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# MONITORING OF THE WORK OF THE VERKHOVNA RADA of the IX convocation for the 7th session (six months of war)

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# ANNOTATION

This monitoring for six months of war consists of an executive summary, 6 chapters and annexes. The chapters cover:

- 1 Legislative activity: the total number of registered draft laws and laws adopted, their breakdown by initiators and groups of signatories;
- 2 Passing of draft laws: breakdown of laws by readings and adoption, deadlines for submitting opinions of the main committees, timeframes from registration to adoption of the law, including by readings and initiators,
- 3 Plenary time: the total amount of time spent on consideration of draft laws in the VRU, distribution of time for consideration of draft laws according to the initiator, and the amount of time required for consideration of a draft law in the session hall,
- 4 Committees: total number and breakdown by initiators of conclusions on rejection, number of committee meetings and their workload according to the number of registered draft laws and opinions on draft laws, including the workload per committee member and 1 secretariat employee,
- 5 Violations of the Rules of Procedure: the number of violations of the Rules of Procedure in relation to draft laws and proposals of the President of Ukraine,
- 6 Peculiarities of the 7th session (six months of war): a description of extraordinary practices and cases that occurred during six month of war.

The annexes contain information on the top 5 draft laws in terms of various quantitative indicators (e.g., the number of days from registration to adoption).

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine - VRU
2. Main Scientific and Expert Department - MSED
3. Main Legal Department - MLD
4. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine - **the Cabinet**
5. Committee on Agrarian and Land Policy - **Committee on Agrarian Policy**, in the charts - **Agrarian Policy**
6. Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy - **Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy**, in the charts - **Anti-Corruption Policy**
7. Committee on Budget - in the charts - **Budget**
8. Committee on Humanitarian and Information Policy - in the charts - **Humanitarian Policy**
9. Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management - in the charts - **Environmental Policy**
10. Committee on Economic Development - in charts - **Economic Development**
11. Committee on Energy, Housing and Utilities - in the charts – **Energy**
12. Committee on Public Health, Medical Care and Medical Insurance - in the charts - **Public Health**
13. Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation - in the charts - **Foreign Policy**
14. Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union - in the charts - **Integration into the EU**
15. Committee on Youth and Sports - **Committee on Youth and Sports**, in the charts - **Youth and Sports**
16. Committee on National Security, Defence and Intelligence - **Committee on National Security** - in the charts - **National Security**
17. Committee on State Building, Local Self-Government, Regional and Urban Development - in the charts - **State Building**
18. Committee on Education, Science and Innovations - **Committee on Education** - in charts - **Education**
19. Committee on Human Rights, De-occupation and Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations (until 15.08.2022 - **Committee on Human Rights, De-occupation and Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Luhansk Regions and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the City of Sevastopol, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations**) - in the charts - **Human Rights**

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

20. Committee on Legal Policy - in the charts - **Legal Policy**
21. Committee on Law Enforcement - Committee on Law Enforcement, in the charts - **Law Enforcement**
22. Committee on Rules of Procedure, Deputy Ethics and Organisation of Work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine - **Committee on Rules of Procedure, Regulatory Committee**, in the charts - **Rules of Procedure**
23. Committee on Freedom of Speech - **Committee on Freedom of Speech**, in the charts - **Freedom of Speech**
24. Committee on Social Policy and Protection of Veterans' Rights - **Committee on Social Policy**, in the charts - **Social Policy**
25. Committee on Transport and Infrastructure - **Committee on Transport Policy**, in the charts - **Transport and Infrastructure**
26. Committee on Finance, Taxation and Customs Policy - in the charts - **Finance**
27. Committee on Digital Transformation - in the charts - **Digital Transformation**
28. Faction of the political party "Sluha Narodu" - **Faction "Sluha Narodu", "Sluha Narodu"** ("Servant of the People")
29. Faction of the political party "OPPOSITION PLATFORM - FOR LIFE" in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine - **Faction "Opposition Platform - For Life", "Opposition Platform - For Life", OPFL**
30. Faction of the political party All-Ukrainian Union "Batkivshchyna" in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the ninth convocation – **Faction "Batkivshchyna", "Batkivshchyna"** ("Fatherland")
31. Faction of the political party "European Solidarity" – **"European Solidarity" Faction, "European Solidarity"**
32. Faction of the political party "GOLOS" in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the ninth convocation – **Faction "Golos", "Golos"** ("Voice")
33. MP group "Party "Za Maibuntye" - **Group "Party "Za Maibuntye", Group "Za Maibutnye", "Za Maibutnye"** ("For the Future")
34. "Dovira" parliamentary group – **"Dovira" group, "Dovira"** ("Trust")
35. "Restoration of Ukraine" parliamentary group in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine – **"Vidnovlennia Ukrayiny" group, "Vidnovlennia Ukrayiny"** ("Restoration of Ukraine")
36. Parliamentary Group "Platform for Life and Peace" in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine - **PFLP Group "Platform for Life and Peace", "Platform for Life and Peace"**.

# SUMMARY



This monitoring covers the work of the Verkhovna Rada throughout the 7th session during martial law, i.e. from 24 February 2022 to the beginning of the 8th session (6 September 2022). This is a little over 6 months, so for simplicity, we will call this monitoring “monitoring of the Verkhovna Rada’s work during six months of war”. Earlier, we monitored the first month of the 7th session<sup>1</sup>, i.e. the month before the full-scale invasion. This month was not included in the monitoring of the six months of war.

<sup>1</sup><https://parlament.org.ua/2022/09/13/ostannij-mirnij-misyats-vru-yakim-vin-buv/>



The full-scale invasion, missile attacks across Ukraine, armoured convoys crossing the state border - it was a moral shock for the entire Ukrainian society. It was difficult to predict how MPs would react to this situation. It was quite possible that MPs and government officials would flee Kyiv in an attempt to save their own lives. And some of them did just that. However, the constitutional majority of MPs continued to work, and the Verkhovna Rada, as the only legislative body, continued to perform its function. Even regardless of the decisions taken, the very fact that the Parliament continued to work throughout the full-scale invasion is an achievement. The Verkhovna Rada worked in extraordinary conditions, and the Ukrainian parliament has never had such an experience. This monitoring is interesting because it identifies and records these extraordinary working conditions of the Verkhovna Rada, showing the difference with ordinary work. The identified practices may be useful in developing legal mechanisms and procedures for the work of the Parliament under martial law and emergency conditions.

During the six months of the war, **612 draft laws were registered, 346 were considered in the plenary, and 229 of them adopted**. Another 8 draft laws were vetoed by the President, and in respect of 6 of them, the President's proposals were supported.

#### TENDENCE №1

We can already see a clear downward trend in the number of registered draft laws, which seems to indicate a decrease in the issue of legislative spam.

During the six months of the war, almost 250 fewer draft laws were registered compared to the 5th session (which also took place in the spring).

#### TENDENCE №2

However, the six months of war have halted the upward trend in the share of draft laws with a large number of signatories.



Many draft laws, mostly aimed at adapting to a full-scale invasion, have only 1 signatory. At the same time, there are still more draft laws with a large number of signatories (more than 8 signatories) than draft laws with a small number of signatories (e.g. 1 or 2-3 signatories). A higher number of signatories may indicate a better quality of draft laws and their coherence at the drafting stage.

The six months of war set a record for the number of laws passed in one session for all convocations of the Verkhovna Rada. 229 laws were adopted.



If we talk about the ninth convocation, this is twice as many as in the sixth, third, and fourth sessions combined. **The obvious reason for this is the need to urgently adapt legislation to the realities of the full-scale invasion.** The percentage distribution among the initiators of laws has hardly changed. Approximately one in seven laws was initiated by the President, one in five by the Government, and more than half were initiated by members of the “Servant of the People” faction. But the nature of the President’s legislative activity has changed. 28 of the 30 laws passed initiated by the President were ratifications or approvals of decrees. Another 2 laws are of symbolic nature. In other words, during the six months of war, the **President transferred the legislative role in shaping domestic policy to the Government and MPs.**

Compared to the 6th session, the Parliament was more active in considering, processing and adopting draft laws during the six months of war.



Thus, the ratio of the number of adopted to the number of considered draft laws increased by 18%, and the ratio of considered to registered draft laws (56%) also increased by 16% compared to the 6th session (40%). At the same time, the time spent was much less - 36 hours. This is half as much as during the 6th session (84 hours) and three times less than during the 5th session (134 hours). **Thus, during the six months of the war, the Verkhovna Rada used lawmaking tools, agenda resources and plenary time more effectively.**

**The full-scale invasion stopped the trend of the second reading prevailing over the first: that is, a greater proportion of laws were adopted in two readings rather than one. Now, 59% of draft laws are adopted in one reading, while 41% pass two readings.** During the previous two sessions, two-thirds of the laws passed two readings.

**Six months of war can be called a real “turbo mode”.** In addition to the record number of laws passed, it is also noteworthy that the time taken to process and pass draft laws has significantly decreased across the board. **Half of all draft laws passed in the first reading and in general were adopted in less than 8 days.** In fact, this can be called turbo



mode, as during the previous three sessions, this figure was 65-72 days. There are a lot of draft laws that are adopted “off the wheel”: 5 draft laws were adopted on the day of their registration. 12 draft laws were adopted the next day after their registration. As for the second reading, 70% of the draft laws significantly reduced the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in the entirety. The time was reduced by 42-168 days. The processing of draft laws by committees, expert and analytical units, and the process of political approval of draft laws have significantly accelerated. 70% of the draft laws reduced by 30-112 days the time from the first reading to adoption in the second reading and in the entirety. In other words, **the full-scale invasion interrupted the trend of increasing time for draft laws to pass from registration to adoption at all stages of this process.**

**The invasion seems to have nullified a significant part of the agenda.** The main concern of the MPs was to adapt to the new realities, which was achieved through the adoption of new legislation.

Newly registered draft laws have become a significant part of the agenda. Accordingly, the time from the registration of draft laws to their adoption has significantly decreased, primarily due to these newly registered draft laws. The time from the first reading to adoption in the second reading

and in general shows that the acceleration of the passage of draft laws is not only due to the restart.

**The MPs and staff of the Verkhovna Rada mobilised and managed to speed up the processing of draft laws** (processing both in the form of faster provision of opinions and more effective political agreements to update and adopt the draft laws).

The restart of the agenda and the mobilisation capacities of the Verkhovna Rada were most clearly demonstrated in March 2022, shortly after the start of the full-scale invasion.

The distribution of plenary time clearly demonstrates the dominance of the ruling party. **Draft laws of the “Servant of the People” faction, the Government and the President together took up 95% of the total plenary time.** This level has not changed compared to the previous session. This leaves less than 5% of plenary time for draft laws from the parliamentary minority.

The time for consideration of draft laws in the session hall has also decreased significantly. Depending on the reading, the reduction was 10-40 minutes. This is up to 90% of the time spent on consideration of draft laws during previous sessions.



The time for consideration of draft laws in the session hall has also decreased significantly. Depending on the reading, the reduction was 10-40 minutes. This is up to 90% of the time spent on consideration of draft laws during previous sessions. **Half of the draft laws adopted in the first reading were considered in less than 41 seconds. 90% of the draft laws were considered in the first reading for less than 2 minutes.** Half of all draft laws that passed both readings during the six months of war were considered in the session hall in less than 6 minutes. Such a **sharp decrease in consideration time can be explained by three factors: political consensus** (especially on defence and security issues, immediate response to the realities of a full-scale invasion), **threats to the security of the Verkhovna Rada's meetings, and the lack of online broadcasts of the meetings.**

The most busy committees were the Committee on Law Enforcement (77 opinions submitted), the Committee on Finance (71 opinions submitted), the Committee on National Security (64 opinions submitted), and the Committee on Economic Development (68 opinions submitted). This distribution of the workload seems logical for the mode

of work aimed at adapting legislation to the realities of a full-scale invasion. In addition, the monitoring of the committees' work has shown a **significant difference in the workload of the committees.** The average speed of submitting opinions differs by a factor of 25 in some committees. The workload per MP differs by a factor of 21, and the workload per secretariat employee by a factor of 25. The significant difference in the workload prompts a **review of the subjects of jurisdiction, the number of members and the distribution of human resources among the VRU committees.** During the six months of war, for the first time in the entire IX convocation, a draft law was registered for which the Committee on Freedom of Speech is the lead committee.

The full-scale invasion halted the downward trend in the proportion of violations. Procedures for reviewing **up to 67% - that is, two-thirds of laws had violations** during the six months of war. Of course, this is justified by the full-scale war, the need for urgent adaptation of legislation and the extraordinary conditions of the parliament's work. Despite the turbo mode and the high rate of violations, these violations are still less than during the first two sessions of the IX convocation. The 15-day deadline for signing, set out in **Article 94 of the Constitution, was violated in respect of 37 laws, i.e. in 16.4% of cases.** The large number of violations demonstrates the relevance of **establishing emergency legislative procedures.** Currently, 24 draft laws are in limbo - the President neither signs nor vetoes them. 12 of these draft laws were adopted during martial law.

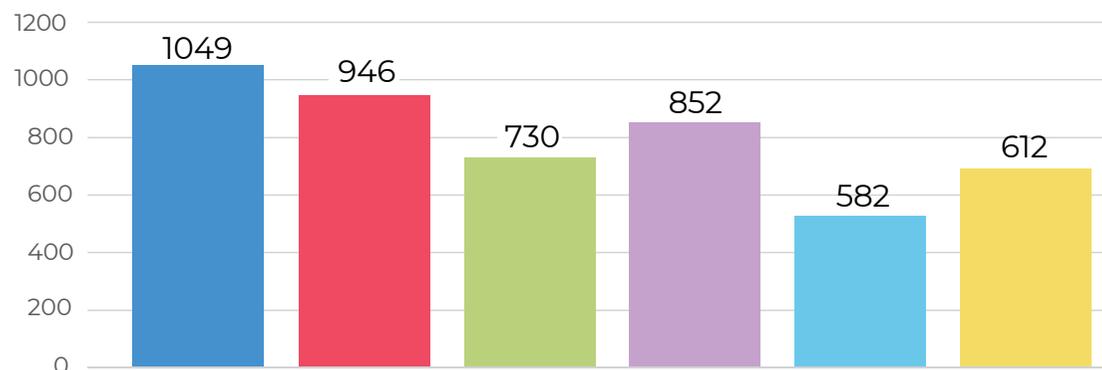
## LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY



**During the six months of war, 612 draft laws were registered<sup>2</sup>.** Compared to the same number in the spring of the 5th session, this number has decreased. **Almost 250 fewer draft laws were registered compared to the 5th session.** The decrease in the number of registered draft laws has already become a trend. We can conclude that the legislative spam has been reduced and the pressure on the structural units responsible for preliminary processing of draft laws has been reduced.

<sup>2</sup>Without taking into account the President's proposals

## Number of registered draft laws by sessions



## Registered draft laws by initiators

Initiator <sup>3</sup>	Number of registered draft laws (percentage of the total number of draft laws)
“Servant of the People” Faction	377 (61,6%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	62 (10,1%)
“Voice” Faction	33 (5,4%)
“European Solidarity” Faction	32 (5,2%)
Non-factional	30 (4,9%)
President of Ukraine	25 (4,1%)
“Fatherland” Faction	24 (3,9%)
“Restoration of Ukraine” Group	10 (1,6%)
“Party “For the Future” Group	9 (1,5%)
“Trust” Group	4 (0,7%)
“Platform for Life and Peace” Group	4 (0,7%)
“Opposition Platform – For Life” <sup>4</sup> Faction	2 (0,3%)

<sup>3</sup>For the sake of simplicity, the term “Initiator” is used here and in the following charts. This is true for the government and the president. The VRU factions do not have the right of legislative initiative, so when referring to factions, it should be understood as the faction or group to which the first signatory (initiator) among the MPs belongs.

<sup>4</sup>The OPFL faction was dissolved in April 2022, and some of its deputies formed two new parliamentary groups – “Restoration of Ukraine” and “Platform for Life and Peace”



**Almost all initiators cut the number of registered draft laws. The biggest exception is the “Servant of the People” faction. With 377 registered draft laws (more than all other initiators combined),** this faction received the largest share of registered draft laws in the entire ninth convocation.

