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COOPERATION OF EU AND UKRAINIAN YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE 1990s (Based on the Documents of the EU Historical Archive)

The article highlights the development of relations between European and Ukrainian youth organisations after 1991, as well as the challenges that Ukraine has faced in establishing these relations. The author notes that there is currently no research on the cooperation of European youth organisations with Ukrainian youth organisations after 1991. This study was developed thanks to a grant from the Visegrad Fund for Research of the Historical Archive of the European Union. Access to original materials stored in the Historical Archive of the European Union allowed to analyse the main milestones in the development of cooperation between Ukrainian and European youth organizations after restoring Ukraine's independence. The article analyses the change in attitude towards the countries of Eastern Europe as potential partners in the last decade of the existence of the Soviet Union, as well as after its collapse. It was concluded that the opposition between the Soviet Union and Western Europe negatively influenced the development of relations between youth organizations in the transition period. The author concludes that after restoring Ukraine's independence, Ukrainian youth organizations made significant efforts to establish cooperation with European organizations. However, the state did not have enough funds for the development of foreign youth policy and the necessary knowledge due to the lack of experience in cooperation with Western European partners.

Keywords: *Ukraine, European Union, foreign policy, youth organizations, cooperation.*

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СПІВПРАЦЯ МОЛОДІЖНИХ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙ ЄС ТА УКРАЇНИ УПРОДОВЖ 1990-х рр. (за документами Історичного архіву ЄС)

У статті висвітлюється розвиток відносин між європейськими та українськими молодіжними організаціями після 1991 року, а також виклики, з якими стикнулася Україна під час налагодження цих відносин. Авторка зазначає, що на сьогодні відсутні наукові студії, присвячені співпраці європейських молодіжних організацій з українськими молодіжними організаціями після 1991 року. Ця розвідка стала можливою завдяки гранту Вишеградського фонду на проведення досліджень у Історичному архіві Європейського Союзу. Доступ до оригінальних матеріалів з Історичного архіву Європейського Союзу дозволив проаналізувати ключові етапи розвитку співпраці між українськими та європейськими молодіжними організаціями після відновлення незалежності України 1991 р. У статті проаналізовано зміни у ставленні до країн Східної Європи як потенційних партнерів в останнє десятиліття існування Радянського Союзу, а також після його розпаду. Зроблено висновок, що протистояння між Радянським Союзом і Західною Європою негативно вплинуло на розвиток відносин між молодіжними організаціями навіть після здобуття Україною незалежності. Зокрема, авторка наголошує, що після відновлення незалежності України 1991 р. українські молодіжні організації доклали значних зусиль для налагодження співпраці з європейськими організаціями. Однак, держава не мала достатньо коштів для розвитку зовнішньої молодіжної політики та необхідних знань через відсутність досвіду співпраці із західноєвропейськими партнерами.

Ключові слова: Україна, Європейський Союз, зовнішня політика, молодіжні організації, співпраця.

The study of the activities of European youth organizations in establishing relations with post-Soviet countries, including Ukraine, is becoming increasingly important in contemporary historical scholarship. After 1991, Ukraine was finally able to fully position itself on the international arena, but the

country still faced a large number of challenges caused by a number of political and economic reasons

Unfortunately, the history of cooperation between Ukrainian and European youth movements has not been profoundly researched. European youth organizations, which functioned in the 20th century and made a significant contribution to the development of the European Union, did not become the subject of research in Ukrainian historiography.

In foreign historiography, there are certain studies devoted to the activities of European youth organizations in general, however, the issue of expanding the activities of these organizations "to the east" has still been largely overlooked by the scientists. Christina Norvig, in her book "Die erste europäische Generation: Europakonstruktionen in der Europäischen Jugendkampagne, 1951–1958" (The First European Generation: Constructions of Europe in the European Youth Campaign, 1951–1958)¹, explored the importance of "youth" for the construction of Europe, namely the development of the "European Youth Campaign, which unfolded against the background of the escalation of the conflict between the East and the West. Brian A. McKenzie also devoted his work to researching the European youth campaign during the Cold War, focusing on Ireland². Joel Kotek explored the activities of youth organizations in Europe during the Cold War, such as Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY), Pax Romana and the World Assembly of Youth (WAY), as well as their connections with American organizations³. Despite the significant importance of these studies, there is currently no research on the connections between European youth organizations and youth organizations of the post-Soviet space, including Ukraine.

