

Press Articles from “Gazeta Polska w Brazylii” as a Source of Information about Brazilian Polonia’s Interests in the Security of the Second Republic of Poland in July and August 1939 – Selected Issues

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Abstract

The article aims to present an outline and analysis of the topics presented in the July and August 1939 issue of “Gazeta Polska w Brazylii” (“Polish Newspaper in Brazil”). These concerned informing the Brazilian Polish community about matters and interests crucial to the Polish state’s security.

The article analyses all the issues of “Gazeta Polska w Brazylii” of July and August 1939, the available scientific literature, and other printed sources.

It has been shown that “Gazeta Polska w Brazylii” was the leading periodical informing the Brazilian Polonia about matters important to the Polish state’s interests and security. On the eve of the outbreak of World War II, the dominant issues of interest to the Polish community in Brazil included the evaluation of the Brazilian government, Hitler and the Third Reich, and German actions towards the local population in the areas taken over by the German state in 1938 and 1939. The issue of the Free City of Danzig and German militarism in the region, which threatened the interests of the Second Republic and Polish citizens’ position, was also significant.

Keywords: Brazil, “Gazeta Polska”, Poland, Brazilian Polonia

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Introduction

The article focuses on the content of "Gazeta Polska w Brazylii" articles as a source of information on the Brazilian Polish community's interests in July and August 1939 in terms of selected issues. The profile and editorial content reflect the interest of the magazine's readers, and the events of July and August 1939 concerning the Second Republic of Poland were reported in "Gazeta Polska" to keep the Brazilian Polish community well-informed.

The article is part of a series of the Author's deliberations on the Polish movement in South America on the Second Republic's cultural security and the interest in the Polish diplomatic bodies' activities in the interwar period (Landmann 2019: 103–125, Landmann 2022: 181–198). The study aims to outline and analyse topics presented in the press articles of "Gazeta Polska w Brazylii" of July and August 1939, informing the Brazilian Polish diaspora about issues and interests vital to the Polish state's security. An attempt has been made to determine the dominant content of the press articles, and thus the extent the Brazilian Polonia's level of informedness about matters important to Polish security on the eve of the outbreak of World War II.

The emergence and development of organizational structures and manifestations of Polish life in Brazil have been richly elaborated in historiography. Jerzy Mazurek (Mazurek 2006, Mazurek 2009: 13–21, Mazurek 2018: 75–94, Mazurek 2020a: 186–199, Mazurek, Makowski 2022), Marcin Kula (Kula 1976: 311–327, Kula 1981, Kula 1983, Kula 2001: 118–119, Kula 2012), Zdzisław Malczewski (Malczewski 1995, Malczewski 2008, Malczewski 2012: 97–106), Andrzej Dembicz (Dembicz 2000: 23–29, Dembicz, Smolana 1993; Dembicz, Kula 1996), Jan Pitoń (Pitoń 1971c: 137–141), Edward Kołodziej (Kołodziej 1982), Włodzimierz Helman (Helman 1975, Helman 1997: 136–143), Magdalena Michalik-Sztumska (Michalik-Sztumska 2010: 323–330), Mirosław Olszycycki (Olszycycki 2019: 213–226), Janina Kozłowska (Kozłowska 1983: 301–312), and Jan Brzozowski (Brzozowski 2008: 101–117) are among the authors studying that issue. It is also worth referring to the scientific literature on the recruitment of volunteers among the Polish community in Brazil for the Polish Armed Forces in the West since 1940 (Krawczyk 1988, Stemplowski 1986: 69–80).

The genesis and development of the Polish-American press in Brazil and other countries of South and Central America have received less attention in the scientific literature compared to the analysis of the Polish-American movement and the conditions of emigration to Brazil at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. These studies were undertaken mainly by Marlena Kaczmarek (Kaczmarek 2012: 171–191), Władysław Kolasa (Kolasa 2012: 62–86), Antoni Wróbel (Wróbel 2002: 49–68), Józef Skrzypek (Skrzypek 1969: 589–610), and Władysław Wójcik (Wójcik 1968: 261–274). Noteworthy are works authored by Jan Pitoń (Pitoń 1971a: 49–72; Pitoń 1971b: 491–493) in the early 1970s. Despite being part of the discourse on the development of the Polish immigrant movement, studies on the Brazilian Polonia's press were

mostly created a long time ago and have not received extensive findings and conclusions. The Author aims to fill this gap by analysing the content of the most widely read periodical addressed to Brazilian Polonia on the eve of the outbreak of World War II.

“Gazeta Polska w Brazylii” – the genesis and development of the periodical and the nature of its editorial profile

“Gazeta Polska w Brazylii” (hereinafter: “Gazeta Polska”) was launched in 1892 to study the activity of the Polish community in Curitiba in the state of Parana. Its establishment was connected to the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Polish Society’s activities, which had functioned in Curitiba since 1890 as one of the leading Polish organizations in Brazil (Dolinski, Szmytkowska 2019: 84, Łapaj-Kucharska 2013: 14). Kazimierz Szulc was the founder and the first editor of the paper. Unlike other Polish periodicals from the regions of Parana and Rio de Janeiro, such as “Kurier Parana”, “Polonia”, or “Prawda”, “Gazeta Polska” was not a short-lived publication, but a permanent one, documenting the Brazilian Polonia’s living conditions and Poles’ interest in current affairs in Brazil and the international environment. The high-quality journalistic technique, cooperation with authorities in the host country, and exchange of information with the authorities of the Second Republic of Poland positioned “Gazeta Polska” as the leading weekly in the Brazilian Polish community (Kaczmarek 2012: 177).

In the interwar period, the position of “Gazeta Polska” increased due to the stabilization of the Brazilian press movement (Krawczyk 2003: 22). Contrary to other periodicals, it was distributed “in all Polish communities in Brazil” (Paczkowski 1980: 398), with circulation reaching as much as 3–4 thousand copies in the late 1930s (Paczkowski 1980: 398). The first issue of “Gazeta Polska” sold 500 copies (Ciuruś 1977: 35), which shows a significant increase in circulation and importance in the publishing movement among Brazilian Polonia at the end of the 1930s.

