Revista de História Comparada

ISSN: 1981-383X

Ano 17 – Edicão 17 – Número 02



# "VATICAN REFUGEES": INTELLECTUALS, KNOWLEDGE, AND TECHNOLOGIES IN THE FLIGHT FROM NAZISM TO BRAZIL (1938-1953)

"REFUGIADOS DO VATICANO": INTELECTUAIS, SABERES E TECNOLOGIAS NA FUGA DO NAZISMO PARA O BRASIL (1938-1953)

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**Abstract:** This research note examines the exile of intellectuals and technicians who fled from Europe to Brazil during World War II due to the Nazi domination of the European continent. Our investigation in progress focuses on some refugees known in the historiography as members of the "Görgen" and "Vatican Jews" groups, which were composed of Jews and anti-fascist Catholics of different nationalities. The research hypothesis is that this is a single group, named in this paper as "Vatican Refugees", since all individuals entered Brazil thanks to the international diplomacy that involved the Holy See. In addition, their names appear on two authorization lists for entry into Brazil, whose crossing led us to the history of INTEC, an electromedical factory founded by Hermann Mathias Görgen. We propose to investigate these refugees' trajectories, crossing them with prosopography and social network analysis (SNA), in dialogue with transnational history, history of emotions, Jewish studies, and global studies of the Holocaust. We examine their experiences of leaving Europe (conditions to migrate/escape) and their arrival in Brazil, in the authoritarian context of the Estado Novo. Another objective is to constitute a collection of the INTEC documents. We also invest efforts in open science and data sharing as a means of multiplying investigations on the subject.

**Keywords:** Holocaust; Fascisms; intellectual transnational history; exile and refuge; Brazil-Europe relations.

**Resumo**: Esta nota de pesquisa traz como tema o exílio de intelectuais e técnicos que fugiram da Europa para o Brasil em virtude da dominação nazista do continente europeu durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial. A investigação em progresso tem como objeto os refugiados conhecidos na historiografia como membros dos grupos "Görgen" e "Judeus do Vaticano", compostos por católicos antifascistas e judeus de diferentes nacionalidades. A hipótese da pesquisa é que se trata de um único grupo, nomeado nesta nota como "Refugiados do Vaticano", pois todos os indivíduos entraram no Brasil graças à diplomacia internacional que envolveu a Santa Sé. Além

disso, seus nomes constam em duas listas de autorização de entrada no Brasil, cujo cruzamento nos levou à história da INTEC, uma fábrica de produtos eletromédicos fundada por Hermann Mathias Görgen. A proposta é investigar esses refugiados em suas trajetórias e por meio da prosopografia e da análise de redes sociais, em diálogo com a história transnacional, história das emoções, estudos judaicos e estudos globais do Holocausto. Nesse sentido, examinamos suas experiências de saída da Europa (condições para migrar/fugir) e as de chegada ao Brasil, no contexto autoritário do Estado Novo. Outro objetivo é o de constituir um acervo da INTEC. Investimos ainda esforços na ciência aberta e no compartilhamento de dados como modo de multiplicação de investigações sobre o tema.

**Palavras-chave**: Holocausto; Fascismos; história intelectual transnacional; refúgio e exílio; relações Brasil-Europa.

#### Introduction

The establishment of a factory named as *Empresa de Indústrias Técnicas Limitada* (*INTEC*) in the city of Juiz de Fora in the state of Minas Gerais in 1941, is mentioned by several historians who study the flee of Jews and Hitler's opponents to Brazil at the beginning of World War II (Carneiro, 1996; 2013; Kestler, 2003; Vitale, 2003). The history of this industry, however, is yet to be told. References to INTEC are often made just to connect it to a group of 48 refugees, also known in historiography as "Grupo Görgen. The historian and political scientist Hermann Mathias Görgen (1908-1944) – a prominent name connected to the Catholic German resistance to Nazism – was the key person for the group's organization (Carneiro, 1996; Görgen, 1999). According to him, 38 of those refugees were considered Jews by the Nazis¹②. The other 10 individuals forfeited their German citizenship as they were deemed traitors to the Nazi cause.

