

**STRATEGY
RESEARCH
PROJECT**

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies. This document may not be released for open publication until it has been cleared by the appropriate military service or government agency.

THE KUWAITI RESISTANCE

BY

COLONEL SAMI MURJAN AL-MERJAN
Kuwait

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:

Approved for public release.
Distribution is unlimited

19960603 213

USAWC CLASS OF 1996



U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE, CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA 17013-5050

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 1

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

THE KUWAITI RESISTANCE

by

Colonel Sami Murjan Al-Merjan
Kuwait

Colonel Charles A. Doll
Project Adviser

U.S. Army War College
Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies. This document may not be released for open publication until it has been cleared by the appropriate military service or government agency.

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A: Approved for public release. Distribution is unlimited.

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Sami Murjan Al-Merjan (Colonel), Kuwait

TITLE: The Kuwaiti Resistance

FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: 15 April 1996

PAGES:

CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

This paper provides insight from a Kuwaiti soldier who fought in the Kuwaiti Resistance in 1990. It shows how the Kuwait people and Kuwait armed forces joined together to battle the Iraqi forces. The strategy and the tactics of resistance are explained from first hand involvement. It outlines key goals of the Kuwaiti resistance.

The Kuwaiti Resistance

INTRODUCTION

The Iraqi aggression against the state of Kuwait on 2 August 1990, was a bewildering surprise because Kuwait is a peace-loving country that never raise up a weapon or wage war, and never fail to give generously, or to provide aid to her neighbors and brothers in Arab and Muslim nations. So it is impossible to explain an aggression with a number of forces that exceeded hundreds of thousands, and with this state of large scale of preparation, as angry reaction because of a dispute about oil wells or production shares. The large number of these forces requires long periods and plotted intention.

People face various historical events. But each people has a special historical event where the endurance be kept in the memory. The more suffering, the more the event is deep rootedness. This is exactly what happened to the Kuwaiti people. The Iraqi aggression was the event. It is rare to find another people faced with this much suffering during a short period, where there is alienation, homelessness, repression, persecution, torture and death.

Kuwait people depending on his nature recognized the extent of malevolence stands behind the perfidious aggression. So, Kuwait people from the first minute declared opposition, civil disobedience and armed resistance. The aggressor believed, that he will subjugate these people and his will. But that peace-loving, kindness and frinedly people, is more solid and strong than his weapons. So these people stood against the aggressor, and the aggressor was not able to find any one Kuwaiti citizen, accepting his allegations, or to respond to his orders, or to agree to be within his entity.

KUWAITI FORCES FIGHT THE AGGRESSORS

The comprehensive quick invasion that has been committed by the aggressor forces and the enormous troops, the hostile joint operations by army, air forces, navy, and paratroops, that attacked Kuwait intending the Kuwaiti capital and its facilities, gave an impression, that the matter was easy and without victims or resistance. This conclusion because of the breaking down of Kuwait mass media after it had been occupied by Iraqi invaders, as well as the communications between the State of Kuwait and other countries, had been interrupted. So, the only media was with the enemy's media, where this media was announcing lies and false facts. The enemy's broadcasting and mass media, will never spread any information about the struggle and the sacrifices of the Kuwaiti people and his armed forces, where the Kuwaiti people

and his armed forces in such unexpected conditions have to face hundreds of thousands of enemy troops, equipped with sophisticated equipment and weapons as the enemy forces have been prepared for a long time to commit this brutal and criminal action.

In spite of surprise and lack of readiness to facing such an attack of this size, the Kuwaiti forces stood against the enemy bravely and willingly, where heroical battles have occurred, which its result is known in favor of the enemy because the lack of balance between the two parties. But it was the stand of right and duty against the oppression. The Kuwaiti armed forces fixed the aggressors in most directions and positions, and caused large losses in the troops and equipment. Whereas the losses of Kuwaiti forces were less than the enemy losses, in spite of the fact the number of enemy's troops and equipment was more. The Kuwaiti forces exactly know that time requires heroic and brave actions, as well as self-sacrifice, and that's what happened. Much of heroic actions and martyrs by Kuwaiti armed forces. The misguided aggressor recognized the boldness and the will of Kuwait forces to cause losses in his forces as possible, so the aggressor exerted more pressure and concentrated its attack, so Kuwait forces were obligated to withdraw from various positions, as the ammunitions had been used up, and the equipment of Kuwait forces were destroyed.

