

THE WARSAW WEEKLY

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LONDON LETTER

By Gregory Macdonald

Memories of the death and funeral of King George V. still overcloud any realisation of the fact that English history has entered upon a new reign. The late King came to his full stature in the last year of his life, with a humble recognition of his place in the hearts of the British people and in the estimation of the world, so that the universal mourning when he died became in one sense the continuing triumph of the Jubilee. It was particularly moving to see that no contemporary antagonism to British policy was confounded with the person of the King himself. Elements which may be considered anti-British in Germany, France and Ireland, as well as the whole Italian nation, united in homage to a peaceful and unselfish King.

King Edward VIII. enters upon his reign not only with a past reputation for energetic sympathy and self-sacrifice where the people are concerned, but also with a sense of chivalry and a determination which are already being widely discussed. He has firmly allied himself with his father's tradition by honour to Queen Mary and by association with his brothers in such chivalrous acts as mounting guard over the late King's catafalque. It's in the same spirit that he seems decided to use the historic St. James's Palace for the royal residence—now literally the Court of St. James. His public activities as King have not yet begun. It will be an event of considerable interest when King Edward VIII. first addresses the nation over the radio, and in general there are high hopes of his reign, for the Sovereign exercises a much greater influence upon the course of events than might be supposed from newspaper history or from constitutional theory. An eminent politician is already reported to have declared that King Edward is the ablest King to occupy the throne since Charles II.

(Continued on page 2, Col. 1)

POLES ABROAD

The population of this country has already reached a figure of 35,000,000, and is increasing at the rate of 500,000 people per annum. This, however, is only one side of the picture as it is authoritatively estimated that there are nearly 8,000,000 Poles living outside Polish boundaries. This is to say that if we deduct minority groups, only three-fourths of the total number of Poles live in their fatherland, whereas the remainder reside abroad.

Polish emigration dates back into the XIX Century, during which period, in addition to economic reasons, political persecution on the part of the three powers then ruling partitioned Poland impelled an outflow. Whereas political emigrants could be said to come from a more intelligent class, the bulk of the emigrants were peasants and workers. Strange as it may seem, it is primarily owing to the peculiarities of the peasant and worker that the national spirit abroad has been preserved in a measure not comparable with that kept by the more diversified emigrants from other nations.

Although restrictions imposed during the past few years by foreign nations have considerably reduced Polish emigration, and even resulted in repatriation, it is generally conceded that the resumption of emigration is a problem of paramount importance not only in Poland but, as recent events show, in Italy and Japan as well. We shall briefly survey the conditions prevailing among Poles residing more or less permanently abroad.

One can not rely completely on foreign statistics for the number of Poles in the given country for the obvious reason that they tend to under-estimate the foreign stock, and,

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FAILURE OF THE NAVAL CONFERENCE

By Hector C. Bywater

As an effective medium for arresting competition in naval armaments, the London Conference ceased to function on January 15, when the Japanese delegation withdrew. The Conference, it is true, remains in session, but without the participation of Japan its labours lack realism and the value of any decisions it may reach will remain dubious.

Looking back to antecedent events, failure is seen to have been well-nigh inevitable. The Conference was summoned as a contractual obligation, but it had in fact been doomed in advance by the bi-lateral talks held in London twelve months earlier. On that occasion Japan emphasised her resolve to sign no new pact which did not grant her full naval equality. Admiral Yamamoto, who represented his country at those talks, satisfied his British and American colleagues that Japan's decision was final and irrevocable. Thus, as far back as December 1934, it was known that without endorsement of the Japanese demand there could be no renewal of the system of quantitative limitation.

Any suspicion that Japan was bluffing was dispelled by subsequent official statements from Tokio, and as the Japanese claim was absolutely unacceptable — for the reasons set forth by the American and British delegates which may be summed up in the phrase of Mr. Norman Davis that "equality of armaments cannot give equality of security" — the holding of a formal conference may well have seemed a waste of time and money.

