WEBVTT

00:00:03.760 --> 00:00:21.700 <v SPEAKER\_2>In this episode recorded June 27th, 2025, I'm talking to the Canadian Global Affairs Institute Vice President and Fellow Charlotte Duval-Lantoine, Robert Baines, the President and CEO of the NATO Association of Canada, and Nicolas Todd, the Vice President for Government Relations and Communications for the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries. 00:00:21.700 --> 00:00:30.300 <v SPEAKER\_2>We're reflecting on the just completed 2025 NATO Summit in The Hague, and the associated NATO Public Forum and NATO Industry Forums. 00:00:30.300 --> 00:00:51.260 <v SPEAKER 2>We talked about the key takeaways from this 76 NATO Summit, including the major announcements coming out of the Communique, compared to last year's Summit in Washington, DC, progress on NATO's minimum defence spending targets, the new investment pledge, and the discussions related to the NATO Industry Forum about how we would contribute new allied capabilities moving forward. 00:00:54.740 --> 00:00:57.240 <v SPEAKER\_2>Charlotte, Robert, Nicolas, welcome back to Defence Deconstructed. 00:00:57.280 --> 00:00:58.040 <v SPEAKER\_1>Thanks for having me. 00:00:58.040 --> 00:00:59.560 <v SPEAKER 3>Thank you very much, Dave. 00:00:59.560 --> 00:01:05.800 <v SPEAKER\_2>So you attended the NATO Public Forum on the margins of the 2025 NATO Summit in the Hague. 00:01:05.800 --> 00:01:12.240 <v SPEAKER 2>Robert, to start with you, just initial thoughts on kind of key takeaways from this Summit this past week. 00:01:12.240 --> 00:01:13.600 <v SPEAKER 4>Yeah, thanks, David.

00:01:13.600 --> 00:01:14.880 <v SPEAKER\_4>I found it fascinating.

00:01:14.880 --> 00:01:17.840 <v SPEAKER\_4>I've been to quite a few of these in the past.

00:01:17.840 --> 00:01:22.640 <v SPEAKER 4>Clearly, the Communique is micro-sized compared to all past NATO summits. 00:01:22.640 --> 00:01:26.220 <v SPEAKER 4>They're usually in 60, 70, 80 paragraphs. 00:01:26.760 --> 00:01:29.060 <v SPEAKER\_4>In this one, I believe there were five. 00:01:29.060 --> 00:01:33.760 <v SPEAKER\_4>Just a remarkable zoning in on what's actually important right now. 00:01:33.760 --> 00:01:49.580 <v SPEAKER 4>With Donald Trump and his short attention span, his interest in just seeing NATO be strong and seeing himself as the reason for that strength clearly made all of the leaders just stick to the basics. 00:01:49.580 --> 00:01:51.300 <v SPEAKER 4>It worked. 00:01:51.300 --> 00:01:53.720 <v SPEAKER\_4>Obviously, we can't keep this up any longer. 00:01:53.820 --> 00:02:09.060 <v SPEAKER 4>There has to be a lot more backfill as far as foundational discussion and agreement as far as how NATO is going to act and how it is going to be resilient in this ollie-polly crisis now that we're in. 00:02:09.060 --> 00:02:10.860 <v SPEAKER 4>So, yeah, it worked. 00:02:10.860 --> 00:02:14.360 <v SPEAKER 4>But sometimes the best thing NATO can do is just keep going. 00:02:14.360 --> 00:02:16.880 <v SPEAKER\_4>And then that's a success. 00:02:16.880 --> 00:02:18.300 <v SPEAKER 2>Charlotte, how about yourself? 00:02:18.500 --> 00:02:20.400 <v SPEAKER\_2>What are some of your high-level takeaways? 00:02:22.920 --> 00:02:27.360 <v SPEAKER\_1>From my point of view, I feel like NATO is going back to

the basics very much.

00:02:27.360 --> 00:02:39.440 <v SPEAKER\_1>You know, in the 2010s, especially mid-2010s, it felt like NATO was trying to find its footing, trying to find where it's going in an era of no great power competition.

00:02:39.440 --> 00:02:42.480 </ v SPEAKER\_1>And now, great power competition is back.

00:02:42.480 --> 00:02:43.540 <v SPEAKER\_1>It's entrenched.

00:02:43.580 --> 00:03:06.740 <v SPEAKER\_1>And I think even in the language of the Communique, but also the public forum that the three of us have attended, it's very much back to great power competition, very much living up to the articles of the Washington Treaty, especially Article 5 and Article 3, in bringing back collective defence as a serious matter.

00:03:06.740 --> 00:03:25.960 <v SPEAKER\_1>And the commitment of 5% of GDP in defence spending is very much a signal of that and very much that attachment to transatlantic solidarity, peace through strength, through deterrence.

00:03:25.960 --> 00:03:36.580 <v SPEAKER\_1>I thought that we're seeing the NATO of the Cold War very much back in its language but also in its way of approaching defence matters today.

00:03:37.660 --> 00:03:40.000 <v SPEAKER\_4>I do have to say, Dave, I got to jump in there.

00:03:40.000 --> 00:03:46.240 <v SPEAKER\_4>The fact that Article 5 was agreed to in that communique as small as it was, is a huge victory considering Mr.

00:03:46.240 --> 00:03:49.620 <v SPEAKER\_4>Trump's past experiences on it.

00:03:49.840 --> 00:03:53.420 </ v>
V SPEAKER\_1>To add even more to that, sorry, Article 3.

00:03:53.420 --> 00:04:12.460 <v SPEAKER\_1>I thought that mentioning Article 3 where it's like countries have to live up to their own defence and collective defence on top of that 5 percent of GDP, the two together was very on the nose and like throughout the public forum, we heard European Allies and Canada mentioned multiple times.

