

**Winning the Hearts and Minds in Counterinsurgency:  
The British approach in Malaya and Oman and the U.S. in Iraq and  
Afghanistan**

By

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Winning the Hearts and Minds in Counterinsurgency

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## **ABSTRACT**

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This thesis explores how winning the hearts and minds in counterinsurgency is defined and uses David Galula's theory to determine whether the British counterinsurgency approaches in Malaya from 1948-1960 and in Oman from 1965-1975 supports his argument. These cases demonstrate how complex and time consuming a counterinsurgency campaign requires. In both cases innovative ideas and approaches that are regarded as unconventional were key elements to the overall British success in Malaya and in Oman. The most daring and unorthodox approach used by the British in Malaya was the mass relocation of over 500,000 locals to secured areas as an attempt to isolate the insurgent groups from their base support (local populace). Despite the success of the mass relocation it was only one part of a number of moving approaches that were being used to achieve counterinsurgency success. In Oman, the British succeeded in producing an element that was made up of former insurgents and were able to expand its numbers by enticing them with monetary and occupational alternatives. The British approach in Malaya and Oman required a variety of approaches in order for it to succeed. This study suggests that there is not a single method that can be used for counterinsurgency success and that their approaches will continue to vary according to the different scenarios that a counterinsurgent is confronted with. However, all counterinsurgency approaches revolve around the principle of having some form of hearts and minds integrated into the overall plan.

## DEDICATION

To the men of the 1/503<sup>rd</sup> Air-Assault Infantry Regiment better known as the 'Rock Battalion' who fought alongside me in Ar Ramadi, Iraq from 2004-2005.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

“What I’m really telling people is the greatest risk we can accept is to lose the support of the people here. If the people are against us, we cannot be successful. If the people view us as occupiers and the enemy, we can’t be successful and our casualties will go up dramatically.”<sup>1</sup> General Stanley McChrystal, International Security Assistance Force and United States Forces – Afghanistan Commander.

Employing counterinsurgency (COIN) will always involve the support of the local population because they determine who wins in a battle between a governing state and an insurgency. An insurgency is the method of choice when a lack of resources and money makes it impossible to fight a state power out in the open. As a result, an insurgency must rely on the general population for support making them the focus in a battle between a state power and the insurgents. Previous employing powers of COIN have used the phrase, ‘winning the hearts and minds (WHAM),’ as an approach to COIN serving as a guideline in creating division between the general population and the insurgents. This is a critical process in COIN, making a WHAM approach necessary for its success. For this reason, the British use of WHAM applied in Malaya and Oman will be used to determine how significant an impact it had on COIN success.

The phrase WHAM is a broad concept and can be interpreted in a variety of different ways. For the purpose of this research paper, the WHAM phrase will be defined using David Galula’s theory of what success in COIN means. He is a former French military officer and is considered to be an important theorist by defense experts on COIN. Galula’s credibility to COIN theory is attributed to his experience as a French officer serving in areas where the development of insurgent practices was taking place. One of his more critical assignments contributing to his COIN theory was his service as a military attaché in 1945 at the French embassy located in

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<sup>1</sup> General McChrystal interviewed by David Martin, *60 Minutes*, CBS, September 27, 2009.

Beijing, China. He observed one of history's greatest insurgent movements led by Mao Tse-tung and as a result he became familiar with insurgent practices.<sup>2</sup> He argues:

A victory is not (just) the destruction in a given area of the insurgent's forces and his political organization. It is that plus the permanent isolation of the insurgent from the population, isolation not enforced upon the population but maintained by and with the population.<sup>3</sup>

There is an element of WHAM to Galula's argument because part of his theory in COIN success requires that the general population sustain isolation from insurgents and security from their attacks without the help or influence of counterinsurgents. Building a trusted network among the populace so that they continue COIN efforts requires the need for their hearts and minds to be engaged on COIN efforts. This is important because if the general population is not convinced of what employing power of COIN has to offer in comparison to the insurgents, the general population will succumb to the insurgency.

Establishing rapport is an important factor in achieving a WHAM approach therefore, Greg Mortenson, a humanitarian who builds schools in Pakistan, is used as an example in capturing the hearts and minds of a local populace. Because his work with the local populaces has been a success he has drawn attention from higher ranking U.S. military officers such as General David Petraeus who currently serves as the International Security Assistance and Commander to the U.S. Forces Afghanistan.<sup>4</sup> The Army War College has now made it mandatory for all its officers to read Greg Mortenson's *Three Cups of Tea*, a book that describes Mortenson's work in Pakistan's impoverished societies.<sup>5</sup> His work in building schools in Pakistan has earned him high levels of respect among the locals in Pakistan. Former Pakistani

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<sup>2</sup> David Galula. *Counter-insurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Praeger Security international: 1964, Foreward, 4,5.

<sup>3</sup> LTC Malevich, John. U.S. Army and Marine COIN Center brief. July 1, 2010.

<sup>4</sup> Greg Mortenson and David Relin, *Three Cups of Tea*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2006) 53.

<sup>5</sup> John Weis, "Making friends not Enemies," *Colorado Springs Independent*, June 2008.

President Musharraf clearly indicated that his schools have resulted in success.<sup>6</sup> Mortenson's work is a valid case in exploring COIN approaches.

For the purpose of this research paper, the phrase 'winning the hearts and minds,' will not necessarily mean being nice but that it requires an emotive ('hearts') and cognitive ('minds') component to the overall COIN strategy.<sup>7</sup> The fluctuations of its use will depend on the variation of the culture COIN is applied towards. Utilizing WHAM in one area may mean the use of monetary negotiations in exchange for certain services leading up towards Galula's theory of COIN success. Other targeted areas may require some form of stability to achieve a WHAM approach. Providing stability would allow some areas to develop and create their own economic gains without the disruption of insurgent activities. A more common approach is the expansion of social services which focus on the construction of schools, hospitals, and jobs. This approach is centered on WHAM of local populaces in COIN in order to ensure their full cooperation.

### **What is COIN?**

In order to better understand COIN, one must understand the meaning of insurgency. According to Joint Publication 3-22, Counterinsurgency Operations, insurgency is defined as, "the organized use of subversion and violence by a group or movement that seeks to overthrow or force change of a governing authority. Insurgency can also refer to the groups itself." The same joint publication defines COIN as, "those military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat insurgency."<sup>8</sup> Another term often used to contrast COIN is counterterrorism (CT). CT is defined as, "operations that include the offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, preempt, and respond to terrorism."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Npr.com

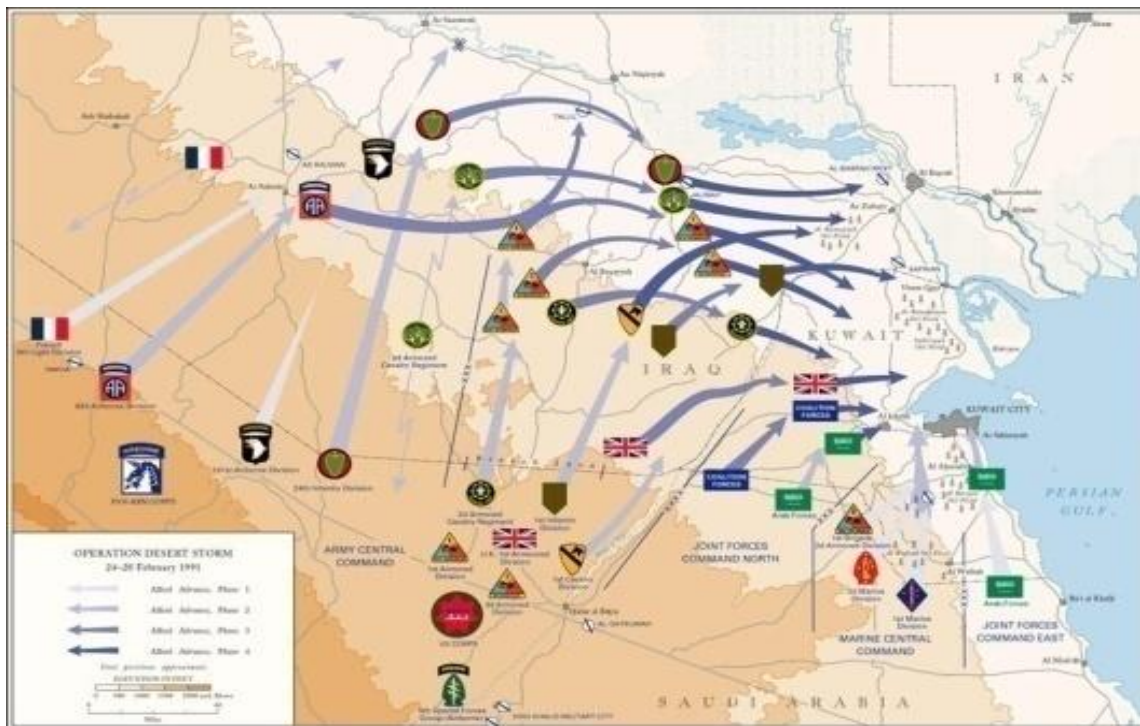
<sup>7</sup> LTC Malevich brief, July 1, 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Joint Publication 3-24 Counterinsurgency Operations. 5 October 2009, I-1.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, I-2.



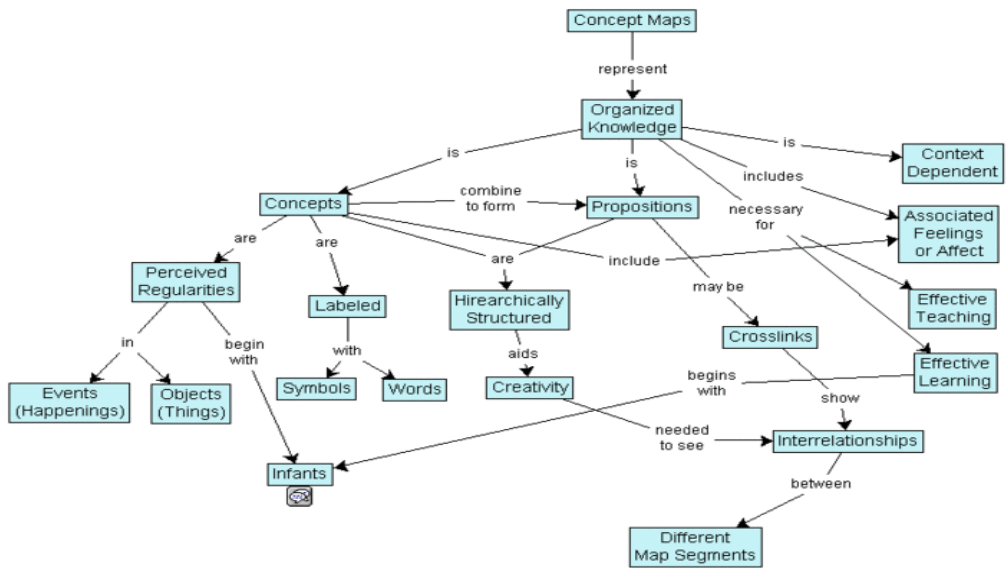
The term COIN and CT are two different methods and approaches in combating an insurgency. CT operations focus on the destruction of enemy forces and is known to have more of a conventional mindset. The conventional mindset in a combat zone is focused on seizing key terrain. The map below depicts how a conventional map would look like and demonstrates the focus of seizing key terrain.



US Army and Marine Coin Center brief (July 1, 2010).

In contrast to CT, COIN focuses on cognitive terrain. Cognitive terrain is understanding and producing a strategy that has been culturally modified so that a targeted populace is receptive to what an employing power of COIN may try to accomplish. In a cognitive map, employing powers of COIN will focus on the root causes of an insurgency and focus on the local

populace rather than the terrain.<sup>10</sup> The map below is an illustration of a more cognitive approach emphasizing the understanding of social structures within the local populace and is more in line with what COIN employers may use as a guideline in producing a WHAM in COIN approach.



