The Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif: Threats to the Status Quo

“After the Holidays” (October 15 – November 30)
December 2014 (Issue 3)

This update, the third in a series, provides detailed information about the ongoing erosion of existing arrangements on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif as a supplement to Ir Amim’s comprehensive report, Dangerous Liaison: The Dynamics of the Rise of the Temple Movements and their Implications.

Summary

The preceding update (Issue 2) described growing tensions around the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif during the period of the Jewish high holidays, including a series of violent clashes, belligerent discourse, and an alarming exacerbation of restrictions on entry of Muslim worshippers to the compound. These events reached a peak on October 28 with the attempted assassination of Yehudah Glick, a prominent activist in the Temple movement. Glick was seriously injured in the attack.

Following the attempted assassination, and in direct response to the incident, Temple activists continued to apply strong pressure on Israeli authorities to alter existing arrangements on the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif. This stress, combined with ever tighter restrictions on the entry of Muslim worshippers to the compound, increased tensions as well as Palestinians’ growing fears of threats to existing arrangements. Both Palestinian and Israeli security sources recognized this escalating pressure as a key explanation for two murderous attacks that occurred in Jerusalem in November and more generally for a wave of serious violence in East Jerusalem.

The deterioration in the situation on the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif also damaged Israel’s relations with the United States and Jordan. Jordan recalled its ambassador for consultations in a strong statement of protest at Israel’s policies in the compound.

The day after the attempted assassination on Yehuda Glick, Israeli authorities closed the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif to both Muslim and non-Muslim visitors—the first full closure since the outbreak of the Second Intifada in 2000. Thereafter, however, the Israeli Police, the prime minister, and senior government ministers began to reject growing pressure by the Temple movements following the attempted assassination. In so doing, they conveyed a clear message that arrangements on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif are not soon to change: Jews will not be permitted to pray in the compound, a division of hours in which the site is open to Jews and Muslims is not being considered and there is no intention to introduce a spatial division on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. The Police commissioner went so far as to announce that he would prevent members of Knesset who seek to change the status quo from entering the compound.

These key moves by Israeli authorities managed, after a month of ongoing tension, to bring a measure of calm to the situation on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif.
These actions, however, were partial and belated. The environment on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif has been increasingly strained since May 2013 when, as Netanyahu and senior ministers began to speak out firmly against any changes to the status quo, Minister Uri Ariel and other members of Netanyahu’s coalition initially persisted in publicly opposing his position. In failing to confront them, the prime minister allowed his government to represent two conflicting voices on this sensitive issue. The late intervention by the prime minister eventually forced members of Knesset to cease actions to inflame the situation. Regular discussions on the subject of the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif initiated by MK Miri Regev in the Knesset Interior Committee have paused, for the present, and Minister Uri Ariel has refrained from making statements on the subject.

Although Netanyahu has declared his commitment to the status quo, he has failed to address the root causes of escalating tensions on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif: he has not publicly recognized the status of the compound as an exclusively Muslim place of prayer nor has he acknowledged the actions of right-wing elements who enjoy political support and are working forcefully to displace Muslims from the site. Netanyahu blamed “Palestinian incitement” exclusively for current conditions on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. His failure to more unequivocally accept responsibility undermined the credibility of his own declarations in calming Palestinian concerns. Further, he missed the opportunity to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the issue to the Israeli public, effectively perpetuating the prevailing perception of Muslim violence preventing Jews from realizing their rights.

By refusing to confront Feiglin and Ariel, Netanyahu relegated the task to “security sources”, who briefed journalists regarding the danger posed by right-wing activism on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. Police officers on the ground in the Old City were forced to confront right-wing demonstrators attempting to “break through to the Mount” while the Police commissioner pointed an accusing finger at right-wing members of Knesset (for which he was rebuked by the Knesset Speaker). This strategy, which drags the Police and Israeli security establishment into political wrangling between the prime minister and his right-wing rivals, is extremely problematic.

In terms of media influence, Temple activists have managed to heighten the issue of the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif on the public agenda following the attempted assassination of Yehuda Glick. Media outlets reported extensively on the issue and members of Knesset and leading Temple activists were interviewed repeatedly. On the ground, however, the call by Temple movements for Jews to ascend the Mount met with a limited response. Only a few dozen people, many of them youth, showed up to the Mughrabi Gate on mornings when Temple movements attempted to organize protest rallies.

