MEDZINÁRODNÉ VZŤAHY

SLOVAK JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



Vedecký časopis pre medzinárodné politické, ekonomické, kultúrné a právne vzťahy

Scientific journal of international political, economic, cultural and legal relations

Medzinárodné vzťahy

Vedecký časopis pre medzinárodné politické, ekonomické, kultúrne a právne vzťahy Fakulty medzinárodných vzťahov Ekonomickej univerzity v Bratislave

Slovak Journal of International Relations

Scientific journal of international political, economic, cultural and legal relations published by the Faculty of International Relations at the University of Economics in Bratislava

Indexovaný v / Indexed in:















IDEAS



ECONBIZ



Medzinárodné vzťahy 1/2020, ročník XVIII. Slovak Journal of International Relations 1/2020, Volume XVIII.

Medzinárodné vzťahy

Slovak Journal of International Relations

Redakcia / Editorial office:

Fakulta medzinárodných vzťahov Ekonomickej univerzity v Bratislave

Dolnozemská cesta 1, 852 35 Bratislava, Slovak Republic

Tel.: 00421 2 6729 5471 E-mail: mv.fmv@euba.sk

Hlavná redaktorka / Editor-in-chief:

L'udmila LIPKOVÁ University of Economics in Bratislava, Slovakia

Redakčná rada / Editorial board:

Md. Nasrudin Bin Md. AKHIR University of Malaya, Malaysia
Doreen BEKKER Rhodes University, South Africa

Alexandru BURIAN Moldavian Association of International Law, Moldova

Eva CIHELKOVÁ
Pan-European University, Slovakia
University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, USA
University of West Hungary, Hungary
NRU Higher School of Economics, Russia

François GEMENNE University of Liège, Belgium Otmar HŐLL University of Vienna, Austria Edward H. HUIJBENS University of Akureyri, Iceland María Teresa INFANTE Caffi University of Chile, Chile Siti Rohaini Binti KASSIM University of Malaya, Malaysia LI Hsi-Mei Chinese Culture University, Taiwan Klavdij LOGOŽAR University of Maribor, Slovenia Stanislav MRÁZ College Danubius, Slovakia

Rebecca NEUMANN University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA

Jan OSTOJ Bielsko-Biala School of Finance and Law, Poland

Hakan G. SICAKKAN University of Bergen, Norway

Karol SORBY
 František ŠKVRNDA
 Pavel ŠTURMA
 University of Economics in Bratislava, Slovakia
 University of Economics in Bratislava, Slovakia
 Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic

Chong-Ko Peter TZOU Tamkang University, Taiwan

Harun UÇAK Alanya Alaaddin Keykubat University, Turkey

Jolita VVEINHARDT Vytautas Magnus University; Sports University, Lithuania

Výkonný redaktor / Managing editor:

Mykhaylo KUNYCHKA University of Economics in Bratislava, Slovakia

Vydavateľ / Publisher: Ekonomická univerzita v Bratislave, IČO 00 399 957

Evidenčné číslo / Country registration number: EV 4785/13

ISSN 1336-1562 (tlačené vydanie / print edition)

ISSN 1339-2751 (online)

Obsah

🌉 IMPLEMENTÁCIA METÓD MAKROEKONOMICKEJ ANALÝZY NA TRH S POĽNOHOSPODÁRSKÝMI VYROBKAMY V EURÓPSKEJ	
Tetiana Kaminska – Ihor Okhrimenko – Natalia Wasilewska	
SYNERGIA PRIEMYSELNEJ POLITIKY A POLITIKY HOSPODÁ SÚŤAŽE EÚ V RÁMCI KONCEPCIE INDUSTRY 4.0: PARALELY A V	
Ing. Marcel Kordoš, PhD	21
O PROTIREČIVOSTI VYTVÁRANIA MULTIPOLARITY V MEDZINÁRODNÝCH VZŤAHOCH V 21. STOROČÍ	
Doc. František Škvrnda, PhDr., CSc	36
VPLYV UNILATERÁLNYCH PREFERENCIÍ NA VÝVOZNÚ ŠTRUKTÚRU NAJMENEJ ROZVINUTÝCH KRAJÍN	
Petra Doleželová	57
MEDZINÁRODNÁ SKUSENOSŤ V OBLASTI REGULÁCIÍ KONTROLOVANÝCH TRANSAKCIÍ TRANSNACIONÁLNÝCH SPOLOČNOSTI	
Dr. Mariia Ermilova, Ph.D	71
	0.0
INFORMÁCIE O ČASOPISE MEDZINÁRODNÉ VZŤAHYINŠTRUKCIE PRE AUTOROV	

Content

METHOD FOR IMPLEMENTING THE MACROECONOMIC	
ANALYSIS OF THE AGRICULTURAL MARKET OF THE EUROPEA	AN
UNION	
TETIANA KAMINSKA – IHOR OKHRIMENKO – NATALIA WASILEWSKA	5
THE SYNERGY OF EU COMPETITION AND INDUSTRY POLICIE	ES
WITHIN THE INDUSTRY 4.0 CONCEPT: PARALLELS AND CHALLE	NGES
MARCEL KORDOS	21
ON CONTRADICTORY OF MULTIPOLARITY CREATION PRO	CESS
IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY	
Frantisek Skvrnda	36
IMPACT OF UNILATERAL PREFERENCES ON EXPORT STRUCT	TURE
OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES	
Petra Dolezelova	57
INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF REGULATION	
OF CONTROLLED TRANSACTIONS OF TRANSNATIONAL COMPA	NIES
MARIIA ERMILOVA	
As a second residue to the second residue to the second residue to the second residue to the second residue to	0.0
ABOUT THE JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	
GUIDE FOR AUTHORS	91



MEDZINÁRODNÉ VZŤAHY SLOVAK JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Faculty of International Relations, University of Economics in Bratislava 2020, Volume XVIII., Issue 1, Pages 5 – 20 ISSN 1336-1562 (print), ISSN 1339-2751 (online) Submitted: 21. 12. 2019 | Accepted: 5. 3. 2020 | Published 15. 3. 2020

IMPLEMENTÁCIA METÓD MAKROEKONOMICKEJ ANALÝZY NA TRH S POĽNOHOSPODÁRSKÝMI VYROBKAMY V EURÓPSKEJ ÚNII

METHOD FOR IMPLEMENTING THE MACROECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF THE AGRICULTURAL MARKET OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Tetiana Kaminska¹, Ihor Okhrimenko², Natalia Wasilewska³

zdôvodňuie potrebu makroekonomickei článok Európskej Vymedzuje teoretické poľnohospodárskeho trhu únie. a metodologické prístupy k makroekonomickej analýze a naznačuje možnosti jej implementácie. Navrhuje algoritmus vykonávania a kritériá na hodnotenie úrovne formovania poľnohospodárskeho trhu. Článok poukazuje na to, že makroekonomická analýza agrárneho trhu by sa mala začať analýzou jeho formovania. Nástrojom takejto analýzy bude zistiť integritu zložiek poľnohospodárskeho trhu. Druhou fázou bude analýza fungovania poľnohospodárskeho trhu. Vykonáva sa určením efektívnosti trhu, ktorý plní svoje hlavné funkcie.

Kľúčové slová: makroekonomická analýza, poľnohospodársky trh, trhové funkcie, trhové subsystémy

The article substantiates the need for a macroeconomic analysis of the agricultural market of the European Union. Theoretical and methodological approaches to such an analysis are determined and the directions of its implementation are indicated. An algorithm of implementation and criteria for assessing the level of the agricultural market formation are proposed. During the process of the research it was found that the macroeconomic

¹ Tetiana Kaminska, Doctor of Economics, Professor. Department of Accounting and Taxation, Faculty of Economics and Law, Kyiv Cooperative Institute of Business and Law, Ukraine, city of Kyiv, 18 Lomonosova street, e-mail: tkaminska777@gmail.com

² Ihor Okhrimenko, Doctor of Economics, Professor. Department of Entrepreneurship, Trade and Exchange Activities, Faculty of Economics and Law, Kyiv Cooperative Institute of Business and Law, Ukraine, city of Kyiv, 18 Lomonosova street, e-mail: iv.okhrim@gmail.com ³ Natalia Wasilewska, Doctor of Economics, Professor. Department of Economy and Management, Faculty of Social Sciences, Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce, Poland, Kielce, Zeromskiego st. 5, e-mail: nwasilewska@unipt.pl

analysis of the agrarian market should start with the analysis of its formation. The instrument of such analysis will be to establish the integrity of the constituents of the agricultural market. The second stage of the analysis will be an analysis of the functioning of the agricultural market. It is carried out by determining the effectiveness of the market performing its main functions. Key words: macroeconomic analysis, agricultural market, market functions, market subsystems

JEL: L11, N14, N5

1 Introduction

Social orientation of the current agricultural policy of the European Union is embodied in the complete provision of the population with food products in the necessary assortment and at affordable prices. World practice has long confirmed and continues to confirm on all continents the possibility of an exhaustive solution to this problem on the basis of the market version of the public production organization. The United States and the European Union countries have now achieved self-sufficiency in food products and export them outside their territories. The agricultural sectors of China (Pan 2012), many African countries, Australia and New Zealand are growing production rapidly. Therefore, the course of the countries of Eastern Europe towards the transition from an administrative-command to a market economic system at the end of the last century was quite justified and lawful. It should contribute to their formation as social states, primarily in terms of a comprehensive solution to the food problem.

However, many difficulties arose in this course in many countries — Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and others (Roemer and Jones 1991). So, the per capita consumption of the most biologically complete food products of animal origin — meat, milk, eggs, fish — first decreased to 40-60% of scientifically based norms. Although the total calorie content of the daily diet was provided at the highest level — more than 90% of physiological norms, but mainly due to the products of plant origin. Vitamin deficiency was also significant. This unsatisfactory situation was due to the fact that, firstly, there was a drop in agricultural production in all countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which took a course on reform, and the pace of its recovery is quite slow (Graham and Dodd 2009).

The administrative-command levers of managing the agricultural sector in these countries were completely dismantled, so there was every reason to hold the agricultural market, as the successor to the former administrative vertical, liable for the emergence of the food problem. Today, all those countries that have joined the European Union have already resolved the issue of food security, however, the modern market, including the agricultural one, constantly needs modern methods of its organization and management. How to achieve this can be shown by a thorough analysis of the market, which naturally gives rise to the need for its in-depth study.

Over the years of the European Union existence, scientific thought in the field of economic analysis has not stood still. The arsenal of analysis types (managerial,

strategic, financial, etc.) and methods (CVP-analysis, SWOT-analysis, cluster analysis, cost-benefit analysis, etc.) was substantially expanded by the forces of scientists from educational institutions (Leathem 2015). However, its new macroeconomic object – the agricultural market - remained deprived of the researchers attention. Partially this issue was taken up by government officials, who often for the new members of the European Union chose the ideology of state non-interference in the market processes. Thus, we can state that there is still practically no generally accepted methodology for macroeconomic analysis of the agricultural market in the European Union, which requires at least a study of its theoretical foundations.

Accordingly, the purpose of our study, which can only partially be presented in the framework of this article, given its volume, is to develop the theoretical foundations and a set of logical and technical and economic calculation methods for macroeconomic analysis of the state of the agricultural market of such a global entity as the European Union.

2 DEFINITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL MARKET

The initial methodological provision of the agricultural market analysis is the recognition of its leading role in solving the fundamental problems of social and economic development of the European Union and creation of civil society. If we talk about the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, then as a component of the market economic system, the agricultural market naturally replaced the centrally regulated economy, or rather returned after many decades of its undivided dominance (Gudzynskiy 2015). The years of the administrative-command system existence were enough only to demonstrate its inability to progressive self-development on its own basis, and the numerous attempts to reform within the socialist choice framework just emphasized more clearly its futility. However, the cardinal transformation of the economic system does not mean a change in the fundamental guidelines of social development, social goals and priorities of civil society. Moreover, the market is the successor of those public institutions that proclaimed the highest value of a person and decent living conditions for a person. The market changes only the means of solving these humanitarian tasks. It creates the basis and consolidates the real steps of democratizing social relations by creating reliable prerequisites for the manifestation of economic interests on a private basis. Private ownership of results and means of production stimulates and strengthens the economic independence of producers as independent, full citizens. Finally, a return to the market foundations of the economy functioning was a prerequisite for the inclusion of many countries of Central and Eastern Europe in world economic relations, their entry into international associations, unions, conventions and agreements (Gribaudo 2014).

Such a multifaceted role of the market, including the agricultural one, cannot manifest itself automatically. Fortunately, the European Union has long ago abandoned

hopes for "market automation" and therefore the positive opportunities, the constructive potential of the market as an economic system can manifest itself fully. However, how complete this manifestation is must still be investigated. For this, a macroeconomic analysis of the agricultural market of the European Union as a socially important component of its economy, is required.

Analysis is a word of Greek origin and in the general theoretical sense means an independent universal direction of cognition, based on the decomposition, division of the studied material or intangible object (process, phenomenon, event, etc.) into its component parts, the study of each of them separately and in relation, finding out the causes and consequences of informationally accessible quantitative and qualitative changes under observation. In the context of place in the rational management, analysis acts as a means of substantiating managerial decisions. The more detailed and accurate the analytical conclusions are formulated, the more accurate and effective the management will be. The above fully applies to such a complex management object as the agricultural market.

It is recommended to start its analysis with the wording of a comprehensive and complete definition of the agricultural market. Thanks to this, we obtain an adequate integral characteristic of the analysis object and, on this basis, we carry out its division, the allocation of individual components for the corresponding analytical actions. The task of the perfect definition of the agricultural market is to separate, highlight the analysis object among the colossal diversity, the inexhaustible variety of phenomena and processes of the surrounding being, create a general idea of its nature and purpose.

The agricultural market is a part of the so-called commodity market, which sells industrial and consumer goods. Therefore, one could use the definition of the market in the broader sense of the word. However, the market definitions available in the specialized literature regard it as a place of trade, a sphere of exchange, a means of exchanging goods or services, that is, as a passive or even technical, secondary element of the economic system, which contrasts with real life sharply. The times when the market only served production have long gone and now very the market determines what to produce, for whom and in what volumes. Existing market definitions, if applied to the agricultural market, do not create the proper methodological base for either analysis or effective management.

We recommend the following definition of the agricultural market: "The agricultural market is a system of institutions, methods and resources for the implementation of exchange processes, the task of which is to coordinate and manage agricultural production in order to ensure food security and satisfy consumer needs of citizens."

This definition reflects much more fully one of the most significant features of the market economic system, which is that the decision to allocate resources and production is made on the basis of prices arising in the process of voluntary exchange between producers, consumers and owners of production factors (Pearce 2010, p. 456). Market prices are not a technical element in the implementation of exchange processes, but a means of managing production. Market prices are generated by the market, agricultural and food prices by the agricultural market. That is why it is legitimate to consider it an active coordinating and managing factor of all agricultural production.

3 FIRST STAGE OF THE AGRICULTURAL MARKET ANALYSIS

Understanding the agricultural market as a system is the second distinctive and cardinal feature of the above definition. The system is the antipode of the mechanical aggregate. The systemic nature of the agricultural market allows us to recommend a two-stage scheme or sequence of its macroeconomic analysis. The first stage is an analysis of its formation, the second – its functioning.

Formation of the agricultural market in the systemic sense means its organization, that is, creation of a holistic system of the agricultural market from the necessary components. They can be distinguished by many characteristics, the most important of which are:

- 1) The nature of participation in the system formation;
- 2) Product:
- 3) Role.

According to the first characteristic, within the agricultural market system as a whole a system-forming element and subsystems should be distinguished. A system-forming element is one of the subsystems that, in addition to its own tasks, also performs the task of a system-forming element. The system-forming element of the modern agricultural market is effective demand.

According to the second characteristic, the agricultural market as an integral object of management must be structured into separate product markets (sectors), in which one or several products with the same marketing properties are the subject of sale. Role characteristic applies primarily to an individual food market. There are two main role characteristics:

- 1) Form of trade (wholesale, retail);
- 2) Construction of the food market atomistic or bipolar.

Relationship of the agricultural market with its state regulation should be considered separately. It seems to be outside the market and bears no relation to its composition. However, such an assessment is too superficial. In fact, the levers of state regulation are used to normalize the state of the agricultural market, stabilize its

parameters within socially reasonable limits (Kasianov 2017). This problem can be solved by the market itself, but market mechanisms sometimes do not work and then the levers of state regulation are turned on. In addition, the impact on the market is carried out using mainly market instruments – prices and sales volumes. From these positions, state regulation can be considered as a guarantee that market self-regulation will not "fail", will work reliably and will ensure its functioning in the interests of the whole society. Therefore, it is recommended to consider state regulation of the agricultural market as one of its role components.

In theoretical terms, special attention should be paid to the territorial characteristic of the agricultural market components classification. In modern economic literature and economic practice, the term "regional market" or the agricultural market of a single country as a territorial unit is often used. Numerous attempts have been made to regionalize even markets for certain types of agricultural products (Fruit juices, with special reference to citrus and tropical fruit juices: A study of the world market 1991). In our opinion, the regionalization of the agricultural market, the allocation of its regional components as purely territorial, is theoretically unlawful. The market is an open system that exchanges matter, energy and information with the environment. Even the allocation of internal and external agricultural market is rather arbitrary. The globalization of the economy is also the globalization of the market. The territorial borders of countries and administrative units within them can turn into an obstacle to the movement of goods only as a result of artificial measures of an non-economic nature, that is, administrative ones. Real world practice is developing in a diametrically opposite direction – formation of interstate unions. After all, the fundamental property of the market is competition – the driving force of a market economic system. To create a regional market means to close, isolate the exchange processes within the framework of a separate territory and limit competitive relations with the same framework. Such tasks were sometimes set only by individual countries and for a limited period. For example, after World War II, Japan did not open its rice market for a long time, protecting its producer from external competition (Tietz 1990). Attempts to localize territorial markets, for example, of milk or grain, by prohibiting their export outside the country, are purely administrative in nature and cannot be regarded as a natural process for the formation of regional markets. On the contrary, the logical process is the formation of a single supranational agricultural market, ensuring the development of competitive relations throughout the European Union and the fullest possible inclusion in world economic relations. So, the territorial classification, regionalization of the agricultural market is unlawful in theoretical and inappropriate in practical terms. The object of analysis may not be territorial regions, but only territorial features of production or marketing of products.

As already noted, the first subsystem and at the same time system-forming element of the agricultural market is solvent demand. Absolute and relative indicators

of its characteristics are the absolute size of the population's income and its dynamics, per capita size, sufficiency to provide food for the population according to scientifically based standards, territorial and group differentiation.

The source of statistical information for the study and analysis of the outlined range of issues may be data on the so-called disposable incomes of the population. Their composition should include the maximum amount of cash income that is intended for use by households to purchase consumer goods and pay for services. These include wages, profits, mixed income, property income balances, social assistance, other cash transfers received, other than those paid, in particular current taxes on income and property. The statistical expression of solvent demand can also be the population's cash income, that is, the receipt of money by the population in the form of wages to all categories of workers, pensions, property income, scholarships and various benefits, income from the sale of agricultural products and the like.

As the analysis shows, over the past ten years, the solvent demand of the European Union population has been constantly growing. However, the absolute amount of disposable incomes cannot be equated with the volume of solvent demand, since these incomes are only a source of demand. Only part of the income is spent for the purchase of food products.

An important subject of analysis of solvent demand is its differentiation by territory and population groups. We can take the national value of the disposable incomes per capita over the past year or several years as a territorial indicator of the amount of solvent demand. The analysis can also include the average monthly nominal wage for EU countries.

The most correct characteristic of the territorial fluctuations of disposable incomes and wages is the coefficient of variation, that is, the percentage of the ratio of the mean square deviation of the variation series to the average value. The following interpretation of the variation coefficient values is given in the specialized literature. If it does not exceed 5%, the variation is considered to be weak, the coefficient value from 6 to 10% indicates moderate variation, from 10 to 20% – significant, from 21% to 50% – large, and more than 50% – very large variation. In our example, the obtained values of the variation coefficient indicate a significant regional variation in disposable incomes and a large variation in the monthly wages of employees in various EU countries. The diversity of population groups is also quite large in terms of the cost per person and the amount of food consumption caused by them. Thus, the solvent demand of the European Union population as a system-forming element of the agricultural market is characterized by significant differentiation by countries and population groups.

The materials for analyzing the process of food market personification are official documents on the creation and tasks of organizations and institutions of this profile. The method of analysis is comparison.

Countries from different continents use different models of food market personification. In Canada, for example, the grain market of the Prairie Provinces personifies the state Canadian Wheat Board. It has a monopoly on trading. Australia's grain market is personified on similar principles. The body of the grain market personification and at the same time of its state regulation is the Australian Wheat Board, which is the only legitimate organization for the sale of wheat in the domestic and foreign markets. In its activities, it is guided by five-year wheat market stabilization programs, which in Australia have the force of law.

The creation of the National Intersectoral Directorate of Grain Management in France was peculiar. This was the result of the leading major grain producers merger with the banking companies that financed them. This country has provided an example of personification, organization and management of food sectors of the agricultural market on an intersectoral basis.

So, the alternative is to choose either purely state or interprofessional institutions and organizations for food markets personification. In our opinion, in the context of the EU's course on the democratic foundations of state formation, the so-called interprofessional approach should be given an unconditional advantage in choosing the method of personifying the food sectors of the agricultural market, which provides for wide opportunities for the participation in the organization and management of food markets of its operators from the supply (agricultural producers) and from the demand side (processing enterprises, sometimes trade).

Information on the availability of exchanges, wholesale food markets, city markets, shops and other retail establishments, company stores of agricultural and processing enterprises serves as a material for analyzing the market environment provision with the market infrastructure elements. With some reservations, agricultural trading houses and marketing cooperatives may be included in the market infrastructure. The fact is that they perform mainly the functions of concentration of the supply and actually act as operators of the agricultural market on the supply side. After all, the main function of trading houses and marketing cooperatives is the sale of products, and not the organization of the interaction of supply and demand. Such an expansion of functions is possible, but exchanges and wholesale food markets perform this function no less successfully. Since the subject of analysis regarding the market infrastructure is the sufficiency of the market provision with its individual elements, in addition to data on these elements, it is necessary to have information about "market-infrastructural" needs. However, this aspect of the analysis of the institutional and legal prerequisites for organizing the agricultural market is only in its infancy. "Market-infrastructural needs" (conditional term) are determined by two main factors:

- 1) The physical volumes of the products offered for sale;
- 2) Market culture of operators.

It is far from easy to reveal the extent of the first factor in modern conditions of the EU. Indeed, a significant part of agricultural products from the production sphere falls into the sphere of final consumption outside the sphere of exchange. First of all, this is a part of the products of personal households of the population, which is not used as commodity and is consumed as food at the place of production by the producers themselves. Secondly, this is another part of the product, which is also used at the place of production as feed for producers' own productive animals. The listed components of gross agricultural production do not fall into the sphere of exchange and do not need any market infrastructure. This also applies to that part of crop and livestock products used at the place of production by the producers themselves as raw materials for industrial processing and further marketing in processed form.

So, theoretically, the constituent parts of the agricultural market and at the same time its subsystems and objects of analysis should be: effective demand (system-forming element), food markets (sectors), channels and prices of wholesale and retail sales of agricultural products and food, presence or absence of integration of the market operators on the supply side, institutions, methods and scope of state regulation of the market processes. The first stage of macroeconomic analysis of the agricultural market is the analysis of its formation, that is, the level of completion of its subsystems formation.

4 SECOND STAGE OF THE AGRICULTURAL MARKET ANALYSIS

The second stage of the analysis is the analysis of the agricultural market functioning. The content of this stage is to determine the completeness of performance by the market of its functions. The effectiveness of the agricultural market functioning depends on this. The term "market functions" means a list of the tasks the market performs and the goals achieved with its help. Given the above understanding of the agricultural market functions and their interpretation in the specialized literature, the following list is recommended: social, identifying market prices, stimulating, selective, coordination and management.

The social function of the agricultural market is the most important and it is advisable to consider it as effective. The agricultural market should provide the population with the proper amount of food and industrial agricultural products, primary goods and basic necessities — clothes and shoes. The ability to purchase goods at affordable prices is also important.

Accordingly, the subject of analysis in this case is the food products consumption per capita per year in dynamics in comparison with accepted standards.

However, when concluding that the agricultural market has insufficiently performed its social function, it would be incorrect to shift on it all responsibility for this. Indeed, two factors directly affect the size of per capita consumption of the food products:

- 1) Incomes of the population and the purchasing power of consumers;
- 2) Availability of a sufficient volume of goods on sale.

Clarification of the reasons for the insufficient fulfillment by the agricultural market of its social function requires an analysis of national labor markets and is beyond the scope of this article. Within its framework, it is necessary and expedient to qualitatively recognize, firstly, the role of the agricultural market in formation of volumes of the agricultural products and food production as a source of commodity supply. Secondly, the logical continuation of the analysis should be the analysis of price signals that the agricultural market generated, and how they stimulated the increase in production by market operators on the supply side and whether these signals ensured the dominance on the market arena of the best producers that could provide consumers with cheap products. In other words, we need an analysis of the fulfillment by the agricultural market of its remaining functions: identifying market prices that are stimulating, selective, that is, how effective and efficient were the financial and economic mechanisms of the agricultural market.

The second one - identification of market prices – means generation of market prices for agricultural products and food as prices that are formed solely under the influence of supply and demand, balanced market prices. This task rests with the market infrastructure. It is a functional subsystem of the agricultural market, its functional component and reflects the features of implementation of exchange operations, trade in agricultural products and food. Along with the generation of market prices, it must also fulfill the technical and economic task of contributing to the so-called commodity promotion, that is, the movement of commodity masses from producer to consumer. The physical market infrastructure includes a system of enterprises of various organizational and legal forms, which act as an arena for the physical interaction of buyers and sellers, supply and demand. Depending on the specific characteristics of individual goods as objects of exchange, such elements of market infrastructure are used: commodity and futures exchanges, wholesale and food markets, fairs, auctions, city markets, shops, stalls, tents. The development of electronic commerce with the use of specialized information systems as elements of market infrastructure is becoming increasingly widespread.

Stimulating function means encouraging the production of goods that the consumer needs. Another form of its manifestation is the determination of the degree of social necessity and the significance of the goods produced.

Profit (absolute indicator) and profitability (relative indicator) can be an indicator of the completeness of the manifestation by the agricultural market of its stimulating function in relation to producers (market operators on the supply side).

An analysis of this information indicates a significant territorial diversity of profitability. Therefore, it is advisable to analyze the zonal features of the agricultural production profitability formation.

