



EUROPEAN COMMISSION

SECRETARIAT-GENERAL

PV(2025) 2537 final

- English translation of the French version which is authentic -

Strasbourg, 21 October 2025

TEXTE EN

MINUTES

**of the 2537th meeting of the Commission
held in Strasbourg
(Winston Churchill building)
on Tuesday 9 September 2025
(afternoon)**

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Single sitting: Tuesday 9 September 2025 (afternoon)

The sitting opened at 13.05 with Ms von der LEYEN, President, in the chair.

Present:

Ms von der LEYEN	President	
Ms RIBERA	Executive Vice-President	
Ms VIRKKUNEN	Executive Vice-President	
Mr SÉJOURNÉ	Executive Vice-President	
Ms KALLAS	High Representative / Vice-President	
Ms MÎNZATU	Executive Vice-President	
Mr FITTO	Executive Vice-President	
Mr ŠEFČOVIČ	Member	
Mr DOMBROVSKIS	Member	
Ms ŠUICA	Member	
Mr VÁRHELYI	Member	
Mr HOEKSTRA	Member	
Mr KUBILIUS	Member	
Ms KOS	Member	
Mr KADIS	Member	
Ms ALBUQUERQUE	Member	
Mr BRUNNER	Member	
Ms ROSWALL	Member	
Mr SERAFIN	Member	
Mr JØRGENSEN	Member	
Ms ZAHARIEVA	Member	
Mr McGRATH	Member	
Mr TZITZIKOSTAS	Member	Items 1 to 8, and 9 to 10 (in part)
Mr MICALLEF	Member	

Absent:

Mr SÍKELA	Member
Ms LAHBIB	Member
Mr HANSEN	Member

The following also sat in:

Mr SEIBERT	Head of Cabinet to the PRESIDENT
Mr CALLEJA CRESPO	Director-General, Legal Service
Ms SPINANT	Director-General, DG Communication
Ms PINHO	Head of the Spokesperson's Service and Chief Spokesperson of the Commission
Mr ADAM	Deputy Head of Cabinet to the PRESIDENT
Ms PETKOVA	Director of Coordination and Administration in the PRESIDENT's cabinet
Ms SEMLALI	Policy Assistant in the PRESIDENT's cabinet
Ms BUKA	Secretariat-General

Secretary: Ms JUHANSONE, Secretary-General, assisted by Mr TAQUET-GRAZIANI,
Acting Head of Unit in the Secretariat-General.

1. AGENDAS

(OJ(2025) 2537/FINAL; SEC(2025) 2537/FINAL)

The Commission took note of that day's agenda and of the tentative agendas for forthcoming meetings.

2. WEEKLY MEETING OF HEADS OF CABINET

(RCC(2025) 2537)

The Commission considered the Secretary-General's report on the weekly meeting of Heads of Cabinet held on Friday 5 September 2025.

3. APPROVAL OF THE MINUTES

PV(2025) 2532; PV(2025) 2532, PART II)

The Commission approved the minutes of its 2532nd meeting of 8 July 2025 and decided to hold over approval of the minutes of its 2533rd, 2534th, 2535th and 2536th meetings of 16 and 28 July, 20 August and 3 September 2025 until a later meeting.

4. INTERINSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS

(RCC(2025) 189)

The Commission took note of the outcome of the written exchange of the Interinstitutional Relations Group (GRI) for the week from 1 to 5 September 2025 (RCC(2025) 189).

The Commission approved the lines proposed for the following points:

- **Amendment of Regulations (EU) 2015/1017, (EU) 2021/523, (EU) 2021/695 and (EU) 2021/1153 as regards increasing the efficiency of the EU**

guarantee under Regulation (EU) 2021/523 and simplifying reporting requirements (Regulation) – SALLA & TINAGLI report – 2025/0040 (COD)

Line set out in SI(2025) 254.

- **Establishment of the Union Customs Code and the European Union Customs Authority, and repeal of Regulation (EU) No 952/2013 – GOTINK report – 2023/0156 (COD)**

Line set out in SPI(2025) 41.