KUWAIT PEOPLE AND KUWAIT ARMED FORCES TOGETHER IN THE BATTLE

Kuwaiti citizens joined Kuwaiti army to fight the Iraqi forces, refusing the aggression and supporting Kuwaiti armed forces in their heroical stand. The Kuwaiti people united with his armed forces to facing the savage enemy. The Kuwaiti youths proceeded to army's camps, taking up arms with enthusiasm and will to fight for the sake of the country till the death.

The stand of the peace-loving Kuwaiti people against the Iraqi aggression, who's treachery rushed into his country, and tried to exterminate his personality, and to thaw him in Iraqi entity, was surprised. The Kuwaiti people has been changed into a solid society, unified his word, integrated and be united in solidarity. The Kuwaiti people offered sacrifices. The women stood together with men fighting and resisting. The aggressor was surprised because of this solid stand, where its documents revealed his favor, anxiety and the disability to control this giant, who launched, bravely, willingly and effectively.

The nature of Kuwaiti people has its own properties and characteristics. Kuwaiti people lived as one consolidated and unified family, where the capable supports the incapable. These people faced terrible challenges, since he selected Kuwait as home, came to from the midth of peninsula, bearing with him Islamic and Arabic values, in his daily behavior and in his

living, insisting on dignity and freedom, the independence in decision making, and refusing the vassalage and subjection. The history of the Gulf and the big powers conflict witnesses that Kuwaiti people still insisting on his freedom and independence. Kuwaiti people was keeping all love, respect and appreciation toward othmanist caliphate, and he was proud with its Islamic role, but the Kuwaiti people denied and stood against any attempt by othmanist authorities to translate this stood, into subjection or containment. Kuwait remained for more than three centuries a specified entity, insisting on independence under no circumstances, and in spite of all pressures exerted by the big powers at that time. Kuwait held firmly this method in its relations with all conflicted big powers in the Gulf, British, Holland and others.

MISCALCULATIONS OF IRAQI REGIME

Iraqi regime made a mistake in his reading of the solid stand of Kuwait in favor, while he was in trouble and in wars. They made a mistake when they believed the unlimited support and the glory with the efforts and achievements by Kuwait people and Kuwaiti government, means it is a dazzle with their power, where the will of others should be collapsed, and the result the others must accept subjection and containment.

The Iraqi aggression occurred against the State of Kuwait, the aggressors arrived at Kuwait city, they gathered around, inside this city, the biggest military mobilization in the modern history, as the number of Iraqi troops was 529,200, including various forces. This number exceeded the number of citizens at that period, because a big number of citizens were enjoying their summer holiday abroad. The aggressors established check points in squares, streets, and the exits and accesses of suburbs. So the Kuwaiti citizens became in the midth of besieged fort by weapons and troops.

Again, they made a mistake when they believed that they overcome this people, and defeated his will with these troops. Their calculations were expecting that there will be no resistance against their forces. Their calculations were based on the following:

1. Kuwait land is flat, open, and free of forests, mountains and uplands, where the hiding or camouflage are very difficult.
2. The planning of Kuwait on the basis of integrated areas, makes easy for the enemy's forces to control the exits and the accesses of these areas, and the motorways enable the enemy's forces to move rapidly and to receive supplies.

3. Open-mindedness and the variety of Kuwaiti inhabitants, resulted in the presence of members assisting the enemy, and to provide him with information.
4. Kuwaiti people are peace-loving people, do not bear any hostile intentions, and is not being trained on the street war, resistance actions, using explosives and other means of resistance.
5. The Kuwait people, under the control of the aggressor, will not be able to assemble or make an organized action because of his lack in this respect.

But the Kuwaiti citizens were able, with their will and determination, to change these negative estimations into active factors.

