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Historické vědy – Iberoamerikanistika

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**Ohrožení ekonomických zájmů  
EU v Jižní a Střední Americe**

**Threats to Economic Interests of  
the EU in Central and South  
America**

Teze disertační práce

vedoucí práce - Prof. PhDr. Josef Opatrný, Csc.

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## **Abstrakt**

V dizertační práci analyzujeme hrozby pro ekonomické zájmy Evropské unie v Latinské Americe – náš okruh je zúžen převážně na země MERCOSUR. Oba regiony pojí historicky sdílené vazby, které však byly přerušeny vstupem Studené války, kdy se Latinská Amerika stala přirozenou zájmovou zónou Spojených států. Základním časovým předělem je proto pro nás konec mocenské bipolarity, přičemž jádro práce je v hrubém rozsahu jednoho desetiletí 2003-2013. Ve třech základních kapitolách definujeme pojem ekonomické bezpečnosti, vztah EU-Latinské Ameriky v historickém vzhledu a nakonec asertivní vstup Číny do Latinské Ameriky ve vymezeném období. Klíčovým prvkem je skutečnost, že po skončení Studené války došlo k významnému posunu vnímání ekonomické moci státu/regionu z bezpečnostního (vojenský) na vlivový (kondicionalita, sankce). Do toho rámce zasazujeme také Latinskou Ameriku, která procházela vlnou neoliberalismu a privatizace. V úvaze o asymetrii vztahů mezi oběma regiony zvažujeme více historické souvislosti včetně tzv. „společných hodnot“, která částečně (nikoliv však zcela) zpochybňujeme. Vycházíme z pohledu, že vztahy mezi oběma regiony se značně pragmatizovaly se silným důrazem na obchodní vazby. Čína je novým prvkem v regionu, kde tradičně soupeřili Spojené státy a Evropa. Nevnímáme Latinskou Ameriku již jako samostatný kontinent, ale vsazujeme jí do širší zájmové oblasti. Z toho důvodu i poukazujeme na region jako významný zdroj primárních průmyslových zdrojů. Případové studie ekonomicky významných zemí Jižní Ameriky jsou vztaženy zpětně v průřezu vymezených témat.

**Klíčová slova:** Latinská Amerika, Jižní Amerika, Evropská unie, Čína, ekonomická bezpečnost, ekonomické zájmy, primární suroviny, meziregionální vztahy.

## **Popisné schéma dizertace**

Vztah Evropské unie a Latinské Ameriky na začátku dizertace poukazuje na skoro dichotomické znaky s opačnými hodnotami v kulturně-sociálním rozměru (obdiv-nenávist, přijetí-odcizení). Nečiníme tak s nárokem na znalosti či aspiraci na znalosti kulturní antropologie – pouze vymezujeme prostor, do kterého zasazujeme Latinskou Ameriku vůči Evropě/Západu. Částečně se tím však také vzdáváme (dobrovolně) dalšího popisu v čistě ekonomickém rozměru. Prosazování ekonomických zájmů slouží především k ilustraci obecné ochrany/prosazování zájmů EU v Latinské Americe, přičemž vnímáme EU jako sebeprojektující normativní sílu (zpochybněn skutečný dopad tohoto přístupu). Nepostihujeme tedy čistě ekonomickou vazbu mezi regiony, ale soustředíme se na ochranu zájmů EU na ekonomickém pozadí se zasazením do událostí/výskytu jevů. Tento přístup nás nutí vymezit určité kategorie a ptát se, nakolik či jak je ekonomie důležitá při výskytu těchto událostí – zde jsme proto při zhodnocování stability institucí zvolili “extrémní” ideologii fašismus v provázání na Velkou hospodářskou krizi. Fašismus byl však také vybrán k poukázání na svůj původ v Evropě, který jako ideologie pronikl do Latinské Ameriky na základě kulturně-sociální vazby (jinými slovy “migračním tahem”). Částečně se pak dále snažíme poukázat (nikoliv zodpovědět), jak Latinská Amerika nedokázala přijmout hlouběji demokratické principy a nakolik měla ekonomie vliv na vybrané procesy. Dosáhli jsme toho názoru, že vliv byl podstatný, ale zároveň v kombinaci kulturního (téměř podkladového) odkazu Iberoamerických zemí (Portugalské a Španělské království). Ostatně obě tyto evropské země měly v průběhu 20. století výrazné problémy s diktaturami a přijetím demokracie – v případě Španělska předcházela dokonce občanská válka.

