

Sources on the Lebanese
and other Middle Easterners
in Latin America

by

Ignacio Klich

August 1995

© Centre for Lebanese Studies

Published by the Centre for Lebanese Studies, Oxford

ISBN 1 870552 54 7

ISSN 0269 - 8919

Typeset by Giles Pinnock

Printed in Great Britain by Oxonian Rewley Press Ltd.

Sources on the Lebanese
and other Middle Easterners
in Latin America

*Ignacio Klich**

Against the backdrop of Latin America's incomplete ethnography, the immigration from the Middle East - hereafter used in reference to the countries of the Levant (Mashriq) as well as Francophone and Spanish speaking North Africa (Maghrib) - is among those that have received least scholarly attention. Several important factors appear to have been responsible for this sorry state of affairs:

First, the apparent dearth of primary sources has hindered study, especially by researchers who consider oral materials a complement, rather than a substitute for documents and other sources. For example, a valuable bibliographic aid on immigration published by one of Britain's best-known breeding grounds for Latin Americanists contains no more than eight entries on various groups from the Middle East: Armenians, Lebanese, Muslims, Palestinians and Syrians. Likewise, the useful bibliography in Magnus Mörner's UNESCO-sponsored historical study on migration to and from Latin America includes even fewer items on the Middle Easterners.¹ This said, some authors, aware of the fact that so little has been published on the Middle Easterners, seem too readily content to write on the basis of a very limited corpus of available information. This is not only the case with Latin America-based researchers, whose difficulties are spelled out later. If anything, the case of some scholars in highly

* Ignacio Klich, a Senior research fellow at the Centre for Lebanese Studies, teaches Latin American history at the University of Westminster, London. He is the compiler of *Los condenados del Medio Oriente* (Buenos Aires, 1975) and Guest Editor with Jorge Bestene of a special issue on the Syro-Lebanese and Palestinian immigration to Latin America of *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* (Buenos Aires) April 1994.

¹ Juan Bailey and Freya Headlam, comps., 'Intercontinental Migration to Latin America: A Select Bibliography', Institute of Latin American Studies, London, 1980, pp. 16ff; Magnus Mörner, *Adventurers and Proletarians: The Story of Migrants in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, 1985), pp. 149ff.

PAPERS ON LEBANON

developed countries is worse; they are quite far from having taken full advantage of databases, library holdings and inter-library loans that are unavailable to their counterparts in Latin America.

Second, the historical lack of interest of the Middle Easterners themselves in anything but celebrations of their success, after arriving in these countries with little or no start up capital, has not fostered openness. Instead, their defensive reaction to the low esteem in which they were, and to some extent still are held by the local élites has hampered access to papers and interviewees, as well as to a rich body of diaries, memoirs and travelogues; inasmuch as many of these are authors' editions they are not so readily available at public libraries. The same is the case with the array of bilingual press organs which Arabic speaking immigrants set up, especially, though not only, in the main recipient countries. Unhappily, the latter handicap has been compounded by the incompleteness of collections held at national libraries, and the transfer of whole ones to repositories in the Middle East. For example, since the 1970s a complete collection of *Assalam*, for many years the doyen of the Arabic language press in Argentina, has been at Beirut's Université Saint Joseph, a Jesuit institution of higher learning. More recently, that of the *Diario Siriolibanés*, the Arabic-speakers' sole daily in Argentina and their self-appointed official organ, was moved to Damascus. This said, the understandable unhappiness with the shift of complete collections of Arab periodicals to places too far away for the meagre grants available to Latin American scholars has yet to be matched by a thorough scan of those press organs still available in the region's national and other libraries. The same is the case with other bibliographic assets, available in Latin America, that have not always been perused by local scholars.

Third, with the sole exception of Lebanon, the Arab states failed to develop a serious interest in their expatriates before the 1970s. Moreover, such interest has not resulted in the promotion of research on their immigration, whether by Latin American or Middle Eastern scholars, but translated into the setting up of umbrella organisations. Hitherto, such institutional networks - e.g. the Lebanese government-created World Lebanese Cultural Union (at the present time a moribund adjunct of its foreign ministry); the Phalangist party-inspired World Maronite League; the Syrian Baath-sponsored Federation of Arab American Institutions (FEARAB); the PLO-initiated Confederation of Palestinian Institutions in

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

Latin America and the Caribbean (COPLAC), etc. - have devoted greater attention to fund-raising and to the political mobilisation of expatriates and their offspring.

Fourth, limited contact between Latin America and the Arab world has meant that few of the historical studies on the Middle East in general and the countries of emigration in particular have been translated into Spanish. One of the upshots of this has been a marked ignorance of conditions in the countries of birth, with Alberto Tasso being an exception among the Latin American authors that have candidly admitted such a weakness in his work.²

Looked at in this light, it is no coincidence that statements by institutional leaders and politicians have included assertions which, like others in pioneering studies on the Arab immigration, bear little resemblance to the facts, especially in respect of the following questions: (i) the country of birth of the Arabic speakers; (ii) their ethnic and religious identity; (iii) the factors that prompted them to leave the Middle East; (iv) the number of those who settled in Latin America and (v) the conditions they encountered in the region.

As the first to pay attention to the emigration of their fellow countrymen, Lebanese authors, Maronites in particular, have, for example, tended to make no distinction between the Lebanese and other Middle Easterners. This, however, violates the fact that the Lebanese in several Latin American states have not been, nor are they the majority among those with Middle Eastern ancestries. For example, in Chile and Honduras there is evidence pointing to the Palestinians as the single largest group from the Arab world, while in Argentina and Venezuela, the Syrians, not necessarily a majority in the early stages of immigration, seemingly achieved such a pre-eminent position.

Concerning the immigrants' ethnic and religious identity, at first the Argentine and Brazilian élites' identification of some of the Ashkenazi Jews with radical politics and/or prostitution, coupled with the Arab-

² Alberto Tasso, *Aventura, trabajo y poder: Sirios y libaneses en Santiago del Estero (1880-1980)* (Buenos Aires, 1989), p. 55. Uniquely among scholars in the Americas, one anthropologist did research among the Palestinians in Jordan and the Israeli-occupied West Bank for her important work on this group's presence in Central America. See, for example, Nancie L. González, *Dollar, Dove and Eagle: One Hundred Years of Palestinian Migration to Honduras* (Ann Arbor, 1992).

PAPERS ON LEBANON

Zionist conflict later, have, with rare exceptions, resulted in the exclusion of explicit references to the presence of Jews among the immigrants from the Arab world, whether in older or more recent publications.³ While not due to a single factor, the Arab-Israeli wars also provide an explanation for the absence of references to Middle Eastern Christians and Muslims in most works on the Jews from Arab countries. Jews, however, are not the sole ethnic group to have been left unmentioned: In fact, it is quite unusual to find references to Armenians and Assyrians among the literature on immigrants from the Arab countries, even if many of the former arrived in Latin America from Syria and Lebanon, while the latter moved from Iraq. By the same token, Catholic intolerance initially propelled Middle Eastern Christians to minimise the differences between their churches; it also encouraged Muslim and Druze self-effacement throughout the region.

Almost exclusive reliance on the recollections of newcomers about what pushed them to migrate has taken its toll among writers, especially those unable or unwilling to double-check the facts arising from memoirs and oral history interviews. Such accounts have tended to overemphasise Ottoman religious and national oppression, while paying scant attention to economic conditions in the expatriates' home countries.

Quantifying the Middle Eastern influx has been hard because of the difficulties in most cases to gain access to official immigration records. Once that hurdle is overcome, matters are not made easy by the imperfect, undifferentiated or changing way of registering Middle Eastern immigrants' nationalities, whether in entry records or censuses, as well as by unrecorded arrivals. Altogether, such factors, as well as the belief that the larger an ethnic group the greater its entitlement to influence, have led to non-scientific estimates by all sorts of interested parties. For example, Argentine Arab sources have mentioned that those hailing from the Middle East number 2.5-3 million souls, with 600,000-750,000 Muslims

³ Among the exceptions see, for example, Nellie Ammar, 'They Came from the Middle East', *Jamaica Journal*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1970, p. 3; Michel Allard, 'Les Libanais en Argentine de l'émigration à l'intégration', *Travaux et Jours* (Beirut), 48 (1973), p. 11; Elie Habalián D., 'La comunidad venezolana-levantina y la sociedad venezolana: Primera aproximación' (mimeo), Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas, May 1991, pp. 8-9, 35-36. Marta Zusana Ruféil, 'Presencia árabe en la República Argentina (1880-1914)', in *El problemático de las Américas* (Veracruz, 1992), vol. 2, p.473.

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

among them,⁴ while a Dominican Republic diplomat has claimed that nearly a million of his countrymen are of Arab descent.⁵ In Brazil's case, a visiting Saudi minister as well as a former presidential candidate of Lebanese parentage have spoken of 5 million Brazilians of Arab origin.⁶ Such a penchant for unsubstantiated estimates of the numerical importance of the Middle Easterners and their local offspring could be severely dented by serious demographic studies, if and when these are undertaken. Some academic writers have not been above publicising unscientific estimates, either when recycling unsubstantiated figures or when creating *ex nihilo* their own. For example, the eye-opening work of an Arab-descended Venezuelan sociologist shows a marked preference for self-estimates of the Middle Easterners and their local offspring of 300,000-400,000 people. Notwithstanding the imperfections in Venezuelan immigration records, prudence counsels against outright dismissal of the more modest figures arising from such records, and in favour of taking note of other sources - e.g. a 1945 self-census of the Arabic-speakers in the Andean countries⁷ - that call into question the accuracy of the preferred figures. For their part, the relatively low estimates on Arab-descended Latin Americans offered by some Israeli academics also appear to be flawed inasmuch as they ignore data freely available at archival repositories in Jerusalem that certainly justify an upward revision.⁸ Such minimisations have their

⁴ *Arab News* (Riyadh), 28 May 1989; *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), 28 August 1991; *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 28 March 1992. For lower self-estimates on the Muslims in Argentina see, for example, *Islam* (Buenos Aires), vol. III no. 7, p. 27; S. A. H. Ahsani, 'Muslims in Latin America: A Survey,' *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, July 1984, p. 457; 'Islam in Argentina: A Report', *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, January 1992, p.274. See also Raymond Delval, *Les Musulmans en Amérique latine et aux Caraïbes* (Paris, 1992), p.264; Gladys Jozami, 'El retorno de los "turcos" en la Argentina de los noventa', paper presented at the International Seminar, 'Discriminación y Racismo en América Latina', Universidad de Buenos Aires, 23-25 November 1994.

⁵ EFE, Jerusalem, 20 August 1980.

⁶ *Arab News*, 8 January 1980.

⁷ Ahmad Mattar, *Guía social de la colonia de habla árabe en Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, Venezuela y las islas holandesas de Curaçao y Aruba* (Barranquilla, 1945), pp. 87-104.

⁸ In 1947, the head of the Latin American department of the Jewish Agency estimated the number of Argentines of Arab descent at 500,000. The same figure is given for 1970 by some Israeli authors. For the 1947 estimate, see Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, S25/7502, Moisés Toff to Moshe Shertok, n.d.

PAPERS ON LEBANON

counterpart in Palestinian-inspired references to 500,000 people in Latin America who can trace their roots back to Palestine. This, however, is hard to reconcile with other much lower Arab estimates: 5,000 in a 1970 study conducted by the PLO Research Centre,⁹ or 293,000 Palestinian holders of Hashimite Kingdom and other passports in Argentina, Brazil and Chile in the 1980s, according to the Jordanian foreign ministry.¹⁰

As for the conditions confronted by immigrants from the Middle East, many contrived portraits of Latin America as a welcoming region for people that were generally considered exotic, if not worse, have been drawn. Hagiographers, however, pay little or no heed to the barriers that were erected against immigrants from the Arab world, among other undesired groups. Witness the following incomplete catalogue of such restrictions: Uruguay's law 2096 of June 1890, as well as the decrees of December 1894 and February 1915, banned 'the immigration of Asians and Africans', with a further decree, this one of October 1902, proclaiming the need to protect Uruguayans from the noxious influence of 'inferior races'. In 1903-4 Haiti closed the gates on Syrians and Lebanese, barred all Arabic speakers from involvement in petty trade, set a 10-year waiting period for those wishing to be naturalised and ordered the expulsion of passport holders of countries that had not been recognised by March 1905. Mexico's immigration law of 1926 barred Poles from entry, and also banned the landing of Syrians, Lebanese, Armenians, Palestinians, Turks and Chinese whose capital was below 10,000 Mexican pesos, or who were unable to deposit a sum determined by the foreign ministry by way of indemnity. From 1929, El Salvador considered Middle Easterners as pernicious aliens, with the country's legislative decree 65 of September 1930 singling out 'Turkish, Palestinian, Arab, Syrian and Lebanese' immigrants for discriminatory treatment: Not only did they have to register every year but persons of said origins were forbidden from translating into Spanish or Hispanicising their names. Nicaragua's immigration legislation of 1930 banned the entry of 'individuals belonging to the Chinese, Turkish, Arab, Syrian, Armenian, black and gypsy races'. After requiring Arabs, Turks, Syrians, Armenians, blacks and Chinese to post a bond of \$2,500 in 1929, Honduras' law 134 of March 1934

⁹ Nabeel Shaath, 'High Level Palestinian Manpower', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1972, p. 81.