US Army and Marine Coin Center brief (July 1, 2010)

## RAITONALE FOR USING COIN

COIN is a preferred method of countering an insurgency because the foundation of an insurgent group rests among the local populace. In order to deny an insurgent group its base support there are two practical approaches that can be used. The first is to destroy an insurgents' base support by eliminating the local populaces that are associated with it. The CT approach best describes this technique. This approach is difficult to apply because distinguishing what local populaces provide support to an insurgent group is like finding a needle in a haystack. And even if there were any successes in identifying support for an insurgent group it would still be difficult to portray them as enemy combatants because they could always claim to be innocent bystanders and having them detained could create hostility against a state power trying to contain

<sup>10</sup> US Army and Marine Counterinsurgency Center. Coin brief by LTC John Malevich to the Human Terrain Team. 1July 2010.

an insurgency. A more preferred method would be the use of COIN application because it involves working with the local populaces rather than against them. For this reason COIN strategies center on the WHAM approach as a basis to COIN operations. The WHAM approach allows for an employing power of COIN to make a better impact in creating division among an insurgent group and their base support (local populaces).

### **How winning the hearts and minds in counterinsurgency is defined by others**

There are a number of meanings to the phrase ‘Winning the Hearts and Minds.’ The U.S. Army recently published a Field Manual (FM) 3-24 on COIN and described the phrase into two elements.

A-26. ... ‘Hearts’ means persuading people that their best interests are served by COIN success. ‘Minds’ means convincing them that the force can protect them and that resisting it is pointless. Note that neither concerns whether people like Soldiers and Marines. Calculated self-interest, not emotion, is what counts. Over time, successful trusted networks grow like roots into the populace. They displace enemy networks, which forces enemies into the open, letting military forces seize the initiative and destroy insurgents.<sup>11</sup>

The U.S. Army’s definition of ‘hearts and minds,’ closely resembles Hew Strachan’s definition, which he argues is a symbol of authority. Strachan is currently a professor at Oxford University and is a military historian and author to a number of published works relating to the administration of the British Army and the history of the First World War.<sup>12</sup> His emphasis is not about establishing rapport with a targeted local populace, it is about providing a firm and stable government. However, Strachan agrees that providing certain social services can help strengthen the credibility of government.

Thomas Mockaitis is currently a professor of history at DePaul University and his recent work has covered writings in COIN, terrorism, insurgencies, and peace operations. He also

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<sup>11</sup> U.S. Department of the Army. “Counterinsurgency Field Manual 3-24.” December 2006, Appendix A-5.

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/staff/postholder/strachan\\_hfa.htm](http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/staff/postholder/strachan_hfa.htm).

participates at the Center for Civil-Military Relations of the Naval Postgraduate School as an adjunct faculty professor.<sup>13</sup> In contrast to Strachan's definition, Mockaitis's definition of the phrase is based on evaluating the local populace and identifying factors that cause hostility. Based on those factors, appropriate measures such as increasing employment, running electricity, water, healthcare, and construction of schools can be used as counter measures in minimizing civilian hostility. He argues that providing basic needs is a key approach in the hearts and minds campaign.<sup>14</sup>

Army British officer, Colonel I.A. Ridgen defines the hearts and minds approach as more coercive. Ridgen believes that the key is changing the perception of a targeted local populace and that sometimes aggressive measures are needed to achieve their agenda such as establishing curfews, riot control, or even displacing and relocating the civilian populace. Once this is achieved, Ridgen believes that social programs such as medical, schools and other social support would win over their hearts.<sup>15</sup>

Ridgen's argument is more aggressive in comparison to Mockaitis's and Strachan's definition, but what all three have in common is changing the popular perception through social incentives. This involves building the economic and political policies of a targeted populace in order to win over popular support. Despite the differences in approach, they all have the same intent. Strachman's argument is about establishing a firm government. In order to have a successful COIN policy, a stable government is required. This leads to the stability and security of the general populace and what Ridgen's theory of WHAM means. Differing methods in achieving security will vary depending on the cultural norm of a targeted populace. When a

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<sup>13</sup> <http://condor.depaul.edu/~tmockait/>

<sup>14</sup> Paul Dixon. "Hearts and Minds? British Counter-Insurgency from Malaya to Iraq." *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 32 (2009): 364.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 364.

stable government and effective security is established, this often minimizes the hostility and increases the confidence a local populace would have with its government and the employers of COIN. This allows for Mockaitis's argument that the basic needs of the general populace be met in order to achieve a WHAM approach. However, achieving a firm government, providing effective security, and expanding social services for the local populace may not be enough because there is always a risk that an insurgency may re-integrate with the local populace once an employer of COIN withdraws. The different WHAM approaches are all great ideas in theory but will not achieve COIN success unless the general population believes and conceives what COIN employers are trying to achieve. The end result will require Galula's theory that the general population must maintain COIN employment without being forced upon by its government or the employers of COIN.

## **THE BRITISH IN MALAYA AND OMAN**

According to Bard E. O'Neil, professor of international affairs at the National War College and director of the insurgency and revolution argues that,

insurgent terrorism is purposeful, rather than mindless, violence because terrorists seek to achieve specific long-term, intermediate, and short-term goals. The long-term goal is to change the political community, political system, authorities, or policies. The intermediate goal of terrorism is not so much the desire to deplete the government fiscal resources as it is to erode its psychological support by instilling fear into officials and their domestic and international supporters.<sup>16</sup>

The insurgent purpose described by O'Neils argument is best used to describe the insurgent purpose that the British were confronted with in both Malaya and Oman. The commonalities in both cases suggest that the insurgencies not only provide a purposeful intent but do provide an appealing purpose to the general populace whether it is through diplomatic or coercive measures. This demonstrates their ability to structurally organize

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<sup>16</sup> Bard E. O'Neil. *Armed Struggle in Palestine: A Political-Military Analysis*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1978.

coordinated propaganda and violence towards a governing power and their associates in order to achieve their goals.

The most favorable advantage an insurgent group has is their ability to freely move in disguise amongst the local populace making it very difficult for a state power to identify friendly from foe. China's leading architect in guerilla warfare, Mao Tse-Tung, is quoted in 1949 saying that, "The Guerilla must move amongst the people, as a fish swims in the sea. Dry up the sea, or drain the swamp, through a hearts and minds campaign and the fish die."<sup>17</sup> Mao Tse-Tung's theory on the guerilla demonstrates how much of an advantage an insurgent group has over the counterinsurgent. This also shows the complexities and difficulties the counterinsurgent must overcome if the counterinsurgent is to succeed.

A COIN operation based on the British approach in Malaya and Oman was a long drawn out process. This kind of operation is best described by John Nagle as, "Learning to eat soup with a knife." This is a subtitle to a book he authored in Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam. In the British attempt to achieve COIN success their strategies and approaches were continually modified. This suggests that innovative approaches are almost a requirement in order to achieve COIN success. In a battle between insurgent forces and counterinsurgents, both sides will seek to establish and increase their own legitimacy (state power and employing power of COIN) while the insurgent group will try to delegitimize their governance. As a result, the insurgent group will use anything it can to destabilize a government in order to introduce its political ideology and gain power.

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<sup>17</sup> Paul Dixon. "Hearts and Minds?: British Counter-Insurgency from Malaya to Iraq." *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 32: 3, 362.

The historical background leading up towards the development and employment of COIN is important to understand because it provides a state power conducting COIN the necessary contextual information in producing and understanding an effective COIN approach. The British in Malaya prior to the insurgencies were already working with the Malayan populace to successfully block off a Japanese invasion during WWII. When Britain allied with the Malayan forces during the Japanese invasion it proved to the Malayan populace that the British were capable of working in conjunction with its government to successfully defeat a foreign threat. This contributed to the British-Malayan working relations in employing COIN. As a result, this helped establish political relations between the British and Malayan government forces in order to produce a system of governance that would minimize support for the Malayan insurgency. What made it easier for the British in Oman in comparison to Malaya was that Oman had been deprived of social services and the insurgency was based on the Omani governments' lack of providing needed services. As a result, the British focus in gaining popular support had been to emphasize the need of providing those services. In order to meet this requirement, the British established a five point plan in Oman to gain support:

1. Increase in civil development programs (focusing in particular on Dhofari agriculture).
2. Increased medical and veterinary services for the local populace.
3. The creation of an intelligence cell.
4. A psychological operations program and the expansion of government forces to evict the adoo (enemy) from the jebel (mountain in Akhdar).
5. Enlisting Dhofaris to fight for the Sultan.<sup>18</sup>

The Malayan operation focused on a variety of approaches to gain local support. Robert Thompson, a key British administrator served in the Malayan Emergency as Deputy Secretary followed by 1957 to 1961 as Secretary of Defense. In the 1960s, he served as head of the British

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<sup>18</sup> Geraint Hughes, *A Model Campaign Reappraised: The Counter-insurgency War in Dhofar, Oman, 1965-1975*. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, v.32:2, 2009, 282.

Advisory Mission to the U.S. in Vietnam.<sup>19</sup> He published a number of books regarding case studies on the Vietnam conflict. One was *Defeating communist insurgency; the lessons of Malaya and Vietnam*. Thompson's experience in Malaya added to the theoretical approaches in COIN. They were implemented during the Malayan Emergency, and they later served as a basis for COIN approaches in Oman. Thompson's five principles in COIN are:

1. Governments should have a clear political aim.
2. Function within the law.
3. Establish a coordinated overall plan encompassing both political and military objectives.
4. Place emphasis on countering political subversion.
5. Secure the base area prior to conducting a military campaign.<sup>20</sup>

Thompson's five principles are a proven method for COIN because of their successful application in Malaya, but his principles evolved throughout the Malayan Emergency and were modified in the end. This demonstrates how versatile a COIN plan must be. Thompson's modified principles in COIN were now at six. They included the following:

1. The recognition that political action designed to prevent the insurgents gaining popular support should take priority over purely military action.
2. The requirement for complete civil-military cooperation
3. The need for coordination of intelligence.
4. The separation of the insurgents from the population through the winning of the hearts and minds.
5. The appropriate use of military force to support pacification
6. Lasting political reform to prevent the recurrence of insurgency.<sup>21</sup>

Thompson's theoretical approach elaborates the importance of establishing a political focus over military approaches in COIN. However, he elaborates that a military approach cannot be ignored and that both are needed to conduct COIN. In both Malaya

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<sup>19</sup>Richard Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1960*, Singapore: Oxford University Press 1989, 3.

<sup>20</sup> John Nagle. *Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam: Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2002, 29.

<sup>21</sup> J.E. Peterson, *Oman's Insurgencies: The Sultanate's Struggle for Supremacy*. Saqi LTD: Lebanon, 2007, 30



and Oman the British produced strategies that focused on gaining popular support from the local populace. This was important because insurgency support came from the local populace and led to the battle between government forces and an insurgency for the hearts and minds of the local populace.

The employment of COIN is a far more difficult operation to conduct in comparison to insurgent operations. The insurgent group chooses when and where they will attack a state power, while the employing power of COIN must be ready at any given moment. In order to ensure stability, security patrols and defensive postures must be employed at all times requiring the manpower for COIN employment to be far greater than that of the insurgent.

