

But this is exactly the way the settler economy worked in Africa, not just with private settlers vis-à-vis the colonialist state but also with the missionary societies acting very much like the Jewish Agency [in Palestine], especially in West Africa, against a colonialist power to which they did not belong ethnically or nationally. . . . There too . . . the settlers, that is, the missionaries and their families, had to settle for unregulated and uncultivated land bought from Africans.¹⁰⁵

The other issue has to do with the Mandate government's role or nonrole in the allocation of land for settlers. Metzger downplays the role of the government: While it is true that the European Jewish settlers and their institutions had to acquire most land by purchase, it is also the case that about 20 percent of the total land acquired by settlers during the Mandate was allocated to them by the government as concessions or in the form of long-term leases (see Chapter 3). Part of these lands were traditionally used for livestock grazing, and thus their "withdrawal" from use by Arab agriculturists meant direct government interference in the allocation of resources for settlers. However, in dealing with a colonial government's role in the support of settlers, our assessment will be incomplete if confined to direct allocations of resources but should encompass the wider overall actions and policies, without which settler efforts and resources, although important, would have been insufficient. In Palestine, for example, one has to consider the government's role in facilitating immigration, its land policies, the granting of electricity and mineral concessions, its commercial and taxation

¹⁰⁵Ilan Pappé, "Review of the Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine by Jacob Metzger," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 15, no. 2 (December 2000): 129-31.