1. Introduction

Scenario

Palestine was ruled by Britain from December 1917 until May 1948. British rule in Palestine was organised under an international legal innovation following the First World War, when former Ottoman and German territories were divided among the victorious powers as League of Nations Mandates. The Palestine Mandate, like all others, had to report to the League annually on its progress in leading the population toward self-government. The intent of the mandate system was not to extend European colonialism, but to ensure some new limits to it. In practice, of course, Mandatory Powers had nearly total freedom to govern how they pleased. The Palestine Mandate had one additional and unique obligation – it was bound, constitutionally, to meet the terms of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, that is,

> His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The bizarre wording was deliberate. This declaration was a vague commitment to the Zionist Movement. The Zionist movement was the Jewish national movement which sought to solve the problem of oppression of Jewish minorities, especially but not exclusively in Europe, by establishing a Jewish nation-state in the Jews' ancestral biblical homeland. The Zionist movement raised funds and purchased land in Palestine for colonisation by new settlers, themselves often poor immigrants escaping violence. The Balfour Declaration – a wartime propaganda instrument meant to help Britain defeat Germany, ultimately became part of the constitutional basis for British rule in Palestine. British policymakers interpreted this policy to mean that they must allow Jewish colonists to settle in Palestine in as great a number that the country's economy could absorb. British administrators measured that absorptive capacity on the basis of data provided by the Jewish Agency for Palestine – headed by Col. Frederick Kisch – a veteran of military intelligence in the First World War. British administration tended to work closely with and favour the interests of the Jewish Community of Palestine, or the *Yishuv,* and its national institutions, especially the Jewish Agency. Kisch and the Jewish Agency worked in parallel with other Zionist institutions, including the labour federation, or Histadrut, the national council, or Va'ad Leumi, and its legislative assembly. These were all dominated by the left-wing socialist-Zionist party, Achdut Ha'avoda, or Labour Unity. The party was led by a triumvirate: Future Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, Israeli President Yizhak Ben-Tzvi, and Dov Hoz. Hoz was also a founding leader of the Zionist militia, Haganah, the precursor to today's Israel Defence Force. Haganah was not directly controlled by Hoz or the "national institutions" (the Jewish Agency, Va'ad and Histadrut). Being a socialist institution, this organised territorial militia resisted vertical hierarchy had only an informal commander in Eliyahu Golomb. He was Hoz's brother in-law, so labour indeed wielded political direction over Haganah. Haganah was semi-legal – its members possessed sealed armouries containing shotguns and pistols in Zionist colonies. It also smuggled arms of its own and kept them in secret caches throughout the country.

Understandably, Palestinian nationalists feared that Britain's Zionist policy would lead to their being outnumbered or eventually displaced by Jewish colonists. Jewish immigration had brought that community from about 3% of the population in 1878, to nearly 17% in 1929. Palestinians had no Palestine Agency or Arab Agency. Instead, Britain worked with them through religious institutions –

the many Christian denominations and especially through the Mufti of Jerusalem and the Supreme Muslim Council. The Mufti was the senior legal arbiter in the system of scholars and judges which presided over matters of civil and religious law. In 1921, British authorities elevated that position to "Grand Mufti", implying the position's authority applies across Palestine. They appointed a Hajj Amin al-Husayni, a 24-year-old, under-educated and unqualified nationalist leader who, only one year earlier, had helped to organise armed resistance to British rule. The British hoped his influence and that of his family would help keep Palestine quiet. Later in 1921 they expanded his influence by making him president of the newly created Supreme Muslim Council (SMC) – this gave him control over a large budget based on the Islamic trusts, or *awqaf*, one of Palestine's larger landowners. The Mufti used these budgets to indirectly support nationalist causes. He was very popular with the peasantry – his base – and fostered good ties with middle class nationalist organisers and other elites by offering them patronage appointments in Muslim schools, courts, marriage registrars, and other civil services. A bloc of Palestinian nationalists, mainly organised around elite families in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Nablus, opposed Husayni's domination of these offices, and spent much of the 1920s trying to contain his influence through local council elections and through elections to the SMC.

From Autumn 1928, a controversy erupted at one of Jerusalem's major holy sites – the Western, or "Wailing" Wall, known in Arabic as al-Buraq. The site is said to be the outer retaining wall of Herod's temple – the last remnant of ancient Judea's most important holy site. Religious Jews sought to erect a dividing screen in the small alleyway in front of the wall for high holy day prayers. Right wing activists in the Betar youth movement, a branch of the Revisionist Zionist party led by Vladimir Jabotinsky and his ultra-right-wing allies, sought to seize upon the scuffle between worshippers and the police. The police followed government policy to maintain the Ottoman-era "status quo" at Jerusalem's holy sites – no change of rules/rituals was to take place as a result of British occupation. This included keeping that alleyway clear. Betar sought to use the incident to illustrate the ineptitude of the left-wing parties and other Zionist institutions, including the Jewish Agency, and that of the British government. They began to demand change and to assert Jewish freedom of worship at the site. This put the Zionist "national institutions" in a bind: they supported the campaign for the "wailing wall", even if they doubted its merits, because not doing so would cause them to lose support to the Revisionists and might alienate more pious Jews in the diaspora.

