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Chapter 3

Poland and Brazil

Latin America has never been a prominent area in Polish foreign policy, but looking at the individual countries in the region, Brazil traditionally has been one of Poland's main partners. Economic cooperation and a large number of Brazilians with Polish origin (more than 2 million as per very rough and disputed estimates) have been main factors for both countries' mutual interest. Nevertheless, the intensity and scope of Polish–Brazilian relations have been limited even though both sides repeatedly have been raising claims over unleashed potential in bilateral contacts.¹

While commercial links have been gradually expanding at least in the last two decades, both countries never went beyond being marginal trade and investment partners to each other. Unlike the commercial dimension, other areas of cooperation have not gained similar prominence. However, there were examples – especially in the last decade – of a greater interest in academic cooperation – built upon longstanding university contacts – as well as in defence, cultural and science areas.

The geographic distance can only partially explain why Poland and Brazil have not become major partners for each other and why they have been developing cooperation at such a low pace. The main factors would rather be: limited or none mutual knowledge, the divergence of interests and hence few incentives for governments of both countries to seek for a more substantial relationship. Jair Bolsonaro's takeover as Brazil's President in January 2019 has raised some elevated interest on both sides to enhance bilateral cooperation. The basis for that has been a mutual perception of ideological and political affinities, for example,

¹ K Brudzińska and B Znojek, 'Poland and Brazil: Narrowing the Distance, Exploring Mutual Potential', *PISM Policy Paper*, no 46 (2012); B Znojek, 'Stosunki Polska–Brazylia. Stan i perspektywy', in *Polska w wielobiegunowym świecie. Szanse i perspektywy rozwoju stosunków Polski z głównymi mocarstwami wschodzącymi*, ed. by A Gradziuk and P Kugiel (Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych, 2012), 9–14.

the view of the role of nations, international order and priority character of relations with the U.S.

This article includes references to a longer historical perspective, but it pays main attention to the period after the Polish accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004 which has brought new instruments and opportunities in relations with Brazil.

3.1 Political and diplomatic cooperation

Poland and Brazil officially established diplomatic relations on 27 May 1920 when Earl Ksawery Orłowski presented credential letters to the then President Epitacio Pessoa. The first representative of Brazil to Poland was Rinaldo de Lima e Silva, who officially started his mission on 3 June 1921. For Poland, these events were an important part of the process to rebuild its own statehood following 123 years of inexistence on the world maps, after neighbouring powers Austria, Prussia and Russia had finalised the partition of the Polish territory.

Brazil was one of the most vocal supporters of Poland's independence at the beginning of the 19th century. The key figure was a Brazilian statesman and intellectual Rui Barbosa, who made several calls during the Hague international conference in 1907 for a free and independent Poland. Once World War I ended in 1918, Brazil was one of the first countries to recognise the sovereignty of Poland.² By that date, tens of thousands of Poles – mostly poor peasants, escaping misery and looking for a decent life – had found their home in Brazil, whose authorities successfully attracted thousands of migrants from various European countries.

The official start of the Polish settlement wave to Brazil goes back to 1869 when the first group came to Brusque (Santa Catarina) at the initiative of a Polish-born local leader Edmund Woś-Saporski.³ The peak came during 1890–1914 with more than 100,000 arrivals. It is estimated, that in the period between World War

² J Mazurek, *Brasil e a Polónia – 90 anos das relações diplomáticas*, trans. by J Szeptycki, Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Brazil, 2009; J Mazurek, 'O Brasil e a independência da Polónia em 1918', *Revista del CESLA*, no 20 (2017), 157–164. On 17 August 1918, Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs Nilo Peçanha sent a note to Paulo Claudel, French envoy in Rio de Janeiro to confirm that Brazil "considers that creating a unified and independent Poland is one of the conditions of the peace". Official recognition came on 19 April 1919.

³ M Kula, *Polono-Brazylijczycy i parę kwestii im bliskich* (Warszawa: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego, Instytut Studiów Iberyjskich i Iberoamerykańskich UW, 2012); T Pindel, *Za*

I and II, 40,000 Poles arrived in Brazil. The last substantial immigration flow came during World War II and years after it ended, with around 20,000–30,000 immigrants – the group included displaced individuals mainly.⁴

At present, the descendants of the Polish immigrants are Brazilians in 3rd and 4th generation fully integrated with the Brazilian society. Their number is often placed at 1 per cent of the overall population, hence about 2 million as per rough calculation. They are mainly present in the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná – its capital, Curitiba, used to be called the capital of the Brazilian–Polish community.⁵ In contrast, the Brazilian diaspora in Poland in 2017 was estimated at 1,500 people, the largest such group in Central and Eastern Europe – including also Russia.⁶

After World War II, Brazil recognised the Communist Government in Poland, but the bilateral political dialogue during further decades was marked by various difficulties and general distrust. While there was a boost in bilateral agreements at the beginning of 1960, the military coup in Brazil in 1964 negatively affected the cooperation. Independently, commercial contacts have gradually developed especially after 1975,⁷ but one of the side-effects was a long-overdue debt Poland had with Brazil.

The debt issue known as the *polonetas* scandal had its roots in the years 1977–1980 when Brazil conceded an export credit line to Poland to boost its trade. The sum due to be paid was rising and Poland turned not to be able to start paying the debt until 1992. That year, the new democratic government struck a deal with Brazil (and other creditors from the Paris Club of the lenders) on

horyzont: Polaków latynoamerykańskie przygody (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy Znak, 2018).

⁴ J Mazurek (ed.), *Brazylia i Polska – daleko acz blisko. W 80. Rocznice nawiązania stosunków dyplomatycznych*. Informator do wystawy (Warsaw: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego, 2001); K Smolana, 'Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe w Brazylii', *Cenne, Bezcenne, Utracone* 84, no 3–85, no 4 (2015), 79–80.

⁵ Z Malczewski, 'Os poloneses e seus descendentes no Brasil: esboço histórico e situação atual da colônia polonesa no Brasil'. *Polonicus*, January 20, 2016; M Kawka, 'A presença polonesa no Brasil', in *Relações entre Polônia e Brasil. Passado e presente*, ed. by A Dembiczy and M Kula, trans. by A Gonçalves (Warsaw: Centro de Estudos Latino-Americanos Universidade de Varsóvia, 1996), 39–52; Kula, *Polono–Brazylijczycy*.

⁶ A Leoni, *Relatório de gestão*, 2018, 6.

