

# *Tsukunft* publishing operations in Poland after 1945

## Abstract

When resuming its activities in postwar Poland, *Tsukunft's* aim was first and foremost to reconstruct its pre-1939 structures, including the renewal of its publishing operations. After 1945, the youth organization revived the publishing house SIB and its main press organ, "Yugnt Veker". The main purpose of these efforts was to bring back the Yiddish language, to mark its presence, and to resume work on the "Jewish street". Attempts were also made to attract new members and sympathizers for the *Bund's* youth organization. Brochures published by SIB and articles in "Yugnt Veker" provided information on the history of *Tsukunft* and the *Bund*, while periodicals also described the activities of regional *Tsukunft* organizations, were a platform for the political views of members of the youth organization on the current political situation of Jews, and polemicized against the Zionists.

## Keywords

*Tsukunft*, *Tsukunft* publications, Jewish press, Poland (1945-1949)



*Tsukunft* was founded in 1912 as an independent youth organization under the auspices of the *Bund*. In 1922, it adopted the official name *Yugnt-Bund* 'Tsukunft' in Poyln (Yiddish: the "Future" Union of Young Workers in Poland, in short: *Tsukunft*)<sup>1</sup>. From the very beginning, the youth organization was engaged in publishing. Its press and brochures featured political program points as well as information about *Tsukunft's* daily work. Its main press organ was the Yiddish-language "Yugnt Veker" (1922-1939). It was not until 1938 that it began releasing the Polish-language "Wolna Młodzież" (Hertz 1946: 436-437). After the outbreak of World War II, in the Warsaw ghetto, it did not stop publishing. It used a copy-making machine to print periodicals<sup>2</sup> and successive volumes within the framework of the the Sotsyalistishe Yugnt Bibliotek (in short: SIB; Socialist Youth Library)<sup>3</sup>.

After the war, despite enormous losses during the Holocaust and the decimation of their membership, *Tsukunft* activists – like those of their mother party, the *Bund* – made efforts to recreate their structures and maintain continuity (*doykayt*). On 25 December 1945, in Łódź, during the first meeting of *Tsukunft* in postwar Poland, the participants (Luba Bielicka-Blum, Sioma Temczyn (Sioma), Lilka Jaszuńska (Lejka), Marek Edelman, Bono Winer (Bono), Avreml Żeleznikow, Leyzer Lenkinski and Fride Szturm) decided to resume the organization's publishing operations (*Cukunft* 335/1: 70). The press was supposed to help reach the greatest number of surviving *Tsukunft* members and encourage them to return, as well as attract new members. Reading periodicals was supposed to inspire young people to take part in rebuilding Jewish life in postwar Poland (Slucki 2012: 65).

The publishing plans were not implemented until the second half of 1946. At that time the *Bund* resumed the publication of the "Folkstsaytung" and "Głos Bundu"<sup>4</sup>. The first issue of "Głos Bundu" from August 1946 included a two-page supplement titled "Wolna Młodzież", prepared by the publishing house of the Central Committee (hereinafter CC) of *Tsukunft* in Poland. It is worth noting that after the war new papers or supplements were given titles from before 1939, recognizable on the "Jewish street" (Hertz 1946: 345-351, 434-437; Jacobs

<sup>1</sup> Officially, in name, the *Bund* was also active in two other countries, Lithuania and Russia.

<sup>2</sup> In the Warsaw ghetto, it published and distributed Yiddish- and Polish-language periodicals: "Yugnt Shtime", "Nowa Młodzież", and – with the assistance of the *Bund* – the theoretical "Yinge Gvardye", later continued as "Tsayt Fragn" (Rusiniak-Karwat *et al.* 2016).

<sup>3</sup> A brochure was published on the Paris Commune (on its 70th anniversary) in addition to the volume *Lider* (Songs, 1941) – 100 copies (*Cukunft* 229/2).

