negative consequences for a host country.
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- <sup>24</sup> In the case of the first one due to diesel engines (HS 8408) and automatic data processing machines, optical readers, etc. (HS 8471) while in the case of the latter due to the same product clusters and additionally spark-ignition engines (HS 8407). It is clear that cooperation within CVCs across all analysed sections is strongly interconnected with automotive industry and that is why research on this particular sector should always go far beyond the goods covered by the chapter HS 87.
- <sup>25</sup> This was brought about by the FDIs of Korean and Japanese companies in Poland producing television receivers (HS 8528) as well as insulated wire/cables (HS 8544), especially ignition wiring sets and other wiring sets used in vehicles, aircraft etc. (HS 854430).