INTEC, also known as the Juiz de Fora's factory, was focused on producing technical and technological instruments, mainly for medicine. It played a crucial role in the negotiation of permanent visas for refugees before the Brazilian government. During the Estado Novo (1937-1945) period, Brazil closed the borders to individuals of "Israeli races resident in the Reich" (Milgram, 1995a; Facchinetti, 2024). However, there was a loophole in Circular 1.127, from 1937, that allowed entry visas for *non-Aryans* qualified as group excursion with a certified guide, and permanent visas to people with distinguished cultural, political, and social prominence or, even, in the case of the *capitalist visa*, through which the refugee was granted a regular visa upon deposit of a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Letter from Hermann M. Görgen to Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro. Bonn, May 8th, 1990. Excerpt from Carneiro (2010, p. 156).

certain amount in Banco do Brasil, (Koifman, 2002). Probably, the last escape clause was used to allow these individuals entry. This point of view is shared by Milgram (1995a), as he states that since 1939 there had been widespread hostility towards all immigration not related to agriculture or industry in Latin America as a whole.

Getúlio Vargas (1882-1954) government considered INTEC an opportunity to obtain a new equipment to the Brazilian industrialization process, (Leopoldi, 2011). Despite this, the immigrants who worked there were several times reported to the political police, since many Germans, including Jews, were considered Nazis by the local population (Schindel, 1999).

The "capitalist" aspect, however, was not the only component competing for their entry in Brazil. Within the same period, thanks to an international agreement, there was an estimated entry of *3,000 Catholics of Semitic origin* in the country, according to the so-called "quota policy". Those were the exceptions allowing for the migration of almost one thousand individuals landing in Brazil between 1940 and 1941, supported by the Vatican. This is why historiography has called this larger group the "Vatican Jews" (Milgram, 1994). Nevertheless, except for renowned names such as Otto Maria Carpeaux (1900-1978), born Otto Karpfen, there is little knowledge of the trajectories of these almost one thousand people.

The hypothesis put forward in the present investigation, which started in 2021, suggests that both groups, the "Vatican Jews" and the "Görgen Group", were, in fact, one. They constituted a unified initiative aimed at resisting Nazism and offering refuge to displaced individuals, with the backing of the Vatican. Hence, we coined the term *Vatican Refugees*<sup>2</sup> to refer to and characterize the group supported by these intertwined entities. Beyond emphasizing their connection through the support of the Catholic Church in facilitating escapes, we intend to cross-reference the documentation of the *INTEC member list* with those of *São Rafael list*, as well as the archives of *Czechoslovak* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Within the group, there is a diverse composition of members, including Catholics, exemplified by figures such as Görgen himself, and Jews. Notably, a segment of the Jewish members had undergone conversion to Catholicism prior to 1935, aligning with the Brazilian government's stipulation for entry into the country. Noteworthy documentation from the German National Library reveals that, post-1939, a network of solidarity enabled the acquisition of baptism and marriage documents by Jews. Father Franz Weber frequently played an important role in certifying the authenticity of these documents, a topic further explored in Santos (2022).

Government in Exile, and the one of Itamaraty<sup>3</sup>. Historiography has yet to conduct a thorough examination of the intricate connections between these individuals and support institutions, despite some works hinting at this approach (Milgram, 1994; Ickx, 2021; Santos, 2022). The comprehensive exploration of these interrelationships remains a promising avenue for future scholarly inquiry.

It is worth pointing out that the sources also allow us to investigate the *deutscher Widerstand* in the Third Reich (Mommsen, 2010; Benz, 2019) and outside Germany, since a high number of those intellectuals and politicians have engaged on both sides of the Atlantic (Mühlen, 2013). In the Brazilian context, it is important to question the resistance of the country's diplomats to the so-called Itamaraty's migration policies (Koifman 2002; Schpun, 201) and even some of the survivors, who over the years took part in anti-fascist movements. The migration control included several classified decrees especially aimed to prevent the entry of Jews into the country, leading historiography to address, in different ways, the issue of anti-Semitism during the first Vagas mandate (Eckl, 2013a; Carneiro, 2003; Milgram, 1995a)<sup>4</sup>.

Our timeframe begins in 1938 when the group started organizing the escape operation as a reaction to what would later be known as the Night of Broken Glass (*Kristallnacht*). The research tracks the breakups and the dispersals of the group until 1945 while investigating the return of some of these individuals to Europe. This return is examined between 1949 and 1953, in the context of two Germanies emerging (GDR and FRG) and INTEC's sale.