In 1939, however, the magazine’s anachronistic structure was maintained, and divided into several main sections, such as “From the Brazilian Press”, “Parańskie News”, “From Sao Paulo and Rio”, “Happy Corner” or “Health Corner”. The presence of literary texts and various types of advertisements was increased, while news from Poland and different regions of the world were presented in a selective way, without precise ordering according to the subject, geographical or chronological scope. Despite this, “Gazeta Polska w Brazylii” remained an important magazine of the Polish community in Brazil at a time when other Polish newspapers in this country “lived mostly by reprints of Brazilian newspapers or small Polish magazines sent free of charge from the country” (Paczkowski 1980: 399), facing numerous material and financial difficulties.

According to J. Mazurek, 41,000 Poles emigrated to Brazil in the interwar period (Mazurek 2006: 63). The Author estimates the total number of Polish emigrants before 1939 at nearly 156,000 people, increasing to 220,000 if we include citizens born

in Brazil of Polish descent (Mazurek 2006: 65). More than 88,600 representatives of the Brazilian Polonia lived in Parana, whose population was less than 1 million, with its capital in Curitiba (Gmitruk, Klarner-Kosińska, Mazurek 2000: 12, Mazurek 2006: 65). The data justify why Curitiba was the seat of the editorial office of "Gazeta Polska", which was the first in Polish and the most critical Polish-language periodical in Brazil. The Brazilian Polonia remained strongly influenced by the Polish central authorities. They supported the process of consolidation of the Brazilian Polonia and its ties with the mother country. It manifested itself in establishing the Central Union of Poles in Brazil in 1930 (Kula 1983: 335, Mazurek 2002: 273) and the Maritime League's propaganda impact on the Brazilian Polonia through the press in the form of the monthly magazine "Morze" and the quarterly "Sprawy Morskie i Kolonialne" (Żak 2017: 69–85). Warsaw was interested in the content of "Gazeta Polska", which was possible thanks to the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' publishing a weekly bulletin, which included a review of foreign press (Skóra 2006: 46).

Since 1918, "Gazeta Polska" cooperated with a government agency – the Polish Telegraphic Agency (PAT). The PAT was primarily tasked to provide the national and foreign press with official government announcements, as well as "news the announcement of which was in the state authorities' interest" (Rudziński 1970: 54). The following note: "the direction of the paper: in Polish terms – centrist, in Parana – involved in government policy, social democratic party. Very favourable attitude toward the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" was encountered when analysing the publishing profile of "Gazeta Polska" formulated in 1935 by the Consular Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Skrzypek 1969: 592).

The attitude towards the Brazilian government and nationalization campaign in the reports of "Gazeta Polska w Brazylii"

"Gazeta Polska w Brazylii" repeatedly commented on the effects of the nationalization campaign launched in 1938 by Brazilian President, Getúlio Vargas. The Polish community used the term "nationalization" at the time, as it corresponded to the nature of the actions of government forces, resulting in significant changes for the position of Polish settlers in Brazil, as well as representatives of other minorities. The actions of the Brazilian government were intended to lead to the "Brazilianisation" of immigrant communities, and thus their assimilation and subordination to the state. Criticism of the new policy in the immigrant press, although potentially corresponding to the demand to defend the independence of Polish organisations, was therefore unwelcome and it was subject to government censorship.

"Gazeta Polska w Brazylii" shed a positive light on the nationalization campaign implemented by the Brazilian government towards minorities. One account from early

July 1939 stated: “Brazil is good as it makes no racial distinctions. There is no prejudice either as to body, colour or religion. All can live in Brazil, having submitted to its laws. Nevertheless, no one can live in Brazil if they do not want to accept its orders” (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 27: 1). The message was to express the Brazilian state’s openness to immigrants, with the proviso that they respect the rule of law and work for the country. The self-governance of the Brazilian people and the transformations that had taken place in society over several decades were emphasised. Since the turn of the twentieth century, a specific internal problem was the “plague of regionalism” (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 27: 1) associated with the increasing rivalry between the various states (*estado*) for political influence and representation in parliament. That was to negatively impact the possibilities of settlement and development for Poles and other nations. Given the information presented in “*Gazeta Polska*”, Brazil during the second half of the 1930’s was free from the above problems, which facilitated the Polish community’s development on the eve of the outbreak of the Great War conflict. The Brazilian government’s effective opposition to communist propaganda eased the development of the Polish community in Brazil (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 28: 1). The state of Parana, with its capital in Curitiba, as the largest concentration of Brazilian Polonia was the most exposed to the communist circles’ influence before and during World War II. Curitiba had an influential daily newspaper “*O Dia*”, whose editors, clearly sympathetic to the Soviets, maintained close relations with representatives of the Brazilian government (Dulles 2014, Landmann 2019: 119).

The anti-communist trait emerging from some articles in “*Gazeta Polska*”, especially in view of the comments on the nationalization action, may have been dictated by practical reasons. It corresponded to the requirements of the Brazilian government’s new internal policy, which was implemented under conditions of press control. The editors of “*Gazeta Polska*” may have tried to create the conviction among government censors that Polish organisations in Brazil emphasized strong anti-communist sentiments, which in practice corresponded to the character of the activities of numerous organisations (for example, the “*Junak*” Physical Education Society in Curitiba). It should be assessed that “*Gazeta Polska*” clearly dissociated itself from communist sympathies, even though – as S. Wąclawski (1972: 123) points out – the communist ideology was identified by a large part of Brazilian society with opposition to the dictatorship and the policy of forced assimilation of immigrant communities during Getúlio Vargas’s presidency. The editors of “*Gazeta Polska*” chose the conciliatory option, not supporting the demands of left-wing organisations and not opposing the Brazilian nationalization action, even though it actually undermined the independence of Polish community organizations and the newspaper itself.

