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**THE STATIC EFFECTS OF CUSTOMS UNION IN AGRI-FOOD
TRADE OF THE NEW MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

*STATYCZNE EFEKTY UTWORZENIA UNII CELNEJ W HANDLU
ARTYKUŁAMI ROLNO-SPOŻYWCZYMI NOWYCH KRAJÓW
CZŁONKOWSKICH UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ*

Key words: trade creation effect, trade diversion effect, export, import, agri-food trade, intra-EU trade, extra-EU trade, new Member States of the European Union

Słowa kluczowe: efekt kreacji handlu, efekt przesunięcia handlu, eksport, import, handel rolno-spożywczy, handel wewnątrzspółnotowy, handel z krajami trzecimi, nowe kraje członkowskie Unii Europejskiej

Abstract. The article estimates the static effects of a customs union in agri-food trade of the new Member States of the European Union. It was proved that in all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which are members of the Community the acceptance of Community *acquis* in trade policy resulted in both the effect of trade creation and trade diversion, where the former was stronger.

Introduction

Two main streams can be distinguished in foreign economic policy: free trade policy and protectionism policy. The principle of free trade was formulated in the second half of the 18th century by classical economists – Smith and Ricardo – as a result of criticism of mercantilism, which advocated state interventionism in economy and gaining positive trade balance¹ [Misala 2005]. The pure free trade policy consists in the state refraining from making any barriers limiting access of foreign goods and enterprises to the domestic market and abandoning the measures supporting its own export [Rymarczyk 2006]. The rightness of the concept of economic liberalism, which was developing successfully in England and France, was challenged by the Great Depression in the late 1920's and early 1930s. Keynes opposed the rules of economic freedom and advocated protectionism. In "The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money", which was first published in 1936, he questioned the fundamentals of the free trade theory, especially those concerning the automatic elimination of distortions in market economy. In his opinion, the free market economy can not spontaneously guarantee full employment and complete use of the other factors of production. The state should play a decisive role in the process of economic stabilisation. According to Keynes, a country may benefit from the development of international specialisation only if factors of production are fully used. If this condition is not met, the state is responsible for macroeconomic regulation in order to achieve economic equilibrium [Keynes 1936].

Keynes' concepts and the supporters and continuers of his thoughts² exerted significant influence on the economic policy in numerous countries of Western Europe and the United States.

¹ Balance of payments was a mainstream idea of the mercantile doctrine. As early as 1616 Bacon publicised the opinion that "the foundation of profitable trade is a higher value of export of domestic commodities than that of import of foreign goods, which should increase the stocks (precious metals, money) of the Kingdom" [Spiegel 1983]. Mun [1959] shared that opinion and he thought that the England's treasure was gained by foreign trade. In order to achieve a good result of balance of trade the government should regulate foreign trade by encouraging the import of cheap raw materials and export of manufactured goods, imposing duty on imported manufactured goods and taking other measures to increase the population and keep wages low and competitive [Landreth, Colander 1994].

² The best known representatives of Keynesism in the United States include Weintraub and Davidson, and in Europe – Kalecki, Robinson, Eatwell and Sraffa. For more on post-Keynesian economics see Landreth and Colander [1994] and Hunt [2002].

Only in the late 1960's and early 1970's the popularity of Keynesism began to decrease in favour of the renaissance of neoliberal ideas³. The revival of laissez-faire and beginning of neoliberal trend should above all be attributed to von Hayek, related with the tradition of the Austrian School, and Friedman, a leading representative of monetarism. The core of modern main-stream economics, which refers to the neoclassical tradition and is against the state's interference with the economic life, is also based on new classical macroeconomics, which emerged from the rational expectations hypothesis, real business cycle theory and supply-side economics [Spiegel 1983, Landreth, Colander 2005].

