



# White paper on the future of European defence

## SUMMARY

In her political guidelines presented on 18 July 2024, European Commission President-elect Ursula von der Leyen identified defence as a priority and a key sector in completing the single market. An important part of that effort will be building a 'European Defence Union'. To frame the new approach and to identify defence investment needs, von der Leyen committed that the new Commission would present a white paper on the future of European defence within the first 100 days of taking office. Subsequently, the Commissioners designated to take on the High Representative/Vice President portfolio (Kaja Kallas, Estonia) and the portfolio for Defence and Space (Andrius Kubilius, Lithuania) have been tasked with producing the paper.

The white paper is expected to predominantly address defence sector capability issues, industrial competitiveness and investment needs. It should also frame the overall approach to EU defence integration, with the aim of strengthening the EU's ability to respond to threats, particularly in the context of Russia's continuing aggression in Ukraine, combined with evolving geopolitical challenges to the south and increased military capabilities of other global actors.

Among other things, the white paper should outline the path towards key initiatives such as a European air shield to bolster air defence across the continent and expanded cyber-defence capabilities; closer EU-NATO cooperation; more efficient EU Member State defence spending; the reduction of external dependencies in defence procurement; and increased intra-EU collaboration in industrial, innovation, procurement and production issues. Experts widely agree that a key challenge to address is how to increase financing for the defence industry with, inter alia, the provision of incentives for investors and the creation of economies of scale; a clear assessment of the EU's defence needs; and coordination among the many EU defence initiatives proposed in recent years.

The European Parliament first called for an EU white paper on security and defence as early as 2016.



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## Background

In the [mission letters](#) to the Commissioner-designate for Defence and Space, [Andrius Kubilius](#), and to the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/Vice-President (HR/VP) of the European Commission, [Kaja Kallas](#), Commission President-elect Ursula von der Leyen tasked them with drafting a white paper on the future of European defence, a commitment undertaken in her political guidelines as a deliverable for the first 100 days of the second von der Leyen Commission. According to the political guidelines, the white paper would 'frame the new approach' in the context of building a true 'European Defence Union' and would identify defence investment needs.

In the absence of an agreed-upon definition of the level of ambition of the projected 'true European defence Union', Andrius Kubilius's [response](#) to the questionnaire put to the Commissioners designate identifies three main pillars for discussion: 'First, a European Defence Union implies a streamlined governance and seamless interconnection between the responsibilities and activities regulated under the Treaty on the European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. Core defence policy and defence industrial policy must work hand in hand. Second, a European Defence Union must be founded on a common threat analysis and shared threat perception. Third, we must recall the commitment to spend more, better, together and European, make full use of existing instruments and resources and consider giving ourselves the additional resources that we are still lacking to attain our vital objectives'. While taking full account of Member States' competence on security and defence, the white paper will focus on EU-level competence, namely, on 'what Europe can do to support and coordinate efforts to strengthen the defence industrial base, innovation and the single market'. Importantly, the guidelines state that not only deployment but also doctrine<sup>1</sup> (presumed to refer to military doctrine) remain Member State responsibilities.

The most recent similar exercise was the 2017 [reflection paper](#) on European defence accompanying the Juncker Commission's white paper on the future of Europe. Looking to 2025 (the expected start of negotiations on the next multiannual financial framework – MFF), the paper set out options for moving towards a security and defence union in three different scenarios, underpinned by different levels of ambition: security and defence cooperation; shared security and defence; common security and defence. The paper accompanied the legislative proposal for the establishment of a European Defence Fund under the 2021-2027 MFF. Following a two year process, including a threat assessment and strategic dialogue, the Council adopted the [Strategic Compass](#) in 2022, an actionable framework for EU security and defence policy, endorsed by the European Council.

### White papers on defence: What purpose do they serve?

European Commission [white papers](#) are documents containing proposals for EU action (normally legislation) in a specific area. Their purpose is to launch a debate with the public, stakeholders, the European Parliament and the Council in order to arrive at a political consensus.

In the field of defence, what is meant by the term 'defence white paper' varies substantially between countries, but generally tends to indicate moving from political objectives expressed in general terms to specific and quantifiable objectives and to be an element of defence planning. The EU has never launched a defence white paper process, but examples can be drawn from Member State and non-member state white papers (see Annex 2). The most recent EU Member State white paper, that of the [Netherlands](#) (2024), sets out the threats, tasks, strategic objectives, strategic course and investment needs of the country's defence policy.

