

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

MY PALESTINE AFAR

by

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for the degree of Master of Arts
to the Center of Middle Eastern Studies
of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences
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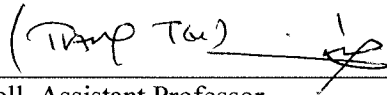
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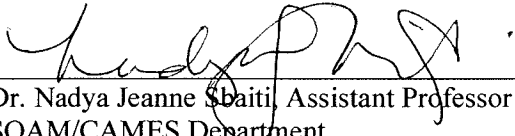
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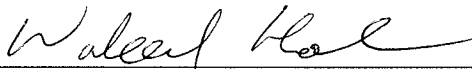
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Carla Lucia Leone for Master of Arts
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At a distance of more than 13000 km from Jerusalem, Chile is host to the largest Palestinian community outside the Arab world. After placing the genesis of this community within the framework of the global history of migration from the Arab Eastern Mediterrean in the late Ottoman times, this thesis aims to investigate the growth of the Chilean Palestinians' sense of Palestinian nationalism during the pre-Nakba period of 1920s -1930s.

This will be achieved by exploring this time-period through the lens of the diasporic Palestinian community settled in Chile, relying on an analysis of the most popular journals published in Santiago de Chile during the 1920s and 1930s.

The thesis argues that a reading of these journals allows us to interpret the growing collective trend of Palestinian *wataniyya* (local nationalism) from the perspective of the diasporic community in Chile, as well as providing a lens for reflection on how the "British-Zionist" alliance generated policies on migration and citizenship that in practice consolidated a diasporic identification with this identity in Chile.

By pursuing these lines of inquiry, it is hoped that this work helps set the history of the Palestinians before their Nakba in a transnational context, while also elucidating how the notion of a Palestinian *wataniyya* crossed physical borders to create an imagined national community that survives intact to the present day.

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For the invincible Nonno Ciccio;
For Tatti, my guardian angel;
For Mom and Dad, my strength and my refuge.

INTRODUCTION

A popular Chilean saying recites that “*in every village in Chile there is a priest, a Carabinero,¹ and a Palestinian*”. According to the latest figures, Chile is home to 800,000² people of Arab origin. Among these, approximately 400,000 to 500,000 individuals are Palestinian descendants, constituting the largest Palestinian community outside the Arab world. Today, *los Palestinos* are one of the wealthiest and most influential elites in Chilean society: they own industries, banks, lands and they hold dominant positions in politics. Important public figures of the current Chilean socio-cultural landscape are of Palestinian origin.

Among the most prominent members of this diasporic community, it is worth mentioning José Said, one of the largest real estate developers in the country, whose family was originally from Bethlehem. In the 1960s, José Said and his uncle founded Banco del Trabajo, which grew to be among the five largest banks in the country.³ In 1979, Said founded Parque Arauco S.A., the third largest shopping mall company in the Southern Cone.

Several influential figures of the ecclesiastic elites of Chile come from Palestinian families. Raul Hasbun, known as “cura Hasbun” (Father Hasbun), is a catholic priest and

¹ “Carabineros de Chile” is an institution of uniformed police founded in 1927 in Chile. Its name comes from the cavalry corps carrying a weapon called carbine, *carabina* in Spanish.

² IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística <http://www.ibge.gov.br>

³ Salem, Fuad. (28.09.2017). *Photography Diaspora. Picture: Jose Said, and the Said family of Santiago, Chile*. Palestine-Family.net <http://www.palestine-family.net/index.php?nav=92-115&cid=188-245&did=3789&pageflip=1>

a very controversial public figure in Chile. During the early 70s, cura Hasbun was the executive director of Channel 13 (Corporación de Televisión de la Universidad Católica de Chile), one of the most powerful voices to oppose the Unidad Popular of government of Salvador Allende at that time. Today Father Hasbun runs a talk show on the American television network EWTN (Global Catholic Television Network). The priest is recurrently subject to hostile polemics due to his overenthusiastic support for the Club Palestino football team, as well as Pinochet's dictatorship. Cura Hasbun was indeed Augusto Pinochet's confessor during his last years of house detention and one of the two priests to conduct the mass at his funeral in 2006.

Palestinians are also very influential in the cultural and academic spheres. Annemarie Jacir, originally from Bethlehem, is the director of the movie *Salt of this Sea*, nominated for an Oscar in 2008 in the Best Foreign Language Film category. Miguel Littín was a famous director and a politician during the government of Salvador Allende. After the military coup d'état, Littín was exiled and moved to Mexico and Spain. His biography fascinated the writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez who wrote "Clandestine in Chile: The Adventures of Miguel Littín".⁴

Palestinians are also very successful in literature, poetry and academia: the writers Lina Maruane,⁵ Walter Garib,⁶ Diamela Eltit,⁷ and the poet Mahfud Massis⁸ all have

⁴ "Clandestine in Chile: The Adventures of Miguel Littín" (*La aventura de Miguel Littín clandestine en Chile*) is a book by Gabriel García Márquez on the Chilean filmmaker's visit to Chile after 12 years of exile under fake identity.

⁵ Lina Meruane (*Santiago de Chile*, 1970) is a writer and a journalist. She is the author of the novels *Fruta podrida* (2007) and *Sangre en lo Ojo* (2012).

⁶ Walter Garib (Requinoa, Chile, 1933) is a writer and a journalist. His family left Palestine in 1910 and moved to Argentina. In 1928 the Garib family settled in Chile where they were dedicated to the manufacture of textile products.

Palestinian roots. In the academia, it is worth mentioning Eugenio Chauhan and Ricardo Marzuca, professors at the Centro de Estudios Arabes⁹ of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities at the University of Chile.

Lastly, Palestinians have reached eminent positions in politics, both at national and local level: Sabas Chauhan was the National Prosecutor of the Public Ministry¹⁰ between 2007 and 2015; Francisco Chauhan, from the conservative-neoliberal party Renovacion Nacional (RN), is currently a Senator of the Chilean Republic; Gonzalo Hasbun, from the right-wing conservative political party Independent Democratic Union (UDI) has been in the parliament of the Republic since 2010; Daniel Jadue, from the Chilean Communist Party, is the mayor of the municipality of Recoleta in the capital Santiago.

Nowadays, being a *Palestino* in Chile is a sort of status symbol: Chilean-Palestinians celebrate with considerable pride the social ascent that brought them to be part of the leading class of the country. As is the case with the better known Lebanese diaspora in the Americas, the myth of the “self-made man” is deeply rooted in the narrative of the Palestinos in Chile. Moreover it is a myth that has endured from the

⁷ Diamela Eltit (Santiago de Chile, 1949) is a writer and a professor at *Universidad Católica del Chile* (1966), and *Cambridge University* (2014). She married the socialist politician Jorge Arrate, mining minister during the government of Salvador Allende. Diamela Eltit is the author of several novels and essays on sensitive topics such as authoritarianism, feminism and sexuality.

⁸ Mahfud Massis, (Iquique, Chile, 1916 – Caracas, Venezuela, 1990) is considered one of the most outstanding innovators of Chilean poetry as well as one of the greatest popularisers of Arabic culture and literature in Chile. After the military coup d'état of Augusto Pinochet, Massis was exiled in Venezuela where he spent the rest of his life.

⁹ <http://estudiosarabes.cl> ; <https://www.facebook.com/CentrodEstudiosArabes>.

¹⁰ In Spanish *Fiscal Nacional del Ministerio Público de Chile*, Ministry of Justice.

second generation of immigrants who arrived in the first decades of the 20th Century up to today.

Aims and Sources

This thesis aims to investigate the growth of Palestinian national sentiment (*wattaniyya falastiniyya*) during the pre-Nakba period through the lens of the Palestinian migrants settled in Chile. After locating the origins of the Palestinos in Chile in the background of the global history of migration from the Arab countries of the Eastern Mediterranean in the late 19th century, this work investigates the growing nationalist identification of the Palestinians living in Chile with their motherland as the colonial division of Greater Syria and British support for Zionist settler colonialism acted to thwart the Palestinian Arab national dream in the second decade of the 20th Century.

This thesis is the result of six months of fieldwork in Chile, mainly based in Santiago and in the ARAUCANÍA region. The primary sources analysed throughout this thesis are the magazines *Mundo Árabe* (Arab World) and *Oriente* (East), published in Santiago between 1919 and 1933.¹¹ The journals are today preserved in the Chilean National Library in Santiago and they are available on microfilm. Through the analysis of these magazines – two of the most popular publications published in Santiago de Chile during the 1920s and 1930s, the following thesis aims at interpreting the sense of Palestinian national belonging in the years before the establishment of the state of Israel from a point of view that does not look at Jerusalem only, but that brings the history of interwar Palestine and its people into a transnational context.

¹¹ The language of the articles is mostly Spanish, with a few double versions both in Arabic and Spanish. Translations of the selected quotes are mine, and the original texts are included in Annex 2 of this thesis.

Life Journeys, Imagined Communities and the Palestinos de Chile

A reading of the *Palestinos*'s publications during the 1920s-1930s indicates how the collective trend of rise of a Palestinian *watanyyia* was perceived by the diasporic community in Chile. Through the press, the Arab migrants developed and circulated the ideas of an imagined national community, developing a sense of visceral connection towards "fellow-members" they never known, met or heard of, "yet in the minds of each live[d] the image of their communion."¹²

Anderson's Imagined Communities is a suitable theoretical frame into which we can fit the sense of national belonging of the pre-Nakba *Palestinos* as reflected in the Chilean Arabist press. Anderson's narrative is relevant in reflecting not only on how a national identity is formulated, but also on how its utopian essence makes it a concept detached from geographical borders, while also occupying a demarcated political space while moving in unison through Walter Benjamin's 'empty homogenous time:'

*The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations.*¹³

According to Anderson, one fundamental means for the creation of an imagined community is the dissemination of what he denotes as 'print-capitalism' – the written culture in vernacular languages enabled by the Gutenberg revolution. In his view, the printing press was the bedrock to create the common language and the common discourses that underpinned the concept of a nation. After the invention of the printing

¹² Anderson, Benedict. (1983). Imagined Communities. London - New York, UK, USA: Verso. P.6

¹³ Anderson, Benedict. (1983). Imagined Communities. London - New York, UK, USA: Verso. P.8

press by Gutenberg in 1454, the most important pieces of literature started to be available not anymore in Latin only, but also in vernaculars. The use of the local languages and the massive accessibility of new forms of printed texts – novels and newspapers in particular -- influenced the development of nationalist identities, the creation of the first nation-states in Europe, and the export of a ‘modular’ national form to the rest of the globe in concert with European imperial expansion.

While print capitalism was the main means for the dissemination of national discourses, it acted in concert with a large number of other forces unleashed by the rise of capitalism, including state formation, dynastic modernization and the structures of surveillance constructed by colonial rule. In order to understand how a certain territory is perceived as fatherland, regardless of its physical distance from a person place of origin, Anderson adopts the anthropologist Victor Turner’s idea of “a life journey” as a meaning-creating experience (Anderson, 55). On this view, ‘spiral’ journeys travel up the bureaucratic structures of a centralizing state, trade routes, travels, pilgrimages generate a constant human flow necessary to relate nationalist subjects’ from “otherwise unrelated localities.”¹⁴

As it will be explained in more depth in the following chapters, the reasons behind the Arab-Levantine migration to the Americas were various. The first newcomers were mainly merchants or peddlers who reached the New World to find fortune and pursue the myth of the American Eldorado. Many Arabs were used to returning to their home countries after a few years, either temporally or permanently. However, while Lebanese and Syrians could go back as wealthy men, the historical circumstances of Zionist settlement in Palestine led to a different destiny.

¹⁴ Anderson, Benedict. (1991). *Imagined Communities*. London - New York, UK, USA: Verso. P.56

In the case of the diasporic community of the *Palestinos*, the “vernacular” language was Spanish. Many of the first Arab migrants had slowly lost fluency in Arabic due to the fact that the first generation of Arabs coming to Latin America shared a generalized rejection of their own Arab roots; the first Arab generations coming to Latin America avoided speaking Arabic or trying to teach it to their children. Many named their daughters and sons with Spanish names. However subsequent generations found their place in the society through their identification with their Syrian-Arab heritage. Migrant intellectuals in Chile became promoters of a cultural Arabization of the diasporic community; meant to redeem decades of social segregation this promoted growing interest in the affairs of an Arabs people newly liberated form Ottoman rule.

The Arab diasporic press circulated translations of prominent Arabic authors, poems, novels, as well as historical events happening overseas. The press was indeed the main vehicle for the spreading of Arab nationalist ideology through literature and news. It was also the platform for the social and political mobilization of the community members. However, as a new pattern of fragmented imperial control consolidated its hold on the Arab East in the 1920s, the echoes of the local nationalisms of the component parts of Greater Syria started to affect the diasporic community in Chile. Migrants once identified by the catch all label of ‘*Turcos*’ or (Greater) Syrians now demanded to be identified as Syrian, Lebanese, and Palestinian in conformity with the truncated entities that had emerged under European Mandatory rule. The causes of this shift were multiple, but for the *Palestinos de Chile* one of the most important was an interruption in the circular journey of migrants between the Americas and their homeland as a result to the barriers imposed by British colonial rule.

By the early 1920s, the establishment of the British Mandate had imposed on the population of Palestine a sort of collective trauma,¹⁵ as Khalidi has framed it, that acted to strengthen a pre-existent sentiment of *wataniyya*, to the point that the even the diasporic Palestinian communities developed a profound sense of national belonging towards Palestine. This was accentuated in the late 1920s once British consulates in Latin America implemented a series of policies to obstruct the granting of Palestinian British nationality to Palestinians living abroad:

*The process of exclusion and inclusion through citizenship and immigration policies developed in tandem with the claims to collective racial and national identification via international law.*¹⁶

As a result, the circular life journey that related the Palestinian descendants in Chile to “otherwise unrelated localities” in the motherland was threatened with interruption. Among the diasporic community of the Palestinians, in the late 1920s, very few families settled in the Americas were allowed to return or even visit their motherland, or the land of their ancestors. The response of the Palestinian community in Chile was echoed by those of other diasporic communities throughout Latin America, from Mexico to El Salvador, Honduras and Chile. The *Palestinos* started to mobilize the diasporic communities beyond the borders of their host counties in the name of a common national identity located in Palestine.

The events and the policies put in place during the Mandate rule marked a shift between the developing of the identity of the diasporas that originated from Palestinian’s

¹⁵ Rashid Khalidi. (1997). *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York, USA: Columbia University Press. (Kindle Location 1133)

¹⁶ Bawalsa, Nadim. (2015). *Citizens from Afar. Palestinian migrants and the new world order, 1920 - 1930*. New York, USA: Routledge. *The Routledge handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*. P. 133

Lebanese and Syrian neighbours and the Palestinian's one. By viewing these events of the 1920s-30s through the eyes of the migrants settled in Chile we can retrieve previously unknown details to the history of the creation of a Palestinian *wataniyya*. The historical events that interrupted the life journey of many Palestinians acted to forge an "imagined" Palestinian community whose national dream "is not just a history of loss and dispossession, but also one of empowerment and endurance."¹⁷

Structure of the Thesis

The following work is organized in 4 chapters and 2 appendixes. The first chapter places the genesis of the Palestinian community of Chile within the framework of the global history of migration from the Arab Eastern Mediterrean. The Chapter provides a brief excursus on the factors behind the *mahjar*, the diaspora, from its commencement in the late 19th century, up to the Mandatory Era. This is followed by a brief excursus on the restrictive migration and citizenship policies implemented by the British Mandate on the Palestinians in the Americas, which serves as a historical base for reflections on the idea of 'interrupted life journeys' and their impact on the sense of national belonging of the diasporic community.

The second chapter narrows the focus on the *Palestinos*, the Palestinian colony in Chile. The chapter attempts to throw light on the social and historical composition of the Palestinian colony in Chile until the 1940s by the analysis of local sources. In particular, a social profile of the Palestinian community is assembled based on the sample provided by the journalist Ahmad Hassan Mattar, who carried out a census of the Palestinian,

¹⁷ Bawalsa, Nadim. (2015). *Citizens from Afar. Palestinian migrants and the new world order, 1920 - 1930*. New York, USA: Routledge. *The Routledge handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*. P. 133

Syrian and Lebanese descendants who were settled in Chile (The *Guía Social*, the Social Guide). The scope of Mattar's research was not only to quantify the Levantine presence in the country, but also to elaborate a social guide of the families by including a brief biographical description: profession, age, marital status, date of arrival in Chile, address. Every Palestinian householder with her/his details has been extracted from the census in order to elaborate statistics, charts and assumptions concerning arrival date, professions, gender, geographical distribution in the towns or villages of origin and arrival.

Chapter 3 presents a brief and introductory overview of the development of national sentiment in Greater Syria and an analysis of the narratives related to the Palestinian sense of nationhood prior to the Nakba. The following and last chapter is a selection of the primary sources that indicate the emergence of an Arab/Palestinian print culture relevant to the formation of an imagined diasporic community. During the 1920s, Palestinian migrants in Chile started to develop several journals and reviews, as well as to unite in Clubs and Associations referring to "Palestine" and "Palestinians". The Social Guide of Ahmad Hassan Mattar was helpful in retrieving information concerning the institution of the first clubs founded until the 1940s.¹⁸

Along with the clubs, during the early 1920s, an Arab Chilean press began to emerge and to spread among the intellectual circles of the migrant community. The most popular organ was *Mundo Arabe*, a literary review which dedicated ample space to poems and cultural events within the local community. The *fil rouge* of this journal was Arab pride in terms of cultural heritage and entrepreneurial initiative. The second

¹⁸ Some of these clubs continue to play a significant role in the construction of the Palestinian identity. It is curious to know that the *Club Palestino*, the soccer team founded in the 1920s by the diasporic Palestinian community in Chile, is today one of the most popular team in which Palestinian descendants identify. Moreover, it is officially recognized by the Palestinian Authority as the second Palestinian soccer team.

magazine analysed is *Oriente* - later named *Al Shark* – which addressed political issues, both in Chile and Palestine. As claimed in the first issue in 1927, *Oriente* was established with the purpose of “implacably inform[ing] on the policies of these heinous paternalistic leaders”¹⁹ (i.e. the British leaders in Palestine). The columns of *Oriente* reveal a fervid critique of the Mandate politics in Palestine, as well as an ardent condemnation of what they call “the Zionist utopia”. From 1927, *Oriente* denounced the British Consulate in Chile for not releasing the promised citizenship to many Palestinian descendants willing to return home as Palestinians.

The focus of the Chilean Arabic press on the ‘interrupted life journey’ imposed by British migration and citizenship policies in Palestine confirms the degree to which they precipitated an historical breaking point after which the migrants’ return to the dreamt national homeland was threatened. Despite the restrictions put in place from the time of the Mandate up to the present day, several Chilean families were able to travel physically to Palestine, and under Jordanian rule in the 1950s it became common for Chilean Palestinians to take wives from such ancestral towns as Bethlehem. However, by the then the unfolding of the 1948 Nakba had ensured that the West Bank rump that they could return to was far from the land their ancestors were describing. Unlike migrants of different nationalities, such as the Lebanese, the Syrians, the Germans or the Italians, who were able to retire to a secure homeland as ‘wealthy men’, proving that the American Eldorado was not just a myth, Palestinians had to face a different destiny. The misfortune of Palestine shattered the long-held dream of return; for the generations to come, reaching the Americas was no longer a fortunate journey but a bitter exile.

¹⁹ Editorial Staff. (1927). *Nuestra Primera Palabra. Oriente, n°1, p.1*

CHAPTER 1

MIGRATION TO THE AMERICAS From Late Ottoman Times to Mandatory Rule

*How could I ever forget the last sunset
in the land where I was born,
the land that retains the perfume of its memory
and the roots of my people?*²⁰

Benedicto (Jamil) Chauqui Keltun
Homs, Syria 1895 – Santiago, Chile 1970

Jamil was not yet 13 years old when he left Syria with his grandfather to reach the Americas. In 1908 he arrived in Chile, where he experienced years of hardship, poverty and discrimination. At the age of 22, Jamil obtained Chilean citizenship and began to find his place in the capital's intellectual life, by founding the literary reviews of *Ashibabat* ("Youth") and *Boletín del Instituto Chileno-Arabe de Cultura* ("Bulletin of the Chilean-Arab Cultural Institute"), as well as translating the work of several Arabic authors into Spanish. In 1942, Jamil published the first edition of *Memorias de un Emigrante* ("Memories of a Migrant"), which suddenly became the literary *manifesto* of Arab

²⁰Chauqui Keltun, Benedict (1957). *Memorias de un Emigrante*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Nascimento. P.107.

Original text: "¡Oh! ¿Cómo podré olvidar alguna vez la última puesta de sol en la tierra donde nací, donde quedaba el perfume del recuerdo y la raíz de mi raza?"(My translation)

migration to Latin America. Jamil soon emerged as one of the most prominent populariser of Arabic culture in South America, known in the anthologies with the name of Benedicto.

Benedicto's autobiography is indeed a specimen of the history of the Arab family migration of his generation. Like Chauqui, the first families who landed on the eastern coasts of the New World were generally dedicated to small business and trade. After years of deprivation and poverty, they were able to make fortune and integrate completely into the host society. In many countries, "Latin-Arabs" make up influential politico-economic elites. It is curious to know that Latin America counts many Arab presidents: Michel Temer, President of Brazil, whose family emigrated to Brazil from Btaaboura, in Northern Lebanon during First World War; Carlos Menem, President of Argentina from 1989 to 1999, was of Syrian origin; Julio Turbay, President of Colombia from 1978 to 1982, was Lebanese; Julio Salem (1944), Abdalà Bucaram (1996-1997), Jami Mahuad (1998-2000), Presidents of Ecuador, were all of Lebanese origin.

According to the latest figures, South and Central America is home to some 20 to 30 million people of Arab descent. Brazil is the country that hosts the largest community (approximately 15.000.000 people), followed by Venezuela with more than 1.6 million people of Arab origin.²¹

²¹ IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística <http://www.ibge.gov.br>

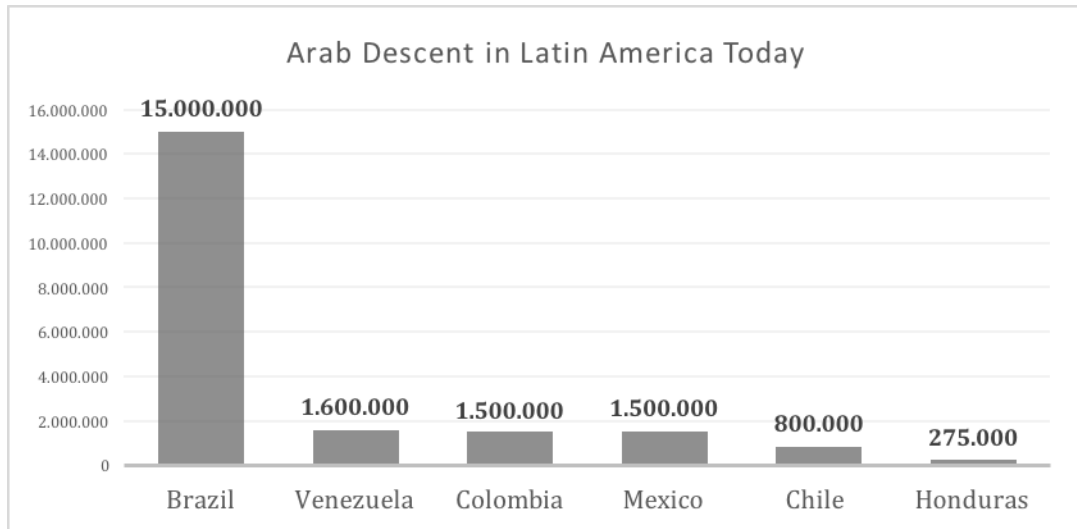


Figure 2: Arab Descent in Latin America Today

Quantifying Arab migration to Latin America throughout its different phases is complex and approximate due to the lack of statistics both in the country of origin and arrival. Many people abandoned their family or first names, or they lost memories of their ancestors. The majority of these families are 3rd or 4th generation. Arab diaspora goes back to the mid-19th century, when “*Amreeka*” started to attract a consistent number of Arabs eager to reach the land of “freedom, joy, and easy life”.²²

For the most part, Arab migration to Latin America tells a story of what Watenpaugh would call ‘globalized middle-class modernity’.²³ The immigration to the New World appealed to many workers around the globe who were hopeful to find a job either in the North, which was in the midst of the Industrial Revolution, or in Latin America, which offered hectares and hectares of available land to be cultivated. The Americas were a catalyst for workforce, trade and technology not only in Europe, but also across the

²² Chauqui Keltun, Benedict (1957). *Memorias de un Emigrante*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Nascimento. P.8.
Original Text: “*America. La tierra de la libertad, de la alegría, de la vida fácil*”. (My translation)

²³ See Watenpaugh, Keith David. (2006). *Being Modern in the Middle East*. Princeton, New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press.

Ottoman Empire, particularly in the areas of Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine, where the large majority of Arabs in Latin America come from. Many Arab families from the Eastern Mediterranean reached the coasts of Latin America to pursue financial gain: “Economic concerns were the primary motives for the migratory waves from the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire to the Americas which began around 1860.”²⁴

1.1 Arab diaspora: the reasons

Historians mark the beginning of the Arab migration in 1860, when thousands of Christians were massacred in Damascus and the Mount Lebanon area (with conspicuous loss also among the Druze community) during what is known as the 1860 Mount Lebanon Civil War. The massacre was the culmination of years of tensions between the different communities living in the area - mainly Muslims, Christians, and Druze – and their different economic interests.

The hostility in *Bilad Al-Sham*²⁵ increased when the son of Mohamed Ali Pacha,²⁶ Ibrahim Pacha, conquered Syria (1832). He commenced a series of reforms that changed the political and economic dynamics, particularly in Mount Lebanon. In that area, the Druze were mainly landowners and represented “feudal lords” of a sort. While many Christians were bourgeois often engaged in commerce, the most part of Maronite Christians found work in Druze lands. Pacha’s centralization of power threatened the

²⁴ Bawalsa, Nadim. (2015). *Citizens from Afar. The Routledge handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*. New York, USA: Routledge. P. 125

²⁵ In this text, the term “Bilad As-Sham” is used to indicate approximately the area of Lebanon, Syria, and historical Palestine.

²⁶ Mohammad Ali Pasha was an Ottoman Albanian commander in the Ottoman army who rose the rank of Pasha. He was particularly influential in shaping the post-Ottoman Egypt and he led military campaigns in the Levant.

Druze authority and embittered the resentment between the small farmers and the “feudal lords”.

