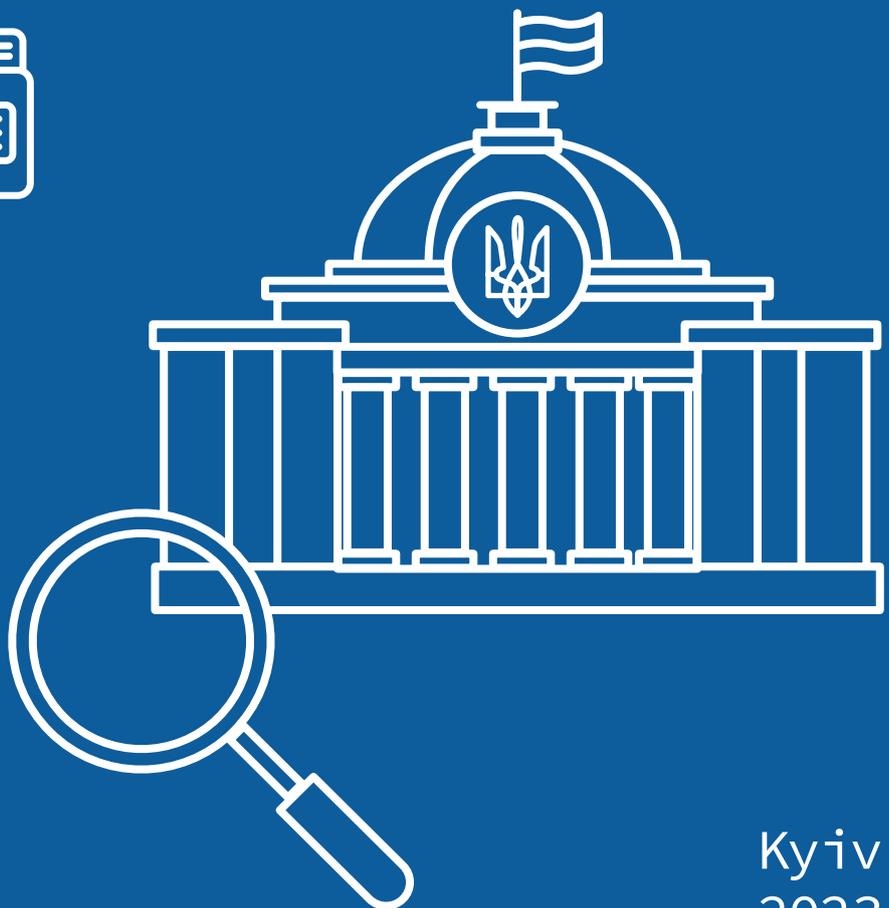


# Monitoring of the work of the Verkhovna Rada of the IX convocation for the 8th session





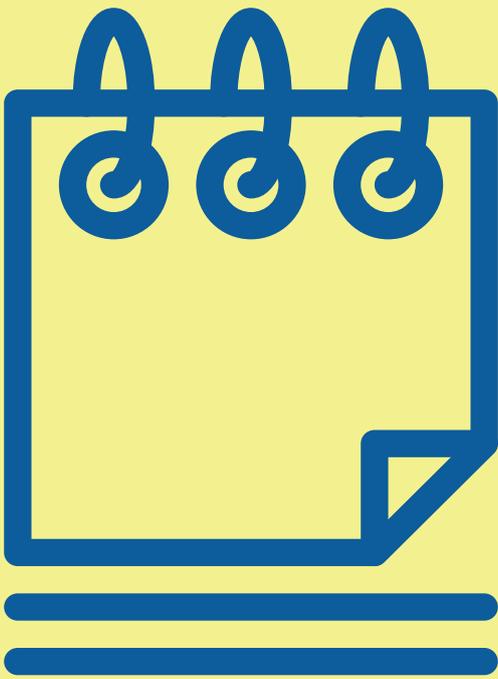
Annotation

## This monitoring for session 8 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 conclusions 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 conclusions 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 8th session: a description of extraordinary practices and cases that occurred during the 8th session.

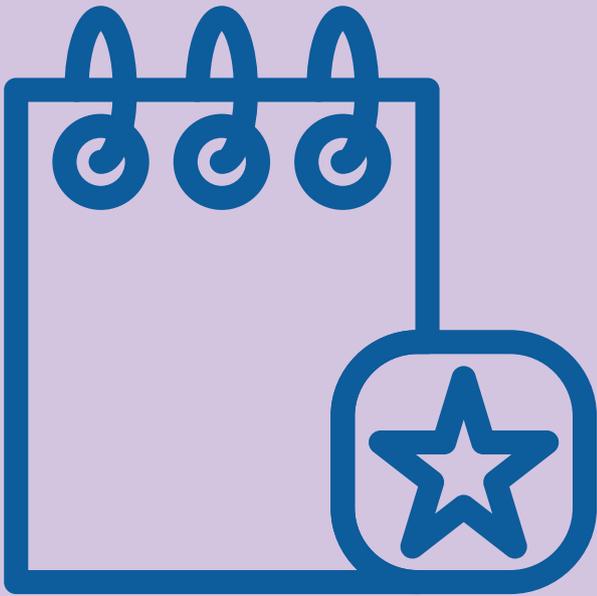
The annexes contain information on the top 5 draft laws in terms of various quantitative indicators (e.g., the number of days from registration to adoption).



# 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**
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".**



# Executive Summary

## The monitoring of the 8th session of the ninth convocation of the Verkhovna Rada revealed three key trends: strengthening the position of the Cabinet of Ministers, reducing legislative spam, and stabilising the work under martial law.

But let's start with some general figures. During the 8th session, **385 draft laws were registered, 207 draft laws were considered in the session hall, and 138 of them adopted.** The parliament spent 29 hours of plenary time considering the draft laws. The committees provided 405 conclusions as the main committees.

385

draft laws  
were registered

207

draft laws were considered  
in the session hall

138

of laws  
adopted

## Strengthening the position of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

Three indicators simultaneously signal that the government's position has strengthened. First, **the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine significantly increased the share of initiated laws - 30% of all laws** adopted during the 8th session were **initiated by the Government.** For the Cabinet of Ministers, **this is a record figure for the entire ninth convocation.** Secondly, **the speed and quality of processing of governmental draft laws in preparation for the second reading has increased,** as the number of days between the adoption in the first reading and the adoption in the second reading for governmental laws in general has decreased (to an average of 123 days), while this figure has increased for the draft laws of the President and MPs. This suggests that the **Cabinet of Ministers has improved its interaction with the Verkhovna Rada and has begun to pass its draft laws more effectively.** The third indicator is an increase (compared to the first six months of martial law) in the share of registered Government draft laws from 10.1% to 14.5%. However, there is also an indicator that contradicts this trend: for example, government draft laws take the longest of all subjects to receive committee opinions before the first reading. Nevertheless, we can cautiously speak of a **strengthening of the Government's position,** which resonates with the idea of a government-centric decision-making model, which is being actively discussed as part of the parliamentary reform.

## Reduction of legislative spam.

The figure that was given at the beginning indicates a decrease in legislative spam – **385 draft laws were registered during the 8th session.** Compared to the same autumn 6th session, the number of registered draft laws per session – **decreased by almost 200 drafts.** It should be reminded that at the end of the 8th session, there were 409 MPs, which means that **for the first time in the ninth convocation, the number of registered draft laws in the Verkhovna Rada per session is less than the number of MPs.** Currently, on average, 1 MP initiates 0.94 draft laws. This reflects the previous trend of reducing legislative spam, but 1 draft law per 1 MP can be called a barrier. Another such barrier is the ratio of the number of conclusions provided by the main committees to the number of registered draft laws. During the 8th session, for perhaps the first time in the entire ninth convocation, the number of opinions provided (405) exceeded the number of registered draft laws (385).

## Stabilising the work under martial law.

The 8th session is the second session after the start of the full-scale invasion and the introduction of martial law. Quite a few indicators show that the Verkhovna Rada has established a stable operation under martial law. This means that **the Verkhovna Rada is still dealing with the agenda that emerged after 24.02.2022, but its work is no longer so extraordinary and rushed.** Work processes have improved to the extent that it has become possible to partially return to the issues that were on the agenda before 24.02.2022. Indicators of stabilisation of work under martial law are usually either at the same level as during the first six months of martial law or are midway between the indicators before 24.02.2022 and the indicators of the first six months of martial law

## What is the evidence of stabilisation under martial law?

1. During the 8th session, a total of 138 laws were adopted. This is almost 100 laws less than during the first six months of martial law. At the same time, this is a rather high figure for ordinary autumn sessions (122 laws were adopted during the 4th session, 111 laws were adopted during the 6th session).
2. The distribution of signatory groups, both in terms of draft laws and adopted laws, corresponds to the distribution observed during the first six months of martial law.
3. The ratio of considered to registered (54%) draft laws and adopted to considered (66%) draft laws is the same as during the first six months of martial law.

Thus, the efficiency of using the resources of the Verkhovna Rada's agenda and plenary time during the 8th session is approximately equal to the efficiency observed during the first six months of martial law.

4. 80% of the laws adopted in the first reading were adopted faster than in 4 or 5 or 6 sessions, and only 3 draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety were registered by 24.02.2022. In general, this is **faster than before the full-scale invasion, but slower than during the first six months of the full-scale war**. That is, almost all of these laws are quite “fresh” and can be attributed to the “military agenda” of the Verkhovna Rada.
5. Approximately half of the draft laws adopted in the second reading can be attributed to the military agenda, and the other half are initiatives developed and registered before 24.02.2022.
6. **The President, as a subject of legislative initiative, has returned to a more familiar pattern of lawmaking.** 20% of presidential initiatives adopted in the first reading are “ordinary” laws. While during the first six months of martial law, the laws initiated by the President were exclusively ratifications and laws of symbolic nature.
7. **The time for preparing laws for the second reading has slightly increased** compared to the first six months of martial law. For 40% of draft laws, this figure increased by 17-19 days. In other words, the dynamics of the processing of draft laws by committees, expert and analytical units and the processes of political approval of draft laws roughly correspond to the dynamics of the first six months of martial law.

8. **During the 8th session, the MPs spent almost 29 hours of plenary time considering draft laws.** . This is almost three times less than in the previous autumn, the 6th session (84 hours) and roughly corresponds to the first six months of the full-scale invasion (36 hours).
9. The time spent on consideration of draft laws in the session hall for all readings (both first and second) is roughly in line with the first six months of martial law.
10. The busiest committees are the Committee on Finance, the Committee on Law Enforcement and the Committee on National Security. These same committees had the highest workload during the first six months of martial law, although in the 8th session their workload decreased significantly.

This means that the Verkhovna Rada is still focused mainly on the same issues that were present during the first six months of the full-scale invasion, but the intensity of their processing has decreased – in absolute terms, fewer legislative initiatives in these areas are registered and processed (compared to the first six months of martial law).

11. Procedures for consideration of up to 63% (i.e. two thirds) of laws were violated during the 8th session . In other words, in terms of the proportion of violations, the 8th session resembles the situation that existed during the first six months after the full-scale invasion. At the same time, **the practice of adopting draft laws “off the wheels” has almost ceased - no draft law was adopted on the day of its registration, and only 1 draft law was adopted the day after its registration.**

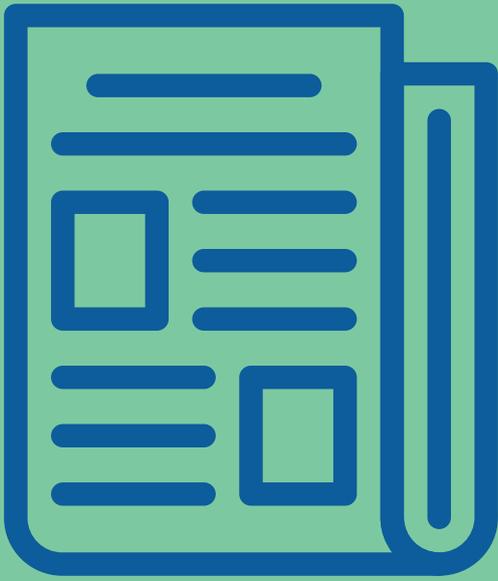
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<sup>1</sup> Obviously, in times of martial law and active hostilities, some procedures seem to be neglected in favour of speedy decision-making. It is difficult to find a balance between acceptable disregard for procedures and the fulfilment of the functions for which these procedures were created. In order to avoid the need to strike such a balance, rules should be developed and implemented to regulate the work of the Parliament during a special period.

In addition to these 11 indicators, two other aspects related to the first and second readings may also testify to the stabilisation of work under martial law. When the work of the Verkhovna Rada is well-established and stable, it can devote sufficient time to consider draft laws, which means that draft laws are mostly adopted in the second reading rather than in the first. And this is exactly what the 8th session demonstrates. Two-thirds of the laws during the 8th session were adopted in the second reading, and one-third in the first reading. In addition, all governmental draft laws (except for ratifications) were adopted in the second reading (it is the Government that usually prepares important and large-scale draft laws). During the first six months of the war, the opposite was true: two-thirds were adopted in the first reading, as were a significant number of government initiatives.



That is, the Verkhovna Rada was able to adapt its work so that important draft laws were considered and processed for a longer time, which usually means better quality laws. On the other hand, the number of violations does not support this conclusion.



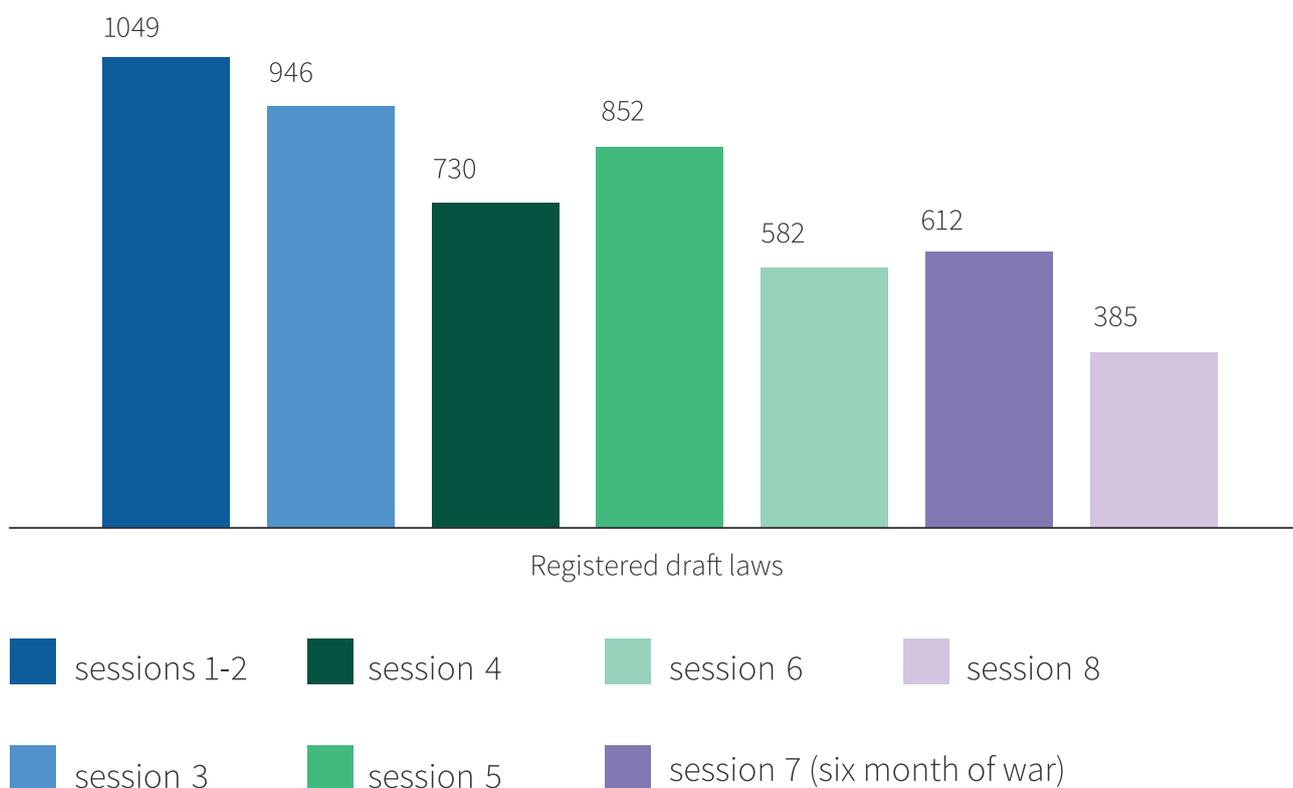
# Legislative Activity

# Legislative Activity

**During the 8th session, 385 draft laws were registered.** Compared to the same 6th session last autumn, the number of registered draft laws **decreased by almost 200 draft laws per session.** The decrease in the number of registered draft laws has already become a trend. We can talk about a **reduction in legislative spam** and less pressure on the structural units of the Verkhovna Rada's Secretariat responsible for preliminary processing and support of draft laws.