### **GALULA'S THEORY**

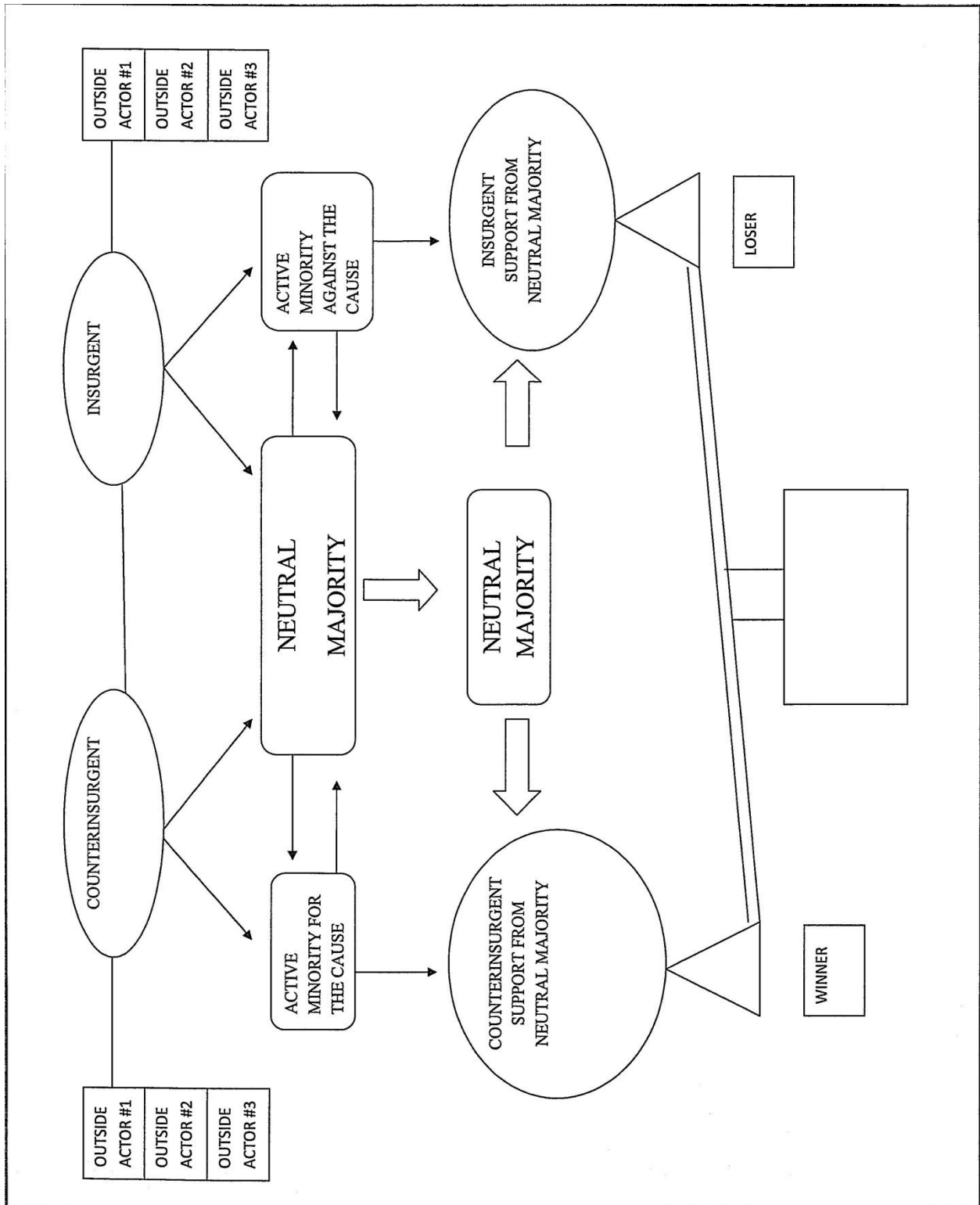
Galula's theory in COIN success is based on winning the popular support of the people. He argues that a counterinsurgent will be faced with persuading a local population that is split into three groups. The first group will involve an active minority that supports the counterinsurgents. The second group will be a neutral majority and the third will be a minority group that supports the insurgents.<sup>22</sup>

The diagram below is a basic illustration of Galula's theory in what both the counterinsurgent and the insurgent would face in a battle for the support of the local populace. In any insurgency Galula argues that there is always a majority of the population that is neutral. The neutral majority becomes the battleground for both the counterinsurgent and insurgent to determine who will win in the end. Despite the majority of the population being neutral there are two groups that Galula classifies as an

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<sup>22</sup> David Galula foreword by Bruce Hoffman. Pacification in Algeria 1956-1958. South Hayes: Rand Corporation, 2006, 114.

active minority for the counterinsurgent and the insurgent. The active minority plays an important role to the counterinsurgent because they become their link to the general populace and play an important role in COIN efforts. Contrary to the insurgent group, their organization is built up among the local populace giving them the advantage.



Although COIN approaches in Malaya and Oman differ, part of the development of a COIN approach is drawn from the geographical location and culture of a targeted

area. The template in achieving COIN success may be the same but figuring out how to gain and sustain popular support is the question. As a result, there is no specific COIN approach that could be used for all insurgencies because different cultures will require different approaches.

Galula's theory is used to define COIN success however, what the graph above does not suggest is the process and complexity it requires to gain local support. Furthermore applying COIN in Malaya and Oman suggests that there is a great deal of innovation involved because a COIN strategy would require the knowledge of political and cultural norms in order to identify methods in achieving a WHAM in COIN approach. Comparisons can be made between two legitimate political parties campaigning for political power. The difference in a state power and an insurgent group looking to dominate government is that the insurgent group will integrate destructive methods to try and coerce its way into power. However, the ultimate victor will be determined by the local populace and dependent upon their support either for the state power (counterinsurgents) or the insurgent group.<sup>23</sup>

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **MALAYA: 1948-1960**

#### **BACKGROUND**

Malaya was a British colony where for twelve years the Malayan and British forces successfully employed a WHAM in COIN campaign to defeat the Malayan Communist Party's

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<sup>23</sup> LTC Malevich COIN brief, July 1, 2010.

(MCP) attempt to overthrow the government. There are a number of factors contributing to the British success such as the geographical location, which gave the Malayan and British forces an advantage in carrying out COIN operations. However, their successful COIN employment was based on those very factors. The British and Malayan success should be judged on their ability to develop a successful COIN approach and not what the situation constitutes.

The geographical location gave the Malayan and British many advantages. According to the map below, Malaya is located in Southeast Asia and is separated by the South China Sea. The Peninsular Malaysia (East Malaya) is approximately 400 miles long and 200 miles wide.<sup>24</sup> The tropical climate fills Malaya with rain forests and jungles covering 80% of the countryside. Their trees exceed heights of 100 feet making aerial observation very difficult and gave an advantage to the MCP because it increased their ability to move freely among the local populace without detection.<sup>25</sup> The disadvantage the Malayan and British forces had was that they had to increase ground forces to track suspected MCP movement. However, the Malayan and British forces were still able to capitalize on the geographical location of Malaya. The only land route feasible to enter into the Malaysia Peninsular (Eastern Malaya) was through a northern land bridge shared with Thailand.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, The Titiwangsa Mountains, about 300 miles long and 35 miles wide, divided Malaysia by making containment efforts more feasible. Additionally, the peninsular Malaysia allowed the British to gain control of its coastline making it difficult for external assistance to reach the MCP.

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<sup>24</sup> Donald MacKay. *The Malayan Emergency 1948-60: The Domino That Stood*. London: Brassey's Ltd, 1997, 4.

<sup>25</sup> Vernon Bartlett, *Report From Malaya*. New York: Criterion Books, 1955, 30.

<sup>26</sup> McKay 1997, 7.



<http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/lcolor/mycolor.htm>

## POLITICAL SITUATION

The Malayan Emergency took effect in June of 1948 when the British colonial forces declared a state of emergency in anticipation of attacks by the MCP. As a result, the MCP

planned a political and guerilla offensive throughout Malaya. The Japanese invasion of Malaya on December 8, 1941 provided the MCP with other opportunities to increase its networks. Britain and Malaya recognized that a temporary alliance of convenience with the MCP could benefit both sides since they shared a common enemy, the Japanese. The alliance of convenience led to a MCP proposal to establish bases for attacks throughout the jungle with British officers overseeing guerilla training for 165 MCP members. As a result, the Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) was formed. However, the effect of the intended alliance did not reach what the Malayan and British forces had hoped. The MCP was ineffective in fighting the Japanese because they were passive and unwilling to make contact with the Japanese.<sup>27</sup>

The MCP had already planned to stock up on munitions and prepared to wage an insurgency against the Malayan and British forces while the alliance of convenience was still in effect. Contrary to what the MCP had been planning, the British and Malayan forces hoped that the establishment of the MPAJA would draw more Malaysians seeking refuge from Japanese persecution into their organization. The British and Malayan forces hoped to influence and indoctrinate Malaysians who previously did not support communism. However, the MPAJA and the MCP's preparations for attacks against the Japanese were withdrawn when Japan surrendered in August of 1945.<sup>28</sup> The end of the Second World War enabled the MCP to increase its munitions stock pile consolidating large quantities of combat supplies left behind by the Japanese. The Japanese withdrawal allowed the 10,000 strong MCP fighters to come out of the jungle and focus on their plans to take over the Malayan government.<sup>29</sup>

## **INSURGENT GROUP AND GOALS**

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<sup>27</sup> Edgar O'balance. *Malaya: the communist insurgent war, 1948-60*. Hamden: Archon, 1966, 58.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency: The Commonwealth's wars 1948-1966*. (London: Routledge, 1991), 9.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

The ethnic Malayans were at six million people and about one-third of the country's populations were of Chinese origin. The Chinese had been migrating from China in larger numbers within the previous seventy years.<sup>30</sup> This number of immigrants increased as work in the rubber plantations and tin mines were available.<sup>31</sup> Malayans preferred not to work on rubber plantations minimizing any tension and economic competition. However, since the Chinese were considered foreigners they were forced to pay for their own schooling. As a result, Chinese children were taught to be loyal to their motherland and most of their literature and teachers were sent from China. The influx of the Chinese seeking work into Malaya resulted in the influx of Chinese communism as well. Most of the Chinese immigrants migrated to the outskirts of where the general Malayan populaces were situated. As a result the Chinese communists were able to connect with the native MCP who had already organized in the 1920's out of Singapore.<sup>32</sup> The connection expanded the MCP numbers and increased their base of support.

The MCP ties to the Communist states go further back. The Soviet establishment for Communist expansion began in Shanghai, China and from there infiltrated into Malaya with the establishment of the MCP in 1929. The ethnic Malayan populaces were resistant to the MCP, but it was not enough to break their increasing numbers, their influence on the labor force, and their political ambitions. The Japanese attack on China in 1937 helped the MCP established relations with other organizations in an effort to create a unified front that brought both the Malayan ethnic, (those resistant to the communist ideology) and the MCP together.<sup>33</sup> This was conveniently established for both the Malayan government and the MCP in order to deny Japan's efforts.

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<sup>30</sup> Vernon Bartlett, Report from Malaya. New York: Criterion Books, 1955, 25.

<sup>31</sup> Ian Beckett. Modern Insurgencies and Counter-Insurgencies: Guerilla and Their Opponents since 1750. New York: Routledge, 2001, 96.

<sup>32</sup> Bartlett 1955, 27,33.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 8



The Japanese withdrawal in Malaya allowed the MPAJA to effectively gain control of most of the country while establishing areas for the communist-control People's Committees.<sup>34</sup> This led to the MCP reorganization of its military wing to be known as the Malayan Races' Liberation Army (MRLA).<sup>35</sup> The MRLA failed because the British and Malayan forces offered citizenship to the ethnic Chinese for their service in the war. This dissolved the MRLA intentions of establishing an agenda that would argue that their purpose was for national liberation. The British and Malayan authorization of citizenship also promised Malayan independence to ethnic Chinese, which was eventually granted in 1957.<sup>36</sup> Their gains compelled the MCP to act in the spring of 1948 realizing that their industrial and economic subversion alone would not achieve their hopes of gaining power.

The MCP initiated a plan to disrupt the Malayan government's declining economy by slashing Malayan rubber trees. The rubber trees were a source of income for most of the Malayan populace. The MCP's intent was to undermine the Malayan government's ability to provide economic stability and security for its people. The map below provides a visual for tin and rubber locations throughout the country. The Malayan industries were the largest producer of tin accounting for one-third of the world's tin production and 35% of the rubber.<sup>37</sup> The map below provides the location of tin and rubber. This suggests that the migrating Chinese would be located in those areas. The MCP plan to slash the Malayan rubber trees worked in favor of the Malayan government because it aggravated most of the Chinese in those areas who relied on tin

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<sup>34</sup> O'balance 1966, 60.

<sup>35</sup> Lucian Pye. *Lessons from the Malayan Struggle Against Communism*. Thesis, Cambridge: Center for International Studies, 1957, 8.

<sup>36</sup> James M. Higgins, *Misapplication of the Malayan Counterinsurgency Model to the Strategic Hamlet Program*, (Fort Leavenworth: US Army Command and General Staff College, 2001), 22.

<sup>37</sup> Bartlett 1955, 85,87.

and rubber as their main source of income. As a result, the MCP lost a lot of support and was forced to change their strategy.