We can say that in contemporary economics the liberal trend prevails, which promotes the idea of freedom in economic, social and political life, but does not oppose the state's complete interference with economy. The modern free trade theory makes a direct reference to the concept of classical economics, according to which free trade gives a possibility to avoid protectionism-related loss in economic effectiveness. In this approach international trade should not be limited either by any tariff or non-tariff barriers or by tools of macroeconomic policy, which should be shaped by free market. For this reason it is important to reduce customs protection in world trade, including the agri-food sector, which leads to significant transformations in the foreign trade structure. One of the forms of trade liberalisation is a customs union, which consists in lifting all tariff or non-tariff barriers in trade between the member states and adopting uniform customs policy towards third countries [Nowak 2006]. The aim of this article is to estimate the static effects of a customs union in agri-food trade of the new Member States of the European Union.

Material and methods

The research used statistical data from the ComExt base, which is part of the resources of the Statistical Office of the European Communities (Eurostat). The analysis comprised foreign trade in agri-food products, classified as group 0 in the Standard International Trade Classification, in the twelve new Member States of the European Union. Due to the limited volume of the study the analysis concentrated on the years directly preceding the accession of those countries to the Community and the first years following the integration with the European Union when the effects of trade creation and diversion could be fully observed without the interfering influence of other factors. The method of descriptive analysis supported with tabular data presentation was used.

The static effects of a customs union – theoretical aspects

The customs union theory was developed by Viner [1950]. He proved the fact that on the one hand the customs union aims at trade liberalisation on the common market and in consequence, at intensification of economic cooperation and trade between the member states. On the other hand, it means protectionism towards the countries which are not members of the union and weakening of economic relations, including limitation of trade streams. Depending on the prevalence of either tendency we can speak of beneficial or injurious effects of the customs union from the point of view of prosperity of the countries in question and the rest of the world.

The economic effects of preferential trade can be described with the terms of trade creation and trade diversion [Viner 1950]. Trade creation is expressed by an increase in the volume of reciprocal turnover in the countries which formed a customs union. New trade streams are formed on the basis of specialisation in an integrated area, which is more effective and in agreement with the distribution of comparative advantages. This is due to the fact that the less effective (more expensive) domestic production is replaced by cheaper import from a partner country, which may increase its specialisation and broaden the scale of export as a result of lifting customs duties. Before the abolishment of protection each country met the demand of the home market with its own production, because imported goods were more expensive as duty was charged on them. The abandonment of duties made domestic production unprofitable due to the possibility of relatively cheaper import [El-Agraa

³ It must be stressed that although before World War II and shortly afterwards liberalism was overshadowed by Keynesism, the liberal theory was not abandoned. In the 1930's the ideas of ordoliberalism, i.e. ordered economic freedom, were formed. Ordoliberalism combined the fundamental rules of liberalism in economy and opposition to the state's intervention in the economic life with the belief that the state's active role is necessary to ensure that all entities respect the rules of social and economic life [Ratajczak 2008]. The theoretical development of ordoliberalism is chiefly associated with Eucken and Röpke, but Böhm, Grossmann-Dörth, von Hayek and Rüstow also promoted their ordoliberal views.

Jones 1981, Zielińska-Głębocka 1998, Bijak-Kaszuba 2003, Bożyk 2008]. The trade creation effect is accompanied by the production effect and consumption effect. The former consists in replacing expensive domestic production with cheaper import from a partner country and increasing the effectiveness of allocation of resources in the entire territory subject to preferences. In a less effective country this results in liberation of resources from anti-import production and their better use in other branches of production. The latter effect can be defined as an increase in the total consumption of the product in consequence of domestic price dropping to the price level of the customs union. This results in increased effective demand and consumers' well-being [Zielińska-Głębocka 1998].

Trade diversion is a phenomenon induced by a relative change in prices and the resulting process of substitution. Cheaper import from more effective countries outside the customs union is replaced by import from less effective and more expensive suppliers from a partner country, which is treated preferentially. This is reflected by an increased share of the countries which limit customs protection against one another in their global trade at the expense of the share of the countries which were not subject to such limitations. Thus, what underlies changes in the geographical structure of trade in member states of a customs union is diversification of the scale of difficulty of access to the market [El-Agraa, Jones 1981, Zielińska-Głębocka 1998, Bijak-Kaszuba 2003, Bożyk 2008].