00:04:13.040 --> 00:04:23.300 <v SPEAKER 1>That was very much frontal kind of language that we saw there, both during the panels that we saw and in the communique itself. 00:04:23.300 --> 00:04:27.960 <v SPEAKER 2>Nicolas, you were there for the industry forum, which was literally down the street. 00:04:30.120 --> 00:04:41.760 <v SPEAKER 2>All these sessions were constructed in the middle of the Hague Highway, I guess, on the margins of a park and yours was just down that road from the public forum where I was. 00:04:42.060 --> 00:04:49.100 <v SPEAKER\_2>Get some initial thoughts on the industry forum, what it was about and your sense of it. 00:04:49.100 --> 00:04:49.540 <v SPEAKER 2>Sure. 00:04:49.540 --> 00:05:07.820 <v SPEAKER\_3>Well, this is, it was organized by the Dutch Ministry of Defence, their Foreign Ministry, their Confederation of Industry and Employers and NATO, along with the help of the US Chamber of Commerce, which was last year's host in organizing the first ever Defence Industry Forum. 00:05:07.820 --> 00:05:08.940 <v SPEAKER 3>This time is a little different. 00:05:08.940 --> 00:05:15.380 <v SPEAKER 3>It was actually part of the official summit activities along with the public forum as opposed to a side event. 00:05:15.380 --> 00:05:19.920 <v SPEAKER\_3>The theme was Time to Unite, Innovate and Deliver. 00:05:19.920 --> 00:05:35.100 <v SPEAKER\_3>So again, that sense of urgency, it brought together about 350 or so senior officials from NATO, Allied Capitals, the Indo-Pacific Four, Ukrainian governments, different organizations and industry executives. 00:05:35.100 --> 00:05:48.860 <v SPEAKER\_3>And the objective is really to address some of the topics that are really most important to the future of the defence industry and delivering against the investment plans that were agreed to at the summit.

00:05:48.860 --> 00:05:52.660 <v SPEAKER\_2>So you mentioned that this is the second one that's happened.

00:05:52.660 --> 00:06:02.000 <v SPEAKER\_2>It's kind of remarkable that there wasn't this kind of forum in the preceding 74 years, but better to start in the 75th than not.

00:06:02.000 --> 00:06:07.140 <v SPEAKER\_2>How would you say that the conversations this year built from the ones at the summit in Washington?

00:06:08.380 --> 00:06:27.080 <v SPEAKER\_3>Well, it's still trying to get to what the action is that needs to be done around defence production capacity and trying that mutual understanding between government and the military and industry on what it would take to get there.

00:06:27.080 --> 00:06:48.500 <v SPEAKER\_3>In part, it's answering the question of how much of what by when and for how long, because it's that information that allows industry in defence to increase production through firm multi-year orders.

00:06:48.500 --> 00:06:54.480 <v SPEAKER\_3>In part, and this is part of that education, is defence is different than the commercial market.

# 00:06:54.480 --> 00:07:08.980

<v SPEAKER\_3>It's riddled with market inefficiencies and failures because you have a limited number of customers, mostly your own government who is also the regulator and allows you or not to sell abroad to certain other defence clients.

00:07:10.600 --> 00:07:20.740 <v SPEAKER\_3>Usually with high cost of operation through industrial security and other different kinds of controls that are needed given what is made in service and defence.

00:07:21.960 --> 00:07:29.880 <v SPEAKER\_2>Robert, do you want to just expand on what you were saying there about the importance of the inclusion of the recommitment to Article 5 and the communicate?

00:07:29.880 --> 00:07:31.340 <v SPEAKER\_2>Why do you take that as significant?

00:07:31.400 --> 00:07:52.020 <v SPEAKER\_2>I guess I would just in setting up the question, one of my takeaways from the Public Forum was a disconnect I thought from several of the Europeans there about what was within the art of the possible in the current political configuration across the Atlantic Ocean with the current American administration.

00:07:52.020 --> 00:07:55.300 <v SPEAKER\_2>But what were you getting at when you were saying it was significant?

00:07:55.300 --> 00:08:06.580 <v SPEAKER\_4>Well, I remember in Donald Trump's first term, it took him about two months, maybe three, before he actually acknowledged that Article 5 was something that bound the United States.

00:08:06.580 --> 00:08:10.840 <v SPEAKER\_4>So that is the core of NATO, an attack upon one is an attack upon all.

00:08:10.840 --> 00:08:13.000 <v SPEAKER\_4>It's the basis of the whole alliance.

00:08:13.000 --> 00:08:22.200 <v SPEAKER\_4>The idea of peace through strength is based on the idea that you know, everybody is going to respond and deter because of that.

00:08:22.200 --> 00:08:30.420 <v SPEAKER\_4>So the fact that Donald Trump in many of his musings, kind of off the cuff has vacillated on that, said, oh, maybe we'll defend them, maybe we won't.

00:08:30.420 --> 00:08:36.440 <v SPEAKER\_4>We'll check to see if they're paying their dues, which again, misunderstands how NATO works.

00:08:36.440 --> 00:08:43.220 <v SPEAKER\_4>Basically, the whole idea of 5% and the original idea of 2% is that each country spends it on their own defence.

00:08:43.220 --> 00:08:51.760 <v SPEAKER\_4>It's not like they're paying it to the US as some kind of a pay master or as a kind of a protection racket.

00:08:51.760 --> 00:09:02.520 <v SPEAKER\_4>So the fact that he is even willing to say that, and I think the fact that everybody is up to 2% GDP, is probably the reason for that, but it's a huge victory.

00:09:03.900 --> 00:09:11.060 <v SPEAKER\_2>Building on for that, I guess one of the most significant

things to come of the Summit is this new investment pledge. 00:09:11.060 --> 00:09:15.320 <v SPEAKER 2>But Robert, just to start with you, what do you make of that? 00:09:15.320 --> 00:09:16.300 <v SPEAKER 2>What's your sense of that? 00:09:16.600 --> 00:09:24.760 <v SPEAKER 2>What are your takeaways from this new Hague Summit pledge to get allies spending in total up to 5% of GDP? 00:09:24.800 --> 00:09:27.280 <v SPEAKER\_4>Yeah, I mean, it is required. 00:09:27.280 --> 00:09:33.440 <v SPEAKER\_4>Luckily, we had every politician in the room on the same page on this. 00:09:33.440 --> 00:09:37.660 <v SPEAKER\_4>I didn't hear specifically from the Spanish who have been dragging their feet on the 5%. 00:09:38.720 --> 00:09:45.460 <v SPEAKER\_4>But everybody else that I spoke to clearly understood that this is kind of... 00:09:45.460 --> 00:09:50.580 <v SPEAKER 4>We've been on borrowed time, which was the common phrase, which I really liked because that's it. 00:09:50.580 --> 00:09:57.260 <v SPEAKER 4>It has been the whole end of the Cold War dividend, the Patee's Dividend that we still have been drawing upon.  $00:09:57.260 \longrightarrow 00:10:00.260$ <v SPEAKER\_4>And that means borrowed time when it comes to investment. 00:10:00.260 --> 00:10:02.640 <v SPEAKER\_4>So there seemed to be quite a renewed vaguer. 00:10:02.640 --> 00:10:09.520 <v SPEAKER 4>I spoke to quite a few different industrialists, CEOs of companies who were also there at some of the side discussions. 00:10:09.520 --> 00:10:12.000 <v SPEAKER\_4>And they all recognized that there needs to be... 00:10:12.120 --> 00:10:14.680