¹⁰ Author's interview with Malik Twal, Amman, 3 August 1985.

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

restricted the influx of ‘Arabs, Turks, Syrians, Armenians, Palestinians, Czechs, Lebanese and Poles’ to those who could assure the immigration authorities that they came ‘to devote themselves to agriculture exclusively’ on pain of being expelled from the country if they had not started work in agriculture or established new industries within six months of arrival. Whereas Guatemala’s immigration law of 1909 rejected Asians, its decrees 1813 and 1823 of May 1936 prohibited the ‘establishment of new workshops, warehouses, shops, market places and industrial, mercantile and commercial centres [or the opening of branches of already existing establishments] which are to be owned or directed by individuals of the following nationalities [and their Guatemalan offspring]: Turks, Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, Palestinians, Armenians, Egyptians, Persians, Afghans, Hindus and Polish, as well as the members of races originating in the African continent’. The annual intake of next of kin of Jamaica’s Syrians was reduced to 16 in January 1936. Colombia’s decree 397 of February 1937 sanctioned requirements more difficult to meet for ‘Bulgarians, Chinese, Egyptians, Estonians, Greeks, Hindus, Latvians, Lithuanians, Moroccans, Palestinians, Poles, Rumanians, Russians, Syrians and Turks’. Issued in April-May 1940, Bolivian ordinances forbade consuls to consider visa applications, including tourist ones, from Semitic candidates. Panama’s Constitution of 1941 proclaimed a ban on the immigration of members of ‘the black race whose mother tongue is not Spanish, the yellow race and races originally from India, Asia Minor and North Africa’. Lastly, the US example inspired article 151 of the Brazilian Constitution of 1934, which introduced a quota system limiting the intake of immigrants according to nationality to 2 per cent of those who had entered the country during 1884-1933. In addition to this, decrees 406 and 3019, of May and August 1938 respectively, empowered the Brazilian government to limit or suspend entry of individuals of certain races or origins on account of economic or social considerations.¹¹

¹¹ National Archives, Washington, Civil Reference Branch, RG 59, 815.55/978-999, US embassy to State Department. Lelio Mármona, ‘La fundamentación de las políticas migratorias internacionales en América Latina’, *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, December 1988, pp. 380-81. See also Selly Dayan de Mizrahi and Nadhji Arjona, *La saga de los sefarditas. Del Medio Oriente a Panamá* (Panama, 1986), p.80; Alicia G. Backal, ‘Los sobrevivientes del Holocausto en México’, paper presented at the International Seminar ‘Discriminación y Racismo en América Latina’, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 23-25 November 1994.

PAPERS ON LEBANON

No such legislation was ever as effective a deterrent to prevent completely the legal and/or surreptitious arrival of Arabic speakers, or others also deemed undesirable. Indeed, Middle Eastern immigrants from various ethnic, religious and linguistic backgrounds came to Latin America as part of the predominantly Ibero-Italian influx that spanned the period from the latter decades of the 1800s until the 1950s. Most were Arabic speakers from Ottoman or post-World War I Lebanon, Syria and Palestine. They were preceded by the less numerous waves of mainly Spanish speaking Jews from Morocco and Algeria.

Some two hundred years after the flowering of a Maghribi Jewish presence in Brazil, economic and demographic factors combined with a bout of xenophobia stemming from the Moroccan-Spanish conflagration (1859-1860) to add new impetus to individual departures to Latin America, which had resumed earlier that century. Impelled by such a combination, more Jews from Morocco - and eventually from Algeria too - set their sights on reaching Gibraltar, the Spanish mainland (Algeciras, Cádiz and Málaga) and the Canary islands (Las Palmas and Santa Cruz de Tenerife), en route to a fresh start across the Atlantic.

Favourable economic conditions at their final destination and the fact that some Moroccan Jews hailed from Portugal were among the reasons reportedly pulling the departees in Brazil's direction. Later, Argentina and Venezuela, and to a considerably lesser extent other Latin American states, became their foremost destinations. An indication of the scale of such migration is provided by the Argentine census of 1914 which recorded the presence of nearly a thousand Maghribis: 802 Moroccans and 125 Algerians.

Unlike the North Africans, the Mashriqis' first choice apparently was not Latin America but the US, presumably because of the greater attention the latter received in nineteenth-century Arabic language geography books and press. Nevertheless, the economic and other factors that pushed increasing numbers of Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians to leave their homes since the 1870s, together with stringent health tests in the US and the eventual introduction of quotas, prompted travel agents to redirect many Mashriqis to the countries south of the Río Grande. The absence of direct links between the migrants' places of birth and the main Latin American ports required transhipment in France, Italy, Spain or other European countries. Additionally, Ottoman restrictions prompted

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

numerous departees to disguise their voyage's ultimate destination as a trip to Egypt. Hence, many of those classed in Latin American immigration registers as Egyptian were in fact originally Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian, just as countless Algerians were, for entirely different reasons, originally Moroccan.

Latin America's principal countries of immigration, Argentina and Brazil, were also the favourite among the Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians. Argentine records show some 180,000 entries from the Mashriq during 1890-1950. As the main waiting room republics for Arabic speakers and others intent on crossing into the US, Cuba and Mexico witnessed the arrival of thousands of Mashriqis too. Not surprisingly, Washington repeatedly prodded the Cuban and Mexican authorities into co-operating to stem this human contraband. That is not to say that all the Arabic speakers who arrived in these countries sought to leave or aimed to contravene US sanitary and other regulations, just as not all their counterparts landing in Montevideo intended to circumvent a 1928 Argentine foreign ministry directive designed to stem the influx of Middle Easterners.

Most Arabic speakers were Christian, in particular Greek (Melkite) and Maronite Catholics, or Orthodox. Undeniably, however, followers of other Christian denominations, as well as Muslims (Alawi, Shia and Sunni), Druzes and Jews, were also among them. In fact, the emigration of Arabic speaking Jews from Aleppo, Damascus and Beirut occurred at the same time as that of the Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) speaking counterparts from continental Turkey, the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean isles. Ottoman and Young Turk policies no doubt provoked an Armenian exodus too, whether from Turkey proper or the Arab countries which witnessed the arrival of fleeing Armenians. That some Latin American states received nearly as many Turks as Arabic speakers is highlighted by the fact that between 1901 and 1924 Cuba admitted nearly 14,000 Turkish and Mashriqi aliens, with 5,807 listed as Turks and 8,128 as Arab, Syrian or Palestinian.

Most Spanish and Arabic speakers arrived before the 1930s, when the combination of economic crisis and nationalism in Latin America fostered greater selectivity in immigration affairs. Since the end of World War II, however, the region's Palestinians, as well as its Maghribi and Mashriqi Jews, represented a powerful magnet for a new wave of their confrères.

PAPERS ON LEBANON

Palestinian refugees of the first Arab-Israeli war (1948-1949) moved to Brazil, Venezuela and other countries,¹² while Moroccan and Egyptian Jews flocked to Brazil, Chile and Uruguay.¹³ The resettlement of these North African Jews was one of the side effects of the waning of the French presence in the Maghrib, the Israeli-Egyptian war of 1956 and the fears aroused by the ascendancy of Nasserite Pan-Arabism throughout the Arab world.

Known as *turcos* (Turks) - a label used with inadvertent irony in relation to Turks, Arabs and Armenians¹⁴ - the Arabic speakers were likewise referred to as *moros* (Moors) in Cuba, presumably owing to Spain's longer-lasting influence on the island. Most of the immigrants, though, tended to perceive the *turco* sobriquet as pejorative, especially after the Ottoman empire's demise resulted in Lebanese and Syrian arrivals with French travel documents, or brought Palestinians with papers issued by their country's British mandatory authorities. More recently, though, some of those hailing from the Middle East have come to recognise the existence of a more benign side to the *turco* label as well.¹⁵ Instead, many Lebanese, the Maronites in particular, were keen to stress a French identity even before World War I, much in the same way as numbers of Moroccan Jews described themselves as Andalusian Catholics. The former appears to have been very much the case in Uruguay, where Maronite Catholic predominance among the Syro-Lebanese élite and French patronage prior to the carving up of the Ottoman empire were

¹² Israeli government figures prompted Yoram Shapira to write that 'a considerable number [of Arabs] in Venezuela, and 8,000 in Brazil are refugees of the 1948 war'. Though not mentioned by Shapira, there is important evidence showing that Israeli diplomats and other envoys also explored the possibility of resettling in Latin America Palestinian refugees as well as their kinsmen who stayed behind in the Galilee. Yoram Shapira, 'External and Internal Influences in Latin American-Israeli Relations', in Michael Curtis and Susan Aurelia Gitelson, eds., *Israel in the Third World* (New Brunswick, 1976), p. 164; Ignacio Klich, 'La posibilidad del asentamiento de palestinos en la Argentina (1948-1952): Una perspectiva comparada', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1994, pp.115-41.

¹³ Ilya M. Dijour, 'Jewish Migration in the Post-War Period', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, June 1962, pp. 77-78.

¹⁴ Not surprisingly, Arabs and Armenians sought to stress that Turkey is not an Arab state and to underline that Armenians are neither Turks nor Semites. See Narciso Binayán, *La comunidad armenia en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1974), p.7; Jozami, *art. cit.*

¹⁵ Habalián, *art. cit.*

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

useful to counter the noxious consequences of that country's anti-Asian immigration legislation.¹⁶ As for Maghribi Jews feigning to be Catholics, such a practice was not uncommon in the New World, whether in Iberian Latin America or the Anglo-Saxon US.¹⁷

Like other new arrivals, the Middle Easterners or at the very least a significant proportion of them, initially saw themselves as sojourners, striving to amass wealth before returning to their birth place to enjoy the fruits of hard work. Indeed a number of Maghribis and Mashriqis fulfilled the expectation of moving back to their home countries, so it is hardly surprising to find some of the most successful serving as honorary consuls for several Latin American states before the close of the nineteenth century.

Moroccans and Algerians first, Arabic speakers later, took advantage of Latin America's undeveloped tertiary sector, in particular retail trade and consumer credit, and devoted themselves almost exclusively to commerce, at the outset as peddlars, then as shopkeepers, and later as wholesalers. Catering for the needs of the least well off they helped to expand the market; to achieve this they provided credit by operating a rudimentary system of payment by instalments, or accepting countertrade. The accumulation of start-up capital in commerce drove some into manufacturing, at first in small workshops, later in fully fledged industries. Such manufacturing enterprises had a part in the process of import-substitution industrialisation, especially in the textile and garment industries.

Most Middle Easterners settled permanently in Latin America. They proved wrong those among the local liberals who, like others, had argued against their immigration, whether on grounds that their occupations differed markedly from official expectations of recruiting agricultural labour or that their ethno-religious backgrounds stood in the way of assimilation. Nevertheless, the concern over occupation persuaded some of Argentina's better established Syro-Lebanese to channel, albeit

¹⁶ 'Los libanenses en la República Oriental del Uruguay', *Revista Diplomática Argentina*, April 1924.

¹⁷ See, for example, Jewish Colonisation Association, London, Samuel Halphon and J. Sabah, 'Enquête sur la population israélite de l'Argentine, 1909-10'; Walter P. Zenner, 'Chicago's Sephardim: A Historical Exploration', *American Jewish History*, Winter 1989-90, p. 225.

PAPERS ON LEBANON

unsuccessfully, their newly arrived kinsmen to farm work early in this century, and also to establish their own short-lived screening of immigration candidates in Beirut in the late 1920s.

Latin Americans of Arab parentage - especially, though not only, the Christians among them - rose to political prominence in countries that once sought to limit the influx of their kinsmen. From the 1930s, the region saw some become Congressmen; others were entrusted with ministerial portfolios, pursued military careers or were co-opted into the diplomatic corps; a few ruled - or sought to do so - as elected or de facto heads of state. To name but a few, the latter include Argentina's Carlos Saúl Menem (of Syrian Muslim parentage), Bolivia's Juan Pereda Asbún (whose mother was a Palestinian Christian) and Colombia's Julio César Turbay Ayala (whose father was a Lebanese Maronite).

