

BATTLEFIELD TACTICS AT BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY

A DRAFT REPORT ON ARMY ACTIONS AT BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY
ON APRIL 13, 1987

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BIRZEIT PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE
MAY 1987
Ramallah, Occupied West Bank



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"Israeli soldiers fired on Arab demonstrators outside a university campus in the occupied West Bank on Monday, killing one person, while security forces rounded up dozens of Palestinians in a crackdown on Palestinian activists. Israeli authorities later ordered the Birzeit University campus where the shooting occurred closed for four months..." -- Washington Post, April 14, 1987

INTRODUCTION

The following report documents the events of April 13, 1987, a day in which soldiers shot and killed one Birzeit student, senior honors history student Musa Hanafi, and wounded three others. Birzeit University issued similar detailed reports following the killing of Birzeit student Sharaf al Tibi on November 21, 1984 and, most recently, students Jawad Selmieh and Saeb Dhahab on December 4, 1986. It is a sad commentary that the same issues - from "shoot-to-kill" tactics to military interference in the transport of the wounded - are found in all three cases.

The report draws on affidavits given by eyewitnesses to the Ramallah-based human rights organization, Al Haq (Law in the Service of Man), an affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists (Geneva) and statements taken by the staff of the research team of the University's Public Relations office. In the latter case, staff members adhered to the procedures for taking affidavits. Student names have not been used in this account, on their request and because of the army's practice of detaining wounded students and students in the vicinity of an incident.

BACKGROUND

The background to the events of April 13, 1987 at Birzeit University lies in the wider context of events in the occupied territories in the preceding several weeks, and military policy and practices towards the University during the current academic year, which has included three periods of closure prior to April 13,* a large-scale army raid of Birzeit's new campus March 19, and the death of two students by army gunfire on December 4, 1986.

* Military orders closed Birzeit University on December 8, 1986 - January 3, 1987 (old campus only); February 18-21, 1987 (both campuses); and March 27-30, 1987 (both campuses).



On March 25, Palestinian political prisoners held in Israeli prisons in the occupied territories launched a hunger strike to protest deteriorating conditions. The hunger strike lasted three weeks; at its high point, it involved about 1700 prisoners. As the strike wore on, sit-ins by mothers and relatives of detainees at International Red Cross offices in the occupied territories, silent marches by women in Jerusalem, commercial strikes in West Bank and Gaza towns, and clashes between army and youth in the streets of the occupied territories mounted.

Birzeit University was quiet during most of this period: students held a hunger strike in solidarity on two days and conducted a silent march around the new campus in support of the striking prisoners but took no other action.

At the beginning of this period, the military authorities issued a military order closing Birzeit University on March 27, 1987 - a day scheduled for community work on the new campus: no activity was planned that could be deemed "political." When Birzeit Vice-President Dr. Gabi Baramki went to the Ramallah Military Headquarters to receive the order, the Ramallah military governor extended the order through a handwritten note to March 30. The University assumes the extension of the order was due to the the occasion of Land Day (March 30) as a number of other universities and educational institutions were also closed: in any case, it was not related to any scheduled activity at Birzeit University.

During this period, soldiers conducted several night raids of student dwellings in the town of Birzeit. Students were awakened in the middle of the night, houses searched, and the information on student's military identity cards recorded. There were no detentions, but these raids increased tension in the student community.

On April 11, an Israeli woman settler was killed near the West Bank town of Qalqilya. In revenge, settlers rampaged through the town, breaking car windows and uprooting fruit trees. Although Qalqilya is distant from Birzeit, settler threats of retaliation against Palestinian institutions worried not only students, but the University administration. On the morning of April 13, Dr. Gabi Baramki called the Military Governor to report settlers in the area and voice the University's concern that actions might be taken against the University. Settlers had also been roaming around the town of Birzeit and in Ramallah the day before (Sunday) when the University was not in session. On the same day, Israeli radio announced that Birzeit was a "closed area."

On the night of April 12, the military authorities conducted a widespread campaign of arrest in the occupied territories: nine Palestinians were placed under administrative detention for six months, and scores detained. This action was widely perceived as a response to settler demands for an army crackdown in the occupied territories.



Thus, when students arrived at Birzeit University on April 13, they were greeted by news of these arrests, and by rumors that settlers were in the area and might attack the University.