This study was made possible thanks to a grant from the Visegrad Fund for research of the Historical Archive of the European Union. Access to unique materials stored in the Historical Archives of the European Union enabled an analysis of the main milestones in the development of cooperation between Ukrainian and European youth organizations after restoring Ukraine's independence, as well as facilitated an investigation of the challenges faced by Ukrainian youth organizations when building cooperation.

In the early 1990s, Ukraine found itself in a difficult situation, as the state had to restore its presence on the international arena as an independent player. Rebuilding the relationships between European youth organisations, which have been challenged during the Soviet period, was a difficult task due to the variety of reasons. Lack of finance, economic instability and lack of trained personnel had a negative impact on the development of relations with foreign partners. In addition, Ukraine's period in the Soviet Union, which was marked by the confrontation with so-called "capitalist" countries, was another significant factor that negatively affected Ukrainian foreign policy. Foreign

partners were wary of building relations with the newly created states of the post-Soviet space. Christian Koutzine, who served as the president of the European Coordination Bureau of International Youth Organisations (ECB), analysing the development of East-West relations and youth cooperation (1990), stressed that in case Gorbachev granted independence to the Baltic States, it would be impossible to refuse it to the Ukrainian Republic. However, Koutzine stated that at that moment, the situation in the USSR had to become the primary concern in case anarchy spread throughout the country or if an ultra-nationalistic party seized power⁴.

The confrontation between the Soviet Union and European states also definitely had a negative impact on the image of Ukraine as a progressive European partner. Therefore, before delving into the analysis of the formation of relations between Ukrainian and European international organizations after 1991, it is necessary to analyse the prerequisites that influenced the development of these relations.

Against the backdrop of strained relations between Europe and the Soviet Union, as well as its satellite countries, the possibility of establishing cooperation and collaboration among youth organizations faced numerous challenges. With Gorbachev assuming power and the beginning of the so-called perestroika, there was a renewed interest and potential for establishing cooperation with youth organizations in Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. In December 1984, Mikhail Gorbachev addressed members of the British Parliament with the following thesis:

“No matter what divides us, we have one planet. Europe is our common home. A home, not a “theater of war”. The Soviet Union stands for the improvement of interstate relations. In politics and diplomacy, there is always room for reasonable compromises, there is a vast field for developing and strengthening mutual understanding and trust based on close or coinciding interests”⁵.

This statement undoubtedly garnered significant attention, drawing various European actors, including European youth organizations. The phrase "a common European home" was frequently regarded as a slogan for fostering new relationships between Eastern European countries and the European Union. The potential for such collaboration became a topic of deliberation within the European Youth Forum, which functioned as an international non-profit association, acting as an umbrella organisation and advocacy group of the national youth councils and international non-governmental youth organisations in Europe. Jan Dereymaeker, Secretary General of the European Youth Forum, stressed the need to strengthen cooperation between East and West. As he stated in the Youth Forum Bulletin in 1989⁶, European institutions should support the process of establishing cooperation by providing organizations

representing the peoples of Eastern Europe with the opportunity to actively participate in shaping common European activities and in creating a “common European home” within the new global village. Dereymaeker also claimed that prior to 1980, the Council of European National Youth Committees (CENYC) was actively challenged in its bilateral relations. When discussing East-West relations during this period, it primarily referred to interactions with official organisations since the structure of socialist or communist countries prohibited any representation other than that of the party. At the international level, these were the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

As Dereymaeker asserted, the European Meeting of Youth and Students in Warsaw in 1976 marked a significant milestone in the development of youth relations. The "European Youth and Students Meeting for Lasting Peace, Security, Cooperation, and Social Progress", convened in Warsaw from June 19 to June 24, 1976, brought together several pivotal gatherings, including the meetings of the following organizations: Central European New Youth Committee (CENYC), Democratic Youth Community of Europe (DEMYC), European Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth (EFLRY), International Falcon Movement (IFM), International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY). The second important event in this regard was the European Disarmament Conference, which took place in Budapest in 1978. The conference played an important role in establishing contacts between various youth organizations and creating a platform for further discussions on cooperation between East and West. However, the creation of the Framework Program for European Youth Cooperation in 1980 was not a solution that was quickly implemented. This process required two years of discussions with various stakeholders. Such dialogue and consultation were important in order to take into account different opinions and interests and to develop a structure that could successfully facilitate cooperation between youth organizations.

As a result, the Framework for European Youth Cooperation was created only in 1980. The purpose of the Framework Program was to develop contacts with Eastern organizations. The organizers understood that cooperation with Eastern countries required interaction with official representatives. However, they also recognized that dialogue and networking were important steps toward improving mutual understanding and cooperation between the youth of East and West. In December 1982, formal disagreements arose and the Framework Program was frozen for five years. This period of calm ended only in 1987 in Bonn, when statements about perestroika made by Mikhail Gorbachev began to be heard. This event made an important contribution to the restoration of long-awaited cooperation.

