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THE EVOLUTION OF THE COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Людмила Адашис, Поліна Тростянська. ЕВОЛЮЦІЯ СПІЛЬНОЇ ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ І ПОЛІТИКИ БЕЗПЕКИ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОГО СОЮЗУ. У статті проаналізовані етапи становлення спільної зовнішньої політики та політики безпеки Європейського Союзу. Розглянуто основні події та рішення світових лідерів, що вплинули на формування загального уявлення світового співтовариства про спільну зовнішню політику та політику безпеки. В роботі акцентується увага на постійному прагненні європейської спільноти дійти згоди щодо створення єдиного дієвого механізму спільної зовнішньої політики та політики безпеки країн ЄС. Хоча, на початкових етапах інтеграції, країнам «європейської шістки» не вдалося започаткувати інтеграцію в оборонній та політичній сферах. Інтеграція продовжувала розвиватись в інших сферах, а європейські країни та їх лідери робили нові кроки для зближення в регулюванні спільної безпекової політики. Особливо варті уваги: План Плевена щодо створення «європейської армії», прагнення утворити Європейське оборонне співтовариство та Європейське політичне співтовариство, План Фуше, Західноєвропейський союз, Маастрихтський договір, Амстердамський договір, Лісабонський договір та їх вплив на політику безпеки ЄС, створення Європейського оборонного фонду та сучасний План Макрона. Висвітлено позитивні та негативні наслідки кожного кроку еволюції та становлення спільної зовнішньої політики та політики безпеки Європейського Союзу, а також реакцію країн-членів ЄС та інших провідних країн світу на них. Проаналізовані сучасні глобальні події, що мають значний вплив на механізм реалізації політики безпеки ЄС. Досліджено думки вчених та практиків, європейських та світових лідерів та громадян у питанні реалізації спільної зовнішньої та безпекової політики. Доведено, що Україні як лідеру Східного партнерства, необхідно поліпшити свій статус, використати безпекову проблематику для вироблення спільних рішень щодо тіснішого військового партнерства між нею та країнами ЄС. А також здобути можливість бути залученою до спільних консультацій під час вироблення оборонної і безпекової політики ЄС в цілому.

Ключові слова: право Європейського Союзу, спільна зовнішня політика, політика безпеки, політична інтеграція, Оборонний союз ЄС, Європейський Союз, План Плевена, План Макрона, Європейський оборонний фонд.

Relevance of the study. The way of building the European Union has many interesting and contradictory moments in history. But to be able to withstand the variability of destiny, you need to understand the connection between the past, present and future. The eminent French historian Marc Bloch spoke of the «solidarity of epochs» and this solidarity is so effective that it allows the lines of communication to work in both directions. And a misunderstanding of the present is an inevitable consequence of ignorance of the past. But a person can be just unable to understand the past, if he does not fully understand the present [5, p. 27]. Therefore, the history of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy is of general interest and has a significant impact on its current state.

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The common foreign and security policy of the European Union has been successfully studied by scientists such as I. Bilas, S. Vidnyansky, H. Vovchuk, N. Koval, V.V. Kopyyka, I. Kochin, Luuk van Middelaar, S. Fomenko, I. Yakovlyuk and others.

The article's objective is to consider the basis, stages and features of the formation of a common foreign and security policy of the European Union. Investigate modern European cooperation in the field of defense, its positive and negative manifestations and obstacles to formation.

Discussion. The middle of the last century was a decisive milestone and the beginning of building a sustainable union of European countries, which over time is only strengthened for closer cooperation. The success of the idea of forming a European Coal and Steel Community (hereinafter – ECSC) pushed France to a new integration initiative – a military-political one. So in October 1950, the Prime Minister of France Rene Pleven (who was inspired by J. Monnet determination to create a European federation) speaking at the National Assembly suggested a project of creation a «European army» led by a joint command which was proposed to form using the ECSC governing bodies as a model. The quintessence of his proposal was the formation of military structures that would include military contingents to be allocated by member states to the European army as structural units. The latter were to be created on a supranational basis, which made it impossible for the existence of an independent German military machine [6, p. 71]. And already in September 1951, at a meeting of foreign ministers in Washington, Pleven's Plan was approved by the United States, Britain and France and formed the basis of the 1952 Treaty of Paris establishing the «European Defense Community» (hereinafter – EDC).