The Commission took note of the following point:

- **Amendment of Regulation (EC) No 261/2004 establishing common rules on compensation and assistance to passengers in the event of denied boarding and of cancellation or long delay of flights and Regulation (EC) No 2027/97 on air carrier liability in respect of the carriage of passengers and their baggage by air (Regulation) – NOVAKOV (ex-ARIAS ECHEVERRÍA & ex-BACH) report – 2013/0072 (COD)**

Information set out in SI(2025) 251.

5. COORDINATION OF EXTERNAL ACTION (RCC(2025) 227)

The Commission took note of the operational conclusions in RCC(2025) 227 of the meeting of the Group for External Coordination (EXCO) held on Wednesday 3 September 2025.

6. WRITTEN PROCEDURES, EMPOWERMENT AND DELEGATION OF POWERS

6.1. WRITTEN PROCEDURES APPROVED

(SEC(2025) 211 ET SEQ.)

The Commission took note of the Secretariat-General's memoranda recording decisions adopted between 1 and 7 September 2025.

6.2. EMPOWERMENT

(SEC(2025) 212 ET SEQ.)

The Commission took note of the Secretariat-General's memoranda recording decisions adopted between 1 and 7 September 2025.

6.3. DELEGATION / SUBDELEGATION OF POWERS

(SEC(2025) 213 ET SEQ.)

The Commission took note of the Secretariat-General's memoranda recording decisions adopted under the delegation and subdelegation procedures between 1 and 7 September 2025 archived in Decide.

6.4. WRITTEN PROCEDURES SPECIFICALLY IDENTIFIED

(SEC(2025) 214 AND /2)

The Commission took note of the written procedures specifically identified for which the time limit expired between 8 and 12 September 2025.

7. ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY MATTERS

(SEC(2025) 215)

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

(PERS(2025) 72)

***DG EDUCATION, YOUTH, SPORT AND CULTURE – APPOINTMENT OF A
DIRECTOR AT GRADE AD14***

(PERS(2025) 73 AND /2)

The Commission had before it applications under Article 29(1)(a)(i) and (iii) of the Staff Regulations for the post of Director of the ‘Performance management, supervision and resources’ Directorate in DG Education, Youth, Sport and Culture (PERS(2025) 73).

It took note of the opinions of the Consultative Committee on Appointments of 17 and 26 June 2025 (PERS(2025) 73/2).

The Commission proceeded to compare the applicants’ qualifications for the post. On a proposal from Mr SERAFIN, in agreement with the PRESIDENT, and after consulting Ms MÎNZATU, it then decided to appoint Ms Maria Luisa ATIENZA MORALES to the post.

This decision would take effect on a date to be determined.

**8. COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL – 2025 STRATEGIC
FORESIGHT REPORT – RESILIENCE 2.0: EMPOWERING THE EU TO
THRIVE AMID TURBULENCE AND UNCERTAINTY
(COM(2025) 484 TO /3; RCC(2025) 86)**

The PRESIDENT opened the discussion by stressing the importance of this Foresight Report and expressing the wish that the Commission would incorporate this strategic approach into its various policies. She felt that the European Union should favour a more proactive approach, allowing it to thrive in times of

turbulence, anticipate new challenges and create a safe space for citizens and businesses.

Mr MICALLEF noted that, in an increasingly unstable world, it was crucial to take a forward-looking approach, not only to respond to the next crisis, but also to explore different avenues for the future. This would give the Commission the tools to turn turbulence into opportunity and to ensure that its policies were future-proof.

Unlike previous reports that were based on a structured process led by the Joint Research Centre, the 2025 edition drew more on the major strategic reflections from 2024, namely the Letta, Draghi and Niinistö reports and the 2024-2029 Strategic Agenda, as well as on a wide-ranging process involving internal and external consultations. Mr MICALLEF explained that the title of the report referred to resilience, establishing a link between the first Strategic Foresight Report from 2020 and at the same time marking a major shift from ‘Resilience 1.0’, which was reactive and linked to the COVID-19 pandemic, to ‘Resilience 2.0’, a proactive, transformative and forward-looking resilience in line with the scale and persistence of the current challenges.

