Israel and Middle East
News Update

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Ha’aretz

**Gantz Says ‘No Progress’ in Judicial Compromise Talks**

National Unity Party chair and former Defense Minister Benny Gantz said that there has been "no progress" on negotiations with the Netanyahu government over the judicial overhaul legislation. Negotiating teams from the government coalition and opposition first met at the end of March to discuss technical issues and re-convened in mid-April to discuss the details of the laws submitted to the Knesset. Sources involved in the negotiations said that the Likud prefers to discuss the Judicial Appointments Committee last. The Opposition is suspicious of this, and of Likud's intent to actually reach an agreement on the issue, as once the current Knesset recess ends, the coalition can bring the law forward for its final vote. The talks are expected to continue throughout the coming weeks. For now, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has not set a deadline for when the legislation will be put back on the table.

Axios

**Speaker McCarthy: “Israel Can Decide What It Wants to Do”**

United States House Speaker Kevin McCarthy told reporters that democracy must include checks and balances but stressed that "Israel can decide what it wants to do" when asked about the Israeli government's controversial judicial overhaul plan. The comments were a subtle jab at the Biden administration, which put significant pressure on Prime Minister Netanyahu to suspend the overhaul legislation and reach a broad consensus on judicial reform. McCarthy didn't mention the judicial overhaul in his speech before the Knesset. McCarthy said that in all of his conversations in Israel, he heard that there needs to be some kind of judicial reform. Rep. Steny Hoyer, who joined McCarthy's congressional delegation, said that friends give friends advice. The domestic tensions over the overhaul plan were on full display when Netanyahu and opposition leader Yair Lapid gave separate speeches before the Knesset. Read More “White House: Netanyahu Visit Will Happen ‘At Some Point’” (Ynet News)

I24 News

**Minister Accuses US of Aiding Opponents of Judicial Reform**

Israeli Justice Minister Yariv Levin accused the US of cooperating with activists opposed to his judicial reform plan, according to a video that was released by Walla News. Speaking at a meeting with ultra-Orthodox activists at the home of strategist Yossi Rosenbaum, Levin said he was "determined to fight for this issue." "There is no doubt that we are in a minority position. They have the court, the government's legal counsel, all the heads of the economic sector, the American administration cooperating with them on this issue, as the people in their administration say," Levin continued. Levin blamed the failure of his reform proposal on the opposition of Likud lawmakers to the legislation.
Palestinians: Israeli Fire Kills Teen in West Bank Raid

The Israeli forces fatally shot a Palestinian teenager in a raid in the West Bank, the Palestinian Health Ministry said. The Israeli military said gunmen opened fire at soldiers on an arrest raid, and the troops shot back. The military has been staging near-nightly raids in West Bank cities, towns, and villages in what it says is an attempt to stamp out militancy. Dozens of Palestinians have been killed by Israeli fire this year, and 19 people have been killed in Palestinian attacks against Israelis during that time. The Palestinian Health Ministry identified the teen as Jibril al-Laada, 17. It said three others were seriously wounded in the fighting, which took place in the Aqabat Jabr refugee camp near Jericho. Israel launched the raids after a spate of Palestinian attacks last spring. That set off some of the worst fighting between Israel and Palestinians in the West Bank in years, and while Israel says the raids are meant to thwart future attacks, violence against Israelis does not appear to be slowing. Read More "Smotrich Admits Israel Must Demolish Unrecognized Palestinian Village Due to Its Strategic Location" (Ha'aretz)

Al-Monitor

Israeli Court Extends Detention of Jordanian Lawmaker

Israel's military court ruled to extend the detention of Jordanian parliament member Imad al-Adwan, who was arrested a week prior on suspicion of smuggling weapons into the West Bank. The news was announced by Adwan’s lawyer, Jawad Boulos, who added that Israeli authorities are preventing him from meeting with his client. The Jordanian Foreign Ministry announced on April 23 that Adwan was arrested at the Allenby Bridge crossing point. Israeli authorities issued a gag order on the affair, and the Israeli Foreign Ministry has declined to comment on the matter. Jordanian authorities have been careful not to blame Israel for an unjustified arrest. Nevertheless, his detention sparked anger among the Jordanian public and lawmakers in Amman. The heads of the tribe to which he belongs have called on Jordan’s King Abdullah to intervene vis-a-vis Israel and take action to secure his release.