Photo taken from E.D. Smith. Counter-Insurgency Operations:1 Malaya and Borneo. Page 6

## APPLYING COIN TACTICS

The British sought to reduce the activities of the MPAJA and MCP, who were openly conducting assassinations on suspected Malaysians working for the Japanese. This led the British

to disband the MPAJA and disregard any political requests from the MCP. In exchange for the disbandment of the MPAJA, the British provided alternatives to all its members: transitional training for the civilian sector, a sack of rice, a job, and \$350 dollars.<sup>38</sup>

Malaya had been important to the British economy for a long time. The Second World War nearly bankrupted the British, which made the production of tin and rubber in Malaya even more important to the British economy. Rubber was one of Britain's main sources of income in 1947, bringing in about \$200 million dollars while an additional \$180 million came from Britain's manufactured exports.<sup>39</sup> However, Britain's profits from Malayan rubber and tin began to decline as MCP attacks increased. As a result, the British Defense Coordination Committee Far East surveyed the progress made in Malaya and concluded that a civilian (non-military) position be made subordinate to the High Commissioner. The committee also concluded that additional forces would not resolve the growing insurgent attacks unless a civil sector properly balanced their military operations.<sup>40</sup>

The increase in insurgent attacks led to the appointment of a retired Lieutenant General, Sir Harold Rawdon Briggs. The new position made General Briggs the new Director of Operations, a new post that had the authority equivalent to a Chief Secretary. As Director of Operations, General Briggs had the authority to coordinate different departments involved in the Malayan Emergency such as the police, army, naval, and air forces. He was an ideal candidate for the job. He graduated from Sandhurst Academy, was commissioned into the Indian Army in 1914, and served in France, Mesopotamia, and Palestine throughout the First World War.<sup>41</sup> After the Second World War in 1946, Briggs became a general officer, finishing his appointment

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<sup>38</sup> Jackson, 10.

<sup>39</sup> John Newswinger. *British Counterinsurgency: From Palestine to Northern Ireland*. , 41.

<sup>40</sup> John Coates, *Suppressing Insurgency: An Analysis of the Malayan Emergency, 1948-1954* (Boulder: Westview Press Inc., 1992), 79.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

as Commander-in-Chief Burma Command. His experience in Burma was one of the deciding factors for his appointment. His background provided him with an understanding of Asian culture, which proved useful during his term in Malaya.

In May 1950, Briggs established the Federal Joint Intelligence Advisory Committee in order to address rising insurgent attacks. The committee consolidated, analyzed and redistributed all intelligence sources ranging from both the Malayan and British military authorities to civil, police, and local authorities.<sup>42</sup> The operational communication among the different elements operating in Malaya improved and led to the development of the Federal War Council. This council brought under one committee the following organizations: the chief secretary of the federation, the general and air officers in Malaya, commissioner of police, and the secretary of defense. Similar councils were developed at the lower levels relieving most communication friction among the different forces operating in Malaya. General Briggs's proposal proved to be successful as inter-operational communications throughout both military and civil forces operating in Malaya improved. This led to an operational focus in which the Briggs plan was created and implemented. The Briggs plan consisted of clearing Malaya from South to North, one section at a time by focusing on four principles:

1. Dominating the populated areas and building up a feeling of complete security in them, with the object of obtaining a steady and increasing flow of information from all sources.
2. Breaking up the Min Yuen within the populated areas.
3. Isolating the bandits from their food and information supply organization in the populated areas.
4. Destroying the bandits by forcing them to attack us on our own ground.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> John Nagle, Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam: Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 71.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

**The third principle of the Briggs plan proved to be a critical element to the overall COIN success. Isolating the insurgents from their base support was achieved through the relocation of over 500,000 locals that lasted from June of 1950 to 1960.<sup>44</sup> Majority of the relocated populace were squatters in which the insurgents preyed on for support. The intent provided two purposes. The first purpose allowed the denial of food, supplies and other forms of support to the insurgents. The second allowed the isolation of insurgents from the general populace forcing them out in the open and giving the British and Malayan forces better ground in carrying out military action.<sup>45</sup> The population relocation proved to be effective, but it was only one part of the overall Briggs plan. There were several other deficiencies the British and Malayan forces faced.**

**The Briggs plan continued to focus on population support from the Malayan populace while creating a plan to put the British army into a role of supporting the police force.** This required the army and police to work cohesively.<sup>46</sup> The army covered areas the police were not able to reach. As a result, both the military and the police were able to establish headquarters in areas more prone to MCP influence in order to gain the confidence of the local populace. Gaining the people's trust and confidence was essential to their success because they were the military and police's main source of intelligence. General Briggs suggested that the key to this operation was the cooperation among the different military and civil organizations. General Briggs resigned due to medical issues and died in October of 1952. In 1951, Sir Henry

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<sup>44</sup> John Newswinger. *British Counterinsurgency: From Palestine to Northern Ireland*. New York: Palgrave 2002, 50.

<sup>45</sup> E.H.G. Dobby. *Resettlement Transforms Malaya: A Case-History of Relocating the Population of an Asian Plural society*. Economic Development and Cultural Change, vol.1, no.3. October 1952, 163.

<sup>46</sup> Nagle 2002, 72.

Gurney, High Commissioner, had died in an enemy ambush. General Sir Gerald Templer replaced both positions.<sup>47</sup> This was an historic appointment giving dual authority to one position.

General Sir Gerald Templer was appointed on 5 February 1952 as both the High Commissioner and Director of Operations. He was an ideal candidate for the position. Templer was a distinguished divisional commander appointed Director of Military Government in the Western Zone following the defeat of Germany. He later became the Director of Military Intelligence at the War Office.<sup>48</sup> Under Templer, the British WHAM COIN approach focused mainly on pacifying the Malayan populace through a number of approaches ranging from the establishment of social service projects to strengthening the Malayan police and military forces.

The British overcame initial administrative glitches that had made daily operations ineffective by creating the Whitley Council. The Whitley Council helped fix the Malayan administrative problems that were affecting soldier performance, such as pay, and continuity among experienced administrative positions. As a result, the new changes improved the productivity of COIN operations while the MCP deteriorated.

The British and Malayan forces administrative and logistical improvement led to the improvement of their military combat operations. They implemented a policy in 1952 that made any association and support to the MCP a punishable offense.<sup>49</sup> This policy was integrated in response to an ambush on one of British's premier assistant district officers, Michael Codner. Codner's loss led General Templer to arrange a meeting with about 200 village elders. He imposed a 22-hour curfew and reduced the food rations.<sup>50</sup> Other punishments consisted of heavy

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<sup>47</sup> Jackson 1991, 23-24.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>49</sup> Richard Stubbs, Hearts and Minds in Guerilla warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1960. Singapore: Oxford Univeristy Press 1989, 165.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 165.

finances and confinement for suspected individuals not cooperating with the British and Malayan officials.

This policy was passively integrated followed by a campaign to convince the local populace of the usefulness of democratic principles, and that these were more beneficial than communist principles in terms of social, economic and political structure. The Malayan government granted the populace long-term use of agricultural land and provided adequate water flow into those areas.<sup>51</sup> The government also established a village committee to oversee the construction of schools, a community center, and passable roads with proper drainage systems. They built churches, installed proper sanitation, and formed other social projects such as boys and girls scout clubs. This development became the standard for over 500 villages built by the end of 1951, including relocated areas.<sup>52</sup> In summary, the British used rather strict policies to deter the Malayan populace from supporting the MCP while they integrated a WHAM approach to convince the local populace that their standard of living could not be matched.

The WHAM strategy paid off. The MCP declined, which became apparent by the declining number of MCP attacks on the Malayan and British government security forces. Between 1951 and 1953, the number of insurgency attacks decreased from 6,000 to 1,200.<sup>53</sup> Despite the drastic drop in insurgency activity, attacks remained unresolved. The Malayan populace was still cautious of both the Malayan government and its security forces. Corruption was widespread within the Malayan government and security forces were taking loans without paying them back.<sup>54</sup> This was due to the low monthly checks the security forces were receiving forcing many government employees into debt by taking loans that were above their means. In

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>52</sup> E.D. Smith. Counter-Insurgency Operations: 1 Malaya and Borneo. London: Ian Allan Ltd 1985, 18.

<sup>53</sup> Stubbs 1989, 155.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. 163.

an attempt to resolve this issue, the Malayan government paid its employees twice a month, helping them to better economize their salaries and refrain from borrowing. However, these changes did not solve the problems completely.

Templer decided to push for an overhaul of the Malayan police force and the newly-created Kinta Valley Home Guard. The home guard was a separate organization apart from the police force and the Malayan army. Its purpose was to provide protection and security to areas where Malaysians had relocated. The declining insurgency attacks gave the Malayan government time to reorganize and re-train its security forces.

In late 1952, Operation Service was implemented; the purpose was to educate the Malayan police force the importance of providing protection to the people.<sup>55</sup> They were primarily responsible for securing Malayan communities from insurgent attacks. Under Operation Service, public relations were strengthened with the local populace exceeding their initial expectations.

In order to ensure effective protection the home guard was established. As a result of Operation Service being a success, Templer agreed to have the home guard re-armed with better weapons. This led to the establishment of the Kinta Valley Home Guard (KVHG) scheme. Under this scheme, the locals in the area were required to bear the costs of a home guard posted in their area. Templer's scheme paid off. In two years, the home guard had lost only nine weapons, and by 1952, their numbers had grown to over 100,000 with the capability to defend over 2,000 settlements.<sup>56</sup> The home guard further contributed to the army and the police force with investigations and called in suspicious activities. Their assistance increased the efficiency of the police force by providing intelligence on MCP movements. The home guard also aided

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<sup>55</sup> Donald MacKay, *The Malayan Emergency 1948-1960: The Domino That Stood* (London: Brassey's Ltd., 1997), 132.

<sup>56</sup> Stubbs 1989, 158.



the army in their operations that required movements far into the Malayan jungle. The KVHG scheme was credited for having further isolated the insurgency from the local populace. The home guard allowed thousands of army personnel and police officers, who were tasked to provide resettlement security, the chance to focus on their primary assignments.

Moreover, the increasing efficiency of the home guard allowed the Malayan army to focus on offensive combat missions against the MCP insurgents. Gradually, large-scale sweeps were decreasing while smaller scale missions were being conducted based on police force intelligence. The police force provided the army with intelligence on MCP insurgents, which enabled increased contact with the MCP. The increase of MCP contact led to the increase of Malayan army intelligence.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the British army provided new equipment to their combat operations such as the Sikorsky S55 helicopter. The helicopter significantly improved the Malayan morale.<sup>58</sup> It provided the Malayan army with a quicker means of travel towards its objective and a quicker response time for the evacuation of wounded soldiers. The mobility and use of the helicopter only strengthened the Malayan army's sense of confidence and duty.

The British continued to improve in areas likely to affect their combat operations. They sought to improve the Malaya Administrative Service (MAS) because it showed signs of inefficiency.<sup>59</sup> The MAS was responsible for providing the administrative and logistical support of all Malayan forces involved in combating the MCP. This included the Malayan army, the police force, security forces, and the home guard. The inefficiency of the MAS was attributed to the poor pay and living conditions the MAS workers endured. Key personnel left the MAS once they were eligible for retirement resulting in a poor retention rate. Most replacements lacked

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<sup>57</sup> <http://www.probertencyclopaedia.com/cgi-bin/res.pl?keyword=Sikorsky+S-55&offset=0>.

<sup>58</sup> Stubbs 1989, 159.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 161.

experience, which made it difficult for the Malayan government to sustain continuity with experienced staff. As a result, the MAS qualifications gradually decreased.

Templer responded to the MAS issues by establishing a Whitely Council system. The Whitely Council consisted of experienced administrative personnel that helped the MAS establish a standard operating administrative system similar to those in the United Kingdom. The Whitely Council system sought recruitment from a wide range of possible candidates, not limiting positions to the Malaysians and the British. The approach to hire non-Malaysians had its limitations. Only a very small number of non-Malaysians would qualify for the MAS. Most positions remained vacant.

Templer thought of a clever move to increase Malay's declining administrative services by recruiting administrative officers in the United Kingdom. He targeted ethnic Chinese and Malaysians to fill the MAS vacancies. His idea brought not only ethnic Chinese and Malaysians who lived in the United Kingdom to support the MAS, but it also brought important ethnic organizations together in support of the Malayan government. This further increased Templer's search for qualified administrative personnel to fill the MAS vacancies. Even though the colonial officer did not fully approve his proposal, he decided to follow through with his plans. A major search was conducted for missionaries who served in China prior to the Communist Party taking power.<sup>60</sup> As a result, Templer recruited Dawson based on his familiarity and experiences of the Chinese culture. He went on a recruiting campaign throughout the United Kingdom for possible applicants that could assist the MAS. Dawson was a missionary of China; his experience helped him recruit ethnic Chinese and Malaysians with administrative experience into the Whitely Council System. Dawson's efforts were met with a number of applicants. This

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 161.

included the commitment and support of organizations, such as missionary societies and the China Inland Mission, all of whom were willing to expand their work into Malaya.

