

Imprisoned information: the case of the Palestinian occupied territories during the Intifada and beyond

Diana Sayej-Naser

Abstract

Throughout the years of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, since 1967, Palestinians have suffered from multiple forms of harassment; they have been deprived of their legitimate and human rights as well as been forced to carry the burdens and pressures imposed on them. Access to information, freedom of learning, freedom of expression, and freedom of the press were all subjected to restrictions that were intensified during the Intifada. Educational institutions and vocational centres have routinely been closed, while publications have been censored and often confiscated. Journalists and reporters were monitored and periodically attacked. In turn, Palestinians have been isolated from other parts of the world for long periods of time as a result of Israeli policies. Such actions included cutting mail and telephone services to and from the Occupied Territories. These and other kinds of restrictions, requiring military permits for research and learning purposes and to access information networks, have urged and encouraged Palestinian academics, librarians, and the public to use practical measures to fight these illegal actions either through alternative education, or establishment of new libraries or issuing and distributing local publications. But, despite the implementation of these measures, the situation has not completely improved. This remains the case even after the signing of the peace agreements between Israel and the Palestinian authorities.

Introduction

Palestine, as any occupied country, has suffered from occupation. Fifty years have passed since the Palestinian people were evicted from their homeland and deprived of their legitimate national rights. Obviously, this has had a profound effect on the lives of Palestinians in all aspects: socially, economically, politically, and above all, educationally.

Isolation and ignorance were two important measures employed by the occupier. Access to information, freedom of learning, freedom of expression and

freedom of the press were all barred. Throughout the occupation, West Bank universities and schools were subjected to raids and searches by the Israeli army, during which books and other materials were confiscated. There was also censorship of books and periodicals, and restrictions on research and travel. Universities have long been subject not only to official closures, but also to *de facto* closures, such as 'closure by checkpoint'. This is a recent practice by the Israeli authorities, whereby students are refused access to their educational institutions, and if opposing this, they are subjected to arbitrary arrest.

During the Intifada, the reasonable dissemination of information was prevented, regardless that such action is against international rules. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. Nevertheless, a series of practices and illegal actions were carried out by Israel; educational institutions and vocational centres were closed, and restrictions were imposed on journalists attempting to cover political events in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Many of the local Arabic newspapers were banned for an extended period of time in addition to interference with local and international communications. After the signing of the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements in Washington, DC in September 1993, and the Gaza-Jericho Autonomy Agreement by Israel and the PLO in Cairo in May 1994, the situation has not improved. Checkpoints are erected everywhere, military permits for teaching, research and learning are still required especially to Gazan students seeking education in West Bank academic institutions, and restrictions on telecommunications and access to international networks still remain to this day.

As a result, there has developed a great need to challenge such abuses of human rights and to once again obtain the rights to freedom of learning, freedom of expression and freedom of movement. Therefore, Palestinians have started to design different ways to make information available to people, despite all obstacles and burdens. Several practicalities of information services, such as alternative education, issuing special publications and establishing new libraries will be discussed in detail. This paper is intended to serve as a key or guide to other occupied peoples and countries who are facing the same fate as the Palestinians. Different examples and cases will be provided to illustrate the situation in the Occupied Territories, with special reference to West Bank towns and cities (mainly Birzeit and the Ramallah district) and to West Bank institutions (predominantly Birzeit University).

Information service prior to the Intifada (1967-1987)

The period starting with the end of the 1967 war and the beginning of the Palestinian Uprising, the Intifada, witnessed several pressures and restrictions imposed on the Palestinians concerning freedom of learning, publishing, importing educational materials, and movement. Libraries have been greatly affected.

Although the major theme of this paper is information services during the Intifada and beyond, the author has found it useful and important to brief the readers about some of the actions practised by the Israeli authorities prior to that period, many of which have continued to take place until the present. The main measures are as follows.

Books and periodicals were confiscated by the Israeli army during house searches when individuals were sought for detention, and in raids on university campuses. This action was defended by claiming the materials were 'illegal literature' and considered blacklisted titles. 'Illegal literature' seized during army raids served as the reason for the closure of two West Bank universities during the 1984-85 academic year; Al-Najah University in Nablus was closed for four months and Birzeit University was shut down for two months.