<v SPEAKER 4>I'm talking about banks, I'm talking about infrastructure companies. 00:10:14.680 --> 00:10:19.980 <v SPEAKER 4>They all started talking about the need to invest in defence infrastructure.  $00:10:19.980 \longrightarrow 00:10:28.240$ <v SPEAKER\_4>And that's one of the great aspects of the 5% is that it includes a much broader view of security than we've had in the past. 00:10:29.400 --> 00:10:31.540 <v SPEAKER\_2>Charlotte, what was your sense of that discussion? 00:10:34.500 --> 00:10:39.500 <v SPEAKER\_1>To me, it is very much like putting your money where your mouth is, right? 00:10:39.500 --> 00:10:42.120 <v SPEAKER\_1>2% of GDP was quite important. 00:10:42.160 --> 00:10:50.660 <v SPEAKER\_1>And even though the Allies, some of the Allies have been dragging their feet towards reaching that. 00:10:50.660 --> 00:10:59.900 <v SPEAKER 1>Repeatedly in NATO summits, we keep on hearing defense is important, like it's safeguarding democracies and our liberal values. 00:10:59.900 --> 00:11:05.500 <v SPEAKER\_1>But sometimes there needs action and money speaks volume a lot of the time. 00:11:05.500 --> 00:11:14.040 <v SPEAKER\_1>And so I thought that that was a very, very strong message from my point of view. 00:11:14.040 --> 00:11:20.800 <v SPEAKER 1>It is going to be something that now they need to sell to the population. 00:11:20.800 --> 00:11:35.040 <v SPEAKER\_1>But if you want to send a message to your population that we are under threat, that we need to protect our way of life, investing in defense at that level is quite a strong signal from my point of view. 00:11:36.560 --> 00:11:48.380 <v SPEAKER 2>I was struck that at the Public Forum this year and last

year, did hear a number of different references from the Secretary

General and other senior NATO officials about the importance of this forum. 00:11:48.380 --> 00:11:54.360 <v SPEAKER 2>So it did seem to really indicate that there is a genuine recognition of the importance of this. 00:11:55.740 --> 00:12:06.680 <v SPEAKER\_2>I think that's particularly the case in the context of the really significant investment increases that are going to come out of the Hague Investment Pledge. 00:12:06.680 --> 00:12:09.200 <v SPEAKER 2>Was there much discussion around that in the industry forum? 00:12:09.200 --> 00:12:34.060 <v SPEAKER\_2>Because there's not, I guess, all of these kind of issue sets that you articulated were applicable prior to this new investment pledge of a significant additional investment across the Alliance, but to maximize the use of that additional investment and to the extent possible, trying to coordinate amongst all allies, but especially amongst non-American allies, how we're going to deploy those dollars. 00:12:34.060 --> 00:12:47.900 <v SPEAKER\_2>It, to my mind, would increase the need to actually have more meaningful, more coordinated, more systematic and strategic discussions with the private sector to chart this significantly different path forward. 00:12:49.160 --> 00:12:59.500 <v SPEAKER\_3>Yeah, so on that part of it, it's been a bit of a process on the NATO end, starting with in Madrid, the strategic concept updated every 10 years. 00:12:59.500 --> 00:13:08.200 <v SPEAKER 3>Then to Vilnius, they agreed both on the Defence Production Action Plan and the regional battle plans. 00:13:08.200 --> 00:13:23.620 <v SPEAKER 3>And then with the NATO defence planning process and setting and agreeing updated minimum capability targets, that kind of starts to articulate the demand side at NATO of what's needed and by when. 00:13:23.620 --> 00:13:37.780 <v SPEAKER\_3>So part of it is how to get that information into the hands of industry so they can align their investment plans, R&D, production capacity, human resources to meet that.

00:13:37.780 --> 00:13:47.980 <v SPEAKER\_3>In some countries, those targets are the majority of the defence plans, in others, they're very small.

00:13:47.980 --> 00:13:54.200 <v SPEAKER\_3>In Canada, it's not something we hear a lot about, specifically what our capability targets are.

00:13:54.200 --> 00:14:00.760 <v SPEAKER\_3>In the United States, for example, it'd also be small relative to their global area of operations and scale of operations.

00:14:02.620 --> 00:14:13.720 <v SPEAKER\_3>On your point, though, of defence planning, that certainly was an issue that came up.

00:14:13.720 --> 00:14:23.920 <v SPEAKER\_3>One of the industry forum sessions was a discussion about measures to meet these capability needs, and it's going to have a framing sentence fairly mundane.

00:14:23.920 --> 00:14:36.840 <v SPEAKER\_3>But since Russia's launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, preparedness for conventional war fighting has returned to defence planning, which is, and with it, a focus on defence industrial planning.

00:14:36.840 --> 00:14:44.560 <v SPEAKER\_3>So defence industrial planning is something that hasn't really been practised in most capitals, including Ottawa.

00:14:44.560 --> 00:14:46.100 <v SPEAKER\_3>And how do you do that?

00:14:46.100 --> 00:14:49.260 <v SPEAKER\_3>How do you accelerate defence industrial production?

00:14:49.260 --> 00:14:53.760 <v SPEAKER\_3>How do you plan between industry, government and the military?

00:14:54.540 --> 00:15:00.780 <v SPEAKER\_3>And what new ways do we need to go about doing that, that we haven't been doing in the past for decades?

