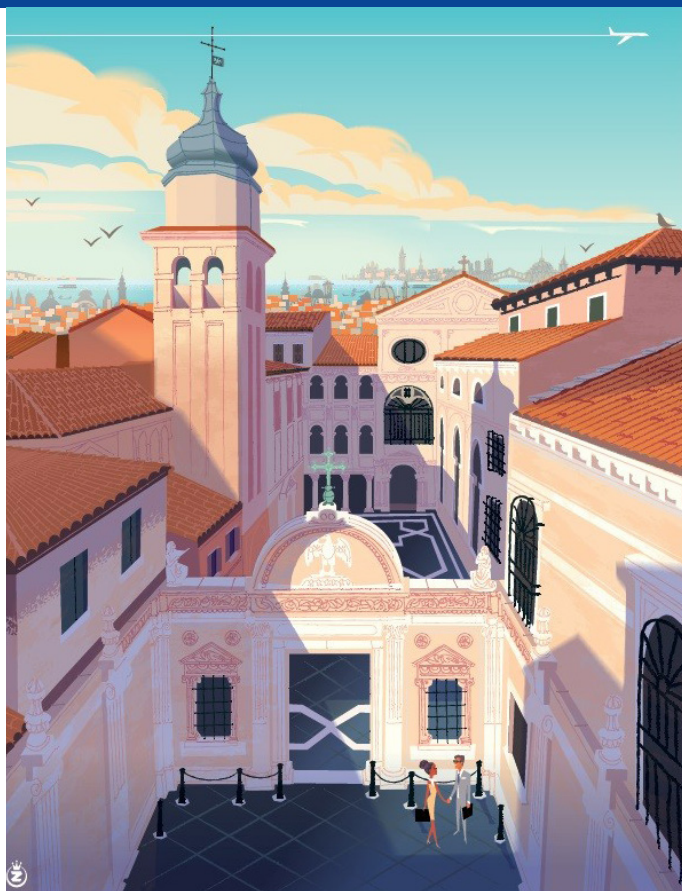


European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) of the Council of Europe



European Commission
for Democracy through Law

Council of Europe, 2026

Venice Commission

ANNUAL REPORT OF ACTIVITIES 2025



**European Commission
for Democracy through Law
(Venice Commission)
of the Council of Europe**

Annual report of activities 2025

The European Commission for Democracy
through Law (Venice Commission)

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I. FOREWORD FROM CLAIRE BAZY MALAURIE, PRESIDENT OF THE VENICE COMMISSION OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE FROM 2022-2025



The number of Opinions and reports published by the Venice Commission, still on an upward slope, proves the confidence in its expertise. The constant increase in the number of conferences and other international meetings, often organised in co-operation with universities, ensures the consolidation of the Commission's place in the world of legal experts, mainly constitutionalists. These numerous exchanges have nourished in particular the common reflection on the rule of law, which is, alongside democracy and human rights, one of the three elements of the triptych on which the Council of Europe is built, but a fundamental element insofar as it ensures its effectiveness. And the updating of the rule of law checklist published in December was carried out through a very broad consultation.

The numerous requests from outside Europe have been a testimony to the Commission's reputation for several years. Latin America is a traditional partner. Many States in that part of the world are members of the Commission. And a meeting with the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in October illustrated the convergence of concerns on both sides of the Atlantic in the face of "democratic backsliding".

But the year 2025 was marked, above all, by the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the Venice Commission in the very city where it was born and which hosts it four times a year for its plenary sessions. In the presence of the President of the Italian Republic, the President of the Republic of North Macedonia and the President of the Republic of Moldova, the leaders testified to the very concrete challenges facing their countries today and at the same time to the Commission's constant support for the reforms necessary for democratic consolidation.

If the Commission is not always followed, it is very often listened to... Allow me, at the end of what was my last year as President of the Commission, to express my thanks to all those who participate in its excellence, whether they are members of the Commission or members of the Strasbourg team, for their dynamism and their professionalism ... and their good mood.

Claire Bazy Malaurie

President of the Venice Commission from 2022 to 2025

II. THE VENICE COMMISSION IN A NUTSHELL

The Venice Commission is an enlarged agreement with 61 member States: the 46 members of the Council of Europe, and 15 other members from Asia, the Americas, Africa. The core mission of the Venice Commission is to provide, upon request, Opinions containing legal assessments of constitutions and legislation and relevant recommendations aiming at aligning such texts to international standards and comparative good practices. With the aim of maximizing the impact of its work, the Commission also focuses on the follow-up which is given to its Opinions; it does so through country-specific missions, activities, participation in debates and conferences as well as media exchanges. The Commission's assessments, on the one hand, are based on international standards, and, on the other hand, contribute to identifying and developing them. In parallel to providing Opinions, the mission of the Commission, therefore, includes the organisation of conferences and seminars, and the preparation of general reports on specific topics. As follow-up to the Reykjavik declaration, the Venice Commission updated the Rule of Law Checklist following an inclusive process of consultation of the stakeholders. The Commission's extra-European outreach represents an undoubted added value, to the extent that it enriches its reflection and experience on the standards of the Council of Europe, while it "exports" them to other continents, thus contributing to democratic security.



III. KEY FACTS ON THE VENICE COMMISSION OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

ESTABLISHMENT	10 May 1990 by 18 Council of Europe member States
TO DATE	61 member States > 15 non Council of Europe members + 4 observer States
ADOPTION	1244 country-specific opinions and general reports
CONSTITUTIONAL CASE LAW	139 Bulletins on Constitutional Case-law 12825 number of judgements in CODICES database
WORLD CONFERENCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL JUSTICE (WCCJ)	With the support of the Venice Commission, 125 members since 2009
RULE OF LAW CHECKLIST	Adopted in 2016 Updated in 2025 after a comprehensive consultation including through academic seminars and conferences
IN 2025	<p>Adopted 51 country-specific Opinions and reports for 19 countries (45 Opinions and 6 reports)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 follow-up Opinions • 3 urgent Opinions • 7 <i>amicus curiae</i> briefs • Fundamental rights (16) • Elections and political parties (7) • Judges and prosecutors (16) • Constitutional issues (12)
EVENTS IN 2025	<p>9 international conferences co-organised in 8 countries</p> <p>9 election observation missions with the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) and outside Europe</p> <p>6 pre- and post-electoral activities organised in 3 countries</p>

Venice Commission 1990-2025

31 March-1 April 1989 — Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and European Community policies “Democracy through Law”, held at the Fondazione Cini in Venice, under the auspices of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe

1991-1999 — Early Expansion: Liechtenstein (1991); Bulgaria, Holy See, Netherlands, Poland (1992); Iceland, Japan, Slovak Republic (1993); Czech Republic, Lithuania, Romania, Slovenia; Belarus becomes associate member (1994); Argentina, Estonia, Latvia, Uriate member (1994); Argentina, Estonia, Latvia, Uruguay (1995); Albania, Republic of Moldova, North Macedonia (1996); Croatia, Ukraine (1997); United Kingdom, Georgia (1999)

2000-2010 — Continued Enlargement: Andorra (2000); Armenia, Azerbaijan (2001); Bosnia and Herzegovina, Russian Federation (2002); Serbia (2003); Kyrgyzstan, Monaco (2004); Chile (2005); Republic of Korea, Montenegro (2006); Morocco (2007); Israel (2008); Brazil, Peru (2009); Mexico, Tunisia (2010)

The Commission becomes an Enlarged Agreement, and its Revised Statute is adopted; the Rules of procedure are adopted in March 2002

19 March 2004 - Kyrgyzstan, the first non-member state of the Council of Europe to become a full member of the Venice Commission

The Rule of Law Checklist is adopted

Russian Federation's membership ceases after its expulsion from the Council of Europe (2022); Belarus is expelled from the Council of Europe (2022), and its associate status ends

19-20 January 1990 — International Conference for the establishment of the Commission for Democracy through Law, held at Scuola Grande San Giovanni Evangelista of Venice, under the auspices of the Council of Europe

16 February 1990 — First meeting of the newly established Commission for Democracy through Law, chaired by Antonio Mario La Pergola, President of the Venice Commission

21 February 1990 — Establishment of the Venice Commission as a Partial Agreement; the adoption of the Statute of the Commission by the Committee of Ministers

First member states join in 1990: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Türkiye, Germany, and Hungary

The Joint Council on Constitutional Justice (JCCJ) is created

The Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters is adopted; the Commission, together with the Parliamentary Assembly and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, sets up the Council for Democratic Elections (CDE)

The first amicus curiae brief is submitted to the European Court of Human Rights

The World Conference on Constitutional Justice (WCCJ) is set up as a permanent body, and the Commission provides its Secretariat

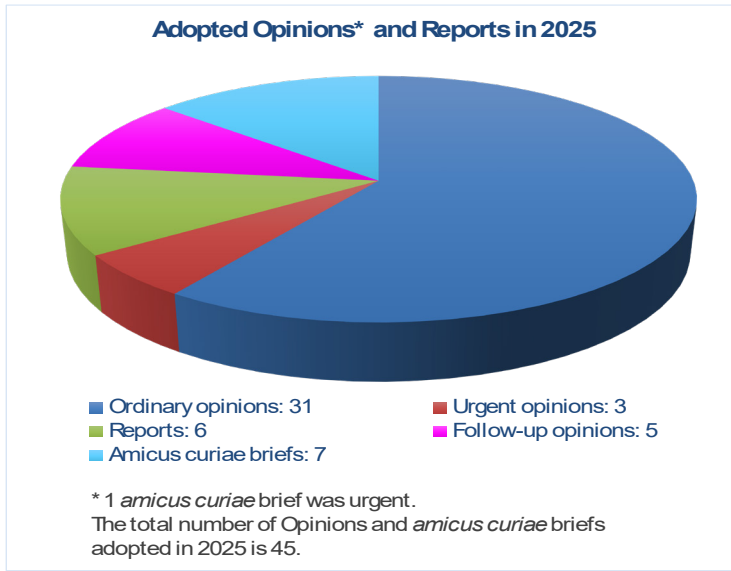
2012-2019 — New Members: Kazakhstan (2012); United States of America (2013); Kosovo (2014); Costa Rica (2016); last accession: Canada (2019)

The Updated Rule of Law Checklist is adopted

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IV. 2025 IN FIGURES: OUTPUT OF THE VENICE COMMISSION'S WORK

In 2025, the Commission adopted 45 **Opinions** – 31 ordinary ones, 5 follow-up Opinions, 7 *amicus curiae* briefs, 2 urgent Opinions and one urgent *amicus curiae* brief.