Despite the fact that in the late 1980s, European youth organisation representatives initiated explorations into the potential for cooperation with

socialist bloc countries, numerous concerns and challenges persisted regarding the integration of these nations into the "common European home". In 1989, the European Coordination Bureau of International Youth Organizations (ECB) prepared a document titled "European Identity" that served as a continuation and expansion of discussions on European identities that took place during a roundtable at the December 1989 ECB Colloquium. In Francesco Mazzaferro's article titled "The Many Souls of the European Identity, the Common European Home, and the European Community⁷", he arrived at the conclusion that the Cold War's aftermath rendered it unfeasible to integrate the Eastern part of the old continent, effectively excluding the "slavish" component from the ongoing European identity formation process. Mazzaferro contended that the new "European identity" needed the establishment of new institutions and a new "geometry" to encompass the entirety of the Slavic world, including the Soviet Union. He further asserted that this integration should operate across various levels of engagement and collaboration. Jan Dereymaeker also expressed caution regarding the export of Western models to these countries. He emphasized the differences in cultural identities of Eastern European countries, stating that each of them has its own history and traditions, and despite their geographical location, some of them, such as Hungary or Czechoslovakia, are closer to Western countries in cultural and traditional aspects. In his view, the communist regime failed in these countries, in part, because it failed to accommodate and respect these unique cultural identities, causing an identity crisis and undermining the legitimacy of its rule. Francesco Mazzaferro, Vice-President of the JEF Europe, pointed out that the main difference between Eastern and Western Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall is that in Western Europe there were developed democratic institutions and pan-European structures, political and social actors who sought integration and cooperation within the European institutions. This process contributed to the creation of the European Union and the strengthening of its institutions, as well as the convergence of the countries of Western Europe within the framework of a common strategy for development and cooperation. While, in the East of Europe, the process of transition to democracy and a market economy was associated with national revolutions and the struggle for independence. These countries have sought to establish their own national institutions and priorities without always following a clear supranational strategy.

Furthermore, European youth organisations representatives identified the foreign policy of the United States as a restraining factor in the relations of Western and Eastern Europe. In the report "The Current Crisis of the European Economic Community", Jan Dereymaeker emphasized that the expansion of agricultural cooperation between Western and Eastern Europe could be an important factor for further development. He saw the cooperation in agriculture as a means of strengthening relationships and creating common interests

between European countries, which would help solve common problems and promote economic development in the region. However, according to Derymarker, US foreign policy was aimed at fighting the Soviet Union and often influenced commercial relations between European countries and the USSR. Consequently, this could cause various challenges and restrictions on trade, although cooperation between Western and Eastern Europe had the potential to solve these problems.

In general, despite the interest of European youth organizations in the countries of Eastern Europe before the countries gained independence from the Soviet Union, these countries could not establish relations in the status of full-fledged partners. Most of the contacts that arose between the youth organizations of the "two blocs" mostly concerned issues of conflict resolution, disarmament, etc. After 1991, the focus of cooperation began to shift. For Ukrainian youth organizations, it became possible to position Ukraine as a European state. For European organizations, the emergence of independent republics meant the possibility of expanding their activities "to the east".

Cooperation with the countries of Eastern Europe became an important aspect of activity for many pro-European international centres. In 1992, the European Parliament created a separate budget line for Priority Actions in the field of youth, which allowed the European Community to provide financial support for activities within the framework of the Resolution on Priority Actions in the Youth Field. In its comments on the budget, the European Parliament further expanded the scope of the Resolution, adding that the amount available should also be used to support: the exchange of young people for cultural purposes in the European Community, support of community interest initiatives developed by youth organizations, exchanges with Latin American countries, Mediterranean countries, and Eastern European countries.⁸ According to the Report of the Commission of the European Communities on activities in the field of priority measures in the field of youth in 1992, funding was made available for activities with those Central and Eastern European countries. This fund was specifically allocated to intensify cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe in the field of youth exchange and mobility. In 1992, financial support was accorded to Armenia, Belorussia (Belarus — corrected by the author), Georgia, Russia and Ukraine and used for three types of activities: youth exchange projects for groups of young people, preparatory study visits and training courses for youth workers. The main objective was to prepare the ground for future forms of cooperation, and in this context, priority was given to preparatory study visits and training courses involving multipliers from the European Community and the eligible countries⁹.