THE OLD CAMPUS

At about 9AM, students began a rally in the courtyard of the old campus to discuss the arrest campaign, and related developments. The mood was tense; every day seemed to bring more bad news about arrests and harassments by soldiers and settlers of the civilian population of the occupied territories. Students decided about 9:30AM to move out into the street beyond the old campus wall for a protest march.

There, they were joined by some students from the local secondary school. About 500 young people were now massed in the street. News that a large contingent of soldiers were deployed on the hill near the water tower on the outskirts of the town reached the students. Soldiers also erected an army checkpoint on the outskirts of town on the main road to the new campus and Ramallah (see map) Students began to build roadblocks near the post office area to prevent the army from reaching them; a few burned tires.

A female student who left the new campus for the old campus about 9:45AM noted that soldiers at the checkpoint permitted the busload of students to continue to the old campus, even though students had already assembled in the Birzeit streets.

Shortly before 10AM, faculty on the new campus observed two busloads of soldiers travelling towards Birzeit, presumably as reinforcements.

Dean of Arts Dr. Hannan Mikhail-Ashrawi, standing on the roof of the student cafeteria in the old campus described the scene at about 10AM:

"Scores of soldiers in jeeps and trucks were at the checkpoint with more reinforcements arriving. A large number of soldiers were on the reservoir hill."

THE ATTACK

Dr. Mikhail-Ashrawi then described the first stage of the army attack:

"Shortly before 10:30AM, a large number of soldiers began running in unison down the western side of the reservoir hill. At the same time, jeeps and trucks began to move down the main road from the army checkpoint, with soldiers walking between them. It looked like a battle scene, a classic pincers movement. I thought "The students will be trapped."



Soldiers wore helmets and carried shields; all were armed. Student eyewitnesses noted the presence of men in civilian clothes with the soldiers, identifying them as settlers because they carried automatic weapons, which is not normal for intelligence officers (who also wear civilian clothes).

One female student described the scene in an affidavit given to the Ramallah-based human rights organization Al Haq:

"At about 10:15, a civilian bus filled with soldiers arrived and parked near the other cars. Soldiers descended, they were wearing helmets and carrying guns and sticks. Some of them were carrying shields. At that point soldiers on top of the hill referred to as Al-Khirbeh (the reservoir hill) started shooting at students..."

Another female student stated in her affidavit that:

"The soldiers who were in the front were carrying shields while the ones behind them were pointing their guns at the students. All the soldiers were wearing helmets. When students saw the soldiers heading towards them, they retreated and ran away without confronting them or throwing stones at them. I noticed this very carefully especially since I was only 50 meters away from the roadblocks. I retreated towards the post office. The soldiers came nearer and nearer to the students standing near the post office. So students started throwing rocks but without reaching the soldiers who were more than 100 meters away."

When the soldiers were about 50 meters from the students, who had retreated down the street near the Birzeit municipality, they opened fire. Eyewitnesses concur that no tear gas had been fired at this point and no warning given to disperse. As Dr. Mikhail-Ashrawi noted:

"There was no exploratory motion, as I have seen in previous confrontations. No envoys were sent telling the students to disperse. It was a quick and sudden attack."

One of the injured students, a female, stated:

"There was no use of tear gas; the soldiers didn't say anything. Students scattered and hid. My friend Ghadir was frozen with fright and couldn't move. I saw Musa fall; he was shot almost immediately. I myself was shot about a minute later."

Another male student described the initial firing:

"They did not use tear gas, water cannon or rubber bullets before they started shooting with live ammunition... there must have been 100 soldiers firing at once...it was complete confusion among the students. It was like the sound of a battlefield."



This same student thought he heard loudspeakers during the shooting, although he was the only student eyewitness to note this. Dr. Mikhail -Ashrawi also heard loudspeakers and it is likely that these were used sporadically during - though not before - the period of firing. Teargas was also used sporadically during the army assault.

Other student eyewitnesses also concur that Musa Hanafi was shot very soon after soldiers opened fire, in the area near the municipality on the Birzeit road. He sustained a bullet wound in the throat. The other three students wounded by live ammunition were also shot within five minutes of the shooting of Musa. One student, in detention in Fara' Prison until May 6, may have been shot while trying to transport Musa to safety, and seems to have been wounded on a side road near the Birzeit municipality. All other woundings with live ammunition occurred near the municipality. Another student was wounded by a rubber bullet in the forehead.

A student eyewitness described the shooting of Musa:

"There was a group of maybe five soldiers firing directly at students, taking aim. The rest seemed to be firing to scare people. When Musa was shot, there could only have been 15 metres between the soldiers and the students. They shot directly at him. We could see which one did it. It was like something from a battle."