<sup>4</sup> During the period from 1945 until January 1949 (the liquidation of the party), the *Bund* published six press titles. These were: "Biuletyn Bundu" (1945; 3 issues), and in Yiddish: "Byuletin fun Bund – oysgabe fun Tsentral Komitet fun Bund in Poyln" (1945; 3 issues), "Folkstsaytung" (1946-1949; 49 issues), "Głos Bundu" (1946-1948; 17 issues), and the occasional publication "Za Waszą i Naszą Wolność" (For your freedom and ours) (April 1946). The Historical Commission of the Central Committee of the *Bund* published a typewritten, copied bulletin, "Byuletin fun der Historisher Komisyse baym Ts.K. fun Bund in Poyln" (1946-1947; 3 issues) (Rusiniak-Karwat 2016: 131-132). The children's organization *Skif* published "Khavershaft" (1947-1948; 5 issues are available). In 1946, two occasional publications were released: "Der Royter Falk / Czerwony Sokół" (The red hawk) and "Getrakht un getrofn" (Reflected upon and found/taken) (Rusiniak-Karwat 2018: 842-844).

2009: 16-17). The same thing happened here. The issue presented the *Tsukunft* tradition and the organization's many-year history, as well as recommendations for how to raise young people in a socialist spirit, i.e. "1. raising a fighter on behalf of socialism and 2. at the same time raising a builder of the new socialist system, of a new classless society" (K-sz 1946). The principal aim of *Tsukunft* was also laid out: rekindling human traits in young people, including weeding out egoism for the sake of the common good (K-sz 1946). There were plans to publish the periodical regularly, and so already in the autumn of 1946 the local committees were instructed to place information regarding *Tsukunft* operations in "Wolna Młodzież" and the newly established "Yugnt Veker" (Cukunft 335/1: 66)<sup>5</sup>. In a circular dated 3 February 1947, *Tsukunft* CC announced the release of new issues of "Yugnt Veker" and "Wolna Młodzież" (which did not appear) (Cukunft 335/1: 32). The small *Tsukunft* collection in the Archives of the Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw includes editorial material marked "Wolna Młodzież". It is concerned with the participation of young Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and *Tsukunft's* critique of Ludwik Hirszfeld's *Historia jednego życia* (Warsaw 1946; English translation: *The Story of One Life*, 2013). It was probably to be published in the form of articles in the next issue (Cukunft 335/6). An article on Hirszfeld was printed in "Yugnt Veker", where his claim that Jews went like lambs to the slaughter was subjected to criticism (*Tsvey karlikes* 1947 [Yiddish: Two dwarves]).

Information about both periodicals also appeared in "Yugnt Veker" in February 1947 in a letter from Wiesław Kaczmarek (deputy chairman of the CC of the Youth Organization of the Society of the Workers' University [Organizacja Młodzieży Towarzystwa Uniwersytetu Robotniczego – OMTURI]) addressed to the members of *Tsukunft*, in which he assured the *Tsukunftists* of cooperation in the name of the same socialist ideals and expressed satisfaction that both periodicals were coming out (Kaczmarek 1947).

In October 1946, *Tsukunft* CC began publishing "Yugnt Veker" which was supposed to be a continuation of the organization's main pre-war periodical and play the same role, that of a guide for young Jewish workers, now a young generation scarred by the recent war (Liuba 1946; Szajn 1963: 48). Unlike the *Bund*, *Tsukunft* did publish articles asking about the point of reviving the organization when the Jewish community was almost non-existent. The *Tsukunft's* leading activists were afraid that they would not find a large audience. The periodical was to be a way of manifesting *Tsukunft's* existence, an attempt to spread Jewish culture in the *mame-loshn* ("mother tongue", one of the names of Yiddish language), and a venue for affronting political opponents. Above all, it was supposed to attract potential members and show the members of *Bundist* organizations abroad that *Tsukunft* still existed in Poland and was a spirited, active community. Perhaps for the above-mentioned reasons the decision was made to print the periodical in Yiddish. Another reason may have been paper shortages.