Nosnou myšlenkou je, že země Latinské Ameriky i přes výskyt slabostí demokracie jsou nejblíže normativním hodnotám Evropské unie, byť častokrát je tento těžko uchopitelný pojem spíše používán k politickým proklamacím při vzájemných summitech – tzv. příbuznost se Západem. Ostatně na jednom z příkladů si všímáme, jak EU a Latinská Amerika stejně hovoří, ale rozdílně chápe (či záměrně užívá?) kategorii lidských práv. Nelze však tyto pojmy jednostranně zamítat. Množina úvah skrze dizertaci

směřuje v souhrnu k myšlence, že přinejmenším ke stabilizaci těchto hodnot je zapotřebí mít vztah posilovaný ekonomickými vazbami (mít důvod k vazbě na Západ – v našem pojetí Evropu s hodnotami Západu, jejichž rozsah a kvalita však není tématem práce), které byly v poslední dekádě erodovány nezájmem o Latinskou Ameriku a výrazným upřednostňováním východní Asie/Asijsko-Pacifického regionu – především pak Číny.

Nejdří se pouze o postihnutí obchodních negociací, kdy se každá strana zcela přirozeně snaží získat maximu výhod převážně na úkor druhé strany (v našem případě popis vztahů mezi EU-MERCOSUR), ale také na politickou, sociální a kulturní náplň těchto vztahů. Výrazná asymetrie mezi oběma regiony je postihnuta právě vzájemnými obchodními vztahy, které se od Válek za nezávislost nedokázaly výrazněji transformovat (srovnáváme závislostní vazby mezi regiony, ale nikoliv jejich postavení v ekonomické a politické rovině). Netvrdíme, že země v Latinské Americe neprošly výraznou transformací ekonomiky. Jsme však toho názoru, že vnější obchodní vazby Latinské Ameriky jsou (jistě nejen) vůči Evropě nadále určovány exportem komodit a importem produktů s vyšší přidanou hodnotou – data z Eurostatu toto tvrzení potvrzují. V zásadě tento vztah je určován i nově prohlubujícími se vztahy mezi Čínou a Latinskou Amerikou. V historickém srovnání neváháme toto schéma dokonce přirovnat k obchodní politice Velké Británie, která především v druhé polovině 19. století dovážela komodity a zároveň nepříliš rozvinutý latinsko-americký trh (lépe řečeno část jihoamerického trhu) zásobovala zbožím vyšší přidané hodnoty.

Ekonomická „sinozávislost“ mnoha zemí Latinské Ameriky má významný negativní dopad na růst vlastního průmyslu a zároveň zpochybnitelný přínos pro růst HDP – v průměru na celý region dle analýzy BVVA lehce přes 1%. Naopak orientace na primární produkci namísto rozvoje výroby s přidanou hodnotou ekonomicky posiluje pouze menší část společnosti. Historická zkušenost poukazuje, že tímto dochází k oslabování společenské stability vykupované populistickými sociálními programy a podrývaní schopnosti vybudovat/udržet instituce založené na transparentním fungování – hovoříme tedy mj. o oslabování základů principů demokracie a sociální

stability. Ve shrnutí hodnoty, které i přes různý výklad vytvářejí kulturní sepětí s Latinskou Amerikou.

Jádrové období vymezené v práci lze považovat rozsah 2003-2013, přičemž za hlavní události na pomyslné časové lince je považován posun diplomacie USA směrem k Asijsko-Pacifickému regionu (v setrvačnosti následovaný EU) a doslova série různé úrovně ekonomických krizí. Pro komparaci je zrcadlově využíváno období Velké hospodářské krize, kdy vedle odlišných nástrojů uplatňovaných k řešení (silný protekcionismus) docházelo také k sociálně-politické radikalizaci (různé obdoby režimů slibujících řešení). V tomto ohledu linka míří k popsání ekonomické krize a dopadu na společnost. Důležitým prvkem je odkaz nikoliv na odklon od demokracie, která může být chápána a přijímána různě, ale spíše na zmiňovanou institucionální slabost. Ve vztahu k Evropě/EU je smyslem postihnout právě ekonomický zájem v kontextu politické stability regionu, který má v žebříčku hodnot po USA (šířejí anglosaské kultuře) nejblíže k EU. Opakovaným odkazem proto není ekonomický růst, který je samozřejmě sám o sobě důležitý, ale především úměrná distribuce statků (přínos ekonomického růstu pro širší část populace).

