

wages to satisfy their European standard of living.

Institutionally, the strategic policy of “conquest of land” and “conquest of labor” was to be primarily implemented by the Jewish National Fund established in 1901 at the Fifth Zionist Congress, and incorporated in England in 1907.¹¹⁴

However, by 1919, and according to its own figures, the Jewish National Fund was able to acquire a total of only 16,366 *dunums*,¹¹⁵ which represented about 4 percent of the total Jewish acquisitions of 420,000 *dunums*, and alternatively 2.5 percent if we consider the more dubious government figure of 650,000 *dunums*.

Lehn and Davis discuss the possible reasons for the failure of the Jewish National Fund to acquire more land including the lack of sufficient funds, Ottoman restrictions on land acquisition by foreigners (although bribery and European pressure partially nullified that), the unwillingness of small Palestinian landowners to sell land, and finally the lack, as yet, of a “clear land-acquisition policy.”¹¹⁶

Nonetheless, total Jewish acquisition amounted to between 1.6 percent and 2.5 percent of the total land area of Palestine, depending on whether the actual figure was 420,000 or 650,000 *dunums*, respectively.

Regardless of the impact on the Arab society of Palestine, the relative insignificance of these purchases in quantitative terms brings to the fore again the nature of land tenure. More specifically, what the relative paucity of acquisitions

¹¹⁴Lehn with Davis, 24.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 36.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 37-8.