He then gave a brief overview of the analysis set out in the report, according to which three global developments were shaping the EU’s capacity to take action. These three developments were security as a driving force behind all EU policies, the erosion of the rules-based international order, which was both a challenge and an opportunity, and the worsening impact of climate change and nature degradation.

Mr MICALLEF also referred to four challenges that were specific to the EU, namely (i) competitiveness and strategic autonomy, (ii) technology and its impact on society, (iii) well-being and demographic resilience, and (iv) the defence of democracy and fundamental values in a digital environment that generated disinformation.

To address those challenges, the report set out eight key action areas, namely (i) building a global vision for the European Union as a strong, stable, and trusted

home and worldwide partner, (ii) amplifying internal and external security, (iii) harnessing the power of technology and research, (iv) strengthening long-term economic resilience, (v) supporting sustainable and inclusive well-being, (vi) reimagining education and skills, (vii) safeguarding democracy, and (viii) anticipating demographic transformation and promoting intergenerational fairness.

On the issue of intergenerational fairness, he explained that the question was whether the legacy left by this generation would be one of opportunities or excuses. In that connection, he announced that Friday 12 September would mark the launch of a European Citizens' Panel. The consultation of that panel would feed into the work on the intergenerational fairness strategy, which he would present to the College for adoption in 2026.

Lastly, Mr MICALLEF said that the next report would focus on the European Union in a changing world; in other words, Europe's role from a global perspective. He restated his ambition to embed foresight in policy-making throughout the Commission's term of office, so that all decisions taken were informed by the prospects for the future and the impact of those decisions was optimised.

He concluded his presentation by stressing that this report was a call both to boost the EU's resilience and to transform European policies in the light of the lessons learned from the foresight exercise.

The PRESIDENT noted the significance of the figures put forward regarding the cost of extreme weather events, i.e. EUR 740 billion from 1980 to 2023, with 23% of those costs having been generated from 2021 to 2023 alone.

In the course of the discussion that followed, the Commission raised the following main points:

- the importance of actively looking ahead to the future, despite unpredictability and the increasing pace of change;

- the need to properly assess risks and trends, while raising European societies' awareness of potential developments;
- the importance of fully embedding foresight in all European policies, looking beyond a five-year timeframe, for example with regard to education, technology, employment, the labour market and skills;
- the cross-cutting role of demographics, a matter which was a Member State responsibility but where the European Union could help find solutions, as it had done recently with the Demography Toolbox;
- the huge potential of rural areas for Europe's future, with 20% of Europeans living in those areas, which accounted for 80% of the EU's territory;
- the need to boost European competitiveness, including by promoting retraining, encouraging professionals who had moved abroad to return to Europe, keeping recent retirees in the labour market and maintaining an avenue for legal migration through the Talent Partnerships negotiated with countries in the South;
- at a time of turbulence and uncertainty and with a new world order emerging, the need for deep consideration to be given to the EU's role on the international stage;
- a reminder that internal policies also had an external impact, hence the need for European policies to be more closely linked to international considerations, taking a more transactional and pragmatic approach.

Following this presentation, the Commission approved the Communication in COM(2025) 484/3 for transmission to the European Parliament and the Council and, for information, to the national parliaments.

9. COMMUNICATION TO THE COMMISSION ON THE NOTIFICATION TO REQUESTING MEMBER STATES OF THE ALLOCATION OF THE LOAN AMOUNTS PURSUANT TO COUNCIL REGULATION (EU) 2025/1106 (C(2025) 6300 TO /3; RCC(2025) 87)

The PRESIDENT introduced the Communication to the Commission on the provisional allocation of EUR 150 billion in financial assistance under the Security Action for Europe (SAFE) programme, intended to improve defence readiness throughout the EU. This major step aimed to bolster Europe's defence capabilities and help Member States fill critical gaps and conduct joint defence procurement.

Since the start of Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, the Commission had created a number of instruments to strengthen Europe's defence industrial base, in particular ASAP (Act in Support of Ammunition Production), EDIRPA (European Defence Industry Reinforcement through Common Procurement) and EDIP (European Defence Industry Programme), currently under discussion between the co-legislators.

The PRESIDENT described the SAFE initiative as an excellent example of the EU's ability to take urgent action, while noting Parliament's reluctance to use Article 122 TFEU as a legal basis.

