Parliamentary Assembly
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COUNCIL OF EUROPE
CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

Resolution 2637 (2026)[1]

Supporting the commitment to a comprehensive, just and lasting peace for Ukraine and the security of the European continent

Parliamentary Assembly

1. The Parliamentary Assembly welcomes diplomatic efforts deployed by the United States, Ukraine and its European allies to end Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, which started in 2014 and which since 24 February 2022 has taken the form of an illegal, unprovoked and unjustified full-scale military invasion. The Assembly denounces Russia's lack of genuine willingness to end this war and strongly condemns the intensification of violence and suffering to which it is subjecting Ukraine. As this full-scale war of aggression enters its fourth year, the Assembly renews its call for a comprehensive, just and lasting, dignified and stable peace, essential to the security and stability of Ukraine and the entire European continent. The Assembly considers that the outcome of the war of aggression against Ukraine will have a significant impact on the future of European and global security, and stresses that the security of Ukraine is indivisible from that of Europe.

2. The Assembly deplores Russia's refusal to agree to an immediate ceasefire as a prerequisite for genuine negotiations, and the serious escalation of its war of aggression against Ukraine, through ever more war crimes and violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Russia is intensifying its drone and missile attacks on civilian infrastructure, including massive strikes on Kyiv, Dnipro and Kharkiv, resulting in numerous civilian casualties. As a harsh winter sets in, Russia continues to target relentlessly the country's critical infrastructure and energy networks in an attempt to undermine the population's exceptional resilience. The Assembly condemns in particular Russia's brutal attacks with the Oreshnik ballistic missile, which also pose a dangerous threat to the security of the continent. The Assembly stresses that Russia will be held accountable for its full-scale war of aggression against Ukraine. Russia is also endangering the nuclear security of Ukraine and Europe, notably by occupying and militarising the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant. The Assembly further notes that Russia's systematic attacks on civilian infrastructure constitute a deliberate policy of terror and inhuman treatment directed at spreading fear among civilians, as confirmed by the European Court of Human Rights in the case of *Ukraine and the Netherlands v. Russia*.

3. The Assembly condemns any actions of the Russian Federation that may be regarded as the crime of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression within the meaning of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, in view of the scale and systematic nature of such violations committed by military personnel and other officials of the Russian Federation in Ukraine, or by its officials against citizens of Ukraine who have been forcibly detained on the territory of the Russian Federation (in particular, servicemen of the Defence Forces of Ukraine who are prisoners of war, and civilian hostages, to whom the norms of international humanitarian law apply). The member States of the Council of Europe should adhere to the principle of universal jurisdiction with respect to crimes falling under the jurisdiction of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, should conduct investigations and ensure the prosecution of those who have committed international crimes within the framework of their respective national jurisdictions.

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1. *Assembly debate* on 27 January 2026 (4th sitting) (see Doc. 16311 and addendum, report of the Committee on Political Affairs and Democracy, rapporteur: Mr Piero Fassino). *Text adopted by the Assembly* on 27 January 2026 (4th sitting).
Provisional version subject to editorial review.

4. The Assembly condemns the countless crimes and violations of international law committed by Russia, notably its systematic policies of forcibly transferring and deporting civilians, including children, from the temporarily occupied Ukrainian territory, as well as its co-ordinated operations to empty this territory of its Ukrainian population. These crimes and violations have been denounced in a report by the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine to the United Nations General Assembly, which explicitly refers to them as “crimes against humanity”. The Assembly further notes that these measures are implemented with the ultimate aim of altering the demographic composition of the occupied territories in order to justify illegitimately, before the international community, the Russian Federation’s claims over them. The Assembly also condemns the political indoctrination and militarisation of Ukrainian children and youth under Russian control, including in camps; the deliberate destruction of Ukrainian identity and cultural assimilation; and the inhumane treatment and widespread torture of Ukrainian prisoners of war and civilian detainees. In this context, the Assembly stresses the European Court of Human Rights’ conclusion in the case of *Ukraine and the Netherlands v. Russia* that the changes made to the education system were primarily aimed at enforcing the Russification of the population in the occupied territories and at separating these territories from Ukraine.

5. Furthermore, the Assembly is deeply concerned by the intensification of Russian provocations and threats on the European continent, such as violations of the airspace of other European States, the organisation of sabotage and the deployment of its hybrid warfare in Europe. Such escalation demands a clear and decisive response, including concrete measures, to ensure the security of the European continent.