00:15:00.780 --> 00:15:26.720 <v SPEAKER\_3>And so, you know, this is where I think new institutionalised mechanisms between industry and government for strategic dialogue, where industry can engage beyond their own corporate interests with a broader defence industrial interest with government to have better mutual understanding and trust to make those investments that are going to be needed to understand what's coming and to advance. 00:15:26.720 --> 00:15:31.520 <v SPEAKER 3>And we've seen the United Kingdom has had something like this for some time. 00:15:31.520 - > 00:15:38.100<v SPEAKER\_3>The Defence Suppliers Forum that it renewed with its recent strategic defence review. 00:15:38.100 --> 00:15:40.460 <v SPEAKER\_3>The Germans have something like this. 00:15:40.460 --> 00:15:49.120 <v SPEAKER 3>0ther countries like France, they have government has seats on boards of directors to help align strategically with their industry. 00:15:49.120 --> 00:15:51.540 <v SPEAKER\_3>So there's a bunch of different ways to go about this. 00:15:51.640 --> 00:16:07.100 <v SPEAKER\_3>But in Canada, I think the British model offers some interesting insights for us to adopt this idea of being co-led between an industry representative and the Minister of National Defence. 00:16:07.100 --> 00:16:11.600 <v SPEAKER 3>It shares a political accountability, receives input from that framework. 00:16:11.600 --> 00:16:18.660 <v SPEAKER 3>It's co-led on the agenda, the outcomes, measures of success to ensure that everyone's collaborating in the same direction.  $00:16:19.160 \longrightarrow 00:16:31.540$ <v SPEAKER 3>And where you have this hierarchy of committees or working groups at different levels that feed up to the top and can share those principles of co-leadership as one model that could get to better defence industrial planning.  $00:16:31.540 \longrightarrow 00:16:49.880$ <v SPEAKER 2>I think just to emphasize one of the issues that you touched on, that despite there having been in the last decade, a trajectory with some fits and starts of greater transparency in Canada with the private sector about intended spending plans and more openness on that.

00:16:49.880 --> 00:16:59.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>At least I have not been aware that information about collective capability planning in a NATO context is something that has in the past been shared.

00:16:59.600 --> 00:17:14.060 <v SPEAKER\_2>It's all been sort of wrapped up into how that gets translated into the Canadian Armed Forces' own sets of individual requirements without a wider picture about how that plugs into the wider alliance construct.

00:17:14.100 --> 00:17:14.760 <v SPEAKER\_3>I'd agree with that.

00:17:18.600 --> 00:17:24.540 <v SPEAKER\_2>This episode of Defence Deconstructed is brought to you by Irving Shipbuilding, Canada's national shipbuilder is currently hiring.

00:17:24.540 --> 00:17:29.540 <v SPEAKER\_2>For more information on the many jobs and opportunities currently available, please visit www.shipsforcanada.ca.

00:17:36.540 --> 00:18:23.340 <v SPEAKER\_2>I was struck, so we had an opportunity to hear from Secretary General Ruta in the public forum, and he laid out to my ear basically the exact same message that his predecessor had articulated at the previous public forum summit in Washington, that that metric is actually taken from aggregating up the different capability assessments and capability plans that the Alliance has collectively articulated as required for NATO's collective defence and then taking what the estimate is the how that translates into money and then assigning it basically working out a share of GDP that would be required to produce that that math.

00:18:23.380 --> 00:18:29.820 <v SPEAKER\_2>So as articulated by Mark Ruta, there's actually math behind the number.

00:18:29.820 --> 00:18:35.460 <v SPEAKER\_2>It isn't just something that's completely driven by American political pressure.

00:18:35.600 --> 00:18:39.220 <v SPEAKER\_2>I guess, Robert, do you think that that particular message has carried?

00:18:39.220 --> 00:19:00.560 <v SPEAKER\_2>Because there's been a lot of conversation because of the particularly Trumpian and exceptional circumstance of some private correspondence between the Secretary General and the American president being released publicly just ahead of the summit, which cast some of this investment pledge in a different perspective in terms of appeasing the American president.

00:19:00.560 --> 00:19:05.480 <v SPEAKER\_2>But the Secretary General actually laid out an empirical and math-based approach.

00:19:05.680 --> 00:19:07.180 <v SPEAKER\_2>What's your sense of that?

00:19:07.180 --> 00:19:16.440 <v SPEAKER\_4>Yeah, it's somewhat unfortunate that the kind of appeasement angle was kind of hanging over this entire summit, I think.

00:19:16.680 --> 00:19:23.580 <v SPEAKER\_4>It was sometimes it's difficult to pinpoint exactly why, but I think it was just a general aspect of the language.

00:19:23.580 --> 00:19:34.280

<v SPEAKER\_4>What some of the individual comments of the various leaders were that kind of leads to that idea that this summit was an appeasement personally for Donald Trump.

00:19:34.280 --> 00:19:45.640 <v SPEAKER\_4>But I still think that the fact that everybody signed up to it, there is going to be that collaborative endeavour and the fact that the EU is specifically tied up in all of this.

00:19:45.640 --> 00:19:56.580 <v SPEAKER\_4>Canada's, you know, joining the security and defence partnership, for instance, kind of already starting a lot of the engine in motion that will help us get to that amount.

00:19:56.580 --> 00:20:21.700 <v SPEAKER\_4>And specifically for Canada, the fact that we are going to be able to utilise 1.5% of that amount on infrastructure that we already need, we already want to develop AI, deep learning, quantum computing, not to mention the actual infrastructure for the Arctic, whether that's highways, airstrips or deep water ports, stuff we've always been wanting to do and that successive governments have said they're going to do.

00:20:21.700 --> 00:20:24.700 <v SPEAKER\_4>It's always helpful when people are forcing your hand on that.

00:20:24.700 --> 00:20:25.720 <v SPEAKER\_4>And essentially, Mr.

00:20:25.720 --> 00:20:30.880 <v SPEAKER\_4>Carney is going to be able to stand and say, look, our allies have asked us to do this.

00:20:30.880 --> 00:20:32.620 <v SPEAKER\_4>We have to do it.

00:20:32.620 --> 00:20:37.200 <v SPEAKER\_4>Now, selling that is going to be challenging, but at least we have that on our side.

00:20:38.960 --> 00:20:50.080 <v SPEAKER\_2>Charlotte, what was your perception of some of those dynamics about whether or not there was a, I think certainly the vibe at the Public Forum, there was a heavy kind of two themes.