Ms VIRKKUNEN then pointed out the resounding success of SAFE, with 19 Member States having expressed an interest in it and total demand exceeding the EUR 150 billion ceiling. Referring to previous initiatives such as the defence investment gaps analysis and the defence simplification package, she stressed the urgent need for rapid progress in this area and, with that in mind, welcomed the speeding-up of the adoption process.

Mr KUBILIUS pointed out that SAFE was part of the EU's 2030 defence financing plan (ReArm Europe Plan – Readiness 2030). It was a historic step since, for the first time, the EU was providing Member States with large-scale financial support for defence, backed by the EU budget guarantee.

Mr KUBILIUS said that Member States' expressions of interest had exceeded the ceiling set. The Commission had therefore applied a transparent and fair methodology ensuring that all Member States received at least their minimum request, with proportionate adjustments beyond that. Thirteen Member States had signalled their intention to use the loans also to support Ukraine.

SAFE was the most open defence instrument designed to date: while loans were reserved for Member States, EEA-EFTA countries, Ukraine, candidate countries and countries with a security and defence partnership with the EU could, for example, take part in joint procurement.

In terms of its political importance, SAFE embodied the ambitious approach needed to boost Europe's defence readiness. It had taken only 168 days to get from the March proposal to the current stage of implementation. This was a speed record and a great European success story, but also a strong signal of the EU's determination to strengthen its defence.

Mr KUBILIUS explained that, with this Communication, the College was asked to approve a provisional allocation to be notified to the Member States. By the end of November, Member States would have to submit national investment plans, which would be assessed by the Commission, especially as regards fiscal space and compliance with the rule of law. On that basis, the Commission would draw up proposals for Council Implementing Decisions, allowing for the signature of loan agreements at the beginning of 2026 or earlier, depending on Member States' preparations.

Mr SERAFIN explained that his services were responsible for carefully assessing the financial risks associated with the national investment plans and their impact on the EU budget, before the Commission went to the markets to raise the necessary funds for the loans concerned. He also pointed out that the proposal for the 2028-2034 Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) already included a proposal for a

fivefold increase in resources for defence and space and a tenfold increase for military mobility.

In the course of the discussion that followed, the Commission raised the following main points:

- the College’s broad support for the Communication;
- the common challenges facing all Member States in the areas of security and defence;
- the strong political signal sent by the Communication, demonstrating the EU’s ability to quickly mobilise substantial resources for defence;
- recognition also of the current limits of the instruments available to the EU;
- hence the urgent need to adapt institutional processes to speed up implementation of defence initiatives;
- more specifically, the importance of maintaining quick and effective implementation of SAFE, to strengthen defence readiness in Europe and to support Ukraine;
- the need to reconcile this financial mobilisation with compliance with national medium-term budgetary objectives;
- in that context, a reminder that SAFE loans were no excuse for non-compliance with deficit and debt pathways, and that the EU fiscal framework applied in full.

Reacting to certain points raised during the discussion, the PRESIDENT acknowledged that, despite the Commission’s efforts to speed up and simplify, the EU legislative process took time and legislative proposals bore fruit only once they had been adopted by the co-legislators. She therefore urged all parties to work more quickly.

Referring also to certain gaps in defence capabilities, the PRESIDENT concluded by stressing that she would propose a European semester for defence to ensure systematic monitoring of defence reinforcement in the future.

Following this presentation, the Commission approved the Communication to the Commission set out in C(2025) 6300/3 and decided to transmit it, for information, to the European Parliament and the Council and to publish it, for information, in the *Official Journal of the European Union*.

10. OTHER BUSINESS

10.1. LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Ms KALLAS briefed the College on the latest developments in the EU's external relations.

On the situation in Ukraine, she noted that Russia was multiplying its aerial attacks on civilian targets with the aim of destroying certain critical infrastructure before winter. In this connection, a meeting of the Group of Commissioners responsible for the EU's external relations was scheduled for the following week, to coordinate the assistance that the EU could provide to Ukraine to prepare for the winter. In parallel, work on the 19th package of EU sanctions against Russia was ongoing in close coordination with the Member States and the United States.