THE RISE OF KUWAITI RESISTANCE

The Kuwaiti resistance originated through the refusal of Kuwait people of the aggression, and the solidarity of Kuwaiti people with his armed forces against the enemy forces. Also, the Kuwait people recognized this time as the right time for self-sacrifices to depend on the country. Thus the Kuwaiti resistance originated and appeared as truth, caused panic and fear among his forces. The Kuwaiti resistance formed fighting groups, where

there was strictly secret, by using Pseudonyms, Ciphred massages and unintelligible telephone communications, in order to send directions and to inform about the movement and the assemblies of the enemy in Kuwaiti various areas, and to dispatch combat groups at the right time and place to make ambushes and to strike the enemy and to hide. So the calculations of the enemy were wrong, and he began reviewing his calculations, in order to face the Kuwait resistance violently and savagery.

THE STRATEGY AND THE TACTICS OF RESISTANCE

When we consider the Kuwaiti resistance on the light of the various studies on resistance movements in different countries, we conclude a group of common principles, that are necessary to realize success. The most important principles are:

1. The resistance should be central managed from inside the country and in different areas.
2. The resistance must not concentrate on a large-scale operation, but on many operations as the successive operations affect on the moral of the enemy.
3. There should be a complete and comprehensive people support.

The studies indicate the successful resistance operations in such countries similar to Kuwait with a limited geographical area, civil state has to take in consideration a number of considerations:

1. The resistance must not engage collectively with the enemy, as this may give it a good chance to use directly and effectively his weapons and vehicles.
2. The resistance should perform its operations by small separated groups, in case the enemy became able to discover one of it, he will not be able to discover the rest.
3. The high (supreme) command of resistance must not be known by the resistance members, in order not to let the enemy discover it.
4. The resistance should adopt the tactics of hit and hide, to cause scarce and anxiety at the enemy.

The Kuwait resistance through its strategy and tactics, intellectually and flexibility comprehended these principles and considerations, or that the resistance arrived at through practice.

THE GOALS OF RESISTANCE

KUWAITI RESISTANCE CONSIDERED A SET OF GOALS

1. To keep the enemy and his forces in constant fear, to deprive him from the rest, and to weaken his moral, so he will not feel safe and strong because of his occupation. The resistance hits and hides in places and through methods and various means that are changeable.
2. To enforce the enemy - as possible - to be isolated in his camps, and to compel his forces to go far from the houses and the citizens, and their daily lifes.
3. To watch the movements, the activities and the assemblies of the enemy, and to collect all information that may be useful to resist the enemy inside the country, and to inform the legitimate leadership, and allied forces, to be familiar with his plans and his weaknesses.
4. To let the enemy live in doubtfulness and lack of trust even in the water he drinks, the food he eats, and the medicine he takes.

5. To direct painful strokes, to feel that he is weak, and the resistance is strong, and in other hand to enforce the trust and the ability of citizens in resistance and increase their morals.
6. To start a psychological war of hearsays and information that scatter and dispress the abilities and the morals of the enemy.
7. To maintain safety place for foreigners because they have been targeted by the enemy to utilize them as a pressure on their countries.

RESISTANCE OPERATIONS AND ITS TACTICS

In this part we discuss the Kuwaiti resistance operations, its types, methods, and the influences on the enemy. Also we discuss the extent of the resistance successfulness in realizing the set of goals.

First, Spreading of Panic Among the Enemy Forces to Weaken Its Morale.

To achieve this goal, the resistance adopted a set of tactics, represented in attacking the check points that have been founded by the enemy at the entrances of Kuwait's districts and the key positions, control the movement of citizens and to arrest the military men and policemen as the enemy issued orders to each person who was working at these two sectors to introduce himself to the occupation authorities and police stations. The check points and police stations were an indication of his control, ability and means to look for weapons and to choose the citizens. The resistance operations varied against the check points and police stations as the group scouts the target (the number of troops, the accesses, and the methods of hiding), then to state the right time for attacking. The attack usually was being carried out at breaktime or at the replacement of the troops, to avoid any casualty among citizens during the attack.