The motivation behind publishing the periodical and its importance to the members of *Tsukunft* were presented in the December 1947 issue which came out on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the *Bund*:

<sup>5</sup> This is the first scientific work to describe the *Tsukunft* press in Poland after World War II.

By resuming the publication of "Yugnt Veker" in 1946, we manifested the continued existence of our movement. [...] When releasing the new "Yugnt Veker" we had all sorts of doubts. There are so few young Jews in Poland – should they have a youth organ? Our literary and journalistic ranks have suffered such losses – will we have the strength and not put the name of our longstanding organ to shame?

The hearts of all our comrades and colleagues stirred when they saw the first issue. Finally, it's back!

And they were not disappointed. "Yugnt Veker" is trying to deliver interesting and instructive content of the highest quality. It is fighting against our opponents and arming our comrades. It has become an authority on the young Jewish Street. Our opponents may not agree with it, but they must listen to its message. It has become an important cultural periodical in our fight for the Yiddish language and has brought together a whole group of young Jewish writers from all over Poland.

However, "Yugnt Veker" isn't only a guide for young Jewish workers. It is a close friend of each one of us, a friend that accompanies us in all our joys and sorrows. "Yugnt Veker" is a tribune, where every one of us should bring their thoughts or even doubts, and where together we will work out a general opinion in a friendly manner (*Der "Yugnt Veker" gehert tsu aykh* 1947 [Yiddish: "Yugnt Veker" belongs to you]).

In a list of press titles published by the *Bund*, Józef Korzeniowski mentions "Yugnt Shtime", an illustrated youth supplement to the "Folkstsaytung", which reportedly came out starting in April 1947. During my archival and library research I found neither the supplement nor any other postwar periodical by that title, nor any information about it in other publications and sources<sup>6</sup>. Nor do the vignettes of the "Folkstsaytung" ever mention a youth supplement. The 1948 issues feature information about a children's supplement, "Khavershaft" (Korzeniowski 1986: 149)<sup>7</sup>.

The "Yugnt Veker" editorial office was initially located in Łódź at the *Tsukunft* CC headquarters. The first two issues were printed in Warsaw. It was only starting with issue 2 (3) from March 1947 that the periodical was printed in Łódź and typeset at the "Folks-shtime" typesetters. Starting with the said issue, the imprint featured the address of the editorial headquarters: Łódź, ul. [Street] S. Jaracza 17/5. Starting with issue 9 (10) from October 1947, the editorial address was Warszawa ul. [Street] Targowa 40/7, where the central headquarters of *Bund* and *Tsukunft* had been transferred. K. Goldberg was responsible for administrative and financial affairs (*Cukunft* 335/5: 2).

The editorial board probably consisted of *Tsukunft* CC members, assisted by older colleagues who worked for the *Bundist* press. The authors of texts

<sup>6</sup> Another mistake Korzeniowski made when discussing the press was to give the wrong timeframe for the publication of "Yugnt Veker": from February 1947 to October 1948. Nor did he mention "Wolna Młodzież" when talking about "Głos Bundu" (Korzeniowski 1986: 149).

<sup>7</sup> See: "Folkstsaytung" 19.04.1948, 10 (38): 1; "Folkstsaytung" 1.06.1948, 12-13 (40-41): 1.

devoted to the postwar activity of *Tsukunft* included: Sioma Temczyn, Avreml Zeleznikow, Sh. Piasek (reports from Lower Silesia), Yitzhak Lipski (Watbrzych), Y. Lerman, Hilel Kempinski, Luba Bielicka-Blum and Yudl Kersz. Sharing their wartime experiences with the readers were: Bono Winer (Bono), Marek Edelman and David Klin. One of the paper's collaborators was Mordechai Wolf Bernstein, associated with the "Folkstsaytung", who wrote about the history of the youth organization in the Warsaw ghetto as M. Zeldin (see for example: Zeldin 1946, 1947b). Those living in America after the war were: Khayim Shloyme Kazdan, Moshe Kligberg (writing about the history of *Tsukunft* pre-1939), Yosl Mlotek (writing about the history of *Skif*) and Shlomo Mendelsohn (Kligberg 1947b). The issues featured reprints of program manifestos, including some by Vladimir Medem, and the classics of Yiddish literature, including works by Yitskhok Leybush Peretz, Joseph Opatoshu and Chaim Grade. The authors of most of the articles are unknown because the texts were only signed with their initials or not signed at all.