The Mufti began to organise a counter-campaign, and spread propaganda in Palestine and abroad asserting that the Zionist sought to destroy the Muslim holy sites atop of al-Buraq, that is, the Haram al-Sharif, or temple mount, which contains the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. This was not true, and most Zionists were atheists and only valued the site for its historic importance. Even believing Jews considered visiting the Haram al-Sharif, and any plans to pre-empt the messiah and replace it with a third temple, to be sacrilegious and strictly forbidden. Nonetheless, from October 1928 until August 1929, Jerusalem was the scene of numerous public demonstrations – largely peaceful, but the occasional scuffle took place. The police frequently intervened. British policy maintained their status-quo policy, and determined in 1928 that the wall belonged to the Muslim Waqf.

On 15 August 1929, a far-right offshoot of Betar staged a demonstration during the Jewish fast day of Tisha b'Av, which is said to commemorate the destruction of the Jewish temple where the Haram al-Sharif now stands. A counter demonstration led by the Muslim community marched on the wall, and destroyed some property. The next day, further scuffles in Jerusalem took place, leading to minor injuries and one stabbing victim. On the 17th of August, a Jewish boy was stabbed after startling a Muslim woman while trying to retrieve his ball from her garden. He died a few days later,

and his funeral became the scene of mass demonstrations and counterdemonstrations – both of which took on an increasingly xenophobic character. Rumours spread in Muslim communities across Palestine that the Jews intended to attack the Haram al-Sharif on Friday, 23 August. Armed men began to pour into Jerusalem.

The morning of 23 August was tense, to say the least. Both sides were armed – perhaps better-so than the British. The High Commissioner, John Chancellor, and the Police Commissioner, Arthur Mavrogordato, were on holiday along with other high officials.

What happens next, is up to you. This Matrix Game Simulation will allow us to "play" a case study in intelligence and crisis decision making. It will give you a chance to simulate the experience of balancing information and decision, as well as your ability to reflect on that process as a student of analysis and history.

Background Reading

The Buraq revolt, or the disturbances as the British called them, cost the lives of 133 Jews and 110 Arabs. Most Jews were killed by Arabs, and most Arabs by the British police and armed forces. Further violence raged into early 1930. Mass murder struck severe blows to ancient Jewish communities in Hebron and Safad. The readings below will offer you more on the true causes and consequences of these events. In addition to that, it brought the first genuine attempt to limit the Zionist policy by the government, but this was reversed, leading to further long-term resentment by Palestinians.

RANA BARAKAT, 'The Jerusalem Fellah: Popular Politics in Mandate-Era Palestine', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 46, no. 1 (181) (2016): 7–19.

Hillel Cohen and Haim Watzman, *Year Zero of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1929* (Brandeis University Press, 2015).

Pappe, Ilan. "Haj Amin and the Buraq Revolt." Jerusalem quarterly 18 (2003).

Steven B. Wagner, *Statecraft by Stealth: Secret Intelligence and British Rule in Palestine* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019). Chapters 2-4.

Alex Winder, 'The "Western Wall" Riots of 1929: Religious Boundaries and Communal Violence', Journal of Palestine Studies 42, no. 1 (1 September 2012): 6–23, https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2012.XLII.1.6.

Simulation Briefing

Aim/Purpose

Individual team aims will be defined in each team briefing. All students should read the briefings of their competitors – not just their own.

The game is meant to test:

- Your knowledge, understanding, evaluation and application of the principles of intelligence and statecraft as they relate to this case study.
- Your analytic skills, including your contributions to team decisions and your reflections on the decision-making process (especially on how intelligence factors in).
- Your understanding of how different perspectives shape the written record.

You will **not** be evaluated on whether you "win" the game. You are being assessed on your application of analytic skills within the game and in your log and AAR.

Use the provided template for your log and AAR. It does not need to be styled like an essay – note form is ok.

Each individual group member is responsible for the submission of their own log and report on wiseflow, by the deadline. Members of each group will necessarily duplicate parts of their portfolios. There are sections which can only be completed by each individual member. This section is like a personal diary or journal. Warning: Any duplication of the individual sections will be regarded as plagiarism. Any attempt to concoct activity which did not take place will be regarded as forgery. Failure to participate will result in a zero.

You and your team should come prepared for zero-hour on game day. You have been provided this briefing pack and team assignment well in advance. The first entries of your game log should be complete by the time you arrive. You should start working on the pre-game entries once you have read your briefing pack.

Each team must appoint an executive, whose role will be to control the game board on your turn. Other roles must be so noted on the game roster on our teams site.

The logs will document the following:

Pre-Game:

    Group Log:

- A statement of aims and interests
- A policy outline
- A strategy

    Individual:

- A reflection on how the group strategy and policy were crafted, including on disagreements, your contributions, and how dissent was addressed.

During the Game

Group Log:
- The decisions taken by each group

- Any revisions to policy or strategy
- The negotiations undertaken by each group
- The group's evaluation of intelligence and its decisions on how to gather more.
- The group's agreed rationale for the above choices

Individual log:

- The decisions taken by each group. How were arguments settled? How were views shared and discussed?
- What arguments did you consider persuasive?
- Did the group agree on its intelligence appreciations?
- Was the group focused on meeting its aims and interests as defined at the start? What are the consequences of this focus, or lack thereof?

After the Game (AAR):

Group Log:

- Team reflections on your achievements and failures, accounting for the impact of intelligence upon decision-making and security.