Nevertheless, it has served a useful purpose by clarifying the atmosphere. The ratio system of controlling war fleets is dead and no further time need be lost in futile attempts to revive it. What, then, is the alternative? Is the world to revert to the old practice of unbridled competition, or can

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For the convenience of our readers, we are appearing in a new format. A typesetters' strike forces us to print less pages than planned.

LONDON LETTER

(Continued from page 1 col. 1)

This remark seems to be echoed by "Scrutator," a well-known political journalist of the *Sunday Times*, who goes back to Queen Elizabeth for a parallel. At all events the Monarchy stands high, strengthened by the example of George V., and the consequences will be noted in the years to come.

The visits of so many foreign statesmen did not pass without diplomatic conversations of more than ordinary importance. In connection with the several interviews accorded by Mr. Eden to M. Litvinov and to Marshal Tukhachevsky, and in connection with the visit of the Afghan Foreign Minister, an article which appeared this week in the *Economist* should be noticed; for in the name of collective security it congratulated its readers on the establishment of "a zone of small States running in an unbroken band from the North Sea to the Indian Ocean." The article declares that "there is one Great Power that will be unaffectedly delighted, and that is the Soviet Union. For this solidifying rampart of interlocked alliances among the smaller States covers the frontiers of the Union from the Arctic Ocean to the Pamirs." On the map, that is to say, and according to the intentions of the *Economist* contributor, Russia is protected by a cordon of buffer States, from Scandinavia right the way round to Afghanistan. The reality may be rather different, for the countries themselves possibly do not all fall in with the *Economist's* admirable arrangement. In this case the wish may be father to the thought. But the question arises whether what is represented as a Geneva policy of peace and collective security should be regarded primarily as directed against Japan or primarily as directed against Italy and Germany.

Foreign affairs in Europe and in the Far East will be among the topics discussed by Parliament during the present and succeeding weeks. Apart from that, there is a full programme of legislation to be debated, including the Ministerial policy for repairing the gaps in the defence services, and the thorny problem of financing the scheme. To take the money out of revenue means increased taxation, and the banks do not want any more direct Treasury borrowing than they can help, for their portfolios are already full of Government bills. The way out is by a Defence Loan of some £200,000,000; and it is a revealing sidelight on present conditions (which are based upon a stable price-level and low interest rates) that the Government is expected to make a further cut in the income tax when the budget is presented in April. The whole position is unorthodox but it

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reflects the new policies of the United States, for with their stable price-level and with their reduction of the debt burden Great Britain has to follow suit or else suffer penalty in her export trade. Heavy borrowing used not to be associated with reduced taxation.

Nearly all the legislation to be considered by Parliament expresses a policy expansion in the home market or of more or less expensive social services. Short of a European War, a possibility which cannot be entirely ruled out, the talk is all of a continuation of better conditions at home, as the armament programme also (and ironically) indicates. Nevertheless, there will be some thorny problems to be solved if the time comes when politicians will have to turn back from preoccupations in League policies and Far Eastern negotiations, to the domestic necessities of Great Britain herself. The new reign, which opens inauspiciously in a dark period of European affairs, may yet be famous in history as the beginning of a national recovery, after years in which national traditions had been subordinated to international trade.

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Art, Music & Literature

Fatal Love.

Miss Zofja Nałkowska, winner of the Literary Prize this year, has dramatized her novel *Renata Stuczańska* and called the play *Niedobra Miłość* (Fatal Love).

In the novel the author successfully developed her thesis that love is a power independent of men directing their lives often into tragic situations.

Unfortunately the transformation into the play is not so successful, probably because it too closely resembles the novel. The theme offered many interesting and dramatic scenic situations but the author did not exploit them. The spectator all evening expected the moment of great emotion but it never came. The action of the play and the speech of the heroes do not resemble modern life but contain too much dialectics, overshadowing sincere feeling and making no profound impressions.

It is indeed bad that the dramatic version destroys the good impression made by *Renata Stuczańska*, such an interesting novel.

The *Teatr Narodowy*, however, must be applauded for the performance of *Fatal Love*. The direction of Richard Ordyński showed understanding and gave to the play a subtle tone.

