



European Council

**Brussels, 19 December 2025
(OR. en)**

EUCO 23/25

**CO EUR 19
PV/CO EUR 9**

MINUTES

Subject: European Council meeting (23 October 2025)

At its meeting on 18 December 2025, the European Council approved the minutes of its meeting on 23 October 2025, as set out in this document, and decided to make them public.

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1. Exchange of views with the President of the European Parliament

The President of the European Parliament was heard by the European Council.

2. Exchange of views with the President of Ukraine

The European Council held an informal exchange of views with the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr ZELENSKYY.

3. Adoption of the agenda

The European Council adopted its agenda as set out in document EUCO 20/25.

4. Ukraine

The European Council discussed the latest developments as regards Ukraine. The text set out in document EUCO 19/25 was firmly supported by 26 Heads of State or Government.

The European Council will revert to this issue at its next meeting.

5. Middle East

The European Council discussed the latest developments in the Middle East.

6. European defence and security

The European Council addressed the issue of European defence and security and provided further guidance.

The European Council will continue to provide strategic guidance and review progress on the implementation of the defence readiness objective.

7. Competitiveness and twin transition

The European Council held an in-depth discussion on how to further reinforce EU competitiveness, focusing on simplification, a competitive green transition and a sovereign digital transition, and provided further guidance.

It will keep all strands of the competitiveness and Single Market agenda under review.

The statement for the minutes presented by the Republic of Malta is reproduced in the Annex.

8. Housing

The European Council discussed the issue of housing.

9. Migration

The European Council took stock of progress in the implementation of its conclusions on migration.

10. Republic of Moldova

The European Council discussed the latest developments as regards the Republic of Moldova.

11. Adoption of the conclusions

The European Council adopted the conclusions, reflecting the outcome of its discussions, as set out in document EUCO 18/25.

12. Approval of the minutes of the meeting of the European Council on 26 June 2025 and decision to make them public (EUCO 15/25)

The European Council approved the minutes of its meeting held on 26 June 2025 as set out in document EUCO 15/25 and decided to make them public.

Statement by the Republic of Malta

“Malta appreciates the recognition of ‘taking into account different national circumstances’ as reflected in paragraph 40 of the European Council conclusions. It is vital that EU climate policy reflects the unique structural, geographical, economic realities of island Member States.

Islands face many challenges, including import dependence, insularity, limited abatement potential, and limited connectivity, resulting in lack of cost-effectiveness for climate action. The obligations on island Member States are, however, significantly more onerous as they must meet these demands without the support of a larger parent state. This increases their struggle to further decarbonise their economies.

The recognition of island Member States together with ensuring enhanced flexibility in climate legal framework is essential to ensure that no Member State is disproportionately affected by climate obligations.”