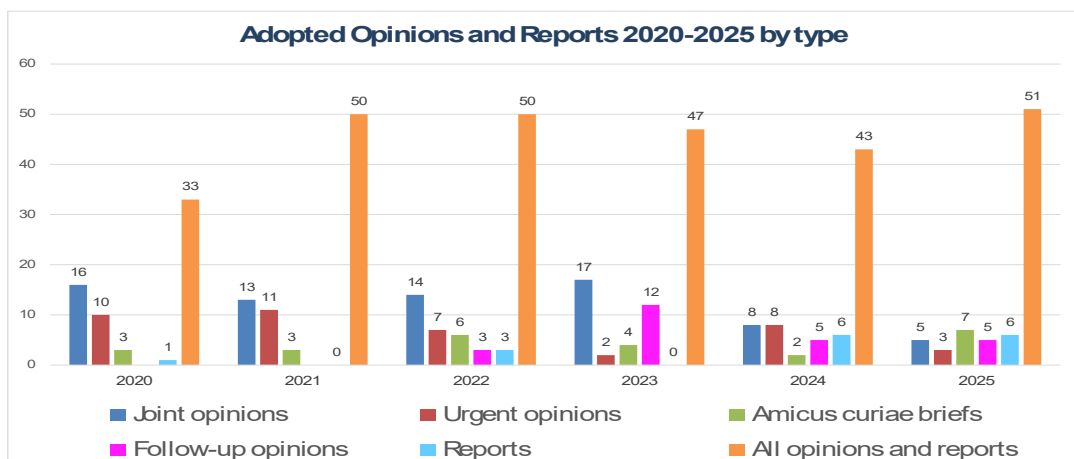
The Opinions and 7 *amicus curiae* briefs concerned 19 countries: Armenia (2), Bosnia and Herzegovina, Chile, France, Georgia (3), Haiti, Hungary (4), Kosovo (4), Kyrgyzstan (2), Latvia, Mongolia, Montenegro (3), North Macedonia (4), Republic of Moldova (4), Romania, Slovak Republic (2), Spain, Peru (2), Ukraine (3). Three *amicus curiae* briefs were requested by the Constitutional Courts of Armenia, Ukraine and North Macedonia.

The **national authorities requested 30 Opinions/*amicus curiae* briefs**: Prime Minister (2), the Government (15), Specialised national bodies (7), Parliament (3), Constitutional Court (3).

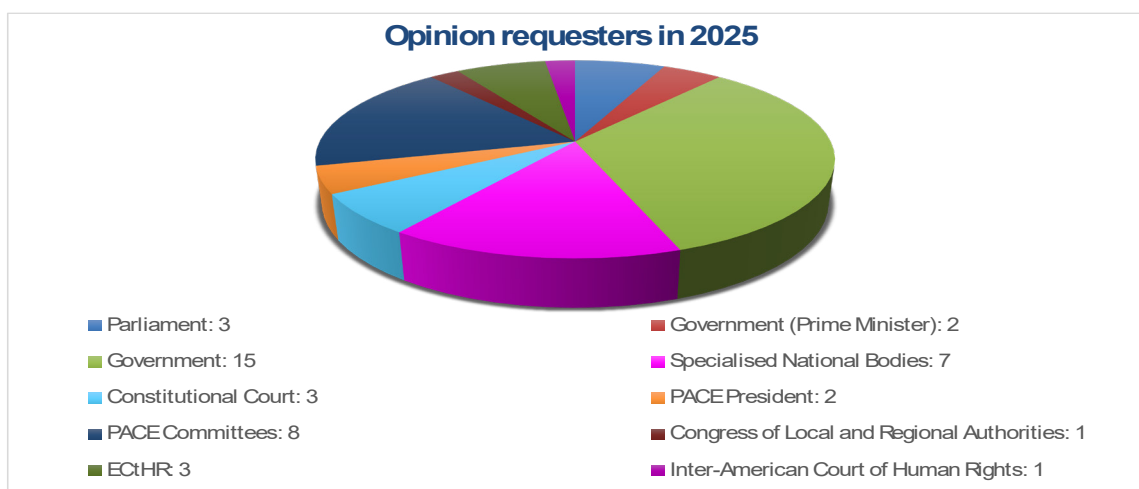
Council of Europe bodies requested 14 opinions/*amicus curiae* briefs: Parliamentary Assembly: President (2) and Committees (8); Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (1); European Court of Human Rights (3). The Opinions requested by PACE concerned France, Georgia (2), Hungary (4), Romania and the Slovak Republic (2). The Opinion requested by the Congress of Local and regional authorities concerned Georgia.

One *amicus curiae* brief request was made by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

The proportion of 2025 Opinions requested by the State compared to those requested by PACE was 3:1 (same as in 2023 and 2024).



Four Opinions were prepared jointly with the Directorate General of Human Rights and the Rule of Law - DGI (Republic of Moldova (2), North Macedonia, Ukraine) and one Opinion was prepared jointly with Directorate General of Democracy - DGII (North Macedonia).



In 2025 the Commission completed the update of one of its most important texts, the *“Rule of Law Checklist”*, as follow-up to the Reykjavik declaration of the 4th Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe. It further adopted a report that had been requested by the Parliamentary Assembly in 2024 (*“Urgent Report on the cancellation of election results by Constitutional Courts”*); two reports which had been requested by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities in 2024 and 2025 respectively (*“Report on the status of the European Charter of Local Self-government in the domestic legal order”* and *“Report on the impact of the pre-trial detention of mayors on the exercise of local democratic governance”*). It further endorsed one brief at the request of the Constitution Committee of the House of Lords of the United Kingdom (*“Brief in relation to inquiry into the Rule of Law”*), and *“Comments on PACE Recommendation 2289 (2025) on “Addressing risks to human rights and the rule of law posed by mercenaries and private military and security companies: a call for comprehensive regulation”* in view of the preparation of the Committee of Ministers’ reply to that recommendation.

In 2025, the Commission endorsed two compilations (on out-of-country voting and on parliamentary autonomy). Two **compilations** relating to qualified majorities and antideadlock mechanism as well as to judges were updated.

In 2025, the Commission co-organised 9 international **conferences and seminars** in 8 countries:

20th European Conference of Electoral Management Bodies *“Stability of electoral law - Practical Aspects”*, 15-16 April 2025, Vilnius, Lithuania; *“Legislative reform of the Constitutional court and its procedure”*, 5 May 2025, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia; *“Legal Certainty and the Quality of Law: Concepts, Challenges, and Comparative Perspectives”*, 7 May 2025, Rabat, Morocco; *“Protecting and Promoting the Rule of Law”*, 7 July 2025, London, United Kingdom; *“30 Years of Partnership and Progress: Albania, the Council of Europe, and the Venice Commission”*, 20-21 October 2025, Tirana, Albania; 6th Congress of the World Conference on Constitutional Justice (WCCJ) *“The Human Rights of Future Generations”*, 28-30 October 2025, Madrid, Spain; *“Current Challenges for Democracy in a State based on the Rule of Law”*, 20-21 November 2025, San José, Costa Rica.

Two conferences were specifically organised on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Commission:

“Lessons Learned and Learning Lessons. The Venice Commission’s Experience in Elaborating Transnationally Valid Constitutional Standards”, 12 March 2025, Venice, Italy; and *“The Venice Commission 1990-2025: Taking stock of 35 years for democracy through law”*, 15-16 May 2025, Milan, Italy. The reports presented at these two conferences will be published in 2026. These two conferences as well as the conference on *“Protecting and Promoting the Rule of Law”*, 7 July 2025, London, United Kingdom were specifically organised on issues relevant to the update of the Commission’s Rule of Law Checklist.

In 2025, the Commission participated in its capacity as legal advisor to the Parliamentary Assembly in seven **election observation missions** in five countries (Albania, Republic of Moldova, Poland, Kosovo and Kyrgyzstan). These missions concerned elections to the Assembly of Kosovo on 9 February 2025 and on 28 December 2025 in Kosovo; the parliamentary elections on 11 May 2025 in Albania; the presidential election on 18 May 2025 and the second round of the presidential election on 1 June 2025 in Poland; the parliamentary elections on 28 September 2025 in the Republic of Moldova and the parliamentary elections on 27 November 2025 in Kyrgyzstan. A Venice Commission delegation also participated in the International Visitors Programme organised on the occasion of the 2025 Argentina legislative elections, which took place in Buenos Aires, **Argentina**, from 24 to 26 October 2025. Furthermore, a representative of the Venice Commission joined the Election Observation Mission of the Organization of American States during the general elections in **Honduras** on 30 November 2025.

In 2025, six activities linked with upcoming 2025 elections or past elections were designed to assist in the preparation of the elections and to identify weaknesses of the past electoral process with a view to improving the system (so-called **pre- and post-electoral activities**). They were organised in three countries (Republic of Moldova, Albania and Kosovo): *Post-Election Analysis Conference: reflecting on the Republic of Moldova’s electoral resilience and lessons learned*, 18-19 March 2025, Chişinău, Republic of Moldova; workshop on *Judicial Capacity Development in Election Dispute Resolution*, 26 March 2025, Durrës, Albania; *pre-electoral workshop ahead of the Parliamentary elections of the Republic of Moldova*, 28 May 2025, Chişinău, Republic of Moldova; *pre-electoral training: Peculiarities of examination and settlement of electoral disputes ahead of the Parliamentary elections of the Republic of Moldova*, 29 May 2025, Chişinău, Republic of Moldova; *post-election workshop*, 26 June 2025, Pristina, Kosovo; Online training for judges and prosecutors on *“Peculiarities of examination and settlement of electoral disputes ahead of the Parliamentary election of the Republic of Moldova”*, 4 September 2025.