⁷ D Ostrowska, 'Relações políticas polono–brasileiras', in *Relações entre Polônia e Brasil. Passado e presente*, ed. by A Dembiczy and M Kula, trans. by A Gonçalves (Warsaw: Centro de Estudos Latino-Americanos Universidade de Varsóvia, 1996), 53–62.

a 50 per cent reduction of the existing liabilities. The repayments, however, were gradual and in small instalments. In 2001, Poland returned 300 million USD out of 3.8 billion USD due and Brazil authorities started to consider to sell the debt because of budgetary needs.⁸ In October 2001, the Brazilian Central Bank and the Polish Ministry of Finance agreed for a one-time payment of 2,458 billion to close the case (the date to pay the whole amount was due in 2009).⁹ Even though Poland had paid the debt, the *polonetas* case had a lasting negative impact on the Brazilian business perception and trust towards the country.

Referring to Poland's foreign policy since the beginning of the transition to democracy, subsequent Polish governments agreed that joining NATO and the EU was a priority for Poland. After gaining membership to both blocs (on 12 March 1999 and 1 May 2004, respectively) Polish decision-makers focused on intensifying cooperation with main transatlantic and other European partners (non-EU neighbours included) and not necessarily looking at less-explored countries and regions. Nevertheless, the membership in the EU has provided Poland with new conditions and platform to develop relations with various international partners.

In case of Latin America, the summits the EU held with the region and separately with Brazil (since 2007) allowed for regular high-level contacts, but in case of Poland and Brazil, they have not translated into a greater mutual interest. The EU–Mercosur trade talks, which would potentially create a preferential trade framework between both countries, were not free of divergent views. Poland belongs to a group of EU members, which has long raised concerns over potentially negative consequences to their agricultural sectors from opening the EU market to Mercosur agri-food products. It, however, did not oppose the finalisation of negotiations on the trade deal in June 2019.

Polish governments, however, never aspired to build the status of a preferred partner for Brazil in Europe. Likewise, Brazilian governments have never seen Poland as an individual important partner inside the EU, as they used to do in case of the biggest members of the bloc such as France, Germany or Italy. The approach of the Bolsonaro Government stays in contrast to the hitherto approach as it singled out Poland as an important partner in Europe. Nevertheless,

⁸ Agência do Estado, 'Governo quer vender créditos das "polonetas"', *Estadão*, October 1, 2001.

⁹ Reuters, 'Polônia acerta pagamento de US\$ 2,458 bi de polonetas ao Brasil', *Folha de S. Paulo*, October 29, 2001.

it remains unclear yet how much that interest would be exploited by both sides to enhance bilateral cooperation.

One could argue that it was only with the 2008 financial crisis that Polish decision-makers became eventually aware of the need to look beyond traditional economic partners and to support Polish business in engaging in less explored markets. In Latin America, Brazil became the first choice.¹⁰ Nevertheless, such priority treatment would not last long mainly because of the disappointing experience of Polish companies, which had struggled with the non-tariff barriers on the Brazilian market. Last years have seen interest shifting towards Mexico and the Pacific Alliance especially for the incumbent Polish government, which has been in power since November 2015 and won another 4-year term in October 2019.

3.1.1 Diplomatic presence

Brazil used to be a country with the largest Polish diplomatic representation in Latin America but there have been reductions in the network for more than a decade. Apart from the embassy, there used to be three general consulates in Curitiba, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The government decided to close the last two in 2008 and 2013, respectively, as part of the austerity measures. At the same time, honorary consulates became the preferred option.¹¹ In 2019, there were four such representations in Belo Horizonte, Fortaleza, Manaus and São Paulo. In November 2010, a Defence Attaché was accredited in Brazil, first such Polish representative in Latin America.¹² However, Brazil's Military Attaché delegation has been present in Warsaw much earlier, since 1999.¹³

With regards to trade promotion, until early 2017, the main Polish governmental body responsible for that activity in Brazil was the Office for Trade and Investment Promotion (WPHI) in São Paulo. In Latin America, there was only one such additional entity in Argentina. WPHI was equipped with diplomatic status and managed by the ministry responsible for economy. In 2016,

¹⁰ Brudzińska and Znojek, 'Poland and Brazil'.

¹¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland, *Wyzwania dla polityki zagranicznej RP wobec Ameryki Łacińskiej i Karaibów (2015–2020 i po 2020 roku)* (Warsaw, 2015).

¹² Brudzińska and Znojek, 'Poland and Brazil', 6.

¹³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, 'Republic of Poland', 2018.

the Polish Government introduced a major reform of commercial promotion system. Changes consisted mainly of replacing the WPHI network with Foreign Trade Offices (ZBH in Polish), which could not have diplomatic status. WPHI in São Paulo has been closed since 2017, but the attempts to establish a ZBH instead started at the beginning of 2019 only. Till the end of that year, registration has not been concluded yet (reportedly because of procedural complexity). So far four ZBHs have been established in Latin America: the first one in Mexico in 2017, and the others in Buenos Aires, Bogota, Lima and Santiago de Chile.

Table 1: List of missions of the Republic of Poland in Brazil in 2020

Embassy/consulate	Representative office	Ambassador/Consul
Embassy of the Republic of Poland	Brasília	Jakub Skiba
Consulate General of the Republic of Poland	Curitiba	Marta Olkowska
Honorary Consulate	Porto Alegre	Sérgio José Sechinski
Honorary Consulate	Manaus	José de Moura Teixeira Lopes
Honorary Consulate	Belo Horizonte	Sérgio Pitchon
Honorary Consulate	Fortaleza	Hanna Zborowska Neves
Honorary Consulate	São Paulo	Andrés Bukowski

Source: Compiled by the author based on the data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland.

3.1.2 Diplomatic and official contacts

The Polish–Brazilian diplomatic relations have been marked by a low number of high-level official meetings, most of them at the occasion of multilateral summits, for example in the UN or the EU. In almost three decades, there were few official visits of the top representatives of both sides.¹⁴ In 1995, President Lech Wałęsa visited Brazil as Poland’s first head of state in the history of bilateral relations. In 2002, Fernando Henrique Cardoso came to Poland – the only such visit of a Brazilian head of state to date.¹⁵ The same year, President Aleksander

¹⁴ Znojek, ‘Stosunki Polska–Brazylia’.

¹⁵ Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, already as Brazil’s ex-president, visited Poland only in 2011 to receive the Lech Wałęsa Freedom Award in recognition to Brazil former head of state’s efforts in tackling inequality.

Kwaśniewski travelled to Brazil – the last visit of a Polish head of state to that country. The next high-profile meeting took place on 16–17 September 2015 only, when the then Vice President Michel Temer visited Poland. The delegation included ministers responsible for mining and energy, defence, industry and trade, development, fisheries and agriculture, and tourism, as well as the secretaries on ports and civil aviation.