For the present, the Temple movements have not succeeded in their attempt to change the status quo on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. Their tactics have resulted in a boomerang effort, given the Israeli public’s reluctance to damage Israel’s relations with Jordan and the United States and recognition of the danger of a violent eruption should pressures resume unchecked. That being said, even if the campaign for Jewish prayer seems to have run out of steam for the time being, and the chance of a change to entry arrangements on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif remain minimal, it is important to address remaining concerns:

- The dramatic tightening of restrictions on entry of Muslims to the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif in practice amount to changes in the status quo, which is based on unfettered entry for Muslim worshippers.
- The subject of the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif has become a means for securing political capital in the contest for right-wing votes in the impending elections. This strategy has been apparent in the past and now that Knesset election campaigns have
launched, the issue is liable to feature prominently in party primaries and in election propaganda of the right-wing parties. Consequently, we can expect extremist comments as each candidate and party seeks to demonstrate it exceeds the nationalism of its rivals.

Moreover, the Temple movements have unarguably succeeded in raising the visibility of the Mount on the Israeli public agenda and in transforming the status of the issue from a marginal niche cause to one that enjoys widespread sympathy. There can be no doubt that the Temple movements will continue to act to realize their objectives; and even if, for the foreseeable future, they cannot secure actual change, the continued prominence of the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif on the public agenda contributes to the growing strength of extremist elements both on the Israeli right and among the Palestinians.

Accordingly, the end of the current round in the struggle by the Temple movements still leaves ample room for concern. Police forces and government decisions may be able to curb movement activities temporarily. However, such action is insufficient to diminishing the power of the subject or to reversing the gains made in altering public opinion, a significant segment of which reflects the belief that the current situation discriminates against Jews. Definite and strategic action is needed to halt this erosion of support for the status quo. It is no longer viable to adhere to an approach that seeks to ignore the compelling attraction of the site; what is needed is a new Jewish and Israeli narrative that offers an approach capable of competing with that of the Temple movements.

1. **On the Political Level**

During September and October, the government of Jordan contacted Israel several times and demanded an end to confrontations and restrictions on the entry of Muslims to the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. The deterioration in arrangements in the Compound was mirrored by a grave deterioration in Israeli-Jordanian relations:

- October 26 – Speaking at a ceremony marking the 20th anniversary of the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, the Jordanian ambassador warns that the treaty will be endangered if Israel continues its settlement construction and attempts to change the status quo on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif.

- November 5 – Jordan recalls its ambassador for consultations due to “the Israeli violations on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif.”

The United States also addressed the issue of the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif with increasing frequency:

- October 30 – US Secretary of State Kerry urges Israel to open the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif to Muslim worshippers and to refrain from changing the procedures for entry of non-Muslims to the Compound. The secretary of state urged all three sides (Israel, the Palestine Authority and Jordan) to “exercise restraint, refrain from provocative actions and rhetoric, and preserve the historic status quo on the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount.”

- November 13 – US Secretary of State John Kerry holds a joint meeting with King Abdullah of Jordan and Prime Minister Netanyahu focusing on developments on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif and in Jerusalem. Kerry also meets separately with PA President Mahmud

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Abbas. After the meeting Kerry announces that the three sides have promised to take steps over the coming days to reduce tensions on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif and in East Jerusalem.

Official Palestinian sources responded to the clashes on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif by dramatically intensifying their remarks:

- October 16 – Responding to tensions on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif during the Jewish holidays and ongoing restrictions on Muslim worshippers, Abbas declares: “We must stop them (the settlers) from entering by any means possible. This is our mosque and they have no right to enter it and defile it. Al Quds has a special place in the heart of every Palestinian, of every Arab, […] without which there will be no state.”
- October 30 – Following the attempted assassination of Yehudah Glick and the closure of the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif, Fatah announces a “day of rage” in Jerusalem and the Territories. The movement declines to condemn the attempted assassination and refers to the killing of the assailant by the Israeli security forces as “an act of terror.”
- October 30 – Abbas condemns Israel’s decision to close the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif to Muslims and refers to it as “declaration of war.” Abbas does not mention the attempted assassination that led to Israel’s decision to close the Mount and later sends a letter of condolence to the parents of the assailant, who was killed by Israeli security forces.