## Number of registered draft laws by session



## Registered draft laws by initiator

Initiator <sup>2</sup>	Number of registered draft laws (percentage of the total number of draft laws)
“Servant of the People” Faction	200 (51,9%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	56 (14,5%)
Group “Restoration of Ukraine”	32 (8,3%)
“Voice” Faction	23 (6,0%)
Non-factional	18 (4,7%)
“Fatherland” Faction	15 (3,9%)
President of Ukraine	14 (3,6%)
“European Solidarity” Faction	12 (3,1%)
“Platform for Life and Peace” Group	7 (1,8%)
“Party “For the Future” Group	4 (1,0%)
“Trust” Group	4 (1,0%)

<sup>2</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.

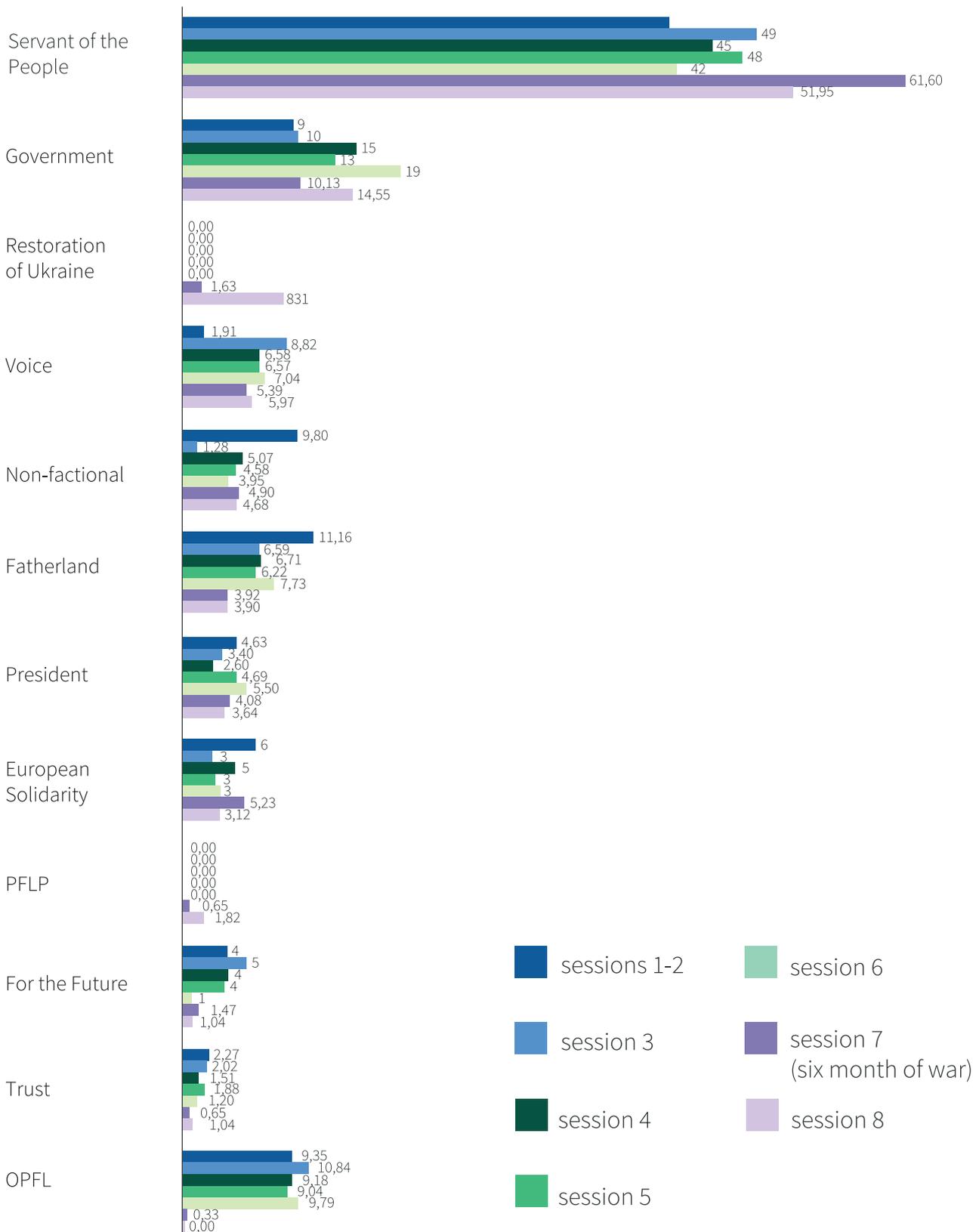
## Almost all initiators reduced the number of registered draft laws.

The only category that slightly increased the number of registered draft laws per session was the members of the “Restoration of Ukraine” group. This can be explained by both the stability of their work (after the first six months of martial law) and an attempt to show their legislative effectiveness as a newly formed group. Interestingly, adding the shares of the PFLP group and the “Restoration of Ukraine” group, we can get approximately the share of draft laws that were registered by MPs of the then still-dissolved OPFL during the first six sessions of the ninth convocation.

In terms of percentage, most categories of initiators remained roughly the same, with three exceptions. The share of registered draft laws from MPs of the “Servant of the People” faction decreased (from 61.6% to 52%) compared to the first six months of martial law, and thus gradually returns to the level before the full-scale invasion. Nevertheless, it was the **“Servant of the People” MPs who registered half of all the draft laws.** Members of the European Solidarity faction also reduced the share of registered draft laws (from 5.2% to 3.1%). MPs from the “Restoration of Ukraine” group increased both the number and the share (from 1.6% to 8.3%) of registered draft laws. More importantly, the **Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine increased its share (from 10.1% to 14.5%) of registered draft laws** compared to the first six months of martial law. However, the figures for the 6th session (which preceded martial law) have not yet been reached.

In general, factions (except for the “Servant of the People” faction) registered 12-23 (3-6%) draft laws, and groups (except for the “Restoration of Ukraine”) registered up to 10 (up to 2%) draft laws.

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



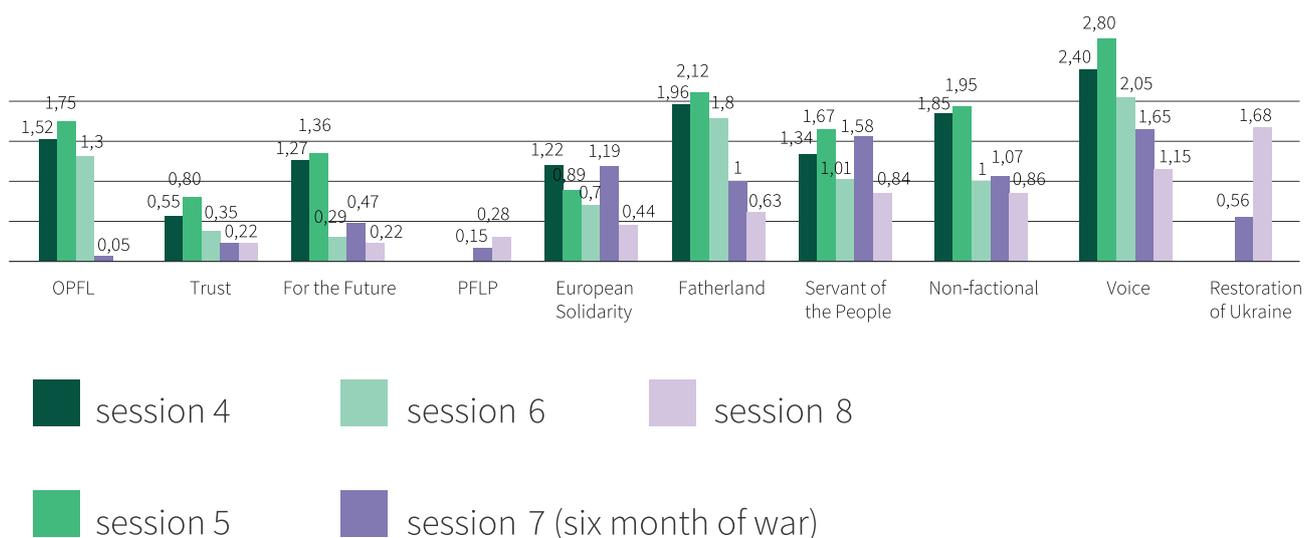
The affiliation of the draft law was determined by the factional affiliation of the initiator. For MPs, the first signatory of the draft law is considered its initiator. This method has its limitations, but it is used, in particular, in the VRU Secretariat. In addition, part 3 of Article 90 of the Rules of Procedure directly defines the MP whose signature is the first to appear as the initiator of the draft law.

For the first time in a very long period, at least for the entire IX convocation, the number of registered draft laws in the Verkhovna Rada per session is less than the number of MPs.

Currently, on average, 1 MP initiates 0.94 draft laws. This also reflects the trend towards a decrease in legislative spam.

The number of registered draft laws per MP shows a clear difference between factions and groups (with one exception - the group “Restoration of Ukraine”). **Factions and non-factional MPs registered more than 0.4 draft laws per 1 MP.** Traditionally, the highest number of draft laws among the factions is registered by the “Voice” faction (1.15 draft laws per 1 MP). All other factions have less than 1 draft law per 1 MP. All factions, except for “Fatherland”, have reduced this indicator (compared to the first six months of martial law) by about 0.5 draft laws per 1 MP. The “Restoration of Ukraine” group was the only one to significantly (by 1.1) increase the number of draft laws per MP. All other groups registered about 0.25 draft laws per 1 MP. **Decrease in the number of registered draft laws per 1 MP is a steady trend,** however, it was in the 8th session that the level of 1 draft law per 1 MP was passed downwards for most factions.

### Number of draft laws per MP of factions/groups by session



It is logical to assume that the legislative work in parties forming factions is better established than in groups formed by majoritarian MPs, due to the existing permanent institutional structure and the possibility to establish the work of the MP association as a subject of the right to initiate legislation. This obviously affects the ability to develop “group” draft laws.

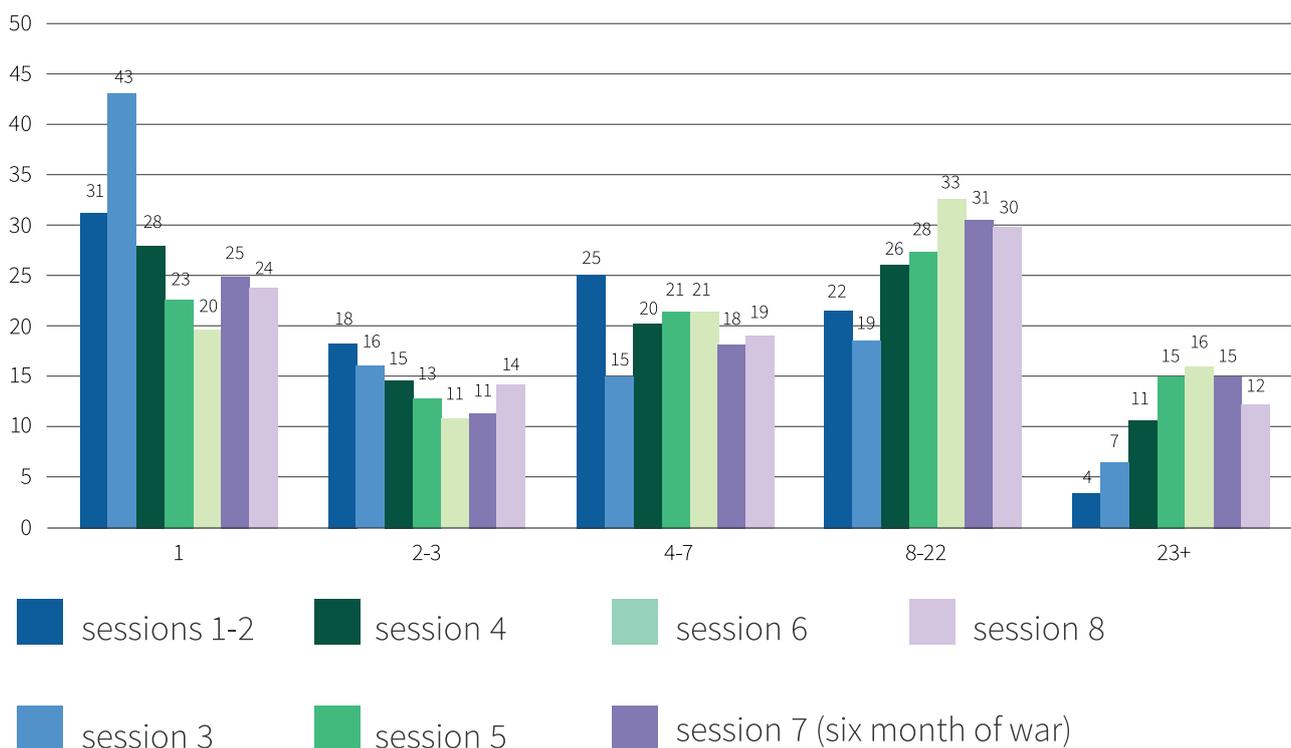
It should be emphasised that the number of draft laws per MP cannot serve as an indicator of the effectiveness of factions or groups. Rather, it is an indicator that allows us to better understand the general trends in the work of the Verkhovna Rada.

**The number of draft laws submitted by specific MPs is deliberately not given here,** as this is often perceived by them as an indicator of their performance, which encourages them to register more draft laws, neglecting the quality, which is one of the reasons for legislative spam.

### Registered draft laws by group of signatories

Groups by the number of signatories of draft laws - MPs	Number of draft laws for the 8th session initiated by MPs (percentage of the total number of MPs' draft laws)
1	75 (24%)
2-3	44 (14%)
4-7	61 (19%)
8-22	95 (30%)
23+	39 (12%)

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



**In the context of initiators, the 8th session generally corresponds to the situation during the six months of the full-scale invasion.**

For all groups of initiators, the changes were within 1-3%. The shares of large groups of initiators of draft laws slightly decreased, and at their expense, the shares of groups of 2-3 and 4-7 initiators slightly increased. It can be concluded that the dynamics of MPs' cooperation with each other is currently at the level of the first six months of martial law. The record of the 8th session is 88 signatories to one draft law. Notably, the draft law aimed at strengthening Ukraine's defense capabilities found the greatest consensus among MPs. **In this aspect of parliamentary monitoring, the authors assume that a larger number of signatories positively correlates with better drafting of laws, a higher level of consensus, and is a sign of a decrease in legislative spam.**

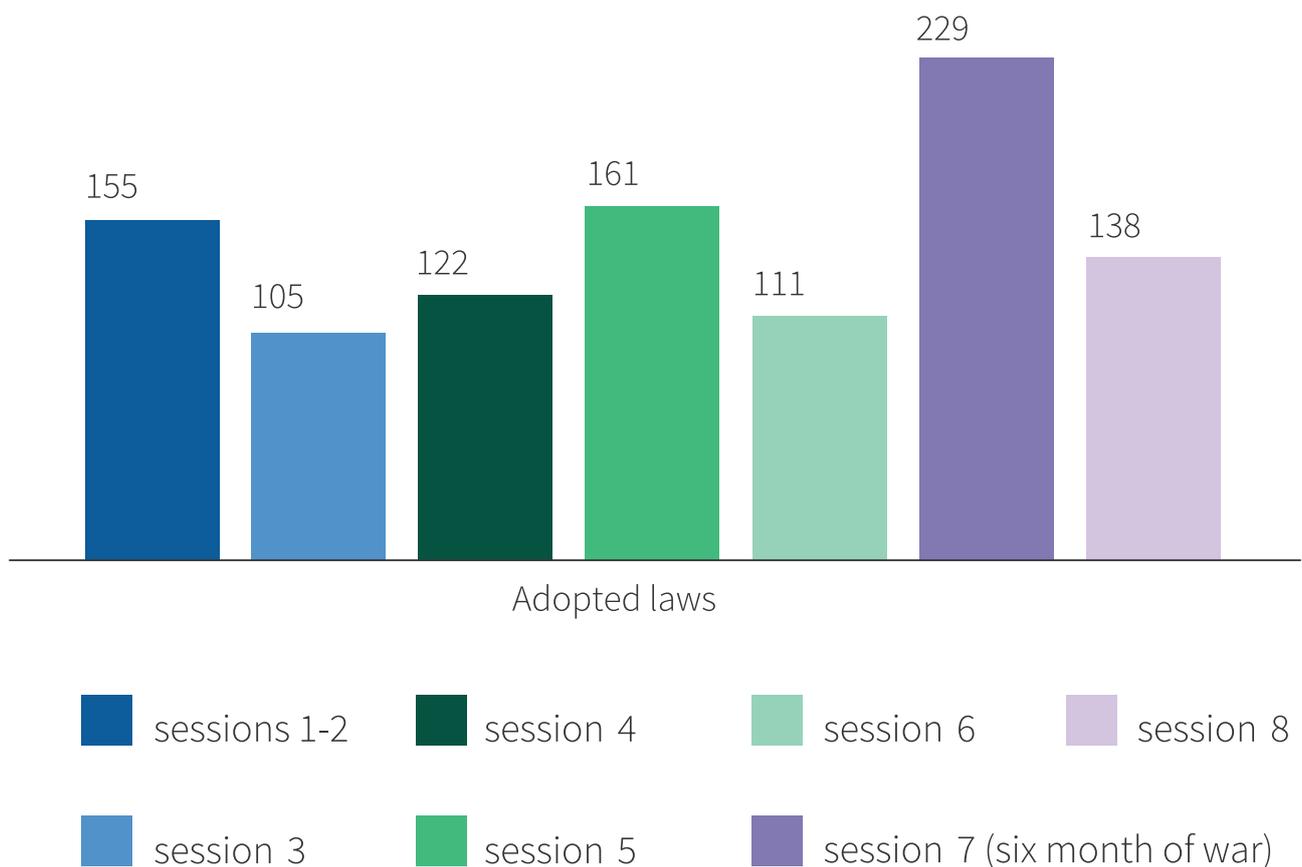
<sup>3</sup> Draft Law on Amendments to Section XXI "Final and Transitional Provisions" of the Customs Code of Ukraine on Facilitating the Importation of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and Certain Other Goods into the Territory of Ukraine No. 8361 dated 13.01.2023. The initiator (first signatory) is Yaroslav Zheleznyak.