Three **Bulletins on Constitutional Case-Law** were issued in English and French in 2025: in April (2024/2); June (2024/3) and October (2025/1).

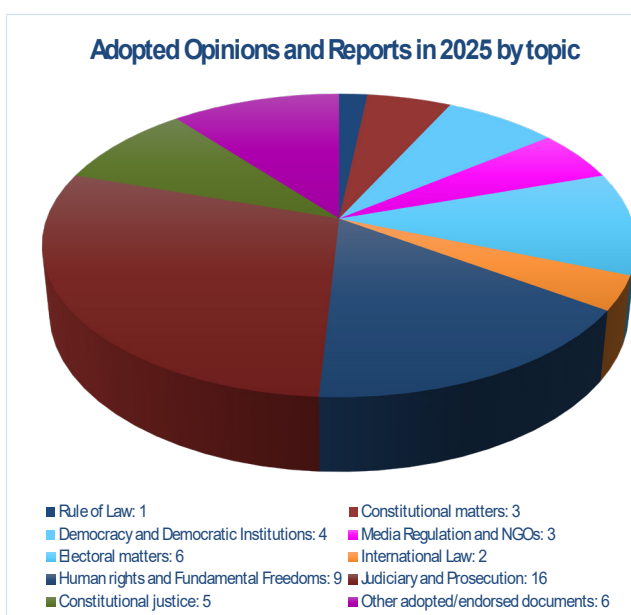
In 2025, 22 **Venice Forum requests** were received from nine countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Czechia, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Latvia, Poland, Republic of Moldova, Slovenia) and were dealt with in the forum.

From 28 to 30 October 2025 the sixth **Congress of the World Conference on Constitutional Justice (WCCJ)** on the theme “The Human Rights of Future Generations” was held in Madrid and hosted by the Constitutional Court of Spain with participation of His Majesty the King of Spain Felipe VI. The Madrid Communiqué was adopted by the Congress.

TOPICS OF THE VENICE COMMISSION'S OPINIONS

One of the Venice Commission's major projects in 2025, which was carried out through a comprehensive and inclusive consultation process – including conferences and seminars – was the update of the *Rule of Law Checklist*. Building on the original 2016 Checklist, which has served as a key reference for assessing the state of the rule of law in countries, the Venice Commission adopted at the end of 2025 its updated version (see *Chapter V below*), reflecting new challenges, particularly those arising from technological changes, rule of law regression and growing private sector influence. The Updated Rule of Law Checklist now includes checks and balances and constitutional review as specific benchmarks, highlighting their growing importance in the protection of the rule of law and preventing rule of law backsliding.

In 2025, the Opinion requests concerning the judiciary and prosecution continued to dominate the Commission's agenda. Six opinions concerned the composition and election of the judicial and prosecutorial councils (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Spain, North Macedonia). Issues related to the prosecution services were also high on the agenda of the Commission in 2025, notably regarding the reform of the Public prosecutor Office in Peru at the request of the general prosecutor, and the eligibility criteria to be appointed Prosecutor General (Hungary). The Commission adopted an Opinion on constitutional amendments related to judicial appointments and judicial



governance in Chile including the creation of an autonomous body for the appointment of judges, and Opinions on the recruitment, performance, evaluation as well as the integrity and disciplinary liability of judges and prosecutors (Kosovo, Ukraine). Opinions were adopted with regard to the anti-corruption judicial system as well as in relation the creation of specific prosecution office for anti-corruption and organised crime (Republic of Moldova). One Opinion focused on specific questions related to the access of the Ministry of Justice to judicial and prosecutorial decisions (Hungary) and one *amicus curiae* brief dealt with participation of additional judges in supreme court deliberations (ECtHR).

2025 was marked by the challenges posed by evolving digital technologies and artificial intelligence to electoral processes amplifying the threats of harmful interference. The Venice Commission's work in the electoral field was high on its agenda throughout the year, notably with an *Urgent Report on the cancellation of election results by Constitutional Courts*. Two Opinions were adopted regarding changes to electoral legislation in respect of Hungary and Georgia (local elections). The Commission further adopted an Opinion concerning the impeachment of members of election management bodies in Peru, an Opinion on the draft referendum decree in Haiti and an Opinion on the merger of the 2024 elections for the European Parliament and for the local authorities in Romania. All Opinions and reports on electoral matters, prior to submission to the Commission for adoption at the plenary sessions, were examined and approved by the Council of Democratic Elections.

The Commission addressed constitutional matters concerning France (Article 49.3 of the Constitution on the commitment of the government's responsibility in relation to a bill), the Slovak Republic (amendments related to issues of sovereignty, protection of life and human dignity, private and family life, marriage, parenthood, education and social rights) and Hungary (amendments related to gender identity, the right of the child to the protection and care, and suspension of citizenship).

Regarding democratic institutions and checks and balances, the Commission adopted a follow-up Opinion on the composition, term of office, organisation, method of operation and decision-making of the Government as well as its interaction with other State authorities (Montenegro). At the request of the European Court of Human Rights, the Venice Commission carried out a comparative overview on procedural safeguards against decisions of parliamentary inquiry committees in democratic legal systems of member and observer States of the Venice Commission. The Commission also adopted a report which assesses the impact of mayors' pre-trial detention on local democratic governance.

Three Opinions/*amicus curiae* brief concerned legislation on regulation of foreign influence and on regulation of NGOs and grants. The Venice Commission started working on a mapping on foreign influence and interference as part of the Council of Europe's overall work on these issues notably in the field of political influence/interference and regarding legislation on civil society and funding of association.

Five Opinions concerned constitutional justice: two on the draft laws on the constitutional courts in the Republic of Moldova and in Mongolia; an Opinion and its follow-up Opinion on some questions regarding the early termination of the mandate of constitutional court judges due to age limit in Montenegro; an Opinion in Ukraine regarding the competitive selection process for the position of judge of the Constitutional Court.

At the request of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the Commission adopted an *amicus curiae* brief on whether democracy is a human right, or a means for social, political and economic development and the effective exercise of human rights, or both; the Commission concluded, arguing that the added value of creating an individual right should be its justiciability, that democracy can be protected through the judicial protection of the many recognised individual rights which are its constitutive elements. The Commission recalled that States are under an obligation to guarantee and promote democracy at the same time as a means for the effective exercise of human rights, and through the effective protection of those aspects of democracy that are specifically guaranteed as individual rights.

The Venice Commission looked into issues of international law in its Opinions on the draft law of Latvia on the withdrawal from the Council of Europe Istanbul Convention and the report status of the European Charter of Local-Self Government in the domestic legal order.

Other Opinions/*amicus curiae* briefs concerned criminal legislation (Kyrgyzstan (2), legislation on mass media (Armenia), property-related issues (Armenia), national minorities (North Macedonia), alternative non-military service (Ukraine) and freedom of assembly (Georgia, Armenia, the latter on materially incentivised participation or refraining from participation in an assembly).

LIST OF OPINIONS AND REPORTS ADOPTED IN 2025 BY TOPIC

Rule of Law

- CDL-AD(2025)002 - The Updated Rule of Law Checklist

Constitutional matters

- CDL-AD(2025)025 – [France](#) - Final Opinion on Article 49.3 of the Constitution
- CDL-AD(2025)040 – [Slovak Republic](#) - Urgent Opinion on the draft amendments to the Constitution
- CDL-AD(2025)043 – [Hungary](#) - Opinion on the compatibility with international human rights standards of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Fundamental Law of Hungary

Democracy and Democratic Institutions

- CDL-AD(2025)030 – [Montenegro](#) - Follow-up Opinion to the Opinion on the draft Law on the Government
- CDL-AD(2025)032 – *Amicus curiae* brief for the [Inter-American Court of Human Rights](#) on democracy as a human right, as a means for social, political and economic development and the effective exercise of human rights, or as both
- CDL-AD(2025)033 – Urgent *amicus curiae* brief for the [European Court of Human Rights](#) in *Grande Oriente d'Italia v. Italy* on procedural guarantees in the exercise of powers by Parliamentary Inquiry Committees
- CDL-AD(2025)045 – [Report](#) on the impact of the pre-trial detention of mayors on the exercise of local democratic governance

Media Regulation and NGOs

- CDL-AD(2025)034 – [Georgia](#) - Opinion on the Law on the Registration of Foreign Agents, the amendments to the Law on Grants and other Laws relating to “foreign influence”
- CDL-AD(2025)035 – *Amicus curiae* brief for the [European Court of Human Rights](#) in the case of *Georgian Young Lawyers' Association and Others v. Georgia* (no. 31069/24) on regulation of foreign influence
- CDL-AD(2025)041 – [Slovak Republic](#) - Opinion on Law No. 109/2025 amending the Law “on non-profit organisations providing services of general interest” and other related laws

Electoral matters

- CDL-AD(2025)003 - Urgent [Report](#) on the cancellation of election results by Constitutional Courts
- CDL-AD(2025)007 – [Peru](#) - Opinion on the draft amendment of Article 99 of the Constitution concerning the impeachment of members of election management bodies
- CDL-AD(2025)014 – [Romania](#) - Opinion on the Emergency Ordinance regarding the merger of the 2024 elections for the European Parliament and for the local authorities

- CDL-AD(2025)016 – [Georgia](#) - Opinion on the amendments to the Organic Law “Election Code of Georgia”, pertaining to local elections
- CDL-AD(2025)018 – [Hungary](#) - Opinion on Act LXXIX of 2024 amending certain laws relating to elections
- CDL-AD(2025)031 – [Haiti](#) - Opinion on the draft referendum decree

International Law

- CDL-AD(2025)049 - [Report](#) on the status of the European Charter of Local Self-government in the domestic legal order
- CDL-AD(2025)053 – [Latvia](#) - Opinion on the draft law “On the withdrawal from the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence” (Istanbul Convention)