At the end of this part of the analysis, the "attitude" of the agricultural market to various products should be analyzed from the point of view of ensuring equal profitability. Such an analysis shows that in terms of the level of profitability, the stimulating function of the agricultural market in relation to various products is manifested selectively – crop production as a whole is more profitable than cattle breeding.

Selective function is performed through competition. It means that through the action of objective economic laws (supply and demand) with the help of competitive levers, the market selects efficient operators on the supply side. Only those who can offer the consumer a successful combination of price and quality will be able to withstand market competition.

Direct evidence of the effect of the selective function and material for analyzing the completeness of its manifestation could be information about the cessation of the activities of inefficient market operators, their bankruptcy and the transfer of property to efficient producers. However, the change of ownership of land and property is an extreme manifestation of competitive relations. It would be sufficient to transfer the defeated in the competition to the sphere of influence of effective management. It is almost impossible to find such data in official statistics.

Therefore, when analyzing the fulfillment by the agricultural market of its selective function, it is advisable to use indirect evidence of the market's attitude to economic units with a lower relatively average level of production efficiency. In particular, if the variation in performance indicators over time is growing, then this can be interpreted as an indifferent attitude of the agricultural market to the final consequences of managing, its low exactingness to high economic results of competing entities.

Coordination and management function means ensuring compliance with the help of purely market levers of the desired proportions in the volumes of production and marketing of agricultural products and food within the country's agro-industrial complex, taking into account foreign economic relations. The agricultural market does not fulfill this function in full and therefore is supplemented by state regulation.

Thus, the second stage of the analysis cannot be considered solely an analysis of the agricultural market functioning. Partially at this stage, the analysis of its formation in terms of the market infrastructure continues. Therefore, the characteristics of the analytical process content and sequence can be slightly changed as follows. The first stage is an analysis of the formation of the market process static components in the form of enterprises, institutions and special-purpose organizations (personification of food markets, integration of producers, market infrastructure, state

regulatory institutions), the second is an analysis of the static components functioning as the functioning of the agricultural market. This option implements more consistently the system organization scheme as a sequential construction of three models – taxonometric, structural and dynamic. The first includes a simple list of elements of the created system, its components, subsystems. The second involves the quantitative determination of the volumes and sizes of each element in the created system. The key role here belongs to the system-forming element, the dimensions of which determine the size of the subsystems. The third characterizes the system in action, in the process of functioning.

5 MODEL APPROACH

The theoretical aspects of the analytical estimates formation deserve special attention. Generalization, the results of analytical work should be formulated in the form of analytical estimates. A simple statement of any changes in the dynamics or structure of a process is not enough to substantiate management decisions; estimates are needed (Erdemoglu 2014). In turn, the analytical estimates should have a certain base, a comparison with which allows formulating an analytical conclusion. To analyze the activities at the national level – at the level of a particular country – three options of analytical estimates bases are used – plan (program), last year, neighboring comparable country. The nature of the bases at the national level can be transferred to the macroeconomic level with certain changes and refinements. So, the agricultural market of the European Union can be compared with the markets of other supranational entities. There are no fundamental obstacles to comparing partial or general results of the agricultural market functioning in the current year with similar results of the previous year, etc. However, in the macroeconomic analysis of the agricultural market, the most important is the first stage, that is, an analysis of its formation (in terms of a systematic approach – organization). An incompletely formed market will inevitably be imperfect in the process of functioning. However, to assess the progress of both the intermediate (partial) and final (generalizing, cumulative) results of the agricultural market functioning, appropriate bases of analytical estimates are needed. Dynamic (year after year) and territorial (country with a country) solve this problem only partially. Therefore, for a macroeconomic analysis of the European Union agricultural market formation, it is recommended to use specially developed analytical estimates databases in the form of reference models. The model, as you know, is a simplified copy of the original, which reproduces its most significant features.

The model approach has long been known in the world economic literature. Back in the middle of the last century, it could be read that the reason for the limitations of comparative analysis is the insufficient amount of data that would be the basis for comparison. This drawback can be partially solved by the so-called fictitious

economic systems, that is, production models (Altermar 1969, p. 82-83). That is, the quoted work of the West German economist offers the model approach in the pure form for microeconomic analysis.

Models of individual subsystems of the agricultural market as a base of analytical estimates can rightly be called reference ones. For the analysis of market formation, these are static organizational reference models. For the initial stage of the analysis of the agricultural market formation, it is rightfully to limit ourselves to descriptive models, which will gradually turn into economic and mathematical models as the scientific foundations of this area of analysis deepen. The content of the description of static organizational reference models should be, firstly, a statement of the need for a specific subsystem of the agricultural market and, secondly, a description of the purpose (role). The description of the functional reference models that will be used in the analysis of the market functioning should include the name of the functions and a list of social and economic problems or tasks to which it is directed.

Not that in this version of their presentation there is a discrepancy between individual positions with generally accepted ideas regarding the agricultural market. This applies to the subsystems of personification of food markets, market infrastructure, bipolarization of the agricultural market and its selective and coordination and management functions.

Therefore, we consider it necessary to give some reasoning in defense of our recommendations. Neither in legislation, nor in economic practice, the issue of food markets personification has been developed sufficiently. At the same time, the experience of many developed countries shows the feasibility of such steps, since this creates the prerequisites for creating a lever to counteract the market element – centralized management of strategically important markets or even product sub-complexes (Larina 2018). It becomes possible to ensure the use of positive constructive motivational properties of the market with the organizing potential of centralized management. It would be short-sighted to ignore the advantages of such a path for the European Union as a whole.

In the literature, there is often too broad interpretation of the content of market infrastructure up to identifying it with the infrastructure of the entire national or supranational economy: communication lines, transport, communications, etc (Hartwig 2015). For sure, the agricultural market is within the scope of the overall infrastructure of the economy. However, the purpose of highlighting precisely the "agricultural market infrastructure" allows focusing on the main driving levers of the market organization of social production – market prices. Therefore, even if the author's understanding of market infrastructure does not coincide with the generally accepted one, the authors consider it appropriate to distinguish this subsystem as part of the agricultural market. Also, the idea of the agricultural market bipolarization and

the feasibility of vertical integration as a means of realizing the bipolar construction of a market environment did not receive universal recognition. The authors consider this idea to be consistent with international experience and therefore productive, and the distinguishing of a separate subsystem to be justified.

Regarding the functions of the agricultural market, selective one deserves more attention. Very this function embodies the mechanisms of self-development and self-improvement of production using the fundamental idea of a market economy – the idea of competition. In truth, classical understanding of the competitive recovery goal – the transfer of property to an effective owner – needs to be clarified a little. Change of ownership is an extreme manifestation of the consequences of victory in competition, which should have the nature of exclusion. The rule should be a change in manager and management, expansion of the scope of competitive management as one of the steps in the direction of a change of ownership. Therefore, the authors do not consider the absence of the concept of "selective function of the market" in many textbooks on economic theory, a good reason to exclude it from the functions of the agricultural market.

Regarding the coordination and management function, it is inherent only in the modern market, in which, along with competition, co-operation of competitors also coexists. However, literature on market theory still interprets it from the perspective of atomized producers and the impossibility of their interests coincidence, perpetuates the abstract tenets of the "free market".

6 CONCLUSIONS

Theoretically, the constituent parts of the agricultural market of the European Union, and at the same time its subsystems and objects of analysis, should be: effective demand (system-forming element), food markets (sectors), channels and prices of wholesale and retail sales of agricultural products and food, presence or absence of integration of market operators on the supply side, institutions, methods and extent of state regulation of market processes. The first stage of macroeconomic analysis of the agricultural market is the analysis of the formation of static components of the market process in the form of enterprises, institutions and special-purpose organizations (personification of food markets, integration of producers, market infrastructure, government regulatory institutions), the second is the analysis of the functioning of static components as the functioning of the agricultural market. This option more consistently implements the system organization scheme as a sequential construction of three models - taxonometric, structural and dynamic. The first includes a simple list of elements of the created system, its components, subsystems. The second involves the quantitative determination of the volumes and sizes of each element in the created system. The key role here belongs to the system-forming element, the dimensions of which determine the size of the subsystems. The third characterizes the system in action, in the process of functioning.

If analyzing the attitude of the agricultural market subsystem to the performance of its functions, we find that the decisive role in the fulfillment of the social function belongs to effective demand, significant – to bipolarization of the market, partial – to state regulation, and market infrastructure under certain conditions can prevent the market from fulfilling its social purpose. In identifying market prices, market infrastructure is crucial, government regulation is significant, and personification of food markets and bipolarization of the market counteract this. The manifestation of the stimulating function is ensured by effective demand, market infrastructure and state regulation, partially bipolarization of markets with an indifferent attitude of personification to this function. The selective function is ensured by the market infrastructure while counteracting state regulation and bipolarization of markets. The coordination and management function is carried out by personification of food markets, their bipolarization and state regulation while counteracting market infrastructure as a potential carrier of the threat of ups and downs, "peaks" and "failures" in market prices.

Thus, the macroeconomic analysis of the agricultural market of the European Union is recommended to be carried out using the systematic methodology. It is implemented by various methods of qualitative and quantitative analysis of individual parties and characteristics of the agricultural market, the methods of use of which are summarized in this article.

REFERENCES:

- 1. ALTETMAR, G. (1969): Perspektivnoe planirovanie selskohozajstvennovo proizvodstva (Prospective planning of agricultural production). Moscow: Progres, 1969. 348 p.
- 2. ERDEMOGLU, E. (2014): The economic analysis of the internationalization of financial reporting standards: IFRS internationalization from a law and economic perspective. Hamburg: Fak. für Rechtswissenschaft der Univ., 2014. 217 pp.
- 3. Fruit juices, with special reference to citrus and tropical fruit juices: A study of the world market (1991). Geneva: ITC, 1991. 282 pp.
- 4. GRAHAM, B. DODD, D. (2009): *Security analysis*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2009. 165 pp.
- 5. GRIBAUDO, M. (2014): *Theory and application of multi-formalism modeling*. Hershey: Information science reference (an imprint of IGI Global), 2014. 294 pp.
- 6. GUDZYNSKIY, O.D. (2015): To manage the development of social-economical systems of agrarian sector. Kiev: CP "Comprint", 2015. 230 pp.
- 7. HARTWIG, R. (2015): Vertical competition and multi-period interaction: a theoretical and behavioral analysis on the impact of strategic inventories in

- supply chain management. Magdeburg: Otto-von-Guericke univ., 2015. 169 pp.
- 8. KASIANOV, V.O. (2017): Extremal principle of subjective analysis. Light & shadow. Proportions of shadow economy. Entropy approach. Kyiv: Kafedra, 2017. 74 pp.
- 9. LARINA, Y.S. (2018): Marketing in the activities of the enterprises of the sugar industry: marketing researches, marketing mix and strategies. Kyiv: Komprynt, 2018. 269 pp.
- 10. LEATHEM, C. (2015): Survey and analysis of basic social science and humanities research at the science academies and related research organisations of Europe. Mainz: Union of the German academies of sciences and humanities, 2015, 236 pp.
- 11. PAN, A. (2012): *China market report*. Zeefer: Cloud New Zealand Limited, 2012. 509 pp.
- 12. PEARCE, D.W. (2000): Slovnyk suchasnoi ekonomiky Makmilanan (Mcmillan Dictionary of Modern Economics). Kyiv: ArtEK, 2000. 608 p.
- 13. ROEMER, M. JONES, C. (1991): *Markets in developing countries*. San Francisco: ICS press, 1991. 267 pp.
- 14. TIETZ, B. (1990): *Unternehmensstrategien für den Binnenmarkt*. Landsberg am Lech: mi-Poller, 1990. 638 pp.



MEDZINÁRODNÉ VZŤAHY SLOVAK JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Faculty of International Relations, University of Economics in Bratislava 2020, Volume XVIII., Issue 1, Pages 21 – 35 ISSN 1336-1562 (print), ISSN 1339-2751 (online) Submitted: 11. 2. 2020 | Accepted: 6. 3. 2020 | Published 15. 3. 2020

SYNERGIA PRIEMYSELNEJ POLITIKY A POLITIKY HOSPODÁRSKEJ SÚŤAŽE EÚ V RÁMCI KONCEPCIE INDUSTRY 4.0: PARALELY A VÝZVY

THE SYNERGY OF EU COMPETITION AND INDUSTRY POLICIES WITHIN THE INDUSTRY 4.0 CONCEPT: PARALLELS AND CHALLENGES

Marcel Kordoš ¹

Nadchádzajúca priemyselná revolúcia Industry 4.0, tiež nazývaná digitálna revolúcia, sa vyznačuje mixom technológií, ktoré stierajú hranice medzi fyzickou, digitálnou a biologickou sférou. Priemyselná politika je súbor činností a činností ovplyvňujúcich výrobné odvetvia, ako aj odvetvia služieb. Nový prístup Politiky hospodárskej súťaže EÚ sa zameriava najmä na normy, ako sú antitrustové pravidlá, kontrola fúzií a opatrenia na kontrolu štátnej pomoci. V rámci analýzy charakteristík Priemyselnej politiky EÚ a Politiky hospodárskej súťaže EÚ sa štúdia zaoberá mierou využitia ich súčasnej efektívnosti v súvislosti s koncepciou programu Industry 4.0. Táto synergia s cieľom ďalšieho možného zvýšenia vplyvu Priemyselnej politiky EÚ a agendy Politiky hospodárskej súťaže EÚ v rámci konceptu Industry 4.0 bude mať výrazný vplyv na sociálno-ekonomický rozvoj EÚ a situáciu na trhu práce EÚ.²

Kľúčové slová: zvyšovanie konkurencieschopnosti, automatizácia a robotika, svetová ekonomika, sociálny a ekonomický rozvoj, technologický pokrok a inovácie

The forthcoming Industry 4.0 Industrial Revolution, also called a digital revolution, is characterized by a blending of technologies that erase the boundaries between physical, digital and biological spheres. Industrial policy is a set of activities and actions affecting the manufacturing and service

¹ Ing. Marcel Kordoš, PhD. Department of Public Administration and Regional Economy, Faculty of Social and Economic Relations, Alexander Dubcek University in Trencin, Študentská 2, 911 50 Trenčín, Slovak Republic, e-mail: marcel.korodos@tnuni.sk

² This paper was supported by the Slovak Ministry of Education's Scientific grant agency VEGA: "The impact of Industry 4.0 on jobs structure changes". Project registration number: [Reg. No.: 1/0430/18] and VEGA: "Assessment changes in the qualitative structure of international economic relations under the influence of Industry 4.0 with implications for the EU and Slovak economic policies". Project registration number: [Reg. No.: 1/0462/20].

sectors. New approach of the EU Competition policy focuses mainly on its standards such as antitrust, merger control and state aid control measures. Within the analysis of the EU industrial policy characteristics and EU Competition policy issue the paper deals with the utilization rate of their current efficiency regarding the Industry 4.0 concept agenda. This synergy in the way of further possible increasing of EU industrial policy influence and EU Competitiveness agenda under the Industry 4.0 agenda will have a significant impact on EU socio-economic development and EU labor market situation. Key words: competitiveness enhancement, automation and robotics, interesticated accounts and appropriate the labor terms of the labor terms.

Key words: competitiveness enhancement, automation and robotics, international economics, social and economic development, technology advance and innovation

JEL: F02, F59, O31

1 Introduction

The EU Industry policy is supposed to provide a platform bringing together regional, national and European actors, with the objective to define and implement a European industry policy agenda. The role of the Commission in this process is mainly to facilitate all forms of cooperation that could lead to more competitive states in Europe, by providing neutral economic analysis on existing and emerging clusters, identifying good practice, providing intelligence on opportunities for cooperation and facilitating net-working at practical and strategic levels. The EU Competition policy appears to be one of the most important current programs and activities at EU level which support clusters in the emerging industries in EU. European Union consists of 28 member states. Of course, cooperation, economic growth and creating a Single Market represent the main topics of political agenda of the Union. Competition policy is closely linked to the EU goal of creating a Single Market for goods, services, capital and labor. Industry 4.0 concept implemented into EU industry and competition policies can contribute to economic growth by stimulating productivity, investment and innovation. In our study, we deal with the theoretic determination of basic terms referring to competition, e.g. competition policy, as well as to development of European competition policy and setting up the basic competition rules and laws, emphasizing and focusing especially to EU Competition Law. Based on the comparative analysis of EU Competition and Industrial policies mutual interaction within the Industry 4.0 concept the object of the paper is to assess the impact of the EU Competition policy and the EU Industry policy effects on Industry 4.0 concept regarding the EU competitiveness enhancement in the international economics system. This paper will discuss how the competition agenda is implemented into EU Industry policy processes, how important role it plays within the current Industry 4.0 concept to assure sustainable economic growth and enhance the EU competitiveness within the international economics environment.

2 GOAL AND METHODOLOGY

The current status of the EU Industrial policy (IP) has been formed over a longer period and from the historical point of view is influenced by significant moments and factors such as oil shocks, world economy globalization and increasing integration of economic complexes. The microeconomic conditions importance highlighting for the competitiveness development is the driving motive of EU IP reorientation from the industry field support (e.g. by means of grants) to the area of creating a business environment that allows enterprises to quickly gain competitive advantage.

The paper's goal is by analyzing the synergy characteristics of EU Industrial policy and EU Competition policy to determine the utilization rate of their effectiveness within the context of Industry 4.0 concept, in succession to possible further impact increase of the competition issue on EU Innovation policy, followed by the overall socio-economic development of the EU. To achieve those objectives method of analysis, synthesis and logical deduction will be used. The issue is to figure out the extent to which technological advance and innovation policies along with the Industry 4.0 concept implemented in EU Industrial policy within the EU competition agenda can mitigate fluctuations in competitiveness of the EU economy, whose sluggish economic performance evokes a negative impact on the socio-economic development of the countries of European Communities. From this impact rate it will depend whether the EU economy is able to cope with competitive pressure within the world economy triad, or if there is rather a weakening trend on account of other centers in the world economy. Paper elaboration requires focusing on data from secondary literature sources processed by basic scientific learning methods with the primary use of methods such as synthesis, analysis, comparison and logical deduction.

3 INDUSTRY 4.0 CONCEPT AS DRIVING FORCE FOR INNOVATION

The world of Industry 4.0 (also called Fourth Industrial Revolution) is based on the fact that everything goes to the so-called networking, digitization. According to Schwab (2018) production is interconnected by intelligent logistics of goods and associated with marketing and intelligent services with a strong focus on needs, individual and specific capabilities of a customer. Tight linking of products, devices, people enhances the efficiency of production machines and equipment, and reduces costs and saves resources. Intelligent tracking, highly automated robotics, intelligent machines, technology will become a complement to human work. New business models and new collaboration across countries and continents are emerging. The Fourth Industrial Revolution has the potential to increase the world income levels and improve the quality of life of population around the world. Navrátilová, et al. (2019) state that with Industry 4.0, the possibilities are enhanced by emerging technical discoveries in areas such as artificial intelligence, robotics, the Internet of Things,

autonomous vehicles, 3-D printing, nanotechnology, biotechnology, materials science, energy storage and quantum computing, computerization of manufacturing and logistics within the machine - machine communication.

According to Simionescu, et al. (2019) Industry 4.0, the phenomenon of today, is the interconnection of the Internet of things, services and people, and the associated immense volume of data generated, whether the machine - machine, man - machine or man - man is already communicating. Industry 4.0 is not just a mere digitization of industrial production, it is a comprehensive system of changes gathered to a range of human activities, especially in the field of artificial intelligence, not only in industrial production. The Internet of Things (IoT) concept is being developed, enabling everyday items to be included within the communication network. There are new advanced steps in robotics, and even some autonomous vehicles are already being put into production by some companies (only new legislation is awaiting) along with 3D printers or augmented reality technologies becoming more and more creatively enforced in production.

4 EU INDUSTRIAL POLICY - ITS CURRENT STATUS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

European Commission (2019) defines industrial policy as incentives for the supply side. More precisely, it comprises all government interventions aiming specifically to influence industrial change by affecting the incentives to produce industrial goods or incentives to enter/exit specific industrial goods markets. Industrial policy is a fairly wide-ranging concept. That is why a focus on government-driven incentives is a better guide than a catalogue of policy areas falling under it. Jancikova (2019) argues that industrial policy is largely a national responsibility of the member states. The Community's role is to ensure that the single market operates in accordance with the rules of an open and competitive system. The Community's industrial strategy consists of policies aimed at improving the business environment and the legal framework necessary for speeding up the structural adjustment and the competitiveness of European industry under free international trade conditions.

The EU has developed a treaty basis for industrial policies. Patonov and Zhegova (2019) state that the major thrust of the industrial policy since the late 1980s has been on negative policies linked to the creation of the Single European market and the development of a Common competition policy. The role of the EU in positive industrial policies has been significantly less influential. According to Křečková, Zadražilová, Řezanková (2016) industrial policy in the EU has moved away, in most sectors, from the type of interventionist policies that used to dominate in many of the member states in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the desire of some member states to protect some of their industries, and the favored status of what are regarded as key industries, mean that state aid and/or EU help continues to play an important role in many industries.

Moreover, the increased focus on developing competitiveness has led to the emergence of a new European champions movement. Policies to help companies in specific sectors such as ICT and biotechnology also enhance the vertical dimension of the EU's industrial policy. Nevertheless, there is still a strong focus on horizontal policies that are useful in promoting competitiveness. There are also areas, such as the policy towards SMEs (small and medium enterprises), that are largely based on gathering and disseminating information and preaching good practice. Belás, Vojtovič, Ključnikov (2016) underline that industrial policy in the EU, like many other EU policies, reflects a multitude of interests and is driven by a complex set of economic and political factors. As such it is not easily understood by a purely economic assessment of its rationale or its performance. Nevertheless, a movement towards a negative and internal market-driven policy framework that emerged in the 1990s seems to be evolving into a more strategically driven policy area connected to a desire to promote competitiveness among European companies. This policy appears to be developing elements of a European champions model and to have as an objective the creation of an institutional system of research and technological development that fosters greater European integration in this area.

The debate over the characteristics of EU industrial policy has become an important issue due to the growth of Union policies and programs that affect industry and be-cause of the concept of subsidiarity. According to Miklošík, et al. (2016) four possible reasons for an EU industrial policy can be put forward - spill-over effects related to externalities, creating the conditions for 'free movement', promoting 'economic and social cohesion', and promoting the goal of political integration.

EU Industry policy can be defined as the policy of promoting businesses. This concept of policy emphasizes the application of appropriate legislation and also the importance of non-financial assistance to businesses nationwide by means of non-discriminatory services provision with high added value. Sadílek and Zadražilová (2016) highlight that one of the main conditions for successful IP is the functionality increasing that have fundamental importance for the clusters existence, but of which the public and private sector (entrepreneurs) are not aware enough or not at all. The commission of such in-formation can help to the promising success of clusters formation. The role of govern-ment in this case appears to be the role of facilitator, which, moreover, bears direct responsibility for the project. On the contrary, desirable clusters that have not been formed, and whose potential will be proved over the time, may not always be successful. Therefore, it is better to support existing and emerging clusters, by means of equal access, without disrupting the market environment by selecting out the favorite ones.

The executive body for the EU business support policy is the Enterprise Directorate General under the EC. In evaluating the firms' competitiveness in EU the benchmarking method is mainly used. The relevant information and so called best

practices exchange is the priority how to strengthen the enterprises performance. Annually, Report on the EU competitiveness status assessing the progress made in the key thematic areas is issued. Other projects to promote entrepreneurship are so called business angels with a focus on education and training of entrepreneurs or ICT implementation monitoring and support for women in business and the fulfillment of framework conditions in the area of business, competitive and monetary policy. However, IP is not legally binding the EU Member States, thus an amendment is being worked out currently.

According to the European Commission (2019) the main objectives of the EU Industrial policy are defined by the three essential areas such as:

- 1) creation of a legislative framework that caters industry;
- 2) the use of synergies between different EU policies and their mutual reinforcement, and
- 3) encouraging a sectoral approach for industrial policy.

5 THE EU COMPETITION POLICY AGENDA AND TOOLS ANALYSIS

Competition policy is one of the oldest policy areas and has developed considerably over the years. It is also one of the policies with the most concrete, visual results. The core of the internal market is the maintenance of a level playing field throughout the EU for businesses to compete. Effective competition policy encourages economic efficiency and creates a favorable climate for growth, innovation and technological progress while pushing down prices (Dano, Lesakova 2018). Thus competition policy is the cornerstone of the internal European market. The European Commission has wide powers to make sure businesses and governments stick to European Union rules on fair play in trade in goods and services, while allowing governments to step in if markets are failing consumers or business, or to promote innovation, unified standards, or small business development.

Antitrust and cartels. Antitrust is an important tool to protect European firms from practices that adversely affect competition such as price fixing, patent abuses, capacity hoarding, or the prevention of cross-border activities. European Commission (2019) quotes that antitrust covers two prohibition rules set out in the EC Treaty: agreements which restrict competition are prohibited; and firms in a dominant position may not abuse their position.

Agreements between undertakings – examples include price fixing; limiting or controlling production, markets, technical development or investment; sharing markets or sources of supply; applying dissimilar conditions to equivalent transactions. The Commission is responsible for ensuring the application of these rules. A member state can apply for an investigation or the Commission can launch one by its own volition. If it finds antitrust infringements, it proposes measures to bring them to an end. Other types of agreement are considered by the Commission as harmful to competition and

thus prohibited without exception. They are usually presented in public black lists, and include: Among the horizontal agreements Price fixing, Joint sales offices, Production or delivery quotas, Sharing of markets or supply sources. Among the vertical agreements: fixing the resale price, and absolute territorial protection clause (Gärtner, Sadílek, and Zadražilová 2017).

Jiránková (2012) argues that abuse of dominant position – the aim here is to prevent companies from abusing a position of dominance and thus distorting competition in intra-Community trade. Dominant positions, as such, are not prohibited, but rather the abuse of dominance when it is likely to affect trade between member states. Behavior which only affects a national market cannot be considered by the European authorities. This objective requires preventive Community intervention to investigate company mergers, since they may create illegal position of dominance. According to Mentlík and Helísek (2018) a "Cartel" is created by an illegal, secret agreement between competitors who fix or increase their prices, restrict supply by limiting their sales and/or their production capacities, and/or divide up their markets or consumers. Fines of up to 10% of their worldwide turnover may be imposed on the guilty parties. The amount of these fines is paid into the EU budget.