When analysing preferential trade only from the point of view of production Viner [1950] thought the creation effect to be beneficial, as it identified reallocation of production from a more expensive to a cheaper member state of the customs union. On the other hand, he regarded the diversion effect as injurious, which illustrated reallocation of production from a cheaper third country to a more expensive member state. Meade [1955], Gehrels [1956-1957] and Lipsey [1957] undermined the exclusively negative evaluation of the trade diversion effect by introduction of the problem of consumption effect into the customs union theory. As results from their deliberations, the influence of the diversion effect on the prosperity of the member states of a customs union is the resultant of two contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, replacement of a cheaper source of supply with a more expensive one results in reduced prosperity but on the other hand it results in improved structure of consumption, which contributes to increased prosperity. Lipsey [1957] proved that membership in a customs union where only the trade diversion effect takes place may increase prosperity of the country experiencing import diversion due to improved structure of consumption. Furthermore, at least in theory, the improvement may not be accompanied by deterioration of the situation either in a partner country or any other country in the world.

Depending on the fact which of the effects is stronger – creation or diversion, establishment of a customs union may determine trade expansion or limitation⁴. If the customs preferences granted reciprocally chiefly create trade but do not divert it, the global trade volume increases as a result of higher demand, lower prices and emergence of new trade opportunities in the member states of the union and outside. The effect is trade expansion. On the other hand, trade limitation occurs when the customs union chiefly diverts trade but the creation effect does not occur or is very limited, which results in reduced volume of global turnover [Zielińska-Głębocka 1998].

The effects of trade creation and diversion in agri-food trade of the new Member States of the European Union

Joining the Single European Market and adopting the rules of Common Commercial Policy of the European Union resulted in a clear revival of trade in the agri-food sector in new Member States of the European Union. The implementation of the Community *acquis* in trade policy resulted in the trade creation effect, which was observed in all the countries acceding to the Community. In the Central and Eastern European countries, which acceded to the European Union structures in 2004, both the value of export and import of agri-food products increased by nearly 25% in comparison with 2003 (Tab. 1). The value of export reached 11.1 billion euros (Tab. 2) and the value

⁴ Several factors decide which of the effects is stronger. Above all they are [Viner 1950, Makower, Morton 1953, Lipsey 1960, Balassa 1961, Winters 1991, Zielińska-Głębocka 1998, Bijak-Kaszuba 2003]: the initial structure of economies participating in preferential trade; the scale of differences in costs of production of goods made before the establishment of a preferential area; the level of duties applied before establishment of the customs union both in trade between the member states of the union and in trade with third countries; the level of duties applied in trade relations with third countries after establishment of the customs union; the size of the market subject to the zone of customs preferences; geographical and cultural distance and the costs of transport between the member states of the customs union and the supply elasticity in the member states of the customs union.

Table 1. The dynamics of trade in agri-food products in new Member States of the EU in the first year of accession to the Community (for EU-10 2003=100 and for EU-2 2006=100)

Tabela 1. Dynamika obrotów handlowych produktami rolno-spożywczymi w nowych krajach członkowskich UE w pierwszym roku akcesji do Wspólnoty i pierwszym roku integracji z UE

Countries/Kraje	Total export/ Eksport ogółem	Intra-EU export/ Eksport wewnątrz- wspólnotowy	Extra-EU export/ Eksport do krajów trzecich	Total import/ Import ogółem	Intra-EU import/ Import wewnątrz- wspólnotowy	Extra-EU import/ Import z krajów trzecich
Cyprus/CY	125.1	119.2	142.2	119.6	140.5	85.9
Czech Republic/CZ	131.3	137.2	103.0	123.0	139.0	74.0
Estonia/EE	112.9	123.1	89.3	110.9	120.6	80.9
Hungary/HU	108.1	112.9	95.8	136.6	164.0	77.8
Latvia/LV	122.1	145.3	89.8	114.9	117.4	101.9
Lithuania/LT	125.5	156.4	86.5	123.4	150.1	78.3
Malta/MT	114.2	116.4	113.7	111.3	123.5	75.4
Poland/PL	129.7	140.3	105.4	123.9	144.2	91.4
Slovakia/SK	139.8	148.1	91.4	136.1	147.6	87.5
Slovenia/SI	110.6	138.7	97.8	116.6	127.9	87.9
EU-10/UE-10	123.2	133.1	99.9	124.3	141.7	84.6
Bulgaria/BG	110.1	125.2	85.8	137.6	201.6	68.6
Romania/RO	117.1	131.8	86.6	145.2	193.5	83.3
EU-2/UE-2	113.3	128.3	86.1	143.1	195.6	78.9