On the Middle East, she noted that the situation in Gaza continued to dominate the external relations agenda, and stressed the need for the EU to raise awareness about the importance of EU initiatives undertaken to date to secure a ceasefire in the region.

Lastly, on Iran, Ms KALLAS highlighted the political discussions under way concerning the country's possible withdrawal from the Nuclear

Non-Proliferation Treaty. She informed the College of the efforts being made in close cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency to find a diplomatic solution.

In the course of the discussion that followed, the Commission raised the following main points:

- the historic legislative elections to be held in Moldova on 28 September, Russia’s hybrid war in the country and the visit of the Moldovan President, Ms Sandu, to the European Parliament on 9 September, where she would emphasise that the EU had to continue defending democracy in the country;
- the significant measures already taken by the Commission this year in support of Moldova, particularly with regard to the country’s energy independence, the EUR 1.9 billion growth plan for Moldova, the fight against Russian disinformation and the dispatch of election observation missions outside polling stations;
- the EU’s geopolitical imperative to ensure that obligations under international humanitarian law were respected by all parties concerned in Gaza;
- the disastrous consequences of the earthquake that had struck Afghanistan the previous week;
- the preparatory work for the European Union-African Union summit that would take place on 24 and 25 November in Luanda, Angola, and the opportunity for the Commission to present the Global Gateway Strategy projects and to discuss peace, security and international trade with the African countries.

In response to certain questions raised during the discussions, Ms KALLAS stressed that the EU needed to set up trade partnerships and better adapt its military missions to the specific needs of African countries, while requiring those countries to comply with the EU's values and interests worldwide.

She also invited the Members of the College to play an active role in the international conference 'Global Gateway Forum', which would be held on 9 and 10 October 2025, in order to promote the strategy's development in their respective policy areas.

The Commission took note of this information.

10.2. REVISION OF THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT ON RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COMMISSION

Mr ŠEFČOVIČ informed the College that a provisional agreement had been concluded that day on the revision of the 2010 framework agreement on relations between the European Parliament and the Commission. The revision of the framework agreement was a commitment made by the PRESIDENT in July 2024 in her political guidelines. The political principles of this revision had been agreed by the PRESIDENT and the President of the European Parliament, Ms Metsola, on 21 October 2024.

Mr ŠEFČOVIČ then briefly presented the most important aspects of the agreement, which he deemed to be balanced and in full compliance with the respective institutional competences.

First, as regards the right of legislative initiative under Article 225 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, he underlined that the Commission was committed to the effective monitoring of parliamentary resolutions approved in this context. From now on these resolutions would also have to include a report setting out the reasons why the act requested by

the Parliament was needed, the expected burden and the financial implications.

On the Commission's exceptional use of Article 122 of the Treaty as a legal basis, Mr ŠEFČOVIČ noted that the Commission would have to fully justify this use after the legal act concerned had been adopted.

With regard to amendments to the Parliament's Rules of Procedure concerning relations with the Commission, he pointed out that, as a result of the new agreement, the Parliament would have to examine the Commission's opinion on these amendments. If necessary, the Commission would also be able to request an exchange of views with the competent Parliament committee and make a declaration in the Conference of Presidents, and then in the plenary before the vote.

Concerning international agreements, he stressed the delicate balance struck between, on the one hand, the Parliament's ambition to play a bigger role, and, on the other, the requirements of the Treaty and the prerogatives of the Council. The new agreement improved the flow of information to the Parliament on ongoing international negotiations, and on the provisional application of agreements and non-binding agreements.

Lastly, Mr ŠEFČOVIČ pointed out that, for the first time, under this agreement, the Parliament undertook to carry out regular evaluations to improve MEP attendance at plenary debates with the Commission.

He added that the Council had been kept fully apprised of the progress of the negotiations and that the provisional agreement would be communicated and explained to the Council before its final signature. He hoped that the agreement would help strengthen interinstitutional dialogue, as well as the common political responsibility and the transparency of the EU institutions.

The PRESIDENT thanked Mr ŠEFČOVIČ and his staff for their work on this agreement, which would have a significant impact on the work of the two institutions.

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The meeting closed at 14.35.