Merger Control. Merger control ensures European consumers and businesses are protected against price increases and other anti-competitive effects resulting from mergers, whilst simultaneously helping firms in restructuring and enhancing their global reach through mergers. The legislation states that a concentration - an operation to integrate previously separate companies - which would significantly impede effective competition in the common market, in particular by the creation of or strengthening of a dominant position, is incompatible with the common market European Commission, 2019). When companies in any economic sector propose a concentration that is likely to affect the Single market, the Commission can undertake an investigation. Some authors such as Hnát, Zemanová and Machoň (2016) state that this Community dimension is determined on the basis of the companies' aggregate, worldwide turnover and the absence of national character. Companies that have no Community dimension are under the purview of national authorities. It does not matter where the companies are based, or if national authorities have no objection to concentration. If the companies' sales figures in EU markets are large enough, the Commission has jurisdiction, and can prevent potential mergers. Companies proposing mergers must notify the Commission, which will consider - within strict delays whether the proposed merger creates or strengthens an illegal, dominant position in the relevant market (Sejkora and Sankot 2017). If yes, the merger is prohibited. If not, the Commission confirms that it is compatible with the common market and authorizes the merger with or without certain conditions.

State Aid Control. State aid control is essential to avoid distortions in the Single Market, whilst also ensuring that subsidies that promote the competitiveness of

sectors and companies are allowed. The EU's State aid regime - a system that is unique in the world - provides a framework that focuses aid on addressing market failures (European Commission, 2019). States that competition can be restricted by governments if they grant public subsidies to certain businesses. For this reason, the Treaty prohibits, in principle, any form of State aid that is likely to distort competition. As with mergers, the aid in question must be such that it affects trade between member states; aid with only domestic consequences is not under the purview of the Commission. An absolute ban on state aid, however, would be unthinkable; in certain cases, governments must be able to intervene or provide funding for select economic activities (Gress, Lipková and Harakaľová 2016). For this reason, the Treaty provides for a number of exceptions to the principle of State aid prohibition. Member states must notify the Commission in advance of any plans to grant or alter aid. Aid granted through plans without authorization is illegal and must be repaid. If the Commission considers that an aid plan is incompatible with the common market, it initiates infringement proceedings. This suspends application of proposed aid, pending a final decision. In practice, no aid is granted without the Commission's agreement (Lipkova, Hovorkova, 2018).

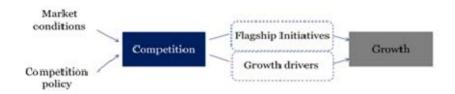
6 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

There are some important strategic collaborative linkages between the EU Competition policy and EU Industry policy necessary to be met. The definition of activities with high added value, which offer the best chance of strengthening the competitiveness of the state, needs strategic information. To resources for research and development and innovation have the greatest impact, must reach its critical value. They must be accompanied by measures to improve skills, increase education levels and knowledge infra-structure (Jiroudková, et al. 2015). The National and the regional governments should develop smart specialization strategies to increase the impact of industry policy agenda in combination with other the Union policies to the maximum. According to Machkova and Sato (2017) the Smart specialization strategies can ensure the efficient use of public resources and stimulate private investment. They can help regions that concentrated resources on a few key priorities. They can also be the key element in the creation of multilevel governance for integrated innovation policies. The strategy of smart specialization involves businesses, research centres and universi-ties that cooperate to define the most promising areas of specialization of the region, but also the weaknesses that hamper innovation. It takes into account the different capacities of national economies, in terms of innovation (Krajňáková and Vojtovič 2017).

Generally speaking, the effect of competition policy on growth can be described in different ways. One way is to describe the link between competition policy and the Flagship Initiatives. This is a policy oriented description. Another way

is to describe the link between competition policy and drivers of economic growth. This description is in line with economic theory. However, the fundamental growth drivers are the same in both cases, so it is merely a matter of two different ways to describe the same relation-ships. Moreover, the first step in both descriptions is to describe how competition policy affects and strengthens competition. Relationship between competition policy and growth is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Effects of competition policy to growth



Source: own processing by European Commission, 2019.

By discussing the issue, we can say that the innovation policy implemented into the EU industry policy plays very important role within the current financial framework 2014-2020 and Europe 2020 Strategy to assure sustainable economic growth in the EU and enhance its competitiveness within the environment of the world economy triad. Innovation and EU Industry policy and strategies implementations are one of the most important aspects of current international economics and business development issues. It is the key not only to creating more jobs and improving quality of life, but also to maintaining companies' competitiveness on the global market and states'/economies' competitiveness enhancement within the international economics system.

The synergy of EU Industry and Competition policies must show how technology within the Industry 4.0 concept refers to ideas and knowledge that business can exploit commercially and assure the world economy sustainable development. The sources of new ideas on which companies can call are many and varied, ranging from universities and research institutes to competitors, customers and suppliers, and to employees. The EU economies are following a long-established trend of restructuring away from the primary and secondary sectors and towards services and high value-added products. But manufacturing is still an important economic sector of the Community for production, trade and employment.

Following the sustainable development, the EU needs to develop a sustainable production policy, which should occur gradually fulfilling the commitments on sustainable production and consumption patterns. Next it will be important to evaluate proposals from all stakeholders, and not only the industry subjects being as so far the

leaders in designing the industrial policy. Authors such as Jeníček (2016) and Lipkova, Braga (2016) agree that applying the best available technologies, secondary raw materials recovery, production policy expanding over the products lifecycle (i.e. Integrated product policy), support of voluntary agreements in environmental field between the private and public sectors, development and diffusion of cleaner technologies, disseminating environmental management schemes within new features and support for small and medium-sized enterprises and their social and environmental responsibility are proposed steps to be taken in the EU to enable the implementation of the sustainable production.

In recent years the industry has operated against a background of slow growth of demand, rising unemployment, increasing international competition and rapid changes brought about by technological progress. Although these are problems which to some extent are shared by all members of the Community, industrial policy still remains largely a national responsibility. The Community has taken steps to ensure that, in accordance with a system of open and competitive markets, the conditions and the legal framework necessary for speeding up the structural adjustment and competitive-ness of European industry will develop. According to Cihelková, Platonova and Frolova (2019) the Community's industrial strategy in particular regions consists of policies aimed at improving the business environment, by working towards integrating the European market, promoting the necessary changes in industry's structure, and coordinating the activities of the member states. The single market has given a welcome boost to cross border mergers, acquisitions and joint ventures which are shaping a new structure of production and distribution.

De Castro and Hnat (2017) argue that he EU enlargement has brought new opportunities. For example, there is a regrouping of production and supply activities along the whole continent, which, thanks to EU enlargement have not moved massively to countries with the overall lowest labor costs. The economy structure reorganization towards the sectors with higher added value now takes place gradually in new Member States. Fojtikova and Stanickova (2017) highlight that even though the industry de-localization is a major challenge for the EU, which, moreover, does not apply only to labor-intensive sectors, but mostly the moderately and highly technically advanced sectors, which are crucial in the process of employment in the EU. This shift is related to the growth of capital-intensive industries in China and India along with the growth of their scientific and research potential. In addition to the EU is still unable to develop motivating environment for creation and implementation of innovation. Growing external and internal pressure on the industry performance is a major boost to the design the scientific re-search and innovation policies at the level of national states. EU will support the efforts of Member States in the field of science, research and innovation in the way to be placed in the heart of the EU common funding and the center of business activities.

Competitive advantage over the US, Japan, China, India and Russia are achievable only through increased spending on research and development and application of in-novation (something incomparable, unique literally) into the business cycle. EU innovation policy will focus not only on technology but also on non-technological innovation, design, business management, marketing and business culture. Finland, the EU leader in innovation, a cluster policy is carried out, which is a challenge not only for the EU states (Gorlevskaya, et al. 2018).

The Smart Factory approach appears to be the trend of Industry 4.0 in the USA, being characterized by flexibility and re-configurability, efficient resources deployment, ergonomics and direct connection with customers and subcontractors, hence the production productivity should increase by 30 to 40% (Abrhám and Lžičař, 2018). Industry 4.0 means the implementation of new software and technology in the US economy. The Smart factory approach development - called 4.0 Industry 4.0 – means that industrial companies are increasingly investing in software. And all this, along with the development of future technologies such as smart vehicles, artificial intelligence (AI), virtual reality and 3D printing, is a very promising background for long-term investment and changes within the industry production and foreign trade quality structure. In any case, technologies are a highly globalized sector - with the supply chains of companies often operating in many countries. The US economy is known for its technological innovations – that is why, it is home to some of the world's most important IT companies (Cepel, et al. 2019, Okreglicka et al. 2017).

According to Helísek (2019) and Svacina, Rýdlová, Bohácek (2018) the entire Industry 4.0 in the US is based on the logic of cyber-physical systems (CPS). This means that you have autocratic, independently operating systems that are able to optimize production by themselves through self-optimization and mutual communication. Cyber-physical systems (CPS) are a central element of the new industry. They will enable efficient interconnection of individual machines, equipment, computers, logistics systems, vehicles, raw materials, products and entire operations in a cooperative supply-customer chain into one comprehensive network (Internet of Things - IoT). Individual items and sub processes in "smart factories" not only communicate with each other, but also control each other reliably.

The new Framework program for competitiveness and innovation evaluates the deficiency of innovation and creative solutions implementation at enterprise level, which is mainly the result of lack of access to appropriate forms of funding. This issue consists of three program components (European Commission 2019):

- 1) The Entrepreneurship and Innovation;
- 2) Program on information and communication technology (ICT) policy support;
- 3) Intelligent energy program.

The Framework Program furthermore is directly related to the new 7th Framework Pro-gram for research, technological development and demonstrative activities. The procedure should be initiated and form a common technology platform in important industrial sectors. The purpose of technology platforms is a national industry support, including the medium technically advanced sectors.

The EC report on industrial policy in an enlarged EU (COM (2004) 274) gives the following factors, which prevent the strengthening of science and research position com-pared to the USA (Obadi and Korček 2018):

- Difficult access to private funding to support research and development;
- Business culture downgrading the risk;
- Lack of cooperation between private and public sectors, which is reflected in the suppression of applied research;
- Significantly lower relative proportion of workers in science and research in EU.

High-tech clusters in Helsinki, Oulu and Turku can be an example. In Finland there are sample examples of incubators to promote innovation and emerging technology companies. In Helsinki, so called University for innovation will be established soon by linking the University of Music and Fine Arts, University of Technology and University of Economics (Navickas, Vojtovic, and Svazas 2017). Regarding the technological sophistication of production, it is customary to distinguish between low, medium and highly advanced industry. Particularly in highly advanced sectors (ICT, biotechnologies) Slovakia cannot stand aside from modern Europe. It is important also to be engaged in pre-orientation of industrial policy to innovation policy even in the more ideal case directly to Industry 4.0 concept.

7 CONCLUSION

The paper provides a comprehensive, coherent and systematic overview of the basic principles and objectives forming the backbone of the EU Industry policy and EU competition policy agenda within their synergy and operation mechanism along with the Industry 4.0 concept. The challenge is that Europe faces a moment of transformation regarding the 4th industry revolution being a challenge for the years of economic and social progress and exposed structural weaknesses in European economy. The world is changing rapidly and long-term challenges such as globalization, pressure on resources, aging populations, are becoming more acute. The EU must immediately take action.

In this paper we have shown how that EU has also launched several integrated pro-grams of research to help the EU to catch up with its rivals in the application of modern technology. In general, R&D expenditure and the rates of industrial production and productivity achieved by most EU member states are persistently below those of

its main competitors, such as the USA and Japan. An implication of these differences in performance is that in external markets the EU is rapidly losing ground in high-technology innovation and trade to face to Industry 4.0 concept implementation opportunities.

Finally, we can summarize that market integration and coordination of industrial policies and research along with the implemented Industry 4.0 concept are expected to have a favorable impact on the competitiveness and performance of EU industry with-out the need to resort to any form of aggressive and confrontational strategic trade policy. This will contribute to the efforts to reduce unemployment and increase growth and welfare and stabilize the EU labor market.

REFERENCES:

- 1. ABRHÁM, J. LŽIČAŘ, P. (2018): Risk management in the sustainable development: Analysis of a selected key industry. In: *Journal of Security and Sustainability Issues*, 8 (2), 171-180. DOI:10.9770/jssi.2018.8.2(5)
- 2. BELÁS, J. VOJTOVIČ, S. KLJUČNIKOV, A. (2016): Microenterprises and significant risk factors in loan process. *Economics and Sociology*, 9 (1), 43-59. DOI:10.14254/2071-789X.2016/9-1/3
- 3. CEPEL, M. BELAS, J. ROZSA, Z. STRNAD, Z. (2019): Selected economic factors of the quality of business environment. In: *Journal of International Studies*, 12 (2), 228-240. DOI: 10.14254/2071-8330.2019/12-2/14
- 4. CIHELKOVÁ, E. PLATONOVA, I.N. FROLOVA, E.D. (2019): Comparative analysis of supporting small and medium enterprises for enhancing created added value in the EU and China. In: *Economy of Region*, 15 (1), 256-269. DOI: 10.17059/2019-1-20
- 5. DANO, F. LESAKOVA, D. (2018): The Role of Environmental Stimuli in Shopping Evaluation and Responses, In: *Ekonomicky Casopis*, 66 (5), 465-478.
- 6. De CASTRO, T. HNAT, P. (2017): Czech FDI Performance: Between Global Value Chains and Domestic Reforms, In: *Foreign Direct Investment in Central and Eastern Europe: Post-Crisis Perspectives*, Book Series: Studies in Economic Transition, DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-40496-7
- 7. EUROPEAN COMMISSION. (2019): Competition policy. [online]. [cit. December 20191. Retrieved from. 17. http://ec.europa.eu/competition policy>, [online]. *Industry policy* [online]. [online]. [cit. December 17, 2019] Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/industry policy>, Europe 2020. [Online]. [cit. December 17, 2019] Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/index en.htm>.
- 8. FOJTIKOVA, L. STANICKOVA, M. (2017): The EU member states export competitiveness and productivity, In: *Politicka Ekonomie*, 65 (6), 669-689. DOI: 10.18267/j.polek.1169

- 9. GÄRTNER, M. SADÍLEK, T. ZADRAŽILOVÁ, D. (2017): Cross-cultural adaptability in a sample of international university students in prague gender and culture effect. In: *Journal of Applied Economic Sciences*, 12(3), 893-906.
- 10. GORLEVSKAYA, L. KUBIČKOVÁ, V. FODRANOVÁ, I. ŽÁK, Š. (2018): Innovations and new product development: Evidence from enterprises active in Slovak Republic. In: *Journal of Applied Economic Sciences*, 13 (1), 164-173.
- 11. GRESS, M. LIPKOVA, L. HARAKAL'OVA, L. (2016): EU enlargement 2004 Ten years after. In: *Actual Problems of Economics*, 177 (3), pp. 23-30.
- 12. HELÍSEK, M. (2019): Exchange rate mechanism II and the risk of currency crisis Empiricism and theory. In: *Journal of International Studies*, 12 (1), 297-312. DOI: 10.14254/2071-8330.2019/12-1/20
- 13. HNÁT, P. ZEMANOVÁ, Š. MACHOŇ, M. (2016): Economics-focused articles in the journal mezinárodní vztahy as a reflection of the specifics of Czech research [Ekonomicky zaměřené texty v časopise Mezinárodní vztahy jako odraz specifik českého výzkumu]. *Mezinarodni Vztahy*, 51 (1), 68-82.
- 14. JANCIKOVA, E. (2019). Impact of EU and Sanctions Against Russia and Iran on Trade Finance. In: *Medzinárodné vzťahy*, 17 (3), 210-223
- 15. JIRÁNKOVÁ, M. (2012): Nation-states as investors in a globalized world. In: *Ekonomicky casopis*, 60 (8), 854-870.
- JIROUDKOVÁ, A. ROVNÁ, L.A. STRIELKOWSKI, W. ŠLOSARČÍK, I. (2015): EU accession, transition and further integration for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In: *Economics and Sociology*, 8 (2), pp. 11-14. DOI: 10.14254/2071-789X.2015/8-2/1
- 17. JENÍČEK, V. (2016): Economic growth in the development economy. In: *Agricultural Economics (Czech Republic)*, 62 (2), 93-99. DOI: 10.17221/234/2014-AGRICECON
- 18. KRAJŇÁKOVÁ, E. VOJTOVIČ, S. (2017): Struggles of older workers at the labour market. In: *Economics and Sociology*, 10(1), 319-333. doi:10.14254/2071-789X.2017/10-1/23
- 19. KŘEČKOVÁ, Z. ZADRAŽILOVÁ, D. ŘEZANKOVÁ, H. (2016): The added value of women in management: The Czech case. In: *Prague Economic Papers*, 25 (3), 354-373. DOI:10.18267/j.pep.588
- 20. LIPKOVA, L. BRAGA, D. (2016): Measuring Commercialization Success of Innovations in the EU, In: *Marketing and Management of Innovations*, 4, 15-30.
- 21. LIPKOVA, L. HOVORKOVA, K. (2018): Economic situation in Norway after the outbreak of the global financial and oil crises in the context of EU integration trends, In: *Economic Annals-XXI*, 169 (1-2), 12-14.
- 22. MACHKOVA, H. SATO, A. (2017): Analysis of Competitiveness of Belgian Sugar Industry, In: *Listy Cukrovarnicke a Reparske*, 133 (12), 390-392.

- 23. MENTLÍK, R. HELÍSEK, M. (2018): Euro and corporate management in Czech Republic. In: *European Research Studies Journal*, 21 (2), 441-452.
- 24. MIKLOŠÍK, A. HLAVATÝ, I. DAŇO, F. ČERVENKA, P. (2016): Google answer box keyword-related analysis a case study. In: *European Journal of Science and Theology*, 12 (5), 185-194.
- 25. NAVICKAS, V. VOJTOVIC, S. SVAZAS, M. (2017): Biomass clusters influence on business competitiveness. [Wpływ klastra biomasy na konkurencyjność gospodarczą] In: *Polish Journal of Management Studies*, 16 (2), 188-197. doi:10.17512/pjms.2017.16.2.16
- 26. NAVRÁTILOVÁ, M. ABRHÁM, J. BERANOVÁ, M. BROŽ, D. (2019): Fair trade products and sustainable consumer behavior. In: *Journal of Security and Sustainability Issues*, 8 (4), 827-842. DOI: 10.9770/jssi.2019.8.4(23).
- 27. OBADI, S. M. KORCEK, M. (2018): The crude oil price and speculations: Investigation using granger causality test. In: *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, 8 (3), 275-282.
- 28. OKRĘGLICKA, M. HAVIERNIKOVÁ, K. MYNARZOVÁ, M. LEMAŃSKA-MAJDZIK, A. (2017): Entrepreneurial intention creation of Poland, Slovakia and Czechia [Kreowanie students in przedsiębiorczych wśród studentów w Polsce, Słowacji i Czechach]. In: Polish 162-172. Management (2),Journal of Studies, 15 DOI: 10.17512/pjms.2017.15.2.15
- 29. PATONOV, N. ZHEGOVA, K. (2019): EU Membership and Foreign Trade Structure: What the Case of Bulgaria Could Say. In: *Medzinárodné vzťahy*, 17 (1), 24-43.
- 30. SADÍLEK, T. ZADRAŽILOVÁ, D. (2016): Current trends in german sugar industry. [Současné trendy německého cukrovarnictví] In: *Listy Cukrovarnicke a Reparske*, 132 (12), 390-393.
- 31. SCHWAB, K. (2018): *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*. [Online] [cit. Sept. 5. 2019] Retrieved from: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2015-12-12/fourth-industrial-revolution>.
- 32. SEJKORA, J. SANKOT, O. (2017): Comparative advantage, economic structure and growth: The case of Senegal. In: *South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences*, 20 (1), Article Number: a1685. DOI: 10.4102/sajems.v20i1.1685
- 33. SIMIONESCU, M. BILAN, Y. KRAJŇÁKOVÁ, E. STREIMIKIENE, D. GEDEK, S. (2019): Renewable energy in the electricity sector and gdp per capita in the European Union. In: *Energies*, 12 (13), art. no. 2520, DOI: 10.3390/en12132520
- 34. SVACINA, P. RÝDLOVÁ, B. BOHÁCEK, M. (2018): Remuneration of employee inventions at Czech universities. In: *Scientific Papers of the University of Pardubice, Series D: Faculty of Economics and Administration*, 26 (43), 232-245.



MEDZINÁRODNÉ VZŤAHY SLOVAK JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Faculty of International Relations, University of Economics in Bratislava 2020, Volume XVIII., Issue 1, Pages 36 – 56 ISSN 1336-1562 (print), ISSN 1339-2751 (online) Submitted: 29. 2. 2020 | Accepted: 6. 3. 2020 | Published 15. 3. 2020

O PROTIREČIVOSTI VYTVÁRANIA MULTIPOLARITY V MEDZINÁRODNÝCH VZŤAHOCH V 21. STOROČÍ ON CONTRADICTORY OF MULTIPOLARITY CREATION PROCESS IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

František Škyrnda¹

Cieľom príspevku je načrtnúť vybrané otázky vytvárania multipolarity v medzinárodných vzťahoch v 21. storočí. Po náhlom a neočakávanom rozpade bipolarity neboli USA so svojim výnimočným postavením v medzinárodných vzťahoch pripravené na riešenie nových problémov. Potenciálnými centrami sily v multipolarite 21. storočia sú USA, ČĽR, EÚ a RF. Vytváranie novej multipolarity nemá zatiaľ pravidlá a bude sa odlišovať od multipolarity európskeho koncertu veľmocí v 19. storočí. Pôjde o zložitý a protirečivý proces v dlhšom čase.

Kľúčové slová: asymetria, centrum sily, rovnováha sily, usporiadanie medzinárodných vzťahov, multipolarita.

The aim of the paper is to outline the selected issues of multipolarity creation process in the international relations in the 21st century. After the sudden and unexpected breakdown of bipolarity, the US's exceptional position in international relations was not ready to solve new problems. Potential centers of strength in the 21st century multipolarity are the US, the PRC, the EU and the RF. Creating a new multipolarity has no rules yet and will be different from the multipolarity of the European Great Power Concert in the 19th century. This will be a complex and contradictory process in the longer term. Key words: asymmetry, center of power, balance of power, international order, multipolarity

JEL: Z 00; N 40

¹ František Škvrnda, doc. PhDr., CSc. Katedra medzinárodných politických vzťahov, Fakulta medzinárodných vzťahov, Ekonomická univerzita, Dolnozemská 1, 852 35 Bratislava, frantisek.skvrnda@euba.sk

Autor v minulosti pôsobil vo vojsku, bezpečnostnom sektore a na ministerstve zahraničných vecí. Na Fakulte medzinárodných vzťahov pracuje od roku 2002. Od roku 2007 je členom Katedry medzinárodných politických vzťahov. K hlavným oblastiam jeho vedeckého záujmu patrí teória medzinárodných vzťahov a bezpečnosti a sociológia bezpečnosti s dôrazom na súčasnosť. Hlási sa k marxizmu a kritickým teóriám.

1 Úvod

K najzložitejším, mnohorozmerným pohybom na viacerých úrovniach súčasných medzinárodných vzťahoch patrí výrazná zmena ich usporiadania, ktorej jadrom sa stáva vytváranie multipolarity v nich. Ide o protirečivý a dlhodobý proces, ktorého teoretické skúmanie je sťažené tým, že je podmienené aktuálnym stavom a vývojom medzinárodných vzťahov a reaguje na ne, hoci nie je jasné, aké dlhé trvanie budú mať tieto pohyby. Z hľadiska teórie medzinárodných vzťahov ide však predovšetkým o postihnutie podstatných procesov dlhšieho trvania – napr. aj v súčasnosti ešte prebiehajú pohyby, ktoré začali v druhej polovici 80. rokov.

Vo vývoji medzinárodných vzťahov ide o zlomovú zmenu, súvisiacu s koncom bipolarity v nich, ktorá pomerne náhle a neočakávane vytvorila nové podmienky ich fungovania. Tieto podmienky postupne priniesli pohyby smerom k vytvoreniu multipolarity novej kvality. Odlišnosťou veľkej zmeny v dejinách medzinárodných vzťahov, oproti predchádzajúcim, ku ktorým došlo najmä v 19. a 20. storočí, je, že nenastala po veľkých vojnových konfliktoch a nasledujúcich mierových rokovaniach a vytvára sa obrazne vyjadrené "za pochodu" – ťažko, protirečivo a v dlhšom časovom úseku. Zároveň komplikujúco pôsobia rozsiahle procesy globalizácie, ktoré menia aj pozíciu tradičných aktérov medzinárodných vzťahov – štátov a prinášajú pôsobenie nových aktérov spravidla neštátneho charakteru. Niekedy sa táto zmena spája aj s vytváraním postvestfálskeho systému medzinárodných vzťahov.

Cieľom príspevku je zvýrazniť vybrané teoretické aspekty zložitého a protirečivého vytvárania kvalitatívne novej multipolarity v medzinárodných vzťahoch v 21. storočí, ktoré je zatiaľ málo vyhranené a bude mať dlhšie trvanie. Zdôrazní sa, že vznikajúca multipolarita, sa vzhľadom na charakter súčasných medzinárodných vzťahov ako aj pôsobenie globalizácie – bude odlišovať od multipolarity, ktorá sa vytvorila v 19. storočí po Viedenskom kongrese a označovala sa za európsky koncert veľmocí. Poukáže sa tiež na to, že kvalitatívne nové prvky tejto mulitpolarity naznačujú aj koniec vyše päťstoročnej dominancie Západu v medzinárodných vzťahoch.

2 O VÝVOJI MEDZINÁRODNÝCH VZŤAHOV V 20. STOROČÍ A JEHO SÚVISLOSTIACH A DÔSLEDKOCH

Vývoj sveta v 20. storočí, ktoré sa niektorými autormi označuje aj za "krátke"² (Hobsbawm, 2010), lebo jeho najvýznamnejšie udalosti možno z hľadiska veľkých zmien v politických dejinách i vo vývoji medzinárodných vzťahov ohraničiť rokmi 1914 (prvá svetová vojna) – 1991 (rozpad ZSSR), bol mimoriadne dynamický, ale aj protirečivý, čo sa premietlo aj do medzinárodných vzťahov. Existujú pramene, ktoré

-

² Naopak 19. storočie sa v tomto pohľade niekedy označuje za "dlhé" – spravidla od roku 1789 (vypuknutie veľkej francúzskej revolúcie) do roku 1914.

toto obdobie analyzujú veľmi rozsiahle (Cox, 2007), ako aj užšie zo špecifických pohľadov. Zaujímavý pohľad predstavuje porovnanie medzníkov, ktoré sa spojili s rokmi 1916, 1942 a 1989 v súvislosti s tromi svetovými vojnami – kde sa za tretiu svetovú vojnu považuje studená vojna (Buzan – Lawson, 2015).