## Adopted Laws

**During the 8th session, a total of 138 laws were adopted.** This is almost 100 laws less than during the first six months of martial law. At the same time, this is a fairly high figure for autumn sessions - the highest, if we do not consider specific 1-2 sessions (29.08.2019-24.01.2020). In general, the 8th session can be characterised as a stabilisation of the martial law regime: the indicators are still higher than typical “peaceful” indicators, but lag far behind the first six months of martial law.

During the 8th session, the President twice vetoed draft laws (submitting his own proposals). Both of these draft laws were re-adopted with the President’s proposals.

### Number of adopted draft laws by session



<sup>4</sup> Hereinafter, “peaceful” indicators are defined as those available before 24 February 2022, the day of the full-scale Russian invasion and the introduction of martial law.

## Adopted laws by initiators

Initiator	Number of laws (percentage of total number of laws)
“Servant of the People” Faction	60 (43,5%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	42 (30,4%)
President of Ukraine	19 (13,8%)
“Voice” Faction	5 (3,6%)
Non-factional	5 (3,6%)
“Fatherland” Faction	2 (1,4%)
“Trust” Group	2 (1,4%)
“European Solidarity” Faction	1 (0,7%)
“Party “For the Future” Group	1 (0,7%)
“Opposition Platform – for Life” Faction	1 (0,7%)

The breakdown of laws by initiators shows rather atypical trends in two main categories - members of the “Servant of the People” faction and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

MPs from the “Servant of the People” faction initiated a record low share of laws - only 43.5%, with a particularly sharp drop of 15% compared to the first six months of martial law and the 8th session. Instead, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine significantly increased the share of initiated laws, although the number of laws did not change. 30% of all laws passed during the 8th session were initiated by the Government. This is a record for the ninth convocation. The Cabinet’s share increased by 12% compared to the first six months of martial law. This state of affairs resonates with the idea of a government-centric decision-making model, which is being actively discussed as part of the parliamentary reform.

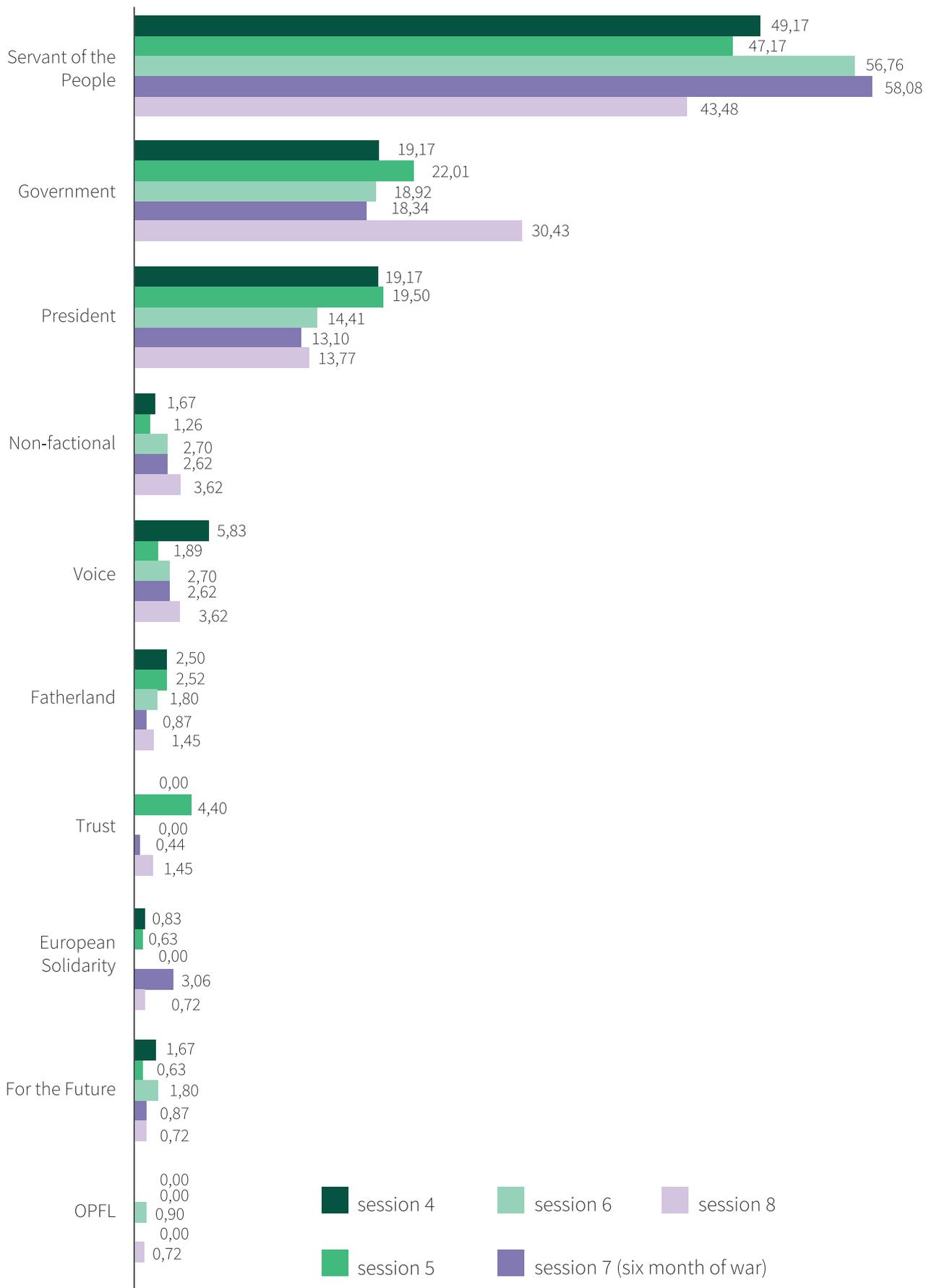
In other categories, the situation is quite typical: the President initiated about 14% of the laws adopted. Thus, the President, the Cabinet of Ministers, and members of the “Servant of the People” faction initiated almost 90% of all laws. MPs of factions and groups (except for the “Servant of the People” faction) initiated from one to 5 laws (up to 4% of the total share). The only groups whose MPs have not yet initiated laws are “Platform for Life and Peace” and “Restoration of Ukraine”.

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<sup>5</sup> When it was the MPs of this faction who initiated the largest share of laws adopted in the entire convocation.

<sup>6</sup> The law “On Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Compulsory State Social Insurance” (new version) and other legislative acts of Ukraine” No. 3663 of 15.06.2020, initiated by Mykhailo Papiyev, was registered with the OPFL, as at the time of its registration Papiyev was a member of the OPFL faction, not the PFLP group.

## 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.

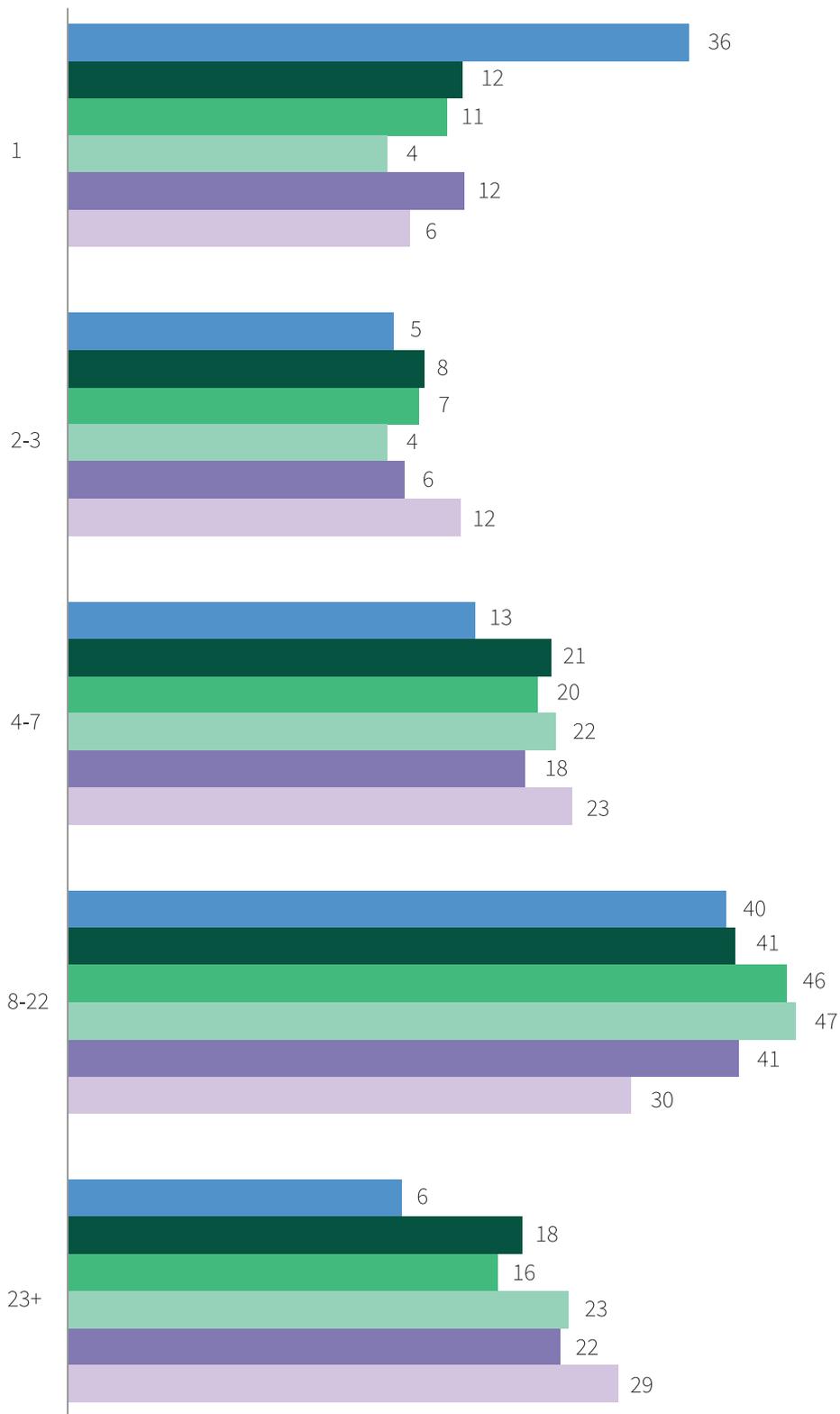
The 8th session failed to reverse this trend. Moreover, in the 8th session, it is difficult to trace clear patterns in terms of groups of signatories. Groups with 2-3, 4-7 and 23+ signatories increased their shares, while groups with 1 and 8-22 signatories decreased their shares. The general conclusion is that the situation of the first six months of martial law was not reproduced in the 8th session, but the situation that existed in the “peacetime” of the Parliament’s functioning is not observed either. That is, the dynamics can be summarised as **“stabilisation of the situation existing during the first six months of martial law”**. If we compare the distribution of shares by groups of signatories of laws and draft laws, we can still conclude that – **draft laws with a large number of signatories have a better chance of becoming laws than those with a small number of signatories.**

The Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Reforming the Sphere of Urban Development No. 5655 of 11.06.2021, adopted by the Verkhovna Rada on 13 December 2022, has the largest number of signatories. Namely it has 144 signatories. This is the very law that has caused so much debate in Ukrainian society and has not yet been signed by the President (despite the provisions of Article 94 of the Constitution).

Groups by the number of signatories - MPs, for adopted laws	Number of laws submitted by MPs (percentage of the total number of MPs' laws)
1	5 (6%)
2-3	9 (12%)
4-7	18 (23%)
8-22	23 (30%)
23+	22 (29%)

<sup>7</sup> Increase the share of draft laws with a small number of signatories by reducing the share of draft laws with a large number of signatories.

## Breakdown of adopted laws by the number of signatories in percent



## Generalised information on the legislative activity of the initiators

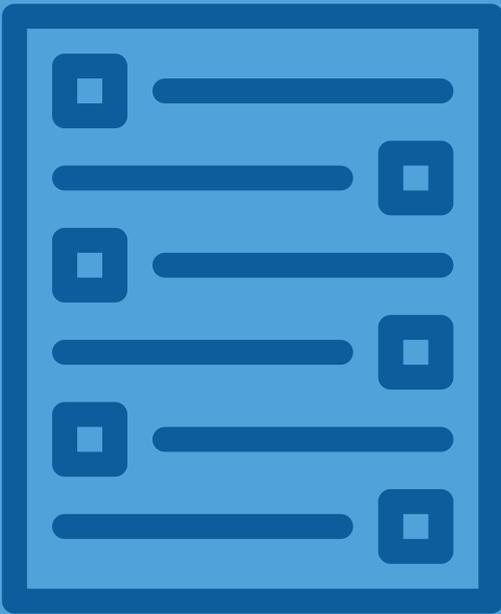
Initiator	Number of registered draft laws (percentage of the total number of registered draft laws)	Number of draft laws considered in the parliamentary session (percentage of the total number of draft laws considered)	Number of adopted laws (percentage of the total number of laws adopted)
“Servant of the People” Faction	200 (51,9%)	91 (44%)	60 (43,5%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	56 (14,5%)	70 (33,8%)	42 (30,4%)
President of Ukraine	14 (3,6%)	19 (9,2%)	19 (13,8%)
Non-factional	18 (4,7%)	7 (3,4%)	5 (3,6%)
“Voice” Faction	23 (6,0%)	7 (3,4%)	5 (3,6%)
“Trust” Group	4 (1,0%)	4 (1,9%)	2 (1,4%)
“Fatherland” Faction	15 (3,9%)	3 (1,4%)	2 (1,4%)
“Party “For the Future” Group	(1,0%)	1 (0,5%)	1 (0,7%)
“European Solidarity” Faction	12 (3,1%)	2 (1%)	1 (0,7%)
“Opposition Platform - For Life” Faction	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	1 (0,7%)
“Restoration of Ukraine” Group	32 (8,3%)	1 (0,5%)	0 (0%)
“Platform for Life and Peace” Group	7 (1,8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	385 (100%)	207 (100%)	138 (100%)

**The Government and the President have a larger share of adopted draft laws than considered ones and a larger share of considered 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 shares of the “Servant of the People” faction are atypical in this regard: during the previous two sessions, the “Servant of the People” faction had either approximately equal shares or, on the contrary, resembled the Cabinet of Ministers and the President in terms of these ratios.