The timing of the white paper may coincide with a [review](#) of the Strategic Compass threat analysis, with a view to the HR/VP possibly presenting proposals for a revision of the Compass itself. The majority of the Compass's actions, spanning operations, industry, resilience and partnerships are due for completion by 2025. In that context, HR/VP designate Kaja Kallas has stated her belief that a new threat analysis is urgently required and that, if confirmed, she would, 'based on this new

assessment of the challenges the EU has to face, as well as on state of implementation of the actions under the Strategic Compass, [be] ready to consider, together with Council and Member States, new concrete ways to strengthen our level of ambition in the field of security and defence'.

### Timeframe

White papers on defence tend to differentiate between short-term and long-term plans and objectives. In a recent [interview](#), asked about the potential content of the paper, Commissioner-designate Andrius Kubilius identified two different timeframes

1. What needs to be done during the next five years to deter further Russian aggression;
2. What needs to be done 'in the upcoming decades.

The EDIS itself identifies 2035 as a target date for its implementation. The timeline of negotiations for the next MFF (2028-2034), a Commission proposal for which is expected in the summer of 2025, will also need to be taken into consideration.

Preparation and presentation of the white paper follows an intense period of work on EU defence policy. Following the outbreak of Russia's full-scale war on Ukraine in 2022 and the [Versailles Summit](#), at which leaders agreed on the urgent need to boost the European defence technological industrial base (EDTIB), the Commission presented initiatives to map and address European defence vulnerabilities on capability, productivity, financing, innovation and collaborative procurement. In March 2024 it adopted a European defence industrial strategy ([EDIS](#)) which aims to

enhance the EU's defence readiness and specifically its industrial capacity. To support the EDIS, it proposed a European defence industry programme ([EDIP](#)) to ensure timely availability and supply of defence products. The EDIS builds on a [defence investment gap analysis](#) presented in May 2022. Operationally, it mirrors practices acquired through the management of the [European Defence Fund](#) (EDF) and other instruments. The Commission has proposed allocating €1.5 billion to the EDIP for 2025-2027.

## What could the white paper entail?

The two Commissioners are expected to produce the white paper jointly, supported by inter-service cooperation (DG DEFIS and EEAS). The political guidelines and the mission letter to the Commissioner-designate for Defence and Space set the parameters (see Table 1).<sup>2</sup> The political guidelines focus on capabilities, investment needs and on support for the EU defence industry and on developing optimal ways forward in the three key areas identified by the President-elect:

1. Rebuild and replenish national armed forces (capabilities);
2. Invest more in the EU defence industry (investment; industry);
3. Pool resources into flagship 'European Defence Union' projects/defence projects of common European interest, together with NATO (capabilities; investment).

This mission letter to Andrius Kubilius confirms the objective of the paper is 'to frame a new approach to defence and identify investment needs to deliver full spectrum defence capabilities based on joint investments, readying the EU and Member States for the most extreme military contingencies'.

Several options are likely to be drawn from the recent reports by former Italian prime ministers Mario Draghi and Enrico Letta on [competitiveness](#) and on the future of the [single market](#) respectively; as well as former Finnish president Sauli Niinistö's [report](#) on civilian and defence preparedness and readiness, presented in the College of Commissioners on 30 October 2024. In her [response](#) to the questionnaire to the Commissioners-designate, Kaja Kallas confirmed that the white paper should set out the level of political ambition required to boost the EU's defence readiness, as well as that of the Member States, on the basis of the [Strategic Compass](#) and the EDIP. The two Commissioners-designate confirmed that the white paper will be fully coherent with the Strategic Compass and the European defence industrial strategy, as well as with NATO's [Strategic Concept](#).