Množstvo prameňov sa v tejto súvislosti venuje medzinárodným vzťahom, resp. zahraničnej politike štátov – svetových veľmocí a superveľmocí v 20. storočí, najmä USA (Dunne 2000, Kinzer 2006, Stone – Kuznick, 2015) a ZSSR (Istorija 1986, Čubarjan 1993). 20. storočie sa niekedy obrazne označovalo aj za storočie USA, keď na jeho začiatku boli regionálnou veľmocou a na jeho konci zostali jedinou superveľmocou (Herring 2017, Hogan 2000). Ojedinele sú zdroje, ktoré uvažujú o akomsi transatlantickom storočí so začiatkom v roku 1890 (Nolan, 2012).

Vývoj medzinárodných vzťahov v 20. storočí mal však aj temný, tragický charakter a sprevádzali ho veľké konfliktné zlomy nielen v globálnom ale aj regionálnom rozmere. V dvoch svetových³ a ďalších vojnách v tomto storočí zahynulo podľa niektorých údajov (odhadov) asi 140 – 150 miliónov ľudí (Serebrjannikov 1998, s. 7), čo bolo niekoľkonásobne viac ako v celej predchádzajúcej histórii ľudstva. Esolen charakterizuje 20. storočie ako kryavé storočie (Esolen 2008, s. 281 – 310).

Z hľadiska teórie medzinárodných vzťahov ich usporiadanie v 20. storočí sa môže analyzovať vo vývoji od multipolarity cez bipolaritu k unipolarite. Pred vznikom prvej svetovej vojny "dožívala" multipolarita európskeho koncertu veľmocí v podobe jeho modifikovanej verzie Parížsko-frankfurtského systému, ktorý sa sformoval po mierových zmluvách v marci 1856 v Paríži (po krymskej vojne) a v máji 1871 vo Frankfurte nad Mohanom (po francúzsko-pruskej vojne). V roku 1914 sa po sérii menších "regionálnych vojen" vo svetovej vojne postavili proti sebe dve strany – Dohoda (Francúzsko, Veľká Británia a Rusko⁴) a Ústredné mocnosti (Nemecko a Rakúsko-Uhorsko⁵).

Po prvej svetovej vojne sa vytvoril pod gesciou USA, Veľkej Británie, Francúzska a Talianska ako víťazných mocností nevyhranený systém medzinárodných vzťahov na základe Versaillsko-washingtonských zmlúv, v ktorom bola cítiť aj snaha pomstiť sa porazeným mocnostiam, najmä Nemecku. Deformované pomery, ktoré sa vytvorili, nakoniec viedli k vzniku novej svetovej vojny.

Po druhej svetovej vojne začal pôsobiť vyhranený bipolárny systém, ktorý sa rýchlo rozpadol na začiatku 90. rokov v dôsledku zmien moci v socialistických štátoch

_

³ V širšom kontexte obsahu príspevku treba poukázať na to, že obe vojny boli dôsledkom politiky západných svetových veľmocí.

⁴ V roku 1917 sa k nej pridali USA, ale po októbrovej revolúcii v 1917 Rusko prestalo bojovať. Kvôli úplnosti doplníme, že Taliansko, ktoré bolo v rámci Trojspolku od roku 1882 spojencom Nemecka a Rakúska-Uhorska však v roku 1915 vstúpilo do vojny na strane Dohody. Na strane Dohody bojovalo od roku 1914 aj Japonsko.

⁵ Na ich stranu sa postavila v roku 1914 Osmanská ríša a v roku 1915 Bulharsko.

v strednej a východnej Európe, zániku ZSSR a dvoch hlavných medzinárodných organizáciách, ktoré ich spájali – Varšavskej zmluvy a Rady vzájomnej hospodárskej pomoci. Okrem toho sa po druhej svetovej vojne politické centrum Západu (aj sveta) presunulo z Európy do USA.

V 90. rokoch vznikla jedinečná pozícia Spojených štátov v medzinárodných vzťahoch, ktoré sa stali jedinou superveľmocou s limitovanou hegemóniou (Ikenberry – Mastanduno – Wohlforth, 2011), popr. dominujúcou superveľmocou. Hoci USA a ním vedený Západ sa hneď od socialistickej revolúcie v Rusku v októbri 1917 snažil o elimináciu i zničenie socializmu, na túto náhlu zmenu v usporiadaní medzinárodných vzťahov neboli pripravené (socialistické zriadenie na Západe sa "stratilo", zostalo však zachované v Číne). Šancu, ktorá sa Spojeným štátom naskytla, nedokázali využiť a ich pozícia sa postupne oslabovala a vplyv začal upadal. Prvým mimoriadne kontroverzným krokom v tomto zmysle bolo najmä porušenie medzinárodného práva pri bombardovaní Juhoslávie bez mandátu Bezpečnostnej rady OSN v marci až júni 1999.

Začiatkom 21. storočia sa už otvorene prejavovalo, že USA nedokázali využiť potenciál jedinej superveľmoci na riešenie problémov medzinárodných vzťahov, najmä v dôsledku unilateralizmu G. Busha ml. V zahraničnej a bezpečnostnej politike USA dochádzalo k ďalším komplikáciám, spojeným aj s porušovaním medzinárodného práva. Vývoj pozície USA v medzinárodných vzťahoch viedol k záverom, že nastáva koniec ich dominancie ako aj unipolarity v medzinárodnej politike (Layne, 2006). K novým komplikáciám vo vplyve a oslabovaní pozícii USA – v medzinárodných vzťahoch dochádza v dôsledku politiky D. Trumpa, ktorý sa stal prezidentom v januári 2017 (Jervis – Gavin – Rovner – Labrosse 2018, Petras 2019). V týchto podmienkach sa skončilo aj americké storočie (McCoy 2017, Nye 2015).

Vznikajúce usporiadanie medzinárodných vzťahov sa začalo charakterizovať najmä v nezápadných zdrojoch ako multipolárne (Hiro, 2009). Uvádzajú sa spravidla tri udalosti, ktoré sa považujú za najvýraznejšie prejavy pohybov, ktoré "podlomili" pozíciu USA, vytvárali a rozvíjali prvky multipolarity v medzinárodných vzťahoch. Bola to invázia USA s koalíciou ochotných do Iraku v máji 2003, ktorá spôsobila veľké napätie na Západe, najmä v rámci NATO, ale viedla aj k zmene postoja mnohých štátov k Washingtonu, ktorý jednoznačne podporovali (a uznávali aj jeho

⁶ V roku 1997 vytvorili republikáni z popudu W. Kristola a R. Kagana neokonzervatívny projekt nového amerického storočia – PNAC (Project for the New American Century), spojený s rovnomenným think tankom vo Washingtone. Mal vytvoriť presvedčivú víziu zahraničnej politiky USA, ktorá by Republikánskej strane umožnila účinne kritizovať zahraničnú politiku prezidenta B. Clintona. V roku 2006 v podmienkach zhoršujúceho sa medzinárodného postavenia USA projekt skončil neúspechom. Formálne bol nahradený think tankom Foreign Policy Initiative, ktorý sa v roku 2017 tiež zrušil. Pozri Project for the New American Century (bez uvedenia roku). Prístupné na https://web.archive.org/web/20130112203305/http://www.newamericancentury.org/.

vodcovskú pozíciu vo svete) vo vojne proti Iraku v roku 1991. Ďalej to bola ekonomická kríza, ktorá prepukla v rokoch 2007 – 2008. Tretím momentom boli neúspechy Washingtonu v jeho politike na Blízkom východe a dlhotrvajúca neúspešná vojna v Afganistane ako aj vývoj sýrskej vojny.

USA najmä svojou bezpečnostnou politikou a vzťahom k medzinárodnému právu premrhali potenciál, ktorý získali začiatkom 90. rokov vo vojne proti Iraku, keď sa považovali za prirodzeného vodcu medzinárodného spoločenstva väčšinou jeho členov. Zakaria v roku 2019 uviedol, že "Niekedy za posledné dva roky zomrela americká hegemónia. Vek americkej dominancie bol krátkou, opojnou érou, asi tri desaťročia, ktorá sa vyznačovala dvoma okamihmi rôzneho druhu. Zrodil sa v období zrútenia Berlínskeho múru v roku 1989. Koniec alebo skutočný začiatok konca bol ďalším kolapsom - irackým v roku 2003 a pomalým rozpadom po ňom" (Zakaria 2019, s. 10)

Spôsob, akým upadá pôsobenie USA, vedie k rôznym prejavom nestability a chaosu vo svetovej politike a bezpečnosti (Wallerstein, 2003), čo sa zhoršilo po nástupe prezidenta D. Trumpa (Tisdall, 2019). Ekonomický, bezpečnostný a politický i kultúrny potenciál Spojených štátov je však stále veľký a nemožno čakať ich rýchly ústup zo stále výnimočnej pozície v medzinárodných vzťahoch. Nepredpokladá sa ani taký ich kolaps, ktorý nastal v prípade rozpadu ZSSR. V týchto podmienkach však v medzinárodných vzťahov klesá vypočítateľnosť ich ďalšieho vývoja a narastá neistota.

3 STRUČNE O CHÁPANÍ MULTIPOLARITY V TEÓRII MEDZINÁRODNÝCH VZŤAHOV

Skúmanie multipolarity v teórii medzinárodných vzťahov je spojené s problémom polarity (Kratochvíl, 2002), ktorou sa najviac a najdôkladnejšie zaoberajú realistické a neorealistické teórie. Vymedzenie multipolarity je relatívne jednoduché a jasné – ide o stav, keď sa v medzinárodných vzťahoch (v ich systéme) nachádzajú najmenej tri zhruba rovnako silné centrá moci. Ďalšími základnými podobami polarity sú (Krejčí 2014, s. 157 – 167) bipolarita (existencia dvoch zhruba rovnakých centier sily vo svete) a unipolarita (existuje len jedno centrum moci vo svete – štát, ktorý je ekonomicky, politicky, bezpečnostne i kultúrne výrazne silnejší ako ďalšie štáty), ktorá môže nadobudnúť aj formu hegemónie. Multipolarita a bipolarita sa považujú za stabilnejšie usporiadanie medzinárodných vzťahov ako unipolarita, aj keď toto ich pôsobenie nemá automatický charakter.

Fenomén polarity v medzinárodných vzťahoch je zviazaný predovšetkým s distribúciou moci medzi jej jednotlivými centrami (pólmi) a skúma sa aj v ďalších súvislostiach. Dôležitý teoretický rámec skúmania multipolarity moci predstavuje problém rovnováhy sily, ktorá od 16. storočia zásadne ovplyvňuje medzinárodné vzťahy. Ide o pojem a prístup, ktorý je spojený tiež predovšetkým s realizmom a neorealizmom v teórii medzinárodných vzťahov (Barša – Císař 2008, s. 67 – 73).

Považuje sa za významný prvok – spôsob stabilizácie medzinárodných vzťahov. Barša a Císař uvádzajú, že mocenská rovnováha, ktorá sa môže interpretovať ako stav, politika alebo systém, má vnútorne protirečivý charakter (Barša – Císař 2008, s. 73 – 75).

Sheehan poukazuje na tri historické podoby systému rovnováhy sily v medzinárodných vzťahoch – v 18. storočí, v "dlhom" 19. storočí a v jadrovom veku (Sheehan, 1996). Vývoj názorov na koncepciu rovnováhu moci v teórii medzinárodných vzťahov charakterizuje Šedivý všeobecne – historicky (Šedivý, 1998a) a s dôrazom na 20. storočie (Šedivý, 1998b).

Koniec bipolarity, rozpad ZSSR, rastúci vplyv USA a zvyšujúci sa význam medzinárodných organizácií v 90. rokoch viedli k úvahám, či Vestfálsky systém ešte platí a ako táto situácia čo podmieňuje aj rovnováhu sily, na čo však nie sú jednoznačné názory (Jacobsen – Sampford – Thakur 2008, Kreuder – Sonnen – Zangl, 2015). Pri charakteristike rovnováhy sily v 21. storočí sa na jeho začiatku zdôrazňovala jej podmienenosť novými bezpečnostnými výzvami a špecifikami v rôznych regiónoch – v Európe, v strednej Eurázii, na Blízkom východe, vo východnej Ázii, južnej Ázii a Latinskej Amerike (Paul – Wirtz – Fortmann, 2004).

De Keersmaeker multipolaritu skúma v rámci teórie polarity a rovnováhy sily v teórii medzinárodných vzťahov a súčasný – "poststudenovojnový" – svet porovnáva s multipolaritou (európskym koncertom veľmocí) v 19. storočí (De Keersmaeker, 2017). Little charakterizuje problém rovnováhy sily ako metaforu, mýtus a model, pričom porovnáva prístupy realistov, resp. neorealistov Morgenthaua, Bulla, Waltza a Mearsheimera (Little, 2007).

Z teoretického pohľadu má skúmanie problému polarity (multipolarity) aj ďalšiu dimenziu, spojenú s usporiadaním medzinárodných vzťahov, ktoré sa tiež prelína s mocenskou rovnováhou. V anglojazyčnej literatúre sa používa pojem *international order* - medzinárodný poriadok (Paul – Hall 1999, Maull 2018, Kocs 2019).

Špecifický fenomén usporiadania medzinárodných vzťahov predstavuje chápanie svetového poriadku. Voľne ho možno chápať ako synonymum medzinárodného poriadku. V rôznych súvislostiach sa používa pojem nový svetový poriadok (new world order), ktorý má však len málokedy neutrálny význam. Najrozšírenejšie sú dve chápania.

V prvom chápaní sa nový svetový poriadok spája s niektorými víziami zahraničnej politiky USA. Pojem sa objavil v tomto zmysle prvýkrát na konci prvej svetovej vojny v súvislosti s predstavami prezidenta USA Wilsona o svetovom mieri. Podnet pre "inováciu" fenoménu dal rozpad bipolarity a o novom svetovom poriadku v týchto podmienkach – pod vedením USA – hovoril prezident G. Bush st. v septembri 1990 v prejave "Smerom k novému svetovému poriadku" na spoločnom zasadnutí

Kongresu USA (Address, 1990). Vývoj tejto idey v zahraničnej politike USA a jej súvislosti a dôsledky skúma Williams (2007).

Koncepcia "amerického" chápania nového svetového poriadku "inovovaná" po rozpade bipolarity bola už od začiatku kritizovaná aj v samotných Spojených štátoch ako špecifický pokus upevniť ich pozíciu v nových podmienkach, pričom prináša pre svet komplikácie (Chosudovssky 2003, Engdahl 2011). Dice kriticky uviedol: "Nový svetový poriadok je len prijateľnejšie meno pre anglo-americkú svetovú ríšu. Ide o planetárnu dominanciu Londýna, Washingtonu a New Yorku nad zvyškom sveta" (Dice 2010, 5 – 6). Napĺňanie tejto vízie však narážalo na ťažkosti, najmä po nástupe G. Busha ml. do funkcie prezidenta USA a nakoniec skončilo neúspešne, "stratene", podobne ako predstava o novom americkom storočí.

Druhým rozšíreným chápaním je diametrálne odlišná koncepcia nového svetového poriadku spojená s jeho konšpirologickými interpretáciami, ktoré sa v novej vlne rozšírili tiež po rozpade bipolarity (Still 1990, Rivera 2010). Množstvo značne zjednodušených modelov nového svetového poriadku je postavené predovšetkým na rôznych podobách tvrdení, že časť nadnárodných elít alebo tajných spoločností (napr. slobodomurárov, iluminátov, rosencruciánov a i.) popr. organizácií typu New Age atď. sa snažia o získanie moci nad politikou, hospodárstvom a médiami na celom svete a v záujme toho manipulujú nimi. Tento pohľad sa spája s doterajšou podobou globalizácie na západný (americký) spôsob a charakterizuje ju ako totalitu. Hoci rad konšpiračných teórií je starých (viaceré vznikli už po Veľkej francúzskej revolúcii), v súčasnosti sú veľmi populárne najmä v USA (Melley 1999, Fenster 2008), odkiaľ sa stále šíria do sveta.

Vývoj, ktorý v medzinárodných vzťahoch a v ich usporiadaní nastal po rozpade bipolarity, je vo viacerých ohľadoch odlišný od predchádzajúceho, ktorý funguje od vzniku Vestfálskeho systému. Pri skúmaní aktuálneho stavu vytvárania multipolarity sa nové podmienky neraz komparujú s minulosťou. V súvislosti s tým sa v odborných kruhoch neraz kladie otázka, či sa podobá situácia vo svete viac tomu, čo bolo pred druhou svetovou vojnou alebo pred prvou svetovou vojnou a výnimočne sa dokonca hľadajú paralely so začiatkom 19. storočia (Heuer, 2012).

4 O ZNAKOCH A PRVKOCH MULTIPOLARITY V MEDZINÁRODNÝCH VZŤAHOCH V 21. STOROČÍ

Multipolarita v 21. storočí sa spája s ďalším oslabovaním a úpadkom Západu, o ktorom sa začalo uvažovať už po prvej svetovej vojne (Spengler, 2007). Vzhľadom na to, že politickým centrom Západu sa stali USA, sa v súčasnosti zvýrazňuje, že významným prvkom vytvárania multipolarity – podnetom k nemu je ich oslabovanie a úpadok (Acharya, 2018), ale aj kríza v transatlantickom poriadku (Anderson – Ikenberry – Risse, 2008). Pieraccini uvažuje o multipolarite vo svete ako bariére proti

dominancii Washingtonu (Pieraccini, 2016). Ruskí autori prišli s koncepciou krachu unipolárneho sveta (Prochanov et al., 2019).

Za základných aktérov – svetové centrá sily v multipolarite 21. storočia sa spravidla považujú USA, ČĽR, EÚ a RF. Len výnimočne k nim niektorí autori pridávajú aj iné štáty napr. Indiu (Murray – Brown 2012, s. 131 – 160). Problém spočíva v tom, že štyri potenciálne svetové centrá sily v multipolarite 21. storočia sa vyznačujú asymetriou ako v politickej a bezpečnostnej, tak aj ekonomickej dimenzii a každý z nich zatiaľ predstavuje odlišnú entitu. Ich potenciály v jednotlivých dimenziách sa rôzne porovnávajú, ale okrem toho, že šancu stať sa v určitom čase superveľmocou má ČĽR, hodnotenia nedospievajú k jednotným záverom.

V multipolarite v 21. storočí budú okrem toho, že sa vytvára bez jasného rámca dohôd medzi hlavnými centrami sily, minimálne tri prvky, ktoré sú v porovnaní s predchádzajúcim vývojom medzinárodných vzťahov vo Vestfálskom systéme kvalitatívne nové. Prvý prvok súvisí s tým, že vzhľadom na presun politického centra Západu ako aj celého sveta z Európy do USA bude mať multipolarita skutočne svetový charakter. Európsky koncert veľmocí po Viedenskom koncerte vychádzal z mocenskej rovnováhy európskych veľmocí – Veľkej Británie, Ruska, Pruska (neskôr zjednoteného Nemecka), Rakúska (neskôr Rakúsko-Uhorska) a Francúzska a mimo Európy bol založený predovšetkým na prvkoch delenia sveta medzi európskymi veľmocami, resp. ich sfér záujmov. Ku koncu 19. storočia však tento systém dostával čoraz viac trhlín, najmä vďaka ambíciám zjednoteného Nemecka, ale aj ďalších protirečeniam súdobého imperializmu. V multipolarite 21. storočia preto končí aj vyše 500 ročná dominancia Západu v medzinárodných vzťahoch.

Druhým prvkom bude, že multipolarita 21. storočia bude znamenať aj civilizačnú zmenu, lebo v ňom bude pôsobiť minimálne jeden nezápadný aktér (potenciálna superveľmoc) – Čína. Okrem toho v súvislosti so vzťahom Západu k Rusku v posledných rokoch (ale aj v dlhšom historickom vývoji) vzniká aj otázka, či je Rusko západný alebo nezápadný aktér. Na túto otázku sa v ruských kultúrnych či politických dejinách prinajmenšom od vzniku Danilevského práce Rusko a Európa v roku 1869 stále diskutuje (Polikarpov 1995, Šulika 2012).

Tretím prvkom je rastúci význam a vplyv pôsobenia neštátnych aktérov medzinárodných vzťahov. V súvislosti s tým vzniká teoretický problém, ako charakterizovať EÚ, ktorá nie je štátom, ale ani "klasickou" medzinárodnou organizáciou. Vo všeobecnosti sa EÚ považuje za nový typ aktéra medzinárodných vzťahov (McCormick 2006, Kratochvíl 2013).

Rozpracovávaniu problému multipolarity venujú zvýšenú pozornosť v Rusku. Za duchovného otca tejto koncepcie sa považuje ruský minister zahraničných vecí

Primakov⁷ (Lavrov, 2015). Existuje veľký počet teoretických prác (Volkonskij 2017, ugin 2013, Perskaja – Gluchovcev 2011) a závery o multipolarite v medzinárodných vzťahoch sú aj súčasťou bezpečnostno-politických dokumentov. V Stratégii národnej bezpečnosti RF podpísanej V. Putinom 31. decembra 2015 sa v čl. 13 uvádza, že "proces formovania nového polycentrického modelu svetového usporiadania je sprevádzaný nárastom globálnej a regionálnej nestability" (Ukaz, 2015).

O multipolarite sa uvažuje aj v Číne. Objavuje sa aj v koncepciách čínskych vodcov. Bola to harmonická spoločnosť (svet) Chu Ťin-tchaa⁸ a čínsky sen Si Ťin-pchinga⁹ (Saich, 2015). Koncepcia sa objavuje aj v najvýznamnejších čínskych oficiálnych dokumentoch – materiáloch zjazdov Komunistickej strany Číny (Rezoljucija, 2017).

Teoreticky problém multipolarity vrátane vzťahu k EÚ rozpracovávajú aj európski autori (Toje 2010, s. 156 – 176, Smith 2013, Holman 2019). K téme sa uverejňujú materiály aj v zariadeniach EÚ – napr. Inštitúte bezpečnostných štúdií EÚ (Peral, 2009) a v Európskom výbore pre zahraničné vzťahy (Krastev – Leonard, 2010). V Globálnej stratégii pre zahraničnú a bezpečnostnú politiku Európskej únie z roku 2016 sa však o multipolarite nepíše a uvádza sa, že "EÚ bude presadzovať globálny poriadok založený na pravidlách, ktorého hlavnou zásadou je multilateralizmus a jadrom Organizácia Spojených národov" (Spoločná 2016, s. 4).

V USA sa téma neraz prezentuje v kontexte rôznych modelov fungovania medzinárodných vzťahov po skončení ich dominancie – unipolarity, ktoré sa však stavajú vyhýbavo až odmietavo k pôsobeniu multipolarity. Haass prišiel s ideou "nepolárneho" sveta, ktorému dominuje nie jeden alebo dva alebo dokonca niekoľko štátov, ale desiatky aktérov, ktorí vlastnia a vykonávajú rôzne druhy moci (Haass, 2008). Kupchan vznikajúcu pomer síl charakterizuje ako "svet nikoho", v ktorom narastá sila "nezápadného zostatku sveta". Zakladajúce myšlienky Západu – demokracia, kapitalizmus a sekulárny nacionalizmus – sa budú aj naďalej šíriť a dúfa, že tieto myšlienky zabezpečia, aby si zachoval svoje prednosti aj v zápase s rastúcou silou Číny, Indie a ostatných silnejúcich mocností (Kupchan, 2013).

_

Jevgenij Primakov (1929 – 2015) bol od decembra 1991 do januára 1996 riaditeľom služby zahraničnej rozviedky. Od januára 1996 do septembra 1998 bol ministrom zahraničných vecí a od septembra 1998 do mája 1999 predsedom vlády RF.

⁸ Chu Ťin-tchao (1942) bol od novembra 2002 do novembra 2012 generálnym tajomníkom Komunistickej strany Číny a od marca 2003 do marca 2013 predsedom (prezidentom) ČĽR.

⁹ Si Ťin-pching (1953). V novembri 2012 sa stal generálnym tajomníkom Komunistickej strany Číny a v marci 2013 predsedom ČĽR.

5 O VYBRANÝCH PRÍPADOCH PROTIREČIVOSTI VYTVÁRANIA MULTIPOLARITY V 21. STOROČÍ

Protirečivo vznikajúca multipolarita v 21. storočí má zatiaľ pomerne asymetrický charakter a je spojená s množstvom nezodpovedaných otázok. Nejde len o kvalitatívne rozdiely v hlavných ukazovateľoch sily (potenciálu) spomínaných štyroch potenciálnych centier moci, ale aj o ich geopolitické rozmiestnenie, z ktorého vznikajú viaceré teoretické otázky, súvisiace so stavom medzinárodných vzťahov, ktorý vznikol po rozpade bipolarity, ale má aj staršie historické korene. Pohľad v tejto časti príspevku je predovšetkým politicko-analytický a opiera sa o aktuálne mediálne zdroje. Nejde o komplexnú ani ucelenú charakteristiku regiónov, lebo v nich abstrahujeme od sociálno-ekonomických a kultúrnych problémov a charakterizujeme ich len všeobecne s preferovaním ich možných pozícií a rol vo fungovaní vytvárajúcej sa multipolarity v spojení so základnými geopolitickými a bezpečnostnými aspektami. Ide preto aj o príspevok do diskusie na túto tému vo vedeckých a odborných kruhoch.

Štyri potenciálne centrá moci sa nachádzajú v dvoch oblastiach. Prvou je veľmi veľké, relatívne ucelené územie od západnej Európy cez Rusko do Číny, kde možno vyčleniť až tri veľké regióny s viacerými subregiónmi, v ktorých bude môcť dochádzať k súpereniu, resp. budú sa musieť vyriešiť problémy, ktoré majú svoje korene v bipolarite, či aj dávnejšie.

Tieto tri veľké regióny sa určitým spôsobom prelínajú. Prvým je európsky kontinent, druhým územie bývalého ZSSR a tretím Ďaleký východ, pričom všade sú určité medzinárodnopolitické (geopolitické) problémy.

Geopoliticky na európsky kontinent patrí aj Rusko s jeho európskou časťou. Ide spolu o rozlohu necelých 10,5 mil. km² s necelými 750 mil. obyvateľov. Nie všetky štáty na európskom kontinente sú v EÚ, ktorá má 27 členských štátov. Pominieme, že v Západnej Európe nie sú členmi EÚ Švajčiarsko a Nórsko (a od roku 2020 aj Veľká Británia). Najzložitejšia je situácia na západnom Balkáne, kde nie sú členmi EÚ Albánsko, Bosna a Hercegovina, Severné Macedónsko, Srbsko a čiastočne uznané Kosovo, čo má aj niektoré špecifické historické súvislosti. Ďalšie problémy súvisia najmä s dotykom území EÚ a RF.

