

labor that is not allowed to commute (due to patriarchal subjugation) does subjugate this segment of the working class to the highest relative rates of exploitation. In this sense, this source of capital ranks in the bottom of the employer's hierarchy.

For labor from the occupied territories, daily commuting is compulsory for reducing security risk. But daily commuting from under occupation generates further security risks. To regulate and control commuter labor/mobility labor, the military administration imposes the requirement of a work permit.²¹ Palestinian workers can legally commute across the Green Line borders only with a permit from the military administration -- an apparatus of the State of Israel. Israeli employers supposedly purchase these permits so that the State is reimbursed for the cost of occupation. To get themselves reimbursed for the cost of work permits and prevent a decline in the rate of profit, Israeli capitalists resorted to the use of a new system: "smuggled labor".

(b) the smuggled labor system: even greater profits are reaped by Israeli capitalists who employ illegally-smuggled Palestinian labor from the West Bank and Gaza. This is another system of labor made operative in Israel precisely through the collaboration of Palestinian labor contractors (citizens and non-citizens) known as Raíses (recall Chapter III, last section). Earlier in this thesis we have documented the illegal commuting of this labor force, specifically female agricultural cash-croppers, into moshav farms through the Raíses. We also documented the fact that they often stay overnight in rural work places. It is expected that in urban centers smuggled labor is politically more risky, but less exposed than in rural areas. Recent reports, however, have revealed smuggled Palestin-