A. Zadoia,
Doctor of Science, Full Professor,
Alfred Nobel University, Dnipro (Ukraine)

STAGES OF FORMATION OF MODERN EUROPEAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The study is devoted to the analysis of the stages of formation of modern European collective security. The historical ways of ensuring peace on the European continent, starting from the time of Napoleon I, are studied. The characteristic features of various security systems and the reasons for their destruction are revealed. The shortcomings of the modern system of collective security are clarified and the need for its further reform is substantiated.

Keywords: European security, European Union, NATO, Western European Union

Scientific literature today is filled with studies of the actual crisis of the collective security system, the result of which was a full-scale war, unleashed by one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council - Russia against Ukraine. The lack of a proper reaction of the world to the invasion of Georgia in 2008, the annexation of Crimea and the actual occupation of part of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine since 2014 allowed the aggressor to unleash a war.

Over the past 10 years, a number of scientific studies of the changes taking place in Europe's collective security system have appeared. Thus, the authors of [1] investigate the peculiarities of the dialectic of national and global security in modern conditions. Shamrayeva V.M. analyzes the modern history of changes occurring in European collective security [2]. Quite often, researchers pay attention to the unity of European security with transatlantic security [3]. There is even a special publication that extensively covers European security problems [4].

However, the absolute majority of studies analyze the current state of security without paying due attention to history. In fact, many modern security problems have their roots in history.

The purpose of our research is to highlight the stages of formation of the European collective security system and to identify the logic of this process.

Ukraine is a part of European civilization. Completing the procedures for our country's entry into the European Union and NATO is aimed, in particular, at increasing the level of national security. But for this, Ukraine must be "embedded" in the architecture of European security, become its component, not only receiving benefits from it, but also assuming certain obligations.

Therefore, understanding the history of the formation of the European security architecture is an important condition for successful integration into it.

For many centuries, Europe suffered from periodic wars that harmed the population, economy, and society as a whole. ***The first attempt*** to establish some guarantees of collective security was made after the Napoleonic campaigns. In 1814-1815, the Congress was held in Vienna - a conference that gathered diplomats from the most influential countries of Europe. After long discussions (including secret ones), the Congress adopted a number of compromise decisions that established new borders of some European countries. Thus, Russia received Poland and Finland, Prussia received part of Silesia and the Rhineland, England received Fr. Malta... It is interesting that it was in the decision of this Congress that "perpetual neutrality for Switzerland" was recorded.

Ultimately, on September 26, 1815, in Paris, the Russian Emperor Alexander I, the Austrian Emperor Franz II, and the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III signed the so-called Act of the Holy Alliance, which became the key document for building a model of European security based on force. In subsequent agreements, these countries reserved the right to intervene militarily in the affairs of other countries if they saw the need for it. Such a model was inherently imperial, ignoring the interests of small countries, some of which lost their independence altogether.

This model of European collective security existed for almost a hundred years. During this time, there were no major wars in Europe, although certain military conflicts arose often. At the same time, the aggravation of contradictions between the very guarantors of European security became one of the reasons for the First World War, which was the most destructive of all previous wars.

The conclusion of the First World War was the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, which took place in June 1919. ***It was an attempt to build a new model of European security***. The signatories of this treaty, on the one hand, were the victorious countries (USA, Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Belgium), and on the other hand, defeated Germany.

The weakness of the new model was that the victorious countries again tried to get the most out of their victory. Germany lost part of its territories, its colonies were transferred to other countries, significant military restrictions and huge reparations were imposed.

In many ways, the humiliating nature of the Treaty of Versailles was the reason for the formation of revanchist sentiments in Germany and the coming to power of right-wing forces. The model did not provide effective forms of control over compliance with its key provisions, which led to the Second World War.

The foundations of the architecture of the *new model of European security began to be formed after the Second World War* (1939-1945). It should be remembered that Europe was essentially divided into zones of influence. The Soviet Union, spreading its ideology to the countries of Eastern Europe, maintained its military presence there, which was considered by Western countries as a certain threat to their security. Therefore, already in 1948, the first attempt was made to coordinate their actions to create conditions for collective security. On March 17, 1948, on the basis of the Brussels Treaty (Pact) on Economic, Social and Cultural Cooperation and Collective Self-Defense between Belgium, Great Britain, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and France, the Western European Union (WEU) was created. It was a regional military-political organization of European countries created to ensure the collective self-defense of its members against possible German and Soviet aggression. Since 1955, the number of members of this Union has increased and by 2006 it included 10 member countries, 3 cranes of associated members and 8 observers [5]. The normative documents of the Union provided for, in particular, the following actions aimed at ensuring collective security: the provision of military units of all types of conventional weapons of member states to solve tasks under the auspices of the CEU (humanitarian and rescue operations, peacekeeping operations, combat operations aimed at overcoming crises , measures to establish peace; the use of military units subordinate to the CEU, according to the decision of the CEU Council, the coordination of plans and their implementation; the creation of multinational military associations from the armed forces of the CEU member states, including those assigned to carry out NATO tasks (after consultation with NATO) [5].

The creation of the UES was the first attempt to build a regional system of collective security. And although in fact this organization was more engaged in mutual consultations, research, development of a joint position of member countries, it played its deterrent function and laid the groundwork for new forms of collective security in the future.

