Migrants, Refugees, and Asylum Seekers in Latin America

Edited By

Raanan Rein
Stefan Rinke
David M.K. Sheinin

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

Contents

Acknowledgments VII
List of Contributors VIII

1 Introduction 1
Raanan Rein, Stefan Rinke, and David M.K. Sheinin

2 In Search of Wandering Husbands: Jewish Migration, Desertion, and Divorce between Poland and Argentina, 1919–1939 17
Lelia Stadler

3 Indifference, Hostility, and Pragmatism: an X-Ray of Chilean Right-Wing Attitudes toward Jews, 1932–1940 42
Gustavo Guzmán

4 Diplomacy and Ethnicity: Germans in Brazil (1933–1938) 66
Vinícius Bivar

5 Constructing a Transnational Identity: the Three Phases of Palestinian Immigration to Chile, 1900–1950 85
Hagai Rubinstein

6 Political Immigrants: the "Chileanization" of Arabs and Jews and Their Class Subjectivities, 1930–1970 108
Claudia Stern

7 Over the Rainbow: Costa Rica as a "Geography of Meaning" for U.S. American Immigrants, 1945–1980 131
Atalia Shragai

8 Unsafe Havens for Jewish-Argentine Migrants: the Rise and Fall of the Third Peronist Government and the Traumatic Effects of the 1973 Yom Kippur War 160
Adrián Krupnik

9 Missing Jews: the Memory of Dictatorship in Argentina and the Jewish Identity Diplomacy of José Siderman 189
David M.K. Sheinin

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

10 Crisscrossing the Oyapock River: Entangled Histories and Fluid Identities in the French-Brazilian Borderland 217
Fabio Santos

11 Together Un-united: Muslims in the Triple Frontier on the Defensive against Accusations of Terrorism 242
Omri Elmaleh

12 Los Muchachos Peronistas Japoneses: the Peronist Movement and the Nikkei 264
Raanan Rein, Aya Udagawa, and Pablo Adrián Vázquez

13 Identity Diversity among Chinese Immigrants and Their Descendants in Buenos Aires 291
Susana Brauner and Rayén Torres

14 "We Colombian Women Are Damned No Matter What We Do": an Analysis of Police Officers' Perceptions and Colombian Women's Experiences during Their Arrest in Ecuador 309
Andrea Romo-Pérez

15 Concluding Essay: Rethinking Latin America in the New Ethnic Studies 326
Jürgen Buchenau and Jerry Dávila

Index 351

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

CHAPTER 6

Political Immigrants: the "Chileanization" of Arabs and Jews and Their Class Subjectivities, 1930–1970

Claudia Stern

1 Introduction

On September 4, 1970, the Chilean newspaper *El Heraldo* published a review of Edesio Alvarado's book, *El Turco Tarud* (Tarud the Turk), which documented the personal and professional history of the "political leader of the moment."[1] An Arab-Chilean left-wing politician, Rafael Tarud was at the time director of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity presidential campaign, and the book's publication came as no surprise to Chileans in the early 1970s. According to *El Heraldo*, "[the book's] straightforward language helps us to understand the life, [and] the political affiliation of a man, the son of poor immigrants, who has succeeded in becoming a full-blown, fighting fit Chilean."[2]

Throughout the twentieth century, one of the primary aspirations of Arab- and Jewish-Chileans was to participate fully in local civic life, and this included exercising their right to vote in presidential elections. Their intention was more implicit than open, and stemmed from a desire to integrate into local society while maintaining a firm hold on their ethnicity. In other words, they sought acculturation. Leaving aside the stereotypical tone of the article, publication of a book about an Arab-Chilean politician is a clear indication of how, during the golden age of national capitalism in Chile, immigrants were able not only to achieve full local civic participation but to play a central role in the leadership of the country. This chapter analyzes the "Chileanization" of Arab and Jewish immigrants through their incorporation into the Chilean political scene. At a time when nationalism permeated all sectors of society, democratic values and the cultural and social capital of the Chilean middle classes became instrumental in shaping social and class identities. In general, it was these sectors that Arab and Jewish immigrants joined, thus gaining access to benefits provided by the Chilean state, while at the same time contending with the prejudices leveled against them. Social and cultural capital were therefore

1 *El Heraldo* (Linares), September 4, 1970, p. 3.
2 Ibid.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004432246_007
For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

pivotal for immigrant politicians committed to transforming Chile into a modern, democratic, progressive, and stable country.

Based on a discourse analysis of local press content, oral testimonies, and literary sources, the chapter's focus on the political careers of Rafael Tarud and Ángel Faivovich will contribute to answering the following questions: What was the relevance of middle-class subjectivities in the desire for civic agency on the part of Arab- and Jewish-Chileans? What was the impact of Chileanization on the political agency of Arab- and Jewish-Chileans? How were immigrants who chose to involve themselves in politics perceived by other politicians and by Chilean society in general?

My focus on the political careers of Tarud and Faivovich serves as a reflection of the intersection between immigration, class, and politics. The two men were beacons of democratic politics during a period in which Chile was considered to be an exception to the wild swings between dictatorship and democracy so typical of its Latin American neighbors. However, the country's apparent distinction was haunted by a history of strong presidential authoritarianism. Nevertheless, even as "less-desirable" immigrants, both Tarud and Faivovich found a niche in the middle class and, with the help of this firm footing, went on to make committed contributions to the country which had welcomed their parents years before. Their careers were linked to a change in the political scene which began in the 1930s, a time when displacement of the social elite afforded greater access to positions of political power for the middle classes, and greater acceptance of their otherness.

2 Chile and Its Social Dynamics: Civics Meets Modernization

In 1958, the twenty-fifth anniversary issue of *En Viaje* stated in its editorial: "Over the course of its lifetime our magazine has made an undeniable contribution in support of Chileanness,"[3] focusing on "our idiosyncrasies and the physical medium in which these exist."[4] In another piece, entitled "The Social Development of Chileans in Recent Years," the academic Fernando Onfray described Chile's progress but overall underdevelopment, identifying the middle classes as a new phenomenon "comprising diverse social strata and bringing together different and often rival groups and subgroups."[5] The

3 *En Viaje* (Santiago de Chile), no. 301 (November 1958): 1.

4 Ibid.

5 Fernando Onfray, "El desarrollo social de los chilenos en los últimos años," *En Viaje*, no. 301, (November 1958): 56–8, 57.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

meaning of class and the role it played in local development at the time served not only to introduce modern perceptions of change in the dynamics of society but also to accentuate the plurality and contradictions of its members.