With the withdrawal of the Egyptian forces and the arrival of the Europeans, Druze but also Muslim aristocratic families felt their power in precarious balance. Political tension reached its peak in 1860 when the land dispute between Druze and Christians broke into open conflict. Druze families - often backed by Ottoman forces and some Muslim families - attacked Christian districts of several mixed cities in Mount Lebanon. About 20.000 people died during the massacre in the areas of Mount Lebanon and Damascus alone. The events generated panic among the Christian communities in *Bilad Al-Sham*. In fact, the vast majority of Arab families in Latin America are Christian. Many fled to Cyprus or Egypt, as well as many European cities that constituted the centre of business at that time. After that, the chances of business with the Americas were at hand. An eyewitness account by Nessim Teubal, a Jew from Aleppo who migrated to Argentina at the end of XIX century, reports:

From 1880 many Semites of Oriental origin settled in Manchester; they were engaged in exportation to their home countries, such as Morocco, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran and even Turkey. Their trade was with Greece and the Balkans. This community constituted an elite and they were all on good terms. After 1920 new exporters - also Semites with Oriental origin - came to comply with the Latin American market.²⁷

The memory of the 1860 massacres is still vivid in the oral tradition of the Arab descendants, who mostly perceive their presence in Latin America as a result of religious persecution. However, several additional factors pushed thousands of Arab families from the areas of *Bilad As-Sham* to find fortune across the ocean. During the second half of the

²⁷ Teubal, Nessim. (1935). *El migrante de Alepo a Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires, Argentina. P. 35

19th century, the Sublime Porte was going through times of instability and deep change, which would lead to its final breakdown in 1922, after 623 years of Empire.

The first main factor that pushed many Christian Arab families to leave was the economic crisis. After decades of revolts and wars, the Ottoman Empire faced a severe financial breakdown which culminated in the declaration of bankruptcy in 1878. To cope with the crisis, the Ottomans implemented policies of austerity and centralization which affected the economy in both urban and rural areas in the *millet* of the Eastern Mediterranean. Urban economy was based on trade and small artisanship, while the rural economy was dominated by landlords - sometimes designated by the government authorities, but mainly coming from aristocratic families. Extreme conditions of poverty were widespread among the population. These harsh living conditions pushed small merchants, artisans and farmers to find fortune beyond the ocean.

Cultural reasons also contributed to the migration of many families to the Americas. Since the first decades of the 19th century, the Eastern Mediterranean started to attract many foreign missions, mostly of a religious and cultural character. In 1930 a religious mission led by the French was established in Beirut. The mission led to the translation of several literary masterpieces from Arabic into French or English, and vice versa.²⁸ In 1854 many university students coming from the Middle East had the possibility to complete their studies (mainly in Theology majors) in the United States. At the same time, several universities were born in the Middle East, such as the Lebanese San José University and what is known today as the American University of Beirut.²⁹

²⁸ Akmir, Abdeluahed. (2009). *Los Arabes en America Latina. Historia de una Emigración*. Madrid, Spain: Cara Arabe e Instituto Internacional de Estudios. P.7

²⁹ Ibid.

Travel agencies started to circulate propaganda as to the richness of the New World, the abundance of free land, jobs and easy earnings as well as to promote travel to the Americas.



Figure 3: Travel Advert. “One-way ticket from anywhere in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Turkey. Ask today for information on this important extremely cheap and convenient ticket service. Regular steamships to South America via Buenos Aires and Panama.” *Oriente*, (July 3rd, 1927), n°19. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

Western intellectual propaganda stimulated curiosity and fascination in the young Arab bourgeoisie, who began to image a “Dream Land” at the expense of a homeland with no prosperous future:

*Everything induced me to abandon Aleppo; life there had no future. There was no business that had more than 20 employees. What should I expect? Privation, poverty, and begging.*³⁰

³⁰ Teubal, Nessim. (1935). *El migrante de Alepo a Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires, Argentina. P. 71
Original Text: “*Todo me inducía a abandonar Alepo, la vida allí no tenía porvenir. No había un solo comercio que tuviera más de veinte personas empleadas. ¿Qué podía esperar?: privaciones, pobreza, mendicidad*”.

The third main reason which influenced the phenomenon of migration was the demographic growth in the area of *Bilad As-Sham*. In Lebanon the population density in 1880 exceeded 90 people per km²; the majority of the population was concentrated on the coastal areas, between Sidon and Tripoli. The demographic growth in some areas of Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine was also due to the Mount Lebanon Civil War. The clashes forced several families to flee mainly to the coastal areas of Lebanon, but also towards the South moving to Christian villages in Palestine or other cities in Syria. In many cases, the demographic pressure created a perception of saturation of resources and job opportunities, pushing those who had the chance to, to leave in order to pursue a better life.

In the following decades, new waves of migration broke out along the coasts of the Americas: “In 40 years, from 1869 to 1900, six hundred thousand Arabs abandoned the Middle East”.³¹ The prosperity that Ottoman Arabs largely found in the Americas induced many younger descendants of the families who had already migrated, to join them in times of difficulty, following the so-called “*push-pull*” theory,³² where “push” indicates the historical event happening in the Levant that literally “pushed” many families to leave their home; and “pull” means the attraction towards other countries.

With the outbreak of the First World War, the migration increased significantly. In 1914 about a million Arabs reached Latin America to escape the war and, ten years later,

³¹ Olguín Tenorio, Myriam & Gonzàles, Patricia Peña. (1990). *La inmigracion Arabe en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Instituto Chileno-Arabe de Cultura. P. 62

³²Ustan, Mustafa. (2012). *La inmigracion Arabe en America - Los Arabes Otomanos en Chile: Identidad y adaptacion (1839-1922)*. Clifton, USA: Editorial La Fuente. P. 5

the Arab diaspora involved 1.5 million people. The chart below shows the Arab presence from 1914 to 1930 in the states that hosted the largest number of families.³³

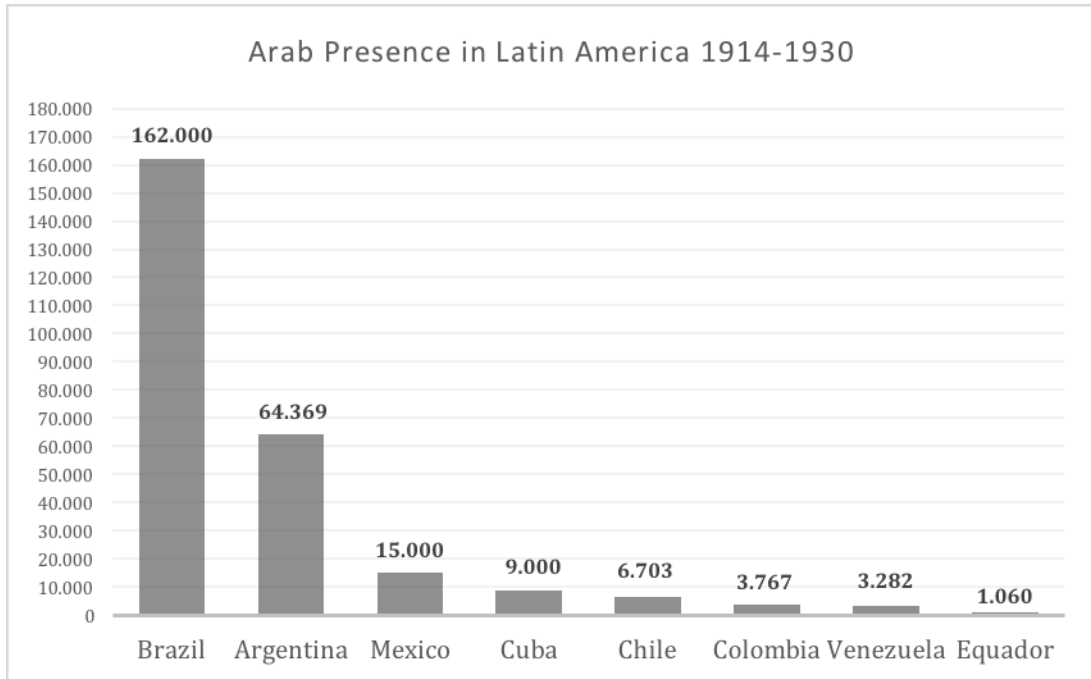


Figure 4: Arab Presence in Latin America 1914-1930

1.2 Towards integration

As Benedicto Chauqui reports in his autobiography, the path towards integration was not easy. The first Arabs were usually peddlers or owned small shops in working-class neighbourhoods, often labelled as “*Turcos*” (Turks), at the point that districts with high presence of Arab residents were called “*Barrios de los Turcos*” (Turks’ district), particularly in large cities, such as the Bom Retiro district of Sao Paulo, Copacabana and

³³ Akmir, Abdeluahed. (2009). *Los Arabes en America Latina. Historia de una Emigracion*. Madrid, Spain: Cara Arabe e Instituto Internacional de Estudios. P.20

Ipanema in Rio de Janeiro, barrio Recoleta in Santiago de Chile, and barrio Villa Crespo in Buenos Aires.

Through the years, the image of Arabs improved significantly in the eyes of Latin Americans, due to social, political and economic factors. Arabs quickly integrated to the society by succeeding both academically and professionally. Mixed marriages contributed to the assimilation of Arabs into the community strongly, creating family bonds in the emerging industrial and banking bourgeoisie.³⁴ Arab immigrants played an important role in the development of emerging industrial sectors, particularly textiles and coal.³⁵

During the first half of the XX century, the modest clubs of migrants, which were born initially to cope with marginalization and discrimination, started to become influential associations in which the members ceased to be generally identified as “*Turcos*” and began to assert their identity as Syrians, Lebanese and Palestinians. In 1932 the “*Club Sirio-Libanés Honor y Patria*” (*Honour and Motherland Syrian-Lebanese Club*) was founded in Buenos Aires with the original scope of promoting Arab gastronomy in the capital. In a few years, the club was able to strengthen ties with Argentinian political elites, at the point that it became the main advocate for the annulment of laws against the entrance of Arab migrants in the country.³⁶ Similar

³⁴ Akmir, Abdeluahed. (2009). *Los Arabes en America Latina. Historia de una Emigración*. Madrid, Spain: Cara Arabe e Instituto Internacional de Estudios. P. 30

³⁵ Vitale, Luis. (2012). *Interpretación Marxista de la Historia de Chile*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones. Vol. 2. Location 10639.

³⁶ Akmir, Abdeluahed. (2009). *Los Arabes en America Latina. Historia de una Emigración*. Madrid, Spain: Cara Arabe e Instituto Internacional de Estudios. P. 32

achievements were reached in Brazil by the “*Club Deportivo Sirio*” (*Syrian Sports Club*) founded in 1936.

In towns with a thriving cultural life and a large Arab presence, the Levantine migrant communities developed a noteworthy press, able to compete with the national cultural arena of the early 19th century. The first periodicals published by Arabs appeared in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. The Arab community in Brazil published around 150 reviews between 1898 and 1940, although most of them had short duration.³⁷ Several reviews became the official channel through which the Arab community was expressing its economic achievements and political stances. In the 1930s, the migrant communities’ press in Brazil started to become so popular that, about 10 years later, the government introduced a law to forbid official publications in foreign languages.³⁸ The most popular Arab magazines, such as *Diario Sirio-Libanès* and *Assalàm* in Argentina, *Al Uruba* in Brazil, *Al Shark* and *Mundo Arabe* in Chile, begin to be published in the two languages before switching to the sole national language only by the late 1920s.

For the new generations of Arabs the days of discrimination became a distant memory. The sound of the language and the smell of the native soil from where, long before, *los Turcos* crossed the ocean to reach the Americas was a far and distant memory:

*Little by little, the longing for my land came to be weaker. Feebler was the pain for feeling uprooted. Despite all the difficulties of understanding and building friendship in the daily relationship with people I had contact with, I noticed that, from my side, there was already a pleasant and solid feeling towards the Chilean land, as well as to its uses and customs.*³⁹

³⁷ Akmir, Abdeluahed. (2009). *Los Arabes en America Latina. Historia de una Emigracion*. Madrid, Spain: Cara Arabe e Instituto Internacional de Estudios. P.40

³⁸ Ibid. 41

³⁹ Chauqui Keltun, Benedict (1957). *Memorias de un Emigrante*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Nacimiento. P.172.

1.3 Interrupted life Journeys

During the decades leading to the assimilation of the Arab communities within their host countries, it was quite common, especially for single householders, to visit home in the Levant every few years and then go back to their host countries in the Americas as wealthy and successful men. Narratives on the Arab diaspora to the Americas usually “speak of the voyages and the arrivals in the *mahjar* [diaspora], the money they sent back, and the “assimilation” of those who stayed. But nothing is said about a host of other matters, the most critical of which is the story of return.”⁴⁰

By the mid-1920s, these very “stories of return” will demarcate a different future for the Palestinian diasporic community. Several migrant families from different nationalities, not only coming from the Arab world but also from South and central Europe, were able to return home, proving that the American Eldorado was not just a myth, but a well-earned achievement.

During the Ottoman sovereignty over Palestine, Palestinian migrants in the Americas were still able to travel back home with relative ease and “great emphasis was placed on thrift so that they could go back to Palestine with something to show for their years of hard work and absence,”⁴¹ However, things changed in the mid-1920s, when the British Mandate was established. From then on, Palestinians willing to return home, whether

Original text: “*Poco a poco la añoranza del terruño se iba haciendo más débil. Menos fuerte el dolor de sentirme desarraigado. A pesar de todas las dificultades de comprensión y de amistad en la diaria relación con las personas con las cuales tenía contacto, notaba que de mi parte ya existía un sentimiento grato y sólido hacia la tierra chilena, como también hacia sus usos y costumbres.*”

⁴⁰ Khater, Akram Fouad. (2001). *Inventing Home - Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870–1920*. Berkley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press. P.2

⁴¹ Baeza, Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.

temporarily or permanently, had to face considerable impediments. The political and bureaucratic obstacles put in place by the British power were perceived by the migrants as a first sign of the political precariousness of Palestine.

Migrants who were able to acquire the citizenship in their host country were not recognized as Palestinian citizens anymore. Thus, they had to apply for a visa in order to enter their home country. The obtainment of the visa was anything but guaranteed and visa rejections for Palestinian migrants were quite frequent.⁴² On the other hand, Palestinians who did not acquire the host country's citizenship were not considered Palestinians either. Those people had to apply for obtaining their Palestinian nationality at the British consulates and embassies around the Americas.

The conditions for obtaining the nationality were extremely difficult to meet. In 1925, the Mandate rulers issued the "1925 Palestinian Citizenship Order" which stipulated that: "Born within Palestine and [who] acquired on birth or subsequently and still possess Turkish nationality and on the 1st day of August 1925, are habitually resident abroad, may acquire Palestinian citizenship."⁴³ Initially, to be able to apply, migrants should meet three criteria: not exceed 12 years of sojourn abroad, prove the intention of returning to Palestine permanently, and stay in Palestine for a minimum of 6 continuing months.

However, one year later, the High Field Commissioner for Palestine and Transjordan⁴⁴

⁴² See Baeza, Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2

⁴³ Bawalsa, Nadim. (2015). *Citizens from Afar. Palestinian migrants and the new world order, 1920 - 1930*. New York, USA: Routledge. The Routledge handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates. P. 123

⁴⁴ The High Commissioner for Palestine and Transjordan was the highest authority to represent the United Kingdom in Palestine and Transjordan during the Mandate Era. The High Commissioner for Palestine, separated from the one in Transjordan in 1928, was based in Jerusalem until the creation of the state of Israel in 1948.

issued a decree that terminated the right to obtain the citizenship for Palestinians living abroad in the name of the limited “absorptive capacity” of Palestine.

The British policies on Palestinian nationality spread discontent throughout the several migrant communities scattered all over the Americas. Dozens of petitions and complaints were submitted to the British consulates in the United States, Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, and Chile.⁴⁵ The lack of recognized nationality affected negatively the daily life of many Palestinians living overseas: not being able to provide valid citizenship papers to the authorities of their host countries, Palestinians were prevented from renewing their residency permits and, therefore, they were not eligible for naturalization.

In Chile and Mexico thousands of Palestinians were left stateless for decades. In El Salvador, for example, the lack of valid citizenship prevented Palestinian migrants from conducting businesses, which limited drastically their source of livelihood.

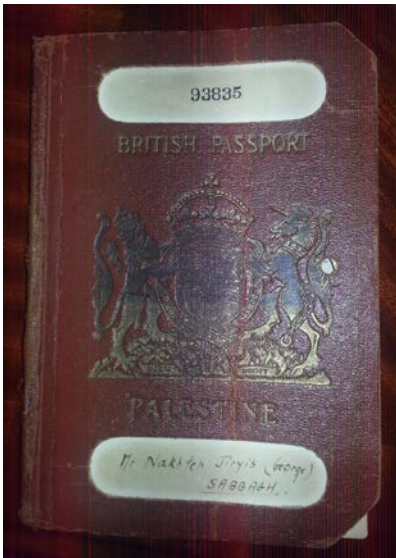


Figure 5: Cover of a Palestinian Passport during the British Mandate

⁴⁵ Bawalsa, Nadim. (2015). *Citizens from Afar. The Routledge handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*. New York, USA: Routledge. P. 123

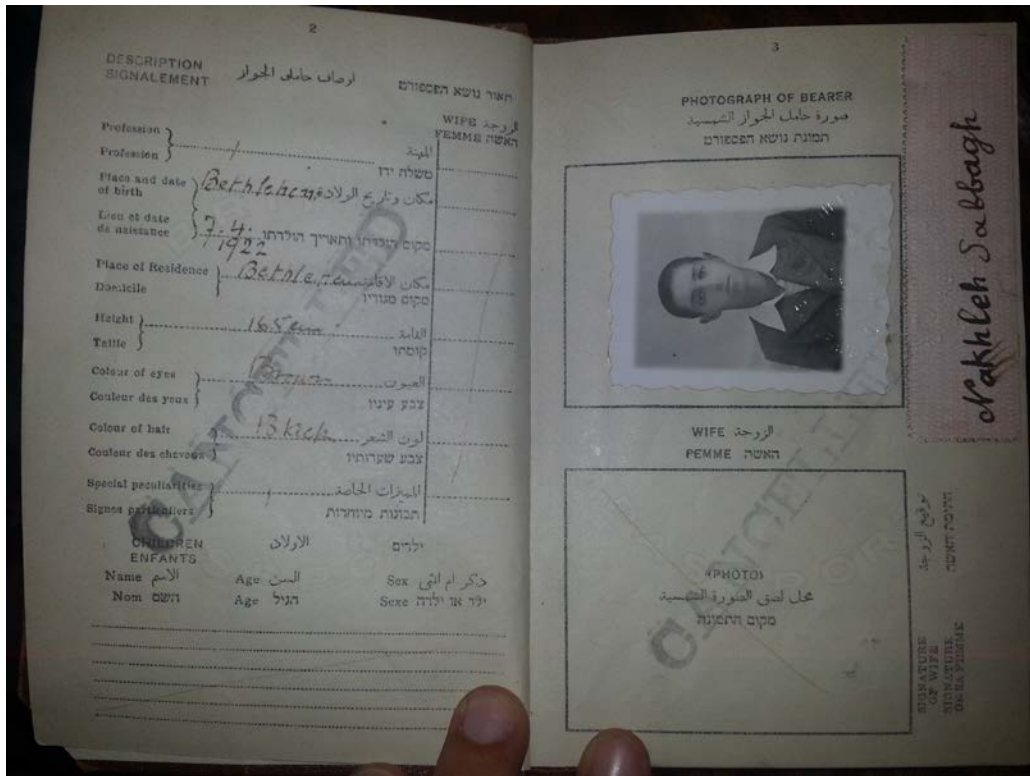


Figure 6: Intern of a Palestinian Passport during the British Mandate

Many Palestinians' requests of citizenships were rejected from the Mandate authorities, who did not recognize any claim of cultural or linguistic belonging to Palestinians absent for an undetermined amount of years. Furthermore, the British government explained its interest in avoiding the creation of "a class of persons permanently residing abroad who could be entitled to British protection. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the British government in Jerusalem was mandated to fulfil its promises to afford citizenship to European Jews seeking settlement in Palestine. Most Palestinian migrants were well aware of this."⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Bawalsa, Nadim. (2015). *Citizens from Afar. The Routledge handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*. New York, USA: Routledge. P. 124

CHAPTER 2

LOS PALESTINOS OF CHILE

Miriam was a 15-year-old girl with her whole life in her eyes. She left school to get married and that new lesson did not seem difficult for her. She lived 4 years with her husband in joyous company, with nothing else worth noting but giving birth to Catia and Farida. Then, like a shadow at the end of a wall, loneliness came. Her husband left for America, eager to improve his situation. He was dedicated to trade, moving from one place to another, and it seemed that he found some good fortune.⁴⁷

Ema Cabar Kunkar
Beit Jala, Palestine 1907 - Chillan, Chile.

The Palestinian community in Chile is the largest Palestinian community outside the Arab world. To the present day, *Los Palestinos* represent the elites of the Chilean society in the fields of finance, industry, politics, as well as literature and arts. In common with other Arab diasporic communities settled in the Americas, the Palestinians started as peddlers and salesmen before being able to climb the social ladder. The Chilean-Palestinians of today preserve a vivid collective memory of the times of discrimination and ghettoization that their ancestors had to endure. The following chapter will provide a history of the genesis of the Palestinian diaspora in Chile and will go on to

⁴⁷ Cabar Kunkar, Ema (1985). *El Valor de Vivir*. Chillan, Chile: Instituto Chileno-Arabe de Cultura Ediciones Sociedad Escritores de Nuble. P. 5

Original text: “*Miriam tenía quince años y toda la vida en sus ojos. Salió de la escuela para entrar en el matrimonio y la nueva lección no le pareció difícil. Vivió cuatro años con su marido en alegre compañía, sin otros sucesos más dignos de notar, que el nacimiento de Catia y Farida. Luego como la sombra al final del muro, vino la soledad. Su marido fue a América, deseoso de mejorar la situación. Estuvo dedicado al comercio, fue de un lado a otro y, al parecer, hizo alguna mediana fortuna.*”

present a social profile of the Palestinos in Chile before the 1940s based on the census carried on by Ahmad Hassan Mattar in his *Social Guide of the Arab Colony in Chile*.

2.1 Going to America: reasons and travel routes

The first Palestinians to reach Chile were mainly young men coming from around the area of Bethlehem⁴⁸ and belonging to Christian families of merchants and traders.



Figure 6: Map. Bethlehem surroundings.

Once they arrived in Chile, the first Palestinians mainly worked as peddlers or as owners of small businesses:

*Because of their significance in Europe's nascent Holy Land tourism trade, the towns in question witnessed a boom in demand for the religious handicrafts they produced and the concomitant emergence of a new class of merchants, especially in and around Bethlehem (including Bayt Jala and Bayt Sahur). [...] Initially, the merchants sought to expand their activities to Europe, especially France, but "Amreeka" rapidly became the new Eldorado.*⁴⁹

⁴⁸Baeza, Cecilia. (2011). *Women in the Arab-Palestinian Associations in Chile: Long Distance Nationalism and Gender Mixing*. Beirut, Lebanon: The Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World, Lebanese American University. Al- Raida, issue 133-134.

⁴⁹ Baeza, Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.

The reason behind the persistent migration of Palestinians from the Bethlehem region cannot be accounted for entirely by one factor alone. Besides trade, in the 1910s and 20s, when the Palestinian emigration gained its *momentum*, a new military conscription law came into effect following the Young Turks Revolution.⁵⁰ The law imposed military service on all Ottoman subjects, therefore “Christian families were particularly concerned that their sons would serve as cannon fodder and they sent their male children off to Latin America where they had relatives. Many Muslim families would have done likewise, but lacked the transnational social capital (i.e., social networks overseas) and sometimes the economic resources to do so.”⁵¹

The First World War devastated the area of the Levant, leaving the population in the grips of starvation and poverty. Many Palestinians abandoned their land during the war years to find relief elsewhere, mostly in countries where their relatives had moved earlier. The key factor behind the migration chain of the Palestinians to Chile was indeed their family networks overseas. Up to this day, *los Palestinos* often share common family names, in addition to the same cities of origin in Palestine; family ties were the main reason to induce the chain migration that led many young people from Palestine to embark on such a long and onerous journey.

Individual and personal motivations are reasons usually put on the back burner of the migration narratives: “the men were inspired to follow the pioneers’ path in their

⁵⁰ See: Ustan, Mustafa. (2012). *La inmigración Árabe en América - Los Árabes Otomanos en Chile: Identidad y adaptación (1839-1922)*. Clifton, USA: Editorial La Fuente; and: Olguin Tenorio, Myriam & Gonzales, Patricia Peña. (1990). *La inmigración Árabe en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Instituto Chileno-Árabe de Cultura.

⁵¹ Baeza, Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.

westward migration to do business, while the women came along mostly as daughters and spouses.”⁵² Until the early 1930s, more than 90 percent of the marriages within the Palestinian community in Latin America were ethnically endogamous, that is, between Arabs. Yet although often forgotten by the migration narratives, many women from the Levant also decided to undertake the journey to the Americas (up to 1941, 23% of the Arab migrants were female). “The men were inspired to follow the pioneers’ paths in their westward migration to do business, while the women came along mostly as daughters and spouses. And until the early 1930s, more than 90 percent of the marriages within the Palestinian community in Latin America were ethnically endogamous, that is, between Arabs.”⁵³

Reaching Chile was indeed an arduous endeavour especially considering the natural obstacles of a land identified during the early modern period as the *finis terrae*, the end of the Earth. After landing on the eastern coasts of the Americas - mainly at the harbours of Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro-, the final journey to reach Chile was not devoid of adversities. From the coast, travellers would reach Mendoza, the Argentinean town sitting in the valley right at the foot of the Andes Cordillera, where their journey through the mountains would begin.

⁵² Baeza, Cecilia.(2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.

⁵³ Baeza, Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.



Figure 7: Map. The travel route across the Andes Cordillera

The way across the Andes Cordillera, “a wall of ice and rock”⁵⁴, is a bitter memory that has stayed alive since the times of the European conquerors and their descendants. Travellers used to cross the Andes on the back of mules for a ride lasting 4 days at least.⁵⁵ Only in 1910 was a railway connecting Mendoza to Santa Rosa de Los

⁵⁴ Baeza, Rafael Sagredo. (2014). *Historia Mínima de Chile*. Mexico City, Mexico: DR El Colegio de México. Location 847.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Andes opened to traffic.⁵⁶ The Las Cuevas station, close to the border between Argentina and Chile, is the highest point of the route exceeding 3,500 meters in altitude.