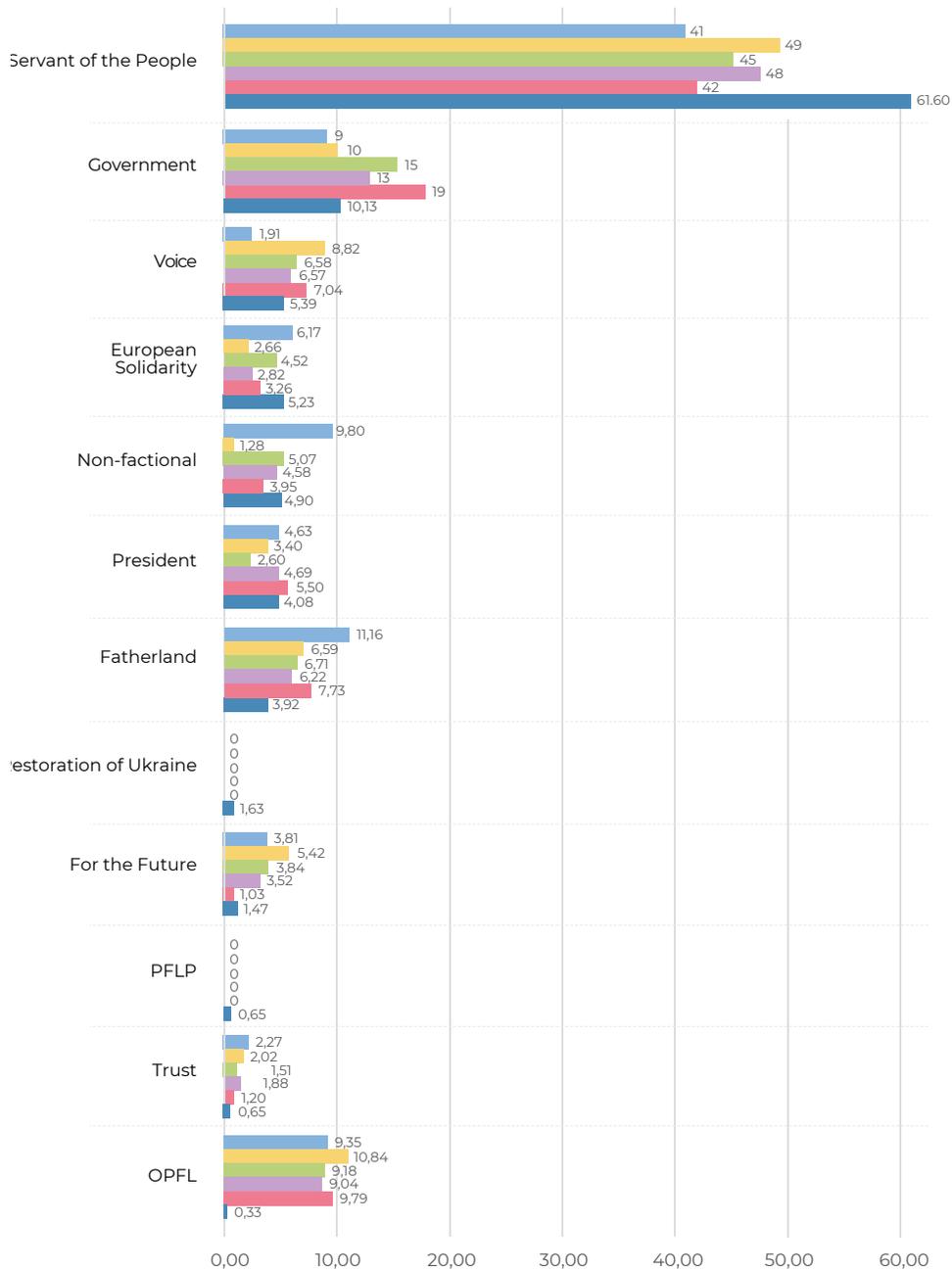
A possible reason for this legislative activity is the response to the full-scale invasion and the need to quickly adapt legislation to the new conditions. Keep in mind that some of the draft laws from the “Servant of the People” faction may actually be draft laws prepared by the government and formally submitted by a member of the coalition.

The Cabinet of Ministers itself has reduced the number of registered draft laws. During the ninth convocation, the Government initiated between 94 and 111 draft laws per session, while during the six months of war, the Government registered only 62 draft laws (i.e., a third less than its usual figure). As for the President, he registered

25 draft laws, but this does not take into account the President’s proposals to vetoed draft laws. Only 8 such proposals were registered during the six months of the war. **This means that the President has hardly changed his quantitative position as a subject of submitting draft laws.**

All other factions and parliamentary groups can be divided into two categories. The “Voice”, “European Solidarity”, “Fatherland”, and non-factional MPs registered 24-33 draft laws each, accounting for a share of 4-5%. Here, we can single out the “European Solidarity” faction, which has slightly increased both the number and the share of registered draft laws (compared to previous sessions).

Another category includes the parliamentary groups “For the Future”, “Trust” and, created mainly from former members of the OPFL, the groups “Restoration of Ukraine” and “Platform for Life and Peace”. Representatives of these associations registered up to 10 draft laws, having minimal shares of all registered ones. As for the “Opposition Platform - For Life” faction, before its dissolution, the respective MPs managed to register 2 draft laws.



## Registered draft laws by subjects and by sessions, in %

The affiliation of the draft law was determined by the factional affiliation of the initiator. For MPs, the first signatory of the draft law is considered the initiator. This method has its limitations, but it is used, in particular, in the VRU Secretariat. In addition, part 3 of Article 90 of the Rules of Procedure directly defines the MP whose signature is the first to appear as the initiator of the draft law. However, if the factional affiliation of a draft law is defined by the factional affiliation of the largest number of signatories to the draft law, then the factional affiliation will change for only 5.1% of the draft laws registered during the six months of war<sup>5</sup>. Interestingly, in 25 out of 27 such cases, a large number of MPs from the “Servant of the People” faction signed the draft law with the initiator (first signatory) from outside this faction. That is, the faction switching occurred from the “Servant of the People” faction to an MP from another category. Most often, these initiators were Ruslan Stefanchuk and Dmytro Razumkov.

<sup>5</sup> For the 5th session, this figure was 6%, and for the 6th session - 4.5%.

■ 1-2 Sessions   ■ 3 Session   ■ 4 Session   ■ 5 Session  
 ■ 6 Session   ■ 7 Session (six months of war)

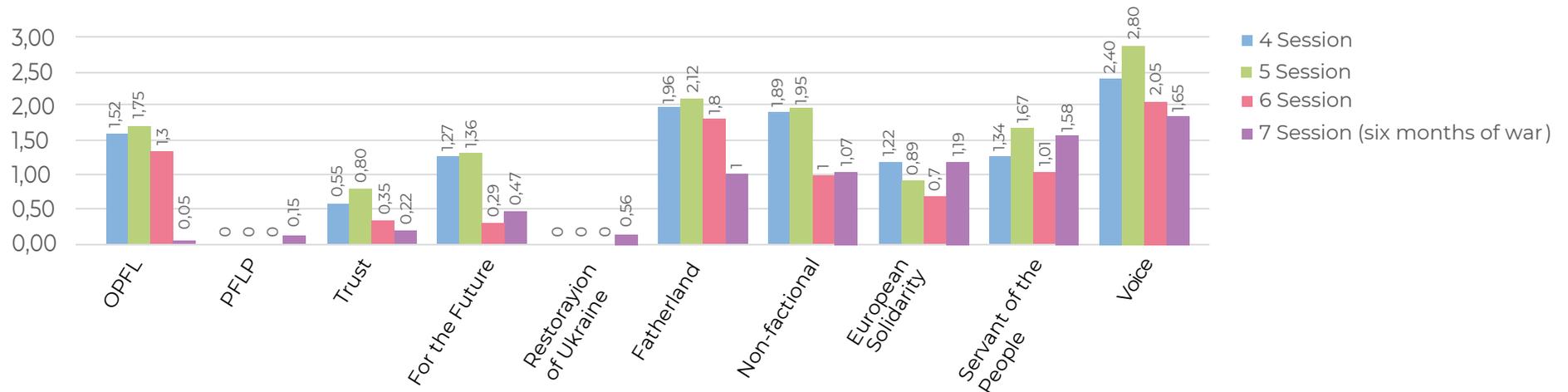


The number of registered draft laws per MP shows a clear difference between factions and groups. **Factions and non-factional MPs registered more than 1 draft law per 1 MP.** Traditionally, the highest rates were recorded by the “Voice” faction (1.65 draft laws per 1 MP) and the “Servant of the People” faction (1.58 draft laws per 1 MP). A significant decrease in this indicator was observed in the “Fatherland” faction (from 1.8 draft laws to 1 draft law per 1 MP). However, all groups (including the dissolved OPFL) registered far less than 1 draft law per 1 MP. Interestingly, the “European Solidarity” faction registered 1.19 draft laws per 1 MP during the six months of war, although during the previous two sessions this faction was on par with the parliamentary groups, registering less than 1 draft law per 1 MP.

It is reasonable to assume that the legislative work in parties representing factions is better organised than in groups formed by majoritarian MPs, due to the sustainable organisational structure and the possibility to establish the

work of the MP group as a subject of the right of legislative initiative. This affects the ability to develop “group” draft laws. In addition, neither the OPFL nor the groups created by former members of the OPFL were actively engaged in legislative work during the six months of the war.

It is worth noting that the **number of draft laws per MP cannot serve as an indicator of efficiency. Rather, it is an indicator that allows us to better understand the characteristics of factions and groups.** The number of draft laws submitted by specific MPs is deliberately not given here, as this is perceived by them as an indicator of their performance, which encourages them to register more draft laws, neglecting the quality. This results in an increase in legislative spam.

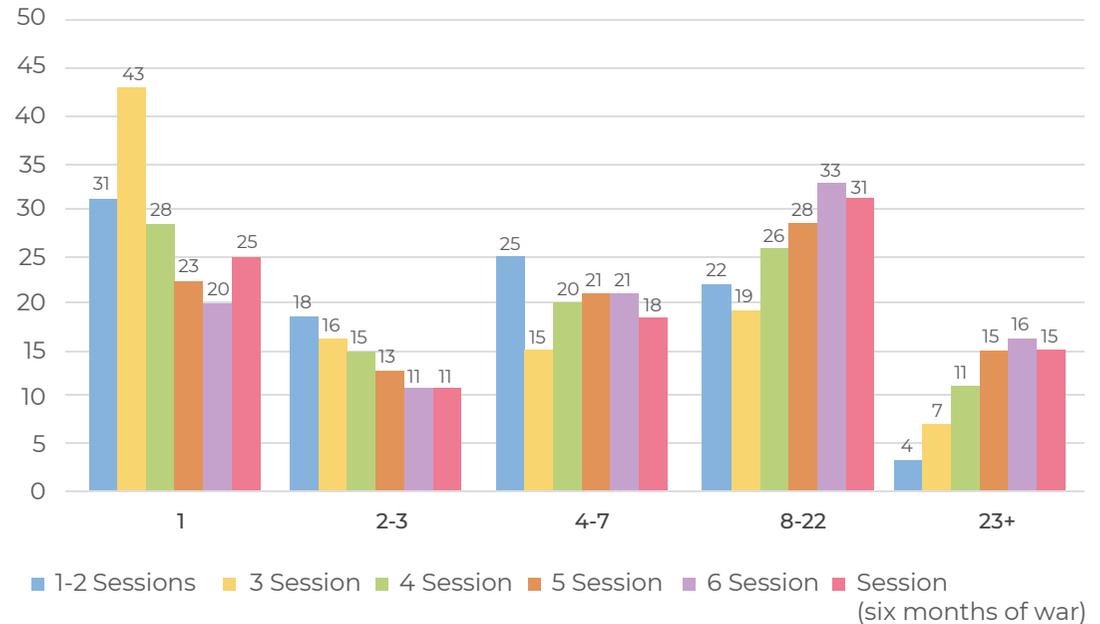




## Registered draft laws by group of signatories

Groups by the number of MPs - signatories of draft laws	Number of draft laws initiated by MPs during the six months of war (percentage of the total number of draft laws)
1	130 (25%)
2-3	59 (11%)
4-7	97 (18%)
8-22	162 (31%)
23+	77 (15%)

## Breakdown of draft laws by the number of signatories in %



**The full-scale invasion has somewhat halted the trend of increasing the share of draft laws with a large number of signatories.** There were many draft laws with a single signatory. To a certain extent, this can be explained by the need to adapt to the conditions of martial law, as the peak of registration of such draft laws was in March. However, the group with 8-22 signatories still holds the largest share among the signatory groups. The record for six months of war is 237 signatories in one draft law<sup>6</sup>.

It should be noted that a higher number of signatories means better elaboration of draft laws, a higher level of consensus and a reduction in legislative spam.

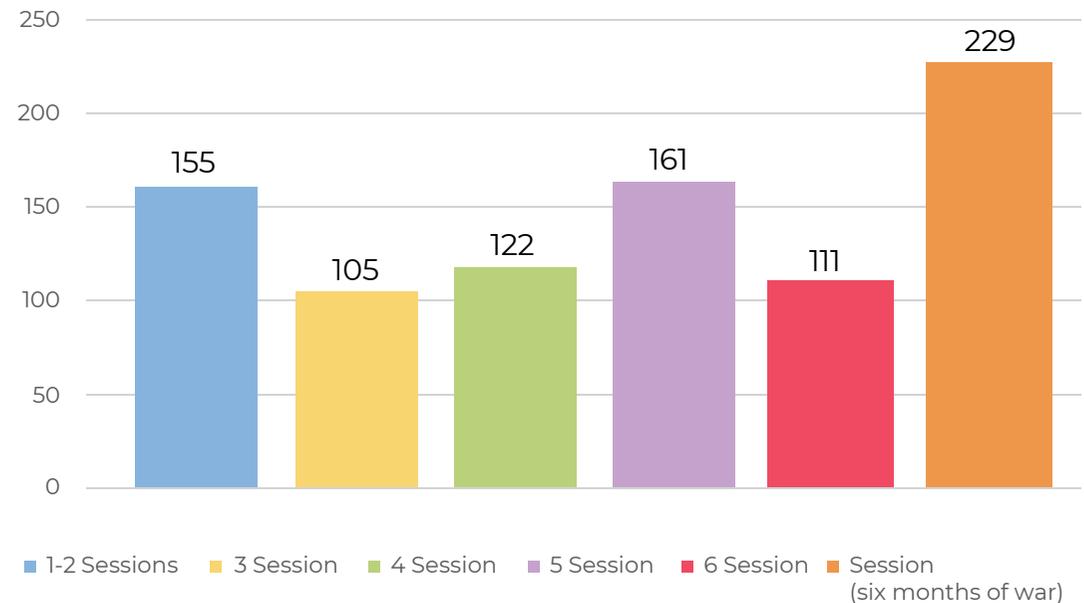
<sup>6</sup>Draft Law on Amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Holding Remote Meetings of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 7129 dated 08.03.2022. The initiator (first signatory) is Ruslan Stefanchuk.



## Adopted laws

During the six months of war, a total of 229 laws<sup>7</sup> were adopted. This is a record for the number of laws passed during one session<sup>8</sup> in the third to ninth convocations of the Verkhovna Rada (data for the first and second convocations are not available in open data format). In the case of the ninth convocation, this is twice as many as during the previous session and more than during the third and fourth sessions combined. It seems that such a huge number of laws was passed due to the need to quickly adapt legislation to the realities of a full-scale war.

Another 8 draft laws were adopted during six months of the war, but then vetoed by the President. As for 6 of these draft laws, the President's proposals were considered and adopted during the first six months of war<sup>9</sup>.



<sup>7</sup>Excluding those vetoed.

<sup>8</sup>The record was set if the data for the entire 7th session is taken into account. Moreover, the highest number of laws passed during the 7th session of the IX convocation will be set if we count the initial adoption of all laws (including vetoed ones) and if we count all the adoptions of laws (i.e., the initial vote for the adoption of a law and the vote for the adoption of the President's proposals are counted as two separate units, in fact, one draft law can be counted two or more times). If we count only the six months of war (i.e., without the first "peaceful" month of the 7th session), the record will be set if we count both the number of unvetoed laws and the number of initial votes on all laws. But if you count the number of all votes for the adoption of laws (i.e., both initial adoptions and the President's proposals), the six months of war will be in third place. In addition, it is worth keeping in mind that when talking about the record for the 7th session, it is also important to remember that the sessions are usually shorter in terms of the number of days, with spring sessions usually ending in mid-July rather than September.

