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Or. Engl.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION FOR DEMOCRACY THROUGH LAW
OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE
(VENICE COMMISSION)

145th PLENARY SESSION
VENICE
Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista
Friday 12 December 2025 (9:30-18:00)
Saturday 13 December 2025 (10:00-13:00)

REVISED DRAFT ANNOTATED AGENDA

Friday 12 December 2025

9:30-11:00

*Adoption of the Agenda
Communications
Election of the President of the Venice Commission
Co-operation
Follow-up to earlier Venice Commission Opinions
Report of the meeting of the Council for Democratic Elections
Electoral observation missions
Discussion and adoption of Opinions on individual countries*

1. Adoption of the Agenda

2. Communication by the President

The President will present her recent activities ([CDL\(2025\)066](#)).

3. Communication from the Enlarged Bureau

The Commission will be informed on the discussions which took place at the meeting of the Enlarged Bureau on 11 December 2025.

The election of the President of the Commission will take place on Friday morning. The Group of Wise Persons will inform the Commission on its proposals for the elections to the Commission's other positions, to take place on Saturday 13 December 2025.

4. Election of the President of the Venice Commission

The Commission will elect its new President (Article 6 of the Rules of Procedure).

5. Communication by the Secretariat

The Secretary of the Commission will provide information on the session.

6. Co-operation with the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

(see item below on Saturday morning)

The Commission is invited to hold an exchange of views with Mr Antonio Gutiérrez Limones, Member of the Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on co-operation with the Assembly.

The draft Report on freedom of expression, prohibition of hate speech and promotion of pluralism in the context of electoral campaigns falls into the framework of co-operation with the Parliamentary Assembly (see Item 20).

7. Co-operation with the Congress of Regional and Local Authorities of the Council of Europe

The Commission is invited to hold an exchange of views with Mr Thibaut Guignard, President of the Monitoring committee of the Congress of the Congress of Regional and Local Authorities of the Council of Europe, on co-operation with the Congress.

The draft report on the status of the European Charter of Local Self-Government in the domestic legal systems of Council of Europe member states falls into the framework of co-operation with the Congress of Regional and Local Authorities of the Council of Europe (see Item 21).

8. Report of the meeting of the Council for Democratic Elections (11 December 2025)

The President of the Council for Democratic Elections will inform the Commission on the results and conclusions of the meeting held on 11 December 2025.

The draft *amicus curiae* brief on the status of, and the measures concerning, successor parties of political parties declared unconstitutional and the draft report of freedom of expression, prohibition of hate speech and promotion of pluralism in the context of electoral campaigns are dealt under Items 13.2 and 18.

[Link to the annotated agenda](#)

~~**9. Exchange of views with the Regione del Veneto**~~

~~The Commission is invited to hold an exchange of views with a representative of the Regione del Veneto.~~

10. Follow-up to earlier Venice Commission Opinions

The Commission will be informed on follow-up to its previous Opinions (see document [\(CDL\(2025\)065\)](#)):

- Republic of Moldova – Opinion on amendments to the Audiovisual Media Services Code and to some normative acts including the ban on symbols associated with and used in military aggression actions ([\(CDL-AD\(2022\)026\)](#)); Opinion on the legislative reforms on mass media regulation: the draft law on mass media, the draft law amending the Audiovisual Media Services Code, and the draft law amending the Law on Advertising ([\(CDL-AD\(2025\)027\)](#));
- Brief to the Constitution Committee of the House of Lords of the United Kingdom in relation to its inquiry into the Rule of Law ([\(CDL-AD\(2025\)019\)](#));
- Report on a rule of law and human rights compliant regulation of spyware ([\(CDL-AD\(2024\)043\)](#));
- Report on Term Limits - Part I – Presidents ([\(CDL-AD\(2018\)010\)](#))

The draft Follow-up Opinion to the Opinion on some questions relating to the procedure of early termination of the mandate of Constitutional Court judges due to age limits of Montenegro will be examined under Item 14.

The Commission will be informed about follow-up activities in 2025.

