



Brussels, 16 June 2025  
(OR. en)

8196/25

LIMITE

CO EUR-PREP 18

**NOTE**

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From: General Secretariat of the Council  
To: Permanent Representatives Committee/Council  
Subject: European Council meeting (26 and 27 June 2025)  
– Draft conclusions

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*In accordance with Article 3(1) of the Rules of Procedure of the European Council, delegations will find attached the draft conclusions prepared by the President of the European Council, in close cooperation with the member of the European Council representing the Member State holding the six-monthly Presidency of the Council and with the President of the Commission.*

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*The European Council marks the 40th anniversary of the signature of the Schengen Agreement and stresses that the Schengen area is one of Europe's fundamental achievements, underpinning freedom of movement, enhancing security, and fostering cross-border life and the Single Market.*

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## **I. UKRAINE**

1. [The European Council held an exchange of views with Volodymyr Zelenskyy, President of Ukraine.]
2. Recalling its previous conclusions, the European Council reiterates its support for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine based on the principles of the UN Charter and international law. Reiterating the principles set out on 6 March 2025, the European Council welcomes all efforts towards achieving such a peace, to which the European Union and its Member States will continue to contribute.
3. The European Council calls for a full, unconditional and immediate ceasefire and welcomes Ukraine's readiness in this regard. The European Council urges Russia to show real political will to end the war and to agree to such a ceasefire.
4. The European Council reaffirms its continued and unwavering support for Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognised borders. In line with the 'peace through strength' approach, which requires Ukraine to be in the strongest possible position, with its own robust military and defence capabilities as an essential component, the European Union will continue to provide, in coordination with like-minded partners and allies, comprehensive political, financial, economic, humanitarian, military and diplomatic support to Ukraine and its people.

5. The European Council underlines the importance of humanitarian relief efforts and confidence building measures, notably the exchange of prisoners of war, the release of civilians and the return of all abducted Ukrainian children and other civilians unlawfully deported and transferred to Russia and Belarus.
6. The European Council calls on Member States to keep stepping up efforts to address Ukraine's pressing military and defence needs, in particular the delivery of air defence and anti-drone systems, to help Ukraine, as it exercises its inherent right to self-defence, to protect its citizens and territory against Russia's intensified daily attacks. The European Council underlines the importance of accelerating work to further support and develop Ukraine's defence industry and to deepen its cooperation with the European defence industry. It also calls for decisions under the European Peace Facility to be operationalised as soon as possible.
7. For peace to last, a comprehensive peace agreement will have to be accompanied by robust and credible security guarantees for Ukraine to deter future Russian aggression. The European Union and Member States are ready to contribute to security guarantees, in particular by supporting Ukraine's ability to defend itself effectively, based on their respective competences and capabilities, in line with international law.
8. All military support as well as security guarantees for Ukraine will be provided in full respect of the security and defence policy of certain Member States and taking into account the security and defence interests of all Member States.

9. The European Union, together with partners, is determined to limit Russia's ability to continue waging its war of aggression and to step up pressure on Russia to push it towards an immediate and unconditional ceasefire and meaningful negotiations to end the war. In this context, sanctions are an essential part of the EU's policy to achieve this common objective. The European Council welcomes the adoption of the 17th package of sanctions, targeting notably Russia's 'shadow fleet' of oil tankers and their operators. [The European Council calls for further measures against Russia's shadow fleet, which is used by Russia to circumvent sanctions and poses a significant environmental risk.] [*p.m.: 18th package*] It also underlines the importance of further strengthening the anti-circumvention measures. Subject to EU law, Russia's assets should remain immobilised until Russia ceases its war of aggression against Ukraine and compensates it for the damage caused by this war.
10. The European Council strongly condemns support by third countries, and actors and entities therein, which enable Russia to sustain its war of aggression against Ukraine. It urges all countries to immediately cease any direct or indirect assistance to Russia in its war of aggression against Ukraine.
11. The European Union will continue to provide Ukraine with regular and predictable financial support. In 2025, it will provide Ukraine with EUR 30.6 billion, with disbursements from the Ukraine Facility expected to reach EUR 12.5 billion, and EUR 18.1 billion under the G7 ERA initiative repaid by the windfall profits stemming from immobilised Russian assets.
12. The European Union remains committed to supporting Ukraine's repair, recovery and reconstruction, in coordination with international partners. In this context the European Council looks forward to the Ukraine Recovery Conference on 10 and 11 July 2025 in Rome.