<sup>9</sup>The president's proposals are separated into a separate group because several full-fledged procedures are hidden under one registration number of a draft law. If the president vetoes a draft law passed by the VRU, the draft law must be re-examined in committees, separate supporting documents (comparative tables, expert opinions, etc.) must be prepared, and a new discussion and vote on the draft law must be held in the plenary session. Moreover, such a draft law can be sent back for revision and another round of preparation can be launched. In other words, after the veto is imposed, another procedure for preparing and reviewing the draft law is actually carried out. That is why such draft laws are singled out in a separate group.



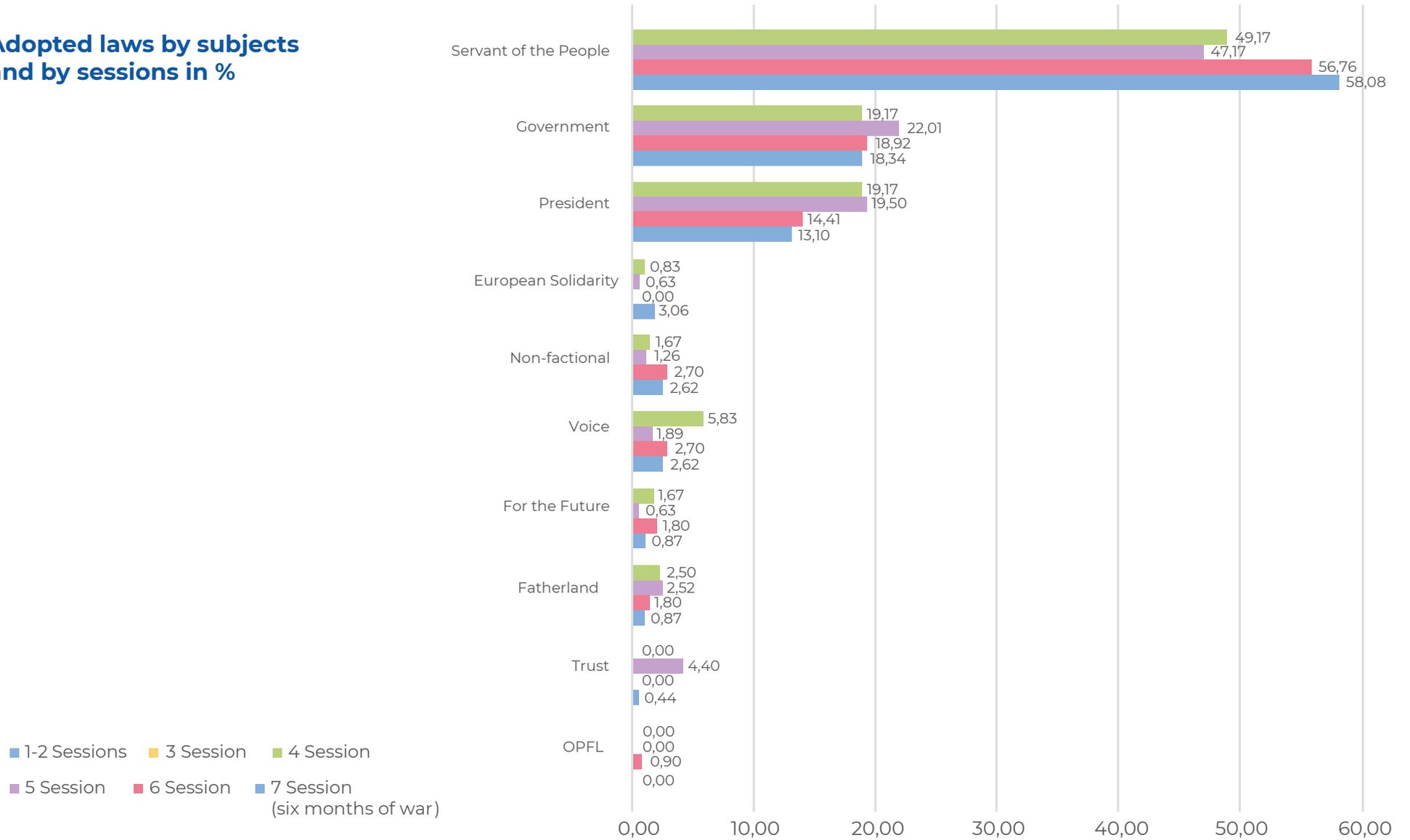
## Adopted laws by initiators

Initiator	Number of laws (percentage of the total number of laws)
“Servant of the People” faction	133 (58,1%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	42 (18,3%)
President of Ukraine	30 (13,1%)
“European Solidarity” faction	7 (3,1%)
Non-factional	6 (2,6%)
“Voice” faction	6 (2,6%)
“Party for the Future” Group	2 (0,9%)
“Fatherland” faction	2 (0,9%)
“Trust” Group	1 (0,4%)

Despite a significant increase in the number of draft laws passed (all the main initiators set records for the number of laws they initiated during the six months of war), the percentage of laws passed has hardly changed. **Approximately one in seven laws was initiated by the President, one in five by the Government, and more than half were initiated by MPs from the “Servant of the People” faction.** In other words, the distribution of roles and influence in the legislative process has not changed, despite the extreme working conditions and a significant increase in the number of laws passed. The only exception was the “European Solidarity” faction. MPs from this faction initiated as many as 7 laws adopted during the six months of war. For comparison, over the previous three sessions, there were only two laws initiated by MPs from the “European Solidarity” faction.



## Adopted laws by subjects and by sessions in %





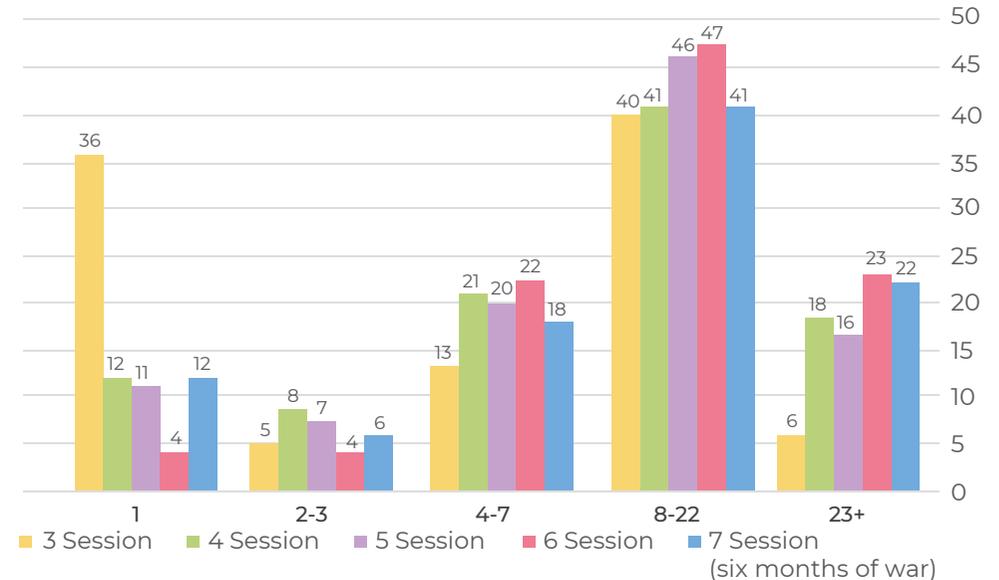
## Adopted laws by groups of signatories

The full-scale invasion halted the trend of increasing the share of groups of laws with a large number of signatories (as in the case of draft laws). The increase in the share of laws with a small number of signatories can be explained by the need to urgently adapt to the conditions of full-scale war. 12 of the 19 laws with only one signatory were registered in March, and 10 of them were laws that took up to three days to pass. Later, when the work of the Verkhovna Rada became somewhat back to normal, the share of laws with a large number of signatories increased. In general, this distribution of signatory groups is very similar to the distribution that was present during the 4th session. And even despite martial law, the group with 8-22 signatories is still the largest, while the share of laws with declarations<sup>10</sup> (23+ signatories) is still in second place. This confirms the pattern that draft laws introduced by large groups of MPs are more likely to become laws.

The Law on Amendments to the Budget Code of Ukraine on the Crediting of Certain Administrative Fees for State Registration in the Field of Urban Development No. 5656 of 11.06.2021 has the most signatories. Namely, it has 144 signatories.

Groups by the number of signatories - MPs, for adopted laws	Number of laws submitted by MPs during the six months of war (percentage of the total number of MPs' laws)
1	19 (12%)
2-3	9 (6%)
4-7	29 (18%)
8-22	65 (41%)
23+	35 (22%)

## Breakdown of adopted laws by the number of signatories in per cent



<sup>10</sup> Draft laws submitted by a large number of MPs, most of whom were obviously not involved in the drafting of such laws. A large number of signatories to such laws should serve as a political legitimisation and expression of support for the draft law.



## Summarised information on the legislative activity of the initiators

Initiator	Number of registered draft laws (percentage of the total number of registered draft laws)	Number of draft laws considered in the session hall (percentage of the total number of considered draft laws)	Number of adopted laws (percentage of the total number of laws adopted)
“Servant of the People” Faction	377 (61,6%)	196 (56,6%)	133 (58,1%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	62 (10,1%)	63 (18,2%)	42 (18,3%)
President of Ukraine	25 (4,1%)	32 (9,2%)	30 (13,1%)
“European Solidarity” Faction	32 (5,2%)	14 (4%)	7 (3,1%)
Non-factional	30 (4,9%)	16 (4,6%)	6 (2,6%)
“Voice” Faction	33 (5,4%)	13 (3,8%)	6 (2,6%)
“Fatherland” faction	24 (3,9%)	4 (1,2%)	2 (0,9%)
“Party for the Future” Group	9 (1,5%)	3 (0,9%)	2 (0,9%)
“Trust” Group	4 (0,7%)	4 (1,2%)	1 (0,4%)
“Restoration of Ukraine” Group	10 (1,6%)	1 (0,3%)	0 (0%)
“Platform for Life and Peace” Group	4 (0,7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
“Opposition Platform - For Life” Faction	2 (0,3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	612 (100%)	346 (100%)	229 (100%)



The Government and the President have a larger share of adopted draft laws than reviewed ones, and a larger share of reviewed ones than registered ones. This distribution demonstrates the influence of these subjects of legislative initiative on the legislative process in general and on the formation of parliamentary agendas in particular. The “Servant of the People” faction has approximately equal shares among the registered, considered and adopted draft laws. As in previous sessions, factions and groups of the parliamentary minority have larger shares among registered draft laws than among those considered or adopted, which is quite logical. We can also pay attention to the ratio of the number of adopted laws to the number of considered draft laws - it is 66%, while in the 6th session this ratio was 48%. That is, this ratio has increased by 18%. The ratio of the number of considered draft laws to the number of registered ones during the six months of the war (56%) also increased by 16% compared to the 6th session (40%). In other words, during the six months of

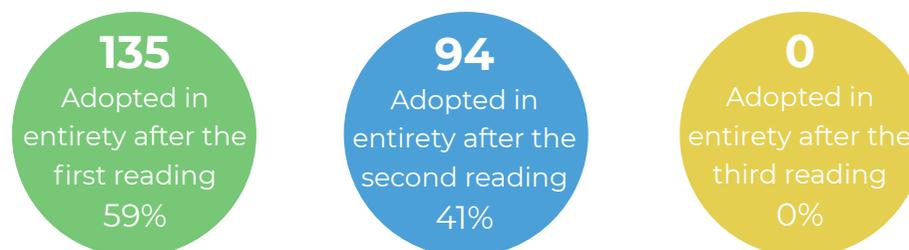
war, the Verkhovna Rada considered draft laws faster and passed more of them than during the 6th session. However, a significant acceleration of the parliament’s work is inevitably accompanied by an increase in the number of violations (read more about this in the section “Violations of the Rules of Procedure”) and a decrease in the quality of laws adopted in the session hall. If we compare the figures for six months of war with those for 1-2 sessions, when many talked about “turbo mode”, the ratio of adopted laws to considered ones increased by 15%, and the ratio of considered draft laws to registered ones increased by 27%.

Thus, during the six months of war, the Verkhovna Rada made more efficient use of lawmaking tools, agenda resources and plenary time.

# PASSAGE OF DRAFT LAWS



## Number of laws by readings



**The full-scale invasion broke the trend of the second reading prevailing over the first. Now, 59% of draft laws are adopted in one reading, while 41% pass two readings.** However, during the previous two sessions, two-thirds of the laws were adopted in the second reading, and one-third in the first reading and in general. However, the trend of not using the third reading has not changed - not a single draft law has passed three readings<sup>11</sup>. In fact, the six months of war set a record for the share of draft laws passed in the first reading and in their entirety. The reasons for this are obvious: the need for urgent legislative changes to adapt to the conditions of martial law. Two readings allow for better preparation of the draft law, correcting shortcomings and mistakes made during the first reading. However, two readings also require more time.

<sup>11</sup>According to part 1 of Article 102 of the Rules of Procedure, "Draft laws are considered by the Verkhovna Rada, as a rule, in three readings". For more information on the peculiarities of the third reading, please see: <https://parlament.org.ua/2021/09/29/analitika-dnya-tretye-chitannya-zajve/>



## Percentage (%) of laws passed by readings



<sup>12</sup>The data presented here relates only to those cases when opinions were provided. We calculated the time between the date of registration of the draft law and the date of the first opinion of the main committee, including opinions on inclusion in the agenda. This type of conclusion was taken into account because when it is provided, the committee is actually already considering the draft laws on their merits.

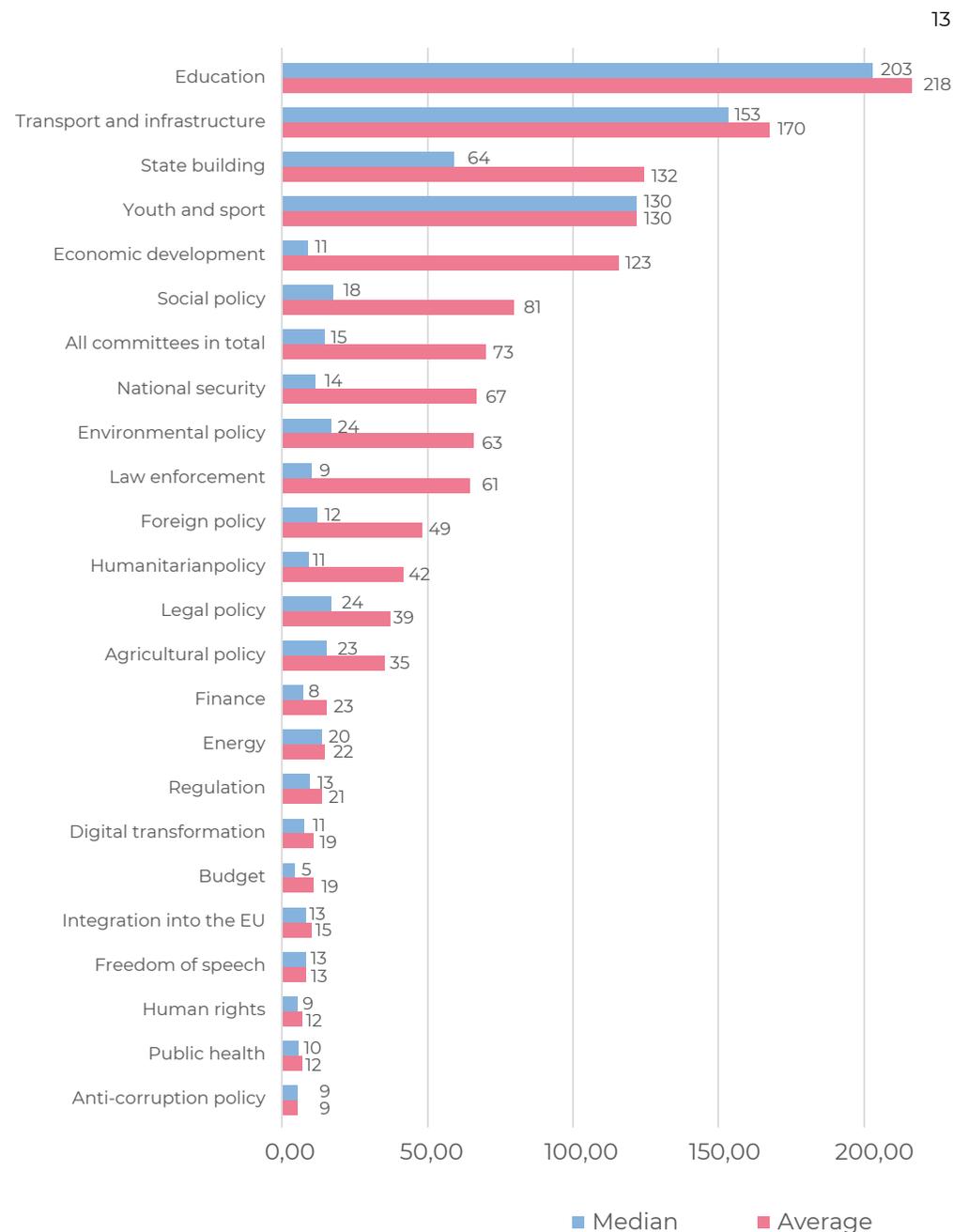
## Deadlines for submitting opinions of the main committees for the first reading

The time required for the main committees to provide their opinions on draft laws<sup>12</sup> enables us to assess several important indicators at once. In terms of committees, the time from registration to the first committee opinion characterises the workload of the committees, their efficiency, and allows us to generally predict the speed of preliminary processing of a draft law depending on its main committee. In terms of initiators, the time taken to provide opinions characterises the “commitment” of committee members to a particular initiator and enhances the predictive capabilities of the speed of preliminary processing. Finally, the time taken to receive the first opinion of the main committee, together with the data on the overall passage of draft laws, allows for a better understanding of the overall dynamics of the passage of draft laws.