None of the above means that anti-Arab prejudice, stronger in some parts of the hemisphere than others, has faded into insignificance. There is no need to be a Menem supporter or sympathetic to his party to recognise the lacing of legitimate opposition to the present Argentine government with expressions of anti-Arab bigotry in some of the country's mass circulation publications.¹⁸ Moreover, an opinion survey sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas, conducted in Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Santa Fe and Tucumán before the end of 1992, showed that 40 per cent of the 1,900 interviewees classed Arabs and their Argentine offspring as belonging to a separate people, rather than the Argentine one; 31 per cent considered Arab and Arab-descended Argentines among the least integrated in the country, with 17 per cent in favour of the notion that they should not enjoy the same rights as other Argentine citizens. Asked whether they would vote for a non-Catholic presidential hopeful, 45 per cent answered that they would not support a Muslim candidate, the highest level of rejection recorded among a variety of non-Catholic creeds.¹⁹

Setting aside the many problems that have retarded the study of Middle Eastern immigrants in Latin America, various aspects of their life in the region are being researched by a small group of anthropologists,

¹⁸ Ignacio Klich, 'Challenges to Jewish Life in Latin America: Argentina', in William Frankel, ed., *Survey of Jewish Affairs 1991* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 226-28.

¹⁹ Edgardo Catterberg y Asociados, 'Attitudes toward Jews in Argentina: A Public-Opinion Survey', 12 November-3 December 1992.

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

geographers, historians, linguists and sociologists, especially in Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela) but also elsewhere (Lebanon, Europe and the US). The important contribution of experts in the Arabic language and literature need not be underestimated. This is highlighted in the recent works of, among others, C. Nijland, Robin Ostle and Margot Scheffold on the literary production of the Latin American *mahjar* (countries of emigration), particularly the Arabic poetry and prose writers based in Argentina and Brazil. To a lesser extent, the same is the case of Latin American literary critics and other writers, e.g. Sergio Macías, Teresa Estévez Brasa, Moshe Nes El, and Estela Valverde, who have reminded readers of the Arab characters and other elements present in the region's literature, whether the latter have been authored by the likes of Jorge Amado, Roberto Arlt and Gabriel García Márquez, among the foremost Latin American fiction writers, or by prominent descendants of the early immigrants, e.g. Argentina's Jorge Asís, Brazil's Milton Hatoum, Chile's Roberto Sarah, etc. Most of the aforementioned scholars and critics are not based in Latin America.

A comprehensive bibliography on the Middle Easterners in Latin America is a long overdue aid for scholars and students. By way of contrast, that on the Lebanese in Africa is nearly two decades old, while the most extensive of the bibliographic projects on the European and Middle Eastern Jews in Latin America dates back to 1990.²⁰ Taking stock of the literature on Algerians, Armenians, Assyrians, Lebanese, Maghribis, Palestinians and Syrians of various creeds, a hitherto unattempted combination, will not only broaden significantly the range of materials available but will also avail writers on one specific group the opportunity of seeing this in the wider context of the influx of various other groups from the Middle East. As such, this can encourage further study, and, hopefully, promote richer results. Undeniably, this first step in the direction of an annotated bibliography has benefitted from other earlier endeavours; to be sure, though, most of the nearly 500 sources listed

²⁰ H. Laurens van der Laan, 'A Bibliography on the Lebanese in West Africa, and an Appraisal of the Literature Consulted', *Kroniek van Afrika*, 3 (1975), pp. 283-95; Mohammed Sawaie, ed., *Arabic-speaking Immigrants in the United States and Canada: A Bibliographical Guide with Annotation* (Lexington, 1985); Judith Laikin Elkin and Ana Lya Sater, comps., *Latin American Jewish Studies: An Annotated Guide to the Literature* (Westport, 1990).

PAPERS ON LEBANON

below have never been mentioned together in the published bibliographies of other authors.²¹ This includes a host of primary sources, generally official publications (e.g. censuses), in addition to important self-censuses, diaries and memoirs by the immigrants themselves. Secondary sources have been restricted to entries in encyclopaedias, articles in monthly periodicals and scholarly journals; unpublished presentations at academic events; licentiate, masters and doctoral dissertations, as well as biographies and other books by academics, journalists and writers of fiction. It bears stressing that such articles and books may be central for the study of one or more of the immigrant groups from the Middle East; they could simply contain passing, though relevant references to them, or else they could bring to readers' attention the fact that some of the experiences in Latin America of Muslims from the Indian subcontinent and South East Asia may be pertinent for the study of their Middle Eastern co-religionists. Instead, encyclopaedia entries, dissertations and works of fiction cited below, are only those centred on the Middle Easterners. Such arbitrary criteria may do justice to some and injustice to other authors. As relates to their organisation, a list of materials deemed of general interest, is followed by individual country entries. Needless to say that there is also value in attempting an inventory of press articles, as was done by Margalit Bejarano in the case of the Buenos Aires Spanish-language Sephardic periodical *La Luz*, or by a team led by Nélida Boulgourdjian, who had set their sights on Argentine press coverage of the Armenian question.²²

Of course, much more will have to be done to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of the diverse ethnic and religious groups that settled throughout the region, and to match the bibliographic aids on either the Arabic speakers who moved to West Africa at about the same time, or other immigrant groups in Latin America. Published materials are neither

²¹ For Argentina, Brazil and Chile only, see Ignacio Klich, 'Introducción a las fuentes para la historia de los mesorientales en América Latina', *Temas de África y Asia*, 2 (1993). See also Bailey and Headlam, *op.cit.*; Francine H. McNulty, 'Mahjar Literature: An Annotated Bibliography', *Mundus Arabicus*, vol. 1, 1981; Mörner, *op.cit.*; Elkin and Sater, *op.cit.*; Michael W. Suleiman, 'Los árabes en América Latina: bibliografía preliminar', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* (Buenos Aires) April 1994.

²² Margalit Bejarano, 'Fuentes para la historia de los sefardíes en la Argentina', *Sefárdica*, May 1986; Nélida Elena Boulgourdjian, Leticia Otero, Pedro Gitz, Claudia Cortese and Alberto Piñeiro, *El genocidio armenio en la prensa argentina, 1890-1900* (Buenos Aires, 1988).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

the only nor necessarily the foremost sources for the study of a specific aspect of any immigrant group. The pioneering works of María Elena Vela and Lilia Bertoni in Argentina, Jan Suter in the Salvadorean case, or Darío Euraque in that of Honduras, shows that wherever accessible, such sources can be complemented by the unpublished papers of the recipient countries' immigration authorities, as well as by the raw and processed data from national, provincial and municipal censuses. Additionally, sifting through data from regional and other chambers of commerce, banking as well as other financial information, has been amply successful for Fernando Dahse in the case of Chile, Louise Fawcett de Posada and Eduardo Posada Carbó in Colombia, Jan Suter in El Salvador, as well as Darío Euraque in Honduras. The same can be said about registry documents of weddings for Diana Epstein's initial efforts to probe into the social history of Maghribi Jews in Argentina. Looking into ecclesiastical records and those of community institutions, as done, for example, by Gladys Jozami in Argentina, the late Clark Knowlton for Brazil, Eurídice Charón and Gladys Perdomo in Cuba, as well as Antonio Seluja Cecín in Uruguay, has been particularly rewarding for those granted access to such papers. No less promising has proved to be scouring through diplomatic records, primarily those of Mideastern and American states, but also Ottoman papers (as in the case of Elie Safa with Lebanese foreign ministry papers, and by Engin Akarli and Kemal Karpat in Turkey), those of the British and French mandatory authorities, or those of the Spaniards in Morocco (as highlighted by Juan Bta. Vilar's work).²³ Lastly, interviews and

²³ For works based on Argentine, Brazilian, French, Lebanese, Ottoman, Spanish and US diplomatic records, or including references to these, see, for example, Elie Safa, *L'Emigration libanaise* (Beirut, 1960); Brenda Gayle Plummer, 'Race, Nationality and Trade in the Caribbean: The Syrians in Haiti, 1903-1934', *International History Review*, October 1981; Kemal H. Karpat, 'The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17 (1985); Louise Fawcett de Posada, 'Libaneses, palestinos y sirios en Colombia', Centro de Estudios Regionales, Universidad del Norte, Barranquilla, 1991; Kohei Hashimoto, 'Lebanese Population Movement 1920-1939: Towards a Study', in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London, 1992); Ignacio Klich, 'Argentine-Ottoman Relations and their Impact on Immigrants from the Middle East: A History of Unfulfilled Expectations, 1910-1915', *The Americas*, October 1993; Juan Bta. Vilar, 'La emigración judeo-marroquí a la América Latina en la fase pre-estadística (1850-1880)', Paper presented at the Seventh International Research Conference of the Latin American Jewish Studies Association, Philadelphia, 6-8 November 1993; Jeffrey

PAPERS ON LEBANON

questionnaires, the main primary source employed, among others, by Alberto Tasso in Argentina, and Teresa Cuevas Sebá, Miguel Mañaná Plasencio and Luz María Martínez Montiel in Mexico can help answer questions not covered by other sources. As is well known, the effectiveness of such a tool, a favourite among anthropologists and sociologists, inevitably hinges on the interviewer's familiarity with the data and vistas arising from documents and secondary sources.

Lesser, 'Immigration and Shifting Concepts of National Identity in Brazil during the Vargas Era', *Luso-Brazilian Review*, vol. xxxi, no. 2, 1994.

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

Bibliography

1. General

- Abdulrazak, Fawzi, 'Mahjar Literature: A Bibliography', *Mundus Arabicus*, vol. 1, 1981 (in Arabic).
- Agmir, Abdeluhid, 'Acerca de las motivaciones de la emigración árabe a América Latina y fases de su evolución', *Temas Arabes*, December 1986.
- Ahsani, S. A. H., 'A Blueprint for Islamic Da'wah in Latin America', Unpublished paper, 1981.
- Ahsani, S. A. H., 'Muslims in Latin America: A Survey', *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, July 1984.
- al-Andari, Butrus, *An Historic Journey to South America* (São Paulo, 1929) (in Arabic).
- 'Arabic-Speaking Communities in North and South America', *Wiener Library Bulletin*, March 1950.
- Assreuy, Nagib, *Islam in America* (São Paulo, 1926) (in Arabic).
- Avni, Haim, *Judios en América* (Madrid, 1992).
- Ayalon, Amy, 'The Arab Discovery of America in the Nineteenth Century', *Middle Eastern Studies*, October 1984.
- al-Baladi, Hussein, *I Lived in Latin America*, (Cairo, 1960) part 2 (in Arabic).
- Benarraoch Pinto, Isaac, *El indiano, el Kadi y la luna* (Tetuan, 1951).
- Benumeya, Gil, *Arabes en Hispano-América* (Buenos Aires, 1981).
- Berenstein, M., 'Les Etats du Levant sous mandat français et les problèmes d'émigration et d'immigration', *Revue Internationale du Travail*, May 1936.
- Binet, Jacques, 'Les Libanais en Afrique francophone', *Kroniek van Afrika*, 6 (1975/3).
- Binyan, Narciso, 'Arabs and Armenians in Latin America', *Patterns of Prejudice*, November-December 1979.
- Chediac, Antonio, *El Libano: Antorcha de civilización universal* (Caracas, 1974), vol. I.
- Crowley, William K., 'The Levantine Arabs: Diaspora in the New World', *Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers*, 6 (1974).
- Deeb, Wadih Amin, *Arabic Poetry in the Americas* (Beirut, 1955) (in Arabic).