Newly published books and recent issues of academic journals are essential for students and faculty members to keep current in their fields. To purchase these materials from abroad, whether from the Arab world or beyond, an import licence for each and every title was required plus a 17% tax. In addition, all items had to pass through customs via a clearing agent before they were released. Gift books were taxed as well and at the same rate, making gifts a costly affair.

All imported books and journals as well as all materials published locally, were subject to military censorship. The most familiar case of censorship was placed on locally published Arabic newspapers and publications. The official list of 'banned books' presently numbers in the thousands. The banning of Arabic journals and periodicals effectively cut off the libraries in Palestine from intellectual trends, new research and developments in the Arab world, of which it is a part.

Several Palestinian universities and community colleges were forced to close more than once. This, of course, affected academic life in the Occupied Territories. Birzeit University, for example, was closed fourteen times prior to the Intifada, a total of 21.5 months (see Appendix 2). Some educational programmes were also prevented. Birzeit University had arranged for a prison education programme for students arrested and placed under Israeli administrative detention. This programme worked successfully until 1982; however, in 1983, the university was denied permission by the military authority to continue the programme. After several requests, the programme recommenced in August 1985 through the Red Cross, which served as mediator. The university began to send in textbooks and requested faculty visits for tutorials. Examinations were prepared and delivered to the Red Cross, who arranged a schedule for examination taking with the authorities. But, in December 1985, the university was informed that the prison education programme would no longer be permitted. No reasons were given.

Barred information during the Intifada (December 1987-September 1993)

At the beginning of the Intifada in December 1987, the Israeli authorities continued their practice of harassment by preventing the display and transfer of information. Tight restrictions were imposed on all means of telecommunications: telephone, fax, telex, mail, media, etc. Reporters and journalists were attacked; their films and cameras seized. Prolonged curfews and travel restrictions were put in place and thus isolated the Palestinians from the rest of the world. The Palestinians were deprived of their legal right to freedom of movement. Another means by which the Israelis attempted to contain the occupied peoples was through ignorance. The closure of Palestinian schools and universities was a cruel attempt to pressure the population by denying them an education. This was practised regardless of the fact that this form of collective punishment is banned by international law, and it is forbidden by Article 50 of the Hague Regulations of 1907 and Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. All these factors and others will be covered in this chapter with relevant examples.

At the start of the Intifada, all educational institutions - universities, community colleges, and schools - were ordered closed by the Israeli military governor; this lasted for an extended period of time. Short and long term closures disrupted three school years (see Appendix 1). Schools were closed for 16 months over a course of two years, 1988-89, whereas all universities and community colleges were systematically shut down for more than two years, 'suspending the education of approximately 310,000 school pupils and 21,000 university and community college students' (1). Birzeit University, for example, was closed fifteen times from 1973, totalling 74 months, 51 of which were during the Intifada (see Appendix 2). This action deprived Palestinian students of one of their most basic rights. According to Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone has the right to education and higher education should be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Education is a very important aspect of Palestinian society; therefore, pressure was placed on the Israeli authorities to permit West Bank schools to reopen in July 1989. However, the situation did not return to normal because many schools remained closed on an individual basis.

Restricting telecommunications was another form of harassment. The Israeli authorities took several actions to make life for Palestinians much more difficult by isolating them from the rest of the world, assuming that by doing so no one would realize or discover what was going on in the Occupied Territories. This was obvious in the following practices.

The military authorities gave an order to the Bezek Telephone Company in Israel to cut all telephone, telex and fax lines between the Occupied Territories and the rest of the world for more than a year, from March 1988 until April 1989. 'The official justification for this measure was that it would prevent co-ordination between the exiled and resident branches of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)' (2). They interfered with local communications as well;

local lines were frequently cut, especially when a town, village or city was under curfew or when special orders were issued and called upon by the United National Leadership of the Intifada (UNLI); for example, telephone lines were disconnected in Ramallah and Bethlehem for weeks, in a period which coincided with a general strike called by the UNLI.