Committees provided their opinion for the first reading in an average of 73 days, and half of all opinions were provided in 15 days.



## Number of days from registration to submission of the first opinion of the main committee



<sup>13</sup> It should be considered that the following committees provided less than 5 conclusions in the six months of war: Committee on Freedom of Speech, Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy, Committee on Youth and Sports, Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union, Committee on Rules of Procedure, Deputy Ethics and Organisation of Work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Committee on Energy, Housing and Utilities, Committee on Public Health, Medical Care and Health Insurance.



**The speed of issuing opinions varies greatly from committee to committee.** The difference in some cases reaches 25 times. If we compare the results of the 6th session with the results of the six months of war, the time for issuing an opinion has decreased significantly in almost all committees. The decrease ranged from 12 to 200 days, depending on the committee. The only exceptions were the Committee on Education, the Committee on Foreign Policy and the Committee on Youth and Sports (although this committee provided less than 5 opinions). The busiest committees<sup>14</sup> are the Committee on National Security, the Committee on Finance, and the Committee on Law Enforcement. Despite their workload, these committees consider draft laws relatively quickly. In general, the workload and the speed of providing opinions are mostly correlated. However, there are three notable exceptions. The Committee on Finance, despite its heavy workload, provides its opinions quite quickly. The Committee on Transport and Infrastructure, on the contrary, despite its low workload, is relatively slow to provide opinions on draft laws (a similar situation was observed in the 6th session). The Committee on Youth and Sports, despite its minimal workload, also took a long time to provide its only opinion.

Subject of submission	Average number of days	Median <sup>15</sup> number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	147	99,5
Member of Parliament	62	13
President of Ukraine	15	2

The situation looks quite interesting in terms of the subjects of submission and initiators. **For the President and MPs, the time for obtaining opinions has significantly decreased. Half of all opinions on the President's draft laws are provided in two days or less. The average time for both the President and MPs to receive a committee's opinion has more than halved compared to the 6th session. However, the average time for the Government to receive opinions has increased.** This was due to the government's draft laws that had been pending in the committees since the previous sessions. Opinions to governmental draft laws registered during the six months of war were provided mostly within a month.

<sup>14</sup> Read more about the workload of committees in the chapter on committees.

<sup>15</sup> The median is the value that divides all data in half, i.e. half of all observations will be less than the median, and half will be more than the median.



As for the factions and groups, except for OPFL and “Trust”<sup>16</sup>, the time for submitting committee opinions has decreased in all cases. The leaders, as in the previous session, were the “Golos” and “Servant of the People” factions. Half of the opinions on the draft laws of the “Servant of the People” faction were received in less than two weeks, while on average, MPs of this faction had to wait a month and a half to receive an opinion.

The top 5 slowest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to the first opinion of the main committee, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws, can be found in Annex 1.

Factional affiliation of the initiator	Average number of days	Median number of days
OPFL	285	277
Trust	198	198
“For the Future”	194	7
Government	147	99,5
“Fatherland”	143	54
“European Solidarity”	114	21
Non-factional	104	7
“Servant of the People”	47	14
Golos	24	5,5
“Restoration of Ukraine”	20	24
President	15	2
“Platform for Life and Peace”	7	7

<sup>16</sup> It should be borne in mind that for the groups “Trust”, “Platform for Life and Peace”, “Restoration of Ukraine”, “For the Future”, and the “Opposition Platform - For Life” faction, the indicators were calculated on the basis of one to four conclusions. Therefore, fast or slow delivery of opinions on their draft laws is more a coincidence than a system. Other factions have more than 10 opinions.



## Deadlines for submitting opinions of the main committees for the second reading

The rate of submission of committee opinions for the second reading<sup>17</sup> is less indicative due to the small number of such opinions per committee. These data<sup>18</sup> should be treated with caution, but they are also worthy of attention.

**15 out of 18 committees reduced the time they took on average to provide opinions for the second reading.** The number of days to provide an opinion decreased by 30-160 days. Only three Committees (on Public Health, Budget, and Environmental Policy) increased the time required to provide an opinion for the second reading. However, even for these committees, the increase in the time required to provide opinions is due to the “old” draft laws. For those draft laws that were adopted during the war, the relevant committees provided their opinions within 1 month.

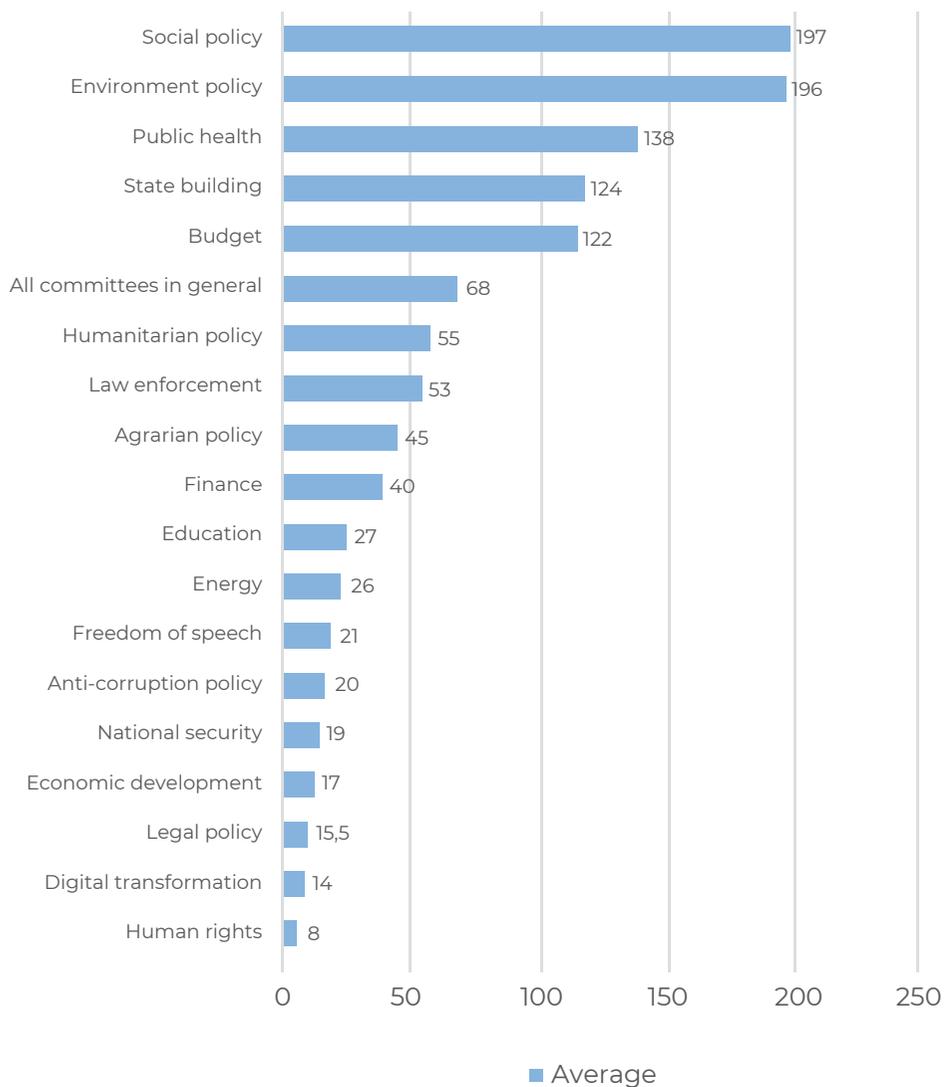
The time from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to the provision of the opinion for the second

reading was 68 days on average, and half of all opinions were provided in 17 days. In other words, the speed of the committee’s processing of draft laws for the second reading is almost the same as the speed of processing for the first reading.

The Committee on National Security and the Committee on Economic Development stand out among the other committees, as they both provided their opinions for the second reading relatively quickly, despite having a rather heavy workload. The Committee on Public Health was much slower in providing opinions on the second reading than on the first. The Education Committee, on the other hand, provided opinions on the second reading much faster than on the first.

<sup>17</sup> We calculated the number of days between the date of adoption of the draft law in the first reading and the date of submission of the first committee opinion for the second reading (although there may be several opinions).

<sup>18</sup> Due to the small number of opinions for the second reading, only the average value is used here. Only three committees provided more than 10 opinions for the second reading in the six months of war.



### Average number of days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee to the second reading

Initiator	Average number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	69,5
Member of Parliament of Ukraine	69,6
President of Ukraine <sup>19</sup>	13,5

<sup>19</sup> It should be borne in mind that the President initiated only 2 draft laws, which received committee opinions for the second reading.



Presidential draft laws are the fastest to receive committee opinions for the second reading. Although there are only 2 such opinions, this situation fits the general trend. MPs' and government draft laws receive opinions for the second reading at almost the same rate. For all submitters, the time to receive an opinion for the second reading has significantly decreased. In terms of individual factions and groups, the situation is the same: the time for providing opinions has decreased. The only exception is a draft law submitted by an MP from the OPFL<sup>20</sup> faction: compared to the last session, the time for providing an opinion on the OPFL draft law has increased.

The top 5 slowest draft laws in terms of the number of days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee to the second reading, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws, can be found in Annex 2.

Affiliation of the initiator <sup>21</sup>	Average number of days
Non-factional	335
OPFL	246
“Servant of the People”	69,8
Government	69,5
“Voice”	33
“Fatherland”	15
President	13,5
“Resporation of Ukraine”	13
“European Solidarity”	13
“For the Future”	9

<sup>20</sup> At the time of registration of the draft law, the OPFL had not yet been dissolved and the MP concerned was a member of this faction.

<sup>21</sup> It is worth noting that a large number of conclusions (more than 15) were provided only on the draft laws of the government and the “Servant of the People” faction. For the President, other factions and groups, the number of draft laws for which opinions were provided is less than 5. Therefore, this value can be explained by coincidence.



## Timeframe for passing laws from registration to adoption<sup>22</sup>

The average time for the adoption of laws, regardless of the reading, is 130 days, with a median of 38 days (i.e. half of the draft laws were adopted in more than 38 days and half in less than 38 days).

### Time from registration to adoption in the first reading and in entirety

Session number	Average number of days	Median number of days
Sessions 1-2	26	21,5
Session 3	60	32
Session 4	75	69
Session 5	81	65
Session 6	102	72
Session 7 (six months of war)	64,5	8

The full-scale invasion has also made its own adjustments to the speed of passing draft laws. **Usually, with each new session, the time from registration to adoption increased. This trend has come to a halt. Moreover, half of all draft laws passed in the first reading and in their entirety were adopted in less than 8 days.** The reasons for this can be found again in the need to urgently adapt to the realities of martial law. There are many draft laws that are being adopted “off the wheels”. Namely, 5 draft laws were adopted on the day of their registration. Another 12 draft laws were adopted the day after they were registered.

The way laws are adopted in the first reading has also changed. During the 6th session, such a procedure was almost exclusively “deputy-led”, and the draft laws of the Cabinet of Ministers and the President adopted in the first reading and in their entirety were exclusively ratifications and international agreements. During the six months of war, the Cabinet of Ministers’ draft laws were also actively adopted in the first reading and the entirety. Now, half of the Government’s draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety are amendments to laws (the most common type of legislation).

<sup>22</sup>The data is provided only for laws that were not vetoed.



The President's lawmaking has also changed. Out of 30 draft laws submitted by the President, 29 were adopted in the first reading and in their entirety. Only 1 draft law from the President passed two readings. But 28 out of 30 presidential draft laws are ratifications, international agreements and approval of decrees (extension of mobilisation and martial law). The other two laws are relatively symbolic:

- 1 The amendments to Article 73 of the Labour Code of Ukraine regarding the establishment of a public holiday - the Day of Ukrainian Statehood - were adopted in the first reading and in entirety.
- 2 Establishment of legal and social guarantees for citizens of the Republic of Poland staying on the territory of Ukraine - adopted in the second reading and in entirety.

**In other words, the President reduced his legislative activity, and for six months of the war, the Government and members of the Verkhovna Rada were the main decision-makers (in terms of legislative changes) on domestic policy. However, this does not mean that the draft laws of these actors were not approved by the President.**

The detailed dynamics of the timeframe for the adoption of draft laws in the first reading and in their entirety shows that the time for adoption has significantly decreased for 80% of the draft laws. The decrease ranged from 10 days for the fastest<sup>23</sup> draft laws to 103 days for the slowest ones. However, the trend of decreasing the time for adoption of draft laws did not affect the slowest draft laws. They were adopted about 26 days later. The experimental indicator of the "growth rate" was -60 days (minus sixty days), which reflects the fact that the time for adopting draft laws has decreased. The growth rate is calculated as the average difference between the difference in deciles<sup>24</sup> of the number of days from registration to adoption of the sixth and fifth sessions and the difference in deciles of the number of days from registration to adoption of the seventh (six months of war) and sixth sessions<sup>25</sup>.

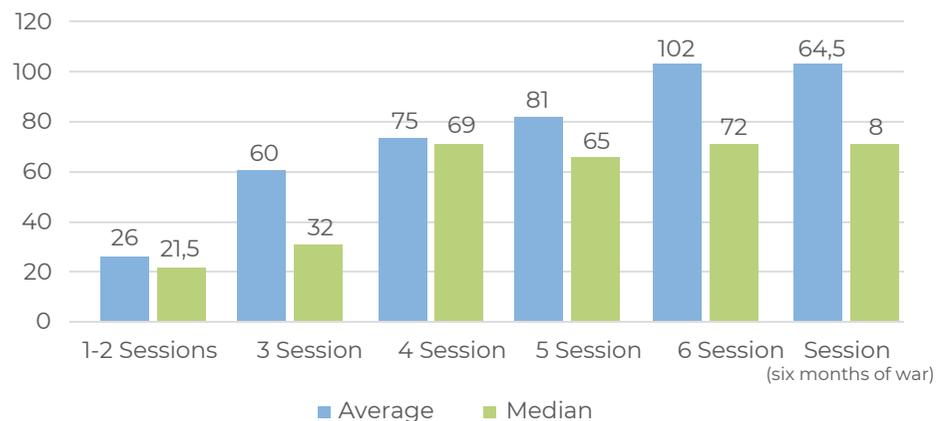
<sup>23</sup> Hereinafter, fast draft laws are defined as those with low values of the time from registration to adoption (i.e. if it takes 5 days from registration to adoption, for example, it is a fast draft law). Slow draft laws are those with high values of the respective indicators (e.g. 300 days from registration to adoption).