As the students fled, soldiers were in pursuit. Soldiers had raised two roadblocks as they advanced, some still in vehicles and some on foot. They moved out of their formation to chase students. A female student was detained with other students by soldiers and placed on the side of the road. After about five minutes of detention, she said in her affidavit:

"I saw five soldiers running after the students and shooting directly at them."

The Jerusalem Post of April 15 interviewed an American missionary living in Birzeit and wrote:

"David Roper, a Southern Baptist missionary living in Bir Zeit, said he saw soldiers pursuing students up the main road to the campus, and heard shooting. Though only some of the troops wore helmets, they were at a safe distance from the stone throwers, he said. 'I didn't see any danger to the soldiers,' he said."

Sometime in the middle of the period of shooting, tear gas canisters were fired. After the shooting of Musa and the other students, a one student eyewitness described:



"I also saw in that same area, near the municipality, a soldier fire a tear gas canister at a distance of less than 10 metres, directly into the face of a student. Soldiers then approached the students and four soldiers began to beat him with sticks. I also saw four soldiers grab a female student by the hair as she was trying to get away. There was a tear gas canister on the ground which had been fired and was still discharging gas. They pushed her to the ground and shoved her face right into the canister. Then they kicked and slapped her."

Soldiers pursued students, still firing, to the women's hostel and the old campus. A faculty member at the women's hostel, Adel Yehya, stated:

"There were students running back into the area of the hostel. The soldiers were right behind them, and they were literally running them under their feet. There were at least 100 soldiers. They were still firing, although all the students were running away from them at this time. Some were taking aim. It was really as if they were attacking a military base. They were coming from all directions. The students were very frightened."

Dr. Mikhail-Ashrawi described the period of firing - which she said lasted over 15 minutes - as "sustained automatic fire from several different directions." When soldiers reached the old campus, this firing included shots into the women's hostel and inside the old campus itself.

THE HOSTEL

Students carried the wounded inside the women's hostel. One female student, who volunteered to help with first aid, stated:

"The first wounded student was brought to the hostel, wounded in his lower back (buttocks). After about five minutes, six wounded students arrived in the hostel, including the student who was killed. (these included the student with the rubber bullet wound, and two students with lesser injuries). We started helping the students aided by a nurse from the Birzeit clinic. During this time, the soldiers were shooting at the hostel and the glass of the window of the first aid room was hit. The soldiers then threw teargas canisters into the rooms."

Female students attempted to barricade the main entrance and the first-floor door of the hostel with beds and chairs. Soldiers however broke the main gate and went into the ground floor where they detained some students. They tried to enter the first floor, but were deterred by the blocked entrance.

SHOOTING ON CAMPUS

Students ran into the gates of the old campus, with soldiers in



pursuit. Dr. Ashrawi stated: "Frightened students were literally stampeding back into the old campus. I can confirm that no students threw rocks from the campus. They ran as fast as they could and went into the cafeteria building for safety."

But soldiers followed students inside the campus, as faculty member Adel Yehya described:

"When I reached the main entrance of the university, students were running in. I ran with them. Soldiers were jumping on walls and still shooting. You couldn't think, you just ran. When we entered the campus, soldiers were already inside. I saw at least 50 soldiers inside the area of the Faculty of Arts. There were several hundred students who had entered the cafeteria at the old campus by this time. They were trying to push the door closed and the soldiers were trying to gain entry. There were yelling insults at the students, calling them "f...ers" and other such insults."

Dr. Mikhail-Ashrawi noted:

"Bullets were falling inside the campus but I didn't know from where. I came from the cafeteria building on my way to the back gate when I saw soldiers standing on the stairs by the old student council office. I told Ahmed (Assistant Dean of Arts) 'Let's go back.' As I turned a bullet came right in front of my feet. I stepped to the right and another bullet came where I was standing. Ahmed said 'There's a soldier on the roof shooting.' I felt the soldiers were sniping, were aiming."

Soldiers pushed Dr. Mikhail-Ashrawi to the wall, as she asked to see a responsible officer. They returned, dragging a student, who grasped at Dr. Harb, screaming that he had done nothing. Dr. Ashrawi asked repeatedly to see an officer and stated that the student clearly needed medical attention. All the time, the two faculty members, with the student clutching at Dr. Harb, followed the soldiers as they dragged the student towards the back gate.