A description of Brazilian constitutionalism, which was the basis for the development of all nations living in Brazil, appeared in issue 29 of “*Gazeta Polska*” of July the 13th. It pointed out the importance of the Constitution and the Labour Act in regulating the worker rights, including the right to a minimum wage (“the rate of the lowest

wage"), paid vacations, social rights, and social protection of syndicates (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 29: 1). The same issue reported the expansion of activities and the course of the nationalization campaign that had begun in 1938. The Brazilian authorities, giving special powers to the Delegation of Political and Social Order, implemented it through the press and radio, using specific prohibitions, and orders in public life. The nationalization action was a response to Brazil's internal problems, in the face of the threat of international conflict. The State sought to stimulate feelings of patriotism and national unity among the population, including representatives of Brazil's numerous nationalities. The nationalization campaign was aimed mainly at young people to prepare the masses for the outbreak of a global conflict. Among the measures taken there were those of a preventive, prohibitive, and educational nature. Foreigners were forbidden to engage in political activities, and education was based on teaching in schools only in Portuguese (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 29: 1). In further actions, it was forbidden to hold the posts of owners, shipowners, and captains of ships flying the national flag, owners of daily newspapers, as well as to exercise free professions (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 30: 1).

The coverage of the nationalization action in the 29th and 30th issues of "Gazeta Polska" can be judged as balanced, with the Author refraining from negative commentary and quoting numerous statements by the head of the Delegation, D. Borba Cortes. The editorial board of the magazine did not want to offend the Brazilian authorities in the face of the political changes brought about by the expanding nationalization campaign. It is difficult not to agree with the view expressed in the literature that nationalization was a negative factor for the developed Polish educational system and Polish life in Brazil in general. In 1937, there were 349 Polish schools of various levels in Brazil. The changes introduced in 1938–1939 in the internal functioning of the state had a significant impact on the mentioned development of Polish community life in the country (Czapliński 1989: 25). The first Polish school was founded in 1876 in the Polish colony of Orleans on the outskirts of Curitiba (Goczyła-Ferreira 2018: 177).

In 1936, maximum limits on immigrant admissions were introduced – 2% less of the number of immigrants from a given country in the preceding fifty years, which for Poles meant the possibility of fewer than 2,000 arrivals per year. That number was lowered, resulting in a situation where, starting in 1938, no more than 1230 Poles per year could arrive in Brazil during reinforced nationalization efforts (Kołodziej, Zakrzewska 1977: 206). Numerous repressions against ethnic groups in Brazil accompanied the nationalization action. Under a special decree, settlers were forbidden from changing their workplace, moving to cities, and forming dense ethnic groups (Mazurek 2006: 61). Even though the effects of the nationalization action negatively affected the situation of Brazilian Polonia, the reports published in "Gazeta Polska" were dominated by refraining from any criticism of the Brazilian authorities and emphasizing the benefits of the government's achievements in strengthening the patriotic spirit.

It should be pointed out that the articles in “Gazeta Polska” were an attempt to please the Brazilian authorities, and that the published assessments towards the Brazilian nationalization action did not necessarily correspond to the actual mood among the editorial board members. The publisher was confronted with a fait accompli in the face of the so-called “New State” of Getúlio Vargas. The new government policy in Brazil is assessed as a manifestation of the fascisation of the country and a departure from democratic standards (Pinto 2020: 235–256). Its implementation was followed by press censorship (Davila 2006: 263), which must have been relevant to the way the Brazilian nationalization action was commented on in the pages of “Gazeta Polska”. The publisher was certainly aware of the consequences of the new law for Polish organisations; and the editors were aware of attempts by local authorities to take control of these organisations. One of the many examples is the renaming of the “Junak” Physical Education Society in Curitiba as the “Juventus” organisation, which was accompanied by the dropping of the Polish emblem from the organisation’s headquarters and the confiscation of some of the assets of the regional offices of the organisation. Furthermore, the Polish Union, which united numerous Polish organisations, was renamed the Beneficent and Recreational Association Union (Sociedade Beneficiente e Resreativa Uniao) (Brzozowski 2006: 40–58).

Based on the articles discussed above, it seems misleading to believe that the editors of “Gazeta Polska” were enthusiastic about the nationalization action implemented by the Brazilian government. The main objective was rather an attempt to preserve remnants of autonomy before being subjected to government control. The author assesses that the magazine emphasized at least those elements of the nationalization action that were acceptable to the Brazilian Polish community. This was accompanied by the tacit acceptance of many other elements that undermined the freedom of the Brazilian Polish community and the newspaper itself.

Criticism of Hitler and Third Reich as a permanent element of press releases in “Gazeta Polska w Brazylii”.

“Gazeta Polska” consistently pursued the editorial line related to the criticism of the actions taken by Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich in the international arena, particularly emphasizing the Polish state’s interests. The issue in the beginning of July reprinted a commentary on the appeal of the former president of the Senate of the Free City of Danzig, Hermann Rauschning, to Germans abroad, giving the article the title “Down with Hitler!”. During his term of office, Hermann Rauschning remained an advocate of strengthening Danzig-Poland relations and reducing national tensions in the Free City of Danzig through the Polish-German talks. He contributed to adopting the Polish-Danish agreement on the use of the Danzig port and advocated the necessary agreement between Poland and the Third Reich to counteract a possible

conflict over the international status of the Free City of Danzig. A conflict with the leader of the NSDAP Danzig district contributed to his resignation in November 1934 (Mickiewicz 1999: 64).

"Gazeta Polska" translated the extensive criticism of Nazism that appeared in Rauschning's proclamation into Polish, which was reprinted in a German periodical "Argentinisches Tageblatt" published in Buenos Aires. The article contains references to an attempt to hold the German people responsible for supporting Hitler's aggressive actions on the international stage in late 1938 and early 1939. Rauschning appealed to Germans living outside the Reich to raise and condemn the question of German aspirations for war, taking advantage of the public interest in German issues abroad (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 27: 1). Remarkably, no German periodical published in Brazil reprinted the proclamation of a German politician living in exile at the time of its publication. In the 27th issue of "Gazeta Polska" of July the 2nd, 1939, in addition to criticizing the actions of Nazi Germany, the following description of the functioning of the Nazi regime appeared:

the leader is a demigod, and any other party official – his deputy, the rest of the citizens are a mass of half-slaves, created to listen. The rest of the citizens are a mass of semi-slaves created to obey. Anyone who dared to have an opinion there would immediately be sent to a prison camp or sent to forced labour (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 27: 1).