<sup>24</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quantile>

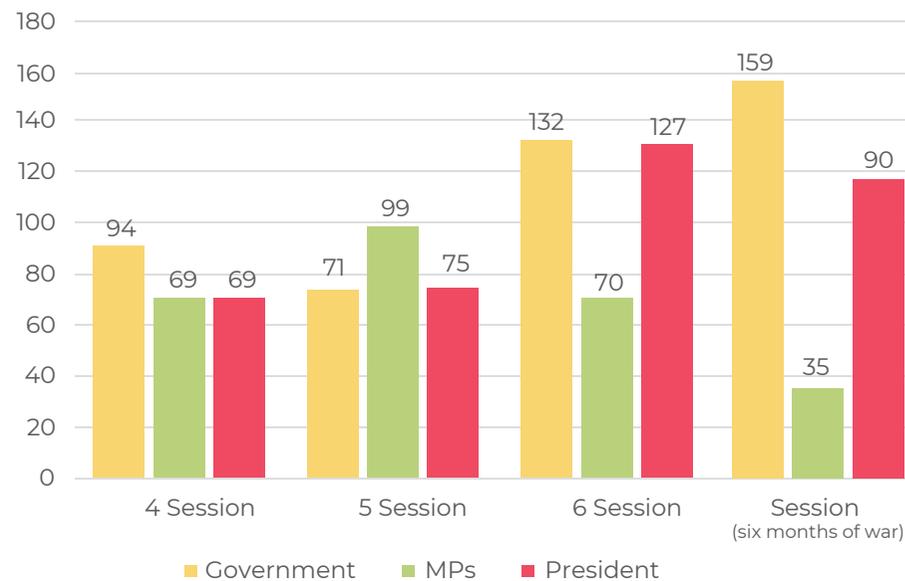
<sup>25</sup> In other words, the "pace" characterises the rate of increase in the time of adoption. For example, let's imagine that between the first and second sessions, on average, the time for adopting draft laws increased by 10 days, and between the second and third sessions, this increase was 7 days. Then the indicator, called the pace here, would be -3 days, meaning that the growth slowed down. If the increase was 15 days between the second and third sessions, the rate would be 5 days, which would mean that growth has accelerated.



## Comparison of sessions by the number of days spent on adopting draft laws in the first reading



## Average number of days from registration to adoption of a draft law in the first reading by session and subject



Subject of initiatio	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	159	40
Member of Parliament of Ukraine	35 (28 for the "Servant of the People" faction)	5 (5 for the "Servant of the People" faction)
President of Ukraine	90	20



**The time required for the adoption of MPs' draft laws was halved.** It is also noteworthy that half of all parliamentary draft laws were adopted in less than 5 days. This is also explained by the need for rapid adaptation to the conditions of martial law. **Almost all of the draft laws adopted in less than 5 days were registered in March.** The time required for the adoption of presidential draft laws was reduced by a quarter. The Government is the only entity that increased the time from registration to adoption in the first reading and in the entirety. Such indicators for the Government are due to international agreements and ratifications that were registered long ago and have been pending for a long time.

The top 5 slowest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to adoption in the first reading and in the entirety, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws, can be found in Annex 3. Both top lists are quite revealing. The five fastest draft laws were adopted on the day of their registration, and three of them deal with the urgent response to a full-scale invasion. And the five longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety are withdrawals from international agreements concluded with CIS countries. These initiatives were registered a long time ago, and the full-scale invasion made them relevant.



## Time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety<sup>26</sup>

Session number	Average number of days	Median number of days
Sessions 1-2	47	37
Session 3	159	173
Session 4	190	173
Session 5	259	230
Session 6	300	258
Session 7 (six months of war)	225	89,5

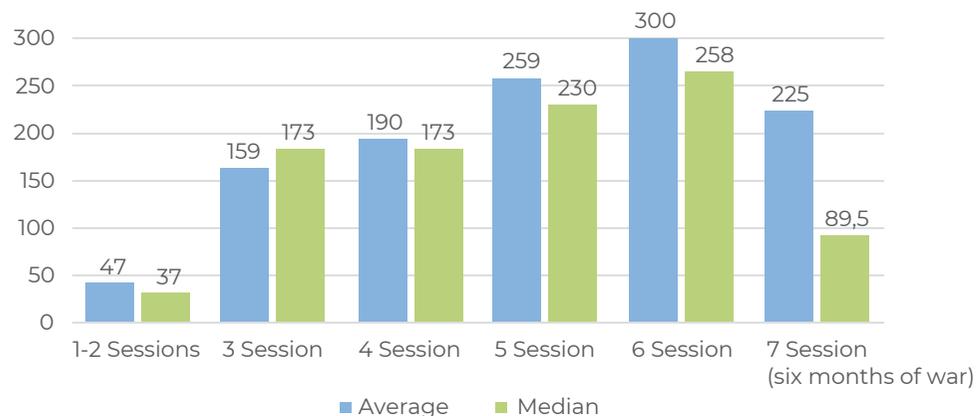
As with the other indicators, the full-scale invasion has halted the trend of a steadily increasing time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety. Half of all draft laws passed in the second reading and in entirety were adopted in less than three months.

A detailed analysis of the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety is somewhat similar to the situation for the first reading. 70% of the draft laws significantly reduced the time for adoption. The time was reduced by 42-168 days. Half of the draft laws were adopted faster even than in the 4th session. This seems to be due to the reduction of the time for processing draft laws between the first reading and adoption in the second reading and in general. However, the time for the adoption of the slowest draft laws increased by about 45 days. In general, the time from registration to adoption of draft laws in the second reading and in entirety decreased more than the time from registration to adoption in the first reading and in entirety. The growth rate of the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety was 115 days (minus one hundred and fifteen days).

<sup>26</sup>Data provided only for laws that were not vetoed.



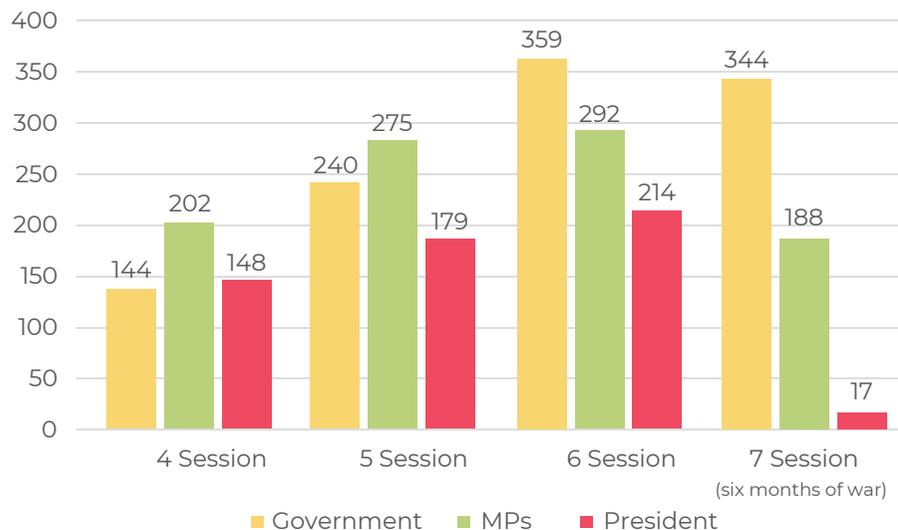
## Comparison of sessions by the number of days spent on adopting draft laws in the second reading



Subject of initiation	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	344	348
Member of Parliament of Ukraine	188 (188 for the "Servant of the People" faction)	76 (81 for the "Servant of the People" faction)



### The average number of days from registration to adoption of a draft law in the second reading by session and subject



Considering that only one draft law initiated by the President passed two readings, the analysis of this draft law will not allow a better understanding of the characteristics of the President as a subject of legislative initiatives. However, this single bill passed two readings in 17 days (thus becoming the third fastest bill) speaks for itself.

MPs draft laws began to be adopted much faster, even faster than during the 4th session. The traditional reason for this monitoring can be considered the need to adapt to the conditions of a full-scale war. However, the government draft laws, although they did not increase the time for their adoption, demonstrated a minimal reduction of such time. It can be assumed that the Government advanced the most urgent draft laws in the first reading or submitted them through MPs, while less priority draft laws passed both readings.

The top 5 draft laws with the longest days from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws, can be found in Appendix 4.



## The period between the first reading of the draft law and its adoption in the second reading and as a whole<sup>27</sup>

Session number	Average number of days	Median number of days
Session 4	93	75,5
Session 5	130	91
Session 6	168	148
Session 7 (six months of war)	121	38

The steady increase in the time between first reading and adoption in the second reading and in entirety was interrupted during the six months of war. The time between adoption in the first reading and adoption in the second reading and in entirety has significantly decreased. **This means that the processing of draft laws by committees, expert and analytical units, and the process of political approval of draft laws has been significantly accelerated.** 70% of the draft laws reduced the time from the first reading to the adoption in the second reading and in entirety. The reduction was 30-112 days. However, the slowest draft laws are now being processed even more slowly, by about 20-67 days.

Subject of initiation	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	168	56
Member of Parliament of Ukraine	107 (107 for the "Servant of the People" faction)	29 (30 for the "Servant of the People" faction)

<sup>27</sup> Data are provided only for laws that were not vetoed



### The average number of days from the first reading to the adoption of a draft law in the second reading by session and subject



The only presidential draft law that passed two readings was processed between the first reading and adoption in the second reading, and in total for 9 days. Only 3 draft laws were considered faster, taking 8 days each.

The breakdown of time by subject generally reflects the time from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the second reading. Governmental draft laws are slower than MPs' draft laws in terms of the time between the first reading and adoption in the second reading and in their entirety.

The top 5 longest days from the adoption of a draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws, can be found in Annex 5.



Thus, the full-scale invasion interrupted the trend of increasing the time it takes for draft laws to pass from registration to adoption at all stages of this process. The invasion seems to have reset a significant part of the agenda.

Martial law, the unprecedented scale of hostilities, the extremely difficult economic situation, and the risk of physical destruction of MPs themselves all reset the urgency of current issues. The main concern of MPs was to adapt to the new realities. The Verkhovna Rada's tool for such adaptation is the adoption of new legislation. Such newly registered draft laws made up a significant part of the agenda. Accordingly, the time from the registration of draft laws to their adoption has significantly decreased, primarily due to these

newly registered draft laws. However, the slowest draft laws continued the trend of the previous sessions and became even slower to pass. The time from the first reading to the adoption in the second reading and in entirety shows that the acceleration of the passage of draft laws is not only due to the restart.

MPs and parliamentary staff mobilised and managed to speed up the processing of draft laws (both in the form of providing opinions faster and more effective political agreements to update and pass the draft laws). The restart of the agenda and the mobilisation capacities of the Verkhovna Rada were most clearly demonstrated in March 2022, shortly after the start of the full-scale invasion.

## PLENARY TIME



To calculate the plenary time indicators, only the data related to the time spent on consideration of draft laws were used. The time for registration, announcement of inquiries, “government hour”, and resolutions were not included.



## Plenary time by initiators

During the six months of war, MPs spent almost 36 hours of plenary time considering draft laws. This is half as much as during the 6<sup>th</sup> session (84 hours) and three times less than during the 5<sup>th</sup> session, the previous spring session (134 hours).

A total of 95% of the plenary time was devoted to consideration of draft laws submitted by the governing faction - the Servant of the People, the Government and the President. This level remained almost unchanged compared to the previous session. This leaves less than 5% of the plenary time for minority draft laws. The draft laws of the parliamentary minority factions and groups were considered for less than half an hour per faction or group, and it is difficult to single out any of them.

Affiliation of initiator	Amount of plenary time (in hours)	Share of total plenary time, %.
Servant of the People	24,52	68,2
Cabinet of Ministers	6,64	18,5
President	2,9	8,1
Voice	0,5	1,4
Non-factional	0,47	1,3
European Solidarity	0,31	0,9
Restoration of Ukraine	0,21	0,6
For the Future	0,21	0,6
Trust	0,11	0,3
Fatherland	0,08	0,2
Total	35,95	100



## Plenary time for laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety

Session number	Average	Median
Session 4	508 seconds (8,5 minutes)	182 sec (3 min)
Session 5	391 sec (6,5 min)	118 sec (2 min)
Session 6	701 sec (11,5 min)	901 sec (15 min)
Session 7 (six months of war)	151 sec (2,5 min)	41,5 sec (0,7 min)

The time spent on consideration of draft laws in the parliamentary session has significantly dropped. For 20% of the draft laws, the time for consideration has hardly decreased, as they were previously considered very quickly, for half a minute each, which is actually required to read out the title of the draft law and to vote. But for the remaining 80% of the draft laws, the time for consideration in the parliamentary session hall has decreased dramatically - by 10-15 minutes.

Half of all draft laws were considered in less than 41 seconds. 90% of draft laws were considered in the first reading in less than 2 minutes.

Previously, only international agreements and ratifications were considered so quickly, and during the six months of the war, all draft laws were considered so quickly.

## This dramatic reduction in processing time can be explained by three factors.

**Firstly**, a significant number of draft laws, especially at the beginning of the full-scale invasion, had consensus support and were often adopted by a constitutional majority. That is, there was a political consensus on many issues, especially on defence and security, and immediate response to the realities of a full-scale war.

**Second**, there is the issue of security for the meetings. In March and April, the Verkhovna Rada was located a couple of dozen kilometres from the front line, and in addition to artillery and rocket attacks, there was also the danger of enemy landings or sabotage and reconnaissance groups. Even after the de-occupation of the Kyiv region, there is still a risk of ballistic or cruise missile attacks. All of this means the risk of physical destruction of MPs. Accordingly, MPs were directly interested in working quickly.

**The third factor** was the lack of online broadcasts of the meetings. The rostrum in the meeting room is most often used to convey political positions on draft laws. But if the sessions are not broadcast, this position will not be heard by voters, and there is no need for political speeches. Even MPs themselves (in particular, Yaroslav Zheleznyak) note that: "1) many have started speaking from their seats, not from the rostrum; 2) speeches have become much shorter. They are often 2-3 sentences about the position on the law; 3) some of my colleagues, when they speak, do not address voters with pompous speeches, but rather their colleagues in the hall with more substantial arguments about what is wrong with the law."

**Plenary time for laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety (the first reading of which was held before 24 February 2022)**

Session number	Average	Median
Session 4	1003 c (17 min)	258 sec (4 min)
Session 5	3527 c (59 min)	139 sec (2.5 min)
Session 6	1439 c (24 min)	408 sec (6.5 min)
Session 7 (six months of war)	449 c (7.5 min)	141 sec (2 min)

As in the case of the first reading, the second reading of the draft laws was considered in the parliamentary hall much faster. For the 30% of the fastest draft laws, the time for consideration in the second reading was reduced by half a minute on average. These 30% of draft laws were adopted in less than 1 minute during the six months of war. For other draft laws, the time for their consideration was reduced by 5-18 minutes, and for the slowest ones, the time for consideration in the parliamentary hall was reduced by about 1 hour.

While the second reading used to be an attractive target for submitting hundreds of amendments, this practice has not completely disappeared, but has significantly decreased over the six months of the war. Political consensus, security threats, and the absence of online meetings can be considered reasons for the significant reduction in the time spent in the parliamentary hall during the second reading.

**Plenary time for laws that had both readings after 24 February 2022.**

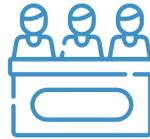
Session number	Average	Median
Session 4	2000 sec (33 min)	1423 sec (24 min)
Session 5	2178 sec (36 min)	1178 sec (20 min)
Session 6	4851 sec (80 min)	1556 sec (26 min)
Session 7 (six months of war)	798 sec (13 min)	367 sec (6 min)

Once again, we can observe a record decrease in the time for consideration of draft laws<sup>28</sup> in both readings. For the majority of draft laws, the time for their consideration in the parliamentary hall decreased by 15-40 minutes, and the slowest draft laws began to be considered in the parliamentary hall about 2 hours faster. The draft laws that have had both readings since 24 February are the draft laws that MPs have used to adapt the legislation to the realities of a full-scale war. Half of these draft laws were considered for less than 6 minutes in two readings. Political consensus, security threats, and the absence of online meetings can be considered reasons for a significant reduction in the time spent on the floor in both readings.