Source: own study based on ComExt Database 2011

Źródło: opracowanie własne na podstawie ComExt Database 2011

Table 2. The export of agri-food products from new Member States of the EU in the year preceding accession to the Community and in the first year following integration with the EU

Tabela 2. Eksport artykułów rolno-spożywczych z nowych krajów członkowskich UE w roku poprzedzającym akcesję do Wspólnoty i w pierwszym roku integracji z UE

Countries/ Kraje	Export [thous. EUR]/Eksport [tys. euro]					
	2003			2004		
	total/ ogółem	intra-EU/ wewnątrz- wspólnotowy	extra-EU/ do krajów trzecich	total/ ogółem	intra-EU/ wewnątrz- wspólnotowy	extra-EU/ do krajów trzecich
Cyprus/CY	123 561.5	91 972.1	31 589.4	154 564.4	109 650.1	44 914.3
Czech Republic/CZ	1 142 880.7	945 809.6	197 071.0	1 500 323.0	1 297 340.2	202 982.8
Estonia/EE	250 977.5	175 362.6	75 614.9	283 475.4	215 919.1	67 556.3
Hungary/HU	2 357 962.5	1 688 685.8	669 276.7	2 548 009.8	1 907 002.9	641 006.9
Latvia/LV	171 515.4	99 736.2	71 779.1	209 436.3	144 963.4	64 472.9
Lithuania/LT	602 319.5	335 816.5	266 503.0	755 867.7	525 214.3	230 653.3
Malta/MT	79 846.9	12 562.1	67 284.8	91 164.3	14 627.9	76 536.3
Poland/PL	3 605 689.1	2 510 438.9	1 095 250.3	4 675 616.2	3 521 637.7	1 153 978.6
Slovakia/SK	464 969.2	396 503.7	68 465.5	649 804.2	587 229.7	62 574.5
Slovenia/SI	242 034.8	75 989.8	166 045.0	267 782.8	105 383.8	162 399.0
EU-10/UE-10	9 041 757.0	6 332 877.3	2 708 879.7	11 136 044.1	8 428 969.2	2 707 074.9
Bulgaria/BG*	685 384.8	422 491.9	262 892.9	754 646.4	529 093.7	225 552.7
Romania/RO*	563 012.2	379 918.5	183 093.7	659 216.5	500 727.2	158 489.3
EU-2/UE-2	1 248 397.0	802 410.4	445 986.6	1 413 862.8	1 029 820.8	384 042.0

* in Bulgaria and Romania data for the years 2006 and 2007 respectively/dla Rumunii i Bułgarii dane odpowiednio za lata 2006 i 2007

Source: see tab. 1

Źródło: jak w tab. 1

of import was 11.3 billion euros (Tab. 3). The most dynamic increase in income from the foreign sales of agri-food products, which reached nearly 40%, was observed in Slovakia (650 million euros in 2004). Also, during the first year of integration with the European Union in the Czech Republic and Poland the value of export was about 30% higher than in the year preceding inclusion into the customs union, i.e. 1.5 billion euros and 4.7 billion euros respectively. The highest rate of increase in import was observed in Hungary and Slovakia, where in 2003 and 2004 the import expenses increased by more than 36%, i.e. up to 1.6 billion euros and 968 million euros respectively and in Poland, Lithuania and the Czech Republic, where in 2004 the import exceeded by nearly 25% the value of expenses on food purchased abroad in 2003. In the year of accession to the Community Poland and the Czech Republic were the biggest importers of agri-food products in Central and Eastern Europe. In 2004 the value of import of agri-food products in those countries reached 3.5 billion euros and 2.3 billion euros respectively, whereas in Lithuania it was 647 million euros. In 2003 and 2004 in the other EU-10 countries the value of export in the agri-food sector increased by about 8-26% and import – by about 11-20%.