In the 8th session, the breakdown of the “Servant of the People” faction began to resemble that of other factions and groups (the share of registered MPs is higher than the share of those considered and adopted). This may indicate a decrease in the MPs’ influence. As in previous sessions, the factions and groups of the parliamentary minority have a larger share of registered draft laws than of 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%, the same ratio that was present during the first six months of martial law. While in the previous 6th autumn session, this ratio was 48%. The ratio of the number of draft laws considered the number of registered ones during the 8th session (54%) remained almost unchanged compared to the first six months of martial law (56%). Compared to the 6th session, the ratio increased by 16%. Thus, the efficiency of utilising the resources of the agenda and plenary time of the Verkhovna Rada during the 8th session is approximately equal to the efficiency during the first six months of martial law.



Passage of  
draft laws

The 8th session has returned the ratio of first and second readings to the situation that existed before the full-scale invasion. Currently, as during the 5th and 6th sessions, two-thirds of laws are adopted in two readings, and one-third in one reading.<sup>9</sup>

However, the trend of not using the third reading has not changed - not a single draft law has passed three readings. 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.



### Percentage (%) of laws passed by readings



<sup>9</sup> According to part 1 of Article 102 of the Rules of Procedure, "Draft laws are considered by the Verkhovna Rada, as a rule, according to the procedure of 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/>.

# Timeframe for submitting conclusions of the main committees for the first reading

When reviewing the information on committees, it should be borne in mind that this monitoring is based on the number of conclusions of the main committees. This methodology is used due to the availability of data. Specifically, the information on the conclusions of the main committees is constantly available on the website of the Verkhovna Rada, regularly updated and available for all conclusions of the main committees. However, the committees, of course, perform many other functions and tasks in addition to providing opinions of the main committees. Three committees have to provide mandatory opinions on all draft laws, committees may be tasked with preparing opinions as subsidiary committees, committees consider and make decisions as part of their oversight function, consider letters and appeals, hold conferences, roundtables, etc. However, all this information is published only in fragments, so it cannot be used for a regular monitoring. However, in cases where this information is available in a form acceptable for systemic monitoring, it is used. These limitations should be taken into account when reviewing the information below, which is based on the conclusions of the main committees.

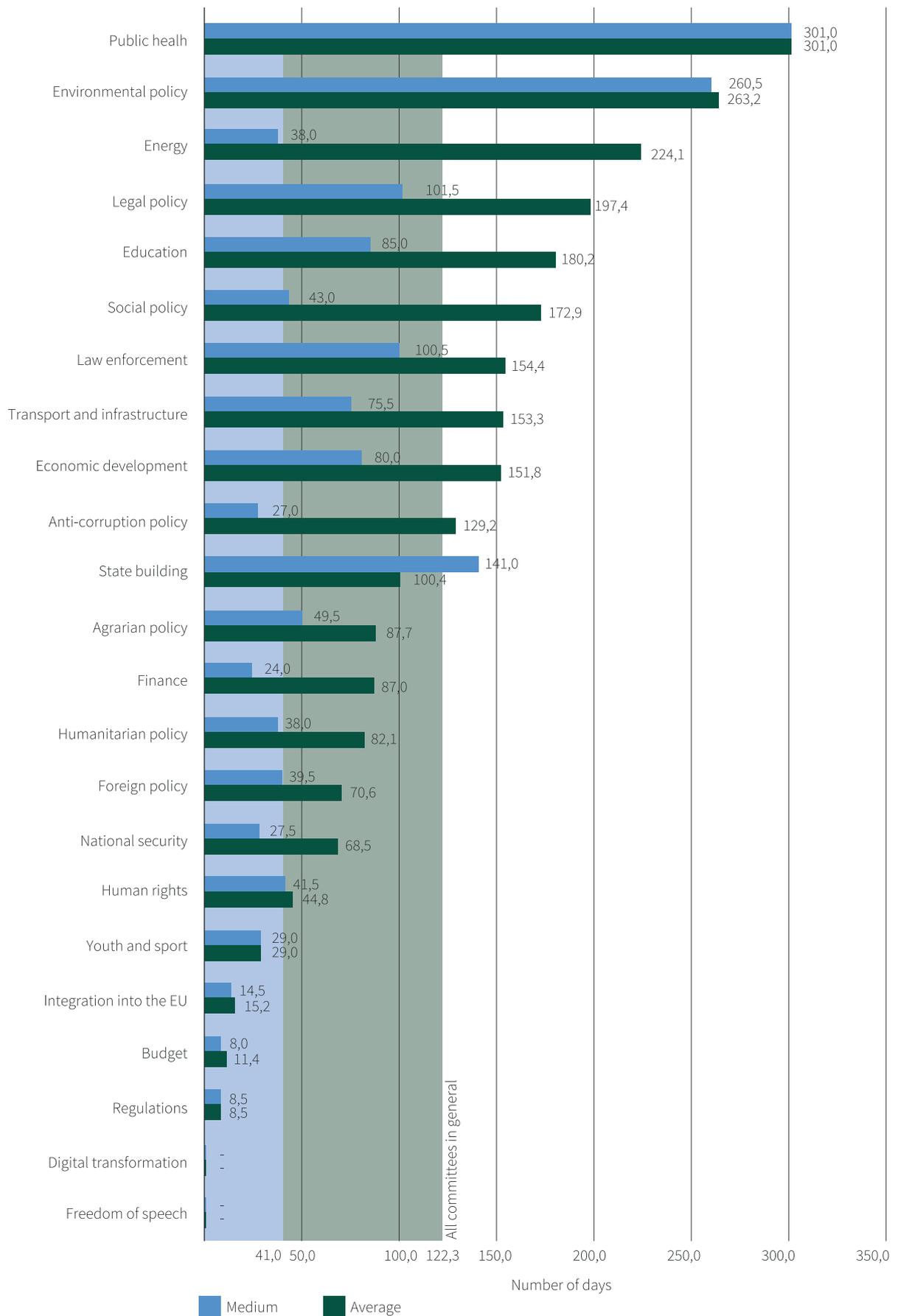
The time it takes for the main committees to provide their opinions on draft laws allows us to assess several important indicators at once. In terms of committees, the time from registration to the first committee opinion characterises the workload of the committees, their efficiency and allows us to 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 conclusions characterises the “loyalty” 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 entire dynamics of the passage of draft laws.

**Committees provided their opinion for the first reading in an average of 122.3 days, and half of all opinions were provided in 41 days.**

<sup>10</sup> Committee on Budget, Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy and Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union.

<sup>11</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, as often during the preliminary processing, the committee actually considers the draft laws on their merits.

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



## 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 8th session with the results of first six months of war, the time for issuing the first conclusion has decreased in a quarter of the committees. The decrease ranged from 8 to 40 days, depending on the committee. For the rest of the committees, the time to provide the first opinion has increased. The increase ranged from 20 to 200 days. That is, the time for the committee to provide its first opinion is returning to the level of peacetime.

In general, the workload and the speed of issuing conclusions in most cases are correlated. However, in a third of cases, this is not the case. The Committee on National Security, the Committee on Finance, and the Committee on Foreign Policy, despite the relatively large number of opinions provided, submitted their first opinions on draft laws relatively quickly. The Committee on Environmental Policy and the Committee on Energy, despite having a moderate number of opinions, took a relatively long time to provide their first opinions on draft laws. The Committee on Public Health took the longest to provide its opinions on average, despite their small number.

Subject of submission	Average number of days	Median <sup>13</sup> number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	167,9	59
Members of Parliament of Ukraine	110,9	37
President of Ukraine	78,1	18

<sup>13</sup> The median is a 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.

The situation looks unusual in terms of the subjects of submissions and initiators. For both the President and MPs, the timeframe for submitting opinions (both average and median) has increased, and quite significantly – several times. For the Cabinet of Ministers, however, the average number of days for the first committee opinion to be provided increased by only 20 days, while the median decreased by almost half. Although the Cabinet of Ministers still takes the longest time to provide conclusions on its draft laws, the government’s session-by-session dynamics is not bad.

**In the 8th session, the draft laws of all factions received conclusions longer than during the first six months of martial law.<sup>14</sup>**

Conclusions on draft laws submitted by MPs of the “Servant of the People” faction were provided the fastest compared to other factions. Half of all the opinions provided on the draft laws of the “Servant of the People” faction even fell within the 30-day deadline established by the VRU Rules of Procedure (although these deadlines are often ignored by the committees). Although, compared to the first six months of martial law, both the average and median for the “Servant of the People” faction have doubled. The biggest decline in the speed of providing first opinions was experienced by the opinions on draft laws of the “Voice” faction: previously, “Voice” competed with “Servant of the People” in terms of the speed of receiving opinions on its MPs’ draft laws, but in the 8th session, “Voice” draft laws received opinions very slowly - half of the opinions had to wait more than 100 days.

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<sup>14</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 factions “Fatherland” and “Opposition Platform - For Life”, the indicators were calculated on the basis of less than four observations. They are highlighted grey in the chart. Therefore, fast or slow receipt of opinions on their draft laws is more a coincidence than a pattern. Other factions received more than 10 opinions.

Factional affiliation of the initiator	Average number of days	Median number of days
OPFL	461,5	489,5
“Fatherland”	263,5	232
Government	167,9	59
“Voice”	161,7	103,5
Non-factional	130,6	24,5
“European Solidarity”	108,3	44,5
“Platform for Life and Peace”	105	137
“Trust”	94	60
“Servant of the People”	93,6	33,5
“Restoration of Ukraine”	80,8	65
President	78,1	18
“For the Future”	41	29



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. It is noteworthy that all the fastest draft laws in terms of these indicators were related to martial law or the war itself.

## Timeframe for submitting conclusions of the main committees for the second reading

The speed of submission of committee opinions for the second reading is less indicative, due to the small number of such opinions per committee. These data should be treated with caution, but they are also worthy of attention. **13 out of 19 committees increased (compared to the first six months of martial law) the time it took them to provide opinions for the second reading on average**, while 5 out of 19 committees decreased this time. In other words, this indicator is also gradually returning to the state before 24 February 2022.

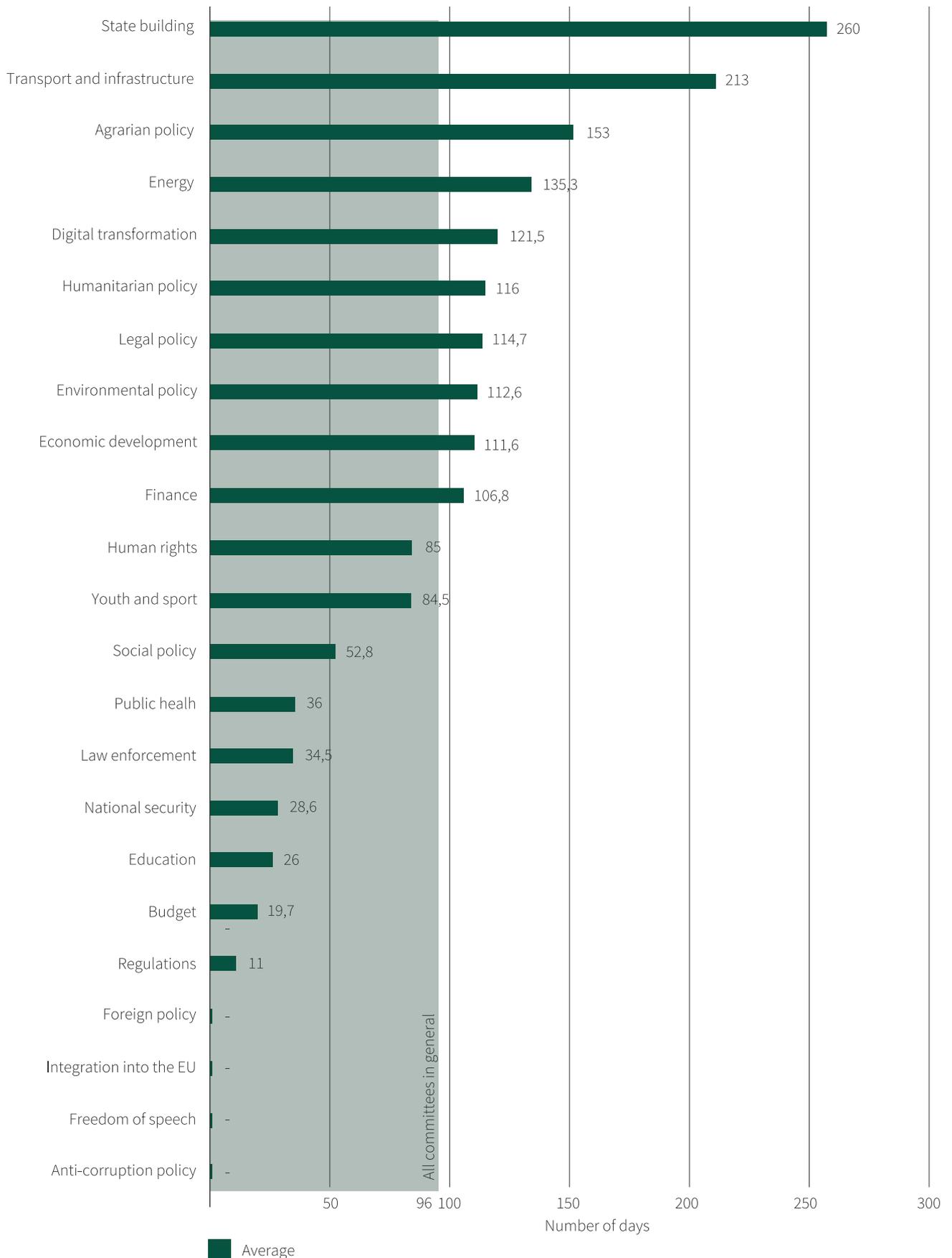
The time from the adoption of a draft law in the first reading to the provision of a conclusion for the second reading was 96 days on average, and half of all conclusions were provided within 50 days. In other words, the speed of committee processing of draft laws for the second reading differs from the speed of processing for the first reading by no more than 20%.

<sup>15</sup> 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 conclusion of the committee for the second reading was calculated (although there may be several conclusions).

<sup>16</sup> Due to the small number of second reading opinions, only the average is used here. Only three committees provided 10 or more conclusions for the second reading in the 8th session.

<sup>17</sup> Another 4 committees failed to provide any conclusions for the second reading.

## 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 from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	89,9
Members of Parliament of Ukraine	102,6
President of Ukraine <sup>18</sup>	11,5

**Presidential draft laws are the fastest to receive committee opinions for the second reading.** Although there are only 2 such conclusions, this situation fits the general trend. For the President’s draft laws, the time for the committee’s conclusion to be provided before the second reading has hardly changed, while for the draft laws of the Government and MPs, this time has increased by about a third (if we compare the 8th session and the first six months of martial law). **Draft laws from both the “Servant of the People” faction and MPs from other factions and groups received committee opinions for the second reading more slowly than during the first six months of martial law.**

Affiliation of the initiator <sup>19</sup>	Average number of days
“Fatherland”	855
“Voice”	172,7
“Servant of the People”	91,1
Government	89,9
“For the Future”	64
Non-factional	58,6
“Trust”	50,5
President	11,5

<sup>18</sup> It should be mentioned that the President initiated only 2 draft laws that received committee opinions for the second reading. They are highlighted in grey in the chart.

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that a large number of conclusions (several dozen each) were provided only on the draft laws of the government and the “Servant of the People” faction. For the President and other factions and groups, the number of draft laws for which opinions were provided is less than 5. They are highlighted in grey in the chart. For these categories, this value can be explained by coincidence.

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

## Timeframe for passing laws from registration to adoption<sup>20</sup>

The average time for the adoption of laws, regardless of the reading, is 248.6 days, with a median of 122 days (i.e. half of the draft laws were adopted in more than 122 days, and half in less than 122 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
Session 8	77	24

The speed of passage of draft laws in the 8th session was slower than in the first six months of martial law (7th session), but faster than in the 6th session. 80% of the laws adopted in the first reading were adopted faster than in the 4th, 5th, or 6th sessions, and only 3 draft laws adopted in the first reading were registered before 24.02.2022. That is, **almost all of these laws are quite “fresh” and can be attributed to the “military agenda” of the Verkhovna Rada. In this respect, the 8th session follows the situation of the first six months of the martial law period.**

<sup>20</sup> The data is provided only for the laws that were not vetoed.