It is no wonder that the Palestinian colony established in Chile looks back to its ancestors with great pride. In 1937, the Syrian-Palestinian Trade Association sponsored the publication of a survey of the most influential industrial families of Palestinian or Syrian origin. The prologue states:

*This book - whose pages contain the superb work of wisely tempered men, who came to this Austral country beyond the seas from the millenary Arab land with nothing more than their faith; men who stringed out the long, vast, and fertile Chilean land amalgamating with its sons; men who carved their destinies under the scorching sunlight as well as under hurricanes and tempests to cooperate for the progress of these lands - is a gift to Chile, with the most sincere gratitude for its generous hospitality.*⁵⁷

2.2 The first Palestinian colony

The lack of official records as well as the use of Ottoman passports makes it difficult to estimate the extent to which the first Palestinian community settled in Chile. The most accurate estimations have been calculated by analysing the several national censuses carried out since Independence. The first mention of two “*turcos*” citizens resident in

⁵⁶ The *Transandine Railway (Ferrocarril Trasandino)* was a 248-km rail link across the Andes connecting Mendoza to Santa Rosa de Los Andes in Chile. The railway retraced one of the most ancient paths through the Cordillera. The Transandine completed the rail link between the Argentinean capital Buenos Aires and the Chilean port of Valparaiso, being the first route to link the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. The railway was closed in 1984, when it was partially dismantled and the decaying traces of the ancient road continue to disappear.

⁵⁷ Asociacion Comercial Sirio-Palestina. (1937). *Las Industrias de las Colectividades de Habla Arabe en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Soc. Imprenta y Litografia Universo. Pag. 8
Original Text: “*Esta obra, cuyas páginas encierran la soberbia labor de hombres de acerado temple, llegados a este país austral, de más allá de los mares, de las milenarias tierras arábigas, sin más bagaje que su fe, y que a lo largo del extenso y fértil territorio chileno se esparcieron amalgamándose con sus hijos, y que tanto bajo los calcinantes rayos solares, como bajo las huracanadas tempestades, labraron sus destinos y cooperaron al progreso de estas tierras, es una ofrenda: a Chile, con la más sincera gratitud por su generosa hospitalidad.*”

Chile appears in the census of 1854.⁵⁸ However, the exact provenance of these two men cannot be determined.

At the beginning of the 1940s, the journalist Ahmad Hassan Mattar, sponsored by the *Club Palestino* Association⁵⁹, carried out a census of the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese descendants resident in Chile. The effort took more than 4-years of work, touching on every town in Chile, from North to South. The scope of Mattar's research was not only to quantify the Levantine presence in the country, but also to elaborate a social guide to the families by including a brief personal description: profession, age, marital status, date of arrival in Chile, address.

According to Mattar's census, in 1941, the most numerous Levantine families were Palestinians (1,235 families), followed by the Syrians (706 families, mainly coming from Homs) and the Lebanese (448 families, mainly from the village of Akoura). The census is based on the householders, thus the list includes a large majority of men. As for the Palestinian families, only 4,7% of the householders listed are female, mainly widows. While for the men the Guide provides a standard set of information, usually women are only mentioned with their family name as widows, with little or no biographical information.

⁵⁸ Akmir, Abdeluahed. (2009). *Los Arabes en America Latina. Historia de una Emigracion*. Madrid, Spain: Cara Arabe e Instituto Internacional de Estudios. P.105

⁵⁹ Established in 1920, the Palestinian Sports Club was born as sport club as well as focal point for all the Palestinian families living in the capital. To the present day, the Club hosts social, cultural and political events; moreover, it funds the only Palestinian Football Team in the world officially supported by the Palestinian Authority. <http://clubpalestino.cl/>;
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xIVmyFlGvN4&feature=youtu.be>

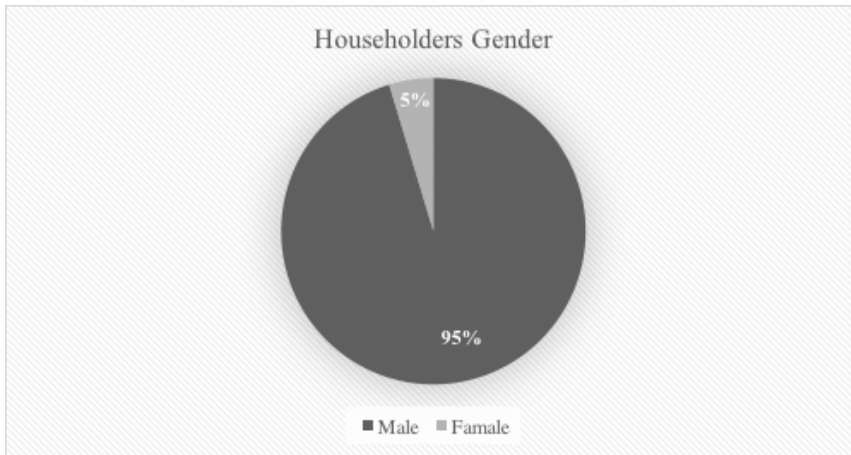


Figure 8: Palestinian Householders gender breakdown. Source: *Guía Social* (1941).

According to the Social Guide, the first Palestinian to settle in Chile was Hirmas Pacifico who arrived to Santiago in 1892 from the city of Bethlehem. The influx of Palestinian families reached its peak during First World War, when approximately 379 families fled Palestine to seek relief in Chile.



Figure 9: Arrival in Chile year breakdown. Source: *Guía Social* (1941).

The majority of the Palestinian families who settled in Chile up to the 1940s came from the Bethlehem area, mainly from the village of Beit Jala. The chart below shows the first 5 cities of origin of the first Palestinian colony in Chile:

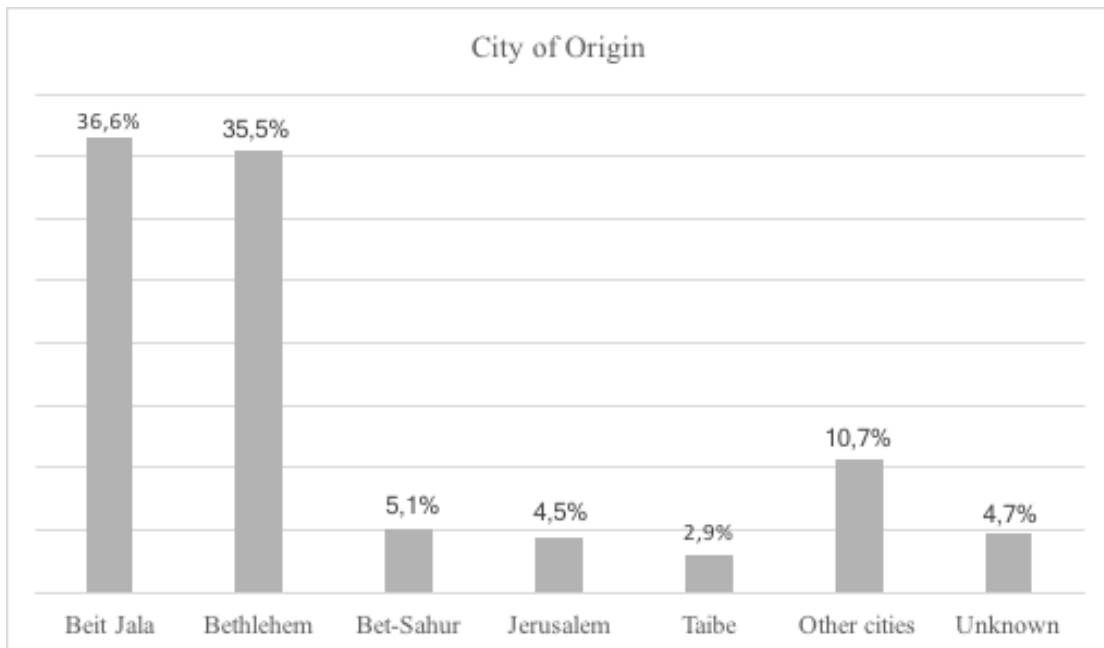


Figure 10: City of Origin. Source: *Guía Social* (1941).

City of Origin	# of Families	%
Beit Jala	452	36,6%
Bethlehem	439	35,5%
Bet-Sahur	63	5,1%
Jerusalem	55	4,5%
Taibe	36	2,9%
Other cities	132	10,7%
Unknown	58	4,7%

By the early 1940s, Palestinian descents were mostly merchants; about 8,1% of the families owned and managed industries as going concerns. Palestinian industries were engaged in the textile sector, particularly specialized in silk fabrics. Palestinians were also involved in agriculture, working as landlords and farmers. Other common job titles

included: travelling salesman, peddler, broker, employee, doctor, journalist, priest, accountant, pharmacist, photographer, and even theatre impresario.

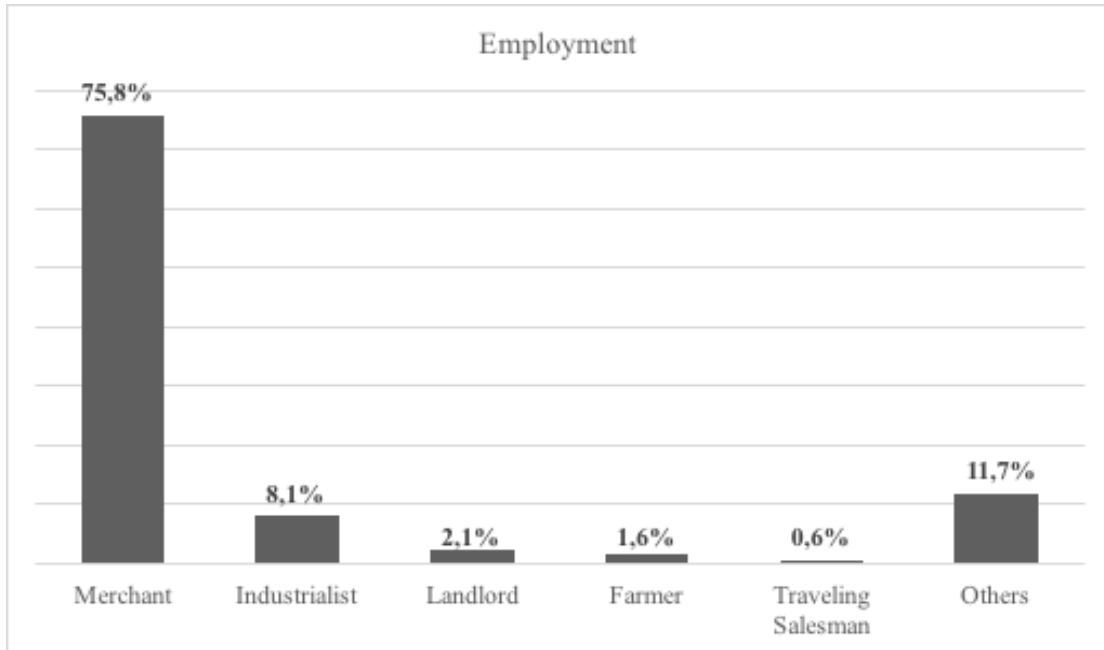


Figure 11: Employment breakdown. Source: *Guia Social* (1941).

Kind of Employment	Individuals	%
Merchant	936	75,6%
Industrialist	100	8,0%
Landlord	26	2,1%
Farmer	20	1,5%
Traveling Salesman	7	0,6%
Others	146	12,1%
Total:	1235	100,0%



Figure 12: Map. Santiago de Chile. Districts of Recoleta and Patronato.

More than 400 Palestinian families (34,4 %) were resident in Santiago, mainly in the districts of Recoleta and Patriarcato. At that time, these areas constituted the suburbs of the capital, offering cheaper rent and more affordable living costs. The city of Concepción was the second largest city for Palestinian concentration, being home to approximately 32 families. Other families were scattered around Ovalle, Chillán, and Talca.



Figure 13: Map. Palestinian families' concentration in Chile. Source: *Guía Social* (1941).

2.3 Migration Policies in Chile

From the very beginning of the Republic of Chile, migration was a central point for the consolidation of the new-born state. Similarly to many other countries in Latin America, the prevailing understanding among the ruling elites was “To govern is to populate.”⁶⁰ Policies in favour of migration started to be implemented in 1824⁶¹, only a few years after the battle of Maipù, which led to the proclamation of the Independence of Chile from the Spanish crown in April 1818.⁶² People coming from the Old World were at first attracted by the promise of prosperity and land. Many migrants took over the estates previously under the control of the “*colonos*”, the Spanish colonizers. In return for the reclamation of extensive uncultivated territories, migrants were allowed to own and manage large expanses of land.⁶³

Centuries of Spanish colonialism had left Chile underdeveloped and the gap was increased by the onset of the industrial revolution in Europe and North America. When the Spanish troops left the country, Chile was a semi feudal land whose economy was based on agriculture and farming. The development of industry was, therefore, a main priority for the new state, which was hunting for expertise and labour: “The native-born populations [...] were too small to provide the necessary manpower for the flourishing

⁶⁰ Solberg, Carl. (1970). *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890–1914*. Austin, Texas, USA: Institute of Latin American Studies University of Texas Press. Kindle Edition. Kindle Location 164

⁶¹ Akmir, Abdeluahed. (2009). *Los Arabes en America Latina. Historia de una Emigracion*. Madrid, Spain: Cara Arabe e Istituto Internacional de Estudios. P.102

⁶² Vitale, Luis. (2012). *Interpretación Marxista de la Historia de Chile*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones. Vol. 2. Location 50

⁶³ Akmir, Abdeluahed. (2009). *Los Arabes en America Latina. Historia de una Emigracion*. Madrid, Spain: Cara Arabe e Istituto Internacional de Estudios. P.104

export economy that the [...] Chilean elites envisioned. Chile, a country of about 300,000 square miles, had about 1,600,000 inhabitants in 1860.”⁶⁴

Until the outbreak of the First World War, Chile enacted no immigration restrictions allowing any foreigner to enter the country. For several decades (until 1930s), the only requirement to cross the border was the ownership of a passport; however, in most cases access was allowed even without this condition.⁶⁵ In 1860s the Chamber of Representatives established a rank of migrants coming to the country from the Old World: Germans were the most numerous,⁶⁶ followed by Italians, Swiss, Irish, Scottish, English, French and finally Spanish.⁶⁷ The newly formed government perceived European migration as a tool for the cultural, economic and social development of the Republic:

*The country needed foreign people. They energized the economy by introducing new techniques and tools, new ideas in business and jobs, and they brought new concepts for the avid environment that modern knowledge was.*⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Solberg, Carl. *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890–1914*. Austin, Texas, USA: Institute of Latin American Studies University of Texas Press. Kindle Edition. Kindle Locations 158-159.

⁶⁵ Rayes Coca, Marco Aurelio. (1997). *¿Existió indocumentación entre los inmigrantes Palestinos llegados a Chile?* Chillan, "Chile: Universidad del Bío-Bío Chillan - TIEMPO Y ESPACIO /7-8/ 1997-8 Depto. Historia, Geografía y Cs. Sociales. P. 226

⁶⁶ In 1845 the German migration had a tangible impact in shaping not only the economy but also the architecture of the Southern city of Valdivia and its surroundings. Today Osorno, Llanquihue as well as Valdivia are vastly populated by families of German origin and the area represents one of the main industrial areas of the country.

⁶⁷ Akmir, Abdeluahed. (2009). *Los Arabes en America Latina. Historia de una Emigración*. Madrid, Spain: Cara Arabe e Instituto Internacional de Estudios. P.103

⁶⁸ Agar Lorenzo. (1982). Thesis: *El Comportamiento urbano de los migrantes árabes en Chile y Santiago*. Santiago, Chile: Instituto de Estudios Urbanos, Universidad Católica. P. 64

Original text: “*El país tenía necesidad de extranjeros, ellos dinamizaban la economía: introduciendo nuevas técnicas y herramientas, nuevas ideas en los negocios y trabajos: también traían nuevos conceptos para un ambiente ávido de saber moderno.*”

Although among the different nationalities of migrants Palestinians eventually proved to be the community that had the greatest importance in the development of the Chilean economy,⁶⁹ the first newcomers from the Arab world were not granted the same welcome: “Unlike European immigrants, they had not been invited by Latin American countries to occupy and farm vast portions of arable land.⁷⁰ Palestinians, and Arabs in general, were frequently exposed to prejudice and defamation; they were identified as an inferior ethnic group and publicly despised in most intellectual and media circles. Chilean society was marked at times by widespread hostility and intolerance towards the unknown Palestinian culture, a phenomenon that bears the name of *turkophobia*, ‘fear of the Turks.’

2.4 From “Turkophobia” to integration

“Whether they are Mohammedan or Buddhist, what can be seen and smelled from far away is that they are all dirtier than the dogs of Constantinople; they get in and out of the country with the same freedom that those dogs enjoy in their land; furthermore, no one asks who they are, where they come from, and where they are going.”⁷¹

Palestinians were particularly unwelcome among some Chilean *intelligentsia*,

⁶⁹ Sanfuentes, Andres. (1964). *La influencia de los Árabes en el Desarrollo Economico de Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Universidad de Chile. P. 24

⁷⁰ Baeza, Cecilia.(2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.

⁷¹ Editorial staff. *El Mercurio*. April 13th, 1911.

El Mercurio is a conservative Chilean newspaper first published in 1827 in the city of Valparaiso and in 1900 in Santiago. The newspaper is the oldest daily currently in circulation in Chile and it is considered the country’s paper-of-record. *El Mercurio* acted as mouthpiece for the propaganda to undermine the government of Salvador Allende and played a significant role in mobilising its opponents. In the early 1970s, the daily received funds from the CIA, personally authorized by the US president Richard Nixon. Original text: “*Ya sean mahometanos o budistas, lo que se ve o huele desde lejos, es que todos son más sucios que los perros de Constantinopla y que entran y salen del país con la libertad que esos mismos perros disfrutaban en el suyo, pues nadie les pregunta quiénes son, de donde vienen, ni para donde van*”.

whose discriminatory attitudes were inspired by European racial ideologies.⁷² Ottoman passport holders, whether Arabs, Greeks, Turks, or Armenian, were labelled as *Turcos*. The term's pejorative connotation was associated with their occupations, rather than a presumed racial category. *Turco* was the synonym of peddler and door-to-door trader.

Indeed, the first Palestinians to settle in Chile started out selling mainly religious handicrafts on the streets. In a few years however, they were able to buy little shops and eventually small textile plants. The social status of the *Palestinos* began to change in the mid-1930s, when new national policies created favourable conditions for the Palestinians to become real estate developers.

At the beginning of the 1930s, during the presidency of Arturo Alessandri Palma (1932-1938), the social class structure of the country was significantly reshaped. The rise of a new industrial, financial and agrarian bourgeoisie undermined the hegemony of the creole mining bourgeoisie.⁷³ Palma's government implemented policies to favour domestic manufactured products aiming at a drastic reduction of imports. Conspicuous incentives were offered on the purchase of imported machine tools such as low tariffs, no custom duties, favourable bank loans mainly from the Banco de Chile, the country's largest bank. For the Palestinian small and middle merchants, particularly in the Patronato district of the capital Santiago, these policies turned out to be extremely favourable. "According to the registers of Chile's Syrian-Palestinian Commercial Association, 147 industrial plants were set up with 'Arab funds' between 1933 and 1937,

⁷² Baeza, Cecilia.(2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.

⁷³ Vitale, Luis. (2012). *Interpretaciòn Marxista de la Historia de Chile*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones. Vol. 3. Chapter IV. Kindle Location 1340

two-thirds of them in the textile or clothing industry.”⁷⁴

Soon, young Palestinian started to access the top universities of the country, gaining expertise in the fields of medicine, law, engineering, and literature. Between 1940s-50s, middle-class Palestinian professionals began to succeed in politics “when two ministers of Palestinian descent representing the Agrarian Labour Party (PAL) served in the government [...]; the best known of them was Rafael Tarud Siwady, the minister of economy and mining, nicknamed El Turco Tarud.”⁷⁵



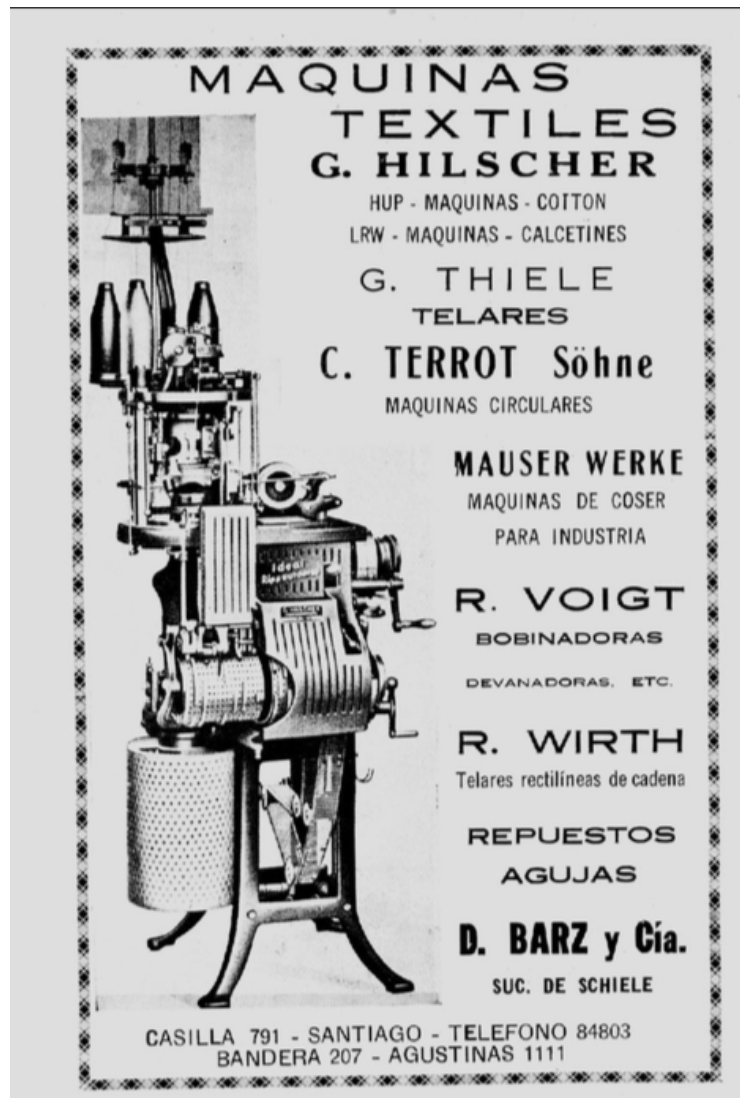
Figure 14: “Factory of Yarn and Cotton Fabrics. Yarur Brothers, 1937.” *Asociacion Comercial Sirio-Palestina. (1937). Las Industrias de las Colectividades de Habla Arabe en Chile.* Santiago, Chile: Soc. Imprenta y Litografia Universo. P. 191

“The trajectory of Juan Yarur Lolás is a good example [...]. Juan Yarur and his younger brother, Nicolás, left Palestine in 1902 for Latin America, where they already had relatives in Chile and in Bolivia. After a few years of peddling, the two brothers opened a shop, eventually starting a small textile plant in La Paz in 1929. In the mid-1930s, the Chilean government under President Arturo Alessandri (1932-1938) invited Juan Yarur to establish a larger operation in Santiago, offering him incentives that included no custom duties on imported machine tools, low tariffs on imported supplies, and a loan of more than one million

⁷⁴ Baeza, Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism.* Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.

⁷⁵ Baeza, Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism.* Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.

U.S. dollars from the Banco de Chile, the country's largest bank. The Yarur brothers accepted the generous deal and founded a cotton manufacturing company in 1936.⁷⁶



**MAQUINAS
TEXTILES
G. HILSCHER**
HUP - MAQUINAS - COTTON
LRW - MAQUINAS - CALCETINES

**G. THIELE
TELARES**

C. TERROT Söhne
MAQUINAS CIRCULARES

MAUSER WERKE
MAQUINAS DE COSER
PARA INDUSTRIA

R. VOIGT
BOBINADORAS
DEVANADORAS, ETC.

R. WIRTH
Telares rectilíneas de cadena

**REPUESTOS
AGUJAS**

D. BARZ y Cía.
SUC. DE SCHIELE

CASILLA 791 - SANTIAGO - TELEFONO 84803
BANDERA 207 - AGUSTINAS 1111

Figure 15: Advertising of a textile machine, 1937. Asociacion Comercial Sirio-Palestina. (1937). *Las Industrias de las Colectividades de Habla Arabe en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Soc. Imprenta y Litografia Universo. P. 199

⁷⁶ Baeza, Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.



Figure 16: Advertising a Credit Bank in Santiago, 1937: "CREDIT AND INVESTMENT BANK. This bank has been created to preferentially serve SMALL TRADERS and INDUSTRIALISTS; due to its new and modern structure, the CREDIT AND INVESTMENT BANK identifies with the interests of the customers providing them with fast credit and FREE CONSULTANCY on any banking and legal operation. SMALL TRADERS and INDUSTRIALISTS will find indisputable advantages in the development of their operations in CREDIT AND INVESTMENT BANK and a positive contribution to their industrial growth." Asociacion Comercial Sirio-Palestina. (1937). *Las Industrias de las Colectividades de Habla Arabe en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Soc. Imprenta y Litografia Universo. P. 191

The integration of the Palestinians into the elites of Chilean society was rapid. Soon, the label of *Turco* evolved: from synonym of peddler, it started to indicate wealth, social redemption and power. As Professor Eugenio Chauhan from the Center of Arabic Studies at the University of Chile affirms, *los Palestinos* were able to overcome prejudices and integrate into the Chilean society so rapidly that mere economic mobility climb cannot be the only reason:

*The gradual incorporation - although generally quick - of the Arabs to the Creole environment, can only be explained by the similarities of the two lifestyles. The Arab established in Chile, does not represent an exotic emigrant, but he can consider his new home as his own since in our country he will find deep Arabic roots.*⁷⁷

Integration and economic success mean that many links with the Palestinian motherland disappeared in time: the Arabic language was widely forgotten, many first and family names were adapted to Spanish, the district of Patronato lost its Arabic atmosphere as it began to welcome new generations of migrants from Perù, Vietnam, and China. Yet attachment to their Palestinian origin and the affirmation of their Palestinian identity was still deeply felt among the *Palestinos de Chile*, and even as British policy placed obstacles in the way of their return to Palestine, political developments in the Levant threw up new ideological frameworks within which their identification with it could take on new national political forms.

⁷⁷ Chauhan, Eugenio. (1983). *Presencia àrabe en Chile. Rrevista Chilena de Humanidades*. No 4 . Santiago, Chile. Facultad de Filosofía Humanidades y Educación, Universidad de Chile. Alfabeta Impresores. P. 41-42

Original text: “*La incorporación gradual, aunque generalmente rápida de los àrabes al medio ambiente criollo, sòlo puede explicarse por las semejanzas de estilos de vida. El àrabe que se establece en Chile, no lo hace encalidad de emigrante exòtico, sino que puede considerar su nuevo hogar como propio ya que en nuestro país encontrará profundas raíces aràbigas.*”

CHAPTER 3

OTTOMANISM TO ARABISM IN PALESTINE

The Emergence of a Palestinian *wataniyya* after WWI

The defeat and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after WWI allowed Great Britain and France to reshape the map of the Near East, dividing it into the post-colonial states of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine/Israel that we see today.⁷⁸ In the aftermath of the War, the Palestinian search for a national identity focused initially on an investment in Pan-Syrian unity as embodied in Faysal ibn al-Husayn's Hashemite Arabist kingdom in Syria. Support for Faysal's Pan-Syrian Arabism was justified as an anti-colonial response to an Anglo-Zionist alliance that seemed to threaten the very existence of Palestine. A rival view, particularly common among the Jerusalemite notability that had dominated the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem (a district that had been made independent of Damascus and tied directly to Istanbul on account of its special religious status in late Ottoman times), were sceptical of Faysal's commitment to the anti-colonial struggle. They also feared absorption into a much larger Syrian entity with more wealth, a larger population and more developed cities. These local notables, keen to preserve local political power and privilege, and wary of Faysalite Syria's close connections with Great Britain, paid lip service to Arabism while acting on the basis of a narrower nationalism, a

⁷⁸ See: Rogan, Eugene. (2009). *The Arabs. A History*. New York, USA: Basic Books. Chapter 6

Palestinian *wataniyya* that focused on resistance to the British presence in the country and the Zionist settler colonial schemes that it promoted.