Incoming and outgoing mail, as well as telephone calls and fax transmissions, were monitored by the military authorities as a matter of routine, due to security reasons. Palestinians were prevented from sending mail to their relatives and families abroad. Mail was kept for months in the main post office in West Jerusalem, undelivered, and some letters and parcels were thrown away or confiscated. Periodicals, subscribed to by different institutions, did not arrive on time and sometimes issues were missing from the package as it had been opened and stamped by the censors. This created a barrier between Palestinians and the outside world, in order to keep the inhabitants unaware of current news and events.

Several measures were taken against journalists and reporters to restrict news coverage and to prevent access to information and events. During the first years of the Intifada, the Israelis closed down a number of Palestinian press agencies. 'The closures were justified by stating that the offices were merely front organizations for the PLO' (3). Some of the press agencies affected were the Holy Land Press Office in Jerusalem, headed by Dr Seri Nuseiba, the Palestine Press Service (PPS) in East Jerusalem, and the al-Haya Information and Publishing Office. 'Another serious stricture applied during the Intifada to the flow of information emanating from Palestinian sources has been the curtailment and confiscation of Palestinian-produced materials distributed to journalists in the Government Press Office in Beit Agron (Israel)' (4). Arabic local newspapers ceased publication for several months during the Intifada (*Al-Quds*, *Al-Sha'b*, and *Al-Fajr* to name a few) and when publishing was resumed, they were not allowed to be distributed in the Occupied Territories.

Israeli military authorities prevented journalists and reporters from reporting on events by physically blocking access to areas declared 'closed military zones' or by curfews. Censorship took many forms:

- ◆ arrest, detention, or harassment of journalists;
- ◆ destruction and confiscation of cameras, films and pictures;
- ◆ physically assaulting members of the press corps;
- ◆ jamming radio broadcasts.

The Syrian-based broadcasting station, Al-Quds Arab Palestinian Radio, is operated by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine: General Command. This radio station used to carry details and up-to-date reports about events in the Occupied Territories during the Intifada. Therefore, the Israeli authorities con-

tinued to jam its broadcasts claiming that Al-Quds radio was encouraging the Palestinian residents to commit violence.

Curfews were imposed, not only affecting the civil life of Palestinians but also preventing them from reaching neighbouring villages or towns. Even when no military orders were issued calling for educational institutions to close, prolonged curfews forced them to close just the same. Students and teachers could not travel to their respective schools to attend classes. This caused a marked deterioration of academic standards. Curfews in one location had a compound effect because the teachers and students who resided in areas not under curfew could not attend classes in a school building under curfew, and *vice versa*.

Travel by Palestinian residents of the Occupied Territories was restricted by the military authorities, on both an individual and collective basis. The use of collective travel restrictions was to prevent residents of an entire city, town or refugee camp from travelling abroad, although several international articles have denied such practices. Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, for example, prohibits the use of collective punishment. Both individuals and collective travel bans affected faculty members and students seeking to attend international conferences, do research abroad or travel for further study. Attempting to obtain a *laissez-passer* was, for any applicant, a laborious and lengthy process that could take several weeks if not months. No male resident above the age of sixteen was issued with a travel document.

The practicalities of information service during the Intifada

The closure of all educational institutions, the imposition of curfews, restrictions on access to information and events were some of the different forms of harassment imposed and practised on Palestinians by the Israeli military authorities. Therefore, to put an end to these actions, Palestinians on all levels (politicians, academics, and the public) took several practical actions to face and handle the situation. One was the 'popular committees' that were established throughout the Occupied Territories during the first months of the Intifada to provide all types of services including neighbourhood teaching. Others were the establishment of new public and mobile libraries, the issuing and distribution on the local leaflets and pamphlets by the United National Leadership of the Intifada. This chapter will provide a detailed explanation of the above-mentioned actions.

The long-term closure of West Bank schools and universities had a great impact on students and academic standards. To solve this problem, and to compensate for lost time, different actions were taken for alternative education, either through 'popular teaching' or 'make-up classes'.