Already in the first years of the existence of the Western European Union, it became clear that in order to guarantee security on the European continent (in case of real threats), it would not be able to do so without the participation of its ally in the Second World War - the United States of America. Therefore, in 1949, in response to the growing threat of Soviet expansion, one of the most influential organizations of our time was created - NATO.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization or NATO was created on April 4, 1949 by the signing of the corresponding treaty by 12 founding countries (Belgium, Great Britain, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Canada, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, the Portuguese Republic, the United States of America and the French Republic). The need to create such an organization was largely

determined by the inability of the United Nations to resolve security issues. In our opinion, the UN, like all those organizations or security treaties that were concluded before it, has a significant flaw, which has become evident now, when Russia is waging a large-scale war against Ukraine. This organization by its very nature is a form of securing the special status of the victorious countries in the previous war (for example, permanent members of the Security Council with the right of veto). Already in the first years of its existence, the UN Security Council was unable to take a number of important security decisions due to the Soviet Union's use of the right of veto. Today, this right is actively used by the aggressor country.

A distinguishing feature of NATO from all previous security models are:

- significant expansion of the region's borders: this organization is not purely European, but transatlantic. In addition to European countries, its participants include the USA and Canada;

- this organization is not the realization of the interests of the countries that won the Second World War (it is important to remember that in 1955 a decision was made to join NATO and the Federal Republic of Germany). Unlike the two previous models, it did not provide for the redistribution of borders in favor of the winners;

- NATO is built on the principles of equality and democracy of all participants. The absolute majority of decisions in this organization are made by consensus;

- the agreement is not only a political decision. It includes a whole complex of actions of an economic, political, diplomatic and military nature, which should ensure the maintenance of security and the protection of the members of the Alliance against possible aggression;

- for a long time, NATO existed in the conditions of the "cold war", which affected its activities.

It should be noted that from the time of creation to the beginning of the 90s of the 20th century, there were many difficult moments in the history of NATO. On the one hand, the world was one step away from a major war during the Caribbean crisis (1963), which made it clear that there would be no winner in a nuclear war. The new confrontation of 1975-1985 once again spurred the world arms race. On the other hand, several waves of so-called "detente" were observed: the first half of the 1970s, when a number of nuclear arms limitation agreements were signed, the Gorbachev "thaw" and "perestroika" in 1985-1990.

At the same time, a ***new period in the formation of the security architecture begins in the 90s*** in connection with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the liquidation of the Warsaw Pact and the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance.

New conditions made it necessary to reform the collective security system in Europe and transition to its new architecture. First of all, NATO reacted to the changes. The main events in NATO restructuring were:

1. The London summit (1990) started reformatting. The need to change the strategy and adapt it to new conditions was recognized. In particular, the members of the Alliance believed that the threats have decreased, and therefore the question of reducing the armed forces can be raised. On the other hand, attention was focused on the need to expand cooperation with the young democracies of Eastern Europe.

2. The Rome Summit (1991) adopted two important documents: the Strategic Concept and the Declaration on Peace and Cooperation. The strategic concept recognized that the goals of the Alliance remained preliminary. Although the threat of a full-scale war has decreased, there is a great threat of local conflicts (which was soon confirmed). Therefore, the reformation of the armed forces is needed. Along with their reduction, it is necessary to develop rapid response forces to be able to intervene in time when such a need arises. The declaration initiated the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC), which aimed to promote cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. As of 1996, 40 countries in Europe and Asia, including all the former republics of the Soviet Union, joined the RPAS.

3. An important NATO initiative was the "Partnership for Peace" program, which was launched in 1994. This program allowed partners to conduct joint training, better plan the development of the military sphere, and increase the level of trust in each other. As of 1997, 27 European and Asian countries joined the program. Ukraine was one of the first. The Russian Federation also became a participant in the program, which inspired hope for a reduction in tension in Europe.

4. The successor of the RPAS was the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), created in 1997. It dealt with the issue of conducting consultations on the control and limitation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

5. 1999 was marked by an important event: the first three post-socialist countries became members of NADO: the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. In the following years, 12 more countries joined the Alliance. Thus, this organization has 31 countries. A few more countries have applied for membership. Ukraine is among them.

Naturally, the backbone of the European security architecture is NATO. However, the European community is looking for its own options to increase the degree of security. Among the events of the last decade of the 20th century and the first two decades of the 21st century, the initiators of which were primarily the European Union, the following can be highlighted:

1. The European Union was created in 1992 mainly to solve issues of economic integration. However, life has shown that there is a need to grant him certain military powers. In 1999, the EU launched a new initiative called the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP). In the same year, the so-called Helsinki Foundation Goal was adopted, which provided for the creation by 2003 of a European rapid response force. This task has been more or less successfully accomplished, as evidenced by the participation of the European Rapid Response Force in several peacekeeping operations, both in Europe and beyond.

2. In 2003, the European Union approved a new document - "European Security Strategy". The strategy was based on the assumption that a military attack on one of the EU countries is impossible (this security is guaranteed, in particular by NATO), then the main tasks are the fight against the threats of terrorism, the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, organized crime, as well as the prevention of local armed conflicts.

3. The following year, the so-called Main Goal-2010 was approved, which provided for the creation of a number of special institutes that would take care of European security. Including:

- establishment of the European Defense Agency;
- completion of the formation of the Rapid Response Force;
- further development of the European Air Transport Authority.

At the same time, despite certain efforts of the European Union to strengthen its role in ensuring European security, the leading role in this matter continues to belong to NATO.

Thus, the modern model, built on new principles, was presented as a reliable guarantor of security not only for NATO member countries, but also for Europe in general. Upon inspection, it turned out that even such a well-thought-out system could not save Europe from a full-scale war, which was unleashed by Russia against sovereign Ukraine. Therefore, the formation of a new model of both European and global security is obvious.

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