DEFENCE MATTERS:
A CANADIAN APPRECIATION

For over 60 years, North America and Europe have worked together to protect our freedom, security and well-being. The solidarity of our two continents, embodied in NATO, has led to an unprecedented era of peace and stability. For all these reasons, we must not forget that our values matter, our institutions matter, our way of life matters – and defence matters too.

The three risks

Defence spending among the Allies is uneven, among Europeans and between Europe and North America. Moreover, total defence spending has been going down, while that of emerging powers has been going up. If these trends continue, we could face three serious gaps that would place NATO's military capacity and political credibility at risk.

1. A widening intra-European gap. While some European Allies will continue to acquire modern and deployable defence capabilities, others might find it difficult to do so. This would limit their ability to work together in a crisis.

2. A growing transatlantic gap. This would limit the practical ability of Europeans and North Americans to work together. It would also risk weakening political support for NATO in the United States.

3. A growing gap between the capacity of emerging powers and NATO allies to act and exert international influence.

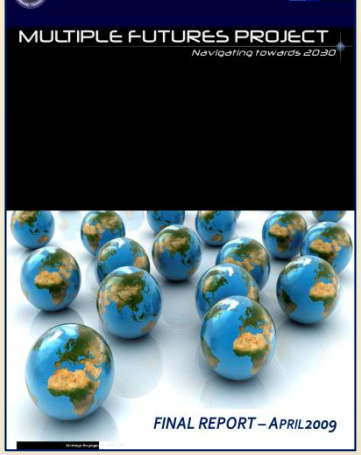
Defence against what?

THE NEW WORLD DISORDER

- Unbridled extremism, uncontrolled and illegal migration, friction caused by resource scarcity
- Mostly originating in unstable societies with little or no functioning government
- Technology broadening spectrum of Western vulnerabilities, easing task of disrupting societies
- Adversaries focusing less on external attack, more on targeting populations, centres of commerce, economic/social networks.

THE DEFENCE CHALLENGE

- Hybrid attacks which combine traditional and irregular methods of warfare, terrorism and subversion
- Alliances with organized crime
- Exploitation of mass media to reshape values and behaviours.



RESPONSE STRATEGIES

- Response strategies also have to be hybrid combining:
  - -- domestic and international measures
  - -- force and persuasion
  - -- military, police and civilian resources
  - -- multi-track approaches.

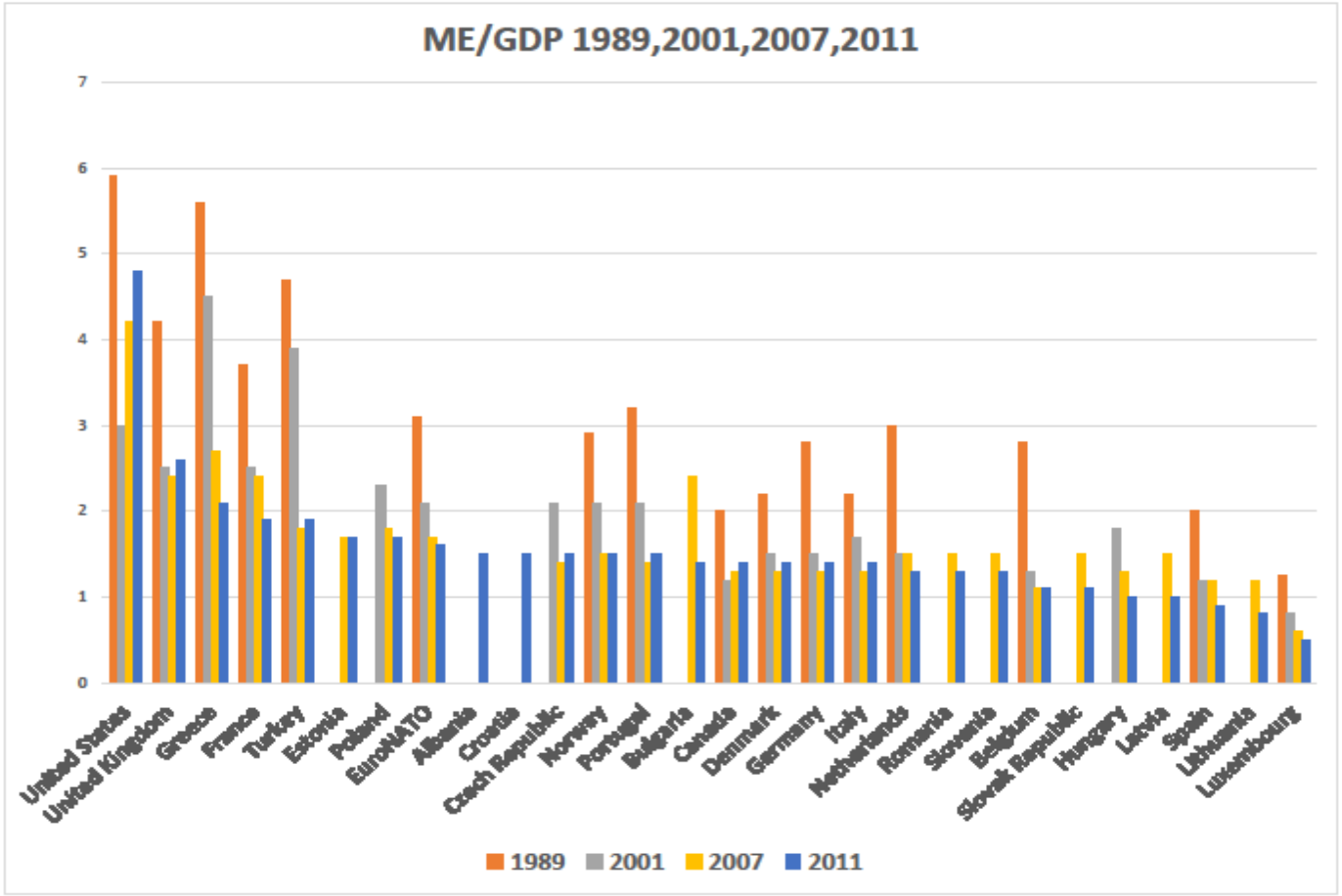
THE AGENDA

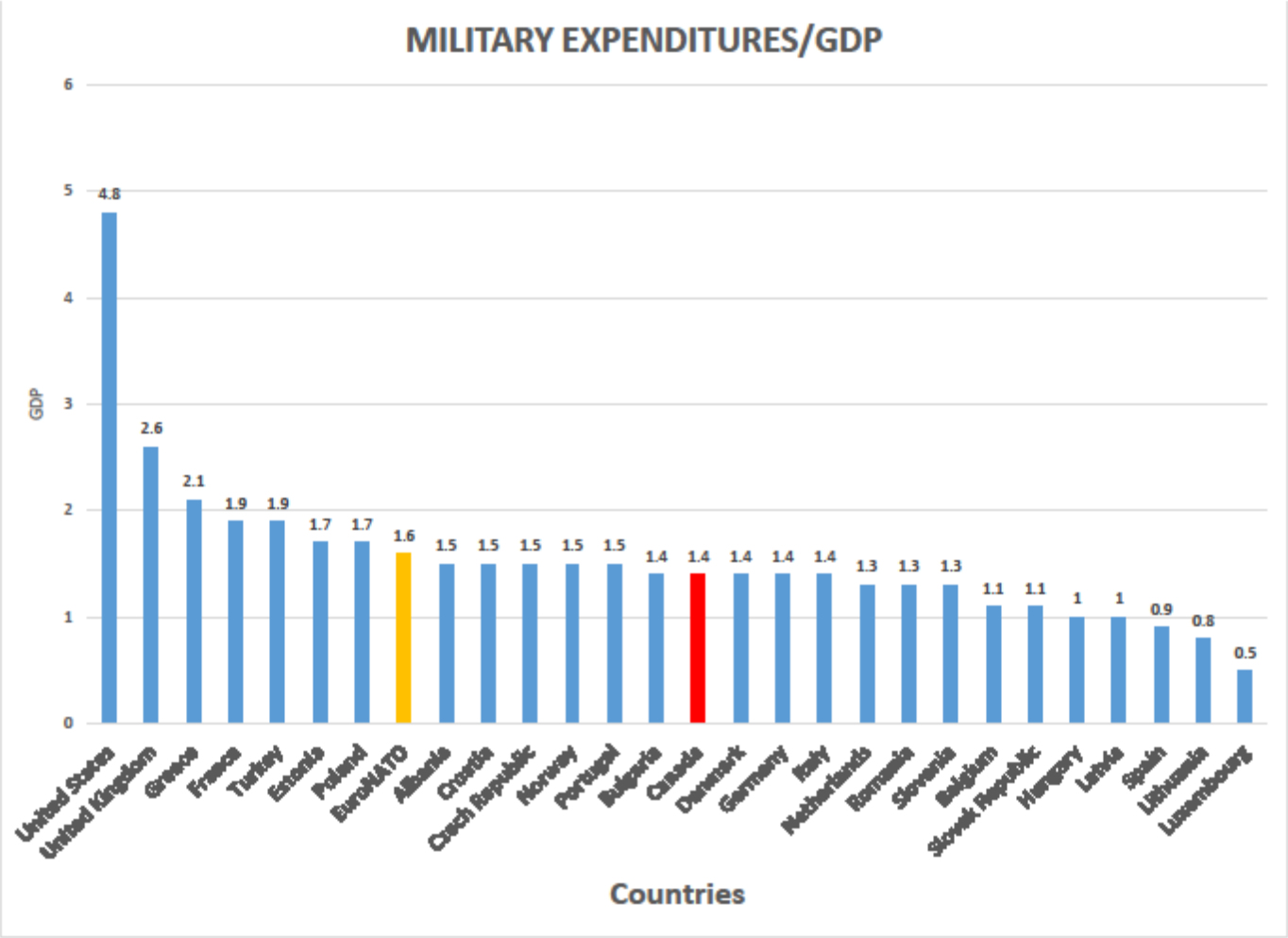
- Individual and collective action
- Broader range of NATO responsibilities
- A “battle of the narrative” with adversaries disputing values and ideals of democratic society
- Transformation of militaries from territorial to expeditionary forces
- Police and civilian “surge” capacity to work with military in failed states
- Leveraging of relationships with other countries and institutions.