After scouting of the positions and studying it in detail and making the plan, then the attack will be completed at the designated time; as the members of resistance group drive two cars. The first car moves and passes normally the site to scout it to make sure that the site is as in the first scouting, then the second car moves carrying the armed group with machine guns and grenades, shooting fire and throwing grenades at the prestated target. Then the car runs quickly in the stated direction in the attack plan. This scene repeated hundreds of times causing casualties among the enemy forces. This even urges

them to be alert, anxious and fearful, affects on their spirits and decreases their ability to control the Kuwait areas.

This tactic has been applied against the infantry troops, whom they were moving individually within the areas and very close to citizens houses. Also this tactic destroyed a lot of military vehicles (tanks, trucks and the disabled vehicles in the streets and caused casualties among the military troops who were inside these vehicles). These operations that have been done bravely and courageously, and planned properly, result in increasing the moral of Kuwaiti resistance and destroying the spirits of the enemy.

Second, Forcing of the Enemy to be Isolated in his Camps and to be Far From the Citizens and Their Daily Life.

a. Killing of the officers of enemy forces during their constant visits to co-op societies. These co-ops are co-operative trading centers, contain all food and consumer goods, and other services and facilities as clinics and children garden, etc. These co-ops are spread in all Kuwaiti areas, where people daily and constantly visit it, to buy their domestic requirement at reasonable prices, or to visit one of the service centers, or to bring their children to amuse in the gardens. These co-operative societies have a tight relation with the Kuwaiti citizens because it provides all his needs and requirements he

may need.

During the Iraqi aggression, the officers and the soldiers of the enemy would often visit these societies, and cause annoyance and upset the citizens, while they were buying their daily needs. This situation resulted in quarelling and shooting fire events in order to frighten and scare the citizens and to take the food goods under the threat of weapons, free of charge.

So, Kuwaiti resistance actively chased the officers and the soldiers of enemy whom they commit these actions, as Kuwait resistance bombed their vehicles by remote control and shooting the troops by muffler weapons. The enemy understood the letter that had been addressed to him by the Kuwaiti resistance and the enemy felt that the danger threatens him everywhere and everytime, so he went far from these places and other places that have direct relations with the citizens.

b. Presenting of friendly feelings toward the enemy and accompanying his troops far places, then killing them. The methods that have been adopted by Kuwaiti resistance in killing the enemy's officers include, to present friendly feeling, and at the right time accompany them by cars at far distances then killing them. These operations and similar operations caused effectively in frightening and scaring the occupation forces, as these forces firmly believed that each Kuwait citizen is a member

in the resistance, so the troops must not make any kind of relation with Kuwaitis.

c. Traping of the deserted Kuwaiti cars that may the soldiers try to utilize it or take spare parts from these cars, as the iraqi soldiers were overtaking these cars, and dismalntling the spare parts from the civilian Kuwaiti cars that were left in the streets. The resistance observed these actions and their members were moving at dark time to these cars and traping it with explosives to hit the soldiers whom tried to dismantle it and to use the spare parts. But the enemy understood this method and went far from these cars because he thought that it was trapped and possibly would explode at any time.

Third, Collecting of Information and Sending it to Legitimate Leadership and Allied Forces.

The resistance was observing to watch the movements of the enemy forces and its groups and to be familiar with its activities and plans and utilize this information in attacking its weaknesses through resistance operations and providing all information that are required by allied forces for the sake of Kuwait liberation plans and its operations.

In spite of all these difficulties, the resistance was interested to provide a wireless device to facilitate the quickness of exchanging opinions and information and to present it to legitimate leadership and allied forces to strike the enemy. The Kuwaiti resistance received communication devices by satellite that had been smuggled across Saudi-Kuwaiti borders, sent by the leadership of Al-Dammam and Al-Taif. The communications were confidentially implemented through moving these devices to a specified house, taking in consideration that these devices should be moved continuously between the houses in order to not be watched and discovered by the enemy.