Onfray continued with a discussion of the intersection of economics, race, politics, and religion, which formed a space where diversity was the common theme "racially speaking, from the indigenous inhabitant all the way to the immigrant of most distant origin and their descendants; politically speaking, from members of the most conservative party to those of the most extreme. The same applies to morality and religion."[6] Onfray's approach pointed to a heterogeneity whose positive effects far outweighed the negative, extending even to the idea of race, an issue to which limited and superficial attention is paid in Chile. The author restricted his focus to local progress, referring to the multidimensional nature of diversity but avoiding a more detailed exploration of its true scope and the fact that it does not necessarily imply openness. In light of the rivalry triggered by the emergence of the middle classes, social acceptance came under even closer scrutiny. Furthermore, immigrants were generally considered to be linked to the middle classes, whether through industrial or business activities, even to the point of being seen by some as a driving force in these sectors.[7] Thus, rather than presenting diversity as a negative factor, Onfray's core argument focused specifically on the convergence of otherness.

En Viaje, published by Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado (EFE, the Chilean state rail company), also highlighted the inherent contradictions of profiles associated with the Chilean middle classes over the course of the forty years that the magazine was in circulation, beginning in 1933. It reflected on the middle-class perception of being "en route" to somewhere else, and it is therefore no surprise that its twenty-fifth anniversary issue should refer to local idiosyncrasies and provide a snapshot of society that emphasized diversity. Moreover, the allusion to immigrants implicitly highlights the degree to which they and their descendants had integrated into society.

Onfray's intention in writing the piece was to emphasize the transformation that was taking place in Chilean society in 1958. Changes were giving rise to the proliferation and integration of new social groups which themselves became drivers of modernization. Among the implications were the

6 Ibid.: 57.

7 See Cristián Gazmuri ed., "Tendencias de la historia en el siglo XX," in *100 años de cultura chilena 1905–2005* (Santiago, Zig-Zag, 2006), pp. 7–60, 30; Leonardo Mazzei, "Inmigración y clase media en Chile," *Revista Proposiciones* (Santiago), no. 24 (1994): 152–58, 156; Julio Pinto and Gabriel Salazar, *Historia Contemporánea de Chile II: Actores, identidad y movimiento* (Santiago, LOM, 1999), p. 81.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

increased sensitivity and subjective expressions of the contemporary middle classes, aspects that accompanied the nationalist capitalism that prevailed in Chile until 1973. The notion of Chileanness was a central theme in the society of the day, and the middle classes took advantage of this. Chileanness therefore became a core aspect of processes of acculturation among Arab-and Jewish-Chileans and will be explored in this chapter through the prism of the political careers of the Arab-Chilean Rafael "Turco" Tarud and the Jewish-Chilean Ángel Faivovich.

Despite any social prejudice based on their Arab and Jewish ethnic roots, Tarud and Faivovich—seen by some as the wrong sort of immigrants—stood out thanks to their distinguished political careers. The two were born in Chile to immigrant parents and, as leaders of civic agency, were exponents of the integration of immigrants into the middle classes. Both are noteworthy examples of Chileanization and achieved a degree of integration into local society that would have been inconceivable to the generation that preceded them.

The chapter focuses on these two particular actors in light of their prominence on the political scene of the time. However, this is not to downplay the importance of other politicians from the same ethnic groups who distinguished themselves in politics in the same period, including the Jewish-Chileans Natalio Berman, Marcos Chamudes, Jacobo Schaulsohn, and Volodia Teitelboim, and the Arab-Chileans Carlos Melej, Alfredo Nazar, José Musalem, and Alejandro Noemí, to name but a few.

The identities present within the Chilean middle classes were formed in close association with national capitalism over the course of the twentieth century. I therefore believe that the middle classes were not simply associated with production and consumption, nor were they merely an invention based on representations that spanned both real life and imagination. Rather, they were an amalgamation of everything produced, consumed, and imagined by them. The resulting middle-class experience was also influenced by state legal and political norms. All of this occurred in the context of the nation, the sons and daughters of the people, cosmopolitan life, and immigrants; of the popular and the bourgeois, the ordinary and the elite.

Despite the lack of a state immigration program in twentieth-century Chile, there was a considerable influx not only of Spaniards but of non-Hispanics, mostly Italians, Arabs, and German Jews. These groups were migrating primarily in order to escape conflicts in their home countries,[8] and although they were seen as less desirable than the British immigrants of the late nineteenth

8 Gazmuri, "Tendencias de la historia": 15; Pinto and Salazar, *Historia Contemporánea de Chile II*: 78.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

century, they had a similarly modernizing effect. The presence of immigrants in the country's main cities grew over the course of the twentieth century.[9] However, in contrast to the situation on the other side of the Andes, immigration in Chile did not symbolize a new order in the social structure.[10] While Argentina already had a far larger population than Chile (8,972,400 inhabitants compared with 3,753,799) in 1920,[11] the proportion of immigrants in each country was starkly different, making up 30 percent of the Argentinian population compared with only 2 percent of the Chilean.[12]

Over the course of the decades covered in this chapter, the link between Chileanization and the middle classes was bound up with state benefits received by these sectors of society and through which their aspirational concerns of education and living conditions undeniably received a boost. The immigrant population fitted naturally within these social echelons, with many first-generation immigrants receiving their education at the leading humanist schools of the day and subsequently embarking upon university degrees, as was the case for both Tarud and Faivovich. The period analyzed here constituted the golden age of public education; to attend a humanist school before moving on to university went hand in hand with both vocational development and a strong commitment to the country, and civics and Chileanness were fundamental elements of this journey. For the most part, students aspired to become agents of change and were inspired in this mission by their teachers, who were also deeply committed to the cultivation of well-rounded meritocratic men and women—"Integral Chileans."[13] In regard to the integration of immigrants into the public education system, Marcela—a member of the class of 1961 at the "emblematic" Liceo Experimental Manuel de Salas (LMS), the first coeducational public high school in Chile and cultivator of "Integral Chileans"—explained:

9 Mazzei, "Inmigración y clase media": 156–8.

10 Sofía Correa Sutil, et al., *Historia del siglo XX chileno: Balance paradojal* (Santiago: Ed. Sudamericana, 2001), p. 164.

11 República de Chile, Dirección General de Estadística, Population Census for the Republic of Chile, conducted on December 15, 1920 (Santiago de Chile: Soc. Imp. y Lito., Universo, 1925), XXVII; Comité International de Coordination des Recherches Nationales en Démographie (CICRED), *World Population Year: La población de Argentina, 1974* (France: CICRED, 1974), p. 30.