Individual:

- Compare notes with your teammates. The end of your AAR should describe and account for:
  o the differences in how your recorded events, and what you considered important
  o the differences in your interpretation of intelligence and events as they unfolded.
  o Why did those differences emerge? Is it a matter a perspective, interpretation, disagreement, or something else?
  o A final reflection on what these differences about a game say about BOTH the craft of intelligence and that of history.

Any duplication, including rewording, across the "individual" sections of your logs will be treated as poor academic practice. You must honestly evaluate how the evidence was interpreted differently within the group.

On Matrix Gaming

This simulation is based on one designed by Dr Rob Johnson at Pembroke College and much credit goes to his work. I have made significant revisions to his original design.

This is a "Matrix Game". These are different to traditional war games. We do not have a strict set of rules here. You can use the facts I provide in your briefings as a basis to plan, but in fact, your decisions and your in-game arguments may change those facts for the purposes of our simulation. In matrix games, players use verbal arguments to explain why something should or should not happen – ie, why and how a character can move from point A to point B, or why a particular document might be stolen or read, or why an armed militia might hold off or be crushed by a professional army unit. The facilitator (Dr Steven Wagner) and the group collectively decide on the likelihood of your argument. We might roll dice, weighted according to that probability, to see what the result is. We might also decide by consensus. More will be described ahead. This game should be accessible to all. All you need to do is propose an action, and explain why you think it will be successful.

For more on matrix games, read here:

and also see the intro chapters to the Matrix Game Construction Kit (MaGCK) guide, found on BBL/ Game simulation info/matrix gaming guide. This document is copyright protected and distribution outside the class is forbidden.

2. Rules/Structure

This simulation will be turn-based. The order of play will be described below. Throughout play, all teams are able and encouraged to negotiate with each other, "in-character". These discussions should take place en claire, and not in secret. It is important for everyone to distinguish their knowledge as players, versus their characters' knowledge. Thus, there are few circumstances where secret discussion would be appropriate. Having these negotiations in the open will allow for great analytic scrutiny on the narrative as it emerges.

Orders

The active team will undertake two type of actions on each turn. These are:

1) Intelligence Queries
   o These are questions which you may have for your team's intelligence assets.
   o You must specify exactly the question your character is asking, and to whom it is directed (ie, which game character or Non-playable character (NPC).
   o You must propose whether the answer is already known to the going to ask, propose whether the answer is already known to the office/informant/etc, and why,
   o or if the answer is not known, you must specify how it might be sought out, and the timescale for returning that answer.
   o You must specify what impact this knowledge will have on your characters(s)
2) Actions, including Movement and Combat Orders
   o An action is something you want your characters to do or say. The format for each "action" must be [the thing they do/say], [the who/what/where/when/how as relevant] and the expected consequence.
      ▪ Include three reasons why you think it will work (pro's)
      ▪ The rest of class will include up to two reasons why it won't (con's)
      ▪ Your proposals may also come under scrutiny for plausibility
   o Types of actions:
      ▪ Any actions taken are in addition to movements which result from an intelligence query.
      ▪ These may be orders issued to armed or belligerent units on the board, including the armed forces, but also militias, mobs, tribal patrols, etc. Normally mass movements don't respond to orders, but might be inspired by agents provocateurs, news, provocations, or events around them.
      ▪ Military orders might include combat orders, ie, search and destroy, pickets, mobile columns, etc.

All orders will be gathered simultaneously, but they will be adjudicated according to the process below.

Scale

All **movement** orders should account for realistic timescales. Consider that road capacity is limited, and see the teams site for a sample rail timetable.

Each **Turn** amounts to one half day. The game begins on the morning of 23 August, and the second turn is the evening of the same day, etc…

One protestor token amounts to 300 individuals.

Military units must be organised according to order of battle. Any units smaller than a company may be represented by an appropriate token from the MaGCK kit.

* the scale of the game changes in the final phase. See 5 below.

Adjudication

Pros and Cons – the Basis of our adjudication will be the Pros and Cons system described on p10 of the MaGCK guide.

The active player will state:

-   The Action they will undertake
-   The effect that action would have, if successful,
-   And up to three positive pro-arguments why it would be successful

Led by the facilitator, the whole class will decide whether the proposal is plausible in the context of the game narrative. Orders must fit within the logic of the narrative produced by the game, including the briefing materials and all prior turns and player actions.

Then, other players may offer up to two con arguments suggesting why the proposal might fail.

 In some cases, a proposal might be self-evident in its plausibility and its success and no adjudication is required as the class has agreed on this by consensus. In others, the facilitator will umpire the PROs and CONs, throwing out unconvincing arguments and leaving the balance to affect a die roll in an action where risk might be involved.

We will use weighted probabilities to adjudicate any proposed actions which are not agreed via consensus, or where risk is inherent (ie, combat). In this case, two six-sided dice will be rolled to determine the outcome. Each strong and credible PRO argument will add +1 modifier. Each CON, -1 modifier. The dice are rolled, with a 7 or more needed for the action to be successful. If the action is a success, the proposed effects are implemented to our narrative. A high result (10, 11, or 12) will result in a major success with an extra positive effect. Likewise for low results (ie, 3 or lower).

Examples

Let's say the police are asked to inquire about arms stocks at a Jewish colony. The police might ask the Haganah, and the class would discuss the plausibility of an honest answer. No dice necessary.