The information that was being collected from Kuwaiti areas by resistance members, sent to the resistance command to select the confirmed ones, to send it abroad to the legitimate leadership and allied forces. Some of this information has been displayed on T.V. screens by CBS and CNN. The coalition (alliance) forces purposely infiltrated this information to inform the Iraqi regime that all movements of his troops and plans inside Kuwait are known to frustrate him and to waken his morals and to paralyze his ability.

The Iraqi reaction was violent when he discovered that such information had been sent to alliance forces. So he began an inspection operation on the houses that have wireless net and prevented people from following up the news bulletins from radio

and T.V. All communication devices such as faxes, mobiles, wireless devices, video, satellite telephones had been confiscated. This reaction shows the effective role of Kuwaiti resistance as an important resource to collect information and to send it to the competent authorities in order to utilize it in confronting and defeating the aggressive forces.

Fourth, The Resistance Embitter the Life of Enemy in His Food, Drink and Medicine

The Kuwait resistance in his purpose to eliminate the enemy and to increase his troubles as countermeasure against his offensive practices against the peace-loving people as the enemy assaulted the women, killed and tormented the people, this people must confront with any available income. For that the resistance did the following:

a. Contamination of the water resources that likely the enemy uses.

b. Adding a harmful material to the medicines and to the medical solutions that were being used by the enemy in Kuwaiti hospitals.

Fifth, Directing of Painful Strokes Against the Enemy

The resistance was interested to select the weaknesses of the enemy, through watching the enemy movements, activities and groups in order to direct a painful stroke, to realize three aims:

a. To notify the enemy that he is weak and disabled, in spite of his groups, forces and capabilities as this state will affect on his morals.

b. To show the extent of strength of Kuwaiti resistance and its ability as this will let the world know that Kuwaiti people denies the invador and its allegations.

c. To strengthening the trust at the citizens, that they are able to face this invasion, as this will consolidate the people.

THESE STROKES ARE REPRESENTED IN THREE KINDS

1. To strike the enemy in his own house.

2. To strike the groups of enemy in markets and common places.

3. To execute a challenge operations against the enemy and to examine his abilities.

Sixth, Resistance and Psychological War

The resistance started a psychological war against the enemy in order to destroy its morals and to keep them in tension and expecting many and dangerous strokes in various places and with different means, which results in loss the ability to concentrate and quiet planning and to distribute his forces and activities and result these forces became weak and less effective.

The Psychological war against the enemy take different images:

a. To send false information and rumors that cause panic among the enemy troops through:

1. Making friendly relationship with some commands and his intelligences.
2. Informing a false information through telephone conversation between Kuwaitis in order to be transmitted to the enemy during taping.
3. Create chances to meet soldiers of the enemy in order to transmit rumors causing panic.

b. To perform a unified work by all Kuwaitis at a designated one time, as this will show the strength of perfect organization and communication between the people and the people, also this shows the efforts of enemy to control the Kuwaiti people are useless.

c. To distribute publishings.

d. To write slogans challenging the enemy in well known and very important places, and to raise up the flags and the photos of Amir and his crown prince on common place where the enemy is unaware.

e. To remove the sign boards, the road and street names, numbers of houses in all areas from the bridges in order to misguide the enemy and to prevent him from recognizing the houses of resistance members, the soldiers and the policemen.

Seven, The Resistance Maintains Safety Places for Foreigners

One of the behaviors of the Iraqi regime that caused the disgust of the world is the decision of Baghdad regime to arrest all foreigners in the State of Kuwait and to use them as pressure means against the alliance forces, and to place them in the strategic places where he uses as headquarter for his activities and to be human shields, in order to prevent the alliances force

from bombing of these places that keep the foreigners. So, in a clan of clans this attitude according to a decision from its president, this emphasizes that this state is not interested with laws, systems and international documents in addition to the teachings of morals and the guide of declarations.

This action has recorded a patent page in favor of Kuwaiti resistance. The resistance and Kuwaiti people presented assist, and self-sacrifice to assist these foreigners, the guests of Kuwait. So, a number of Kuwaiti citizens kept a number of foreigners out Iraqi intelligences, at their houses, and provide them with food goods, in spite those people were subjected and their families to certain danger, particularly, the enemy began a storming campaign into the suspected houses.