12 Mazzei, "Inmigración y clase media": 153.

13 For details of my conceptualization of "Integral Chilean," see Claudia Stern, "La sobredimensión de la educación estatal en Chile: El Liceo experimental Manuel de Salas y el 'chileno integral' (1932–1962)," *Revista Historia 396* (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso) *7*, no. 1 (June 2017): 263–99, 267.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

> People from different sociocultural sectors mixed with each other at the school. For the purposes of experimentation, the teachers thought it would be good to bring together people from all backgrounds. There was a large Jewish community and a not insignificant Arab community as well, along with the children of professors from the University of Chile.

Marcela, the daughter of a Jewish-Chilean indicates that in her case the LMS was a family that provided her with "the opportunity to enjoy a life of diversity."[14]

Meanwhile, at the Instituto Nacional General José Miguel Carrera (IN)—another so-called emblematic school, but for boys only, and alma mater of Ángel Faivovich—Isaac, a Jewish-Chilean, received the Premio Aguilera prize for best student of the class of 1943. The award became the subject of an anecdote for Isaac; as he recalls, rumor had it that he was almost denied it because for the past two years it had been awarded to other Jewish-Chilean students, leading one teacher to claim: "We cannot just keep awarding the prize to Jews." Isaac did in the end receive the prize, and maintains that the teachers, far from being anti-Semitic or anti-Jewish, were simply concerned about the differences that this pattern could potentially provoke within the student community. That said, the story does serve to highlight the way in which immigrants were subject to prejudice. Isaac went on to donate half of the prize money to the IN Academy, commenting:

> I learned to make the most of what the state offers you. They put certain things at your disposal and, although you may have to work for them, if you take advantage of them you will grow and in turn make your own contribution. The Institute had that and many other aspects: mathematics, physics, the choir, a school of literature. The Institute gave me a lot, and I think it gave a lot to Chile.[15]

Both Isaac and Marcela stressed that their high school experiences helped shape the people they are today, and were evidence of the achievements of the Chilean welfare state at the time. Isaac enrolled at the School of Engineering at the University of Chile and became one of the first to study industrial civil engineering, as the discipline came to be known. Marcela was one of thirty-two members of the LMS class of 1961 who, inspired by the commitment shown by her schoolteachers, decided to undertake the degree in pedagogy at

14 Marcela: interviewed by the author on November 14, 2011.
15 Isaac: interviewed by the author on October 4, 2016.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

the University of Chile. Both cases serve to reinforce the idea of the intersection of the middle classes, immigrants, and Chileanization through the public education system, as will also be seen in the cases of Tarud and Faivovich.

This link between immigrants and the middle classes fostered integration of the former, who were treated as equals. This may have been due to the fact that they shared certain aspects of the middle-class ethos, such as self-denial and sacrifice—as in the case of immigrants engaged in business—as well as aspirations of social mobility. Nevertheless, as noted, these immigrants were generally considered less desirable,[16] lacking the lineage of their English, German, and French counterparts who had arrived toward the end of the nineteenth century and integrated into the upper echelons of Chilean society. The Eurocentric bias of the social and economic elites led to a view of these latter groups as being distinguished, due to their origins, professions, or prosperity.

To a certain extent, members of the middle classes and the immigrants who joined their ranks perceived the idea of these strata as a place of transition through which they were merely passing. Thus, the imaginary of being *in* the middle class as opposed to *being* middle class tended to dominate. However, some members defended their class identity, as in the case of the immigrants that feature in this chapter.

Other middle-class groups also existed, among them the intellectual elite, whose members included Tancredo Pinochet Le-Brun, Alejandro Venegas, Senén Palacios, Fernando Santiván, and Joaquín Díaz Garcés. These figures were leaders in contemporary Chilean thought, and their segment of the middle class was in clear contrast to the traditional economic elite or the upper classes. The intellectual elite tended to view immigrants with mistrust, and considered themselves as occupying not a transitory space but one entirely of their own, generated by the intellectual superiority that distinguished them from the ignorant and superficial upper classes. These men of letters did not define themselves as middle class as such, and perceived immigrant members as a threat as they became increasingly involved in business and liberal professions. There was therefore a degree of ambiguity toward certain immigrant groups, although it was sectoral rather than class prejudice. However, this did not hinder immigrants from accessing public education, and a number of them went on to become leading political agents—as in the case of Tarud and Faivovich—an achievement that may be seen as an expression of their class subjectivities.

16 Brenda Elsey, *Citizens and Sportsmen in Chile: Fútbol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Chile* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), p. 163.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

Both were instrumental in the exercise of the political democracy powering the social and economic progress that endured until the 1960s.[17] Their trajectories led ultimately to their integration into the country's political sphere, a fact that serves as a true reflection of their incorporation into local society and an illustration of the changes that were afoot in terms of class supremacy within the realms of Chilean political power.

3 Middle-Class Immigrant Politicians: *Medio Pelaje* versus Lineage

The satirical magazine *La Raspa*, which circulated during 1949 with the strapline, "Now the truth has a different name," published a piece entitled "The Surname Jungle," which classified Chileans into two categories: "the Bezanilla-and-aboves, and the Bezanilla-and-belows." It went on to explain that the "Aldunates, Errázuriz, Edwards, Larraínes, and other surnames of that ilk" belong to the first category, while the second encompasses the "Mellados, Colomas, Riveras, Rosendes, González, Pobletes, Cuevas, Cañas, Figueroas, and others of lesser significance."[18]

The article once again highlighted the plurality alluded to in *En Viaje*, along with the classism and now latent threat to the elites posed by the strengthening of emerging sectors within the political sphere. Classism was presented ironically using the surnames of middle-class politicians criticized for their lack of lineage by traditional high-ranking politicians. The imaginary social boundaries in the satirical piece stretched even as far as male hairstyles. The term *medio pelo* is used metaphorically in reference to the middle classes:

> It is well known that the Conservative and Liberal parties have always stocked up on the Bezanilla-and-aboves who look down on the poor and their radical affiliations, branding them *cursi* [corny], *siútico*, or *medio pelo*. Time passes and today we are seeing what could be referred to as the de-surnaming of the aristocratic parties. *Mediopelaje* is invading the higher orders; Rivera is replacing Errázuriz, Mellado gobbles up Walker, and Marín laughs in the face of Balmaceda. In a democracy this can only be a good thing and allows the Bezanilla-and-belows to come to power,

17 Steve J. Stern, *Luchando por mentes y corazones: Las batallas de la memoria en el Chile de Pinochet* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, 2013), p. 165.