00:20:50.080 --> 00:20:54.280 <v SPEAKER\_2>One, Atlantisist Americans apologizing on behalf of their country.

00:20:54.280 --> 00:20:59.120 <v SPEAKER\_2>That was a pretty strong feature of that dynamic.

00:20:59.120 --> 00:21:12.020 <v SPEAKER\_2>And then a large degree of European, I guess, questioning about how much, questioning the sincerity of the American commitment, I think it was maybe be a charitable way of putting it.

00:21:14.200 --> 00:21:23.260 <v SPEAKER\_1>Yeah, when I said earlier that transatlantic solidarity seems to be back, it was not celebratory in any way to me.

00:21:23.260 --> 00:21:27.580 <v SPEAKER\_1>It was very sobering coming from a place of concern.

00:21:27.580 --> 00:21:34.920 <v SPEAKER\_1>But I gotta say, like, for as long as I can remember, I've been aware of NATO, like the United States is the navel.

00:21:34.920 --> 00:21:45.540 <v SPEAKER\_1>Like every time we have conversation, it's about the United States, whether we had a friendly president in the White House or a less friendly one.

00:21:45.540 --> 00:22:03.840 <v SPEAKER\_1>But I think that the way that Ruta was, and our leaders that other NATO leaders underlined, were communicating that the new pledge, really contributing to this view that this was almost an appeasement. 00:22:04.180 --> 00:22:12.480 <v SPEAKER\_1>And I like that term that you used, Robert, from that perspective, because Ruta kept on saying equalizing.

00:22:12.480 --> 00:22:21.420 <v SPEAKER\_1>And while it is 100 percent fair that when you talk about burden sharing, there needs to be a share of the burden.

00:22:21.720 --> 00:22:26.880 <v SPEAKER 1>And pardon me for putting this almost in a simple term.

00:22:27.040 --> 00:22:34.040 <v SPEAKER\_1>And Ruta directly in the press conference crediting the name Trump for that new pledge.

00:22:34.560 --> 00:22:44.420 <v SPEAKER\_1>It is important to recognize that, that we've had a very American centric discourse around all of this.

00:22:44.420 --> 00:22:46.480 <v SPEAKER\_1>But Dave, you and I talked about this.

00:22:46.600 --> 00:23:07.500 <v SPEAKER\_1>I do think that it's missing an opportunity here to talk about defense and security sovereignty for European and Canadian allies, where it's like the more you invest in your own defense, in your own protection, and rely less on the United States, then you're less at their mercy.

00:23:07.500 --> 00:23:23.120 <v SPEAKER\_1>And I think it is even more important to make that point, especially when populations across the Western atmosphere or NATO countries outside of the United States have particular feelings about the White House's policies.

00:23:23.120 --> 00:23:27.020 <v SPEAKER\_1>And so distancing yourself from that by saying, this isn't necessary investment.

00:23:27.020 --> 00:23:29.080 <v SPEAKER\_1>Yeah, Trump wants that.

00:23:29.080 --> 00:23:47.900 <v SPEAKER\_1>But the way that would describe it is that while the Hague Investment Pledge is a tactical victory for Trump, it is a strategic victory for European allies in Canada, because it will lead to a more independence on the defence front.

00:23:47.900 --> 00:23:53.340

<v SPEAKER\_1>That actually Europe and Canada haven't had for like over half a century.

## 00:23:53.340 --> 00:24:23.120

<v SPEAKER\_1>So I think it would be quite interesting to see that kind of communication, not to appease the Canadian and European population, but also to really make a point of like, this is about our own sovereignty and about securing ourselves for ourselves, but also for the alliance more broadly, and so that we can contribute to European and North Atlantic security in a place where we have a lot more agency than following the United States in their lead.

#### 00:24:25.020 --> 00:24:36.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>The side effect of President Trump's demeanor is that, I think it becomes easy to miss the fact that he often actually has an empirically defensible point.

00:24:36.740 --> 00:24:41.160 <v SPEAKER\_2>What he does with that information then goes off into interesting directions.

### 00:24:41.160 --> 00:25:09.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>But I think one of the things that I was struck by to build off what Charlotte said, Robert, was that if everybody delivers on these pledges, and the non-American allies can be smart and coordinated about how they make these additional investments, the alliance can have greater resiliency to whatever the whims are of whoever is in the White House, to whatever the political trajectory in the United States is over time.

# 00:25:09.580 --> 00:26:10.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>And it provides a level of backup capability or replacement capability, whoever that ends up unfolding over time, that if the United States does become increasingly focused on the Pacific, and that was kind of a backdrop of a lot of these discussions, that we are now going to collectively make enough investments that would allow us, if we're smart, to not continue relying on the United States for a whole bunch of the hard things and the toughest capabilities that the Americans singularly have provided to the alliance over time, which is, I think, a subtext not just of the overall arithmetic of the burden-sharing dynamic, but the fact that the US is the only ally that has invested in the logistics, command and control, intelligence, and a bunch of other capabilities that they alone have provided, that the entire NATO alliance has relied on, and they are maybe not going to be in the position to provide that going forward if they have their focused move elsewhere.

# 00:26:10.500 --> 00:26:17.720 <v SPEAKER\_2>But the flip side of that is that if the other, the rest of us backfill, then that would be less of a dependency than it is

today.

00:26:17.720 --> 00:26:18.300 <v SPEAKER\_4>Yeah.

00:26:18.300 --> 00:26:27.000 <v SPEAKER\_4>The enablers, like the United States has all of these enablers, that every single NATO operation just relies upon.

00:26:27.000 --> 00:26:40.040 <v SPEAKER\_4>Of course, it has been to the United States' interests to make that the case as well, that NATO couldn't essentially do anything unless it gave its tacit and objective support to it.

00:26:40.040 --> 00:26:41.200 <v SPEAKER\_4>But yeah, you're quite right.

00:26:41.200 --> 00:27:06.200 <v SPEAKER\_4>I see this as a huge strategic shift in the post-war history in a number of different ways, but mainly because the whole rules-based international order, and that includes NATO, the UN system, all of those ideals that our countries fought and died for, all of that has been supported by the hegemony of the United States, the force of the United States.