Let's say the police are asked to send an agent for the same question, and that in this narrative, they have already established an agent with some access who might be able to uncover the truth. The police player might argue that the agent has access (+1), can travel there easily (+1), and is trusted by the colony to get a good answer (+1). Other players might argue that as a non-resident of the colony, they would not likely show him the arms stocks (-1). This leaves us with a net modifier of +2. The dice are rolled, landing on 7. We add +2, bringing the result to 9. This is a successful action and effect. Had the total amounted to 11, perhaps we would add bonus information about the details of the stocks, the suppliers, or those in neighbouring colonies. Had the total been 5 or 6, perhaps the action and effect would fail, but the agent would still be in play. Had a very low result appeared, say

1-3 (impossible with a +2 modifier, but let's just say), then we might agree that the agent is detained or neutralised after raising suspicions.

Actions and outcomes need to be plausible based on the information available to your character(s), not to you as the player.

Effects shape the narrative of our game, and may often be ongoing. We may find ourselves referring back to them in the course of other actions and arguments. This is a desirable outcome of matrix gaming.

The game facilitator will keep a narrative log of the game's progress. It will consist of a table logging actions, arguments, and the short and long term effects of each. This will be visible to all players via the team site.

Scripted Events

The game facilitator may inject public news into the game which have been pre-scripted in advance. These may impact the narrative. Surprise happens all the time, of course.

In-game secrecy

It is important to distinguish between your knowledge, as a player, and your character's knowledge within the game. I stress again that the latter must be the basis of your decisions and that you should log these issues in your game diary.

This may mean that you need to present a convincing argument as to how/why secrets are uncovered. Secrecy may also be eroded by your actions and investigations, but is not immediately breakable without a convincing reason.

Secret-stealing efforts need to consider a) what you are looking for, b) whether you know what to look for, c) what might be found in that line of query, and d) how the information might be understood, and e) the likelihood of and consequences of whether the secret-stealer becomes aware that information has leaked. Our goal is to let the narrative prejudice your actions, not your knowledge as a player. So, for example, discovery of a leak might frustrate your plans as a player, as well as those of your character. That distraction might mean you have to adapt your plans.

In matrix games, almost any kind of plausible event, unit, person, object, or whatever can be conjured as can any action and effect to address them. This means, of course, that your character may die. Should such a tragedy occur, this is not the end of the simulation. Your input in adjudication remains as important as ever.

3. Roles & Order of Play

The Supreme Muslim council (including the institutions it controls & influences)

The Labour-Zionist party, (including the institutions it controls & influences)

The Palestine Police Force/ Air Officer Commanding (only when an emergency is declared by OAG)

The Palestine Government

Non-Playable Characters (NPCs)

Mobs, rioters, any spontaneous armed force whose political control is not established in the game narrative.

4. Characters & Set-up

Coloured tokens may be used to indicate "ownership" or allegiance. White/blank will indicate non-controlled items and characters.

The Supreme Muslim Council (green)

President: The Grand Mufti, Hajj Amin al-Husayni.

Hajj Amin leads a council of Sheikhs and scholars who manage the Islamic trusts and who employ clergy, jurists, and educators across the country. The senior scholars in Jerusalem are divided. Hajj Amin has toed the line, sponsoring activism to resist Jewish claims at al-Buraq, but never inciting violence overtly. The Sheikhs he leads are divided about that strategy. Some advocate revolution, and others caution. For example, Sheikh Abu Sa'ud was close to Hajj Amin. He tried to calm tensions the previous week. On the morning of the 23rd, the same action was faced with rejection. On the other hand, Sheikh Ya'qub al-Jilani advocated open revolution.

By way of family connection, this influence bloc also controls the unofficial Palestinian representative body, the Palestine Arab Executive. Its congress has declined in influence in recent years.

Chair of the Palestine Arab Executive: Musa Kazim al-Husayni. Elder statesman of Palestine. His congress movement has been inactive, stymied by British tactics and lack of progress and enthusiasm. Labour unions and youth movements have started organise outside the banner of the Palestine Arab Congress.

Secretary to the Palestine Arab Executive: Jamal al-Husayni. Hajj Amin's cousin and right-hand man. He is the SMC's informal connection to the pan-Arab parties across Palestine and the region.

Mayor of Jerusalem: Ragheb al-Nashashibi. The Nashashibis and Husaynis share political goals, but disagree on most else. This family feud can be bitter at times.

Key contacts in Jaffa

- Sh. Abd al-Qadir al-Muzzafar, a nationalist leader. Opposes mob violence. Prefers organised resistance activity.
- Isma'il Tubasi – an Imam, preaches defence of al-Aqsa against the Jews.
- Hamdi al-Husayni – a Communist journalist and leader of the Young Men's Muslim's Association (nationalist youth club)

The Palestine Arab Workers Society, branches in Jaffa, Jerusalem and Haifa. You have no formal control over the organisation, whose leaders resent Husseini domination at the SMC. Communist members resent the existence of the SMC. However, you have sympathetic agents of influence in each branch. Maybe, in a crisis, PAWS can be won over to the national cause.

Also available, in the Haram area, are a variety of scholars, judges and imams of ranging in political position, but generally hostile toward imperial government. They will be giving sermon midday Friday.