18 *La Raspa* (Santiago de Chile), Year 1, April 29, 1949.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

> leading to a total switch of surnames in Chile. Suddenly it is the Cuevas, Pobletes, and Escanillas that are on top.[19]

This transformation in Chilean politics, as evidenced in the de-surnaming article of 1949, had in fact begun decades earlier and was only now beginning to reach the older, more conservative, and closed political parties in Chile, such as the Conservative and Liberal parties. Aristocratic politicians such as Raúl Irarrázaval, Bernardo Larraín, and Francisco Bulnes Correa were depicted as getting together at the barber's shop to request the medio pelo haircut sported by Alfredo Rosende, a member of the Radical Party. The suspicious upper classes sensed a growing threat to their hierarchical notions in all spheres of society:

> We, who are proudly catalogued as Bezanilla-and-belows, enthusiastically celebrate this devaluation of the type of surname that one might expect to find on a bottle of Chilean wine, and hope that the Political Life sections of the newspapers will soon be featuring combinations such as Hache-Bulnes Aldunate, Chiorrini-Larraín, Escanilla-Amunátegui, Faivovich-Errázuriz, and Mellado Coloma. This country, which until yesterday was the domain of killjoys with serious surnames, has entered into an auspicious period in which the *jaibones* [snobs] are beginning to melt away. And to whom do we owe this democratic progress? To Don Gabito.[20] It was the only thing left for him to do: to split up the surnames. And he has managed it in no time at all. Don Gabito. I wouldn't be surprised about Rivera and Coloma, but I never would have believed that even you, Don Pancho Bulnes Correa, would adopt Rosende's MEDIO PELO style.[21]

With the self-proclamation of class made by the anonymous author of the piece, and in stark contrast to those whose surnames fit the classification of "Aldunate-and-above"—the so-called jaibones—*La Raspa* exposed the various terms used by the upper classes to vilify members of the middle classes whom they perceived as a threat, whether real or imagined. Words like "cursi," "siútico," and "medio pelo" were used in their broadest sense by the upper classes to belittle the newcomers. "Siútico" is a Chilean term applied to middle-class people who do tasteless, mediocre, and inelegant imitations of upper-class customs.

---

19 Ibid.

20 Don Gabito was the nickname given to President of the Republic Gabriel González Videla (1946–52).

21 *La Raspa* (emphasis in the original).

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

The Peruvian *huachafos* or the Argentinean *cachudos* were their equivalents abroad.[22] In 1949, *La Raspa* illustrated that, paradoxically, the "siúticos" and "medio pelos" were being mimicked by the upper classes, who, in response to this threat, whether real or perceived, were beginning to reproduce the new medio pelo style of the radicals. The notion of medio pelo alludes directly to the middle-class standing of members of the Radical Party, which included Faivovich.

The displacement of the upper classes from political power was another feature of the arrival of the middle classes within these circles, and although the latter were vilified intensely, they were also imitated by the upper classes. The middle-class profile became the new political standard: a well-rounded, meritocratic "Integral Chilean", and exponent of civic agency, exemplified in this chapter by Isaac and Marcela, as well as by the immigrant politicians Tarud and Faivovich. Educated at distinguished humanist schools they went on to earn liberal degrees from the University of Chile, and some also joined political parties or engaged in related activities that brought them closer to the political sphere. To become a professional was one of the foremost middle-class aspirations of the day, and first-generation immigrants in Chile wanted nothing more than for their children to become professionals. Abraham who, at age sixteen, following the early death of his father, found himself the head of the family, explained the importance of a university degree: "I believed that I would become a professional. All of the Jewish immigrants wanted their children to become a doctor and to play the violin. That part haunted me for a while."[23] This was true not only of Jewish immigrants. Iris, an Italian-Chilean, was emphatic on the subject:

> My mother would constantly drum it into us: we had to become professionals. "What is the best thing you can leave to your children? For them to be a professional, to have a base and a profession." To have your own house and then everything else. They really hammer it home.[24]

22 For more on *huachafos*, see David S. Parker, "*Siúticos*, *Huachafos*, *Cursis*, *Arribistas* and *Gente de Medio Pelo*: Social Climbers and the Representation of Class in Chile and Peru, 1860–1930," in A. Ricardo López and Barbara Weinstein eds., *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), pp. 335–54, 349. For more on *cachudos*, see Eduardo Saguier, *Un Debate histórico inconcluso en la América Latina (1600–2000)*, (2004), http://www.er-saguier.org (accessed March 9, 2016; 2nd paragraph of the prologue, n.p.).

23 Abraham: interviewed by the author on October 28, 2011.

24 Iris: interviewed by the author on November 30, 2011.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

A professional degree and owning a home were family aspirations that connected immigrants to the middle classes.

Thus, the pejorative label of medio pelo that relegated the subject to a category below that of the upper classes stood out in the piece in *La Raspa* because these elites had, since colonial times, maintained a closed hierarchy which, by 1949, was being shaken to its very core. The run-down or less well-off sections of the upper classes sought to perpetuate their supremacy by favoring only immigrants considered to be in the top tier and who brought their prosperity along with them. But what of other immigrants? Aside from the arrival of medio pelo politicians, how did this de-surnaming phenomenon reflect in a society like Chile's with its conservatism, hierarchical structure, and caste mentality? What were the overall effects of de-surnaming in terms of the Chileanization of Arab- and Jewish-Chileans? What impact did de-surnaming have on these politicians?

Faivovich, an immigrant name of Jewish origin, was among those medio pelo surnames seen by the economic elite as lacking in aristocratic lineage. Ángel Faivovich, the son of Jewish immigrants and born in Santiago de Chile in 1901, was educated at the emblematic Instituto Nacional and the University of Chile, both public institutions. Faivovich personified the profile of the meritocratic "Integral Chilean". A graduate of agronomy and law, he was a member of the Radical Party and his first political post was that of councilor. He was elected a deputy in 1937 where he remained in office until 1949, when he rose to become a senator of the republic. He served as Chile's ambassador to the USSR and eventually became vice president of the Senate and president of his party. He held the post of senator until 1965.

In order to understand the article in *La Raspa*, as well as the displacement of the economic elite from power by the explosion of middle-class politicians like Tarud and Faivovich, an overview of contemporary Chile may be of some benefit. The early 1930s were a difficult period for the government. A combination of political conflict and military intervention sparked a civil reaction that would pave the way for the emergence of a new type of political parties which would come to dominate the Chilean political landscape over the following decades.[25] The creation and subsequent alignment of these opposing political parties with the right-wing Conservative and Liberal parties, and the center left Radical Party, respectively, was a reflection of political evolution

25 Riquelme S. Alfredo and Fernández A. Joaquín, "La vida política," in Joaquín Fermandois (dir.) and Olga Ulianova (coord.), *Chile.* vol. 4*: 1930–1960*: *Mirando hacia adentro.* América Latina en la Historia Contemporánea Collection (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre-Taurus, 2015), pp. 21–3.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

in the local sphere, and it was in this new context that the political career of Tarud unfolded with his leadership of a number of left-wing parties.