Nový problém, ktorý vznikol v Európe, je brexit – vystúpenie Veľkej Británie z EÚ, ktorý priniesol viaceré nových otázok. Z hľadiska vytvárania multipolarity ide najmä o to, aké budú medzinárodnopolitické vzťahy v trojuholníku EÚ – Veľká Británia – USA. Novými teoretickými problémami – ide však o fenomény, ktoré existujú už vyše 70 rokov, sa môžu stať v prípade vytvorenia multipolarity v 21. storočí v Európe pôsobenie NATO a vojenská prítomnosť USA. Zatiaľ to sú piliere atlantickej spolupráce v bezpečnostnej ale často aj politickej oblasti. Ak bude chcieť byť EÚ skutočne samostatným centrom moci v multipolarite, nemôže byť spôsobom, ktorý pochádza z čias bipolarity, spojená s USA ani NATO. Riešenie týchto otázok bude patriť z pohľadu pozície EÚ v multipolarite 21. storočia k najťažším.

Druhým veľkým regiónom je Rusko – najväčší štát na svete (s celkovou rozlohou vyše 17 mil. km² a s vyše 140 mil. obyvateľov), vo vzťahu ku ktorému vznikajú viaceré otázky v priestore na západ a juh od neho – na bývalom postsovietskom území 10. Prejavujú sa najmä vo vzťahoch s EÚ ale aj s NATO. Tri pobaltské republiky – Litva, Lotyšsko a Estónsko sú v EÚ i NATO a politický vplvy Ruska sa v nich neprejavuje. Ďalej sú to Bielorusko, Moldavsko a Ukrajina, ktoré sa nachádzajú na území medzi Ruskom a EÚ. Na Ukrajine geopolitické vákuum vyústilo v roku 2014 do ozbrojeného konfliktu, ktorý trvá dodnes. Napätie panuje aj okolo budúcej geopolitickej orientácie Moldavska. Bielorusko je zatiaľ voľne spojené s Ruskom vo Zväzovom štáte. Zvláštnym subregiónom je južný Kaukaz (Arménsko, Azerbajdžan a Gruzínsko), ktorý sa spája ako s Európou, tak aj bývalým ZSSR, ale "cítit" tam už aj Blízky východ. Nakoniec ide o oblasť bývalých stredoázijských republík ZSSR, ktoré sa rôznym spôsobom postupne politicky vzďaľujú od Moskvy. Špecifickým problémom vo všetkých uvedených priestoroch je existencia rôzne veľkých skupín rusky hovoriaceho obyvateľ stva v jednotlivých Kontraproduktívne preto pôsobí rusofóbia, nielen na Západe, ale aj vo viacerých postsovietskych republikách, lebo prináša do medzinárodnej politiky elementy napätia.

Smerom na východ je situácia jednoduchšia. Ide o hranice medzi Ruskom a Čínou. Novým fenoménom sa stalo rozvinutie rusko-čínskej spolupráce, ktorú podnecuje aj zvonku tlak sankcií USA a ich spojencov proti Rusku po udalostiach na Kryme. Špecifickým a starým problémom je, že doteraz nebola podpísaná mierová zmluva medzi Moskvou a Tokiom po druhej svetovej vojne. V súvislosti s tým niektoré kruhy v Japonsku vznášajú aj požiadavky na časť ruských území (niektoré z Kurilských ostrovov).

Tretí veľký región predstavuje Ďaleký východ (niekedy sa označuje aj za severovýchodnú Áziu). Zaraďuje sa doňho spravidla 6 štátov: ČĽR, Japonsko, severná a južná Kórea, Tchajwan a Mongolsko – teda sú tu dva rozdelené štáty. Súčasťou regiónu je aj rozsiahle územie ruského Ďalekého východu. Na území celého regiónu s rozlohou vyše 18,8 mil km² žije asi 1 650 mil. obyvateľov. Regiónu demograficky a ekonomicky dominuje Čína, ale silná je v ňom politická angažovanosť USA, ktoré tu majú okrem toho rozmiestnených na základniach veľa vojakov – v južnej Kórei a Japonsku (najviac na svete). Problémom vo vzťahoch medzi USA a Čínou je aj Tchajwan, s ktorým Washington síce neudržiava pod tlakom politiky jednej Číny diplomatické vzťahy, ale v roku 1979 prijal zákon o vzťahoch s ním, ktorý má nahradzovať diplomatické styky a obsahuje aj niektoré pasáže zo zmluvy o vzájomnej obrany, ktorá platila v rokoch 1955 – 1979. Vojenské dodávky USA na Tchajwan často vedú k napätiu vo vzťahov medzi ČĽR a USA. S rôznou intenzitou prepukajú problémy okolo raketového a jadrového programu severnej Kórey. V posledných

_

 $^{^{10}}$ Bývalý ZSSR mal rozlohu vyše 22 mil. km 2 a v čase rozpadu vyše 290 mil. obyvateľov.

rokoch sa zvýšilo aj napätie v oblasti Juhočínskeho mora kvôli niektorým krokom Číny, na ktoré však reagujú viaceré opatrenia USA. More však už zasahuje aj do regiónu juhovýchodnej Ázie.

Druhou oblasťou je Severná Amerika, kde sa okrem USA nachádza už len Kanada (spolu majú územie vyše 19,8 mil. km² a asi 365 mil. obyvateľov) a formálne zemepisne aj Grónsko (dnes súčasť Dánska), od ktorého budeme abstrahovať. Z hľadiska vytvárania multipolarity v 21. storočí ide vlastne o jedinú oblasť vo svete, kde v medzinárodnopolitických vzťahoch nie sú žiadne vážne problémy (ide o stav, ktorý existuje od čias, keď sa USA ocitli v pozícii svetovej veľmoci). Kanada udržiava so Spojenými štátmi priateľské politické vzťahy (a oba štáty sú aj spojencami v NATO). Hoci existuje úsilie Quebecu o osamostatnenie, v kontexte regiónu však nemôže priniesť vážne problémy, lebo nie je nič známe o prípadnom záujme niektorého z ďalších potenciálnych centier moci o jeho využitie.

Praktickým, reálnym problémom, ktorý teória medzinárodných vzťahov aj v súvislosti s vytvárajúcou sa multipolaritou v 21. storočí rieši opäť nejednoznačne, je pozostatok bipolarity a studenej vojny – rozmiestnenie vojakov USA na základniach v štátoch EÚ, ale aj v blízkosti územia Ruska a Číny a ich politická angažovanosť v štátoch v ich susedstve (blízkosti). Napriek tomu, že vplyv USA v posledných rokoch vo svete poklesol, týmito bezpečnostno-politickými aktivitami si udržiavajú pozíciu jedinej superveľmoci. Majú aj ďaleko najvyššie náklady na vojenské účely na celom svete. Okrem siete vojenských základní Washington disponuje aj najväčšou flotilou veľkých lietadlových lodí, ktorá tvorí viac ako polovicu ich počtu na celom svete¹¹. Vplyv vo svete si USA udržiavajú aj rozvíjaním kontaktov v rôznych kruhoch spojeneckých i ďalších štátov, ktoré si vytvorili v čase bipolarity, popr. ktoré systematicky začali rozvíjať v postsocialistických štátoch.

Ak aj RF a ČLR v posledných rokoch podnikli viaceré kroky v oblasti modernizácie svojej výzbroje a zvýšenia vojenských výdavkov (najmä Čína), celkový vojenský potenciál (s výnimkou raketovo-jadrových síl RF) USA je vyšší. RF a ČĽR uskutočňujú vojenské opatrenia najmä s ohľadom na situáciu v blízkosti svojho územia a za hranicami majú veľmi málo vojenských základní, ktoré nie sú v blízkosti USA.

Aktuálna i perspektívna situácia na viacerých veľkých územiach, ktoré sú nachádzajú mimo územia štyroch potenciálnych centier moci a sú z hľadiska ich pôsobenia "voľné", je ešte zložitejšia. Štáty v týchto regiónoch zažili rôzne "historické" osudy a štyri potenciálne centrá moci k nim majú rozdielny, ktorý sa mení niekde aj v súčasnosti. Môže byť poznamenaný aj kolonializmom, ako i politikou, ktorú voči nim uplatňovali počas bipolarity jej dva bloky.

-

¹¹ Podľa neoficiálnych údajov zo zhruba 20 (údaje sa rôznia, lebo niektoré lode sa rekonštruujú) veľkých lietadlových lodí 11 patrí USA, pričom ide o najväčšie lode (10 lodí patrí do triedy Nimitz – s výtlakom okolo 100 000 ton, jadrovým pohonom a posádkou okolo 4 000 členov, ktoré môžu niesť vyše 90 lietadiel).

Zvýrazňujeme pohľad na tieto regióny ako celok, ale v niektorých sa objavujú štáty s úsilím získať silnejšiu geopolitickú pozíciu. Pritom pôsobí aj snaha využiť vzťahy z minulosti najmä s USA, oveľa menej s dnešnou Moskvou, a len výnimočne s Čínou. Politika týchto štátov je často podmienená najmä vnútropolitickou situáciou, popr. režimom, ktorý v nich vládne a časom sa tiež môže zmeniť. Vo všetkých uvedených regiónoch s výnimkou Latinskej Ameriky a Karibiku je veľmi diferencované národnostné a náboženské zloženie, pričom sa prejavujú spory, ktoré môžu mať aj hlbšie historické korene a pôsobia až do súčasnosti.

Latinská Amerika a Karibik boli od čias Monroeovej doktríny doménou USA, ale v druhej polovici 20. storočia tam začali vznikať "protiwashingtonsky" orientované nacionalistické a ľavicové (socialistické) režimy a vlády, ktoré si toto zameranie udržiavajú dodnes (Kuba vyše 60 rokov). Región už nie je medzinárodnopoliticky homogénny. V roku 2010 sa vytvorilo Spoločenstvo latinskoamerických a karibských štátov (španielsky Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños), ktorého členmi je 33 štátov na území vyše 20 mil. km² s vyše 600 mil. obyvateľov. Ide o všetky štáty na americkom kontinente okrem USA a Kanady. Špecifickým fenoménom je pôsobenie Brazílie v skupine BRICS. Nejasnosti vo vývoji regiónu vyvolalo aj zrieknutie sa USA Monroeovej doktríny Obamovou administratívou v novembri 2013. Trumpova administratíva však tento postoj zmenila a jej predstavitelia sa viackrát vyjadrili, že ju nepovažujú za prekonanú.

Afrika (celková plocha vyše 30,5 mil. km² a viac ako 1 200 mil. obyvateľov) sa spravidla člení na severnú a subsaharskú. Severná Afrika sa často spája s Blízkym východom do regiónu severná Afrika a Blízky východ – známeho aj pod anglickou skratkou MENA – Middle East and North Africa. Formálne politicky do severnej Afriky zaradíme len 5 štátov – Alžírsko, Líbyu, Maroko, Tunisko a čiastočne uznanú Saharskú arabskú demokratická republiku (spolu asi 75 mil. obyvateľov). Egypt s rastúcim počtom obyvateľstva (odhady sú už aj okolo 100 mil.) sa tu síce tiež nachádza, ale politicky sa považuje za súčasť Blízkeho východu. Do subsaharskej Afriky možno zaradiť až 49 štátov, ktoré ležia čiastočne alebo úplne pod Saharou a majú už vyše 900 mil. obyv. Subregión z viacerých dôvodov predstavuje sociálno-ekonomicky najzložitejšiu časť sveta s najväčšími ťažkosťami. Po rozpade bipolarity poklesol o ňu záujem. V tomto storočí postupne začali zvyšovať o Afriku záujem všetky potenciálne centrá moci, pričom zatiaľ narastá najmä vplyv Číny. Špecifickým fenoménom je tiež členstvo Juhoafrickej republiky v skupine BRICS (od roku 2011). AÚ zatiaľ nemá mimo kontinentu výrazný politický vplyv.

Blízky východ či už v užšom chápaní (ide o územie 17 štátov s rozlohou vyše 7 mil. km² a s takmer 400 mil. obyvateľov) alebo v podobe MENA je bezpečnostne

_

¹² Brazília, na čele ktorej je od januára 2019 "prowashingtonský" pravicový, konzervatívny prezident J. Bolsonaro v januári 2020 pozastavila svoje členstvo v spoločenstva. Na ťažkosti vo fungovaní spoločenstva poukazuje aj to, že v rokoch 2018 a 2019 sa nezišli jeho samity.

najnestabilnejší región sveta. Možno tu registrovať síce pokles vplyvu USA najmä v dôsledku ich zapojenia do ozbrojených konfliktov v regióne a snahy politicky zasahovať do vnútorných záležitostí viacerých štátov, ale ich pozícia je stále veľmi silná. V posledných rokoch sa prejavuje aj úsilie RF obnoviť niektoré prvky vplyvu bývalého ZSSR v regióne. Zatiaľ to je citeľné len v Sýrii a existujú určité náznaky v Líbyi a Iraku. EÚ má tiež snahu zvýšiť svoj vplyv v regióne, ktorý však zatiaľ nepriniesol markantné politické výsledky. Čína zatiaľ zvýšený záujem o tento región neprejavuje a pri riešení problémov v ňom zdôrazňuje potrebu dodržiavať zásadu nezasahovania do vnútorných záležitostí iných štátov. Na zložitosť Blízkeho východu poukazuje aj to, že je tu niekoľko stredne veľkých štátov, ktoré majú ambície získať v ňom (niekedy aj v širšom priestore) silnejšiu pozíciu. V posledných rokoch sa zvýšili takéto ambície u Turecka, dlhšie trvajú u Iránu a Saudskej Arábie (aj v kontexte šítskosunnitského súperenia v islame). Vzhľadom na vývoj v Egypte, ktorý má najviac obyvateľov v regióne, jeho ambície v regióne nie sú také výrazné ako v minulosti. Zvláštne postavenie má Izrael, najmä v dôsledku podpory Spojenými štátmi. Z vývoja v posledných desaťročiach je len čisto hypotetickou otázkou, či môže vzniknúť spojenectvo arabských štátov, ktoré bude vystupovať ako aktér medzinárodných vzťahov. V regióne existujú dve veľké otázky, ktoré sa zrejme nedajú vyriešiť bez veľkých medzinárodných dohôd – izraelsko-palestínsky konflikt a Kurdistan.

Stredná Ázia je z uvedených regiónov najmenšia (rozloha necelých 4 mil. km² a vyše 55 mil. obyvateľov) a vymedzuje sa rôznym spôsobom. Pre potreby príspevky zostaneme pri relatívne zjednodušenom politickom chápaní, ktoré sa dnes často používa a charakterizuje ju ako päť stredoázijských republík bývalého ZSSR. Tri z nich susedia aj s Čínou. Špecifičnosťou týchto štátov je, že v nich prevažuje obyvateľstvo islamského vierovyznania. Ruský a sovietsky vplyv poznačil región, ale v súčasnosti pozícia Moskvy v nich upadá a rôzne pôsobia prvky islamského radikalizmu. Komplikácie prináša aj susediaci Afganistan. Rozlohou najväčší je Kazachstan, ale najviac obyvateľov má Uzbekistan (vyše 40 % v regióne). Z rôznych dôvodov sa v tomto priestore angažujú aj USA a z tohto dôvodu môže ísť o región, v ktorom sa v budúcnosti bude zvyšovať geopolitické súperenie.

Južná Ázia je región, kde žije vyše 1,8 milióna obyvateľov, pričom ide len o 8 štátov ale s rozlohou vyše 5,1 mil. km² (Afganistan, Bangladéš, Bhután, India, Maledivy, Nepál, Pakistan a Srí Lanku). Dominuje mu India, ktorá ako sme už uviedli, sa niekedy považuje za potenciálne centrum sily v nastávajúcej multipolarite. Zároveň je aj členom skupiny BRICS. Napriek tomu má rozdielne (aj historicky podmienené) vzťahy s Moskvou a Pekingom. Zvláštnym problémom, že India a Pakistan vlastnia jadrové zbrane a že sú medzi nimi dlhodobo napäté vzťahy. Aj v tomto regióne sa oproti minulosti snažia viac angažovať USA, ktoré začali uplatňovať koncepciu (stratégiu) indo-tichooceánskeho priestoru s cieľom obmedzovať pôsobenie Číny.

Juhovýchodná Ázia sa spravidla vymedzuje ako región východne od Indie, južne od Číny a severne od Austrálie. V 11 štátoch žije na území necelého 4,5 mil. km² viac ako okolo 650 mil. ľudí. Má pevninskú (Kambodža, Laos, Mjanmarsko, Thajsko, Vietnam) a ostrovnú (Brunej, Filipíny, Indonézia, Singapur, Východný Timor). Malajzia sa rozprestiera na pevnine i ostrovoch. Vo viacerých z týchto štátov žijú Číňania – najviac v malom Singapure (viac ako tri štvrtiny obyvateľstva), v Malajzii (viac ako štvrtina obyvateľstva) a Thajsku (viac ako 10 %), pričom často majú veľmi silnú ekonomickú pozíciu. Indonézia, ktorej obyvateľstvo stále rastie (niektoré odhady sú už vyše 250 mil.), je štátom, kde žije najviac moslimov – k islamu sa hlási viac ako 85 % obyvateľstva. V tomto regióne majú USA zlú povesť, najmä vo Vietname, kde viedli nesmierne krutú vojnu. Washington tu však má aj silné spojenecké väzby z čias bipolarity. V posledných rokoch sa v regióne zvýšilo napätie kvôli Spratlyho ostrovom, na ktoré si robia nároky viaceré štáty.

Problémom teórie medzinárodných vzťahov ale aj ich praxe je, aké vzťahy sa k týmto regiónom vytvoria v centrách sily v multipolarite 21. storočia. Môžu sa v nich (nielen v regiónoch, ale aj štátoch v ich rámci) vytvoriť sféry vplyvu, alebo vážne, kritické problémy sa budú riešiť v jednotlivých prípadoch ad hoc cestou dohody medzi potenciálnymi centrami moci. Do úvahy treba brať, ako pri tom môže pôsobiť okrem záujmov potenciálnych centier moci geopolitika, ale aj počet obyvateľstva v nich, ako i ďalšie najmä ekonomické faktory.

Vylúčené nie je ani to, že sa vytvorí ešte nejaké nové centrum sily v podobe niektorého veľkého, silného štátu v týchto regiónoch, alebo sa integráciou vytvorí aktér podobný EÚ. Vo viacerých regiónoch takéto zoskupenia pôsobia, ale majú rozdielny stupeň integrácie a ich politický vplyv nie je patrične silný. Vývoj smerom k novej multipolarite môžu okrem geopolitických a bezpečnostných aspektov ovplyvniť však aj sociálno-ekonomické faktory.

6 ZÁVER

Vytváranie multipolarity v medzinárodných vzťahov v 21. storočí je problémom, ktorý je napriek množstvu zdrojov na túto tému stále vo svojich začiatkoch a zatiaľ je nevyhranený. Ide o otázku diskusného charakteru.

Existuje zhoda na tom, že centrami moci v multipolarite 21. storočia by sa mali stať USA, ČĽR, EÚ a RF. Existuje však výrazná asymetria, lebo každý z týchto aktérov medzinárodných vzťahov predstavuje zvláštnu entitu s určitými odlišnosťami. Vzhľadom na medzinárodné vzťahy, v ktorých sa multipolarita utvára, zatiaľ nemožno predpokladať, že títo aktéri by sa stretli na nejakom fóre, kde by sa dohodli na jej princípoch. Máme pred sebou dlhšie obdobie, v ktorom sa multipolarita (ako aj rovnováha sily v nej) bude utvárať ťažko, zložito a protirečivo, pričom nie je isté, či jej konečná podoba bude taká, ako vyzerá jej súčasná vízia.

POUŽITÁ LITERATÚRA:

- 1. ADDRESS (1990) Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis and the Federal Budget Deficit. [Online.] In: *W. Bush Presidential Library & Museum*. [Citované 15.1.2020.] Dostupné a internete: https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/public-papers/2217>.
- 2. ACHARYA, A. (2018): *The End of American World Order*, 2nd Ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2018. 224 s. ISBN 978-1509517084.
- 3. ANDERSON, J. IKENBERRY, G. J. RISSE, T. (2008): *The End of the West?: Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008. 312 s. ISBN 978-0801474002.
- 4. BARŠA P. CÍSAŘ, O. (2008): Anarchie a řád ve světové politice. Kapitoly z teorie mezinárodních vztahů. Praha: Portál, 2008. 560 s. ISBN 978-8073670948.
- 5. BUZAN, B. LAWSON, G. (2015): Twentieth century benchmark dates in international relations: the three world wars in historical perspective. In: *Journal of International Security Studies*, 2015, č. 1, s. 39-58.
- 6. COX, M. (Ed.) (2007): Twentieth Century International Relations: Vol. 1-8. London: SAGE. 3328 s. ISBN 978-1412910187.
- 7. ČUBARJAN, A. O. (red.) (1993): *Sovetskaja vnešnaja politika v retrospektive,* 1917 1991. Moskva: Nauka, 1993. 205 s. ISBN 5020092088.
- 8. DE KEERSMAEKER, G. (2017): Polarity, Balance of Power and International Relations Theory Post-Cold War and the 19th Century Compared. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017. 260 s. ISBN 978-3319426518.
- 9. DICE, M. (2010): The New World Order: Facts & Fiction. San Diego: The Resistance, 2010. 324 s. ISBN 978-0967346670.
- 10. DUGIN, A. G. (2013): *Teorija mnogopoljarnogo mira*, Moskva: Jevrazijskoje dviženije, 2013. 532 s. ISBN 978-5903459124.
- 11. DUNNE, M. (2000): US Foreign Relations in the Twentieth Century: From World Power to Global Hegemony. In: *International Affairs*, 2000, r. 76, č. 1, s. 25-40.
- 12. ENGDAHL, F. W. (2011): A Century of War: Anglo-american Oil Politics and the New World Order. Wiesbaden: edition.engdahl, 2011. 356 s. ISBN 978-3981326321.
- 13. ESOLEN, A. (2008): *The Politically Incorrect Guide to Western Civilization*. Washington: Regnery Publishing, 2008. 340 s. ISBN 978-1596980594.
- 14. FENSTER, M (2008): Conspiracy Theories: Secrecy and Power in American Culture. 2nd ed., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008. 400 s. ISBN 978-0816654949.

- 15. HAASS, R. N. (2008): The Age of Nonpolarity What Will Follow U.S. Dominance. In: *Foreign Affairs*, 2008, r. 87, č. 3, s. 44-56.
- HERRING, G. C. (2017): The American Century and Beyond: U.S. Foreign Relations, 1893-2014. 2nd Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. 768 s. ISBN 978-0190212476.
- 17. HEUER, A. (2012): Globales Geschichtsbewusstsein: Die Entstehung der multipolaren Welt vom 18. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart. Münster: LIT, 2012. 200 s. ISBN 978-3643116413.
- 18. HIRO, D. (2009): *After Empire. The birth of a multipolar world.* New York: Nation books, 2009. 348 s. ISBN 978-1568584270.
- 19. HOBSBAWM, E. (2010): *Věk extrémů Krátké dějiny 20. století 1914 1991*. Praha: Argo, 2010. 620 s. ISBN 978-8025703021.
- HOGAN, J. M. (Ed.) (2000): The Ambiguous Legacy: U.S. Foreign Relations in The "American Century". Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 550 s. ISBN 978-0521770194.
- 21. HOLMAN, O. (2019): Global Europe: EU's external relations in a multipolar world. [Online.] In: *Clingendael Spectator*, 2019. [Citované 25.2.2020.] Dostupné na internete: https://spectator.clingendael.org/en/publication/global-europe-eus-external-relations-multipolar-world#>.
- 22. CHOSUDOVSSKY, M. (2005): *The Globalization of Poverty and the New World Order*. 2nd ed., Pincourt: Global Research, 2005. 400 s. ISBN 978-0973714708.
- 23. IKENBERRY, G. J. MASTANDUNO, M. WOHLFORTH, W. C. (2011) (Eds.): *International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 350 s. ISBN 978-1107634596.
- 24. N.A. (1986): *Istoria vnešnej politiky SSSR 1917-1985*. Moskva: Nauka, 1986. 1202 s.
- 25. JACOBSEN, T. SAMPFORD, C. THAKUR, R. (Eds.) (2008): *Reenvisioning sovereignty: The end of Westphalia?* Lonmdon: Routledge 2008. 392 s. ISBN 978-0754672609.
- 26. JERVIS, R. GAVIN, F. ROVNER, J. LABROSSE, D. (Eds.) (2018): Chaos in the Liberal Order: The Trump Presidency and International Politics in the Twenty-First Century. New York: Columbia University Press, 2018. 416 s. ISBN 978-0231188357.
- 27. KINZER, S. (2006): Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq. New York: Times Books, 384 s. ISBN 978-0805082401.
- 28. KOCS, S. A. (2019): *International Order: A Political History*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2019. 255 s. ISBN 978-1626378100.
- 29. KRASTEV, I. LEONARD, M. (2010): The Spectre of a Multipolar Europe. [Online.] In: *ECFR*, 2010. [Citované 17.2.2020.] Dostupné na internete:

- https://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR25_SECURITY_UPDATE_AW_SINGLE.pdf>.
- 30. KRATOCHVÍL, P. (2002): Polarita v teorii mezinárodních vztahů. In *Mezinárodní vztahy*, 2002, roč. 37, č. 4., s. 26-46.
- 31. KRATOCHVÍL, P. (Hrsg.) (2013): *The EU as a Political Actor. The Analysis of Four Dimensions of the EU's Actorness*. Baden Baden: Nomos, 2013. 199 s. ISBN 978-3832972233.
- 32. KREJČÍ, O. (2014): *Mezinárodní politika*, 5 vyd., Praha: Ekopress, 2014. 752 s. ISBN 9788087865071.
- 33. KREUDER-SONNEN, C. ZANGL, B. (2015): Which post-Westphalia? International organizations between constitutionalism and authoritarianism. In *European Journal of International Relations*, 2015, roč. 21, č. 3, s. 568-592.
- 34. KUPCHAN, (2013): No One's World: The West, The Rising Rest, And The Coming Global Turn. Oxford University Press, 2013. 272 s. ISBN 978-0199325221.
- 35. LAVROV (2015): Imenno Primakov sformuliroval princip mnogopoljarnosti mira. [Online.] In: *Life.ru*, 2015. [Citované 10.2.2020.] Dostupné na internete: https://life.ru/p/156318>.
- 36. LAYNE, C. (2006): The Unipolar Illusion Revisited. The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment. In *International Security*, 2006, roč. 31, č. 2, s. 7 41.
- 37. LITTLE, R. (2007): *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths and Models.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 328 s. ISBN 978-0521697606.
- 38. MAULL, H. W. (Ed.) (2018): *The Rise and Decline of the Post-Cold War International Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. 368 s. ISBN 978-0198828945.
- 39. McCORMICK, J. (2006): *The European Superpower*. London: Palgrave, 2006. 224 s. ISBN 978-1403998460.
- 40. McCOY, A. W. (2017): *In the Shadows of the American Century The Rise and Decline of US Global Power*. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017. 384 s. ISBN 978-1608467730.
- 41. MELLEY, T. (2000): *Empire of Conspiracy: The Culture of Paranoia in Postwar America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999. 264 s. ISBN 978-0801486067.
- 42. MURRAY, D. BROWN, D. (Eds) (2012): Multipolarity in the 21st Century: A New World Order 2013. London: Routledge, 2012. 224 s. ISBN: 978-0415718172.
- 43. NYE, J. S. jr. (2015): *Is the American Century Over?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015. 152 s. ISBN 978-0745690070.