6. The Assembly reaffirms its unwavering commitment to Ukraine's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity within its internationally recognised borders, including its territorial waters, and to Ukraine’s European future, as well as its commitment to peace and democratic security in Europe. It reaffirms its solidarity with the Ukrainian people, pays tribute to their courage and resilience, and calls for the immediate return of prisoners of war, illegally detained civilians, and forcibly transferred and deported children, as well as the safe return of forcibly displaced persons.

7. While the security threats facing Europe are unprecedented since 1945, the Assembly acknowledges the evolution of the transatlantic relationship between Europe and the United States, prompting the European continent to mobilise in support of Ukraine and to ensure its own security and resilience. The Assembly considers it essential that the Council of Europe member States and their allies, notably the United States, join forces in the face of the threats posed by Russia to Europe and the global security.

8. The Assembly welcomes the unprecedented initiatives taken by Europeans and their allies to strengthen the defence and security of Ukraine and Europe, in particular the “Coalition of the Willing”, and the progress made on robust security guarantees for a stable and lasting peace in Ukraine, which should be activated as soon as a ceasefire comes into force. It also welcomes initiatives to uphold European democracies, such as the New Democratic Pact for Europe launched by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, which aims to strengthen democratic security within the member States of the Organisation, as part of a comprehensive approach to security that respects international law.

9. The Assembly deplores Russia's rejection of the security guarantees proposed to date by Ukraine's allies, including the United States, and strongly condemns Russia's unacceptable claims, particularly over sovereign Ukrainian territory and the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant, which are hindering any meaningful progress towards a just, stable and lasting peace in Ukraine.

10. The Assembly believes that the European security architecture must be swiftly adjusted and reinforced, particularly to support Ukraine and counter the hybrid warfare deployed by Russia. It believes that this architecture must be based on a strong bond of trust between like-minded States as well as on a European defence and security system and that it must also fully integrate democratic security, embodied on the continent primarily by the Council of Europe.

11. With regard to the recognition of Russia's responsibility for its aggression against Ukraine, the Assembly welcomes the adoption, at the Diplomatic Conference in The Hague on 16 December 2025, of the Convention establishing an International Claims Commission for Ukraine (CETS No. 229), within the framework of the Council of Europe, and its signature by 35 countries and the European Union. It calls for the swift establishment of this International Commission.

12. In light of these considerations, regarding peace negotiations and any possible agreement aimed at ending hostilities, the Assembly, referring to its relevant resolutions, urges Council of Europe member and observer States, as well as the European institutions and relevant international partners, to:

12.1. develop unwavering European commitment and greater unity beyond Europe, including with the United States, in support of Ukraine and a comprehensive, just and lasting peace, which is indispensable for the security and stability of the entire European continent, where the aggressor is not rewarded but held accountable for its crimes;

12.2. increase their support for Ukraine, including political, economic and military support, to strengthen Ukraine's position in peace negotiations and to defend regional security and European values;

12.3. demand an immediate and complete ceasefire and genuine negotiations, because Ukraine must not be forced to negotiate under bombardment, and to prevent Russia from resuming fighting at a later date;

12.4. ensure that any negotiations aimed at ending hostilities involve Ukraine and its European allies, and respect Ukraine's right to determine its own future, including its sovereign right to continue integration into the European Union and its membership of other international organisations, as Ukraine has the sovereign right to choose its own security arrangements;

12.5. ensure that these negotiations include the necessary effective legally binding security guarantees for Ukraine and all of Europe, in order to prevent any future aggression by Russia, and to support ongoing European efforts to provide part of such security guarantees, while emphasising the United States' indispensable role in these efforts;

12.6. recognise that Ukraine's accession process to the European Union constitutes a security guarantee and an important contribution to the European security architecture;

12.7. oppose any enforcement of territorial concessions on Ukraine that are contrary to the principles of international law and the interests of peace, and reject any recognition of the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine as Russian, which would legitimise a change of borders by force;

12.8. ensure that humanitarian issues – in particular the exchange of prisoners of war and release of illegally detained civilians, the return of forcibly transferred and deported children and displaced persons – are included in any negotiation process and agreement. The Assembly stresses the importance of their full and rapid return and, pending such agreements, recalls its Resolution 2606 (2025) "Support for political negotiations to enforce exchange and release of prisoners of war". The Assembly also calls for recognition that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace should also be anchored in the international human rights framework, as specified by the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights;

12.9. ensure that monitoring of the implementation of future peace agreements, involving the United States and European allies, is provided for in those agreements;

12.10. ensure that sanctions against Russia are lifted only gradually and conditional upon compliance with international law and any peace agreements, when Russia's war of aggression stops and a comprehensive, just and lasting peace is restored. These sanctions should also include individual prosecution of those persons who are responsible for ordering, facilitating or benefiting from illegal actions, including the arbitrary arrest of Ukrainians, their persecution, deportations or forcible transfer; their enforced disappearance, torture and other ill-treatment; and their unfair trials and long-term imprisonment;

12.11. ensure the release of political prisoners in Russia, detained for speaking out against the renewed illegal invasion of Ukraine, is provided for in those agreements;

12.12. ensure that any peace negotiations and agreements support the principle of Russia's responsibility, in accordance with the principles of State responsibility under international law and provide for the necessary funds for accountability mechanisms and the reconstruction of Ukraine, including through the use of frozen Russian sovereign assets where appropriate.