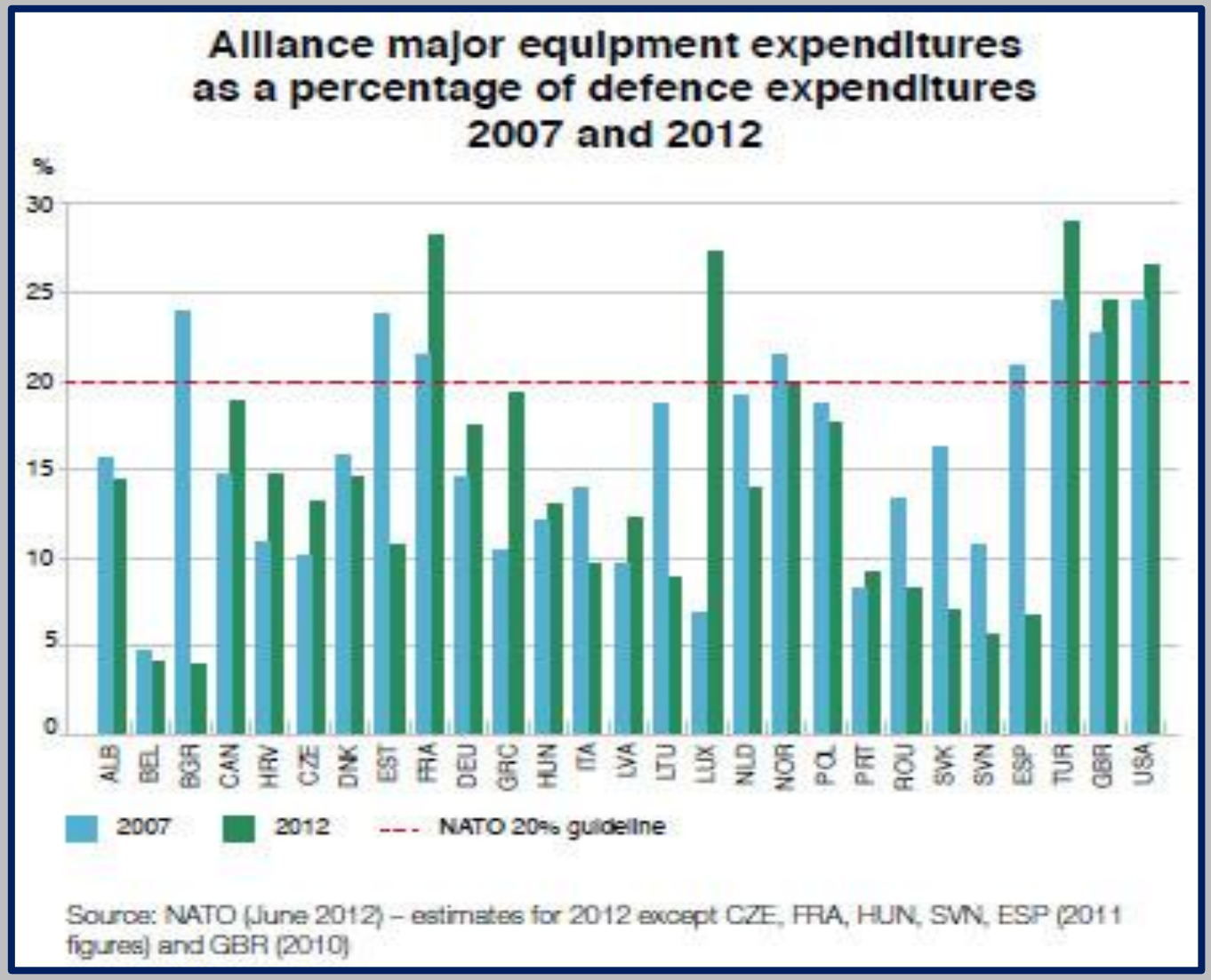
An “emerging power” to worry about?

Figure 1. China’s Critical Sea Lanes. *Like many other industrialized East Asian countries, China is heavily dependent upon critical sea lanes for its energy imports. Over 80 percent of China’s crude oil imports transit the Strait of Malacca.*

Risk 1: A widening intra-European gap

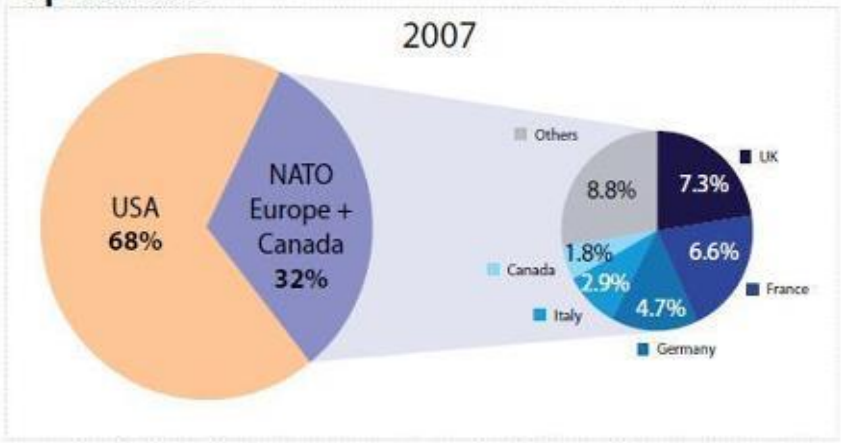



MILITARY EXPENDITURES/GDP
GDP
Countries
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
4.8
2.6
2.1
1.9
1.9
1.7
1.7
1.6
1.5
1.5
1.5
1.5
1.5
1.4
1.4
1.4
1.4
1.4
1.3
1.3
1.3
1.1
1.1
1
1
0.9
0.8
0.5
United States
United Kingdom
Greece
France
Turkey
Estonia
Poland
EuroNATO
Albania
Croatia
Czech Republic
Norway
Portugal
Bulgaria
Canada
Denmark
Germany
Italy
Netherlands
Romania
Slovenia
Belgium
Slovak Republic
Hungary
Latvia
Spain
Lithuania
Luxembourg


Alliance major equipment expenditures
as a percentage of defence expenditures
2007 and 2012
%
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
ALB
BEL
BGR
CAN
HRV
CZE
DNK
EST
FRA
DEU
GRC
HUN
ITA
LVA
LTU
LUX
NLD
NOR
POL
PRT
ROU
SVK
SVN
ESP
TUR
GBR
USA
2007
2012
NATO 20% guideline
Source: NATO (June 2012) – estimates for 2012 except CZE, FRA, HUN, SVN, ESP (2011 figures) and GBR (2010)