## Potential action:

### On capabilities

At the Versailles Summit, EU leaders agreed to invest 'more and better in defence capabilities and innovative technologies'. The EU's capability development plan (CDP), which identifies EU capability priorities, was subsequently revised (most recently in [November 2023](#)) to encompass new priorities including air and missile defence, air transport, underwater and seabed warfare, ground combat capabilities, cyber-defence, and more. Yet, in the context of supporting Ukraine and boosting EU preparedness and defence, experts and policy-makers alike stress the need for further prioritisation and coordination on capability. Much of what needs to be done is included in the EDIS and the yet-to-be-adopted EDIP. In this context, the white paper, could entail initiatives to:

- identify and address the most urgent and critical capability gaps;
- ensure stock fulfilment, including in the context of support for Ukraine;
- define EU-wide defence and armed forces' common needs;
- identify ways to link national procurement priorities to EU-level industrial policy: incentivise joint programming and common procurement (also through the proposed structure for European armament programme and through the Defence Industrial Board for programming, once EDIP is adopted);
- define the role of the European Defence Agency in coordinating joint defence procurement in coordination with new structures defined in EDIP and avoid overlap with those structures;
- ensure that capability plans feed into boosting defence readiness;
- identify the way forward on 'European projects of common interest' (including and beyond the proposed European air shield and cyber-defence identified in the political guidelines) and the terms/criteria for their definition, [identification](#) and criteria for financial allocation;
- ensure that excessive dependencies on third countries are reduced;
- maintain and increase the level of innovation in capability R&D within the EDTIB.

### On investment

[Financing](#) the European defence industry and remedying decades of EU Member State under-investment in defence has been at the core of discussions about the future of EU defence, particularly in the light of needs generated by Russia's war on Ukraine and by the wider aggravation of the geopolitical environment, as described in the Strategic Compass threat analysis. In exploring new approaches to investment needs that will enable the EU to prepare for the 'most extreme military contingencies', the white paper would examine initiatives to:

- ensure investment in high-end defence capabilities;
- create a single market for defence products and services, which entails addressing common standards and potentially common purchases;
- incentivise private defence investment, evaluating the options currently discussed in that direction (see Table 1);
- address defence investment-related needs (in terms of financing, reserves, margins and flexibility) for the next MFF and ensure consistency with the interinstitutional negotiations on the future EU budget;
- link defence investment to appropriate contracts for defence purchases from the EDTIB that would allow industry to ensure economies of scale through larger scale production; explore options for aggregating demand;
- advance cooperation with the European Investment Bank on defence and dual-use products;

- consider favourable loan options, including special credit lines from the European Stability Mechanism.<sup>3</sup>

## On industry

Reinforcing the European defence industry and its competitiveness goes beyond financing. In addition to under-investment, the EDTIB, which includes a number of large multinational companies, mid-caps and over 2 000 small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), faces fragmentation across the EU, security of supply issues linked to critical raw materials and semiconductors, and challenges to its manufacturing capability including speed of production and human resources. The white paper would need to include ideas on how to:

- take an EU level (beyond the national level) approach to [security of supply](#) (as proposed in EDIS), including further mapping of the ownership structure of key suppliers;
- further intra-EU cooperation through existing and proposed initiatives (EDF, EDIP), which incentivise the creation of consortia;
- support the integration of European SMEs (including dual-use and civilian producers) in defence production value chains;
- incentivise long-term and large-scale contracts on the demand side to ensure industry growth and sustainability (aggregate demand; joint procurement);
- promote defence R&D through EU-level incentives, and ensure that the current emphasis on ammunition, tanks and more 'traditional hardware' materiel does not hamper investment in innovation;
- explore opportunities offered by the space and underwater domain for the defence industrial sector, including in the context of addressing hybrid threats;
- ensure that defence partnerships with third countries entail benefits for the EDTIB;
- continue to mobilise the EDTIB's full capacity with procurement side incentives that address the most urgent needs (following the example of ammunition procurement and production for Ukraine, which in a year almost doubled the ammunition production capacity of the EU industry);
- reduce barriers to market entry for defence products within the EU (e.g. with swift cross-certification activities);
- increase interoperability through standardisation.

## EU-NATO cooperation

In its partnerships section, the Compass addressed relations with NATO, defined as a strategic partner. Since the Compass precedes the adoption of NATO's 2022 Strategic Concept, as well as Finland and Sweden's accession to the Alliance, the white paper should take account of these post-Compass developments. The political guidelines stipulate that strengthening the EU-NATO partnership is central to a 'European Defence Union' and propose to extend EU-NATO cooperation to cover 'all threats', opening space for new agreements on cyber, hybrid and space. In 2019, NATO declared space to be its fifth operational domain (in addition to land, air, sea and cyber) and has increased its emphasis on [multi-domain operations](#) and related capability needs. Commissioner-designate Kubilius's written answers provide potential elements of the approach:

- building on 'EU distinctive instruments', especially budget and regulatory capacity, and space assets, to support Member States and NATO in developing critical defence resources;
- advancing discussion on the collective EU contribution to and complementarity with NATO in the context of preparedness (more on this is included in the Niinistö report);
- coordinating the EU-NATO approach to civil and defence standards for industry and convergence on certification.