Ynet News

Syrian Media: Soldier Dead, Seven Wounded in Israeli Attack

One servicemember has been killed, and another seven people, including two civilians, were wounded in an Israeli strike on an airport in the Aleppo area, Syrian state news agency SANA reported, citing a military source. The source added that the airfield was put out of service due to the attack. The Syrian Civil Aviation Authority announced shortly later that the airport in Aleppo, which is also used for military purposes and also receives cargo flights from Iran, was completely out of service, and its only runway was closed. Syrian opposition sources claimed the targets attacked were related to pro-Iranian proxies around the Aleppo International Airport. This latest strike comes against the background of Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi’s expected visit to the country tomorrow, the first by an Iranian leader in 13 years. Dig Deeper “Syria: Aleppo Airport Forced to Shut After Israeli Airstrike; One Soldier Killed” (Times of Israel)
Syria Agrees to Curb Drug Trade at Arab Ministers Meeting

Syria has agreed to help end drug trafficking across its borders with Jordan and Iraq, according to a statement issued after a landmark meeting of Arab diplomats developing a roadmap to end Syria's 12-year conflict. The foreign ministers of Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan met in the Jordanian capital Amman to discuss how to normalize ties with Syria as part of a political settlement of its war, which has shattered and divided the country. The talks are the first between Syria's government and a group of Arab countries since a decision to suspend Syria's membership of the Arab League in 2011 after a crackdown on protests against President Bashar al-Assad. A final statement issued after the meeting said the officials had discussed pathways for the voluntary return home of millions of displaced Syrians and coordinated efforts to combat drug trafficking across Syria's borders. It said that Damascus had agreed to "take the necessary steps to end smuggling on the borders with Jordan and Iraq" and work over the next month to identify who was producing and transporting narcotics into those two countries.

Dig Deeper “Jordan FM: Regional Talks With Syria Step Toward Solution” (Associated Press)

UN Envoy Says Sudan’s Warring Sides Agree to Negotiate

Sudan’s warring generals have agreed to send representatives for negotiations, potentially in Saudi Arabia, the top United Nations official in the country said, even as the two sides clashed in the capital of Khartoum despite another three-day extension of a fragile cease-fire. If the talks come together, they would initially focus on establishing a “stable and reliable” cease-fire, Volker Perthes said. However, he warned of challenges in holding the negotiations. A string of temporary truces over the past week has eased fighting only in some areas while fierce battles have continued elsewhere, driving civilians from their homes and pushing Sudan further into disaster. Humanitarian groups have been trying to restore the flow of help to a country where nearly a third of the population of 46 million relied on international aid even before the explosion of violence. The UN food agency said it was ending the temporary suspension of its operations in Sudan, put in place after three of its team members were killed in the war-wrecked Darfur region early in the fighting. Read More “US Diplomat Visits Middle East to Shore up Regional Support” (Jerusalem Post)
Legalizing the Younger Settlement Enterprise

By Hanan Greenwood

- The settlers who founded the younger settlement enterprise [a euphemism for unauthorized settlement outposts] 20 or 30 years ago probably never believed that the day would come when they would have to take notes and try to wrap their heads around what a regional zoning plan is, the meaning of the term “adjacent construction,” and how to plan their settlement’s sewage system—but that is exactly what happened at a semi-classified meeting that was held at the beginning of this [last] week at the National Institutions Building in Jerusalem. After a lengthy introduction and celebrations of the phenomenal success, the leaders of dozens of the new settlements set out on a particularly challenging path, especially for people who first established their settlements using methods that were a last resort.

- In the past few months, most of the public and politicians’ attention has been focused on the fight surrounding judicial reform, amid accusations that have been made against the “fully” right-wing government that it has neglected the other important issues. Behind the scenes, however, people were hard at work laying the groundwork for the next and possibly decisive stage of the settlement enterprise in Judea and Samaria/West Bank. Last February, the security cabinet decided that nine of the communities in the younger settlement enterprise that had been built decades earlier would be authorized. This marked the end of a prolonged fight that had been fought by members of the Younger Settlement Forum, MKs, and ministers, all of whom had sought to legalize the settlements that have remained without electricity, water, sewage, and security infrastructure—despite their location.