The top 5 longest draft laws in terms of the amount of time spent in the plenary hall can be found in Annex 6.

<sup>28</sup>These draft laws also include consideration of the President's proposals for draft laws No. 7087, 7179, 7186, 7194, 7214, and 7317.

# COMMITTEES



Information on the deadlines for submitting committee opinions is available in the progress section.



## Conclusions on deviations

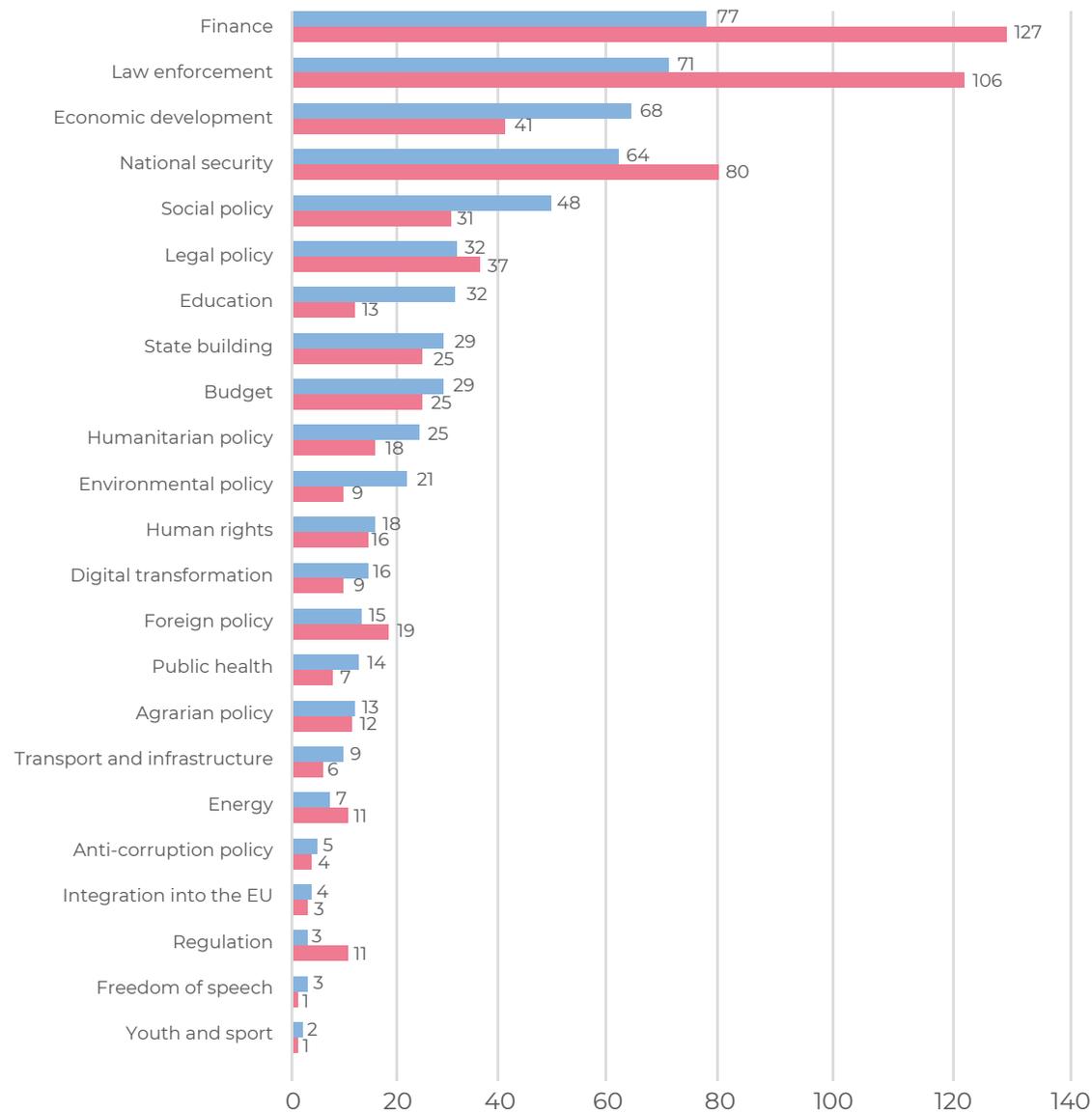
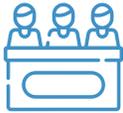
Name of the subject of legislative initiative	Number of opinions on rejection of draft laws (percentage of the total number of opinions on rejection)
Members of Parliament	46 (88%)
Government	6 (12%)
President	0

Factional affiliation of the initiators of the draft laws	Number of conclusions on rejection of draft laws (percentage of the MPs' conclusions on rejection)
"Servant of the People" Faction	23 (50%)
"Fatherland" Faction	7 (15,2%)
Opposition Platform - For Life faction	6 (13%)
"Restoration of Ukraine" group	4 (8,7%)
Non-factional	3 (6,5%)
"European Solidarity" Faction	1 (2,2%)
"For the Future" Group	1 (2,2%)
"Dovira" Group	1 (2,2%)

During the six months of war, 52 conclusions of the main committees on the rejection of draft laws were prepared. Conclusions on rejection may indicate both the political loyalty of the committees and the level (at least minimal) of quality of drafting. The presidential draft laws seem to meet both criteria, as they do not have conclusions on rejection (it should also be borne in mind that during the six months of war, the President initiated almost exclusively ratification and approval of decrees). The government's draft laws also seem to be doing well, although six of them still received a rejection.

Among the conclusions on the rejection of MPs' draft laws, the disproportionate results (to the share and number of registered draft laws) of the liquidated "Opposition Platform - For Life" faction and the "Restoration of Ukraine" group, created by former members of this faction, are noteworthy. In both cases, the explanation is that alternative draft laws were registered by MPs from these groups. Such alternative draft laws are often of low quality, which is due to the fact that these draft laws are part of an attempt to delay the legislative process and increase their presence in the VRU by submitting alternative draft laws<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Alternative draft laws are mandatory for consideration along with the primary one, and therefore are one of the favourite tools of those who want to delay the legislative process.



## Workload of the main committees – Session 7

This graph has two indicators. Firstly, it shows how many draft laws were assigned to which committee as the main committee in accordance with the subjects of the committees' competence. The second indicator is the number of opinions<sup>30</sup> provided by the main committees. Together, they show how the legislative work on preliminary processing of draft laws is distributed.

<sup>30</sup>The number of opinions does not equal the number of draft laws considered. The Committee may provide several opinions on one draft law. For example, a conclusion on inclusion in the agenda, conclusions on the first and second readings, on repeated readings, on the text of the draft law submitted as a substitute, and so on.

- Number of opinions provided per 1 member of the main committee
- Number of registered draft laws per 1 member of the main committee

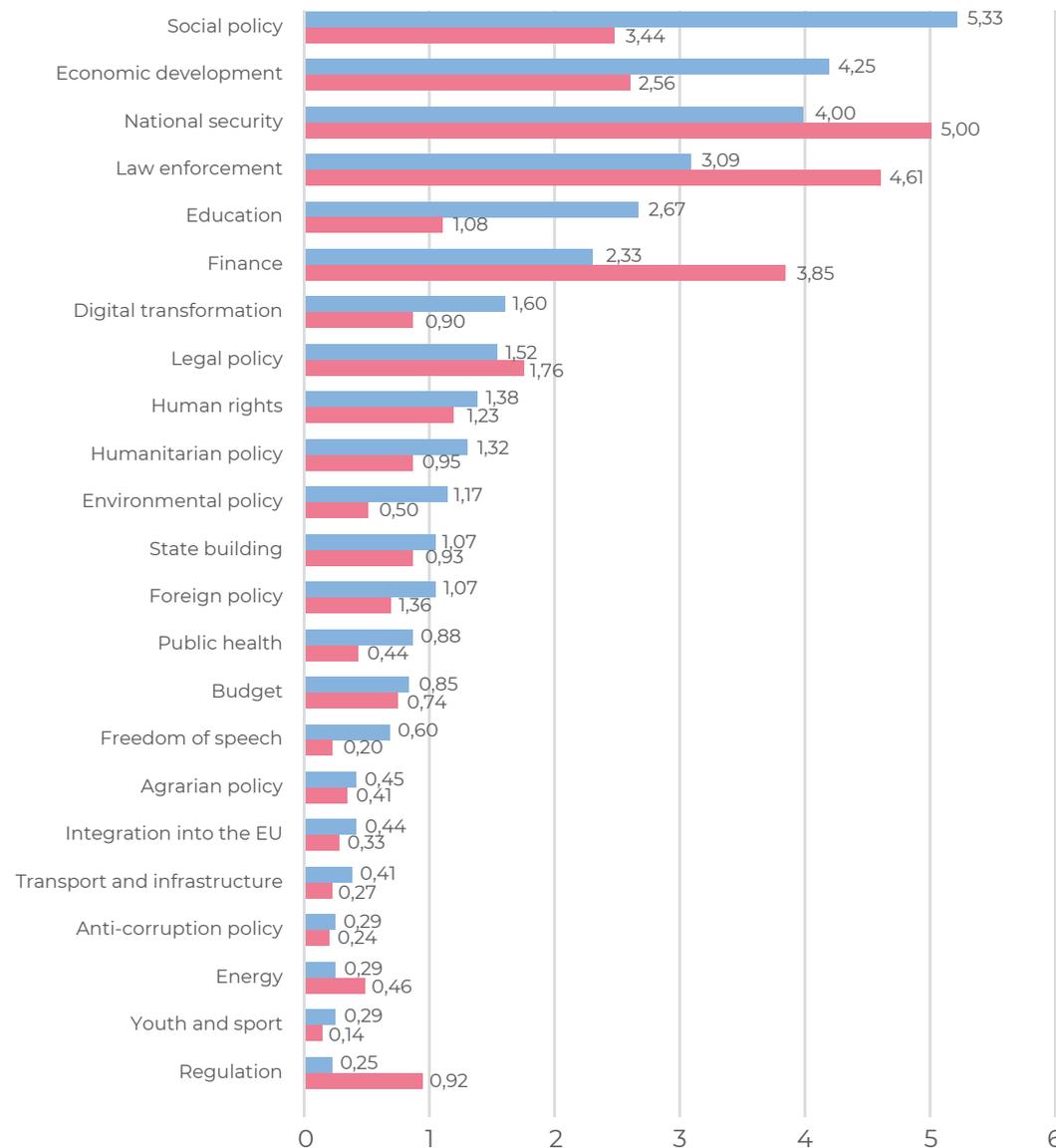


The Committee on Finance has the largest number of draft laws both in terms of the number of registered draft laws (127) and the number of opinions provided (77 opinions). The Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on Economic Development, and the Committee on National Security also have a significant workload. This distribution of the workload seems logical for a work regime aimed at adapting legislation to the realities of a full-scale war.

If we compare the number of registered draft laws during the 6th session and during the six months of war, the Committee on National Security (+60 assigned draft laws), the Committee on Finance (+56 assigned draft laws) and the Committee on Law Enforcement (+23 assigned draft laws) have increased the number of registered draft laws the most. The Committee on Budget (-35 assigned draft laws), the Committee on Social Policy (-30 assigned draft laws), and the Committee on Education (-17 assigned draft laws) showed the strongest decrease in the number of signed draft laws.

A comparison of the number of opinions provided during the 6th session and during the six months of war shows that the Committee on National Security (+48 opinions provided), the Committee on Finance (+39 opinions provided) and the Committee on Economic Development (+36 opinions provided) increased the number of opinions provided the most. The Committee on Social Policy (-15 opinions) decreased the number of opinions issued over the six months of war.

**During the six months of the war, for the first time in the entire IX convocation, a draft law was registered for which the Committee on Freedom of Speech is the lead committee.** The reason why the Committee on Freedom of Speech usually has almost no legislative work is the unusual distribution of the subjects of the committees' jurisdiction, which was made at the beginning of the IX convocation. Back then, some of the subjects of jurisdiction usually assigned to the Committee on Freedom of Speech were transferred to the Committee on Humanitarian and Information Policy. The latter also took away some of the subjects of jurisdiction that were usually assigned to the Committee on Youth and Sports. That is why these two committees are the least busy with legislative work.



## Workload per 1 deputy of the main committees

The above graph demonstrates a more accurate workload of the committees, showing the number of opinions or registered draft laws per 1 MP. Heavy workloads (the number of both registered draft laws and opinions provided exceeds 2 per MP). Here again, we have the Committee on Finance, the Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on Economic Development, and the Committee on National Security. In addition to these four committees, the Committee on Social Policy also has a heavy workload.

- Number of opinions provided per 1 member of the main committee
- Number of registered draft laws per 1 member of the main committee

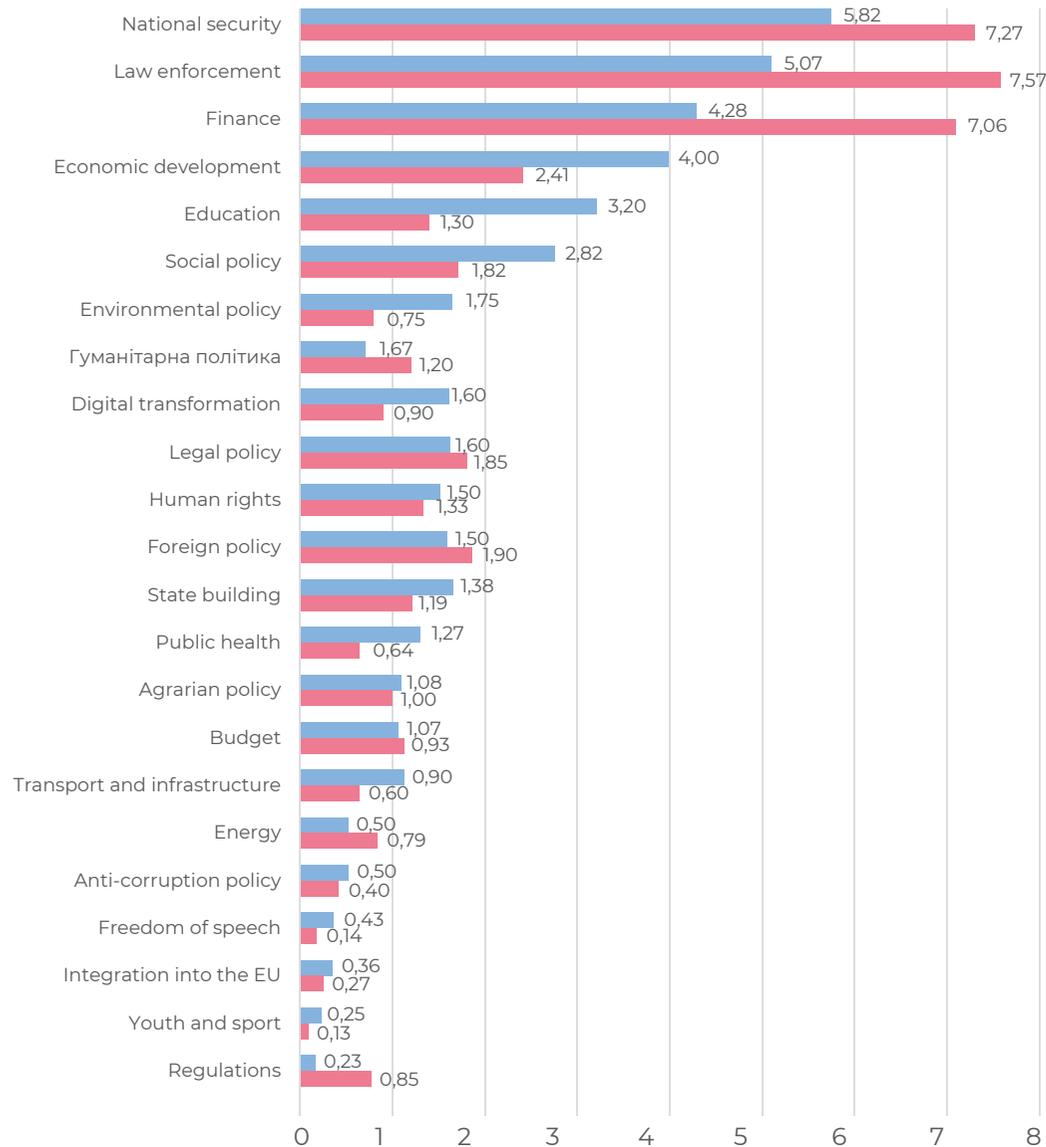


The least loaded committees, where both indicators are below 0.5 (draft law/opinion) per 1 MP, are the following 7 committees: on Youth and Sports, Agrarian and Land Policy, Transport, and Freedom of Speech. Compared to the 6th session, the Committee on Rules of Procedure, the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU, and the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy were added to the list.