11. Electoral observation missions

The Commission will be informed about the participation of the Venice Commission in electoral observation missions of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in the function of providing legal advice.

- Kyrgyz Republic, early parliamentary elections, 30 November 2025;

Information will be given under Item 8 on international visitors programmes for elections in Argentina and the Electoral Observation Mission of the Organization of the American States in Honduras.

11:00-11:30	Coffee break
11:30-13:00	Discussion and adoption of Opinions on individual countries

12. Latvia

Draft Opinion on the draft law on the withdrawal from the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (the Istanbul Convention)

The Commission is invited to hold an exchange of views with Ms Inese Lībiņa-Egnere, Minister of Justice of Latvia, and to examine, with a view to adoption, the draft Opinion ([CDL\(2025\)061](#)) (ML/ha) on the draft law on the withdrawal from the Council of Europe convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (the Istanbul Convention) ([CDL-REF\(2025\)049](#)), drawn up by Ms Bílková, Mr Holmøyvik and Mr Kuijer. This Opinion was requested by the Minister of Justice of Latvia on 24 October 2025. The Sub-Commission on International Law will examine this draft Opinion at its meeting on 11 December 2025.

13. Republic of Moldova

1. *Joint Opinion of the Venice Commission and the Directorate General Human Rights and Rule of Law (DGI) of the Council of Europe on the draft law on the Prosecution Office for anticorruption and combatting organised crime*

The Commission is invited to hold an exchange of views with Mr Igor Chiriac, Vice President of the Legal Commission for Nominations and Immunities from the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, and to examine, with a view to adoption, the draft Joint Opinion of the Venice Commission and the Directorate General Human Rights and Rule of Law (DGI) of the Council of Europe ([CDL\(2025\)062](#)) (SL/TP/ip) on the draft law on the Prosecution Office for Anticorruption and Combatting Organised Crime ([CDL-REF\(2025\)046](#)), drawn up on the basis of comments by Ms Deskoska, Ms Hanna Suchocka (Expert, Honorary President), Mr Philip Dimitrov (Expert, former member, Bulgaria) and Mr Filipe Marques (Expert, DGI). This joint Opinion was requested by the President of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova on 27 June 2025.

The Opinion was prepared under the [Quick Response Mechanism \(QRM\)](#) in the framework of the EU/CoE joint programme [Partnership for Good Governance](#), co-funded by the Council of Europe and the European Union and implemented by the Council of Europe.

2. *Draft amicus curiae brief on the status of, and the measures concerning, successor parties of political parties declared unconstitutional*

The Commission is invited to examine, with a view to adoption, the draft *amicus curiae* brief ([CDL\(2025\)059](#)) (ARP/PG/ak) on the status of, and the measures concerning, successor parties of political parties declared unconstitutional ([CDL-REF\(2025\)047](#)), drawn up on the basis of comments by Ms Cartabia, Mr Darmanović and Mr Kaarlo Tuori (Expert, Honorary President). This *amicus curiae* brief was requested by the President of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Moldova on 12 September 2025. The Council for Democratic Elections will examine the draft *amicus curiae* brief at its meeting on 11 December 2025.

14. Montenegro

Draft Follow-Up Opinion to the Opinion on some questions relating to the procedure of early termination of the mandate of Constitutional Court judges due to age limits

The Commission is invited to hold an exchange of views with Mr Momo Koprivica, Deputy Prime Minister for Political System, Judiciary, and Anti-Corruption of Montenegro, and to examine, with a view to adoption, the draft Follow-Up Opinion ([CDL\(2025\)064](#)) (KG/as/ng) to the Opinion on some questions relating to the procedure of early termination of the mandate of Constitutional Court judges due to age limits of Montenegro, drawn up on the basis of comments by Ms Cartabia, Mr Frendo, Mr Holmøyvik and Mr Philip Dimitrov (Expert, former member, Bulgaria). This Opinion was requested by the Minister of Justice of Montenegro on 28 October 2025.