**At the same time, the practice of adopting draft laws “off the shelf” has almost ceased - no draft law was adopted on the day of its registration, and only 1 draft law<sup>21</sup> was adopted the day after its registration.** Half of the draft laws adopted in the first reading were adopted in less than 24 days from the date of their registration. 70% - in less than 62 days. Nevertheless, the draft laws adopted in the first reading were adopted more slowly than the draft laws during the first six months of martial law.

Draft laws initiated by the Cabinet of Ministers and adopted in the first reading are ratifications or draft laws related to ratifications. Excluding ratifications, the draft laws adopted in the first reading were initiated by MPs and the President. Unlike during the first six months of martial law, during the 8th session, presidential draft laws adopted in the first reading are not only symbolic laws and ratifications - 20% of presidential initiatives adopted in the first reading are “ordinary” laws.<sup>22</sup>

The detailed dynamics of the timeframe for the adoption of draft laws in the first reading shows that the **time for adoption has increased for 80% of the draft laws.** The increase ranged from 5 days for the fastest draft laws to 37 days for the slowest ones. However, for the slowest draft laws, the time for adoption decreased slightly. The experimental indicator of the “growth rate” was 50 days, although this figure is primarily due to the negative value of the previous period. The “growth rate” is calculated as the average difference between the difference in deciles 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 eighth and seventh sessions (the first six months of the full-scale invasion).

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<sup>21</sup> Draft Law on Amendments to Section II of the Law of Ukraine «On the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine» to establish restrictions on the appointment of the Director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine in connection with the introduction of martial law No. 8003 of 06.09.2022.

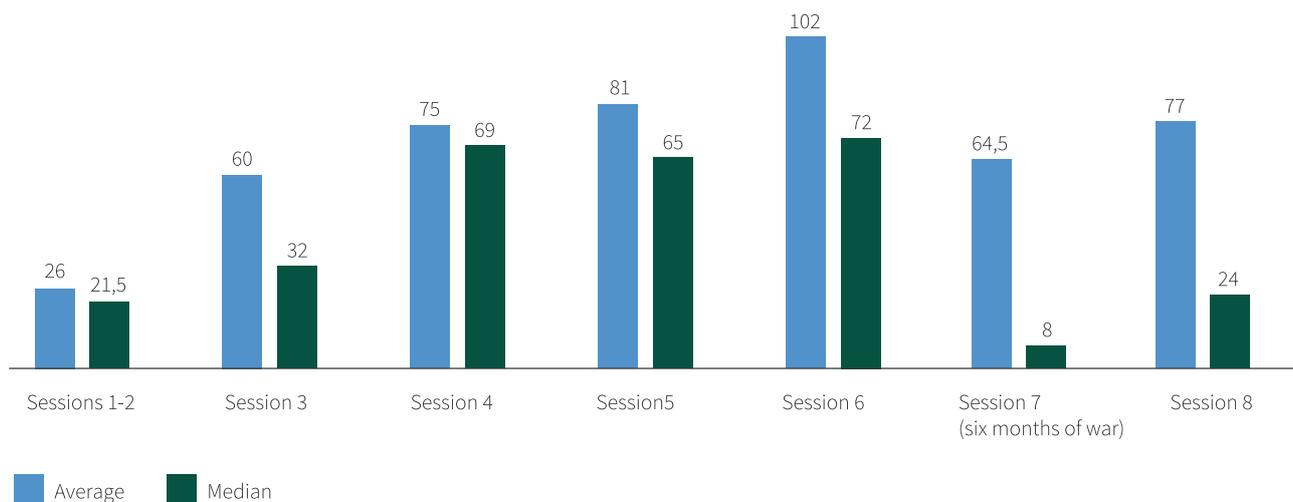
<sup>22</sup> For example, an amendment to Section XII “Final and Transitional Provisions” of the Law of Ukraine “On the Judiciary and the Status of Judges”.

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

<sup>24</sup> <https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9A%D0%B2%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%82%D0%B8%D0%BB%D1%8C>

<sup>25</sup> In other words, the “pace” characterises the rate of growth of the adoption time. For example, let’s imagine that between the first and second sessions, the average 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 between the second and third sessions was 15 days, the rate would be 5 days, which would mean that growth has accelerated.

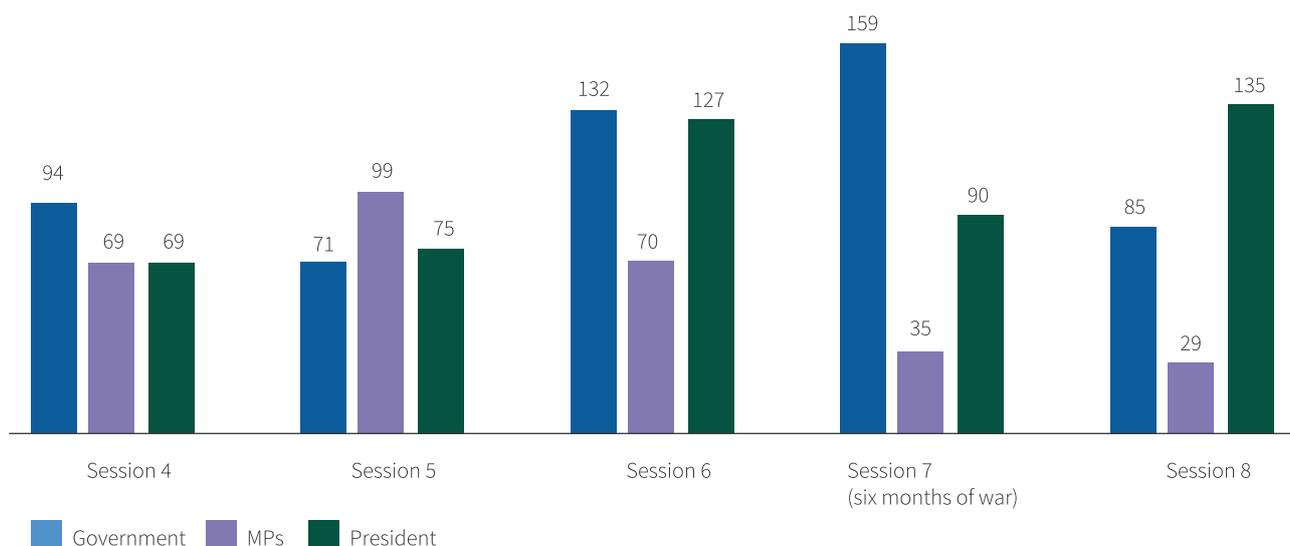
## Comparison of sessions by the number of days spent on adopting draft laws in the first reading



Subject of initiation	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	85	33
Members of Parliament <sup>26</sup>	29 (24.5 for the “Servant of the People” faction)	18 (16.5 for the “Servant of the People” faction)
President of Ukraine	135	57

<sup>26</sup> There is one draft law for which the time from registration to adoption was 951 days, which adjusted the indicators for both MPs in general and members of the “Servant of the People” faction in particular.

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



**Of particular interest is the passage of draft laws adopted in the first reading and in general by subject. On average, the passage of MPs' draft laws has accelerated, even compared to the first six months of martial law.** However, the median for MPs' draft laws has decreased. This reflects the fact that the **draft laws adopted in the first reading during the 8th session are part of the martial law agenda.** But the way they were considered and adopted was less urgent than during the first six months of the full-scale invasion. The same applies to governmental draft laws: both the average and the median decreased compared to the first six months of martial law. However, **the nature of the governmental laws passed in the first reading during the 8th session is not similar to the first six months of the full-scale invasion.** All such government draft laws are ratifications or are related to ratifications. Thus, the only subject for whom the passage of draft laws in the first reading has slowed down is the President of Ukraine. This is primarily due to the adoption of two rather old draft laws related to the liquidation of the Kyiv District Administrative Court <sup>27</sup>. They were registered during the 5th session, in April 2021, and adopted in December 2022.

The top 5 slowest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to adoption in the first reading, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws, can be found in Annex 3.

<sup>27</sup> No. 5369 and No. 5370 of 13.04.2021.

## Time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety<sup>28</sup>

Session No	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
Session 8	274	274

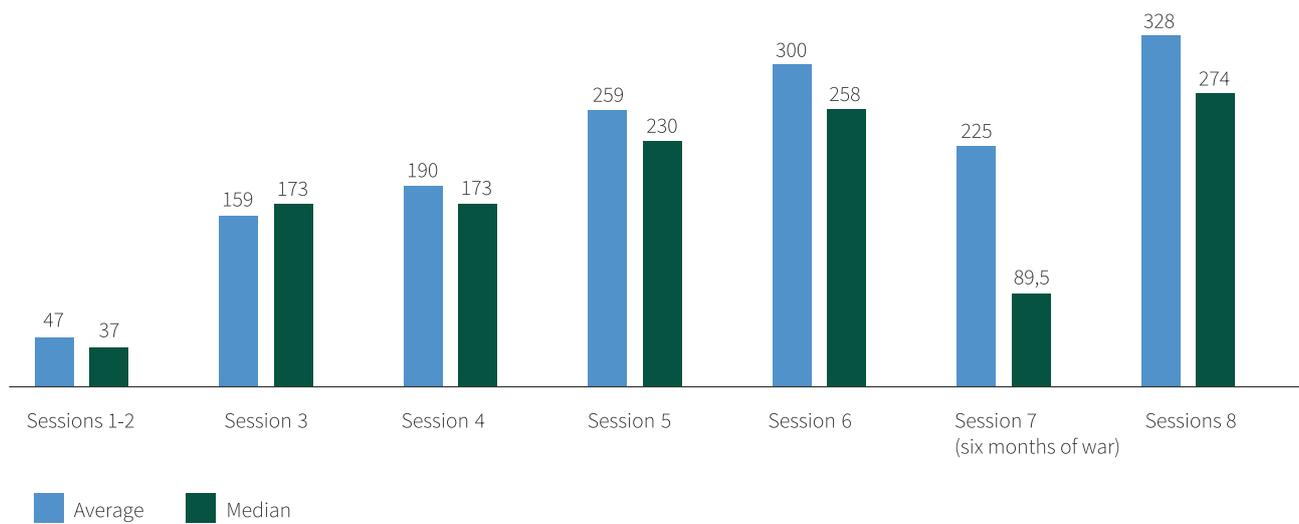
In contrast to the first reading, the draft laws adopted in the second reading during the 8th session surpassed even the indicators of the 6th session (the last session before the full-scale invasion). **On average, the passage of draft laws from registration to adoption in the second reading slowed down (the median value also shows a slowdown). This means that the dynamics that existed before the full-scale invasion have been restored.**

A detailed analysis of the time from registration to adoption in the second reading shows a division of draft laws into two groups. The dynamics of passage of about 40% of the draft laws from registration to adoption in the second reading resembles the dynamics of passage of draft laws from registration to adoption in the first reading. That is, 40% of the draft laws increased the time of their passage (by 14-70 days) compared to the first six months of martial law, but did not reach the indicators of the 6th session (compared to the 6th session, the decrease for these draft laws was 33-100 days). These are the draft laws registered during the first six months of the full-scale invasion. Other draft laws were registered before 24.02.2022. The time from registration to adoption in the second reading increased both compared to the 6th session (by 16-220 days) and compared to the first six months of martial law (by 113-194 days). The growth rate of the time from registration to adoption in the second reading was 181 days.

<sup>28</sup> The data is provided only for laws that have not been vetoed.

Thus, approximately half of the draft laws adopted in the second reading can be attributed to the martial law agenda, while the other half are initiatives developed and registered before 24.02.2022.

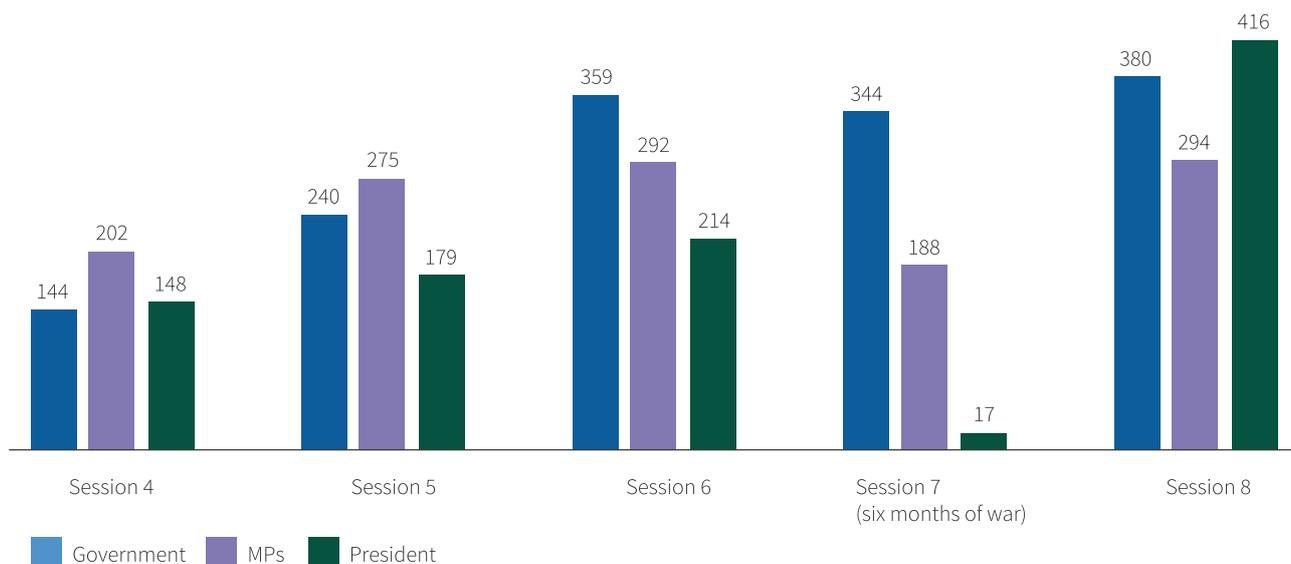
### Comparison of sessions by the number of days spent on adopting draft laws in the second reading



Subject of initiation	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	380	384
Members of Parliament	294 (278 for the “Servant of the People” faction)	136 (136 for the “Servant of the People” faction)
President of Ukraine <sup>29</sup>	416	396

<sup>29</sup>It should be borne in mind that the President initiated only 4 draft laws adopted in the second reading during the eighth session. They are highlighted in grey in the table.

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



Given that only 4 draft laws initiated by the President have passed two readings, an analysis of their passage will not allow us to better understand the characteristics of the President as a subject of legislative initiative. All these 4 draft laws were registered before 24 February 2022. That is, large and important draft laws of the President (and such draft laws normally require two readings) were not adopted during the first six months of martial law, waiting for the 8th session. As a result, compared to other subjects of legislative initiative, presidential draft laws were the slowest to pass.

**Both MPs' and the government's draft laws resumed the dynamics that existed before 24.02.2022:** an increase in the time taken from registration to adoption in the second reading and in the entirety, with an increase both compared to the 6th session and the first six months of martial law. However, a closer look reveals a division into two groups - those that were registered after the beginning of the full-scale invasion and prior to it. As for the government, all of its regular draft laws (i.e., not ratifications or draft laws related to ratifications) passed two readings.

The top 5 slowest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to adoption in the second reading and in the entirety, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws, can be found in Annex 4.

