

# NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CANADA'S CHALLENGE IN MEETING NATO'S DEFENCE SPENDING TARGET

## Sources and Notes to Figures

### Figure 1

Note: Finland and Iceland are excluded due to a lack of data.  
Sources: NATO (2023a).

### Figure 2

Source: Canada, Department of Finance (2023); PBO (2022); Authors' calculations

## Notes

- 1 Program spending refers to all government expenditures except for debt interest charges. For this analysis, program spending also includes net actuarial losses.
- 2 Note that increased defence spending need not simply be additional spending. Though this analysis assumes spending on other programs remains constant, reductions can be made elsewhere to free up revenues for defence.

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