



## Resolution 2617 (2025)<sup>1</sup>

# The honouring of membership obligations to the Council of Europe by Hungary

Parliamentary Assembly

1. Hungary joined the Council of Europe on 6 November 1990. Upon accession, it undertook to honour the obligations incumbent upon all member States under Article 3 of the Statute of the Council of Europe (ETS No. 1) with regard to pluralist democracy, the rule of law and human rights. The Parliamentary Assembly has closely followed Hungary's honouring of its Council of Europe membership obligations since 2013. In its [Resolution 2460 \(2022\)](#) "The honouring of membership obligations to the Council of Europe by Hungary", in light of long-standing concerns relating to the rule of law and democracy, the Assembly decided to open a monitoring procedure in respect of Hungary.
2. Since this resolution, the Committee on the Honouring of Obligations and Commitments by Member States of the Council of Europe (Monitoring Committee) has requested five opinions from the European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission). These opinions cover the creation of the Sovereignty Protection Office, judicial reforms, electoral reform and a bill on the transparency of public life. The Chairperson of the Assembly's Committee on Equality and Non-Discrimination has submitted a request concerning the compatibility of the 15th amendment to the Fundamental Law with international human rights standards. The Assembly welcomes the adoption of the 2023 legislative reform that has improved the independence of the judiciary and strengthened the self-governance of the judicial system. This is in line with the Venice Commission's recommendations and the Assembly's [Resolution 2460 \(2022\)](#). The Assembly stresses the need for the Hungarian authorities to execute the judgment in the *Baka v. Hungary* case in full and to fully guarantee the freedom of expression of judges in matters of public interest concerning the judiciary. It invites the Hungarian authorities to consider structural solutions for the indexation of the salary base for judges to further guarantee their independence from political pressure.
3. The Assembly is seriously concerned by the lack of progress, and the worsening situation in certain areas, regarding a significant number of the recommendations laid down in [Resolution 2460 \(2022\)](#).
4. In the field of constitutional law, the Assembly refers to [Resolution 1941 \(2013\)](#) "Request for the opening of a monitoring procedure in respect of Hungary" and reiterates its concerns about the weakening of democratic checks and balances, as well as the instrumentalisation of constitutional norms, fundamental law and cardinal laws, to cement the political preferences of the ruling party. The Assembly calls on Hungary to ensure that appointments by parliament to the Constitutional Court, to high judicial positions and to independent supervisory bodies are made irrespective of the candidate's political affiliation, in line with the Venice Commission's opinions and reports, in particular in relation to qualified majorities and anti-deadlock mechanisms.
5. The Assembly notes the concerns regarding the law-making process, in particular as to its transparency, the effectiveness of public consultations on draft legislation and the role of the opposition in parliament. The Assembly is deeply concerned that Hungary has been under a special legal order since 2020,

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1. *Assembly debate* on 30 September 2025 (31st sitting) (see [Doc. 16249](#), report of the Committee on the Honouring of Obligations and Commitments by Member States of the Council of Europe (Monitoring Committee), co-rapporteurs: Mr Eerik-Niiles Kross and Mr George Papandreou). *Text adopted by the Assembly* on 30 September 2025 (31st sitting).



enabling the government to enact emergency decrees that override ordinary laws and further erode parliamentary oversight and checks and balances. The Assembly urges the Hungarian authorities to put an end to this “state of danger” special legal order well before the next elections.

6. In the field of elections, the Assembly refers to [Resolution 2460 \(2022\)](#), in which it concluded “that the current electoral framework does not ensure a level playing field conducive to fair elections”. Successive reforms have amplified the distortion between the number of votes received and the number of seats held. Although Hungary’s mixed system was initially designed to balance majoritarianism with proportionality, the reforms have favoured dominant parties, turning Fidesz’s electoral victories into two-thirds constitutional majorities in every election since 2014. The Assembly notes that, according to the Venice Commission’s Opinion on Act LXXIX of 2024 amending certain laws relating to elections, the latest electoral reform failed to address this concern.

7. The Assembly concurs with the Venice Commission in calling for a complete overhaul of the electoral legislation after the 2026 elections, based on an inclusive consultation with the main political parties, civil society organisations and scholars. Such a reform should:

7.1. take into account 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) regarding the determination of constituency boundaries;

7.2. reduce the number of single-member constituencies and counties in which each party needs to nominate candidates;

7.3. enhance the transparency of the funding of political parties and electoral campaigns, including on social media, and ensure robust and politically independent enforcement of the regulations on political finance, including the State Audit Office;

7.4. reform the system for minority representation in parliament in accordance with the decision of the European Court of Human Rights in *Bakirdzi and E.C. v. Hungary*, and ensure the effective participation of people belonging to all national minorities in the political decision-making processes and elected bodies at the national level.

8. Regarding the fight against corruption, the lack of political will to tackle high-level corruption is deeply disturbing. The Assembly calls on the Hungarian authorities to authorise without delay the publication of the Group of States against Corruption (GRECO) reports assessing compliance with the recommendations regarding the prevention of corruption in top executive functions and in respect of members of parliament, judges and prosecutors, to strengthen independent anti-corruption institutions and to ensure transparent public procurement practices.

9. The Assembly calls on Hungary to ensure public oversight over “public interest asset management foundations” (KEKVAs) by guaranteeing transparent governance, parliamentary scrutiny and accountability for all public assets and funds managed by these entities.

10. In the field of media, the Assembly reiterates its concerns regarding the concentration of media ownership, the lack of media pluralism and the political influence over media content. The Assembly calls on the Hungarian authorities to strengthen the functional independence of the Media Council, by reducing the term of office of the Media Authority’s President and withdrawing some of his or her powers of appointment. It also reiterates its call to the Hungarian authorities to consider implementing a more open and pluralistic appointment procedure for Media Council members, including by allowing civil society groups to participate in the nomination process. Given the State’s and State-owned companies’ extremely significant role in the media advertising market, through which they channel significant State resources to pro-government media, the Assembly asks the authorities to ensure that the distribution of such advertising, including on social media, is fair and transparent.

11. With regard to civil society, the Assembly is deeply concerned by the succession of measures aimed at silencing civil society organisations and the independent media. The Assembly recalls that, as set out in the Reykjavik Principles for Democracy, civil society is a prerequisite for a functioning democracy as well as for maintaining a safe and enabling environment in which civil society and human rights defenders can operate free from hindrance, insecurity and violence. To ensure such an environment, the Assembly calls on Hungary to abolish the Sovereignty Protection Office and to amend the bill on the transparency of public life in accordance with the Venice Commission’s recommendations.

12. The Assembly expresses its readiness to further the constructive dialogue and close co-operation with the Hungarian authorities within the framework of the monitoring procedure, in order to support the implementation of these recommendations, and looks forward to a fruitful collaboration that will reinforce Hungary's commitment to the Council of Europe's values and standards.