

To sum up, European Jewish co-operatives including the Kibbutzim were not unique or separate forms of production. The land occupied by the Keren Kayemet was not withdrawn from the market in the economic sense. Expropriated from its previous cultivators, this land was transferred to an exclusive Jewish market where it could still be used as a source of profit. What had been withdrawn or, more properly, excluded from this market, instead, were the indigenous Palestinians themselves.

Production on these co-operatives, it has been shown, did not differ from that on the private settlements. Capital, technology and the consequent large-scale industrial production was characteristic of all European Jewish agriculture.

Finally, except for the degree and extent to which hired labour was used, -and in the case of the Kibbutzim, the race or nationality of the labourers-, all agricultural settlements exploited labour power and used it as a basis for expanding the economy.

The findings of this chapter strongly refute the Zionist claim that the Palestinians failed to "succeed" as the European Jewish settlers did because of their "traditional" and "backward" culture. The history of agricultural development in Palestine, has proved without any doubt that the threat to the indigenous agriculturists was anything but "natural" or "cultural". (44) The threat, instead was a direct result of the British and Zionist colonial powers controlling the Palestinian economy during this period.

At every stage in its development, capitalism emerged and expanded at the expense and by the exploitation of the indigenous rural economy. All components of the rural structure, i.e., land, natural