The first issue of "Yugnt Veker" came out in October 1946 and the last in April 1948. The information published by the editors in the first issue indicated that they had encountered problems (including technical ones) getting started and hence could not print the resolutions adopted at *Tsukunft's* first postwar conference (9-10.06.1946). Problems with paper supply were also cited in the May 1947 issue (*Fun redaktsye* 1946 [Yiddish: From the Editors]). It may be that similar obstacles delayed the release of the second issue for nearly four months, although from the very beginning the idea was to publish a monthly (*Cukunft* 335/1: 66). Starting in February 1947, "Yugnt Veker" came out once a month, and in the case of double issues on a bimonthly basis. Unlike the *Bund* periodicals, the format was smaller, just like before 1939. Most of the title pages featured images alluding to socialist holidays, current political events, or anniversaries of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising<sup>8</sup>. A total of 16 issues appeared, including four double issues. Each numbered from 16 to 24 pages.

In the May 1947 issue the Editors announced the introduction of permanent sections, including *New books in Yiddish and world literature; Jewish writers about themselves; Materials and documents on the history of world socialism among Jews; and Youth around the world* ("Yugnt Veker", 4 (5), 1947: 7). These were implemented in the following issues.

The periodical was supposed to be an educational enterprise and serve as a handbook on the history of the *Bund* and its affiliate organizations. For this reason, most issues featured reprints of pre-war articles on the movement's founders (for example: Medem 1947a, *Der Bund* [Yiddish: *Bund*]; Medem 1947b, *Peretz un mir* [Yiddish: Peretz and we]; Medem 1947c, *Yidish* [Yiddish]). Much like before the war, the young authors wrote about annual socialist holidays

<sup>8</sup> List of issues, 1946: no. 1 – October (16 pages); 1947: no. 1 (2) – February (16 pages), no. 2 (3) – March (16 pages), no. 3 (4) – April (24 pages), no. 4 (5) – May (16 pages), no. 5-6 (6-7) – June/July (24 pages), no. 7-8 (8-9) – August/September (24 pages), no. 9 (10) – October (16 pages), no. 10-11 (11-12) – December (48 pages); 1948: no. 1-2 (13-14) – January/February (32 pages), no. 3 (15) – March (24 pages), no. 4 (16) – April (24 pages). Issues 1-2 and 3 from 1948 included the children's supplement "Khavershaft". The numbers of pages provided above include the supplement.



connected to the revolutionary fight for *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!*<sup>9</sup>. Memorial articles about how the holidays were celebrated in earlier times were printed. The May 1947 issue describing the celebrations on May 1<sup>st</sup> before 1939 and in the Łódź ghetto is an example (Kligenberg 1947a; Bono 1947).

*Tsukunftists* also strove to commemorate youth activity in the ghettos and camps. They described the underground activities of *Bund* organizations, with a special focus on the role of *Tsukunft* members and a presentation of the biographies of activists and heroes (Zeldin 1946; Zeldin 1947a; *Khaver Marek* 1947 [Yiddish: Comrade Marek], *Dr Leon Feyner tsu der yugnt* 1947 [Yiddish: Dr. Leon Feiner addresses youth]). The last issue, from April 1948, was in its entirety devoted to the Warsaw ghetto and the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Survivors related their experiences and reminisced about Jewish socialists killed during the war ("Yugnt Veker", 4 (16), 1948).