Since 1990, there were various official visits and meetings of the Polish prime minister¹⁶ and ministers with Brazilian government representatives. Worth mentioning is the 1991 visit of the first Polish democratic Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to several Latin American countries including Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and Brazil.¹⁷ In August 2003, Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz was the next Polish foreign minister to travel to Brazil. He met his counterpart – Celso Amorim – and asserted the positive impact of Poland's accession to the EU on the bilateral Polish–Brazilian relations.¹⁸ Almost a decade had passed until Radosław Sikorski (Foreign Minister during 2007–2014) visited Brazil and met with his counterpart Antonio Patriota. In a speech at the University of São Paulo on 28 November 2012, Sikorski singled out energy and science, as potential areas of cooperation and called for closer cooperation of the EU with Brazil. He also supported the conclusion of the EU–Mercosur negotiations, but on condition that the bloc's countries would open up their markets.¹⁹ In January 2019, Minister Jacek Czaputowicz represented the Polish Government at the presidential inauguration of Jair Bolsonaro. In March, Minister Krzysztof Szczerski, the chief of the Polish President's Chancellery visited Brazil. He met representatives of business and the Polish diaspora in São Paulo. Then, in Brasília, he met various representatives of the Brazilian authorities, including

¹⁶ In Poland, the president is the highest representative of the country, but it is the prime minister who leads the government. As per the Polish Constitution from 1997, the Council of Ministers conducts foreign and domestic policies.

¹⁷ R Kuźniar (ed.), *Krzysztof Skubiszewski – dyplomata i mąż stanu* (Warszawa: Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych, 2011), 588; K Szczepanik, A Herman-Lukasik and B Janicka (eds), *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polski. Informator. Tom II „Ameryka Północna i Południowa 1918–2007”* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych – Archiwum, 2018).

¹⁸ M Senne de Moraes, 'Cimoszewicz minimiza polêmica com Lula em julho'. *Folha de S. Paulo*, August 19, 2003.

¹⁹ R Sikorski, 'Wystąpienie Ministra Radosława Sikorskiego nt. relacji UE–Brazylia, Uniwersytet São Paulo', November 28, 2012.

Foreign Minister Ernesto Araújo and President Bolsonaro's Chief Foreign Affairs Advisor Filipe Martins.

Concerning the official visits of the representatives of the Brazilian Government worth mentioning is the visit of Foreign Minister Celso Amorim to Warsaw in 2010 with such topics discussed as trade and military cooperation. In December of the same year, both countries signed a framework agreement on bilateral defence cooperation. It was the fourth such agreement of Poland with a non-European country after China, Vietnam and India. The document aimed at facilitating common army exercises, military education exchanges and cooperation of the defence industries.²⁰ Minister Araújo visited Poland twice in his first 5 months in office. In February 2019, he participated in a Middle East Conference in Warsaw and was the only high-level government representative from Latin America. In May, he paid a working visit to Poland to explore potential areas of enhanced cooperation.

Inter-governmental political consultations at the level of vice-ministers of foreign affairs have served as the main mechanism for regular Polish–Brazilian official contacts. The format, which is also used in Poland relations with other Latin American countries, aimed at assessing the state of bilateral relations, identify the issues of common interest and define the basic directions for further cooperation. There have been various such meetings between Poland and Brazil to date. The first was held in February 1993 in Warsaw. In May 2018, the delegation headed by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Marek Magierowski visited Brazil. He participated at an event organised by the Industry Federation of the State of São Paulo (FIESP) and inaugurated an honorary consulate in the same city. The next consultations took place in Warsaw in August 2019 on the state of relations and preparations to the 100th anniversary of bilateral diplomatic relations. Brazil's delegation was headed by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Kenneth Haczynski da Nóbrega.

Diplomatic exchanges are complemented by a parliamentary dimension. In Poland, traditionally the Senate – the higher chamber of the Parliament – has been responsible for looking after Polish communities abroad and Brazil, with a large Polish diaspora, naturally has been attracting attention. Bilateral groups set up by the members of parliament are another way of fostering relations with other countries. The Polish–Brazilian group at the previous parliamentary term

²⁰ Ministry of Defence of Poland, 'Minister Obrony Brazylii z wizytą w Polsce', December 2, 2010.

(2015–2019) had 19 members from both chambers. In the current legislature, inaugurated in November 2019, the group has 12 members and was established a year later only. An equivalent body also exists in the Brazilian Congress.

Cooperation at local authorities' level remains an interesting but less explored dimension of bilateral contacts. In the case of Brazil, partners from areas with a large presence of Polish descendants naturally have been the main linking point. Since the 1990s, there were various examples of cooperation, which did not necessarily remain active for long. First of all, there were city partnerships, for example, Kraków and Curitiba (1993), Warsaw and Rio de Janeiro (1997), Ostrołęka and Cafelândia (1999). One of the well-established cooperation has encompassed the Poznań District (*Powiat* in Polish) and the city of São José dos Pinhais, both continuously collaborating since 2003, for example in cultural and sports exchanges. At present, the Dolny Śląsk and Wielkopolska regions are the most active authorities of that level in cooperation with non-European local authorities. Both signed agreements with the state of Paraná (in 2006 and 2010 respectively). The latter region struck a deal with São Paulo in 2012 following several commercial missions sent to the city in previous years;²¹ however, cooperation has become inactive.

Nevertheless, state governors in Brazil have been important contacts especially in seeking business opportunities. In 2010, Goiás Governor Alcides Rodriguez visited Poland and participated at a business promotion forum, as well as he met the representatives of the Wielkopolska region.²² During his visit to Brazil in 2012, Minister Sikorski met with the Rio de Janeiro Governor Sergio Cabral and São Paulo Vice-Governor Guilherme Afif Domingos. In July 2015, a trade mission from Goiás state headed by Vice-Governor Jose Eliton de Figueredo came to Warsaw with representatives of more than 20 firms.

The last interesting framework of cooperation between Poland with Brazil to be mentioned has to do with some efforts to institutionalise cooperation between the Visegrád Group (V4) and Brazil. In 2013, Slovakia hosted a V4–Brazil meeting in Bratislava on defence matters with the presence of Celso Amorim, the then Brazilian Minister of Defence.²³ In October 2015, political consultations

²¹ A Skorupska and B Znojek, 'The Local Government Dimension of Relations between Poland and Latin America', *Bulletin PISM*, no 91 (October 2, 2017).

²² Polish Investment and Trade Agency, 'Visit of the Governor of the Brazilian state Goiás and a seminar devoted to the Polish–Brazilian co-operation', February 17, 2010.

²³ Ministry of Defence of Poland, 'Ministrowie obrony V4 w Bratysławie', October 29, 2013.

between those partners took place in Brazil, and in November 2017 Budapest hosted the second meeting in this format.²⁴

3.2 Economic relations

The last three decades of Polish–Brazilian commercial relations have been marked by a quite steady increase in trade (tough with some fluctuations) and relatively slow progress in investment engagement. Poland’s entry to the EU in 2004 did not work as a noticeable boost in Polish trade with Brazil. One of the reasons could be that there was no preferential agreement in place because EU–Mercosur trade negotiations have not been concluded. Notably, even the existing EU free trade deals with Mexico and Chile were not enough incentive for Polish business to look at Latin America with a greater interest. The vast majority of firms preferred to engage in nearby European markets instead of risking on less known and remote destinations. The sign of that was the fact that since 2000, Polish trade with the EU markets has been reaching around 70 per cent (80 per cent in case of exports).