As noted in the report, the majority of project applications submitted in 1992 (Fig.1) were from national and European non-governmental organizations with experience of youth exchanges at the European level and well-established

links with the countries concerned. Specific examples of organizations or initiatives proposed by organizations were not specified. As can be seen from the table below, European non-governmental organizations and German organizations were in the lead in terms of the number of submitted applications and supported projects. As for the respective countries, most of the partners were in Russia, followed by Belarus, Ukraine and Armenia.

PRIORITY ACTIONS IN THE YOUTH FIELD
ACTIONS PRIORITAIRES DANS LE DOMAINE DE LA JEUNESSE
EXCHANGES WITH CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
ECHANGES AVEC LES PAYS D'EUROPE CENTRALE ET ORIENTALE
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS BY ACTION AND BY COUNTRY
(PROVISIONAL FIGURES) IN 1992
NOMBRE DE PARTICIPANTS PAR ACTION ET PAR PAYS
(CHIFFRES PROVISOIRES) EN 1992

COUNTRY/PAYS	N° PARTICIPANTS		
Belgique/België	95		
Danmark	3		
Deutschland	151	ARMENIA/ARMENIE	30
Ellas	15	BELORUSSIA/BIELORUSSIE	77
España	47	GEORGIA/GEORGIE	25
France	25	RUSSIA/RUSSIE	381
Ireland	55	UKRAINE/UKRAINE	79
Italia	32		
Luxembourg	-		
Nederland	38		
Portugal	5		
United Kingdom	157		
TOTAL EC/CE	623	Total eligible countries	592
		Total other countries	15
		TOTAL PARTICIPANTS	1,230

Figure 1. Priority actions in the youth field. Number of participant by action and by country¹⁰.

One of the European organizations that tried to find partners in the former Soviet republics was the J.E.F. Young European Federalists (from French — Jeunes Européens Fédéralistes (J.E.F.) is the Youth Section of the Federalist

Movement that was founded in 1947 in Montreux. JEF began its activity in several towns in 1947. After the crisis in 1954 and the recreation of the organisation in 1972, J.E.F. Europe acted as a supranational, non-governmental youth organisation whose purpose was to work for a United Europe. As a pro-European youth organisation, the JEF's activities included organising of international seminars, colloquies, demonstrations, publications, and campaigns among young people to spread information on Europe and on the necessity of the European Union¹¹. For Ukraine, as a state belonging to the European community, it was quite important to establish contact with such an organization as JEF, however, in the early 1990s, such contacts were quite rare. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the JEF began to consider the youth organizations of the post-Soviet space as full-fledged partners, however, compared to other countries of Eastern Europe, Ukraine was not a priority partner. As for direct bilateral contacts between the JEF and Ukrainian youth organizations, there were very few of them in the early 1990s. One of the examples is certainly the attempt of Nikolay Khlevnoy, the head of the Committee of Youth Organizations of the Kherson region, to establish contact with the organization of young federalists in 1992¹². Khlevnoy stressed the existing information gap on the youth movement abroad. The Ukrainian side was addressing this issue by collecting the necessary information and publishing reference books that included details on the structure of the youth movement, its name and addresses of organizations, their telephones, faxes, their history, directions, and forms of work. As part of this initiative, the Committee of Youth Organizations of the Kherson region prepared the reference book titled "Youth Organization of the United Germany and Austria". In the future, it was planned to publish other directories about Belgium, Israel, China, Poland, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Spain, and Portugal. Therefore, the goal of contacting the JEF was to collect information on youth organizations as part of establishing "wide relationships between the youth of your country and the youth of the independent states of the former USSR".

As part of another Ukrainian initiative regarding cooperation with the JEF, the Ukrainian side also prepared a memorandum from the Ukrainian informal liberal-democratic student youth group, willing to become a part of the JEF organisation. The author of the memorandum, Alex Kuzmenko, argued the importance of cooperation by the fact that Western Europe and Ukraine have a "common destiny" and it would be a fatal mistake to think that the European Federation could one day become a vital entity without the participation of the states of Central and Eastern Europe without the participation of Ukraine¹³. Moreover, Kuzmenko declared that Ukraine's long-term political and philosophical tradition of pan-Europeanism goes back at least as far as the seventeenth century. Based on these principles, the memorandum stated that