Throughout the years of the Intifada, universities and schools attempted to compensate the students by holding classes off-campus, even under severe army harassment. This was done in several ways. Some teachers gave classes to small

groups of students at various off-campus sites, such as houses, mosques, churches and cultural centres, whilst others prepared home instruction booklets for distribution to students from house to house, so that they could study under the guidance of their parents and relatives. Homework packets for home study were prepared by school teachers to enable students to learn and do their assignments which were later collected for grading. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) trained teachers to prepare packages for self-instruction.

Make-up classes for students of all ages were declared illegal and raided by the Israeli military. In some instances, students and teachers were attacked and arrested. Threats were given to educational institutions: 'Under no circumstances can you teach, in houses or anywhere else. If we find anyone teaching, or any students carrying books we will take appropriate measures against them' (5). Such threats were implemented on a number of occasions:

- ◆ in September 1988, graduate classes held at Abu Deis College of Science and Technology were stopped by soldiers who entered the premises and arrested twelve students, one teacher and two technicians;
- ◆ in February 1989 in Ramallah, both the Board of Trustees building (used by Birzeit University for teaching purposes and to house administrative staff) and the YMCA were raided and searched;
- ◆ also in February 1989, the Islamic University of Gaza was raided by soldiers; computer disks were confiscated as well as book borrowing cards in an attempt to identify students taking classes off campus.

Several popular committees were established throughout the Occupied Territories during the first months of the Intifada to provide people with different services, including neighbourhood teaching, or popular teaching (*Al-ta'lim al-Sha'bi*). In its 7th communiqué (bayanat), the United National Leadership of the Intifada called for the arrangement of different places such as mosques, churches, private homes and clubs, to compensate students for the closure of their schools. Committees were formed despite the banning order which was issued by the Israeli Minister of Defence, Yitzhak Rabin, in which he stated: 'Any group of people or organization called 'Popular Committee' or 'Strike Forces' or 'Defence Group' and other committees connected with them, or working with them, or supporting them, by whatever name...is an illegal organization' (6).

These threats were ignored and popular teaching continued. School students within the same area were grouped together and distributed according to the different grades (1st grade, 2nd grade, etc.). They were taught by academics and university graduates or students, each in their own field of specialization. When there were not enough students in one class, students of close grades were grouped together in one classroom, or they were moved to join other classes in neighbouring areas. In the areas in which they lacked specialists, they would be exchanged from one area to another according to a fixed programme. Some-

times teachers used to hold classes in the mornings and others in the afternoons, and in a few places, they used to ring the bell to create the same atmosphere for students, as if they were in their own schools.

Due to the isolation created by a lack of communication among Palestinians as a result of broadcasting jams, cut telephone services, and censorship of local newspapers and magazines, the United National Leadership of the Intifada began issuing its weekly communiqué (bayanat) throughout the territories, instructing people on the directive of the Intifada. These leaflets were significant in a number of ways. They told people what to do and how to organize action through the formation of local committees. Other pamphlets were written and distributed irregularly, to keep people up-to-date with current news, events and activities.

Libraries all over the world are considered the heart of any institution; they serve as information centres for learning and research. Libraries and cultural centres, including the following, indirectly played an important role in serving the community during the Intifada.

Birzeit University

University faculty and researchers were greatly affected by the closures as no academic pursuits of any kind were allowed on university campuses. Teachers and students were denied access to the library, laboratories and offices. The library staff made great efforts to facilitate services and resources to patrons by moving the most heavily used materials to two branches. The card and online catalogues moved to Al-Zaytoura Girls Hostel in Birzeit to help students search for the resources they needed for research papers and make-up classes. The kardex, current periodicals and reserve books were moved to the YMCA building in Ramallah. When additional materials were needed, library staff used to take great risks and enter the university without permission, to get books and journals for faculty and students.

Cultural centres

Different cultural centres played an important role in serving the Palestinian community. For example, the British Council Library in East Jerusalem made its collection available to all students, agreed to place on reserve some reference materials and books related to courses given to Birzeit University students taking make-up courses in Jerusalem.

Public libraries

Public libraries became an important information centre to all students during the closure of educational institutions, especially Nablus Public Library in the northern part of the West Bank and Ramallah Public Library in the central region. In addition, new public libraries were established to support the community.

Birzeit Public Library was established in early 1990. It served as a cultural and educational centre to all students for teaching purposes and social activities.