Our research is also aimed at giving more visibility to the support networks that made it possible for refugees to escape from the Holocaust. We are also willing to study

160

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> As per Santos (2022, p. 10), within the allocated quota of three thousand visas, a bilateral agreement transpired between Brazil and the Vatican. This agreement dictated that the Society of Saint Raphael (*Raphaelsverein*), headquartered in Hamburg, would provide the names for the visas. Presently, ongoing research reveals an extensive network of contributors involved in the initiative across Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. However, the extent to which every individual arriving in Brazil was part of the *Raphaelverein* list remains uncertain. Moreover, it is imperative to acknowledge the pivotal role played by the Czechoslovak Government in exile in issuing passports to expatriates, a prerequisite for their travel. Documentation pertaining to this negotiation is accessible in the United Kingdom and Switzerland. Notably, financial support from Jewish institutions, as evidenced by documents found in Görgen's archive, also played a significant role in facilitating these initiatives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Unlike authors who generalizes the incidence of government anti-Semitism during Vargas period (as Tucci Carneiro, 2003), our strategy is to examine the different facets of Estado Novo (New State).

the impact their migration had on the Brazilian intellectual and scientific fields. It is also committed to deepening the studies on Vargas State and its relationship with anti-Semitism, fascism, and the Catholic Church. The relevance of this analysis lies in the way it establishes new relations between individuals which so far had only been studied separately as two groups. The investigation of how these refugees organized themselves and made it through the war period will certainly bring new information on the strategies employed by Jews, Catholics, and communists, among other endangered groups, in their settling in the country during a period of great political radicalization.

## Estado Novo (New State): anti-Semitism and the refuge of Jews and Catholics

During the 1930s and 1940s, the world witnessed an unparalleled global humanitarian crisis. Before World War II, Central Europe, affected by the Nazi occupation, had already produced around 500,000 Jewish refugees. Regarding Hitler's opponents, such as social democrats and communists, there are an estimated 25,000 to 30,000 German-speaking exiled people from Central Europe as well. By the beginning of World War II, between 1939 and 1943, the number of refugees escalated to 30 million; and by the end of the war, something around 50 to 60 million – almost 10% of the continent's population by that time – were refugees (Oltmer, 2016, p. 97-100).

In Brazil, scientific racism brings back the discussion on racial whitening policies from the 19th century, when intellectuals like Silvio Romero (1851-1914) believed that the nation could be made possible and modernized through the miscegenation between the Brazilian population and the European immigrant (Ramos; Maio, 2010). Thomas Skidmore (2012) highlights that the whitening policy was resumed in the 1920s, when Oliveira Vianna (1883-1951) used the 1872 and 1920 censuses as proof of the "country's Aryanization", thanks to the arrival of European immigrants and the miscegenation.

In the decade of 1930, the debate on this topic was once again intensified, when Vargas implemented a nationalization program in education, employment, and immigration which prohibited foreign language and press in the country. Such policies resulted in the Brazilian Nazi party becoming illegal and causing a diplomatic crisis with the Third Reich. The massive entry of immigrants, including Jews, was reported to Berlin by the Nazis in Brazil (pure Germans). The instructions, however, specified non-interference in the domestic policy of the hosting country and forbidding miscegenation

- which was not always respected (Drietrich, 2007).

In her studies on the Vargas period (1930-1945), Carneiro (2003) analyzed the immigration policy and the anti-Semitism in the country. Based on a collection of classified decrees from Itamaraty, she claimed that the Vargas state was essentially anti-Semite. Later, in her book *Cidadãos do Mundo* (Citizens of the World), Carneiro (2010) addressed the importance of collaboration from several countries to the Holocaust. In this work, the historian divided the world between "rejecting" and "welcoming" societies, considering that, at the time, the USA played the "mediator nation" role, especially concerning Jews. Brazil, in its turn, would be one of the rejecting countries, that is, those regarding Jews as unwelcome and imposing strict migration rules. In Carneiro's work, the pivotal roles of Ambassador Souza Dantas and Hélio Lobo as representatives of the Brazilian government on the Intergovernmental Committee are underscored. Both individuals were actively involved in the efforts to save lives and promote the expansion of reception societies. Carneiro notes that Souza Dantas confronted various prohibitions in multiple situations during this undertaking. Moreover, "aid organizations aimed at helping Catholics and Jews" would uselessly look for Hélio Lobo since the Brazilian Foreign Minister did not change his dislike for the cause.