The SMC has sponsored a campaign to restore the Dome of the Rock in previous years and this proved to be an important source of capital. You've used surplus funds to help organise Syrian

rebels, as well as to pad your own budget in Palestine. Your press campaign has galvanised the public in ways which have exceeded your expectations. After years of dealing with infighting and apathy, you have a mass movement which shares your demands. Lead it carefully. A timid response might disappoint your following, but an aggressive one could cost you your job.

1) Curb any attempt to alter the status quo at Jerusalem's holy sites
2) Convince the British of the harm of the Zionist policy and make them reverse it. A truly democratic legislature should have control over immigration policy.
3) Officially, the Mufti must be apolitical and cannot be seen to be directing a political movement. Any exposure on this front will destroy your relationships. The British must believe you are reasonable and that they can work through you.
4) Capture this moment of popular activism and turn it into a mass movement. Do not allow the initiative to slip, and do not lose your position of influence.

Intelligence: Secrecy and propaganda have been your strongest assets. The first is maintained by not writing down anything which could link the SMC to the nationalists. The second has been proven in the past to work through rumour and press campaigns. You have very good sources in the Arabic press, and fewer in the Hebrew press. Often it is easier to ask Arab journalists to speak to their Jewish colleagues when you need to know what's happening on the other side. You can talk freely with leaders of the Jewish socialist party, Hashomer Hatsair (the young guard), who used to dominate Haganah and Jewish Agency intelligence gathering efforts until budgets were cut two years ago. Bribes have proven helpful in obtaining police support in the past. Do not trust the RAF staff, as they do not trust you. You have activist supporters in Geneva and London who can tell you what is happening at the League of Nations, and among elite conservative circles, such as the House of Lords. In Geneva, Shakib Arslan has been representing Arab interests to the League. He is the most widely-read anti-imperialist writer in Arabic and French. In London, a group of conservative women have offered you legal and strategic advice in your dealings with the government. They are your main base of support in English. Their support is an inroad to conservative lawmakers whose support you will need in order to alter the Zionist policy.

The environment is tense on the morning of the 23rd. Masses of people are looking to your leadership to achieve key national goals. You are just as swept up in this movement as the rest of the population. You need to balance nationalist demands with your precarious position vis-à-vis the British. There is room to take risks as the key decision makers are away. However, explicit or overt support for insurrection will cost you your job, and maybe your freedom. What you say during Friday Sermon may inflame the masses of activists and revolutionaries who have collected in Jerusalem. You may also try to calm them down. You may also do nothing, and see what happens. Your first turn cannot ignore their presence. Will you choose the national movement? Or will you choose your high office with the British?

Set-up

Following your afternoon sermon, armed protestors will manifest in Lifta, and one on the road to Hebron. These are non-controlled (white) but may respond to your influence.

In Jerusalem, you will have mobilised six tokens representing 300 unarmed demonstrators each, centred on the old city and its immediate surroundings. Also non-controlled (white). What they do depends on what you say.

One token for light arms in the Haram. One in David's tomb on Mt Zion. One on the road to Ramallah. You have been preparing these over a long period in case of a revolution, but never intended for them to be used now, certainly not without any formal military organisation.

Your compatriots have secretly organised three companies of Bedouin cavalry to come from Transjordan to Palestine once news of the Buraq revolt breaks. Those tokens are also not playable, and they will approach Palestine, hoping to avoid British patrols, so to support the revolution.

*Note
It is possible, but not certain, that organised rebel units might form organically in response to events in the simulation. It is also possible for the SMC to direct and organise these rebel units, but this exposes them to great political risk. If this happens, it is possible to establish a breakaway team (and for this reason, the SMC is larger). If this happens, the key characters are:

Ahmed Tafish – founded the Green Hand Organisation in Safed – a mounted rebel unit of about 30 troops, experienced from the Syrian revolt.

Fuad al-Alami (al-Lubnani) – Lebanese Druse volunteer to the Syrian revolt, now offering support to Tafish from October 1929.

'Izz al-Din al-Qassam – an SMC employee and marriage registrar who organised assassinations of Zionists in the north and spread revolutionary organisation in secret. His activity did not begin in earnest until after the initial outbreak of the revolt, and more so, until after it had settled. Working mainly through the Young Mens' Muslim Associations – a recently established movement imported from Egypt. YMMA's are also supporting Tafish.

Abu Jilda – an ex-highwayman from the Nablus area who enlarged his gang during the chaos. Mainly interested in loot, he and his men are also interested in national politics and enjoy being lionised in the press. They despise being characterised as gangsters.

Robert Gordon Canning – A British ultra-right-winger who was running guns for the Abdel Krim revolt in Morocco until recently. He has offered his services via contacts in NPL to the Palestinians. He will not be active until October 1929.

No initial setup is required for any of the above as they will not appear until the game narrative allows for it.

The Labour-Zionist party, (blue)
Characters:

Yitzhak Ben-Tzvi: Jerusalem city councilman. Senior party member. Main party liaison to Haganah.

Dov Hoz: Senior party figure and member of Haganah central committee.

David Ben-Gurion: Secretary General of the Histadrut

Chair of Jewish Agency executive: Col Frederick Kisch (British ex-soldier, not a party member)

Eliyahu Golomb: Informal commander of Haganah.

Chaim Weizmann: Not a party member, but, leader of the World Zionist Organisation. Lives in London. Visits Palestine periodically. He is the elder statesman of the movement and has considerable influence with British elites. You might need his help if the British start changing their minds about the Zionist policy.