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Delval, Raymond, *Les Musulmans en Amérique latine et aux Caraïbes* (Paris, 1992).
- Deriche, Alfredo, 'Antecedentes y vigencia de la Federación de Entidades Americano Arabes (FEARAB America)' *Revista de Africa y Medio Oriente*, September 1988.
- Díaz-Mas, Paloma, *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain* (Chicago, 1992).
- Dijour, Ilya M., 'Jewish Migration in the Post-War Period', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, June 1962.
- Di Tarrazi, Philip, *A History of the Arab Press* (Beirut, 1933) (in Arabic).
- Elazar, Daniel J., *The Other Jews: The Sephardim Today* (New York 1989).
- Elydd, José, *Viaje por América* (Buenos Aires, 1940).
- Elydd, José, *Travels in the New World* (Buenos Aires, 1959) (in Arabic).
- Elkin, Judith Laikin, *Jews of the Latin American Republics* (Chapel Hill, 1980).
- Estéfano, Habib, *Los pueblos hispano-americanos: Su presente y su porvenir* (México, n.d.).
- Glade, W., 'The Levantines in Latin America', *American Economic Review*, vol. 73, no. 2, 1983.
- Gordon, Leland J., 'Immigration from Turkey', *Sociology and Social Research*, November-December 1930.
- Guevara Bazán, R., 'Muslim Immigration to Spanish America', *Muslim World*, 56 (1966).
- Hassan, Hassan, *Arabic Literature in the Mahjar* (Cairo, 1962) (in Arabic).
- Hallar, Ibrahim H., *Descubrimiento de América por los árabes* (Buenos Aires, 1959).
- Haque, Mozammel, 'The Role of Rabita al-Alam al-Islami in the Promotion of Islamic Education', *The Islamic Quarterly*, First Quarter 1992.
- Harfush, Nabil, *The Lebanese Presence in the World* (Junia, 1974) (in Arabic).
- Hashimoto, Kohei, 'Lebanese Population Movement 1920-1939: Towards a Study', in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London, 1992).
- Hiddah, Hassan, *A History of American Emigrés in the World* (Damascus, 1974) (in Arabic).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- Imran, Maulana Muhammad, *Position and Prospects of Islam in Latin America* (Lahore, 1979).
- Irving, T. B., 'Islamic Education in Spain and Latin America', *Journal of the Muslim World League*, vol. 4 no. 4, 1977.
- Irving, T. B., 'Islamic renewal in Iberia and Latin America: Its Needs and Pre-conditions', *al-Tawhid*, vol.8 no.1, 1990.
- Itzigsohn, José A., 'Los fenómenos racistas', *Dispersión y Unidad*, 22/23 (1978).
- al-Jayyusi, Salma al-Khadrā, *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry* (Leiden, 1977).
- Karpat, Kemal H., 'The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17 (1985).
- Kasule, Omar, 'Muslims in Latin America', *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, July 1984.
- Kaufman, Aby (sic), and Shapira, Yoram, 'Jews and Arabs in Latin America', *Patterns of Prejudice*, January-February 1976.
- Kaufman, Edy, Shapira, Yoram and Barromi, Joel, *Israel-Latin American Relations* (New Brunswick, 1979).
- Khadduri, Majid, 'The Arabs in South America', *Al-Mu'allim al-Jadid*, vol. 4 no. 2, 1939 (in Arabic).
- Khafaji, Muhammad Abd al-Mun'im, *The Story of Mahjar Literature* (Cairo, 1969) (in Arabic).
- Khouri, Malatios, *Arab Emigration to the American Continent*, 1992(?) (mimeo) (in Arabic).
- Khouri, Mounah and Algar, Hamid, eds., *An Anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry* (Berkeley, 1974).
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Arabs of Latin America', *The Middle East*, April 1986.
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Islam', in *Encyclopedia of Latin American History* (New York, 1995).
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Middle Easterners', in *Encyclopedia of Latin American History* (New York, 1995).
- Konsol, Elías, *The Literature of Emigrants* (Damascus, 1963) (in Arabic).
- Konsol, Elías, *The Tragedy of the Arabic Language in American Emigrant Communities* (Damascus, 1980) (in Arabic).
- L'Emigration: problème libanais (Kaslik, 1973).
- Labaki, Boutros, 'L'Emigration libanaise en fin de période ottomane, 1850-1914', *Hannon Revue Libanaise de Géographie*, 1987.

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Labaki, Boutros, ‘L’Emigration libanaise sous le Mandat français’, *Hannon Revue Libanaise de Géographie*, 1982-1984.
- Lammens, Henry, *The Syrian Journey through Central and South America* (Beirut, 1894) (in Arabic).
- Laskier, Michael M., ‘Egyptian Jewry under the Nasser Regime, 1956-70’, *Middle Eastern Studies*, July 1995.
- ‘Les Musulmans dans le Monde’, *La Documentation française*, 9 August 1952.
- Macías, Sergio, ‘Imagen del Islam en la literatura iberoamericana’, in Montserrat Abumalham, ed., *Comunidades islámicas en Europa* (Madrid, 1995).
- Macías, Sergio, ‘Presencia árabe en la literatura latinoamericana: Tesis del olvido dentro de la historia’, *Temas Arabes*, December 1986.
- Makki, Mahmud A., ‘La poesía árabe en América Latina’, *Estudios Orientales*, vol. 5, no. 12, 1970.
- Mármora, Lelio, ‘La fundamentación de las políticas migratorias internacionales en América Latina’, *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, December 1988.
- Martínez Montávez, Pedro, *Poesía árabe contemporánea* (Madrid, 1958).
- Mattar, Emile, ‘Le Liban et ses émigrés’, *Le Commerce du Levant*, 75 (1966).
- McNulty, Francine H., ‘Mahjar Literature: An Annotated Bibliography’, *Mundus Arabicus*, vol. 1, 1981.
- Mikesell, Marwin W., ‘Lebanese Emigration’, *Geographical Review*, 53 (1963).
- Mirelman, Victor C., ‘Sephardim in Latin America after Independence’, *American Jewish Archives*, Spring/Summer 1992.
- Morandeyra, Mary, *Habib Estéfano en mi vida: Ante la conciencia de las colectividades de habla árabe en América* (México, 1948), Second edition.
- Mörner, Magnus, *Adventurers and Proletarians: The Story of Migrants in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, 1985).
- Muhammad Ali, *The Journey of His Highness Prince Muhammad Ali to South America* (Cairo, 1927) (in Arabic).
- Musallam, Adnan, ‘The Formative Stages of Palestinian Emigration to the Americas: 1870s-1948’, *al-Hijra*, 1991 (in Arabic).
- al-Na’uri, Isa, *Literature in the Mahjar* (Cairo, 1977) (in Arabic).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- ‘O Libanesi nel mondo’, *Bulletino della Società Geografica Italiana*, March 1934.
- Ostle, Robin, ‘The Literature of the *Mahjar*’, in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London, 1992).
- Philippou, Angelos J., ed., *The Orthodox Ethos: Essays in Honour of the Centenary of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America* (Oxford, 1964).
- Quick, Abdullah Hakim, *Deeper Roots: Muslims in the Caribbean before Columbus to the Present* (Nassau, 1990).
- Quick, Abdullah Hakim, ‘Islam in the Caribbean: Past, Present and Future’, in Nura Alkali, Adamu Adamu, Awwal Yadudu, Rashid Motem and Harvana Salihu, eds., *Islam in Africa: Proceedings of the Islam in Africa Conference* (Ibadan, 1993).
- Ricard, M., ‘L’Emigration des Juifs marocains en Amérique du Sud’, *Revue de Géographie marocaine*, vol. 7 no. 8, 1928.
- Ricard, M., ‘L’Emigration des Israélites marocains en Amérique du Sud’, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 1932.
- Ricard, Robert, ‘Notes sur l’émigration des Israélites marocaines en Amérique espagnole et au Brésil’, *Revue Africaine*, vol. 88 nos. 1-2, 1944.
- Ruppin, Arthur, *Los judíos en América del Sur* (Buenos Aires, 1938).
- Russ, Salim, ‘Emigration from Lebanon’, MA thesis, American University of Beirut, 1952.
- Sabella, Bernard, ‘Palestinian Christian Emigration from the Holy Land’, *Proche Orient Chrétien*, XLI, 1991.
- Safa, Elie, *L’Emigration libanaise* (Beirut, 1960).
- Sakhala Elías, Juan and Barria Slako, Armando, *Presencia árabe a través de la historia* (Valparaíso, 1989).
- Sánchez-Albornoz, Nicolás, ‘Population’, in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Latin America: Economy and Society, 1870-1930* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Saouda, Joseph, ‘Libanais de l’étranger. Colonies libanaises: émigration et immigration’, *Cahiers de l’Est*, 1 (1945).
- Saydah, Jurj, *Our Literature and Literati in the American Mahjar* (Beirut, 1964), Third edition (in Arabic).
- Selman S., Aycha, *Introducción al estudio de los grupos étnicos de origen árabe en Hispanoamérica* (Madrid, 1984).

GP
Comment: Page: 23

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Shapira, Yoram D., 'External and Internal Influences in the Process of Latin American-Israeli Relations', in Michael Curtis and Susan A. Gitelson, eds., *Israel in the Third World* (New Brunswick, 1976).
- 'Simposio Interamericano del V Encuentro de Dos Culturas: Presencia Arabe en América Latina', FEARAB-Venezuela, Caracas, 9-10 April 1992.
- Sutton, Joseph A. D., *Magic Carpet: Aleppo in Flatbush, The Story of a Unique Ethnic Jewish Community* (New York, 1979).
- Vilar, Juan Bta., 'Jewish Moroccan Immigration to Latin America', *The Alliance Review*, vol. 25 no. 45, 1973.
- Vilar, Juan Bta., 'La emigración judeo-marroquí a la América Latina en la fase pre-estadística (1850-1880)', paper presented at the Seventh International Research Conference of the Latin American Jewish Studies Association (LAJSA), Philadelphia, 6-8 November 1993.
- Vilar, Juan Bta., 'Primeros emigrantes judeo-marroquíes en América', *Magen/Escudo*, November 1971.
- Weinstein, Ana E., 'Sefárdica: Sus primeros diez números. Índice temático de los números 1 al 10', *Sefárdica*, September 1993.
- Wilkie, Mary E., *A Partially Annotated Bibliography on Arab Communities in West Africa and Latin America*, 1967(?).
- Yaser, Juan, *Fenicios y árabes en el génesis americano: 500 años 1492-1992 Quinto Centenario del Reencuentro con América* (Córdoba, 1992).
- Young, Herrick B., 'The Near East in South America', *The Moslem World*, vol. 30, no. 2, 1940.
- Zalat, Abdul-Rahim Mahmud, *Arabism in the Poetry of Emigrants to South America* (Cairo, 1972) (in Arabic).
- Zenner, Walter P., 'International Networks in a Migrant Ethnic Group', in Robert F. Spencer, ed., *Migration and Anthropology* (Seattle, 1970).
- Zenner, Walter P., 'The Syrian Jewish Experience in Latin America', paper prepared for the Seventh International Research Conference of LAJSA, Philadelphia, 6-8 November 1993.
- Zorraquín Becú, Horacio, *El problema del extranjero en la reciente legislación latino-americana* (Buenos Aires, 1943).

GP

Comment: Page: 23

2. Antigua

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

Mattar, Ahmad Hassan, *Guía social de las comunidades de habla árabe (libanesas, sirias, palestinas) en Antigua, Cuba, Costa Rica* (New York, 1947).

3. Argentina

- Abderrahman, Mohamed Yassine, *Adalid rioplatense* (Buenos Aires, 1954).
- Abdullah, Kassem, *A Short Account of My Struggle in Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1986) (in Arabic).
- Abou, Sélim, ‘Autobiographies’, *Travaux et Jours*, 48 (1973).
- Abou, Sélim, ‘Contacts de cultures au Liban et dans l’émigration’, *Travaux et Jours*, 30 (1969).
- Abou, Sélim, *Immigrés dans l’autre Amérique: Autobiographies de quatre Argentins d’origine libanaise* (Paris, 1972).
- Abou, Sélim, ‘Mythes de l’acculturation aux Etats-Unis et en Argentine’, in Sélim Abou, *L’Identité culturelle: Relations interethniques et problèmes d’acculturation* (Paris, 1981).
- Akmir, Abdeluahed, ‘La inmigración árabe en Argentina (1880-1980)’, PhD dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1991.
- Akmir, Abdeluahed, ‘Argentina, país de inmigración’, *Revista Marroquí de Estudios Hispánicos*, no. 2, 1992(?).
- Akmir, Abdelwahed, ‘La inserción de los inmigrantes árabes en Argentina (1880-1980): Implicaciones sociales’, *Anaqueal de Estudios Árabes*, 2 (1991).
- Allard, Michel, ‘Les Libanais en Argentine de l’émigration à l’intégration (1902-1914)’, *Travaux et Jours*, 48 (1973).
- Alsina, Juan A., *La inmigración europea en la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1898).
- Alsina, Juan A., *La inmigración en el primer siglo de la independencia* (Buenos Aires, 1910).
- Altamirano, Carlos, ‘El orientalismo y la idea del despotismo en el *Facundo*’, *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana Dr. Emilio Ravignani*, no. 9, 1994.
- Andraos, Elias, ‘The Roman Catholics in Argentina’, *Al-Masarra*, vol. 26 (in Arabic).
- Antisemitism World Report 1992*, Institute of Jewish Affairs (IJA), London, 1992.