V zásadě na samém začátku definujeme dva základní kameny celé dizertace – pojem ekonomické bezpečnosti a zlom mocenské bipolarity. Z našeho pohledu byla dekáda Spojených států jako supervelmoci spíše dočasná – tím nezpochybňujeme postavení Spojených států, ale poukazujeme na omezenou schopnost prosazování vlastních zájmů v multilaterálním prostředí. V post-bipolárním období si všimáme především postupného vzestupu Číny a regionální integrace v Evropě v kombinaci s projekcí do Latinské/Jižní Ameriky. V dizertaci netvrdíme, že by Latinská Amerika byla opomíjena v rámci EU/ES, ale nebyl na tuto vazbu kladen dostatečný důraz. Prvotní orientace na státy východního bloku po ukončení Studené války byla později nahrazena zájmem o Asii. Ironicky právě Čína dokázala využít nezájem Západu o Latinskou Ameriku a oslabení těchto vazeb k razantnímu vstupu do regionu během jedné až dvou dekád. Zatímco Spojené státy na politické a akademické rovině bedlivě tento čínský postup analyzují, tak v rámci EU je až

na výjimky tento proces ponechán bez povšimnutí. Evropa má přitom již přímou zkušenost s čínským vlivem v Africe, který se snažila narovnat diskutabilní nabídkou evropsko-čínské spolupráce. Ostatně se občas pro příklad obracíme k Sino-Africké zkušenosti, ale pouze kvůli komparaci se Sino-Latinskoamerickým tématem

Definice ekonomické bezpečnosti je bezesporu široké téma, které bylo jinak chápáno během Studené války a právě s rozpadem bipolarity se výrazně posunulo z ekonomicko-bezpečnostního (vojenského) chápání do ekonomicko-mocenského. Všímáme si proto úvah v průběhu Studené války, kdy i SSSR mělo (oprávněně) obavy z ekonomického vyčerpání. Nemůžeme zároveň opominout Marshallův plán, který řadíme do ekonomicko-politického bezpečnostního opatření. Za důležité považujeme transformaci z ekonomické bezpečnosti k ekonomické citlivosti. Toto téma nás vede k pozici EU v rámci zabezpečení kritických surovinových zdrojů, které bylo výrazně odkryto během omezení vývozu (nikoliv produkce) kovů vzácných zemin z Číny. Tato část práce proto není přímo věnována Latinské Americe, ale je důležitá k poukázání výraznou surovinovou nesoběstačnost EU. Opačně si pak všímáme jedné z nejvíce rozšířených nerostných surovin a zároveň nejpotřebnější – ropy. Ve vztahu EU-Latinská Amerika můžeme zvažovat diverzifikaci a možnost navýšení v zásadě marginálního importu, ale náš zájem se obrátil dále. Zastaváme názor, že ropa jako zaměnitelná, ale obtížně nahraditelná komodita může mít v případě fluktuace těžby v Latinské Americe výrazný dopad na fluktuaci rovněž globálně a tím i v EU. Na základě dalších úvah o ekonomickém růstu Číny (rovněž však třeba také Indie) a náročnějším způsobu života (ve smyslu požadavku na zdroje) bude ropa nosnou komoditou. V projekci proto nelze uvažovat o přebytku, jelikož se bude dále zvyšovat energetická náročnost v rozvíjejících se ekonomik. Tento efekt se pak promítá i do poptávky po surovinových vstupech, které míří jednak do výroby proexportně orientovaných ekonomik, ale také do pokračujícího rozvoje infrastruktury. V uzavřeném kruhu se proto vracíme k tématu prohlubující komoditní provázanosti Jižní Ameriky a Číny, tlaku na deindustrializaci a širších dopadů na EU nejenom v rovině zajištění primárních průmyslových vstupů, ale také postupného vytěsňování v rámci

obchodní výměny. Nosným základem těchto úvah je skutečnost, že vztahy mezi EU a Latinskou Amerikou se přesunuli postupně do obchodních zájmů, přičemž další vazby se stávají komplementárními.

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