3.2.1 Trade

Poland – Latin America trade has oscillated between 1 per cent and 1.25 per cent since 2000.²⁵ Brazil as Poland’s top partner in the region had between 0.3 per cent and 0.4 per cent share in Polish total trade since 2002. The value of Polish–Brazilian trade raised from almost 363 million USD in 2000 to more than 1.9 billion USD in 2019. The top value of 2.3 billion USD was recorded in 2018. At the same time, there has been a deepening trade deficit on Poland’s side with –215.9 million in 2000 and –1.1 billion USD in 2018. In 2000, Poland exported

²⁴ ‘Defesa vai ampliar cooperação com países europeus’, October 31, 2013; ‘V4–Brazil meeting in Budapest’, November 21, 2017; P Kugiel, (ed.), *V4 Goes Global: Exploring Opportunities and Obstacles in the Visegrad Countries’ Cooperation with Brazil, India, China and South Africa* (Warsaw: Polish Institute of International Affairs, 2016).

²⁵ The source for trade data was the UN Comtrade Database, unless other reference is stated. One needs to be aware that statistics on merchandise may vary depending on the source. Some products go through intermediaries for example in the Netherlands or Germany and are not necessarily included in Polish–Brazilian trade data.

goods worth 73.5 million USD to Brazil. In 2019, it was almost 435 million USD. In the same period, the value of the Polish import from Brazil totalled 289.4 million USD and 1.5 billion USD, respectively. Interestingly in the last few years, Mexico surpassed Brazil as the main Latin American market for Polish products, which may be explained by the relatively easier access to the Mexican market than to the Brazilian one.²⁶ During 2004–2019, Brazil was at best the 31st trade market globally for Poland.

In 2000, metal products were the top Polish export group to Brazil with a 34 per cent share (railway tracks made the most of it). Chemical products – chiefly fertilisers – made 25 per cent, and mineral products 11 per cent (coal and sulphur). In 2019, the most important goods in Polish exports to the Brazilian market were: electrical machines and equipment (28 per cent), automotive parts (11 per cent) as well as medicines and rubber products (nearly 9 per cent).

Embraer aircrafts has long been a top position in the Polish import from Brazil. In 2000, they accounted for 44 per cent of the value of goods bought by Poland. Other significant positions were iron ore (13 per cent), followed by orange juice (9 per cent) and tobacco (5 per cent). In 2019, copper ore (19 per cent), soybean oil cakes (14 per cent), aircrafts (13 per cent), tobacco (11 per cent) and car parts (9 per cent).

Some products could be sold to Brazil only after a long certification process, which required to host and pay for inspections by Brazilian health authorities. For example, since 2011 Poland has strived to obtain homologation for the dairy products and has accomplished it only in the second half of 2014 (it was the first EU country with such a certificate). During September and October 2018, Brazilian inspectors from the Agricultural Ministry visited Poland to check milk and meat producers and potentially broaden the list of entities allowed to export to Brazil. Another product subject to the procedure was apples. Poland presented an official request to Brazilian authorities in October 2014 to get certification for the fruits, but the case has not been resolved for the next years.²⁷

²⁶ Ministry of Entrepreneurship and Technology of Poland, 'Notatka informacyjna n/t polsko–brazylijskich stosunków gospodarczych', April 30, 2019.

²⁷ Ministry of Entrepreneurship and Technology of Poland, 'Notatka informacyjna o polsko–brazylijskich stosunkach gospodarczych', November 4, 2016.

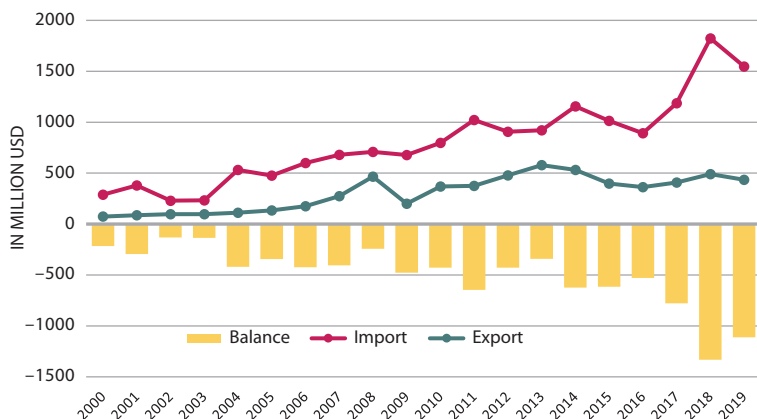


Figure 1: Polish trade in goods with Brazil 2000–2018 (in million USD)

Source: UN Comtrade Database, s. a.

Poland is the main Central and Eastern European market for Brazil's products, but its share in the total Brazilian trade is very low. Embraer planes have long had been a strong position in Polish–Brazilian trade. In 2000 they made 44 per cent of the Polish import from Brazil (in 2018 planes, in general, had 20 per cent share). Orange juice, tobacco, soy-processing residues were also included as top imported goods. In 2018, top products imported by Poland – apart from planes – included copper and iron ores, vehicles, residuals from soybean processing, tobacco, as well as such food products as coffee, fruit juices and tropical fruits.

As of May 2019, Embraer fleet used by the Polish national airline LOT included the following models: 170 (6 units), 175 (12), 190 (4), 195 (12). During 1999–2002 Embraer ERJ-145 was introduced and 14 machines in total served until 2011. In March 2004, E170 joined the LOT fleet,²⁸ in 2005 the airline decided to buy further units, model 175. Six of them were used and have been leased in April 2018.²⁹

²⁸ 'LOT: Nowy Embraer już dziś w Polsce', September 2, 2009.

²⁹ 'LOT: Pierwszy z sześciu zamówionych Embraerów już obsługuje połączenia', April 16, 2018.