An example of a prison camp for people opposing Hitler's policies was Buchenwald in Thuringia, renamed a concentration camp during World War II. Issue 30 of "Gazeta Polska" presented the German camp conditions based on information obtained from prisoners that arrived in Upper Silesia after serving their sentences and had been sentenced to between 1 and 3 years. More than 10 thousand people were imprisoned in the Buchenwald prison camp, including officials, priests, and labourers working 16 hours a day to build streets, roads, and other infrastructure elements. Poor sanitary conditions and exhausting labour resulted in a mortality rate of 200 to 250 prisoners per month. The so-called "black barracks" were maintained within the camp for those suspected of especially grave offences against the German state. Prisoners in that part of the camp were starved and tortured, which usually resulted in their death before the end of the sentence (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 30: 17).

"Gazeta Polska" published articles criticising Nazism and the actions of Nazi Germany, which referred to the situation of the Polish state. An article justifying to Polish readers the Second Republic's right to have access to the Baltic Sea appeared on the annual celebration of Maritime Days in June. Its author argued that:

whoever would deprive Poland of access to the sea would rule over it economically, and economic dependence is followed by political dependence. (...) What does this false and fictitious fairy tale about some «living space» mean in the face of Poland's eternal rights to Gdańsk and Pomerania, in the face of the Republic's real vital interests? (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 27: 3).

The statement contained criticism of German demands for a connection between the Reich and East Prussia through the so-called Danzig Corridor, which could be found in German propaganda. An extensive article published in issue 27 of "Gazeta Polska", devoted to the commemoration of another anniversary of the Polish-Lithuanian victory over the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald during the 1939 world exhibition in New York, had an anti-German undertone (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 27: 4). In subsequent articles, the term "Teutonic Knights" was used instead of "Germans", which had a mocking character and was meant to further strengthen the tone of criticism of German activities threatening the interests of the Polish state.

Attempts were made to weaken the validity of German demands concerning the Danzig Corridor and German militarism in Central Europe with arguments relating to the actual birth rate in the Third Reich. As reported in issue 29 of "Gazeta Polska" of July the 16th, birth statistics contradicted the thesis that Germans needed additional living space. The highest birth rate dominated the Polish border areas, primarily inhabited by Poles rather than Germans. There were more than 30 births per thousand inhabitants in Warmia and Mazury and municipalities in Upper and Lower Silesia. In the other border regions, it ranged from 25 to 28, while in the Reich, it was between 15 and 20 births per thousand inhabitants per year. The faster growth of the post-working age population in Germany was estimated against the background of a similar trend in the Second Republic. According to data reprinted from the work "Volk und Raum" by Ryszard Korherr, in 1938, there were 90 people over the age of 60 per 1,000 inhabitants in Germany, while in Poland, only 75 (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 29: 6).

The above statistics can be judged as selectively cited and presented under the thesis adopted by the authors of the press articles in "Gazeta Polska". The aim was to discredit German policy and the Nazi concept of *Lebensraum*, while at the same time reinforcing "Gazeta Polska" readers' belief in the unique role of Polish interests in a situation threatened by German militarism. It is known from official data that between 1919 and 1939, the population of Germany grew significantly. The census of October the 8th, 1919, showed a population of just under 60.9 million, giving 128 inhabitants per square kilometre. In the census of May the 17th, 1939, the population of the Third Reich was estimated at 79.3 million, with a population density that rose to 136 inhabitants per square kilometre (Bureau of Public Affairs 1945). People in the age groups of up to 15 accounted for 24.7% of the German population in May 1939, while those over 60 were 12.4% (Army Service Forces Manual 1944: 43). Statistics on population change in Germany on the eve of the outbreak of World War II show a rapid population growth even if the population of Austria was excluded from the study group after its annexation by Germany in March 1938. More than 6.65 million people lived on the territory of the former Austria in May 1939 (Czech 2014: 110).

Contrary to the authors' opinion in "Gazeta Polska", the Third Reich was not endangered by either declining birth rates or possible depopulation due to population

ageing. The authors of the article cited apt arguments about German social policy measures to increase fertility in the 1930s. One example was a loan of 1,000 marks the state paid for a bride's dowry. After the birth of each child, the state agreed to repay 200 marks from the initial loan amount automatically (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 29: 6). Another means of implementing German pro-natalist policies was the imposition of a special income tax on childless married couples and single men in the 1930s. (Albanese 2006: 34).

"Gazeta Polska" reported on the results of the 1939 German census, in which the number of Polish citizens was deliberately underestimated. In the German territories of Pomerania, Silesia, and East Prussia, there were nearly 2 million Poles, while on Hitler's orders, the census of national minorities in the Third Reich showed no more than 100,000 people of that nationality. Despite propaganda efforts, initial calculations led to the conclusion that almost 1 million people of Polish nationality inhabited the German territories. In the final version, it was decided to change the nationality of about 900 thousand enumerated citizens of Polish nationality to German citizens (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 27: 8). The census of the Polish minority was preceded by a general population census (*Einwohnererfassung*), which took place at the turn of December 1939 and January 1940 to determine the number of Poles living in German areas of Upper Silesia. The literature indicates that "its purpose was probably to prepare a mass displacement action" (Kaczmarek 2004: 117). In January 1939, some people were handed over acts that forced them to leave Upper Silesia to underestimate the number of Poles living in Upper Silesia and eliminate the nationality element considered hostile towards Germany (Cimała 1990: 197).

The above-mentioned report was one of many published in "Gazeta Polska" on the eve of the outbreak of World War II, aimed at the German propaganda and the Third Reich's actions against Poland. The threat of German propaganda was highlighted in the article entitled "Propaganda as a weapon of war", which appeared in issue 28 of "Gazeta Polska" of July the 9th. German propaganda against Poles aimed to "crush enthusiasm, cause resentment, weariness, dissatisfaction, and spread panic and fear" (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 28: 7). Referring to the example of Austria and Czechoslovakia's occupation, the effectiveness of German propaganda was proven, and the Polish nation was prepared to resist similar propaganda activities. The same issue of "Gazeta Polska" raised German agitation in the foreign press connected with the coverage of the alleged persecution of the German minority in Poland. The author of one of the articles argued:

there are also hypocritical (...) complaints about the «warlike» tone of the Polish press and «persecution» of Germans in Poland. It is an old Germanic song, calculated to divert the world's attention from treacherous German plans and conceal the rape of the Polish minority in the Reich by the German administration and the swaggering Nazi militia (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 28: 8).