Also, during the first year of membership in the EU the values of export income increased in Bulgaria and Romania by more than 10 and 17 per cent respectively. Besides, the accession of those countries to the Community was accompanied by a more dynamic increase in the import value than in the EU-10 countries. After the increase in import expenses by 45%, i.e. from 1.8 billion euros in 2006 to 2.7 billion euros in 2007, Romania became the third largest importer of agri-food products among the new Member States of the Community, following Poland and the Czech Republic and preceding Hungary [ComExt Database 2011]. In 2006 and 2007 in Bulgaria the import increased by nearly 38%.

The increase in the total value of trade in agri-food products in the countries subject to analysis resulted mainly from the intensification of commercial relations with the other countries of the Community at the expense of trade with the countries outside the Community. In the first year after accession to the EU the highest increase in the intra-EU export was observed in Lithuania – more than 55%, followed by Slovakia – 48%, Latvia – 45%, Poland – 40% and the Czech Republic –

Table 3. The import of agri-food products to new Member States of the EU in the year preceding accession to the Community and in the first year following integration with the EU

Tabela 3. Import produktów rolno-spożywczych do nowych krajów członkowskich UE w roku poprzedzającego przystąpienie do Wspólnoty oraz w pierwszym roku po integracji z UE

Countries/ Kraje	Import [thous. EUR]/Import [tys. euro]					
	2003			2004		
	total/ ogółem	intra-EU/ wewnątrz- wspólnotowy	extra-EU/ z krajów trzecich	total/ ogółem	intra-EU/ wewnątrz- wspólnotowy	extra-EU/ z krajów trzecich
Cyprus/CY	348 443.3	214 840.0	133 603.2	416 680.6	301 908.1	114 772.5
Czech Republic/CZ	1 866 653.1	1 408 246.7	458 406.5	2 296 804.8	1 957 522.1	339 282.7
Estonia/EE	402 061.5	304 007.2	98 054.4	446 077.2	366 782.2	79 295.1
Hungary/HU	1 185 006.5	808 056.5	376 950.0	1 618 267.2	1 325 063.3	293 203.9
Latvia/LV	408 835.9	344 044.8	64 791.1	469 820.2	403 771.7	66 048.4
Lithuania/LT	524 906.1	329 200.0	195 706.1	647 475.5	494 146.0	153 329.5
Malta/MT	270 616.2	202 051.8	68 564.4	301 251.3	249 560.8	51 690.5
Poland/PL	2 790 245.1	1 718 204.3	1 072 040.9	3 456 697.8	2 477 311.0	979 386.8
Slovakia/SK	711 299.4	574 353.0	136 946.4	967 739.6	847 851.2	119 888.4
Slovenia/SI	621 356.7	446 120.7	175 236.0	724 441.5	570 436.2	154 005.3
EU-10/UE-10	9 129 423.9	6 349 125.0	2 780 298.9	11 345 255.7	8 994 352.6	2 350 903.0
Bulgaria/BG*	722 343.0	374 740.5	347 602.5	994 173.9	755 604.5	238 569.4
Romania/RO*	1 833 349.3	1 030 971.2	802 378.1	2 662 909.9	1 994 624.0	668 285.9
EU-2/UE-2	2 555 692.3	1 405 711.7	1 149 980.6	3 657 083.8	2 750 228.5	906 855.2

* in Bulgaria and Romania data for the years 2006 and 2007 respectively/dla Rumunii i Bułgarii dane pochodzą odpowiednia z lat 2006 i 2007

Source: see tab. 1

Zródło: jak w tab. 1

37% (Tab. 1). This resulted in the latter two countries taking the first (3.5 billion euros) and third (1.3 billion euros) place respectively among the EU-12 countries for the highest value of export to the other countries of the Community. As far as the EU-10 countries are concerned, in comparison with 2003 the intra-EU export increased by one-third in 2004, reaching the value of 8.4 billion euros. As far as Romania and Bulgaria are concerned, the export increased by about 28%, reaching the level of 1.0 billion euros (Tab. 2). At the same time most of the new Member States of the EU recorded worse export relations with the countries outside the customs union. Except for Cyprus, Malta, Poland and the Czech Republic the value of export of agri-food products from the EU-12 countries to third countries decreased, ranging between 2% (Slovenia) and 14% (Bulgaria) (Tab. 3).