The party's influence has been growing over the past several years, despite some economic setbacks as a result of the recession. The party controls the Labour Union Federation (Histadrut), the Haganah militias, the National Council, legislature, and its administrative organs (mainly handling resources for colonies, schools, etc), and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The Jewish Agency is the Yishuv's main representative body to the British and has parallel administrative organs to distribute funds and resources within the Yishuv. The enlargement of the Jewish Agency earlier in 1929 means that this body, headed by Col. Kisch, now represents all of world Jewry's interests in Palestine, as well as all Jewish non-Zionist parties and communities within Palestine. This has curbed the party's influence to some extent, but the coming crisis is an opportunity to win them over and expand the Agency's influence within the Yishuv, transforming it into more than a colonial administration agency. You have supported Jewish claims over the western wall, but your people have blamed the Revisionists, not Arabs, for the brewing crisis. The British are happy with that approach, as are the Palestinians. So far, the party tends to represent European (Ashkenazi) colonists and, like the other Zionist institutions, has yet to extend much influence over religious Jews and Mizrachi (North African, Spanish and Middle Eastern) Jews, many of whom are non-Zionist and sympathetic to Palestinian goals.

Your main concerns right now are security, and maintaining your dominance in Yishuv politics. This means you must contain revisionist influence. The Revisionist Party led by Vladimir Jabotinsky (now in Europe), has sought immediate Jewish statehood under the umbrella of the British empire. Jabotinsky has criticised your party's failure to address Palestinian resistance to Zionism, and advocates a more forceful, less restrained approach. A young group of extremists has risen in the revisionist ranks. They have criticized Jabotinsky's diplomacy in favour of armed revolution. They have provoked conflict at the wall over the past months. These include:

Abba Ahimeir. Writer, journalist, and militant leader of the Betar youth movement. Pressed Jabotinsky to support his brand of armed revolutionary Zionism to establish a Jewish state in the near term. Jabotinsky Later sympathetic toward Italian fascism. Russian-born.

Jeremiah Halpern, ex Officer in the Italian Navy. Fascist sympathiser. Responsible for training Betar cadets.

Revisionists may manifest on the map as NPC's with black tokens.

Goals:

- Do not allow a disaster to befall the parts of the Yishuv whom you represent, and if you can, support communities whom you don't represent.
- Make sure the Revisionists, and not you, will be blamed for the crisis (and any failures). Contain their growing influence over urban middle and working classes, and among Sepharadi and Mizrachi (North African (Spanish) and Middle Eastern Jews).
- Hold British authorities to account if they fail to uphold their constitutional obligations to defend Palestine and enforce the Zionist policy. You can accept a continuation of status-quo at the wall, if you must. But you cannot accept a change to the Zionist policy or any limits to Jewish immigration.

Setup:

Histadrut –

No immediate set up, but you have labour organisers in Haifa, Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem who have influence over Jewish workers in those cities, and to a lesser extent, some Arab workers. No immediate set up required.

Haganah

You maintain secret arms stocks throughout rural Jewish colonies. These can appear as tokens as needed. Armaments include few rifles, but mostly pistols and shotguns. You have a few heavier arms such as machine guns which you have hidden in more remote and vulnerable colonies. These tokens can be played as needed, so as not to clutter the board.

Each colony will have a defensive militia, with men women and teenagers trained in defensive tactics. Each have drilled for the possibility of attacks by Arabs. You have only staff personnel in urban centres – no militias. These tokens may also manifest as needed.

Militia units are not very mobile and your communication systems are poor.

Haganah field intelligence is good and can easily produce reports on rural affairs. In the cities, the Haganah has sources among the predominantly Jewish staff at the telephone exchanges. These women are the backbone for your intelligence work.

Jewish Agency Intelligence (shared with Haganah)

Since budgets were cut two years ago, you have practically no system of regular intelligence gathering. As a result of the crisis last week, Aharon Haim Cohen, an assistant to your ex-intel boss, Haim Kalvarisky, has come to your aid with intelligence on arms stockpiles in the Haram. You cannot act on this intelligence without causing a provocation. Cohen is an able agent and master of disguise and has a number of his own sources in the Palestinian community. He is not the best analyst. Kalvarisky is a problem – he is considered too conciliatory toward the Palestinians and has been left out of the intelligence profession because you don't trust him. His resentment may be a problem.

You have two sources in the Arab community which can make or break affairs for you. The Mayor of Haifa, Hassan Shukri, has been helpful in the past and is generally friendly toward Zionism. This is a well-known fact among Palestinians. He is able to pass information on the Palestinian labour movement and the religious authorities in the north – general trends only. Your second source is in Jerusalem. He is a Muslim journalist from Hebron, who lives in Jerusalem with his Jewish wife. His family is raised in both religions. He works for the pro-Mufti newspaper, al-Jami'a al-'Arabiya. He has close access to the Mufti's closest associates and supporters. He has supported the SMC's propaganda campaign and spread lies about Jewish plans to take over the Haram. None the less, his precarious family situation means he may need your protection. You might decide to play the long game and leave him alone. Only his hander knows his true identity (as does Dr Wagner). In Hebrew records he is known as 'Oved.

You have some senior sources among the Revisionists who can give you a big-picture of what's happening there, but nothing tactical. Haganah field agents might be able to help with that.

Set up:

One small field reconnaissance team is deployed to the Jewish Quarter of the old city of Jerusalem.