00:27:06.200 --> 00:27:25.100 <v SPEAKER\_4>The whole point of the rules-based order was to try to move from a world where justice was decided by force, might makes right, to one where it's laws and agreements and multilateral arrangements that help to decide what is just.

00:27:25.100 --> 00:27:31.000 <v SPEAKER\_4>And of course the United States was largely on the side of that developing, that whole architecture.

00:27:31.000 --> 00:27:53.080 <v SPEAKER\_4>But now that the United States is turning away from it, this might be the only possible moment in history wherein the rest of the middle powers are able to rise up and support that with the requisite hard power that is needed to maintain such a rules-based order without the United States or at least without the United States doing most of the lifting.

00:27:53.080 --> 00:27:59.720 <v SPEAKER\_4>So in a way, this could be the kind of escape velocity that the rules-based order needed.

00:27:59.720 --> 00:28:06.620 <v SPEAKER\_4>Escape velocity of course from the idea that you need a certain amount of energy to escape the Earth's gravity if you're going to get into space.

00:28:06.620 --> 00:28:15.540 <v SPEAKER\_4>Well in this case, you need a certain amount of actual hard power by middle powers, not the United States, to actually make the rules-based order work.

00:28:15.540 --> 00:28:23.900 <v SPEAKER\_4>So I think in the larger grander site, that might be one of the most important things that this summit has helped to set in motion.

00:28:25.080 --> 00:28:29.500 <v SPEAKER\_2>Charlotte, you're joining us for this conversation from Paris.

00:28:29.500 --> 00:28:38.060 <v SPEAKER\_2>I guess one way of looking at this would be that in the end, the French were right and there needed to be some backup for the United States.

00:28:38.160 --> 00:28:43.620 <v SPEAKER\_2>And this is potentially outside of the Gaullist vision for European security.

00:28:43.620 --> 00:28:58.480 <v SPEAKER\_2>This is, I don't know how to torture that metaphor, but this is maybe now finally the realization that some of your countrymen had the right idea all along, and then it wasn't smart to put so many eggs in an American basket.

00:28:59.880 --> 00:29:01.300 <v SPEAKER\_1>Yeah, absolutely.

00:29:02.040 --> 00:29:14.100 <v SPEAKER\_1>I remember the end of that EU-NATO cooperation panel, and I was like, the Gaull must feel vindicated from wherever he is, either hell or heaven.

00:29:15.580 --> 00:29:35.140 <v SPEAKER\_1>Like that strategic independence was so important, and a European approach to security, one that realized on European value and not what was perceived as a constant forced-based kind of approach to security, I think is critical.

# 00:29:35.140 --> 00:30:10.760

<v SPEAKER\_1>And you know what, sometimes better late than never, even though we're talking about over 60 years late, but hopefully that's going to continue in that trajectory and propulse an era where Europe is sovereign in its own defence, is sovereign in its own peace and

sovereign in its own security, which seemed to me was essentially what de Gaulle was trying to advocate when he was pushing for a EU-based approach to defence. 00:30:10.760 --> 00:30:26.820 <v SPEAKER\_4>I'd just like to say as well that the fact that industry is now becoming such a big aspect, that defence industry of non-American NATO countries is being much more developed and kind of really fast tracked. 00:30:26.820 --> 00:30:30.700 <v SPEAKER\_4>We need that kind of diversity in our kit. 00:30:30.700 --> 00:30:39.300 <v SPEAKER\_4>As much as interoperability is so important to NATO so that everybody's kit can work with each other, it's still important to have variety. 00:30:39.300 --> 00:30:46.340 <v SPEAKER\_4>In the same way that evolution, the way evolution works is that, you know, it picks out what succeeds and the other ones that don't drop off. 00:30:46.340 --> 00:30:50.000 <v SPEAKER\_4>Well, what happens if we have all of the same plane? 00:30:50.000 --> 00:31:00.820 <v SPEAKER\_4>You know, if everybody adopted the F-35 and then there was a massive, you know, a bug or something else that was able to take it down easily, that would be a vulnerability. 00:31:00.820 --> 00:31:06.720 <v SPEAKER\_4>So I think this kind of diversity also makes NATO stronger in a couple of real important ways. 00:31:07.760 --> 00:31:23.560 <v SPEAKER 2>I think another way of reflecting on that is that if the Alliance is going to be less reliant on the United States, then that would change the preponderant role that the Americans have played in Alliance decision making. 00:31:23.560 --> 00:31:25.400 <v SPEAKER 2>And that extends in a whole bunch of different ways. 00:31:25.400 --> 00:31:35.740 <v SPEAKER\_2>I think part of the direction of interoperability with US systems has been built off of the centrality of American military capability and making the Alliance work.

00:31:35.740 --> 00:31:59.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>And to the extent that there's going to be a
diversification of that, it would be interesting to see in 10 years
from now if this all plays out as was sketched out this week, whether
or not the United States is actually content with that direction of
travel, because I think there will be some side effects of a reduced
reliance of the other 31 allies on America and the North Atlantic
Treaty Organization construct.

00:32:01.020 --> 00:32:06.100 <v SPEAKER\_2>One thing that came out, I saw some discussion in another context.

00:32:06.100 --> 00:32:16.360 <v SPEAKER\_2>I don't know whether or not this was discussed at the Industry Forum or not, but there had been some work amongst the Alliance to have critical minerals.

00:32:16.360 --> 00:32:19.100 <v SPEAKER\_2>I don't know if it's a strategy now or at least some planning around that.

00:32:19.100 --> 00:32:26.740 <v SPEAKER\_2>I mean, what, I guess, is a way of getting into, like, what are the contours of NATO's initiatives with industry?

00:32:26.740 --> 00:32:32.820 <v SPEAKER\_2>Is it focused strictly on kind of conventional defence industrial base and those conventional suppliers?

00:32:32.820 --> 00:32:35.580 <v SPEAKER\_2>Does the critical minerals piece connect in with that?

00:32:35.580 --> 00:32:41.040 <v SPEAKER\_2>Is there also a focus on sort of a broader dual use emerging tech construct?

00:32:41.040 --> 00:32:49.640 <v SPEAKER\_2>I mean, how broadly do you would, from your vantage point, you describe where the efforts are in terms of what NATO is doing with industrial coordination and planning?

00:32:50.600 --> 00:32:58.460 <v SPEAKER\_3>Yeah, it's broadening and it's accelerating at pace and intensity across a number of different ways.