- 44. NOLAN, M. (2012): *The Transatlantic Century: Europe and America, 1890-2010.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 404 s. ISBN 978-0521692212.
- 45. PAUL, T. V. HALL, J. A. (Eds.) (1999) *International Order and the Future of World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 434 s. ISBN 978-0521658324.
- 46. PAUL, V. T. WIRTZ, J. J. FORTMANN, M. (Eds.) (2004): *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004. 400 s. ISBN 978-0804750172.
- 47. PERAL, L. (Ed.) 2009: Global security in a multipolar world. [Online.] In: *Chaillot Paper*, 2009. [Citované 18.2.2020.] Dostupné na internete: https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/cp118.pdf.
- 48. PERSKAJA, V. V. GLUCHOVCEV, V. E. (2011): *Mnogopoljarnosť: mif ili realnosť? (geoekonomičeskije asppkty)*. Moskva: Ekonomika, 2011. 255 s. ISBN: 978-5282031751.
- 49. PETRAS, J (2019): US Global Power: The Trump Period, The End of Unipolarity. [Online.] In: *Global Research*, 2019. [Citované 22.2.2020.] Dostupné na internete: https://www.globalresearch.ca/us-global-power-trump-period/5676244.
- 50. PIERACCINI, F. (2016): Transition to Multipolar World: Only Barrier to Washington's Domination. [Online.] In: www.mondialisation.ca, 2016. [Citované 24.2.2020.] Dostupné na internete: https://www.mondialisation.ca/transition-to-multipolar-world-only-barrier-to-washingtons-domination/5527613.
- 51. POLIKARPOV, V. S. (1995): *Istorija nravov Rossiji. Vostok ili Zapad?* Moskva: Feniks, 2015. 576 s. ISBN 5-858802419.
- 52. PROCHANOV A. A. et al. (2019): *Krach odnopoljarnogo mira*. Moskva: Knižnyj mir, 2019. 420 s. ISBN 978-5604252079.
- 53. *Project for the New American Century* (n.a.): [Online.] In: *Web archive*. [Citované 23.2.2020.] Dostupné na internete: https://www.newamericancentury.org/>.
- 54. N.A. (2017): XIX Vsekitajskogo sjezda KPK po dokladu Central'nogo komiteta KPK 18-go sozyva. [Online.] In: *Russian people*, 2017. [Citované 10.2.2020.] Dostupné na internete: <russian.people.com.cn>.
- 55. RIVERA, D. A. (2017): Final Warning: A History of the New World Order. 3. ed. San Diego: Progressive Press, 2017. 370 s. ISBN 978-1615779291.
- 56. SAICH, A. (2015): President Xi's Chinese dream means a more multi-polar world. [Online.] In: *The Conversation*, 2015. [Citované 4.2.2020.] Dostupné

- na internete: http://theconversation.com/president-xis-chinese-dream-means-a-more-multi-polar-world-35706.
- 57. SEREBRJANNIKOV, V. V (1998): *Sociologija vojny*. Moskva: Os-89, 1998. 320 s. ISBN 5868942043.
- 58. SHEEHAN, M. (1996): *Balance Of Power: History and Theory*. London: Routledge, 1996. 240 s. ISBN 978-0415119313.
- 59. SMITH, K. E. (2013): Can the European Union be a Pole in a Multipolar World? In: *The International Spectator Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 2013, roč. 48, č. 2, s. 114-126.
- 60. SPENGLER, O. (2017, 1918, 1922): Zánik Západu. Obrysy morfologie světových dějin. Praha: Academia, 2017. 1027 s. ISBN 978-8020026668.
- 61. MZV (2016): Spoločná vízia, spoločný postup: Silnejšia Európa Globálna stratégia pre zahraničnú a bezpečnostnú politiku Európskej únie. [Online.] In: MZVaEZ SR, 2016. [Citované 16.2.2020.] Dostupné na internete: https://www.mzv.sk/documents/10182/2463130/160823_OBEP_Globalna_strategia_EÚ.pdf/f47f31dc-af40-4f5b-a1a7-39c252e7eba1.
- 62. STONE, O. KUZNICK, P. (2015): Utajené dějiny Spojených států. Temné stránky americké historie od anexe Havaje po tažení v Iráku. Brno: CPress, 2015. 236 s. ISBN 978-88026408123.
- 63. ŠEDIVÝ, J. (1998a): Rovnováha moci genealogie koncepce In *Mezinárodní vztahy*, roč. 32, 1998, č 1. s. 68-79.
- 64. ŠEDIVÝ, J. (1998b): Koncepce rovnováhy moci ve 20. století. In *Mezinárodní vztahy*, 1998, roč. 32, č. 2, s. 66-81.
- 65. ŠULIKA, Ju. Je (2012): Čto esť Rossija Zapad ili Vostok. In: *Voprosy politiologiji*, 2012, roč. 2, č. 2, s. 103-114.
- 66. TOJE, A. (2010): *The European Union as a Small Power After the Post-Cold War.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 268 s. ISBN 978-1349318698.
- 67. TISDALL, S. (2019): Trump's new world disorder: competitive, chaotic, conflicted. [Online.] In: *The Guardian*, 2019. [Citované 6.1.2020.] Dostupné na internete: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/sep/14/trump-american-foreign-policy-unstable-confrontational.
- 68. RG (2015): Ukaz Prezidenta Rossijskoj federaciji ot 31 dekabrja 2015 goda No, 683 "O strategiji nacional'noj bezopasnosti Rossijskoj federaciji. [Online.] In *Rossijskaja gazeta*, 2015. [Citované 5.2.2020.] Dostupné na internete: https://rg.ru/2015/12/31/nac-bezopasnost-site-dok.html.
- 69. VOLKONSKIJ, V. (2017): XXI vek. Mnogopoljarnyj mir. Trendy i zadači istoriji. Moskva: Knižnyj mir, 2017. 320 s. ISBN 978-5950072611.
- 70. WALLERSTEIN, I. M. (2003): *The Decline of American Power: The U.S. in a Chaotic World.* New York: New Press 2003. 324 s. ISBN 978-1565847996.

- 71. WILLIAMS, A. (2007): Failed Imagination? Anglo-American New World Order from Wilson to Bush. 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007. 400 s. ISBN 978-0719074622.
- 72. ZAKARIA, F. (2019): The Self-Destruction of American Power: Washington Squandered the Unipolar Moment. In *Foreign Affairs*, 2019, roč. 98, č. 4, s. 10-16.



MEDZINÁRODNÉ VZŤAHY SLOVAK JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Faculty of International Relations, University of Economics in Bratislava 2020, Volume XVIII., Issue 1, Pages 57 – 70 ISSN 1336-1562 (print), ISSN 1339-2751 (online) Submitted: 20. 2, 2020 | Accepted: 9, 3, 2020 | Published 15, 3, 2020

VPLYV UNILATERÁLNYCH PREFERENCIÍ NA VÝVOZNÚ ŠTRUKTÚRU NAJMENEJ ROZVINUTÝCH KRAJÍN

IMPACT OF UNILATERAL PREFERENCES ON EXPORT STRUCTURE OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Petra Doleželová ¹

Hlavným cieľom článku je zistiť, ako sa exporty najmenej rozvinutých krajín (LDC) vyvíjali z hľadiska komoditnej a geografickej štruktúry od zavedenia hlavných preferenčných režimov pre najmenej rozvinuté krajiny – Všetko okrem zbraní (EBA) Európskej únii (EÚ) a Africký zákon o raste a príležitosti (AGOA) Spojených štátov amerických (USA) a neskôr čínsky bezcolný program bez kvót. Výsledky nenaznačujú, že preferenčné režimy pre najmenej rozvinuté krajiny prispeli k väčšej diverzifikácii vývozu najmenej rozvinutých krajín alebo k zvýšeniu podielu výrobkov náročných na spracovanie. V rámci Európskej únie, Spojených štátov a Číny však došlo k významným zmenám v geografickej štruktúre vývozu najmenej rozvinutých krajín.

Kľúčové slová: najmenej rozvinuté krajiny, nerecipročné obchodné preferencie, Čína, EÚ, Spojené štáty

The main aim of the paper is to find out how the exports of the least developed countries (LDCs) have evolved in terms of the commodity and geographical structure since the introduction of the main preferential schemes for LDCs - Everything but Arms (EBA) of the European Union (EU) and African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) of the United States (US) and later Chinese duty-free, quota-free program. The results do not suggest that preferential schemes for LDCs have contributed to a greater diversification of LDCs exports or an increase in the proportion of processing-intensive products in them. However, there have been significant changes in the geographical structure of the LDCs exports within the European Union, the United States and China.

Key words: least developed countries, nonreciprocal trade preference, China, EU, United States

JEL: F10, F15, F40, O10

-

¹ Petra Doleželová, Department of European Integration, VŠB – Technical University in Ostrava, Sokolska tr. 33, 70200, Ostrava, Czech Republic, e-mail: petra.dolezelova@vsb.cz

1 Introduction

Poverty is one of the most complex and widespread global problems humanity has ever faced. And while trying to find different ways to eradicate poverty, the experts found that one of the most effective means able to fight the poverty is trade. Thus, encouraging the trade has become common way, how richer countries try to help poor countries. Developed and some developing countries grant unilateral trade preferences to poor countries to make it easier for them to market their products on the world market and benefit from engaging in international trade. Although there is currently around fifty countries provide unilateral trade preferences this paper deals solely with the three preferences schemes of the European Union, the United States and China.

The first part of this paper provides a brief overview of preference schemes for the LDCs provided by the European Union, the United States and China. Although these preferences have been granted for a long time, to this point, it is not clear whether they achieve their purpose of promoting exports of beneficiary countries. Selected studies dealing with the impacts of preferential schemes are closer discussed in the literature review.

The majority of authors, including those mentioned in the literature review, who dealt with trade preferences in their studies sought to measure the impact of these preferences on the volume of exports of the beneficiary countries. The most common tool used in these impact studies to assess whether and by how much exports to countries granting preferences increased was the gravity model. Compared to these studies we intend not to assess the impact of preferences on the volume of exports from LDCs but to map the changes in the structure of these exports that have occurred since the introduction of the preferential schemes.

The main aim of the paper is to find out how the exports of the least developed countries have evolved in terms of the commodity structure since the introduction of the main preferential schemes for LDCs – Everything but Arms of the European Union and African Growth and Opportunity Act of the United States and later Chinese duty-free, quota-free program. We also try to find out whether the geographical structure of exports of the least developed countries within the three selected economies, i.e. the European Union, the United States, and China, has changed over the years especially after the introduction of the preferential system of China in 2010.

The paper will therefore provide answers to the two offered research questions. The first research question is whether the beneficiary LDCs' exports evolve over the time towards exports less concentrated and exports of the higher value-added products.

The second research question is whether the introduction of a program for the LDCs by China in 2010 caused some LDCs to shift part of their exports from the European Union and the United States to China.

To identify structural changes in the LDCs exports following the introduction of the preferential schemes in question, several groups were separately created 2000

and 2018 within the LDCs. These groups were generated based on the similarity of their exports. For each group applies that all the countries included in it have same main characteristics and therefore are similar in terms of the export structure and its geographical focus. Conversely, countries belonging to different groups are very different in their export structure and geographic focus.

2 BACKGROUND

Empirical evidence supports the idea that the expansion of trade is one of the most proven means to boost the growth and development of developing countries (Grossman & Helpman, 2015). Therefore, all countries even the least developed ones should have a chance to engage in international trade and benefit from it. But being successful in competing with others in the world market can be difficult for some countries, especially the less developed ones. The idea that developing countries should receive "special and differential treatment" in the trade area originated from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in the early 1970s. Under the GATT was in 1979 adopted Enabling clause which allows developed members to give differential and more favorable treatment to developing countries. This special treatment can take several different forms, although its most well-known form is the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). Under this scheme, developed countries apply concessional measures towards developing countries in the form of unilateral trade preferences (Pareja et al., 2016). As the word unilateral implies, these preferences are granted by a donor country to a developing country without any reciprocal preferences for the donor's exports. The expected result of these measures is an increase in exports of beneficiary countries towards the preference-giving country. These preferences may take the form of duty-free access to the donor's market or substantially lower than the normal Most-favoured-nation tariffs. The list of affected products varies from several dozens to thousands of items for different preferential schemes.

Unilateral preferences have been applied since the early 1970s and are currently part of the trade policies of all developed countries. Most of these countries have also introduced more privileged preference programs that can be targeted either at developing countries located in a particular region or countries with a high degree of underdevelopment.

One of the longest applied and most comprehensive preference schemes is the Generalized System of Preferences of the European Union. The first GSP scheme of the European Community was applied in an initial phase between 1971–1981 and has been subsequently renewed several times. At each renewal, the GSP was also revised in terms of the range of products covered, quotas and ceilings as well as the lists of beneficiaries and conditions for the export of agricultural products (Aiello, 2010). The

General System of Preferences of the European Union is one of the most studied preferential schemes, especially its Everything but Arms initiative.

The Everything but Arms initiative became part of the European Union's preferential scheme on March 5th, 2001. This initiative is targeted specifically on the least developed countries and compared to other preferences under the GSP, the Everything but Arms has an unlimited period of its implementation. All products from the least developed countries except for arms and munitions have duty-free access and access without any quantitative restrictions to the market of the European Union under the Everything but Arms. The expectations from the EBA were from the beginning high even though, as Brenton (2003) proved, the vast majority of imports from the least developed countries have already entered the EU without duty and quotas before the EBA's implementation. Currently is 7,200 products covering also agricultural products including sensitive ones eligible for the EBA initiative.

The second most frequently studied preferential scheme is the African Growth and Opportunity Act that came into force in 2001 with intend to enforce trade and investment of sub-Saharan African countries in the United States. This cooperation is supposed to stimulate economic growth and help the countries of sub-Saharan Africa to integrate into the world economy (AGOA, 2018). However, like the EBA, the African Growth and Opportunity Act is not entirely flawless and is criticized for several reasons. For example, Fayissa and Tadesse (2008) point to the fact that exports from African countries are mainly dominated by petroleum products with relatively low value-added and that most of the African imports to the US come only from a few African countries.

Developed countries are no longer the only ones that provide unilateral preferences. Recently, several developing countries have also introduced their preferential schemes. One such a country is China, which in 2001 started to grant duty-free treatment to developing countries. One of the main prerequisites for granting these preferences were the good diplomatic relations of the recipient country with China. Since then, China has been gradually working towards an increase in the product coverage of its LDC scheme. The Chinese duty-free, quota-free market access program for LDCs entered into force in 2010 covering 95 percent of China's total tariff lines.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Although unilateral preferences have been applied by developed countries for a long time, the evidence of their effectiveness is inconsistent. While some authors conclude that trade preferences contribute to increasing trade, others deny these claims and say that preferences are not capable of affecting trade in developing countries in significant way.

One of the authors finding positive effects is Aiello (2010) who studies impact of preferences on the LDC's export to OECD countries on three different levels of data

aggregation: total exports, total agricultural exports, and export flow for ten groups of agricultural products at 2-digit level. In line with Aiello's findings, Thelle (2015) finds that EU's GSP preferences have contributed to an export increase of covered products by up to 5%, compared to the pre-preference export level. Thelle also points out that preferences under the Everything but Arms scheme have generated higher export responses than preferences under the GSP General Arrangement or GSP+ scheme.

In contrast to these positive findings, there are also several studies showing the negative impact of non-reciprocal preferences. The effectiveness of the Generalized System of Preferences is questioned, for example, by Herz and Wagner (2011) who in their study draw attention to the short duration of effects. They state that the GSP tends to foster developing countries' exports in the short-run but hampers them in the long-run. They also point to the fact that the GSP granting countries are initially able to promote their exports, since the GSP recipients import inputs mainly from the GSP granting country.

Ornelas (2018) acknowledges the positive effect of preferences on trade but with some limitations. He claims that unilateral preferences boost the exports of the least developed countries, but only if these countries are members of the World Trade Organization (WTO). However, non-reciprocal preferences help non-LDCs promote foreign sales only if they are not members of the WTO. Cernat (2004) focuses solely on the impacts of the Everything but Arms on third developing countries and the LDCs in his study. The study shows moderate trade gains from the EBA initiative with the largest gains being recorded for sub-Saharan Africa. Only minor impact of EU's GSP on the trade of beneficiary countries is found also by Cipollina et al. (2013) with preferences having a significant impact only in some sectors such as ceramics and glassware, textiles and footwear and for specific exporters.

Gradeva and Martínez-Zarzoso (2010) on the example of the African, Caribbean and Pacific LDCs show that eligibility for the EU's Everything but Arms scheme alone does not contribute to the increase of the exports of these countries because there cannot be found any substantial improvements in their export performance. They also address the issue of replacing development assistance with non-reciprocal preferences, which they consider to be highly questionable. So far, studies showing the significant impact of EU preferences on LDCs exports are very scarce.

Following the introduction of the AGOA by the United States in 2001, the attention of experts shifted also in this direction. Regarding the AGOA, there is also prevalent the empirical evidence suggesting little or no significant impact. Among the studies showing positive effects of the AGOA belongs for example study of Kassa (2019) in which he claims that most of the eligible countries register gains in exports due to the African Growth and Opportunity Act. However, the gains are relatively unevenly distributed, with the exports of oil and other minerals making up the largest

part of the growth in exports. The study by Wamisho (2015) indicates that the AGOA trade preferences do not have a statistically significant impact on sub-Saharan Africa's agricultural exports. Fernandes (2018) finds the positive impact of the AGOA on the export of the least developed countries in Africa. He shows on a sample of African countries exports to the US at HS 6-digit level in 26 years that the biggest boost from the AGOA to African countries' exports was for apparel products.

Since China's preferential scheme has been applied for the shortest time of the three preferential schemes in question, there are very few studies examining it. Here we can mention the study of Minson (2007) who examines its potential and weaknesses

There are also quiet rare studies in which they are the preferential systems are not only evaluated but also compared to each other. Coulibaly (2017) examines the impacts of the AGOA and EBA on the LDCs located in Africa over the period 2001-2015. Although he finds positive impacts of these preferential schemes, he also states that not all African countries have benefited from them, such as some West African countries. Klasen's (2016) study assesses the impact of specific preference regimes of different economies on the exports of LDCs. Out of the nine different preferential systems examined, a positive and significant impact on exports has been proven only in the case of GSP granted by Canada, Australia, and the European Union.

4 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The final groups of the LDCs were formed based on the results of two different cluster analyzes. Cluster analysis is a multivariate method which purpose, as explained by Bijnen (1973), is "to group and distinguish comparable units, and separate them from differing units." Cluster analysis aims to classify objects based on given variables into several groups or as Sinharay (2010) put it: to group similar observations into a number of clusters based on the observed values of several variables for each individual. The resulting clusters are defined through an analysis of the given data, where the similarity of the cases within cluster and dissimilarity between groups is maximized.

The methods of cluster analysis can be divided into two main groups: hierarchical methods and non-hierarchical methods. To generate groups of LDCs based on the similarity of their commodity and geographical structure we use agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis.

Irani (2016) describes hierarchical clustering as follows: "Hierarchical clustering algorithms work to divide or merge a particular dataset into a sequence of nested partitions." We recognize two types of hierarchy of these nested partitions: agglomerative and divisive, commonly known as bottom-up and top-down. While in

the agglomerative clustering each object acts as a separate cluster at the beginning of the process, in a divisive clustering are all objects gathered in a single cluster and at each step of iteration the most heterogeneous cluster is divided into two. This way the initial cluster is gradually decomposed until all the objects form separate clusters.

Agglomerative hierarchical clustering, that we use in this paper, is an iterative classification multi-step method. Although we can find a number of different agglomerative hierarchical clustering techniques, they are all based on one single approach. At the beginning of each agglomeration hierarchical analysis, all objects in the analysis begin as separate clusters. In the first step, the dissimilarity between the N objects is calculated. Based on the rule of minimization of agglomeration criterion are the first two objects clustered together creating a class comprising these two objects. Then again using agglomeration criterion the dissimilarity between this cluster and other, now N - 2, objects are calculated. The two objects or classes of objects for which the agglomeration criterion is minimal are then clustered together. This process is repeated, reducing the number of clusters in every iteration. At the end of the process, there is only one cluster containing all objects left.

The graphical output of the hierarchical clustering is a dendrogram. A dendrogram is a tree-shaped diagram displaying the clusters formed at each step of the algorithm together with their similarity levels. With the help of the dendrogram, the optimal number of clusters is selected from all possible cluster solutions.

The objects of our analysis were the least developed countries in the world. To obtain complex overview of situation of poor countries the countries that already graduated from LDCs were also included. Since the export data of the least developed countries were inconsistent, we had to exclude some of the LDCs from the analysis due to lack of actual data. In the end, the total number of the least developed countries for which the actual data were available summed up to 41 LDCs.

To identify the changes in LDCs exports to three preference-granting economies in a given period 2000 - 2018, it was necessary to generate groups of countries in two different years, at the beginning and the end of the period. The different number of groups, different characteristics and mainly the change in the position of individual LDCs within these groups allowed us to identify how the patterns of LDCs' exports have changed since 2000.

In both cluster analyzes the shares of individual product categories in total EU-US-China exports of the LDCs acted as variables. These product categories were based on the Standard International Trade Classification on a one-digit level. These categories are:

- food, drinks and tobacco (Sections 0 and 1 including live animals):
 - raw materials (Sections 2 and 4);
 - energy products (Section 3);
 - chemicals (Section 5);
 - manufactured goods classified chiefly by material (Section 6)
 - machinery and transport equipment (Section 7);
 - other manufactured goods (Section 8).

Section 3, energy products, was from analysis excluded due to unavailability of the actual data, therefore we worked with six product categories.

Three main export flows of the LDCs were used in the analysis: exports to the European Union, the United States and China. Each export flow was divided into six product categories. This means that we got 18 variables based on which individual clusters of countries were created. The first six variables are the shares of each product category exported by given LDC to the EU in total EU-US-China exports of this LDC. The next six variables are the shares of individual product categories exported to the USA in EU-US-China exports and the last six variables are shares of product categories exported to China in EU-US-China exports of the given LDCs. The main characteristic of each group of the LDCs is the product category that makes up the largest share of the total export of given LDC and destination of this share. All export-related data were taken from UNCTADstat, i.e. the statistical database of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

As a linkage method for the evaluation of similarity between clusters, we used Ward's method since this method is most appropriate for quantitative variables. Ward's method seeks to join the two clusters whose merger leads to the smallest within-cluster sum of squares (Moral, 1980). Field (2000) describes Ward's method as follows: "The difference between each case within a cluster and that average similarity is calculated and squared. The sum of squared deviations is used as a measure of error within a cluster. A case is selected to enter the cluster if it is the case whose inclusion in the cluster produces the least increase in the error."

Ward method is calculated as:

$$\Delta(A,B) = \sum_{t \in A \cup B} \overline{x}_t^* - \overline{m_{A \cup B}} \mathbf{I}^2 - \sum_{t \in A} \overline{x}_t^* - \overline{m_A} \mathbf{I}^2 - \sum_{t \in B} \overline{x}_t^* - \overline{m_B} \mathbf{I}^2$$

$$- \frac{n_A n_B}{n_A + n_B} \|\overline{m_A}^* - \overline{m_B}^*\|^2$$
(2)

where $\overline{m_j}$ presents the centre of cluster j, and n_j is the number of points in it. Δ is the merging cost of combining clusters A and B.

As a distance measure we used Square Euclidian Distance, which is measure proposed for the Ward's method and also the most common measure used in cluster analysis when working with interval data. According to Sakthivel (2015) squared Euclidean distance is the sum of the squared differences between scores for two cases on all variables calculated as

$$d(t, f) = \sum_{k=1}^{n} (X_{tk} - X_{fk})^{2}$$
(3)

where $i = X_{in}$ and $j = X_{jn}$ are two *n* dimensional data objects.

5 EMPIRICAL RESULTS

In the first cluster analysis based on the export data of the least developed countries in 2000, the six groups of countries were generated. Then according to the results of the second cluster analysis based on data from 2018, the countries were again divided into groups. This time, however, nine groups were identified as the optimal number.

As can be seen in the Table 1, the five groups in 2018 had the same characteristics as those of the year 2000. The individual pairs of these groups shared the same product category that contributed most to their exports and the same destination of these exports.

We can also see that in 2000 the European union was the most important export market for all the LDCs excluding 6 countries whose exports were mainly focused on other manufactured goods going to USA.

The exports of the LDCs in 1st groups were strongly concentrated in both years. More than 50% of the total EU-US-China exports of these countries were made of the raw materials exported to the European Union. Moreover, when taking in account all product categories, almost 90% of the total exports of these LDCs went to the European Union.

Both 2nd groups in 2000 and 2018 comprise of countries whose EU-US-China exports were dominated mainly by machinery and transport equipment and miscellaneous manufactured articles directed to the European Union. Therefore, we can say that these countries concentrated mainly on exports of high value-added products.

Countries in the 3rd groups in 2000 and 2018 also focused on exports of products with higher added value. The vast majority of their exports were made up of manufactured goods classified chiefly by material and were directed to the European Union

Both 4^{th} groups included countries which exported predominantly food, drinks and tobacco to the European union.

Countries in the 5th groups were also strongly oriented towards export to the European Union. These countries exported mainly product from two product categories, i.e. food, drinks and tobacco and raw materials most of which were exported to the European Union.

As we can see the structure of these groups has changed significantly and only eight countries remained in the same group in both years, i.e. Burkina Faso, Chad, Botswana, Burundi, Malawi, Senegal, Uganda, and Yemen. Which means that their export structure in 2000 and 2018 was similar.

The 6th, the last group in 2000 consists of countries whose EU-USA-China exports were more than fifty percent composed of miscellaneous manufactured articles destined to the USA. Based on the data from 2018 there was not generated any group similar to this one. This means that in 2018 the largest share of these countries' exports was made up of other products than miscellaneous manufactured articles or the largest share of exports went to the EU or China instead of the United States. For example, in Bangladeshi and Cambodia, the largest share of exports in 2018 was again made up of miscellaneous manufactured articles but exported to the European Union instead of the US. Therefore, we can say that these two countries have shifted part of their exports to the European Union from the United States.