Table 1 – Proposals for the future of EU defence <sup>1</sup>

Proposals*	Mission letter to Commissioner - designate for Defence and Space	Von der Leyen political guidelines	Draghi report	Letta report
1 Single market for defence	✓	✓	✓	✗**
1.1 Joint procurement	✓	✓	✓	✓
1.2 Integrate of SMEs in defence supply chain	✓	✗	✓	✓
1.3 Standardise and/or harmonise equipment and/or minimise burdens	✓	✗	✓	✓
2 Military mobility	✓	✗	✓	✓
3 Exploit dual-use technology and potential	✓	✓	✓	✓
4 Demand aggregation for defence capabilities	✓	✗	✓	✗
4.1 Combine acquisition of US systems by sub-groups of Member States (EU)	✗	✗	✓	✗
5 Defence projects of common interest	✓	✓	✓	✗
6 Adopt EDIP	✓	✓	✓	✗
7 Reinforce EDF	✓	✓	✓	✗
8 Implement EDIRPA and ASAP	✓	✗	✗	✗
9 Implement EDIS	✓	✗	✓	✗
10 Public and private defence investment	✓	✓	✓	✓
11 EIB support for defence projects	✓	✓	✓	✓
12 European investment in defence in the next MFF	✗	✓	✓	✓
13 Strengthen EU-NATO partnership/cooperation/coordination	✓	✓	✓	✓
14 Address vulnerabilities and increase resilience and capabilities vis-à-vis cyber attacks	✓	✓	✓	✓
15 Deepen/strengthen EU-level competences for defence industrial policy	✗	✗	✓	✓
16 Defence Eurobonds	✗	✗	✓	✓
17 ESM specialised credit line for national defence spending	✗	✗	✗	✓
18 Incentivise large primes to integrate and mentor startups and SMEs	✗	✗	✗	✓
19 New EU financial resources leveraged on financial markets and channelled through an ad hoc instrument	✗	✗	✓	✗
20 Establish a Commissioner for Defence (Industry)	N/A	✓	✓	✗
21 European preference principle	✗	✗	✓	✓
22 Single funding instrument covering the capability's life-cycle	✗	✗	✗	✓
23 Commercialise and industrialise successful EDF research outcomes	✗	✗	✓	✗

\*The list is non-exhaustive; it assesses the presence or absence of proposals in the four documents; similar proposals implicitly or more vaguely present in the documents may not be included in the table.

\*\*Letta report: 'As applying the Single Market framework is not feasible today due to the inherent nature of this sector, advancing towards the development of a Common Market for the Security and Defence Industry is crucial!'

Data sources: European Commission, [Mission letter to Andrius Kubilius](#), September 2024; U. von der Leyen, [Europe's Choice; Political Guidelines for the next European Commission 2024–2029](#), July 2024; M. Draghi, [The future of European competitiveness](#), September 2024; E. Letta [Much More than a Market](#), April 2024; compiled by Panagiotis Politis Lamprou; graphic Lucille Killmayer.

<sup>1</sup> If a checkbox is not ticked, the authors may simply address the current state of play without presenting concrete proposals.



## Position of the European Parliament

As early as 22 November 2016, the European Parliament adopted a [resolution](#) on the 'European Defence Union', calling on the HR/VP to produce an EU security and defence white paper. The resolution encouraged the European Council to lead the progressive framing of the 'European Defence Union', with a view to establishing it under the EU's next MFF, alluding at the time to the current MFF (2021–2027).