Dr. Harb then said "Please let him go. He's a human being." The soldier replied: "You're human beings? We will slaughter you." He then made a gesture across his throat like a knife. Finally another soldier released the safety catch on his rifle and told the two faculty members "One more step and I will kill you." The two faculty members were forced to retreat.

Firing stopped shortly before 11AM. Soldiers had fired at the cafeteria door but finally gave up trying to enter and left the old campus. There were now hundreds of soldiers in the streets of Birzeit. "It was a state of siege," said Dr. Ashrawi, who had again gone to the backgate to ask that the gate be closed and that she be permitted to talk to a responsible officer. Her account continued:



"I requested to talk to the military governor. I told the soldiers they are not allowed on campus. They said 'We're going to come in and take you out one by one.' Another added: 'We know what to do with you.' Finally, I said loudly, 'You've done enough. You've already killed one student.' Then several officers came and asked me to confirm this. I said it was true. They then kept asking 'Are you sure it was a bullet wound? Who killed him?' I replied 'You did. You are the only ones armed here.' After I announced Musa's death, the soldiers calmed down. There were no more threats to enter the campus."

TRANSPORT OF THE WOUNDED

Ambulances had been called by faculty members and administrators on the new campus as soon as news of wounded students reached the new campus, at about 10:45AM. Magassed and Ramallah hospitals were notified, as well as the Red Crescent and the International Red Cross.

Two ambulances from Ramallah, with doctors and nurses from Ramallah Hospital were dispatched to the scene almost immediately after the telephone calls: an ambulance for Magassed in Jerusalem was dispatched about half-an-hour later.

Meanwhile, two faculty members in a private car took Musa Hanafi, who had died of his throat wound, to Ramallah Hospital.

The Ramallah ambulances arrived at the old campus sometime between 11:30 - 12:00. They had been delayed at several army checkpoints. A British health researcher was in the Birzeit clinic and went with the ambulance attendant and another nurse to get wounded students from the hostel to the ambulances. She described what happened in her affidavit:

"We reached the door of the hostel but could not enter as there were a number of soldiers inside the main door and on the stairs, blocking the way until an officer came out and called the other soldiers out. We went upstairs and as soon as we passed through the next main door we were hit by the smell of tear gas...The student with the leg wound was put on a stretcher and taken away, then the student with the buttock wound was lifted onto our stretcher...we picked up the stretcher and carried it out of the hostel but just outside we were told by soldiers to put the stretcher down which we did."

The soldiers then pulled off the student's blanket and the clothing covering the wound, and a soldier:

"removed the dressing and with his fingers passed around the edges of a small circular wound about the size of a new penny saying several times "Where is the bullet? in Arabic. He then turned the student, who had been lying on his stomach, onto his side, and started pulling the skin on the student's hip..."



The other two wounded students also had their wounds examined in the same manner. As the health researcher notes, this happened not once, but twice, as she was forced to put the stretcher down outside the ambulance and the same procedure was repeated.

After heated discussions between the soldiers and the Dean of Arts Dr. Mikhail-Ashrawi, the students were finally placed into the ambulance. A soldier then took away the keys from one ambulance driver, according to Dr. Mikhail-Ashrawi, and the ambulances were still stalled. They finally left with several soldiers accompanying them. An officer promised Dr. Mikhail-Ashrawi that the students would not be harassed or detained and that they would be taken to an Arab hospital. It was a false promise.

The ambulances were stopped near the village of Abu Qash on the Birzeit road and other soldiers entered the ambulances and photographed the wounded students. The ambulances were then diverted to the Israeli-run Hadassah hospital on Mount Scopus. Two students were subsequently held handcuffed to their beds and under military surveillance and interrogation in Ein Kerem Hospital for ten days, and one wounded student transferred to Al Faraa Prison.

In the morning, staff members of Al Haq had been in contact with the Legal Advisor at Beit El over the halting of the ambulances at military checkpoints. Al Haq recontacted the Legal Advisor several times, when it was clear no ambulances were arriving at either Ramallah or Maqassad Hospital. The organization received no concrete information on the whereabouts of the ambulances or the wounded students from the Advisor.

At about 12:00AM, representatives from the International Red Cross were stopped by soldiers in Ramallah and told they could not proceed to Birzeit. The Red Cross office in Jerusalem received the same message from the military authorities. It was the first case in the occupied territories where the International Red Cross has been officially barred from a place where residents have requested their assistance.