Tarud's political trajectory is therefore fundamental to understanding the democratic rise of Socialism and of Salvador Allende in 1970. The rise of new political parties that had begun in the 1930s meant not only an increase in civil participation, but a fundamental shift which shaped subsequent decades and generated profound polarization that reflected events around the world. It was the arrival of this new party system that ultimately led to the rise of the radicals in 1938. The first government of the Chilean Popular Front heralded the end of the political chaos and repression that dominated the second term of President Arturo Alessandri (1932–38), as well as improvements in education and welfare, and state-led industrialization.[26] In 1938 the first Chilean Popular Fronts were formed, involving local-level political bargaining that kept the Radical Party in power in a left-wing coalition government.[27] During this period, the middle classes enjoyed increasing visibility, and while the Conservatives and Liberals lost ground, the Radical Party—as part of which Faivovich's career evolved during the decades covered here—dominated the political scene, with the other left-wing parties growing in strength.

The advent of instrumental citizenship and class subjectivity emphasized the intellectual superiority that drove the cultural mobility achieved by the middle classes, and this phenomenon characterized the time frame covered in this analysis, during which the middle-class cultural aristocracy or intellectual elite prevailed over the aristocracy of lineage or the economic elite. These upper classes perceived a threat in this new aristocracy. Despite being labeled medio pelo by the classical aristocracy of lineage, namely, the economic elite, Faivovich demonstrated not only that immigrants continued to be considered medio pelo regardless of their contribution to the country but that their appearance in the piece in *La Raspa* was evidence of both their incorporation into local society and their participation in the political leadership of the country.

It also demonstrates the way in which immigrants were treated as equals by the middle classes, reinforcing the fragmented state of the upper classes in spite of their adopted survival strategies. By this point, although the economic elite had been forced to open their ranks in pursuit of supremacy, they refused to do so for just anyone. This was the irony of the article: a Faivovich-Errázuriz alliance was unlikely. Faivovich exposed the diversity of perceptions on the

26 Sebastián Sampieri and Paulina Fernández, *Una historia de la traición en Chile* (Santiago, Editorial Planeta, 2019), p. 27.

27 Correa, et al., *Historia del siglo XX chileno*: 130.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

part of local society towards certain immigrant groups. On the one hand, the upper classes were closed to the possibility of an alliance with them, as satirized by the surnames in the piece; on the other, the editors of *La Raspa* identified Faivovich as one of the emerging middle-class politicians.

His appearance in the article was by no means coincidental. Ángel Faivovich was president of the Radical Party at the time, had close ties to President Gabriel González Videla, and was embarking upon his first term as a senator of the republic. In fact, Hernán Amaya, who was presidential historian to González Videla, described in his book *Morandé 80* a moment of deep tension when Senator Faivovich arrived without an appointment at the government headquarters, La Moneda, to speak to the president in his capacity as president of the Radical Party:

> There was little warmth in the greetings exchanged between the two friends and colleagues. Both knew that the topic for discussion was not a particularly pleasant one. The president of the Radical Party fired the first shot. "I must tell you, Gabriel, that there is bewilderment and outrage within the party at the agreement that you have made with the right-wing parties, behind our backs, to block by any means possible the proposed reforms to the electoral system." - "I cannot say that am I surprised. You are always on the lookout for ways to block the actions of my government, and you often seem to find them."[28]

This legendary anecdote shows the considerable influence that Faivovich, a Jewish-Chilean, had on the running of the country at a time when the Radical Party still dominated the political scene. Amaya recounts a number of controversial episodes during the presidency of González Videla, a man known for his impulsive character. The account continued:

> The discussion became more heated.... It was then that Mr. González Videla reacted violently. Walking over to the party president and seizing him by his lapels, he shook him vigorously and said in outraged tones: "Do what you like, Mr. Faivovich, but you know that the President of the Republic is not a prisoner in La Moneda. I will go to the provinces and I myself will start a rebellion there against you and your administration." Senator Faivovich, who always maintains a calm visage, became caught up in the President's rage and decided that if someone could grab him by the lapels, he could do the same. He accompanied the gesture

28 Hernán Amaya, *Morandé 80* (*Reportaje a un régimen*) (Santiago: n.p., 1952), pp. 217–18.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

> with expressive words: "Faced with the dilemma of whether to accept your position or to defend that of the party, my resolution is firm, Mr. President: I will maintain unwaveringly the decision of radicalism."[29]

That was the last period of the Radicals' supremacy in government, but Faivovich would be re-elected as senator for the following term. He would remain true to his philosophy during an extensive international tour in 1961 intended to strengthen trade, and which included visits to San Francisco, Hawaii, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Guangzhou in China, India, Israel, Greece, Italy, France, Spain, and finally São Paulo in Brazil. Faivovich had no qualms when it came to declaring even to foreign media that in his "small country with first rate human resources" there existed problems for which he could assign the blame to no one; these problems were the result of nothing more than "the pathological politicization of our country."[30] Faivovich's patriotic convictions were related directly to the cultivation of meritocratic "Integral Chileans" as paradigms of civic agency. As senator in 1962 he promoted the construction of a new building that now houses the Instituto Nacional, the school he had attended and which, according to the school anthem, was seen by many as "the nation's brightest ray of light," an aspect that reinforces the value of Isaac's experience at the establishment. The Faivovich-Errázuriz alliance mentioned in *La Raspa* emphasized Faivovich's prominence on the Chilean political stage at the time. Although he was a reserved, low-profile politician who avoided controversy and featured little in the media compared with others such as Tarud, his leadership was undeniable, as were his convictions regarding the political center and later the center right.

The presidential election of 1958 marked the end of the Radicals' supremacy, although the political force of the Left would remain strong.[31] Rafael Tarud now stood out as one of the leading voices of the left wing. The Radical Party was no longer striving to form effective alliances with other parties as it had in previous decades under the Chilean Popular Front.[32] Against the backdrop of the Cold War, the 1960s brought a generalized radicalization of the local political scene. Chile experienced widespread political transformation that included the formation of new parties, such as the centrist Christian Democratic Party in 1957 whose leader, Eduardo Frei Montalva, became President of the Republic

29 Ibid.: 219.

30 "Chile es un país patológicamente politizado, lo que entorpece la solución de sus problemas," *El Mercurio* (Santiago de Chile), December 29, 1961, p. 26.

