



**VALENS GLOBAL**

INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIES & SECURITY

# RESILIENCE & RESISTANCE (R2)

ELECTRONIC COLLECTION

GSOE 2022



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PROVIDING STRATEGIC CLARITY IN A CHAOTIC WORLD



Dear Global Special Operations Forces (GSOF) Conference 2022 Participants and Attendees:

I am proud to present Valens Global's *GSOF 2022 special Resilience & Resistance (R2)* electronic collection. We have compiled six articles written by leading experts and practitioners of R2 and our Valens R2 subject matter experts (SMEs). I believe that this collection offers insights and thought leadership on the critical topics of resilience and resistance in great power conflict. In this collection, we present two articles written by our newest team member, the well-known and highly accomplished R2 SME Colonel (retired) Kevin D. Stringer, Ph.D., US Army.

We would like to acknowledge and thank our distinguished co-authors for their time, expertise, and incredible passion for R2, including:

Minister-Counselor Monika Lipert-Sowa, Security Policy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw, Poland;

Brigadier General Maciej Klisz, Deputy Commanding General, The Polish Territorial Defence Forces, Warsaw, Poland; and

Lieutenant Colonel (Retired) J. Bryant Love, U.S. Army, Civil Affairs, Senior Red Team Facilitator, Special Operations Campaign Artistry Program – Red Team, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, United States

Additionally, we would like to thank and recognize the editors of the *Journal on Baltic Security Special Issue: Exploring 'Resistance' in the Resistance Operating Concept*, (<https://journalonbalticsecurity.com/journal/JOBS>), Dr. Asta Maskaliūnaitė and Dr. Kevin D. Stringer; and the editors of *Security: Theory and Practice No. 3/2022: The Total Defense 21st Century.com – Building Resilient Society* (<https://btip.ka.edu.pl/btip-2022-nr3/>), Dr. Marcin Lasoń, BG Maciej Klisz, and Dr. Leszek Elak. Both publications are outstanding, and the editors were an absolute pleasure to work with. They made all of this possible.

This collection provides new and thought-provoking ideas and concepts to fill critical gaps in current R2 theory. We aim to drive rigorous professional discussions, debate, and scholarly research to increase the resilience and pre-crisis resistance capacity of nations under the threat of invasion and occupation. We also seek to help critical partners and allied nations that are not under direct threat but want to support their partners and allies more effectively.

We are exceptionally proud of these articles, which are the first published by Valens Global personnel on this topic since debuting our commercial R2 offerings during GSOF 2021, when much of modern resilience and resistance against invasion and occupation was theoretical. Tragically, these theories are now being put into action as we watch a gallant and effective resistance to invasion and occupation being fought by Ukrainian patriots.

Sincerely,

Dr. Daveed Gartenstein-Ross  
Founder and CEO  
Valens Global

Please Visit our R2 Website for  
more information on our offerings.





## **Resilience & Resistance Electronic Collection**

### **1. Resilience and Resistance 2.0: initial lessons of Ukraine and the implications of resilience and resistance efforts to deter and respond to invasion and occupation by revisionist powers**

**Authors:** Derek Jones, Col. (Ret.), US Army Special Forces, Vice President, Valens Global, and J. Bryant Love, LTC (Ret.), Civil Affairs, Senior Red Team Facilitator, Special Operations Campaign Artistry Program – Red Team, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, United States

**Abstract:** Civil-defence resilience capacities focus on man-made threats to national security. While terror attacks like 9/11 drove civil-defence efforts throughout the 2000s, the Russian invasion of portions of Ukraine in 2014 forced nations to build resilience against new threats. These included covert grey-zone and disinformation operations. Additionally, the 2014 events forced nations bordering or within the sphere of influence of revisionist nations to begin to prepare for possible invasion and occupation. Recognition of these threats resulted in two multinational doctrinal concepts that set the stage for what is collectively referred to as resilience and resistance (R&R). Resilience is the efforts by a nation prior to a conflict to build pre-crisis capacity to resist a host of threats, including invasion and occupation, in hopes of deterring threat actions. If deterrence fails, then the efforts transition into resistance to invasion and occupation. The Russian 2022 invasion of Ukraine demonstrated the need for R&R and the strengths and weaknesses of national resistance in action. This event is a strategic R&R inflection point. Nations developing R&R should reflect on and apply the lessons learned from Ukraine's efforts and ultimately establish R&R 2.0 as an irregular deterrent on par and mutually supporting conventional and nuclear deterrents.

### **2. The total defence snap link for national resistance: territorial defence forces – the Swiss example**

**Author:** Kevin D. Stringer, Col. (Ret.), USA, PhD; Affiliate Associate Professor, General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania

**Abstract:** For nations facing expansionist and revisionist neighbours such as Russia or China, a total defence approach provides a mechanism to protect both territorial integrity and political sovereignty. A key component for any effective total defence concept is volunteer, citizen-soldier territorial defence forces (TDF). This paper emphasises the role these territorial formations play as the critical snap link between the military and civilian population in such a national defence strategy. The territorial defence forces, like the snap link in mountaineering, connect the military to the civilian population in a way to ensure popular support for national resistance efforts.



The article offers the historical example of Switzerland as an exemplar of total defence from 1939 to 1991 and demonstrates the role its citizen-soldier forces played in linking the population to overall resistance efforts. This Swiss historical experience provides three main concepts for consideration today: (1) the creation of a government directed and functional *levée en masse* that mobilizes the entire population to support total defence; (2) the establishment of a national redoubt or refuge, either in-country or abroad, to provide sanctuary for the resistance movement; (3) and the organisation of specialised, multi-crisis capable territorial units for the full range of total defence missions

### 3. [A Response: The Promises and Pitfalls of Developing Pre-Crisis Clandestine Underground Resistance Organisations - Lessons of the WWII Polish Underground State](#)

**Authors:** Monika Lipert-Sowa, Minister-Counselor, Security Policy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw, Poland, and Derek Jones, Col. (Retired), U.S. Army, Special Forces, Valens Global, Duluth, Georgia.

