

private companies, such as the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Anglo-Palestine Company which were established at the turn of the century. In addition it was involved in a prolonged international campaign for collecting money from various Jewish individuals and organizations.

Similar to other international companies operating in Palestine, the Keren Kayemet was heavily involved in colonial activities. These included buying and selling land, tree planting and settlement preparation. What distinguished the Keren Kayemet from other companies, however, was the fact that, while colonialism for the other companies was primarily for economic gain, for the Keren Kayemet the goal of colonialism was above all political in nature (Doukhan-Landau, 1980: 200; Gozansky, 1986: 57).

There is a partial truth in the claim that land under the control of the Jewish Agency or any of its arms was withdrawn from the market (Kimmerling, 1983: 34). But it is also true that this withdrawal was one sided. The land which under the policy of the Keren Kayemet became the inalienable property of the Jewish people was in fact alienated from the indigenous owners/possessors. Indigenous Palestinians were excluded from claiming back, buying or even working on this land.

The withdrawal of the land from the market, in fact, did not affect the fact that land under the control of the Jewish Agency continued to be dealt with as a commodity and a means to promote capitalism. This was established by Dr. Rupin, the Head of the Jewish Agency who in his report on the Land Development Company stated:

With regard to the important question of attracting capital to the "land of Israel" I submit the following: During the first five years of our work it became clear that in order to attract big capitalists to invest in land, we had to be able to convince them that their capital would have a reasonable return. We, for that matter, were able