31 Mariana Aylwin, et al., *Chile en el siglo XX*, 9th ed. (Santiago: Ed. Planeta, 1999), pp. 213–14.

32 Karin A. Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920–1950* (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), p. 4.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

(1964–70). Meanwhile the radicalization of left-wing parties had a knock-on effect among youth wings which found inspiration in Salvador Allende (Socialist Party), who was growing in prominence with each election.[33] All of this was compounded by the general lack of organization on the Right.[34]

The mixture of support for and aversion to the candidacy of Salvador Allende led to division of the Radical Party. Faivovich was among those evicted from the party; however, he had no intention of either connecting with the Communist Party or regrouping with leftist movements in order to form a unitary front that would support Allende's candidacy and the government of Popular Unity (UP), a stance he had made clear in his statements of 1961. In 1969, Faivovich formed and became president of the center-right Radical Democracy Party which was established with the support of 18,000 signatures. At the time of its foundation, the party criticized the Radical Party: "They thought they could silence us by throwing out and ignoring those of us who didn't share their principles. However, in us was embodied the majority of radical thought, so we decided to form a new camp."[35]

From this new political position, Faivovich continued to occupy the front line on the national political scene. He was a contender in the Radical Democracy Party's February 22 plebiscite to select its candidate for the 1970 presidential elections, but received only one percent of the vote. Meanwhile, Jorge Alessandri won in a landslide, receiving 98.2 percent from 18,318 party members, thus securing the Radical Democracy Party's independent support as their presidential candidate.[36] Faivovich's turn to the right led him to become one of the founders of the center-right National Renewal Party. Thus, the Jewish-Chilean became better known for his political career than for his ethnic origin.

The jocular tone used by the political press was applied to all sides without discrimination and appeared in commentaries on other politicians, such as Rafael Tarud. An Arab-Chilean born in 1918 in the city of Talca in southern Chile's Seventh Region, he studied at the Lyceum in Talca and then at the University of Chile. He became director of the Talca Chamber of Commerce and in 1952 was named president of the National Commission on Foreign

33 For elections results from 1952–70 in Chile, see Javier, Martínez and Lilian, Mires "Elecciones: la política en cifras". *Proposiciones 16: Plebiscito y elecciones* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones SUR junio 1988), p. 101.

34 Mario, Valdés, "El Partido Nacional (Chile 1966–1973)" (Ph.D. diss., UNED, Madrid), 2015, p. 165.

35 Reinhard Friedmann, *La Política Chilena de la A a la Z* (Santiago: Melquíades Servicio Editorial, 1988), p. 50.

36 Data obtained from Valdés, "El Partido Nacional": 162, 181.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

Trade (CONDECOR). Tarud began his political career in the Agrarian Labor Party (PAL) before being named a government minister by President Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (1952–58). He later went on to become a senator for several terms and was described by the local press as follows: "When he walks into the Senate, he looks like he's just got off the camel. He has more rings than fingers and more moles than face."[37] Thus, the foul-mouthed Eugenio Lira Massi concluded his review of Tarud's prominence. However, Tarud was immune to intimidation and maintained a high level of visibility on the local political stage over the course of the following decades.

In 1950, the young Tarud endured insults such as "scruffy Turk, fresh off the boat"; he explained the origin of this hatred as follows: "I hit the Right just where it would hurt them the most: in their own wallets."[38] This turned out to be true and reinforces the idea of the tongue-in-cheek de-surnaming of the traditional lineage-based political class to which *La Raspa* had referred a few years earlier. Tarud was criticized for this until 1970; according to Agapito, a political journalist writing for *Clarín*, Arab-Chileans, seen as the nouveau riche, were accused of developing "the same cunning engendered by economic power … I see 'Turco Tarud' totally committed to this new reality."[39] The connotation of this criticism has more to do with the attitudes with which middle-class politicians were confronted upon coming to power, whereby cronyism,[40] *siutiquería*, and parvenu traits associated with the disappearance of class divisions prevailed over ethnic appearance. Agapito also sang Tarud's praises during the 1950s: "Not himself a Socialist, he had a far more advanced attitude than the Socialists that held government posts at the time, and although he now has friendships that he will find hard to shake off, he has at least been consistent."[41]

When it came to the presidential elections of 1970, Tarud decided to put himself forward as a candidate for his new Independent Popular Action (API) party, gaining the support of the Social Democrat Party. Tarud was one of the three most suitable candidates to represent the Left,[42] but he withdrew from the short list to become campaign manager for Salvador Allende during the

37 Eugenio Lira Massi, *La cueva del Senado y los 45 Senadores* (Santiago de Chile: Ed. Te-Ele, 1968), p. 151.

38 Agapito, *Clarín* (Santiago de Chile), January 29, 1970, p. 5.

39 Ibid.

40 For more on the middle-class political profile and social climbing, see Tomás Cornejo, "Una clase a medias: Las representaciones satíricas de los grupos medios chilenos en *Topaze* (1931–1970)," *Historia II*, no. 40 (July–December 2007): 249–84, 284.

41 *Clarín*, January 29, 1970, p. 5.

42 Luis Hernández Parker, *Señores auditores: Muy buenas tardes* (*comentarios políticos*) (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2010), pp. 193, 205, 206.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

latter's fourth presidential candidacy, and the "Tarudistas" threw their support behind him. In 1970, at the height of the populist and revolutionary wave that was sweeping over Chile, the book published by Edesio Alvarado, *El turco Tarud* (Tarud the Turk), asserted that "Tarud is the continuation of the Chilean populist and pioneering tradition. That nickname is like a battle standard that plants him not on the edges of the nation, but right at its heart."[43] It is worth mentioning how the nickname "Turco" given to Rafael Tarud was interpreted, and how it celebrated his close association with the country and the people. Used in an affectionate and inoffensive manner as a clear show of appreciation, it was in fact a symbol of closeness, not of rejection, albeit in contrast to its more common use as an insult. The purpose of the book was therefore to extol the populist and patriotic convictions held by Tarud.

In line with the mood of the time, the book went on to describe him as "a protagonist in this bitter popular struggle who is slowly but steadily breaking down walls and bridging gaps to produce a Chile rich with potential, life, and progress."[44] It stresses that it was his political career that set the Arab-Chilean apart, not his ethnicity. Following the coup d'état, Tarud went into exile in Europe, returning to Chile in 1987 to become a founding member of the Party for Democracy.