## The time between the first reading of a draft law and its adoption in the second reading and in entirety<sup>30</sup>

Session No	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
Session 8	141	57

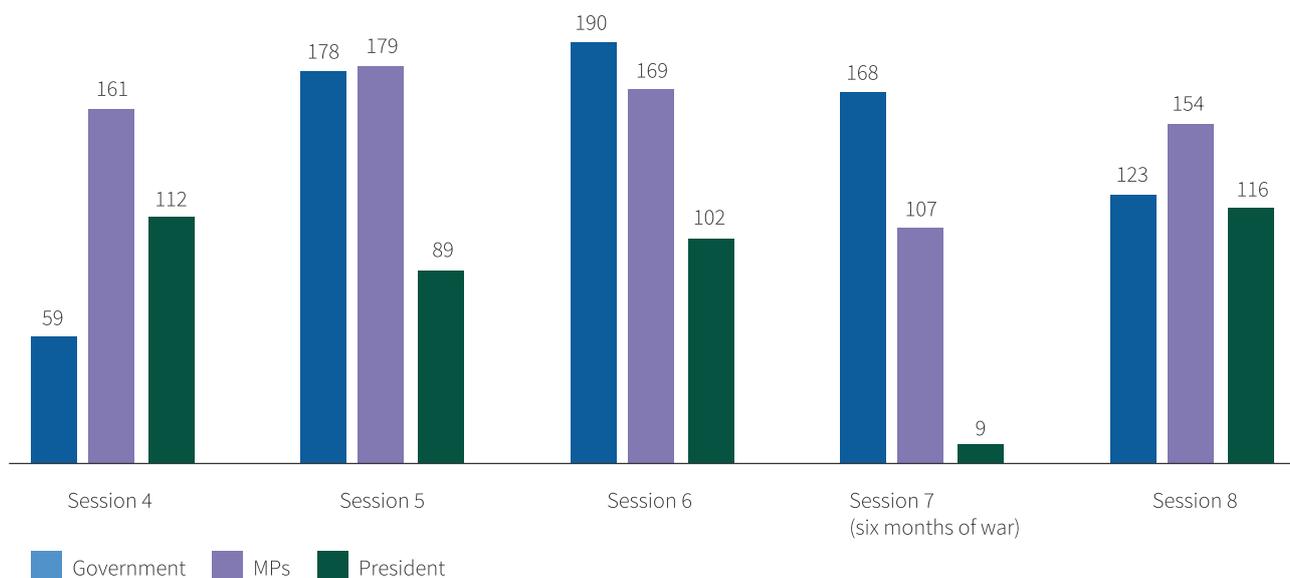
The time between adoption in the first reading and adoption in the second reading and in the entirety for draft laws adopted during the 8th session increased slightly compared to the first six months of martial law. For 40% of draft laws, this figure increased by 17-19 days. In other words, the **dynamics of the processing of draft laws by committees, expert and analytical units, and the processes of political approval of draft laws roughly correspond to the dynamics of the first six months of martial law.**

Subject of initiation	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	123	56
Members of Parliament	154 (146 for the “Servant of the People” faction)	58 (58 for the “Servant of the People” faction)
President of Ukraine <sup>31</sup>	116	38

<sup>30</sup> The data is presented only for laws that were not vetoed.

<sup>31</sup> It should be borne in mind that the President initiated only 4 draft laws adopted in the second reading and in the entirety during the eighth session. They are highlighted in grey in the chart.

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



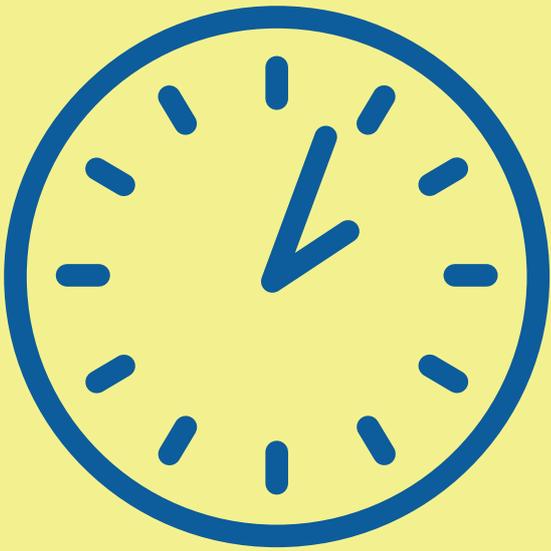
In terms of the subjects of legislative initiative, the time between the adoption of the first reading and the adoption in the second reading and in the entirety of government and presidential draft laws was roughly equal. This occurred because of two atypical circumstances. First, the time for processing presidential draft laws increased (it increased both compared to the first six months of martial law and compared to the 6th session). Second, the speed of processing governmental draft laws has increased. This happened against the backdrop of a slowdown in the processing of parliamentary and presidential draft laws. In other words, quantitative data show that the **Cabinet of Ministers has improved its interaction with the Verkhovna Rada and started to promote its draft laws more effectively.** Along with other indicators presented in this monitoring, it seems that the **government is improving its position as a subject of legislative initiative.**

**As for MPs' draft laws, for the first time in the last four sessions, it was MPs' draft laws that were the slowest to pass between the first reading and the second reading and in the entirety.** Nevertheless, both MPs' and governmental draft laws were processed faster on average than during the 6th session.

The top 5 slowest draft laws in terms of the number of days between the adoption of a draft law in the first reading and its adoption in the second reading and in general, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws, can be found in Annex 5.



Summing up the data on the passage of draft laws, the dynamics of the 8th session in some ways continues the dynamics of the first six months of martial law, and in some ways returns to the dynamics of the 6th session. In general, this can be described as a stabilisation of the martial law dynamics. Some of the draft laws belong to the martial law agenda, but the other part is those initiatives that were developed and registered before 24 February 2022, and for the second reading this ratio is approximately 50 to 50. It is also important to note that the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has become more effective in pushing draft laws, as the government has strengthened its position on many indicators (although it used to lag behind MPs and the President).



Plenary  
time

To calculate the plenary time indicators, only data related to the time spent on consideration of draft laws were used. The time spent on registration, announcement of inquiries, “government hour”, resolutions, etc. was not taken into account.

## Plenary time by initiators

During the 8th session, the MPs spent almost 29 hours of plenary time considering draft laws. This is almost three times less than in the previous autumn 6th session (84 hours) and not much less than in the first six months of the full-scale invasion (36 hours). In other words, the total amount of plenary time roughly corresponds to the situation before the full-scale invasion and has not returned to normal.

90% of the plenary time was devoted to consideration of draft laws submitted by the government - the “Servant of the People” faction, the Government and the President. This level was only slightly lower than in the previous session. Thus, less than 10% of the plenary time remains 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 the initiator	Amount of plenary time (in hours)	Share of total plenary time, %
“Servant of the People”	14,22	49,6
Cabinet of Ministers	10,57	36,8
President	1,06	3,7
OPFL <sup>32</sup>	0,68	2,4
Non-factional	0,58	2
“Voice”	0,56	2
“Trust”	0,56	2
“For the Future”	0,25	0,9
“Fatherland”	0,1	0,4
“European Solidarity”	0,08	0,3
“Restoration of Ukraine”	0,03	0,1
Total	28,69	100

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

Session No	Average	Median
Session 4	508 seconds (8,5 minutes)	182 sec. (3 min.)
Session 5	391 sec. (6,5 min.)	118 sec. (2min.)
Session 6	701 sec. (11,5 min.)	901 sec. (15min.)
Session 7 (six months of war)	151 sec. (2,5 min.)	41,5 sec. (0,7 min.)
Session 8	260 sec. (4,5 min.)	86 sec. (1,5 min.)

<sup>32</sup> As of 2023, the OPFL faction no longer exists. We determine the factionalism of laws and draft laws by the date of their registration. That is, if an MP from the OPFL registered a draft law in 2020, and the Committee or the MSED provided its conclusions in 2023 (when the OPFL faction no longer existed), or it was adopted in 2023, we still assign this draft law to the OPFL.

**The normality of consideration of draft laws in the parliamentary session 8 was not restored.** The time spent on the consideration of draft laws in the first reading has increased compared to the first six months of martial law, but has not reached the level that existed before 24.02.2022. 20% of the draft laws are considered in much the same way as during any other session - for half a minute each, which is actually required to read out the title of the draft law and to vote. Another 60% of the draft laws are considered for 1-3 minutes, which is also extremely short, including the actual reading of the title, 1 speech and voting. **Half of all draft laws were considered in less than 90 seconds.** Only about 15% of the draft laws were considered for more than 10 minutes, while before 24.02.2022, this figure was 40-70%.

The rationale for this situation is probably the same as during the first six months of martial law:

**First,** a number of draft laws still have consensus support.

**Secondly,** there are security issues, particularly in the context of rocket attacks (although this threat should not be compared to the situation in March 2022).

Therefore, it seems that the main reason is the new information policy of the Parliament, the lack of online broadcasts of sittings, and limited TV news (a single telethon instead of half a dozen competing news programmes). Under normal circumstances, the rostrum in the session hall is used to communicate political positions on draft laws. But if the session is not being broadcast, then the voters will not hear this position and there is no need for long political speeches.

### **Plenary time for laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety (the first reading of which was before the 8th session)**

Session No	Average	Median
Session 4	1003 sec. (17 min.)	258 sec. (4 min.)
Session 5	3527 sec. (59 min.)	139 sec. (2,5 min.)
Session 6	1439 sec. (24 min.)	408 sec. (6,5 min.)
Session 7 (six months of war)	449 sec. (7,5 min.)	141 sec. (2 min.)
Session 8	440 sec. (7,5 min.)	79 sec. (1,5 min.)

<sup>33</sup> For draft laws passed in the first reading and in their entirety.

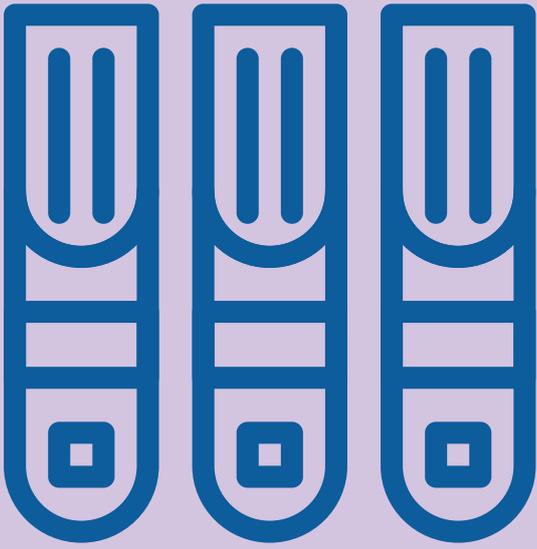
**The draft laws that were considered only in the second reading during the 8th session were considered in the parliamentary hall at approximately the same rate as during the first six months of martial law** – the average and median of the 8th session are approximately equal to the figures for the first six months of martial law. At the same time, about half of the draft laws were considered in the parliamentary hall during the 8th session even faster than during the first six months of martial law. The reasons seem to be the same: security and the new information policy of the Parliament, and the lack of online broadcasts. In addition, as before, the second reading does not look like such an attractive target for hundreds of amendments to block the work of the Verkhovna Rada.

### **Plenary time for laws that had both readings during the 8th session**

Session No	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.)
Session 8	910 sec. (15 min.)	285 sec. (5 min.)

**The draft laws, both readings of which took place in the 8th session, were considered in much the same way as during the first six months of martial law.** Approximately half of all draft laws during the 8th session even reduced the amount of time spent on their consideration in the parliamentary hall (compared to the first six months of martial law). The reduction in such cases was about 1 minute. **Thus, during the 8th session, an average of 15 minutes was spent on both readings, and half of all draft laws (both readings) were considered in less than 5 minutes.** For comparison, if all the possibilities provided for in the Rules of Procedure were used, the consideration of a draft law in the first reading alone should have lasted 15 minutes, which was usually the case. The reasons for considering draft laws so quickly are the same: security and the new information policy of the Parliament, the lack of online broadcasts, and, as before, the second reading does not look like an attractive target for hundreds of amendments to block the work of the Verkhovna Rada.

The top 5 draft laws that took the longest time to be considered in the plenary can be found in Annex 6.



Committees

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

## Conclusions on rejections

Name of the subject of legislative initiative	Number of conclusions on rejection of draft laws (percentage of the total number of conclusions on rejection)
MPs	40 (95%)
Government	2 (5%)
President	0

Factional affiliation of the initiators of the draft laws	Number of conclusions on rejection of the draft laws (percentage of the MPs' MPs' conclusions on rejection)
“Servant of the People” Faction	22 (55%)
“Opposition Platform - For Life” Faction	4 (10%)
“Fatherland” Faction	3 (7%)
“Voice” Faction	3 (7%)
“European Solidarity” Faction	2 (5%)
“Restoration of Ukraine” Group	2 (5%)
Non-factional	2 (5%)
“Trust” Group	1 (3%)
“Platform for Life and Peace” Group	1 (3%)

**During the 8th session, 42 conclusions of the main committees on rejecting draft laws were produced.** 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 any conclusions on rejection. Government draft laws also seem to be good, with only 2 of them receiving a rejection conclusion. The majority of rejections were given to draft laws by members of the “Servant of the People” faction, which is logical given the number of such MPs and their legislative activity. Other factions and groups received less than 5 rejection opinions each.

## Workload of the committees

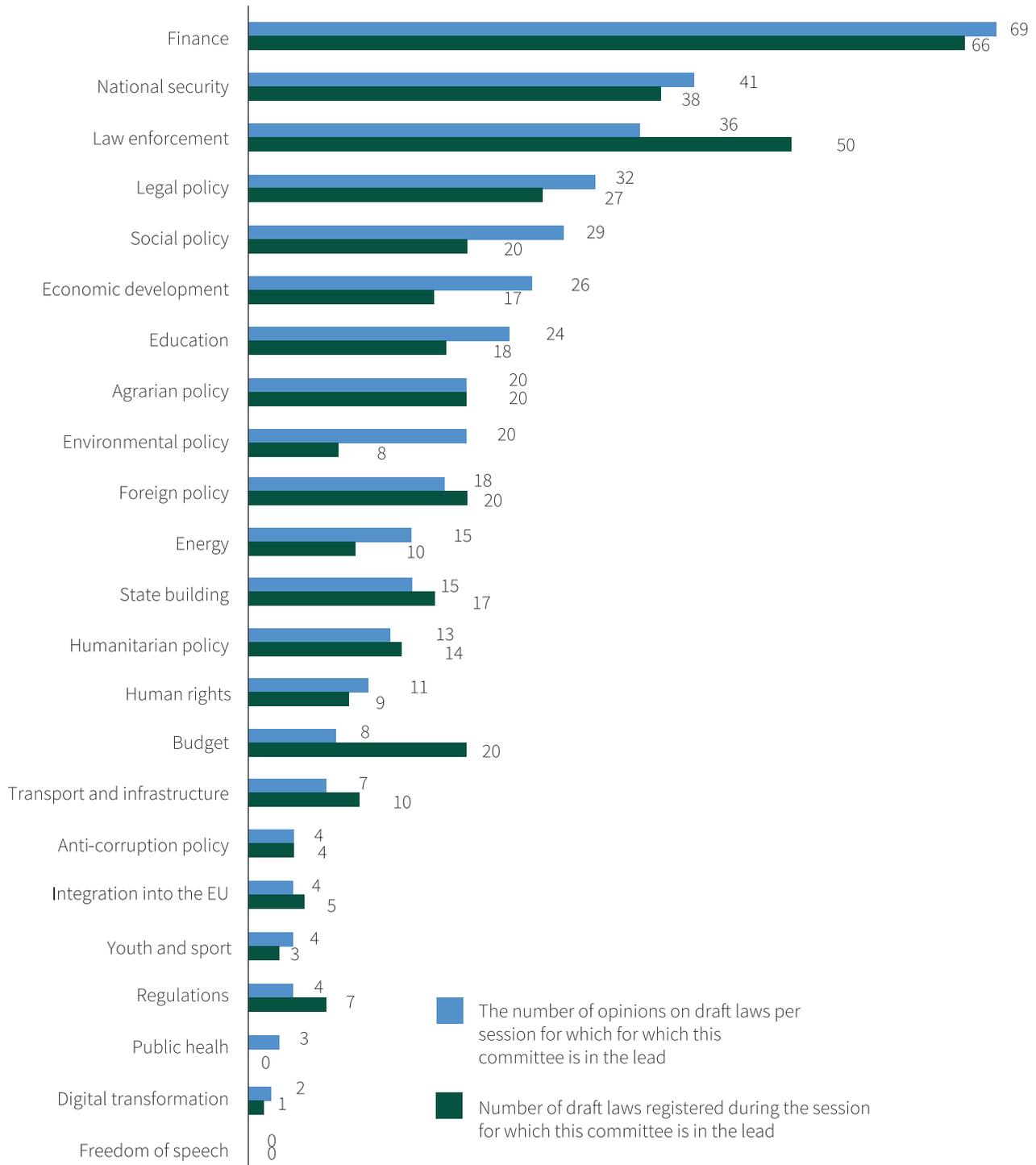
**When considering the workload of the committees, it should be kept in mind that this monitoring calculates the workload primarily based on the number of conclusions of the main committees. This methodology is used due to the availability of data (open data format).**

It is the information on the conclusions of the main committees that is constantly available on the website of the Verkhovna Rada, regularly updated and available for all conclusions of the main committees. However, the committees, of course, perform many other functions and tasks besides providing conclusions of the main committees. Three committees<sup>34</sup> are supposed to provide mandatory opinions on all draft laws, committees may be tasked with preparing opinions as subsidiary committees, committees consider and make decisions on the oversight function, review letters and appeals, hold conferences, roundtables, etc. However, all this information is published only in fragments, so it cannot be used for a regular monitoring format. However, in cases where this information is available, we use it. These limitations should be taken into account when reviewing the information below, which is based on the conclusions of the main committees.