From the pages of "Yugnt Veker" we learn about the education of young workers, including during summer and winter *Skif* and *Tsukunft* camps<sup>10</sup>. The periodical published information about the daily fight of local *Tsukunft* committees to improve the lives of young workers. Some issues featured letters from *Tsukunft* members to the Editors, discussing ideological projects and the organization's successes in reconstituting itself. They were supposed to encourage unaffiliated youth to join the fold (*Yugntlekhe shraybn* 1947 [Yiddish: The young write]).

Like the *Bund*, *Tsukunft* used the press to express political opinions about Palestine and Zionism (see for example: M.W. 1946). Young Jewish socialists often criticized the ideas of Zionists, claiming that the latter were ignoring hundreds of years of Jewish life in the diaspora and that they were not concerned with the individual, only the State. They argued that because of the slogans preached by the Zionists, instead of having a moment of reprieve after the war and focusing on rebuilding Jewish life in Poland, Jews were doomed to wander in foreign countries, amid foreign tongues, peoples and cultures. Like the *Bund*, they were critical of DP (displaced person) camps, where, as they emphasized, young people and especially children lived in conditions of stagnation. In their view, the Zionists terrorized those living in the camps, forcing them to learn nothing but Hebrew (Jungman 1947; Reuben 1947).

Accusations were also levelled at the Hagana for exacerbating the situation in Palestine, including through unnecessary military clashes that claimed lives. According to *Tsukunft* writers, Zionist possessiveness about Palestine

<sup>9</sup> *Di merts-revolutsyes* 1947 [March revolutions]; *Di parizer komune* 1947 [The Paris Commune]; Brzozowski 1947, *Pariz 1871* (Paris 1871); Shvartsman 1948, *Der Friling fun di Felker* (Spring of Nations).

<sup>10</sup> For example: K. 1946, *Unter bloye himlen – a frayer dor. Fun tsentral zumer-lager fun Yugnt Bund Tsukunft* (Under the blue sky: A free generation. From the central Y.B. *Tsukunft* summer camp); Lipski 1947, *Tsveyter vinter-lager fun Y.B. Tsukunft* (Second winter camp organized by Y.B. *Tsukunft*); Glezer 1947, *Fun lebn, arbet un kamf. Der vinter-lager fun shtshetsiner Tsukunft* (Life, work, and combat: The Szczecin *Tsukunft* winter camp); *Fun der bundisher yugnt bavegung in Poyln. Geefnt di tsvey zumer-lagern fun Tsukunft un Skif* 1947 (The *Bundist* youth movement in Poland: The start of two *Tsukunft* and *Skif* summer camps); H.B. 1947, *Fun lebn, arbet un kamf. Fun der lodzher Tsukunft* (Life, work, and combat: From the *Tsukunft* in Lodz).

and their obsession with it could be catastrophic for the Jewish community in Palestine and cause unnecessary bloodshed (*Notitsn. Vays-bloye asimilatsye* 1947 [Yiddish: Comments: Blue-and-white assimilation]).

*Tsukunft* activists considered the appeals of Zionists as an utopian dream. The latter were accused of promoting migration from Europe to the Jewish state (whose creation they did not believe in), using the Kielce pogrom of July 1946 as an argument in favor of leaving (see for example: A-boym 1947, *Tsyonizm in der likht fun der virklekhkayt* [Yiddish: Zionism in light of reality]; *Notitsn. Der veg fun shand* 1947 [Yiddish: Comments: The way of shame]; *4-tn yuli 1946. Keltser yortsayt* 1947 [Yiddish: 4 July 1946: The Kielce anniversary]). They decried the Zionists, including David Ben Gurion, for promoting Hebrew as the language to be used by Jews – a language no one outside of Palestine spoke. According to *Tsukunft* members, it was evidence of ignorance about the Jews, who had for centuries inhabited other countries. They emphasized that Yiddish was the bridge connecting Jews across the European diaspora and the language of Jewish literature (including poetry), while Hebrew was the language of the kibbutz<sup>11</sup>. *Tsukunft* polemics against the Zionists were more frequent and more vehement than the *Bund's* statements against Zionist parties. Not an issue of "Yugnt Veker" appeared without an article critical of Zionist politics in Poland (e.g., youth organizations were blamed for publishing a children's brochure in Polish) and beyond. The Jewish press published in Poland by *Po'ale Tsiyon* ("Arbeter Tsaytung") and *Ha-Shomer ha-Tsair* ("Mosty") was chastized for failing to publish information about the late Shlomo Mendelsohn and to inform its audience about the activities of the *Bund*<sup>12</sup>. Those writing for "Yugnt Veker" about the activities of the Zionists used expressions like hysterical Zionist propaganda or Zionism which grew out of and exploited the tragedy of the Jewish people<sup>13</sup>.

