

spite of the crucial impetus these two factors provided, total European Jewish acquisition of land amounted to less than 7 percent of the total land area of Palestine (see Table 3.5).

In addition to the 1,734,000 *dunums* acquired by purchase, there were 195,000 *dunums* acquired by concessions or long-term lease from the government on lands the latter claimed to be state domain.⁸² These lands constituted about 20 percent of the acquisitions of land by European Jewish settlers during the Mandate. The long-term leases included lands claimed by the government but whose title was still unsettled.

The relatively minuscule figure of 7 percent (or, stating it differently: why have the European settlers been unable to acquire more land?), can be better understood in the context of two features of Palestine at the time. First, unlike some other, but not all European settler movements where land was acquired through outright expropriation carried out by the colonial state apparatus, the Zionist settlers did not have political control (state apparatus) over Palestine. This meant that the settlers had to acquire land primarily through purchase. The expropriation of the bulk of the land was effected after the creation of Israel (i.e., after control of the state).

Second, the limits to purchasing more land reflected, besides the collective *musha'a* (although it was in the process of dissolution), the small landholding

⁸²*Survey I*, 267; *Supplement*, 32; Granott, *Land System*, 278, gives the figure 181,000 *dunums* at the end of June 1947.