It was documented that between the last week of March and the end of the first week of May 1939, almost 60 representatives of the German minority were expelled from Poland, including a landowner, Dr von Koerber, a leader of the *Jungdeutsche Partei*, von der Goltz, a manager of an agricultural experiment station from the Wągrowiec district named Gerth, and 58 other Germans. The expulsions were intended to give the German authorities in the border area a pretext to initiate more decisive measures to expel Polish families from the Third Reich (*Dziennik Bydgoski*, No. 104: 8). The message from "Gazeta Polska" corresponded to the fact that Poland had not conducted an organised action of mass deportation of the German population in the last months before the war outbreak. Instead, the expulsions were sporadic and related to anti-nationals – Goltz and Koerber were suspected of spying for Germany (Bernaś 1970: 276). The articles published in "Gazeta Polska" show that until the outbreak of the war, the German state did not give up its tactics of constant complaints against Poland connected with the violation of the provisions of the small Versailles Treaty concerning the treatment of national minorities living in the Second Republic. Between 1920 and 1939, the German state filed as many as 318 complaints against Poland with the League of Nations requiring consideration at formal meetings (Matelski 1997: 60).

Criticism of Hitler's actions included the example of actions taken by the German Police in Danzig (*Schupo*) against a Brazilian diplomat, son of Rui Barbosa, i.e., a descendant of a politician advocating the restoration of Poland's independence less than a decade before the outbreak of WWI. In issue 30 of "Gazeta Polska", there was an account of the arrest of a counsellor of the Brazilian embassy in Warsaw by the Gdansk Police due to a diplomatic immunity violation. A report from the "Diario dos Campos", a daily newspaper published in Ponta Grosso, Parana, that the Polish Police in Warsaw made the arrest was corrected, which had been presumably inspired by German propaganda (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 30: 3).

At the end of July 1939, German propaganda informed about an alleged, practically non-existent, German-British agreement regulating the lack of objections from England in the event of taking over Danzig by Germany, with simultaneous information about pressure exerted by the Vatican on Poland to make concessions on Danzig to protect European countries from war. There were even false references to secret Polish-German agreements under which the Second Polish Republic would cede Danzig to Germany. The propaganda message manifested that the Danzig issue was contentious only in Polish-German relations, without the necessity or authority to involve third countries. In "Gazeta Polska", rumours about German diplomatic achievements in the matter mentioned above were debunked. Readers were informed about regular deliveries of arms and ammunition by Polish, French, and English ships in Gdynia in case of a German military attempt in the Free City of Danzig (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 30: 8).

Issue 28 of "Gazeta Polska" of July the 9th reported that the Polish government asked the Senate of the Free City of Danzig about the purpose of arming the Danzig

Nazis. The Second Republic government was to be assured that Germany would provide a diplomatic answer through the crew of the cruiser "Koenigsberg" at the end of July. The report of "Gazeta Polska" pointed out the instrumental character of the solution, which was supposed to show how the Third Reich conducted diplomacy towards Poland. The above solution was criticized by posting a threat with the following content: "let a cruiser dare such an unfriendly act! She will not return from Danzig" (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 28: 10).

Although one-sided and using numerous adjectives and expressions intended to strengthen the negative image of Germany and Germans in the eyes of readers, the above messages were part of the assessment of the real increase in militarism and the threat of German propaganda against Poles. The matter of the Free City of Danzig was emphasized in a specific way, as it was perceived as one of the main problems in Polish-German relations in July and August 1939.

The Free City of Gdansk and German claims to it as an important element of press releases in "Gazeta Polska w Brazylii".

The events concerning the Free City of Danzig were of keen interest to the Brazilian Polish community, which the reporting evidenced on numerous occasions of the situation from the city in "Gazeta Polska". The press coverage tried to emphasize the German threat to the Free City of Danzig and the need to maintain economic ties with Poland. Issue 27 reported on the removal of Polish cemeteries and their conversion into parks and the dismissal of Polish workers from the Gdansk shipyards to be replaced by workers brought in from the depths of Germany. Readers were reassured about the Second Polish Republic's readiness to launch a pre-emptive strike on Gdańsk, on the prior order of the League of Nations, in case of a threat of armed German intervention (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 27: 8). They tried to convince the readers of the strategic role of the Free City of Danzig not only for the security of the Second Republic but also for the European balance by writing:

the Danzig question is an issue not of subordinate but world significance. Verdun was a French fortress, and the fate of the world was decided on its ramparts. Danzig has the same importance. If Poland had given it up, it would have shared the fate of Czechoslovakia, and then the Reich would have seized the entire central and then eastern Europe (...) As for Danzig, the question is which law governs the world: the law of a human or the law of the forest animals (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 30: 1).

A message based on the Polish state's readiness to repel a possible German attack, which might have involved an attempt to seize the Free City of Danzig, was maintained.

It was to show the failures of German diplomacy and armaments undertaken between May and July 1939 in the matter of Hitler's assumed putsch of the Danzig population against ties with Poland. In issue 29 of July the 16th, "Gazeta Polska" reported:

However, this ruse did not come to fruition for the Nazis. Although the Senate of Danzig, controlled by the Nazis, carried out reinforcements for this purpose, the population stood in passive resistance and did not listen to the wolves' whispers. They know that they are well off in Poland and starve in the Reich. They also know that Poland will not give up Danzig, and it is the city itself (...) not the Nazi reptilians that will suffer most in the event of war (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylji*, No. 29: 8).

In the criticism of Hitler's actions against the Free City of Danzig in July 1939, the role of the Polish-British-French alliance as a preventive measure against a possible war with Germany was stressed: "together with England and France, Poland forms a front for peace and balance in Europe. It does not fear the enemy and war with it" (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylji*, No. 30: 1). "Gazeta Polska" reported on England and France's readiness to provide financial assistance to Poland in case of general mobilization in the event of a war with Germany. Readers were informed that according to information obtained by the Polish government from Edmund Ironside, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, during his July visit to Warsaw, Poland could count on help from England amounting to 150 million zlotys, supplemented by nearly 100 million zlotys from France (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylji*, No. 30: 10). As L. Moczulski noted, one of the purposes of Ironside's visit to Warsaw was "to clarify whether Poles were not planning to provoke Germans in Danzig to explain the war" (Moczulski 2009: 502). The British commander was assured that Danzig was only a pretext for German offensive actions against Poland and Poland was in favour of maintaining the international *status quo* of the Free City of Danzig (Moczulski 2009: 502).