Miss Janina Romanówna as Agnieszka and Mrs. Marja Gorczyńska as Renata intelligently and vividly portrayed the contrasting psychologies of the heroines. Miss Andrycz overplayed her part in a very affected manner.

Roland gave an able interpretation of an amiable youth with incipient nobility; Kreczmar, as a young fickle blade showed an unexpected talent in comedy; Woskowski well represented the psychology of a man resigned to life. Socha, however, was not well-fitted for the rôle of Blizbor.

Sets by Stanisław Śliwiński, composed with taste and exquisiteness, formed the colourful background of the play.

— Arno.

"Ład"

(Exhibition at the IPS, Institute for the Propaganda of Art).

A remarkable exhibition is being held at present at the IPS on Królewska. Instead of the usual pictures and sculptures, we are shown modern furniture schemes (with a few well chosen paintings and decorative objects) in a series of improvised bedrooms, studies, etc., occupying each a section of the halls. A clever

architect has devised, among others, the poet's and the mathematician's nook in the shape of a circular chamber most favourable to concentration. The erection of all these separate interiors and fittings must have involved no small labour and costs — an attempt the more praiseworthy as this artistic group is sorely in need of funds. "Ład" meaning order and harmony as opposed to confusion — is an artistic cooperative organization formed ten years ago under the leadership of Professor Jastrzębowski by a number of his pupils from the Academy of Arts. Further members are being recruited among the later students of that Academy. They strive "to attain perfection of form, material and workmanship so as to promote the plastic arts culture in Poland". They have their own manufactory with carpets and fabrics woven on Jacquard frames, entirely hand-made kilims, dying, joiner and ceramic works as well as an experimental laboratory. They have created an original style of fabric for curtains, upholstery, etc. made chiefly of pure flax in various thicknesses (sometimes assuming a silky brilliancy), of wool or Milanówek silk — all home materials. The designs of their best artists, such as Markowska, Czasnicka, Dydyńska, etc., interwoven in subtle geometric patterns are refined in their quiet pastel shades of blues, greens, yellows. The same design in different colour sets produce entirely new effects. These shades are obtained by means of special mineral dyes non-fading in the sun and in washing. Ład was first to apply this device on a large scale. Their fabrics are supplied not only to the private clientele but several official institutions such as the Polish State Railways and military headquarters while they decorate the Polish diplomatic outposts abroad (in Vienna, Moscow, etc.). They have been acquired by some of the main French cities and are wide-spread on the other continents (New-York, Chicago, Capetown in Africa, the Indies, etc.)

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— M. G.

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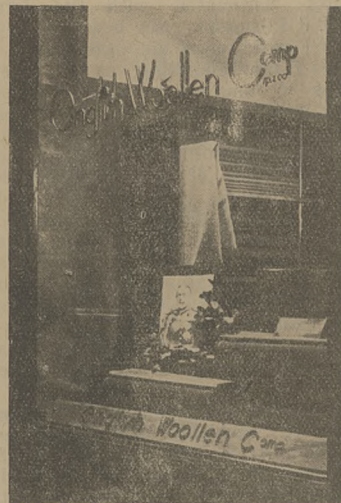
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Answers to correspondents

Mr. E. F., Nowz Sącz: Your suggestion is excellent but not adapted to our weekly. We can only suggest the purchase of a good Polish-English dictionary.



Many English firms had their windows decorated in honour of the late King.

(advl.)

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1936

POLITICAL PARTY

The formation of a new political party in Poland, the Polish Radical Party (read Liberal), while judged of sufficient importance to be mentioned in the *Times* will probably have as much effect on current political life here as the notice in that august daily aroused the interest of its readers.

This is not said in disparagement of Mr. Tytus Filipowicz, one of the founders of the party, a man who has served his country abroad as Ambassador to the United States, who, before independent Poland, was an invaluable patriot, and who has at various times in his career been prominently associated with the late Marshal Piłsudski. Nor is there any implied criticism of his colleagues.