Ukrainian young pro-European federalists promoted the idea of a European federation and liberal democracy in “the hostile environment of national-fascist and extremist political forces”. The document also contained a number of harsh statements, such as the indication that Ukraine didn’t receive any attention from the JEF’s part and even though the JEF might have felt confused about the current state of liberalism, democracy and euro unionism in Ukraine, there was nothing that *"could excuse indifference that existed towards Ukraine"*. Another Ukrainian activist, Anatol Kos, attempted to establish the JEF Ukraine. In his letter to the JEF-Europe (1993)¹⁴, Kos notified the president of the organisation that according to the latest amendments of Ukrainian legislation on regulations concerning the official registration of foreign public organizations in Ukraine, there were new requirements to officially establish JEF Ukraine as a branch of JEF Europe. The new requirements included an extensive list of the documents that had to be submitted to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine. These documents included the statement of registration documents confirming the legality and registration of JEF-Europe, the application acknowledging Your intention to establish a branch of JEF Europe in Ukraine, a registration fee of 500 US dollars, and some others.

Therefore, despite the attempts of the Ukrainian side to establish relations with young European federalists, these efforts were not systematic and did not succeed with representatives of the JEF.

Ukraine engaged in a more active cooperation with the Council of European National Youth Committees (CENYC). The CENYC was founded in London on March 23, 1963, as a voluntary association of 11 national committees of the World Assembly of Youth (WAY) from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Turkey and Great Britain, as well as two national youth councils of France and Luxembourg¹⁵. In 1994, the CENYC had member organisations in 21 countries (Fig. 1).

The main objective of the CENYC was to encourage cooperation among youth organisations in Europe and promote communication among its members. Similar to the JEF, one of the CENYC aims was to foster "European consciousness" and stimulate democratic participation by young people within youth organisations.

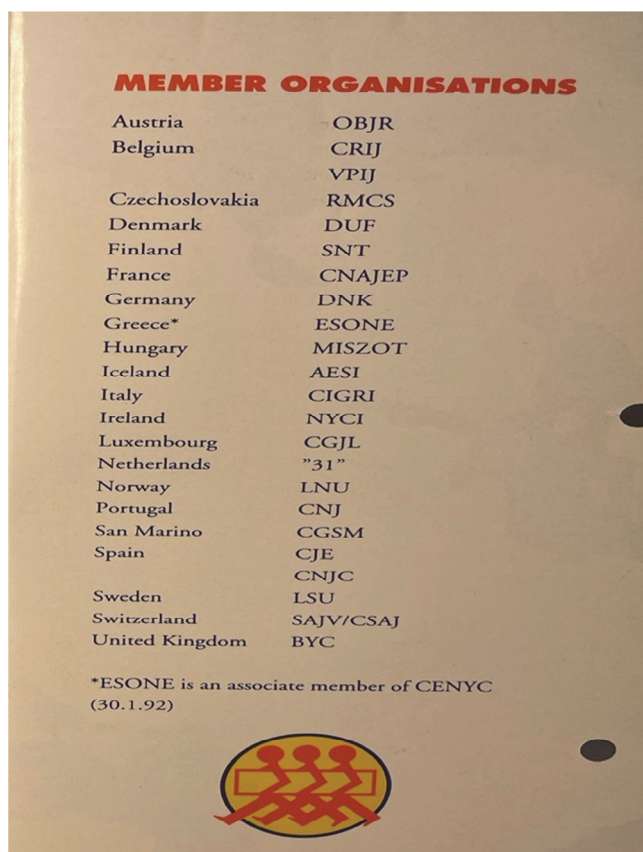


Figure 2. CENYC, Brochure, Historical Archives of the European Union, 1994¹⁶.

Proclaiming pan-European cooperation within the CENYC in the early 1990s, the organization was at the stage of expansion. The CENYC played a particularly active role in the development of East-West youth cooperation in Europe, directing its activities to support national committees in Eastern and Central European countries¹⁷. Given the rapid changes in Europe, the CENYC noted that it was necessary to conduct a series of visits to establish contacts with youth organisations in Eastern Europe. In addition, since the beginning of the 1990s, Eastern European youth organizations began to apply for CENYC membership, which also raised the importance of visiting those countries in order to provide the assessment of the applicants. As part of this initiative, the CENYC allocated a total of 220.000BF for the visits Ukraine and Russia. According to the CENYC documentation, the organisations aimed at partnering with the Youth Council in Russia that seemed to be very well developed in terms of membership, however, there was no information whether it included also work in practice. As for Ukraine, it was stated that Ukraine was one of the

largest countries in Europe, but CENYC's information of the existing Youth organisations was very limited. Moreover, the work programme of the CENYC for 1993–1995 pointed out the development of contacts and cooperation particularly with developing National Youth Committees in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic countries, and Moldavia as the highest priority¹⁸.