The other groups created in 2018 have no equivalent among the groups in 2000 and have very different main features. This means that some countries have changed focus of their exports and thus disconnected from their original groups from 2000 and created completely new ones in 2018.

These were mainly groups of countries whose largest share of exports went to China in 2018. This was particularly the case for the eighth group in 2018, that included seven countries for which raw materials to China accounted for the largest share of exports. The same goes for the sixth group, which included countries whose EU-US-China export was largely made up of manufactured goods from the sixth product category heading to China. It can be seen in the table 1 that the 6th group actually originated from countries that shifted a significant part of their exports of

manufactured goods from the European Union to China. This means that in 2018 these countries concentrated their exports more to China instead of the European Union.

The 7th group contained countries whose EU-US-China exports in 2018 consisted of more than 60% of raw materials going to China. This group was of medium size and contained five countries. Although this group of countries had the same product and geographic focus of the largest share of exports as the 8th group, these two groups are, in fact, different. When considering all products categories, the 8th group exported in total most to the European Union but the 7th group exported most to China.

The last 9th group created in 2018 included countries that in 2000 originally exported the largest part of their exports consisting mainly of food, beverages, tobacco and raw materials to the European Union. In 2018, however, the largest share of these countries' exports was directed to the United States.

Table 1: Groups of LDCs created based on data from 2000 and 2018

EU 2+4		EU 8		EU 6		EU 0+1		EU 0+1, 2+4		4 USA 8		China 6	China 2+4		_			USA 0+1	
													Ŋ	Fotal: Chi	na	Total:EU			L
									20	000									
Afghanistan	1	Bhutan	2	Botswana	3	Burundi	4	Eritrea	5	Banglades	6								
Benin	1	Djibouti	2	Central At	3	Ethiopia	4	Kiribati	5	Cambodia	6								
Burkina Faso	1	Lao Peopl	2	Dem. Rep	3	Malawi	4	Samoa	5	Lesotho	6								
Chad	1	Madagasc	2	Gambia	3	Mozambique	4	Solomon Isl	5	Maldives	6								
Guinea	1	Sierra Leo	2	Zambia	3	Rwanda	4	Somalia	5	Myanmar	6		Τ						
Mali	1					Senegal	4	Togo	5	Nepal	6		T						
Mauritania	1					Timor-Leste	4	Yemen	5				T						
Niger	1					Uganda	4						T						
Vanuatu	1					United Repu	4						T						
							Г						T						
									20	18									_
Burkina Faso	1	Banglades	2	Bhutan	3	Burundi	4	Afghanistar	5			Dem. Rep	6 1	Eritrea	7	Benin	8	Kiribati	9
Chad	1	Cambodia	2	Botswana	3	Djibouti	_	Ethiopia	5			Zambia	6 (Gambia	7	Central Africa		Samoa	9
Somalia	1			Mozambiq	3	Malawi	4	Lesotho	5				(Guinea	7	Mali	8	Timor-Leste	9
						Maldives	_	Madagasca	5				-	Lao Peopl	_	Mauritania	8	Vanuatu	-
						Senegal	_	Myanmar	5				-	Solomon Is	_	Niger	8	, andata	۲
						Uganda	_	Nepal	5				Ť	oolollion 1	_	Sierra Leone	8		Н
						Oganda	-	Rwanda	5				+			Togo	8		Н
					_		H		2				+		_	10g0	0		Н
			_		_		H	United Rep Yemen	2				+		-				H

Source: processed by author

The Table 1 heading shows the numbers indicating the product group and destination of the largest share of LDCs exports. For example, the EU 2+4 column lists LDCs whose largest share of exports were raw materials destined for the European Union.

6 CONCLUSION

The paper aimed to identify how the introduction of preferential systems for the least developed countries by the European Union, the United States and later China influenced the structure and geographical focus of LDCs exports to these economies. The preferential schemes should help LDCs to better assert themselves on the world market and gradually expand their product portfolio so that they are not dependent on exports of primary commodities. Exporting high value-added products brings much more to LDC economies than primary commodity exports.

Nevertheless, the export of LDCs has not evolved within the product structure, and still mostly raw materials, agricultural products, food, and beverages are exported to the preferential economies. Therefore, we can say that the results do not suggest that preferential schemes for LDCs of the European Union, the United States, and China have contributed to a greater diversification of LDCs exports or an increase in the proportion of processing-intensive products in them. Countries have not seen any shift towards increasing the share of products with higher added value in their exports. On the contrary, the number of countries whose largest part of exports consisted of these products decreased compared to 2000.

However, there have been significant changes in the geographical focus of LDCs exports within the European Union, the United States and China. In 2000, of the three preferential economies, the European Union was clearly the largest export market for LDCs. More precisely, the European Union took the largest share in exports of 34 LDCs. In 2018, however, the EU occupied the largest share of exports in only 24 least developed countries. This finding is consistent with the fact that the European Union's share in world trade is gradually decreasing. The share of the United States in LDCs exports has also decreased since 2000, but not as significant as that of the European Union. While in 2000 China was not the largest export market for any LDC within EU-US-China exports, in 2018 the largest share of export of twelve countries was exported to China. Therefore, we can say that China's share in LDCs exports has increased at the expense of the EU and the US.

However, in the light of the results, it is necessary to realize that China was already experiencing a period of rapid economic growth at the time of the introduction of its preferential plan. It cannot therefore be ruled out that China, as the main export market for LDCs, has overtaken the EU and the US partly because of its increasing domestic demand or because it has begun to be seen by LDCs as a more prospective trading partner for the years to come.

In conclusion, it should be noted that although the effects of the preferential systems of the European Union, the United States and China failed to meet the expectations of changes in the pattern of exports of LDCs, it is not excluded that they largely affected the volume of these exports. However, this will be the subject of further research

REFERENCES:

1. AGOA (2019): About African Growth and Opportunity Act. [Online.] In: *AGOA*, 2019. Available online: https://agoa.info/about-agoa.html>.

- 2. AIELLO, F. (2010): Do Trade Preferential Agreements Enhance The Exports Of Developing Countries? Evidence From The EU GSP. [Online.] In: *UDC Working Papers*, 2010. Available online: http://www.ecostat.unical.it/RePEc/WorkingPapers/WP02 2010.pdf>.
- 3. AIELLO, F. (2010): Evaluating the impact of nonreciprocal trade preferences using gravity models. In: *Applied Economics*, 2010, 42, 29, pp. 3745-3760.
- 4. BIJNEN, E. J. (1973): Cluster Analysis: Survey and Evaluation of Techniques. ISBN 978-94-011-6782-6
- 5. BRENTON, P. (2003): Integrating the Least Developed Countries into the World Trade System: The Current Impact of EU Preferences Under Everything But Arms. In: *Journal of World Trade*, 2003, 37, 3, pp. 623-46.
- 6. CERNAT, L. (2004): The EU Everything But Arms Initiative and the LDCs. In: Guha-Khasnobis B. (eds) *The WTO, Developing Countries and the Doha Development Agenda. Studies in Development Economics and Policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 7. CIPOLLINA, M. R. (2013). Do Preferential Trade Policies (Actually) Increase Exports? An analysis of EU trade policies. Agricultural and Applied Economics Association.
- 8. COULIBALY, S. (2017): Differentiated Impact of AGOA and EBA on Western African Countries. Africa Chief Economist Office, the World Bank.
- 9. EUROSTAT (2019): Glossary: Standard international trade classification (SITC). Available online: "> ...
- 10. FAYISSA, B. TADESSE, B. (2008): The impact of African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) on U.S. imports from Sub-Saharan Africa. In: *Journal of International Development*, 2008, 20, pp. 920-941.
- 11. FERNANDES, A. M. (2019): Are Trade Preferences a Panacea? The African Growth and Opportunity Act and African Exports. [Online.] In: *SSRN*, 2019. Available online: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3422254.
- 12. FIELD, A. (2000): Cluster Analysis. Aims and Objectives. Postgraduate Statistics: Cluster Analysis. [Online.] Available online: http://www.discoveringstatistics.com/docs/cluster.pdf.
- 13. GIL-PAREJA, S. LLORCA-VIVERO, R. MARTINEZ-SERRANO, J. A. (2019): Reciprocal vs nonreciprocal trade agreements: Which have been best to promote exports? In: PLoS ONE, 2019, 14, 2.
- 14. GRADEVA, K. MARTINEZ-ZARZOSO, I. (2010): The Role of the Everything But Arms Trade Preferences Regime in the EU Development Strategy. In: Research Committee Development Economics, Proceedings of the German Development Economics Conference, Hannover 2010.
- 15. GROSSMAN, G. M. HELPMAN, E. (2015): Globalization and growth. In: *American Economic Review*, 2015, 105, 5, pp. 100–104.
- 16. HERZ, B. WAGNER, M. (2011): The Dark Side of the Generalized System of Preferences. In: *Review of International Economics*, 19, pp. 763-775.
- 17. IRANI, J. PISE, N. PHATAK, M. (2016). Clustering Techniques and the Similarity Measures used in Clustering: A Survey. In: *International Journal of Computer Applications*, 2016, 134, pp. 9-14.

- 18. KASSA, W. COULIBALY, S. (2019): Revisiting the Trade Impact of the African Growth and Opportunity Act: A Synthetic Control Approach. World Bank Working Paper. 1.
- 19. KLASEN, S. (2016): Trade preferences for least developed countries. are they effective? Preliminary econometric evidence. In: *CDP Policy Review*, 2016, 4.
- MINSON, A. (2007): Will Chinese Trade Preferences Aid African LDCs? Trade Policy Report. No. 19. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs.
- 21. MORAL DEL, R. (1980): On Selecting Indirect Ordination Methods. In: *Plant Ecology PLANT ECOL (Vegetatio)*, 1980, 42, pp. 75-84.
- 22. ORNELAS, E. RITEL, M. (2018): The not-so-generalized effects of the Generalized System of Preferences, CEPR Discussion Paper 13208.
- 23. SAKTHIVEL, E. (2015): Clustering Algorithms using Different Distance Measures. Available online: https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/90817/12/12 chapter8.pdf>.
- 24. SINHARAY, S. (2010): An Overview of Statistics in Education. In: Peterson, P., et al., (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Education*, *3rd Edition*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Ltd. pp.1-11.
- 25. THELLE, M. (2015): Assessment of Economic Benefits Generated by the EU Trade Regimes Towards Developing Countries. ISBN: 978-92-79-48088-1
- 26. WAMISHO, K. (2015): The impact of the african growth and opportunity act (AGOA): An empirical analysis of sub-saharan african agricultural exports to the United States. In: *Journal of International Agricultural Trade and Development*, 2015, 9, 2.



MEDZINÁRODNÉ VZŤAHY SLOVAK JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Faculty of International Relations, University of Economics in Bratislava 2020, Volume XVIII., Issue 1, Pages 71 – 88 ISSN 1336-1562 (print), ISSN 1339-2751 (online) Submitted: 11, 12, 2019 | Accepted: 9, 3, 2020 | Published 15, 3, 2020

MEDZINÁRODNÁ SKUSENOSŤ V OBLASTI REGULÁCIÍ KONTROLOVANÝCH TRANSAKCIÍ TRANSNACIONÁLNÝCH SPOLOČNOSTI

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF REGULATION OF CONTROLLED TRANSACTIONS OF TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES

Marija Ermilova¹

Cieľom článku je preukázať potrebu zavedenia jednotných medzinárodných prístupov k regulácii vnútorných podnikových transakcií, ktoré znížia finančné riziká nadnárodných spoločností. Článok analyzuje súčasné skúsenosti s reguláciou kontrolovaných transakcií spoločností v medzinárodnej praxi. Zistili sme, že je potrebné zlepšiť zásady medzinárodnej regulácie vnútorných podnikových transakcií. Štúdia umožnila určiť potrebu rozvoja spoločných medzinárodných prístupov k regulácii transakcií medzi vzájomne závislými subjektmi s cieľom znížiť finančné riziká nadnárodných spoločností a odstrániť problém dvojitého zdanenia. Na základe analýzy zahraničných skúseností bolo možné identifikovať hlávne problémi procesu medzinárodnej regulácie vnútorných podnikových transakcií.

Kľúčové slová: kontrolované transakcie, transferová cenotvorba, vzájomne závislé subjekty, dvojité zdanenie, finančné toky

The purpose of this study is to prove the need for the introduction of uniform international approaches to the regulation of internal corporate transactions, which will reduce the financial risks of transnational corporations. This study analyzed current experience in regulating controlled transactions of companies in international practice. It was determined that the improvement of the principles of international regulation of internal corporate transactions is required. The study made it possible to determine the need to develop common international approaches of regulating transactions between interdependent entities in order to reduce the financial risks of multinational companies and eliminate the double taxation principle. Based on the analysis of foreign experience, it was possible to identify elements of the process of international regulation of internal corporate transactions.

-

¹ Dr. Mariia Ermilova, Ph.D., Department of Financial Management, Plekhanov Russian University of Economics, Moscow, Russian Federation, e-mail: masha080487@mail.ru

Key words: controlled transactions, transfer pricing, interdependent persons, double taxation, financial flows

JEL: E64, F23

1 Introduction

In modern international relations, most countries of the world give special attention to improving the state system of financial regulation. This is largely due to the need to control internal corporate financial flows in the controlled transactions of large holdings. In order to reduce financial costs, such organizations apply a list of methods and tools that may affect internal corporate financial flows.

The analysis of modern international practice has shown that special attention is paid specifically to the study of methods for regulating financial flows in intracompany transactions of companies. Scientists and experts from the professional community around the world are conducting research to identify problems in the regulation of internal corporate transactions, devoting their in order to find models for the development of international and national legislation in this area.

The regulation of transactions between related parties is one of the significant issues for both tax administrations (departments) and companies. In many countries, national laws that regulate the principles and methods of regulating transactions between related parties are gradually being improved or formed. In Russia, in most cases, the term "deoffshorization" frequently sounds. Despite active work to improve the legislation governing transactions between related parties, one should not allow the creation of an excessive tax or other burdens on bona fide taxpayers when introducing new rules and regulations, especially into Russian legislation.

The purpose of this study is to prove the need for the introduction of uniform international approaches to the regulation of internal corporate transactions, which will reduce the financial risks of transnational corporations.

2 PRINCIPLES OF REGULATION OF INTERNAL CORPORATE TRANSACTIONS

Initially, special provisions governing intra-company transactions were introduced into their national legislation by the United States of America (mid-1960s). It is worth noting that the financial law and tax laws of the United States are significantly different from the laws of other foreign countries. Thus, this gave an impetus to the search and formation of norms and institutions of financial regulation of internal corporate transactions that will be applicable in most countries.

In 1976, the issue of regulation of internal corporate transactions was first identified at the international level. OECD member countries approved the "Declaration on International Investments and Transnational Corporations", which contains recommendations for transnational corporations on the inadmissibility of using financial schemes that distort the tax base in the country where such a multinational company operates. In 1979, the OECD issued a document in which

corporations were advised to refrain from using intra-corporate financial flows for dishonest purposes.

In a general sense, within the framework of Russian practice, controlled transactions include all cross-border and in-country transactions between interdependent persons that are subject to (may be) subject to federal or regional state regulation. In accordance with Russian tax legislation, federal state regulation of controlled transactions that comply with those specified in Article 105.14. Of the Tax Code of the Russian Federation (hereinafter - the Tax Code of the Russian Federation) to the terms and conditions, is carried out by the central office of the Federal Tax Service of the Russian Federation (hereinafter - the Central Administration of the Federal Tax Service of the Russian Federation) as a separate authorized body of the Federal Tax Service of the Russian Federation. At the same time, in February 2016, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation confirmed the right of territorial tax authorities to reveal facts of price manipulation in transactions that are not controlled by the provisions of Article 105.14 of the Tax Code of the Russian Federation during desk and field tax audits (regional regulation).

According to the results of the reporting campaign for 2013-2014 Russian taxpayers filed more than 5.9 and 11.5 thousand notifications of completed controlled transactions. As part of the tax control of transactions between related parties during 2014-2015 additional tax revenues to the budget amounted to more than 1.4 and 2.5 billion rubles. Since 2015, the legislative transitional provisions providing for the absence or reduced penalties for violation of the legislation in the field of transfer legislation have become invalid. In this regard, the need for interdependent individuals to introduce an internal corporate system for regulating controlled transactions has significantly increased in order to optimize tax risks for such transactions.

Typical stages of the methodology for internal corporate regulation of transactions between related parties are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Stages of internal corporate regulation of transactions between related parties in Russia

Stage	Name of the business process	Event	Result / Report
1	Planning for transactions with related parties	Based on the business plan, cash flow budget and income and expense budget, a list of future transactions with related parties during the reporting period is compiled	Register of transactions with related parties – Plan
2	Forecasting financial indicators for transactions with related parties	Estimated future income and expenses of transactions with related parties	Register of transactions with related parties – Plan
3	Conducting transactions between related parties	Reflection of business transactions in accounting and tax accounting in accordance with primary documents	Accounting and tax reporting
4	Financial control of transactions between related parties	Comparison of planned and actual financial indicators for completed transactions	Register of transactions with related parties -Fact
5	Selection of controlled transactions	Compilation of a list of controlled transactions subject to regional regulation	Register of Controlled Transactions – Fact
6	Analysis of controlled transactions	Analysis of conditions and prices for controlled transactions. Comparison of indicators with market indicators.	Decision on the need or absence of the need for adjustments
7	Symmetric adjustments	Adjustment of income and expenses on controlled transactions	Register of controlled transactions – Fact (adjustment)
8	Drawing up documents on controlled transactions	The formation of a package of documents that deciphers the principles of pricing and justifies the market level of prices	Documentation for each controlled transaction
9	Preparation and transmission of notifications of controlled transactions	Preparation of a notice on controlled transactions completed during the reporting period	Completion of the business process / submission of reports on controlled transactions to the Federal Tax Service of the Russian Federation

Source: processed by author

As part of the first stage, financial planning is carried out on the basis of a business plan, a cash flow budget, a budget of income and expenses, plans are made for a register of transactions with related parties during the reporting period. At the second stage, future income (expenses) on transactions between related parties is

estimated. Forecasted financial indicators are entered in the Register of transactions with related parties - the Plan.

At the third stage, transactions with related parties are carried out, primary documents are drawn up, and the corresponding business transactions are reflected in accounting and tax accounting. As part of the fourth stage, planned indicators are compared with actual ones, deviations are analyzed, and information is entered in the Register of transactions with related parties.

At the fifth stage, the selection of controlled transactions that meet the conditions of Article 105.14 of the Tax Code of the Russian Federation takes place, from the total number of transactions with related parties, a Register of controlled transactions is compiled - Fact. Such transactions are subject to regional state regulation; it is necessary to prepare documentation for them and submit a notification to the Federal Tax Service of the Russian Federation.

After that, the completed controlled transactions are subject to analysis on the conformity of the applied transfer prices to the market price level, financial and commercial terms of transactions, market price (profitability) intervals are compared, information and analytical resources are used (stage 6).

If the analysis reveals an overestimation (understatement) of income (expense) on controlled transactions, a decision is made on the need for symmetrical adjustments. Symmetric adjustments consist in a simultaneous change in the income (expenses) of both the seller and the buyer in a controlled transaction. If transfer prices correspond to the market price level (profitability), symmetrical adjustments are not required.

At the eighth stage, a package of documents for each controlled transaction is formed, the pricing principles in the controlled transactions are deciphered, the correspondence of the applied prices to the market price level (profitability) is justified, commercial and financial conditions of transactions are described, etc.

At the final ninth stage, the taxpayer based on the report – Register of controlled transactions – The fact draws up a notice of completed controlled transactions and submits it to the Federal Tax Service of the Russian Federation on time.

The methodology of corporate regulation of transactions between related parties allows us to build an ordered sequence of business processes in a company (group of companies) to regulate its (their) controlled transactions in accordance with the current transfer pricing rules. At the same time, the system of internal corporate regulation of controlled transactions is a set of measures for accounting, control and impact on financial flows in such transactions in order to prevent additional financial costs by optimizing tax risks.

Important definitions in the framework of internal corporate transactions were the transfer price and transfer pricing.

Analysis of transfer prices used in controlled transactions is a fairly new type of tax control and is carried out on the basis of the provisions of the Russian legislation on transfer pricing, and is also built taking into account international standards. However, there are a number of differences from generally accepted international practice.

Transfer prices appeared in the 1960s, when transnational corporations (hereinafter, TNCs) began to open in developing countries of the world, which were aimed at producing a product in one organization and transferring it to another interdependent company. The prices at which goods (services) were sold between interdependent companies were called transfer prices, and the process of setting them is called transfer pricing.

The operation in the 1990s of offshore companies represented by countries (territories, states) attracting the capital of foreign companies by providing the latter with special tax and other benefits allowed them to significantly save on taxes, using the transfer price in the calculations, which does not correspond to the market price level. Thus, organizations moved taxable profits between states, with profit centers located offshore. However, transfer pricing is, first of all, the objective need of the market and a powerful incentive for the development of the economy (Mambetalieva 2010).

The first transfer pricing studies were published between 1950-1960 by scholars such as Jack J. Hirshleifer and Chris Argyris. Scientists have studied transfer pricing as a tool for the internal distribution of financial flows in multinational corporations. Transfer pricing was considered as a financial instrument that allows you to generate profit for each structural unit of such companies, which helps to increase productivity and increase the profitability of the entire corporation (Anthony and Dearden 1984).

In 1995, the OECD approved the document "Guidelines for transfer pricing for international corporations and tax administrations," or as it is called in business circles, the "OECD Guidelines for Transfer Pricing", the provisions of which are fully or partially taken as the basis for the formation of national legislation on the regulation of controlled transactions in most states. This guide is regularly supplemented (revised) by the OECD based on data on the current economic situation in the global economy, modern mechanisms for optimizing financial costs and other aspects of the international regulation of financial flows in controlled transactions.

Foreign researchers, the transfer price is more interpreted as the price that is set between different divisions and branches belonging to one company (Milgate, Newman and Eatwell 1998). There is another identical definition: the transfer price is the price at which divisions of one organization transfer goods (work, services) among themselves (Heath, Huddart and Slotta 2009).

In Russian studies, many authors adhere to the point of view that the transfer price is a certain internal price at which one unit of the organization (workshop, department, etc.) transfers products or services to another (Kuznetsova 2011).

Bakhrushina (2000) interprets the transfer price as the price at which one center of responsibility transfers its products or services to another center of responsibility, while the author points out that transfer pricing is the process of establishing internal estimated prices between segments of one organization.

According to generally accepted standards used by many countries, transfer prices are recognized as prices at which the transfer of goods, including intangible assets, work is performed and services are provided between related parties (associated enterprises) (OECD 2010).

The national laws of countries on the regulation of transactions between related parties focus more on the fight against tax evasion by companies in connection with the use of corporate financial flows for dishonest purposes.

Improving the principles of international regulation of internal corporate transactions is caused by:

- the need to develop common (international) approaches to the regulation of controlled transactions;
 - elimination of double taxation of company income;
 - avoiding tax discrimination of companies.

The international and national methods for regulating intra-company transactions are based on the "arm's length principle", another name for which is the "market price" principle. The indicated principle is to determine in transactions between related parties market prices that correspond to the prices used in such transactions between independent parties.

The risk of double taxation of the income of companies on financial flows in internal corporate transactions arises if such companies use prices other than the market level. So, in the conditions of activity of transnational corporations, if the tax administration of one country adjusts the tax base of a resident of such a state, the transnational corporation will suffer financial losses for double taxation of the same income in different jurisdictions.

It should be noted that if the country of the resident of the seller generates intra-corporate financial flows in an international transaction, this will lead to double taxation of the same income.

Thus, it is essential to develop common international approaches to the regulation of internal corporate transactions in order to reduce the financial risks of TNCs and eliminate the double taxation principle.

3 International regulation of controlled transactions

Currently, to ensure international regulation of transactions between related parties, the active work of the OECD, the United Nations (hereinafter referred to as the UN) and the European Union, which is represented by the European Commission, the Directorate General for Taxation and Customs Union (hereinafter the EU), is required.

These organizations and associations form international rules for regulating internal corporate transactions for states by affiliation. Thus, the OECD provides its achievements for the OECD member countries, the UN for the UN member countries, the EU for the countries that are members of the European Union, and develop international regulatory documents, the use of which is advisory.

The international documents of these organizations are applied when introducing national legislation on the regulation of internal corporate transactions in almost all world economies. In Russia, the OECD Guidelines are taken as the basis of national legislation.

The international documents that regulate transactions between interdependent parties have been conventionally divided into several groups.

The first group includes documents on the formation and application of international rules for regulating controlled transactions for both tax administrations and transnational corporations. These documents include the main approaches to regulating intra-company transactions in order to comply with the "outstretched hand" principle, as well as signs of these transactions, methods and tools for analyzing intra-corporate financial flows (functional, economic, financial analysis of controlled transactions, comparability procedures for controlled and independent transactions).

The second group includes documents such as conventions aimed at avoiding double taxation of the same income in different jurisdictions, which is undoubtedly required in the conditions of activity of both transnational corporations and companies engaged in foreign trade activities. Based on the data of international conventions, interstate bilateral treaties (agreements) on the avoidance of double taxation are developed, in particular Russia, when concluding bilateral treaties, relies on the OECD Model Convention on income and capital taxes.

The third group includes documents containing the principles of concluding preliminary agreements on the principles of pricing in corporate transactions (Advance Pricing Agreements) (hereinafter – APAs). So, between a corporation and the tax administration, or a tripartite agreement between the tax administrations of different states and one transnational corporation. The main goal of APAs is to prevent arbitration disputes by determining fair financial flows for pre-known intra-company transactions based on an analysis of the data provided by the taxpayer regarding future transactions. As a rule, APAs are concluded for several years and are intended to resolve current and potential disputes regarding internal corporate transactions in cooperation with the tax administration.

The fourth group includes documents explaining certain issues of regulation of transactions between interdependent persons, causing the greatest difficulties for both tax administrations and taxpayers. Thus, the EU approved a single (standard) package of documents on internal corporate transactions, forming the "EU Code of Conduct for the Effective Application of the Convention on Avoiding Double Taxation in Connection with the Adjustment of the Profit of Associated Companies". The standard introduced certainty in the regulation of such transactions and reduced the risks of financial losses of TNCs due to additional costs and penalties in the formation and submission of tax documentation.

In the system of international regulation of transactions between interdependent parties, it is customary to single out the subject, object, subject of such regulation.

The subjects of international regulation of internal corporate transactions include interdependent persons and tax administrations of the countries of which such persons are residents.