This fact of founding, as it were, serves to emphasize, however, the really small part political parties as such play in the life of the nation. That powerful political machine, the Non-Party Bloc of Cooperation with the Government, has been dissolved officially, the Opposition parties, hopelessly divided among themselves as to programme, are only united as all "outs" are against all "ins," and the only sign of political life in its usual form may be found in the discussion clubs and regional groups formed among the members of the Sejm and Senate.

All of this, of course, has not come about by accident, as it was the avowed purpose of the supporters of the constitution which was adopted last year to bring about an almost oligarchical form of government which, they considered, was most adapted to Polish conditions, and in which

party sway, party prejudice, class privilege, and sectional interest would have little or no voice.

This has not meant, however, that criticism has been stifled. While the more strenuous statements are condemned by the censor and not by public opinion, yet outspoken comment frequently appears in organs controlled by groups favourable to the Government, deputies and senators fully utilize their prerogatives of detailed examination and review, and even Ministers in the present Cabinet have not hesitated to unfold past errors in order to avoid them in the future.

The fact remains, however, that the political party is, at present, dead, and the nation is, for the moment, committed to a Government ruling without their aid.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

As a steady reader of your paper which I find highly enjoyable for its good and valuable information about Poland, I should like to say a word about a department that is perhaps a bit unreasonable in its attitude.

In the last number of *The Warsaw Weekly* I could not help but notice a review of "Madame Butterfly" by your critic, attacking the management of the Warsaw Opera for conducting this institution on a business basis.

Far from attacking such a practice, I should think it ought rather to be encouraged. Without accusing your critic of snobbery, (for I can observe that the critics of the Polish press, too, delight in attacking the present management) I think it a safe assumption to make, that Opera as an art was never supported by the public at large. It always depended on rich patrons and on substantial subsidies. That Warsaw, at the cost of a problematic degeneration of its taste, has the sense to make its Opera tend toward self-sufficiency financially in these hard times of depression, is an index of its sane attitude toward a hitherto snobbish parasite.

The world changes; if we wish to educate our poor, ignorant public in the arcana of great music and aesthetic enjoyment, we might point out that there are other means of doing so, much less expensive and much less snobbish; if we merely look for simple relaxation from the troubles and worries of the day, operetta will do just as well; and as a medium of dramatic interpretation, the Opera has long been hopelessly out of date, and has always been so insolently artificial as to be almost comical.

The only way to make that tremendous "white elephant" opposite the town hall worth its keep is to make it earn its own living.

Sincerely yours,
Unimpressed.

Soviet Artists at the Philharmonia

The group of Soviet artists, Valeria Barsowa — soprano, Maria Maksakowa — mezzo soprano, David Ojstrach — violinist, and Gregory Ginzburg — pianist, guests of our country for a month, after individual appearances on the concert and opera stage, collaborated in a farewell concert at the Philharmonia, under the auspices of the Ambassador of the U. S. S. R., M. Davitan. As these artists had already made profound impressions on the Warsaw public, the hall was filled to the last seat.

Gregory Ginzburg began the concert. He is one of the prizewinners of the First International Chopin Contest held some eight years ago in Warsaw. His playing then gave hopes for the future, which have been realized not only in his impeccable technique, but also in his individuality and intelligence in interpretation. The tone of his playing is profound and tender. The works of Liszt and Chopin have in Ginzburg a prominent executor.

For the first time we saw Maria Maksakowa in the unforgettable *Carmen*. Her beautiful mezzo soprano, her wide range, and splendid knowledge of singing added to the laurels already won. The Russian songs were executed with poetry and true Oriental sentiment, the sonata, "Grief" (*Żal*), of Chopin with the best understanding of this Polish composer's lyricism, and the famous aria from *Carmen*, "Habenera" made as brilliant an impression as from the stage of the *Teatr Wielki*.

The third soloist was the violinist, David Ojstrach, a prize-winner of the International Wieniawski Contest in Warsaw, held last year. The charming, lovely tone of his violin playing, the fine interpretation of every work coupled with a very good technique places Ojstrach in the front rank of young Soviet violinists.

The last soloist was Waleria Barsowa. Last week we wrote about the almost phenomenal art of this singer. We can only add that the concert in the Philharmonia was another great triumph for her. She was received with such warmth and admiration rarely accorded an artist by the Warsaw public.

