



Resolution 2635 (2026)¹

Progress of the Assembly's monitoring procedure (January-December 2025)

Parliamentary Assembly

1. The Parliamentary Assembly recognises the work carried out by the Committee on the Honouring of Obligations and Commitments by Member States of the Council of Europe (Monitoring Committee) in fulfilling its mandate as defined in [Resolution 1115 \(1997\)](#) (modified) "Setting up of an Assembly committee on the honouring of obligations and commitments by member states of the Council of Europe (Monitoring Committee)". In particular, it welcomes the committee's work in accompanying the 10 countries under a full monitoring procedure (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Hungary, the Republic of Moldova, Poland, Serbia, Türkiye and Ukraine) in their efforts to comply fully with the obligations and commitments they entered into upon accession to the Council of Europe. It also welcomes the efforts of the countries engaged in a post-monitoring dialogue (Albania, Montenegro and North Macedonia), as well as the countries subject to periodic monitoring of their membership obligations (Greece, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden).
2. The Assembly congratulates Bulgaria on the closure of its post-monitoring dialogue in 2025, in recognition of the progress made in addressing the Assembly's remaining recommendations with regard to its membership obligations and accession commitments.
3. The Assembly takes note of the fact-finding visits carried out in 2025 and the findings by the respective co-rapporteurs with regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova, North Macedonia, Spain, Sweden, Türkiye and Ukraine.
4. The Assembly welcomes the positive developments and progress made during the reporting period in the countries under a full monitoring procedure or engaged in a post-monitoring dialogue; it expresses its concern about some negative developments and remaining shortcomings and urges all these countries to step up their efforts to fully honour their membership obligations and accession commitments to the Council of Europe. The Assembly stands ready and is committed to co-operate and assist member States in this endeavour.
5. Regarding the countries under a full monitoring procedure:
 - 5.1. with respect to Armenia: the Assembly regrets the excessive polarisation and stigmatisation of political opponents by all sides. It is deeply concerned by the tensions between the prime minister and the head of the Armenian Church and by the reports of plots to usurp power by several clergymen belonging to the Armenian Apostolic Church. While reiterating that three consecutive elections have been free of irregularities since 2018, the Assembly underlines the need to implement regulations on the misuse of public resources and the financing of political parties. Ahead of the June 2026 general elections, the Assembly calls for an improvement in relations between the political majority and the opposition, in order to ensure that the election campaign is issue- and policy-driven, and free from personal attacks between election contestants. In this context, the Assembly refers to the recommendation of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) that elected bodies and political parties should adopt appropriate codes of conduct that prohibit the use of hate

1. *Assembly debate* on 26 January 2026 (2nd sitting) (see [Doc. 16316](#), report of the Committee on the Honouring of Obligations and Commitments by Member States of the Council of Europe (Monitoring Committee), rapporteur: Ms Zanda Kalniņa-Lukaševica). *Text adopted by the Assembly* on 26 January 2026 (2nd sitting).



speech, call on their members and followers to abstain from engaging in, endorsing or disseminating it, and provide for sanctions. The Assembly takes note of the current prime minister's intention to organise a constitutional referendum after the 2026 general elections;

5.2. with respect to Azerbaijan: with reference to its [Resolution 2527 \(2024\)](#) "Challenge, on substantive grounds, of the still unratified credentials of the parliamentary delegation of Azerbaijan", the Assembly remains seriously concerned about the further deterioration of the human rights situation in the country and the increase in the number of persons detained allegedly on politically motivated grounds, including civil society activists, journalists and media workers, academics, opposition politicians and other government critics. It exhorts the authorities to end retaliatory prosecutions and to release immediately all those detained on politically motivated charges, including 23 Armenian detainees, the human rights defender, Mr Anar Mammadli, and the journalists and media workers involved in the Abzas Media case. The Assembly again calls upon the authorities to amend the Law on Political Parties, the Law on Media and relevant non-governmental organisation (NGO) legislation in line with the recommendations of the European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) and to implement the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights. The Assembly reiterates its condemnation of the decision by the Azerbaijani Ministry of Foreign Affairs to declare numerous members of the Assembly *personae non gratae* as a result of, *inter alia*, their vote in favour of [Resolution 2527 \(2024\)](#) and urges the authorities to immediately revoke this decision. The Assembly takes note of the resumption of co-operation between the Azerbaijani authorities and the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) and calls on the authorities to engage in constructive dialogue with all Council of Europe bodies, including the Assembly itself;

