

It is not only that land was transferred to Jewish settlers at the expense of the Palestinian peasant, but also that it was transferred away irrevocably.

This essential irrevocability of Zionist land acquisition was institutionalized in the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael (Jewish National Fund) established by the Zionist movement in 1901 as "the first instrument for the practical implementation of the idea of Jewish renaissance" dedicated to the acquisition and development of land in "Eretz Israel".<sup>36</sup> The title to the land purchased by the JNF was to be held in perpetuity as the "inalienable property of the Jewish people."<sup>37</sup> Under no circumstances is the JNF allowed to transfer ownership of land once it is acquired.<sup>38</sup> The JNF was established "for the purpose of settling Jews on such lands" as were acquired, "to make any donations...likely to promote the interests of the Jews", "to make advances to any Jews in the prescribed region", to use funds in ways which "shall, in the opinion of the organization, be directly or indirectly beneficial to persons of Jewish religion, race, or origin".<sup>39</sup> The irrevocability of the displacement of Palestinian producers from land transferred for Zionist colonization practically culminates in Article 23 of the standard JNF Lease Form, stipulating, inter alia: "The lessee undertakes to execute all works connected with the cultivation of the holding only with Jewish labour."<sup>40</sup>

This basic restriction, written into the lease which the JNF contracted with the Zionist settlers chosen for immigration and put upon JNF lands to cultivate them, shows not only the institutional irreversibility of the displacement of the Palestinian producer from the means of subsistence, but also the inseparability of the "conquest of land" and the "conquest of la-