THE LIFTING OF THE SIEGE

Vice-President Dr. Gabi Baramki went to the post office area about 11:00AM to begin discussions with officers on the scene to get the army to withdraw from the University. At this point, no agreement was reached. He then went to the women's hostel area and attempted to get the soldiers to leave the building and to allow wounded students to be transported to hospital. He noted the damages done to the hostel and protested to officers that soldiers had broken windows and shot tear gas and bullets inside. Some soldiers had even thrown rocks through the windows, Dr. Baramki pointed out.



By 12:30, soldiers had left the confines of the old campus, and negotiations commenced to allow the students trapped inside to leave Birzeit. At about 3PM, the International Red Cross was finally permitted to enter the area to supervise the passage of students. By about 4:30PM, all students had left the area. Female students who had been detained were released, and four male students were taken to prison.

THE CLOSURE

In mid-afternoon, while students were still trapped on the old campus, Israeli radio announced that the military authorities had closed Birzeit University for a period of four months. Dr. Baramki received the official closure order at about 11PM that night. The announcement of the order on Israeli media suggests that the closure of Birzeit University had been premeditated: in other closures, the military authorities have deliberated for several days before announcing their decision. It was the longest and most punitive closure in University history.

CONCLUSION

- 1) Soldiers on April 13 used battlefield tactics against student protesters. From all eyewitness accounts to the events of April 13, soldiers in the area acted as if they were on a battlefield and as if the students facing them were armed combatants. A contingent of over 100 soldiers - estimates run as high as 200 - staged a coordinated attack, an "ambush," on students massed in the streets of Birzeit. Soldiers were clearly on the offensive in all stages of the day's events.
- 2) Soldiers on April 13 took aim and fired directly at students with live ammunition. Musa Hanafi and the other three students wounded with live ammunition were shot at close range, shortly after soldiers opened fire and after students were already fleeing from the army assault. These soldiers were clearly not in a life-threatening situation; eyewitnesses concur that whatever rocks were thrown did not even reach the soldiers. In fact, no soldiers were even lightly injured on April 13, according to press accounts. Nonetheless, soldiers fired in a sustained, rapid manner at students for about 15 minutes. They also pursued students, and fired upon them as the students tried to flee. Shooting occurred within the walls of the old campus itself; the women's hostel was fired into with tear gas and with either live ammunition or rubber bullets.
- 3) The army on April 13 violated its own stated procedures for dispersing civilian demonstrators. Under these procedures, as reported in the Israeli press, measures such as warnings, tear



gas, and shots in the air should be used to disperse crowds before other action is taken. Instead, these measures were used at the same time or later than the firing of live ammunition directly at students. In this regard, the U.S. State Department Country Reports on Human Rights for 1986 was premature in its conclusions on IDF policy. It correctly noted, in regard to killings at Birzeit on December 4, 1986, that "deaths could have been avoided by use of nonlethal crowd control measures." It added, however, that "The IDF limited its use of lethal force in subsequent disturbances linked to the Birzeit and Balata incidents." In fact, on April 13, the IDF simply added, rather than substituted crowd control measures to its battlefield repertoire.

4) The army's actions on April 13 were not dictated by "security" considerations, but rather had a punitive character. The personal security of soldiers was not seriously at risk on April 13; the security of the area could have been secured by a variety of other means. The punitive attitude of soldiers is clear in their behavior and statements, i.e. one soldier's remark that "We will slaughter all of you." The motivation of individual soldiers and the army's orders of the day may well have been dictated by "revenge," as was the call of sections of the Israeli settler movement after the Qalqilya incident. It is clear that the army was under pressure from extremist settlers to prove itself by hardline action against Palestinian residents.

The punitive treatment of students came out especially clearly in the army's treatment of the wounded. Transport of the wounded students was delayed in an arbitrary and callous manner, despite numerous protests by University officials.

5) The staging of the army attack suggests that army actions were calculated and perhaps premeditated. The rapid announcement of the closure of Birzeit University for four months - the longest and most punitive closure in University history - also suggests that a "battleplan" had been approved against the University.