Parliament has been an ardent supporter of the defence initiatives proposed and implemented under the current MFF. In its most recent [resolution](#) on the implementation of the common security and defence policy (CSDP – annual report 2023), the European Parliament called for the future Defence Union Commissioner to be responsible for the finalisation of a true 'European Defence Union' and all defence-related matters, including CSDP, following a clear division of tasks with the HR/VP. The resolution took the position that the Commissioner should, together with Parliament, jointly oversee a dedicated and substantial 'Defence Union' budget. Members also expressed support for EDIS and EDIP and stressed that sufficient funding must be ensured. They also urged greater parliamentary involvement in decisions related to the CSDP and the defence industry. They identified scaling up support for Ukraine, strengthening partnerships, enhancing EU security and defence capabilities, working alongside NATO and promoting European strategic autonomy, as key priorities.

In the [draft annual report](#) on the implementation of the CSDP for 2024 being discussed in Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET – rapporteur Nicolás Pascual de la Parte, EPP, Spain), the rapporteur calls on the Commission and the VP/HR to present an updated version of the Strategic Compass following its review and based on a comprehensive new threat assessment. This update would subsequently 'inform the preparation of the white paper on the future of European defence'.

The European Parliament is due to hold confirmation hearings with the Commissioner-designate for Defence and Space, [Andrius Kubilius](#), and the HR/VP-designate, [Kaja Kallas](#), on 6 and 12 November 2024 respectively. During the hearings, the Commissioners-designate will, among other things, need to outline which legislative proposals and other initiatives they would suggest to the College of Commissioners for adoption in the next five years – and in particular in the first 100 days. Other questions that have been raised in the context of parliamentary meetings include how to increase financing for the EDTIB without reducing financing in other areas; how to support the Ukrainian defence industry; and on the future role of the European Defence Agency.

## Stakeholder views and concerns

Experts have used the time between the designation of the proposed Commissioners and the inauguration of the new Commission, to point to issues which could be part of the future 'Defence Union'. While sceptical about the potential novelty of a white paper, some, such as the Centre for Security, Diplomacy and Strategy's Daniel Fiott, [discern](#) a 'window of opportunity' to enhance European defence, if the strategic vision is efficiently combined with action on the spending side. Steven Blockmans of the International Centre for Defence and Security also highlights the existential nature of funding and political will for efforts to succeed. Moreover, he argues that the future HR/VP, supported by the EEAS, should 'enrol EU bodies, institutions, and Member States, as well as allies and like-minded countries, in a reflection process that defines the EU's strategic goals and level of ambition for the period up to 2030'. His view is that this review should go beyond a mere update of the Strategic Compass, and should be operational in nature, allowing for the development of joint military doctrine by the EU military staff. He suggests that the white paper should incentivise this review process. Many concur that the white paper should be linked to a review of the Strategic Compass.

In the context of the new Commissioners' tasks, some [analysts](#), such as the European Policy Centre's Maria Martisiute, have highlighted the need for a 'whole of government' and 'whole of society approach' to defence as a concept, which presumably could be featured in the white paper. This approach is central in the Niinistö [report](#) on preparedness. Recent defence white papers, within and outside the EU (e.g. by the Netherlands, Sweden, Japan), include civil defence as a priority, including preparedness of strategic sectors, economic defence, cyber security and psychological/cognitive defence.

A point [highlighted](#) often is, given how recent the EDIS and EDIP initiatives are, there will be little space for the white paper to deviate. Overall, [experts](#) agree the need to move swiftly to adopt the EDIP and (soon after) substantially increase the €1.5 billion financing envisaged in the programme,<sup>4</sup> a point also underpinning the spirit of EDIS.

Further questions remain with regard to the degree to which the white paper could address institutional and decision-making processes (for example the use of constructive abstention).

## MAIN REFERENCES & FURTHER READING

Clapp, S., [EU Defence Industry Programme and Strategy](#), EPRS, European Parliament, May 2024.

Clapp, S., [European Defence Industry Programme \(EDIP\)](#), EPRS, European Parliament, May 2024.

Stanicek, B., [Confirmation hearings of the Commissioners-designate: High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission](#), EPRS, European Parliament, October 2024.

Clapp, S., [Confirmation hearings of the Commissioners-designate: Defence and Space](#), EPRS, European Parliament, October 2024.

Clapp, S., [Reinforcing the European Defence Industry](#), EPRS, European Parliament, 2023.

Clapp, S., Delivorias, A, Lazarou E., Pari M., [Financing the European Defence Industry](#), EPRS, European Parliament, September 2024.

Clapp, S., [Implementation of the Strategic Compass: Opportunities, Challenges and Timelines](#), EPRS, European Parliament, 2022.