Regarding the changes in the migration policy, Milgram (1995a) provides a different interpretation:

The year 1937 was perceived by Brazilians as a turning point for Jewish immigration to Brazil. [...] It seems that if it weren't for the anti-Semite trends that urged Jews to leave Germany, Poland, and Romania, the Getúlio Vargas dictatorship would not have found it necessary to review the country's chaotic immigration system and send the Jews away (Milgram, 1995a, p. 100).

Although Carneiro brings up the Catholic Church as a mediation institution in the fleeing of Jews to Brazil, she relied on the book by journalist Cornwell (2000) – in which Pope Pius XII is associated with the Nazis, with no caveats whatsoever related to the role of the Church in the resistance against Nazism (Carneiro, 2010, p. 165-166). When addressing the Pacelli case, Strohm (2011) prefers to analyze the issue of the Pope's alleged omission and silencing through different angles, from the anti-communist stand to the diplomatic work towards the Italian fascists and the Vatican's sovereignty matter (neutral policy), or even the concern with the consequences to the Catholic Church on

German soil. A comparable analysis can be identified in the postscript to Friedländer's critical book on Pius XII (2009), initially published in 1964. This postscript was incorporated following Friedländer's access to Pius XI's archive, made available in 2003.

Milgram (1995b) was another author addressing the Vatican's matter in a more complex way when examining the Brazilian case. For this author:

The 1939-1940 period was therefore marked by the silence from most of the apostolic nuncios, the hostility from the La Paz and Santiago nuncios, the Vatican's diplomatic efforts on behalf of 3,000 baptized Jews, the growing opposition against non-Aryans in Brazil, and the objection, in most of the Latin-American countries, to any immigration not related to agriculture or industry (Milgram, 1995b, p. 103).

Unlike Carneiro (2003), Milgram does not understand the Estado Novo in a monolithic way. For him, the same applies to the anti-Semitism in the country. In his incisive critique to Carneiro, he points out that the historian establishes a relationship between Oswaldo Aranha's Catholic background and his anti-Semite worldview without attempting to "show how one led to the other" (Milgram, 1995a, p. 101). Regarding anti-Semitism during Era Vargas, Milgram shows us that even in Itamaraty the anti-Semitism was not monolithic.

Francisco Carlos Teixeira da Silva is another author diverging from Tucci Carneiro in the way of understanding Estado-Novo. For him, the Brazilian Integralism was a nationally anti-Semite fascist movement. The author supports the thesis that associating fascism and Estado-Novo is hasty. According to him, fascism (either as movements or regimes) should not be cloistered as historic fascism since the fascist languages have been expressing themselves also after the end of the Cold War. In addition, he contests the totalitarianism thesis (concept theory created by anti-fascists and operated by fascists during the interwar period) as, in his opinion, it encompasses strikingly different elements and disregards the role of the masses (Silva, 2000).

As far as the settling processes are concerned, a great part of the historiography on refugees and immigration during Estado-Novo highlights a preference for rural immigration of white European men, mainly of Portuguese origin (Debastiani, 2018; Koifman, 2012; Milgram, 1995a). Carneiro (1996) shows the opposite: those refugees would settle mainly in the cities. Our preliminary results substantiate that statement. When delving into the profiles of refugees, historiography does not explore so much the transfer of knowledge and practice aimed at the development of technologies. Much has

been researched on scientists and scholars living in exile in Brazil due to religion, race, and political issues during that period, special note to the case of Universidade de São Paulo (USP) as the most investigated one (Bastos; Mageste, 2018; Silva, 2013). There are too many gaps as far as other universities are concerned and, particularly, other non-university institutions. Eckl (2013b) brings up fine examples but fails to carry out a more detailed study on them. Concerning the Jewish diaspora and anti-Semitism, whenever the historiography addressed the brain gain to Brazil, it paid special attention to *Exilliteratur*, especially great names of literature (Eckl, 2013a; Kestler, 2003; Parada, 2015) like Stefan Zweig (1881-1942) or even female writers (Vitale, 2003).

