

Resilience: A Culture of Total Collective Defense

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The North Atlantic Treaty Organization must **restore a culture of resilience**. Like readiness, resilience is fundamental to effective deterrence and defense. Resilience is the ability to operate under stress, even under the stress of an attack, and to still be able to function effectively to overcome the stress or the attack and respond appropriately. Allies and partners are under attack from persistent Russian hybrid tactics, from consistent terrorist threats, from natural disasters and climate change, and increasingly from a Chinese indirect strategy that aims to dominate economically while undermining politically. Our resilience, or lack thereof, is being constantly probed across all aspects of our governments, our societies, and our economies. Meanwhile, many people languish in a false sense of 21st century security as the distant memories of war on our continents recede into affluent bliss.

A culture of resilience must underpin our defense as well as our prosperity. Our prosperity ensures our way of life. A portion of our prosperity funds our defense, and now must fund our resilience, for how we live depends upon it. Our resilience ultimately determines our future ability to decide our own fate.

Strategy-Informed Coherently-Integrated Resilience

NATO's clarion call to resilience can and must lead the necessary cultural shift among Allies and Partners. The first duty, the starting point, is to define how a lack of resilience undermines the Alliance's ability to deliver credible defense and therefore effective deterrence. This is a straightforward objective approach that necessarily encompasses all aspects of resilience and from which the consequences of a lack of resilience become immediately evident. The steps are these:

- **Determine the requirements for deterrence and defense.**
- **Assess the resilience-related gaps, seams, and vulnerabilities within this plan.**
- **Identify those responsible for each issue and work with them to resolution.**
- **Track each to completion.**

This is undoubtedly within NATO's mandate to do. Importantly, this process results in a prioritized list of resilience targets that must be validated, assessed, resourced, and rectified. This process highlights the criticality of resilience and expands the discussion across all relevant sectors (e.g. societal, democratic), while enabling quick wins, building momentum for change, and creating broad awareness.

For example, the ability of NATO to conduct deterrence, and if necessary, actively defend NATO territory, still depends on consensus decisions in the Alliance, the ability to muster, move, and supply large troop formations in Europe, the capability to defend its networks and the allies' information space, and the wherewithal to reinforce its operations from North America.

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All of this assumes NATO's nations can join consensus because they are free from undue external influences such as unfavorable economic arrangements, loss of control over critical infrastructure, supply chain dependencies, network intrusions, corrupting actions aimed at decision makers, and rampant disinformation campaigns within their societies. It also assumes that forces can communicate securely, freely use the ports, airports, railroads, highways, and staging areas needed, that the needs of the populations in such emergencies are met by national governments to include the provision of and protection for safe food and water, urgent medical care, reliable energy, functioning communications and essential transport networks.

Total Defense in Finland and Sweden offer excellent examples of concerted efforts to ensure a culture of resilience permeates across all sectors and strata of society. Both nations started their efforts by focusing on the importance of resilience in support of military operations leading to an expansive understanding of the fundamental contribution of resilience to national defense, particularly when analyzing the insidious and pervasive tactics their potential adversary would use against them in advance of a conventional assault. In short, they realized that societal resilience determines the success or failure of a people in war and in a crisis.

To cope with an increasingly complex, unpredictable and volatile security environment resilience should become a core element of NATO's strategic culture. To ensure our collective defense, the Transatlantic Alliance, NATO Allies and Partners need to cooperatively provide a secure environment through a diligent focus on comprehensive resilience. Within a resilient transatlantic community, we can successfully respond to any security and defense crisis imposed upon us by authoritarian regimes, malign non-state actors, disruptive technologies, or threatening natural phenomena such as pandemics and climate change. The future success of NATO depends on comprehensive transatlantic resilience, which requires unity of effort within and across all the elements of Allied power.

Article 3 of the Washington Treaty requires comprehensive resilience: "In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack." The documented actions of NATO's adversaries are aimed at reducing Allies capacity to resist armed attack.

To constantly improve resilience both at national levels and collectively, NATO needs to work closely with the EU, the private sector, and civil society. The well-known list of things to do is long as adversaries seek the weakest points within and between our societies; therefore, every aspect of resilience is pertinent and relevant to a strategy-informed coherently-integrated approach to resilience. Specifically, this encompasses:

- A Comprehensive Approach to Resilience: All aspects of society and nation contribute.
- Shared Resilience: Allies must and do depend on one another in deeply integrated ways; therefore, an all-for-one one-for-all approach across national boundaries is needed.
 - For example, NATO emphasis on transatlantic supply chains is needed to ensure redundancy in key national security sectors and eliminate dependencies on China, to "re-shore" the production of critical goods within the transatlantic economy, and to diversify global production networks to ensure security of supply for energy, foodstuffs, medical essentials, and in some areas water, all to insulate governments from supply-related extortion.