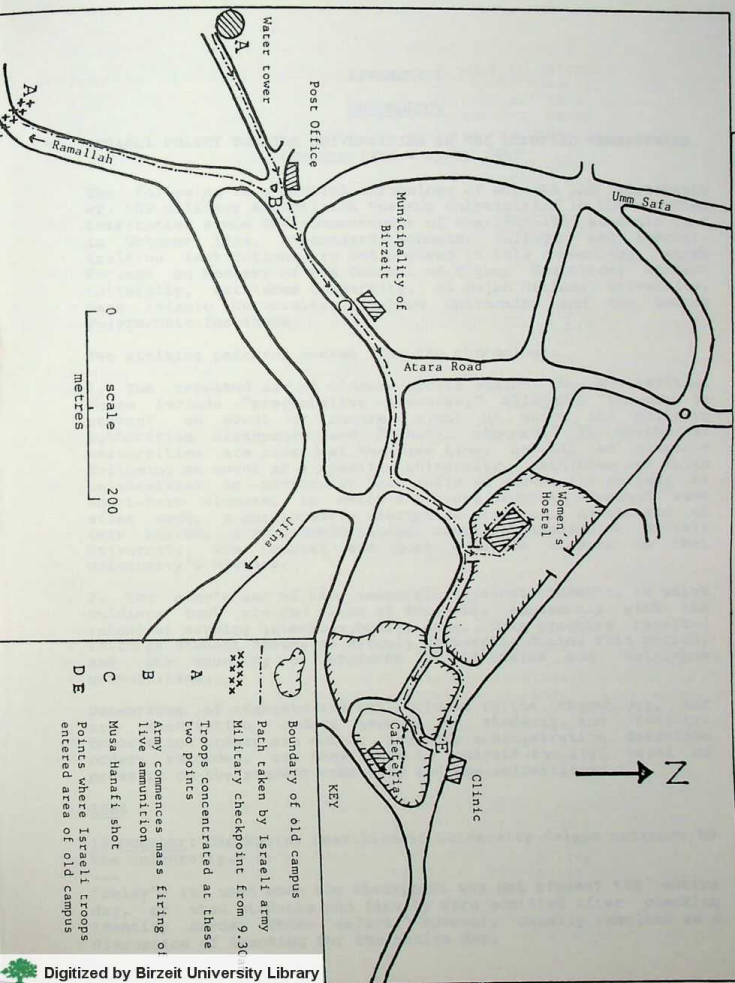
Musa Hanafi was the third student killed near Birzeit University during this academic year. A report issued by Birzeit University after two students were killed by army gunfire on December 4, 1986 (Students Under Fire, Birzeit Public Relations Office) documented a similar pattern of events as on April 13. The report concluded that soldiers on December 4 were "shooting not to control the situation, but to wound and perhaps to kill."

The situation in the occupied territories has reached a dangerous stage if universities and university students are subject to out-and-out battlefield tactics on the part of the military authorities. Behind these tactics lays a policy in which universities have been targetted as "hostile" institutions, and the University community that comprises these institutions is thus fair game in the sights of the military.



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






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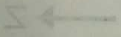


KEY

-  Boundary of old campus
-  Pach taken by Israeli army
-  Military checkpoint from 9.30
- A** Troops concentrated at these two points
- B** Army commences mass firing of live ammunition
- C** Musa Hanafi shot
- D E** Points where Israeli troops entered area of old campus



Scale: 1:10000
 0 500 1000 1500 2000
 Meters



- Legend:
- A. Faculty of Arts
 - B. Faculty of Education
 - C. Faculty of Science
 - D. Faculty of Engineering
 - E. Faculty of Medicine
 - F. Faculty of Dentistry
 - G. Faculty of Agriculture
 - H. Faculty of Forestry
 - I. Faculty of Veterinary
 - J. Faculty of Law
 - K. Faculty of Economics
 - L. Faculty of Business Administration
 - M. Faculty of Social Sciences
 - N. Faculty of Humanities
 - O. Faculty of Islamic Studies
 - P. Faculty of Arabic Studies
 - Q. Faculty of English Studies
 - R. Faculty of French Studies
 - S. Faculty of German Studies
 - T. Faculty of Italian Studies
 - U. Faculty of Spanish Studies
 - V. Faculty of Russian Studies
 - W. Faculty of Japanese Studies
 - X. Faculty of Chinese Studies
 - Y. Faculty of Indian Studies
 - Z. Faculty of African Studies

APPENDIX 1

CHRONOLOGY

ISRAELI POLICY TOWARDS UNIVERSITIES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OCTOBER 1986 - APRIL 1987

The following is a partial chronology of actions and statements of the military authorities towards universities in the occupied territories since the commencement of the 1986-1987 academic year in October 1986. Secondary schools, colleges and teacher-training institutions are not covered in this chronology, which focuses on members of the Council of Higher Education: Birzeit University, Bethlehem University, Al Najah National University, Gaza Islamic University, Hebron University and the Hebron Polytechnic Institute.