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Antisemitism World Report 1993*, IJA, London, 1993.
- Antisemitism World Report 1994*, IJA, London, 1994.
- Antisemitism World Report 1995*, IJA, London, 1995.
- Antonio, Jorge, *¿Y ahora qué?* (Buenos Aires, 1982).
- Arditti, Elías, *Izmir-París-Buenos Aires: Odisea de un inmigrante* (Buenos Aires, 1993).
- Arlt, Roberto, *Aguasfuertes españolas* (Buenos Aires, 1963).
- Arlt, Roberto, *El criador de gorilas* (Buenos Aires, 1945).
- Arslan, Emín, *Los árabes* (Buenos Aires, 1943), Third edition.
- Asís, Jorge, *Don Abdel Zalim* (Buenos Aires, 1987).
- Assaf, Jorge, *The History of Syrian/Lebanese Emigration* (Buenos Aires, 1943) (in Arabic).
- Auza, Nestor T., 'La Iglesia argentina y la evangelización de la inmigración', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1990.
- Avni, Haim, *Argentina & the Jews: A History of Immigration* (Tuscaloosa, 1991).
- Avni, Haim, *Argentina y la historia de la inmigración judía (1810-1950)* (Jerusalem, 1983).
- Bazán, Armando Raúl, *El noroeste y la Argentina contemporánea (1853-1992)* (Buenos Aires, 1992).
- Bejarano, Margalit, 'Fuentes para la historia de los sefaradíes en la Argentina', *Sefárdica*, May 1986.
- Bejarano, Margalit, 'From Turkey to Latin America: Immigration and Sephardic Jews to Argentina and Cuba', paper presented at the Seventh International Research Conference of LAJSA, Philadelphia, 6-8 November 1993.
- Bejarano, Margalit, 'L'Intégration des sefaradim en Amérique latine: Le cas des communautés de Buenos Aires et de La Havane', paper presented at the Colloque International Mémoires juives d'Espagne et du Portugal, Université de Paris IV, 14-16 December 1992.
- Bejarano, Margalit, 'Los sefaradíes en la Argentina: Particularismo étnico frente a tendencias de unificación', *Rumbos*, 17/18 (1986).
- Benavídez Dibella, María Angelina, 'Estudio de la colectividad libanesa en San Juan', paper presented at the Primeras Jornadas Internacionales sobre Migración en América, Buenos Aires, 13-15 October 1983.

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- Bengio, Joseph, ‘Juifs marocains en Argentine’, in Sarah Leibovici, ed., *Mosaïques de notre mémoire: Les Juédo Espagnols du Maroc* (Paris, 1982).
- Bengio, J., ‘Juifs marocains et autres communautés séfarades en Argentine’, *Yod Revue des Etudes Hébraïques et juives modernes et contemporaines*, 10 (1979).
- Bermúdez, Norberto, *La pista siria* (Buenos Aires, 1993).
- Bertoni, Lilia Ana, ‘Los “turcos” en la Argentina: Aspectos de la inmigración árabe (1880-1930)’, paper presented at the Primeras Jornadas Internacionales sobre Migración en América, Buenos Aires, 13-15 October 1983.
- Bertoni, Liliana (*sic*) Ana, ‘De Turquía a Buenos Aires: Una colectividad nueva a fines del siglo XIX’, *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1994.
- Bestene, Jorge O., ‘Formas de asociacionismo entre los sirio-libaneses en Buenos Aires’, in Fernando J. Devoto and Eduardo J. Míguez, eds., *Asociacionismo, trabajo e identidad étnica: Los italianos en América Latina en una perspectiva comparada* (Buenos Aires, 1992).
- Bestene, Jorge O., ‘La inmigración sirio-libanesa en la Argentina: Una aproximación’, *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, August 1988.
- Bestene, Jorge Omar, ‘Discurso y política migratoria en la Argentina de la gran inmigración: Juan A. Alsina y los inmigrantes “turcos”,’ *Temas de África y Asia*, 2 (1993).
- Bestene, Jorge Omar, ‘Entre el discurso y la acción: La política migratoria argentina y la inmigración árabe’, paper presented at the XVIII International Congress of LASA, Atlanta, 10-12 March 1994.
- Bestene, Jorge Omar, ‘Realidades y estereotipos: Los “turcos” en el teatro argentino’, *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1994.
- Binayán, Narciso, *La colectividad armenia en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1974).
- Biondi Assali, Estela, ‘Actitudes y valoraciones hacia la lengua étnica entre los grupos migratorios de origen árabe en Argentina’, *Encuentro*, March 1990.
- Biondi Assali, Estela, ‘Alternancia de los códigos español-árabe entre los bilingües de Tucumán, Argentina’, *Caravelle*, 52 (1989).

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Biondi Assali, Estela, “‘Beine...beineta’: El uso de (p) en el habla española de los inmigrantes de origen árabe en la Argentina”, *Hispanic Linguistics*, Fall 1992.
- Biondi Assali, Estela, ‘Lenguas en contacto: El español hablado por los inmigrantes árabes en la Argentina’, *Actas del III Congreso Internacional del Español de América* (Valladolid, 1991).
- Biondi Assali, Estela, ‘L’Insertion des groupes de langue arabe dans la société argentine’, *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, vol. 7 no. 2, 1991.
- Biondi Assali, Estela, ‘Mantenimiento de la lengua étnica entre los descendientes de sirios y libaneses en la Argentina y el concepto de etnicidad’, *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica*, 1991.
- Booz, Mateo, ‘El mercachifle’, in *Gente del Litoral*, Comisión Nacional de Cultura, Buenos Aires, 1944.
- Boulgourdjian, Nélida Elena, ‘Algunos aportes al conocimiento de la inmigración armenia en Argentina (1909-1923)’, paper presented at the Primer Congreso Nacional de las Colectividades, Tucumán, 13-16 October 1988.
- Boulgourdjian, Nélida Elena, ‘La inmigración armenia en la Argentina’, paper presented at the Primeras Jornadas Internacionales sobre Migración en América, Buenos Aires, 13-15 October 1983.
- Campoy, Luis B., ‘La inmigración libanesa a la Argentina y a Mendoza’, *Unión Libanesa Cultural Mundial*, Mendoza, 1975.
- Canuto, Marta A. Saleh de, and Budeguer, Susana, *El aporte de los sirios y libaneses a Tucumán* (San Miguel, 1979).
- Cerruti, Gabriela, *El Jefe: Vida y obra de Carlos Saúl Menem* (Buenos Aires, 1993).
- Chaij, Julio, ‘Analogías y discordancias entre el gaucho argentino, el beduino árabe, el fallah sirio: El ambiente geográfico, el género de vida, el régimen social’, in the Arabic language version of José Hernández, *Martín Fierro* (Buenos Aires, n.d.)
- Ciarla, A. R., ‘Muslims in Argentina’, paper presented at the Seminar on the Economic Status of Muslim Minorities, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, Sherbrooke, January 1982.
- Cohen, Mario E., ‘Aspectos sociodemográficos de la comunidad sefaradita en la Argentina’, *Sefárdica* 3 (1985).
- Curi, Jorge, *¡¡Arriba Argentina!!* (Buenos Aires, 1977).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- Epstein, Diana L., 'Aspectos generales de la inmigración judeo-marroquí a la Argentina 1875-1930', *Temas de África y Asia*, 2 (1993).
- Epstein, Diana Lía, 'Los marroquíes en Buenos Aires 1875-1910', paper presented at the XVIII International Congress of LASA, Atlanta, 10-12 March 1994.
- Estévez Brasa, Teresa, 'Ecos de la poesía árabe en "Santos Vega" y "Martín Fierro,"' *Asuntos Árabes*, September 1973.
- Gache, Samuel, *Les logements ouvriers à Buenos Ayres* (Paris, 1900).
- Griveo, Arnaldo, *Yo, Menen la encarnación de Cristo* (Buenos Aires, 1993).
- Gurraieb, José E., 'Introducción', in Gibran Khalil Gibran, *El profeta y el jardín del profeta* (Córdoba, 1953).
- Hallar, Ibrahim H., *El gaucho: Su originalidad arábiga* (Buenos Aires, 1962).
- Hillar, Moisés, *Historia de la Iglesia Católica Apostólica Ortodoxa de Antioquía en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, n.d.).
- Humphrey, Michael, 'Ethnic and Class Identity in the River Plate: The Case of Arab and Jewish Immigrants', paper presented at the XVI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Washington, D.C., 4-6 April 1991.
- 'Islam in Argentina: A Report', *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, January 1992.
- Jozami, Gladys, 'Aspectos demográficos y comportamiento espacial de los migrantes árabes en el NOA', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1987.
- Jozami, Gladys, 'El retorno de los "turcos" en la Argentina de los noventa', paper presented at the International Seminar 'Discriminación y Racismo en América Latina', Universidad de Buenos Aires, 23-25 November 1994.
- Jozami, Gladys, 'Identidad religiosa e integración cultural en cristianos sirios y libaneses en Argentina (1890-1990)', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1994.
- Jozami, Gladys, 'La Argentina del Islam manifiesto', Unpublished manuscript.
- Jozami, Gladys, 'La identidad nacional de los llamados migrantes árabes en la Argentina', *Orígenes*, 5 (1989).

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Jozami, Gladys, 'La identidad nacional de los llamados turcos en Argentina', *Temas de Asia y África*, 2 (1993).
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Acerca de la coexistencia entre árabes y judíos en la Argentina hasta fines de la década del '40', *Controversia*, 1995.
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Arab-Jewish Coexistence in Argentina until the 1940s', paper presented at the XVI International Congress of LASA, Washington, 4-6 April 1991.
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Argentine-Ottoman Relations and their Impact on Immigrants from the Middle East: A History of Unfulfilled Expectations, 1910-1915', *The Americas*, October 1993.
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Challenges to Jewish Life in Latin America: Argentina', in William Frankel, ed., *Survey of Jewish Affairs 1991* (Oxford, 1991).
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Criollos and Arabic Speakers in Argentina: An Uneasy Pas de Deux, 1888-1914', in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London, 1992).
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Failure in Argentina: The Jewish Agency's Quest for Congressional Support for Zionist Aspirations in Palestine (1946)', in AMILAT, eds., *Judaica latinoamericana: Estudios histórico-sociales II* (Jerusalem, 1993).
- Klich, Ignacio, 'La posibilidad del asentamiento de palestinos en la Argentina (1948-1952): Una perspectiva comparada', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1994.
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Los prejuicios de una sociedad hispanoamericana respecto de los inmigrantes del mundo árabe: El caso argentino', paper presented at the III Jereudas de Inmigración Magrebí, Universidad de Murcia, 3-4 April 1995.
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Peronistas y radicales ante las aspiraciones sionistas en Palestina', *Desarrollo Económico*, April 1994.
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Towards an Arab-Latin American Bloc? The Genesis of Argentine-Middle East Relations: Jordan, 1945-1954', *Middle Eastern Studies*, July 1995.
- La Siria nueva: Obra histórica, estadística y comercial de la colectividad sirio-otomana en las Repúblicas Argentina y Uruguay* (Buenos Aires, 1917).
- Lahrech, Oumana Aouad, 'Los inmigrantes árabes y el problema de la identidad en dos novelas argentinas', *Revista Marroquí de Estudios Hispánicos*, no. 2, 1992(?).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- Latzina, Francisco, *Diccionario geográfico argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1891).
- Leuco, Alfredo, and Díaz, José Antonio, *El heredero de Perón: Menem, entre Dios y el diablo* (Buenos Aires, 1988).
- Lejtmán, Román, *Narcogate: Historia inédita de las relaciones de la familia del Presidente y sus amigos con el lavado de dólares* (Buenos Aires, 1993).
- Liniado, Argentino S., *Recuerdos imborrables* (Buenos Aires, 1994).
- Lobato, Mirta Zaida, ‘Una visión del mundo del trabajo: Obreros inmigrantes en la industria frigorífica, 1900-1930’, in Fernando J. Devoto and Eduardo J. Míguez, eds., *Asociacionismo, trabajo e identidad étnica: Los italianos en América Latina en una perspectiva comparada* (Buenos Aires, 1992).
- Marun, Mubarak, *Las giras* 2 vols. (Santiago del Estero, 1930) (in Arabic).
- Matta, Yebralíl, *Del ánfora de mis recuerdos* (Buenos Aires, 1980).
- Mirelman, Victor A., ‘Early Zionist Activities among the Sephardim in Argentina’, *American Jewish Archives*, November 1982.
- Mirelman, Víctor A., *En búsqueda de una identidad: Los inmigrantes judíos en Buenos Aires 1890-1930* (Buenos Aires, 1988).
- Mirelman, Victor A., *Jewish Buenos Aires, 1890-1930: In Search of an Identity* (Detroit, 1990).
- Mirelman, Victor A., ‘Sephardic Immigration to Argentina Prior to the Nazi Period’, in Judith Laikin Elkin and Gilbert W. Merkx, eds., *The Jewish Experience in Latin America* (Boston, 1987).
- Neffa, Laila, ‘Gibrán Jalil Gibrán’, *Nosotros*, January-February 1940.
- Obeid, Juan S., *Aporte: Contribución a la futura historia de la colectividad siriolibanesa en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1937).
- Obeid, Juan S., *Momentos: Discursos y páginas dispersas* (Buenos Aires, 1947).
- Orta Nadal, Ricardo, ‘Presencia de Oriente en el Facundo’, *Anuario del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, 1961.
- Pachá, Carlos, and Albarracín Godoy, María Inés, *La casa grande: Historia de la Sociedad Sirio Libanesa de Córdoba, 1907-1980* (Córdoba, 1993).
- Peralta, Santiago M., *La acción del pueblo árabe en la Argentina: Apuntes sobre inmigración* (Buenos Aires, 1946).