Compared to the 6th session, the potential workload (i.e. the number of draft laws per MP) of the Committee on Economic Development has decreased the most (-3.34 assigned draft laws per MP). Instead, the potential workload of the Committee on National Security (+3.74 assigned draft laws per MP) and the Committee on Finance (+1.76 assigned draft laws per MP) increased the most.

The real workload (i.e., the number of opinions provided per MP) decreased the most for the Committee on Social Policy (-1.67 opinions per MP). On the other hand, the potential workload increased the most for the Committee on National Security (+3 opinions per MP) and the Committee on Economic Development (+2.25 opinions per MP).

**When comparing the least and most busy committees, their workload differs by a factor of 21. This situation raises the question of the fairness and appropriateness of the distribution of MPs to different committees.**



## Workload per 1 employee of the secretariat of the main committee

The above workload per committee secretariat staff member<sup>31</sup> in general reflects the common trend. The Committee on National Security, the Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on Finance, and the Committee on Economic Development have the highest workloads (the number of both draft laws and opinions per secretariat staff member exceeds 4). In 8 other committees, the workload exceeds one scheduled draft law and one opinion per one secretariat employee.

The least loaded committees, where both indicators are below 0.5 (draft law/opinion) per 1 secretariat staff member, are the following 6 committees: on Youth and Sports, Agrarian and Land Policy, Freedom of Speech, Rules of Procedure, Ukraine's Integration into the EU, and Anti-Corruption Policy.

<sup>31</sup> Data as of 6 September 2022 was used to calculate the number of employees of the committee secretariats.

- Number of opinions issued per 1 employee of the secretariat of the main committee
- Number of registered draft laws per 1 employee of the main committee



When comparing the potential workload (number of draft laws per 1 secretariat employee) during the six months of war and the workload during the 6th session, the Committee on Social Policy has seen the greatest decrease in its workload (-2 assigned draft laws per 1 secretariat employee). The potential workload increased the most for the Committee on National Security (+5.6 assigned draft laws per 1 secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Finance (+3.32 assigned draft laws per 1 secretariat staff member).

The Committee on Social Policy witnessed the strongest decrease in the real workload (number of opinions provided per 1 secretariat staff member) (-1.12 opinions provided per 1 secretariat staff member). The Committee on National Security (+4.49 opinions per 1 secretariat staff member), the Committee on Finance (+2.28 opinions per 1 secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Economic Development (+2.22 opinions per 1 secretariat staff member) showed the strongest increase in the real workload.

When comparing the number of registered draft laws per secretariat staff member in the most and least busy committees, there is a 25-fold difference. This data once again confirms the need to redistribute resources, including human resources, among the committees.

When considering the quantitative indicators of the committees' work, it is important to keep in mind the mandatory opinions of the subsidiary committees. For example, the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU, the Committee on Budget, and the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy have a relatively low workload as the main committees, but they have to provide their mandatory opinions on all other draft laws, which requires significant resources<sup>32</sup>.

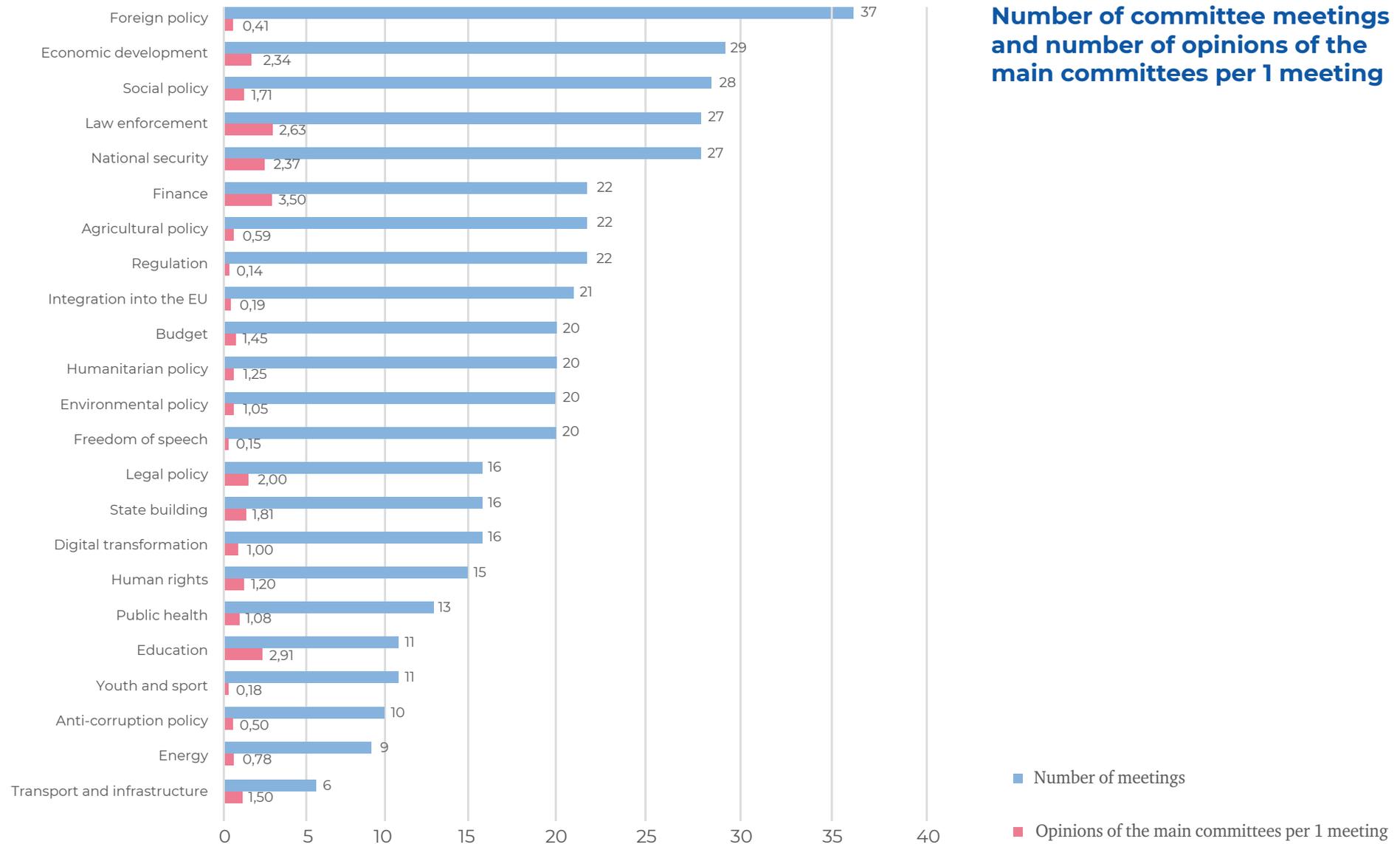
To better understand the specifics of the work of the VRU committees, the graph below shows the number of committee meetings and the average number of opinions of the main committees per meeting.

Half of the committees held more than 20 meetings during the six months of war, and two committees held less than 10 meetings. The leader in terms of the number of opinions per meeting is the Committee on Finance (3.5). A total of 6 committees adopted more than 2 opinions per meeting. And 8 committees adopted less than 1 opinion per 1 meeting.

<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, it is a common practice not to publish such findings, which makes it difficult to calculate them.



## Number of committee meetings and number of opinions of the main committees per 1 meeting



# VIOLATIONS OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE



This chapter provides information on violations of the Rules of Procedure during the adoption of laws during the six months of war. The violations of the Rules of Procedure that occurred during the adoption of laws that were vetoed are analysed separately.



The full-scale invasion **halted the downward trend in the proportion of laws that violated the Rules of Procedure.**

The data on the percentage of draft laws adopted with certain violations of the Rules of Procedure is provided by session.

Procedures for consideration of **up to 67% (i.e. two-thirds) of laws were violated** during the six months of war. The only type of violation that was not recorded was the provision of sufficient time (at least 7 or 14 days) for submitting amendments to the comparative table for the second reading.

**The cases of adopting draft laws on the same day as a particular opinion** (which makes it almost impossible to properly review this document) have become much more frequent.

Comparative tables (for the second reading) of almost every fifth law (among the laws that passed two readings) were provided on the day of adoption of these laws. Significant acceleration of the Parliament's work is inevitably accompanied by an increase in the number of violations and a decrease in the quality of laws adopted in the parliamentary hall. That is, as the speed of passage

increases, the number of violations increases and vice versa.

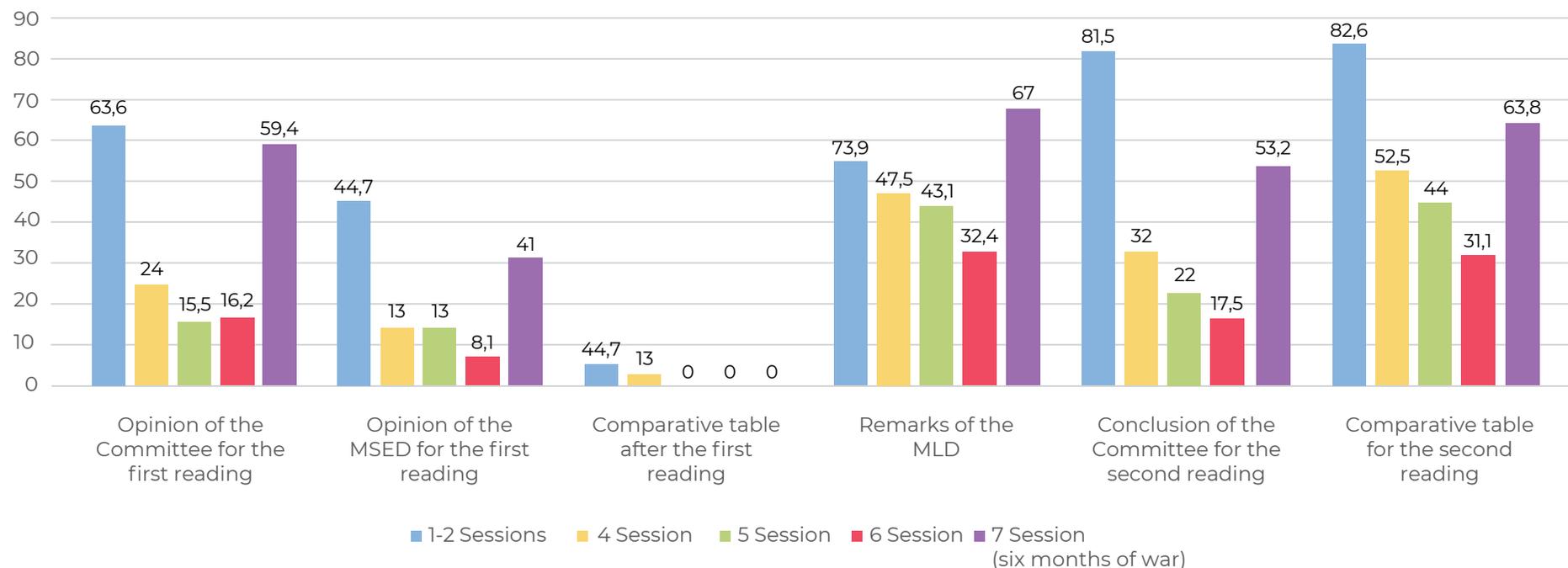
We track these violations to demonstrate the need to develop special procedures that will ensure legitimate and fast processing and adoption of draft laws.

Obviously, meeting the deadlines for reviewing certain opinions is a lower priority than adopting an urgent law that, for example, affects the country's defence capability. **It is difficult to draw a clear line between the importance of the urgency of adopting a law and the poor quality of a hastily prepared and inadequately drafted law.** It is more certain that during the 1st and 2nd sessions of the 9th convocation, there was no urgent need to adopt many laws in violation of the procedure. The full-scale invasion did indeed put a large number of urgent issues on the agenda, and therefore a large number of violations of the procedure are justified. **But throughout the 1st and 2nd sessions of the 9th convocation, the share of laws adopted in violation of the procedure was higher than during the six months of war.** It does not seem that the large number of violations during these two sessions was justified, and the super-fast pace of lawmaking was necessary.



In addition to the ordinary violations of the Rules of Procedure, the monitoring included a violation of the Constitution in terms of the 15-day deadline for the President to sign adopted laws (Article 94 of the Constitution). The monitoring was carried out in respect of 226 non-vetoed laws that were signed by the President during the six months of the war (violations in respect of vetoed laws are described below). The deadline for signing was violated in 37 laws, i.e. in 16.4% of cases. Of course, it doesn't matter whether the deadline was violated by two days or a hundred and two days - in both cases, it is a

violation. However, the largest number of draft laws that were signed long after they were sent for signature were received by the President in March. The top 5 longest-signed draft laws are those sent for signature in March, and the top 10 are those sent in March-April. In fact, all the delays of more than a month (i.e., signing more than a month after the 15-day deadline) were in March-April. Two draft laws were waiting for the President's signature for more than 100 days.



## Violation of the Rules of Procedure on non-vetoed draft laws

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws monitored for violations	Number of laws with violations
Committee opinion for the first reading	7 days prior to the consideration in the first reading	229	136 (59.4%) violations, 5 - no opinion, 131 - violation of deadlines, including 1 case of adoption of the draft law on the day of submission of the opinion.
MSED conclusion before the first reading <sup>33</sup>	7 days prior to the consideration in the first reading	229	94 (41%) violations, 7 – no conclusion, 87 deadline violations
Comparative table after the first reading	At least 14 days after the adoption of the draft law in the first reading or 7 days in case of shortened deadlines	94 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	No violations of deadlines; all tables are available
MLD conclusions	10 days prior to the consideration in the second reading, or 5 days in case of shortened deadlines	94 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	63 (67%) violations, 63 violations of deadlines, including 15 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of submission of the MLD conclusion; all conclusions are available .
Committee opinion for the second reading	10 days prior to the consideration in the second reading, or 5 days in case of shortened deadlines	94 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	50 (53.2 per cent) missed deadlines, including 7 cases of adopting a draft law on the day of submitting opinions; committee opinions are available for all laws
Comparative table for the second reading	10 days prior to the consideration in the second reading, or 5 days in case of shortened deadlines	94 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	60 (63.8%) violations of deadlines, including 17 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of submission of the comparative table; all tables are available.

<sup>33</sup>The VRU Rules of Procedure contain no direct and clear requirement that the MSED conclusion is mandatory. Along with part 4 of Article 103, which states that no comments are allowed in case of absence of conclusions within 14 days, there are also provisions on the need for the conclusions of MSED:

1) Article 112 stipulates that the supporting documents to a draft law shall be provided to MPs no later than seven days before the day of consideration of the draft law at the plenary session of the Verkhovna Rada.

2) Article 99(2)(3) establishes that expert opinions on a draft law are part of the supporting documents.

Thus, it can be concluded that the VRU Rules of Procedure are imperfect and contain contradictory provisions. For example, the MSED may provide an opinion after the 14-day deadline (due to its workload), and in this case it is unclear what the main committee should do - consider that there are no comments or consider them.

The conclusion of the MLD was absent for the draft state budget, but this was not considered a violation due to the established pattern of the MLD's conclusions being absent from budgets for different years.



The President's proposals are a rather extraordinary phenomenon, particularly from a procedural point of view. Therefore, we will consider them separately, along with the accompanying violations of the Constitution and the specifics of vetoes.