France's occupation of Damascus and her destruction of the Faysalite polity in the summer of 1920 marked a turning point in the evolution of Palestinian-Syrian nationalism. As the dream of a unified Arabist state faded, and as a more narrowly based Palestinian resistance began to supplant the urge to pan-Syrian unity, a Palestinian regional nationalism focused on the preservation of an independent Palestine in the face of a mortal Zionist threat became the prime driver of anti-colonial agitation. Major historical factors contributed to the shift. The events of the 1920s when France consolidated her hold on Syria and Lebanon and defeated a major revolt that erupted in the Jabal Druse (1925-1927) shattered the pan-Syrian movement across most of the Fertile Crescent including Palestine. With the dissolution of Faysal's kingdom, unity with Syria ceased to represent a way to salvation. Even though a few groups of intellectuals did not give up the pan-Arabism dream, by the time it resurfaced in the guise of the neo-Istiqlal Party in the early 1930s, a Palestinian *wataniyya* had emerged that chose to stand alone to stand alone and rely on violent resistance to colonial rule for the affirmation of native rights to Palestinian soil.

It was this Palestinian *wataniyya* that came to prevail among the Palestinos de Chile in the course of the 1920s, ensuring that Mandatory Palestine rather than Bilad al-Sham became the prime focus of the imagined community to which they granted their loyalties.

3.1 From Ottomanism to Arabism

During the late 19th century, the Arab world experienced what is commonly defined as *Al Nahda*, the Arab Awakening,⁷⁹ an intellectual renaissance whose cradle was located in the area between Egypt and the *Mashriq* (Levant and Mesopotamia). Damascus was the coordinating centre of the Arabist politics which emerged from this cultural rebirth, although important influences also emanated from other urban hubs such as Beirut, Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Baghdad that expanded with the regions integration into the global economy.⁸⁰ Through literary circles, journals, magazines, and printed work, the dissident – often younger -- elites antagonized by the centralizing, Turkish national bent of late Ottoman reform, became the promoters of new Arab as well as pan-Syrian nationalist ideologies which would play a prominent role in the forging of the 20th century Middle East.⁸¹

In 1918, under British influence, Faysal ibn al-Hussein and his Arabist supporters established the Arab Kingdom of Syria, the first independent Arab government to seek a place among the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. In the aftermath of the Great War, the Palestinian search for Pan-Syrian unity found its justification as a response to an anti-colonial struggle against an Anglo-Zionist alliance that seemed to threaten the very existence of Palestine. While, before the war, some Palestinians elites had looked to the Ottoman framework to resist the Zionism, in the immediate aftermath of the Ottoman

⁷⁹ *The Arab Awakening* was the title of the book published in 1938 by George Antonious, an influential Lebanese-Egyptian historian and public official who rose to high office in the British colonial service in Mandatory Palestine.

⁸⁰ Khuri-Makdisi, Ilham. (2010). *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860-1914*. Berkley and Los Angeles, California, USA: University of California Press

⁸¹ See: Dawn, Ernest. (1973). *From Ottomanism to Arabism: Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism*. Urbana, USA: University of Illinois Press.

defeat they sought their “protective shield” (Muslih, 178) in the Pan-Arab dream of a unified Syrian Arab state. Without Pan-Syrian unity, it was felt that Palestinians could not overcome the dual foreign threat that was gaining control over their territory.

In Faysal’s kingdom, the integrity and independence of Greater Syria came first and his dependence on Britain ensured that his opposition to British colonial strategies – and in particular its support for Zionist designs over Palestine -- was muted. Only one year after taking power in Syria, Faysal sought an accommodation with the president of the Zionist Organization Chaim Weizmann in order to lobby the European powers at Versailles. He signed what has come to be known as the Faysal–Weizmann Agreement in the name of Arab-Jewish Cooperation. By initialling the agreement, Faysal seemed to recognize the Balfour Declaration and accept the right of the Jewish migrants to create a national home in Palestine – albeit in return for Zionist support for Arab aims of independence and a unified Arab state. For many Palestinians, this seemed to pose the danger that their own interests would be sacrificed on the altar of Pan-Arabism or Hashemite dynastic ambition. The Faysal-Weizmann agreement sapped the appeal of Pan Syrian Arabism among important sections of the Palestinian elite, but in any case, the fevered dream of the Arab Kingdom of Syria proved short-lived. By the summer of 1920, the French had deposed Faysal and put in place a pro-French government content to accept the colonial division of Greater Syria.⁸²

Other factions, in particular those representing the dominant section of the Jerusalem notability, a nascent elite that had dominated what had been a separate *sanjaq* tied directly to Istanbul, feared absorption into a much larger Syrian entity with more wealth,

⁸² See: Fieldhouse, D. K. (2006). *Western Imperialism in the Middle East 1914–1958*. New York, USA: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2

a larger population and more developed cities. These Palestinians, whose ultimate goal was the preservation of local political power, feared the prospect of losing out to Damascus based elites: “were Palestine to merge with a Greater Syria, it was likely that the Syrian notables would overwhelm their Palestinian counterparts, a scenario that older Palestinians were keen to avoid. And they did.”⁸³

3.2 The Consolidation of a Palestinian Wataniyya

The carving up of Greater Syria into what are today the states of Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan, as well as the assembly of Iraq from the Ottoman provinces of Baghdad, Basra and Musil encouraged the growth of local nationalisms (*wataniyya*) that competed with Pan Arab and pan-Syrian nationalism for the loyalties of the local population. European powers played an important part in this process insofar as they had they had to come to terms with the influential Arab elites that dominated the local scene. With the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire the urban notables of such great cities as Damascus, Homs, Aleppo and Jerusalem led the opposition to colonial rule and “served as the bedrock for an attachment to place, a love of country, and a local patriotism that were crucial elements in the construction of nation-state nationalism.”⁸⁴

In Palestine immediately after the war, the rise of a local national identity resulted from the growth of two overlapping trends, one a Pan Arab or Pan Syrian nationalism that looked back to the short-lived independence of Faysalite Syria and was more

⁸³ Muslih, Muhammad. (1991). *The Rise of Local Nationalism*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press. In: *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih and Reeva S. Simon (eds.). P. 180

⁸⁴ Khalidi, Rashid. (1997). *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York, USA: Columbia University Press. (Kindle Locations 1190-1193)

prevalent in the northern districts of Nablus, the Galilee and Acre. The other was a local *wataniyya* that was strongest among the Jerusalemite notability and within the borders of what was once the ‘special’ Ottoman *sanjaq* of Jerusalem; “the first suggested a shared destiny with Syria and [Faysalite Arabism] provided the raw ideological material with which its supporters worked. The second theme was the product of the designs of the British and the Zionists. The first was the universe of the young pan-Arabists, the second was the realm of the old Palestinian elite.”⁸⁵

The ‘universe of the young pan-Arabists’ included personalities like Awni Abd al Hadi, who was among the founders of the group *Al Fatat* (*al-jam’iyya al-arabiyya al-fatat*), one of the most influent associations devoted to “[raising] the level of the Arab *umma* [nation] to the level of modern nations”.⁸⁶ Abd al-Hadi came from a major Palestinian clan that originated in Arraba near Jenin and was to play a significant role in the politics of interwar Palestine. The family had gained pre-eminence in Nablus during Ibrahim Pasha’s occupation of Greater Syria (1831- 1841)⁸⁷ and Awni was among the inner circle of Feisal’s advisors after WWI, then briefly joining the administration of the latter’s elder brother Abdullah in Amman during the early 1920s. Together with his fellow *Nabulsis* Rafiq al-Tamimi and the writer/historian Muhammad Izzat Darwaza, he was instrumental in re-launching the *Istiqlal* (Independence) Party in Greater Syria in

⁸⁵ Muslih, Muhammad. (1991). *The Rise of Local Nationalism*. New York,USA: Cambridge University Press. In: *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih and Reeva S. Simon (eds.). P. 177

⁸⁶ Muslih, Muhammad. (1991). *The Rise of Local Nationalism*. New York,USA: Cambridge University Press. In: *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih and Reeva S. Simon (eds.). P. 168

⁸⁷ In 1831, Ibrahim Pasha was sent to conquer Syria. Over one year, he defeated the Ottoman army in Acre, Homs, until the occupation of Damascus. After the following campaigns of 1832 and 1833, Ibrahim was confirmed governor of Syria, supported by the French Officers. Ibrahim’s army was finally defeated and driven out of Damascus in 1841 by the British and the Austrian Empire forces.

response to Faysal's unity plan of the early 1930s. These three maintained an iron grip on the nationalist imagination of whole generation of upper and middle-class Pan Arab and pan-Syrian nationalists in 1930s Palestine.

The notables of Jerusalem – and the Husayni family in particular – offered an alternative, more local vision. These prominent Palestinian families constituted the dominant group in what Muslih defines as the “realm of the old Palestinian elite” which played a primary role in the internal politics of Palestine during the decades of the Zionist-British alliance.

Since late Ottoman times, the Husayni clan had been the most prominent of the Jerusalemite notable families that now combined religious prestige and political power.⁸⁸ Two members of the family, Musa Kazim al-Husseini and the Mufti of Jerusalem Amin al-Husseini emerged as the acknowledged leaders of anti-colonial resistance to the British Mandate and Zionism in the course of the 1920s. Other members of the clan were founders of various parties that adopted a narrower Palestinian nationalism than that of the pro-Hashemite Istiqlal. (By contrast younger members of al-Nashashibi family, competitors for the leadership of Jerusalem with the Husaynis, appear as the founders of al-Nadi al-Arabi (The Arab Club), a nationalist organization that contributed to the dissemination of a Pan-Syrian ideology that ultimately aligned itself with Abdullah in Trans-Jordan).

⁸⁸ See: Pappe, Ilan. (2011). *The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: The Husaynis, 1700-1948*. London, UK: SAQI

3.3 The British Mandate and the Creation of a Palestinian National Field

In 1920, the Mandate for Palestine was assigned as a result of the San Remo conference, under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Mandate was a legal and administrative tool meant to last “until such time as they are able to stand alone.”⁸⁹ The establishment of the British Mandate, finally nailed down by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), reinforced the feeling that for the Palestinian elites the time to deal with the foreign invader was come.

Being deprived of access to formal state power then and afterward has affected the growth of Palestinian identity, and what took its place, whether in the form of traditional social structures dominated by the old notable families [...]. The Palestinians had not only to fashion and impose their identity and independent political existence in opposition to a European colonial power, but also to match themselves against the growing and powerful Zionist movement, which was motivated by a strong, highly developed, and focused sense of national identification, and which challenged the national rights of the Palestinians in their own homeland, and indeed the very existence of the Palestinians as an entity.⁹⁰

Mandatory rule pushed Palestinian elites to reinforce their demands for “a national government responsible to a representative assembly, whose members would be chosen from the Arabic-speaking people who [had] been inhabiting Palestine until the outbreak of the War.”⁹¹ For this reason, on December 13th, 1920, the Third Palestinian Arab Congress convened in Haifa. During the congress, no reference to pan-Syrian unity was mentioned, indicating that “the Palestinian Arab nationalist movement for the first time

⁸⁹ Smith, Charles D. (2013). *Palestine and the Arab- Israeli Conflict*. Boston New York, USA: Bedford/St.Martin's. P. 99-100

⁹⁰ Khalidi, Rashid. (1997). *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York, USA: Columbia University Press. (Kindle Locations 1178-1180 and 1153-1156).

⁹¹ Muslih, Muhammad. (1988). *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*. New York, USA: Columbia University Press. P. 207

defined its objectives, from both an ideological and organization perspective, in distinctly Palestinian terms.”⁹² By 1929, eight more Palestinian Arab Congresses had consolidated the grip of this *wattaniya* on the anti-colonial movement, setting down a demand for an independent Palestinian state. Many political associations, clubs and organization proliferated during the Mandate period with the same aim; and as British intransigence continued in concert with growing Jewish immigration, it didn’t take long for Palestinian frustration to escalate into riots and violence.

In the late 1920s, a series of demonstrations broke into clashes between the Jewish and the Palestinian communities over the access to the Western Wall in Jerusalem. About one decade later, the Great Revolt (1936-1939) erupted in the Mandate Palestine. The revolt presented a marked nationalist independence demand, in addition to stances against the land purchase and the open-ended Jewish migration into Palestine. The revolt was bloodily repressed and for many Palestinian Arabs its outcome set in motion the events that led to *al-Nakba*, the Catastrophe of 1948.⁹³

For nearly a generation after the 1948 *Nakba* discourses on Palestinian nationhood were overlooked, neglected or subsumed into larger Pan-Arab (*qawmi*) national projects.⁹⁴ Nonetheless a Palestinian *wataniyya* survived among what was now in large part a grouping of diasporic communities – including the Palestinos de Chile. In constructing their imagined communities of these groups that looked back to a history of

⁹² Muslih, Muhammad. (1988). *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*. New York, USA: Columbia University Press. P. 209

⁹³ See: Khalidi, Rashid. (1997). *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York, USA: Columbia University Press.

⁹⁴ See: Seikaly, Samir. (1991). *Shukri al-‘Asali: A Case Study of a Political Activist*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press. In: *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih and Reeva S. Simon (eds.)

escalating anti-Zionist struggle in Mandatory Palestine that took on an increasingly local (*watani*) aspect after the dream of Arab and then Pan-Syrian unity proved chimerical. After providing a general overview of the development of Palestinian clubs and associations in Chile in the interwar years, the following chapter will draw upon the columns of two of the most popular Chilean Arab publications of the interwar years - *Mundo Arabe* (Spanish) and *Oriente* (Spanish and Arabic) – in order to demonstrate the sense of an emerging sentiment of Palestinian nationalism (*wataniyya*) among the Palestinian community in Chile.

CHAPTER 4

MY PALESTINE AFAR

Palestinian *wataniyya* in the Chilean Diaspora

*Our patriotic love still throbs through our veins, and no matter the distance of the seas that separates us, we will find a way to come back home and honor the sacrifice made by the blessed land of our grandparents.*⁹⁵

Motherland. Oriente, 1927

A narrower Palestinian *watani* (homeland focused) consciousness heightened within the Palestinian community in Chile in the mid-1920s, just as the British Crown consolidated its Mandate over Palestine. Until the 1920s, “immigrants from Palestine had recognized four major loci of identity: their home-towns (Bethlehem, Bayt Jala, Bayt Sahur, etc.); their region (Bilad al-Sham); their religion (Christianity), including, more broadly, their consciousness of coming from what was commonly referred to as the Holy Land; and, lastly, their ‘Arab-ness’. Identification with the Ottoman Empire was almost non-existent.”⁹⁶

Even while the rule of the British Mandate in Palestine was in its infancy, the descendants of Palestinian and Arab migrants in Santiago began to publicly refuse the label of “*los Turcos*” (the Turks), by which they had been identified for decades. No

⁹⁵ *Oriente*. (January 22nd, 1927), n° 1. “Patria”. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.
Original Text: “*El amor patrio late todavía en nuestras venas, y no importa la distancia de los mares que nos separan, sabremos repatriarnos y llegar hasta el sacrificio, por la tierra bendita de nuestros abuelos.*”

⁹⁶ Baeza, Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2.

doubt influenced by the savagery of WWI, and the toll imposed on the population of Syria by the harsh times that still survive in popular memory as ‘*sefer berlik*,’ the Arabs of Chile took to defining the Ottoman’s domination as “times of barbarism and savagery.”⁹⁷

The growth of national sentiments among the Palestinians who had settled in Chile emerged vividly in the pages of the nationwide newspapers that developed during the 1920s-30s. This was especially marked in the capital, where the Palestinian *intelligentsia* was strongly inspired by Western nationalist ideological models and the leading members of an emergent bourgeoisie taken the lead in establishing a network of Arab clubs and associations that survive to the present day.



Figure 17: *Mundo Árabe*, (1933) n° 5. *Exit from the Easter Mass at the Nativity Church in Bethlehem (Palestine)*. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

⁹⁷ Editorial staff. (1927). *Nuestra Primera Palabra. Oriente. 1, 1.*

4.1 Palestinian Clubs and Associations



Figure 18: Cartoon donated to *Club Palestino* by the Brazilian cartoonist Carlos Latuff. Club Palestino, Avenida Las Condes 9507, Las Condes, Santiago de Chile.

In 2014 the soccer team Club Palestino qualified for the first time within the regional South American Cup. On that occasion, the president of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmud Abbas, declared:

On behalf of all Palestinians worldwide, I want to thank you for this joy that you have given us in this special time when we are immersed in a diplomatic struggle to achieve finally long-awaited freedom, justice and peace [...]. I want you to know that we identify with Palestino as the second national team for the Palestinian people. You have raised our colours and you have given us a voice in difficult times. You have shown that we are one people, whether we are in Jerusalem, in Beit Jala or in Santiago.⁹⁸

The Palestino Sports Club⁹⁹ was founded in 1920 in the city of Osorno and was recognized as a professional team in 1952. However, the club was constituted a few years before, in 1916, as shown in the statute which is kept in the archives of the National Library of Santiago.

⁹⁸ <http://www.emol.com/noticias/deportes/2014/12/20/695562/presidente-de-palestina-saluda-al-plantel-de-palestino.html>

⁹⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=138&v=8v5J9H88rgA



Figure 19: First statute of the Palestinian Sports Club, March 25th 1916. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

Initially, the Palestinian Sports Club was constituted with the purpose of creating a safe social space for the Palestinian community where they could play sports and spend time with their families, protected from the prejudices of the creole Chilean society of Santiago. According to the general memory of the Palestinians in Chile today, Arab players were usually prevented from joining the various national team due to prejudice and discrimination. Therefore, Palestinians created their own football team in order to be able to participate within the national tournaments. Members of the club initially used to pay a monthly fee of 10 *pesos* for men and 5 for women (today equal to 0.02 / 0.01

USD). Initially, members of the Club used to play tennis and ping-pong.



Figure 20: First team formation of the Palestinian Sports Club (1920): Elias Zaror, Miguel Saffie, Nicolàs Hirmas, Elias Hirmas, Antonio Sarah, José Yunis, Victor Panayotti, Emilio Deik, Jorge Lama, Elias Deik.

The Chilean capital of Santiago was the core city in which most of the new associations and Clubs connected to the Palestinian community were created during the early 1920s and 1930s. In 1938, the Yarur family, one of the wealthiest industrial families of Palestinian origin, founded the *Club Palestino*. The Club aimed at creating a meeting point for the Palestinian families in which they could organize not only sports activities but also events, such as traditional concerts and shows, charity initiatives, political and historical discussions, commemorations. Since the very beginning of its constitution, the *Club Palestino* has had several facilities, from restaurant services to sports areas, a congress hall and green spaces. The Club is located in one of the wealthiest districts of the capital, Las Condes, and it represents up to the present day the most important focal point for Palestinians in Chile.

The Yarur family also founded the *Syrian-Palestinian-Lebanese Migration*

Committee, as well as the *Alwatan - Syrian-Palestinian-Lebanese Company of General Insurance*. The first association was created in order to facilitate the entry of Arabs to Chile by offering guidance and legal counselling not only to newcomers, but also to those willing to request Chilean citizenship. The second group aimed at creating an insurance fund for the merchant and industrialist families who formed part of the association.

In 1924 a group of about 10 Arab industrialists came together in the *Syrian-Palestinian Commercial Association*. It aimed at safeguarding the interests of merchants and industrialists, as well as maintaining a “healthy morale in the trades among the members of the Syrian and Palestinian communities.”¹⁰⁰ In the same year, a group of Palestinian and Syrian women founded the *Syrian-Palestinian Women’s Society*. Their purpose was to provide support to the most vulnerable members of the Arab community living in the capital, particularly orphans. In 1941, there were 305 Syrian and Palestinian women members of this association.¹⁰¹

In 1926, Syrian and Palestinian merchants founded the *Syrian Palestinian Club*, with the purpose of unifying both Syrian and Palestinian businessmen. The experiment had a short life and, by 1941, the Club came to an end but, in its place, other associations (e.g. the *Syrian Club* and the *Arab Club*¹⁰²) sprung up.

Palestinian Associations also developed in other cities, wherever there was a conspicuous concentration of Palestinian descendants. In 1929, with the purpose of

¹⁰⁰ Mattar, Ahmad Hassan. (1941). *Guía Social de la Colonia Árabe en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Ahues Hnos. P. 191

¹⁰¹ Mattar, Ahmad Hassan. (1941). *Guía Social de la Colonia Árabe en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Ahues Hnos. P. 195

¹⁰² Mattar, Ahmad Hassan. (1941). *Guía Social de la Colonia Árabe en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Ahues Hnos. P. 195

helping indigent Arabs, a group of Palestinians residents in the city of Chillan founded the *Palestinian Union Center*. Another *Palestinian Sports Club* was created in the city of Talca. In 1938, a group of Palestinian activists created in 1938 the *Central Committee for the Victims of the Arab Revolution in Palestine* in the city of Valparaíso. The committee's purpose was to create awareness of the situation in Palestine and it was based on voluntary activities.

Several cultural circles, youth clubs and women's associations developed around the country with the aim of promoting Arabic culture. Along with the development of clubs, the Arab migrants' press started to gain popularity among the colony.

4.2 The Palestinian press in Santiago

Mundo Arabe (Arabic World) was a literary review. Ample space in the journal is dedicated to poems and news of cultural events within the local community. The *fil rouge* of this journal is the promotion of Arab pride in both their cultural heritage and entrepreneurial initiative. The review emphasizes the value of economic resourcefulness as an indicator of progress:

*The Arabs play a very important role in the evolution of civilization in the Americas because their manufacturing and trade brought animation, life and progress to the nations in which they work.*¹⁰³

Mundo Arabe was the “organ of the Chilean-Arabic intelligentsia”,¹⁰⁴ as stated in the headlines of its first issue published in 1932. The aim of the journal was to give space to men and women of letters belonging to the Arab community in Chile. The review was

¹⁰³ Abusada A., George. (1932). *Los Arabes. Mundo Arabe*, 2, 23.

¹⁰⁴ *Mundo Arabe*, (Sept 17th 1932) n° 1. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

published during a time in which the Arab communities were starting their process of integration into the industrial and cultural elite. Arab authors could publish famous pieces translated from Arabic, as well as novels and poems written by themselves; through *Mundo Arabe*, Chileans of Arab descent could share information about the most prominent families in the community (marriages, deaths, other news) as well as information on the establishment of further Arab Clubs and Associations.¹⁰⁵

The magazine was also focused on history, literature, lifestyle, Arabic cuisine¹⁰⁶ and sports. Ample space was dedicated to issues concerning the host country. In the journal, the authors highlighted their gratitude for the opportunities afforded them by Chilean society and dedicated several articles to the history of Chile as well as the internal politics of the country. It is not a coincidence that the first issue was published on September 17th 1932, one day before the Native Land Holydays of Chile, the commemoration of the first Governing Body proclamation in 1810, which marked the beginning of the independence process:

*MUNDO ARABE appears today under the auspices of the National Anniversary. This Magazine patronizes the heroic memories of the History of Chile and its birth is based on the principles of freedom reached through the rule of Law. MUNDO ARABE, the mouthpiece of the Arab-Chilean intelligentsia, dedicates its first pages by hailing the glorious September 18th and proclaims itself to be a bridge of union between the luminous East and the West, a titanic effort in the struggle towards Labor and Progress. MUNDO ARABE is the redeeming banner of an entire race that has in its blood the nobility of an entire brilliant history. These modest aims strive to make great this magazine that is published under the proud flag of Chile, beloved land and loving mother for the adoptive children of Arabia.*¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Mundo Arabe, (Oct 12th 1932) n° 2. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. P. 16

¹⁰⁶ Mundo Arabe, (Oct 12th 1932) n° 2. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. P. 17

¹⁰⁷ Mundo Arabe, (Sept 17th 1932) n° 1. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. Text No 1 –Annex 2

The language is impregnated with nationalist rhetoric, a writing style typical of the Romance languages of that time. In a game of nationalist politics which is largely dominated by men, considerable space is dedicated to women. Palestinian women living abroad were particularly influential, and in several families, they were the pioneers of the “Palestinian nationalist cause through the establishment of a range of civil services and institutions that were instrumental in propagating ideals of womanhood, citizenship, and anti-colonial nationalism.”¹⁰⁸ In the case of the Palestinian colony in Chile, several collaborators of the journal *Mundo Arabe* were, in fact, women. Arab womens’ associations were present in several cities in Chile with the aim of providing charity and support to the fellow Arabs of the immigrant community.¹⁰⁹

Many references are also made to the political situation in the Arab world, mainly Syria, Palestine, Jordan, and Egypt. Although the journal was considered the cultural reference point for the whole Levantine community of that time, Syria and Palestine were the two countries on which the authors concentrated the most. In a time of geopolitical change in the Middle East and during the spreading of Arab nationalist ideology, Palestine appeared to the Chilean Arab as a unique case due to the political agendas of both the Zionists and their British backers.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Bawalsa, Nadim. (2011). *Trouble with the In-Laws: Family Letters Between Palestine and the Americas (1925- 1939)*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 47 No. 6, p 8

¹⁰⁹ Several articles of *Mundo Arabe* were addressed to female audience “Why do women use make-up?”, “Drama of Bedouin Love” (a love story set in Bethlehem), “Feminine Page”, “The Sexual Problem and the Single Mother”, “Women of yesteryear”, “The intendancy of Conception appreciates a donation from the Arab ladies”, “The colony loses a great Lady”, “Artists of our distant homeland”, “Mother!”, “Female Smokers competition in Paris”, “Feminism and Femininity”, “The woman’s loneliness”, “To convert the man into the woman’s slave”, “Eastern Women”.

¹¹⁰ See: Bawalsa, Nadim. (2011). *Trouble with the In-Laws: Family Letters Between Palestine and the Americas (1925- 1939)*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 47 No. 6

In the November 1932 issue, the review published an article entitled *The Day of Palestine*, to coincide with the commemoration of the “puerile Balfour declaration”¹¹¹.