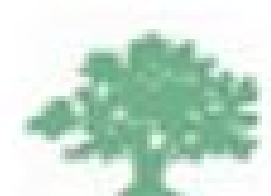
Mobile libraries

Mobile libraries were active during the Intifada. The Centre for Applied Research in Education (CARE) in Ramallah established a mobile library which was active between 1988-1995. The centre was opened to the public all day and a portion of its collection was carried in a car that travelled to the villages, towns and camps to circulate books and stories to the Palestinian community, especially the children. A week later, meetings were held with the young people for them to summarize what they had read; this was to keep them in touch with the material.

Information service beyond the Intifada (September 1993-)

With the 13th September 1993 signing of the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements in Washington, DC, and the Gaza-Jericho Autonomy Agreement by Israel and the PLO in Cairo on 4th May 1994, Palestinians hoped that the new political situation would make life easier for them. But on the contrary, their plight has become more complicated. The division of the West Bank into three major political areas, Zones A, B and C (see glossary), have worsened Israeli restrictions. In March 1993, the Israeli authorities implemented a new practice of closure whereby Palestinians holding West Bank and Gaza Strip identity cards are denied access to Jerusalem and Israel. In addition, Israel has recently imposed on the Occupied Territories a series of temporary internal closures, under the auspices of security under which Palestinians are not allowed to move freely between Palestinian towns and villages. In February 1994, Palestinians continued to be denied free access to Jerusalem and faced severe restrictions on movement between the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Permanent checkpoints were erected on the main roads leading to different cities, villages, towns and refugee camps. To enter any of these prohibited areas required obtaining permission from the Israeli authorities. This, of course, affected different aspects of Palestinian life, including education and information services. The following are examples which illustrate the situation.

Following the peace process, Gaza Strip has been considered an 'autonomous zone' for which the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) has certain responsibilities, excluding the control of entry and exit to the Strip. Gaza students seeking education in West Bank educational institutions have to apply for an official permit. The application for the first permit to travel to the West Bank to study is now made to the PNA, who then submits the request to the Israeli authorities for security clearance and approval. There are about 1,300 Gaza students who are still regularly prevented from carrying out their university education in the West Bank. They have to sign oaths of loyalty to the peace process before Israel will even consider giving them permission to study. Several Gazans, however, have been successful in escaping from the Gaza Strip to the West Bank to resume



their studies. 'They have hidden in tea chests and trucks carrying tomatoes and other vegetables; they have swum around the border between Israel and Gaza and have simply bluffed their way across the border points' (7). Students from the Gaza Strip discovered without a permit are subjected to detention, fines, deportation to the Strip, and in some cases, torture.

These continuing physical barriers have prevented and discouraged Palestinian students from travelling. Checkpoints appear to be a straightforward harassment to university students and faculty. Some are temporarily set up to prevent or hinder specific events, especially student meetings or cultural affairs, or to check all individuals, presumably as a means of locating specific persons. This has had its effects on the academic process. When students are denied access to the university, they miss their lectures and classes, and make-ups are required.

Poorly constructed bypass roads have been built in the occupied West Bank, which in turn have created more problems for the Palestinians. These roads are used predominantly by Palestinians travelling from one Palestinian entity to another. As a result, distances between locations have become longer, and some of these roads are very dangerous. For example, the 'Wadi al-Nar' (meaning Valley of Fire, a graphic description) bypass road that connects the northern areas of the West Bank to the southern region is a narrow road winding around hills with steep gradients and lacks shoulders, guard rails and lighting. Palestinians are confined to this bypass road because they are denied access to the properly constructed, more direct and thus faster route through Jerusalem. These bypass roads have discouraged many students and teachers from attending conferences, meetings and other activities.

Several institutions, such as universities, community colleges and others from the private sector are dependent on the Internet to access information. However, the Internet is not always accessible and goes 'down' because of problems with telephone lines and the connection with the host company. This is a result of interference by the Israeli telephone company.

Due to the previously mentioned factors and to geographic isolation, Palestinians have had to find different solutions to the problems. The following are a few examples:

Make-up classes

All universities in the West Bank have had to reschedule lectures and offer make-up classes to compensate the students from the Gaza Strip who arrive late in the semester. To prepare for the exams, packages are sent to students who cannot come to the university.