The accompaniments were ably executed by Arkadi Makarow and Wsiewołod Toplin.

— Arno

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ELLSWORTH'S STORY OF ANTARCTIC PERILS NEW PIECES FOR ANTARCTIC MAP PUZZLE

By Lincoln Ellsworth

We knew we were not far from Little America, and one morning, standing on the wing of the aeroplane looking ahead, Kenyon saw what he thought was Little America. Yes, there was a wind generator which was coated with ice. A long line of snow-covered objects, which must be houses, and only four miles away.

Next day, December 9, we packed a hand-sled with three weeks' rations, and leaving a considerable amount behind, we started out. We both had a suit of camel-hair underwear, flannel shirt, windbreaker, and pants. Balloon silk on our feet, two pairs of heavy socks, then Indian moccasins. Over these a pair of high canvas boots reaching to our knees and rubber-soled.

Four miles proved to be fifteen, and instead of Little America we found only a pinnacle of ice in the midst of a huge pressure ridge. We had left the aeroplane without tent or sextant, hoping to find shelter in Little America. Leaving our sled we started back for these two necessary items.

We rested an hour at the aeroplane, and then started back. It was a weary march. The snow was soft and wet, and the sun beat down from a cloudless sky and made us sweat for the first time during our journey. Because of heavy hauling we decided to sledge by night and sleep by day, but good weather lasted only two days, then it turned foggy with biting winds.

For the first two days we travelled west and then north, Kenyon took bearings with a pocket compass, and we estimated our speed to be two miles per hour. We would pull fifteen minutes and then rest for four, and so on. December 12 was overcast and misty. We had made twelve miles, and I pointed ahead to where a dark streak broke the endless dull vista of white. We both agreed that it could only be one thing—open water. That night we pitched our tent to face it. We had long strips of fried bacon and plenty of hot grease, into which we crumbled oat biscuits.

A mug of oatmeal and I was feeling pretty happy until I took off my socks to dry them, and found the whole of one big toe was a single water blister. It had been without circulation, and was as feelingless as a piece of wood ever since we were camping on a high plateau, where it must have been frostbitten.

It bothered me all the rest of the journey, and any friction caused it to burn badly. I was afraid lest it should freeze again before we reached our destination.

That night we filled the stove with the last of our petrol.

On December 13 we looked out of our tent to see everything enshrouded with mist, and although we had travelled all day in the direction (we thought) of the open water, it seemed never again were we to get a glimpse of it. Three ivory gulls circled above us as we rested on our sled, eating nuts and chocolate. In the late afternoon we could distinguish the crest of a ridge.

We hastened on our way, thinking we should get a better view and perhaps see the sea. We heard what we imagined was the lapping of waves, but surely it must be drifting snow. We mounted over the crest of the ridge and looked straight down into Ross Sea. We were standing on the very edge of the Great Barrier.

We retraced our steps, and camped that night about a mile back, for the Barrier face was always breaking away, and we did not want to be dumped into the sea just as we reached our goal. Observation next morning showed us that we were about fifteen miles north of Little America. We had evidently passed it in the thick fog, so back we must trudge.

We remained in camp on the fourteenth and on the fifteenth we followed the edge of the Bay of Whales to Little America, reaching it just twenty-two days after leaving Dundee Island. It is rather breathtaking suddenly to come upon something black in a limitless expanse of white.

I looked down on the jumble of telegraph poles and radio masts, and the oil wells of California came into my mind. Poles and towers were to be seen. But where were the houses? There were not any in sight, but closer inspection showed the tops of a dozen or more stovepipes sticking out of the undisturbed snow surface. It looked just as though some gigantic plant had taken root and was forcing stubby shoots upward.

Digging around, we found a skylight and prized it open, and by means of loops knotted in our sledge rope, (a trick I learned in Switzerland last summer) we climbed down, to find ourselves in the radio shack, and quickly decided to make this our home. How good it seemed after 22 days to find ourselves enclosed within the shelter of four walls where we could sleep to our heart's content.