The authors invited the whole Arab colony to protest against the declaration and to act against the Zionists’ claim to the Palestinian Land:

We cannot let these comments pass without launching our most formal protest against the Jews’ claims to build their camps on our Arab land, only based on the absurd declaration of the English minister, Mr. James Balfour,¹¹² supported by the Government of Her Majesty of Great Britain, which was influenced by the Zionist “gold” and did not hesitate to launch a declaration to attack a noble people of heroic traditions such as the Arab people’s, whose legitimate rights over the Palestinian are apparent in every square of their soil.[...] We protest with all the strength of our patriotic sentiments against the Jews’ pretensions and for the support that they received from England.¹¹³

Palestine is one of the few exceptions of active political engagement present in *Mundo Arabe*. Being mainly a cultural magazine, very little space is dedicated to the political interests of the Chilean Arab colony.

4.3 Oriente and the Palestinos’ political mobilization

A different approach is tangible through the columns of *Oriente*, the second most popular Arab journal in Chile, which started its publications a few years before *Mundo Arabe*, and before the Arabs’ rise to prominence in the Chilean society. *Oriente* - later named *Al Shark (The East, in Arabic)* – addresses political issues, both in Chile and Palestine. As claimed in the first issue of the year 1927, *Oriente* was established with the

¹¹¹ *Mundo Arabe*, (Nov 19th 1932) n° 3-4. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. P. 27

¹¹² Mentioned in the original text as “James Balfour”, refers to the United Kingdom's [Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour](#)

¹¹³ *Mundo Arabe*, (Nov 19th 1932) n° 3-4. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. P. 27. Text No 2 – Annex 2

purpose of “implacably inform[ing] on the policies of these heinous patriarchal leaders”¹¹⁴ (i.e. the British leaders in Palestine). The articles in *Oriente* reveal a fervent critique of the politics of the Mandate in Palestine, as well as an ardent condemnation of what they call “the Zionist utopia”. In most of its issues, *Oriente* exhibited recurrent attempts to mobilize the Palestinian and Arab communities and sensitize it as to what was happening overseas, displaying throughout a more proactive sense of belonging towards Palestine.



Figure 21: Oriente review advert.
“ORIENTE”, journal of Arts and Culture. Annual Subscription: 20 pesos

¹¹⁴Editorial Staff. (1927). *Nuestra Primera Palabra*. *Oriente*, n°1, p.1

On 26th October 1919, the very first issue of *Oriente* was published in Santiago. Several authors contributed to the publishing of the journal, coming from different areas of the Levant. For several years, the newspaper was published exclusively in Spanish, with very few exceptions. However, starting from 1928, the journal changed its name to *Al Shark*, the Arabic translation of *Oriente*, and included articles in Arabic.

The *Oriente* was born “under the fervent call of patriotism”¹¹⁵ only a few years before the imposition of British Mandatory rule over Palestine (1923). The migrant Palestinian families in Chile experienced a sentiment of anger and frustration towards the political instability of their homeland.

At the beginning of the 1920s, the Arabs’ disappointment with the broken promises of independence made by Britain during the Great War, as well as the increasing presence of Jewish colonies in Palestine, planted the roots for the journal’s hostility to British rule, and its evident approval of riots among the communities living in Palestine and towards the newly established Mandate rule:¹¹⁶

We all believed in the prophecies of the Allies, we dreamed of the promises of England, and we just thought that the World War that had just happened would be an example to make the strong respecting the weak, and to respect the given word, not to turn them into mere scribbles on paper. We will never, a thousand times never, give the consent to foreign domination to occupy our territories and, if necessary, our ancestors will awaken and the law of the right of the weak to challenge the strong will be imposed, bearing the motto “Conquer or die’!”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Erehtigon Lubeque, *Los fines que perseguimos*, El Oriente, 1, N°3. Original text: “Bajo la ardente llama del patriotismo.”

¹¹⁶ Weinstock, Nathan. (1970). *El Sionismo contra Israel*. Barcelona, Spain: Editorial Fontanella. p. 173

¹¹⁷ Oriente. (Jan 22nd 1927). *Year 1, n°1*. Text No 3 – Annex 2

Palestinians in Santiago used to follow politics in Palestine and Oriente aided them by supplying information from the Palestinian press back in the home country. In 1929, while the first Arab uprisings were escalating in Palestine, migrants in Santiago reported their concern over the increasing Zionist colonization of many cities in Palestine, as well as the tensions that the sudden concentration of Jews migrants was bringing all over the country:

Civil riots throughout almost the entire Palestinian territory are gradually being fostered over time. Tiny cities like Tel Aviv, which before the arrival of the Zionists had about 5,000 inhabitants, came to host 40,000 people with the arrival of the Zionists. (For the record, I would say that - according to the data reported in the Arab bi-weekly journal "SOWT ASHAAB", which is published in Bethlehem - the Jewish population of Tel Aviv currently reaches 46,000 people, an evident demonstration of the progress made by Zionism that advances with leaps and bounds, but certainly is not aware of the final aim of its aspirations). The same thing is happening in Haiffa, Tiberius, ecc..¹¹⁸

In a 1927 article, one of the contributors to the magazine laid stress on describing the peaceful cohabitation between the native Jewish and Palestinian communities in Palestine. The journalist expressed a mixture of disillusionment and hope towards the possibility of cooperation with the Mandate rulers in bringing equality to the native populations of Palestine, both Jews and Palestinians:

Gentlemen, we, the Arabs of Palestine, do not hate, nor have we ever hated, the Palestinian Jews; On the contrary, we have always considered them as our co-nationals, because they also saw the light where we both were born and consequently have the same rights as we do; That's right: we protest for injustice, we protest for the inequality, we ask to take into consideration our legitimate rights and that Palestine will be for the Palestinians without distinction of race or religion; We demand that the laws will be even and fair, both for Arabs and Jews, being sons of the same country; [We demand] to have the same rights and the same guarantees. In this way, under the protection of such laws, all the disputes will be over and

¹¹⁸ *Al Shark*. (1929). N° 9, p 3. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. Text No 4 – Annex 2

*all the disagreements will disappear; thanks to fair and disinterested procedures put in place by our mandatory leaders, peace will reign and all together we will work for the development of our Motherland.*¹¹⁹

Among many of the Palestinians living in Santiago, the Mandate period was perceived as a time of frustration. Through the columns of *Oriente, los Palestinos* used to express their anger towards the British Mandatory leadership, “*which are nothing more than vulgar victimizers, a faithful mimicry of the times of barbarism and savagery [i.e. the Ottoman domination].*”¹²⁰ The Mandate rule was perceived as being utterly responsible for the betrayal of the Palestinian National dream:

*England apparently intends to restore Solomon's temple and resurrect the kingdom of Israel ... if they are influenced by the Jewish bankers, let them do so, but in a desert, where the rights of third parties are not harmed. It is not fair that, in order to satisfy the extravagant Jewish aspirations, the incontestable right of the indigenous Palestinians, whether Christians or Muslims has to be sacrificed. The Jews of Russia, America, etc., who have never known Palestine, are provided with pecuniary resources to go to settle in Palestine and even to buy land there and build their houses. Every Jew, whatever his origin and nationality, is granted a citizenship card after a ten days' sojourn in Palestine. And is this what England would call equality, justice, equity, people's right?*¹²¹

British rule was compared to an octopus, an oppressive creature whose tentacles subjugated the lands and the people under its “strange protection”:

*We wish to be freed from the strange protection, from the octopus that day by day pushes its tentacles more profoundly into the depths of our wounded national sentiments.*¹²²

Only a few years after the establishment of the Mandate, British restrictions on citizenship for the migrant diaspora seemed to confirm to many Palestinian intellectuals

¹¹⁹ *Oriente*. (1927). N° 8, p 1 and 6. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. Text No 5 – Annex 2

¹²⁰ Editorial staff. (1927). *Nuestra Primera Palabra. Oriente. 1, 1.*

¹²¹ *Oriente*, (1927). *Inglaterra niega arbitrariamente el derecho de ciudadanía a los Palestinos.* Year 1, n°31, p. 4. Text No 6 – Annex 2

¹²² *Oriente*, (1927). *Las Minorías Europeas.* Year, 1, n°31. Text No 7 – Annex 2

that the idea of returning to Palestine as free men was a mirage. As the new imperial rulers started to implement restrictive policies which affected not only the Palestinians living on their land, but also those living overseas, the journey to the Americas in search of good fortune started to be envisaged as a permanent condition for both those who travelled and those who would have done so. As the Palestinian-Chilean journalist Abd El-Kader stated in his article called “the Palestinian disgrace”, Mandatory policies played a crucial role in depriving many Palestinian of their home:

*The internal politics of Palestine induced the majority of its sons to abandon their land in order to lead a better life. In order to live as God created them: free.*¹²³

Palestinian youth was particularly active both overseas and in Palestine. Palestinians abroad received conspicuous support from their compatriots back home. In 1927, a group of young Palestinian nationalists, led by the future mayor of Bethlehem, Issa Basil Bendak,¹²⁴ founded the *The Committee for the Defence of Immigrants Rights to Palestinian Citizenship*, an organ that had the purpose of supporting Palestinians living abroad in receiving their citizenship.

During the same year, the Palestinians in Santiago begin their campaign for the nationality cause through their press. In the first page of the first issue, the journal *Oriente* stated its editorial line in the article *Manifesto of the Palestinians in Chile*. In this article Palestinian youth in Santiago denounced the British Consulate for not providing the promised citizenship to many Palestinian descendants willing to return home as

¹²³ Oriente. (1927). *La Desgracia de Palestina. Year 1, n° 26, p. 3.*

¹²⁴ Issa Basil Bandak was an influential Palestinian politician, born into a Christian family in Bethlehem. Issa was a convinced condemner of the Zionist movement in Palestine since its early phases. He served as ambassador to Spain as well as commissioner to Chile. In 1946, he was appointed as mayor of Bethlehem.

Palestinians:

*Considering the serious situation that has been created in our sacred Homeland, with the nonsensical Zionist claims to establish their national home in Palestine, the motherland of our ancestors;
Also, in response to the unsurmountable difficulties that we are facing to gain recognition of our citizenship [...];
And, moreover, having seen that we are prevented from obtaining our legitimate nationality in every possible way by being denied the granting of passports and visas;*

The Palestinian Youth Society,

*guided by the same strains of patriotism that have characterized it since its foundation, agrees to initiate an active and energetic, patriotic pro-Palestine campaign for the Palestinians,
Invites all sincere conational fellows and patriots who want to fight for future of their nationality by joining the General Assembly in which our legitimate positions will be defined against the danger that our Motherland is enduring.”¹²⁵*

The Palestinian migrant community in Santiago perceived the negation of their citizenship not as a bureaucratic obstacle, possibly due to the sudden power change in Palestine in the aftermath of the First World War, but as a political strategy to pursue what had been declared in the Balfour Declaration (1917):

*How could the British government be damaged by protecting Palestinians living abroad?
Perhaps we are undesirable beings, bankers, communists or people disrespectful of their host countries' laws. We should be enlightened as to our flaws. [...] Our history abroad is very clear: about 50 years ago we arrived in the lands of America, without much capital, and today we say with pride that we are enjoying the greatest credit between Americans and Europeans. Very few are those who withdraw their capitals to go and rest in the homeland, taking their children with them; on the contrary, father, son, and capitals, stay abroad, and thus cooperate in the actual progress of the land in which they live.
However, the truth is different and Great Britain itself knows it. The fulfilling of the words universally declared by Lord Balfour must begin.*

¹²⁵ *Oriente*, (Jan 22nd 1927). Issue 1, n° 1. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. Text No 8 – Annex 2

*Kill the mother's children in order to feed the spoiled stepchildren who do not want to recognize their true mothers.*¹²⁶

Palestinians living in Chile were called to join several national assemblies in Santiago to discuss the issue of the nationality. On January 20th, Palestinians in Santiago organized the “Palestinian Patriotic Assembly”. During the assembly, the participants constituted the *Pro-Palestine National Rights Committee*, a group of activists responsible for following up on the national and international campaign for the recognition of the Palestinian nationality then underway both in Chile and elsewhere in Latin America.

The report of the first national assembly was shared in the first number of *Oriente* both in Spanish and Arabic:

As a result of the great Assembly of the 20 of the current month, in conformity with the Manifesto of the Palestinian Youth Society, and thanks to the support of all the resident community and the adhesion of both our compatriots and our provincial institutions throughout the country,

the "National Human Rights Committee of Palestine"

has been constituted. Its members have been appointed by the above-mentioned Assembly, in order to begin with the tasks to which they are committed: first of all, to the recognition of the Palestinian nationality by the current Mandate Government.

Considering that these tasks require both moral and material support from every sincere compatriot who aspires to obtain recognition of his legitimate Palestinian nationality and to stop the claims of the Zionists on our sacred Homeland, it has been agreed to initiate a voluntary donation throughout the country.

Therefore, the undersigned Committee calls all the compatriots to cooperate in this heartfelt need that will be the basis of our final success, since it will be aimed at favouring the nationals without distinction of classes or categories.

Naturally this committee highlights the fact that it will not respond, upon any request of defence or service regarding the rights of Palestinian

¹²⁶ *Oriente*. (1927). *Pedimos Nuestra Ciudadanía y no la Protección Británica*. N° 27, p. 3. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. *Text No 9 – Annex 2*

natives to obtain their citizenship, unless they [i.e. the Palestinian natives] are willing to cooperate properly.

In the first place, voluntary donations will be encouraged and then a fixed monthly fee will be established, payable for the first semesters.

Those who have an interest in spending a certain amount or paying their respective fees, are urged to go to the committee Castilla 3065 or street 21 de Mayo 547.¹²⁷

Pro-Palestinian National Rights Committee



Figure 22: Oriente. (January 22nd, 1927). To the Palestinian of Chile. Issue 1, p. 3. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

¹²⁷ Oriente. (January 22nd, 1927). To the Palestinian of Chile. Issue 1, p. 3. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. Text No 10 – Annex 2

The widespread mobilization of Palestinians throughout Latin America did have a significant impact at an international level. In November 1947, in fact, thanks to the crucial role of Palestinians within their host-countries' societies, the nations of Chile, El Salvador, and Honduras all abstained from voting for the partition of Palestine according to the United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) resolution 147. However, by then British Mandate policies had affected dramatically the life of many Palestinian families overseas, as well as the destiny of the Palestinian nation. The restrictive policies put in place to obstruct the obtaining of Palestinian nationality in the 1920s had already induced many migrants not to apply at all. Among those who did apply, only a few could succeed. It is estimated that only 465 Palestinians living in Latin America in its entirety obtained Palestinian citizenship during the British Mandatory era.¹²⁸

This phenomenon side by side with an increasing Jewish immigration meant to reshape the social and political structure of Palestine. While denying the right to return to the migrant Palestinians, British policies in Mandate Palestine privileged and facilitated the European Jews migration:

*Ironically, over the same period (i.e., between 1920 and 1945), more than 300,000 Jews, mainly from Europe, were able to migrate to Palestine, revealing the essence of Mandate policy on immigration and its political project for the region.*¹²⁹

British policies emphasized the distinction between citizens and non-citizens. The political reaction of Palestinian migrants during the 1920s and 1930s in response to

¹²⁸ Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2

¹²⁹ Cecilia. (2014). *Palestinians in Latin America. Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism*. Washington, D.C, USA: Institute for Palestine Studies. Vol 43 No. 2

this categorization accentuated the national identification of the Palestinians living overseas with the Palestinian *wataniyya* that was spearheading the struggle against Zionism in their homeland. The documents explored above reflect the individual opinions and subjective historical perceptions of the people who had left Palestine and moved to Chile before the *Nakba*. Their perspective provides a tool to interpret the growth of a sense of Palestinian national belonging in the years before the establishment of the state of Israel from a point of view that does not look at Jerusalem only, but that brings the history of interwar Palestine and its people into a transnational context.

CONCLUSION

“Hope to meet you all next year in Jerusalem, the capital of our motherland, the capital of our Palestine afar”. These were the final words of the opening speech of Imad Nabil Jadaa, the Palestinian Ambassador to Chile between 2013 and the present. Followed by a long-lasting standing ovation, the speech took place at the Arab community’s annual 2015 “*La Semana Arabe*” (The Arab Week), organized by the *Arab Youth for Palestine in Valdivia* and the FEARAB (Chilean-Arab Entities Federation), at the Austral University of Chile. Every October, the middle of Spring in the Southern Hemisphere, the Arab community in the Auracania region gathers to celebrate its roots, raise awareness of its history and culture, and engage in political and academic debates. The University students organizing the event are mostly 3rd or 4th generation Palestinians. Many have been banned from entering Israel because of their family names, whilst others have had to endure humiliating and interminable interrogations before being permitted to visit their ancestor’s lands. Their activities serve to show the strength of the Palestinian national identity to this present day, and inspired the thesis title, “My Palestine Afar.”

Within the framework of Arab global migration to the Americas, in which this thesis is placed, the Arab community of Chile shares a firm

collective memory on the long history that has brought them to the Americas. Whether their stories focused on migration as a mean to escape the 1860 massacres of the Christian community in Mount Lebanon, to refuse the military conviction imposed by the Ottomans, to flee war, famine, or poverty, the Arab descendants in Chile share the common consciousness of being the descendants of great generations who had endured suffering and discrimination, to finally achieve wealth and stability. The myth of the “self-made man” was firmly rooted among the Arab communities living in Chile, who perceived their presence in the Americas as the result of religious persecutions and their success as the result of an individual struggle against discrimination.

Coming from Christian populated villages surrounding Bethlehem, the first Palestinian migrants in Chile started as peddlers and small merchants of religious artefacts. The district of Patronato, commonly identified as *barrio del los turcos*, “the Turks’ district”, was home to the majority of the Palestinian and Arab families settled in Santiago. As the years went by, the Arabs abandoned the Turks’ district as well as their label as *los Turcos*. Along with the social climb of the Palestinians and Arabs in general, the press started becoming very popular among the diasporic communities, and the influence of an Arabist and nationalist press amongst *Los Palestinos* grew in the 1920s and 30’s. A first conclusion of this research is that the construction of a collective “imagined Palestinian identity” for Palestinians in Chile was

made possible by the Arab forms of ‘print capitalism’ that appeared in the Chilean press during the 1920-1930s.

In Chile as in the Arab east, an Arab/Arabic Press constituted one of the fundamental means for constructing what Anderson’s terms an “imagined community” of those of Palestinian descent in the country. Its pages were the means to access news and opinions from Palestine (overseas) as well as to share common ideals and cultural information that worked to create a shared Syrian-Palestinian identity a common readership of the same press. The articles published by the diasporic Arab community reproduced the pan-Arab and pan-Syrian rhetoric that was emerging on the other side of the world.

After WWI, the British Mandate implemented policies that had repercussions not only within the borders of Palestine in the pre-Nakba period, but also on a transnational level. The publications examined in this thesis, reported on the demise of the Pan Arab dream of Faysalite Syria as well as on the political and bureaucratic obstacles erected by the British government to obstruct the granting of Palestinian citizenship to migrant communities. One of the most important of the conclusions that has been generated by this research is that by obstructing the recognition of the right to Palestinian Citizenship of migrant communities in Latin America, the British-Zionist Alliance accentuated the sense of Palestinian nationhood among the Palestinian community of Chile. During the 1920s, in the Americas as well as in Palestine, the political circumstances of Palestinians reached a turning point once it became clear that the threat posed by British abetted Zionist

colonization to their motherland's very existence would also prevent their families at home from reaping the fruits of their labor in what was perceived as an American Eldorado.

The negation of the citizenship of overseas Palestinians marked an important staging post in the creation of what Khalidi terms a "collective trauma" that shaped Palestinian-Chilean identity in ways that differed from that of comparative diasporic communities of Lebanese, or Syrian origin. Whereas during Ottoman rule it was common for Arab migrant households, including Palestinians, to return home every few years, the new apparatus of exclusion enforced under British Mandate now prevented many Palestinian families living abroad from fulfilling their dreams of return. For many migrants, British policies meant to abet the Zionist settlement of Palestine now interrupted the course of a fortuitous journey that had brought wealth and security to families that crossed the ocean as emigration from the Ottoman Levant accelerated in the late 19th century.

The 1948 Nakba set in motion forces that ultimately ensured for many Chileans of Palestinian descents, the journey to wealth and fortune in the Americas could not reach a happy ending. From then on, generation after generation, *los Palestinos* have preserved a strong sense of belonging towards an imagined Palestinian homeland even as the brutal constraints imposed by an Israeli settler reality made the possibility of achieving this return to less and less possible.

ANNEX 1

Data on the Palestinian community in Chile extracted from:

Mattar, Ahmad Hassan. (1941). *Guía Social de la Colonia Arabe en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Ahues Hnos.

	<i>NAME</i>	<i>GENDER</i>	<i>CITY</i>	<i>CITY OF ORIGIN</i>	<i>ARRIVAL</i>	<i>EMPLOYMENT</i>
1	Hirmas Pacifico	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1892	unknown
2	Comandari Carlos	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1894	landlord
3	Lama Juan	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1895	landlord
4	Abogabir G. Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1896	unknown
5	Lama Amador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1896	merchant
6	Abukalil Carlos Jacob	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	1897	merchant
7	Hirmas Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1897	industrialist
8	Lama José	male	Angol	Bethlehem	1899	merchant
9	Musalem Salomòn	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1899	merchant
10	Sara Elias	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
11	Nazal Ramòn	male	Melipilla	Beit Jala	1900	merchant
12	Jarufe Aude	male	Quillota	Beit Jala	1900	merchant
13	Larach Pedro	male	Quillaeico	Beit Jala	1900	merchant
14	Duery Elias	male	Rengo	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
15	Facuse Juan	male	Rengo	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
16	Abogabir G. Miguel	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
17	Ahues S. Amador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
18	Ahues S. Salim	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1900	broker
19	Chahuan Elias Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1900	merchant
20	ChahuanCh. Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1900	merchant
21	Filias Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1900	industrialist
22	Greza Amador	male	Santiago	Unknown	1900	merchant
23	Halaby Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
24	Hirmas Saleh	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1900	landlord

25	Kattan Salim	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
26	Lahsen M.	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1900	merchant
27	Lahsen Mussa	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1900	merchant
28	Mobarec Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
29	Thumala Bichara	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
30	Zarhi Salomòn	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1900	landlord
31	Giadach Pacifico	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
32	Gianini Abraham	male	Traiguen	Ein Karem	1900	unknown
33	Michel David	male	Valparaiso	Bethlehem	1900	merchant
34	Giacaman Natividad vda. de	female	Vina del Mar	Bethlehem	1900	unknown
35	Zerene Teodoro	male	Cougue	Beit Jala	1901	traveling salesman
36	Cahbar Juan	male	Coronel	Beit Jala	1901	merchant
37	Michel Jacob	male	Quillota	Bethlehem	1901	merchant
38	Cattan Miguel C.	male	San Vicente de Tagua- Tagua	Bethlehem	1901	merchant
39	Halabi Juan	male	Santiago	Unknown	1901	merchant
40	Hamame Benito	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1901	private practice
41	Hamame Benito	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1901	merchant
42	Michel Juan	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1901	merchant
43	Manzur Zacarias	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1901	industrialist
44	Rabi Salomòn	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1901	merchant
45	Saffie Salomòn	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1901	industrialist
46	Yunis José	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1901	merchant
47	Thuma Simòn	male	Temuco	Beit Jala	1901	farmer
48	Rabie Nicolàs	male	Chillàn	Beit Jala	1902	merchant
49	Egnem Jorge	male	Lautaro	Beit Jala	1902	merchant
50	Lahsen Jacob	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1902	landlord
51	Cura Salvador	male	Santiago	Ramallah	1902	merchant
52	Deik Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1902	industrialist
53	Jalillie Vicente	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1902	industrialist
54	Manzur Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1902	farmer

55	Mulalem Plácido	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1902	industrialist
56	Raby Salvador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1902	landlord
57	Saffie Salvador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1902	merchant
58	Saffie Yane	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1902	merchant
59	Zarhi Carlos	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1902	merchant
60	Sabella Fidel	male	Antofagasta	Jerusalem	1903	landlord
61	Heyley Francisco	male	Concepció	Chamal	1903	merchant
62	Saieh Elias	male	Concepció	Bethlehem	1903	merchant
63	Siade Abraham	male	Curacautín	Beit Jala	1903	merchant
64	Musalem Salim	male	Chillán	Bethlehem	1903	merchant
65	Selman Julio	male	Chillán	Bethlehem	1903	farmer
66	Musalem Rafael	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1903	merchant
67	Nasser Nicolàs	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1903	merchant
68	Abdala Abraham	male	La Ligua	Beit Jala	1903	merchant
69	Salman Jacob	male	Lota	Bethlehem	1903	merchant
70	Lahssen Nicolàs	male	Llay-Llay	Beit Jala	1903	merchant
71	Dahbura Juan	male	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1903	merchant
72	Abufum Teodoro	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1903	merchant
73	Lama José	male	Temuco	Bethlehem	1903	merchant
74	Sabaj Salomón	male	Rinconada de los Andes	Beit Jala	1903	merchant
75	Kaba Rachid	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1903	industrialist
76	Parham Teodoro	male	Victoria	Villa Alegre	1903	merchant
77	Giacaman Miguel	male	Antofagasta	Bethlehem	1904	merchant
78	Sabella Andrés	male	Antofagasta	Jerusalem	1904	landlord
79	Giacaman Jorge	male	Concepció	Bethlehem	1904	industrialist
80	Lama Santiago	male	Chillán	Bethlehem	1904	farmer
81	Imbarek Nicolàs	male	Nogales	Beit Jala	1904	merchant
82	Abugarade Saleh	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1904	merchant
83	Hodaly Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1904	merchant
84	Readi Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1904	industrialist

85	Salam Carlos	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1904	merchant
86	Sara Amador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1904	merchant
87	Zaror Santiago	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1904	industrialist
88	Atala Jorge	male	Temuco	Beit Jala	1904	merchant
89	Saieh Elias	male		Beit Jala	1904	merchant
90	Mohor Isaac	male	Arauco	Beit Jala	1905	unknown
91	Mohor Salim	male	Arauco	Beit Jala	1905	merchant
92	Mohor Bichara	male	Concepciòn	Beit Jala	1905	traveling salesman
93	Talgie Nuncio	male	Concepciòn	Bethlehem	1905	merchant
94	Abumohor Abraham	male	Loncoche	Beit Jala	1905	merchant
95	Latrach Salvador	male	Longavi	Bet-Sahur	1905	merchant
96	Zeit Carlos	male	Nogales	Beit Jala	1905	merchant
97	Misle Teodoro	male	Papudo	Beit Jala	1905	merchant
98	Atala Jorge	male	Rengo	Bethlehem	1905	merchant
99	Sabaj Nuncio	male	San Antonio	Beit Jala	1905	merchant
100	Lama Matias	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	1905	merchant
101	Fltit Miguel	male	San Rosendo	Beit Jala	1905	merchant
102	Ananias L. José	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1905	farmer e industrialist
103	Chahuan Abraham	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1905	farmer
104	Charad Salvador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1905	broker
105	Dagach Maria vda. de	female	Santiago	Beit Jala	1905	unknown
106	Facuse Costantino	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1905	industrialist
107	Farah Teodosio	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1905	merchant
108	Farah Larach	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1905	merchant
109	Lasen Teodoro	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1905	merchant
110	Manzur Elias	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1905	unknown
111	Manzur Salim	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1905	industrialist
112	Readi Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1905	unknown
113	Salem Elias	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1905	merchant
114	Zacarias Salvador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1905	unknown