Bilquin, B., [European Peace Facility: Ukraine and Beyond](#), EPRS, European Parliament, 2022.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> There are several definitions of doctrine, but a commonly understood one is that used by [NATO](#): 'Fundamental principles by which military forces guide their actions in support of objectives'.

<sup>2</sup> Several points in this section are based on the proceedings of the fourth European Defence & Security Conference (Brussels, 16 October 2024) held under the patronage of Commission President Ursula von der Leyen and with the support of the European Parliament; and on discussions with experts in the EU institutions and think-tanks. Others are drawn from the reports included in Table 1.

<sup>3</sup> According to ESM Managing Director [Pierre Gramegna](#): 'Regarding the [Letta] proposal for the ESM to create a credit line for defence and security expenditures, there would need to be consensus among the 20 ESM Member States that defence and security matters trigger financial stability risks.'

<sup>4</sup> Indicatively, they recall that the European air shield alone would cost several billion euro.



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<http://epthinktank.eu> (blog)

## Annex – White papers and EU Member State and selected third-country strategic documents

State/ organisation	White paper on defence	Defence/security/ military strategy/concept	Defence industrial/research strategy	Other documents
Austria		<a href="#">Austrian Security Strategy 2024</a>	<a href="#">Austrian Strategy for EU Defence Research (2018)</a>	
Belgium		<a href="#">National Security Strategy (2021)</a>		<a href="#">Update of the Strategic Vision 2030: Recommendations (2021)</a>
Bulgaria		<a href="#">National Security Strategy (2011) (updated in 2018)</a>		<a href="#">Vision: Bulgaria in NATO and in European Defence 2020 (2014)</a>
Croatia		<a href="#">National Security Strategy (2017)</a>		<a href="#">Strategic Defence Review 2018</a> <a href="#">The Croatian Armed Forces Long-Term Development Plan 2015-2024 (2014)</a>
Cyprus				
Czechia		<a href="#">Defence Strategy of the Czech Republic (2023)</a> <a href="#">Security Strategy of the Czech Republic (2023)</a>	<a href="#">Armaments and Defence Industry Development Support Strategy of the Czech Republic till 2030 (2022)</a>	<a href="#">The Czech Armed Forces Vision of Future Warfare Beyond 2040 (2024)</a>
Denmark			<a href="#">National Defence Industrial Strategy of the Danish Government (2021)</a> <a href="#">Action Plan (2021)</a>	<a href="#">Danish Defence and Security 2024-2033</a> <a href="#">Defence Agreement 2018-2023</a>
Estonia		<a href="#">National Security Concept (2017)</a>		<a href="#">National Defence Development Plan 2017-2026</a>
Finland		<a href="#">Security Strategy for Society (2017)</a>		<a href="#">Government's Defence Report (2021)</a> <a href="#">Securing the Finnish Defence Technological and Industrial Base (2016)</a>
France	<a href="#">Livre blanc défense et sécurité nationale (2013)</a>			<a href="#">Revue nationale Stratégique (2022)</a>

State/ organisation	White paper on defence	Defence/security/ military strategy/concept	Defence industrial/research strategy	Other documents
Germany	<a href="#">White Paper on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr (2016)</a>	<a href="#">National Security Strategy – Integrated Security for Germany (2023)</a> 2018 Bundeswehr Concept		<a href="#">Defence Policy Guidelines 2023</a> <a href="#">Cyber Security Strategy 2021</a>
Greece	White Paper on Defence (2014)		<a href="#">National Defence industrial Strategy (2017)</a>	
Hungary		<a href="#">National Military Strategy (2021)</a> <a href="#">Hungary's National Security Strategy: A Secure Hungary in a Volatile World (2020)</a>		
Ireland	<a href="#">White Paper on Defence (2015)</a> / <a href="#">White Paper on Defence: Update 2019</a> / <a href="#">White Paper on Defence Programme Status Report May 2024</a>			<a href="#">DoD and Defence Forces Strategy Statement 2021-2023</a> <a href="#">Defence Policy Review (2024)</a>
Italy	<a href="#">White Paper for International Security and Defence (2015)</a>			<a href="#">The Chief of Defence Strategic Concept (2022)</a>
Latvia		<a href="#">The State Defence Concept (2023)</a> <a href="#">The National Defence Concept (2016)</a>		Defence Industry Support Policy (2016)
Lithuania	<a href="#">White Paper on the Lithuanian Defence Policy (2017)</a>	<a href="#">National Security Strategy 2017 (updated in 2021)</a>		<a href="#">Guidelines for the Development of the Defence and Security Industry (2023)</a> and <a href="#">Action Plan for the Implementation of the Guidelines (2024)</a>
Luxembourg				<a href="#">Luxembourg Defence Guidelines for 2025 and Beyond</a>
Malta				<a href="#">The Armed Forces of Malta – Strategy Paper 2016-2026</a>