2. Government Sphere

Security and intelligence sources repeatedly warned the prime minister about the volatile potential of the activities of the Temple movements and their supporters in the Knesset. Although the warnings were vindicated by rising tension and confrontations on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif over a period of eighteen months, until September Netanyahu refrained from making any public comment that might have clarified his position and helped to calm the situation. Only after tension soared in September did Netanyahu state his commitment to the status quo. Several senior ministers echoed his comments, concerned by Jordanian pressure and criticism from the United States.

- October 22 – Responding to Jordanian pressure following the tabling by MK Miri Regev of a bill permitting Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif, Netanyahu announces that he has no intention of changing the status quo on the Mount.
- October 26 – At a ceremony marking the 20th anniversary of the peace treaty attended by the Jordanian ambassador to Israel, Defense Minister Moshe Ya’alon comments that tension in the holy places should be avoided, relating the issue to the importance of the peace treaty with Jordan.

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November 6 – In a conversation with King Abdullah of Jordan, **Netanyahu** declares that “Israel is committed to maintaining the status quo on the Mount and to protecting Jordan’s special status on the Temple Mount.”

November 6 – In an interview for Israel Radio’s Reshet Bet, **Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman** comments on members of Knesset who visit the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif: “I think it’s a bit of cheap headline seeking, easy publicity, and also a kind of cynical exploitation on the political level of the complex situation we face, as well of course as a lack of wisdom.”

November 12 – **Internal Security Minister Aharonovitch** declares that he will prevent members of Knesset who inflame the situation on the Mount from entering the compound. Aharonovitch also announces the installation of a new inspection system at the entry gates used by Muslims, at a cost of NIS 4 million.

As previously referenced, the prime minister’s statements ignored the inciting comments and actions of Temple activists and their supporters in his own coalition. Instead, Netanyahu placed the blame for tension and violence on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif squarely on “Palestinian incitement.”

Meanwhile, other members of Netanyahu’s government continued to speak out against the status quo and in favor of the Temple movements. The media reported that Netanyahu had asked right-wing members of Knesset to moderate their comments. Nonetheless, he refrained from confronting them publicly or from commenting on the destructive impact of their actions.

The following is just a small selection of numerous comments by coalition and government members:

- **October 29** – After the attempted assassination of Yehudah Glick, **MK Shuli Moalem** declares: “We need to restore order on the Temple Mount, close the Mount to Muslims, and open it to Jews only. The Temple Mount is a place of prayer and the most important site to the Jewish people – it is not important to any other people. We need to establish a house of prayer on the Mount for the Jewish people. We have a right to the Temple Mount.” Five days later, in an interview for IDF Radio, Moalem denied making the comments but was forced to admit to them after a recording went public.

- **November 1** – Speaking at a rally in support of Yehudah Glick, **Housing Minister Uri Ariel** declares “the status quo will change.”

- **November 2** – The day after the prime minister urges members of Knesset to tone down their comments on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif, **MK Moshe Feiglin** visits the Mount and urges many Jews to come to protect Israeli sovereignty over the site. Feiglin opposes the Muslim sense of ownership of the Mount: “With God’s help, we will change this reality…it should be completely clear that this is the place of the Jewish Temple and all the peoples of the world are invited to come and visit it as guests.”


15. “Right-wing MK Feiglin at Temple Mount: ‘We will change the reality here,’” Ynet, November 2, 2014, [http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4586812,00.html](http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4586812,00.html)
November 4 – Deputy Transportation Minister Tzipi Hotovely visits the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif and declares: “We must change the status quo; the Temple Mount must once again be a house of prayer for Jews.”16

By enabling this fractured coalition voice, Netanyahu seriously compromised the effectiveness of attempts to assuage anger and concerns among Palestinians and in Jordan. Moreover, his refusal to publicly confront coalition members – including ministers and deputy ministers – who have declared their support for the rebuilding of the Temple has prevented him from presenting the Israeli public with an accurate representation of developments on the Mount and fallen short of properly clarifying his policy.