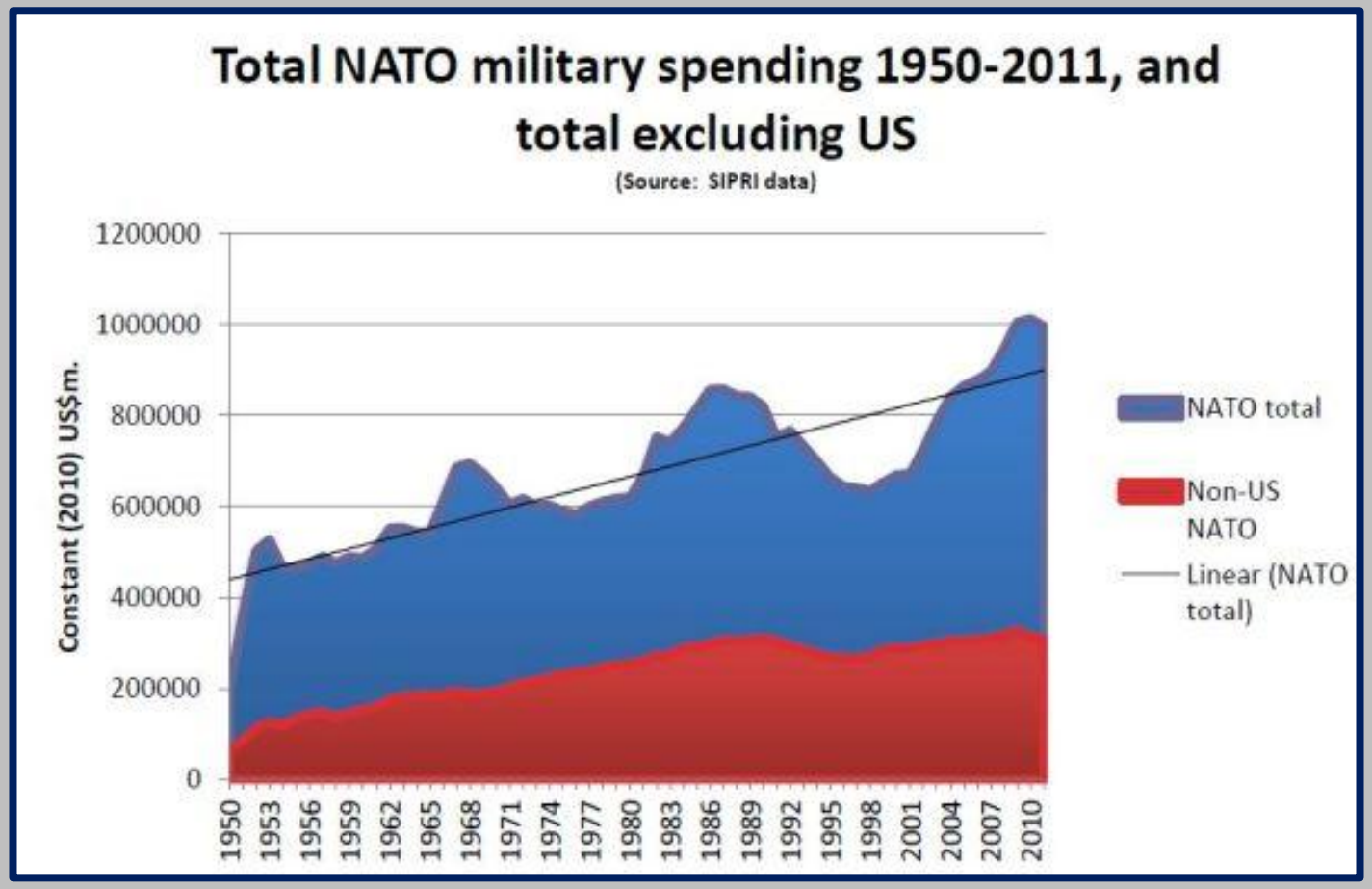
Risk 2: A growing transatlantic gap

Figure 1 - Proportions of NATO defence expenditure

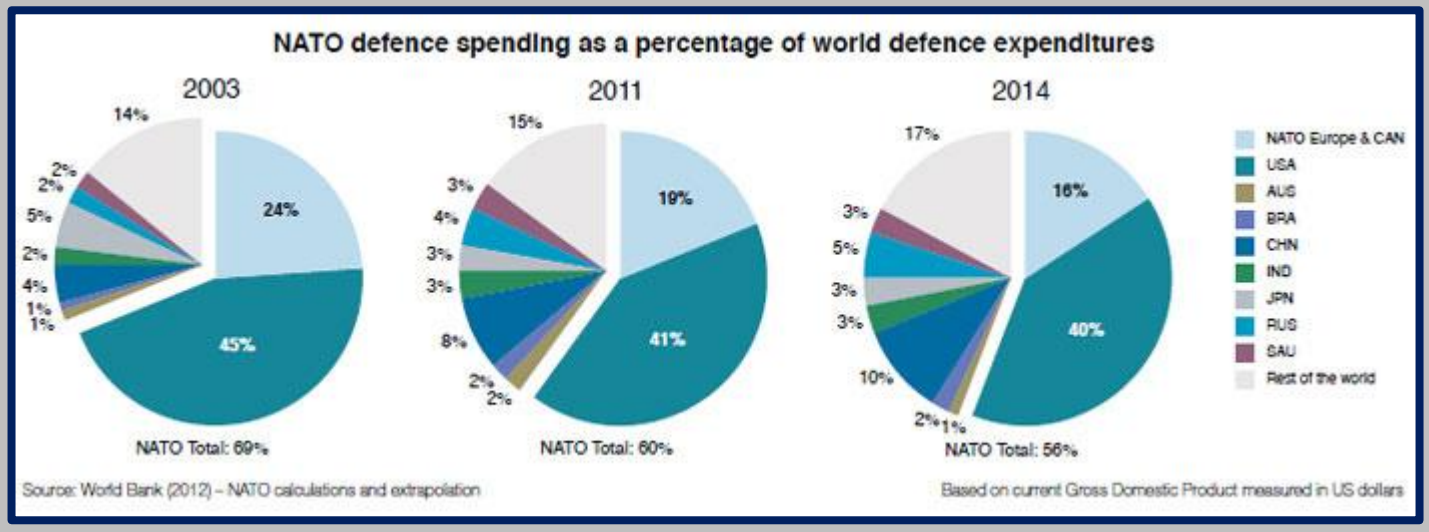


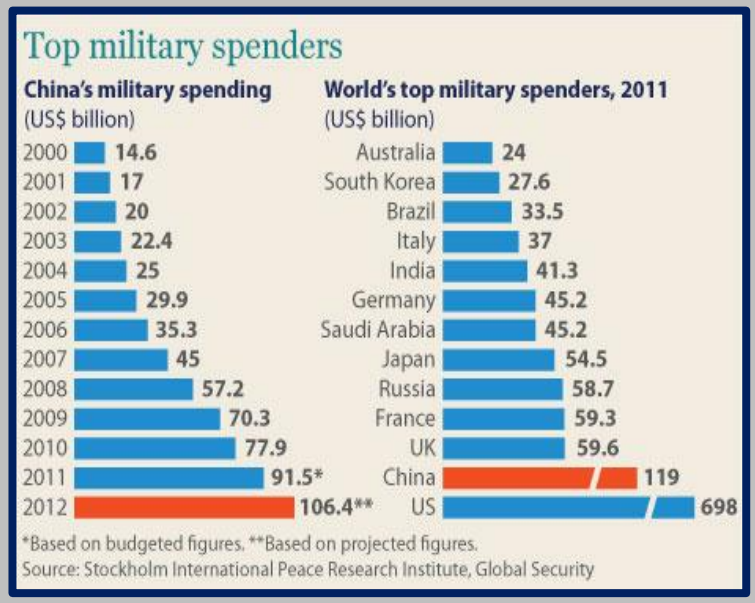
Data source: Adapted from NATO Secretary General's Annual Report 2012.

Also a persistent transatlantic gap



Risk 3: A growing gap with emerging powers

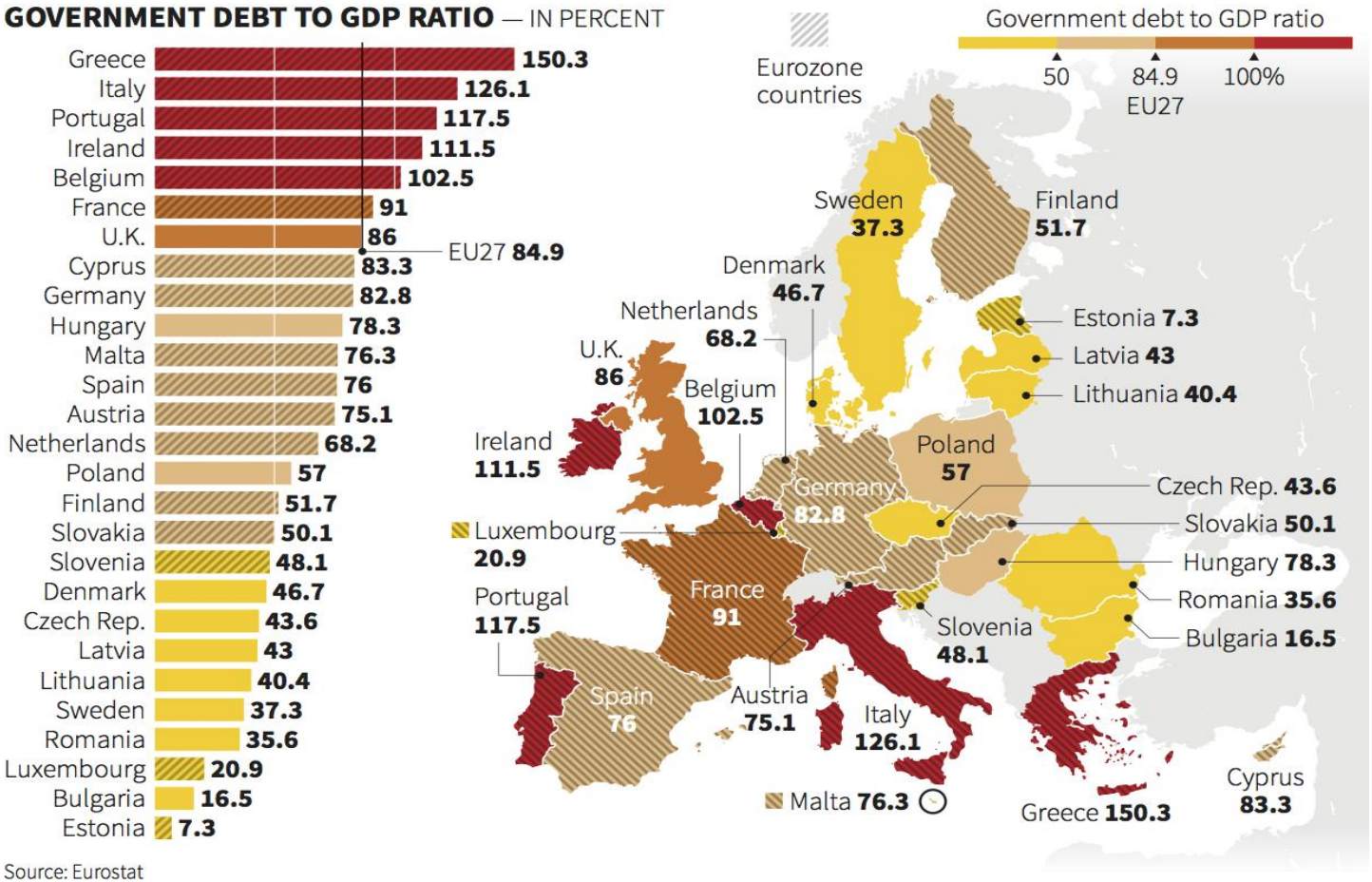




European defence spending not likely to recover soon

European government debt

At the end of the second quarter of 2012, the government debt to GDP ratio in the euro area stood at 90 percent, compared with 88.2 percent at the end of the first quarter of 2012. In the EU27, the ratio increased from 83.5 percent to 84.9 percent.