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<sup>34</sup> The Committee on Budget, the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy and the Committee on European Integration.

## Workload of key committees



**This graph has two indicators.** First, it shows how many draft laws were assigned to which committee as the main committee, according to the subjects of the committees' jurisdiction. The second indicator is the number of conclusions provided by the main committees. Together, they show how the legislative work on preliminary processing of draft laws is distributed.

<sup>35</sup> The number of opinions does not equal the number of draft laws considered. The Committee may provide several opinions on a single draft law, for example, an opinion on its inclusion in the agenda, opinions on the first and second readings, on repeated readings, on the text of the draft law to be substituted, etc.

The Committee on Finance has the largest number of draft laws both in terms of the number of registered draft laws (66 drafts) and the number of opinions provided (69 opinions). The Committee on Law Enforcement and the Committee on National Security also have a significant workload. The same distribution of the workload was observed during the first six months of martial law. That is, in the context of the committees, the mode of work aimed at adapting the legislation to the realities of a full-scale war has been preserved.

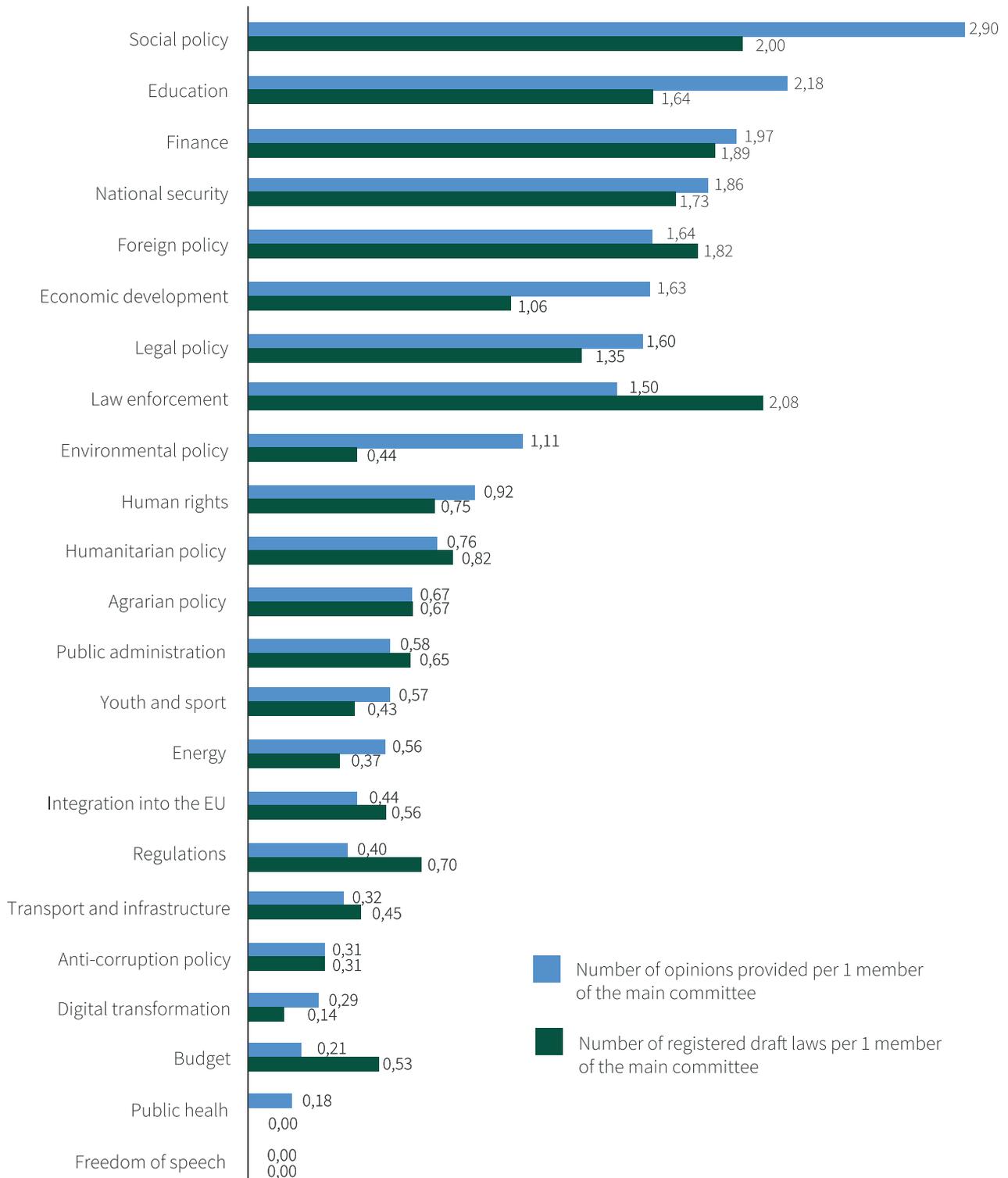
The workload (in terms of the number of draft laws signed off on compared to the first six months of martial law) decreased the most for the same three committees: The Committee on Finance (-61 scheduled draft laws), the Committee on Law Enforcement (-56 scheduled draft laws) and the Committee on National Security (-42 scheduled draft laws). This sharp decline can be explained by two factors. Firstly, the total number of registered draft laws decreased (this, in turn, is explained by the general downward trend, and in addition, the autumn session is shorter than the spring one). Second, **these three committees demonstrated the largest increase in the number of registered draft laws during the first six months of martial law.** This was a reaction to the full-scale invasion and martial law. It seems that **the initial adaptation of the legislation was made, and therefore, despite the focus on the same topics, the overall need for intensive regulation decreased.**

**The growth in the number of assigned draft laws by committees during the 8th session was minimal** – only two committees increased the number of assigned draft laws by more than 5: the Committee on Agrarian Policy (+8 assigned draft laws) and the Committee on Education (+5 assigned draft laws).

The committees that had increased the number of opinions during the first six months of martial law the most were those that reduced the number of opinions provided during the 8th session: The Committee on Economic Development (-42 opinions), the Committee on Law Enforcement (-35 opinions) and the Committee on National Security (-23 opinions).

**The growth in the number of opinions issued was also minimal.** A comparison of the number of opinions provided during the 8th session and during the six months of martial law shows that the Committee on Energy (+8 opinions provided) and the Committee on Agrarian Policy (+7 opinions provided) increased the number of opinions provided by more than 5.

## Workload per 1 deputy of the main committees



A more accurate workload of the committees is demonstrated by the above graph, which shows how many conclusions or registered draft laws are per 1 MP-member of the committee.<sup>36</sup> **Only one committee has a heavy workload (the number of both draft laws and opinions provided exceeds 2 per MP) - the Committee on Social Policy.**

<sup>36</sup> The number of MPs at the end of the 8th session, during the 8th session, the number of MPs in the committees changed.

**If we consider only the number of opinions provided per MP, two other committees provided more than 2 opinions per MP** – the Committee on Education and the Committee on Finance. The Committee on National Security also has a relatively heavy workload.

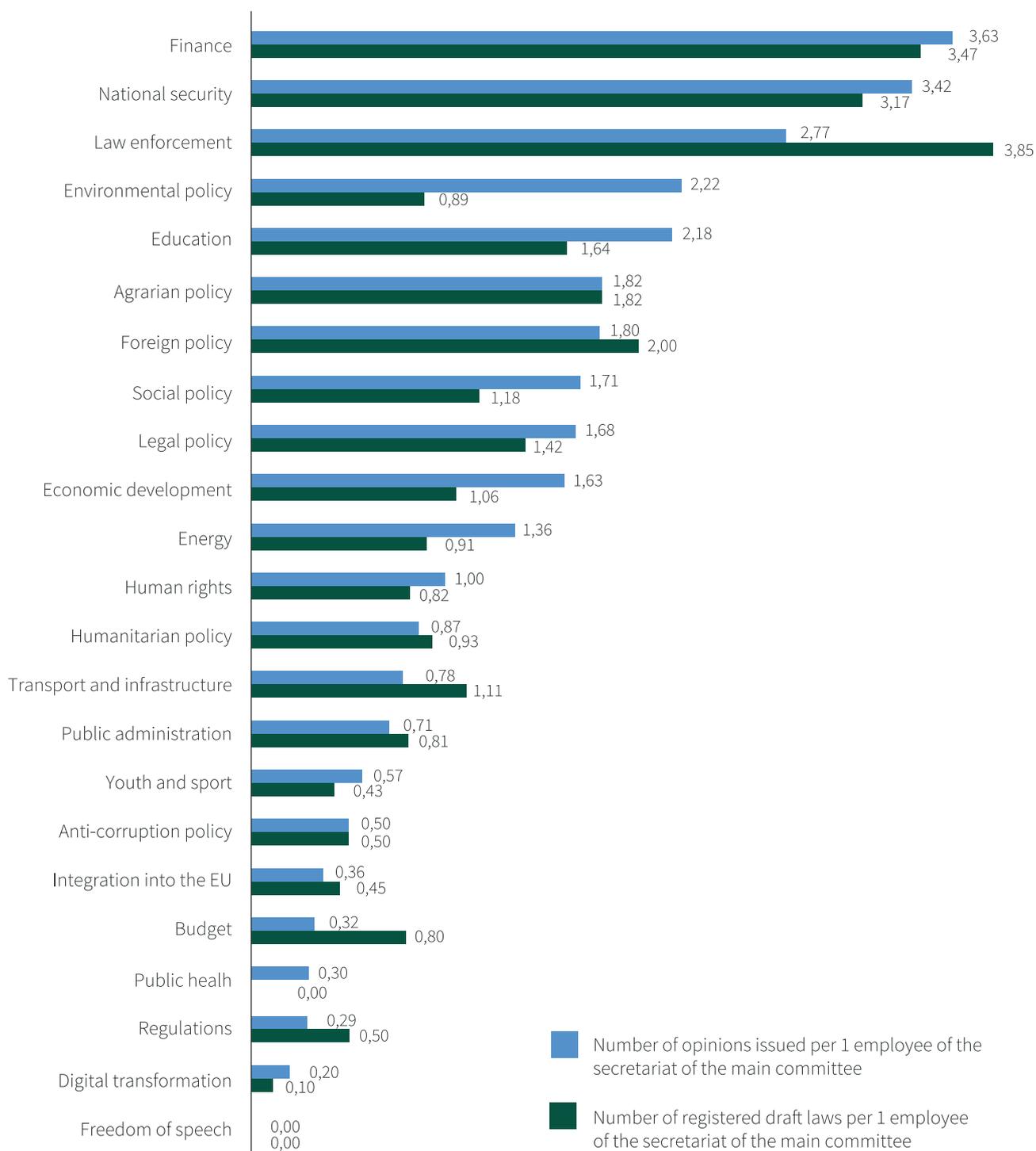
**The least loaded committees, where both indicators do not reach 0.5 (draft law/conclusion) per 1 MP, are the following 5 committees:** The Committee on Freedom of Speech (no conclusions, hence the zero workload), the Committee on Public Health, the Committee on Digital Transformation, the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy (but this committee is extremely overloaded with mandatory conclusions to draft laws for which it is not the lead committee), and the Committee on Transport and Infrastructure.

Compared to the first six months of martial law, the potential workload (i.e., the number of draft laws per MP) decreased the most in the Committee on National Security (-3.27 draft laws per MP) and the Committee on Law Enforcement (-2.53 draft laws per MP) during the 8th session. These are the committees whose workload increased the most during the first six months of martial law. Instead, **the potential workload of the Committee on Education increased the most (+0.55 scheduled draft laws per 1 MP).**

The real workload (i.e., the number of opinions provided per MP) decreased the most for the Committee on Economic Development (-2.63 opinions provided per MP) and the Committee on Social Policy (-2.43 opinions provided per MP). Nevertheless, the Committee on Social Policy is the most heavily loaded among the other committees. The Committee on Foreign Policy showed the largest increase in the real workload (+0.56 opinions per MP).

If we compare the least and most busy committees, their workload differs by a factor of 16. This picture for the 8th session, as well as certain trends in the workload of the committees that move from session to session, adds relevance to the issue of redistribution of either MPs or areas of responsibility between the committees.

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



The above workload per committee secretariat staff member generally reflects the general trend. The Committee on National Security, the Committee on Law Enforcement, and the Committee on Finance have the highest workloads (the number of draft laws and opinions issued exceeds 2 per secretariat employee).

<sup>37</sup> Data as of 6 September 2022 was used to calculate the number of employees of the committee secretariats.

The situation was the same during the first six months of martial law. In 7 other committees, the workload exceeds 1 scheduled draft law and opinion per 1 secretariat employee.

**The least loaded committees, where both indicators do not reach 0.5 (draft law/conclusion) per 1 secretariat employee, are the following 3 committees:** : The Committee on Freedom of Speech (no conclusions, hence the zero workload), the Committee on Public Health, and the Committee on EU Integration (but this committee is extremely overloaded with mandatory conclusions to draft laws for which it is not the lead committee).

If we compare the potential workload (number of draft laws per 1 secretariat staff member) during the 8th session and during the first six months of martial law, the Committee on National Security saw the biggest decrease in its workload (-4.11 drafted laws per 1 secretariat staff member), the Committee on Law Enforcement (-3.73 drafted laws per 1 secretariat staff member), and the Committee on Finance (-3.58 drafted laws per 1 secretariat staff member).

**The potential workload of the Committee on Agrarian Policy increased the most (+0.82 scheduled draft laws per 1 secretariat staff member).**

The Committee on National Security (-2.4 opinions per 1 staff member), the Committee on Economic Development (-2.38 opinions per 1 staff member), and the Committee on Law Enforcement (-2.3 opinions per 1 staff member) experienced the strongest decrease in the actual workload (number of opinions per 1 staff member). **The Committee on Energy saw the biggest increase in the actual workload** (+0.86 opinions per 1 secretariat employee).

If we compare the number of registered draft laws per 1 secretariat staff member, there will be, **an 18-fold difference between the most and least busy committees.** This data once again confirms the need to redistribute resources among the committees, including human resources.

Comparing the data on various dimensions of the workload of the committees, one can notice one common feature – the three committees – the Committee on National Security, the Committee on Law Enforcement, and the Committee on Finance – remain the busiest committees during the 8th session, as well as during the first six months of the full-scale invasion. At the same time, these same committees often demonstrate the greatest decrease in workload (if we compare the 8th session and the first six months of the full-scale invasion). The explanation for this paradox is that these committees are still the busiest, but they are not as busy as before. This also means that the Verkhovna Rada is still focused mainly on the same issues that were present during the first six months of the full-scale invasion, but the intensity of their processing has decreased – fewer legislative initiatives in these areas are registered and processed.