3. Increased Restrictions on Muslim Entry to the Compound

As demonstrated by data presented in previous updates, the past year has witnessed a constant tightening of restrictions imposed on access to the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif by Muslim worshippers. After the Jewish high holidays the restrictions continued, reaching a peak following the attempted assassination of Yehudah Glick.

Since the end of the Sukkot festival in October, the situation regarding entry restrictions evolved as follows:

- For four successive Fridays (through November 14), age restrictions were imposed on Muslim men. On some Fridays only men aged 50 and above were allowed to enter; on others those aged 45 were permitted. According to Police reports, these restrictions prevented some 35,000 worshippers from entering the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif on each of the Fridays during which restrictions were imposed. Scuffles ensued after blocking of roads leading to the Old City on some Fridays, leading to demonstrations and clashes with Police.
- On weekdays (through the end of November) morning restrictions continued to be imposed on entry of Muslim women due to the involvement of “Murabitat”, Al-Aqsa protection/resistance activists known to shout at Jewish visitors to the compound. On many mornings, women were entirely prohibited from entering, while on others they were required to present and even to deposit their identity cards.
- October 30 – The day after the attempted assassination of Yehudah Glick, the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif was closed completely to Muslim and non-Muslim visitors alike—the first full closure since the outbreak of the Second Intifada in 2000. The next day – a Friday – the compound was opened for entry of Muslims over the age of 40.
- Since November 14 – Most likely due to US and Jordanian pressure, worshippers have been allowed to enter on Fridays with no age restrictions. Israel claims that age restrictions are imposed in response to information about intended disturbances following prayers. Since November 14, prayers have ended calmly, whereas restrictions on entry during the preceding weeks led to confrontations.
- Restrictions on women’s entry on weekdays continued through November 24. Since the beginning of December, women have been permitted to enter the compound throughout opening hours. On some days, women continue to be required to present or even to deposit their identity cards before entering the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif.
- In addition to entry restrictions, Police sources announced the installation of new monitoring methods at the entry gates to the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. On November 12, for example, Aharonovitch announced the installation of new inspection

systems at the entry gates for Muslim visitors, at a cost of NIS 4 million. To the best of our knowledge, new systems have yet to be installed.

A situation in which regular restrictions are imposed on the entry of worshippers, both on weekdays and particularly on Fridays, constitutes the serious erosion of existing arrangements, under which Muslims are guaranteed free access to the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. In addition to a violation of Muslims’ freedom of worship, Palestinians have interpreted these restrictions as evidence of governmental and Police support for Temple movement activities and activists’ efforts to remove Muslims from the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. The subject has become a key topic of discussion in the Palestinian media and on the street, and was perceived as a fundamental cause of numerous disturbances and terror attacks in recent months. Israeli security sources also identified tensions on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif as a major contributing cause of the wave of violence in East Jerusalem.

From mid-November, Police began to lift restrictions on Muslim worshippers, while at the same time acting to restrain the activities of the Temple movements on the Mount. This change led to a clear reduction in the level of violence in the city.

In addition to general entry restrictions, Police also take action against specific individuals who have attacked Jewish visitors, or who are alleged to have incited such attacks. The following are partial details regarding the removal and detention of Palestinians accused of incitement or of assaulting Jews on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif:

- November 2 – Police arrest a Waqf official and a Palestinian woman, most likely in connection with confrontations during a visit to the Mount by MK Moshe Feiglin.18
- November 5 – Four Palestinians are arrested during serious clashes between security forces and Palestinians on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif.
- November 9 – According to a report in Makor Rishon, Netanyahu orders action to outlaw Murabitun/Murabitat activists19 and orders administrative detentions and restraining orders against Palestinians involved in disturbances on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif.20
- November 26 – Internal Security Minister Aharonovitch promotes legislation outlawing Murabitun/Murabitat. Security forces attempt to block funding for the groups.21
- November 30 – Restraining orders banning five Palestinians from entering the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif for three months are imposed on two women and three youths aged 16-19.22

4. **Clashes on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif**

Over the two weeks following serious clashes on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif during the festivals of Rosh Hashanah and Sukkot, levels of violence in the compound fell and verbal confrontations did not deteriorate into disturbances or physical violence. However, in response to declarations by right-wing figures following the attempted assassination of Yehuda Glick the level of violence on the Mount rose once again.