Map characters as needed. Prepare Haganah tokens in case it is mobilised.

Air Officer Commanding (Defence & Security) (red and foam ORBAT symbols)

Characters

Palestine & TJ:

Air Officer Commanding: Group Captain Patrick Playfair

Commander Transjordan Frontier Force: Major Howard

Egypt:

Commanding Officer: Brigadier William Dobbie (Egypt)

High Commissioner Egypt, Sir Percy Loraine, Bt.

Your goals:

- End any disturbances quickly and efficiently
- Avoid significant casualties or any major embarrassing incidents involving civilian death and destruction
- Keep Bedouin tribes from joining any disturbances, or from allowing any Palestine disturbances to spread.

Setup and Order of battle:

The GOC can only deploy armed forces in aid of the civil power. So, the "emergency" starts when the civil power asks for this aid.

RAF

Land Units

No 2 armoured car company HQ – Amman

- "B section", No 2 Armoured Car company
"C section", no 2. Armoured Car Company Ramleh

"A section", no 2. Armoured car company, on patrol at Ghuweir

(Armoured Car sections contain six to seven vehicles. Usually half armoured cars, half armed tenders)

(Armoured Cars- Wheeled vehicles, 12mm armour, crew of 3, armed with Vickers MG, range 150 mi; Armed tenders were not armoured, but carried Vickers guns and had room for troops or prisoners.)

Intelligence

The RAF fulfils no political intelligence function, and has a tiny permanent staff to fulfil basic military intelligence functions such as mapping, reconnaissance and communication. The only political intelligence handled by the RAF is to do with tribal liaison, which has been outsourced to the Arab legion. You may access their reports, if you ask.

Aircraft

No 14 bomber sqdn, Amman

- Airco DH.9A Bomber – 5 hour endurance.
- Can be used for air recon too

Transjordanian Frontier Force

HQ TJFF, Amman, - 6 staff and 11 guards

Regiment HQ, Zerka

- 2 companies, mounted (horse)
- 1 camel company

One horse-mounted company TJFF – Ma'an

Total TJFF troops about 530

(135 troops to a company of TJFF)

Arab Legion

- Unavailable for deployment, but the staff HQ is available for intel and can report on Amir Abdullah, as well as tribal affairs in Transjordan as well as in the kingdom of Hejaz and Nejd (Saudi Arabia).

Logistics & Support

Supply Depot, Sarafand

Palestine General Hospital, Sarafand

No 2. Wireless company has a regional listening station in Sarafand. It is top secret.

RESERVES – Potentially available during emergency

The Royal Navy

Naval Assets in Malta: HMS Sussex, HMS Barham, HMS Courageous

HMS Sussex was a brand new cruiser launched in March 1929.

HMS Barham - Battleship built in 1914, this vessel took part in Jutland, before joining the Mediterranean fleet after the war. Despite her long history she was sunk in 1941 by U boats.

HMS Courageous- This vessel began its life as a Cruiser in the First World War, but under the Washington disarmament agreement of 1922, which limited the number of capital ships, it was decided to convert her to an aircraft carrier. Work began in 1924 and the task cost just over £2million.

- Carries 3 squadrons. 4 flights to a squadron. 4 aircraft to a flight.
- 2 bomber squadrons
- 1 fighter squadron

Note: all RN vessels can deploy a portion of their complement ashore as 'bluejackets'

British Army

Available for service in Palestine, from Egypt

Brigade Headquarters staff

1st Battalion South Wales Borderers (infantry) c.800 all ranks

- Although this battalion has its own mortars, motor vehicles and anti-tank assets, none of these will be available in Palestine.

1st Battalion, the Green Howards (infantry) c.600 all ranks

- The same restrictions apply as to the 1/SWB

Available for service in Palestine, from Malta

1st Battalion, The South Staffordshire Regiment (infantry)

RAF

Egypt: Flights from no 45 sqdn (DH9A's)

Logistics

RAF Heliopolis: 4x Vickers Victoria (can carry up to 22 troops at a time, range 770 mi, speed 110mph)

May also use railway, but schedules, traffic, and land speed will make the 730 mile journey slower. Average speed will be 30mph from departure, so about a day to get from Cairo to central Palestine. The train leaves Kantara around midnight (see timetable in appendix).

The Palestine Government (civil) (red)
Characters:

Chief Secretary and Officer Administering the Government, Harry Luke

High Commissioner, Sir John Chancellor (away)

Acting Police Commandant: Alan Saunders

Commandant of CID, Joseph Frederick Broadhurst

Chancellor is a professional colonial official. He has confronted the pressures facing Palestine through a commission of inquiry which held up the status quo. This is seen as a success. He has been pressured by the High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Percy Lorraine, to invest more in defence and security, as the current defence scheme depends upon reserves from Egypt which may not always be available, especially if disturbances struck both countries simultaneously, or coincided with a conflict with Italy or another power. Chancellor is facing budget constraints following an economic recession in Palestine. This led to net emigration of Jews from Palestine in 1927, but has brought economic disparity across classes and between Jews and Arabs to the forefront. Chancellor takes the annual report to the League of Nations very seriously and has been studying the economic aspects to the country's development. He supports his predecessor's limitations on the distribution of arms to Jewish communities.