**Abstract:** Dr. Asta Maskaliūnaitė identified five concerns related to the promises and pitfalls of developing underground resistance organisations (URO) before a crisis in her excellent and timely 2021 Journal on Baltic Security article, 'Exploring Resistance Operating Concept. Promises and pitfalls of (violent) underground resistance'. These pitfalls or areas of concern are: (1) Command and Control (C2), (2) Legitimacy, (3) Recruitment, (4) Potential Long-Term Problems, and (5) Strategic Communications. This study will address these five concerns from a non-military perspective, focusing on civilian control, political conditions, capabilities of the state, and legislated safeguards for each concern to accentuate promises and minimize risks. The study is based on a case study analysis of the Polish Underground State and highlights its legitimacy, enjoyed due to the legally organized, civilian-led URO and its shadow government leading the resistance in Poland and the Polish Government-in-Exile providing the legitimacy and organizing external support.

### 4. [Integrating Territorial Defence Forces into National Resistance Efforts: Lessons of the Polish Home Army's role within the World War II Polish Underground State and the Post-War Polish Independence Underground](#)

**Authors:** Maciej Klisz, Brig. Gen., Deputy Commanding General, The Polish Territorial Defence Forces, Warsaw, Poland, and Brian Mehan, Lt. Col. (Retired), U.S. Army, Special Forces, Valens Global, Duluth, Georgia, USA

**Abstract:** This study focuses on the unique characteristics in integrating the historically overt Territorial Defence Forces (TDF) with clandestine underground resistance organisations as part of efforts by various countries to build national resistance capacities prior to a conflict. This paper provides the theoretical and historical underpinnings of the concept of TDF and underground integration, including observations



from the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine. Case studies of the Polish Home Army's integration into the Polish Underground State in WWII under primarily German occupation and subsequently the Polish Independent Underground until 1963 under Polish Underground State in WWII under primarily German occupation and subsequently the Polish Independent Underground until 1963 under Soviet occupation are used to better understand the unique aspects of TDF and underground integration. In both cases, the respective TDFs were operating against equally brutal but distinctly different occupiers. The case study analysis identifies and discusses three key lessons for integrating military and civilian capabilities in national resistance programs built prior to a conflict: 1) the criticality of civilian control, 2) ambiguity, protractedness, and the TDF, and 3) the scaling the TDF and underground. Finally, recommendations are offered to support the implementation of the lessons learned. While these lessons and recommendations are focused on TDF and underground resistance organisation integration, they also similarly apply to every ministry, department, and agency of nations developing similar capabilities and may enable the successful implementation of related efforts. No single ministry or department can effectively establish a viable national resistance organisation in a vacuum. This research also sets the conditions for further distinct analysis to increase the theoretical understanding of these concepts.

## **5. Special Operations Forces (SOF): The Integrators for Total Defense and Resistance**

**Author:** Colonel Kevin D. Stringer, USA Ph.D., Affiliate Associate Professor, General Jonas Zemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, Vilnius, Lithuania.

**Abstract:** In preparation for gray zone or conventional warfare conducted by Russian or Chinese adversaries and their proxies, threatened nations can apply a Total Defense approach to safeguard their territorial integrity and political sovereignty. Two key components for any effective Total Defense concept are national special operations forces (SOF) and volunteer, citizen-soldier territorial defense forces (TDF). This article examines the role of special operations forces as significant multi-dimensional, entrepreneurial integrators in Total Defense. In particular, it demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between special operations and territorial defense forces in the complex mission of national resistance during crisis and occupation

## **6. Stronger together: the integration of a nation's special operations forces and voluntary-based formations in comprehensive and total defence**

**Authors:** Derek Jones, Col. (Ret.), US Army Special Forces, Vice President, Valens Global, and Brian Mehan, Lt. Col. (Ret.), US Army Special Forces, Director of Business Operations, Valens Global.

**Abstract:** Special operations forces (SOF) have a history of integrating with voluntary-based formations (VBF) overseas against a wide variety of threats. Despite the historical record, the current doctrine does not provide any applicable concepts to inform SOF-VBF integration. This study aims to fill this doctrinal



gap and explores the concepts of a nation applying its SOF-VBF to its own comprehensive defence or total defence to make any territorial incursion or occupation too costly for an adversary. Using a mixture of qualitative and comparative research methodologies, based on secondary historical resistance sources, this study achieves four goals: defining the purpose behind SOF-VBF integration during resilience and resistance; establishing a seven-option SOF-VBF integration framework at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels; assessing these options based on strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and risks of each to inform the implementation; and finally addressing overarching risks common to all options to inform broader risk mitigation measures. The result is seven integration options focused specifically on resilience and resistance to invasion and occupation. This paper will assess the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and risks of each. This study sets the stage for future analysis and additional research on this important topic of qualitative and comparative research methodologies, based on secondary historical resistance sources, this study achieves four goals: defining the purpose behind SOF-VBF integration during resilience and resistance; establishing a seven-option SOF-VBF integration framework at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels; assessing these options based on strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and risks of each to inform the implementation; and finally addressing overarching risks common to all options to inform broader risk mitigation measures. The result is seven integration options focused specifically on resilience and resistance to invasion and occupation. This paper will assess the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and risks of each. This study sets the stage for future analysis and additional research on this important topic.

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