The many refugee networks in Brazil have also allowed for continuing political activity. In addition to socialists and social democrats, they included left-wing Catholics and conservative Christians, like Hermann M. Görgen. There were also members of the German far-right, that is, Hitler dissidents (Mühlen, 2013). *Widerstand* from the other side of the Atlantic still lacks historiography investments, mainly considering the different refugees involved.

Another aspect that warrants investigation is the examination of social support networks for refugees, including the roles played by Catholic associations and those within the Jewish community<sup>5</sup>. The German community in Brazil, including non-Jewish, also relied on several supporting institutions. According to Cytrynowicz (2005), the Jewish refugees were supported by a network of charity and social assistance institutions in Brazil. Some were created in the 1920s, while others have been established in the context of the humanitarian crises resulting from the Holocaust. Among the entities from the 1930s, the author highlights Lar da CIP (Congregação Israelita Paulista) and CARIA (Comissão de Assistência aos Refugiados Israelitas). Carneiro (1999) points out that CARIA would provide medical and psychological services in addition to providing social assistance to refugees. The refuge provided by foreign industrialists, as highlighted by Carneiro (1996), adds another noteworthy dimension to the discussion. This observation prompts the hypothesis that INTEC was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In our ongoing research phase, our primary focus lies on examining the contributions of Jewish associations in facilitating the travel and settlement of these refugees. Following this initial investigation, we plan to delve into the roles played by Catholic associations and intergovernmental organizations in the overall process.

just one among several significant cases that warrant thorough investigation.

The social supporting network leads us to go deeper not only on the very flee and survival topics, but also on what happens next, when the traumatic experience collides with the new life and the new fears between "death distress, which was the silence distress" (Fresco, 1984, p. 417), and this "between places" (Ferraz, 2010) of support in a new country, refugees would also feel harassed by eugenic, integralist, nationalist, anti-Semite, anti-communist, associated with nationalism, movements, but also by the difficulty in finding a job. This is why many of them ended up "in concealment among the population, [...] in silence" (Pines, 1993, p. 207) faced with a constant and continued feeling of being in an "extremely serious danger" (Fresco, 1984, p. 427). Works exploring such a traumatic dimension for those individuals in Brazil are rare.

## INTEC: intertwining the history of the "Görgen" and the "Vatican Jews" groups

In the history of the Görgen Group, the departure process from Europe speeded up in 1940, when Hermann Görgen informed the Brazilian government that he owned an American patent (*A Noite*, 28/3/1942) and held the amount of nearly U\$ 600 (Wende, 2002), to invest in a factory building in Brazil. In the following year, around fifty immigrants arrived in the city of Juiz de Fora (MG), holding permanent visas and Czech and Nansen passports (Lesser, 1995; Santos, 2022)<sup>6</sup>. Most of its members had emigrated from Switzerland, boarding in Lisbon to Brazil onboard Cabo de Hornos ship<sup>7</sup>. Little is known about their individual escaping paths apart from what Görgen (1999) describes in his unfinished autobiography and from the circular published by Kestler (2003).

The arrangements for the trip were only possible thanks to the contacts established with the help of Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster (1869-1966)<sup>8</sup> – Görgen's former professor and PhD supervisor and leader of a group of Catholics who had been activists

165

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> There were passports from other countries, but the Czech passports formed the majority and had been granted by the Czech government in exile through aid organizations for refugees. DNB/Deutsches Exilarchiv, Nachlass Hermann M. Görgen, EB 92/311 "Görgen Gruppe (INTEC), Personen Listen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cabo Hornos Steamship, April 28th, 1941. Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv (BAR). E 2175 – 2, Band 58. <sup>8</sup> While Görgen stayed in Brazil, Foerster fled to Brazil first and then went to the United States. He kept in contact with Görgen and was also INTEC's associate. DNB/Deutsches Exilarchiv, Nachlass Hermann M. Görgen, EB 92/311, IA 103. For correspondence between Görgen and Foerster, see: DNB/Deutsches Exilarchiv, Nachlass Hermann M. Görgen, EB 92/311, IA 08-11.