- The residents, who had faced down snow storms and extreme heat, had stayed put, imbued with the sense of being pioneers. Now, Israel Hayom has learned that the nine [unauthorized settlement outposts] that were approved are only the swallow that heralds the coming of spring to the hills of Judea and Samaria. Within a few weeks’ time, the process to authorize no fewer than 70 additional settlements is expected to begin, most of which are defined as being “adjacent construction”; to wit, settlements that were built adjacent to pre-existing settlements.

- This is an unprecedented number of settlements that are expected to be authorized in keeping with the security cabinet decision that stipulated that the entire younger settlement enterprise will be authorized [retroactively]. There are some settlements that will not be authorized at present due to their complex legal status—including settlements that were built on private [Palestinian] property or which have no recognized access road, which is required according to the protocol—and they will remain pending future authorization. The Settlement Administration’s director general said at the conference, “A cabinet decision will be made to authorize them in the future.” The list of settlements will be released within four to six weeks, immediately after which those settlements will be able to begin to connect to essential state infrastructures.
• The list of settlements is currently unknown but probably includes Netiv Haavot in the Etzion Bloc, neighborhoods, and extensions of settlements that were built over the years but are still defined as outposts. “We are standing here today, more than 20 years late, but better late than never. We are correcting a years'-long historical injustice,” said Settlement Division Chairman Yishai Merling. The division, which operates under the World Zionist Organization and the Settlement Affairs Ministry, had faced the threat of closure in the past and will now receive a hefty budget in order to implement the plan to authorize the younger settlements. “With all the hullabaloo surrounding the reform, it can be hard to see how much has been done on the ground. We have a special government that is advancing on unprecedented settlement projects in Judea and Samaria, the Negev, and the Galilee,” said Merling.

• *After 20 Years:* One by one, the settlers filed into the room on the third floor of the National Institutions building. The room is historic, as it was where the first president, Chaim Weizmann, was sworn in by the first government before the Knesset building was built. “There is no place more symbolic to hold this conference than here,” said Yaakov Hagoel, Chairman of the World Zionist Organization. “You are the ‘Trumpeldors’ of the 21st century. Continue to build the Land of Israel, we are here to help as much as possible.” The settlements’ leaders were young back when their settlements were first built, mostly in the early 2000s, but nowadays, they aren’t young any longer. Nevertheless, just before the event began, they looked like grooms on their wedding day.

• All dressed in button-down shirts, a special occasion for some, and they chatted with each other excitedly, unable to believe this day had finally arrived. The excitement was also evident in the speakers, who recounted the struggles they had faced back in the day. “Twenty-four years ago, when we established Harasha, we were there with a generator on a trailer,” said one of the people attending. “One night the Civil Administration came to confiscate the generator. Cold; winter; rain; what could we do? We grabbed a knife and punctured the tires, and when they arrived it became evident that it would be impossible to move the generator. I’ve owed Zambish [Amana Movement CEO Zeev Hever] 1,000 shekels ever since. He was mad at me, and not for the last time. We did what was necessary to hold our ground.”

• “This conference is a kind of dream come true for me,” said Orit Struck, a former key figure in the Young Settlement Forum and currently the settlement affairs minister who is working intensively to authorize the settlements. “When we set out and established the Young Settlement Forum, we yearned for this moment, when we wouldn’t only go on hunger strikes, generate debates in the Knesset or mount other provocations, but we would start working on actual authorization [of the settlements].

• Thanks to these ‘nudniks,’ the pioneers who forged ahead and coped with [living with only] generators and unpaved roads, we have the Land of Israel. For many years these pioneers had to leave through the window because the door was blocked. Now we are opening the door wide. This is the ‘king’s road.’” Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich also said that the government intends to move forward with authorizing settlements as much as possible.
• “A handful of goal-oriented people who were willing to pay any price didn’t relent. The same settlement [sentiment] that motivated Ben-Gurion also made Judea and Samaria bloom. Today the nine approved settlements are on their way to being fully authorized within a short time, and our goal is to establish the younger settlement enterprise as a legalized fact. The Settlement Administration has been working day and night to develop the settlements—in construction and infrastructure. “The citizens of Judea and Samaria are not worth less, and we are not prepared under any circumstances to accept the neglect that has prevailed for years in terms of infrastructure, roads, and everything else that citizens deserve.