Another part of WHAM approach was the use of propaganda and psychological warfare. The Malayan government had used the services of any newspaper or magazine agency it had to publish government propaganda. Government periodical publications numbered five million copies. In addition, C.C. Too and Lam Swee, two British psychological warfare specialists, created their own paper called *New Path News*. This paper had a monthly circulation of 70,000.<sup>61</sup> Most of these newspapers were circulated in coffee shops and other areas where Malaysians gathered. Community centers were built in the new villages where government published propaganda could be circulated.

In the beginning of 1955, the MCP shifted from offensive operations to a more defensive posture. This development led to new social programs and agricultural land, as well as the establishment of new villages. These methods proved to be a successful in severing any ties the MCP might have had with the Malayan local populace.

## **OUTCOME**

The Malayan Emergency (1948-1960) was a remarkable success and is widely regarded as the first conflict in recent history where a WHAM in COIN theory was successfully implemented. Many scholars have argued over the origins and practice of the WHAM theory, but it was the Malayan Emergency where the approach took a pivotal role in defeating an insurgency.

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 180.

The success in WHAM in COIN was due to Britain's flexibility to adapt and overhaul its administrative deficiencies due to the level of productivity it was producing. In most areas where combat operations are conducted the civil-sector plays a minimal role and very little emphasis is placed on its ability to impact combat operations. This case suggests that the British and Malaya proved in this campaign that their civil sector is just as important as the military. This was due to the fact that the deficiency within the civil sector involved in the Malayan Emergency impacted COIN operations. The British and Malayan governments' decision to overhaul their civil-support sector proved to have a greater impact throughout COIN operations because the level of morale and competence reflected their relationship with the local populace.

However, despite the British and Malayan operational success in COIN was Galula's theory in COIN achieved? Galula's theory in COIN success was achieved in this case because the British and the Malayan government were successful in instituting a home guard security force that drew from the local populace. In most conflicts involving an insurgency, the insurgency group will recruit its member from the local populace. In this case a battle between the insurgent group and government forces over the general populace was a success for the Malaysians and British forces. They succeeded in using the local populace to their advantage. The cooperation between the government forces and the local populace succeeded because the establishment of the home guard empowered the local populace to provide its own security and stability fulfilling Galula's theory in COIN success.

### **CHAPTER 3**

## OMAN 1965-1975

### BACKGROUND

In 1965, the Dhofar Liberation Front (DLF) which, after 1968 would become PFLOAG, began an armed revolution, which continued until 1976 against Oman's Sultan Said after he had been removed from power. The British decided to use a WHAM approach during their intervention in Oman for two reasons. The first reason was the political, social, and economic situation that the Omani populace endured under their ruler, Sultanate Said bin-Taymur (19XX-XXXX). Social services were limited, depriving the Omani populace of necessities such as schools, hospitals, and other forms of social and economic improvement. After Said was removed from power in 1970, his son, Qaboos, improved and expanded social services to the Omani populace with the support and advice of the British. This improvement allowed the British to use a WHAM approach more effectively because improving social services in Oman pacified the local populace.<sup>62</sup>

The second reason was Britain's successful defeat of the Communist insurgents in Malaya. The Malayan Emergency had ended successfully soon before the British intervention in the Dhofar Rebellion in Oman. As a result, lessons the British had learned in the Malaya campaign were consolidated and re-formatted to fit an appropriate WHAM strategy in Oman. The timing of the event also allowed for experienced personnel who had served in the Malayan COIN campaign to direct and update methods for their WHAM approach in Oman. Thus, Sultan Said's rule and his disregard for modernization helped nurture both the beginnings of an insurgency and his ultimate dethronement in 1970. His unpopular policies provided the British with more options to use a WHAM approach with the Omani populace.

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There are no set conditions for countering an insurgency, but WHAM in counterinsurgency is based on winning the support of the local populace. Because of Said's failure to provide social welfare to his people, the British were able to win the support of the local population, making WHAM in COIN much more effective. For this reason, it is important to explore Said's form of governance. It contributed to the root causes of Oman's insurgency and, ironically, helped set the conditions for WHAM in COIN to take full effect.



## **POLITICAL SITUATION**

### Said and the British (1932-1970)

The Anglo-Omani relations date as far back as the early 17th century, with British economic interests conducted through the East India Company. It was not until Napoleon's campaign in Egypt in 1798 that the British and the Imam of Masqat finalized a treaty.<sup>63</sup> Protecting British interests in the region, the treaty prohibited any and all French authorities from establishing and conducting business of any nature throughout Masqat, the capital of the Sultanate of Oman. The British served as a protectorate to the Omani state in 1798 under the Anglo-Omani treaty. The British considered Oman one of its informal territories. Anglo-Omani relations strengthened over time, especially when oil was discovered and produced throughout the Arabian Peninsula in the 1900s.

One reason for Oman's instability at that time was the structural location of its cities. An estimated 1,000-kilometer spread of desert plains separates the governing capital in Muscat, located in Northern Oman, from the Dhofar province in the area of Salalah in the South of Oman.<sup>64</sup> The divided locations helped provide division among the government and its people and enabled an insurgency more room to expand without government interference, but the discovery of oil in Oman in the 1960s made a rebellion more favorable to pursue.<sup>65</sup> Oil meant that there was going to be large revenues of income coming into the country. This further increased the insurgent groups' motivation for seeking power. The geographical location was only one of the reason for a rebellious effort against Said.

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<sup>63</sup> J.C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record: 1535-1914* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company LTD, 1956), 64.

<sup>64</sup> John Akehurst, *We Won a War: The Campaign in Oman 1965-1975* (Great Britain: Michael Russell Ltd, 1982), 4.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

Another reason for Oman's instability was Said's style of government. Said's dominance can be described as cruel by present-day Western standards, but it was known to be a normal practice in the Omani culture. Amputating the hands of thieves and stoning adulterers only meant that stealing and adulterous acts would certainly result in physical punishment. The use of alcohol was punishable by a few days in prison and confinement to leg chains, which nearly eliminated use of alcohol in Oman. These harsh forms of punishment demonstrate how much control Said had in Oman. Said also built a cordon around his city, closing main entrances three hours after sunset. This increased the tensions the Omani populace had with its government and increased support for a rebellion.

The British needed support when Oman faced a Saudi-sponsored internal tribal rebellion in 1958.<sup>66</sup> A small task force sent by the British defeated this revolt. Following the rebellion in 1958, a treaty was signed, allowing the British access to airbases in Salalah and Masirah Island. The treaty gave Said some form of security against potential rebellions, but it was not enough to ensure stability throughout the country.

Following the 1958 treaty that allowed the British access to Omani airbases in Salalah and Masirah Island, the British sent loan service personnel (LSP) to train the Sultan's Armed Forces (SAF). Despite the need to expand and give authority to his own military, Said did the exact opposite. He feared that the commissioning of Omani soldiers to the officer ranks might result in a coup against him.<sup>67</sup> His suspicion of a coup together with his unwillingness to give authority to his soldiers further added to Said's isolation and gave more reason for a rebellion to take place.

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<sup>66</sup> Geraint Hughes, "A Model Campaign Reappraised: The Counter-Insurgency War in Dhofar, Oman, 1965-1975." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, v.32:2, 2009, 278.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid 2009, 279.



Oman's insurgency stemmed mainly from Said's leadership style and belief that the prevention of modernization was good for Oman. Said purposely neglected his country from development despite having the income generated from oil. Neighboring states that generated income from oil used those funds to help build and increase their own infrastructure increasing the employment rate as well as more access to schools and medical services. Said viewed this as a potential for his country to fall in debt while millions of dollars generated from Omani oil were deposited into his personal accounts overseas. He also perceived development as a means that would erode and weaken their cultural and religious practices. Said believed that Oman would follow in the same path as its neighboring states if it were to share in its oil riches. More money in the hands of Omanis meant corruption and greed and that it would interfere with the societal cultural traditions. He believed money would increase Oman's problems because it would have the potential to be the focus of a tribal society. In an attempt to keep Oman pure and his rule intact, Said prevented any modernizing influences from entering Oman.<sup>68</sup> Said prohibited anything that was Western. This ranged from vehicles and bicycles to dancing, music, and cameras.<sup>69</sup> His reign left the people of Oman living in primitive conditions even though revenue was being generated from oil. Said kept all income generated from oil to himself, believing that disbursing those funds back to the local populace of Oman would either ruin the country or slowly diminish Oman's cultural and religious practices. In contrast to Said's belief, the majority of the Omani populace wanted to modernize and reap the rewards of being an oil state and Omanis insurgencies were more than willing to provide that.

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<sup>68</sup> Akehurst 1982 , 12.

<sup>69</sup> Documentary: *Oil Kingdom series: Kings and Pirates* Films Incorporated: Chicago, IL.

It is important to note that despite Said's feudal rule he was educated at Mayo College in Britain.<sup>70</sup> Since the start of his rule in 1932 at the age of 21 he is credited for having bringing Oman out of debt.<sup>71</sup> As a result, Said was determined to keep his country free from debt. He believed that a country in debt only meant that its authority and power would decrease. It also meant that being in debt to another country opened the possibility for that country to interfere in ones affairs. Increasing the development of Oman's economic policy meant that more Omanis would be prone to take out loans. Either way, Said interpreted a leap towards modernization as a leap towards debt.<sup>72</sup> He claimed that the practice of borrowing money among the local populace for investments in modernization would lead to debt, and that debt was a practice that conflicted with the Islamic belief. Indeed, Said's success in bringing his country out of debt was a big accomplishment; he was determined to keep it that way even if it meant the prevention of modernization in Oman.

Despite Said's reasoning, the British were displeased with Said's decision to ignore internal development. In 1967 when Oman was generating oil, Said spent close to nothing on the Omani infrastructure. He ignored British requests for a developmental program despite a 1958 treaty he had signed promising to develop Oman with oil revenues.<sup>73</sup> The British continued their pressure on Said to provide Oman's local populace with the needed care of hospitals, schools, and roads, but they were ignored. By 1970, when Said was overthrown, Oman had only few roads, one hospital, and three primary schools for a population of about one million.<sup>74</sup> Oman's literacy rate was 5% while the infant mortality rate was 75%.<sup>75</sup> Despite the low literacy rate and

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<sup>70</sup> Newsinger 1998, 42.

<sup>71</sup> Frank Clements, *Oman: The Reborn Land* (London: Longman Group LTD, 1980), 49.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>73</sup> Hughes 2009, 279.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 279.

<sup>75</sup> Newsinger 1998, 42.

high infant mortality rate, Said had responded to British criticism indicating that the country could only support a small population and if more hospitals were built then there would be more people dying of starvation.<sup>76</sup> In an attempt to support his position, Said reasoned that the British lost India because they had constructed schools. Said was stern on enforcing his restrictive policies because he believed that it was in the best interest of his country.

## **INSURGENT GROUPS AND GOALS**

Said's attempt to keep Oman isolated from the influences of modernization and the outside world had devastating consequences. His decisions increased tensions with the British. A rebellion against Said's rule took place in 1962 by some Dhofaris led by Musallim bin Nufl who attacked an oil exploration group resulting in the destruction of one oil exploration vehicle.<sup>77</sup> On 9 June 1965, this group reorganized as the DLF.

The DLF began to expand its networks associating itself with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). As a result, the DLF received powerful backing from the Soviets and Chinese who understood the strategic importance of Oman. The DLF also received support from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq. They provided them with a headquarters base just outside the Omani border in Hauf and Al Ghayda, Yemen. In Al Ghayda, the DLF consolidated assistance consisting of weapons, food, medical supplies and training. They also used Hauf as a center for re-educating Dhofari children.<sup>78</sup> They recruited and kidnapped elder males of military age in Dhofari and sent them to Russia and China for training in Marxist-Leninist ideology and guerilla warfare. Through this support and training, the DLF became better equipped and, in fact, paralleled the standard framework of a communist insurgency group. The new changes and

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<sup>76</sup> Documentary: *Oil Kingdom series: Kings and Pirates* Films Incorporated: Chicago, IL.

<sup>77</sup> Akehurst 1982, 13.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 14.