against Hitler before being sent into exile<sup>9</sup>. An international political network was established including the Committee for Aid to Refugee Intellectuals from Geneva; the apostolic nuncio from Bern, Felippe Bernardini; the director of the Swiss *Caritas*, Doctor Alfred Theobaldi; the Vatican (by order of Pope Pius XII); the president of the Czechoslovakia government exiled in London, Edvard Beneš; and the Czech envoy from the League of Nations, doctor Jaromir Kopecky. The intervention by Doctor Victor Hoo-Chi-Tsai, a Chinese envoy from the League of Nations has also been crucial for Görgen to be able to get closer to the Consulate General of Brazil in Geneva, Milton Cesar de Weguelin Vieira, and therefore, obtain visas for the group (Görgen, 1979). Letters exchanged between Görgen and those who accompanied him provide valuable insights into the formation of the INTEC List and reveal the whole process for the issuance of personal documents for each one of them. Finally, still in Europe, an agreement was signed between Görgen and the respective members of the group concerning travel expenses and training background for INTEC's personnel<sup>10</sup>.

By looking at the documentation, we noticed a reference to a doctor called Ludwik Werner (1900-1964), who came to Brazil on the list of the "Vatican Jews" (Milgran, 1994) to work at the INTEC factory in Juiz de Fora<sup>11</sup>. Werner landed in Brazil with his wife, Gertraut, on March 17, 1941, onboard the Angola ship. According to his consular form, he had been admitted based on Resolution number 39 from the Conselho de Imigração e Colonização (Immigration and Colonization Council)<sup>12.</sup> As Görgen, Werner lived in Geneva, which leads us to investigate a potential aid network for refugees set up back in Switzerland and the history of that country during the Nazi occupation of Europe (Ludi, 2010). This is one of the paths for cross-referencing the *INTEC list* with the *São Rafael list*. That is how we also got to the name of Felix Kraus (1893-?), a jeweler, of Polish origin<sup>13</sup> who also features on INTEC's archive and on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Konservativer Emigrant. *Bayernkurier*, December 31, 1983. In: Archiv für Christilich-Demokratische Politik (ACDP), P-2/Bestand GÖRGEN, Hermann.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> DNB, Nachlass Hermann M. Görgen, EB 92/311. Several sub-funds with "Görgen Gruppe" initials.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> DNB, Nachlass Hermann M. Görgen, EB 92/311 "Görgen Gruppe (INTEC), Personen Listen"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Brasil, Arquivo Nacional. Immigration Cards, 1900-1965. Ludvik Werner, 1941. Database Family Search. Digital folder 004912473. Images 00116 and 00117. Available at: <a href="https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KXKB-M38">https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KXKB-M38</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Brasil, National Archive. Immigration Cards, 1900-1965. Felix Karol Kraus, 1941. Database Family Search. Digital folder 004571900. Images 00116 e 00117.

#### Vatican's list<sup>14</sup>.

Research on the INTEL factory not only shows a historiography gap but also presents different challenges to understanding its organization and fate since Görgen "did not find the number of technicians and engineers he wanted to take to establish an industry in Brazil and because many of those who went there left him after the initial phase in Juiz de Fora" (Vitale, 2004, p. 49). In this aspect, Dana Roda Becher's account after her arrival is very vivid:

The atmosphere in Juiz is truly appalling. Everybody is angry at each other, and everybody is angry at Görgen. The factory is virtually finished but nobody knows what should actually be produced. G. took many dilettantes with him, who should be trained first, and he took everyone, including the specialists, believing the narratives about their skills – and there were plenty of surprises ... And by the way: everybody shares the same opinion as me: They are chocked by the amount of money requested by G. for the trip – it is more than anyone expected (Becher in Vitale, 2004, p. 49).

Letters exchanged between Med. Doctor Ludwik Werner (1900-1964) and Hermann Görgen are important materials about the first years of INTEC's operation <sup>15</sup>. Until his breaking up with Görgen due to impasses caused by the factory's financial strains, doctor Werner held the position of medical technical lead at the factory <sup>16</sup>. It is well known that INTEC was "devoted to electromedical, electro and radio technical equipment" (*A Noite*, 28/03/1942. p. 3). But in the context of Brazil's joining World War II against the Axis forces and sending the Força Expedicionária Brasileira (FEB, Brazilian Elite Force), INTEC was considered national security. Until 1953, when it was sold off, many changes in the company had been registered in Brazilian register offices <sup>17</sup>.

