

bor" (Jewish labor) in the Zionist proletarian strategy. This inseparability represents the contradiction mentioned earlier regarding exclusive Jewish access to land versus exclusive Jewish proletarianization.

The boycott of Arab labor is embodied even in the Zionist land acquisition policy responsible for "freeing" Palestinian labor, for creating the native labor surplus. Here lies, also, the other aspect of the contradiction, the regulation of labor policy through land policy increases the competitiveness of the native Arab labor vis-a-vis Jewish labor, in the context of capitalist relations of production.

The JNF purchased land from the Turks, the British, Western Churches, and Arab owners, mainly absentees, and sometimes from small peasants, pressured by the yoke of indebtedness and taxation. Between 1882 and 1914, Jewish-owned land increased from 25,000 to 420,000 donams.<sup>41</sup> Jewish holdings purchased by JNF and other Zionist private or public agencies amounted to 594,000 in 1922, 1,058,500 in 1939, and 1,604,800 in 1941.<sup>42</sup> "The number of landless agricultural workers was estimated at 30,000 families, or 22 percent of the total 120,000 families dependent on agriculture."<sup>43</sup>

According to the Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency, as of 1936, 41.3 percent of the acreage purchased by the JNF had been acquired from large landowners: of this, 52.61 percent was from large absentee landowners; 24.91 percent from large resident landowners; and 13.41 percent from various sources such as the Turkish government, Churches, and foreign companies. Only 9.41 percent was purchased from Palestinian peasants, 40.1 percent of which was acquired during 1891-1900, i.e., prior to the establishment of the JNF.<sup>44</sup>

It is interesting that no mention is made with regard to land pur-