Additional sites offering courses

The British Council offers courses, seminars and language skills classes on a regular basis. However, due to the long distance between areas and to geographic

isolation, the British Council Cultural Centre in Jerusalem opened new branches in different parts of the Occupied Territories to facilitate the enrolment of participants in different activities. There are two new branches in the West Bank; one is in Nablus, in the northern part, and the other is in Hebron in the south. There is also one branch in the Gaza Strip.

Networks and union catalogues

The Palestine Committee of Academic Libraries in the Ministry of Higher Education along with the Palestine Library Association have developed means by which they can link libraries to facilitate access to information by proposing different projects. Among these projects are the Palestinian National Union Catalogue (PNUC) and the Periodical Lists for Inter-Library Loans (PLILL).

PNUC started in early 1997 as a pilot project by Birzeit University and the British Council. It aims to unify all Palestinian libraries in one national catalogue that can be accessed by all users, and to have it accessible via the Internet in the near future. A technical committee was formed consisting of librarians and computer experts to develop the project.

PLILL started in 1993; it was sponsored by AMIDEAST (American-Middle East Organization) to connect all interested libraries to one network to advance the search for periodical articles and to reduce the subscription fees. Due to financial problems and telephone line licences, the project was temporarily suspended. It will be reactivated soon.

Bookstores and book fairs

Several Arabic bookstores have recently opened in major cities controlled by the Palestinian National Authority. This will end the ordeal librarians have been through when purchasing and importing books from Arab countries. International book fairs have been planned for and organized by the Palestinian Ministry of Culture and Planning.

Conclusion

Due to all the previously mentioned pressures and restrictions imposed on Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, there is an urgent need for practical measures on the part of the Israelis, to improve the situation and make life easier for the Palestinians, in order not to drive them into despair and frustration. Collective punishment must be stopped because it can only have destructive results; permanent checkpoints should be removed and military permits should be cancelled. Palestinians should have the freedom to move between Israeli areas and the areas under the Palestinian authorities, and *vice versa*. Students from the Gaza Strip should have the right to study in West Bank universities and colleges. Therefore, the Palestinian community as a whole calls on the international community to uphold the conventions of international law, including the Universal



Declaration of Human Rights, the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, and the Hague Regulations of 1907, because without adherence to established international norms of educational freedom, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of access to information in all forms, and human rights, all the recent Israeli-Palestinian peace agreements will fail to achieve the goals behind them. The most important of these are the restoration of dignity and humanity to the Palestinians and to end the suffering, pain and conflict that has affected the lives of both peoples for the last fifty years.

References

1. *A nation under siege*. Ramallah, Palestine: Al-Haq, 1990, 452.
2. *Ibid*, 386.
3. JERUSALEM MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION CENTRE (JMCC). *Reporting harassment: Israeli restrictions of press freedom in the West Bank and Gaza Strip*. Jerusalem: JMCC, 1989, 3.
4. *A nation under siege*, 603.
5. *The criminalization of education: academic freedom and human rights at Birzeit University during the Palestinian Uprising*. Birzeit, Palestine: Public Relations Office BZU, 1991, 15.
6. Order regarding illegal organization, issued August 1988.
7. PARRY, N. 'Making education illegal': students from the Gaza Strip: Israeli restrictions and international reactions: a special report. Birzeit, Palestine: Public Relations Office, BZU, 1995, 11.

Bibliography

English

Academic freedom at Birzeit University, 1985-1986. Birzeit, Palestine: Public Relations Office, BZU, 1986.

The criminalization of education: academic freedom and human rights at Birzeit University during the Palestinian Uprising. Birzeit, Palestine: Public Relations Office, BZU, 1991.

GERNER, D.J. *Israeli restrictions on the Palestinian universities in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza*. *Journal of Arab Affairs*, 8(1), Spring 1989, 74, 123.

GREENSBURG, J. *UNRWA teaching programs barred in West Bank. Jerusalem Post*, 30 March, 1989.

