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COUNCIL OF EUROPE
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Resolution 2665 (2026)[1]

Ensuring sustainable food security in times of crisis: strengthening resilience and access to food

Parliamentary Assembly

1. The right to food means that all human beings, both in times of peace and in times of war, must have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, adequate, safe and nutritious food that enables them to lead a healthy and active life. This right is under greater threat than ever, as overlapping crises – armed conflicts, climate shocks and the cost-of-living crisis – continue to undermine food security, food systems and nutrition worldwide.

2. The Parliamentary Assembly already sounded the alarm in Resolution 2577 (2024) and Recommendation 2286 (2024) "Guaranteeing the human right to food": it is necessary to examine the underlying characteristics of food markets that make food systems vulnerable to shocks and turn food into a strategic lever that is exploited as a form of pressure or warfare, as armed conflicts destroy agricultural production capacities and disrupt food supply chains and thus access to food.

3. The Assembly is alarmed by the consequences of the Russian Federation's full-scale invasion of Ukraine for the food security of the Ukrainian population and that of the rest of the world. The number of Ukrainians facing moderate or severe food insecurity was estimated at around 5 million in 2025. Prior to the Russian Federation's war of aggression, Ukraine was a major contributor to global food security, supplying food to around 400 million people worldwide and playing a critical role for food import-dependent countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA).The blockade of Ukrainian ports in 2022 caused major disruption to global food supply chains and contributed to a sharp rise in global food prices. The World Bank estimates the war-related damages and losses suffered by Ukraine's agricultural sector at more than €90 billion, a significant share of which is linked to the loss of access to land in occupied and frontline areas, destruction of storage infrastructure, agricultural machinery and production stocks, as well as mined and contaminated land and damaged irrigation systems and other productive assets, thereby compromising the world's current food security and Ukraine's long-term productive capacity.

4. The Assembly underscores that the Russian Federation's war of aggression against Ukraine has severely destabilised global food security. The destruction of Ukrainian agricultural infrastructure and the blockade of Black Sea ports have disrupted grain exports and exacerbated the vulnerabilities of the MENA region, which is highly dependent on food imports. The Assembly notes that Russian attacks against Ukrainian port and agricultural infrastructure continue to disrupt exports and global food supply chains. The Assembly condemns the looting and illegal commercialisation of Ukrainian grain by the Russian Federation from temporarily occupied territories.

5. The Assembly notes with grave concern the ongoing humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza. According to Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) assessments, around 470 000 Palestinians were facing IPC Phase 5 (Catastrophe) levels of food insecurity in 2025, while the World Food Programme (WFP) estimated in April 2026 that at least 1.6 million people, representing 77% of the population, were facing high levels of acute food insecurity. At present, only 1.5% of arable land is accessible, fishing is banned and livestock numbers have been decimated, seriously jeopardising local food production and livelihoods, as well

1. *Assembly debate* on 24 June 2026 (24th sitting) (see Doc. 16423, report of the Committee on Social Affairs, Health and Sustainable Development, rapporteur: Ms Larysa Bilozir). *Text adopted by the Assembly* on 24 June 2026 (24th sitting).

as the ability of Palestinians in Gaza to feed themselves for decades to come. Food assistance continues to enter Gaza at levels far below those envisaged under the ceasefire arrangements of October 2025, thereby heightening the risk of famine and further undermining food security. Special attention must be paid to the extreme vulnerability of children, mothers and the elderly, who are those most strongly affected by this food insecurity.

6. In view of these alarming findings, the Assembly calls on member States of the Council of Europe to step up their support for Ukraine's 2026-2028 multiyear agricultural reconstruction plan drawn up together with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), as well as for the relevant humanitarian and food security programmes of the WFP, to participate actively in the "Food from Ukraine" initiative, and to support the documentation, sharing and dissemination of the expertise developed by Ukraine in the areas of agricultural demining, digital risk mapping and the rapid restoration of productive capacities. It also calls on member States to encourage the development, under the auspices of the FAO, of an international multiyear agricultural reconstruction and rehabilitation plan for Gaza.

7. The Assembly emphasises the geostrategic importance of the Strait of Hormuz for global food security. Instability in this area drives up energy, transport and fertiliser costs, thereby increasing agricultural prices. The FAO has warned that the closure of the strait would trigger a systemic shock to global agrifood supply chains, already reflected in the rise of the FAO Food Price Index. This situation directly threatens the availability, affordability and stability of food supplies, particularly in import-dependent regions. The Assembly calls for a swift reopening of the Strait of Hormuz for goods that are related to food production.