Human rights and Fundamental Freedoms

- CDL-AD(2025)001 – [Georgia](#) - Urgent Opinion on amendments to the Code of administrative offences and the Law on assemblies and demonstrations
- CDL-AD(2025)006 - [Ukraine](#) - *Amicus curiae* brief on alternative (non-military) service
- CDL-AD(2025)008 – [Kyrgyzstan](#) - Opinion on the draft amendments to the Law on Protection and Defence from Domestic Violence and to the Code of Offences Enhancing the Protection of Victims of Domestic Violence through the Introduction of Electronic Monitoring of the Offenders
- CDL-AD(2025)009 – [Kyrgyzstan](#) - Opinion on the draft amendments to the Code of Offences on the compulsory transfer of offenders in a state of intoxication for emergency drug treatment
- CDL-AD(2025)012 – [Armenia](#) - Opinion on the draft amendments and supplements to the Legislation of the Republic of Armenia on Expropriation of Property for Overriding Public Interests
- CDL-AD(2025)013 – [North Macedonia](#) – Joint *Amicus curiae* brief of the Venice Commission and the Directorate General of Democracy and Human dignity (DGII) for the Constitutional Court of North Macedonia on international and European standards on the use of minority languages in public life and in the judiciary
- CDL-AD(2025)027 – [Republic of Moldova](#) - 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)037 – [Armenia](#) - *Amicus curiae* brief on the compatibility of Article 236 of the Criminal Code with the European standards on legal certainty
- CDL-AD(2025)046 – [North Macedonia](#) - Opinion on the draft law on adequate and fair representation

Judiciary

- CDL-AD(2025)010 – [Kosovo](#) - Opinion on the draft law on recruitment, performance evaluation, integrity control, and status of judges and prosecutors and the draft law amending the Law on the disciplinary liability of judges and prosecutors
- CDL-AD(2025)011 – [Kosovo](#) - Opinion on the draft amendments to the Law on the Academy of Justice

- CDL-AD(2025)021 – [Chile](#) - Opinion on the draft Constitutional amendments in respect of the judiciary
- CDL-AD(2025)023 – [Hungary](#) - Opinion on certain provisions of Act XVII of 2024 concerning the power of the Minister of Justice to have access to judicial and prosecutorial decisions as well as related documents
- CDL-AD(2025)024 – [Republic of Moldova](#) - Joint Follow-up Opinion of the Venice Commission and the Directorate General of Human Rights and Rule of Law (DGI) of the Council of Europe on the draft law on the mechanism of trying corruption and corruption-related cases (previously the draft law on the anti-corruption judicial system)
- CDL-AD(2025)044 – [Ukraine](#) - Joint Opinion of the Venice Commission and the Directorate General of Human Rights and Rule of Law (DGI) of the Council of Europe on draft amendments on disciplinary procedures against judges, declarations of integrity, and other procedures
- CDL-AD(2025)047 – *Amicus curiae* brief for the [European Court of Human Rights](#) in the case of *Kuijt v. the Netherlands* on participation of additional judges in supreme court deliberations

Judicial and Prosecutorial Councils

- CDL-AD(2025)004 – [Bosnia and Herzegovina](#) - Follow-up Opinion to previous Opinions on the draft law on the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council
- CDL-AD(2025)015 – [Kosovo](#) - Opinion on the Law on the Judicial Council and the draft law amending and supplementing it
- CDL-AD(2025)026 – [North Macedonia](#) - Opinion on the draft Law on the Judicial Council
- CDL-AD(2025)036 – [North Macedonia](#) - 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 laws on the Public Prosecutor’s Office and on the Council of Public Prosecutors
- CDL-AD(2025)038 – [Spain](#) - Opinion on the manner of election of the judicial members of the General Council of the Judiciary
- CDL-AD(2025)039 – [Kosovo](#) - Follow-up Opinion to the previous opinions concerning amendments to the Law on the Prosecutorial Council

Prosecution service

- CDL-AD(2025)028 – [Hungary](#) - Opinion on the constitutional and legislative amendments concerning the requirements to be appointed Prosecutor General and Constitutional Court Judge of Hungary, as well as the appointment and retirement of judges
- CDL-AD(2025)042 – [Peru](#) - Opinion on the proposed reforms concerning the Public Prosecutor’s Office
- CDL-AD(2025)054 – [Republic of Moldova](#) - 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

Constitutional justice

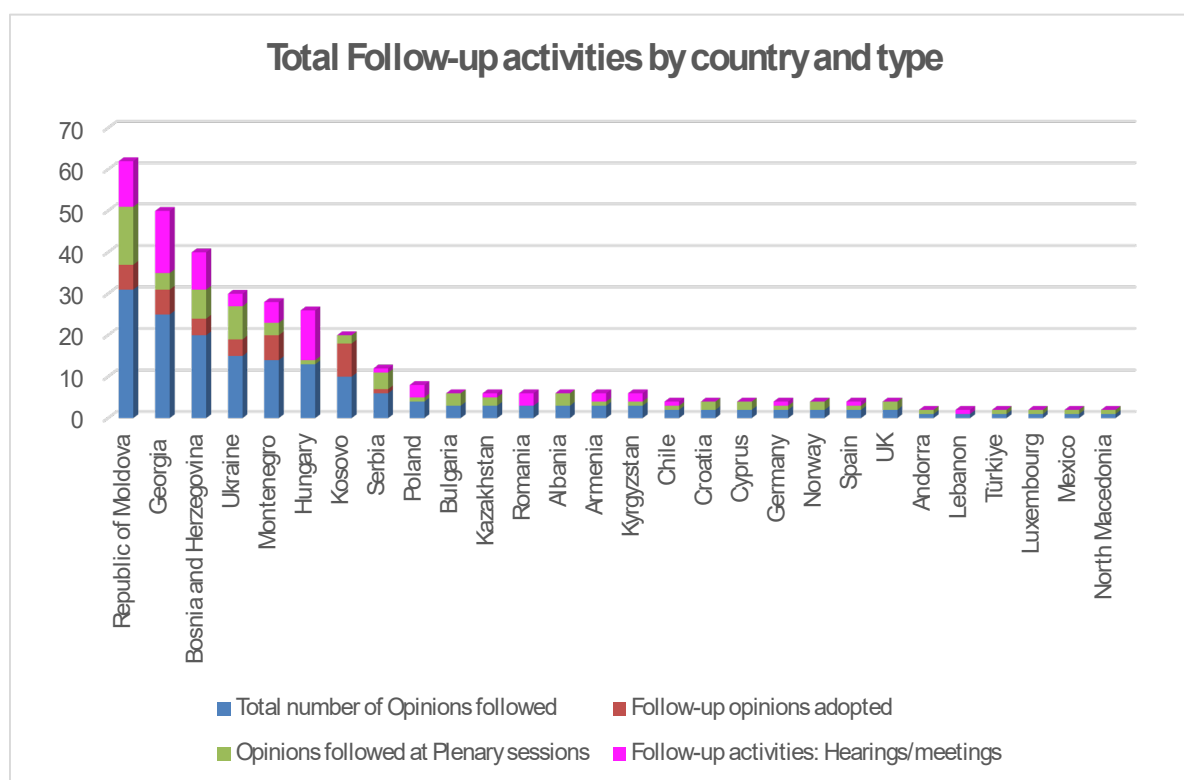
- CDL-AD(2025)005 – [Republic of Moldova](#) - Opinion on the draft law on the Constitutional Court
- CDL-AD(2025)022 – [Mongolia](#) - Opinion on the draft law on the Constitutional Court and on the draft law on the Procedure of the Constitutional Court of Mongolia
- CDL-AD(2025)029 – [Montenegro](#) - Opinion on some questions relating to the procedure of early termination of the mandate of Constitutional Court judges due to age limits
- CDL-AD(2025)051 – [Montenegro](#) - 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
- CDL-AD(2025)052 – [Ukraine](#) - Opinion on draft amendments to certain legislative acts regarding the improvement of the competitive selection process for the position of judge of the Constitutional Court

Other adopted/endorsed documents

- CDL-AD(2025)017 – Secretariat Memorandum - Comments on [PACE Recommendation 2289 \(2025\)](#) on “Addressing Risks to Human Rights and the Rule of Law Posed by Mercenaries and Private Military and Security Companies: A Call for Comprehensive Regulation” in view of the preparation of the Committee of Ministers’ reply to this recommendation
- CDL-AD(2025)019 – 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-PI(2025)003 – [Compilation](#) of Venice Commission Opinions and Reports concerning Judges
- CDL-PI(2025)014 – [Compilation](#) of Venice Commission Opinions and Reports on Parliamentary Autonomy
- CDL-PI(2025)017 – [Compilation](#) of Venice Commission Opinions and Reports Concerning Out-Of-Country Voting
- CDL-PI(2025)023 – Updated [compilation](#) of Venice Commission opinions and reports relating to qualified majorities and anti-deadlock mechanisms in relation to the election by parliament of constitutional and supreme court judges/presidents, prosecutors general, members of judicial and prosecutorial councils, independent/non-political bodies and ombudspersons

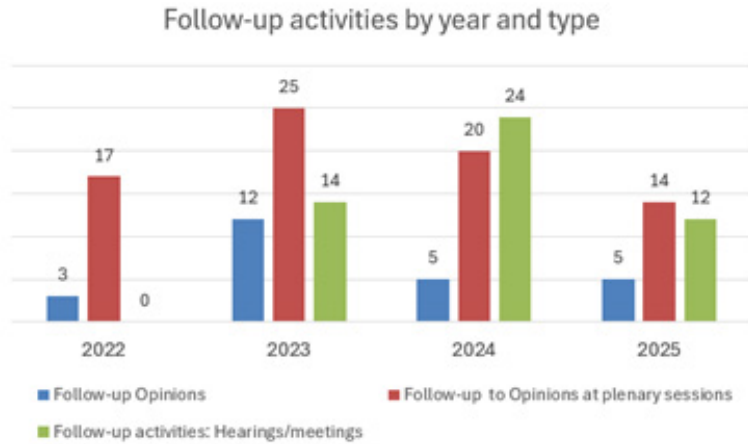
IMPACT OF THE COMMISSION'S OPINIONS AND REPORTS

Since 2022, follow-up has become a specific focus of the action of the secretariat and of the Commission. Dialogue with a view to facilitating the implementation of the recommendations is actively pursued at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg or in the country concerned, through bilateral exchanges, meetings, missions, round tables with the authorities, civil society, the other stakeholders but also through presentations of the Opinions at meetings and hearings of the Parliamentary Assembly and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, as well as the European Union (European Commission and the European Parliament) and other international conferences. Coordination with other services of the Council of Europe is ensured. Communication with the press – international and national – is maintained. These activities are referred to as “follow-up activities”.