Preferred Customer
Comment:

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Perspectiva de la Iglesia Católica Apostólica Ortodoxa de Antioquía en América y en particular en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1987).
- Ponsati, Hugo Luis, ‘Aportes para una reseña de la colectividad árabe tucumana’, Sociedad Sirio-Libanesa de Tucumán, San Miguel, 1975.
- Rafael, Marta Rufail (*sic*) de, ‘Estudio de la colectividad libanesa y siria’, paper presented at the Primeras Jornadas Nacionales sobre Inmigración en Argentina’, Buenos Aires, 5-7 November 1981.
- Rafael, Martha Susana Rufail de, ‘La “Sociedad Sirio-Libanesa de Socorros Mutuos” (1907-1940)’, paper presented at the Primeras Jornadas Internacionales sobre Migración en América, 13-15 October 1983.
- Ripa, Julián I., *Inmigrantes en la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires, 1987).
- Rufeil, Marta Susana, ‘Presencia árabe en la República Argentina’, *Asuntos Arabes*, 11 (1984).
- Rufeil, Marta Zusana (*sic*), ‘Presencia árabe en la República Argentina (1880-1914)’, in *El Poblamiento de las Américas* (Veracruz, 1992).
- Santamaría, Daniel J., ‘Estado, Iglesia e inmigración en la Argentina moderna’, *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1990.
- Sarmiento, Domingo F., *Viajes* (Buenos Aires, 1981).
- Schamún, Alejandro, ‘La colectividad siria en la República Argentina’, Buenos Aires, 25 May 1910.
- Scheffold, Margot, *Doppelte Heimat? Zur literarischen Produktion arabischsprachiger Immigranten in Argentinien* (Berlin, 1993).
- Segundo censo de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1898).
- Senkman, Leonardo, ‘Sarmiento y la cuestión étnica’, *Río de la Plata*, 8 (1989).
- Sieskel, Dov M., ‘*al-Gala-Hagolah*: An Arabic Language Zionist Publication in Argentina’, *Qesher*, November 1991 (in Hebrew).
- Solberg, Carl, *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914* (Austin, 1970).
- Suchecki, Doris, *Las mujeres del presidente* (Buenos Aires, 1994).
- Tagtachian, Beatriz Balian de, ‘Colectividad armenia y pluralismo social’, paper presented at the Primeras Jornadas Nacionales sobre Inmigración en Argentina, Buenos Aires, 5-7 November 1981.
- Tasso, Alberto, *Aventura, trabajo y poder: Sirios y libaneses en Santiago del Estero (1880-1980)* (Buenos Aires, 1989).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- Tasso, Alberto, 'Migración e identidad social: Una comunidad de inmigrantes en Santiago del Estero', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, August-December 1987.
- Tercer censo nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1916).
- Terrera, Guillermo A., *Geopolítica y cultura de Medio Oriente* (Buenos Aires, 1979).
- Teubal, Nissim, *El inmigrante: De Alepo a Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1953).
- Valverde, Estela, 'Integration and Identity in Argentina: The Lebanese of Tucumán', in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London, 1992).
- Valverde, Estela, 'Migrants in Fiction: The Image of Arabs and Jews in Argentine Literature', paper presented at the XVI International Congress of LASA, Washington, 4-6 April 1991.
- Vela Ríos, María Elena, and Caimi, Roberto, 'The Arabs in Tucumán, Argentina', in Luz M. Martínez Montiel, ed., *Asiatic Migrations in Latin America* (Mexico, 1981).
- Ventura, Any, *Jorge Antonio, el hombre que sabe demasiado* (Buenos Aires, 1982).
- Villalonga, Julio, 'Argentina: La guarida de la red siria', in Manfred Morstein, *Al Kassar el padrino del terror: La conexión internacional del narcoterrorismo de Marbella a la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1992).
- Villeco, María Elena Curia de and Bolognini, Victor Hugo, *Inmigración en Tucumán* (Tucumán, 1992).
- Walger, Sylvina, *Pizza con champán: Crónica de la fiesta menemista* (Buenos Aires, 1994).
- Weisbrod, Robert, *The Jews of Argentina: From the Inquisition to Perón* (Philadelphia 1979).
- Weitz, Yosef, *My Diary and Letters to the Children* (Tel Aviv, 1965) (in Hebrew).
- Wolf, Ema, and Patriarca, Cristina, *La gran inmigración* (Buenos Aires, 1991).
- Yaser, Juan, ...*hacia el miedo (Poemas palestinas)* (Córdoba, 1988), Second edition.
- Zaarour, Joseph, 'L'Autre Liban', *Travaux et Jours*, 48 (1973).
- Zicolillo, Jorge, and Montenegro, Nestor, *Los Saadi* (Buenos Aires, 1991).

PAPERS ON LEBANON

Zoni, César P., “*Los turcos*”: *Fermento de progreso y de argentinidad* (Buenos Aires, 1974).

4. Bahamas

Johnson, Howard, “Safeguarding Our Traders”: The Beginnings of Immigration Restrictions in the Bahamas, 1925-33’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, March 1986.

5. Bolivia

Mattar, Ahmad, *Guía social de la colonia de habla árabe en Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, Venezuela y las islas holandesas de Curaçao y Aruba* (Barranquilla, 1945).

Carter, William, *Bolivia, a Profile* (New York, 1971).

Osterweil, Marc J., ‘The Meaning of Elitehood: Germans, Jews and Arabs in La Paz’, PhD dissertation, New York University, 1978.

Osterweil, Marc, ‘Arabs and Jews in Bolivia’, paper submitted to the XVI International Congress of LASA, Washington, D.C., 4-6 April 1991.

6. Brazil

Abinader, Elmaz, *Children of the Roojme: A Family's Journey* (New York, 1993).

Abinader, Luiz, *Os Libaneses – estudo analítico dos habitantes da República Libanesa e tratamento etiológico dos males endêmicos que os acomotem* (São Paulo, 1951).

Amado, Jorge, *Gabriela, clavo y canela* (Buenos Aires, 1985).

Amado, Jorge, *La decouverte de l'Amérique par les Arabes* (Paris, 1992).

Aoun, Farid, *Do cedro ao mandacaru* (Recife, 1979).

al-Awdat, Yacoub, *The Poet of the Airplane, Fawzi al-Ma'louf* (Cairo, 1953) (in Arabic).

Awn, Fayiz J., *Fawzi Ma'luf et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1939).

Backheuser, Everardo, ‘Comércio ambulante e ocupações de rua no Rio de Janeiro’, *Revista Brasileira de Geografia*, January-March 1944.

Bastani, Tanus Jorge, *O Líbano e os libanenses no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1945).

Bentes, Abraham Ramiro, *Primeira comunidade Israelita brasileira: Tradições, genealogia, pré-história* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- Carneiro, J. Fernando, *Imigração e colonização no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950).
- Coaracy, Vivaldo, *Problemas nacionaes* (São Paulo, 1930).
- Cury, Cristiane Abdón, 'A participação social e política da colônia árabe em São Paulo', Research report (mimeo), 1984.
- De Araujo, Oscar Egidio, 'Enquistamentos étnicos', *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, May 1940.
- Deffontaines, Pierre, 'Mascates ou pequenos negociantes ambulantes do Brasil', *Geografia*, vol. 2 no. 1, 1936.
- De Moura, Paulo Cursino, *São Paulo de outrora: Evocações da metropole* (Belo Horizonte, 1932).
- De Ornellas, Manoelito, *Gauchos e beduinos: A origem étnica do Rio Grande do Sul* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948).
- De Queiroz, Eça, *O Egipto: Notas de Viagem* (Porto, 1946).
- De Revorêdo, Julio, *Imigração* (São Paulo, 1934).
- De Souza Larcher, José, *Viagens no Oriente: O que eu vi e ouvi através do Egypto e da velha Europa* (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.).
- De Vasconcelos, Doria, 'Alguns aspectos da Imigracão no Brasil', *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, March 1941.
- Diégués, Jr., Manuel, *Etnias e culturas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1976).
- Duoun, Taufik, *A emigração sirio-libanesa para as terras de promissão* (São Paulo, 1944).
- Duoun, Tawfic, *Selected Articles of Jadid* (São Paulo, 1922) (in Arabic).
- Duoun, Tawfic, *My Life Story* (São Paulo, 1932) (in Arabic).
- Duoun, Tawfic, *Confessions and Broadcasts Concerning the Emigration* (São Paulo, n.d.) (in Arabic).
- Ellis, Jr., Alfredo, *Populações Paulistas* (São Paulo, 1934).
- Falbel, Nachman, 'Los sefarditas y los comienzos de la prensa judía en portugués en Brasil', *Sefárdica*, August 1985.
- Farhat, Emil, *Dinheiro na estrada: Uma saga de imigrantes* (São Paulo, 1987).
- Fausto, Boris, *Historiografia da imigração para São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1991).
- Féres, Assis, *O mascate* (São Paulo, 1970).
- Fontes, Martins, *Schaharazade* (São Paulo, 1929).

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Freiha, Habib, 'A Lebanese Emigrant's Journey from Beirut to Brazil', *Al-Machrig*, vol. 14 no. 4, 1911 (in Arabic).
- Ghanem, Sadalla Amin, *Impressões de viagem (Libano-Brasil)* (Nictheroy, 1936).
- Goulart, José Alípio, *O mascate no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1967).
- Grün, Roberto, 'A Renascença Armênia no Brasil', paper presented at the XVIII International Congress of LASA, Atlanta, 10-13 March 1994.
- Grün, Roberto, *Negócios & famílias: Armênios em São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1992).
- Hajjar, Claude Fahd, *Imigração árabe: 100 anos de reflexão* (São Paulo, 1985).
- Hankash, Najib, *Hankach na Literatura e na Arte* (São Paulo, 1944).
- Hankash, Najib, *Hankash Episodes* (São Paulo, 1945(?)) (in Arabic).
- Hardan, Nawwaf, *Saadeh an Emigré: Brazil 1921-1930* (Beirut, 1989) (in Arabic).
- Hatoum, Milton, *Récit d'un certain Orient* (Paris, 1992).
- Imigração: Inquerito promovido pela Sociedade Nacional de Agricultura* (Rio de Janeiro, 1926).
- Jafet, Nami, *Ensaios e discursos* (São Paulo, 1947).
- Jorge, Salomão, *Album da colônia sírio libanesa no Brasil* (São Paulo, n.d.).
- Jorge, Salomão, *Arabescos - Poesias 1918-1928* (São Paulo, 1941).
- Jorge, Salomão, *Tudo pelo Brasil* (São Paulo, 1943).
- Junior, Amarillo, *As vantagens da imigração syria no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).
- al-Khoury, Jurji Tuma, *Guide to Brazil* (Beirut, 1906) (in Arabic).
- Khouri, R.G., 'Zu Stil und Sprache des Finyānus von Sukri al-Huri', *Arabica*, vol. xv no. 1, 1968.
- Khuri, Rashid Salim, *Colo materno* (São Paulo, 1945).
- al-Khuri, Shukri, 'Long Life', *Monde Oriental*, vol. 6, 1912.
- al-Khuri, Shukri, *For the Sake of the Homeland* (São Paulo, 1915) (in Arabic).
- al-Khuri, Shukri, *The Story of Finayus* (Beirut, 1929) (in Arabic).
- al-Khuri, Shukri, *Telephone Conversations between Brazil and Lebanon* (São Paulo, 1941) (in Arabic).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- Knowlton, Clark S., ‘A Study of Social Mobility among the Syrian and Lebanese Community of São Paulo’, *The Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1965.
- Knowlton, Clark S., *Sírios e libaneses: Mobilidade social e espacial* (São Paulo, 1960).
- Knowlton, Clark S., ‘Spacial and Social Mobility of the Syrians and Lebanese in the City of São Paulo’, PhD dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1955.
- Knowlton, Clark S., ‘The Social and Spatial Mobility of the Syrian and Lebanese Community in São Paulo, Brazil’, in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London, 1992).
- Kuraiem, Mussa, ‘A cultura árabe no Brasil’, in *A Cultura Árabe no Brasil, Líbano e Síria* (São Paulo, n.d.)
- Kuraiem, Mussa, *Touristic Impressions* (São Paulo, 1930) (in Arabic).
- Kurban, Taufik, *Ensaios e biographias* (São Paulo, 1937).
- Kurban, Taufik, *Os syrios e libaneses no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933).
- Lesser, Jeffrey, ‘From Peddler to Proprietor: Jews and Arabs in Brazil’, paper presented at the XVI International Congress of LASA, Washington, 4-6 April 1991.
- Lesser, Jeffrey, ‘From Pedlar to Proprietor: Lebanese, Syrian and Jewish Immigrants in Brazil’, in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London, 1992).
- Lesser, Jeffrey, ‘Immigration and Shifting Concepts of National Identity in Brazil during the Vargas Era’, *LUSO-Brazilian Review*, vol. xxxi, no.2, 1994.
- Ma'louf, Qaisar Ibrahim, *The Emigrant's Memento* (São Paulo, n.d.) (in Arabic).
- Malouf, Riad, *Fantasies* (Brazil, 1945) (in Arabic).
- Malouf, Riad, *Clouds* (Buenos Aires, 1947).
- Mass'oud, Habib, *Lebanon, How Beautiful You Are!* (São Paulo, 1952) (in Arabic).
- Moreno, Martino M., ‘Il poeta al-Qarawî’, *Levante*, vol.6, no.4, 1959.
- Moreno, Martino M., ‘Un poeta Libanese del Brasile: Chefic Maluf’, *Levante*, vol.6, no.2, 1959.
- Morse, Richard, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil* (Gainesville, 1958).