The Follow-Up Opinion is prepared under the [Expertise Co-operation Mechanism](#) in the framework of the EU/CoE joint programme [Horizontal Facility for Western Balkans and Türkiye](#), co-funded by the European Union and the Council of Europe and implemented by the Council of Europe.

13:00-14:30

Lunch break

14:30-16:00

Discussion and adoption of Opinions on individual countries

15. North Macedonia

Draft Opinion on the draft law on adequate and fair representation

The Commission is invited to hold an exchange of views with Mr Arben Fetaj, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of North Macedonia, and to examine, with a view to adoption, the draft Opinion ([CDL\(2025\)058](#)) (MJ/DV/es) on the draft law on adequate and fair representation ([CDL-REF\(2025\)037](#)), drawn up on the basis of comments by Mr Kuijer, Mr Paulus and Mr Velaers. This Opinion was requested by the Prime Minister of North Macedonia on 11 July 2025. The Sub-Commissions on Democratic Institutions and on the Protection of National Minorities will examine this draft Opinion at their joint meeting on 11 December 2025.

The Opinion is prepared under the [Expertise Co-operation Mechanism](#) in the framework of the EU/CoE joint programme [Horizontal Facility for Western Balkans and Türkiye](#), co-funded by the European Union and the Council of Europe and implemented by the Council of Europe.

16. Ukraine

Urgent Draft Opinion on the draft laws on amendments to certain legislative acts of Ukraine regarding the improvement of the competitive selection process for the position of judge of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine

The Commission is invited to ~~endorse~~ examine, with a view to adoption, the draft Opinion, ([CDL\(2025\)068](#)) (VD/as) on the draft laws on amendments to certain legislative acts of Ukraine regarding the improvement of the competitive selection process for the position of judge of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine ([CDL-REF\(2025\)052](#)) drawn up on the basis of comments by Ms Cartabia, Mr Darmanović and Mr Paolo Carozza (expert, Former Member, United States of America). This ~~Urgent~~ Opinion was requested by the Chair of the Advisory Group of Experts (AGE) on 20 November 2025. ~~and will be issued in accordance with the Protocol on the preparation of Venice Commission urgent opinions ([CDL-AD\(2018\)019](#)).~~

16.00-16:30 Coffee break

16:30-17:30 Discussion and adoption of reports on individual countries

17. Updated Rule of Law Checklist

The Commission is invited to examine, with a view to adoption, the revised draft Update of the Rule of Law Checklist ([CDL\(2025\)057rev2](#)) (TVD/MS/SGM/ip). The update has been prepared upon the initiative of the Venice Commission. The Sub-Commissions on the Judiciary and the Rule of Law will examine this update at their joint meeting on 11 December 2025.

17:30-18:00

*Projection of videos of the Venice Commission's early days
Photo slideshow 2025*

19:30

Dinner at la Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista

Saturday 13 December 2025

10:00-11:00 *Elections (cont.)
Co-operation*

4. (Cont). Election of the 3 Vice-Presidents and 4 members of the Bureau as well as Chairs and Vice-Chairs of the Sub-Commissions

The Commission is invited to elect its 3 Vice-Presidents and 4 members of the Bureau for a period of 2 years under Article 6 of the Rules of Procedure. The Commission is also invited to elect the Chairs and the Vice-Chairs of its Sub-Commissions also for a period of two years under Article 17 of the Rules of Procedure.

The Commission is also further invited to appoint the Chair and the Vice-Chairs of its Sub-

Commissions as well as to appoint 4 members and 4 substitute members of the Council for Democratic Elections (under Article 18.a of the Rules of Procedure).

7. (Cont.) Co-operation with the Parliamentary Assembly

The Commission is invited to hold an exchange of views with Mr Theodoros Rousopoulos, President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The Presidential Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly and the Bureau of the Venice Commission will hold their regular meeting on Saturday 13 December 2025, after the Plenary Session.

