

expropriated people. The role of force and extra-legal mechanisms in expropriating the peasants is now also acknowledged by most Marxist writers (Luxemburg, 1951; Bradby, 1980).

The process of the expropriation of the Palestinian direct producers offers striking similarities with the classic Marxist model particularly regarding the second point advanced by Marx, i.e., the use of force and other non economic mechanisms. However, with regard to the first point, i.e., the expropriation process as a turning point in the transformation of one economic structure to another, the Palestinian case differs.

Between 1920 and 1947, 1,700,000 dunams or about 26 per cent of the total cultivable land was expropriated from the indigenous direct producers. (2) Of this, 60 per cent or one million dunams were expropriated between 1920 and 1930. (3) This process resulted in the ousting of tens of thousands of Palestinian direct producers.

Examining the question of Palestinian land transfer to the Jewish settlers within the context of expropriation is quite new to the current literature on Palestine. To date, most literature on Palestine continues to present the phenomenon of land transfer as a pure economic or market phenomenon of sale and purchase.

Nowhere in the literature are the questions raised or answered as to why and how land changed hands in the first place. Most writers so far maintain that the "high" price paid by the Zionist land purchasing companies to the previous owners was the primary reason behind the "sale" (Zureik, 1979; Stein, 1984; Ohana, 1981; Kimmerling, 1983). None of the writers have explained the reasons for the alleged inflated land prices. This factor is crucial to the understanding of