• We are promoting an ‘equal citizenship’ reform that will regulate the ministries’ obligations towards the residents of Judea and Samaria; we’re working on laying infrastructure—electricity and roads—and we will continue together to authorize the younger settlement enterprise. The state’s directive is to develop the settlement and to bring another half-million residents to Judea and Samaria.” Officials who were involved in the decision said that despite the fact that this qualifies as a dramatic announcement and they are aware that they may face push-back, this was not done behind the backs of the relevant parties, either at home or abroad. “The commitment made at the Aqaba Conference not to build in Judea and Samaria is irrelevant because the decision to authorize [the settlements] had been made previously by the government. Also, most of the settlements are an extension of sorts to existing settlements. Everyone was read into the event; the Americans know more about this decision than Ha’aretz does,” they said, dismissing the criticism.

• The Race to Authorize: The authorization of the younger settlements has already begun. This isn’t a theory but an existing reality. Acting with government approval, Settlement Division officials have begun act to connect the nine settlements that have already been authorized to vital infrastructure. According to protocol, work on laying infrastructure can be begun immediately upon a decision to authorize [a formerly unauthorized settlement outpost]. “As soon as the decision was made, we set off,” said Merling.

• “There are settlements that are on state land that, as soon as the state budget is passed, will receive infrastructure—water, electricity, sewage, and public buildings. We are already on the ground, laying power lines.” In addition to this, in the coming weeks, security infrastructure will begin to be installed in the settlements, using tens of millions of shekels from a budget that was approved by the previous government. Inter-ministerial teams are working to maximize efficiency and authorize the settlements as quickly as possible.

• The Settlement Affairs Ministry, the Defense Ministry, the Finance Ministry, the Settlement Division, the Civil Administration, and other agencies are working in cooperation to authorize settlement after settlement. Since we are dealing with a large number of settlements that are to be authorized, far more than have ever been authorized before, the legal status of the land on which they were built will also have to be verified at breakneck speed.
• Many of the settlements that are slated to be authorized [retroactively] were built on the land of undetermined legal status, which will have to be reviewed and verified before qualifying for officially-sanctioned construction. “A few years ago, when Michael Biton was the deputy defense minister, MK Amit Halevi asked him how long it would take to authorize the younger settlements. Biton did the math and told him it would take 35 years,” Struck said. “That’s true if you leave all the bottlenecks, all the authorities responsible for authorization with the existing personnel. That is why we allocated a significant amount of the state budget to open up all the bottlenecks—a significant increase in personnel for the Blue Line team, for the first registration circle, and more.

• We will significantly increase personnel, and the result will be that this is going to happen much faster.” “There are a lot of officials [bodies and officials] involved in the settlement, and the amazing thing that is happening right now is that everyone wants to cooperate to authorize the settlements, whereas, in the past, everyone just wanted to stay away from it,” Struck said. “With a lot of internal work, behind closed doors, we managed to create a round table around which all the cooperating parties participate. As for the localities that do not yet have a declaration of state land—the authorities will conduct a survey and, in the meantime, processes will be carried out that does not require a political decision, such as minimal infrastructure—electricity, water, roads, security, and sewage. The central part of the authorization [process] can happen simultaneously—we won’t have to wait 35 years for a kindergarten.”

• There Is a Price: The government and the relevant ministries’ goal is to authorize the absolute majority of the younger settlements—dozens of communities—within two or three years while prioritizing settlements that face greater challenges in order to help them. The local councils are also well prepared for the change. As soon as the authorization process begins, they intend to build a network of public buildings in the younger settlements, such as synagogues and medical clinics. Alongside the congratulations and celebrations, a significant part of the conference was devoted to the professional training of the settlements’ leaders on how to deal with the complex situation.

• This is one of the biggest challenges, far bigger than getting the younger settlements authorized by a sympathetic right-wing government, because for decades, the residents in some of the settlements have gotten used to doing whatever they want to—for better or for worse. That is now going to have to change, and the leaders are responsible for making that change and leading the way. This is not just theoretical. When thousands of housing units were approved by the Civil Administration a few months ago, the residents on one of the hilltop communities in Binyamin, where a residential neighborhood is currently planned, were outraged and threatened to appeal to the High Court if they were not allowed to continue to live in a rural environment. Another settlement has been in a long-standing conflict with the regional council, including internal conflicts, about plans for the future. “This [process] is going to end in the eviction of some of the residents because they are simply unwilling to understand that they are blocking the [larger] settlement movement by doing what they want,” said a senior settler official.
Amir Zimring, the director of the society and community affairs in the Settlement Division, tried to explain during the conference to dozens of the settlements’ leaders the challenge they are facing. “The authorization [process] comes with prices, and you need to understand the consequences. There will be some who won’t agree, people who were comfortable and will now have to set out on a new path. Our job is to understand that this isn’t just an exciting development but a practical event. We recognize your pioneering. No one is breaking the law, and without you, this entire process wouldn’t have happened, but now you have to understand that there is also a price. There will be people who don’t want development, who don’t want a grid-shaped block.