On the Ukrainian side, the Ukrainian National Committee of Youth Organizations was particularly active in building the relationship with the CENYC. According to the statute of the Ukrainian National Committee of Youth Organisations (UNKMO), the aims of the organisations included promoting the development of Youth Movement in Ukraine, its integration into the international youth movement, involving young citizens in the state-forming process and setting up social Community in Ukraine. Moreover, the UNKMO was also aiming at arranging conditions for self-realization of young people and involving them into the solving of social problems at large, arranging contacts, information exchange and ordination of Committee's activity, realization of their interests in Ukrainian community. In general, as can be seen from the organization's charter, the goals of UNKMO were aligned with those of the CENYC.

The CENYC had precise criteria for joining the organisation with associate status or observer status. Membership in CENYC was available to National Youth Committees in Europe which were national co-ordination bodies of voluntary youth organisations, and which are not subject to direction in their decisions by any external authority. Furthermore, the National Youth Committees had to accept the aims set out in the Statutes of the CENYC, welcome the democratic principles set out in the European Convention on Human Rights, include all main democratic tendencies active on the national level and be open to all democratic youth organisations.

The UNKMO submitted several applications to CENYC. One of the first applications was sent in 1992, together with the statute and information about the members of the UNKMO. The head of the UNKMO Secretariat Olexander Bashuk sent a letter to the CENYC with the hope of receiving a response from the organization in November–December after the session of General Assembly. The application, however, was rejected by the CENYC. In 1993 the CENYC Bureau examined the Statutes and membership of UNKMO and concluded that UNKMO, according to its Statutes, fulfilled the criteria for membership as outlined in Article 4 of the CENYC statutes. However, the Bureau of the CENYC did not grant status based on a lack of information. The text of the document stated that, in accordance with the CENYC statute, the Executive Committee could grant observer status to UNKMO in the future. This decision was discussed during the visit of the CENYC's representatives to Kyiv in 1993. In the report on the research mission to Ukraine, (3–9 June 1993.) Semu Seitsalo wrote about it as follows:

“I have never been stressed so hard than during this visit. It started right away. Everybody was asking about why we didn’t accept UNKMO as a member. They said that there were all the documents we had asked them. We were impressed how much the officials knew about CENYC”¹⁹.

The text of the reports did not indicate the precise reason for the refusal, but Seitsalo noted that the only “question mark” was the Ukrainian international youth cooperation fund, as they “did not have young people as members and their structure seemed to be little bit different”. However, Seitsalo highlighted that it was very important to include the UNKMO in the European family and there was no apparent reason not to do so. In general, the study visit to Kyiv on June 3–9, 1993 was highly productive. As part of this visit, meetings were held with all structures of youth organizations, members of UNKMO, Minister of Youth and Sports Valery Borzov, Chairman of the Special Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Youth Affairs, and the representatives of the President’s Administration, responsible for work with youth²⁰.

Subsequently, the UNKMO applied for observer status in 1994. The Executive Committee of the CENYC received two applications as observers from NYCR (Russia) and UNKMO (Ukraine). Moreover, in the same year, UNKMO sent another letter to the organization with a request to join the CENYC as a member of the National Youth Committees of the Council of Europe. Arguing the need to grant the application, the Ukrainian side referred to the long-term cooperation between the CENYC and UNKMO, as well as the important role of the CENYC’s activities for the development of the youth movement in Eastern Europe.

Later, the CENYC organized a study visit to Ukraine from January 25th to February 1st, 1995. The main objective was to strengthen contacts with UNKMO, the National Youth Council of Ukraine, which was preparing to apply for CENYC membership at the General Assembly in March 1995²¹. During this visit, the representatives of the CENYC were able to visit not only Kyiv, but also Donetsk region. One of the aspects that surprised the visitors from the CENYC during the visit to the Institute of Modern Languages in Gorlovka was a nostalgic feeling of the USSR. This approach greatly surprised the representatives of European youth, as evidenced by the use of punctuation in the report:

“We were very surprised to see a portrait of Lenin still hanging in the room. The explanation we received centred around the fact that a lot of good things happened under the previous system and one of them being education policy????”²².

Moreover, according to the report, the participants of the study visit were disappointed as they did not meet a broader range of the UNKMO members. In

the conclusion of the report, the authors stated that the organizations they met during the visit lacked funding and international contacts. The Youth Council was seen as not functioning very well due to a lack of resources, which left it without a permanent office. Another disadvantage of the Youth Council of Ukraine was that they seemed to lack experience in how a youth council should be run²³.