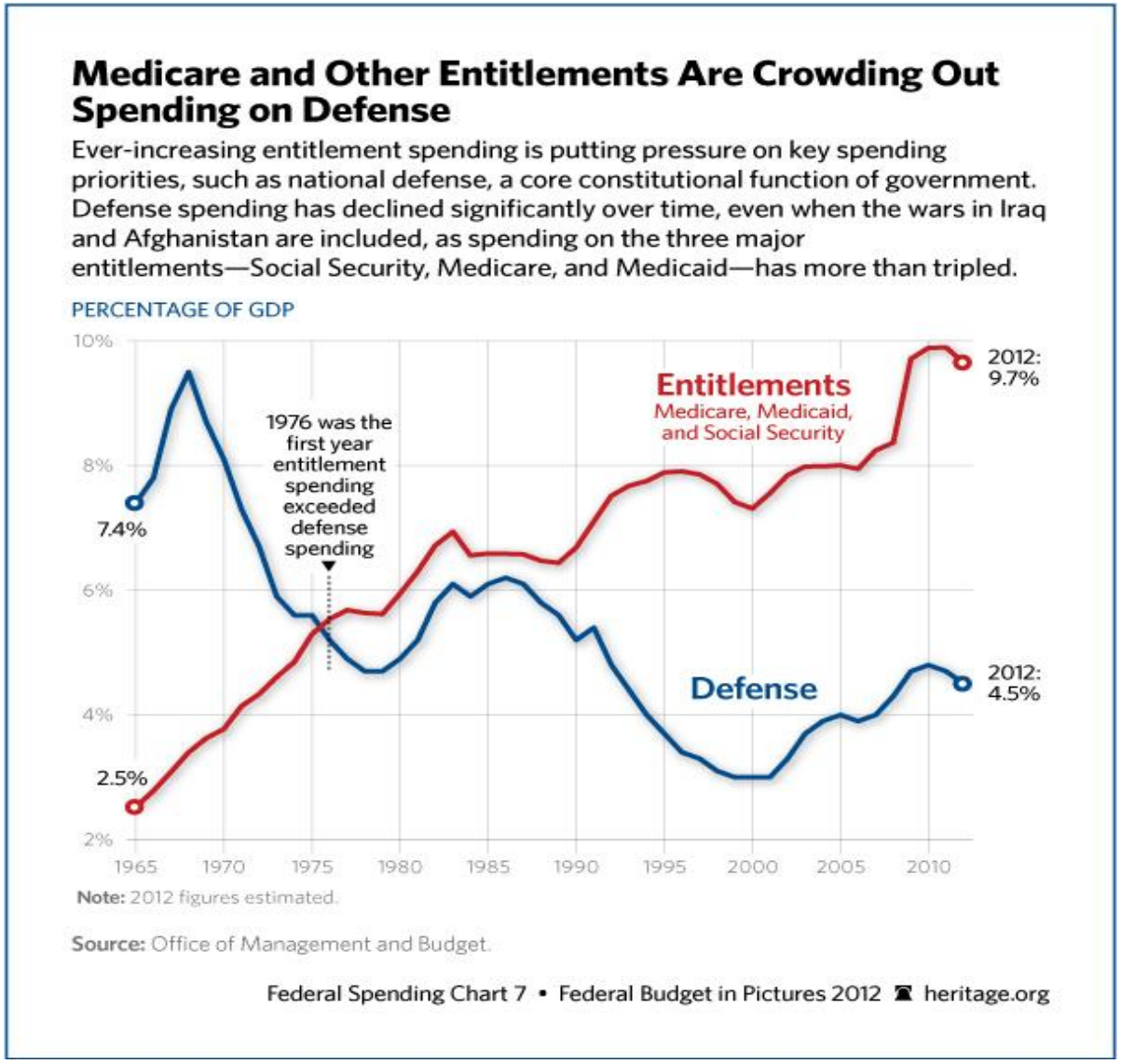


Source: Eurostat

W. Foo, 01/11/2012

REUTERS

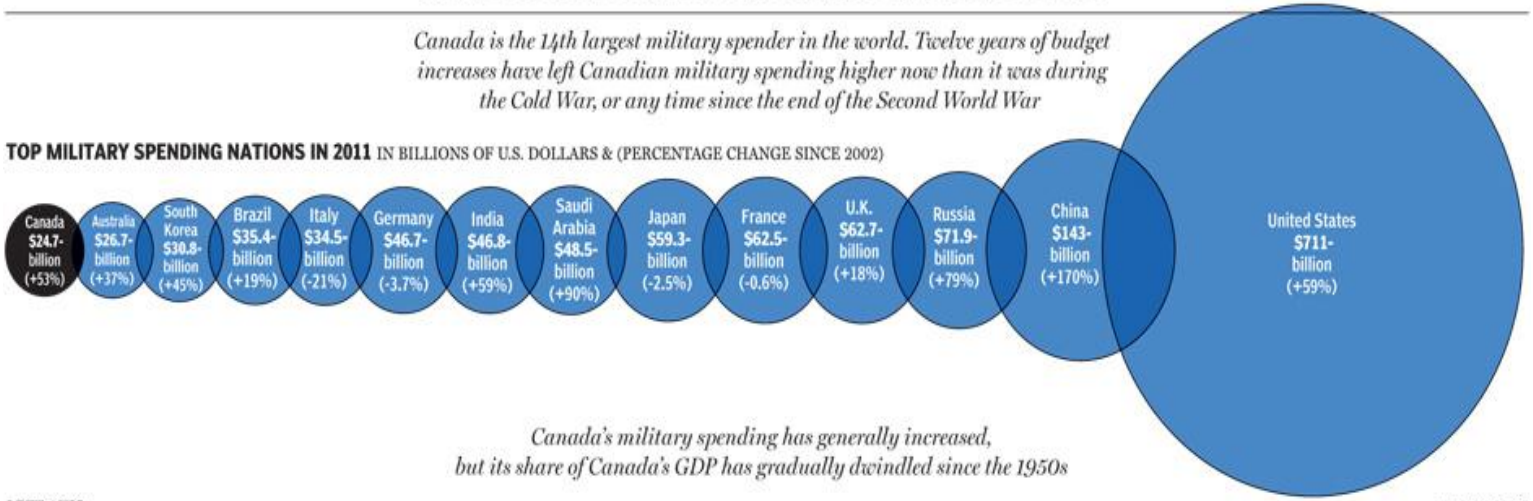
US defence spending under pressure



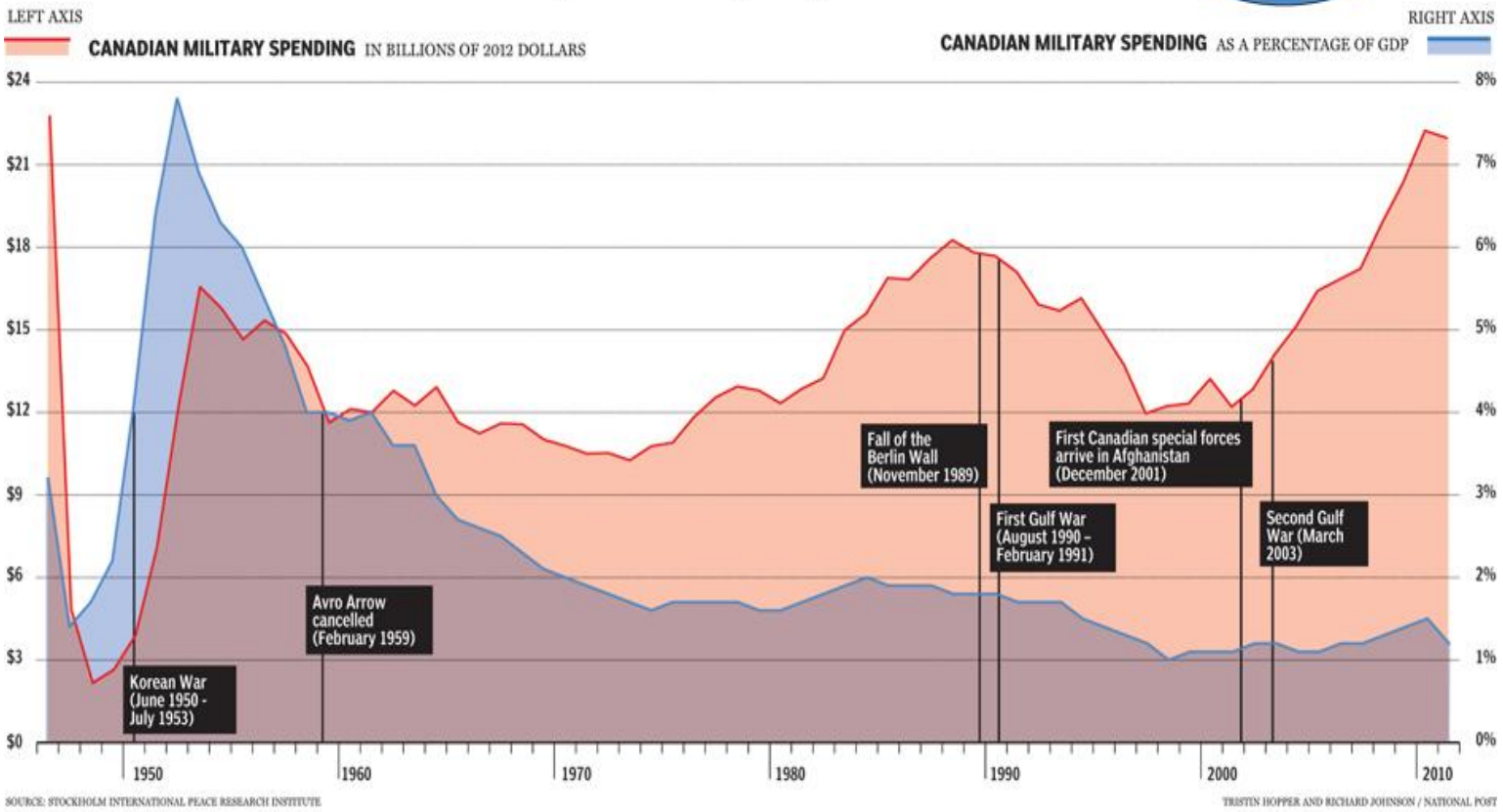
CANADA'S MILITARY SPENDING COMPARED

Canada is the 14th largest military spender in the world. Twelve years of budget increases have left Canadian military spending higher now than it was during the Cold War, or any time since the end of the Second World War