00:32:58.460 --> 00:33:14.940 <v SPEAKER\_3>So traditionally, NATO itself as an entity has sought industrial advice from the NATO Industry Advisory Group, which is a formal consultative body of industrialists from NATO members.

00:33:14.940 --> 00:33:23.020 <v SPEAKER 3>And it provides its advice formally through the Conference of National Armaments Directors, so in Canada, represented by ADM Materiel. 00:33:23.020 --> 00:33:27.240 <v SPEAKER 3>And I serve as the head of the Canadian delegation to that. 00:33:27.240 --> 00:33:35.020 <v SPEAKER 3>And it's a way where industrialists can provide precompetitive advice using a bunch of different tools. 00:33:35.020 --> 00:33:37.340 <v SPEAKER\_3>Traditionally, it's known for studies. 00:33:37.340 --> 00:33:49.720 <v SPEAKER\_3>There's industrial interface groups, liaison officers, community of interests, depending on what the kind of NATO customer needs in terms of the advice, the time frames there are there. 00:33:49.720 --> 00:33:51.160 <v SPEAKER\_3>And that's been very useful. 00:33:51.160 --> 00:34:07.100 <v SPEAKER\_3>In fact, really was the NAIC that prompted a lot of the thinking and some of the early outcomes around defence industrial production issues that led to the DPAAP, the Defence Production Action Plan, and the NATO Industrial Capacity Expansion pledges. 00:34:08.640 --> 00:34:12.400 <v SPEAKER 3>0n the traditional side, we saw the update to the DPAAP come out. 00:34:13.400 --> 00:34:25.660 <v SPEAKER 3>There's now a Rapid Adoption Action Plan that starts to get into some of that emerging and disruptive technologies through the NIAC and its interface group for space called SpaceNet. 00:34:25.660 --> 00:34:29.660 <v SPEAKER\_3>And some excellent work from the international staff at NATO. 00:34:29.660 --> 00:34:35.120 <v SPEAKER 3>We've seen a commercial space strategy just announced and released at the summit. 00:34:36.460 --> 00:34:52.260 <v SPEAKER\_3>Of course, there's NATO Diana as well, as the Alliance tries to get and integrate and understand that emerging and disruptive technologies piece that's out there that has military applications.

00:34:52.260 --> 00:35:02.300 <v SPEAKER\_3>So there's been this intensification of trying to work with industry across different variables, as I've just laid out.

00:35:04.320 --> 00:35:34.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>There was language again this year, as there had been at the summit in Washington, that I would kind of construe together is basically, the Alliance is increasingly viewing the defence industry as part of the overall capability set that the Alliance brings, and that that's true both for the Alliance writ large, but also on a national basis, the industrial-based industrial suppliers are being thought about in more of a national capacity framework.

00:35:36.080 --> 00:35:45.240 <v SPEAKER\_2>Do you share that kind of assessment that that's kind of the way that things are going and what do you think are some of the implications for Canada of that kind of general trajectory?

00:35:46.600 --> 00:36:02.120 <v SPEAKER\_3>Well, I think it's best encapsulated in the line that Secretary-General Stonberg first came out with and Secretary-General Rutte repeats that there is no defence and deterrents without defence industry.

00:36:02.120 --> 00:36:04.640 <v SPEAKER\_3>It is a fundamental input to capability.

00:36:04.640 --> 00:36:10.200 <v SPEAKER\_3>You can't field capability without the industrial part.

00:36:10.200 --> 00:36:15.320 <v SPEAKER\_3>It is not the only part, of course, but it is an essential part of that.

00:36:15.320 --> 00:36:19.200 <v SPEAKER\_3>And so that continues as part of that.

00:36:21.240 --> 00:36:36.980 <v SPEAKER\_3>You know, in terms of the balance between NATO and capitals, you know, continues and, you know, part of NATO's role as a standard setter and convening body can help share best leading practices across the Alliance.

00:36:36.980 --> 00:36:41.060 <v SPEAKER\_3>Some countries have been at this longer than others.

00:36:41.060 --> 00:37:01.580 <v SPEAKER\_3>And so I think there's a lot that we can do to learn from

each other, including in Canada, as we look to what the Prime Minister has said, whether it's the campaign platform, the speech from the throne, the single-end mandate letter to ministers, his speech to the Monk School on June 9th, several interviews.

00:37:01.580 --> 00:37:10.080 <v SPEAKER\_3>You know, where he essentially says the fence is a top three economic priority of this government, along with energy and critical minerals in home building.

00:37:10.080 --> 00:37:13.580 <v SPEAKER\_3>And that has a huge impact.

00:37:14.320 --> 00:37:38.400 <v SPEAKER\_3>And when you look at the amount of money that's being committed, whether it's \$9 billion in one year or moving towards the New Hague Investment Pledge of 3.5% plus 1.5%, these are incredibly large numbers that will have a macroeconomic impact well beyond what just the A base of D&D can absorb.

00:37:39.020 --> 00:37:43.840 <v SPEAKER\_3>And so, you know, it's to think about these broader economic impacts.

00:37:43.840 --> 00:37:50.600 <v SPEAKER\_3>How do we renew the industrial base in Canada ready for the next generation?

00:37:50.600 --> 00:37:54.620 <v SPEAKER\_3>And there's lots of policy work to be done there.

00:37:54.620 --> 00:37:57.520 <v SPEAKER\_3>You know, there's been talk of an industrial strategy.

00:37:57.520 --> 00:38:00.340 <v SPEAKER\_3>So on one hand, you know, what do you want to make in Canada?

00:38:00.340 --> 00:38:04.200 <v SPEAKER\_3>And how do you preference that source of supply in Canada?

00:38:04.960 --> 00:38:12.460 <v SPEAKER\_3>And on the other, you know, the commitment to some new defence procurement agency.

00:38:12.460 --> 00:38:22.580 <v SPEAKER\_3>Public procurement is the single most influential instrument the government, any government has, towards the health and resiliency of its industrial base. 00:38:22.580 --> 00:38:27.560 <v SPEAKER\_3>And so these two things have to be fundamentally connected to each other.

00:38:27.560 --> 00:38:29.400 <v SPEAKER\_3>We've got to see how that might be.