3.2.2 Foreign direct investments

Poland has been a destination for very few Latin American direct investments. The only major one from Brazil has long referred to the IT company Stefanini, which entered the Polish market (and others) in 2010 with the acquisition of Tech Team Global. In 2020, a gaming industry consultancy company Gameplan was the second Brazilian firm to enter the Polish market. According to the Brazil National Bank data, the capital inflow to Poland from Brazil in 2007 amounted to 2 million USD. In 2018, it was five times more, but with a peak of 14 million USD in 2015. In case of the number of direct investors, in 2007 only seven were registered. They were 35 in 2018, but again the peak was in 2015 with 51 investors.³⁰

In comparison, Polish investment presence in Brazil, although not yet significant, it has become much more visible than the Brazilian one in Poland, especially since the beginning of the current decade. As per Brazilian data in 2010, 7 companies with Polish capital were registered in Brazil. In 2015 it was 16 firms in total.³¹

According to the data by the National Bank of Poland (NBP), Polish FDI stock in Brazil amounted to 0.1 million USD in 1999–2001 and 0.2 million USD in 2004. After a peak in 2012 (50.8 million USD) the stock decreased more than twofold. It significantly recovered in 2017 to 45.5 million USD and in 2019 it totalled a record value of 52.6 million USD. The share of the Polish FDI stock in Brazil compared to Poland's total FDI stock has been very slowly increasing, but still, it was a fraction. It was below 0.1 per cent until 2013, and then it had 0.21 per cent in 2019 as the highest share to date.³²

When it comes to the Polish companies engaged in Brazil, in 1998 Selenia – chemical and construction material producer – entered that market and has been operating a factory of polyurethane foam in Ponta Grossa (Paraná). Komandor, a furniture manufacturer, has been there since 2000; however, the Brazilian unit was established by Komandor's Canadian subsidiary with Brazilian partners and was not treated as Polish investment in Brazil's official statistics.

³⁰ Banco Central do Brasil, 'CBE – Capitais brasileiros no exterior', 2018.

³¹ Banco Central do Brasil, 'Censo de capitais estrangeiros no País', 2017.

³² National Bank of Poland, 'Inwestycje bezpośrednie – polskie', 2019.

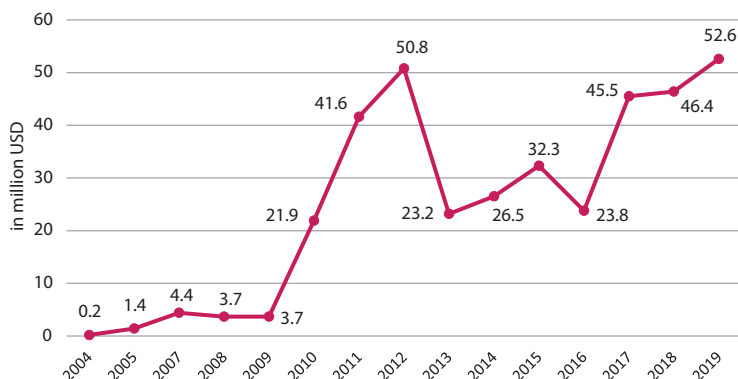


Figure 2: Polish foreign direct investment stock in Brazil 2004–2019 (in million USD)

Source: National Bank of Poland, 'Inwestycje bezpośrednie – polskie', s. a.

A vehicle part producer Boryszew has been present in Brazil through the Mafrow brand since 2010 and has been supplying Brazilian and Argentine car factories. Since 2011 eSky, online air travel search and booking services provider has been operating in Brazil under the name of eDestinos. The same year Medcom, producer of energy-electronic equipment, for example, for public transport vehicles, opened its office in Brazil. It won a contract to modernise São Paulo metro trains. In 2012, LUG Light Factory, a manufacturer of LED systems, established a commercial office in São Paulo. However, difficulties it experienced in doing business in Brazil were behind a decision to engage more in Argentina, where they built a factory. In 2013, Polish capital-owned Quero Passagem – an online bus ticket-buying platform – was launched in Brazil.³³

In 2014, Polish synthetic rubber producer Synthos – an important exporter of the product to Brazil – announced plans to build a factory in Trunfo (Rio Grande do Sul), but in December of the same year, the company cancelled the plans. Delays and supplying issue were mentioned as the reason. Possibly, the anti-dumping procedure, which Brazil launched in May 2014 for the synthetic rubber from the EU had influenced the decision. In November 2015, the Foreign Trade Council (CAMEX) decided not to go ahead with the anti-dumping measures

³³ Ministry of Entrepreneurship and Technology of Poland, 'Notatka informacyjna', 2016.

in this case.³⁴ Synthos announced renewed interest in the investment in 2018. Bioton – a Polish biotechnology company – has defined Brazil as a strategic market. In 2014, it reached an agreement with the Brazilian biotech company Biom as exclusive holder of the right to register Bioton-produced human insulin in Brazil. The registration attempt failed and in 2019 Biom terminated the agreement forcing Bioton to look for alternative ways to commercialise its product on the Brazilian market.

In 2014, Comarch – one of the largest Polish IT companies – entered the Brazilian market as a provider of solutions chosen by a U.S. company, which won a telecom contract. Interestingly, since March 2015, Comarch has been collaborating with the Brazilian National Institute of Telecommunications (Inatel) providing Brazilian IT specialists with training and apprenticeship opportunities.

In 2016 Can-Pack, a Polish producer of metal packages started the construction of a can factory in Brazil and signed a deal with Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional (CSN) to purchase 100 per cent of CSN's subsidiary Companhia Metalic Nordeste in Fortaleza. It currently operates can factories in Maracanáu (Cearé) and Itumbiara (Goiás) – both officially opened in April 2018.³⁵

Another noteworthy investment is Eco Estrelas a luxury tourist resort project in Baía Formosa (Rio Grande do Norte) owned by Gremi, a Polish private equity company controlled by Grzegorz Hajdarowicz (also a Brazil's honorary consul in Poland). They bought the land back in 2009, and the resort project is due to be finalised in 2021. The direct investor is an entity registered in Luxemburg, so it is not necessarily treated as a Polish investment.

3.2.3 Commercial cooperation promotion

The importance of the economic area in Polish–Brazilian relations has been translating into various initiatives aimed at fostering mutual business community interest. Trade missions, business forums, “doing-business-in” seminars became quite common means in this regard.

The last few years have shown a growing interest of Polish governments in organising economic missions along with official governmental visits. For example,

³⁴ Ministry of Entrepreneurship and Technology of Poland, ‘Notatka informacyjna’, 2019.

³⁵ Can-Pack, ‘Announcement’, August 24, 2016; Can-Pack, ‘Grand opening of new factories in Brazil’, April 30, 2018.

in 2012 Minister Sikorski came to Brazil with representatives of about 50 companies from transport, infrastructure, chemical, energy, offshore and consumer product sectors. Another format were bilateral business forums, like the one organised in Poland during Vice President Temer's visit in 2015.