On May 27, 1952, the countries of the European Six signed the Treaty establishing the European Defense Community, and on September 10, 1952, the foreign ministers of the ECSC member states instructed the ECSC Joint Assembly (the prototype of the future European Parliament) to draft Treaty establishing the European Political Community (hereinafter – EPC), which completed its work on the project on March 10, 1953.

However, neither the EDC nor the EPC has become a reality. The decisive role here was played by France, whose parliament, after lengthy discussions on August 30, 1954, refused to ratify the EDC Treaty. And this made the signing of the EPC Treaty inappropriate. And J. Monnet, expressing his personal political protest against this, even left the post of President of the Supreme Board of the ECSC.

So, strange as it may sound, all of France's efforts were thwarted by the French themselves.

Thus, in the early 1950s, the countries of the European Six failed to initiate integration in the defense and political spheres, although integration continued to develop in other areas, primarily in the economic sphere.

It is worth noting that the process of defense and political integration has been complicated by many circumstances. On the one hand, American-led NATO has been more effective in the Cold War in defending the West. On the other hand, the provisions of the political community provided for the possibility of participation in this process not only of the six member states but also of any other country of the Council of Europe. Finally, another real obstacle to political integration is the colonial nature of France, Great Britain and Belgium. Without solving the problem with their overseas territories, these states could not fully participate in the European integration process in the political sphere [14, p. 61].

Regular discussions on expanding integration into the political sphere began almost immediately after the ratification of the Treaties of Rome. Initially, during a press conference on September 5, 1960, Charles de Gaulle proposed a mechanism for regular cooperation between the countries of Western Europe in the political, economic, military, and cultural spheres. And in 1961, France's proposals were discussed at the first meeting of heads of state and government in the history of the EEC in Paris, where it was decided to establish a special commission to develop details of such cooperation. The «Fouche Plan» proposed by France (in honor of the French Ambassador to Denmark Christian Fouche, who headed the special commission) provided for the creation of a political alliance aimed at coordinating foreign and defense policy with intergovernmental cooperation like classical international organizations. This project was rejected due to the negative reaction of Belgium and the Netherlands. The «Fouche-2 Plan» also failed, despite its even lesser supranationality and lack of even indirect links to cooperation with NATO. The reason for this was the reluctance of the same Belgium and the Netherlands to move to political integration without participation of Great Britain.

Therefore, in April 1962, the mandate of the Fouché Commission was suspended [10, p. 157]. Nevertheless, the community was grateful for this catastrophe, and the name «Fouché» angered the Commission for many years in a row [12, p. 262].

A new impetus to the cooperation of member states in the field of foreign policy was received in 1970, when the report of Etienne Davignon, a Belgian diplomat, who was called a specialist in «tasks on the squaring of the circle» [12, p. 53]. On October 23, 1970, this report was adopted by the Council in Luxembourg. According to researchers, this document was significant and important in the aspect of European political cooperation. Its main task was to introduce regular meetings of foreign ministers and strengthen political cooperation through specially formed working groups on potentially common issues [11, p. 50].

Equally important documents were the Copenhagen Report of 1973 (which introduced meetings of foreign ministers four times a year and introduced a telex system between the member states of the Core-network) and the London Report of 1981. The latter indicated the need of connecting the European Commission to European political cooperation, and «further European integration and the development and definition of common policies in accordance with the Treaties will be more productive with better coordination of foreign policy actions and will expand the range of legal instruments available to the Ten...» [11, p. 50].

In February 1984, France adopted a memorandum insisting on intensifying the activities of the Western European Union (hereinafter – WEU). The document was supported by Belgium and Germany, pointing out that the WEU is in fact the only purely European organization competent in defense matters. Therefore, the development of WEU should contribute to European integration as a whole. Although, according to researchers, from its inception in 1954 until 1994, the WEU was in a lethargic state, which was due to a number of political and economic reasons, as well as significant competition for leadership from NATO [8, p. 42]. To implement this memorandum, on October 26, 1987 in The Hague, the WEU Council adopted the «Platform on European Security Interests», which recognized the European identity in the field of security and defense on the basis of solidarity provided by the Brussels Treaty establishing the WEU and the North Atlantic Treaty establishing NATO. It should be noted here that the adoption of the relevant «Platform» was a logical continuation of the legislative consolidation of cooperation between member countries on foreign policy issues in the Single European Act of 1986.