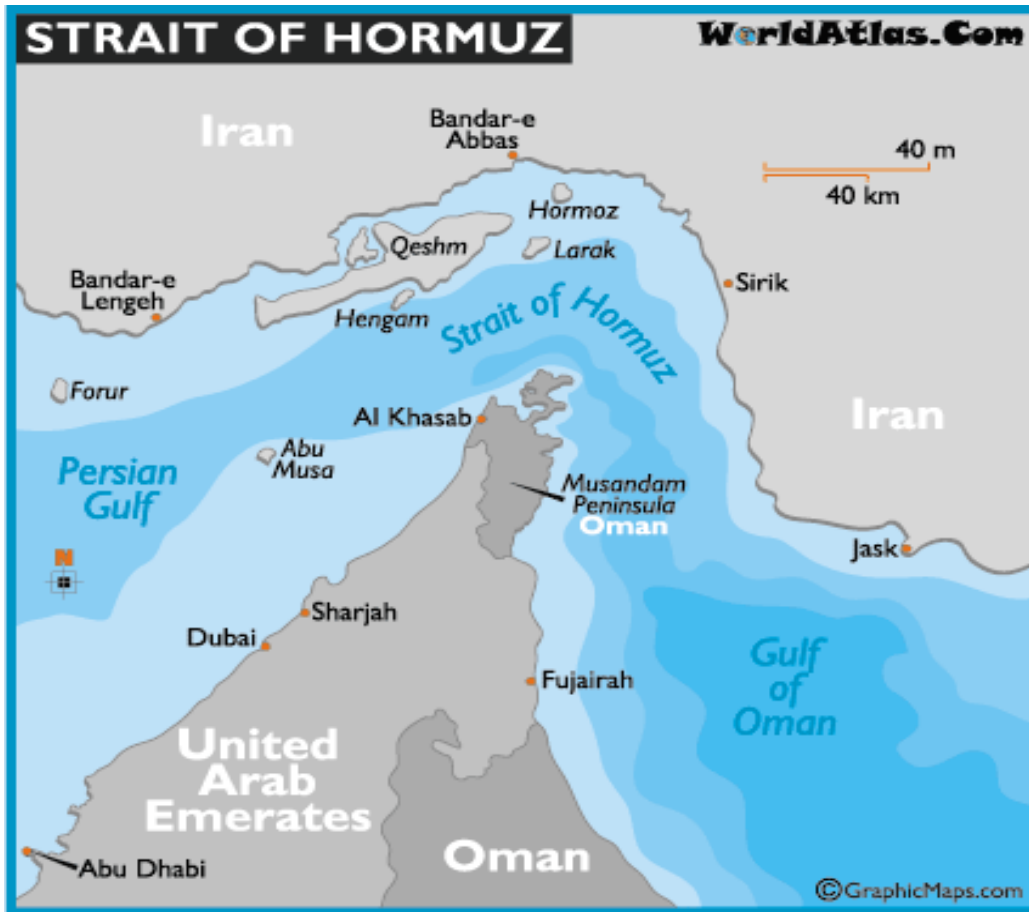
added training to the DLF led to a name change. The DLF became *The People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf* (PFLOAG) in August of 1968.<sup>79</sup>

The British Omani relations soured under the rule of Said because of his refusal to undergo any form of development in Oman. The British disapproved Said's use of oil revenues, mainly because he had established foreign private accounts for oil revenues that he used towards his personal ventures. Oman also became a significant concern for the British because of the establishment of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Occupied Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG). The PFLOAG conducted a number of violent retaliatory acts against Said's forces with the aid of the Communist states Russia and China and their Middle Eastern associates. This concerned the British because Oman was strategically situated overseeing a key oil route, the Strait of Hormuz. The majority of the oil to the British and their allies passed through the Strait of Hormuz. The United Arab Emirates controlled a forty-meter spread overlooking the Strait of Hormuz, but Oman owned the tip, the Musandam Peninsula to be specific. The Musandam Peninsula belonged to Oman despite the UAE (United Arab Emirates) territories that separated the Musandam Peninsula from the rest of Oman.<sup>80</sup> As a result, whoever controlled Oman controlled the Musandam Peninsula.

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<sup>79</sup> Hughes 2009, 280.

<sup>80</sup> Akehurst 1982, 3.



<http://www.worldatlas.com/aatlas/infopage/hormuz.htm>

The British were additionally interested in Oman because of the Cold War. The two superpowers fought throughout the Middle East indirectly. If PFLOAG were to succeed in Oman, its communist sponsors would be in a position to disrupt the flow of oil channeling through the Strait of Hormuz. Oman became strategically too important for the British to ignore. The traffic through the Strait of Hormuz consisted of large oil tankers passing through every 10 minutes.<sup>81</sup> Thirty percent of the oil consumed in the United States passed through the Strait of Hormuz while 70% of oil consumed by Western Europe and 90% of oil consumed by Japan

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 3.

passed through the Strait of Hormuz.<sup>82</sup> By the 1970s, about 80% of oil going to Western Europe passed through the Strait of Hormuz. If the PFLOAG succeeded in Oman, it would provide its sponsors, the Soviet Union, an opportunity to disrupt oil going to Western Europe, which meant the disruption of Western Europe's economic and defense posture. The loss of Oman to a communist regime would have had devastating effects on the western European economy in general, and on British interests in the Middle East specifically. The rebellion, therefore, made British intervention inevitable.

As stated above, the PFLOAG's popularity grew because of Said's denial of modernization. This presented obstacles for the British who were looking to win the support of the Omani populace in their attempt to wage an effective WHM campaign in counterinsurgency. Despite Said's unwillingness to provide internal development with its oil revenues, the British were confident that if given the opportunity, Said's son, Qaboos, would be a more cooperative leader of Oman. He would move Oman towards modernization and win more local support. Therefore, it was rumored that the British planned a coup against Said and to replace him with his son, Qaboos. They carried it out while most of Said's loyal supporters spent their leave abroad.<sup>83</sup> The transition went unimpeded, and by the time the Omani populace discovered the coup in July of 1970, Said was on his way to London where he spent the rest of his days in exile. The Omani populace favored modernization, which made the transition of power from Said to Qaboos less complicated.

## **APPLYING COIN TACTICS**

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<sup>82</sup> Ian Becket, *Modern Insurgencies and Counter-Insurgencies: Guerilla and their Opponents since 1750* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 217.

<sup>83</sup> Clements 1980, 64.

## Qaboos and the British (1970-PRESENT)

Modernization of Oman was finally made possible when on July of 1970 the Sultan Said was overthrown by the Omani army and replaced by his son Qaboos.<sup>84</sup> Qaboos was granted the title of Sultanate of Oman. He pushed towards modernization and eased the British efforts towards their WHAM campaign at the height of Oman's insurgencies. Qaboos had an educational and military background that influenced his modernization of Oman. He was privately educated at Britain's Sandhurst Military Academy and commissioned into the Scottish infantry following graduation.<sup>85</sup> Said held Qaboos captive after he returned from his studies at Britain's Sandhurst Military Academy. Prior to the coup that ended Sultan Said's reign, Said had accused his son of favoring modernization and put him under house arrest for six years. The change in Omani leadership from Said to his son Qaboos was vital for Britain's COIN operations.

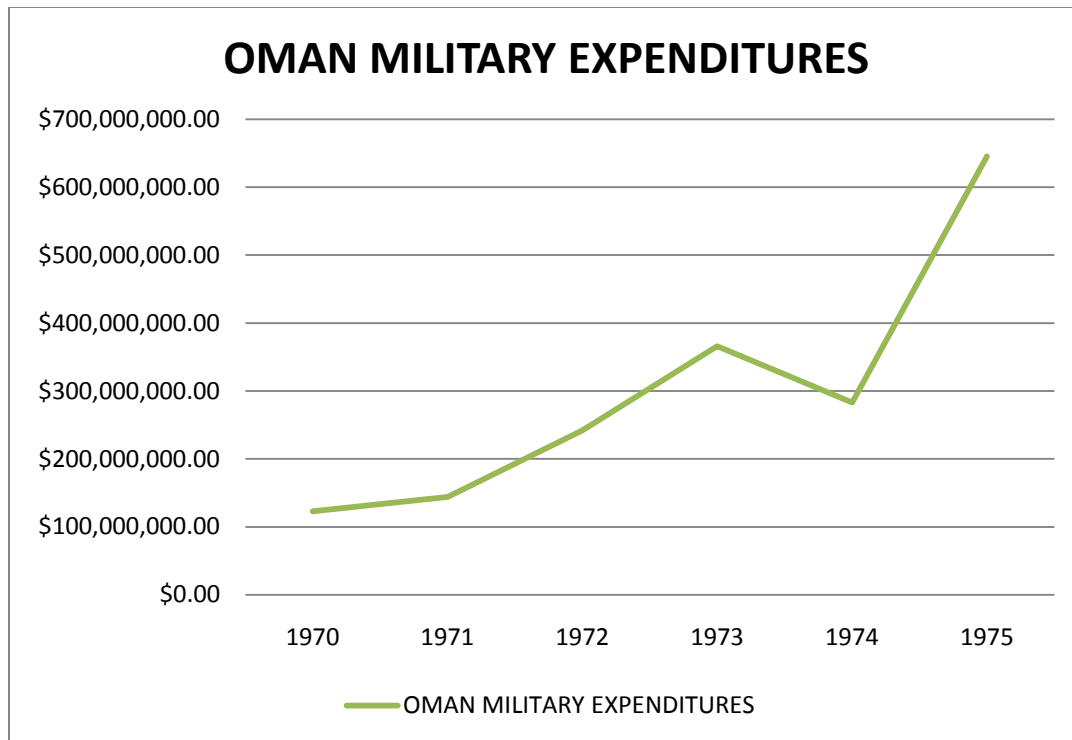
Qaboos made some drastic changes in spending that were vital for Britain's economic interests in Oman. He used oil revenues to establish social services, building schools, clinics, and other social necessities that the Omani populace urgently needed. Qaboos reconsolidated oil revenues to re-equip and rearm his military. The graph below shows how much money Qaboos spent on defense alone. Money spent during his first year as Sultan consisted of 15.2% of Oman's Gross National Product (GNP). The percentage of Oman's GNP reached 40.9% by 1975.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Calvin H. Allen and W. Lynn Rigsbee II, *Oman under Qaboos: From Coup to Constitution 1970-1996* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000), 1.

<sup>85</sup> Akehurst 1982, 15.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 65-66.



As the new Sultan of Oman, Qaboos faced minimal friction within his administration during his initial appointment on July of 1970. He confronted internal opposition but not at a level that presented potential insecurities to Oman’s stability. During Qaboos initial reign as Oman’s Sultan, he held the ministry position of the interior, foreign affairs, and finance.<sup>87</sup> His advisors immediately established an interim council to prevent a power vacuum from occurring. As a result, the council was chosen without the knowledge or authorization of Qaboos. One appointment that caused minimal opposition within the Qaboos administration was the appointment of Sayyid Tariq as prime minister. Tariq had been exiled in Germany and was brought back when he became prime minister. Qaboos and Tariq’s working relations were not well coordinated despite Tariq’s establishment of the different ministries within government.<sup>88</sup> Their working relationship took different directions as neither bothered to inform the other of

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 34.

<sup>88</sup> Allen, Calvin and W. Lynn Rigsbee II 2000, 35.



their progress. Both Qaboos and Tariq had differing views on the future of Oman, which showed in their selection of key personnel in their departments. Qaboos's neglect to inform Tariq of financial and defense matters led to Tariq's resignation on December of 1971. This was the end of Qaboos' opposition.

In January of 1972, Qaboos formed a new government making himself the prime minister as well as the minister of defense, minister of finance, and minister of foreign affairs.<sup>89</sup> This was complimentary to Oman's counterinsurgency campaign because it allowed Qaboos free reign to focus his efforts on the much-needed improvement of his military without internal opposition.

A few important individuals formed the foundation and experience from which a COIN approach in Oman was drawn: two of whom are Julian Paget, and Frank Kitson. They provided the theoretical basis for an approach to a counterinsurgency campaign in Oman.<sup>90</sup> Their different approaches were broad but necessary in creating a plan to best fit a certain insurgency scenario. Most insurgents are motivated by different reasons, and producing a COIN approach depended on a state's economic, cultural, and political standing. Paget and Kitson provided that basis for developing a COIN plan in Oman, which British officers serving there used as a guideline for constructing a modified plan to combat Oman's insurgencies. It is important to take note of their theories because they show how British COIN evolved and modified over the course of their campaign in Oman. Having a flexible COIN approach is necessary because of the changing tactics used by the insurgents.