Although the factory represented the nerve center around which the group organized itself, and negotiations to the migration of the refugees were conducted, the original group was not made up only of specialized technicians, as we saw above. On the contrary, it was diverse and made up of individuals who had been active at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> DNB/Deutsches Exilarchiv, Nachlass Hermann M. Görgen, EB 92/311 "Görgen Gruppe (INTEC), Personen Listen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> DNB, Nachlass Hermann M. Görgen, EB 92/311, I.A. 536.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> DNB, Nachlass Hermann M. Görgen, EB 92/311, I.A. 103. See, for instance, the March 28th, 1942 letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> DNB, Nachlass Hermann M. Görgen, EB 92/311 "INTEC, Gründung"

university, in Arts, Literature, and Philosophy, among others. It was the immigration of a high number of educated people, from the middle and upper-middle classes. The absence of skills for industrial work raised suspicions and complaints to the Departamento de Ordem Política e Social (Department of Political and Social Order) -DOPS (Carneiro, 1996; Schindel, 1999). In addition to its strategic role in visa acquisition, our hypothesis posits that the INTEC evolved into one of the pivotal support and reception institutions for a network of immigrants, exiles, and refugees. Furthermore, for a considerable period, it served as a source of subsistence for some individuals within this community. Indeed, concerning settlement strategies, numerous foreign-origin industrialists, whether Jewish or not, played a significant role by providing employment opportunities to refugees. Despite many of them not being qualified to work in the industry, they were hired. This is why factories such as Estrella, from the Adler family, and the Indústrias Reunidas Fábricas Matarazzo (IRFM), from Italian immigrants, were part of the aid network for refugees on Brazilian soil (Carneiro, 1996; Mefano, 2005). Exploring the organizational structure of this group and understanding how the factory sustained itself during the wartime period promises to unveil novel information about the strategies employed by Jews, anti-fascist Catholics, communists, and other politically persecuted individuals to establish themselves in the country.

Finally, we highlight the importance of prosopography for the study of INTEC's workers and the European individuals and institutions involved in the factory's establishment process. Through prosopography, we will perform an analysis of collective biographies, to build up the profile of members, the political, religious, professional, socioeconomic, and social/age characteristics, as well as build up their relationship networks. The prosopography will be "a first step" (the group's prior knowledge) of the "historical interpretation" at the macro level, that is, something like a political and social history contribution (Monteiro, 2014).

The use of the SNA methodology will enable us to analyze the intricate relationships among group members and other key figures and institutions involved in the migration process. By doing so, our research aligns with discussions pertinent to digital humanities, employing a methodology that integrates disciplines such as sociology, mathematics, and computational science. This approach leverages digital measurement and visualization resources to comprehend the relationships forged by

individuals, their roles, and positions within the network, as well as the formation of various subgroups (Boone, 2018; Kokensparger, 2018).

From the theoretical point of view, our investigation follows the transnational history and the global turn in the history of science (Charle, 2004; Budde; Conrad; Janz, 2010; Raj, 2015; Fan, 2012; Secord, 2004). Such an approach enables us to focus on transnational meetings, the crossing of borders, and the horizontal movement through borders, as well as the shift of intellectuals and knowledge. As we shed light on the flow of people, knowledge, and techniques, transnational and global history provides us with essential tools to study forced migrations caused by Nazism. Following the same line of thought, Harwood (2004, p. 58) addresses the impact of Nationalism and racism on the transatlantic flee of European intellectuals, pointing out that "although there is extensive secondary literature on refugees, certain aspects of emigration remain surprisingly unexplored." We were also surprised to notice something similar in our research.

#### **Final Considerations**

Throughout this research paper, we aim to outline the primary avenues of ongoing research that center on the intersection and convergence of the life trajectories of individuals from diverse nationalities, age groups, professions, and beliefs who found refuge in Brazil between 1940 and 1941. This refuge was made possible through negotiations involving the Vatican and other support networks with the Brazilian government. Importantly, we highlight that the history of INTEC extends beyond the mere negotiation of entry visas.

Beyond tracing individual trajectories, our investigation envisions constructing a prosopography of the group, integrated with a thorough analysis of its social networks. This paper serves to outline the primary objectives and methodologies employed in our work, emphasizing the significance and originality of conducting a comprehensive investigation on this topic. Finally, we would like to highlight that our investigative efforts are also aimed at creating a database that will be used to multiply future research work and will operate based on the opening and sharing of research data – which technical work will be detailed in a future publication.

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**Recebido:** 06/05/2024 **Aprovado**: 06/12/2024