In the last days of July 1939, the Nazis were to arm themselves against Poland on the territory of the Free City of Danzig. Preparations for mobilization were made, and transports of German volunteers from East Prussia were carried out, bypassing passport and customs procedures on the orders of the NSDAP. The number of Gestapo agents in Danzig; both uniformed and non-uniformed representatives of the German SA, increased. The Gdańsk Security Police (*Schupo*) was supplied with a considerable amount of new equipment in the form of gas masks. "Gazeta Polska" reported that the headquarters for the German armed element representatives was the "Eden" hotel, emptied of other guests, especially for the needs of the German military preparations, with the simultaneous support of the Gdansk Senate. Referring to information provided by the Polish Telegraphic Agency, "Gazeta Polska" reported on the adoption by the Nazis of a new law on the service of customs officials, forcing officers to swear absolute obedience to the NSDAP. The harassment of the Polish population in Danzig intensified, which was manifested by the mass action of denouncing lease contracts of apartments to Poles by the owners of tenement houses,

inspired by order of the NSDAP. That action affected Polish artisans and merchants, whose leases for workshops and stores were terminated. Issue 31 of "Gazeta Polska" of July the 31st presented an article about a Polish lawyer named Romanowski, whose apartment was given away by the landlord, as a form of repression for his advocacy in defence of a Polish customs inspector Lipiński, imprisoned by the Nazis (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 31: 5).

"Gazeta Polska" pointed to references proving that other press titles publishing in major Brazilian cities reprinted telegrams from Warsaw, Danzig, Berlin, London, and Paris, which addressed the German policy towards Danzig. The report from "O Estado de S. Paulo", commented on by "Gazeta Polska", tried to convince the Polish readers about the unification of national minorities living in Poland in the face of a real threat from the Third Reich. It pointed to the consolidation of the Ukrainian movement and the rapprochement with Poles when Ukrainians understood from observing the events in Czechoslovakia that they could not count on German participation in creating a strong, independent Ukrainian state (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 28: 1). Reference was made to the solidarity of the population of Zaolzie, occupied by Poland in 1938, with the rest of the Polish population in maintaining the international status granted to the Free City of Danzig against the threat of German annexation (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 31: 4). The messages formulated were general, ignoring statistical data or other facts indicating the then public sentiments in Poland. Neither the course nor geopolitical significance of the Polish Army's seizure of Zaolzie was explained to the readers. According to P.S. Wandycz, the occupation of Zaolzie was a factor negatively influencing Poland's reputation in the opinion of Western powers and an additional determinant of the Polish-Czech sport on the eve of the outbreak of World War II (Wandycz 1980: 226). In the articles of "Gazeta Polska" from July and August 1939 there is no evaluation of the effects of the occupation of Zaolzie or any criticism of the government of the Second Republic and the Polish Army.

The Brazilian Polonia was informed through "Gazeta Polska" about the discrimination of Polish citizens living in the Free City of Danzig, comparing their situation with the German citizens. They reported how similar cases were treated by the judiciary, with verdicts favourable to German citizens and unfavourable to Poles. In their verdicts, judges were said to treat Germans' illegal acts with leniency and punish Poles severely for similar offences. At the beginning of July, the Gdansk court acquitted a Nazi gang that had attacked a Polish railwayman named Saldat. In another verdict, the court acquitted all members of a group sympathizing with the NSDAP, but fined a Polish student from a naval school, Szczepański, for participating in a fight with the group members and allegedly contributing to "disturbing the public order" (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 29: 4).

"Gazeta Polska" informed its readers of the German-dominated judiciary pathology in the Free City of Danzig. In an article from the 20th of August, it was reported that Danzig inhabitants sentenced by German courts for illegal acts committed on its

territory were deported to the Reich, which violated the Constitution of the Free City of Danzig (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 34: 3). The account of the events in Danzig corresponded to the actual legal situation insofar as Article 75 of the Constitution included a provision according to which no citizen could be handed over to a foreign government for investigation purposes and determination of punishment connected with the functioning of the Danzig system of justice (Constitution of the Free City of Danzig dated November 17, 1920).

Another manifestation of discrimination against Polish citizens living in the Free City of Danzig were provocations inspired by police officers. “*Gazeta Polska*” reported on the case of a Polish priest, Hoefl, whom an undercover *Schupo* officer provoked during a conversation in a cafe to express a negative stance on German actions in matters occurring in the city. The priest was arrested, and after his release, the authorities announced a case for insulting. There were reports of an attack on a passing car carrying a Polish customs inspector on one of the streets of Danzig, with the officers taking no action to detect the perpetrators. Another manifestation of discrimination was the confiscation of property of Jews holding Polish citizenship (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 34: 3). The Gdansk Senate’s discriminatory policy towards Polish citizens of Jewish origin and the Polish authorities’ actions towards the problem are confirmed by scholarly writings (Berendt 1997: 247–253).

From the report published by “*Gazeta Polska*” on August the 27th, it turned out that before the outbreak of war, the Polish population’s persecution intensified on the German side in East Prussia, Gdańsk Pomerania, and the border regions of Upper Silesia. The leading activists of the Polish Association, Jan Guza from Wołczyn and a citizen named Świątek from Oleśno, were deported to the Reich for forced labour. A similar fate was shared by an employee of the People’s Bank in Opole named Widera and an employee of the local agricultural cooperative named Duda. These German actions aimed to prevent the Polish social work development in Upper Silesia on the eve of and after the expected outbreak of war. The German Police also closed the office of the joint Polish organizations in Zabrze. A common occurrence in the border regions of Upper Silesia was the revocation of passports of Polish activists. That was the fate of Nawrocki, a member of the Polish Youth Society board in Racibórz. Another form of persecution of the Polish population living in the region adjacent to the Free City of Danzig was prohibiting students of the Polish secondary school in Kwidzyn and their parents from leaving the city borders (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 35: 8).