Some issues also featured articles whose content was aligned with the policies of the authorities of People's Poland. Anything and everything that came from the West was criticized. Hopes were expressed that Poland would quickly rebuild thanks to the labor of its young workers toiling to implement the three-year plan (*Arbets-farbetung* 1948 [Yiddish: Invitation to work]).

The periodical was also a place where *Tsukunftists* expressed their positions against fascism and racial hatred. They demanded harsh penalties for German war criminals. After the announcement of the judgment at the Nuremberg Trials, they sent a letter to the chairman of the International Military Tribunal in which they protested against the excessively lenient sentences handed down to some of the war criminals (*Shendlekher urteyl in nirnberger protses. Tsentral-Komitet fun Y.B. Tsukunft tsum forzitser fun internatsyonaln krigs-tribunal* 1946

<sup>11</sup> For example: Arie 1947, *Vu iz di hashpoe fun der hebreisher literatur in Palestine oyf di yidishe kibutsim iber der velt?* (Where is the impact of Hebrew literature in Palestine on Jewish kibbutzim [here it refers to the meaning of communities of Jews] around the world?); *Fun der yidisher shprakh* 1948 (The Yiddish language).

<sup>12</sup> For example: H.K. 1948, *Notitsn. Vegn a veytogdikn yinien* (Comments: A sad affair); Knay 1948, *A nisht ayngegebener pruv fun a nidertrekhtikn shantazh...* (A failed attempt at humiliating blackmail...).

<sup>13</sup> For example: Kol 1947, *Notitsn. Der Herold fun tsionizm* (Comments: Herold of Zionism); Meyerke 1947, *Adurkhgelozt a gelegnhayt tsu shvaygn* (The opportunity to be silent has passed).

[Yiddish: The disgraceful sentence in the Nuremberg Trial: The Y.B. *Tsukunft* CC to the Chairman of the International Military Tribunal]).

Aside from "Yugnt Veker", in March 1947 *Tsukunft* in Lower Silesia published a four-page occasional paper titled "Unzer Tsukunft". It contained information about the activities of the youth organization's local committee.

After the war, *Tsukunftists* not only published press titles but also books within the framework of the SIB series. In part these were new editions of pre-war brochures. Their pages were a reminder of the history of the Jewish socialist movement. 1947 saw the publication of the following books (in the form of typewritten copies):

- *Kalman Valish. Der held fun estrayhishn oyfshtand 12 februar 1934* (Yiddish: Hero of the Austrian uprising 12 February 1934), published in February in Łódź (no. 2). First published in 1935 by SIB (Szajn 1963: 50). The brochure was printed in connection with the anniversary of this day of glory for the international proletariat, celebrated by the local *Tsukunft* committees. Probably reprinted in 1946/1947<sup>14</sup>;
- Dr. Sh. Berkowicz, *Historisher materialism* (Yiddish: Historical materialism);
- Zalman Shneur, *Pleytim-kinder (fun a dramatischer poeme)* (Yiddish: Child refugees: A dramatic poem) – published in March as no. 3. The four-page brochure relayed the tragedy of Jewish children in the ghettos of Lithuania, in France and in Belgium, where they saw the death of their loved ones. To the question "How did you survive?" they respond "We don't know" (Cukunft 335/4: 23-27);
- Dovid Kasel, *Meirke fun "Kleynem Bund"* (Yiddish: Meirke of the Little Bund);
- *Kinder dertseylt... eyn akter* (Yiddish: The children tell... one act).