13. The European Council reaffirms the EU's strong commitment to ensuring full accountability for war crimes and the other most serious crimes committed in connection with Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine. In this context, the recent progress made on establishing a Special Tribunal for the Crime of Aggression against Ukraine, within the framework of the Council of Europe, is an important step.
14. The European Council reiterates the inherent right of Ukraine to choose its own destiny, based on the UN Charter and international law. The European Union remains steadfast in its support for Ukraine's path towards EU membership. The European Council commends Ukraine for the pace of its accession-related reforms under the most challenging circumstances. The European Council looks forward to the next steps in the accession process in line with the merit-based approach, with clusters being opened when the conditions are met, starting with the fundamentals cluster as soon as possible.
15. The European Council will revert to this issue at its next meeting.

## **II. MIDDLE EAST**

16. Recalling its previous conclusions, the European Council addressed the situation and latest developments in the Middle East, in particular the catastrophic humanitarian situation in Gaza. The European Council calls for an immediate return to a ceasefire, leading to the release of all hostages and a permanent end to hostilities.

17. The European Council deplores the dire humanitarian situation in Gaza, the unacceptable number of civilian casualties and the levels of starvation. The European Council calls on Israel to lift its blockade on Gaza, to allow immediate, unimpeded access and sustained distribution of humanitarian assistance at scale into and throughout Gaza and to enable the UN and humanitarian organisations to work independently and impartially to save lives and reduce suffering. Israel must fully comply with its obligations under international law, including international humanitarian law, in all circumstances. The European Council recalls the imperative of ensuring the protection of all civilians, including humanitarian workers, at all times, as well as of civilian infrastructure, including medical facilities, schools and UN premises. [*p.m.: review of Israel's fulfilment of its obligations under Article 2 of the Association Agreement*]
18. The European Council reiterates its strong condemnation of the escalation in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, following increased settler violence, the expansion of illegal settlements and Israel's military operation.
19. The European Council calls on the Council to urgently take work forward on further restrictive measures against extremist settlers and entities and organisations which support them. It also calls for further work on restrictive measures against Hamas.
20. The European Union remains firmly committed to a lasting and sustainable peace based on the two-state solution. The European Union is ready to contribute to all efforts towards this solution and calls on all parties to refrain from actions that undermine its viability. It will continue to work with regional and international partners to that end. The European Union will continue supporting the Palestinian Authority and its reform agenda. [*p.m.: High-level International Conference for the Peaceful Settlement of the Question of Palestine and the Implementation of the Two-State Solution*]

21. The European Council welcomes the recent steps taken in the suspension of restrictive measures against Syria, as part of the European Union's gradual, reversible approach. It recalls the importance of a peaceful and inclusive transition in Syria, free from harmful foreign interference, and the protection of the rights of Syrians from all ethnic and religious backgrounds without discrimination. Syria's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within secure borders should be fully respected, in accordance with international law.
22. The European Council reiterates the European Union's support for the Lebanese people and welcomes the efforts of the new authorities to stabilise the economic and security situation. It supports the Lebanese State's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The European Council reiterates its call on all parties to implement the terms of the 27 November 2024 ceasefire agreement and for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1701.

*p.m.: Iran*

### **III. EUROPEAN DEFENCE AND SECURITY**

23. Europe must become more sovereign, more responsible for its own defence and better equipped to act and deal autonomously and collectively with immediate and future challenges and threats, with a 360° approach. To deliver on its objective of decisively ramping up Europe's common defence readiness within the next five years, the European Council took stock of progress in the implementation of its previous conclusions.
24. The European Council stresses the need to continue to substantially increase expenditure on Europe's security and defence[, including the commitment made at the NATO Summit for the Member States that are also NATO allies]. The European Council invites those Member States to coordinate among themselves the implementation of the commitments made at the June 2025 NATO Summit regarding defence investments.