Two striking patterns emerge from the chronology:

1. The repeated use of closure orders against the universities. These include "preventative closures," allegedly issued to prevent an event or rumored event of which the military authorities disapprove and "general closures" in which all universities are closed at the same time, as well as closures following an event at a specific university. Bethlehem and Najah universities in particular have suffered successive periods of short-term closure, in which a closure order is renewed week after week, a particularly disruptive practice. At the end of this period, a four-month closure order was imposed on Birzeit University, the longest and most punitive closure in that University's history.

2. The army's use of live ammunition against students, in which soldiers took aim and fired at students, apparently with the intent of causing grievous bodily harm. This practice resulted in three student deaths at Birzeit University during this period, and the wounding of students at Al Najah and Bethlehem universities.

Detentions of students are not included in the chronology, nor are restriction orders imposed on students and faculty. Deportation orders are noted; and some administrative detention orders recorded, as they serve to indicate the high level of pressure on the student community and the universities.

1986

15 October: Checkpoint near Birzeit University delays entrance to the University.*

"Delay" is used when the checkpoint was not present the entire day, or when students and faculty were admitted after checking identity cards. These "delays," however, usually resulted in a disruption of teaching for the entire day.



18 October: Checkpoint near Birzeit University delays entrance to the University.

29 October: Soldiers fire live ammunition and teargas into student rally on Bethlehem University campus. One student wounded in the leg and a number detained. Bethlehem University closed for one week by military order.

Al Najah student Fahleh Sahloub served six-month administrative detention order.

30 October: Army checkpoint near Birzeit University bars entry for entire day.

1 November: Army checkpoint at Al Najah University bars entry for entire day.

3 November: At 1:30PM, a large contingent of soldiers entered the old campus of Birzeit University and confiscated posters, books and cultural artifacts from a student exhibit.

Army checkpoints at Abu Dis College of Science and Technology and Birzeit University.

4 November: Military order renewed; Bethlehem University closed for another week.

Military authorities in Nablus summon Dr. Mohammed Shadid, an assistant professor at Al Najah University, and question him about a poll he conducted under the auspices of Newsday, the Australian Broadcasting System, and Al Fajr newspaper. They express disapproval of the poll's results, and ban Dr. Shadid from working in the West Bank.

5 November: Checkpoint near Birzeit University delays entrance to University.

10 November: Checkpoint near Al Najah University bars entry of students.

15 November: Checkpoint near Birzeit University delays entrance to the University.

18 November: Checkpoint near Birzeit University delays entrance to the University.

28 November: Army breaks into Al Najah University campus at night and searches offices of faculty members, Public Relations, the Student Council and the Faculty Union.

29 November: Checkpoint near Birzeit University bars all entrance to the University.

30 November: Checkpoint near Birzeit University bars all entrance to the University.

1 December: Checkpoint near Birzeit University bars students from entering the University. Birzeit University issues a press release warning of the policy of "closure by checkpoint."

4 December: Checkpoint on Birzeit-Ramallah road delays entrance to the University. Army disperses students and faculty gathered near checkpoint with teargas and shooting. Faculty member Dr. Saleh Abdul Jawad detained.

Near the old campus, soldiers open fire on student gathered to protest checkpoint policy. Two students, Jawad Abu Selmieh and Saeb Dhahab killed by army gunfire, eight others wounded.

7 December: Military issues order closing old campus of Birzeit University until 4 January.

8 December: Defense Minister Rabin orders Al Najah University closed for one week by military order in the wake of a soldier killing a teenager at Balata Refugee Camp near Nablus.

9 December: As the Jerusalem Post reported, "a peaceful memorial march was held yesterday at Birzeit University." Administration, faculty and student marched from the new campus to the surroundings of the old campus and back. Army was stationed nearby but out-of-sight and did not interfere.

11 December: Coordinator of Activities in the Occupied Territories Colonel Sholmo Goren states to the press that "We shall not change our policy" in the occupied territories.

16 December: Army troops disperse students at Al Najah University with rubber bullets and teargas.

20 December - 20 January: Twenty-four Birzeit students detained, in a campaign directed primarily at Student Council members - past present and future. Student Council elections at Birzeit slated for January 22. All Student Council-related detainees are held in prison for a few days to several weeks, and then released without charge, except for Sabri Tmezi, who is charged with possession of illegal literature and then placed under town arrest.