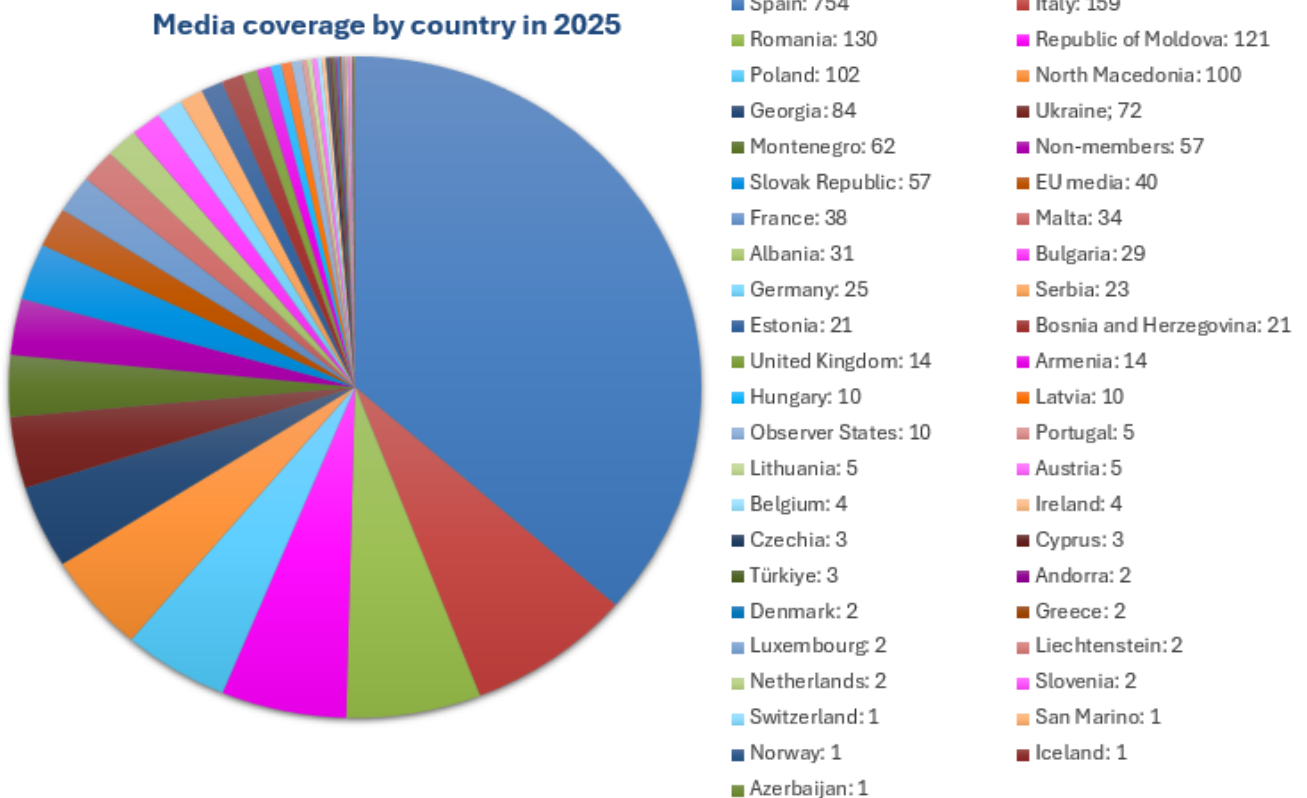


In 2025, 12 follow-up activities were organised to discuss the impact of the Venice Commission’s recommendations. In particular, the Venice Commission participated in three hearings organised by PACE to follow up on the situation and on Opinions adopted with respect to Georgia and Hungary, as well as on the Report on a rule of law and human rights compliant regulation of spyware. The President and members of the Venice Commission took part in the broader dialogue organised by the Committee of Ministers, including within the GR-DEM and GR-EXT, as well as by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, to examine the implementation and impact of the Commission’s recommendations in national legislative reforms. Furthermore, the Venice Commission participated in meetings of other Committees of the Council of Europe, such as the Plenary Steering Committee on Media and Information Society (to follow up on the Report on a rule of law and human rights compliant regulation of spyware) and engaged in exchanges with national authorities to assess the effect of its recommendations on relevant legislative developments.

Five follow-up Opinions (Republic of Moldova, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro (2), Kosovo) were adopted by the Commission at the request of the national authorities on legislation which had been revised on the basis of the Commission's previous recommendations in a continued dialogue with the Venice Commission. In addition, the Commission's recommendations, as formulated in 14 Opinions, were reflected in the national legislation of eight countries (Albania (2), Andorra, Armenia, Kosovo (2), Kyrgyzstan, Republic of Moldova (3), Türkiye, United Kingdom); this was reported on at the March, June and October plenary sessions.



The Venice Commission was referred to in 1473 articles in 13 Council of Europe member States as regards 30 Opinions (out of 45) adopted in 2025. In total, for the same period, the Venice Commission was referred to in 1972 articles in 42 Council of Europe member and observer States as well as 57 articles by non CoE member States and 40 articles from EU media. These figures only cover press in English/French and in the other local languages which are monitored by the Council of Europe media department.



The *Secretary General of the Council of Europe* in his report “*Towards a new democratic pact for Europe*” specifically referred to 33 Venice Commission’s Opinions and reports.

The *Committee of Ministers* mentioned the Venice Commission in 29 documents with references to 26 specific Venice Commission’s Opinions and 3 general reports. These concern mainly resolutions regarding the supervision of the execution of the ECtHR judgments as well as the annual progress reports for Council of Europe Action Plans, specifically regarding Armenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republic of Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine.

PACE mentioned the Venice Commission in 15 documents with references to 24 specific Venice Commission’s Opinions and 2 general reports.

In 2025, the *ECtHR* mentioned the Venice Commission in 21 judgments, four of which were decided in Grand Chamber, and specifically referred to 26 Venice Commission’s Opinions and 13 reports.

The *Congress of Local and Regional Authorities* mentioned the Venice Commission in seven resolutions and recommendations with references to three specific Venice Commission Opinions and five general reports).

The *Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights* mentioned the Venice Commission in eight documents with references to five different Opinions and three general texts.

The 2025 *European Commission’s Rule of Law Report* contains references to 31 different Opinions and 12 general reports and compilations of the Venice Commission, to be found both in 17 country-specific chapters and in the general part.

The *European Commission’s 2025 Communication on EU enlargement policy* contains references to 11 Opinions and two general texts. In 10 country-specific chapters the Venice Commission is mentioned 110 times in total.

The Secretary General of the *Organisation of American States* in its report “*Towards a Haitian-led roadmap for stability and peace with regional and international support*” of 20 August 2025, referred to the need to align with the recommendations which the Venice Commission formulated in its two Opinions on Haiti.

The *Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights*, in its Report on “*The impact of digital surveillance on freedom of expression in the Americas*” published in September 2025, extensively referenced the Venice Commission’s Report “*A Rule of Law and Human Rights Compliant Regulation of Spyware*”, noting that it provided concrete guidance on minimum safeguards for intrusive surveillance measures.

In May 2025, the *Constitutional Court of Bolivia* upheld a lower court ruling banning more than two terms as president (effectively blocking former president Evo Morales from running in elections later this year); it quoted the 2018 report of the Venice Commission on limitations of presidential terms.

In December 2025, the *Italian Constitutional Court* declared the unconstitutionality of the provisions of the law of the Autonomous Province of Trento that increased from two to three the consecutive terms allowed for the President of the Province. In its judgment, it referred to the 2012 Report on “*Democracy, Limitation of Mandates and Incompatibility of Political Functions of the Venice Commission*”.

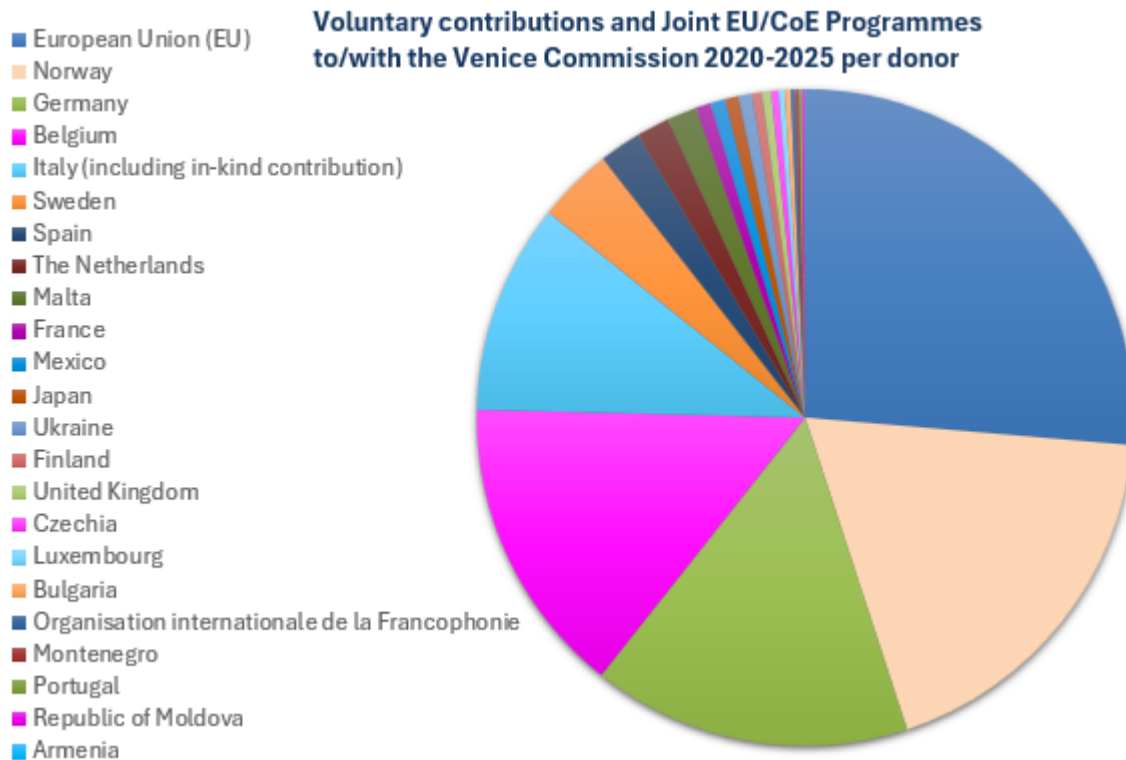
BUDGET AND STAFF

The Commission's ordinary budget is made up by the contributions of its 46 Council of Europe member States and its 15 non-Council of Europe member States (according to Article 6.a of the Statute of the Venice Commission, the rate of contribution of the latter is one third of its contribution as calculated in accordance with the rules for Council of Europe member States, but no higher than one third of the contribution by the major contributors). The ordinary budget amounted to 5 571 700 euros in 2025.