TOP MILITARY SPENDING NATIONS IN 2011 IN BILLIONS OF U.S. DOLLARS & (PERCENTAGE CHANGE SINCE 2002)



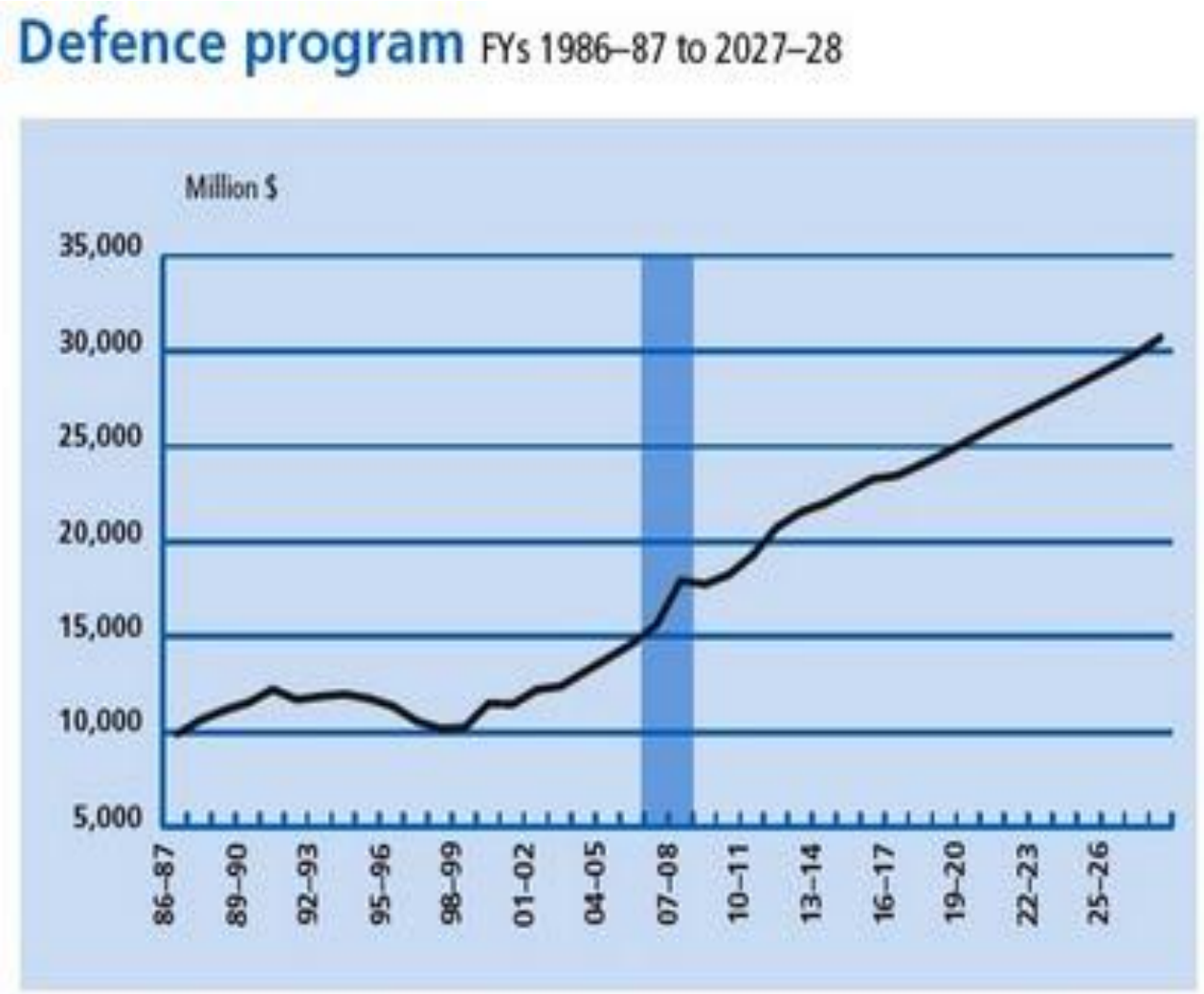
Canada's military spending has generally increased, but its share of Canada's GDP has gradually dwindled since the 1950s



SOURCE: STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

TRISTIN HOPPER AND RICHARD JOHNSON / NATIONAL POST

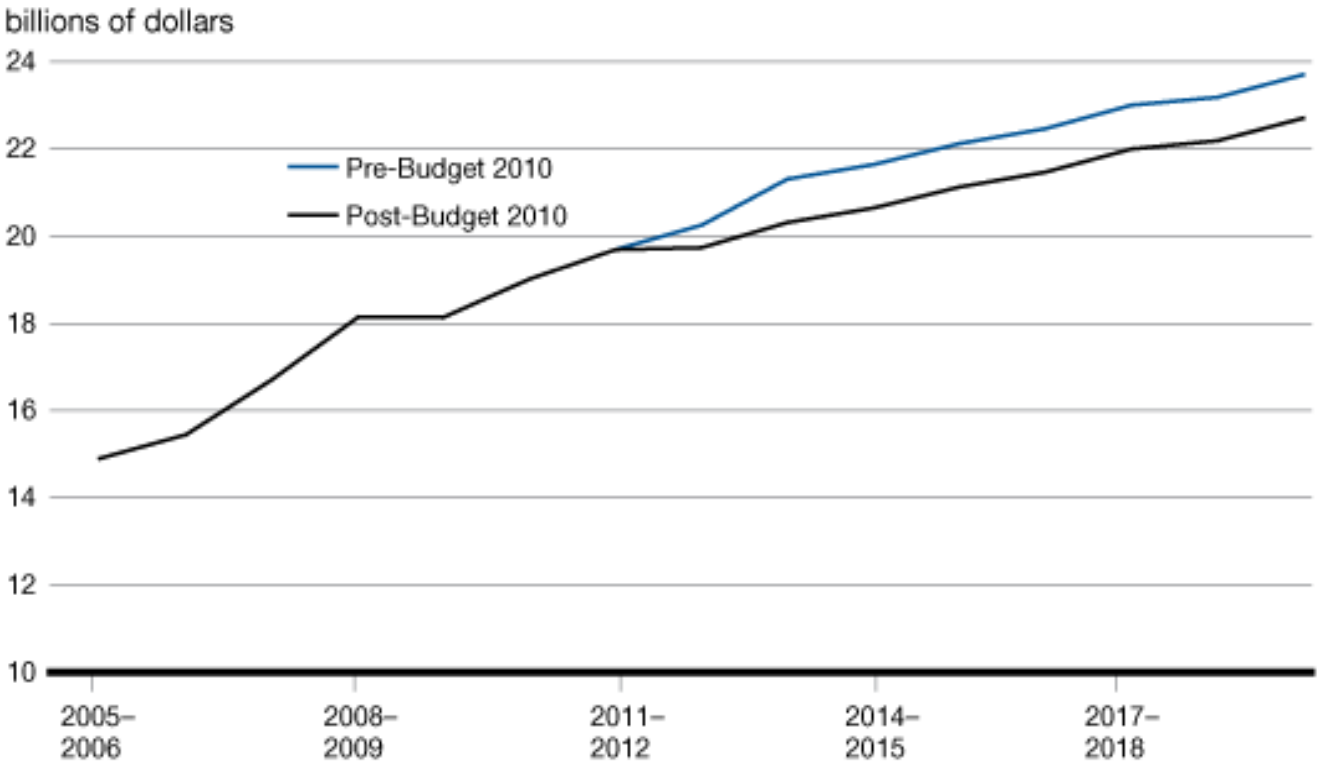
Canada First Defence Strategy (2008)



Defence spending projections post-budget 2010

Chart 4.1.2

National Defence Budget



Note: Excludes incremental funding for deployed operations in Afghanistan and in support of the 2010 Olympics.

Source: Department of Finance.