5.3. with respect to Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Assembly welcomes the resolution of the recent political crisis through adherence to the rule of law and democratic elections. It also welcomes the Republika Srpska National Assembly's decision to annul entity-level laws adopted between 2023 and 2025 that were declared unconstitutional. The Assembly notes the organisation of an early election for the President of Republika Srpska, in order to replace Mr Milorad Dodik, whose mandate was revoked by a definitive and legally binding judicial decision. However, it regrets the very low voter turnout and allegations of electoral fraud during these elections, despite the 2024 amendments to the Electoral Code designed to enhance transparency and integrity in the electoral process. With regard to the decision-making process at the State level, the Assembly is concerned about the ongoing use of vetoes and blocking procedures for political reasons, which hinder the implementation of reforms. The Assembly urges the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina to complete the selection procedure for the post of judge at the European Court of Human Rights in respect of Bosnia and Herzegovina without further delay, in conformity with the requirements of fairness and transparency. The Assembly notes the ongoing discussions about the amendments to the Law on the Courts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Law on the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council and calls upon the relevant authorities to adopt these legislative instruments expeditiously, in accordance with the Venice Commission's recommendations;

5.4. with respect to Georgia: the Assembly reiterates its position as set out in [Resolutions 2585 \(2025\)](#), [2600 \(2025\)](#) and [2624 \(2025\)](#) and expresses deep concern about the increasingly rapid breakdown of democracy in Georgia. It deeply regrets that developments in 2025 have cast doubt on the existence of democracy in the country and the authorities' willingness to fulfil Georgia's membership obligations and accession commitments to the Council of Europe. The Assembly condemns the ruling majority's appeal to the Constitutional Court to ban three key opposition movements: the United National Movement, Ahali/Coalition for Change and Lelo/Strong Georgia. It also expresses concern about the politically motivated and trumped-up charges against key opposition leaders and NGO activists. The Assembly calls upon the authorities to cease these unacceptable actions against the democratic opposition, as pursuing them would effectively establish a dictatorship in Georgia. The Assembly urges the authorities to reverse this democratic backsliding immediately, engage in dialogue with the Assembly and ensure that the country honours its membership obligations;

5.5. with respect to Hungary: the Assembly refers to [Resolution 2617 \(2025\)](#) and reiterates its concerns about both the weakening of democratic checks and balances and the instrumentalisation of constitutional norms, the Fundamental Law and cardinal laws to cement the political preferences of the ruling party. Regarding elections, the Assembly notes with concern that successive reforms have amplified the distortion between the number of votes received and the number of seats obtained. It therefore calls for a complete overhaul of electoral legislation after the 2026 elections, based on inclusive consultations with the main political parties, civil society organisations and scholars. The Assembly also expresses its concern about the lack of political will to tackle high-level corruption, as

well as about measures aimed at silencing civil society organisations and the independent media. The Assembly calls on Hungary to abolish the Office for the Protection of Sovereignty and to reject the bill on the transparency of public life;

5.6. with respect to the Republic of Moldova: the Assembly welcomes the Moldovan authorities' continued commitment to reforming their democratic institutions in line with European standards and norms. It urges the authorities to ensure these reforms are as transparent and inclusive as possible to guarantee their effectiveness and irreversibility. The Assembly condemns the Russian Federation's unprecedented interference in the recent parliamentary elections, as well as its efforts to destabilise the country. In order to strengthen the resilience of Moldovan institutions against such efforts, the Assembly recommends that the Moldovan authorities continue to reform electoral legislation in line with the Venice Commission's recommendations, including with respect to postal voting. Furthermore, it recommends that the authorities continue to strengthen the legal framework for freedom of expression by reviewing legislation that allows for the banning of media outlets and by adopting the new Law on Mass Media without delay;

5.7. with respect to Poland: the Assembly takes note of the outcome of the presidential election that took place in May and June 2025, assessed by the International Election Observation Mission as "competitive and well managed". It expresses concern about the deep polarisation of the country and urges the government and president to work together to resolve their institutional disputes and to unblock the much-needed reforms of the judiciary that are necessary to implement the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights with regard to the independence of the judiciary in Poland. The Assembly therefore calls upon the authorities to fully address the recommendations of the Venice Commission in its upcoming opinion on the draft laws regarding the status of judges in Poland;

