

not mentioned the volume of land actually expropriated from Palestinian-Arab citizens during this period.

Official sources indicate that substantial territories were expropriated after the establishment of the State. JNF holdings increased from 936,000 donams (Donams - 1,000 sq. meters) in May, 1948, to almost 3,400,000 in 1950.¹¹⁴

Between 1949 and 1967, Yossi Amitai writes:

"Over 125,000 hectares from the 187,000 hectares that belonged to Arabs the day Israel was created have been expropriated by dubious legal means for Zionist motives." 115

It must be stressed here that these 187,000 hectares that belonged to the Arab population of Israel does not constitute the whole of the 8 percent which is "secular" land, that is, not controlled by JNF. It constitutes only a very small portion of the latter. That 8 percent is primarily situated within the coastal orange belt, the most fertile land in the country and is privately owned by Jews.¹¹⁶

Land was expropriated from Arab citizens of Israel not so much for its fertility and, therefore, agricultural value, but primarily for the erection of Jewish settlements in the heart of the Arab populated areas to disperse them, hence reduce their potential to constitute a political risk, such as the demand for majority rule in the Galilee, for example.

Examples of such Jewish settlements are Carmiel, Upper Nazareth and Ma'alot, in the West Galilee, where Arab demographic superiority has prevailed.

Regardless of the purpose of expropriation, the effect was always further displacement of the remaining Arab peasants, the creation of further Palestinian-Arab labor supply inside Israel. Whether the generation of further Palestinian labor supply during nation-building was or was not like