It is worth highlighting that various non-state agents have been supporting Polish–Brazilian business contacts. Such entities operated already in the 1930s, what reflected the Polish immigration activity in Brazil, for example, the Polish–Brazilian Chamber of Commerce established in 1934. In the 1990s such bodies appeared in both countries. The Polish–Brazilian Chamber of Commerce in Poland was one of them, but it became inactive more than a decade ago. For the last few years, the Polish–Portuguese Chamber of Commerce has taken a lead in promoting the Brazilian market as part of a broadened activity towards Portuguese-speaking markets. It has coordinated regular trade missions to Brazil twice a year (the last one to São Paulo in October 2019) and business events like a seminar on Brazilian market co-organised with the Embassy of Brazil in July 2018 in Warsaw. The Polish Chamber of Commerce (KIG) is another entity, which organised initiatives related to the Brazil, but rather as part of a broad promotional activity towards various markets, not only in Latin America.

The last decade has also seen specific initiatives carried out by governments and non-governmental bodies which brought, however, mixed results. With the rise of interest in business engagement abroad at the beginning of the 2010s, Brazil has been naturally seen as the priority Latin American market for Poland. The confirmation of that was a government programme launched in 2012 and aimed at boosting interest in a few prospective emerging markets. Brazil was selected as one of five such destinations – next to Algeria, Canada, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan – eligible for governmental funding to the Polish companies interested in entering these markets. At the same time, a sectorial programme dedicated to financial support activity in 15 most prospective business branches indirectly facilitated engagement in Brazil. However, the difficulties some Polish firms have experienced when trying to enter that market (time, cost and bureaucratic barriers among others) apparently led to excluding Brazil from the 2017–2019 edition of the programme.³⁶

Missed expectations were also a case on Brazil's side. In January 2007, the Brazilian Government chose Warsaw to install a merchandise distribution centre

³⁶ In 2013, Mexico was added to the list of the most prospective markets for Poland, and after excluding Brazil it is currently the only Latin American economy in the programme, which can partly be explained by Poland's greater interest in cooperation with the Pacific Alliance bloc.

of Brazilian products for Central and Eastern Europe. The next year, the Polish Information and Foreign Investment Agency (PAIiZ) and Apex Brasil signed a cooperation agreement on commercial promotion. In September 2009, the Apex office replaced the Warsaw distribution centre, but not for long. In 2011, the Brazilian Government decided to close it and centralise actions in Europe from an office in Brussels. That would follow a conclusion that setting up a separate office in Poland was a premature decision, which did not bring the desired benefits.

Other initiatives to facilitate business contacts included also a dialogue on the favourable legal framework. One of the issues frequently raised by Polish business representatives was the lack of a double taxation avoidance agreement, seen by them as a significant barrier for investment in Brazil. In June 2013, the Polish Ministry of Finance submitted to Brazil a proposal on double taxation avoidance agreement. It took until July 2015 for the Brazilian Federal Tax Office to respond and accept the offer to negotiate the accord. Given Brazil's generally negative stance towards this kind of agreements, it was seen as an important achievement and exception in the case of Poland. The first round of talks concluded in August 2015, but there was no final arrangement during the next years.³⁷ As per the author's discussions with Brazilian diplomats, progress finally has been made under Bolsonaro's government and the document entered the parliament's agenda.

It is important to highlight the context of the EU–Mercosur trade talks, which were concluded in June 2019. The negotiations were not necessarily a major point of public interest and debate in Poland. The topic mainly gathered the attention of the agri-food sector – and the news media specialised in it – because they were concerned over the negative impact of the opening of the EU market for Mercosur producers. One of the main adverse effects expected will be the loss of competitiveness of the Polish beef and poultry exports to other EU markets when cheaper Mercosur meat is available there. The Polish governments continuously declared support for trade liberalisation between EU and Mercosur countries but shared the concerns of the Polish farmers. At the same time, they echoed expectations of the industrial sector to have better access to Argentina and the Brazil markets, in particular. Polish companies interested in the Mercosur markets are looking for the entry of the EU–Mercosur deal as a way to improve conditions for doing business.

³⁷ Ministry of Entrepreneurship and Technology of Poland, 'Notatka informacyjna', 2016.

3.3 Cultural, educational and scientific cooperation

3.3.1 Historical migration legacy and main personalities

The Polish–Brazilian relations have seen dozens of important personalities, in particular in the decades of the massive immigration to Brazil.³⁸ Here only some of them will be mentioned. It is valid to first mention Edmund Woś-Saporski, who is commonly called the father of the Polish immigration to Brazil because of his pioneer efforts in bringing the first settlers to that country in 1869.³⁹

Professor Julian Szymański, Marshall of the Senate 1928–1930 had its mark in bilateral relations as a founder of the Polish–Brazilian Society of Ruy Barbosa (based in Warsaw and active until today under a shorter name). Szymański was an ophthalmologist by profession and lived in Brazil during 1912–1921. He worked at the Federal University of Curitiba and authored the first manual for the students of ophthalmology. In 1918, he decided to return to Poland – his descendants live in Brazil.

It is symptomatic that there were influential Polish names in the art and culture of Brazil.⁴⁰ It was both about Poles who moved to Brazil (also temporarily) in some moment of their life and Brazilians with Polish roots. During World War II, several intellectuals found temporary shelter in Brazil, among them acclaimed Polish poets: Kazimierz Wierzyński and Julian Tuwim, who spent some time in Rio de Janeiro. Tuwim included impressions from his stay in Brazil in one of his most renowned poems: *Kwiaty polskie* [The Polish Flowers].

In 1941, drama actor and director, Zbigniew Ziembiński arrived in Brazil. He swiftly gained credits as a founder of contemporary theatre in Brazil, especially because of promoting plays written by Brazilian authors. In 1943 he directed *Wedding Dress* by Nelson Rodrigues, a drama play, which used to be quoted as a turning point in the Brazilian theatre history.⁴¹ Another example was Yanka Rudzka, a Polish dancer who had an impact on professional dance in Brazil.

³⁸ Kula, *Polono–Brazylijczycy*; Z Malczewski, *Polonii brazylijskiej obraz własny. Zapiski emigranta (2007–2010)* (Warsaw: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego, 2010).

³⁹ Kawka, 'A presença'; J Mazurek, 'Ziemia obiecana. Z dziejów osadnictwa polskiego w Brazylii', in *Brazylia i Polska – daleko, lecz blisko (w 80 rocznicę nawiązania stosunków dyplomatycznych)*, ed. by J Mazurek (Warsaw: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego, 2001), 41–57; Pindel, *Za horyzont*.

⁴⁰ A Pluta, 'Traces of Polish Culture in Brazil', trans. by A Aniskiewicz, 2016.

⁴¹ A Pluta, 'Zbigniew Ziembiński', trans. by A Micińska, 2015.