5.8. with respect to Serbia: the Assembly is concerned about the escalation of the ongoing mass protests since November 2024, which followed the collapse of the Novi Sad railway station canopy. It notes that these protests have spread across the country, involving a wide range of social groups who are demanding new elections, accountability, transparency and justice. The Assembly calls on the Serbian authorities to address the protesters' legitimate demands and engage in constructive dialogue. It also urges the authorities to refrain from using disproportionate violence against protesters and to ensure that all incidents of violence are investigated promptly, independently and effectively. Anyone found responsible for violent acts, whether they are enforcement officers or private individuals, should be held accountable. The Assembly also calls on the authorities to stop harassing, smearing and intimidating civil society organisations and activists. Regarding media freedom, the Assembly expresses concern about revelations of surveillance of Serbian journalists and activists and urges the authorities to end this practice and conduct effective investigations into abuses. Those responsible must be held accountable. The preparation of the next report on the honouring of obligations and commitments by Serbia is a matter of priority;

5.9. with respect to Türkiye: the Assembly refers to its [Resolutions 2599 \(2025\)](#), [2528 \(2024\)](#), [2518 \(2023\)](#) and [2459 \(2022\)](#). It calls again upon the authorities to fully and swiftly implement the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights and exhorts them to release Mr Osman Kavala, Mr Selahattin Demirtaş and Ms Yüksekdağ Şenoğlu without delay. It furthermore urges the authorities to take legislative measures in order to introduce the "right to hope" (see *Öcalan v. Turkey*(No. 2)). The Assembly urges the authorities to carry out the necessary reforms to restore an effective system of checks and balances and to ensure full independence of the judiciary. In addition, it calls on the authorities to put an end to all forms of reprisals against politicians, lawyers, journalists and civil society activists and to take all necessary measures to eliminate physical ill-treatment in places of detention and to ensure accountability for its use. The Assembly furthermore calls on the authorities to respect the will of the people expressed in democratic elections, in particular by not replacing democratically elected mayors with governors appointed by the minister of the interior and by stopping attacks on opposition parties, including the main opposition party – the Republican People's Party (CHP). Recalling its [Resolution 2597 \(2025\)](#), it calls again on the authorities to release Mr Ekrem İmamoğlu and to drop all unfounded charges against him. Finally, the Assembly welcomes the "terror-free Türkiye" process started following the call on 27 February 2025 by the imprisoned leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), Abdullah Öcalan, for the PKK to lay down its arms and disband. It calls on the authorities and all concerned stakeholders to continue taking concrete steps within this process in order to achieve sustainable peace and political stability;

5.10. with respect to Ukraine: the Assembly welcomes the numerous reforms introduced by the Ukrainian authorities to guarantee the functioning of the country's democratic and rule-of-law institutions in accordance with European standards, despite the ongoing large-scale aggression of the

Russian Federation. It notes the ambitious reform programme initiated as part of their accession negotiations with the European Union, many of which address areas that are also covered in the monitoring procedure in respect of Ukraine. However, the Assembly urges the Ukrainian authorities to strengthen parliamentary oversight of the executive and to ensure that legislative processes are transparent and inclusive. Overall, Ukraine continued to make progress in fighting endemic corruption in the country during the assessed period. Nevertheless, noting the continued widespread corruption in Ukraine, the Assembly is concerned by reports of actions that could restrict the autonomy and effectiveness of the country's anti-corruption agencies. It welcomes efforts to align minority rights with European standards and therefore calls on the authorities to address the Venice Commission's recommendations on the Law on National Minorities (Communities) of Ukraine and related legislation such as the Education Law and the State Language Law. The Assembly commends the resilience of the Ukrainian population in the face of the Russian Federation's blatant aggression, for which the Russian Federation should be held fully accountable.

6. The Assembly welcomes the initialling of the peace agreement between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which paves the way for a final settlement of the long-standing conflict between these two Council of Europe member States and which will bring stability and peace to the region. It calls on both the Armenian and Azerbaijani authorities to sign, ratify and fully implement this peace agreement.