Another report detailed a preparatory study visit to Kiev by Dutch Young Socialist Martin Huisman and Annemarie Kram in November 1994. The seminar was attended by representatives of "Bello-Russia" (Belarus — corrected by the author) and Ukraine, as well as nine individuals from social-democratic youth organizations in the EU, coming from Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden. Mykola Zaritsky, chairman of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party (USDU) expressed the opinion that it would be hard for Ukraine to integrate to the European Union, even though it is a European country.

During the visit, the participants discussed the current state of affairs in Ukraine after regaining independence, as overall economic situation, inflation, communism influences, language issues, job market and many others. Discussing Ukrainian future in the EU, Zaritsky stressed that if the EU continued avoiding letting Ukraine join its organization, it would increase the likelihood of the creation of a new Soviet Union. The Dutch delegation considered the possibility of e-mail contact with Kyiv, in cooperation with the billboard of environmental Dutch organizations, which was supposed to be operational after the visit. Further promotion of pan-European ideas was considered of higher importance. Moreover, in the "conclusions and criticisms" of the report, it was recommended for the European Community Organisation of Socialistic Youth (ECOSY) to be more open to the Eastern European countries and pay more attention to the problems of integration and their specific problems²⁴.

In addition to visits to Ukraine itself, Ukrainian representatives also took part in CENYC visits to other post-Soviet countries. One of these visits was the familiarization visit of CENYC to Georgia, which took place from July 13 to 17, 1996. The European Coordination Bureau of international non-governmental youth organisations (ECB) also participated in the visit as it was viewed as a good opportunity to learn more about youth organizations in Georgia. During the first part, the delegation met in Tbilisi with a wide range of Youth Council member organizations. They had meetings with non-member organizations and applicants, as well as meetings with various officials. The delegation included a representative of the CENYC Bureau Janez Skulj, two representatives of the Flemish Youth Council and one representative each of the Belorussian, Danish, Dutch, Latvian and Ukrainian Youth Councils²⁵.

Despite the activity of the Ukrainian side in building relations with the CENYC, the UNKMO experienced financial difficulties which, in turn, led to a low level of engagement with the CENYC. For instance, the Ukrainian National Committee of youth organisations was invited to take part in the second part of training in Romania in 1993²⁶. However, according to the letter from the UNKMO to the CENYC, the UNKMO representatives could not participate due to the lack of time to "prepare the documents" and inflation in Ukraine. In this letter, the president of the UNKMO also pointed out that "not having enough money" was limiting the possibilities in cooperation with the CENYC and participation in international training programs²⁷. Cooperation between Ukrainian and European youth organizations often slowed down due to a lack of communication. In 1996, the UNKMO International Secretary Alexander Lyalka did not participate in the training course in Georgia, due to some family issues. In his letter to the president of the CENYC Fidelma Joyce, Lyalka apologised for "losing contact".

As in the case of cooperation with the JEF, cooperation with the CENYC was complicated by a number of factors, including the instability of the economic situation, as well as insufficient training of personnel for cooperation with foreign partners.

The European Coordination Bureau of international non-governmental youth organisations, served as a working instrument set up freely by the International Non-Governmental Youth Organisations for the purpose of facilitating and promoting their European work. The ECB provided services and coordination according to its member organisations. For example, the ECB promoted consultation, concertation, and co-operation among the International Non-Governmental Youth Organisations (INGYO), contributed to the information and training of youth leaders on European issues, as well as brought the European work carried out by the INGYOs to the attention of the relevant bodies to get their acknowledgement and promoted the international grouping of national youth organisations that were not affiliated to an international organisation. Moreover, the ECB also aimed to defend the material interests of the INGYOs.

After 1991, the ECB, as other European youth organisations, paid special attention to establishing relations with Ukraine. According to the Newsletter of the European Coordination Office of International Youth Organizations, the priority actions for 1992 included the development of youth exchanges that are not eligible for Trans-European mobility for university studies (TEMPUS) program, which was specifically developed for the EU member states. This initiative covered Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Russia, and Ukraine. Requests for cooperation were related to youth exchanges, preparatory study visits, training courses. The newsletter published a call for this initiative in 1992.