18. Draft report on freedom of expression, prohibition of hate speech and promotion of pluralism in the context of electoral campaigns

The Commission is invited to examine, with a view to adoption, the draft report ([CDL\(2025\)063](#)) (PG/MJ/mg) on freedom of expression, prohibition of hate speech and promotion of pluralism in the context of electoral campaigns, drawn up on the basis of comments by Mr Giovagnoli, Mr Kask, Ms Pabel, Ms Silva Gallinato. This report was requested by the President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on 3 April 2024. The Council for Democratic Elections will examine the draft *amicus curiae* brief at its meeting on 11 December 2025.

11.00-11:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>
11:30-13:00	<i>Amicus curiae brief and reports</i>
	<i>Information on Conferences and Seminars</i>
	<i>Information on constitutional developments in observer States</i>
	<i>Report of the Sub Commission Meetings</i>
	<i>General matters</i>
	<i>Exchange of views with the Parliamentary Assembly</i>

19. European Court of Human Rights

*Draft amicus curiae brief for the European Court of Human Rights in the case of *Kuijt v. the Netherlands**

The Commission is invited to examine, with a view to adoption, the draft *amicus curiae* brief for the European Court of Human Rights ([CDL\(2025\)060](#)) (GP/es) in the case of *Kuijt v. the Netherlands*, drawn up on the basis of comments by Ms Betetto, Mr Mits and Mr Otty. This *amicus curiae* brief was requested by the European Court of Human Rights on 17 October 2025. The Sub-Commissions on the Judiciary and on the Rule of Law will examine this draft *amicus curiae* brief at their joint meeting on 11 December 2025.

20. Information on constitutional developments in observer States

The Commission will be informed on constitutional developments in Japan.

21. Draft report on the status of the European Charter of Local Self-Government in the domestic legal systems of Council of Europe member States

The Commission is invited to examine, with a view to adoption, the draft report ([CDL\(2025\)046](#)) (SK/msc/jk) on the status of the European Charter of Local Self-Government in the domestic legal order of Council of Europe member States, drawn up on the basis of comments by Mr Bustos Gisbert, Mr Paulus, Ms Kiener and Mr Langášek. This report was requested by the President of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe on 24 April 2024. The Sub-Commission on International Law will examine this draft Opinion at its meeting on 11 December 2025.

22. Compilations of Venice Commission opinions and reports

The Commission will be invited to endorse the following:

- draft Compilation ([CDL\(2025\)069](#)) (CSK/PG) on parliamentary autonomy (Inquiry Committees and Immunities);

The Commission will be informed of the following :

- updated Compilation ([CDL\(2025\)070](#)) (BSB) relating to qualified majorities and anti-deadlock mechanism;
- updated Compilation relating to Judicial Councils ([CDL\(2025\)071](#)) (BB/PT/ak).

23. Association of Former Members

The President of the Association of Former Members will inform the Commission of the activities of the association.

24. Report of the Meeting of the Sub-Commission on International Law (11 December 2025)

The Chair of the meeting might inform the Commission on the results and conclusions of the meeting held on 11 December 2025.

[Link to the revised annotated agenda](#)

25. Report of the Joint Meeting of the Sub-Commissions on Democratic Institutions and on the Protection of National Minorities (11 December 2025)

The Chair of the meeting might inform the Commission on the results and conclusions of the meeting held on 11 December 2025.

[Link to the annotated agenda](#)

26. Report of the Joint Meeting of the Sub-Commissions on the Judiciary and the Rule of Law (11 December 2025)

The Chair of the meeting might inform the Commission on the results and conclusions of the meeting held on 11 December 2025.

[Link to the revised annotated agenda](#)

27. Information on Conferences and Seminars

The Commission will be informed on the results and conclusions of past conferences and seminars and informed about forthcoming ones ([CDL\(2025\)067](#)).

28. Other business

29. Dates of the next sessions

146th plenary session	6-7 March 2026
147th plenary session	12-13 June 2026
148th plenary session	9-10 October 2026
149th plenary session	11-12 December 2026

13:00-16:30

Annual working lunch and meeting between the Presidential Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the Bureau of the Venice Commission

Please note that Sub-Commission meetings as well as the meeting of the Council for Democratic Elections will take place on the day before the Plenary Session.