13. Furthermore, with a view to supporting the commitment to European security in a context where international law is being seriously challenged worldwide, the Assembly, referring to its Resolution 2622 (2025) "Russia: new threats to European democracies" calls on the member States of the Council of Europe, as well as the European institutions and relevant international partners to:

13.1. strengthen their unity and commitment to upholding international law and multilateralism;

13.2. strengthen and adapt rapidly the European security architecture, as well as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) strategies, to the needs of Ukraine and new threats, and to strengthen nuclear security in Europe and support for the International Atomic Energy Agency;

13.3. support the States most exposed to Russian military or hybrid threats, particularly those near Russia, Ukraine or the Baltic Sea, and provide the European security architecture with an adaptable and flexible multilateral geographical framework that enables contributing States to work together effectively, regardless of whether they belong to the European Union or other organisations, while ensuring the cohesion of the European continent;

13.4. develop a comprehensive security approach that fully integrates democratic security, recognising that only such an approach, which also respects international law, can protect European democracies, their institutions and their values in the face of the continent's growing militarisation, as highlighted by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

14. With regard to Russia's accountability, the Assembly welcomes the unique role of the Council of Europe, in particular through the European Court of Human Rights, the Register of Damage Caused by the Aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, and the work to establish the International Claims Commission for Ukraine and the Special Tribunal for the Crime of Aggression against Ukraine. The Assembly, referring to its relevant resolutions and opinions, calls on Council of Europe member and observer States, and like-minded States, to:

14.1. expedite the establishment of a comprehensive accountability system, in particular by signing and ratifying without delay the Convention establishing an International Claims Commission for Ukraine, and by intensifying efforts to establish the third component of the international compensation mechanism, namely an international compensation fund, which could be funded by repurposing and transferring frozen Russian sovereign assets where appropriate;

14.2. ensure that all three components of the international compensation mechanism, namely the Register of Damage Caused by the Aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, the future International Claims Commission, and the future international compensation fund, are mandated to accept and assess claims relating to damage, loss and injury resulting from Russia's aggression against Ukraine since 19 February 2014, including those arising from the illegal occupation and attempted annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, as well as parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, with a view to ensuring comprehensive, consistent and effective compensation for victims;

14.3. following the landmark signing of the agreement between the Council of Europe and Ukraine on the establishment of the Special Tribunal for the Crime of Aggression against Ukraine on 25 June 2025, work without delay towards the establishment of the Enlarged Partial Agreement on the Management Committee of the Special Tribunal for the Crime of Aggression against Ukraine, to join it as soon as possible, in accordance with their national procedures, to ensure its viability, including in budgetary terms, and to conclude co-operation agreements with the future Special Tribunal;

14.4. strengthen accountability mechanisms for all war crimes, crimes against humanity and other violations of international law by Russia, and calls on States to take the necessary measures;

14.5. increase diplomatic and economic pressure on Russia, until Russia stops its war of aggression and until a comprehensive, just and lasting peace is restored, in accordance with Resolution 2622 (2025) "Russia: new threats to European democracies", in particular by reinforcing the current European and American sanctions regime against Russia, its allies and their political and military leaderships, in particular measures against violations of the airspace of sovereign States, violations of maritime sovereignty and measures against the Russian shadow fleet.

15. With regard to the resilience, reconstruction and democratic security of Ukraine, the Assembly commends Ukraine for its achievements in implementing the Council of Europe Action Plan for Ukraine "Resilience, Recovery and Reconstruction" 2023-2026, and for the progress it has made in the accession process to the European Union, despite the immense challenges posed by Russia's illegal, unprovoked and unjustified full-scale military invasion. It invites Council of Europe member and observer States as well as relevant European institutions and international partners to:

15.1. strengthen support to Ukraine's democratic resilience, including its capacity to effectively protect human rights, the rule of law, and democracy, and more particularly parliamentary, local and regional democracy, as well as its capacity to effectively combat corruption, which is essential in the context of its accession process to the European Union;

15.2. support Ukraine's accession to the European Union, recognising that the integration process provides a strong incentive to pursue relevant reforms and a guarantee of security.