Interestingly, before the collapse of the Soviet Union, various reports of the BEC discussing the possibilities of establishing relationships with the republics of the USSR included a questionnaire on the links of the International Non-Governmental Youth Organisations (INGYO) with the East. This questionnaire listed Crimea as a separate entity, despite the fact that during that period, it was a constituent territory of the Ukrainian SSR (Fig. 2). The report did not mention the basis of this approach.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Nom de l'organisation :

2. Avez-vous des contacts en :
(Veuillez indiquer la date de commencement)

* RDA depuis
 * Pologne depuis
 * URSS
 Pays baltes : Estonie depuis
 Lituanie depuis
 Lettonie depuis
 Ukraine : depuis
 Crimée : depuis
 Russie : depuis
 Autres républiques :

* Bulgarie depuis
 * Albanie depuis
 * Tchécoslovaquie :
 Bohême-Moravie depuis
 Slovaquie depuis
 * Roumanie depuis
 Transylvanie depuis
 * Hongrie depuis
 * Yougoslavie :
 Slovénie depuis
 Croatie depuis
 Serbie depuis
 Monténégro depuis
 Bosnie Herzégovine depuis
 Autres républiques :

3. Sous quelle forme ont lieu ces contacts ?
(Veuillez préciser pour chaque choix les pays concernés)

* Courrier :
 * Téléphone :
 * Visites d'études :
 * Participation à des activités organisées par ces contacts :
 * Participation aux activités de votre organisation :
 * Séminaires communs :

Figure 3. Questionnaire prepared by the European Coordination Office of International Youth Organizations, 1990²⁸.

In 1997, Crimea was also chosen as a place for the organization of the first training course for regional youth leaders organized by the Youth Forum of the European Communities²⁹, which was established in 1978 as an instrument of representation and action towards the European Economic Community to support not only European integration, but also to promote political and cooperation initiatives involving also non-EU young people³⁰. Since its establishment, YFEC promoted and published studies on young people's general situation in European countries, highlighting the many difficulties they were facing, depending on national contexts³¹. Therefore, the European Youth Forum viewed the training course in Crimea as a good opportunity to share experiences and knowledge about youth work and to gain insight into regional youth work in Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus. The goals of the visit were also to strengthen cooperation between UNKMO and regional youth councils, further development of skills of leaders of regional youth councils and, as a result, increase activity, support legislative and structural development of regional youth councils and organizations. create conditions for cooperation and activity between regions in Ukraine, strengthen contact between regional youth councils at the European level.

So, Ukraine, as a European state, aroused the interest of European partners, in particular youth organizations. The centres of European youth were interested in "expanding to the east", as a result of which Ukraine was considered as one of the promising partners. However, it is worth noting that Ukraine has not become a priority partner from the post-Soviet space, such as the Baltic states.

In addition, it is undeniable that after Ukraine entered the international arena, Ukrainian youth organizations made a lot of efforts to establish cooperation with European organizations. However, one of the negative factors that affected the established cooperation was the long-term confrontation between the countries of the socialist and capitalist bloc. In addition, the state did not have enough funds for the development of foreign youth policy, as well as relevant knowledge due to the lack of experience working with Western European partners.

¹ Norwig C. Die erste europäische Generation: Europakonstruktionen in der Europäischen Jugendkampagne, 1951–1958. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016.

² McKenzie B.A. The European Youth Campaign in Ireland. *Diplomatic History*. Oxford University Press, 2016. No. 40 (3). P. 421–444.

³ Kotek J. Youth organizations as a battlefield in the Cold War. *Intelligence and National Security*. 2003. No. 18 (2). P. 168–191.

⁴ Historical archives of the European Union (HAEU), BEC-5, 1994–1997, p. 8.

⁵ Горбачев М. Избранные речи и статьи, Москва: Политиздат, 1987. Т. 2. С. 109–116.

- ⁶ HAEU, YFEC-41, 1989, “Youth Forum Bulletin, 8/1989”, p. 1.
- ⁷ HAEU, BEC-5, 1990, p. 10.
- ⁸ HAEU, YFEC-59, 1993.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ HAEU, JEF-202, 1983, “A history of J.E.F.”.
- ¹² JEF-274, HAEU, 1992, “Letter by Nikolay Khlevnoy”.
- ¹³ JEF-274, HAEU, 1993, “Letter by Anatol Kos”.
- ¹⁴ JEF-274, HAEU, 1997–2003, “Memorandum of the Ukrainian informal liberal-democratic student youth group, willing to become JEFs”.
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- ²⁸ HAEU, BEC-14, 1980–1991, p. 11.
- ²⁹ HAEU, YFEC-130, 1997, “Training course for regional youth leaders, Crimea, Ukraine”.
- ³⁰ Morese G. The Youth Forum of the European Communities and Cooperation with the Latin America. *Itinerari di ricerca storica*, a. XXXV, (nuova serie). 2021. No. 2. P. 141–158.
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