HILTERMANN, J.R. *Human rights and the mass movement: the first year of Intifada. Journal of Palestine Studies*, 18(3), Spring 1989, 126-133.

Israel's war against education in the Occupied West Bank: a penalty for the future. Ramallah, Palestine: Al-Haq, 1988.

JERUSALEM MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION CENTRE (JMCC). *Palestinian education: a threat to Israel's security?* Jerusalem: JMCC, 1989a.

JMCC. *Reporting harassment: Israeli restrictions of press freedom in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.* Jerusalem: JMCC, 1989b.

JOHNSON, P. *Palestinian universities under occupation: 15 August - 15 November. Journal of Palestine Studies*, 18(2), Winter 1989, 92-100.

AL-KURD, A.A. *Alternative education under the Palestinian Intifada in the West Bank: a case study.* Houston: University of Houston, 1994.

MCDOWALL, D. *Palestine and Israel: the Uprising and beyond.* London: Tauris, 1989.

A nation under siege. Ramallah, Palestine: Al-Haq, 1990.

PARRY, N. *'Making education illegal': students from the Gaza Strip: Israeli restrictions and international reactions: a special report.* Birzeit, Palestine: Public Relations Office, BZU, 1995.

Punishing a nation: human rights violations during the Palestinian Uprising, December 1987 - December 1988. Ramallah, Palestine: Al-Haq, 1988.

RIGBY, A. *The Intifada: the struggle over education.* Jerusalem: PASSIA, 1989.

SHEHADEH, R. *Occupier's law: Israel and the West Bank.* Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1988.

US DEPARTMENT OF STATE. *Country reports on human rights practices for 1989, 'the Occupied Territories'.* *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 19(3), Spring 1990, 83-84.

Bibliography

Arabic

- أبو حسنة ، ناخذ . " اللحان الشعبية و الوطنية في الإنتفاضة : مقارنة أولية للبنية ، الدور و المهام " . الفكر الإستراتيجي العربي ، ع.39 ، كانون ثاني 1992 ، ص.77-97 .
- " إغلاق المؤسسات التعليمية و الإنتفاضة " . شؤون تنموية ، نيسان 1989 ، ص. 21-23 .
- الحريري ، علي . " التعليم الشعبي بين البديل التعليمية " . لكتاب ، ع. 109 ، 1989 ، ص. 59-67 .
- الخطيب ، عامر يوسف . " دور التعليم الشعبي في تعزيز الديمقراطية " . في وقائع المؤتمر السنوي الثالث : دور التربية في تعزيز الديمقراطية ، القدس : مركز الدراسات و التطبيقات التربوية ، 1994 .
- خلف ، عمر محمد . " واقع التعليم العالي في فلسطين المحتلة 1967 : الآثار الاقتصادية لإغلاق الجامعات في ظل الإنتفاضة " . مجلة اتحاد الجامعات العربية ، ع. 26 ، 1991 ، ص. 7-23 .
- الزرو ، صلاح . التعليم العالي في الأراضي المحتلة . الخليل : رابطة الجامعيين ، مركز الأبحاث ، 1989 .
- الزرو ، صلاح . التعليم في ظل الإنتفاضة . الخليل : رابطة الجامعيين مركز الأبحاث ، 1989 .
- طوقان ، علي محمد واصف . " واقع الخدمات المكتبية التي تقدمها مكتبة بلدية نابلس العامة كما يدركها رواد المكتبة من الطلبة و غورهم من المواطنين على مختلف فئاتهم العمرية " . في وقائع ندوة المكتبات في الأرض المحتلة . عمان ، الأردن ، 1991 .
- عبد الحميد ، مصطفى محمد . " المقاومة الثقافية في الأرض المحتلة : الإنتفاضة و تأكيد الهوية الوطنية " . شؤون عربية ، ع. 59 ، أيلول 1989 ، ص. 72-84 .
- عبد ربه ، يحيى زكريا . " الدافعية للتعلم و الإنتفاضة " . في وقائع المؤتمر الأول للتعليم الفلسطيني ، التعليم الفلسطيني للأمين ؟ بيت لحم ، المركز الثقافي ، 1991 .
- علوش ، موسى . مدينة بوزيت في ظل الإنتفاضة . بوزيت : علوش ، 1991 .
- القيسري ، جمانه دلود . المكتبة المتنقلة . رام الله : القيسري ، 1997 .
- هنية ، صلاح . " التعليم الشعبي في ظل الإنتفاضة " . في وقائع المؤتمر السنوي الثالث : دور التربية في تعزيز الديمقراطية . القدس : مركز الدراسات و التطبيقات التربوية ، 1994 .