The Venice Commission secretariat counts 28 posts on the ordinary budget. The Venice Commission benefited from seconded staff by member States (Switzerland and Spain) in 2025.

The Commission has also benefited from generous voluntary contributions (and in-kind contributions from Italy for the organisation of plenary sessions), covering all fields of activity of the Venice Commission, which has allowed the Commission to fund and implement its increased activities.

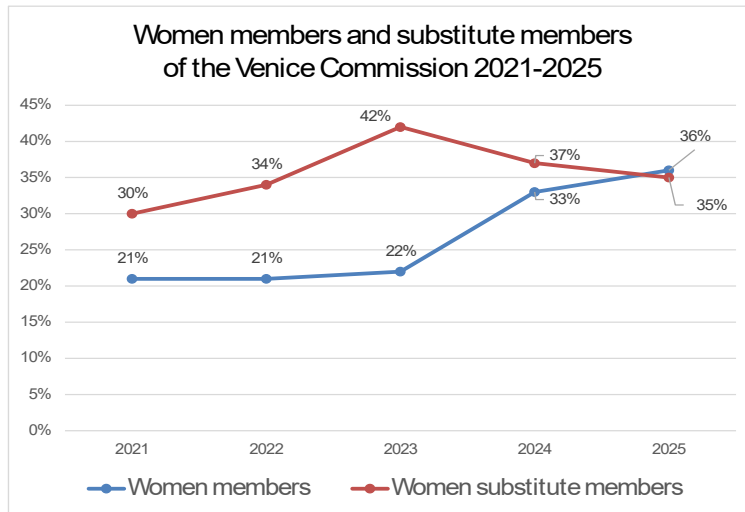
In addition, the Venice Commission has continued to benefit from regional Joint EU/CoE Programmes including notably the South Programme V¹ regarding the South Mediterranean region, and "Support for democratic reforms, human right mechanisms and the principles of the rule of law in Latin America, Central Asia and Mongolia".² The Venice Commission also benefits from the Expertise Co-ordination Mechanism under the joint European Union and Council of Europe programme "Horizontal Facility for the Western Balkans and Türkiye", and the Quick Response Mechanism under the joint European Union and Council of Europe programme "Partnership for Good Governance" for the Eastern partnership region.³ These have allowed to fund many Opinions over recent years.



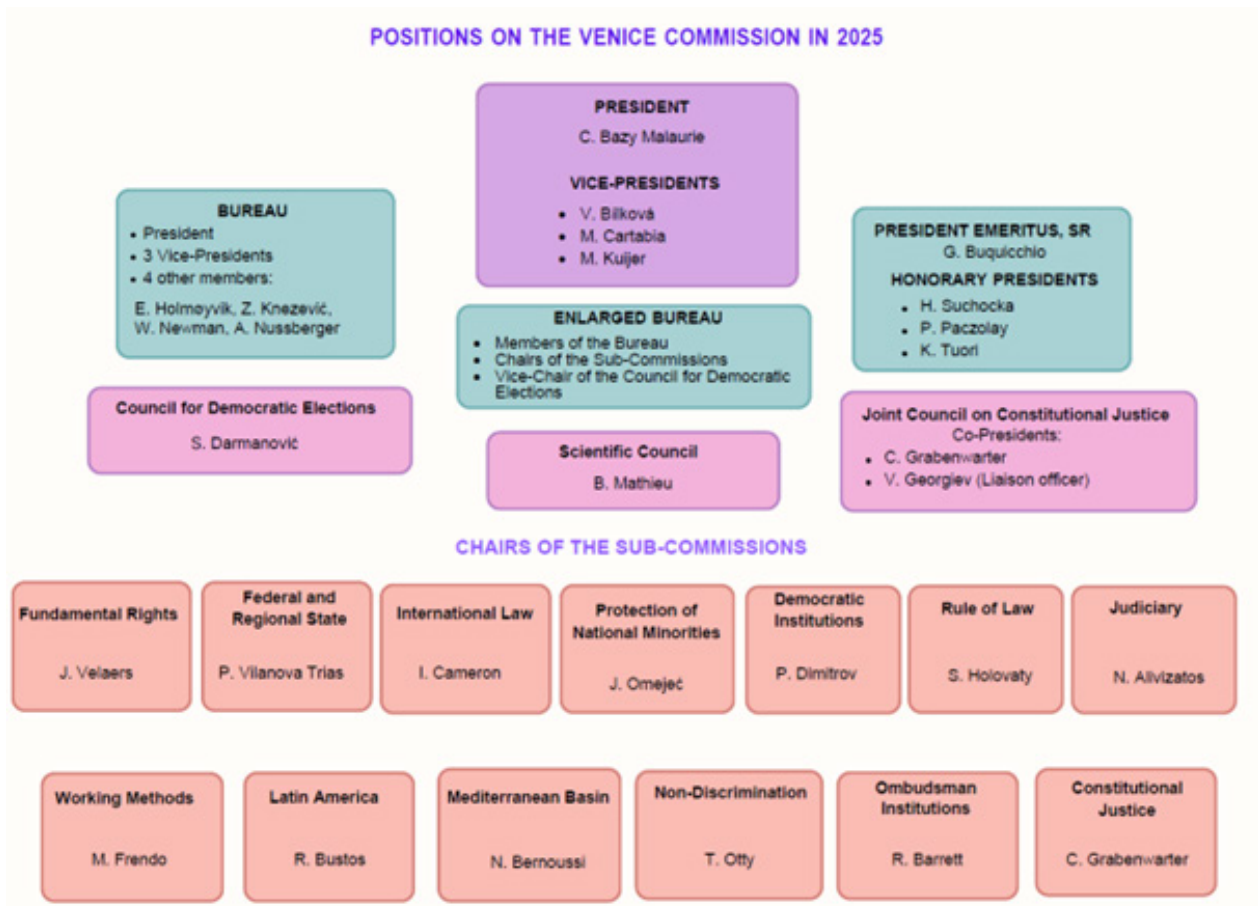
1 South Programme V "Protecting human rights, rule of law and democracy through shared standards in the Southern Mediterranean" co-financed by the European Union and the Council of Europe and implemented by the Council of Europe (2022-2025).
 2 Joint programme funded by the European Union and implemented by the Council of Europe.
 3 Co-funded by the European Union and the Council of Europe and implemented by the Council of Europe.

POSITIONS ON THE VENICE COMMISSION

In 2025, the number of women members increased, reaching 36%, while the percentage of female substitute members continued to decrease and is now 35%. The secretariat's efforts to improve gender balance will continue.



In December 2025, elections for all the Commission's positions were held, for a mandate of two years.



V. UPDATED RULE OF LAW CHECKLIST

In December 2025, the Venice Commission adopted its *Updated Rule of Law Checklist* (CDL-AD(2025)002), as a follow-up to the Reykjavik Declaration, adopted at the 4th Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe (May 2023), which *inter alia* called for greater visibility of and support for the Checklist.

A dedicated working group set up within the Commission spearheaded the effort. Throughout 2024 and 2025, the working group conducted a comprehensive consultation process of a wide range of stakeholders and users of the Checklist, including Venice Commission member States, individual members of the Venice Commission and key bodies of the Council of Europe, such as the Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly, the European Court of Human Rights, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, the Group of States against Corruption (GRECO), the Consultative Council of European Judges (CCJE), the Committee of Convention 108 (T-PD), the Advisory Council of Youth (CCJ), the Access Info Group. Beyond the Council of Europe umbrella, the working group sought perspectives notably from the European Union, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers, regional ombud organisations, national constitutional courts, academia and civil society, ensuring that the update of the checklist would be informed by the widest possible range of expertise and experience.



The intellectual rigor of the updating process was further enhanced by the organisation of various academic seminars and conferences: on private sector influence (Madrid, November 2024), respect for the decisions of Constitutional Courts (Yerevan, November 2024), transnational constitutional standards (Venice, March 2025), the evolving work of the Venice Commission (Milan, May 2025) and protecting and promoting the Rule of Law, together with the United Kingdom government and the Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law (July 2025). Earlier drafts of the Updated Rule of Law Checklist were discussed in depth by the Venice Commission's Sub-Commissions, drawing on an abundance of contributions of members and substitute members of the Venice Commission.

The abovementioned efforts culminated in the adoption of the Updated Rule of Law Checklist in December 2025, reflecting new challenges, in particular those arising from technological changes (specifically artificial intelligence), Rule of Law backsliding and growing private sector influence. The structure of the 2016 Checklist was largely maintained, outlining common principles of the Rule of Law, *Rechtsstaat*, *État de droit* or *prééminence du droit*: legality, legal certainty, prevention of abuse of power, equality and non-discrimination, and access to justice. However, in light of developments since 2016, it now incorporates explicit benchmarks on checks and balances and constitutional review, highlighting their vital role in safeguarding the Rule of Law and preventing Rule of Law backsliding.