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Nabhan, Neuza Neif, *Interferencia Lexical. Estudo da Fala dos Imigrantes Libaneses em São Paulo* PhD dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 1984.
- Nasser, David, *A Cruz de Jerusalem* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948).
- Nijland, C., ‘A Lebanese Blueprint for Kemal Atatürk’s Reforms?’ *Anatolica*, XIII (1986).
- Nijland, C., ‘A New “Andalusian” Poem’, *Journal of Arabic Literature*, vol. XVIII, 1987.
- Nijland, C., ‘al-Maluf’, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI.
- Nijland, C., ‘The Fatherland in Arab Emigrant Poetry’, *Journal of Arabic Literature*, vol. XX, part 1, 1989.
- Nimer, Miguel, *Influências Orientais na Língua Portuguesa* (São Paulo, 1943), 2 vols..
- Nzibo, Yusuf A., ‘The Muslim Factor in the Afro-Brazilian Struggle Against Slavery’, *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, July 1986.
- Poppino, Rollie E., *Brazil; The Land and People* (New York, 1973).
- Prado, Eduardo, ‘A Imigração no Brasil’, *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, December 1941.
- Raddawi, Majid, *Arab Emigration to Brazil, 1870-1986* (Damascus, 1989) (in Arabic).
- Reis, João José, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (Baltimore, 1993).
- Rodrigues Valle, J., *Patria vindoura (Em defesa do Brasil)* (São Paulo, 1926).
- Roquette-Pinto, Edgar, *Rondonia* (São Paulo, 1935), Third edition.
- Sabbagh, Alphonse Nagib, ‘O meio ambiente na literatura árabe escrita no Brasil’, Phd dissertation, Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro, 1978.
- Safady, Jamil, *O café e o mascate* (São Paulo, n.d.)
- Safady, Jamil, *Panorama da imigração árabe* (São Paulo, n.d.)
- Safady, Jorge S., ‘A imigração árabe no Brasil (1880-1971)’, PhD dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 1972.
- Safady, Jorge S., *Antologia árabe do Brasil* (São Paulo, n.d.)
- Safady, Wadih, *Cenas e cenários dos caminhos de minha vida* (Belo Horizonte, 1966).
- Siqueira, Jacy, *A presença Sírio-Líbanesa em Goiás*, 1993 (mimeo).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- Souza, R. Paulo, 'Contribuição á etnologia paulista', *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, January 1937.
- 'Syrian Schools in Brazil', *Syrian World*, no. 12, 1927.
- The Arab-Brazilian Community* (São Paulo, 1975) (in Arabic).
- Truzzi, Oswaldo, *De mascates a doutores: Sírios e libaneses a São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1992).
- Truzzi, Oswaldo, 'Patrícios: Sírios e libaneses em São Paulo', PhD dissertation, Universidade de Campinas, 1993.
- Truzzi, Oswaldo M.S., 'Etnicidade e diferenciação entre imigrantes síriolibaneses em São Paulo', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1994.
- Vianna, Oliveira, 'Os imigrantes semíticos e mongóis e sua caracterização antropológica', *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, October 1940.
- Vianna, Oliveira, *Populações meridionais do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1952).
- Vianna, Oliveira, *Raça e assimilação* (São Paulo, 1932).
- Willems, Emilio, *Immigrants and their Assimilation in Brazil* (New York, 1950).
- Wolff, Egon and Wolff, Frieda, *Dicionário Biográfico IV: Processos de Naturalização de Israelitas, Século xix* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987).
- Zeghidour, Slimane, *A poesia árabe moderna e o Brasil* (São Paulo, 1982).

7. Chile

- Abrahám Atala Zácur* (Santiago, n.d.).
- Agar Corbinos, Lorenzo, 'El comportamiento urbano de los migrantes árabes en Chile', *Eure*, vol. IX no. 27, 1983.
- Allende, Isabel, *Eva Luna* (Beunos Aires, 1987).
- Auil Hanna, José, *Aldea blanca* (Santiago, 1977).
- Alvarado, Edesio, *El turco Tarud: La verdad sobre un tiempo y una historia* (Santiago, 1970).
- Bray, Donald W., 'The Emergence of the Arab-Chileans, 1952-1958', *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, October 1962.
- Chahuan, Eugenio, 'Presencia árabe en Chile', *Revista Chilena de Humanidades*, no. 4, 1983.
- Chuaqui, Benedicto, 'Arabs in Chile', *The Americas*, vol. 4 no. 12, 1952.

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Chuaqui, Benedicto, *Memorias de un emigrante: Imágenes y confidencias* (Santiago, 1942).
- Dahse, Fernando, *Mapa de la extrema riqueza: Los grupos económicos y el proceso de concentración de capitales* (Santiago, 1979).
- Garib, Walter, *El viajero de la alfombra mágica* (Santiago, 1991).
- Mattar, Ahmad Hassan, *Guía social de la colonia árabe en Chile (siria-palestina-libanesa)* (Santiago, 1941).
- Nes-El, Moshe, ‘Algunos aspectos sobre los judíos y árabes en la vida chilena’, *Revista de Oriente y Occidente*, July 1989.
- Nes-El, Moshe, ‘Apuntes para el estudio de los judíos y los árabes en Chile’, paper submitted to the XVI International Congress of LASA, Washington, 4-6 April 1991.
- Nes-El, Moshe, *Historia de la comunidad israelita sefardí de Chile* (Santiago, 1984).
- Nes-El, Moshe, ‘Los sefardíes de Chile’, *Rumbos*, 16 (1986).
- Olgún Tenorio, Myriam and Peña González, Patricia, ‘La inmigración árabe en Chile’ (Santiago, 1990).
- Rafide, Matías, *Escritores de origen árabe* (Santiago, 1989).
- Sanfuentes, Andrés, *La influencia de los árabes en el desarrollo económico de Chile* (Santiago, 1964).
- Sarah, Roberto, *Los turcos* (Santiago, 1961).
- Wilkie, Mary E., *A Preliminary Analysis of a Social Guide of Arabs in Chile*, 1968 (mimeo).
- Winn, Peter, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York, 1986).

GP

Comment: Page: 40

8. Colombia

- Buenahora, Gonzalo, *Biografía de una voluntad* (Bogotá, 1948).
- Caballero, José María, *Particularidades de Santafé: Un diario de José María Caballero* (Bogotá, 1941).
- Cunningham Graham, Robert B., *Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu* (London, 1920).
- Durán Gómez, Eduardo, *Gabriel Turbay: Estadista santadereano* (Bucamaranga, 1988).
- Fawcett, Louise L'Estrange, ‘Lebanese, Palestinians and Syrians in Colombia’, in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London, 1992).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- García Márquez, Gabriel, *Crónica de una muerte anunciada* (Bogotá, 1982).
- Guberek, Simón, *Yo vi crecer un país* (Bogotá, 1982), vol. II.
- Lleras Restrepo, Carlos, *Crónicas de mi propia vida* (Bogotá, 1963).
- Montoya Marques, J., *Cartagena 1936*.
- Marún, H. Romano, *Breve historia del Libano* (Bogota, 1985).
- Moanack, Georges, *Les libanais de Colombie, de Latouf à Turbay: exemples et leçons* (Beirut, 1943).
- Pearson, H. C., *What I saw in the Tropics* (New York, 1906).
- Posada, Louise Fawcett de, 'Libaneses, palestinos y sirios en Colombia', Centro de Estudios Regionales, Universidad del Norte, Barranquilla, 1991.
- Posada, Louise Fawcett de, and Posada Carbó, Eduardo, 'En la tierra de las oportunidades: Los sirio-libaneses en Colombia', *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico*, vol. 29, no. 29, 1992.
- Revollo, Pedro María, *Costeñismos colombianos* (Barranquilla, 1942).
- Roca Lemus, Juan, *El camino de Damasco: Parábola de Gabriel Turbay* (Bogotá, 1946).
- Rodríguez Garavito, A., *Gabriel Turbay* (Bogotá, 1965).
- Stopnicka Rosenthal, Celia, 'The Jews of Barranquilla: A Study of a Jewish Community in South America', *Jewish Social Studies*, October 1956.
- Turbay, Mansour, *Impresiones del camino: Crónicas de viaje sobre Oriente y Occidente, 1932-1933* (Bucaramanga, 1933?).

9. Costa Rica

- Las Heras, María Cruz Burdiel de, *La emigración libanesa en Costa Rica* (Madrid, 1991).
- Wilkie, Mary E., 'The Lebanese in Costa Rica and Uruguay', University of New England, Unpublished manuscript.

10. Cuba

- Behar, Ruth, 'Los colados', paper presented at the Seventh International Research Conference of LAJSA, Philadelphia, 6-8 November 1993.
- Bejarano, Margalit, 'Los sefaradíes, pioneros de la inmigración judía a Cuba', *Rumbos*, October 1985.

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Charón, Eurídice, 'El asentamiento de emigrantes árabes en Monte (La Habana, Cuba), 1890-1930', *Awraq*, vol. XIII (1992).
- Haded, Teófilo, *Cuba y Líbano* (Havana, 1957).
- Khoury, Fayed, 'The Lebanese Press in Cuba', *Alminbar*, May 1990 (in Arabic).
- Klich, Ignacio, 'Cuba and the Partition of Palestine: An Approximation to the History of Latin America's Single "No" to Jewish Statehood', paper presented at the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, June 1989.
- Levine, Robert M., *Tropical Diaspora: The Jewish Experience in Cuba* (Gainesville, 1993).
- Kaplan, S., Moncarz, R., and Steinberg, J., 'Jewish Emigrants to Cuba, 1898-1960', *International Migration*, September 1990.
- Perdomo Lorenzo, Gladys, 'Aproximación al estudio de la inmigración árabe en Cuba (1902-1926)', Unión Arabe de Cuba, Havana, n.d.
- Perdomo Lorenzo, Gladys, 'Sociedades árabes de Cuba: Sociedad Palestino-Arabe (1919-1954)', Unión Arabe de Cuba, 1991.
- Tabrane, Jorge, 'Apuntes históricos sobre las sociedades árabes en Cuba', *Revista de África y Medio Oriente*, September 1988.
- Valdés Bernal, Sergio, 'El legado árabe del español en Cuba', *Revista de África y Medio Oriente*, September 1988.

11. Dominica

- Jeffers, Jammal, 'Islam in Dominica', *Caribbean Muslim Standard*, March 1994.