25. The European Council reviewed work on the relevant financing options for substantially increasing expenditure on Europe's defence and security. In this context, the European Council welcomes the adoption of the Regulation establishing the Security Action For Europe (SAFE) and the imminent activation of national escape clauses under the Stability and Growth Pact. The European Council asks the co-legislators to rapidly examine the proposal on incentivising defence-related investments in the EU budget and to advance work on the proposal to address strategic challenges in the context of the mid-term review of cohesion policy, including in the area of security and defence, while recalling its voluntary basis, with a view to a swift agreement. It recalls the importance of mobilising private financing for the defence industry, welcomes the efforts by the European Investment Bank in this regard, and invites it to pursue its efforts to adapt its practices for lending to the defence industry, notably by continuing to re-evaluate the list of excluded activities and by increasing the volume of available funding in the field of security and defence.
26. Considering the urgency of strengthening the European defence technological and industrial base across the Union so that it is in a position to better produce and supply equipment in the quantities and at the accelerated pace needed, the European Council reiterates the importance of demand aggregation, harmonisation of requirements and joint procurement, as well as the further integration of the European defence market across the Union.

27. Work on capabilities in the priority areas identified at EU level must be accelerated, in full coherence with NATO. The European Council encourages the rapid development of collaborative projects in that regard, including by making full use of SAFE. In particular, the European Council welcomes the work to identify short-term opportunities and to aggregate demand in the framework of the European Defence Agency. It underlines the need for Member States to swiftly take work forward, including towards the execution of most advanced short-term projects and the launch of longer-term initiatives, with the support of the European Defence Agency, the High Representative and the Commission. In this context, specific attention should be devoted to innovation in the field of defence, in order to harness the full potential of new technologies.
28. The European Council encourages further work to enable the European defence industry, including SMEs and mid-caps, to scale up production. In particular, the European Council urges the co-legislators to conclude the negotiations on the European Defence Industry Programme (EDIP) swiftly and make rapid progress on the [defence-specific simplification omnibus] proposal.
29. The European Council invites the Commission and the High Representative to present further proposals to strengthen military mobility.
30. The European Council underlines the importance of working together with partners. It welcomes in that regard the EU's recent Security and Defence Partnership[s] with the UK[ and Canada].
31. The European Council recalls that a stronger and more capable European Union in the field of security and defence will contribute positively to global and transatlantic security and is complementary to NATO, which remains, for those States that are members of it, the foundation of their collective defence.

32. The above is without prejudice to the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States, and takes into account the security and defence interests of all Member States, in accordance with the Treaties.
33. The European Council will review progress at its October meeting.

#### **IV. EU IN THE WORLD**

34. The European Council discussed preparations for upcoming summits with third countries and relations with partners, in the light of the current global political and economic context.

#### **V. COMPETITIVENESS**

35. The European Council exchanged views on economic developments. It underlines that boosting Europe's competitiveness and further integrating the Single Market will contribute to enhancing the EU's global influence, including the international role of the euro.
36. Following up on its conclusions of 20 March 2025, the European Council calls for the further strengthening of EU competitiveness, including through innovation, and deepening of the Single Market, ensuring a level playing field. The European Council reaffirms the commitment to the objectives of the Single Market and reiterates its calls to remove remaining barriers, in particular in the areas of services and essential goods, addressing fragmentation, and improving the application and enforcement of Single Market rules. In that context, the European Council welcomes the Commission's 'Strategy for making the Single Market simple, seamless and strong' and its 'EU Startup and Scaleup Strategy' and calls for their swift implementation.

37. In this context, the European Council invites the Council, the Commission and the European Central Bank to explore actions to reinforce the international role of the euro.
38. The European Council underlines the key role of an ambitious and horizontal simplification and better regulation agenda for Europe's competitiveness, and recalls the need for continued efforts at all levels – EU, national and regional. The European Council welcomes the progress achieved so far and urges the co-legislators to maintain the momentum with a view to swiftly agreeing the simplification packages presented by the Commission. The European Council calls on the Commission and the co-legislators to avoid over-regulation and the introduction of administrative burdens, throughout the legislative and implementation processes.
39. Recalling its conclusions of 20 March 2025, the European Council reiterates the importance of securing the supply of affordable and clean energy across the EU.
40. The European Council discussed the integrated country-specific recommendations on the basis of a horizontal note, thus allowing the conclusion of the 2025 European Semester.
41. The European Council welcomes the fulfilment by Bulgaria of all the convergence criteria as set out in the Treaty. It endorses the Commission's proposal that Bulgaria adopt the euro on 1 January 2026 and invites the Council to swiftly adopt the relevant Commission proposals.
42. The European Council will revert to competitiveness and the green and digital transitions in October 2025 to assess progress and provide further guidance.