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19 Muslim men and women who shout slogans at Jewish visitors on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif.
On November 5, serious clashes took place between Palestinians and security forces on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. Palestinians threw stones at forces; a Palestinian youth was injured in the eye by a rubber bullet; and four Palestinians were arrested.\(^{23}\) While the security forces are generally careful not to enter the Al-Aqsa Mosque even when Palestinians involved in disturbances seek shelter in the building, Palestinians reported that security forces did enter the Mosque on this occasion. Later the same day two Israelis were killed in a vehicular attack. The assailant’s family reported that he left home in an agitated state after seeing footage of the Police entering the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

Actions taken by the Israel Police in November to restrain the Temple movements and members of Knesset who support them succeeded in reducing the level of violence; verbal confrontations, however, continue to be routine.

5. **Entry Restrictions on Jews – Police Actions to Restrain the Temple Movements**

During the Jewish high holidays, intense pressure by members of Knesset from coalition parties forced the Police to allow Jews to enter the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif, even when visits resulted in serious clashes with Palestinians in the compound. The daily tension on the Mount, the spread of violence throughout Jerusalem, and pressure by the Jordanian government and US administration led Police to take action to restrain the Temple movements and allies in the Knesset.

- **October 30** – As previously noted, the day after the attempted assassination of Yehudah Glick, the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif was closed completely to both Muslims and non-Muslims. Temple movements anticipated that the Mount would remain closed to Muslims but it reopened the next day for Friday prayers.
- **Over the days following the attempted assassination, Temple activists held several rallies demanding a change to the status quo on the Mount. Their attempts to violate Police instructions and enter the compound led to a series of arrests.**\(^{24}\)
- **November 2 – November 30** – The Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif is reopened to Jewish visitors (in practice the closure was only effective on Thursday as Friday and Saturday entry is exclusively limited to Muslims). However, alongside the restrictions imposed on Muslim worshippers, Police also restricted the size of Jewish groups visiting the Compound to a maximum of five people. This restriction remained in place until almost the end of November and was removed at roughly the same time as the morning restriction on entry of Muslim women.
- **November 12** – In an interview for Channel One television, Internal Security Minister Aharonovitch states that if necessary, Jewish visitors and members of Knesset will not be permitted to enter the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. “We have the authority to prevent the entry of those who are interested in heating things up”, Aharonovitch declared.\(^{25}\)
- **November 25** – The Police chief commissioner accuses right-wing members of Knesset of acting irresponsibly concerning the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif. “We’ve seen, especially since the elections, that people from the far right have taken the Temple Mount and made it an agenda. We’re constantly warning about it and we’ve been saying that the

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\(^{24}\) “Feiglin: Temple Mount closure is victory to terrorist,” Ynet, October 30, 2014, [http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4585971,00.html](http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4585971,00.html)

Temple Mount should be left alone. The MKs don’t understand what kind of fire they’re setting…”

- November 28 – Despite criticism of Chief Commissioner of Police Danino by MK Feiglin and Knesset Speaker Edelstein for his comments, Danino reiterates his message more forcefully, repeating his accusation that some members of Knesset are interested in changing the status quo on the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif and declaring that he will prevent them from visiting the compound: “I think we have some Knesset members who set an agenda to change the status quo on the Temple Mount[…] Not only do I not retract the things I said, but I add the announcement that I will not allow these Knesset members to visit the Temple Mount.” At the end of December, Police prevent MK Feiglin from visiting the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif.
- November 30 – Police continue to demand the removal of Glick from the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif, securing a restraining order against him in October following an incident in which he allegedly pushed a Palestinian woman who fell and broke her wrist. The hearing on his appeal against the restraining order was held after his attempted assassination. Despite widespread public sympathy for Glick, Police demanded that the restraining order be left in place: “There is no connection between the [attempted assassination] incident and the attack on the woman.”

Further Reading

- Ir Amim “The Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif: Threats to the Status Quo”, Issue 2