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2 January: Al Najah University receives military order for one week closure, for "preventative" reasons.

8-9 January: Four Al Najah students administratively detained.

11 January: Al Najah University ordered closed another week.

Birzeit lecturer Dr. Saleh Abdul Jawad released from prison after 39 days of detention. He pays a 2500IS fine for "obstructing a soldier by refusing to show his identity card."

12 January: Defense Minister Rabin meets with representative of Jewish settlers in the West Bank and answers a complaint filed by them about a January 8 peaceful rally at Birzeit. Rabin affirms that the authorities will no longer allow political demonstrations with open support for the PLO and Palestinian flags.

13 January: MK Michael Eitan comes to Birzeit to distribute leaflets which threaten students with "jails and cemeteries" if they continue their "protests and actions." Military declared Birzeit a closed area.

20 January: Al Najah University ordered closed another four days by military order. Students turned back at army checkpoints.

20 January: Heads of universities summoned to Nablus to meet with Defense Minister Rabin who says "in the last four or five months, universities have again become the centre of unrest in the area." He warns he "can close the universities completely if need be."

21 January: Defense Minister Rabin rescinds closure order against Najah University.

26 January: Gaza Islamic University student Mohammed Dahlan expelled to Jordan.

27 January: Army checkpoints at entrances to Al Najah University.

6 February: Al Najah University closed for one day by military order as a "preventative" measure.

9 February: Army opens fire on students near Al Najah, who are protesting shootings in Balata refugee camp. Seven wounded. Joel Greenburg of Jerusalem Post, stationed on a rooftop, notes heavy use of live ammunition although "soldiers did not appear to be in a life-threatening situation."



10 February: Military order closes Al Najah University for one month.

11 February: 30 students detained at Hebron University after soldiers surround campus when students raise Palestinian flag.

12 February: Peaceful march at Birzeit University around the campus to protest Amal militia's siege of Palestinian camps. Army stationed nearby, but does not intervene.

14 February: Administration of Hebron University closes institution for one week to avoid further problems.

16 February: Professor Roger Heacock of Birzeit University detained in Ramallah.

Troops disperse students at Bethlehem University with tear gas.

17 February: Army checkpoints turn away students at Islamic University of Gaza. Military order closes university for three days. Military order closed Bethlehem University for four days and Birzeit University for one day. Birzeit order then extended for one day. All five universities are now closed.

22 February: Military closed Hebron University until March 15 for three weeks and Gaza Islamic University for ten days until March 4.

Al Najah student Ali Rajoub placed under six month administrative detention.

6 March: 22 Gaza youth, primarily students, receive harsh sentences over past two weeks for demonstrating, ranging from prison terms of three months to one year and fines of US \$300-\$1000. Youths are held in detention camp called Ansar II.

8 March: Army break-in at Al Najah University. Acting President Dr. Sabri was only notified of the break-in the next day.

11 March: Studies resume at Al Najah University after almost two months of closure, February 11-March 11 by military order, and most of January by successive one-week closures. Administration estimates damages at about \$4 million.

19 March: Large contingent of soldiers break-in to new campus of Birzeit University and conduct a four-hour search of buildings, offices and classrooms until after midnight. Material confiscated includes public relations publications and Student Council files.

23 March: Several students from Al Najah and Bethlehem universities among 11 West Bank residents put under administrative detention. Six new town arrests also issued.



25 March: Military authorities issue deportation order against Khalil Ashour, former President of the Al Najah Student Council.

(Soldiers fire live ammunition at student rally at Ibrahimiyyeh College in Jerusalem)

Trial of Dr. Roger Heacock begins; to be continued May 5.

27 March: Military authorities issue order closing Al Najah University until April 12. Military issues order closing Birzeit University for the day. Order then extended in handwriting through March 30. Order closes Bethlehem University until April 1.

1 April: Bethlehem University's closure order extended until April 4.

Former Public Relations Director of Al Najah University, Professor Saeb Ariqat convicted of "incitement" for an article he wrote in the June 1986 Newsletter.

12 April: Military declared Birzeit a closed military zone.

13 April: Soldiers open fire on students gathered near Birzeit University's old campus, killing Musa Hanafi, and wounding three others with live ammunition. Israeli radio announces a four-month closure of both campuses in mid-afternoon; closure order is delivered to University officials at 11PM.

23 April: President of Birzeit Student Council, Marwan Barghouti, detained and served deportation order.