Publishing plans also included: *Di parizer komune – zaml-bukh* (Yiddish: The Paris Commune: A collection); *Zamlung fun yidishe arbeter-, folks-yugnt un geto-lider* (Yiddish: A collection of Jewish workers', working youth and ghetto songs) and *Di grindung fun "Bund" – zamlung fun artiklen* (Yiddish: The founding of the Bund: A collection of articles) (*Sotsyalistishe Yugnt-Bibliotek* 1947 [Yiddish: Socialist Youth Library]).

There is no extant information about the distribution of these publications or their print run. All we know is that the plan was for one person in each of the committees to be in charge of distributing "Yugnt Veker". The individual who sold the most copies would be commended by *Tsukunft* CC (Cukunft 335/1: 25). The *Bund* proposed that the magazine be sold in the streets of every city on 1 May 1947 so that the *Bundist* press could reach the largest number of people (Bund 30/IV/1, vol. 2: 16).

*Tsukunft* officially disbanded on 16 January 1949 along with the *Bund*. However, after the *Bund* conference in Wrocław on 3-4 April 1948, where the party's accession to the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) was announced, the activity

<sup>14</sup> 12 februar 1947 (12 February); I.K. 1948, 12 februar 1934 (12 February 1934!); Ch. 1948, *Efntlekhhe akademyes fun Tsukunft in Nidershlezyen gevidmet dem februar-oyfshtand* (Open *Tsukunft* gathering in Lower Silesia on the February uprising).



of *Tsukunft* was already down to a minimum. It is also clear that starting in the beginning of 1948 very little about the goings-on of the local committees was relayed in "Yugnt Veker". *Tsukunftists*, who were young and therefore more radical, were highly critical of the decisions made by their older colleagues. As a result of the *Bund* conference and of its differing position with regard to the *Bund*, *Tsukunft* CC preferred to stop publishing "Yugnt Veker" rather than to publish anti-*Bund* content. The final issues of "Yugnt Veker" and "Głos Bundu" appeared in April 1948. It is possible that one of the reasons for the termination of these periodicals was too little demand for so many titles from a single political corner. Another reason was the gradual self-liquidation begun with the termination of the periodicals. The cessation of publishing operations may also have been linked to *Tsukunft* members' attitude towards the new situation. They had broken off negotiations regarding closer cooperation with the Federation of Polish Youth and refused to repent and transfer the *Skif* to the communist scouting organization – a fact that was proudly hailed by members of the *Bund* Coordination Committee (*BUND Youth Movement of Poland. Resists Communist Coercion 1948*).

Most *Tsukunft* members decided to leave Poland and continue working for *Tsukunft* in the West – in France, the US, and Sweden. The moment the *Bund* disbanded in Poland, *Tsukunftists* arrived from Poland in Paris, and in March 1949 they revived "Yugnt Veker" (as the press organ of the *Tsukunft* Coordination Committee). They stated that it was a continuation of the periodical published in Poland after the war (although they did not continue the numbering). The rationale was that they had not given up and were still going to be active as a socialist youth organization (Redaktsya 1949).

In sum: the publishing operations of *Tsukunft*, like those of other Jewish organizations and parties, reached their peak in 1947 (Kozmińska-Frejłak 2012: 212). The decision to publish Yiddish-language periodicals for the young after the war may raise many questions. Already during the interwar period, it was difficult to find readership and a distribution network, since most young Jews were more attracted to Polish literature which they studied in public schools (Kozłowska 2016: 290). Also, after 1945, many members of *Tsukunft* were culturally assimilated and their education took place outside the "Yiddishist' educational tradition" (Blatman 2003: 186). The resumption of a Yiddish-language youth press was a way to manifest Jewish socialist activity on the "Jewish street". It was also an attempt to return the young to the traditions of Central-European Jews, including by instilling in them a love of Yiddish literature and culture, in addition to serving as a weapon in the fight against Zionism.

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