In its message of August the 27th, following the information received from the Polish Telegraphic Agency, “*Gazeta Polska*” reported on rearming and supplementing the Danzig Police personnel. The formation consisted of nearly 1500 men grouped in 3 regiments, 2 of which were fully ready to supplement the expected German actions in Danzig. The formation’s armament corresponded to that of a German infantry regiment. In the last days before the outbreak of war, *Schupo* cooperated

with a branch of the German SS military formation *SS Heimwehr Danzig*, formed on August the 5th. According to "Gazeta Polska", the number of the *Heimwehr* members was estimated at 1,000 people, mainly in auxiliary, i.e., communication, reconnaissance, sappers, anti-aircraft, anti-tank and coastal units (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 35: 4). The estimates provided by "Gazeta Polska" differed somewhat from the actual number of *SS Heimwehr Danzig* personnel. According to the document presenting the state of combat readiness on August the 18th, 1939, the formation had about 1500 members (Gąsiorowski 2005: 155, Milewski 1977: 32). It was reported that Germans were transporting heavy and light military equipment to the area of the Free City of Danzig, provoking several incidents with Polish customs inspectors (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 35: 4).

The information about German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop's visit to Moscow to sign a German-Soviet non-aggression pact, which – as was reported – was supposed to regulate the unique role of economic cooperation between the USSR and the Third Reich, appeared for the first time in issue 35 of "Gazeta Polska" of August 27 (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 35: 8). The article failed to mention the threat to Poland from potential military cooperation between the two countries; it was sanctioned in an additional secret protocol to the pact. The publisher of the Polish periodical could not have had the necessary information to present that issue to the Brazilian Polish community.

Elements of anti-German press propaganda in "Gazeta Polska w Brazylii"

An element of the criticism of Nazi Germany practised in "Gazeta Polska" was to show the misery to which most of the German population was exposed. In issue 29, dated July the 16th, there was an extensive article on increased border traffic at the Polish railroad station in Zbąszyń in July 1939. The German population contributed to that by purchasing Polish food and speaking on the lack of access to necessary products in the Reich. The message formulated by "Gazeta Polska" included the statement: "Germans find Poland a paradise on earth. They taste everything here, they say, you can get everything in Poland for next to nothing. (...) Zbąszyń plays the role of a border granary for hungry Germans. There are more such granaries on the Polish-German border" (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 29: 5).

"Gazeta Polska" created a negative image of the material situation of the German population in East Prussia. One of the posted reports mentioned:

German citizens of East Prussia are crossing the Polish border with increasing frequency. They come to Poland to eat something, and if possible, to take some food for their families. (...) Germans commonly arriving in Poland say: «Let Fuhrer speak, but we want to eat» (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 32: 4).

Discrediting the economic situation in German regions near the Polish border was a constant element of press propaganda appearing in “Gazeta Polska” in July and August 1939.

Historiography shows that the information about the poverty of the German population, both in the Reich and in East Prussia, did not correspond to the facts. The articles in “Gazeta Polska” were part of simple anti-German propaganda and were not intended to explain to readers the complex economic conditions in Poland and neighbouring countries at the time. The publications contained mainly emotionally charged messages, without statistical data and reliable economic studies. It seems legitimate to assess that the message was tailored to the interests and chance of understanding of particular issues by members of the Brazilian Polish community, represented largely by the agricultural population of the state of Parana.

The situation of the population in the Czechoslovak regions taken over by Nazi Germany was depicted in a similar vein. It was reported that food warehouses were being taken deep into the Reich, resulting in food shortages and rising prices of basic foodstuffs for the local population in the Slovak towns taken over by Germans. On the Polish border this led to the development of trade with customs officials as wealthier representatives of the local population, along with smuggling for the benefit of the more impoverished masses (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 30: 7). The blame and responsibility for the worsening fate of the local population were laid at the feet of Germans, thus identifying the adverse effects of German militarism towards the neighbouring countries.

The valuable reports presented by “Gazeta Polska” on the eve of the outbreak of World War II included correspondence from Czech colonists in South America who managed to get out of the Sudetenland occupied by Germany and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia created under German control. Correspondence between these individuals and family members remaining in areas dominated by the Third Reich painted a picture of unfavourable changes for the local population. “Gazeta Polska” reported that in areas with a Czech population, a system of enumeration of livestock on farms and repression of persons making independent changes in that inventory was created and regulated. Germans required accurate reporting of the number of cattle, pigs, and even poultry. The sale of chickens was subject to notification and tax, while the killing of pigs for subsistence required notifications to the German food commissioner, who recorded the fact in the appropriate books. Farmers were allowed to produce butter on their farms, but only for their consumption. If the product was found to have been sold, the German authorities fined the person 100 marks. Czech workers who had lost their jobs due to the demolition of parts of old factories were transported to the Reich to work on constructing German fortifications (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 35: 3).

The same tone was used to report the material situation of the Lithuanian population in the Klaipeda Region, which was taken over from Lithuania by the Third Reich

in March 1939. In No. 33 of the August the 6th issue of "Gazeta Polska", an article titled "Klaipeda, the Land of Tears" described the unfavourable economic changes that occurred after Nazi Germany had taken over the territory. Mostly German citizens were employed, and restrictions were placed on hiring Lithuanians. Some of those who objected to the changes were arrested and deported for forced labour deep into the Reich. The article assesses the significance of the Expropriation Law for Lithuanian peasants that opposed the new landlord in the Klaipeda Region. The expropriation was primarily carried out by childless peasants, who had no one to transfer their property to. In practice, the regulation was universal, and it was supplemented by the seizure of estates of Lithuanians that entered the Republic of Lithuania's territory after the Third Reich had annexed the Klaipeda Region. The properties were sold to Germans at special prices, underestimating their real market value. The purpose of the Expropriation Law was to transfer Lithuanian properties to Germans coming from the Reich in exchange for compensation, the value of which was especially purposefully understated by German officials. It was reported that Klaipeda's exports were reduced, which contributed to the deterioration of the economic situation of the whole district (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 35: 3). It is a matter of fact that the deterioration of the economic situation concerned the economy of the Lithuanian state and not the Third Reich, which the article omitted to strengthen the propaganda message. The German state maintained the high industrial and commercial potential of the Klaipeda Region. According to the published data, after the loss of Klaipeda, Lithuanian imports fell by half and exports by 21.5%. Lithuania lost almost 27% of its industrial production potential. Due to the loss of the Klaipeda Region, Lithuania's budget losses were estimated between 367.9 million litas and 341.8 million litas (Liekis 2010: 105). It should be mentioned that the strategic importance of the Klaipeda Region for the economic security of the Republic of Lithuania resulted from the fact that the port of Klaipeda was, until its annexation by Germany, the leading port for the development of Lithuanian agricultural exports to the West (Lane, Pabriks, Purs, Smith 2013: 14).