115	Karmy Nuncio	male	Valparaíso	Bethlehem	1905	merchant
116	Eluti Jorge	male	Victoria	Beit Jala	1905	merchant
117	Abuhadba Farah	male	Antofagasta	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
118	Giacaman Salvador	male	Concepción	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
119	Lama Teodoro	male	Concepción	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
120	Harcha Juan B.	male	Chillán	Beit Jala	1906	farmer
121	Debed Nicolàs	male	Illapel	Beit Jala	1906	farmer
122	Mucarquer Jacob	male	Lautaro	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
123	Ghazawi Nuncio	male	Loncoche	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
124	Raby Isa Z.	male	Longotoma	Beit Jala	1906	farmer
125	Marcos Julio	male	Lota	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
126	Tareh Jorge	male	Llay-Llay	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
127	Nazal Miguel	male	Melipilla	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
128	Demian Nuncio	male	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
129	Alamo Felipe	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
130	Hamame Miguel	male	Parral	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
131	Lahsen Miguel	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
132	Zedan Salim	male	Quillota	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
133	Egnem Elias	male	San Carlos	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
134	Giacaman Julio	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
135	Sabaj Nazario	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
136	Lolas Pedro	male	San Roque	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
137	Abugarade Salvador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
138	Acle Elias L.	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
139	Andonie Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
140	Chahuan Ch. Saba	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
141	Charad Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
142	Gabrie Teodoro	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
143	Halaby Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
144	Raby Nicolàs F.	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1906	industrialist

145	Sabha Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1906	industrialist
146	Saieh Bichara	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
147	Zaror Amador	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
148	Michel Miguel	male	Valparaiso	Bethlehem	1906	merchant
149	Zerene Pedro	male	Villa Alegre	Beit Jala	1906	merchant
150	Harcha Elias	male		Beit Jala	1906	industrialist
151	Eltit Giadala	male	Catopilco	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
152	Mussa Elias	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
153	Sabal Salvador	male	La Ligua	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
154	Moucarquer Jorge	male	La Ligua	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
155	Latrach Miguel	male	Longavi	Bet-Sahur	1907	merchant
156	Jacob Salvador	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
157	Jacob José	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
158	Misle Nuncio	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
159	Eltit Saba	male	Pucòn	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
160	Purbar Brahim	male	Puente Alto	Bir-Set	1907	merchant
161	Slema Miguel	male	Rengo	Bethlehem	1907	unknown
162	Hazbun Salvador E.	male	San Bernardo	Bethlehem	1907	merchant
163	Sabaj Juan	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
164	Nunez Juan	male	Santa Cruz	Bet-Sahur	1907	merchant
165	Ahues A. Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1907	industrialist
166	Cura Salomòn	male	Santiago	Ramallah	1907	merchant
167	Elias Alberto	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
168	Imbarak Luis	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
169	Lama Felipe	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1907	merchant
170	Majluf Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1907	industrialist
171	Moises Imbarek	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
172	Nazar Santiago	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1907	merchant
173	Raby Carlos	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
174	Uauy Teodoro	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1907	industrialist

175	Zagmutt Jacob	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
176	Kamas Simòn	male	Valparaiso	Bethlehem	1907	merchant
177	Lama L. Emilio	male	Yumbel	Bethlehem	1907	merchant
178	Egnem Abraham	male	Yungay	Beit Jala	1907	merchant
179	Nazal Isaac	male	Angol	Beit Jala	1908	merchant
180	Lahsen Salvador	male	Buin	Beit Jala	1908	merchant
181	Sammur Miguel	male	Cauquenes	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
182	Samur Antonio	male	Collipulli	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
183	Rabah Basilio	male	Concepciòn	Beit Jala	1908	landlord
184	Siade Basilio	male	Curacautin	Beit Jala	1908	merchant
185	Abu Abara Zacarias	male	Loncoche	Beit Jala	1908	merchant
186	Docmac Carlos	male	Loncoche	Beit Jala	1908	unknown
187	Hawa Antonio	male	Los Andes	Aka	1908	unknown
188	Majluf Ode	male	Los Andes	Beit Jala	1908	merchant
189	Manzur teodoro	male	Los Andes	Beit Jala	1908	merchant
190	Mohor Costantino	male	Los Sauces	Beit Jala	1908	merchant
191	Issa Mahomed Taufic	male	Magallanes	Sahmata	1908	merchant
192	Latrach Salomòn	male	Nancagua	Bet-Sahur	1908	merchant
193	Ruadi Pacifico	male	San Antonio	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
194	Selman José	male	San Bernardo	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
195	Manzur Antonio	male	San Fernando	Jerusalem	1908	merchant
196	Ananias Elias	male	Santa Barbara	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
197	Afani Elias S.	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1908	merchant
198	Andonie A. Salomòn	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	industrialist
199	Asfura H. Alejandro	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
200	Awad Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
201	Ayub J. Isa	male	Santiago	Rameh	1908	merchant
202	Bendek Pedro	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
203	Halaby Plàcido	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
204	Lama Elena vda. de	female	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	landlord

205	Larach Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1908	merchant
206	Marzuck Salvador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1908	unknown
207	Mitri Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1908	unknown
208	Nazal Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1908	industrialist
209	Panayotti Costantino	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
210	Raby Jacob	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1908	industrialist
211	Readi Antonio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
212	Readi Juan	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	unknown
213	Sakar Jacob	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	employee
214	Samara Julio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
215	Samur Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
216	Sarras Alberto	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1908	merchant
217	Yunis Moisés	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1908	merchant
218	Zurob Elias	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1908	industrialist
219	Nazar Marcos	male	Talca	Bet-Sahur	1908	merchant
220	Majluf Fahed	male	Carahue	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
221	Majluf vda. de	female	Carahue	Unknown	1909	unknown
222	Tuma Costantino	male	Carahue	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
223	Ides Jorge	male	Catemu	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
224	Zaid Jorge Segundo	male	Catemu	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
225	Giacaman Antonio	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
226	Giacaman Pedro	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
227	Awad Benedicto	male	Coronel	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
228	Mohor Alberto	male	Chanco	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
229	Asfura Carlos A.	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
230	Herezi Antonio	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
231	Lama José N.	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1909	industrialist
232	Issa Roberto	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
233	Sabal Juan	male	La Ligua	Beit Jala	1909	unknown
234	Facuse Benedicto	male	Linares	Bethlehem	1909	merchant

235	Jachram Sebastiàn	male	Los Andes	Jerusalem	1909	merchant
236	Manzur Nicolàs	male	Los Andes	Beit Jala	1909	farmer
237	Akel Elias	male	Los Angeles	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
238	Cuncar Jorge	male	Los Angeles	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
239	Giacaman Jacobo	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
240	Nazal Salomòn	male	Los Angeles	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
241	Lahssen Carlos	male	Llay-Llay	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
242	Manzur Antonio	male	Llay-Llay	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
243	Daud Alejandro	male	Melipilla	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
244	Rabie Juan	male	Osorno	Born in Chile	1909	merchant
245	Salvador José	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
246	Abuhadba Carlos	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
247	Nazal Costantino	male	San Carlos	Ramallah	1909	merchant
248	Lolas Abraham	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1909	landlord
249	Zamara Julio	male	San Javier	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
250	Cattan Elias	male	San Vicente de Tagua-Tagua	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
251	Amar Juan Lolas	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1909	industrialist
252	Andonie A. Pedreo	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1909	industrialist
253	Asfura Alejandro	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
254	Ayub J. Moisés	male	Santiago	Kaiza	1909	unknown
255	Hazbun Elias	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1909	industrialist
256	Imbarak Zaror	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1909	peddler
257	Kassis Jorge A.	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1909	industrialist
258	Kassis Najia vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	1909	merchant
259	Nazal Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1909	industrialist
260	Nunez Costantino	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
261	Sabaj Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1909	journalist
262	Said Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
263	Samur Bichara	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
264	Sarras Teodoro	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1909	merchant

265	Yuris Id	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1909	landlord
266	Zarur Benedicto	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
267	Lama Jorge	male	Talcahuano	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
268	Atik Julio	male	Temuco	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
269	Atalah Nicolàs	male	Valparaiso	Bethlehem	1909	merchant
270	Yanini Nicolàs	male	Victoria	Ein Karem	1909	merchant
271	Sarray Juan	male	Vina del Mar	Beit Jala	1909	merchant
272	Ananias Chucuri	male	Angol	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
273	Ananias Jorge	male	Angol	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
274	Cattan José	male	Angol	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
275	Nazal Teodoro	male	Angol	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
276	Abuhadra Abdala	male	Bulnes	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
277	Bichara Elías	male	Bulnes	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
278	Salem Jacob	male	Calbuco	Taibe	1910	merchant
279	Facuse Salomòn	male	Catemu	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
280	Salvador Elías	male	Catemu	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
281	Salama Rizik	male	Cauquenes	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
282	Sammur Salvador	male	Cauquenes	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
283	Giacaman Carlos	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
284	Zaror Salomòn	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
285	Saquel Nicolàs	male	Curacautin	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
286	Mohr Emilia vda. de	female	Curanilahue	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
287	Mufdi Elías	male	Curicò	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
288	Lama Jacob	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1910	farmer
289	Lama Pedro	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
290	Lama Salim	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
291	Mufdi Alberto	male	Chillàn	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
292	Yarur Salim	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
293	Zarzar Jorge	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
294	Abedrapo Salvador	male	Futrono	Beit Jala	1910	merchant

295	Sahuria Abdala	male	Hualané	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
296	Gedi Amador	male	Linares	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
297	Dimes Nasif	male	Los Andes	Beit Jala	1910	unknown
298	Hawa Miguel	male	Los Andes	Aka	1910	merchant
299	Nazal Salvador	male	Los Angeles	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
300	Faur Asad	male	Magallanes	Deir el-Qasi	1910	merchant
301	Heles Juan	male	Magallanes	Jaffa	1910	traveling salesman
302	Nazal Salomòn	male	Melipilla	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
303	Abdon Anais	male	Ovalle	Bet-Melat	1910	merchant
304	Gouhaneh Alejandro	male	Ovalle	Jaffa	1910	merchant
305	Masre Salvador	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
306	Salvador Jorge	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
307	Salvador Victor	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
308	Harcha Salvador	male	Pitrufrquén	Beit Jala	1910	industrialist
309	Lahsen Jorge	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
310	Elsaca Teodoro	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
311	Jury Luis	male	Purranque	Beit Jala	1910	unknown
312	Jury Nicolàs	male	Purranque	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
313	Eva Salomòn H.	male	Putando	Sery	1910	merchant
314	Karmy Francisco	male	Quilpué	Ein Karem	1910	merchant
315	Manzur Basilio	male	San Bernardo	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
316	Amar Mitri	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
317	Amar Nicolàs	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
318	Lama Antonio S.	male	San Felipe	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
319	Lolas Manuel	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1910	unknown
320	Sabaj Jorge	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
321	Jesan Manuel	male	San Fernando	Bet-Sahur	1910	merchant
322	Sbeha Salomòn	male	San Fernando	Bet-Sahur	1910	merchant
323	Auda Miguel	male	San Francisco de Mostazal	Gifna	1910	merchant
324	Jadue Jacob	male	San Javier	Beit Jala	1910	merchant

325	Jadue Santos	male	San Javier	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
326	Nassar Salomòn	male	San Javier	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
327	Abdelnur P. José	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
328	Abujatum Jacob	male	Santiago	Nasra	1910	merchant
329	Abujatum Salim	male	Santiago	Nasra	1910	merchant
330	Abukalil vda. De Ahués, Mercedes	female	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
331	Ahues S. Teodoro S.	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
332	Asfura H. Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
333	Atala Saba	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
334	Barna Zacarías	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1910	merchant
335	Canahuate M. Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1910	industrialist
336	Cattan Alfonso	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
337	Chahuan Ch. Espir	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
338	Deik Emilio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
339	Dib Alejandro	male	Santiago	Jaffa	1910	unknown
340	Gidi Juan	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
341	Goma Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
342	Hazbun Issa	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
343	Himsalam Juan	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
344	Kattan Antonio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	unknown
345	Lama Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
346	Lolas Costantino	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1910	industrialist
347	Misle Amador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1910	unknown
348	Morales Alfonso	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
349	Musalem Juan	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
350	Nazar Salvador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
351	Jury Pablo	male	Santiago	Rameh	1910	priest
352	Readi Estefano	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
353	Rifca José	male	Santiago	Ram	1910	merchant
354	Sabbag José	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant

355	Sabat Ico	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
356	Sabja Bichara	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
357	Sacaan Francisco	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
358	Sahuri Marcos	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1910	merchant
359	Salah Jacob	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1910	merchant
360	Salvador Diaz	male	Santiago	Bet-Sahur	1910	unknown
361	Selman Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
362	Selman Salvador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
363	Selman Gidalla	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
364	Thumala Elias Bichara	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	doctor
365	Zaror Costantino	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1910	industrialist
366	Zerene Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
367	Aiach Elias	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
368	Tarud Jorge	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
369	Zacarias Amador	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
370	Lama Emilio	male	Talcahuano	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
371	Abusleme Elias	male	Teno	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
372	Daccaret David	male	Teno	Bet-Sahur	1910	unknown
373	Garib Juan	male	Teno	Bet-Sahur	1910	unknown
374	Hanack Saliba	male	Tucapel	Beit Jala	1910	merchant
375	Diaz Salomòn	male	Villa Alegre	Bethlehem	1910	merchant
376	Zerene Nicolàs	male	Villa Alegre	Beit Jala	1910	industrialist
377	Giancaman Antonio	male	Andacollo	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
378	Miguel Juan F.	male	Angol	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
379	Nustas Nicolàs Jorge	male	Aysén	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
380	Telchie Juan J.	male	Collipulli	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
381	Chauriye Teodoro	male	Concepcìon	Beit Jala	1911	merchant
382	Dagach Gema	male	Concepcìon	Beit Jala	1911	merchant
383	Chomali Simòn	male	Chépica	Bet-Sahur	1911	merchant
384	Chehade Nuncio	male	Chillàn	Beit Jala	1911	merchant

385	Said Pablo	male	La Ligua	Taibe	1911	merchant
386	Giadach Salomòn	male	Longavi	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
387	Manzur Azar	male	Los Andes	Tubas	1911	merchant
388	Kuncar Pablo	male	Los Angeles	Beit Jala	1911	peddler
389	Readi Jacob	male	Llo-Lleo	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
390	Azan Neman	male	Magallanes	Horfech	1911	merchant
391	Salman Salomòn	male	Molina	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
392	Alamo Alberto	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1911	merchant
393	Hazbun Jorge	male	Ovalle	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
394	Abedrapo Salvador	male	Paillaco	Beit Jala	1911	merchant
395	Jacob Jorge	male	Placilla	Bet-Sahur	1911	merchant
396	Manzur Vicente	male	Pucòn	Beit Jala	1911	merchant
397	Asfura Elias	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
398	Giacaman Jacob	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
399	Amar Zacariàs	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1911	merchant
400	Abuhadba Isaac	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1911	landlord
401	Abufhele Zacariàs	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1911	unknown
402	Acle Tomàs E.	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1911	employee
403	Balut Antonio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
404	Cardoch Carlos	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1911	merchant
405	Cumsille C. Gullermo	male	Santiago	Bet-Sahur	1911	merchant
406	Dagach José	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1911	unknown
407	Facuse Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1911	industrialist
408	Hamud Costantino	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
409	Ode Antonio	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1911	merchant
410	Ode José	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1911	merchant
411	Readi Juan	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
412	Sabat Abraham	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
413	Sabat Salvador	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1911	industrialist
414	Salman Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1911	merchant

415	Salman Salvador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1911	industrialist
416	Selman Abdala	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1911	industrialist
417	Selman Jacob	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
418	Tamin Salvador	male	Santiago	Gifna	1911	merchant
419	Saieh Nuncio	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1911	unknown
420	Salman Carlos	male	Talcahuano	Beit Jala	1911	merchant
421	Saleh Pedro	male	Talcahuano	Gifna	1911	merchant
422	Selman Salvador	male	Talcahuano	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
423	Zaroe Elias	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
424	Nazal Isaac C.	male	Traiguen	Ramallah	1911	merchant
425	Michel Antonio	male	Valparaíso	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
426	Michel Emilio	male	Valparaíso	Bethlehem	1911	merchant
427	Michel Salvador	male	Valparaíso	Bethlehem	1911	unknown
428	Abusada Farah	male	Bulnes	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
429	Atwan Atala	male	Catemu	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
430	Facuse Emilio	male	Catemu	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
431	Zaid Emilio	male	Catemu	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
432	Zaid Salim	male	Catemu	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
433	Hirmas Ahmad	male	Cauquenes	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
434	Rizik Salomòn	male	Cauquenes	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
435	Sady Carlos	male	Cobquecura	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
436	Nazer Pedro	male	Combarbalà	Taibe	1912	merchant
437	Yagnam Teodoro	male	Combarbalà	Taibe	1912	merchant
438	Akel Carlos	male	Concepcìon	Jaffa	1912	landlord
439	Ananias Nicolàs	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
440	Giacaman Pacifico	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
441	Musalem Elías	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
442	Selman Gabriel	male	Coronel	Beit Jala	1912	unknown
443	Sammur Miguel	male	Curacautìn	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
444	Siade Salvador	male	Curacautìn	Beit Jala	1912	merchant

445	Musalem Saba	male	Curicò	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
446	Chomali Natalio	male	Chépica	Bet-Sahur	1912	merchant
447	Egnem Salim	male	Chillàn	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
448	Elias Amador	male	Fresia	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
449	Saglie Vicente	male	Illapel	Taibe	1912	merchant
450	Poza Dabed	male	Illapel	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
451	Salem José	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
452	Apara Jorge	male	Lautaro	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
453	Apara Salomòn	male	Lautaro	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
454	Yanini Farah	male	Lautaro	Ein Karem	1912	merchant
455	Samur Alejandro	male	Los Laureles	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
456	Haddad Abdala	male	Lota	Bethlehem	1912	unknown
457	Kuncar Salomòn	male	Mulchén	Beit Jala	1912	farmer
458	Eltit Jorge	male	Nogales	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
459	Eltit Nicolàs	male	Nogales	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
460	Misle Anna	female	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
461	Saca Santiago	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
462	Yusary Cipriano K.	male	Ovalle	Jaffa	1912	industrialist
463	Hamada Manuel	male	Pitrufrquén	Su-Bahir	1912	merchant
464	Aboid Jacob	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
465	Salhus H. Saba	male	Quillota	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
466	Duery Zacarias	male	Rengo	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
467	Chehade Salomòn	male	San Bernardo	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
468	Amar Elias	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
469	Ananias Miguel	male	San Felipe	Nablus	1912	merchant
470	Lolas Juan	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
471	Bidu Alejandro	male	San Fernando	Bet-Sahur	1912	merchant
472	Chomali Jorge	male	San Javier	Bet-Sahur	1912	merchant
473	Jadue Salame	male	San Javier	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
474	Abdel-Masih	male	Santiago	Bet-Sahur	1912	merchant

475	Abedrapo Teodoro	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
476	Aboid Felipe	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
477	Atala Elias	male	Santiago	Bet-Sahur	1912	merchant
478	Auda Salvador	male	Santiago	Gifna	1912	farmer
479	Cattan Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
480	Dagach vda. de	female	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	unknown
481	Giadalah Isaac	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	traveling salesman
482	Hazbun Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1912	unknown
483	Hazbun Mitre	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1912	unknown
484	Jadue Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
485	Jury Demetrio	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1912	merchant
486	Kattan Alfonso	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
487	Misle Salim	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	industrialist
488	Misle Salvador	male	Santiago	Taibe	1912	merchant
489	Musalem Jacob	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
490	Muzied Gabriel	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1912	employee
491	Naser Jorge	male	Santiago	Unknown	1912	industrialist
492	Nazal Emilio	male	Santiago	Unknown	1912	merchant
493	Readi Emilio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1912	industrialist
494	Readi Salvador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	private practice
495	Saba Elias	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
496	Sabja Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1912	industrialist
497	Salah Santiago	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1912	merchant
498	Saleh Nuncio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1912	industrialist
499	Sedan Salim	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	industrialist
500	Sifri Jorge	male	Santiago	Jaffa	1912	merchant
501	Sudah Emilio	male	Santiago	Rafida	1912	merchant
502	Tabach Abraham	male	Santiago	Gifna	1912	merchant
503	Zurob Abraham	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	industrialist
504	Zurob Tomàs	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1912	merchant

505	Eltit Salvador	male	Talca	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
506	Zaror Abraham	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
507	Saieh Chucri	male	Talcahuano	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
508	Jacob Felipe	male	Teno	Bethlehem	1912	theatre impresario
509	Merwani Alberto	male	Toltén	Beit Jala	1912	unknown
510	Merwani Natalio	male	Toltén	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
511	Abufhele José Carlos	male	Valparaíso	Bethlehem	1912	merchant
512	Karmy Antonio	male	Valparaíso	Bethlehem	1912	industrialist
513	Parham Elias	male	Victoria	Villa Alegre	1912	merchant
514	Tadres Salem	male	Villa Alemana	Taibe	1912	merchant
515	Egnem Abraham	male	Vina del Mar	Beit Jala	1912	merchant
516	Aboid Felipe	male		Beit Jala	1912	merchant
517	Nazal Jorge	male	Angol	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
518	Gidi Pacifico	male	Concepción	Bethlehem	1913	landlord
519	Aude Jacob	male	Curacautín	Beit Jala	1913	unknown
520	Abusleme Elias	male	Curicó	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
521	Atala Demetrio	male	Curicó	Bet-Sahur	1913	merchant
522	Garib Salomón	male	Curicó	Bet-Sahur	1913	unknown
523	Jer Guillermo	male	Curicó	Bet-Sahur	1913	merchant
524	Chejade Juan	male	Chillán	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
525	Tabja Joaquín	male	Chillán	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
526	Sababa Joege	male	Chimbarongo	Bet-Sahur	1913	merchant
527	Gami Salvador	male	Lautaro	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
528	Jachram Abdo	male	Los Andes	Jerusalem	1913	merchant
529	Lama Carlos	male	Los Andes	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
530	Lama Jorge	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
531	Lama Rosa vda. de	female	Los Angeles	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
532	Lama Teodoro	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
533	Saraf Misabel	male	Llay-Llay	Jerusalem	1913	merchant
534	Nunez Hafid	male	Marchigue	Bet-Sahur	1913	merchant

535	Cusmille Abraham	male	Nancagua	Bet-Sahur	1913	merchant
536	Mussalem Elias	male	Nancagua	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
537	Sagurie Elias	male	Temuco	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
538	Jamis Julio	male	Pucòn	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
539	Sarraf Teòfilo	male	Purranque	Gaza	1913	merchant
540	Dahdal Musalem S.	male	Quinteros	Jerusalem	1913	broker
541	Handal Abraham	male	San Bernardo	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
542	Giadala Carlos	male	Santa Barbara	Bet-Safafa	1913	merchant
543	Sacaan Jorge	male	Santa Cruz	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
544	Saleh Jorge	male	Santa Cruz	Bet-Sahur	1913	merchant
545	Abdo Miguel	male	Santiago	Gifna	1913	merchant
546	Aboid José	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1913	industrialist
547	Abukalil Emilia vda. de	female	Santiago	Bethlehem	1913	industrialist
548	Abumohor Miguel	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
549	Assadi Federica A. Vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	1913	merchant
550	Cooper José	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1913	unknown
551	Dagach Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1913	industrialist
552	Fatale Jorge	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1913	merchant
553	Giacaman Amador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1913	unknown
554	Giacaman Miguel	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
555	Hazbun vda. de	female	Santiago	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
556	Humud Antonio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
557	Kassis Amador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1913	unknown
558	Kassis Salim	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
559	Majluf Gabriel	male	Santiago	Jaffa	1913	merchant
560	Nazal Costantino	male	Santiago	Taibe	1913	merchant
561	Nazar José	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
562	Sabaj Costantino	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1913	industrialist
563	Selman Antonio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
564	Turni José	male	Santiago	Jabal El Tier	1913	merchant

565	Giadach Alberto	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1913	unknown
566	Tarud Moises	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
567	Hales Demetrio	male	Temuco	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
568	Dabdub Antonio	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
569	Dib José	male	Traiguén	Born in Chile	1913	merchant
570	Mussu Salomón	male	Valparaíso	Beit Jala	1913	industrialist
571	Salame Elias	male	Victoria	Bethlehem	1913	merchant
572	Tadres Selim	male	Villa Alemana	Taibe	1913	merchant
573	Atwan Jorge	male	Villarrica	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
574	Zerene Amador	male	Villarrica	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
575	Massu Elias S.	male	Vina del Mar	Beit Jala	1913	landlord
576	Massu Juan E.	male	Vina del Mar	Beit Jala	1913	unknown
577	Massu Juan M.	male	Vina del Mar	Beit Jala	1913	merchant
578	Chatat Miguel	male	Yungay	Rameh	1913	merchant
579	Yanini Teodoro	male	Yungay	Ramallah	1913	merchant
580	Abufhele Benedicto	male	Aysén	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
581	Abufhele Miguel	male	Aysén	Bethlehem	1914	unknown
582	Salomon Salem	male	Barranca	Der-Dubwan	1914	unknown
583	Sahlie Manzur	male	Canela	Taibe	1914	merchant
584	Jadue Nicolás	male	Carahue	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
585	Latif Manuel	male	Castro	Betunia	1914	merchant
586	Ziade Omar	male	Castro	Jerusalem	1914	merchant
587	Sabaj Enrique	male	Castro	Jerusalem	1914	merchant
588	Jerala José	male	Coyhaique	Betunia	1914	merchant
589	Al-Khatib Mustafà	male	Curicó	Der-Gerir	1914	merchant
590	Yarur Jorge	male	Chillán	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
591	Yarur Nuncio	male	Chillán	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
592	Flores Javier	male	Galvarino	Kathr-Malek	1914	merchant
593	Abugoch Juan	male	Illapel	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
594	Nazer Felipe	male	Illapel	Taibe	1914	merchant