Changes in funding from FY2011/12 to FY 2013/14

DEFENCE BUDGET REDUCTIONS

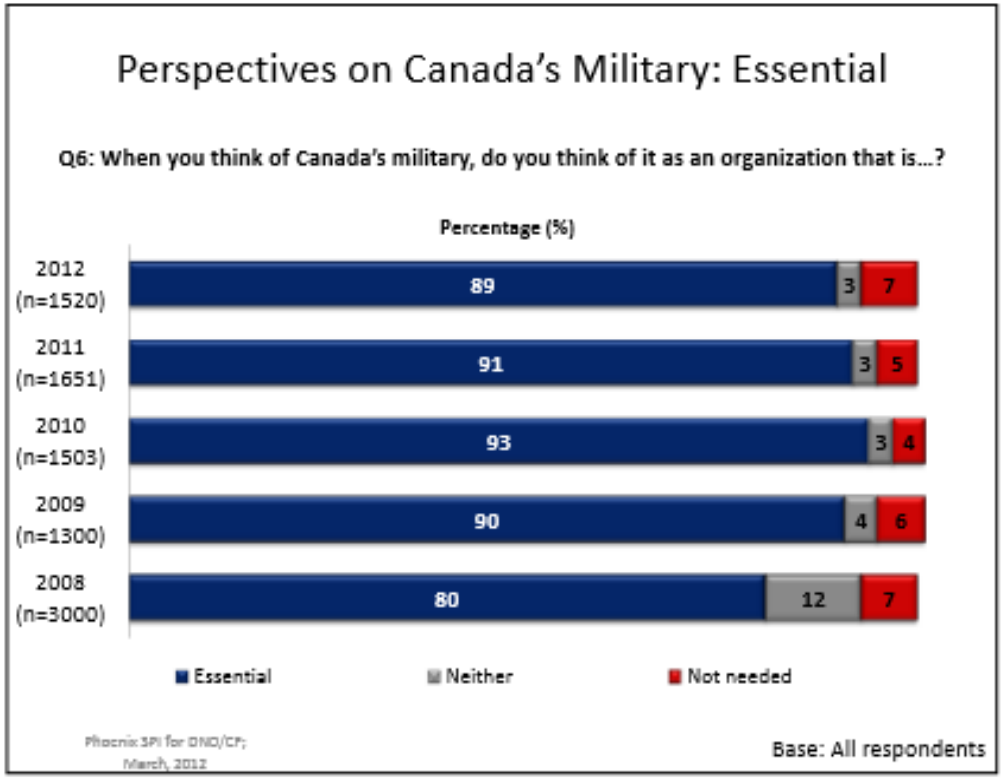
TOTAL: $2.234 billion (11.9%)

OPERATIONS: $0.930 billion (29.8%)

READINESS: $0.864 billion (8.5%)

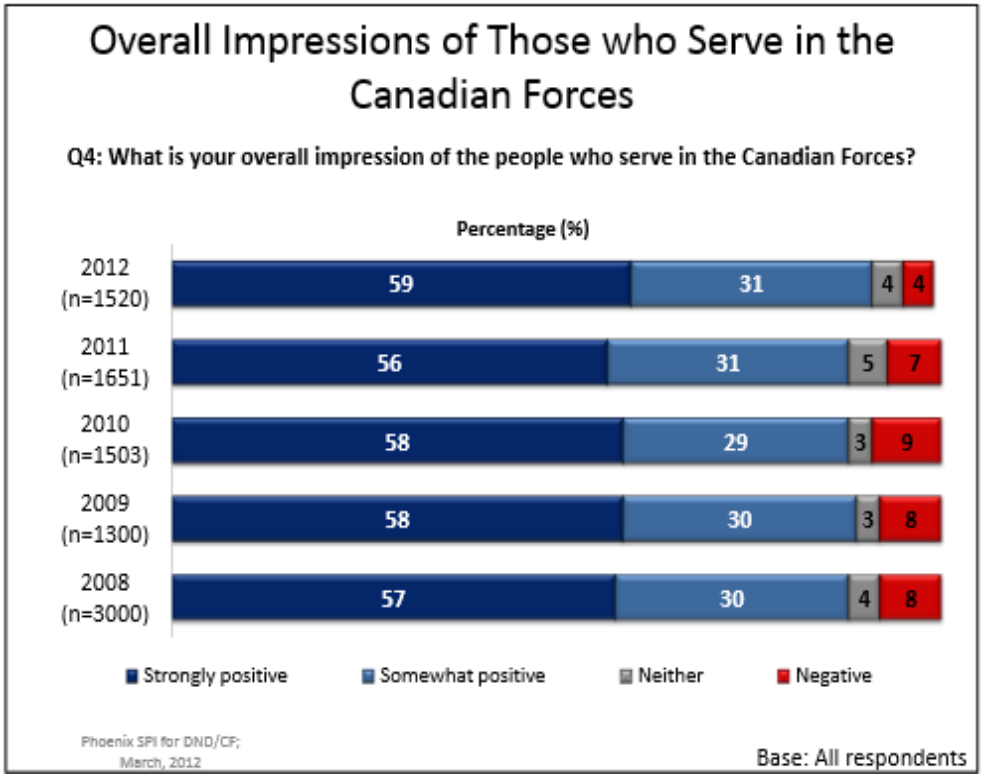
Programme Activity	Change $ bns 2011/14	Change % 2011/14
Equipment Acquisition/Disposal	0.221	+9.3 %
Recruiting of Personnel and Initial Training	-0.042	-3.9%
Joint and Common Readiness	-0.161	-6.9%
Land Readiness	-.0273	-7.5%
Aerospace Readiness	-0.181	-9.5%
Maritime Readiness	-0.249	-10.8%
Real Property and Informatics Infrastructure	-0.053	-11.0%
Canadian Peace, Stability and Security	-0.037	-11.0%
Continental Peace, Stability and Security	-0.023	-11.3%
Canadian Identity	-0.042	-11.4%
Environmental Protection and Stewardship	-0.017	-13.5%
Internal Services	-0163	-15.1%
Defence Science and Technology	-0.122	-30.5%
Defence Team Personnel Support	-0.313	-31.2%
International Peace, Stability and Security	-0.653	-33.0%
Situational Awareness	-0.217	-36.2%
Non-Security Support	-0.002	-88.2%

The military considered essential



FORCES.CA

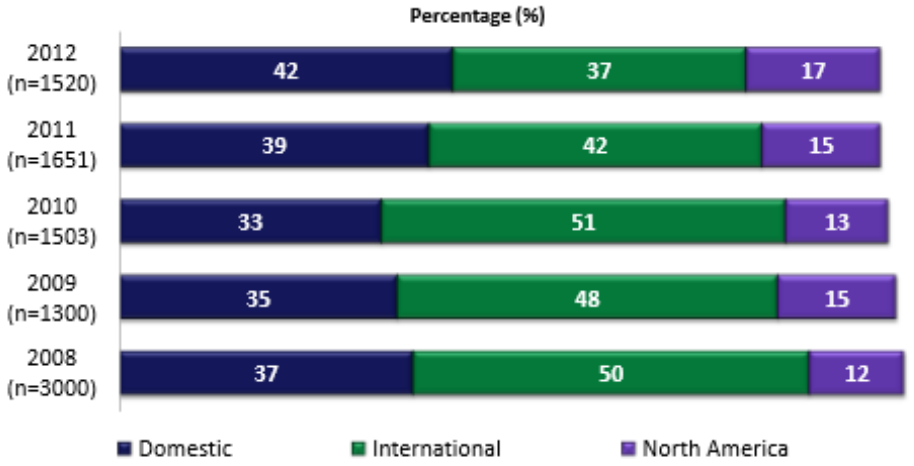
Very positive on the Canadian Forces



Favour domestic/continental roles over international

Preferred Geographic Focus of the Canadian Military

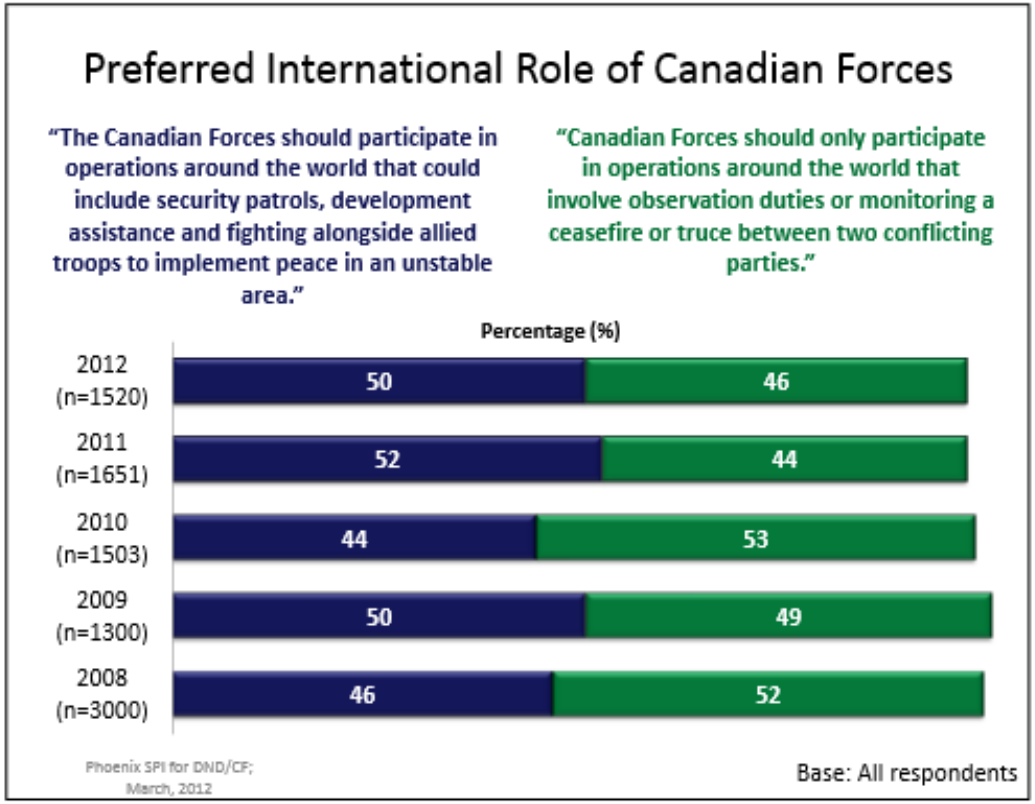
Q7: There are a number of possible areas where the Canadian Forces could focus their efforts. Which of the following areas do you think should be their TOP priority?