She moved to the country in the 1950s and settled in Salvador de Bahia where she founded an influential dance school.⁴²

Among Brazilians with Polish origin, Paulo Leminski is worth mentioning. He was a celebrated Brazilian poet, writer and songwriter for various artists of *Música Popular Brasileira* (MPB). In his art, he included various references to Poland.⁴³ Another example of a Polish descendant is Jaime Lerner, architect, urban planner and a three-time mayor of Curitiba. He is known for projects aimed at making the city more sustainable, amongst others, with improvements to public transportations.⁴⁴

In the area of visual arts, it is also worth mentioning Andrés Bukowski, known in Brazil as an acclaimed director of advertising films. He was born in Poland in 1940 and settled in Argentina with his parents a few years later. He was raised and started his career in that country, but in 1973 he moved to Brazil. Currently, he is Poland's Honorary Consul in São Paulo.

The selection of personalities important for Polish–Brazilian relations should not omit the main figures active in Polish–Brazilian communities in the last decades. One of the most praised is Father Zdzisław Malczewski from the Society of Christ. He has lived in Brazil since 1979 and gained a prominent role in the Polish–Brazilian diaspora as an author of books and editor of magazines dedicated to both countries and bilateral relations. Another important personality is Professor Henryk Siewierski, who came to Brazil in 1985. He later became the Head of the Department of Literature at the University of Brasília. Siewierski authored many books on Polish and Brazilian literature, as well as translated into Portuguese such Polish authors as Bruno Schulz and Andrzej Szczypiorski. It is also worth mentioning Tadeusz Łychowski, painter and poet who cooperated with Siewierski and authored various volumes of Polish–Portuguese poetry. He translated poems of such Polish authors as Julia Hartwig, Ewa Lipska, Ryszard Krynicki and Karol Wojtyła (future Pope John Paul II).⁴⁵

The history of Polish immigration to Brazil has had a lasting impact on the social dimension of Polish–Brazilian relations. It brought a robust cultural and social life, which included journals or educational institutions in the first decades of the 1990s. In the last decades, it has been one of the main bases for gradual

⁴² M Różalski, 'Yanka Rudzka', trans. by A Micińska, 2016.

⁴³ A Pluta, 'Paulo Leminski', trans. by B Nikolova, 2015.

⁴⁴ A Pluta, 'Jaime Lerner', trans. by Z Wiśniewska, 2015.

⁴⁵ 'Trzej Polacy z Brazylii z Nagrodą Literacką', November 8, 2016.

intensification of social contacts, but also general interest (mostly among Polish people towards Brazil), which fuelled various projects aimed at narrowing the mutual knowledge gap. In 2019, the Polish Parliament expanded the eligibility of the so-called Karta Polaka [Pole's Card] to all Polish descendants worldwide (before, it had been restricted to some countries only). The Card confirms that a foreigner belongs to the Polish nation, but it is not equivalent to citizenship and is aimed to facilitate travel to Poland and boost interest in the country. The document's holder has various rights in Poland, for example, no-fee visa, easier access to permanent residence or work permit.

3.3.2 Cultural dimension

The diplomatic and consular missions have mainly conducted Poland's official cultural promotion in Brazil.⁴⁶ They used to do it rather on a low scale through concerts, exhibitions or movie shows. Among cyclical events, it is worth mentioning the Festival of the Polish Cinema organised since 2009.⁴⁷ For example, the September 2019 edition was dedicated to Poland's 30 years of democracy.

The Polish Institute – the main external cultural promotion body established in more than 20 locations worldwide – is not present in Latin America. Nevertheless, Brazil has been the only Latin American country to date to be part of a long-term cultural promotion initiative with the “Brazil Project” held in 2016 and managed by the Adam Mickiewicz Institute (IAM) – the national institution responsible for cultural promotion and cooperation, which involved a series of various activities. The project included the presentation of a show *(A)pollonia* directed by Krzysztof Warlikowski during the International Theatre Presentation MITsp in São Paulo. The project *Yanka Rudzka: Zaczyn* could be seen on the dance festival Vivadança in Salvador de Bahia. São Paulo cinema CineSesc presented the work of two famous Polish movie directors: Honorary Oscar winner Andrzej Wajda (project *Wajda turns 90*) as well as of Krzysztof Kieślowski. Iza Tarasewicz presented her works on the São Paulo Art Biennial. In the Casa do Povo cultural centre, the installation *Refúgio Polonês* by architect Jakub Szczęsny

⁴⁶ Compared to the official activities realised by Polish diplomats in Brazil, the Embassy of Brazil in Warsaw has not been very active in this area (it used to patronage mostly events organised by other entities). The main reason was apparently reduced resources.

⁴⁷ ‘Mostra de Cinema Polonês – 100 anos da Reconquista da Independência da Polônia’, 2018.

was shown. Additionally, the Polish group Mitch & Mitch played concerts with Brazilian Orquestra Imperial.⁴⁸

Both in Poland and Brazil, there are various non-governmental organisations engaged in promoting bilateral contacts. The Polish–Brazilian Society established in 1929 is one of the oldest such organisations in Poland and has been focusing on commemorating the common history of both countries, events and personalities through conferences and exhibitions. It closely cooperated with the Museum of the Polish Popular Movement History in Warsaw which used to host and support exhibitions related to Polish immigration to Brazil. Another partner of the Polish–Brazilian Society has been the 50th Liceum of Rui Barbosa – the only secondary school in Poland with Portuguese in its curriculum. It is also worth mentioning the Macunaima Foundation, which has been actively promoting Brazilian culture in Poland. Their main contribution was the cyclical *Bom Dia Brasil* festival. Organised since the mid-2010s, the event had 17 editions – the last one in September 2021. Another organisation active in promoting Brazil is the Terra Brasilis Foundation, which, for example, organised events or whose members commented on topics related to Brazilian culture and the current situation in the country.

In Brazil, there were various organisations established mainly by the Polish-descendant communities. In 1989, Polbras was created and a year later Braspol was established, both aimed to unite various initiatives at the local level. Currently, only the latter of the two remains active.⁴⁹ Polish immigrants dominantly of peasant origin left their mark in terms of the importance of the cultivation of the Catholic religion and folklore in various local communities. For example, there are numerous Polish folklore dance groups in Brazil.⁵⁰

In 2011, the Casa da Cultura Polônia Brasil was established in Curitiba in cooperation with the Tadeusz Kościuszko Polish–Brazilian Society (the oldest such organisation devoted to bilateral relations which was created in 1889). In mid-2017, the first issue of the *Boletim Tak!* in Portuguese was published by Casa da Cultura.⁵¹ Important examples of periodical publications include especially *Projeções* replaced by *Polonicus* both edited by Father Malczewski.

⁴⁸ Adam Mickiewicz Institute, ‘Programmes: Brazil Project’, 2016.

⁴⁹ Braspol, ‘História’, 2018.

⁵⁰ Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Curitiba, ‘Grupy folklorystyczne i chóry’, 2018.

⁵¹ Casa da Cultura Polônia Brasil, ‘Quem somos’, s. a.