The Updated Rule of Law Checklist is far more than a legal document: it is a practical tool to various actors (parliaments and other State authorities, civil society, international organisations etc.) for assessing the state of the Rule of Law in an objective, thorough, transparent and equal manner, meant to provide a holistic overview of the situation, while focusing on respect for the most important criteria. The Updated Rule of Law Checklist focuses on legal safeguards but also makes clear that the Rule of Law can only flourish in an enabling environment, whereby decision-makers and citizens feel a shared responsibility for its implementation, and the Rule of Law forms an integral part of a country's legal and political culture. To this end, the Checklist outlines the significance of free media and a vigilant civil society, as well as the importance of legal and civic education. Finally, the Checklist emphasises the close interconnection between the Rule of Law and the other two Council of Europe pillars: democracy and respect for human rights. The Updated Rule of Law Checklist is a living instrument, which will continue to be regularly reviewed, ensuring that it remains relevant and responsive to evolving legal standards and societal developments, underpinning its value as a point of reference in protecting and promoting the Rule of Law throughout Europe and beyond.

VI. THE RULE OF LAW CAMPAIGN

The Venice Commission remains committed to fostering a strong rule of law culture, firmly convinced that all citizens are integral components of a rule-of-law-based institutional framework. In this context, on 4 June 2025, an official ceremony marked the opening of the exhibition *“The Rule of Law: A User Guide”*, which aimed to present the principles of the rule of law in a clear and accessible way to all audiences.

The unique illustrations of Maltese artist and illustrator Nadine Theuma offered an enlightening perspective on the fundamental principles of the rule of law: legality, legal certainty, prevention of abuse of power, equality before the law and non-discrimination, and access to independent and impartial justice. With its fresh and creative style, the exhibition encouraged a broader understanding of the rule of law as a cornerstone of democratic societies.

The exhibition was later hosted by the European Parliament in Strasbourg (58 000 visitors end of 2025, 97 000 visitors beginning of 2026) and displayed in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice as part of the exhibition *“Democracy through law: from the Serenissima Republic to the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe”* (280 000 visitors) (see VII below).

The exhibition was adapted into the brochure and a video *“The Rule of Law: A User Guide”*, which has now been translated into more than 30 languages, and explains why the rule of law matters and how it safeguards our freedoms every day.

This illustrated brochure explores through the eyes of ‘Lady Justice’ the essential principles of the rule of law: legality, legal certainty, prevention of abuse of power, equality before the law, and access to justice. It reminds us that the guarantees of the rule of law are universal, and must be immediately understandable, and accessible to citizens – especially young citizens.

The campaign has been promoted extensively through various means including social media, and efforts in this regard will be continued in 2026 and beyond.



VII. 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VENICE COMMISSION

2025 marked the 35th anniversary of the Venice Commission. A series of events and initiatives were organised to mark this historic milestone.

On 4 June 2025, an official ceremony in the Council of Europe in Strasbourg on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Commission marked the opening of the exhibition *“The Rule of Law: A User Guide”*, which aimed to present the principles of the rule of law in a clear and accessible way to all audiences (see VI above).

The official celebrations for the 35th anniversary were held in Venice on 10 and 11 October 2025. Holding the celebrations in Venice reaffirmed the inextricable historical and conceptual link between the Commission and the lagoon city as well as the latter’s pivotal role as a place of dialogue, exchange and encounter - principles that have underpinned the Commission’s working methods since its inception.



To celebrate the Venice Commission’s 35 years of advising countries on constitutional and legal reforms, a high-level ceremony was held in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, Italy, on 11 October 2025, in the presence of H.E. Mr Sergio Mattarella, President of the Italian Republic, H.E. Ms Maia Sandu, President of the Republic of Moldova and H.E. Ms Gordana Siljanovska-Davkova, President of the Republic of North Macedonia.

The event provided a unique opportunity to consider the achievements of the Venice Commission’s legal and constitutional assistance in Europe and beyond and to reflect on how to continue pursuing democratic development in times of backsliding.

Visit the Venice Commission website to look into the Programme of the event, the Speeches and the Photos.

On the occasion of the celebrations, a unique exhibition titled *“Democracy through law: from the Serenissima Republic to the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe”* was inaugurated in the *Appartamenti del Doge in Palazzo Ducale*, the place where the tradition of Venetian law was built up over the centuries. The exhibition, the result of collaboration between the Venice Commission, the Council of Europe Programme Office in Venice, the *Soprintendenza Archivistica e Bibliografica del Veneto e Trentino-Alto Adige*, the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, the *Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia* (MUVE), and the *Consiglio Regionale del Veneto*, remained open to the public from 11 October 2025 to 18 January 2026 and attracted around 280 000 visitors over three months. Showcasing unique documents, artefacts, and insights, as well as original constitutions and a copy of the European Convention on Human Rights, the exhibition represented a fascinating journey through the history of democracy and the rule of law: from the Serenissima Republic of Venice (697-1796), which had implemented institutions and mechanisms that in certain respects anticipated modern concepts of checks and balances and the rule of law, to modern-day constitutionalism, under the expert eye of the Venice Commission. The exhibition allowed visitors to rediscover the roots of the fundamental values of the Council of Europe - democracy, the rule of law, human rights – which, in times of democratic and rule of law backsliding, face unprecedented challenges.

Explore the Exhibition *“La Democrazia attraverso il Diritto. Dalla Serenissima Repubblica alla Commissione di Venezia del Consiglio d’Europa”*.

On 10 October, a concert was performed by an ensemble of 24 young musicians from the *Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello di Venezia* at the Scuola Grande di San Rocco. The concert celebrated both the 35th anniversary of the Venice Commission and the 75th anniversary of the European Convention on Human Rights.

ANNEX 1 - LIST OF MAIN SEMINARS AND CONFERENCES CO-ORGANISED

International conference “Lessons Learned and Learning Lessons: The Venice Commission’s Experience in Elaborating Transnationally Valid Constitutional Standards”, 12 March 2025, Venice, Italy and online

The conference co-organised by the Venice Commission and International Association of Constitutional Law (IACL) focused on such major issues as constitutional courts and their role in the system of checks and balances, the fight against corruption and rule of law standards, as well as challenges to the rule of law in the process of reforms of the judiciary. Participants further emphasised that where judicial independence had been structurally undermined, reforms must go beyond procedural fixes and instead address the legal framework, using international standards as benchmarks. During the exchanges, the rule of law was presented not only as a constraint on power, but also as a key instrument for democratic recovery following institutional breakdown, requiring the restoration of legality, legitimacy, and public trust. The exchanges provided valuable input for the development of the Updated Rule of Law Checklist.

20th European Conference of Electoral Management Bodies “Stability of electoral law – Practical Aspects”, 15-16 April 2025, Vilnius, Lithuania

The 20th European Conference of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) was held on 15-16 April 2025 in Vilnius, Lithuania, focussing on the topic “*Stability of electoral law – practical aspects*”. The conference was organised as an event of the Council for Democratic Elections – involving the Venice Commission, the Parliamentary Assembly and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe – together the Central Electoral Commission of Lithuania. The conclusions build on the Venice Commission *Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters* and the *Revised Interpretative Declaration on the Stability of Electoral Law*, and they address important practical issues for EMBs including emergency situations and technological advances in the digital sphere. This exchange, as well as the conference conclusions, will help and guide the participants in preparing and/or implementing electoral reforms.

Joint Seminar on Legislative Reform of the Constitutional Court of Mongolia, 5 May 2025 Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

On 5 May 2025, the Venice Commission and the Constitutional Court (Tsets) of Mongolia held a joint seminar on the legislative reform of the Constitutional Court and its procedure. The event took place at the National University of Mongolia. The seminar focused on the draft Law on the Constitutional Court and the draft Law on the Constitutional Court Procedure. Topics addressed included the composition and independence of the Court, standards for constitutional adjudication, transparency, digitalisation, and access to justice. The event contributed to introducing international standards on constitutional justice and helped establish effective working contacts with key partners in Mongolia, in particular the Constitutional Court, academia, and members of the judiciary. It also supported the preparation of the Opinion on the draft Laws on the Constitutional Court and on the Constitutional Court Procedure of Mongolia. The seminar was organised in the framework of the Joint EU/Council of Europe Programme “*Support to democratic reforms, human right mechanisms and rule of law principles in Latin America, Central Asia and Mongolia*”, co-funded by the Council of Europe and the European Union and implemented by the Council of Europe.

International Seminar “Legal Certainty and the Quality of Law: Concepts, Challenges, and Comparative Perspectives”, 6-7 May 2025, Rabat, Morocco

The Venice Commission, in co-operation with the House of Representatives of the Kingdom of Morocco and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, organised an international seminar entitled “*Legal Certainty and the Quality of Law: Concepts, Challenges, and Comparative Perspectives*.” On 6-7 May 2025, in Rabat, Morocco. Quality legislation helps ensure better governance, strengthens citizens’ trust in their institutions, and improves the economic and social environment. Participants discussed several topics, including the clarity and accessibility of standards, legislative coherence, legal predictability, and the limitation of discretionary power to avoid legal uncertainty. The seminar was organised in the framework of the joint European Union-Council of Europe South Programme V, co-funded by the Council of Europe and the European Union and implemented by the Council of Europe.

International conference “The Venice Commission 1990-2025: Taking stock of 35 years for democracy through law”, 15-16 May 2025, Milan, Italy

On 15-16 May 2025, the international conference “*The Venice Commission 1990-2025: Taking stock of 35 years for democracy through law*” took place in Milan, Italy, as well as online. The conference was organised by the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe together with the Bocconi University and with the participation of several Venice Commission’s representatives. The conference provided an opportunity for presenting 27 academic papers on the work of the Venice Commission and holding an exchange between academia and some members of the Venice Commission on key topics related to the Rule of Law and constitutional matters in Europe and beyond. Some of the papers presented in this occasion have already been published in *Rivista di Diritto dei Media* no. 2/2025 and are also available at The Venice Commission Doctrine on Digital Technologies and the Rule of Law. The proceedings of the Conferences held in Venice and in Milan will be published.