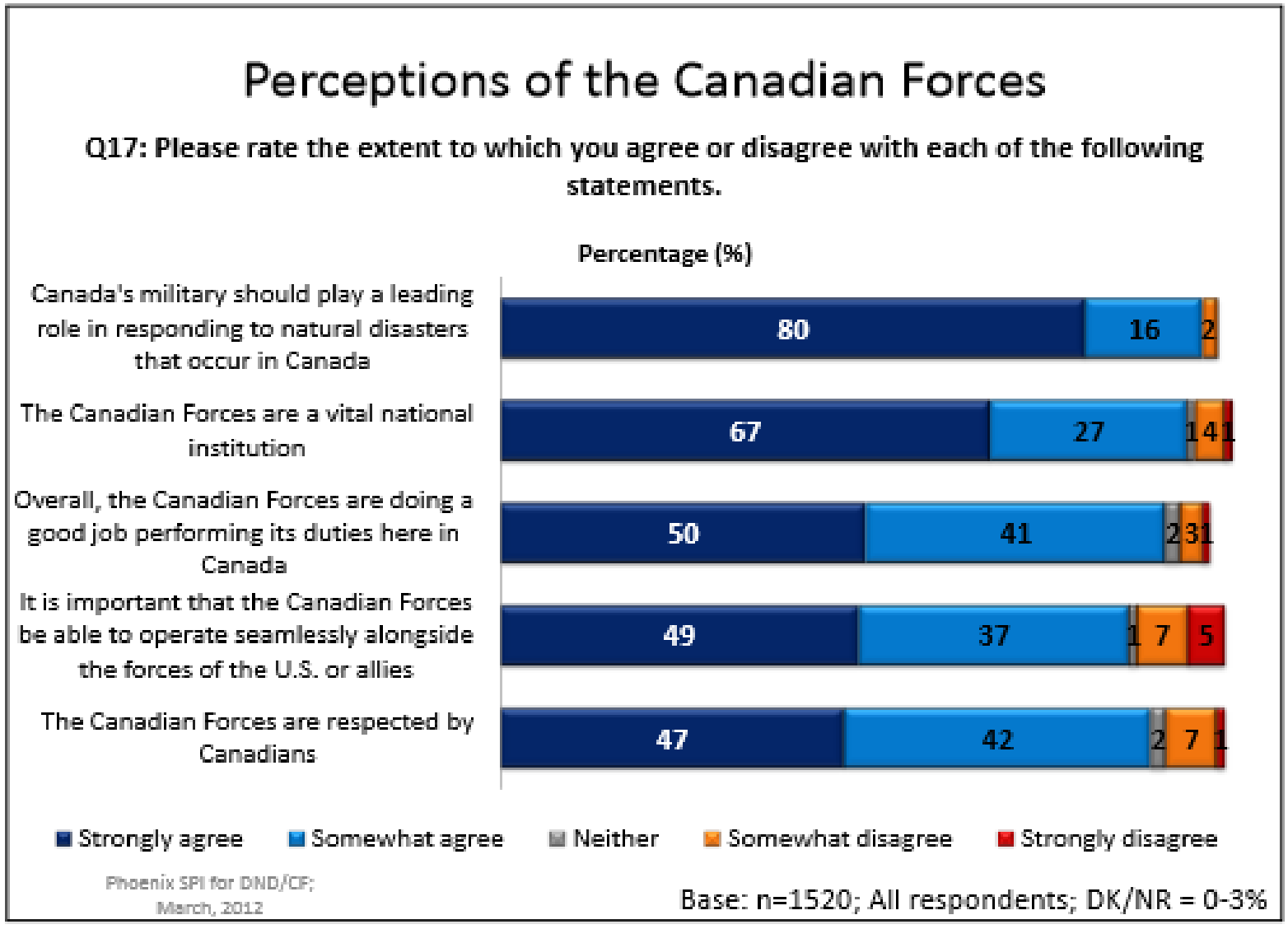
Phoenix SPI for DND/CF; March, 2012

Base: All respondents

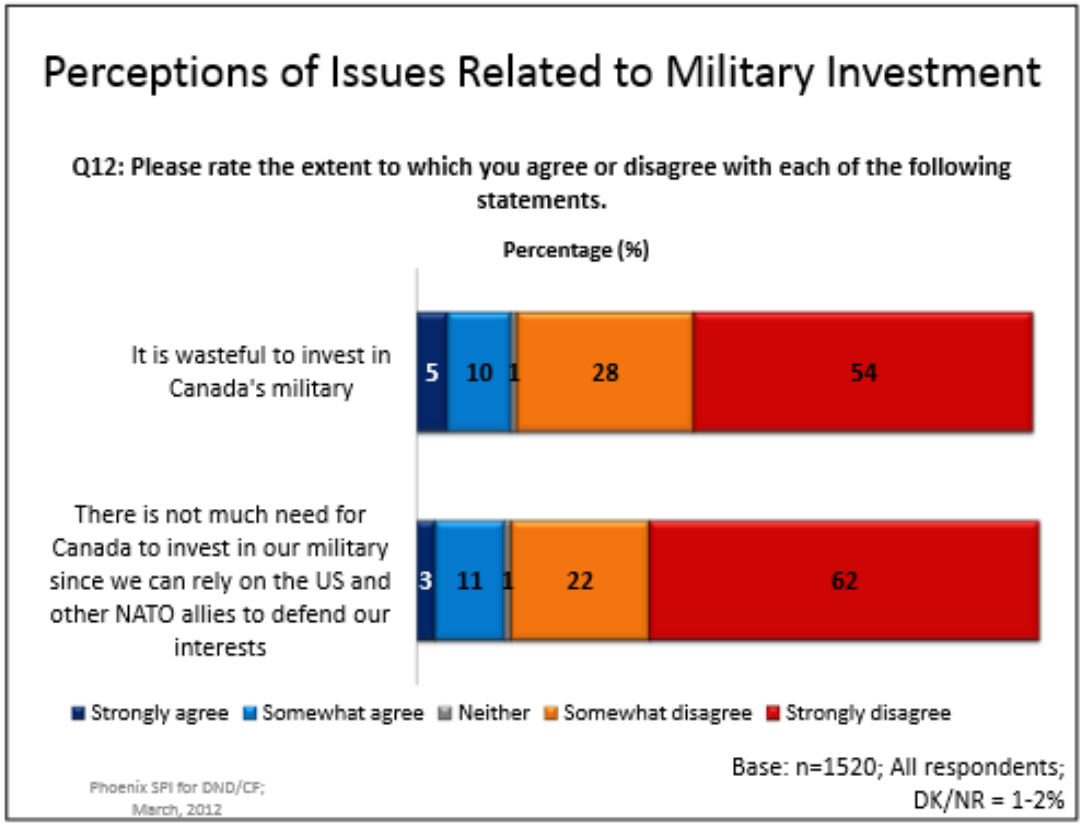
Divided between peacemaking and peacekeeping



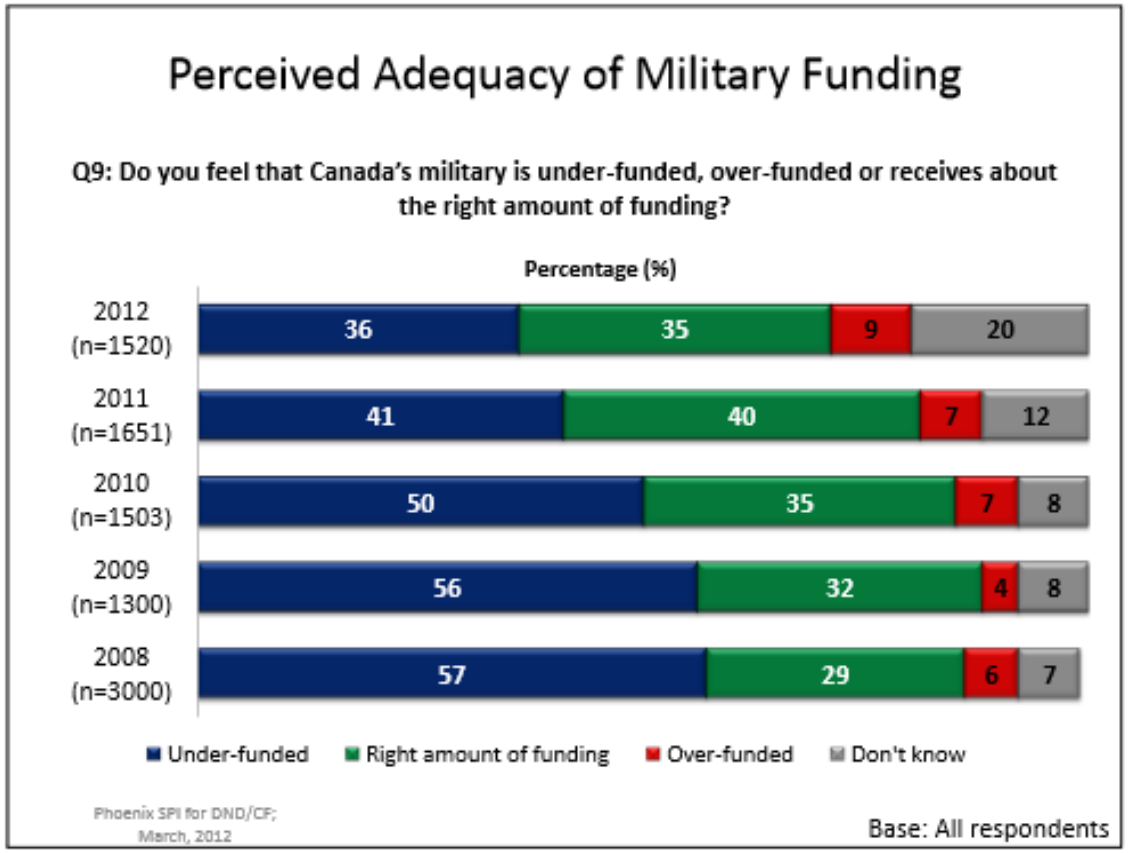
In summary


Perceptions of the Canadian Forces
Q17: Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.
Percentage (%)
Canada's military should play a leading role in responding to natural disasters that occur in Canada
80
16
2
The Canadian Forces are a vital national institution
67
27
1
4
1
Overall, the Canadian Forces are doing a good job performing its duties here in Canada
50
41
2
3
1
It is important that the Canadian Forces be able to operate seamlessly alongside the forces of the U.S. or allies
49
37
1
7
5
The Canadian Forces are respected by Canadians
47
42
2
7
1
Strongly agree
Somewhat agree
Neither
Somewhat disagree
Strongly disagree
Phoenix SPI for DND/CF; March, 2012
Base: n=1520; All respondents; DK/NR = 0-3%