Paget's theory in COIN contributed to the founding principles for a COIN approach in Oman. He was a British officer who had served in Palestine from 1945 to 1948 and, in the late 1960s, was tasked to develop approaches to countering anti-British sentiment in Aden,

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>90</sup> J.E. Peterson, Oman's Insurgencies: The Sultanate's Struggle for Supremacy (Lebanon: Saqi LTD, 2007), 26.

Yemen.<sup>91</sup> In his book *Counter-insurgency Operations: Techniques of Guerilla Warfare*, Paget developed approaches based on his experiences. He identified five elements that he believed these approaches were absolutely necessary in a COIN campaign:

1. Civil-military understanding.
2. Joint command and control structure.
3. Good intelligence.
4. Mobility.
5. Training.

Frank Kitson's COIN theory and work is not limited to the British approach in Oman. Kitson was a decorated veteran who had fought in Kenya and Malaya prior to his appointment to the British War Office, and rose to the rank of general in the early 1980s. At the War office, Kitson contributed to the planning phase for operations in Oman.<sup>92</sup> His book, *Low Intensity Operations*, caused a lot of controversy because of his criticism of the British army for training strictly on conventional warfare. He argued that most of British conflicts involved conventional warfare and that there needed to be more training emphasis on COIN operations. Unlike Paget's five elements of COIN, Kitson categorized his approach based on two areas. The first was *defensive* operations, which should include operations preventing the insurgency from disrupting any activities, for instance, civil operations such as development and other forms of programs geared towards WHAM of a targeted local populace.<sup>93</sup> Kitson's second area of focus was *offensive* operations, which aimed at rooting out an insurgency. This required a military emphasis in the destruction of insurgent forces. He emphasized the importance of keeping an equal balance of both *defensive and offensive* operations. More focus on defensive than on offensive operations would give free reign for an insurgency to expand its recruitment and ideology. The same

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>93</sup> Frank Kitson, *Bunch of Five*. Great Britain: Latimer Trend & Company Ltd. 1977, 292.

applies in reverse where more focus on offensive than defensive operations might give insurgents the ability to exploit certain areas and use them as a way to undermine the current government.<sup>94</sup>

What makes British COIN approaches distinguishable from other employing power of COIN is its flexibility to adjust and adopt new methods as the insurgency evolves. Both military and civil authorities understood that an insurgency could not be fought based on a single doctrine but methods would have to change in accordance with a constantly changing combat environment. General John Akehurst proved this very point when as he was assigned to the British efforts in Oman. His appointment led to the expansion and oversight of the COIN campaign in Oman.<sup>95</sup>

The British proposal to COIN in Oman began with a military approach that was necessary prior to implementing a WHAM approach. Colonel John Watts, top commander for the SAS in Oman, proposed a WHAM approach to COIN involving five fronts. This approach originated from Thompson's theory on COIN (discussed in chapter one) as well as Paget and Kitson's theory and was structured to fit Oman's insurgency activities at the time.<sup>96</sup> Watt's proposal therefore reflected the situation the British were facing in Oman. His proposal was made during Said's reign but was not approved and fully implemented until Qaboos took over as the Sultan of Oman in 1970.

Watt's (theory discussed in chapter one) approach began to take its initial form, but unfortunately, the PFLOAG had already made significant gains with the local populace. By 1970, the PFLOAG were better equipped than Oman's government forces. They found safe havens in Yemen and through their networks received supplies consisting of Kalashnikov rifles,

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<sup>94</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Akehurst 1982, 63.

<sup>96</sup> Peterson 2007, 26.

heavy machine guns, 82mm mortar rounds, rocket propelled grenades (RPG's), and Katyusha rockets. They were situated in the mountains of Jebel Akhdar, a critical area for British pacification. The British-led COIN managed to establish a foothold in the Jebel Akhdar area. This allowed for follow-on groups such as the civil action teams to move in and conduct a WHAM approach.<sup>97</sup>

Qaboos assisted the civil action teams by integrating a policy that allowed monetary rewards for the surrender of individuals involved with PFLOAG. Monetary rewards were to be paid to the surrendered individuals without punishment for their previous insurgent activities. This policy was very favorable for individuals who wanted to reintegrate into the Omani populace after observing better living conditions. The level of surrendered PFLOAG was higher than expected, making Qaboos's policy of monetary incentive a success.

The British capitalized on the increasing numbers of surrendering PFLOAG members by establishing a group specifically designed to collect intelligence from individuals who defected.<sup>98</sup> The British obtained effective intelligence because the defectors were well aware of key terrain and tactics the PFLOAG were using. Intelligence provided information on PFLOAG strongholds and their usual standard operating procedures. This fulfilled Watt's first front of COIN, which was the collection of effective intelligence.

Operation Jaguar facilitated the initial foothold into Jebel. The battle lasted a total of 5 hours and resulted in PFLOAG's loss of about 80 soldiers while 12 were captured. Some of the dead were transported to Salalah and put on display to show the populace that the government was enforcing its laws and that it successfully defeated the PFLOAG insurgents.<sup>99</sup> The British and the Omani governments needed reinforcements to continue further into enemy territory. In

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<sup>97</sup> Newsinger 2002, 149.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 144.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 147.

1973, the Sultan Qaboos received a reinforcement of 1,500 soldiers from Iran who were equipped and trained by the U.S. The Iranian reinforcement was used to keep a route open that connected Salalah to Jebel and on to Thumrait heading north. The PFLOAG began to attack the Iranian reinforcements but were not able to achieve their objective. The route continued to stay open allowing uninterrupted movement of British and Omani forces.



Photo taken from Donald Hawley page 243.

In conjunction with route security a 35 mile defensive barrier was constructed to prevent reinforcement of the PFLOAG. The higher ground along the barrier was used as a security post overlooking areas occupied by Omani forces. The barrier made drastic gains in cutting off resupply to the PFLOAG. PFLOAG supporters were no longer able to bring large amounts of resupply by camel. Supplies would have to be carried through the established barrier, and the carriers would risk being detected by ground sensors or being blown up by the mines. The new barrier significantly minimized the supply of ammunition, weapons, food or any other equipment

that the PFLOAG were receiving. As a result, the shortage of supplies PFLOAG were receiving limited their capabilities. The British and Omanis reinforced the initial barrier calling it the Hammer Line. The addition allowed the British and Omani forces to focus more effectively on pacification without worrying as much about PFLOAG disturbances.

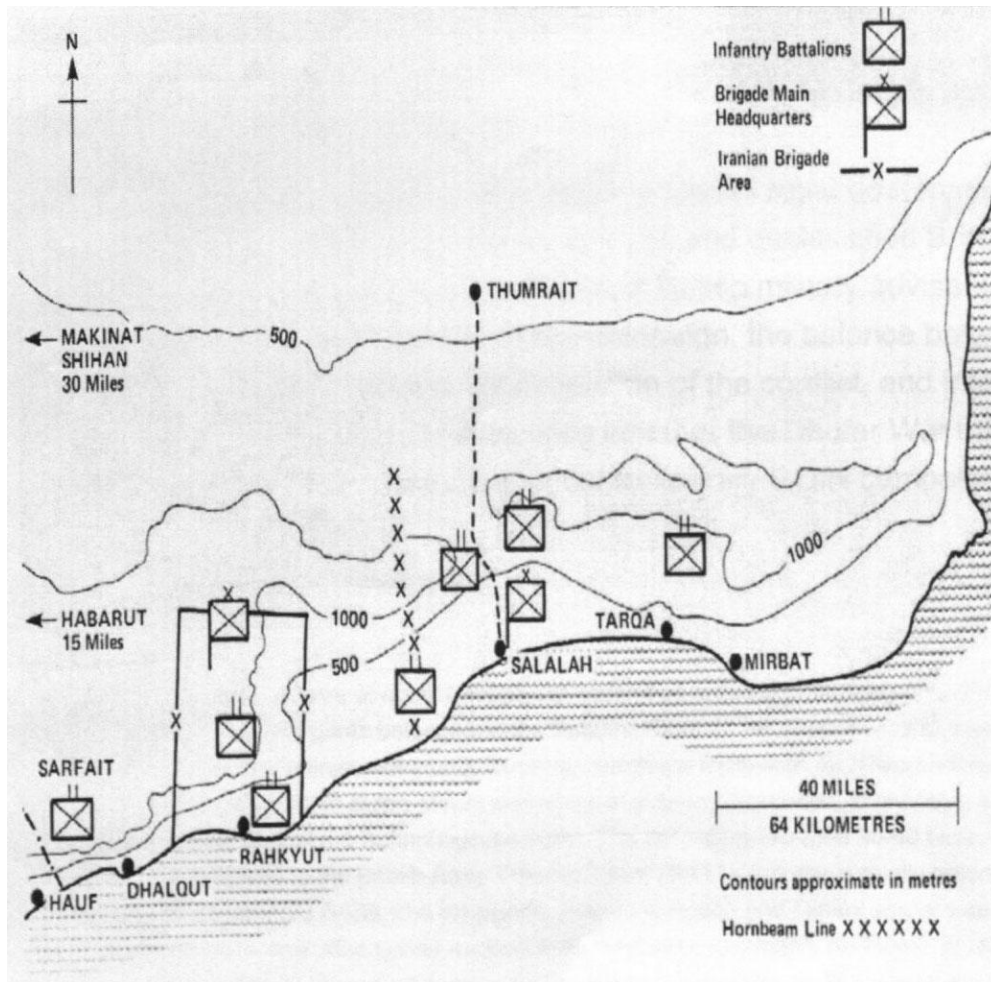


Photo taken from Geraint Hughes page 286.

## OUTCOME

One of the principal factors in the success of the British employment of COIN in Oman was focusing on obtaining reliable intelligence. The method in obtaining key intelligence throughout the Oman campaign is related to a WHAM in COIN because it was able to create a force called Firqat that consisted of former PFLOAG members. Persuasion was the method used

to obtain members for the Firqat. The British and Oman were able to provide PFLOAG members an alternative that in return would require their allegiance. This was achieved through monetary and vocational training incentives. The incentives as well as the Omani development programs won not only the local populace but a fraction of the PFLOAG organization.

Galula's theory in COIN success was achieved in Oman because its campaign succeeded in WHAM of the local populace and members from the PFLOAG organization. A contributing factor that allowed for the Omani populace to sustain its own security and stability was the creation of the Firqat force. In comparison to the Malayan Emergency where the home guard was recruited out of the populace, the Firqat force was recruited out of the PFLOAG organization which made intelligence on the enemy situation more accurate and effective. As the Firqat force increased, the PFLOAG declined. This eventually led to the isolation of PFLOAG forces from the local populations.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **COMPARISON**

Despite the review of one governing power and their employment of WHAM in COIN, the results used for comparison will lie in the differences of approach used in two different cultures. It is too easy to say that the British successfully employed a WHAM strategy in COIN in both Malaya and Oman without taking into consideration the differences in approach that was applied in two different countries both politically, culturally and geographically.

### **POLITICAL SITUATION**

The political setting is very important in the employment of COIN because it provides the conditions for an employing power to produce an effective COIN strategy. What makes the British approach distinct from that of other employing powers of COIN in a political setting was that it had two successive COIN victories based in two different settings. In Malaya, prior to the disruptions of insurgency forces the British had already occupied Malaya. As a result of their occupation, the local populace had built up a tolerance level to their exposure of British forces. This provides better conditions in employing a WHAM in COIN strategy. However, the political setting was different for both Malaya and Oman. The British had already established a presence in Malaya and had already been monitoring the progress and intentions of the MCP. This was evident when the British in anticipation of MCP attacks declared a state of emergency. In contrast to the British in Oman, British forces were asked to assist in neutralizing the Omani insurgency.

In Oman, the British made several attempts to establish a policy that would appease the local population in order to minimize hostility towards their government as well as MCP propaganda. They realized that under Sultan Said, conducting a COIN operation would be



difficult to carry out because of their differences with Sultan Said in generating a favorable policy for the local populaces. As a result, the British helped orchestrate a coup against Sultan Said and had him replaced with his son Sultan Qaboos who had been confined within his own home. The British were well aware of Sultan Qaboos eagerness in modernizing Oman making the employment of COIN practices much easier to apply. As a result, Sultan Qaboos helped the British facilitate a successful COIN operation.