A clearer normative definition of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (hereinafter – CFSP) took place only in 1992, by signing the Maastricht Treaty and consolidating it as a second pillar. Its task was to strengthen the unity and independence of Europe, which should contribute to the preservation of peace, security and progress on the continent and in the world. Among the most important goals of the CFSP were: protection of common values, vital interests, independence and integrity of the EU, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter; strengthening the security of the EU and its members; maintaining peace and strengthening international security; support for international cooperation; developing and strengthening democracy, as well as legitimate governments and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Following the signing of the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997 and the introduction into the institutional system of the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (Javier Solana was the first to hold the post in 1999 being at the same time the Secretary General of the Council of the EU), the main focus is on the functioning of the EU as a military and defense support of the Union. In a few years, the European Union has managed to go a long way from a purely economic union to a defense community, to gain the authority to conduct peacekeeping operations with civilian and military components on its own. To achieve this, the EU has received the appropriate legal framework and institutional mechanisms, without the need for the assistance of the WEU. As a result, already in the Nice Treaty in 2001, the provisions related to the common foreign and security policy and the provisions on the activities of the WEU as a defense component of the Union were removed. For good, the WEU ceased to exist after the signing and entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and the adoption of a decision by the Permanent Council of the WEU on March 31, 2010 [8, p. 45].

The architectural changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty to the Common Foreign and Security Policy have become a logical continuation of its development and a response to the challenges of globalization.

At the time of concluding the Lisbon Treaty, the EU's foreign policy consisted of many uncoordinated areas, a large number of institutions and complex legal regulators. The reorganization of

all types of foreign policies, the integration of the foreign affairs system and its significant merging, the introduction of the term «foreign activity» instead of «external relations or policy», which covers all external areas: economic, political and security, proved the EU's attitude to international activities as to a single holistic direction [13, p. 235]. And presented on June 28, 2016 by the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini of the European Union's Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy «Common vision, common approach: a strong Europe», stressed that one «soft» force is no longer enough and it is necessary to increase the efficiency of the EU in the field of security and defense. At the same time, the main priorities were: defense, counter-terrorism, cybersecurity, energy and strategic communications. For effective follow-up in the field of security and defense and timely response to external crises, the European Union must have the full range of strategic capacity and resources. Therefore, the collective commitment to the EU defense budget must be fully met. In turn, the defense industry will stimulate economic growth of states [2]. This prompted the establishment in 2017 of the European Defense Fund (hereinafter – EDF), which aims to promote defense cooperation between companies and between EU countries in order to stimulate innovation and development of state-of-the-art defense technologies and products. The fund will coordinate, complement and strengthen national defense investments. The European Commission has already begun to strengthen the European defense sector in the current budget cycle, ending in 2020. For the first time in the history of the EU, the EU has undertaken to support European defense cooperation with a budget of 590 million euros, of which 90 million euros for research in 2017 -2019 and 500 million euros – for the development of equipment and technology for the period 2019-2020. For the next budget period 2021-2027 it is planned to increase spending on this EDF to 13 billion euros [4].

Perhaps precisely in order to rehabilitate France, for its insufficiently active position in recent years, in the eyes of Europeans and to assume a leading role in the European Union, the current President of France, E. Macron, insists on strengthening political and defense cooperation. His EU Reform Program, which is grouped into six priorities, has become very eloquent. The main priority of «Common Security» should be embodied in the deployment of rapid reaction forces in the EU, the creation of a common defense budget and a common doctrine of action and better integration of the armed forces of member states. Macron insists on accelerating the implementation of the European Defense Fund and the Permanent Structured Cooperation (hereinafter – PESCO) and proposes the creation of a European Intelligence Academy and a European Civil Defense Force (to combat natural disasters). But the reaction to the Macron's Plan of the international community was different.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel agreed with Macron that Europe should move towards creating its own armed forces. She believes that such an idea does not go against the Alliance, and the European army can be a good addition to NATO. However, US President Donald Trump took the statements as an insult and accused Europe of underfunding NATO.