12. Dominican Republic

- De León, Ramón Gervacio, and Sánchez, J. Leónidas, 'Los "turcos" en la República Dominicana: Un estudio etno-histórico', Licentiate thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo, 1978-79.
- Elhimani, Kissam, *Santo Domingo de ayer y hoy* (Santo Domingo, 1934).
- Nicholls, David, 'No Hawkers and Pedlars: Levantines in the Caribbean', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, October 1981.

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

13. Ecuador

- Belisle, Jean-François, 'Los inmigrantes y la economía ecuatoriana en la primera mitad del siglo XX', paper presented at the International Congress of Americanists, Amsterdam, 1988.
Bucaram: Historia de una Lucha (Quito, 1981).
Jurado, Noboa, Fernando, *La migración internacional a Quito entre 1534 y 1934* (Quito, 1989), 3 vols..
Jurado Noboa, Fernando, 'Lo árabe y lo judío en el tradicionalismo ecuatoriano', *Boletín del Archivo Nacional de Historia*, 21 (1982).
Moncayo, Jalil Leonardo, *Los Jalil en el Ecuador* (Loya, 1994).
Pérez Marchant, Braulio, *Las colonias syria, libanesa y palestina en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1931).
Pérez Pimental, Rodolfo, *Diccionario biográfico del Ecuador* (Guayaquil, 1987-94), 7 vols..

14. El Salvador

- Barón Castro, Rodolfo, *La población de El Salvador* (Madrid, 1942).
Monterrosa Sicilia, Rogelio, 'La inmigración palestina a El Salvador, el desarrollo económico y los 14 grandes', Unpublished manuscript, 1967.
Población de la República de El Salvador: Censo del 1º de mayo 1930 (San Salvador, 1942).
Suter, Jan, 'Salvadorean vs. "Pernicious Alien": Immigrants and the Shaping of Collective Identities in El Salvador, 1897-1935', paper presented at the 48th International Congress of Americanists, Stockholm, 4-9 July 1994.
Wilson, Everett Alan, 'The Crisis of National Integration in El Salvador, 1919-1935', PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1970.

15. Guyana

- Reichert, Rolf, 'Muslims in the Guyanas: A Socio-Economic Overview', *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Winter 1981.

16. Haiti

- Nicholls, David, 'Lebanese of the Antilles: Haiti, Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Trinidad', in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London, 1992).

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Plummer, Brenda Gayle, 'Race, Nationality and Trade in the Caribbean: The Syrians in Haiti, 1903-1934', *International History Review*, October 1981.
- Plummer, Brenda Gayle, 'The Metropolitan Connection: Foreign and Semi-foreign Elites in Haiti, 1900-1915', *Latin American Research Review*, vol. XIX no. 2, 1984.
- Poujal, Alexandre, 'La question des Syriens en Haïti', *Revue Générale du Droit Internationale Public*, July-August 1905.

17. Honduras

- Eraque, Darío A., 'Elites, Ethnicity and State Formation in Honduras: The Case of Palestinian Arabs', paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, New Orleans, 1 November 1991.
- Eraque, Darío A., 'Estructura económica, formación de capital industrial, relaciones familiares y poder político en San Pedro Sula: 1870s-1958', *Revista Polémica*, September-December 1992.
- Eraque, Darío A., 'Formación nacional, mestizaje, y la inmigración árabe palestina a Honduras, 1880-1930', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1994.
- Bulmer-Thomas, Victor, 'Honduras since 1930', in Leslie Bethell, ed. *Central America since Independence* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Gonzalez, Nancie L., *Dollar, Dove and Eagle: One Hundred Years of Palestinian Migration to Honduras* (Ann Arbor, 1992).
- Gonzalez, Nancie L., 'The Christian Palestinians of Honduras: An Uneasy Accommodation', in Nancie L. Gonzalez and Carolyn S. McCommon, eds., *Conflict, Migration and the Expression of Ethnicity* (Boulder, 1989).
- Martínez, José, *Honduras histórica* (Tegucigalpa, 1974).
- Resumen del Censo General de Población 1926* (Tegucigalpa, 1927).
- Resumen del Censo General de Población 1930* (Tegucigalpa, 1930).
- Resumen del Censo General de Población 1935* (Tegucigalpa, 1936).
- Ruiz, José T., *Apuntes biográficos hondureños e informaciones para el turista* (Tegucigalpa, 1943).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

18. Jamaica

- Ammar, Nellie, ‘They Came from the Middle East’, *Jamaica Journal*, March 1970.
- Nicholls, David, ‘The “Syrians” of Jamaica’, *Jamaican Historical Review*, 15 (1986).

19. Mexico

- Alonso Palacios, Angelina, ‘Los libaneses y la industria textil en Puebla’, *Cuadernos de la Casa Chata*, Mexico, 1983.
- Backal, Alicia G., ‘Los sobrevivientes del Holocausto en México’, paper presented at the International Seminar ‘Discriminación y Racismo en América Latina’, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 23-25 November 1994.
- Cáceres, María Beatriz, and Fortuny, María Patricia, ‘La migración libanesa a Yucatán’, Licentiate thesis, Universidad de Yucatán, 1977.
- Castro Farías, Enrique, *Aporte libanés al progreso de América* (México, 1965).
- Cuevas Sebá, Teresa, and Mañaná Plasencio, Miguel, *Los libaneses de Yucatán* (Mérida, 1990).
- Gogman (*sic*) Goldberg, Alicia, ‘Asian-Jewish Migration from Aleppo and Damascus to Mexico’, in Luz M. Martínez Montiel, ed., *Asiatic Migrations in Latin America* (Mexico, 1981).
- Halabe, Liz Hamui de, ed., *Los judíos de Alepo en México* (Mexico, 1989).
- Hamui-Halabe, Liz, ‘Modernidad e identidad comunitaria: La experiencia judeo-alepina en México’, paper presented at the Seventh International Research Conference of LAJSA, Philadelphia, 6-8 November 1993.
- Inclán Rubio, Rebeca, ‘Inmigración libanesa en la ciudad de Puebla: 1890-1930. Proceso de aculturación’, Licentiate thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1978.
- John, Sarah E., ‘Arabic-Speaking Immigration to the El Paso Area, 1900-1935’, in Eric J. Hooglund, ed., *Crossing the Waters: Arabic-Speaking Immigrants to the United States before 1940* (Washington, 1987).
- Krause, Corinne A., ‘The Jews of Mexico: A History with Special Emphasis on the Period from 1857 to 1930’, PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1970.

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- Legaspi Velázquez, Gabriela, 'Medio siglo de relaciones diplomáticas México-El Líbano', Licentiate thesis, Universidad Iberoamericana, 1990.
- Liwerant, Judit Bokser de, *Imágenes de un encuentro: La presencia judía en México durante la primera mitad del siglo XX* (Mexico, 1992).
- Maloof, Louis J., 'A Sociological Study of Arabic-Speaking People in Mexico', PhD dissertation, University of Florida, 1959.
- Martínez Montiel, Luz María, 'Lebanese Immigration to Mexico', in Luz M. Martínez Montiel, ed., *Asiatic Migrations in Latin America* (Mexico, 1981).
- Martínez Montiel, Luz María, *La gota de oro* (H. Veracruz, 1988).
- Martínez Montiel, Luz María, 'The Lebanese Community in Mexico: Its Meaning, Importance and the History of its Communities', in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London, 1992).
- Montejo Baqueiro, Francisco, 'La colonia sirio-libanesa en Mérida', in *Enciclopedia Yucatanense* (Mérida, 1945), vol. XII.
- Najm Sacre, Jacques, *Directorio por familias de los descendientes libaneses de México y Centroamérica* (Mexico, 1981).
- Nasr, Julián and Abud, Salim, *Directorio libanés: Censo general de las colonias libanesa, palestina y siria, residentes en la República Mexicana* (Mexico, 1948).
- Páez Oropesa, Carmen Mercedes, *Los libaneses en México: Asimilación de un grupo étnico* (Mexico, 1984).
- Paz, Octavio, *El ogro filantrópico* (Mexico, 1981).
- Sanderson, Susan, Sidel, Phil, and Sims, Harold, 'East Asians and Arabs in Mexico: A Study of Naturalised Citizens (1886-1931)', in Luz M. Martínez Montiel, ed., *Asiatic Migrations in Latin America* (Mexico, 1981).

20. Nicaragua

- Klich, Ignacio, 'Israel, the PLO and Nicaragua: The Kernel and the Shell', in Damián J. Fernández, ed., *Central America and the Middle East: The Internationalisation of the Crises* (Miami, 1990).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

21. Panama

- Fidanque J., Stanley, Lindo, Ralph J., Arjona, Nadhji and Sasso, Colman J., eds., *Kol Shearith Israel: Cien años de vida judía en Panamá* (Panama, 1977).
Mizrachi, Selly Dayán de, and Arjona, Nadhji, *La saga de los sefarditas: Del Medio Oriente a Panamá* (Panamá, 1986).

22. Paraguay

- Domínguez Dibb, Humberto, *Presencia y vigencia árabe en el Paraguay* (Asunción, 1979).
Seiferheld, Alfredo M., *Inmigración y presencia judías en el Paraguay* (Asunción, 1981), vol. I.

23. Peru

- Palma, Ricardo, *Tradiciones peruanas completas: El príncipe del Líbano* (Madrid, 1964).
Trahtemberg, León, *Los judíos de Lima y las provincias del Perú* (Lima, 1989).

24. Surinam

- De Bruijne, G.A., 'The Lebanese in Surinam', *Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe*, June 1979.

25. Trinidad and Tobago

- Laquis, Angela, 'The Syrian/Lebanese Community in Trinidad', Undergraduate thesis, University of the West Indies, 1980.
MacKenzie, Clayton G., 'Muslim Primary Schools in Trinidad and Tobago', *The Islamic Quarterly*, First Quarter 1989.
Lewis, Enid, 'The Syrian-Lebanese Community of Trinidad', Undergraduate thesis, University of the West Indies, 1970.

26. Uruguay

- Abisab, Camilo Elías, 'Recuerdos y anécdotas', Club Libanés del Uruguay, Montevideo, 1965?, Second edition.
Aljanati, Daniel, ed., *50º Aniversario de la Comunidad Israelita Sefaradi del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1982).

PAPERS ON LEBANON

- ‘Historia de la Misión Maronita en el Uruguay’, *Mensajero Maronita*, February-May 1985.
- Humphrey, Michael, ‘The Lebanese War and Lebanese Immigrant Cultures: A Comparison of Lebanese in Australia and Uruguay’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, October 1986.
- Levy, Esther Abulafia de, and others, ‘La comunidad israelita sefaradí del Uruguay’, Montevideo, 1978 (mimeo).
- ‘Los libanenses en la República Oriental del Uruguay’, *Revista Diplomática Argentina*, April 1924.
- Porzecanski, Teresa, *Historia de vida de inmigrantes judíos al Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1982).
- Raicher, Rosa Perla, ‘Desarrollo de la comunidad sefaradí del Uruguay’, *Rumbos*, 15 (1986).
- Rossi, Rómulo F., *Recuerdos y crónicas de antaño* (Montevideo, 1924), vol. II.
- Rovira, Alejandro *Selección de la inmigración y protección del trabajador nacional* (Montevideo, 1950).
- Seluja Cecín, Antonio D., *Los libaneses en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1989).
- Wilkie, Mary E., ‘The Lebanese in Montevideo, Uruguay – A Study of an Entrepreneurial Ethnic Minority’, PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972.

27. Venezuela

- el-Ashkar, Housn, ‘Los árabes en Venezuela: Relación entre dos mundos. El proceso de integración de los inmigrantes árabes en Venezuela: Sirios, libaneses y palestinos (1945 a 1971)’, Licentiate thesis, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1992.
- Assaf, Nadim, *Los emigrantes y sus hijos* (Caracas, 1982).
- Berberian, Vahan, ‘Guía de la comunidad armenia en Venezuela’, Asociación Armenia de Venezuela, Caracas, 1993.
- Díaz Sánchez, Ramón, *Líbano, una historia de hombres y de pueblos: Los libaneses en América y Venezuela* (Caracas, 1969).
- Habalián D., Elie, ‘La comunidad venezolana-levantina y la sociedad venezolana: Primera aproximación’, Universidad Central de Venezuela, May 1991 (mimeo).

MIDDLE EASTERNERS IN LATIN AMERICA

- Moreno, Martino M., 'Il poeta Giorgio Saidah', *Levante*, vol. viii, no.4, 1961.
- Obeid, Sami, *The Arab Community of Venezuela* (Beirut, 1992) (in Arabic).