Next day we went on a foraging expedition, and found two sacks of coal, half a drum of fuel, a sack of



New Antarctic Range

hard biscuits, and a can of bully beef. Partly buried in the snow outside we found other skylights, and were able to secure quite an assortment of odds and ends, such as flour, hams, sauces, etc., which we enjoyed. We then settled down to await the arrival of the "Wyatt Earp."

December 25, Christmas Day. But we have already celebrated Christmas. We celebrated it a day too early and would not have known it except when walking down to Ver sur Mer the clouds cleared, and there was the sun with a great dark bight on it. Then we remembered on December 25 there was a total eclipse of the sun and in a few moments shadows darkened our world. The glittering white night turned into day again. Such is an eclipse in the Antarctic.

I guess the seals and penguins wondered what it was all about yesterday.

For Christmas we found a small home-made plum pudding tucked away on the top shelf of the cabin, and it made a real Christmas for us, with the remains of a small bottle of Cognac given me by my wife.

Our normal daily routine was: supper about nine; in our sleeping bags until 3 p. m. the following day; a light meal, perhaps oatmeal and tea, then a clean up of our cabin. Perhaps we would wash the dishes but that depended on how clean they had been left from the last meal. Next we would melt snow for the evening meal and then I would take a walk of six miles to the Bay of Whales to look out to sea for the "Wyatt Earp," although I knew she could not be here yet.

And now at last we are on board again.

It will be some time before I shall be able to correlate all the information gathered during our expedition. Even then science demands proof. But does not the evidence of the lofty mountain ranges and high plateaus we discovered during our flight carry the thought that they are but units in a great mountain system that traverses Antarctica and that the highlands of Graham Land, which must be regarded as a continuation of the South American Andes, link up with the mountains of Victoria Land on the Ross Sea?

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POLES ABROAD

(Continued from page 1, col. 2)

on the other hand, despite assimilation, it is often well nigh impossible to determine this numerically, this being more of a psychological than a mathematical problem. On the basis, however, of comprehensive data gathered by the World-Union of Poles Abroad, the following estimates are presented.

United States, 4,000,000. This country is by far the greatest centre of Poles abroad. Of the above number, 500,000 live in Chicago, 300,000 in Detroit, 200,000 in Buffalo and New York City respectively. Although principally of peasant origin, 85 per cent. live in big cities, and are reckoned with as political factors in cities like Chicago and Buffalo, and are well organized in several thousand varied societies. The Polish-American press is represented by 14 dailies and 65 periodicals. Three hundred thousand of their children are provided with a part-time Polish education. A like number of adults joined the American Army during the Great War. In 1932, the Polish-American national wealth was estimated at 4 1/2 billion dollars.

Germany, with 1,400,000 Poles comes next. They reside principally in Silesia, near Berlin, and in East Prussia. They are mainly manual workers and farmers. The recent Polish-German understanding has made their situation somewhat better than before, yet there are only 62 Polish schools with a total enrollment of 7,000 children which is quite inadequate. Regularly published are four dailies and 13 periodicals. As a political force they are not important especially under the present régime in Germany. They are, however, well organized economically, have their own banks etc.

France is third with 500,000. The bulk of these emigrated from Poland in 1921-1924. They are located in the northern parts, near Paris, and in the south around Strassbourg. Principally miners and industrial workers, they played an important part in post-war reconstruction in France. They are organized in a number of associations which have a total membership of 100,000. Three dailies are published as well as a number of periodicals. 25,000 children are enrolled in Polish schools. The recent mass deportations of Polish workers from that country have caused considerable bitterness and even political coldness in this country.

South America with 300,000 is an important grouping. Of this number, 240,000 are in Brazil, the balance being divided between the Argentine, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Emigration to Brazil was mainly during the post-revolutionary periods of 1831 and 1863. They are concentrated in the

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states of Rio Grande, Santa Catharina and Parana (140,000). In the last state they amount to 15 per cent. of the native Indian population, and form the upper class. Their national spirit has been preserved.

Canada has 145,000, principally miners and farmers living along the southern frontiers. They are united in a number of organizations, many of which are of recent origin only. Education of children in Polish has been very inadequate, only about 10 per cent. attending Polish schools.