Police report to the chief secretary. The GOC can only deploy armed forces in aid of the civil power. So, the "emergency" starts when the civil power asks for this aid. There are about 1375 (mostly) Arab and (some) Jewish police spread throughout the country's urban areas and frontier control points. In addition there are 250 British police, who comprise most of the officer corps.

Police may carry light arms, ie pistols revolvers and shotguns, consigned from stations. However, one measure which successfully defused the crisis last week was that police were ordered out unarmed. Armed police are inherently provocative to demonstrators.

Frontier control posts carry rifles. Police have few motor vehicles, so the only way to move police in large numbers is on the privately-operated train network. Police have also consigned shotguns to village "Ghaffirs" or watchmen, both Jewish and Arab. They are sealed in locked armouries. The previous high commissioner disarmed most village Ghaffirs by 1928, although some Jewish colonies kept their locked armouries.

CID

This is your secret political police. Despite some past triumphs leading to the deportation of "dangerous communists", the CID lacks modern forensic laboratory equipment. Shoestring budgets mean each police district has a small intelligence staff working closely with the district commissioner. The government has not shown much interest in these reports since Chancellor's appointment last year.

Main intelligence concerns:

Disarmament of Arab villages and Jewish colonies, and the prevention of smuggling

Maintaining close liaison with the Mufti. You are vaguely aware that a former district governor, himself an intelligence hand, had raised alarm about the Mufti's financing of Arab rebels in Syria during 1925-27. So far as you are concerned, he has since cooperated with the government.

You keep an eye on other Zionist and Arab nationalist labour agitators in the political sphere and the labour market. Haifa and Jaffa are the centres of left-wing labour organisation. A new Arab workers society seems to be trying to resist the Histadrut's domination of the labour market. You are dependent on those communities for that information.

The wailing wall disturbances of 1928 have brought religious sites and the maintenance of the Ottoman-era status quo into high priority. Extremists may try to use holy sites as a flashpoint. You've had your eye on the Revisionist youth movement, Betar, especially. The Palestine government has

since washed its hands of the issue of holy sites and committed to enforcing the status quo. The enlarged Jewish agency has increased pressure on the issue, bringing the interests of European and American Jews into the picture. None the less, you expect no major changes, and anyway, the basic constitutional problem in Palestine remains the same until Whitehall changes its mind. The Palestinians won't join democratic institutions which cannot control immigration policy. Your predecessors have been able to work around their demands in the past. Maybe you can do the same.

Your goals:

- Maintain the status quo
- Prevent or limit disturbances. Avoid losing control of the security situation or calling on the RAF.
- If you do declare an emergency, limit the knock-on effects the best you can. Find a way out with lasting effects.
- Don't get blamed for failure

Setup:

Character tokens: deployed if needed in Jerusalem

Police:

Static Frontier posts (see 1932 map for reference) are better-armed, but have smaller staffs, officers and constables. They have mounted sections of up to 12 horses and usually no more than 30 police all together. In the north, most have no wired or w/t communications.

Urban police – large stations exist in each city. Police may check out pistols/revolvers and shotguns if desired for patrols, but police armouries do not keep large stocks outside main urban headquarters. Police stations may deploy:

riot police, armed with batons (one token amounting to 100 riot police) (one token of mounted riot control amounting to 30 horses)

patrol police in blues (only deployed when organised for emergency – 1 token=100) – assumed to be unarmed unless indicated with an arms token.

arms stocks: at the police stations in Ramleh and Jerusalem contain surplus arms and ammunition. Smaller supplies at each other station.

No initial setup of police patrols or stations is required as their deployments numbered in groups of 15-30 until an emergency breaks out. We can also create tokens for these smaller numbers if such indications are needed.

5. Game Phases

This section assumes that a crisis will develop in the early part of the game. It is however possible that this may not manifest and then this section must be reconsidered by the game facilitator with the class.

The first phase of the game deals with the immediate phase before the outbreak of communal violence. This will define the course of the rest of the game.

The next phase will likely be the crisis or emergency itself – the call by government for aid from the military. The government's goal will be to keep this short, but almost every other team will have a reason to extend it.

Aftermath – the final rounds of the game will deal with the long-term plans to address the crisis and the grievances which caused it. This won't, for example, deal with any commissions of inquiry, but certainly can propose and plan them. During this phase, the scope of the game will change and each turn will represent one month.

6. Combat Orders & Resolution

Should combat orders be issued and lead to contact with an opposing force, this section will govern how that will be adjudicated and resolved. The instructor will offer his own influence as to the weighting of arguments but will invite and accept convincing cases which contradict his judgement. Ie, if he rates the combat capability of protestors low, downrating it to -2, but arguments are convincingly presented to the contrary, then that rating will be adjusted.

Another feature of combat is about effects: We will have to define clearly the strength of effects and define the pro/cons and die weighting around the likelihood of certain outcomes. Ie, if protestors are unlikely to wipe out an army battalion, it shouldn't be mathematically likely, or even possible in the die roll.

7. Victory

Victory may be defined by each individual team. It may be about the goals presented to you in this briefing, or you may have altered or adapted those according to the developing narrative of the game. That is ok – the main thing is that these decisions are documented in your logs and that you address these outcomes in the individual reflection section of your logs as well.

Appendix – Additional Briefings

- Police Annual Report 1931 – the map enclosed should be a good reference for police stations distribution
- Committee of Imperial Defence Papers on the strategic importance of Palestine
- Budget papers – for reference only