### **COMPARISON TO THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR (GWOT)**

There are numerous comparisons to be made in comparing the political situations in Oman and Malaya to the GWOT. In contrast to the political situations confronted by the British, the GWOT is currently an ongoing military campaign led by the U.S. with support from the United Kingdom, National Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) and other non-NATO countries. The campaign began in 2001 in response to the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center. Former U.S. President George W. Bush used the phrase GWOT to describe the global, political, and ideological struggle against terrorist organizations and states that support or sponsor terrorism goals. While the insurgencies in Malaya and Oman were primarily domestic, the U.S. and their allies were confronted with a global insurgency. The U.S. led forces on the GWOT fought insurgent organizations out of Afghanistan and Iraq and were faced with alleged safe havens out in Pakistan supporting the insurgency.

What makes the political situation for the U.S. much more complicated in contrast to what the British faced is that global terrorism suggests that there are other states involved that either discreetly supports the insurgent group or neglect to intervene

on suspected insurgent activities being carried out within their own borders. The GWOT also puts the U.S. on a global scale because the U.S. needs the support of its allies to help sustain their current operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Historically counterinsurgency is a long drawn out process with very little success which would require the U.S. to sustain its relations abroad in good standing and convince them that defeating global insurgency is in everyone's interest.

The British in Malaya and Oman demonstrated how the political setting can affect the employment of WHAM in COIN. Despite the differences regarding the political setting the British experienced in both Malaya and Oman their ability to produce a successful working relationship with its clients in terms of productively employing COIN strategies. This was evident because of the previous working relationship the British had with the Malayan government and their ability to establish support of COIN strategies with the government of Oman through Sultan Qaboos. Both case studies suggest that the effectiveness of COIN employment begins with an employing powers relationship with their clients on how they can produce a unified COIN plan.

What is suggested based on these two case studies is that an employing power of COIN will always need the support of their client in order to effectively function and implement COIN principles. The conditions and difficulty in achieving a unified partnership are based on the previous relationship it had with its client prior to being confronted with an insurgency. Because the political situations are always different between two states there is not a single approach that meets the criteria for the entire GWOT (Global War on Terror).

## **APPLYING COIN TACTICS**

COMPARE STRATEGIES TO THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR.

A key factor in achieving COIN success was the protection of the local populaces from insurgent activities. Because the employment of COIN operations is a long, drawn out process insurgencies have a tendency to extort and coerce the local populaces for money and support in order to sustain their operations. These exchanges sometimes involve the use of brute force among the local populace in conjunction with the disruption tactics it conducts against its government. What is important to understand between an employing power of COIN and the approaches insurgent organizations use is that what works for the insurgent organizations may not necessarily mean it would work for an employing power of COIN. The brute force an insurgency uses to spread their ideology might not be too receptive by the local populace when a foreign power employs those methods because they can easily be perceived as a foreign power oppressing the local populaces making an insurgent goals look more attractive.

What these two case studies suggest is that the security of the local populace was needed in order for other methods of COIN to work such as civil development and effective governance. The British employed two different approaches in Malaya and Oman to achieve security. The British in Malaya relocated about 600,000 Malaysians to controlled areas in order to effectively protect the local populace. This was a successful effort however, the British did not use this approach in Oman because it would have had a reverse effect due to the cultural differences and livelihood Oman and Malaya had.

The British success in population relocation in Malaya worked because a majority of the local populace relied on agriculture to sustain their standard of living. What the British did in conjunction with relocating hundreds of thousands of Malaysians was to offer everyone alternate agricultural land use. Not only did the British succeed in providing the local populace alternate means of sustainability but it helped the local populace rely more on their government. Another

breakthrough the British achieved after the establishment of concentrated areas was the establishment of the home guard. This improved security conditions among the Malayan populace because the home guard was made up of people from the concentrated areas. The British gains in security continued to improve because the Malayan populace within the concentrated areas was responsible for financing the home guard. Rather than complain about new tax policies to fund the Home Guard the Malayan populace felt like they were a part of the overall effort. This was evident when the home guard started to provide better intelligence to the Malayan police on insurgent activity.

In contrast to the British approach in Malaya, the British approach in Oman did not involve mass relocation of the local populace. The geographical difference altered the outcome of a COIN approach. The Malayan populace relied on agriculture because they lived in a climate that supported it therefore, the relocation of thousands of Malaysians who relied on agriculture were able to sustain their means of economic gain. In contrast, the Omani environment is almost total opposite from Malaya. Oman is more desert like and relocating thousands of Omanis would have interfered with their ability to herd livestock to areas where grass and water is available.

In contrast to the British and Malayan forces offering its populaces alternate farming grounds, the Omani government increased its civil development and social welfare programs. This was in conjunction with the creation and use of the Firqat force. The British and Omani governments offered incentives to the PFLOAG insurgents ranging from a lump sum of money to vocational rehabilitation and opportunity for employment under the Firqat force. This enhanced Britain's and Oman's military operations because it minimized the expansion of the PFLOAG and undermined their efforts.

The British strategies in Malaya and Oman demonstrate that the employment of COIN approaches cannot be used a specific model because every COIN scenario is different. This is a result of the different conditions an operational environment contains. To effectively employ COIN strategies the political, economic, and diplomatic relationship between two states dictates an effective COIN approach.

A super power's use of COIN cannot justify the approaches for other super powers to employ the same methods. Just because the British succeeded in Malaya and Oman using certain COIN approaches does not mean that those methods will work elsewhere. The two case studies show how thinking outside of the norm and the use of innovative ideas is almost a requirement in order to achieve COIN success. This can be a very difficult process if most employing powers of COIN rely heavily on their military for COIN results. Because of the cultural differences, there are no specific approaches that would meet the criteria for all of the GWOT. However, there are COIN principles that can be used by other employing powers of COIN. The two case studies show the importance of securing the local populace. So in order to achieve COIN success the security of the local populace is vital for further COIN approaches to take place. The measures taken by an employing power of COIN to achieve security and success throughout the employment of a COIN campaign will depend on their ability to understand and integrate the cultural, economic, and diplomatic aspects of COIN employment.

## **CONCLUSION**

### **A. FURTHER STUDIES ON WHAM**

What the Malayan and Oman case studies suggest is that without the support of the local

populace COIN efforts will not be a success. Without the support of the population the possibility for targeted areas to isolate the insurgents among them becomes very minimal. Therefore in order to explore the possibilities of what Galula argues to be COIN success WHAM must be integrated into a COIN plan. And even if WHAM is achieved there are no guarantees that Galula's theory of success will endure. The question is not whether COIN is the preferred method in combating an insurgency but how to achieve and sustain the support of a targeted populace during and after COIN operations. Because WHAM is essential in achieving COIN success there are previous cases that can provide a model in specifically achieving a WHAM approach. Greg Mortenson, a humanitarian working in Pakistan is a prime example.

## **B. BUILDING SCHOOLS TO COMBAT TERRORISM**

The Central Asia Institute, led by Greg Mortenson, believes that education can go a long way in combating terrorism.

Mortenson's schools have educated poor villagers in Pakistan and thereby provided opportunities to areas most vulnerable to Taliban recruitment. Some of those who are enrolled in Mortenson's schools later became assets within their community, bolstering education and increasing the productivity of its medical clinics. According to Mortenson, two former Taliban members became teachers at one of his schools for girls.<sup>100</sup> Another success story includes a young woman named Aziza. She lived along the Afghan border in a very conservative rural society. Despite the opposition that she received from her peers while attending school, she became the first person in her village to graduate from high school. Aziza currently serves as the only maternal health care worker in her region. Despite having no clinics, medicine, or even medical supplies, Aziza provided medical services ranging from immunizations to maternal

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<sup>100</sup>Weis, *Colorado Springs Independent*, June 2008.

deliveries. Prior to occupying her post in 2000, the female infancy death rate ranged from 5 to 25. Since Aziza began her work, the female infancy death rate now stands at zero.<sup>101</sup>

Greg Mortenson clearly champions the idea of WHAM. What makes him successful in his work is that he is operating out of the goodness of his heart. He is dedicated in his efforts. In a counterinsurgency campaign, these characteristics are needed to win the local population over. People can distinguish sincerity from arrogance. Loyal networks are built up over time, which can be very time-consuming but very resourceful in the end. Mortenson's journey of building schools has allowed him to discover new methods making an impact on society on a larger scale: through expanding and focusing his efforts on educating and providing schools for girls.

Mortenson believes that educating a generation of girls in Pakistan is important, and from a counterinsurgency point of view, that it would be ideal in attacking terrorism at its roots. In an Afghani and Pakistani culture, a mother plays an important role in the family. Before a son decides to leave the family and pursue a future career, he must receive the blessing of his mother. According to Mortenson, educated mothers are more likely to disapprove any involvement their sons may have with religious extremist organizations such as the Taliban. In Pakistan and Afghanistan, it is a shameful act for a son to disobey his family's wishes, so in most cases, the sons stay loyal to their families and, as a result, the pool for Taliban recruitment becomes smaller.<sup>102</sup> Building schools can thus have a long-lasting effect not only in terms of minimizing insurgency recruitment but also on terms of building relationships. As Mortenson notes, "One reason that I think we've been effective over there in forging relationships and getting things done at least half of it is our intuitive sense, or 'When your heart speaks, take good notes.' So

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Greg Mortenson, interviewed by Maria Hinojosa, Greg Mortenson on Building Schools in Afghanistan and Pakistan. PBS interview. March 2 2007.

what's just as important as the summit is the climb; not the product, but the process. It's about the relationships.”<sup>103</sup>



<http://politicspeaksvalleys.files.wordpress.com/2009/03/mortenson-at-work.jpg>

Mortenson and the Central Asia Institute have built over 70 schools in Pakistan, in areas that are very hostile and more prone to terrorist recruitment. He states that “Schools are a much more effect bang for the buck than missiles or chasing some Taliban around the country.”<sup>104</sup>

The U.S. spends at least \$500,000 per tomahawk missile dropped into Afghanistan.<sup>105</sup> That is equivalent to the construction of over 20 schools built by aide groups within that region, which in the end could be much more effective in counterinsurgency. Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Kolenda, who served in Afghanistan’s front lines, agrees, “I am convinced that the long-term

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<sup>103</sup> Weis, *Colorado Springs Independent*, June 2008

<sup>104</sup> Hinojosa interview with Mortenson

<sup>105</sup> Nicholas D. Kristof, “It Takes a School, Not Missiles,” *New York Times*, July 13, 2008.



solution to terrorism in general, and Afghanistan specifically, is education. The conflict here will not be won with bombs but with books.”<sup>106</sup>

In fact, the Taliban has acknowledged that education is a threat to its organization. It has included educational facilities on its roster of targets, which also includes government buildings, police stations, and social areas. It has banned girls from attending school. In 2007, the Taliban had destroyed 162 schools for girls and 88 schools for boys. In other regions of Afghanistan, its government security forces had prevented about 10,000 students from attending school because it needed to secure about 40 schools to provide sufficient security against the Taliban. The Taliban has enforced strict regulations on the local populace, forcing women to wear veils and the men to wear traditional clothing and grow beards. They have threatened death to anyone who violated their demands and even made an example of a schoolteacher who refused to follow Taliban rules. To prove their point, the Taliban killed the teacher and hung his body on an electricity pole.<sup>107</sup>

This study is open to further research because COIN is a very complex and time consuming process. Achieving a WHAM approach in COIN can mean different things depending on the geographical location, the current political atmosphere, the economic policies of a targeted area, culture and even religion. These factors contribute to the development of a WHAM in COIN strategy and therefore each case where a governing power applies COIN principles its results will vary

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<sup>106</sup> Nicholas Kristof. “It Takes a School, Not Missiles.” New York Times. July 13 2008.

<sup>107</sup> “The Huntington Post.” 2009. Taliban destroys Girls education, Pakistan Powerless.

## ACRONYMS

COIN – Counterinsurgency

CT – Counterterrorism

DLF – Dhofar Liberation Front

LSP – Loan Service Personnel

FM – Field Manuel

GWOT – Global War on Terror

KVHG – Kinta Valley Home Guard

MAS – Malayan Administrative Service

MCP – Malayan Communist Party

MPAJA – Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army

MRLA – Malayan Races' Liberation Army

PFLOAG – Popular Front for the Liberation of Occupied Arabian Gulf

PDRY – Peoples' Democratic Republic of Yemen

UAE – United Arab Emirates

WHAM – Winning the Hearts and Minds

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