I’m sure there are people who are deeply afraid and who don’t want change, so you have to be prepared for resistance and lead the changes through communication and creativity, not with force. Your job now is to lead your community to change. “You have to understand that this isn’t an event that will be completed within an instant like magic but that this is a complex event,” Merling said. “This is an event with multiple parts. It’s complicated and challenging, with obstacles along the way, and there are issues that we currently have no solution for. At the same time, this is an amazing change. Jews are usually good at making wars, and in this event, everyone is standing together on a single front with a joint purpose.

This is the opening shot [marking] the beginning of change. A festive day, when we state the obvious—the younger settlement enterprise must be authorized.” The last of the congratulators attending the closed-door ceremony was Zambish, CEO of Amana and one of the most important actors in the settlement of Judea and Samaria in recent decades. “I usually don’t like these ceremonies; once a term is fine, but no more than that,” said Zambish, who rarely gives speeches. “We have to bear in mind that we must not substitute work with ceremonies. Anything that shouldn’t be on the table—shouldn’t be on the table. We have to accustom ourselves to quiet and ongoing work. The main part of the work isn’t ceremonies; the work is daily and ongoing—and most of it is still before us.”
This Time, Israel and Jordan Prefer a Peaceful Solution
By Jacky Hugi

- At the time of writing, Jordanian MP Imad al-Adwan is still detained in Israel. Jordan expects Israel to release him soon and to end the affair before it swells to huge proportions. By law and justice, Adwan ought to spend many years in an Israeli prison. But both countries would benefit more were they to waive him of severe punishment. This is a unique case in which it is clear to both parties that political considerations are more important than the law. Adwan crossed the Allenby Bridge in his car and was caught with a large number of guns and ammunition intended for the West Bank. In the shipment were close to two hundred new pistols and another 20 short-barrel M-16 assault rifles. Gold bars were also discovered in the bags that were removed from his car.

- The gold is worth a lot of money and was intended to be sold for a lot of cash. Adwan took advantage of the immunity granted to him as an elected official, which exempts him from invasive searches at border crossings. He probably did not act alone but served as a go-between for others. He had previously expressed open support for Hamas and praised its military wing. He may have acted only to turn a financial profit, but it would come as no surprise if others proved to be lurking behind the operation as well, such as Hamas’s military wing or someone in the Iranian camp. Imad al-Adwan’s support for the Palestinians is not a secret but an open position. In the statements he has made in the two and a half years since being elected to Parliament position, he has spoken out in favor of the armed factions and their fight against Israel. His arrest revealed that an armed organization that had been operating right under the Hashemite regime’s nose was discovered, an organization that had successfully recruited a Jordanian MP.

- And not just any MP, but a member of an important Bedouin tribe. It is enough to look at the map of the tribes in the kingdom to understand who it is. The Adwan tribe’s territory extends over vast swaths of the Jordan Valley, mainly in the southern Shuni region and in the city of As-Salt and its surroundings. These are areas adjacent to Israel and especially to the border crossings. Thanks to this proximity and thanks to the contribution that was made by the tribe members in Jordan’s wars [with Israel], the tribe was nicknamed “the Jerusalem Tribe.” The tribe elders wrote a letter directly to King Abdullah II.