The object of international regulation of internal corporate transactions is the size (size) of internal corporate financial flow established in the transaction between interdependent organizations in the conditions of national regulation of these financial flows.

The subject of international regulation of transactions between related parties is the economic relationship between related parties to the transaction.

A study of the experience of a number of countries can highlight elements of the process of international regulation of transactions between related parties, namely:

- identification of a controlled transaction;
- functional, economic and financial analysis of a controlled transaction;
- information for the subsequent comparison of a controlled transaction with uncontrolled (market) transactions;
- methods for calculating the market price (profitability) according to the "outstretched hand" principle;налоговые санкции, в случае отличия трансфертной цены от рыночных показателей;
- mechanisms for making adjustments to the tax bases of companies under the conditions of preventing double taxation of their income;
 - documentation of companies on controlled transactions;
 - tools to minimize financial and tax risks in controlled transactions.

The main tool that allows companies to reduce the financial and tax risks of transactions between interdependent companies is a preliminary agreement on pricing in internal transactions (Advance Pricing Agreements). In addition, some countries (Sweden, Canada, Latvia, etc.) stipulate in their legislation on the regulation of internal

corporate transactions the possibility of exemption from fines or their reduction (penalty relief).

4 TRANSFER PRICING AND INTERNAL CORPORATE TRANSACTIONS

As part of the transactions, transfer prices are indicated. The normative concept of the transfer price is reflected in the Protocol on the exchange of information on the control of transfer pricing between the tax and customs authorities of the EurAsEC member states of June 6, 2006: "The transfer price is the price of goods, work, services that differs from an objectively formed market (free) prices for international transactions" (EEU 2008).

From the point of view of tax regulation, the transfer price is a price that may differ from the objective market price. The transfer price is not formed on the basis of supply and demand, but primarily on the basis of the organization's goals in establishing it. Accordingly, the deviation of the transfer price from the level of market prices does not depend on market conditions, but on internal corporate processes.

Transfer price is an element of transfer pricing. Transfer pricing is the variation in the contract price of transactions between related organizations in relation to its market values. Transfer pricing is a way of avoiding taxes, and in business practice refers to one of the classic optimization schemes for tax planning (Mukhin 2012).

In foreign studies, "transfer pricing" is the manipulation of expenses and revenues in transactions between related parties in a manner different from that which would be applied in market conditions in order to obtain a tax benefit (Velloso and Brigagao 1992).

In the United Nations Guide for Transfer Pricing, this definition is interpreted as the process of setting prices in cross-border, intra-company transactions between related parties related to the sale of property or services.

The most important distinguishing features of transfer pricing:

- is one of the methods of tax evasion;
- carried out between related parties;
- leads to financial losses of states in the form of tax revenue shortfall;
- subject to state regulation.

By transfer pricing in this publication it is proposed to understand the process of setting prices in cross-border and in-country transactions between interdependent persons for the sale of assets (works, services).

The subject of transfer pricing is a commercial transaction for the analyzed transaction, that is, joint actions of the parties to the transaction in order to obtain the corresponding benefits. Transfer pricing object – the formed price for such a

transaction, which shows the valuation of the subject of the transaction. The subjects of transfer pricing are parties to such a transaction, since it is the parties to the transaction that can influence the object of transfer pricing, the purpose of which is to establish a transfer price.

In the process of determining the transfer price, the subjects of transfer pricing interact with the internal and external environment of the organization.

The external environment of the transfer pricing process is a set of factors at the macro level that directly (for example, tax regulation) or indirectly (for example, the political situation in the country) influence this process. The internal environment of the transfer pricing process is a combination of factors at the corporate level that directly affect this process.

The transfer pricing mechanism is a set of methods for setting the transfer price in cross-border and (or) in-country transactions between related parties for the sale of assets (works, services) in such a way that, under the influence of environmental and internal factors, the common goals of such individuals are achieved.

Goals can be classified into financial and commercial. The financial objectives of the organization, when applying transfer pricing are:

- reduction of financial losses in the form of tax and customs payments as a whole for the group of the corporation;
 - financing of subsidiaries (intra-group loans);
 - management of financial indicators of subsidiaries (profit (loss)).

Organizational goals of companies when applying transfer pricing are:

- the need to manage decentralized structures of the organization;
- cost management due to the effective distribution of fixed and variable costs throughout the production chain of goods;
- assessment of the activities of managers and departments for the subsequent increase in their motivation;
 - other goals of corporate management.

The transfer pricing mechanism involves a set of methods for determining transfer prices (Table 2).

Table 2: International transfer pricing methods

No.	Name of transfer pricing method	Method contents	Method group name	
1.	Comparable uncontrolled price method	Comparison of the transfer price with the interval of market prices		
2.	Cost plus method	Comparison of the gross cost-effectiveness of the analyzed person with the market level of gross cost-effectiveness.	Traditional methods	
3.	Resale price method	Comparison of the gross profitability of the analyzed person with the market interval of gross profitability.		
4.	Transactional net margin method	Comparison of operating profitability indicators with market indicators.	Mathada bagadan	
5.	Profit split method	The distribution of the total profit of entities controlled by the transaction is proportional to their share in such profit.	Methods based on analysis of profitability of transactions	

Source: processed by author

The use of transfer pricing by organizations leads to the formation of controlled transactions in them, which are called controlled transactions in Russian practice. The general meaning of "controlled transactions" is that these are cross-border and in-country transactions between interdependent parties, the prices of which are subject to state tax control.

A particularly important change in Russian legislation on the regulation of controlled transactions is the introduction of a comparative analysis. Such an analysis makes it possible to analyze the commercial and financial conditions of transactions, to assess the risks and functions performed by the parties to such transactions in order to make a decision on the compliance or non-compliance of the conditions of the controlled transaction with comparable transactions.

It seems important to formulate an approach to determining the internal corporate financial flow, which is understood as the movement of financial resources in connection with the inflow and (or) outflow of tangible and intangible assets in transactions between related parties.

At the same time, an intra-corporate transaction will mean the process of moving tangible and intangible assets within a single economic entity in the absence of movement of the corresponding cash flows.

Controlled transactions of companies are cross-border and intercountry transactions between related parties subject to state regulation.

So, controlled transactions of companies and transfer pricing are closely related. Essential in ensuring effective intragroup transactions is the use of the transfer pricing method.

Summing up, it should be noted that transfer pricing is a special mechanism for mutual settlements between interdependent persons, through the use of transfer prices. At the same time, transfer pricing is not a market process, since this process is not formed on the basis of supply and demand, but based on the goals of interdependent organizations.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analysis of foreign experience in regulating transactions between related parties, it seems possible to obtain a number of results (Table 3).

Table 3: Ranking of foreign tax systems for priority in choosing methods for regulating internal corporate transactions

Group	Prioroty method	Countries	
1	Missing	France, Ireland, Brazil	
2	Comparable Uncontrolled Price Method	Venezuela, Spain, Italy, Kazakhstan,	
	(CUP)	Bulgaria, Mexico, Montenegro, Russia	
3		Argentina, India, Peru, Singapore, USA,	
	Best method rules	South Africa, Chile, China, Japan, Portugal,	
		South Korea, Norway	
	Traditional methods according to	Germany, United Kingdom, Latvia,	
4	OECD guidelines	Denmark, Israel, Netherlands, Norway,	
	OECD guidennes	Poland, Finland, Sweden, Malaysia	
5	The most reasonable method among	Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic,	
	traditional OECD methods (method		
	that provides the highest degree of	New Zealand	
	certainty for the determination of an	New Zearand	
	arm's length)		

Source: Compiled by the author based on data from international companies PricewaterhouseCoopers (PWC), KPMG (KPMG), Ernst & Young (EY)

The choice of a method for regulating transactions between interdependent persons is one of the main stages in determining and justifying the mechanisms of internal corporate financial flows. In foreign practice, two groups of OECD methods

have gained international recognition: traditional and methods based on the analysis of transaction profitability.

The latest revisions of the OECD and UN Guides recommend the use of the most appropriate method for transfer pricing (TCO) (the most appropriate method for a particular case). This approach in the business community has come to be called the rule of the "best method". However, only some countries have such a rule in their legislation. Most of the laws of foreign countries imply a special order of priority (gradation) of transfer pricing methods.

Figure 1 shows the states with the highest fines in the regulation of intracompany transactions. However, it is necessary to keep in mind the existence of legislation to reduce such fines.

The countries with the highest penalties in the area of regulation of internal corporate transactions are India, Singapore, Mexico, Italy, Venezuela, Ireland, Brazil, Argentina. Fines can be set:

- percentage of adjusted earnings of the company for controlled transactions (Canada, Germany, Bulgaria);
- percentage of the amount of unpaid tax (Australia, France, Italy, USA);
 - fixed and percentage fines (Finland, Denmark).

In Brazil, if a corporation commits itself to pay arrears within 30 days, the fine is halved. In Singapore, a fine can be avoided if the taxpayer has data on controlled transactions. In Montenegro, fines are not legally established. In Latvia it is possible to halve the amount of the main fine if a tax violation in controlled transactions is committed for the first time.

It is not possible for companies resident in Argentina, Bulgaria, Brazil, Ireland and Montenegro to conclude APAs due to the lack of legislative regulation of these agreements. In most foreign countries, APAs is part of the laws governing transactions between related parties. Their conclusion can be implemented both on a free and on a paid basis. APAs are not charged for corporations in France, Spain, Italy, Kazakhstan, the United Kingdom, Denmark, the Netherlands, Singapore, and China.

An analysis of the experience of a number of countries made it possible to determine that the object of a modern transaction between interdependent entities is financial flows that are generated as a result of movement of tangible and intangible assets, including cash between interdependent economic entities. At the same time, the subjects of such transactions are interdependent persons capable of influencing financial flows in these operations. In this case, the subject of an internal corporate transaction is the movement of tangible and intangible assets, including cash, in order to obtain related benefits for related parties.

After analyzing internal corporate transactions, it was concluded that in the process of implementing this operation, interdependent persons interact with the internal and external environment. The external environment of the transaction between interdependent parties is a combination of factors at the macro level that directly (financial, tax, currency regulation, etc.) or indirectly (the political situation in the country, etc.) influence the process of its implementation.

The internal environment of such a transaction is a combination of factors at the corporate level that directly affect the process of implementing an internal corporate transaction.

An important issue in interstate relations is the development of uniform international standards for state financial regulation of internal corporate transactions.

The system of financial regulation of transactions between interdependent entities is a combination of subgroups and interrelated elements that form an integral structure of the mechanism of financial regulation of such transactions.

The system includes two separate subsystems: state financial regulation and intra-corporate financial regulation of controlled transactions, which take into account their own specifics of the processes of such regulation, heterogeneous subject-composition, methods, tools and indicators of financial regulation of controlled transactions.

By "state financial regulation of controlled transactions" is meant the continuous process of activity of state institutions that analyze, control and supervise the financial flows of interdependent companies in order to counter irregularities in the movement of financial flows and eliminate imbalances in their concentration.

In Russian legislation, state regulation of transactions between related parties is carried out on the basis of the provisions of the Tax Code of Russia, which are consistent with OECD documents. At the same time, in this area, Russian companies face serious financial and tax risks that are associated with the peculiarities of national legislation. An example is the method of intragroup cost allocation according to the principle of "cost sharing", which is provided for by the OECD leadership, but not reflected in Russian law. As a result, some companies incur significant financial costs in litigation due to the use of this method in their financial strategy (Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation 2013).

State financial regulation is carried out on the basis of multi-element groups of legal, informational and regulatory support. Legal support includes federal laws, international treaties (agreements), regulatory legal acts, orders and orders of relevant ministries and departments, documents of international organizations (OECD, UN, EU).

The group of elements of regulatory support includes orders and instructions of the Federal Tariff Service, the Regional Energy Commission, the requirements of

the Federal Antimonopoly Service, approved price guides for types of work (services), Bank of Russia regulations and other similar provisions.

Information support includes the financial statements of companies, information from price and information agencies, information from the Federal State Statistics Service, and information on financial markets.

Despite active work to improve the legislation that governs transactions between related parties, one should not allow the creation of an excessive tax or other burdensome burden on bona fide taxpayers when introducing new rules and regulations, especially into Russian legislation.

Intracorporate financial regulation of controlled transactions is a set of measures to influence the financial flows of interdependent companies by redistributing financial resources in controlled transactions taking into account the principles of state regulation of such transactions in order to optimize the financial costs of interdependent companies.

A study of foreign experience has proved the need to control transactions between related parties, both at the state and corporate levels. Such control will avoid double taxation. The essential is the correct choice of the method of regulation of internal corporate transactions, which justifies any of the mechanisms of internal corporate financial flows. Using the experience of foreign countries will allow Russian companies to regulate and improve their activities in the field of corporate finance, reduce fines both in Russia and in foreign countries.

The analysis showed that the introduction of common international approaches to the regulation of internal corporate transactions can reduce the financial risks of transnational corporations, which is especially important in the framework of international activities of companies.

REFERENCES:

- 1. ANYHONY R.N. DEARDEN, J. (1984): *Management Control Systems*. R.D. Irwin, 235 p.
- 2. BAKHRUSHINA M.A. (2000): Transfer pricing in the practice of using Russian organizations. In: *Modern accounting*, 2000, 4, pp. 4-14.
- 3. BAUER, C. LANGENMAYR, D. (2013): Sorting into Outsourcing: Are Profits Taxed at a Gorilla's Arm's Length? In: *Journal of International Economics*, 2013, 90, pp. 326-336.
- 4. BECKER, J. DAVIES, R.(2014): Negotiation-Based Model of Tax-Induced Transfer Pricing. In: *UCD center for economic research Working paper Series WP14/11*.
- 5. BUTER. C. (2011): International transfer pricing and the EU code of conduct. In: *European integration studies*, 2011, 5, pp. 110-115.

- 6. DAVIES, R. MARTIN, J. PARENTI, M. (2014): Knocking on Tax Heaven's Door: Multinational Firms and Transfer Pricing, Mimeo.
- 7. DEVEREUX, M.P. KEUSCHNIGG C. (2013): The Armís Length Principle and Distortions to Multinational Firm Organization. In: Journal of International Economics, 2013, 89, pp. 432-440.
- 8. DOGAN, Z. DERAN, A. KOKSAL, A. (2013): Factors Influencing the Selection of Methods and Determination of Transfer. In: *International Journal of Economics and Financial Issues*, 2013, 3, 3, pp.734-742.
- 9. EEC (2008): Protocol on the exchange of information on control of transfer pricing between tax and customs authorities of the Member States of the Eurasian Economic Community of June 6, 2006. In: *Bulletin of international treaties*, 2008, 8, pp. 16-19.
- 10. EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2013): European Union Joint transfer pricing forum, Statistics on APAs at the end of 2012. [Online.] In: *EC*, 2013. Available online: http://ec.europa.eu/taxation_customs/taxation/company tax>.
- 11. EUROPEAN COMMISSION (n.a.): Transfer pricing and developing countries. Final report. [Online.] In: *EC*, n.a. Available online: https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/economic-support/documents/ transfer-pricing-study en.pdf >.
- 12. GOLOVCHENKO, O. N. (2013): Transfer pricing in the European Union. In: *Financial Law*, 2013, 3, pp. 30-34.
- 13. KUZNETSOVA E. (2011): Application of transfer pricing in companies engaged in project activities. In: *Financial Newspaper*, 2011, 44.
- 14. MAMBETALIEVA, A.N. (2010): Transfer prices in EurAsEC countries. In: *Tax Bulletin*, 2010, 6.
- 15. MILGATE, M. NEWMAN, P. EATWELL, J. (1998): *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics. №. I, A-D.* London: Macmillan Reference, 1998. 682 p.
- 16. MUKHIN G.A. (2012): The tax policy of the Russian state: transfer pricing. In: *Public Law Research*, 2012, 4.
- 17. NEPESOV, K.A. (2007): Tax aspects of transfer pricing. A comparative analysis of the experience of Russia and foreign countries. Moscow: Volters Kluver, 2007. 288 p.
- 18. OECD (2010): Model Tax Convention on Income and on Capital. [Online.] In: *OECD*, 2010. Available online: http://www.oecd.org/tax/treaties/oecdmtcavailableproducts.htm>.
- 19. OECD (2010): Transfer Pricing Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises and Tax Administrations. [Online.] In: *OECD*, 2010. Available online: http://www.oecd.org/ctp/transfer-pricing/transfer-pricing-guidelines. htm>.

- 20. OECD (2011): Declaration on International Investment and Multinational Enterprises of June 21, 1976. [Online.] In: *OECD*, 2011. Available online: http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org.
- 21. OECD (2012): Revision of the special considerations for intangibles in chapter VI of the OECD Transfer pricing guidelines and related provisions. [Online.] In: *OECD*, 2012. Available online: https://www.oecd.org/ctp/transfer-pricing/50526258.pdf>.
- 22. PWC (n.a.): Official website of the PWC. international company [Online.] In: *PWC*, n.a. Available online: http://www.pwc.com/gx/en/tax/transfer-pricing>.
- 23. TREPELKOV, A. TONINO, H. HALKA, D. (Ed.) (2013): United Nations Handbook on Selected Issues in Administration of Double Tax Treaties for Developing Countries. New York: UN, 2013.
- 24. UNITED ANTIONS (2013): Model Double Taxation Convention between Developed and Developing Countries. [Online.] In: *UN*, 2013. Available online: http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/tax/documents/bgrd tp.htm>.
- 25. UNITED ANTIONS (2013): Practical Manual on Transfer Pricing for Developing Countries. [Online.] In: *UN*, 2013. Available online: http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/tax/documents/bgrd tp.htm>.
- 26. VELLOSO, F.C. BRIGAGAO, G.A. (1992): *Volume LXXVII Cahiers de Droit Fiscal International*. International Fiscal Association, 1992, 313 p.

INFORMÁCIE O ČASOPISE MEDZINÁRODNÉ VZŤAHY

Medzinárodné vzťahy sú interdisciplinárny vedecký časopis pre medzinárodné politické, ekonomické, kultúrne a právne vzťahy Fakulty medzinárodných vzťahov Ekonomickej univerzity v Bratislave. Vychádza štyrikát ročne, v marci, júni, septembri a v decembri. Uzávierky jednotlivých čísiel sú každoročne 15.12, 15.3., 15.6 a 15.9. Všetky príspevky sú pri zachovaní obojstrannej anonymity recenzované minimálne dvomi oponentmi.

Časopis Medzinárodné vzťahy (ISSN 1336-1562 tlačená verzia, ISSN 1339-2751 online) je zaregistrovaný v Zozname periodickej tlače Ministerstva kultúry Slovenskej republiky, evidenčné číslo EV 4785/13. Časopis je indexovaný v databázach ProQuest, EBSCO, EconPapers, RePEc, EconBiz a Index Copernicus a cieľom redakčného kolektívu je zvyšovanie počtu a kvality citačných databáz, v ktorých je zaradený.

Časopis publikuje pôvodné vedecké články, diskusie, prehľady, informácie a recenzie z oblasti medzinárodných ekonomických, politických, právnych a kultúrnych vzťahov. Témy prijímaných článkov zahŕňajú (ale neobmedzujú sa na):

- históriu medzinárodných hospodárskych vzťahov
- medzinárodný obchod
- medzinárodné investície
- medzinárodnú migráciu
- aktuálne medzinárodnoekonomické problémy
- aktuálne medzinárodnopolitické problémy
- analýzu súčasných a minulých konfliktov
- medzikultúrne vzťahy
- medzinárodné právo obchodné
- medzinárodné právo verejné

Časopis Medzinárodné vzťahy publikuje články v anglickom, slovenskom a českom jazyku. Anglické články majú vo všeobecnosti prednosť pred slovenskými a českými článkami, hlavným kritériom je však kvalita.

ABOUT THE SLOVAK JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Slovak Journal of International Relations is an interdisciplinary scientific journal of international political, economic, cultural and legal relations, published by the Faculty of International Relations at the University of Economics in Bratislava, Slovakia. It is published quarterly, always in March, June, September and December. Papers are to be submitted by December 15, March 15, June 15 and September 15 of each year. All papers undergo a double-blind peer review process by at least two referees.

The Slovak Journal of International Relations (ISSN 1336-1562 print, ISSN 1339-2751 online) is registered with the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic (EV 4785/13). The journal is currently covered by ProQuest, EBSCO, EconPapers, RePEc, EconBiz, and Index Copernicus. The goal of the editorial board is to increase the impact of the journal and the number of databases covering the journal.

The Slovak Journal of International Relations wishes to publish high-quality original scientific papers, discussions, surveys, short communications and book reviews from the field of international economic, political, legal and cultural relations. The topics of published papers include, but are not limited to:

- history of international economic relations
- international trade
- international investment
- international migration
- current international economic issues
- current international political issues
- analysis of current and past conflicts
- intercultural relations
- international trade law
- public international law

The Slovak Journal of International Relations publishes papers in English, Slovak and Czech languages. Generally, English papers have precedence before Slovak and Czech papers; however, the main criterion is quality of research.

INŠTRUKCIE PRE AUTOROV

Príspevky do časopisu Medzinárodné vzťahy sa predkladajú elektronicky v programe MS Word na e-mailovú adresu redakcie **mv.fmv@euba.sk**. Predpokladá sa, že príspevky neboli dosiaľ publikované ani odoslané na publikovanie inde. S článkom sa predkladá aj prehlásenie o originalite.

Autor je zodpovedný za formálnu a odbornú správnosť svojho článku. Články musia popri obsahových náležitostiach spĺňať formálne kritériá – formát strany "ISO B5", okraje 2 cm zo všetkých strán, riadkovanie 1,15, písmo Times New Roman, veľkosť písma 11. Každý článok musí obsahovať abstrakt a kľúčové slová v slovenskom/českom jazyku, abstrakt a kľúčové slová v anglickom jazyku, 1 – 3 kódy JEL klasifikácie podľa Americkej asociácie ekonómov, korektné určenie všetkých grantov a programov, s ktorých podporou článok vznikol a na samostatnom liste plné meno, tituly, adresu, e-mail a telefónne číslo všetkých autorov. V článku treba definovať skúmaný problém, stanoviť ciele, použité metódy a identifikovať závery a prínosy. Šablóna príspevku je k dispozícii na webovej stránke časopisu https://fmv.euba.sk/veda-a-vyskum/vedecke-casopisy/medzinarodne-vztahy.

Upozorňujeme autorov, aby dodržali predpísanú šablónu, v opačnom prípade bude článok vrátený na prepracovanie podľa stanoveného vzoru, čo môže viesť k jeho oneskorenej publikácii.

Redakčné uzávierky sú každoročne **15.12.**, **15.3.**, **15.6.** a **15.9.** V mesiaci po uzávierke prebehne obojstranne anonymné recenzné konanie s minimálne dvomi oponentmi. Autori, ktorých príspevky budú v recenznom konaní pozitívne hodnotené, budú kontaktovaní e-mailom. Čas na zapracovanie pripomienok oponentov je spravidla 2 až 4 týždne. Autorské korektúry treba odoslať na e-mailovú adresu redakcie najneskôr do 3 pracovných dní od notifikácie.

Príspevky doručené po stanovených termínoch budú zaradené do nasledujúceho recenzného konania. Na uverejnenie článku v časopise neexistuje právny nárok.

GUIDE FOR AUTHORS

The manuscript submission process is fully electronic. All papers received by the editor (mv.fmv@euba.sk) will undergo a double-blind peer review process. Submission of a paper implies that the work has not been published previously and that it is not under consideration for publication elsewhere. Author's declaration of originality must be submitted along with the paper.

The sole responsibility for formal and scientific contents of each paper is borne by its author. Each paper must follow the formatting instructions – file format: MS Word, page size: "ISO B5", margin: 2 cm from all sides, spacing 1.15, font: Times New Roman, font size: 11. Each paper must include abstract and key words in English, 1 – 3 codes, following the Journal of Economic Literature classification system, if applicable, the names and ID numbers of grants and programs funding the author's research and on a separate page, full names, academic degrees, addresses, e-mails and phone numbers of all authors. It is necessary to explicitly state research problem, goals, methods used, conclusions and contributions of the paper. All papers must follow the journal template which is available at https://fmv.euba.sk/en/science-and-research/scientific-journals/journal-of-international-relations, otherwise they will be returned for re-formatting.

Deadlines for submission are **December 15th**, **March 15th**, **June 15th** and **September 15th**. All papers will undergo a double-blind peer review process. Authors generally have 2 to 4 weeks to revise articles and incorporate reviewers' comments. Proofs should be returned by e-mail within 3 days of their receipt.

The editorial board has an exclusive right to accept/reject papers.

Medzinárodné vzťahy Slovak Journal of International Relations

1/2020

Ročník XVIII Volume XVIII

Medzinárodné vzťahy

Vedecký časopis pre medzinárodné politické, ekonomické, kultúrne a právne vzťahy Fakulty medzinárodných vzťahov Ekonomickej univerzity v Bratislave, ročník XVIII, 1/2020.

Hlavná redaktorka / Editor in-chief

L'udmila LIPKOVÁ University of Economics in Bratislava, Slovakia

Redakčná rada / Editorial board

Md. Nasrudin Bin Md. AKHIR University of Malaya, Malaysia

Doreen BEKKER Rhodes University, South Africa

Alexandru BURIAN Moldavian Association of International Law, Moldova

Eva CIHELKOVÁ Pan-European University, Slovakia
Alan V. DEARDORFF University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, USA
Attila FÁBIÁN University of West Hungary, Hungary
Tatiana FILOSOFOVA NRU Higher School of Economies, Russia

François GEMENNE University of Liège, Belgium
Otmar HÓLL University of Vienna, Austria
Edward H. HUIJBENS University of Akureyri, Iceland
María Teresa INFANTE University of Chile, Chile
Caffi Siri Rohaini Binti KASSIM University of Malaya, Malaysia
LI Hsi-Mei Chinese Culture University, Taiwan

Klavdij LOGOŽAR University of Maribor, Slovenia Stanislav MRÁZ College Danubius, Slovakia

Rebecca NEUMANN University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA
Jan OSTOJ Bielsko-Biala School of Finance and Law, Poland

Hakan G. SICAKKAN University of Bergen, Norway

Karol SORBY
University of Economies in Bratislava, Slovakia
František ŠKVRNDA
University of Economies in Bratislava, Slovakia
Pavel ŠTURMA
Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic

Chong-Ko Peter TZOU Tamkang University, Taiwan

Harun UÇAK Alanya Alaaddin Keykubat University, Turkey Jolita VVEINHARDT Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

Výkonný redaktor / Managing editor

Mykhaylo KUNYCHKA University of Economics in Bratislava, Slovakia

Časopis je zaregistrovaný na Ministerstve kultúry Slovenskej republiky EV 4785/13. ISSN 1336-1562 (tlačené vydanie / print) ISSN 1339-2751 (online)