## **VI. MIGRATION**

43. Recalling its previous conclusions, the European Council took stock of progress in their implementation, including in the light of the [recent letter] from the President of the Commission, and encourages an intensification of work in particular on: the external dimension, notably through comprehensive partnerships; the implementation of adopted EU legislation and the application of existing legislation; the prevention and countering of irregular migration, including through new ways in line with EU and international law; efforts to facilitate, increase and accelerate returns, using all relevant EU policies, instruments and tools; the concepts of safe third countries and safe countries of origin; the fight against instrumentalisation, human trafficking and smuggling; visa policy alignment by neighbouring countries; as well as safe and legal pathways in line with national competences. The European Council recalls the EU's determination to strengthen security at its external borders and ensure their effective control, in line with EU and international law.
44. In particular, it invites the co-legislators to examine the Commission proposals on returns, on the establishment of a list of safe countries of origin at Union level and on the application of the 'safe third country' concept.

## **VII. REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA**

45. The European Council looks forward to the first Moldova-EU Summit to be held on 4 July 2025 and reiterates the European Union's firm support for the Republic of Moldova's sovereignty, territorial integrity, resilience and economic development. The European Union will continue to work closely with the Republic of Moldova to enhance the country's resilience and stability in the face of persistent destabilising activities by Russia, including hybrid attacks, aimed at undermining the country's democratic institutions.

46. The European Council reiterates the European Union's steadfast support for the Republic of Moldova on its accession path. The European Council commends the Republic of Moldova for the pace of its accession-related reforms. The European Council looks forward to the next steps in the accession process in line with the merit-based approach, with clusters being opened when the conditions are met, starting with the fundamentals cluster as soon as possible.

## **VIII. WESTERN BALKANS**

47. The European Council held an exchange of views on the situation in the Western Balkans. The European Union will continue to work closely with the Western Balkans and support their reform efforts on their European paths.

## **IX. INTERNAL SECURITY**

48. Serious and organised crime, as well as terrorism, radicalisation and violent extremism, both online and offline, as well as hybrid threats by state and non-state actors, represent a major threat to European citizens and the security of Member States.
49. Criminal infiltration of legal business structures has a detrimental impact on public finances and the Single Market as a whole.
50. The European Council calls on the EU institutions and the Member States to mobilise all relevant policy areas at national and EU level and to fully use all existing instruments to combat these phenomena.
51. Following the presentation by the Commission of its communication on the development of the European Internal Security Strategy and the guidance provided in the Council, the European Council invites the EU institutions and the Member States to take further action where necessary, notably by strengthening law enforcement and judicial cooperation, including on effective access to data for law enforcement purposes, and by ensuring information exchange and through cooperation with third countries.

## **X. PREPAREDNESS**

52. Following the Joint Communication on the European Preparedness Union Strategy, the European Council encourages further work to enhance the EU and its Member States' resilience, preparedness and crisis prevention and response capacity in a coherent manner, taking into account the specificities of different types of crises as well as the evolving risk and threat landscape, and respecting Member States' responsibilities and competences.

## **XI. OTHER ITEMS**

### ***Rules-based international order***

53. Marking the 80th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter, the European Council reaffirms the European Union's steadfast commitment to effective multilateralism and to the rules-based international order with the United Nations at its core, as well as its support to the institutions upholding international law, including international courts and their officials.

### ***[Global health security]***

*p.m.: results of GAVI conference*

### ***Black Sea***

54. The European Council reaffirms the importance of security and stability in the Black Sea and welcomes the presentation by the Commission and the High Representative of the Joint Communication on the European Union's strategic approach to the Black Sea region.

### *External relations*

55. The European Council addressed the worrying situation in Libya. It reaffirms the European Union's steadfast support to Libya and the United Nations Support Mission in Libya in advancing national reconciliation, institutional unity, and a transparent, inclusive dialogue anchored in Libyan ownership and consensus.
  56. The European Council held an exchange of views on the Sahel. The deteriorating security situation remains a source of concern. The European Council underlines that the stability of the Sahel and the wider region, including neighbouring coastal states, is crucial for the security and prosperity of the people living in the Sahel as well as for the European Union. The European Council welcomes the ongoing work on a renewed approach to reinforce the EU's contribution in this regard.
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