7. Regarding the countries engaged in a post-monitoring dialogue with the Assembly during 2025:

7.1. with respect to Albania: the Assembly welcomes the Albanian authorities' stated commitment to addressing the Assembly's recommendations contained in [Resolution 2544 \(2024\)](#), which concluded the monitoring procedure for the country and initiated the post-monitoring dialogue. The Assembly urges all political forces to engage in constructive and inclusive dialogue to address the remaining recommendations expressed in that resolution. The Assembly also welcomes the competitive nature of the recent parliamentary elections, as well as the implementation of out-of-country voting, in line with its recommendation. However, it regrets the shortcomings noted in the electoral process, particularly reports of abuse of administrative resources and vote buying. The Assembly therefore calls upon the parliament to address the shortcomings and ambiguities in the electoral framework that hinder its implementation. The Assembly is concerned that the media environment has not improved. Media concentration remains a cause for concern, and the Assembly's recommendations regarding the decriminalisation of defamation and the enactment of legislation to counter the use of strategic lawsuits against public participation must be prioritised;

7.2. with respect to Bulgaria: the Assembly refers to its [Resolution 2620 \(2025\)](#), in which it decided to close the post-monitoring dialogue with Bulgaria and monitor developments in the country with regard to the rule of law, pluralist democracy and human rights as part of its periodic reviews. It calls on the Bulgarian authorities to address the shortcomings pointed out in this resolution as soon as possible, in close co-operation with the relevant Council of Europe bodies. In particular, the Assembly invites the Bulgarian authorities to resume reforming the organisation of the State through the adoption of ordinary legislation and/or new constitutional amendments by the Grand National Assembly, and to take the necessary measures to fully and rapidly implement the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights that have been pending for at least ten years. Finally, the Assembly calls on the authorities to adopt electoral reforms that could lead to more stable governments;

7.3. with respect to Montenegro: the Assembly commends the authorities for their endeavours to adopt legislative reforms recommended by the Assembly in accordance with the norms of the Council of Europe and, in particular, their exemplary co-operation with the Venice Commission;

7.4. with respect to North Macedonia: the Assembly invites all political forces to reach a consensus on the revision of the constitution that would allow the country to make progress towards membership of the European Union. It encourages the authorities to step up the reforms launched to strengthen democracy, the rule of law and human rights in the country. In particular, the Assembly calls on the authorities to implement the outstanding recommendations of the Venice Commission and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE/ODIHR) concerning the reform of electoral legislation as well as the Group of States against Corruption (GRECO) recommendations from its Fourth Evaluation Round (prevention of corruption in respect of members of parliament, judges and prosecutors) and Fifth Evaluation Round (preventing corruption and promoting integrity in central governments (top executive functions) and law-enforcement agencies). The Assembly is concerned about numerous cases of ill-treatment by the police of persons deprived of their liberty and about the situation in prisons, especially in Idrizovo; it calls on the authorities to implement without delay the outstanding recommendations of the CPT. Moreover, the Assembly calls on the authorities to implement the judgments of the European Court of

Human Rights fully and rapidly and, in particular, to take the necessary legislative measures to implement the judgments *X v. the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia* concerning lack of legislation on conditions and procedures for changing the sex of transgender people on birth certificates and *Elmazova and Others v. North Macedonia* concerning discrimination against Roma pupils.

8. Regarding the countries that were subject to the procedure for the periodic review of membership obligations to the Council of Europe in 2025:

8.1. with respect to the Netherlands: the Assembly notes that the preparation of the report was interrupted due to the early parliamentary elections in the country, followed by coalition negotiations, which required an extension of the reference for this report until March 2027;

8.2. with respect to Spain: the Assembly expects that the authorities will address the concerns and recommendations expressed in the Venice Commission's Opinion on the manner of election of the judicial members of the General Council of the Judiciary (CDL-AD(2025)038). It also calls on the authorities to implement without delay the outstanding GRECO recommendations from its Fourth Evaluation Round (prevention of corruption in respect of members of parliament, judges and prosecutors) and Fifth Evaluation Round (preventing corruption and promoting integrity in central governments (top executive functions) and law-enforcement agencies);

8.3. with respect to Sweden: the Assembly notes with interest the debates about constitutional amendments that aim to counter potential democratic backsliding. The Assembly notes that the scheduled general elections in September 2026 and the subsequent coalition negotiations will most likely result in delays for the periodic monitoring procedure in respect of Sweden;

8.4. with respect to Greece: the Assembly notes that the preparation of the report has not yet fully started.

9. The Assembly welcomes the continued close co-operation with the Venice Commission within the framework of parliamentary monitoring procedures. This is evident from the large number of opinions requested and produced, as well as the number of follow-up hearings organised with the participation of Venice Commission rapporteurs. The Monitoring Committee's ability to request Venice Commission opinions with regard to any member State has been an important instrument for enabling the Monitoring Committee to fulfil its mandate.