- Democratic Resilience: Protecting our democratic way of life vs autocracies is fundamental.
 - For example, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly can play a leading role in increasing democratic resilience through a collaborative legislators’ dialogue on resilience.
- Societal resilience is instrumental to advance national security; defined as the “the ability of a nation state to preserve the cohesion of its society when it is confronted by external and internal challenges caused by socio-political change and violent disturbances.” NATO Allies are a people who share democratic values, norms, principles, interests, needs, and history.
 - For example, NATO’s public diplomacy reiterated by Allies can lead a concerted strategic communications campaign to increase resilience literacy within allied and partner nations.
- A Culture of Resilience for Collective Defense is required alongside renewed cultures of readiness, responsiveness, reinforcement, restoration; the latter meaning to plan on and then to restore a resilient and functioning society and government once hostilities have ceased.
- A Culture of Resilience for Crisis Management or Forward-Deployed Resilience, which brings focus to the Comprehensive Approach to Crisis Management in that the first attribute of the defended population that must be assured through our intervention is resilience as such a society or group of people can then better withstand the rigors of the restoration of a resilient functioning government.
- A Culture of Resilience for Cooperative Security culture (political, economic, societal, and relationship resilience)
 - Projecting resilience into vulnerable democratic partners to strengthen their societies, economies and political cultures makes it more difficult for malign state or non-state actors to disrupt them thereby creating the instability necessary for their malevolent designs.

Recommendations to support a Strategy-Informed Coherently-Integrated approach to Resilience:

- Add national and multinational Resilience Targets to the NATO Defence Planning Process based on an in-depth analysis of the plan-based requirements.
- Develop a dynamic and comprehensive resilience-based assessment of the NATO family of plans predicated upon a deep understanding of the consequences of a lack of resilience in plan-essential functions and locations. Keep it current.
- Require that Best Military Advice from the Military Committee in support of NAC decisions includes a resilience assessment of strengths and vulnerabilities in the recommended courses of actions so that the probability of success for each can be fully assessed at political level within the context of a comprehensive approach to shared resilience.
- Task NATO’s Communications and Information Agency to develop the capability for an All Domain Collaboration, Coordination, and Consensus (ADC3) system based on the Federated Mission Network construct for real-time resilience collaboration in support of the NATO Civil Emergency Planning Committee, and in turn, to support SACEUR’s plans and operations.
- Identify and implement all-domain Resilience Measures of Performance and Measures of Effectiveness within NATO’s core tasks.
- Develop in collaboration with the EU (using an FDI screening mechanism) a comprehensive understanding of the state of critical infrastructure, key technology companies, and essential

intellectual property as a contribution to the necessarily NATO-led assessment of plans and operations.

- Allies commit to adopting and implementing the appropriate screening mechanisms and to ensuring such processes are mutually reinforcing to avoid creating opportunities for adversaries to exploit gaps between nations.
- Establish a Center of Excellence for Resilience

Culture or Core Task? Yes.

Resilience it seems is like light, it is both particle and wave. It's a particle in the sense that it permeates everywhere and seemingly attaches itself to everything. It's a wave in that it propagates across and through mediums easily and quickly. Like light it's fundamental to life and essential for growth.

Resilience particles are jobs we must do, things we must accomplish, like breathing, eating, and sleeping. They are necessary and essential. They are part of who we are if we want to remain alive and strong.

Resilience waves, the collection of the particles as they move across our space, ripple across obstacles and highlight our glaring imperfections, but they also shine brightly on our successes. These are easy to see on and across the mediums with which we work.

Like light, when we pass it through a prism, we see its component parts. We begin to understand the nature of light. So, it is with resilience if we understand it. We need it to live, and it helps us see the way forward. In this sense, it is both culture and core task.

There are so many things we must do to be a resilient culture, so many resources required, and too many seemingly more urgent challenges to overcome, that without the imperative of a core task -- without the light shining on our imperfections -- we many never muster the sustained effort required to change our culture.

We need a culture of resilience. We also need a culture of readiness, of responsiveness, of reinforcement, and of restoration, so that we are fully prepared to react and rebuild. These five culture attributes constitute credible collective defense and therefore effective deterrence. Starting with resilience for defense, which will focus our minds on the totality of that which we must do now, will put us on the necessary path to imbue our NATO culture with all these essential traits.