595	Said Alejandro	male	La Calera	Der-Garid	1914	merchant
596	Dabanch Juan	male	Linares	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
597	Hirmas Abed	male	Linares	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
598	Osman Salvador	male	Loncoche	Walaga	1914	merchant
599	Akle José	male	Los Laureles	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
600	Atala Salvador	male	Llo-Lleo	Der-Dubwan	1914	merchant
601	Ananias Jorge A.	male	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
602	Alamo Teodoro	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
603	Salvador Nicolàs	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
604	Yagnam Frolian	male	Ovalle	Taibe	1914	unknown
605	Ananias Jacob	male	Parral	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
606	Nazar Santiago S.	male	Parral	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
607	Lahsen Juan	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
608	Abuyeres Nicolàs	male	Quillota	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
609	Zedan Abraham	male	Quillota	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
610	Uauy Alberto	male	Rancagua	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
611	Salume Demetrio	male	Rengo	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
612	Garib Elias	male	Requinoa	Bet-Sahur	1914	merchant
613	Kefafi Elias	male	San Antonio	Jaras	1914	merchant
614	Manzur Carlos	male	San Bernardo	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
615	Nazal Carlos	male	San Carlos	Ramallah	1914	merchant
616	Salame Abel	male	San Francisco de Mostazal	Gifna	1914	merchant
617	Chomali Antonio	male	San Javier	Bet-Sahur	1914	merchant
618	Abogabir Miguel	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1914	industrialist
619	Abujiara Manuel	male	Santiago	Walaga	1914	merchant
620	Barakat Angel	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1914	merchant
621	Cury Enrique	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1914	merchant
622	Dides Alberto	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1914	merchant
623	Dihmes Salvador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
624	Facuse Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1914	industrialist

625	Garib Salvador	male	Santiago	Bet-Sahur	1914	merchant
626	Giadalah Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1914	traveling salesman
627	Hazbun Salomòn	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1914	industrialist
628	Jalil Julio	male	Santiago	Walaga	1914	merchant
629	Karmy Salvador	male	Santiago	Ein Karem	1914	merchant
630	Mussa Manuel	male	Santiago	Walaga	1914	merchant
631	Nallar Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1914	industrialist
632	Nasif Elias	male	Santiago	Enaz	1914	merchant
633	Rabah Elias	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1914	photographer
634	Raian Pablo	male	Santiago	Kofar	1914	merchant
635	Saba Andrés	male	Santiago	Nasra	1914	merchant
636	Sacaan Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
637	Said Abraham	male	Santiago	Taibe	1914	merchant
638	Tabja Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
639	Zaror Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
640	Canauati Juan	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
641	Nicolas Carlos	male	Temuco	Minastra	1914	merchant
642	Shaer David	male	Toltén	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
643	Yanies Salvador	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
644	Abuauad Fadia vda. de Salomòn	female	Valparaíso	Unknown	1914	merchant
645	Karmy Simòn	male	Valparaíso	Ein Karem	1914	merchant
646	Dahdal Afife vda. de	female	Vina del Mar	Taibe	1914	unknown
647	Massu Abraham	male	Vina del Mar	Beit Jala	1914	industrialist
648	Miserki Alejandro	male	Vina del Mar	Beit Jala	1914	merchant
649	Samara Maritza vda. de	female	Vina del Mar	Jerusalem	1914	merchant
650	Zaror Julio	male	Yungay	Bethlehem	1914	merchant
651	Massu Juan	male	Carahue	Beit Jala	1915	merchant
652	Larach Rachid	male	Casa Blanca	Taibe	1915	merchant
653	Chahuan Jorge	male	Loncoche	Beit Jala	1915	merchant
654	Ananias Emilia Maria vda. de	female	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1915	merchant

655	Ananias Miguel	male	Nacimiento	Bethlehem	1915	merchant
656	Salvador Amador	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1915	merchant
657	Zacarias Demetrio	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1915	unknown
658	Giacaman	male	Angol	Bethlehem	1916	unknown
659	Said Carlos	male	Curicò	Bet-Sahur	1916	unknown
660	Manzur Jalil	male	Magallanes	Safad	1916	merchant
661	Dib Elias	male	Santiago	Nasra	1916	unknown
662	Kattan Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1916	industrialist
663	Raby Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1916	merchant
664	Sadih Salvador	male	Santiago	Taibe	1916	industrialist
665	Carcur Miguel	male	Talagante	Bethlehem	1916	merchant
666	Nicolas Pablo	male	Linares	Nasra	1917	unknown
667	Adura Mohamed	male	Magallanes	Sahmata	1917	merchant
668	Adura José	male	Magallanes	Sahmata	1917	merchant
669	Dib Isaac	male	Santiago	Nasra	1917	landlord
670	Hazbun Nicolàs	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1917	merchant
671	Awad Basilio	male	Yungay	Bethlehem	1917	merchant
672	Egnem Nicolàs	male	Yungay	Beit Jala	1917	merchant
673	Arabach Mahomed	male	Magallanes	Safad	1918	merchant
674	Manzur Amador	male	Melipilla	Unknown	1918	merchant
675	Seran Vicente Félix	male	Puerto Natales	Horfech	1918	merchant
676	Kattan Julio	male	Rengo	Bethlehem	1918	merchant
677	Campo José	male	Santiago	Unknown	1918	merchant
678	Readi Jorge	male	Talagante	Bethlehem	1918	merchant
679	Saleh Ahmad Ali	male	Tierra del Fuego	Safad	1918	merchant
680	Jalil Elias	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1919	merchant
681	Saleh Said	male	Magallanes	Safad	1919	merchant
682	Rachid Yuseff	male	Magallanes	Safad	1919	merchant
683	Giacaman Antonio	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	1919	merchant
684	Giacaman Nuncio	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	1919	industrialist

685	Abuter Alejandro	male	Santa Barbara	Serbahil	1919	farmer
686	Cardoch Nicolàs	male	Santa Cruz	Beit Jala	1919	merchant
687	Abusleme Costancia	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1919	pharmacist
688	Dabeb Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1919	industrialist
689	Nazal Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1919	merchant
690	Rabi Miguel	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1919	merchant
691	Manoli Antonio	male	Angol	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
692	Nazal Atala	male	Angol	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
693	Bichara Salvador	male	Bulnes	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
694	Facuse Jorge	male	Catemu	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
695	Yagnam Alberto	male	Combarbalà	Taibe	1920	merchant
696	Adaury Juan	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
697	Adaury Elias	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1920	unknown
698	Gidi Nuncio	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1920	landlord
699	Hazbun Emilia vda. de	female	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1920	landlord
700	Selman Jaime	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
701	Schahin José	male	Curacautìn	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
702	Gazale Salvador	male	Curanilahue	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
703	Aguad Amador	male	Chillàn	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
704	Mobarec Francisco	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
705	Piddo Elìas	male	Chimbarongo	Bet-Sahur	1920	merchant
706	Jadue Juan	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
707	Jusari Nicolàs	male	La Calera	Jaffa	1920	merchant
708	Riscalla Jorge	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
709	Zerene Salomòn	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
710	Moucarquer Moisés	male	La Ligua	Beit Jala	1920	unknown
711	Giadach Basilio	male	Linares	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
712	Deik Amador	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
713	Hananas Pacifico	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
714	Imbarak Gabriel	male	Llay-Llay	Beit Jala	1920	merchant

715	Lahssen Atala	male	Llay-Llay	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
716	Arabach Hussen	male	Magallanes	Safad	1920	merchant
717	Nazar Jorge	male	Melipilla	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
718	Readi Juan	male	Melipilla	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
719	Ananias Cristo	male	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
720	Ananias Demetrio	male	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
721	Ananias Mitre	male	Nacimiento	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
722	Alamo Gabriel Salvador	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
723	Alamo Jacob	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
724	Harcha Nuncio	male	Paillaco	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
725	Lolas Demetrio	male	Panquehue	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
726	Harcha Julio	male	Pitrufuén	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
727	Cumsille Juan	male	Placilla	Bet-Sahur	1920	merchant
728	Lahsen Elias	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
729	Lahsen Gabriel	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
730	Saleh Badràn	male	Puerto Natales	Horfech	1920	unknown
731	Jarufe Salame	male	Quillota	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
732	Zeidan Jorge	male	Quillota	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
733	Masihi Abraham	male	Rengo	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
734	Amar vda. de	female	San Felipe	Unknown	1920	merchant
735	Meruane Salvador	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
736	Dinen Salvador	male	San Fernando	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
737	Bannura Rafael	male	Santa Cruz	Bet-Sahur	1920	merchant
738	Zerene Andrés	male	Santa Cruz	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
739	Dinen Julio	male	Santa Juana	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
740	Abdo Vicente	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1920	merchant
741	Abugarade Plácido	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
742	Abumohor F. Zacariás	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
743	Abusleme Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1920	broker
744	Cattan Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1920	merchant

745	Gattas Moisés	male	Santiago	Aka	1920	merchant
746	Haddad Azize	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
747	Hazbun Salvador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1920	industrialist
748	Lolas Antonio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1920	industrialist
749	Manzur Chukri	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
750	Manzur Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1920	industrialist
751	Manzur Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1920	industrialist
752	Misle Moisés	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1920	industrialist
753	Mitri Gabriel	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
754	Nazal Salvador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
755	Ode José	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1920	merchant
756	Raby Salomòn	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1920	unknown
757	Sahuri E. Pacifico	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
758	Tuchie Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
759	Yunis Saleh	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
760	Zurob Elias	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1920	merchant
761	Zoror Juan	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
762	Jacob Juan	male	Teno	Bethlehem	1920	unknown
763	Jaar Vicente	male	Vina del Mar	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
764	Suez Alexandra vda. de	female	Vina del Mar	Taibe	1920	landlord
765	Hamame Tomàs	male	Yumbel	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
766	Sahuria Emilio	male	Yungay	Bethlehem	1920	merchant
767	Giacaman Molsés	male	Antofagasta	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
768	Chauriye Gabriel	male	Concepcìon	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
769	Haddad Antonio	male	Coronel	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
770	Mufdi Abraham	male	Curicò	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
771	Sahid Pedro	male	Illapel	Taibe	1921	merchant
772	Chahuan Abraham	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
773	Manzur Juan	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
774	Charad Abraham	male	Linares	Beit Jala	1921	merchant

775	Daccarett José K.	male	Linares	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
776	Atala Costantino	male	Nacimiento	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
777	Atala Jacobo	male	Nacimiento	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
778	Salvador Salim	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
779	Reade Elias	male	Pucòn	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
780	Mualim Antonio	male	Quillota	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
781	Hoch Tanàs	male	San Bernardo	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
782	Nassar Elias	male	San Bernardo	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
783	Gabrie Antonio	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
784	Nazal Carlos	male	San Carlos	Ramallah	1921	merchant
785	Sabaj Andrés	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
786	Issa Elias	male	San Fernando	Bet-Sahur	1921	merchant
787	Cassis Chucuri	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1921	industrialist
788	Chehade A. Saba	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
789	Halaby Antonio	male	Santiago	Unknown	1921	merchant
790	Halabi Mitri	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
791	Kattan Francisco	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1921	unknown
792	Manzur Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
793	Nazal Jacob	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
794	Nazal José	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1921	industrialist
795	Parham Gabriel	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
796	Rechmaue Miguel	male	Santiago	Bet-Sahim	1921	merchant
797	Rumie José	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1921	merchant
798	Saca Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
799	Salah Pascual	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1921	merchant
800	Scaff Bichara	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
801	Nazal Jacob	male	Temuco	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
802	Parham Gragorio	male	Temuco	Beit Jala	1921	merchant
803	Gattas Juan	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1921	merchant
804	Abumohor Salvador	male	Vina del Mar	Beit Jala	1921	merchant

805	Larach Elias	male	Vina del Mar	Taibe	1921	landlord
806	Jadue Abraham	male	Carahue	Beit Jala	1922	merchant
807	Jadue Simòn	male	Carahue	Beit Jala	1922	merchant
808	Derderian Jorge	male	Catemu	Jerusalem	1922	merchant
809	Samur Jorge	male	Collipulli	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
810	Samur Miguel	male	Collipulli	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
811	Salem Jorge	male	Combarbalà	Taibe	1922	merchant
812	Zafira Amador	male	Curacautin	Beit Jala	1922	merchant
813	Yury José	male	Chuquicamata	Taibe	1922	unknown
814	Issa Nicolàs B.	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1922	merchant
815	Lahsen Saba	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1922	merchant
816	Majluf Emilio	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1922	merchant
817	Ahmad Carlos	male	Quillota	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
818	Jail Pedro	male	Quillaeico	Saida	1922	merchant
819	Asfura Jorge	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
820	Amar Jorge	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1922	merchant
821	Nassar Elias	male	San Fernando	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
822	Jadue Saba	male	San Javier	Beit Jala	1922	merchant
823	Iscafi Bichara	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
824	Jamis Salvador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1922	merchant
825	Rabi Salomòn	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1922	merchant
826	Salame Salvador	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
827	Ali Nallib	male	Talcahuano	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
828	Nazar Julio	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
829	Saca Emilio	male	Traiguén	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
830	Karmy Salim	male	Valparaiso	Bethlehem	1922	merchant
831	Giancaman Josè	male	Andacollo	Bethlehem	1923	merchant
832	Chauriye Chucry	male	Concepcìon	Beit Jala	1923	traveling salesman
833	Fattah Salomòn	male	Curicò	Unknown	1923	merchant
834	Nazer Andréas	male	Illapel	Taibe	1923	merchant

835	Yusseff Abed	male	Magallanes	Samue	1923	merchant
836	Mussa Abdel Razig	male	Melipilla	Yabrud	1923	merchant
837	Harcha Salim	male	Paillaco	Beit Jala	1923	unknown
838	Karmy Salomòn	male	Quillota	Ein Karem	1923	merchant
839	Auda Antonio	male	San Francisco de Mostazal	Gifna	1923	merchant
840	Butto P. Fotios	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1923	industrialist
841	Chauriye Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1923	unknown
842	Himsalam Carlos	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1923	merchant
843	Salah Alberto	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1923	merchant
844	Salah Miguel	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1923	merchant
845	Saleh Michel	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1923	merchant
846	Yagnam Juan	male	Combarbalà	Taibe	1924	merchant
847	Gidi Abraham	male	Concepciòn	Bethlehem	1924	landlord
848	Manzur Nuncio	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
849	Manzur Salim	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1924	merchant
850	Itaim Juan M.	male	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
851	Kuncar Atala	male	Mulchén	Beit Jala	1924	merchant
852	Carmach Juan	male	Paillaco	Beit Jala	1924	merchant
853	Eljatib Jorge	male	Quirihue	Der-Atia	1924	merchant
854	Andonie A. Emilio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
855	Benedetto L. Juan	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
856	Chehade Salim	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1924	merchant
857	Kattan Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
858	Kort Emilio	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1924	merchant
859	Merwani Gabriel	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1924	industrialist
860	Nazal Gabriel	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1924	merchant
861	Nazar Miguel	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
862	Salman Elena vda.de	female	Santiago	Unknown	1924	unknown
863	Sukni Mahmud	male	Santiago	Unknown	1924	merchant
864	Readi Bichara	male	Temuco	Bethlehem	1924	merchant

865	Dabdub Ramòn	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
866	Nazar Antonio	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
867	Aguad Miguel	male	Valparaíso	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
868	Ayub Juan	male	Valparaíso	Beit Jala	1924	merchant
869	Karmy José	male	Valparaíso	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
870	Jaar Oscar	male	Vina del Mar	Bethlehem	1924	merchant
871	Aboid Atala	male	Volcàn	Beit Jala	1924	unknown
872	Auad Najie	male	Bulnes	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
873	Salem Fedro	male	Calbuco	Taibe	1925	merchant
874	Samur José	male	Collipulli	Bethlehem	1925	merchant
875	Telchie Alberto	male	Collipulli	Taibe	1925	merchant
876	Nazer Salim	male	Combarbalà	Taibe	1925	merchant
877	Eltit Abraham	male	Concepcìon	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
878	Musalem Habib	male	Concepcìon	Bethlehem	1925	merchant
879	Kuraa Juan	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1925	merchant
880	Abugoch Miguel	male	Illapel	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
881	Dabed Id	male	Illapel	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
882	Oda Ali	male	La Calera	Der-Garid	1925	merchant
883	Mucarquer Bichara	male	Lautaro	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
884	Jadue Amador	male	Limache	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
885	Heresi Elias	male	Linares	Bethlehem	1925	merchant
886	Jarad Carlos M.	male	Linares	Beit Jala	1925	unknown
887	Yarad Carlos	male	Linares	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
888	Siade Pablo	male	Lonquimay	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
889	Kuncar Emilio	male	Mulchén	Beit Jala	1925	farmer
890	Tumayan Garabed	male	Puente Alto	Jerusalem	1925	merchant
891	Awad Jorge	male	Salamanca	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
892	Gabrie Juan	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	1925	merchant
893	Jadue Bichara	male	San Javier	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
894	Abujatum Mazud	male	Santiago	Unknown	1925	unknown

895	Amar José A.	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1925	merchant
896	Amar Juan A.	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1925	merchant
897	Amar Manuel A.	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1925	merchant
898	Dacaret Emilio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1925	peddler
899	Dides Salvador	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1925	merchant
900	Jadue Sleman	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1925	traveling salesman
901	Karmy Yelil	male	Santiago	Ein Karem	1925	unknown
902	Manzur Abraham Jacob	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
903	Musalem Antonio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1925	merchant
904	Musalem Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1925	merchant
905	Zagmutt José	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
906	Readi Oscar	male	Talagante	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
907	Parham Miguel	male	Temuco	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
908	Nazar Salvador	male	Valdivia	Bethlehem	1925	merchant
909	Mussu Carlos	male	Valparaíso	Bethlehem	1925	merchant
910	Mussu Juana vda. de	female	Valparaíso	Bethlehem	1925	unknown
911	Jamis Teodoro	male	Victoria	Beit Jala	1925	merchant
912	Lama Afif	male	Concepción	Bethlehem	1926	merchant
913	Uauy Salim	male	Curanilahue	Beit Jala	1926	merchant
914	Aguad Yolanda vda. de	female	La Calera	Beit Jala	1926	merchant
915	Saliba Demetrio	male	Los Angeles	Beit Jala	1926	merchant
916	Itaim Jacob	male	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1926	merchant
917	Burbar Nicolàs	male	Puente Alto	Bir-Set	1926	merchant
918	Lahsen Messalén	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1926	merchant
919	Raian Ahmad	male	Salamanca	Ramun	1926	merchant
920	Lolas Emilio	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	1926	merchant
921	Aude Guillermo	male	San Fernando	Bet-Sahur	1926	merchant
922	Karmy Juan	male	Santiago	Ein Karem	1926	merchant
923	Lolas Nicolás	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1926	industrialist
924	Ode Isabel vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	1926	unknown

925	Ode Juan	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1926	merchant
926	Param Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1926	merchant
927	Sahuria Juan	male	Yungay	Bethlehem	1926	merchant
928	Zagmutt Salvador	male	Coronel	Beit Jala	1927	merchant
929	Baddu Miguel	male	Chimbarongo	Bet-Sahur	1927	merchant
930	Jalil Abraham	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1927	merchant
931	Hirmas Hassan	male	Linares	Bethlehem	1927	merchant
932	Ode Elias	male	Longavi	Bet-Sahur	1927	merchant
933	Cusmille Natalio	male	Nancagua	Bet-Sahur	1927	merchant
934	Cumsille Basilio	male	Placilla	Bet-Sahur	1927	merchant
935	Lahsen Amador	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1927	landlord
936	Jadue Angel	male	San Javier	Beit Jala	1927	merchant
937	Cumsille Marcos	male	Santa Cruz	Bet-Sahur	1927	merchant
938	Zerene Carlos	male	Santa Cruz	Beit Jala	1927	merchant
939	Darwich Ahmed	male	Santiago	Silwan	1927	merchant
940	Hazin Bichara	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1927	merchant
941	Kort Najie	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1927	merchant
942	Lolas Abraham	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1927	merchant
943	Manzur Amador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1927	industrialist
944	Zaror Antonio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1927	merchant
945	Hazbun Julio	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1927	merchant
946	Karmy Salvador	male	Valparaiso	Bethlehem	1927	merchant
947	Manzur Salim	male	Villarrica	Beit Jala	1927	merchant
948	Jaar Julio	male	Vina del Mar	Bethlehem	1927	merchant
949	Zafira Jorge	male		Beit Jala	1927	merchant
950	Salame José	male	Concepción	Beit Jala	1928	landlord
951	Musa Abraham	male	Curanilahue	Beit Jala	1928	merchant
952	Zaitum Melki	male	Cherquenco	Jerusalem	1928	merchant
953	Nazer Victor	male	Illapel	Taibe	1928	merchant
954	Hirmas Abraham	male	Linares	Beit Jala	1928	merchant

955	Abu Abara Teófilo	male	Loncoche	Beit Jala	1928	merchant
956	Siade Nicolàs	male	Lonquimay	Beit Jala	1928	merchant
957	Hanantias José	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	1928	merchant
958	Hanantias Salvador	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	1928	merchant
959	Hazin Chucrí	male	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1928	merchant
960	Ganim Luca	male	Nancagua	Bet-Sahur	1928	merchant
961	Karmy Habib	male	Quillota	Ein Karem	1928	merchant
962	Zedan Saliba	male	Quillota	Beit Jala	1928	merchant
963	Jadue Salvador	male	San Javier	Beit Jala	1928	merchant
964	Asfura Antonio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1928	landlord
965	Fajr Dabdub	male	Santiago	Yarca	1928	merchant
966	Kattan Salvador	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1928	merchant
967	Naser Elias	male	Santiago	Taibe	1928	merchant
968	Nazur Juan	male	Santiago	Aka	1928	merchant
969	Saba Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1928	merchant
970	Sabella Salim	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1928	merchant
971	Sahlie Bichara	male	Santiago	Taibe	1928	merchant
972	Nazal Saba	male	Temuco	Beit Jala	1928	merchant
973	Nazar Salomòn	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1928	merchant
974	Hawach Emilio	male	Buin	Bethlehem	1929	merchant
975	Abraham Rizik	male	Cauquenes	Bethlehem	1929	merchant
976	Salman Salvador	male	Loncoche	Beit Jala	1929	merchant
977	Murad Esleman	male	Puerto Natales	Horfech	1929	merchant
978	Cumsille Garib	male	Santa Cruz	Bet-Sahur	1929	merchant
979	Imbarek Moisés	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1929	industrialist
980	Karmy Elias	male	Santiago	Ein Karem	1929	merchant
981	Kattan Khalil	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1929	industrialist
982	Mussu Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1929	merchant
983	Mussu Nuncio	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1929	merchant
984	Daher Jalil	male	Tierra del Fuego	Der-Al-Gas	1929	merchant

985	Manzur Pedro	male	Villarrica	Beit Jala	1929	merchant
986	abogabirSchahin Abraham	male	Curacautin	Bethlehem	1930	landlord
987	Dacaret Elias	male	Curicò	Bet-Sahur	1930	merchant
988	Mufdi Carlos	male	Chillàn	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
989	Abuyres Abraham	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
990	Bichara Nicolàs	male	La Calera	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
991	Zaroe Demetrio	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	1930	merchant
992	Imbarak Zacarias	male	Llay-Llay	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
993	Ahmed Salef A.	male	Molina	Husa	1930	merchant
994	Mattar Miguel	male	Mulchén	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
995	Alamo Salvador	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
996	Elsaca Emilio	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
997	Lahsen Julio	male	Puente Alto	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
998	Karmy Fadlala	male	Quillota	Ein Karem	1930	merchant
999	Auad Alberto	male	San Carlos	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
1000	Auad Juan	male	San Carlos	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
1001	Jadue Jorge	male	San Javier	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
1002	Elitit Elias	male	Santa Cruz	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
1003	Butto B. Baracat	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1930	merchant
1004	Butto P. Espiro	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1930	industrialist
1005	Kattan Salim	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1930	merchant
1006	Makluf José	male	Santiago	Taibe	1930	merchant
1007	Nallar Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
1008	Said Salvador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1930	industrialist
1009	Zaror Jorge	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1930	merchant
1010	Gattas Nicolàs	male	Tomé	Bethlehem	1930	merchant
1011	Zerene Elias	male	Villarrica	Beit Jala	1930	merchant
1012	Hamad Mahmud	male	Combarbalà	Ramun	1931	merchant
1013	Lama Julio	male	Chillàn	Bethlehem	1931	farmer
1014	Nazar Antonio	male	Chimbarongo	Taibe	1931	merchant

1015	Salman Francisco L.	male	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1931	merchant
1016	Ahmad Taufic	male	Puerto Natales	Deir el-Qasi	1931	merchant
1017	Richmauy Nicolàs	male	San Vicente de Tagua-Tagua	Bet-Sahur	1931	merchant
1018	Abdo Angel	male	Santiago	Gifna	1931	peddler
1019	Saba Jorge	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1931	merchant
1020	Giacaman Bichara	male	Antofagasta	Bethlehem	1932	merchant
1021	Delban Nicolàs	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	1932	merchant
1022	Kokali Carlos	male	Rancagua	Bet-Sahur	1932	merchant
1023	Kokali Costa	male	Rancagua	Bet-Sahur	1932	merchant
1024	Kokali Elias	male	Rancagua	Bet-Sahur	1932	merchant
1025	Chomali Elias	male	San Javier	Bet-Sahur	1932	merchant
1026	Diban Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1932	merchant
1027	Hazbun Issa	male	Santiago	Born in San Salvador	1932	unknown
1028	Hazbun Emilia vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	1933	unknown
1029	Saglie Nallip	male	Illapel	Taibe	1934	merchant
1030	Tumala Juan	male	Linares	Bethlehem	1934	merchant
1031	Tuma Manuel	male	Salamanca	Beit Jala	1934	merchant
1032	Baraque Jorge	male	Talca	Bet-Sahur	1934	merchant
1033	Sabat Elias	male	Lota	Bethlehem	1935	merchant
1034	Awad Amador	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1935	merchant
1035	Aglouny Charlye	male	Santiago	Ramallah	1935	industrialist
1036	Hamame Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1935	industrialist
1037	Batarse Ealias	male	Talca	Bet-Sahur	1935	merchant
1038	Nazal Wadi	male	Temuco	Beit Jala	1935	merchant
1039	Salvador Teodoro	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	1936	unknown
1040	Awad Habib	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1936	merchant
1041	Awad Jorge E.	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1936	broker
1042	Daccarett Carlos	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1936	merchant
1043	Yarur Juan	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1936	industrialist
1044	Yarur Nicolàs	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1936	industrialist