The magazines were built on active publishing tradition within Polish immigrants during the first decades of the 19th century.⁵²

In a broader context, the activity of Father Malczewski should be considered an integral part of the mission of the Polish Catholic Church present in Brazil. The first priests arrived in Brazil at the beginning of the largest Polish immigration wave, and various missionary orders established their presence in that country – first to come was the order of the Divine Word Missionaries at the end of the 19th century. The missionaries have played an important role not only in integrating Polish communities but also documenting their life. With generations of Polish descendants more assimilated in Brazilian society, Polish missions have been focusing more on working with Brazilian catholic communities.⁵³ Currently, Polish historians of Brazilian immigration such as Krzysztof Smolana have tried to work on preserving the immigration archives in Brazil.

There were two interesting initiatives aimed at the Brazilian–Polish community in Poland. The School of Leaders foundation led a programme dedicated to local community leaders from various Polish diasporas abroad. The initiative consisted of inviting a selected group of participants for a short stay in Poland to learn about the country, integrate and be incentivised to run their own initiatives in their local communities in home countries. The project for Brazilian leaders took place in 2010–2012 and 2014.⁵⁴ The other initiative was introduced in 2010 by the Wspólnota Polska society – a publicly-funded foundation focused on supporting Polish diasporas abroad – under the name *Czas na Polskę* [Time for Poland]. Several volunteers were sent to Latin America, including Brazil, to teach Polish language and publish reports from their travels online.⁵⁵

3.3.3 Academic dimension

Poland and Brazil have had decades of cooperation in higher education. The Centre for Latin American Studies (CESLA) created at the University of Warsaw in 1988 was one of the most active academic institutions in promoting cooperation

⁵² Z Malczewski, 'Apresentação', 2012.

⁵³ Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Curitiba, 'Polskie duchowieństwo', s. a.; Z Malczewski, *Missionários Poloneses*, 2001.

⁵⁴ Szkoła Liderów, 'Raport z działalności w 2014 roku', 2016, 21.

⁵⁵ 'Czas na Polskę: Wolontariusze wyruszają', December 12, 2011.

with Latin American partners. CESLA academics co-authored books on Polish–Brazilian relations (for example cultural seminars in 1989 or a book on various aspects of bilateral relations) and organised several events related to Brazil.⁵⁶

Brazilian students make the largest Latin American group at Polish universities, but their number is relatively small. For example, in 2004 there were 23 students from Brazil out of the 71-strong Latin American group. In 2019 it was 122 out of about 430.⁵⁷ Only since recently there has been some state-funded scholarship to study in Poland. Earlier it was rather a matter of the agreements between individual universities. In 2013, Brazil's National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) signed an agreement with the Polish Conference of the Deans for Academic Schools (KRASP) on participation in *Ciência sem Fronteiras* programme established by the Brazilian Government in 2011. As per Brazilian data during 2015–2016, Polish universities received 32 students from Brazil. Biology, biomedicine and health fields were majors for almost the entire group.⁵⁸ Greater interest in attracting Latin American students can be seen by Polish academic institutions in the last few years. For example, KRASP created a post of a plenipotentiary for developing academic cooperation with Latin America.

One of the interesting initiatives combining science and business fields were Polish–Brazilian Conferences on Science and Technology. It was a common effort of the University of Brasília and the Polish Aviation Institute based on an agreement signed in April 2015. The meetings aimed at fostering collaboration between scientists from the aerospace and energy sectors, industry and governmental agencies. Three editions have taken place to date.⁵⁹

In 2009, Polish language studies were launched at the Paraná Federal University in Curitiba – first such course in Latin America. In April 2011, the Polish Studies Unit named by Cyprian Kamil Norwid was inaugurated at the University of Brasília. It was aimed at fostering Brazilian–Polish cooperation in the area of human science and offered optional Polish language courses in the Institute of Literature's curriculum.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ In 2017, CESLA was closed and its structures included in the Centre of American Studies of the University of Warsaw.

⁵⁷ Central Statistical Office, *Szkolnictwo wyższe i jego finanse w 2019 r. (Informacje statystyczne)* (Warsaw–Gdańsk, 2020).

⁵⁸ Leoni, *Relatório*, 6.

⁵⁹ '3. Polsko–Brazylijska Konferencja Nauki i Technologii', 2017.

⁶⁰ Cátedra Cyprian Norwid de Estudos Poloneses, Universidade de Brasília, 'Objetivos', s. a.

The cooperation does not limit to universities. The earlier mentioned Liceum Barbosa has had close cooperation with Brazilian counterparts including frequent visits of the Brazilian ambassadors, hosting events organised by the Polish–Brazilian Society and participating in pupils’ exchanges with Brazil. There has been also the interest from Brazil regarding Polish achievements in junior education. For example, in May 2017 almost 50 directors from Brazilian private schools arrived in Warsaw for a study visit focusing on the high results of Polish pupils in PISA tests managed by the OECD.⁶¹

3.4 Tourism

Tourists from Brazil are among the most numerous Latin American visitants to Poland. They usually come to Poland as part of multi-country tours in Europe. Also, there are Brazilians, who come to Poland to find their ancestors’ homeland. As per World Tourism Organisation data, in 2017, 24,000 arrivals of Brazilians to Poland were registered, compared to more than half of that in 2012 and again in 2013. In 2017 it only made 0.04 per cent of inbound tourism to Poland.⁶² In 2018, the number stayed at 23,000, which accounted for 0.03 per cent of tourist visits to Poland.⁶³ These numbers may explain why Polish official statistics not always include Brazil compared to countries with the highest rate of arrivals to Poland. As per data from the Polish Central Statistical Office, there were 11,400 tourists from Brazil registered in Poland. In 2017 it was 5,800 Brazilian tourists (compared to 7,300 in 2016).⁶⁴ According to the Brazilian tourism data in 2005, 19,535 Polish tourists arrived in Brazil, while in 2018 it was 21,677. Numbers fluctuated between these years with 2015 at the highest (24,363).⁶⁵ One of the problems which may be behind these numbers is the travel cost, but also lack of a direct flight between Poland and Brazil.

⁶¹ Leoni, *Relatório*, 8.

⁶² World Tourism Organization, *Poland: Country-specific: Arrivals of non-resident visitors at national borders, by nationality 2012–2017* (Madrid: Yearbook of Tourism Statistics Dataset, 2018).

⁶³ World Tourism Organization, *Poland: Country-specific: Arrivals of non-resident visitors at national borders, by nationality 2014–2018* (Madrid: Yearbook of Tourism Statistics Dataset, 2019).

⁶⁴ Central Statistical Office, ‘Tourism’, 2018.

⁶⁵ Extrator de Chegadas de Turistas Internacionais ao Brasil, 2018.

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