8. Drawing on United Nations Security Council Resolution 2417 (2018), which was adopted unanimously, the Assembly strongly condemns the use of starvation as a method of warfare, the unlawful denial of access to humanitarian assistance and attacks on assets indispensable to the survival of the civilian population, especially agricultural and food infrastructure. These attacks include, in particular, the destruction of agricultural land, irrigation systems, storage facilities, ports and transport infrastructure essential to the production, storage and distribution of food, thereby jeopardising civilians' access to food. The Assembly further recalls that member States must refrain from transferring arms, ammunition or military equipment, or supplying other forms of military assistance, where there is a clear risk that such support may be used to commit or facilitate serious violations of international humanitarian law or international human rights law, including practices contributing to starvation, the obstruction of humanitarian relief or the destruction of civilian food systems. The Assembly calls on member States to strengthen international accountability mechanisms and to ensure that international law is fully and consistently applied.

9. The impact of crises on food security does not stem solely from global food availability. Crises amplify the structural vulnerabilities of food systems, both at the international level – given the way the global agricultural commodities market functions – and at the national level – given the way domestic food markets are organised and their level of resilience. The Assembly believes that it is more urgent than ever for member States to recognise the imbalances and dependencies created by the logic of the global food market, as well as the vulnerabilities arising from the way global and national markets are currently organised. The human right to adequate food should be prioritised over economic interests in order to guarantee stable, equitable and sustainable access to food for all.

10. As experience in times of crisis has repeatedly shown, resilience depends on sustainable productive capacity and the ability of populations and nations to feed themselves through their own agriculture, based on diverse local and regional supply chains, productive farming and food production and manufacturing capability and well-paid and supported workforces, supported by strong workers' rights. The Assembly therefore considers that strengthening sustainable and local food production capability is a key condition for stable and secure access to food, in times of peace as in times of war.

11. With regard to the instrumentalisation of food as a method of warfare, the Assembly calls on member States of the Council of Europe to:

11.1. support all mechanisms and courts responsible for documenting, investigating, prosecuting and adjudicating international crimes, including the use of starvation as a method of warfare and the weaponisation of critical civilian infrastructure;

11.2. refrain from obstructing the work of the International Criminal Court and, in the case of States Parties to the Rome Statute, co-operate fully with it;

11.3. reaffirm the obligation of aggressor States to compensate for all damage caused, including in the agricultural and food sectors;

11.4. ensure the full incorporation and effective implementation within national legislation of the international humanitarian law prohibition against the starvation of civilians as a method of warfare, explicitly criminalising any conduct that attacks, destroys, removes or renders useless any goods that are indispensable to the survival of the civilian population;

11.5. condemn attacks on agricultural and food infrastructure, including farms, grain silos, irrigation systems, food storage facilities, markets, ports and energy infrastructure, which are vital to food production and distribution;

11.6. strengthen the protection of humanitarian access and food supply corridors in situations of armed conflict, in accordance with international humanitarian law.

12. With regard to preventing the use of food and agricultural dependency and deprivation of humanitarian aid as tools of pressure and conflict, the Assembly encourages member States to:

12.1. maintain restrictive measures, including import and transit bans where appropriate, concerning agricultural inputs and fertilisers originating from the Russian Federation and Belarus, in order to reduce strategic dependencies that may be used for geopolitical pressure and to prevent trade from contributing, directly or indirectly, to the financing of the war of aggression against Ukraine;

12.2. use all available means, in accordance with international humanitarian law, to ensure the immediate, safe and unhindered delivery of humanitarian assistance, including food, water, medical supplies and fuel, to the civilian population in Gaza, and to ensure sustained, independent and unimpeded access for United Nations agencies and humanitarian organisations in order to avert famine and the worsening of the humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza.

13. With regard to remedying violations of the right to food by means of documentation and accountability, the Assembly welcomes the recent expansion of the categories of claims relating to damage to infrastructure, production capacities, assets and economic losses suffered by legal entities and public authorities, enabling the recording not only of individual losses, but also of broader economic damage sustained by business entities and the State of Ukraine as a result of the Russian Federation’s aggression. It encourages member States to:

13.1. join and actively support the Enlarged Partial Agreement on the Register of Damage Caused by the Aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine (“Register of Damage”), and encourage other States to do the same;

13.2. support the development and the interpretation of the criteria of the Register of Damage to ensure that damage affecting agricultural production capacity, the livelihoods of the civilian population and food supply chains is properly documented and can be taken into account in future compensation and reconstruction efforts;

13.3. support the documentation and assessment of damage affecting agricultural production capacity, the livelihoods of the civilian population and food supply chains, as carried out by the United Nations in Gaza, with a view to establishing accountability and facilitating future reconstruction efforts;

13.4. reaffirm and uphold the obligation of aggressor States to provide compensation for all damage caused, including in the agricultural and food sectors.