Latvia has 70,000, 75 per cent. of which are farmers.

Austria has 20,000, principally in Vienna.

—A. B.

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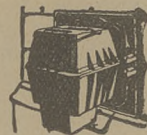


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FAILURE

(Continued from page 1, col. 3)

the situation be saved by the conclusion of formal "gentlemen's" agreements between two or more Powers to keep their sea armaments within certain limits of strength? In the opinion of most observers here the latter expedient is the more likely to be adopted. The Anglo-German naval convention of last June is an example of this system in the formal sense.

Germany has voluntarily pledged herself not to exceed 35 per cent of Britain's fighting tonnage for an indefinite period. Between Britain and America there already exists an understanding which not only rules out competitive building between themselves but almost certainly postulates a determination to maintain the *status quo* in the Pacific. For years to come America must bear most of the common burden of defence in that ocean. In return, the British Fleet will mount guard over the Atlantic.

None are the days when British and American naval men looked askance at each other's fleets and privately discussed the chances of war. Without any written pact, perhaps even without a spoken word, British and American policies have assumed a parallel course, the goal of which is peace on the great waters and the security of their common interests there, territorial and commercial.

For this significant reorientation we must thank Japan. The development of her forward policy in China, synchronizing with the obvious domination of the militarists caste over her councils, leave no doubt as to her intentions. Japan has tacitly proclaimed a Monroe Doctrine in the Far East. She will brook no interference with her plans for imperial expansion. The "open door" will be left open or slammed tight according to her pleasure. She is already strong enough to make armed intervention by any single Power an almost hopeless gamble, and it is extremely doubtful if either Britain or America will interfere so long as Japanese encroachment is confined to China. But according to the proverb, appetite grows with eating, and it is not impossible that, as time goes on, Japan may cast an acquisitive eye on those rich blocks of real estate, now under foreign flags, which lie tantalisingly near her own coasts the more so as her teeming millions do not take kindly to settlement on the Asiatic mainland.

One need be no alarmist to prophecy with some confidence that the Western Pacific is destined soon or late to become one of the world's chief danger

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zones. That the breakdown of the London Conference presages a new armament race is highly improbable. In the last analysis the strength of a nation's armaments is governed by the length of the national purse. Japan already is spending nearly half her total income on army, navy and air force, and cannot raise the percentage without courting fiscal disaster. She is, therefore, not likely to commit the blunder of challenging America and Britain to a new building competition.

Her denunciation of existing naval treaties and her refusal to enter a new pact except on impossible conditions are purely political moves. She has taken up this attitude to impress world opinion, and more particularly Asiatic opinion. It is an oriental version of the sabre-rattling in which pre-war Germany was wont to indulge. Much that is now happening in Japan will cease to puzzle onlookers once they begin to understand that political power in that country is, for the time being, almost wholly in the hands of generals and admirals. Eventually, no doubt, the civil power will regain some of its normal authority, but until that happens Japan is liable at any moment to take some high-handed action which may imperil peace.

Having no money to squander on super battleships and cruisers, she is

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expected to concentrate on developing her submarines and light surface forces. Her policy will be largely determined by American action in regard to Pacific naval bases. Should the United States proceed to create a chain of insular bases between Hawaii and the Philippines, Japan may well decide in favour of warlike action. That is a very real danger.

For the rest, the failure of the Conference probably renders certain the full execution of the Vinson-Trammell act which is to give America in 1942 a fleet incomparably superior to that of Japan. It has also confirmed Britain's decision to rebuild her navy on a formidable scale. Indeed, Signor Mussolini and Admiral Nagano have jointly engineered a full restoration of British sea power.

It remains to be seen whether the Conference is able to produce a workable scheme for exchanging news of annual building programmes and thereby removing the element of secrecy from naval armaments. Its efforts to bring about a reduction in the size of future warships can succeed only if the U. S. Navy Department modifies its policy of building monster battleships and cruisers, but in view of Japan's attitude it is considered most improbable that America will agree to curtail the striking range and cruising endurance of her future ships.



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