State/ organisation	White paper on defence	Defence/security/ military strategy/concept	Defence industrial/research strategy	Other documents
Netherlands	<a href="#">Defence White Paper 2024: Strong, smart, together</a> <a href="#">Defence White Paper 2022</a>	<a href="#">Security Strategy for the Kingdom of the Netherlands (2023)</a>	<a href="#">Defence Industry Strategy (2018)</a>	
Poland	<a href="#">White Paper on Defence (2013)</a>	<a href="#">National Security Strategy (2020)</a> <a href="#">The Defence Concept (2017)</a>		
Portugal		<a href="#">Strategic Concept of National Defence (2013)</a>	<a href="#">Strategy for the Development of the Defense Industrial Technological Base 2023-2033 (2023)</a>	
Romania	<a href="#">Carta albă a apărării bucurești (2021)</a>	<a href="#">Military Strategy of Romania (2021)</a> <a href="#">National Defence Strategy 2020-2024</a> <a href="#">Military Strategy of Romania (2016)</a>		
Slovakia	<a href="#">White Paper on Defence of the Slovak Republic (2016)</a>	<a href="#">Security Strategy (2021)</a> <a href="#">Defence Strategy (2021)</a>		
Slovenia	<a href="#">Defence White Paper of the Republic of Slovenia (2020)</a>	<a href="#">Resolution on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia (2019)</a>		
Spain		<a href="#">Estrategia de Seguridad Nacional (2021)</a>	<a href="#">Defence Industrial Strategy (2023)</a>	<a href="#">Directiva de Defensa Nacional (2020)</a> <a href="#">Directiva de politica de Defensa (2020)</a>
Sweden	<a href="#">Swedish Defence Commission's White Book on Sweden's Security Policy and the Development of the Military Defence 2021-2025</a>	<a href="#">National Security Strategy (2024)</a>		<a href="#">Strategic Direction for Defence Innovation (2024)</a>
European Union	<a href="#">White Paper on the Future of Europe (2017)</a>		<a href="#">European Defence Industrial Strategy (2024)</a>	<a href="#">Strategic Compass (2022)</a> <a href="#">Reflection Paper on the future of European defence (2017)</a>

State/ organisation	White paper on defence	Defence/security/ military strategy/concept	Defence industrial/research strategy	Other documents
				<a href="#">A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy (2016)</a>
Australia	<a href="#">Defence White Paper (2016)</a>	<a href="#">National Defence Strategy (2024)</a>	<a href="#">Defence Industry Development Strategy (2024)</a>	<a href="#">Defence White Paper: Integrated Investment Program (2016)</a> <a href="#">Integrated Investment Program (2024)</a>
Canada				<a href="#">Our North, Strong and Free: A Renewed Vision for Canada's Defence (2024)</a>
UK			<a href="#">Defence and Security Industrial Strategy (2021)</a>	<a href="#">Defending Britain (2024)</a> <a href="#">Integrated Review Refresh 2023: Responding to a more contested and volatile world</a> <a href="#">Defence's response to a more contested and volatile world (2023)</a> <a href="#">Global Britain in a competitive age: The Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy (2021)</a>
Japan	<a href="#">Defense of Japan 2024</a>	<a href="#">National Security Strategy of Japan (2022)</a> <a href="#">National Defence Strategy (2022)</a>	<a href="#">Strategy on Defense Production and Technological Bases (2014)</a>	<a href="#">Defense Buildup Program (2022)</a>
USA		<a href="#">National Security Strategy (2022)</a> <a href="#">2022 National Defense Strategy</a>	<a href="#">National Defense Industrial Strategy (2023)</a>	

N.B: Non-exhaustive list. The table includes documents from 2013 onwards, other, similar, documents may not be included.