- They asserted that their fellow tribe member had not committed an act of cold-blooded murder in Israel, as opposed to the Israeli security guard who killed two Jordanian citizens. You released that security guard, they told the king. Therefore, the Israelis are expected to release the detainee. They also expressed support for the smuggling operation. We are all proud of our son and his actions, it read. They wrote: “The houses of our tribesmen and our occupied land are separated by only a few meters. Our eyes and our hearts are devoted to it every day.” The issue of geographical proximity was not brought up by chance.
This is how the tribesmen wanted to remind the king (and Israel) that they were the guardians of the borders. If they wish—they will give the sovereign rulers peace and stability. If they wish—they will turn their territory into a hot zone. This was a polite threat. They described the arrested smuggler as a “brave patriot” and his attitude towards the Palestinians “bold.” “Those who are close to MP Imad al-Adwan know very well the patriotic and nationalistic spirit that resides within him,” they said. An Old Debt

A public campaign swept Jordan last week demanding that the king do everything in his power to free Adwan. His return to his country will indeed give the royal palace a fine achievement and strengthen it in the public eye and among Adwan tribesmen. It has the power to reduce the prevailing tensions between Israel and Jordan over the Temple Mount/Haram Al-Sharif events and to restore some of the damaged trust between Prime Minister Netanyahu and King Abdullah.

It can even give the Jordanians the opportunity to interrogate him through and through and reach his handlers more efficiently—and it will annul, from the Jordanians’ point of view, the debt created in the summer of 2017. Then Netanyahu welcomed the security guard with triumphant pomp after the king released him without investigation and without trial. That event caused great embarrassment to the palace and extensive public criticism. Adwan’s return to the Jordanians’ care will illustrate to his handlers and their accomplices that the two countries cooperated against them. Israel’s insistence on keeping him in its custody might serve justice, and Imad al-Adwan will be punished, but it will also serve Israel’s numerous opponents in the kingdom. Whether he acted from a financial or nationalistic motive, it will make him the hero of the nation and will rally the axis of resistance around him. That is liable to intensify the chilly relations between Amman and Jerusalem and provide the opponents of Israel with grounds to attack the king continuously.

Above all, it could undermine the Adwan tribesmen’s discipline along the border and put Israelis visiting Jordan in danger. Adwan is not an ordinary MP but one of the most vocal among them. He is 35 years old, the youngest among the 130 representatives. A lawyer by training specializing in international law. He ran and was elected as an independent, but shortly after entering Parliament, he took a clear side in the opposition’s ranks. He did not stop attacking the government for its public policy, especially in regard to civil services—health, employment, and education. In an unforgettable performance in August 2021, he blocked Prime Minister Bisher Al-Khasawneh as he tried to enter the parliament gates in protest of the increase in fuel prices.

He sat on the Jordanian prime minister’s chair and refused to get up from it. “We will not allow you to pass decisions that disadvantage the Jordanian people,” he said, refusing to get up from his seat. Among the provocations he hurled at the surprised Al-Khasawneh, Imad al-Adwan also made the following remarks: “The people are the source of authority, and this is the People’s Council.” He wanted to say, as opposed to you, the people in this hall have the right to the last word because we were elected and you were not. If Al-Khasawneh wasn’t elected by the people, his authority is obviously in doubt, and if the people are the source of authority, then what is the place of the palace and its emissaries?
In short, Adwan was an MP who challenged the very foundations of the existing order with his words and actions. His smuggling operation at the Allenby Bridge taught the Jordanian elite what it was all about. Imad al-Adwan is not an ordinary elected official. For them, he is a subversive element. He is the sort of person who, in Egypt or in Syria, for example, would long ago have disappeared under mysterious circumstances and, upon his return, if at all, would have taken a vow of self-imposed silence. Since his arrest, the two countries’ security forces have started an investigation, each on its own. Israel rushed to find out what address was waiting for the big shipment (presumably, the answer is already known,) and Jordan sought to establish who was behind the conspiracy that had been formed under its nose.

The quiet investigation and the low profile adopted by the two countries in the case attests to the mutual understanding that prevails between the sides. This affair emerged at a particularly interesting time. For the past year, Hamas’s leadership has been pressuring the royal palace to allow it to return to Amman after having been banished from it almost overnight 24 years ago. Hamas’s return to Jordan at present would pose a direct security threat to Israel. It will give them free access to Palestinians in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, who come and go through the Allenby Bridge. This way, they will be able to gradually regain a position of influence over this population under the nose of the Jordanian regime and the Palestinian Authority. The Jordanians, who are looking for good reasons to refuse Hamas’s demand to return to their country, may find this case to be a convenient excuse to use. Upon his return to Jordan, Imad al-Adwan will be given a warm welcome, but his situation inside the interrogation rooms will be completely different. His arrest revealed that the young legislator and jurist is not only an opponent of the regime and a supporter of bloodshed but is also an arms smuggler of the lowest sort.