1045	Carraha Milada vda. de	female	Mulchén	Bethlehem	1937	merchant
1046	Davis Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1937	merchant
1047	Merwani Chucre	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1937	industrialist
1048	Sleman Lolas Nagib	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1937	merchant
1049	Yarur Saba	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1937	industrialist
1050	Farrach vda. de	female	Santiago	Jerusalem	1938	merchant
1051	Kassis Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1938	merchant
1052	Musalem José	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1938	merchant
1053	Saba Jacob	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	1938	merchant
1054	Butto B. Miguel	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1939	industrialist
1055	Rahil Miguel	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	1939	merchant
1056	Zaror Moises	male	Talca	Bethlehem	1939	merchant
1057	Said Juan	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	1940	industrialist
1058	Nazal Alejandro	male	Angol	Born in Chile		merchant
1059	Yarur Salomòn	male	Antuco	Bethlehem		unknown
1060	Yarur vda. de	female	Antuco	Bethlehem		unknown
1061	Alam Nicolàs	male	Bulnes	Beit Jala		merchant
1062	Alam vda. de	female	Bulnes	Beit Jala		merchant
1063	Dahdal Teodoro	male	Catapilco	Unknown		merchant
1064	Saadi Carlos	male	Cobquecura	Bethlehem		merchant
1065	Abedrapo Antonio	male	Colbun	Beit Jala		merchant
1066	Aguad Juan	male	Coltauco	Unknown		merchant
1067	Samur Amador	male	Collipulli	Bethlehem		farmer
1068	Heyley Julio	male	Concepcìon	Born in Chile		merchant
1069	Salame José	male	Constitucìon	Bethlehem		merchant
1070	Zarhi Julio	male	Constitucìon	Bethlehem		merchant
1071	Awad Salvador	male	Coronel	Bethlehem		unknown
1072	Gazauì Moisés Pacifico	male	Curacautin	Bethlehem		merchant
1073	Abufom Costantino	male	Curacavi	Beit Jala		merchant
1074	Awad Id	male	Curanilahue	Nasra		merchant

1075	Giadach Nuncio	male	Curepto	Beit Jala	merchant
1076	Misle Salomòn	male	Curepto	Beit Jala	merchant
1077	Zerene Abraham	male	Curepto	Beit Jala	merchant
1078	Abusleme Salvdor	male	Curicò	Beit Jala	unknown
1079	Batarse Abraham	male	Curicò	Bethlehem	unknown
1080	Batarse Carlos	male	Curicò	Bethlehem	merchant
1081	Bendek Bichara	male	Curicò	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1082	Cumsille Jorge	male	Curicò	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1083	Dacaret Carlos	male	Curicò	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1084	Jatib Eduardo	male	Curicò	Unknown	merchant
1085	Sabal Salomòn	male	Curimòn	Beit Jala	unknown
1086	Sabal Selim	male	Curimòn	Bethlehem	merchant
1087	Yarur vda. de Abdala	female	Chillàn	Bethlehem	merchant
1088	Duek Fatala	male	Freire	Eljalil	merchant
1089	Misle nicolàs	male	La Cruz	Beit Jala	merchant
1090	Zerene Abraham	male	La Uniòn	Beit Jala	merchant
1091	Abuthrida Nicolàs	male	Limache	Beit Jala	merchant
1092	Emeri Abraham	male	Linares	Bethlehem	peddler
1093	Dimes Abraham	male	Los Andes	Beit Jala	unknown
1094	Facuse Antonio	male	Los Andes	Bethlehem	merchant
1095	Halabi Tuma	male	Los Andes	Bethlehem	merchant
1096	Lama vda. de	female	Los Andes	Unknown	unknown
1097	Germani Juan	male	Los Angeles	Bethlehem	merchant
1098	Nazal Salim	male	Los Angeles	Beit Jala	accountant
1099	Salim Saleh	male	Magallanes	Yuni	merchant
1100	Ayach Salomòn	male	Malloa	Unknown	merchant
1101	Murra Carlos	male	Melipilla	Bethlehem	unknown
1102	Barakat Alejandro	male	Molina	Tameria	unknown
1103	Milan Jorge	male	Molina	Tameria	unknown
1104	Salman vda. de	female	Molina	Unknown	unknown

1105	Selman Luis	male	Molina	Bethlehem	merchant
1106	Tameri Carlos	male	Molina	Tameria	unknown
1107	Dahpura Carlos	male	Mulchén	born in Chile	unknown
1108	Hendich Bichara	male	Nancagua	Bethlehem	merchant
1109	Becker Santiago	male	Nogales	Ramun	merchant
1110	Catalan Jorge	male	Nogales	Ramun	merchant
1111	Manzur Vicente	male	Nogales	Taibe	merchant
1112	Zeit Jorge	male	Nogales	Beit Jala	unknown
1113	Uauy Gabriel	male	Osorno	Beit Jala	merchant
1114	Uauy Emilia vda. de	female	Osorno	Unknown	unknown
1115	Alamo Nuncio	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	merchant
1116	Alamo Moisés	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	merchant
1117	Alamo Juan	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	merchant
1118	Misle Gabriel	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	merchant
1119	Pichara Jacob	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	unknown
1120	Sarras Enrique	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	merchant
1121	Tuma Selim	male	Ovalle	Beit Jala	unknown
1122	Leibtim Salomòn	male	Palmilla	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1123	Nunez Jorge	male	Palmilla	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1124	Ayach Gabriel	male	Panquehue	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1125	Lamas S. Salvador	male	Papudo	Bethlehem	unknown
1126	Said José	male	Papudo	Taibe	merchant
1127	Yagnem Constandi	male	Papudo	Taibe	merchant
1128	Alamo Gregorio	male	Pedregal	Unknown	merchant
1129	Cumsille Salomòn	male	Peralillo	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1130	Cumsille Atala	male	Peralillo	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1131	Ananias Salvador	male	Placilla de La Ligua	Jerusalem	merchant
1132	Halaby Bichara	male	Placilla de La Ligua	Jerusalem	merchant
1133	Sarras Jacob	male	Placilla de La Ligua	Beit Jala	unknown
1134	Jacob Benjamin	male	Purranque	Beit Jala	unknown

1135	Tabja Saba	male	Purranque	Beit Jala	unknown
1136	Catan Alegria	male	Putando	Jerusalem	farmer
1137	Catan Salvador	male	Putando	Jerusalem	farmer
1138	Catan Victor	male	Putando	Jerusalem	farmer
1139	Lolas Emilio	male	Putando	Beit Jala	merchant
1140	Sedan salvador	male	Putando	Beit Jala	merchant
1141	Sunnah Alegria	male	Quillaeico	Beit Jala	merchant
1142	Garfe Salvador	male	Quinteros	Beit Jala	unknown
1143	Eljatib Mustafà	male	Quirihue	Der-Atia	merchant
1144	Richmaui Alejandro	male	Rancagua	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1145	Salomòn Elias T.	male	Renca	Unknown	merchant
1146	Atala Jorge	male	Rengo	Jerusalem	merchant
1147	Salume Costantino	male	Rengo	Bethlehem	unknown
1148	Sapaga Juan	male	Rengo	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1149	Babul Jorge	male	Requinoa	Bet-Sahur	industrialist
1150	Jer José	male	Requinoa	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1151	Zerene José	male	Reumén	Beit Jala	merchant
1152	Acle Nicolàs	male	Riachuelo	Beit Jala	merchant
1153	Duery Jorge	male	Rosario	Bethlehem	unknown
1154	Raian Hamade	male	Salamanca	Ramun	merchant
1155	Javer Emilia vda de José	female	San Antonio	Unknown	merchant
1156	Judari Rafael	male	San Antonio	Jidir	merchant
1157	Ahues Najle	male	San Bernardo	Bethlehem	merchant
1158	Giadach Farid	male	San Carlos	Bethlehem	merchant
1159	Balut Moisés	male	San Clemente	Unknown	merchant
1160	Amar Jorge	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	merchant
1161	Lolas Antonio	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	merchant
1162	Lolas Salvador	male	San Felipe	Beit Jala	merchant
1163	Lolas vda. de	female	San Felipe	Unknown	merchant
1164	Tadres vda.de	female	San Felipe	Jerusalem	unknown

1165	Abutridy Nicolàs	male	San Francisco de Limache	Unknown	merchant
1166	Garib Abraham	male	San Francisco de Mostazal	Unknown	merchant
1167	Cumsille Isaac	male	Santa Cruz	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1168	Sacaan Jacob	male	Santa Cruz	Bethlehem	merchant
1169	Abugarade Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	merchant
1170	Abuhadba Salim	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	industrialist
1171	Abujatum Julio	male	Santiago	Born in Chile	industrialist
1172	Abukalil Miguel	male	Santiago	Born in Austria	merchant
1173	Abusleme Moisés	male	Santiago	Born in Chile	merchant
1174	Abusleme Rafael	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	merchant
1175	Abusleme Zacarías	male	Santiago	Born in Chile	merchant
1176	Acle Elias	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	merchant
1177	Acle Victor	male	Santiago	Born in Chile	doctor
1178	Ahues A. Salomòn	male	Santiago	Born in Chile	journalist
1179	Andonie Demetrio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	merchant
1180	Bannura Jorge	male	Santiago	Bet-Sahur	merchant
1181	Canahuate Milade M. Vda. de	female	Santiago	Beit Jala	unknown
1182	Comandari vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	merchant
1183	Chahuan Juan	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	merchant
1184	Dagach Rogelia vda. De	female	Santiago	Bethlehem	unknown
1185	Sarah Emilia vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1186	Hani David	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	merchant
1187	Hazbun Manuel	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	merchant
1188	Jury Salomòn	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	priest
1189	Kamil Pedro	male	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1190	Kattan Saba	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	unknown
1191	Lama Jacob	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	industrialist
1192	Lama Jorge	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	industrialist
1193	Lama vda.de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1194	Lama vda.de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown

1195	Merwani Maria vda.de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1196	Miquel José	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	merchant
1197	Miquel Julio	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	merchant
1198	Param Sofia vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1199	Raby Demetrio	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	merchant
1200	Raby Jacob	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	merchant
1201	Raby ved. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1202	Sabat José	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	industrialist
1203	Sabja vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1204	Saffie vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	merchant
1205	Saieh Maria vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1206	Sayeh Jacob	male	Santiago	Bethlehem	unknown
1207	Salame Milania vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1208	Samur Maria vda.de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1209	Sarras Emilia vda.de	female	Santiago	Beit Jala	unknown
1210	Selman vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	unknown
1211	Tuemi vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	merchant
1212	Yachan Jorge	male	Santiago	Jerusalem	unknown
1213	Yunis Sara vda. de	female	Santiago	Unknown	merchant
1214	Zeidan Salim	male	Santiago	Beit Jala	unknown
1215	Cassis Nicolàs	male	Sotaqui	Beit Jala	merchant
1216	Lasmar Salomòn	male	Talagante	Unknown	merchant
1217	Aiach vda. de	female	Talca	Bethlehem	unknown
1218	Deik vda. de	female	Talca	Unknown	unknown
1219	Giadach Pacifico	male	Talca	Beit Jala	merchant
1220	Nazar vda. de	female	Talca	Unknown	unknown
1221	Zaror vda. de	female	Talca	Unknown	merchant
1222	Metuazi Héctor	male	Temuco	Beit Jala	merchant
1223	Hasbun Alfredo	male	Tocopilla	Unknown	merchant
1224	Majluf Atala	male	Tocopilla	Unknown	merchant

1225	Alamo Gabriel N.	male	Tulahuen	Beit Jala	merchant
1226	Docmac Amador	male	Valdivia	Beit Jala	merchant
1227	Sabat Juan	male	Valdivia	Unknown	merchant
1228	Sabat Julio	male	Valdivia	Unknown	merchant
1229	Sabat Miguel	male	Valdivia	Unknown	merchant
1230	Misle Nicolàs	male	Zapallar	Beit Jala	merchant
1231	Massis Francisco	male		Unknown	merchant
1232	Lahsen Victor	male		Beit Jala	merchant
1233	Eltit C. Yusef	male		Beit Jala	merchant
1234	Lama A. Domingo	male		Bethlehem	unknown
1235	Sabaj Z.Aziz	male		Beit Jala	merchant

ANNEX 2

TEXT No 1

Mundo Arabe, (Sept 17th 1932) n° 1. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

English Translation:

MUNDO ARABE appears today under the auspices of the National Anniversary. This Magazine patronizes the heroic memories of the History of Chile and its birth is based on the principles of freedom reached through the rule of Law. MUNDO ARABE, the mouthpiece of the Arab-Chilean intelligentsia, dedicates its first pages by hailing the glorious September 18th and proclaims itself to be a bridge of union between the luminous East and the West, a titanic effort in the struggle towards Labor and Progress. MUNDO ARABE is the redeeming banner of an entire race that has in its blood the nobility of an entire brilliant history. These modest aims strive to make great this magazine, that is published under the proud flag of Chile, beloved land and loving mother for the adoptive children of Arabia

Original Text:

MUNDO ARABE aparece hoy bajo los auspicios del Aniversario Nacional.

Apadrinan esta Revista los recuerdos heroicos de la Historia de Chile y ella se lanza a la luz, basada sobre los principios de la libertad conquistada por el Derecho. MUNDO ARABE, órgano de la intelectualidad Árabe-Chilena, engaña sus primeras páginas vitoreando al glorioso 18

de septiembre y se proclama el puente de unión del Oriente luminoso con el Occidente, exforzado y titán en las luchas del Trabajo y el Progreso. MUNDO ARABE es la bandera redentora de toda una raza que tiene en su sangre, la nobleza de toda una historia brillante. Estos propósitos modestos, habrán de hacer grande a la revista que se edita auspiciada bajo la gallarda bandera de Chile, tierra amada y madre cariñosa para los hijos adoptivos de Arabia.

TEXT No 2

Mundo Árabe, (Nov 19th 1932) n° 3-4. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago. P. 27

English Translation:

We cannot let these comments pass without launching our most formal protest against the Jews' claims to build their camps on our Arab land, only based on the absurd declaration of the English minister, Mr. James Balfour, supported by the Government of Her Majesty of Great Britain, which was influenced by the Zionist "gold" and did not hesitate to launch a declaration to attack a noble people and heroic traditions such as the Arab people's, whose legitimate rights over the Palestinian are thrilling in every square of their soil.[...] We protest with all the strength of our patriotic sentiments against the Jews' pretensions and for the support that they received from England.

Original text:

Nosotros no podemos dejar pasar estos comentarios sin lanzar nuestra mas formal protesta de la prevención de los judíos al querer levantar su tienda en nuestras tierras árabes, solo por la fútil declaración del ministro inglés, Mr. James Balfour, apoyada por el Gobierno de Su Majestad Británica, quien influenciado por el oro sionista no trepidó en lanzar una declaración atentatoria para un pueblo noble y de tradiciones heroicas como es el pueblo árabe, cuyos legítimos derechos sobre la palestina están palpitando en cada palmo de su suelo. [...] Protestamos con toda la fuerza de nuestros sentimientos patrióticos por las pretensiones de los judíos y por el apoyo que ellos han encontrado en Inglaterra.

Text No 3

Oriente. (Jan 22nd 1927). Year 1, n°1.

English Translation:

We all believed in the prophecies of the Allies, we dreamed of the promises of England, and we just thought that the World War that had just happened would be an example to make the strong respecting the weak, and to respect the given word, not to turn them into mere scribbles on paper. We will never, a thousand times never, give the consent to foreign domination to occupy our territories and, if necessary, our ancestors will awaken and the law of the right of the weak to challenge the strong will be imposed, bearing the motto “Conquer or die’!”

Original text:

Todos creímos en las profecías de los Aliados, soñamos en las promesas de Inglaterra, y justamente pensábamos que la guerra mundial que acaba de pasar sería un ejemplo para hacer que el fuerte respectara al débil, y las palabras se cumplen, que no sirvan de simples garabatos estampados sobre un papel. Nunca y mil veces nunca consentimos en nuestro terruño, el dominio extranjero, y si fuere necesario, despertarán nuestros antepasados y se impondrán el vestuario del derecho del débil contra el fuerte, llevando como lema ‘Vencer o morir’!”

Text No 4

Al Shark. (1929). N° 9, p 3. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

English Translation:

Civil riots throughout almost the entire Palestinian territory are gradually being fostered over time. Tiny cities like Tel Aviv, which before the arrival of the Zionists had about 5,000 inhabitants, came to host 40,000 people with the arrival of the Zionists. (For the record, I would say that - according to the data reported in the Arab bi-weekly journal "SOWT ASHAAB", which is published in Bethlehem - the Jewish population of Tel Aviv currently reaches 46,000 people, an evident demonstration of the progress made by Zionism that advances with leaps and bounds, but certainly is not aware of the final aim of its aspirations).

The same thing is happening in Haiffa, Tiberiade, etc..

Original Text:

Estas semiluchas civiles en casi todo el territorio de la Palestina se fueron fomentando paulatinamente con el tiempo. Antes de la llegada de los sionistas, ciudades pequeñísimas como Tel Aviv, que contaba escasamente con algunos cinco mil habitantes, llegó a contar con cerca de cuarenta mil con la llegada del sionista. (Actualmente, y a título ilustrativo, diré, según consta por los datos obtenidos por el periódico bi semanal árabe "SOWT ASHAAB" que se edita en Belén, la población judía del Tel Aviv alcanza a 46,109 lo que es una demostración evidente del progreso alcanzado por el sionismo que avanza con pasos agigantados, pero ignorando a ciencia cierta cual es la meta real de sus aspiraciones). Igual cosa aconteció a Haiffa, Tiberiades, etc.

Text No 5

Oriente. (1927). N° 8, p 1 and 6. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

English Translation:

Gentlemen, we, the Arabs of Palestine, do not hate, nor have we ever hated, the Palestinian Jews; On the contrary, we have always considered them as our co-nationals, because they also saw the light where we both were born and consequently have the same rights as we do;

That's right: we protest for injustice, we protest for the inequality, we ask to take into consideration our legitimate rights and that Palestine will be for the Palestinians without distinction of race or religion;

We demand that the laws will be even and fair, both for Arabs and Jews, being sons of the same country;

[We demand] to have the same rights and the same guarantees. In this way, under the protection of such laws, all the disputes will be over and all the disagreements will disappear; thanks to fair and disinterested procedures put in place by our mandatory leaders, the peace will reign and all together we will work for the development of our Motherland.

Original Text:

Señores, nosotros, los Árabes de Palestina, no odiamos, ni jamás hemos odiado, a los judíos palestinos; todo lo contrario, siempre los hemos considerado como connacionales nuestros, porque también ellos vieron la luz donde nosotros hemos nacido y en consecuencia tienen los mismos derechos que nosotros; eso si: protestamos por la injusticia, protestamos por la desigualdad, pedimos que se consideren nuestros legítimos derechos y que Palestina sea para los palestinos sin distinción de razas ni religiones; exigimos que las leyes sean parejas y Justas, tanto para árabes como para judíos, siendo

hijos de la misma patria; que tengan el mismo derecho y las mismas garantías. Y así, al amparo de tales leyes desaparecerán todas las contrariedades, se pondrá fin a todas las desavenencias y con justo y desinteresado procedimiento por parte de nuestros mandatarios, reinará la paz y todos unidos trabajaremos por el engrandecimiento de la Patria.

Text No 6

Oriente, (1927). Inglaterra niega arbitrariamente el derecho de ciudadanía a los Palestinos. Year 1, n°31, p. 4.

English Translation:

England apparently intends to restore Solomon's temple and resurrect the kingdom of Israel ... if they are influenced by the Jewish bankers, let them do so, but in a desert, where the rights of third parties are not harmed. It is not fair that, in order to satisfy the extravagant Jewish aspirations, the incontestable right of the indigenous Palestinians, whether Christians or Muslims has to be sacrificed. The Jews of Russia, America, etc., who have never known Palestine, are provided with pecuniary resources to go to settle in Palestine and even to buy land there and build their houses. Every Jew, whatever his origin and nationality, is granted a citizenship card after a ten days' sojourn in Palestine. And is this what England would call equality, justice, equity, people's right?

Original text:

Inglaterra se propone por lo visto restaurar el temple de Salomón y resucitar el reino de Israel... si tanto los apremian los banqueros judíos, que lo haga, pero en ale desierto, en donde no sean perjudicados los derechos de terceros. No es justo que para satisfacer las

extravagantes aspiraciones judaicas, sacrifique los incontestables derechos de los genuinos palestinos, cristianos o musulmanes. A los judíos de Rusia, América, etc., que jamás han conocido Palestina, se les proporcionan recursos pecuniarios para irse a establecer en Palestina y aun para comprar ahí terrenos y edificar casa. A todo judío, de cualquier origen y nacionalidad que sea, se le otorga carta de ciudadanía después de diez días de permanencia en Palestina. ¿Y esto llamara Inglaterra igualdad, juicio, equidad, derecho de gentes?

Text No 7

Oriente, (1927). Las Minorías Europeas. Year, 1, n°31.

English Translation:

We wish to be freed from the strange protection, from the octopus that day by day pushes its tentacles more profoundly into the depths of our wounded national sentiments.

Original text:

“[que] seamos liberados de la tutela extraña, de quel pulpo que día a día hinca mas adentro sus tentáculos en la entraña de nuestros heridos sentimientos nacionales”

Text No 8

Oriente, (Jan 22nd 1927). Issue 1, n° 1. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

English Translation:

Considering the serious situation that has been created in our sacred Homeland, with the nonsense Zionist claims to establish their national home in Palestine, the motherland of our ancestors;

Also, in response to the unsurmountable difficulties that we are facing to gain recognition of our citizenship [...]; And, moreover, having seen that we are prevented from obtaining our legitimate nationality in every possible way by being denied the granting of passports and visas;

The Palestinian Youth Society,

guided by the same strains of patriotism that have characterized it since its foundation, agrees to initiate an active and energetic, patriotic pro-Palestine campaign for the Palestinians,

Invites all sincere conational fellows and patriots who want to fight for future of their nationality by joining the General Assembly in which our legitimate positions will be defined against the danger that our Motherland is enduring.”

Original Text:

Considerando la grave situación que se ha creado a nuestra sagrada Patria, con las insólitas pretensiones sionistas para establecer su hogar Nacional en Palestina, la Patria de nuestros antecesores; Atendiendo también, a las escabrosas dificultades que se nos oponen para la tramitación del reconocimiento de nuestra ciudadanía [...]; Y, en vista, además, de que por todos los medios posibles se trata de hacernos perder nuestra legítima nacionalidad, negando el otorgamiento de pasaportes y de los certificados para obtener carnet;

La Sociedad Juventud Palestina,

guiada por los mismos senderos de patriotismo que le han caracterizado desde su fundación, acuerda iniciar una active y enérgica campaña patriótica pro-Palestina para los Palestinos, convocando desde luego a todos los connacionales sinceros y patriotas que quieren luchar por el futuro de su nacionalidad a una gran Asamblea General, en la que se definirán nuestras posiciones legítimas frente al peligro que corre nuestra Patria.”

Text No 9

Oriente. (1927). Pedimos Nuestra Ciudadanía y no la Protección Británica. N° 27, p. 3. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

English Translation:

How could the British government be damaged by protecting Palestinians living abroad? Perhaps we are undesirable beings, bankers, communists or people disrespectful of their host countries' laws. We should be elucidated on our flaws. [...] Our history abroad is very clear: about 50 years ago we arrived in the lands of America, without much capital, and today we say with pride that we are enjoying the greatest credit between Americans and Europeans. Very few are those who withdraw their capitals to go and rest in the homeland, taking their children with them; on the contrary, father, son, and capitals, stay abroad, and thus cooperate in the actual progress of the land in which they live.

However, the truth is different and Great Britain itself knows it. The fulfilling of the words universally declared by Lord Balfour must begin. Kill the mother's children in order to feed the spoiled stepchildren who do not want to recognize their true mothers.

Original text:

Además, qué peligro encuentra el gobierno británico en proteger a los palestinos, que se hallan en el extranjero?

Acaso somos indeseables, tratantes de bancas, comunistas o que no respetamos las leyes de los países donde vivimos. Los defectos que tengamos pueden esclarecerse. [...] Nuestra historia en el extranjero esta bien clara: no hacen 50 años que llegamos a las tierras de América, sin grandes capitales, y hoy los decimos con orgullo, que gozamos del mayor crédito entre americanos y europeos. Muy pocos son los que retiran sus capitales para ir a descansar a la tierra natal, llevando con ellos sus hijos; al contrario padre, hijo, y capitales, se quedan en el extranjero, y así cooperan al progreso material de la tierra en que se vive.

Pero la verdad es otra, Gran Bretaña misma lo sabe. Pero hay que empezar con cumplir las palabras universalmente declaradas por su gran Lord Balfour. Matarle a la madre sus hijos para alimentar a los hijastros mimados que no quieren reconocer sus verdaderas distintas madres...

Oriente. (January 22nd, 1927). To the Palestinian of Chile. Issue 1, p. 3. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.

English Translation:

As a result of the great Assembly of the 20 of the current month, in conformity with the Manifesto of the Palestinian Youth Society, and thanks to the support of all the resident community and the adhesion of both our compatriots and our provincial institutions throughout the country,

the "National Human Rights Committee of Palestine"

has been constituted. Its members have been appointed by the above-mentioned Assembly, in order to begin with the tasks to which they are committed: first of all, to the recognition of the Palestinian nationality by the current Mandate Government.

Considering that these tasks require both moral and material support from every sincere compatriot who aspires to obtain recognition of his legitimate Palestinian nationality and to stop the claims of the Zionists on our sacred Homeland, it has been agreed to initiate a voluntary donation throughout the country.

Therefore, the undersigned Committee calls all the compatriots to cooperate in this heartfelt need that will be the basis of our final success, since it will be aimed at favouring the nationals without distinction of classes or categories.

Naturally this committee highlights the fact that it will not respond, upon any request of defence or service regarding the rights of Palestinian natives to obtain their citizenship, unless they are willing to cooperate properly.

In the first place, the voluntary donation will be encouraged and then a fixed monthly fee will be established, payable for the first semesters.

Those who have an interest in spending a certain amount or paying their respective fees, are urged to go to the committee Castilla 3065 or street 21 de Mayo 547.

The National Human Rights Committee of Palestine

Original text:

Como resultado de la gran Asamblea del 20 del actual, en conformidad al Manifiesto de la Sociedad Juventud Palestina, y que apoyó toda la colectividad residente y conto con la adhesión de los compatriotas e instituciones provinciales de todo el país; se ha constituido el

“Comité Pro Derecho Nacionales de Palestina”

con los miembros designados por la mencionada Asamblea, para iniciar las labores que se le han encomendado y que se refieren, en primer término, al reconocimiento de la nacionalidad palestina por el actual Gobierno mandatario.

En consideración a que estos trabajos requieren la ayuda moral y material de todo compatriota sincero que aspire a obtener le sea reconocida su opción a la legitima nacionalidad palestina y a detener las pretensiones de los sionistas sobre nuestra sagrada Patria, se ha acordado iniciar una erogación voluntaria a través de todo el país.

Por tanto, el Comité suscrito se dirija a todos los compatriotas a fin de que se vayan a cooperar a esta sentida necesidad que será la base de nuestro completo éxito, pues será encaminada a favorecer a los connacionales sin distinción de clases ni categorías.

Desde luego hace presente este comité que no responderá, posteriormente de la defensa o servicios que pudiere solicitar en cualquier momento, respecto a los derechos de los nativos palestinos a su ciudadanía, si éstos no cooperen debidamente.

En primer lugar se incitará la erogación voluntaria y en seguida, se establecerá una cuota fija de un peso mensual, pagaderos por semestres anticipados.

Los que tengan interés en erogar alguna cantidad o pagar sus respectivas cuotas, se les hurga dirigirse al Comité castilla 3065 o calle 21 de Mayo 547.

Comité Pro-Derechos Nacionales de Palestina.

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