Appendix 1: the collective closure of schools

During the Palestinian Intifada, schools were closed several times; the short and long term closures disrupted three school years:

- ◆ the 1987-1988 school year was interrupted by a three-and-a-half month closure (3rd February-21st May) and subsequently shortened by four months pursuant to military order;
- ◆ the 1988-1989 school year did not begin until December 1988, due to closures by the Israeli military. Beyond that time, elementary, preparatory, and secondary students had, at most, four months of classes. Pursuant to a military order, this period was considered a full school year;

◆ the 1989-1990 school year did not begin because of school closures. (The Israeli authorities stated that the 1989-1990 school year was to begin on 10th January 1990).

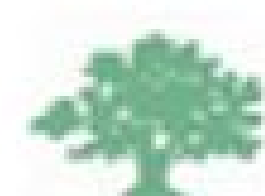
Source: *A nation under siege*. Ramallah, Palestine: Al-Haq, 1990, 453.

Appendix 2: chronology of closure at Birzeit University

The following includes only closures of the University when an official order was received. It does not include unofficial closures such as closures by army checkpoints.

1. 15-31 December 1973 (two weeks)
2. 26 March - 4 April 1979 (one week)
3. 3 May - 2 July 1979 (two months)
4. 14-22 November 1980 (one week)
5. 4 November 1981 - 4 January 1982 (two months)
6. 16 February - 16 April 1982 (two months)
7. 8 July - 8 October 1982 (three months)
8. 2 February - 2 May 1984 (three months)
9. 2 April - 2 May 1984 (one month - new campus)
10. 8 March - 8 May 1985 (two months - new campus)
11. 8 December 1986 - 3 January 1987 (one month - old campus)
12. 18-21 February 1987 (four days)
13. 27-30 March (four days)
14. 13 April 1987 - 13 August 1987 (four months)
15. 10 January 1988 - 29 April 1992 (51 months)

Source: Public Relations Office, Birzeit University, 1992.



Glossary

Closed military area: an area in which entry is forbidden, usually to people who are not residents of that area. Closed military areas are frequently declared by the Israeli Defence Forces, preventing access to journalists and others.

Communiqué (Bayanat): leaflets that were issued weekly by the United National Leadership of the Intifada to set the course of events and activities during the Intifada.

Curfew: a period when a community is forced to stay indoors. Curfews can be imposed for days and even weeks, sometimes accompanied by a restricted period of time, i.e., one hour, in which the curfew is lifted to allow residents to stock up on food supplies.

Imprisoned information: this concept is used to reflect the different pressures the Israelis have put on the Palestinian people in terms of academic freedom, freedom of expression and movement, and access to information and events.

Intifada: the Arabic word for uprising, to identify the Palestinian Uprising, covering the period from 9th December 1987 until the announcement of the Palestinian State on 15th November 1991.

Military permits: these are official papers, issued by the Israeli authorities. Palestinians are required to obtain such a permit to access any area normally prohibited to Palestinians.

Occupied Territories: Palestinian areas that were occupied by Israel after the 1967 war. These are namely the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Popular committees: committees that were established throughout the Occupied Territories during the first months of the Intifada to provide the Palestinians with all types of services, such as education, food, etc.

Popular teaching: a term used to mean alternative education; in Arabic, Al-ta'lim al-Sha'bi.

The United Leadership of the Intifada: the political leading body of the Intifada; it was composed of local representatives of the main factions operating in the territories: Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), the Palestine Communist Party (PCP), and the Islamic revivalists.

Zones: Zone A contains major cities under the control of the Palestinian Authority; Zone B: villages and towns surrounding Zone A, under the control of both Palestinians and Israelis; Zone C; areas close to Israeli settlements and border areas, under Israeli control.