14. With regard to strengthening the resilience of food systems globally, the Assembly encourages member States to:

14.1. reinforce public mechanisms for regulating and co-ordinating agricultural markets, in particular through the establishment of food reserves, emergency mechanisms to protect against price spikes, transparency in market monitoring data and the strengthening of international food security monitoring and analysis systems;

14.2. reduce the concentration of food supply chains and agricultural input markets by diversifying sources of supply, by strengthening local and regional capacities for food and fertiliser production, and by encouraging regional food solidarity agreements, with particular emphasis on regions facing a high risk of drought and declining agricultural production due to climate change, and on food sovereignty for rural and Indigenous communities. This includes strengthening local food systems in order to build shorter, more resilient and conflict-resistant supply chains, and developing sustainable alternatives to imported chemical fertilisers;

14.3. recognise that peoples’ right to define their own food and agriculture systems is integral to long-term food security;

14.4. strengthen international co-operation to protect maritime food supply routes and humanitarian shipping corridors essential to global food security from geopolitical disruptions, including through support for the Ukrainian Maritime Corridor, the “Food from Ukraine” initiative and the European Union–Ukraine solidarity lanes; enhance the protection of civilian vessels and critical port infrastructure, including stationary and mobile port safety shelters, in order to safeguard the safety of navigation and the stability of food supplies; and strengthen tracking mechanisms to prevent the entry, transit or purchase in international ports of stolen Ukrainian agricultural commodities originating from temporarily occupied territories;

14.5. encourage the establishment and strengthening of permanent, inclusive public-private co-ordination frameworks, drawing on the model of the European Food Security Crisis Preparedness and Response Mechanism, to ensure risk mitigation mechanisms and continuous risk monitoring, early detection of supply chain bottlenecks and synchronised responses between governments, international bodies and private food chain actors.

15. Lastly, in order to strengthen the resilience of the food systems in each member State, the Assembly encourages member States to:

15.1. promote a balanced food market between local supply chains and exports, and support smallholder farmers, family farmers and other local food producers by providing them with diversified access to markets and stimulating demand for their products through targeted support and the introduction of criteria relating to local sourcing and community ties in public procurement, in particular as regards school catering, hospitals and care homes;

15.2. ensure that measures for trade liberalisation and market access that are adopted in response to crises are accompanied by effective safeguards and by fair-competition standards, so that the agricultural producers and food-production systems of receiving countries are not destabilised, and imported products are not produced to lower environmental, animal welfare or labour standards than those required of domestic producers;

15.3. prioritise agro-ecological systems based on crop diversification, the reduction of external inputs and the strengthening of short supply chains and, in the context of Ukraine’s accession to the European Union, provide financial, technical and logistical support for the sustainable and inclusive transition of the Ukrainian agricultural model, taking account of the diversity of production systems, rural livelihoods and long-term food security;

15.4. support the strengthening of local agricultural production capacity in regions facing food insecurity through training, industry exchanges, the sharing of agro-ecological knowledge and partnerships, including Ukrainian initiatives aimed at training specialists for African agricultural hubs, as well as youth-led, autonomous and digital-driven agricultural initiatives, including artificial intelligence and smart-farming technologies, with a view to promoting long-term food resilience, local self-sufficiency and sustainable food systems;

15.5. implement Resolution 2577 (2024), which calls on member States explicitly to enshrine the right to food in their constitutions and to pass framework legislation on the right to food;

15.6. protect the rights of agricultural and food-system workers, in particular freedom of association and the right to organise and to bargain collectively as provided for in Articles 5 and 6 of the European Social Charter (ETS No. 35), respectively, and to extend labour and social protections to seasonal, temporary and migrant workers, to whom they are frequently not granted.

16. As well as measures to strengthen national resilience, the Assembly calls on member States to work collectively to promote sustainable and rights-based food systems, strengthen food security and resilience, and provide a model for democratic and rights-based food governance beyond the European region.