In terms of the general application of nicknames to Arab and Jewish immigrants, the press content analyzed for this chapter yielded only "Tarud the Turk." No evidence of any nickname was found for Faivovich, although there was of course the mention of his lack of lineage in the 1949 piece on de-surnaming. The use of nicknames was generally seen as offensive, and the press would think twice before referring to Faivovich as "tricky" or "miserly." As in other Latin American countries, unfavorable stereotypes were applied indiscriminately to those immigrants seen as "less desirable,"[45] and such prejudices represented a significant challenge for these groups to overcome[46]—which the two politicians proved themselves more than capable of doing. Prejudice clearly did exist; ethnicity was never overlooked. However, this did not translate into discrimination or harm when it came to political activities or the development of their respective careers; it was more an expression of otherness.

43 *El Heraldo*, September 4, 1970, p. 3.

44 *El Heraldo*, September 4, 1970, p. 3.

45 For more on the demystification of immigrants and their integration into the elites, see Pinto and Salazar, *Historia Contemporánea de Chile II*: 80.

46 Jeffrey Lesser and Raanan Rein, "New Approaches to Ethnicity and Diaspora in Twentieth Century Latin America," in Jeffrey Lesser and Raanan Rein eds., *Rethinking Jewish-Latin Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), pp. 23–40, 32.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

That said, references based on more offensive prejudices than "pigmentocracy" were present within sections of the intellectual elite, specifically, certain men of letters who accentuated the stereotypes of both ethnic groups—Arabs and Jews—and even presented them metaphorically as a threat in terms of the control they could exert over the country. One notable example that fueled the rhetoric of the threat posed by the fusion of the two ethnic groups in local society was the novel *Un Ángel para Chile*, published in 1959 by Enrique Bunster.[47] Featuring stereotypical characters, the book was set in 2015 when a textile industry monopoly run by a commercial partnership of Arab- and Jewish-Chileans dominated the market and permanently displaced the upper classes from power. The idea of an alliance between Arab-Chileans and Jewish-Chileans was not so absurd given that the shared otherness of the two groups represented a common ground and the basis of a connection. Seen from another perspective, it exposed the way in which certain intellectuals continued even into the 1960s to disparage certain immigrant groups, including Arab- and Jewish-Chileans. Their criticism was linked to the roles held by immigrants in industry, business, and commerce: "All commerce is the exclusive property of foreign capital, and they often turn up with nothing more than their bare hands,"[48] was one of the opinions voiced at the time. This led to a situation in which tendencies to accept or reject some immigrant groups were convergent, dynamic, and unstable, and rejection occurred in certain sectors.

4 Conclusions: Otherness to Power!

The respective political trajectories of Rafael "Turco" Tarud and Ángel Faivovich exemplified the political transformations taking place across the country by exposing a dynamic undercurrent in which a democratic vision dominated. Both were witnesses to and instrumental in shaping the political democracy that formed the basis of undeniable economic, cultural, and social prosperity in Chile during the period. Against the backdrop of the political radicalization of the 1960s, Tarud and Faivovich—true to their ideologies—would take up positions in support of and in opposition to Salvador Allende and the Chilean Road to Socialism which, from a transnational viewpoint, could be conceived as a localized version of the Cold War.

47 Enrique Bunster, *Un Ángel para Chile* (Santiago de Chile, Editorial del pacífico, 1959), pp. 53, 65–7, 125, 145.
48 Mazzei, "Inmigración y clase media": 156.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

To become integrated into local society was an aspiration for immigrants given the identity-related ambiguity linked to their ethnicity and generally presumed economic rise. This indistinctness was an expression of their compound identities and is observable in references made to Faivovich and Tarud by the press, which focused on their political activities. At the same time, it is also evident in the way in which they perceived themselves, a deduction that may be made from their respective political careers, each of which made clear their commitment to Chile. Parliamentarians like Faivovich and Tarud became important figures for the Jewish-Chilean and Arab-Chilean communities, in that they came to represent their respective ethnic groups within the political sphere. As career politicians during the twentieth century, they unquestionably symbolized the civic engagement of immigrants in Chile through the range of positions of authority that they occupied, aspirations to the presidency included.

Both exhibited similar patterns of Chileanization. They were educated in emblematic public educational institutions such as the Instituto Nacional, the Instituto Barros Arana, and the University of Chile. The Instituto Nacional has since the 1960s been home to the Ángel Faivovich Foundation which bestows annual awards for academic excellence. Both politicians held degrees in liberal professions and felt they had used their knowledge and experience to serve the country which had welcomed their families. They achieved not only the cultural mobility that was characteristic of the middle classes of the time, making a show of their social and cultural capital, but managed something even more valuable: they achieved the highest degree of integration into contemporary Chilean society of any other member of their respective immigrant communities. This meritocratic integration exposed an openness to these immigrant groups that enabled them to achieve a complete and influential level of participation in local civic life.

Tarud and Faivovich are good examples of successful Chileanization, since they gained access to one of the highest forms of civic engagement: the political sphere. Over the course of the twentieth century integration of immigrants into the country became blurred to the point that a social myth emerged regarding their direct incorporation into upper class circles. This was the case with less desirable immigrants such as Arab-Chileans and Jewish-Chileans who were criticized for their social climbing. It was aspects such as these that bolstered prejudices toward certain groups. While the profiles of the two politicians strengthened the integration of these groups into the middle classes, and their trajectories may be understood in terms of their class subjectivities, it was not uncommon, given the mood of the time, to find stereotypical

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

overtones in the local press. Although their immigrant status is mentioned in general, particularly in the case of Tarud, it represented no obstacle to either their integration into the country or their public activities, serving instead to reinforce the convergence of otherness in Chile. Thus, as with any other politician, the Arab-Chilean and the Jewish-Chilean demonstrate total incorporation into the political sphere.

The turn to the Left seen in Chile at the end of the 1950s ensured that the rise of Socialism was a democratic one. The middle classes on both Left and Right were the drivers of an inexorable shift towards deep polarization that was reflected in the triumph of Allende in 1970, marking a new period in regional and global relations in the context of the Cold War. Chile's subsequent transformation into a laboratory experiment provoked resentment among certain immigrants who had until that point had set considerable store by their Chileanness. Isaac, as an Allende sympathizer and high-ranking civil servant, was invited to a meeting at the president's house during which efforts were made to allay fears of any threat presented by the closure of the country's borders. However, Isaac, along with many other Jewish-Chileans and Arab-Chileans, concerned at the potential border closures, decided to leave Chile.