The President may veto a draft law for many reasons. However, usually the veto is imposed either for substantive reasons - the President generally disagrees with the provisions of the adopted draft law, or for more technical reasons (poor quality, poorly written draft law, contradictory provisions, etc.) An indirect indicator is which laws are vetoed by the President. At present, there is a unique situation where both the parliamentary majority and the Government represent the same political power as the President, and therefore, if a veto is imposed on a draft law developed by the majority faction, or by the Government, or by the President himself, it means that the draft law or the process of its preparation and coordination between the authorised subjects is of poor quality, and the veto is imposed rather for technical reasons.

In total, during the six months of war, the President vetoed 8 draft laws adopted as a whole. Six of them were initiated by MPs from the "Servant of the People" faction, and one each by MPs from the "European Solidarity" faction and the "Restoration of Ukraine" group. Thus, in at least six out of eight cases, poor drafting and preparation of draft laws resulted in vetoes and repeated preparation and consideration in the parliamentary hall.

With regard to violations of Article 94 of the Constitution, all the President's proposals were submitted on time, within 15 days. However, the signing of laws adopted on the basis of the President's proposals failed to meet the deadline set by the Constitution in 3 out of 6 cases (50%). Moreover, in one case, as of 16 September, the law had not yet been signed and had every chance of being suspended in an unknown state (like 24 other laws).

Over the six months of war, another trend related to the constant violation of the 30-day deadline for consideration of proposals from the President has been broken. During the six months of war, only 1 out of 6 draft laws violated this deadline, while the other five were considered on time.

## Violation of the Rules of Procedure on vetoed draft laws

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws monitored for violations	Number of laws with violations
Committee opinion for the first reading	7 days prior to the consideration in the first reading	6 <sup>35</sup>	6 (100%) violation of deadlines, all opinions available
MSED conclusion before the first reading	7 days prior to the consideration in the first reading	6	3 (50%) violation of deadlines, all opinions available
Comparative table after the first reading	At least 14 days after the adoption of the draft law in the first reading or 7 days in case of shortened deadlines	2 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	No violation of deadlines, all tables available
MLD conclusions	10 days prior to the consideration in the second reading, or 5 days in case of shortened deadlines	2 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	2 (100%) violation of deadlines, all conclusions available
Committee opinion for the first reading	10 days prior to the consideration in the second reading, or 5 days in case of shortened deadlines	2 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	2 (100%) violation of deadlines, all opinions available
Comparative table for the second reading	10 days prior to the consideration in the second reading, or 5 days in case of shortened deadlines	2 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	2 (100%) violation of deadlines, all opinions available.
Consideration of the President's proposals	30 days after receipt of the President's proposals	6 <sup>36</sup> (draft laws in which the President's proposals were considered during the six months of war)	1 (16,7%) – violation of deadline
Comparative table to the President's proposals	3 days prior to the consideration in the plenary hall.	6 (draft laws in which the President's proposals were considered during the six months of war)	3 (50%) – violation of deadline, all tables available.
Comparative table to the President's proposals	3 days prior to the consideration in the plenary hall.	6 (draft laws in which the President's proposals were considered during the six months of war)	3 (50%) – violation of deadline, all tables available.

<sup>35</sup> 6 draft laws with the President's proposals were considered during the six months of war

<sup>36</sup> Yet another draft law has already violated the 30-day deadline for consideration of the President's proposals, but these violations will be counted towards the session when the proposals are finally considered.

# PECULIARITIES OF 7TH SESSION

(SIX MONTHS OF WAR)



Perhaps, the six months of war is the most unusual period of the Verkhovna Rada's work in the entire IX convocation. Many of the features have already been described in previous chapters. This chapter deals with the features that have not yet been described or that we believe require additional attention.



This monitoring is interesting because it identifies and records these extraordinary conditions of the Verkhovna Rada's work, showing the difference with the normal work. The Verkhovna Rada has increased the speed of its operation under martial law, but a significant acceleration of the parliament's work is inevitably accompanied by an increase in the number of violations and a decrease in the quality of laws adopted in the parliamentary hall. We tracked these violations to show the need for special procedures to ensure legitimate and fast processing and adoption of draft laws.

A significant number of 37 (16.4%) of the 226 laws were signed in violation of Article 94 of the Constitution, i.e. within more than 15 days. **It is difficult to determine to what extent the hostilities justify the violation of the Constitution** or how acceptable the risk of such a violation is in the context of possible challenges to these

laws or their undermined legitimacy. In principle, given **the rather long practice of violating this particular provision (long before the outbreak of full-scale invasion), the question is becoming more and more important: what is the reason for the inability to comply with the time limits?**

During the six months of war, it was recorded that up to 67% of the procedures for processing and reviewing draft laws were disrupted. Here, too, military operations can serve as a legitimate excuse. However, the large number of violations demonstrates the **relevance of emergency legislative procedures**. This could be one universal procedure or two or three different ones.

One extraordinary procedure may be as urgent as possible and place all responsibility for the lack of processing of draft laws (i.e., lack of control over the quality of the draft law) on the initiator of such a procedure, so that the registration and adoption of the draft law takes place within 1 day.



The second such procedure may simply be very shortened - say, 3-7 days from registration to adoption and provide for accelerated processing of draft laws at each stage in each structural unit. Such procedures may include:

1. Other terms for the draft laws to be passed. In particular, it may be 1-2 days for submission of conclusions of committees and expert-analytical units and 1 or 3 days (for example, 3 days is the time period for reviewing the President's proposals) for reading these conclusions.
2. A different list of supporting documents and expert analyses. This may include replacing the MSED conclusion with the conclusion of the MLD or the absence of conclusions of subsidiary committees, other requirements to the content of the explanatory note, etc.
3. Other logic for making amendments. In particular, if it is necessary to correct the submitted text, the procedure for urgent revision of the text of the draft law during the meeting of the main committee can be provided. In any case, it is necessary to avoid

situations when MPs are not aware of the final version of the draft law they are voting for.

4. Limited circle of initiators. The circle of such initiators can be limited only by the President and/or the Cabinet of Ministers. A limited circle of initiators will allow for more responsible use of such procedures and more rational use of the Verkhovna Rada's resources.
5. A change in the logic of consideration by readings. According to the logic of the Rules of Procedure: first reading - discussion of the basic principles, provisions, criteria, structure of the draft law and its adoption as a basis; second reading - article-by-article discussion and adoption of the draft law in the second reading; third reading - adoption of the draft law, which requires revision and approval, in its entirety. Emergency procedures are logically accelerated procedures, and a draft law should be limited to adoption in one or two sessions. Therefore, the procedures for editing, ensuring coherence and quality of draft laws in the second or third readings should be moved to the stage of consideration of the draft law in one session.



Such special procedures should ensure that draft laws are properly prepared, that they are passed quickly and that there are no violations of the Rules of Procedure.

The situation with the timeframe for signing the draft laws by the President of Ukraine is also rather strange. Article 94 of the Constitution states that *“the President of Ukraine shall sign the law within fifteen days after receiving it ... or return the law ... to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for reconsideration. If the President of Ukraine fails to return the law for reconsideration within the prescribed period, the law shall be deemed approved by the President of Ukraine and shall be signed and officially promulgated.”* However, some draft laws are neither signed by the President nor by any other (not directly defined by the Constitution) entity. They seem to get lost and remain in limbo. Currently, there are 24 such suspended draft laws, half of which were adopted during the six months of war.

# ANNEX 1

## Time from registration to the first conclusion of the main committee

Top-10 <sup>37</sup> draft laws <sup>38</sup> , with the shortest time from registration to the first opinion of the main committee	
Titles of draft laws	Number of days from registration to submission of the first opinion of the main committee
Draft Law on Ensuring the Participation of Civilians in the Defence of Ukraine	0
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine to increase liability for looting	0
Draft Law “On Amendments to Article 6 of the Law of Ukraine “On the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine” to increase the number of SBGS military personnel	0
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On the Basic Principles of Compulsory Seizure in Ukraine of Property of the Russian Federation and its Residents” to clarify certain provisions	0
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure of Ukraine to ensure counteraction to unauthorised dissemination of information on the sending, movement of international military assistance to Ukraine, movement, relocation or deployment of the Armed Forces of Ukraine or other military formations of Ukraine committed under martial law or a state of emergency	0
Draft Law on Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine and Other Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Revision of Certain Tax Benefits	0
Draft Law on Amendments to Section XX “Transitional Provisions” of the Tax Code of Ukraine to ensure the stability of tax legislation for the period of martial law	0
Draft Law on Amendments to Section XX “Transitional Provisions” of the Tax Code of Ukraine regarding the rates of excise tax on alternative fuels	0
Draft Law on Accession of Ukraine to the Convention on a Common Transit Procedure	0
Draft Law on Accession of Ukraine to the Convention on the Simplification of Formalities in Trade in Goods	0

<sup>37</sup> Top 10, because 10 draft laws have the same shortest time.

<sup>38</sup> Excluding draft laws that were being finalised.

# ANNEX 1

## Top 5 draft laws with the longest time from registration to the first opinion of the main committee

Titles of draft laws	Number of days from registration to the first opinion of the main committee
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On Local Self-Government in Ukraine" on the Use of State Symbols of Ukraine and Symbols of Foreign States by Local Self-Government Bodies	507
Draft Law on Amendments to the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences to Introduce Liability for Non-Compliance with the Law of Ukraine "On Strategic Environmental Assessment"	532
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Regulation of the Road Transport Services Market in Ukraine in order to bring them in line with the EU Act	566
Draft Law on the National Qualifications System	758
Draft Law on the National Qualifications System	776

# ANNEX 2

## Time from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading

Top 8 <sup>39</sup> draft laws with the shortest time from the first reading to the provision of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading	
Titles of draft laws	Number of days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading
Draft Law of Ukraine on Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine to Improve the Procedure for Criminal Proceedings in the Conditions of Martial Law and State of Emergency	8
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Lease of State and Communal Property”	8
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Monitoring Potential Threats to the National Security of Ukraine in the Field of Economy	8
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Medicinal Products” regarding restriction of circulation of medicinal products manufactured in the Russian Federation or the Republic of Belarus	8
Draft Law on Amendments to Section VI “Final and Transitional Provisions” of the Budget Code of Ukraine to enhance the flexibility of local budgets and increase the efficiency of decision-making	8
Draft Law on Amendments to Clause 10-2 of Section XIII “Final and Transitional Provisions” of the Law of Ukraine “On Enforcement Proceedings” regarding the enforcement of decisions on the recovery of debts for housing and communal services from an individual during the period of martial law	8
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Strengthening Control over the Release of Medicines	8
Draft Law on Establishing Legal and Social Guarantees for Citizens of the Republic of Poland Staying in Ukraine	8

<sup>39</sup> 8 draft laws have the same of draft laws have the same speed of issuing conclusions

# ANNEX 2

Top 5 draft laws with the longest time from the first reading to the provision of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading

<b>Titles of draft laws</b>	<b>Number of days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading</b>
Draft Law on Amendments to the Budget Code of Ukraine regarding the offset of certain administrative fees for state registration in the field of urban development	333
Draft Law on de-Sovietisation of Ukrainian legislation	335
Draft Law on the Public Health System	538
Draft Law on Waste Management	687
Draft Law on Protection of Labour Migrants and Combating Fraud in Overseas Employment	700

# ANNEX 3

## Time taken to pass a draft law from registration to adoption in the first reading and in entirety

Top 5 draft laws that have the shortest time from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in entirety	
Titles of draft laws adopted in the first reading and in entirety	Number of days from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in entirety
On Ukraine's accession to the Convention on a Common Transit Procedure	0
On Ukraine's accession to the Convention on the Simplification of Formalities in Trade in Goods	0
On Approval of the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Introduction of Martial Law in Ukraine"	0
On Amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine to Increase Liability for Looting	0
On Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine and Other Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Peculiarities of Taxation and Reporting during the Period of Martial Law	0

Top 5 draft laws with the longest time from registration to adoption in the first reading and in entirety	
Titles of draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety	Number of days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in entirety
On Withdrawal from the Agreement on the Establishment of the Interstate Reserve of Biological Preparations and Other Animal Protection Products in the Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States	422
On Withdrawal from the Agreement on Cooperation and Mutual Assistance in Customs Matters of 15 April 1994	431
On Withdrawal from the Agreement on Cooperation in the Development and Use of Cellular Mobile Communications Systems	472
On Ukraine's Withdrawal from the Agreement on the Common Agricultural Market of the Commonwealth of Independent States	515
On Withdrawal from the Agreement on Cooperation of the States Parties to the Commonwealth of Independent States in Combating Illegal Migration	586

# ANNEX 4

## Time required to pass a draft law from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety

Top 5 draft laws with the shortest time from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety	
Titles of draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety	Number of days from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety
On Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On Lease of State and Communal Property"	10
On Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Monitoring Potential Threats to Ukraine's National Security in the Economic Sphere	13
On Establishing Legal and Social Guarantees for Citizens of the Republic of Poland Staying on the Territory of Ukraine	17
On Amendments to Paragraph 10-2 of Section XIII "Final and Transitional Provisions" of the Law of Ukraine "On Enforcement Proceedings" regarding the enforcement of decisions on the recovery of debts for housing and communal services from individuals during the period of martial law	20
On Amendments to the Criminal, Criminal Procedure and Criminal Enforcement Codes of Ukraine to Regulate the Procedure for the Exchange of Persons as Prisoners of War	21

Top 5 draft laws with the longest time from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety	
Titles of draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety	Number of days from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety
On the Principles of State Anti-Corruption Policy for 2020-2024	637
On Amendments to Article 7 of the Law of Ukraine "On the Transfer of State and Communal Property" regarding the transfer of integral property complexes of state fire and rescue divisions (units) and other property of the Operational Rescue Service of Civil Protection	672
On Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Improving the Mechanism for Counteracting Corporate Raiding	679
On Waste Management	746
On Joint Stock Companies	975

# ANNEX 5

## Time taken from the adoption of a draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety

Top 5 draft laws with the shortest time from the passage of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety	
Titles of draft laws	Number of days from the passage of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety
On Amendments to Section VI "Final and Transitional Provisions" of the Budget Code of Ukraine to enhance the flexibility of local budgets and increase the efficiency of decision-making	8
On Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On Lease of State and Communal Property"	8
On Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Monitoring Potential Threats to Ukraine's National Security in the Economic Sphere	8
On Amendments to Clause 10-2 of Section XIII "Final and Transitional Provisions" of the Law of Ukraine "On Enforcement Proceedings" regarding the enforcement of decisions on the recovery of debts for housing and communal services from individuals during martial law	9
On the Establishment of Legal and Social Guarantees for Citizens of the Republic of Poland Staying in the Territory of Ukraine	9

Top 5 draft laws with the longest time from the passage of a draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety	
Titles of draft laws	Number of days from the passage of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety
On Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On Ensuring Large-Scale Expansion of Exports of Goods (Works, Services) of Ukrainian Origin by Insurance, Guaranteeing and Reducing the Cost of Export Credit" to Ensure the Effective Functioning of the Export Credit Agency	414
On Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on the National Military Memorial Cemetery	454
On the Principles of State Anti-Corruption Policy for 2020-2024	592
On Waste Management	699
On Joint Stock Companies	771

# ANNEX 6

## Time for consideration of laws in the session hall

Top 5 laws with the longest <sup>40</sup> consideration time in the session hall	
Titles of draft laws	Time spent on consideration of the respective draft laws in the session hall
On Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Privatisation of State and Communal Property” and other legislative acts of Ukraine to facilitate the relocation of enterprises under martial law and economic recovery of the state	182 min
On Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On the Legal Regime of Martial Law” regarding the functioning of local self-government during the martial law	109 min
On Waste Management	65 min
On Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine to create favourable conditions for attracting large-scale investments in industrial production	52 min
On the Particularities of Regulation of Relations in the Natural Gas Market and in the Field of Heat Supply during the Period of Martial Law and Subsequent Restoration	36 min

<sup>40</sup>Top 5 draft laws with the shortest consideration time in the session hall are not listed, as it is difficult to separate them from other draft laws. These are usually alternative draft laws or draft laws the feasibility of which is discussed in a group along with other draft laws.