The lack of clear use of the concepts and terms of the EU's common army allows leaders from different political backgrounds to operate them on their own. Thus, Russian President Putin supported Macron's idea, noting that such a proposal reflects «a generally positive process». Such position of the Russian leader is not surprising, but is quite expected. Putin will support any idea that will help realize his desire to separate Europe from the United States and dismantle the North Atlantic Alliance from within [7].

Despite the Macron's Plan is being very ambitious, it is unfortunate that it emphasizes its lack of attention to the further development of the Eastern Dimension of EU cooperation, while directly highlighting the need for partnership with Africa. This position requires balancing the development of cooperation with the Eastern Partnership countries by other players, and within the framework of EU reform plans. And Macron's idea of creating a joint European rapid reaction force and further strengthening EU defense cooperation could collide with existing EU battle-groups, some of which Ukraine has been and is being involved in. Also, special attention is needed to whether Ukraine participation in the reformed rapid reaction force will be possible, given the cooperation between Ukraine and the EU after the Russian aggression [9].

The global events of recent months in connection with the Covid-19 pandemic have suspended European discussions on this issue, as the EU is devoting all its forces to combating its consequences. However, Putin's destructive policies are, unfortunately, systematic. We should not forget the fact that by sending humanitarian aid to some EU countries now, Russia wants to undermine European unity, so to speak, from within. According to the press, the Italians are offered a reward of 200 euros for filming videos of «gratitude to Russia and Putin» for humanitarian aid, and a video is spread on social networks where a man changes the EU flag to

the Russian flag, and then shows inscription «Thank you Russia. Thank you Putin!» [1].

Conclusions. Based on the above, it can be concluded that despite all the difficulties, the desire of most European leaders and European citizens is to remain in a friendly family of the European Union and build a Common Foreign and Security Policy.

As EU High Representative Joseph Borrell said in his annual report to the European Parliament in January 2020, «in the geopolitical world, the European Union has no choice but to strengthen its capacity to protect itself and become a more reliable security provider. The beating hearts of the CFSP today are 17 missions and operations deployed in various regions outside our borders. I must welcome the enthusiasm and commitment of thousands of men and women serving under the banner of the European Union... I welcome the political support for the creation of the proposed extra-budgetary European Peace Fund, designed to help our partners take care of their own security by building their own capabilities. Accepting a greater role in the world requires the development of what is called strategic autonomy, but this does not mean that the European Union is abandoning its partnership. On the contrary, it will make the European Union a stronger world partner. It will also benefit NATO, as a stronger EU and a stronger NATO go side by side»[3].

The current position of the European Union requires balancing the development of cooperation not only between the EU countries, but also with the countries of the Eastern Partnership, and within the framework of EU reform plans. Macron's proposal to create a joint European rapid reaction force and further strengthen defense cooperation, although of keen interest, could enter into a collision with existing EU battlegroups.

In turn, Ukraine should strengthen cooperation with the EU in these areas. As a leader of the Eastern Partnership, Ukraine needs to improve its status, use security issues to work out joint decisions on a closer military partnership between it and the EU and also, to seek the opportunity to involve Ukraine in joint consultations in the development of defense and security policy of the EU as a whole.

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Abstract

In the article the stages of formation of the common foreign and security policy of the European Union have been analyzed. The main events and decisions of world leaders that influenced the formation of the general idea of the world community about the common foreign and security policy are considered. The paper focuses on the constant desire of the European community to agree on the creation of a single effective mechanism for a common foreign and security policy of the EU. Although, in the initial stages the countries of the European six failed to initiate integration in the defense and political spheres integration continued to develop in other areas. Later European countries and their leaders took new steps to converge in the regulation of the common security policy. The positive and negative consequences of each step of the evolution and formation of the common foreign and security policy of the European Union, as well as the reaction of EU member states and other leading countries to them are highlighted. The current global events that have a significant impact on the mechanism of implementation of EU security policy are analyzed. The opinions of scientists and practitioners, European and world leaders on the implementation of common foreign and security policy are studied. It has been proved that Ukraine, as the leader of the Eastern Partnership, needs to improve its status, use security issues to work out joint decisions on a closer military partnership between it and the EU countries.

Keywords: *EU law, common foreign policy, security policy, political integration, EU Defense Union, European Union, Pleven Plan, Macron's Plan, European, European Defense Fund.*