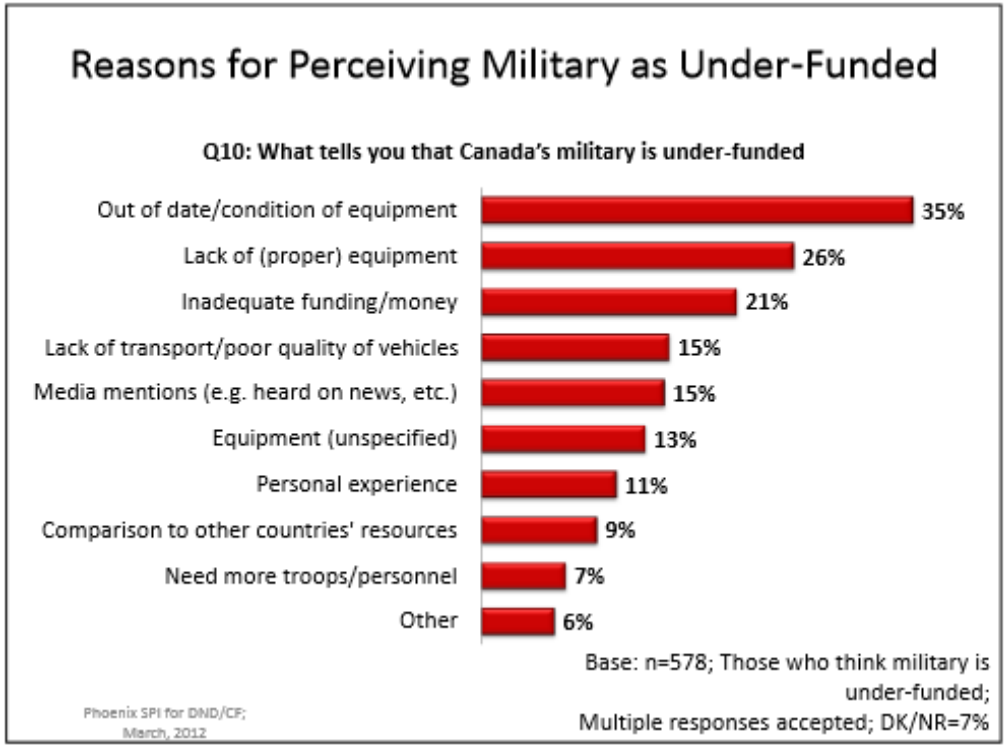
Investing in the military



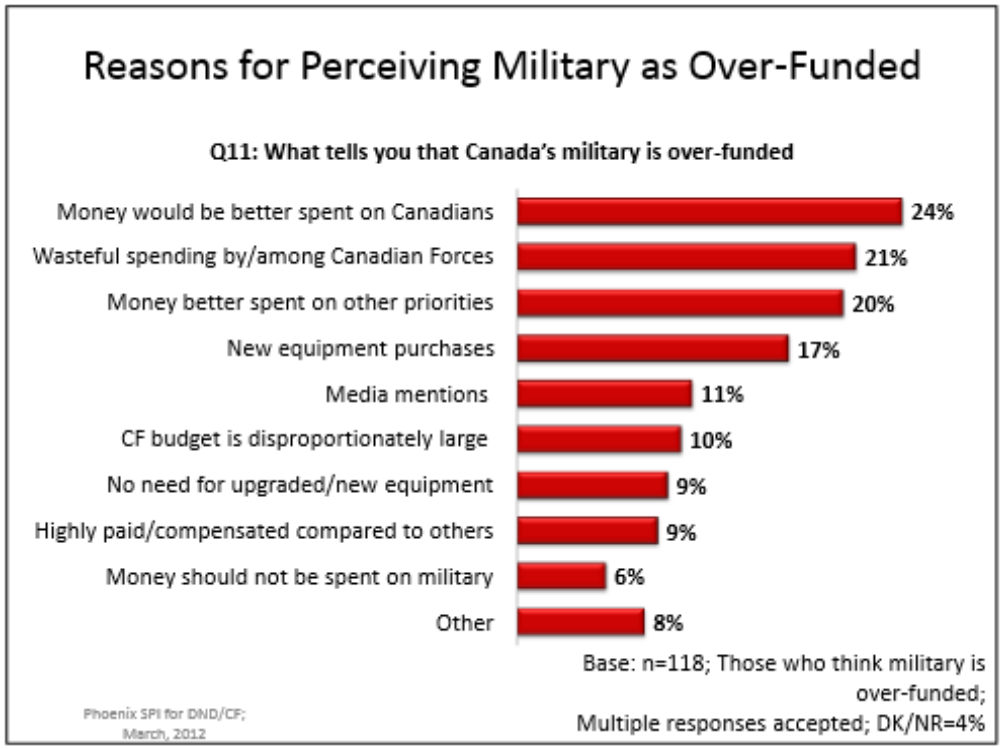
Funding situation has improved



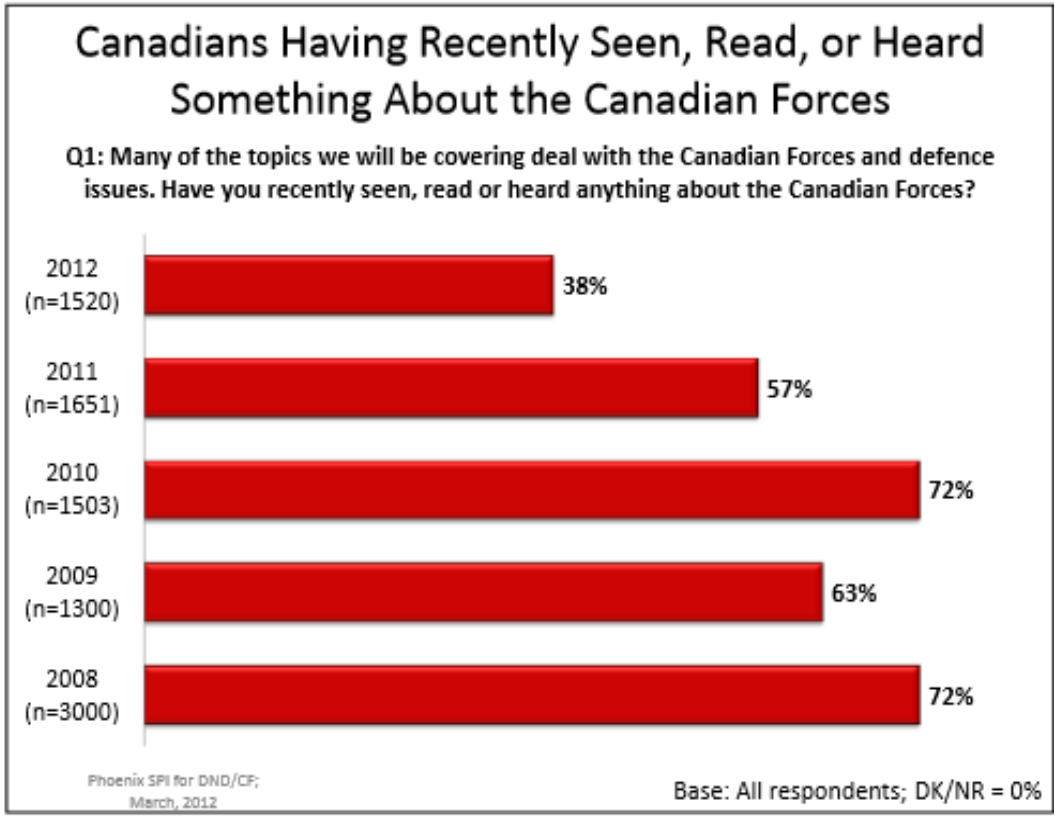
Why the military may be under-funded



Why the military may be over-funded



Meanwhile, Canadian Forces are dropping from sight



CBC Radio-Canada

Questions

1. **Do Canadians appreciate that defence matters?**

2. **There has been strong public support for security and defence since 9/11. Will that hold as the CF drops from sight after Afghanistan?**

3. **Canadian defence spending has grown in recent years, but it is now levelling off. What should we expect in the future?**

4. **What's our best expectation for Canadian military capabilities over the next ten years and our ability to contribute to collective action?**

5. **What action might be taken – by government, parliament, the media or private interests – to promote a better appreciation in Canada for why defence matters?**