These expressions of threatened otherness, rather than being interpreted as a betrayal of the country or as an extension of their distance as immigrants, may be viewed in terms of trauma provoked by the intersection of ethnicity, politics, and class. The closure of borders echoed back to those scenarios which had originally driven the first generations of Arab- and Jewish-Chileans to flee the conflicts that blighted their own countries. The threat of the imminent installation of a Socialist regime and the closure of borders in the USSR served only to compound this fear. Furthermore, the rise of a Socialist regime could lead to a loss of the status gained through great effort and sacrifice on the part of the first generation and sustained by the second one. The middle-class narrative implied constant assertion of their class membership, and any eventuality that could force a step down on the social ladder was viewed as a threat. From the political perspective, expressions of threatened otherness pointed to the effectiveness of the political Right's campaign of terror, supported as it was by US imperialism dating back to the formation of the Alliance for Progress. This movement gained strength during the 1960s and later during the presidential election of 1970, culminating in the military coup of 1973. The susceptibility of certain Arab- and Jewish-Chilean factions to this campaign of terror was indicative of the degree of Chileanization that these groups had achieved.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

This introduction to the view of otherness within the politically torn Chile of the 1970s is intended to highlight the trajectories of Ángel Faivovich and Rafael Tarud, two men who fought from within. Their Chileanization made the conscious decision to migrate unthinkable, and while Faivovich turned to the right, Tarud, given his political role in the Left, was forced to pay with exile, albeit on political rather than ethnic grounds. Thus, although their trajectories became the occasional subject of controversy, they only served to emphasize and immortalize their political performance rather than their ethnic origins, a fact reflecting the middle-class nature of the breakthrough of otherness into power.

Acknowledgments

My sincere gratitude to Valeria Navarro-Rosenblatt for her insightful comments on this article.

Abbreviations

Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado (EFE, the Chilean state rail company)
Instituto Nacional General José Miguel Carrera (IN)
Liceo Experimental Manuel de Salas (LMS)
Radical Party (PR)
Communist Party (PC)
Agrarian Labor Party (PAL)
National Renewal Party (RN)
Popular Unity Government (UP)
Radical Democracy (DR)
Party for Democracy (PPD)

Bibliography

Chilean Local Press

Clarín, Santiago de Chile, January 29, 1970.
El Heraldo, Linares, September 4, 1970.
El Mercurio Santiago de Chile, December 29, 1961.
En Viaje no. 301, Santiago de Chile, November 1958.
La Raspa, Year 1, Santiago de Chile, April 29, 1949.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

Documents

Comité International de Coordination des Recherches Nationales en Démographie (CICRED), 1974, *World Population Year, La población de Argentina*, France: CICRED.

República de Chile, Dirección General de Estadística. (1925), *Censo de Población de la República de Chile, levantado el 15 de diciembre de 1920*, Santiago de Chile, Soc. Imp. y Lito., Universo.

References

Amaya, H. (1952) *Morandé 80* (*Reportaje a un régimen*), Santiago: [n.p.].

Aylwin, M., et al. (1999) *Chile en el siglo XX*, 9th ed., Santiago: Ed. Planeta.

Bunster, E. (1959) *Un Ángel para Chile*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial del pacífico.

Cornejo, T. (2007) "Una clase a medias: las representaciones satíricas de los grupos medios chilenos en *Topaze* (1931–1970)," *Historia II*, no. 40 Santiago, pp. 249–284.

Correa, S. Sutil, et al. (2001) *Historia del siglo XX chileno: Balance paradojal*, Santiago: Ed. Sudamericana.

Elsey, B. (2011) *Citizens and Sportsmen in Chile: Fútbol and politics in Twentieth-Century Chile*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Friedmann, R. (1988) *La Política Chilena de la A a la Z*, Santiago: Melquíades Servicio Editorial.

Gazmuri, C. (2006) "Tendencias de la historia en el siglo XX," in Cristián Gazmuri ed., *100 años de cultura chilena 1905–2005*, Santiago: Zig-Zag. pp. 7–60.

Hernández Parker, L. (2010) *Señores auditores: Muy buenas tardes* (*comentarios políticos*), Santiago: LOM Ediciones.

Lesser, J. (2017) "Remaking Ethnic Studies in the Age of Identities," in Raanan Rein, Stefan Rinke, and Nadia Zysman, (eds.), *The New Ethnic Studies: Jewish Latin Americans in a Comparative Perspective*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, pp. 7–15.

Lesser, J., and R. Rein (2008) "New Approaches to Ethnicity and Diaspora in Twentieth Century Latin America," *Rethinking Jewish-Latin Americans*, in Jeffrey Lesser and Raanan Rein eds., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. 23–40.

Lira Massi, E. (1968) *La cueva del Senado y los 45 Senadores*, Santiago de Chile: Ed. Te-Ele.

Martínez, J. and Mires, L. (1988) "Elecciones: la política en cifras," *Revista Proposiciones 16: Plebiscito y elecciones*, Santiago de Chile: Ediciones SUR, junio 1988. pp. 95–116.

Mazzei, L. (1994) "Inmigración y clase media en Chile," *Revista Proposiciones 24* Santiago: Ediciones SUR, 152–158.

Parker, D.S. (2012) "*Siúticos*, *Huachafos*, *Cursis*, *Arribistas* and *Gente de Medio Pelo*: Social Climbers and the Representation of Class in Chile and Peru, 1860–1930," in A. Ricardo López and Barbara Weinstein eds., *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 335–54.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV

Pinto, J., and G. Salazar (1999) *Historia Contemporánea de Chile II. Actores, identidad y movimiento*, Santiago: LOM Ediciones.
Riquelme A., and J. Fernández (2015) "La vida política," in Joaquín Fermandois dir. and Olga Ulianova coord., *Chile*, vol. 4: *1930–1960: Mirando hacia adentro*, Collection América Latina en la Historia Contemporánea, Madrid: Fundación Mapfre-Taurus, pp. 21–77.
Rosemblatt, K. (2000) *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920–1950*, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.
Saguier, E. (2004) *Un Debate histórico inconcluso en la América Latina* (*1600–2000*), http://www.er-saguier.org (accessed March 9, 2016; 2nd para. of prologue).
Sampieri, S., and P. Fernández, P. (2019) *Una historia de la traición en Chile*, Santiago: Editorial Planeta.
Stern, C. (2017) "La sobredimensión de la educación estatal en Chile.: El Liceo experimental Manuel de Salas y el 'chileno integral' (1932–1962)," *Revista Historia 396* Valparaíso: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso 7, no. 8: 263–99.
Stern, S. (2013) *Luchando por mentes y corazones Las batallas de la memoria en el Chile de Pinochet*, Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales.
Valdés, M. (2015) "El Partido Nacional (Chile 1966–1973)," Ph.D. thesis, UNED, Madrid.

For use by the Author only | © 2020 Koninklijke Brill NV