6th Congress of the World Conference on Constitutional Justice (WCCJ) “The Human Rights of Future Generations”, 28-30 October 2025, Madrid, Spain

The Constitutional Court of Spain and the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe held the 6th Congress of the World Conference on Constitutional Justice (WCCJ) in Madrid, Spain from 28 to 30 October 2025 on “*The Human Rights of Future Generations*”, focusing on the principle of intergenerational justice. Presidents and judges of constitutional courts and equivalent institutions from the member courts of the WCCJ over the course of three days shared experiences and discussed the challenges and opportunities for courts to safeguard the rights of future generations preservation of natural resources and the environment, of humankind’s cultural heritage and access to scientific knowledge and new technologies). A session was devoted to the independence of constitutional courts and equivalent institutions. The *Madrid Communiqué* adopted by the Congress reaffirmed that constitutional justice depends on the full independence of courts and highlighted the importance of international co-operation grounded in shared constitutional values, with the Venice Commission’s Rule of Law Checklist serving as a key tool for reinforcing the rule of law.

International conference “Current Challenges for Democracy in a State Based on the Rule of Law”, 20-21 November 2025, San José, Costa Rica

The conference co-organised by the Venice Commission, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the Centre for Political and Constitutional Studies (CEPC, Spain) focused on the crisis and key challenges to democracy and the rule of law in Europe and in Latin America focusing on the spread of illiberal critiques of democracy and the rule of law, the capture of democratic institutions, judicial independence as a core democratic safeguard, and threats posed by new technologies to democratic governance. Participants stressed the importance of strengthening citizen engagement, reinforcing constitutional safeguards against democratic erosion, upholding the role of constitutional review bodies, and promoting judicial independence, extending democratic and rule of law obligations to private technological actors. The conference was organised in the framework of the joint European Union-Council of Europe “*Support to democratic reforms, human right mechanisms and rule of law principles in Latin America, Central Asia and Mongolia*”, co-funded by the Council of Europe and the European Union and implemented by the Council of Europe.

ANNEX 2 - LIST OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS IN 2025

Albania

- ▶ Ms Elvira KOKONA (Substitute member)

Algeria

- ▶ Mr Omar BELHADJ
- ▶ *As of September* – Ms Leila ASLAOUI
- ▶ Ms Leila ASLAOUI (Substitute member)
- ▶ *As of September* – Mr Bahri SAADALLAH

Andorra

- ▶ Mr Pere VILANOVA TRIAS
- ▶ *As of April* – Ms Saïda EL BOUDOUHI (Substitute member)

Armenia

- ▶ Mr Vladimir VARDANYAN
- ▶ Mr Davit KHACHATURYAN (Substitute member)

Austria

- ▶ Mr Christoph GRABENWARTER
- ▶ Ms Katharina PABEL (Substitute member)

Azerbaijan

- ▶ Mr Rövşən İSMAYILOV

Belgium

- ▶ Mr Jan VELAERS
- ▶ M. Jean-Claude SCHOLSEM (Substitute member)

Bosnia and Herzegovina

- ▶ Mr Zlatko KNEŽEVIĆ
- ▶ Mr Nedim ADEMOVIĆ (Substitute member)
- ▶ Mr Marko BEVANDA (Substitute member)

Brazil

- ▶ Ms Carmen Lucia ANTUNES ROCHA
- ▶ Mr Gilmar Ferreira MENDES (Substitute member)

Bulgaria

- ▶ Mr Philip DIMITROV
- ▶ *As of February* – Ms Desislava ATANASOVA
- ▶ Mr Plamen KIROV (Substitute member)
- ▶ *As of February* – Mr Borislav BELAZELKOV

Canada

- ▶ Mr Warren NEWMAN
- ▶ *As of March* – Mr Hoi KONG
- ▶ *As of March* – Ms Noura KARAZIVAN (Substitute member)

Chile

- ▶ Ms María Pía SILVA GALLINATO
- ▶ Ms Nancy YÁÑEZ FUENZALIDA (Substitute member)

Costa Rica

- ▶ Mr Fernando CASTILLO VIQUEZ
- ▶ Ms Nancy HERNANDEZ LOPEZ (Substitute member)
- ▶ *As of February* – Ms Anamari GARROVARGAS

Croatia

- ▶ Ms Jasna OMEJEĆ
- ▶ Ms Sanja BARIĆ (Substitute member)

Cyprus

- ▶ Mr Yiasemis N. YIASEMI
- ▶ Mr Nicholas SANTIS (Substitute member)

Czech Republic

- ▶ Ms Veronika BÍLKOVÁ
- ▶ Mr Tomáš LANGÁŠEK (Substitute member)

Denmark

- ▶ Mr Jørgen Steen SØRENSEN
- ▶ Mr Thomas RØRDAM (Substitute member)

Estonia

- ▶ Mr Lauri MÄLKSOO
- ▶ Mr Oliver KASK (Substitute member)

Finland

- ▶ Mr Tuomas OJANEN
- ▶ Mr Janne SALMINEN (Substitute member)

France

- ▶ Ms Claire BAZY-MALAUURIE (President of the Venice Commission)
- ▶ Mr François SÉNERS (Substitute member)

Georgia

- ▶ Mr Mindia UGREKHELIDZE

Germany

- ▶ Ms Angelika NUSSBERGER
- ▶ Mr Andreas PAULUS (Substitute member)

Greece

- ▶ Mr Nicos C. ALIVIZATOS
- ▶ Mr Panayotis VOYATZIS (Substitute member)

Hungary

- ▶ Mr Andras Zs. VARGA
- ▶ *As of August* – Mr László TRÓCSÁNYI
- ▶ Mr András MÁZI (Substitute member)
- ▶ *As of August* – Mr Andras Zs. VARGA

Iceland

- ▶ Ms Herdis KJERULF THORGEIRSDOTTIR
- ▶ Mr Thorgeir ÖRLYGSSON (Substitute member)
- ▶ *Until May* – Mr Hjortur TORFASON (Substitute member)

Ireland

- ▶ Mr Richard BARRETT
- ▶ Ms Mary O'TOOLE (Substitute member)

Israel

- ▶ Ms Talia EINHORN
- ▶ Mr Chagai VINIZKY (Substitute member)

Italy

- ▶ Ms Marta CARTABIA
- ▶ Mr Cesare PINELLI (Substitute member)

Kazakhstan

- ▶ Ms Elvira AZIMOVA
- ▶ Mr Azamat YESKARAEV (Substitute member)
- ▶ *As of February* – Mr Yerlan SARSEMBAYEV

Korea, Republic of

- ▶ Mr Kiyoung KIM
- ▶ *As of April* – Mr Hyungdu KIM
- ▶ Ms Noh Kong LEE (Substitute member)
- ▶ *As of April* – Mr Seok Woo KIM

Kosovo

- ▶ Mr Qerim QERIMI
- ▶ Mr Kushtrim ISTREFI (Substitute member)

Kyrgyzstan

- ▶ Mr Aiaz BAETOV
- ▶ Mr Murat UKUSHEV (Substitute member)

Latvia

- ▶ Ms Irēna KUCINA
- ▶ Mr Mārtiņš MITS (Substitute member)

Liechtenstein

- ▶ Mr Peter BUSSJÄGER
- ▶ Mr Wilfried HOOP (Substitute member)

Lithuania

- ▶ Mr Dainius ŽALIMAS
- ▶ Ms Inga MILAŠIŪTĖ (Substitute member)

Luxembourg

- ▶ Ms Claudia MONTI
- ▶ Ms Noémie SADLER (Substitute member)

Malta

- ▶ Mr Michael FRENDO

Mexico

- ▶ Ms Mónica Aralí SOTO FREGOSO
- ▶ Mr Felipe DE LA MATA PIZAÑA (Substitute member)

Moldova, Republic of

- ▶ Ms Domnica MANOLE
- ▶ Ms Olesea STAMATE (Substitute member)

Monaco

- ▶ Mr Bertrand MATHIEU
- ▶ Mr Christophe SOSSO (Substitute member)

Montenegro

- ▶ Mr Srdjan DARMANOVIC
- ▶ Mr Zoran PAZIN (Substitute member)

Morocco

- ▶ Ms Nadia BERNOUSSI
- ▶ Mr Ahmed Essalmi El Idrissi ESSALMI (Substitute member)

Netherlands

- ▶ Mr Martin KUIJER
- ▶ Ms Janneke GERARDS (Substitute member)

North Macedonia

- ▶ Ms Renata DESKOSKA
- ▶ Mr Jeton SHASIVARI (Substitute member)

Norway

- ▶ Mr Eirik HOLMØYVIK
- ▶ Ms Adele MATHESON MESTAD (Substitute member)

Peru

- ▶ Mr Gustavo GUTIÉRREZ TICSE
- ▶ Mr Manuel MONTEAGUDO VALDEZ (Substitute member)

Poland

- ▶ Mr Justyn PISKORSKI
- ▶ Ms Joanna LEMANSKA (Substitute member)

Portugal

- ▶ Mr António Henriques GASPAR
- ▶ Mr Rui Filipe SERRA SERRÃO PATRÍCIO (Substitute member)

Romania

- ▶ Ms Laura-Iuliana SCÂNTEI
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Slovenia

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Tunisia

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Türkiye

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- ▶ Mr José Adrian PEREZ (Substitute member)

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- ▶ Mr Vincenzo BUONOMO

Japan

- ▶ Mr Daichi ITO
- ▶ *As of August* – Ms Naoko KAMEI
- ▶ Mr Masahiro SOGABE (Substitute member)

Uruguay

- ▶ Mr Alvaro GONZÁLEZ OTERO

Others

European Union

- ▶ Mr Hannes KRAEMER
- ▶ Mr Bernhard HOFSTÖTTER
- ▶ Mr Lukasz BAUMGART
- ▶ *As of February* – Mr Alvaro DE ELERA

Palestine¹

- ▶ Mr Sharhabeel AL-ZAEEM

1. This designation shall not be construed as recognition of a State of Palestine and is without prejudice to the individual positions of Council of Europe member States on this issue.



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