"Gazeta Polska" referred to the situation of the Lithuanian population in the following words: "the wealthy families who have been settled near Klaipeda for centuries are going wandering with their bags. The others are constantly harassed and ruined by the commissioners whose task is to control the farms and make sure that milk, butter, etc., are delivered to the designated government headquarters. The persecution and expropriations have created a state of constant turmoil in the Klaipeda Region, suppressed by draconian repressions; the prisons are overcrowded, and hundreds of people are in concentration camps in East Prussia" (*Gazeta Polska w Brazylii*, No. 33: 4). Germany's annexation of the Klaipeda Region was widely reflected in the Polish press, both national and Polonia's. The message of the events formulated in "Gazeta Polska" unequivocally condemned the Nazi German policy towards Lithuania and other neighbouring countries and nations.

Summary and conclusions

The content of the articles published in “Gazeta Polska” remains an interesting source for today’s historians studying the fate of the Brazilian Polonia on the eve of the outbreak of World War II. They are crucial insofar as they inform about matters important not only for Poles’ situation in Brazil but also to the Polish community’s interest in the security of the Polish state in July and August 1939. Authors of the articles referred to the need to ensure communication between the Polish community in Brazil and Poland by reporting on international events, mainly due to the Third Reich’s anti-Polish activities. It was found that in at least some places, the information published by “Gazeta Polska” differed from the then state of affairs (for example, on demographic changes in Germany), and the coverage used means characteristic of press propaganda. Other reports, using cooperation with the Polish Telegraphic Agency and other channels for obtaining information, included facts and data that are valuable for today’s historians.

Based on the arguments presented in the article, several summary conclusions can be formulated. These include the following statements:

1. Before the outbreak of World War II, “Gazeta Polska w Brazylii” was an essential opinion-forming source for the Polish community in Brazil. The published content corresponded to Polonia members’ interests in Brazil’s internal affairs and matters affecting the Second Polish Republic’s security. “Gazeta Polska” maintained a favourable attitude towards the Brazilian government, refraining from any negative assessment of the Brazilian nationalisation campaign.
2. Criticism of Hitler and the Third Reich was a regular feature of the press releases published by “Gazeta Polska”. The Polish community in Brazil was informed about the examples of German militarism and revisionism in Europe and the Polish state’s preparedness to counter possible similar manifestations against it. Anti-German overtones dominated messages published in “Gazeta Polska” in July and August 1939.
3. The Free City of Danzig, which was under intense pressure from German militarism and German influence, occupied a special place in the published accounts. The case of Gdansk was presented in the context of the repression of Polish citizens and Germany’s violation of the international status of the Free City of Danzig. The paper reported on the threat to the Second Republic of Poland’s interests in Gdańsk resulting from German actions.
4. “Gazeta Polska” of July and August 1939 issued articles that used means characteristic of press propaganda. That was propaganda of an anti-German character, whose role was to discredit the Third Reich’s actions and show the Brazilian Polonia the misery of all nations in areas conquered by Germany and dependent on German policy.

In the article, the author consciously refrained from presenting the activities of the Polish government concerning the Brazilian Polonia and the political and diplomatic relations between Poland and Brazil on the eve of World War II. However, it is important to be aware that these activities and relations were comprehensive and significant for the functioning of Polish organizations within the Brazilian diaspora. For instance, it is worth mentioning Poland's plans to establish a Polish colony in Brazil, as well as the concerns of Brazilian authorities about Poland's potential rapprochement to aggressive countries after the annexation of Zaolzie in 1938. J. Mazurek (2020b: 204) noted that colonisation and settlement activities among Polish emigrants in the state of Parana aroused the discontent of the Brazilian authorities during the 'Brazilianisation' campaign of national and ethnic minorities. This was accompanied by a changing mood in Brazilian society and political changes towards fascist solutions, although the authorities fought Nazi party supporters among German immigrants to Brazil (McCann 1969: 15–34). These issues, however, were not comprehensively analyzed, let alone criticized, in the articles of "Gazeta Polska". This can be justified by a pragmatic approach associated with an attempt to survive under government press censorship and the intensification of nationalization action. Despite these limitations, "Gazeta Polska" remained the leading magazine from which Polish settlers obtained information about current events in Brazil and Poland, and to a limited extent, about the international situation on the eve of World War II.

The complexity of the analyzed phenomena might have caused the editorial board of "Gazeta Polska w Brazylii" to be unaware of many nuances, which prevented the publication of certain information and topics. For example, the way in which Poland's Telegraphic Agency (PAT) handled information about Brazil raised significant concerns during that time, as mentioned in academic literature (Rudziński 1969: 563). This made it difficult to obtain reliable information and pass it on to "Gazeta Polska". Some information was not published to avoid facing retaliatory action during the nationalization action under President Getúlio Vargas's dictatorship. Furthermore, the access of "Gazeta Polska" to Brazilian sources appeared to be severely restricted, which also had an impact on the nature and quality of articles published in the newspaper.

Finally, it should be noted that during this time, "Gazeta Polska" was not only used as a source of information but also played an important non-informational role in serving the Polish community. It helped maintain a sense of Polish identity among the local Polonia and strengthened integration around significant issues in their daily activities. Unlike other newspapers of the Brazilian Polish community still coming out in 1939, such as the clerical and conservative "Przewodnik Katolicki" or "Lud", "Gazeta Polska" remained a periodical that popularised centrist and moderate views (Mazurek 2006: 76). It could have expanded the readership circle and facilitates contemporary historians' understanding of why "Gazeta Polska" endured as the leading newspaper of the Polish-Brazilian community for such a long time.

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