It should be mentioned that there is no any case shows that one of Kuwaiti people gave foreigner to the enemy authority, in spite of the storming, inspection, arresting and killing the persons who lodged these foreigners. It is naturally to establish a friendly relations between lodgers and those foreigners, these relations are known to all those whom were during the distress, facing the death and oppression by the aggression, as the resistance were managing the places and transportations from place to another.

The American hostages with collaboration with the resistance were able to prepare reports about the Iraqi aggression and its crimes in the State of Kuwait. These reports have been directed to the ex-President George Bush, and congress members, as those foreigner submitted a description about Kuwait, and the crimes that stroke the citizens and foreigners, asking for the quick interference by international community, to stop the aggression disaster.

THE ROLE OF KUWAITI WOMAN IN RESISTANCE

Kuwaiti woman played a great role in the activity of Kuwaiti resistance, as she refused and opposed the occupation forces, since the first moments. Her activity is represented in the following:

1. Organizing a woman marches, and raising up the slogans that defame the occupation.
2. Distributing publications among citizens.
3. Carrying out the directions means for the resistance member.
4. Transporting and smuggling weapons for the resistance members.

5. Lodging the wanted members of resistance by Iraqi authorities.

6. Curing the injured members of resistance, and concealing them out Iraqi authorities, till they recovered.

7. Agitating the males and females to join the resistance work against the occupation forces.

8. Participating effectively in armed resistance operations, to kill the soldiers of enemy.

The Kuwaiti woman exposed to torture, arrest event death by the enemy in order to get admission, but she resisted and insisted and presented her life for her country. This was a great incentive for the Kuwaiti resistance to continue fighting for the sake of Kuwait.

CONCLUSION

This paper presented briefly and specifically some of the Kuwaiti resistance operations, in order to register a historical viewing of the Kuwait people against an extorter aggressions gathered hundreds of thousands of troop, and countless of equipment, weapons and ammunitions, surrounded every corner in this country with a limited area. The aggressor used all means

and methods to suppress the uprising and the resistance of this people, as the aggressor did not comply with any international law, or human norms and traditions, or God law or the right of neighbor.

This paper presents this painful and clear pages of Kuwait history. This paper exhibited the sacrificing and brave stands, and examples of sacrifice for the country, his right and his dignity. The woman take part, as well as the children and the old men, in spite of brutal torment, that exceeded all limits, killing and displacing, burning the houses, applying all the methods of suppression and subjugation.

There is an accurate organization behind the Kuwaiti resistance operations, as well as there is support and coordination with the legitimate Kuwaiti leadership, and the solidarity of the Kuwaiti people. The absolute and the entire refusal of this people exhibits the beautiful and clear images of the refusal with the aggressor and the whole civil disobedience to accept the identity of Iraq, and to cede the identity of country.

Bibliography

1. Cortright, David; and Watts, Max. Left Face: Soldier Unions and Resistance Movements in Modern Armies. New York: Westport, Connecticut: London: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1991.
2. Coffey, Kenneth. Strategic Implications of the All Volunteer Force. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.
3. Cohen, Eliot A. Citizens and Soldiers: The Dilemmas of Military Service. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985.
4. Doorn, Jacques Van. The Soldier and Social change. Beverly Hills, California.: Sage Publications, 1975.
5. Gottfried, David. Babes in Arms: Youth in the Army. Beverly Hills, California.: Sage Publications, 1980.
6. Holm, Jeanne. Women in the Military: The Unfinished Revolution. Novato, California.: Presidio Press, 1982.
7. Wilkinson, James D. The Intellectual Resistance in Europe. Cambridge, Massachusetts: London: Harvard University Press, 1981.
8. Almond Gabriel A. The Struggle For Democracy in Germany. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949.
9. Kalifoh, Ali A. The Kuwaiti Resistance: From the Iraqi documents. (Arabic), Kuwait: Kuwaiti Research and Studies Center, 1993.
10. Al-Merjan, Sami M. My own experience during the Iraqi occupation to Kuwait. 1990-1991.