## 00:38:29.400 --> 00:38:40.980

<v SPEAKER\_3>But, you know, a couple of ways could be, you know, a new agency in its enabling legislation establishes a clear responsibility for managing the health and resiliency of the Canadian industrial base.

00:38:40.980 --> 00:38:49.780 <v SPEAKER\_3>It could be responsible for the development, implementation and updates for any industrial strategy, which can and should include, you know, Canadian sovereign capabilities.

00:38:49.780 --> 00:38:57.760 <v SPEAKER\_3>It could set track and help meet different industrial base growth targets.

00:38:57.760 --> 00:39:13.940 <v SPEAKER\_3>Essential would be supply side knowledge in terms of what Canadian industrial capacity we have here at the sector capability and firm levels, which currently is inadequate for the job and needs to be improved.

00:39:15.740 --> 00:39:35.060 <v SPEAKER\_3>We can talk about, you know, providing adequate defence investment planning information for industry, so that industry can have better information with more confidence to prepare bids and deliver on upcoming work, including capital allocation for decisions like R&D and staffing that align or anticipate CAF needs.

00:39:35.060 --> 00:39:36.920 <v SPEAKER\_3>We just talked about that, of course.

00:39:36.920 --> 00:39:40.860 <v SPEAKER\_3>You know, the requirement setting function, where does that go?

00:39:40.860 --> 00:39:46.760 <v SPEAKER\_3>But, you know, what kind of challenge function to that exists beyond the high-level mandatory review panel?

00:39:47.360 --> 00:39:51.440 <v SPEAKER\_3>We can also talk about industrial security related aspects.

### 00:39:51.440 --> 00:40:04.840

<v SPEAKER\_3>The more you're going to buy, the more you're going to need to make sure that the industrial base can get through the industrial security process and control goods as quickly and efficiently as possible.

### 00:40:04.840 --> 00:40:21.920

<v SPEAKER\_3>You know, given that 85% or more of the industrial bases SMEs, you know, some kind of office of small and medium business to train, educate, prepare these firms for defence work and to help resolve any impediments they face in their essential work could be another element of this kind of new agency.

00:40:21.920 --> 00:40:32.760 <v SPEAKER\_3>And then, you know, some clear connection with Canada's defence exports trade promotion agenda, because half of what the industry sells is exports.

00:40:32.760 --> 00:40:38.720 <v SPEAKER\_3>So again, it's bringing all these together at a strategic level that's going to be essential through this period of transformation.

00:40:40.480 --> 00:40:59.620 <v SPEAKER\_2>I think, as you've just outlined, a lot of those reasons to think about the relationship between government and the private sector exists independent of what the Alliance is doing, but increasingly Canada now has extra motivation to do things that we should do for other reasons, largely national reasons, in our own right.

00:40:59.620 --> 00:41:09.260 <v SPEAKER\_2>But now it's something that is going to take place in a construct where our key defence alliance is increasingly focused on the same set of issues.

00:41:10.360 --> 00:41:12.500 <v SPEAKER\_3>Yes, absolutely.

00:41:12.500 --> 00:41:16.360 <v SPEAKER\_2>Robert, Charlotte, Nicolas, thank you for joining us on Defence Deconstructed.

00:41:16.360 --> 00:41:21.980 <v SPEAKER\_2>Last question to you, as you make your way home and elsewhere, what are you reading?

00:41:21.980 --> 00:41:27.140 <v SPEAKER\_4>Well, for myself, it's rather belatedly Mark Carney's

values.

00:41:27.160 --> 00:41:46.440 <v SPEAKER\_1>As I'm about to head to Australia to defend my PhD proposal, I'm reading again a book that I read a couple of years ago called Forced to Change, which looks at the evolution of the professional education development of the Canadian military after the Somalia scandal.

00:41:46.440 --> 00:42:07.640 <v SPEAKER\_3>Well, I've two books, one that I finished and one that I'm still reading, but both very much on point on this issue because a lot of the misunderstandings and challenges that we're facing in this time, were evident back in the mobilization towards the Second World War.

00:42:07.640 --> 00:42:17.560 <v SPEAKER\_3>And so two books to recommend on this front, first, Freedom's Forge, How American Business Produced Victory in World War II by Arthur Herman, published in 2013.

00:42:17.560 --> 00:42:26.140 <v SPEAKER\_3>It's a very accessible book, focused really on the personalities that were involved in this, including the legendary Bill Knutson.

00:42:28.200 --> 00:42:33.600 <v SPEAKER\_3>And, you know, that focus might lose a bit of some of the nuance, especially from the government end.

00:42:33.600 --> 00:42:42.220 <v SPEAKER\_3>But the other one that I'd recommend, slightly more comprehensive, A Call To Arms, Mobilizing America for World War II by Maury Klein, also published in 2013.

## 00:42:42.220 --> 00:43:16.800

<v SPEAKER\_3>So that reminds us of the situation, you know, in which Churchill and his country found themselves, you know, almost completely dependent on the internal domestic politics of a foreign country, you know, it states in a situation that, you know, Churchill would never want it repeated and that we see now, for example, President Zelensky, who addressed the industry forum, has sought to avoid as well as Ukraine, defend, defence industrial production increases as it becomes more self-reliant whenever possible.

### 00:43:16.800 --> 00:43:24.400

<v SPEAKER\_3>And, you know, this leads to the joke that, you know, we are all gaullists now when it comes to defence production and sovereign capability.

00:43:24.400 --> 00:43:27.420 </ >
<v SPEAKER\_3>So, you know, I will wrap it up there.

00:43:27.420 --> 00:43:29.200 <v SPEAKER\_3>Thank you very much for having me.

00:43:29.200 --> 00:43:29.900 <v SPEAKER\_2>0kay.

00:43:29.900 --> 00:43:32.460 <v SPEAKER\_2>Some recommendations that are pretty on point for this discussion.

00:43:32.460 --> 00:43:35.220 <v SPEAKER\_2>Thanks again for joining us on Defence Deconstructed.

00:43:35.220 --> 00:43:36.340 <v SPEAKER\_3>Thank you very much.

00:43:36.340 --> 00:43:36.920 <v SPEAKER\_1>It was a pleasure.

00:43:40.060 --> 00:43:42.280 <v SPEAKER\_2>Thanks for listening to Defence Deconstructed.

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