The acceptance of the rules of Single European Market and Common Commercial Policy of the EU by the countries from Central and Eastern Europe also resulted in a considerable increase in the value of import of agri-food products from the other Member States of the Community and in a simultaneous smaller intensity of import relations with the countries outside the Community. In comparison with the year preceding accession in the first year of membership in the EU structures the import expenses of the EU-10 countries on food purchased within the Community increased by more than 40% and reached the value of 9.0 billion euros (Tabl. 1 and 3). The highest increase in the value of intra-EU import was observed in Hungary, where it grew by 65%, exceeding 1.3 billion euros in 2004. The import rate increased by 50% in Lithuania, whereas in Poland and Slovakia it was only slightly lower – 44-48%. However, in 2004 Poland imported 2.5 billion euros worth of food within the Community, thus topping the charts of food importers among the new Member States. Slovakia was the fourth of the UE-10, spending 848 million euros on import of agri-food products from the other EU countries. Lithuania was a less significant importer in the region, spending barely 495 million euros. In Cyprus and the Czech Republic the value of import of agri-food products from the other countries of the Community increased at an approximately average rate for all the countries acceding to the customs union in 2004, i.e. slightly more than 300 million euros and nearly 2.0 billion euros respectively. Even more dynamic changes caused by membership in the Single European Market were observed in the agri-food trade in the countries which joined the EU in 2007. Integration with the EU caused the value of intra-EU import in Bulgaria and Romania to increase about two times more than in 2006, reaching the amounts of 756 million euros and 2.0 billion euros respectively.

The intensification of intra-EU import was accompanied by reduced expenses on food purchased in the countries outside the customs union, ranging between about 15% in the EU-10 countries and 20% in Bulgaria and Romania (Tab. 1). After implementation of the rules of Common Commercial Policy the import from third countries to the countries which joined the EU in 2004 was 2.4 billion euros (Tab. 3). It is worth noting that in the Czech Republic and Malta the value of import transactions made outside the Community dropped by about 25%, i.e. by 10 percentage points more than the average for the EU-10 countries, whereas in Latvia it remained at a relatively stable level as compared with 2003. The import of agri-food products from third countries to Bulgaria and Romania reached 907 million euros. Thus, upon the analysis we can conclude that apart from the effect of trade creation accession to the customs union also caused the effect of trade diversion in all of the countries analysed in this research.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion of the research we can say that accession to the customs union, which was expressed by reciprocal preferences in trade between the member states, was reflected by increased volume of trade in agri-food products in all Member States of the EU from Central and Eastern Europe. The elimination of trade barriers caused the less effective and thus more expensive domestic production to be replaced by cheaper import from the other countries of the Community. They had cost and price advantages due to their natural conditions for agricultural production, access to the resources, above all including such factors as cheaper labour, lower processing margins or scale of production, but they often had technological advantages also. Changes in the pattern of relative prices caused the effect of trade creation accompanied by trade diversion. This could be seen in the process of substitution of less effective import from preferentially treated partner countries for cheaper import from more effective countries outside the customs union. However, it is important that the effect of trade creation was stronger than trade diversion, which contributed to the expansion of global trade in agri-food products observed between 2003 and 2004 and between 2006 and 2007.

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Streszczenie

*W artykule oszacowano statyczne efekty utworzenia unii celnej w handlu rolno-spożywczym nowych krajów członkowskich Unii Europejskiej. Dowiedziono, że we wszystkich krajach Wspólnoty z regionu Środkowej i Wschodniej Europy przyjęcie unijnego *acquis communautaire* w dziedzinie polityki handlowej wywołało zarówno efekt kreacji, jak i przesunięcia handlu na inne rynki, przy tym siła tego pierwszego była większa.*

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