**When examining the quantitative indicators of the committees' work, it is worth remembering the mandatory conclusions 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>38</sup>**

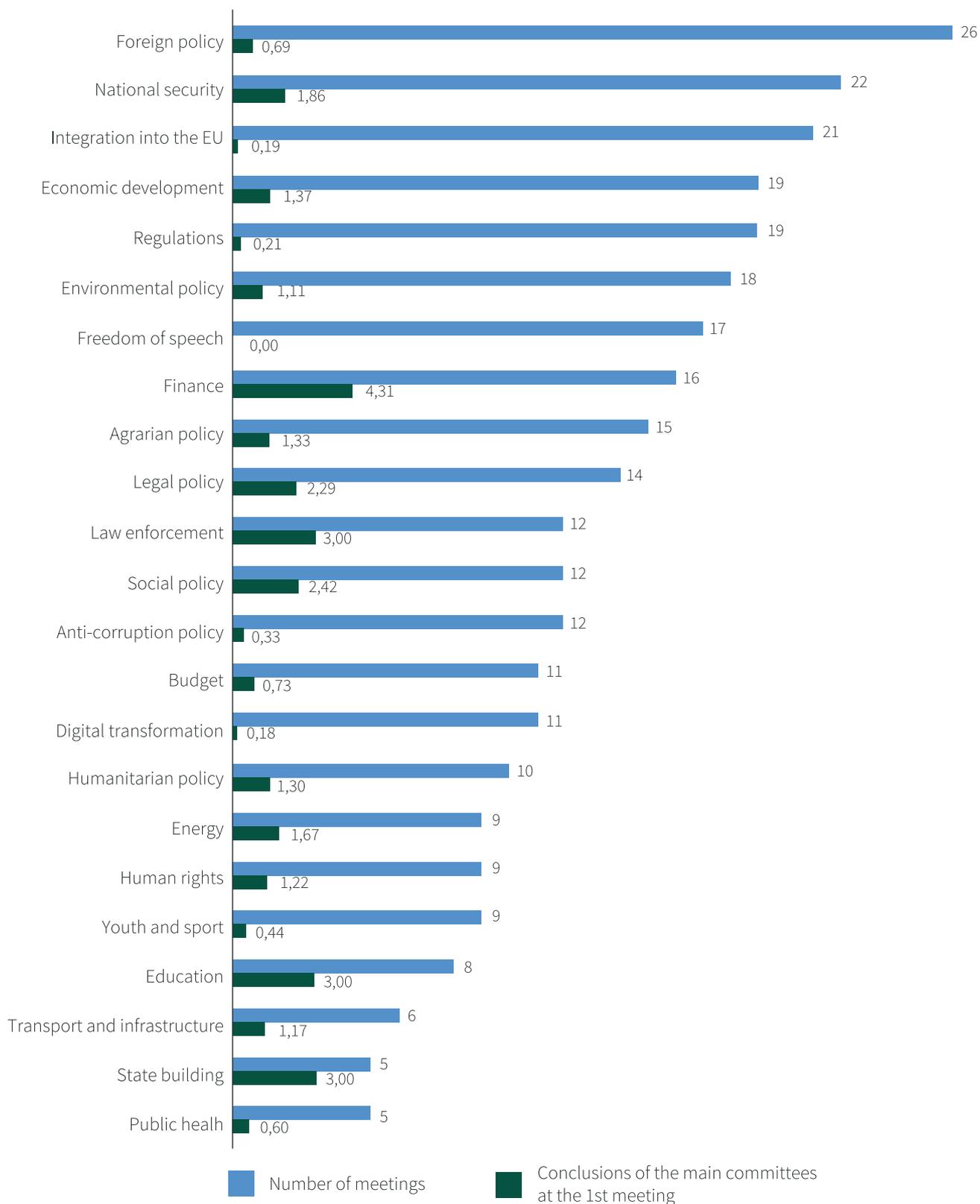
To better understand the specifics of the VRU committees' work, the graph below shows the number of committee meetings and the average number of conclusions of the main committees per meeting.

Three committees held more than 20 meetings during the 8th session, while 7 committees (one third of all committees) held less than 10 meetings. The leader in terms of the number of conclusions per meeting is still the Committee on Finance (4.3). Six committees adopt more than 2 conclusions per meeting. And 8 committees adopt less than 1 conclusion per meeting.

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<sup>38</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 conclusions of the main committees per 1 meeting



## The workload of the parliamentary committees can also be viewed through the prism of other functions and documents produced by these committees. The workload of the parliamentary committees can also be viewed through the prism of other functions and documents produced by these committees.

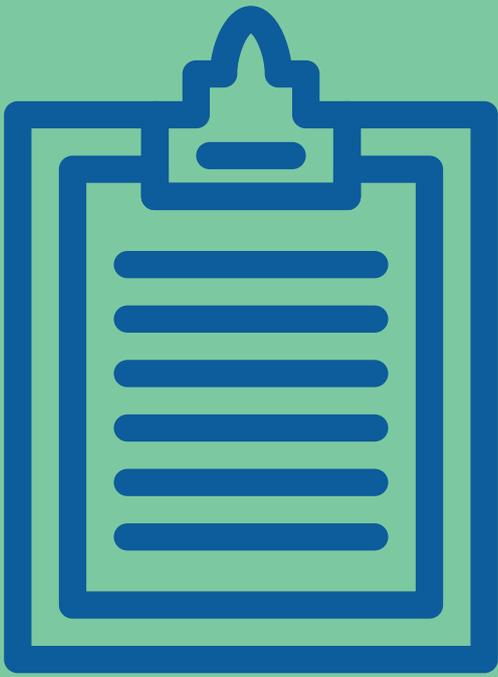
In the table below, preliminary opinions on draft laws sent to the main committee show, among other things, the workload of the three “mandatory” committees: The Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy, the Committee on Budget, and the Committee on Ukraine’s Integration into the European Union. **These are the committees that are required to provide their opinions on all draft laws, and this function may sometimes require more resources than their opinions as the main committees.** In the previous sections, the Committee on Anti-Corruption and the Committee on European Integration showed low workloads in some indicators, but the information in the table shows that they are extremely busy. Judging by the data, the Committee on Environmental Policy (24 oversight issues) and the Committee on Law Enforcement (20 oversight issues) are the most active in monitoring the implementation of laws and resolutions. The Committee on Freedom of Speech is also active (though not as much as the previous two committees) in its oversight activities (15 oversight issues), which allows us to better understand the nature of its work, since it hardly ever receives any draft laws and, accordingly, does not provide any conclusions.

Interestingly, along with the largest workload in terms of draft laws, the Committee on Finance also considered the largest number of letters and appeals – 3,660 in the 8th session. In addition, the Committee on Social Policy and the Committee on the Organisation of State Power also consider a large number of letters and appeals (over 2000).

<sup>39</sup> We are talking about conclusions on compliance with the requirements of anti-corruption legislation, budget legislation, and commitments in the field of European integration.

Name of the Committee	Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee	Letters and appeals considered	Conferences and seminars held
	Total	Including control over the implementation of laws and resolutions			
Committee on Agrarian and Land Policy	60	2	3	1380	3
Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy	119	1	426	752	0
Committee on Budget	349	1	320	1213	0
Committee on Humanitarian and Information Policy	45	17	6	1186	12
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	82	24	35	1530	0
Committee on Economic Development	66	0	1	855	1
Committee on Energy, Housing and Utilities	26	0	0	706	6
Committee on Public Health, Medical Assistance and Medical Insurance	25	4	6	515	0
Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation	231	2	1	910	1
Committee on Integration of Ukraine into the European Union	230	3	639	952	0
Committee on Youth and Sports	42	6	14	522	2
Committee on National Security, Defence and Intelligence	92	4	2	1346	0
Committee on State Building, Local Self-Government, Regional and Urban Development	26	0	0	2756	4
Committee on Education, Science and Innovation	81	4	31	619	1
Committee on Human Rights, De-occupation and Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations	30	1	9	915	3
Committee on Legal Policy	56	2	3	916	1
Committee on Law Enforcement	76	20	0	398	0
Committee on the Rules of Procedure, Deputy Ethics and Organisation of Work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine	63	0	4	550	0
Committee on Freedom of Speech	44	15	15	389	2
Committee on Social Policy and Protection of Veterans' Rights	54	2	4	2374	10
Committee on Transport and Infrastructure	16	0	2	1496	3

Name of the Committee	Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee	Letters and appeals considered	Conferences and seminars held
	Total	Including control over the implementation of laws and resolutions			
Committee on Finance, Taxation and Customs Policy	75	1	0	3660	0
Committee on Digital Transformation	58	6	36	869	0
Total	1946	115	1557	26809	49



# Violations of the Rules of Procedure

## This section provides information on violations of the Rules of Procedure during the adoption of laws during the 8th session.

**The 8th session resembles the situation during the first six months after the full-scale invasion in terms of the proportion of violations. Procedures for consideration of up to 63% (i.e. two thirds) of the laws were violated** during the 8th session. 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 number of cases of adopting draft laws on the day of submission of a particular conclusion (which makes it almost impossible to properly review this document) has reduced compared to the previous session. However, such cases are still not uncommon.

During the first six months of martial law, the significant acceleration of the Parliament's work was accompanied by an increase in the number of violations and a decrease in the quality of laws adopted in the session hall. The decline in quality was evidenced by the following quantitative observations: a large proportion of draft laws passed in the first reading and in general, many laws signed by only a few MPs, and extremely fast passage of draft laws. That is, as the speed of passage increases, the number of violations increases and vice versa. During the 8th session, the legislative processes stabilised, but the number of violations did not return to the levels before 24 February 2022 (of course, if we do not take into account the indicators of the first two sessions of the ninth convocation, when the share of violations exceeded even the level of February–September 2022).

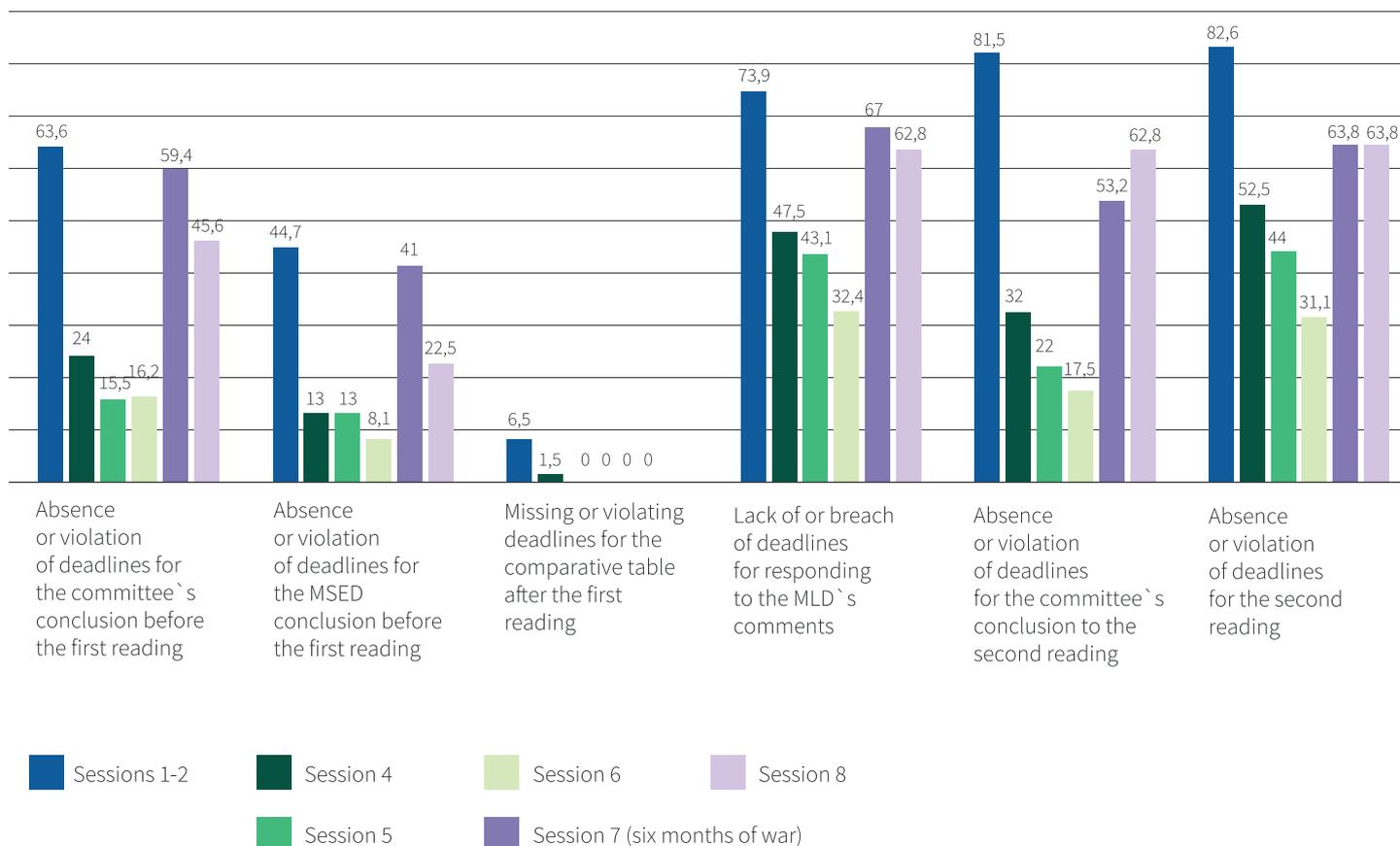
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<sup>40</sup> If we take into account only the laws that were not vetoed.

The share of violations during the consideration of laws in the first reading slightly decreased compared to the previous session, however, it did not reach the levels that existed before martial law. The share of violations during the second reading of laws remained almost unchanged compared to the previous session. That is, **the share of violations during the first reading decreased, but not during the second.** This can be explained by the distribution of draft laws by readings: during the first six months of martial law, most draft laws were adopted in the first reading and in their entirety, and now most are adopted in the second reading. All ratifications of international agreements are adopted in the first reading and as a whole. There are fewer violations during the consideration and adoption of ratifications than for ordinary laws. **That is, the share of ratifications among laws adopted in the first reading has increased, and the share of laws adopted in the first reading and in its entirety without violations has also increased.**

The graphs and table show the percentage of draft laws adopted with certain violations of the Rules of Procedure by session.

### Distribution of types of violations of the Rules of Procedure in % by sessions



## Violation of the Rules of Procedure for the adoption of laws in the Verkhovna Rada<sup>41</sup>

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws monitored for violations	Number of laws with violations
Committee's opinion for the first reading (absence of such opinions or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	The opinion is provided 7 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the first reading	138	63 (45.6%) violations, 3 - no opinion, 60 - violation of deadlines, including 6 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of the opinion
MSED conclusion prior to the first reading <sup>42</sup> (absence of such conclusions or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these conclusions before their consideration in the meeting room)	The opinion is provided 7 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the first reading	138	31 (22.5%) violations of the deadline, including 2 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of the opinion, all opinions are available
Comparative table after the first reading (absence of a comparative table or creation of such a table within the timeframe that does not allow all subjects to submit their amendments within the timeframe established by the Rules of Procedure)	Proposals and amendments must be submitted to the table no earlier than 14 days after the adoption of the draft law in the first reading or 7 days in case of a shortened deadline	94 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	There are no violations of deadlines, all tables are available

<sup>41</sup> Unlike the previous materials, this monitoring presents data on violations regarding vetoed and non-vetoed draft laws in one table.

<sup>42</sup> The VRU Rules of Procedure contain no direct and clear requirement that the conclusion of the MSED is mandatory. Along with paragraph 4 of Article 103, which states that no comments are to be made if the conclusion is not issued within 14 days, there are also provisions on the need for the MSED conclusion:

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 take them into account.

<sup>43</sup> The opinion 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 opinions being absent from budgets for different years.

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws monitored for violations	Number of laws with violations
MLS opinions (absence of opinions of the MLD, or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	The MLD's comments are submitted 10 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the second reading, or 5 days in case of a shortened deadline	94 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	59 (62.8%) violations of deadlines, including 4 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of submission of the MLD's conclusions, all conclusions are available <sup>43</sup>
Committee opinion for the second reading (absence of committee opinions or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these opinions before their consideration in the meeting room)	The conclusions of the committees for the second reading are submitted 10 days before the consideration of the draft law in the session hall during the second reading, or 5 days in case of shortened deadlines	94 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	59 (62.8%) violations of the deadlines, including 4 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of submission of opinions, committee opinions are available for all laws
Comparative table for the second reading (absence of a comparative table or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these tables before their consideration in the session hall)	Tables must be submitted 10 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during 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 3 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of submission of the comparative table, all tables are available
Consideration of the President's proposals (violation of the deadline for consideration of the President's proposals)	The President's proposals must be considered within 30 days after the receipt thereof	2 (draft laws on which the President's proposals were considered during the six months of the war)	1 (50%) - violation of the deadline
Comparative table to the President's proposals (absence of a comparative table or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these tables before their consideration in the session hall)	The tables must be submitted no later than 3 days before the consideration of the issue in the plenary session hall	2 (draft laws on which the President's proposals were considered during the 8th session)	No violations of the deadline, all tables are available

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws monitored for violations	Number of laws with violations
Committee's opinion on the President's proposals (absence of committee's opinions or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	Opinions must be submitted no later than 3 days before the issue is considered in the plenary session hall	2 (draft laws on which the President's proposals were considered during the 8th session)	No violations of the deadline, all tables are available

In addition to the usual violations of the Rules of Procedure, the monitoring included violations of the Constitution in terms of breach of the 15-day deadline for the President to sign adopted laws (Article 94 of the Constitution). The monitoring was conducted in respect of 138 laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 8th session. The deadline for signing was violated in 31 laws (including 1 case of late submission of the President's proposals), i.e. in 22.4% of cases. Almost one in four laws was signed in violation of the Constitution, which is a rather sad statistic. 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. If we look at the record holders in this regard, two draft laws were pending the President's signature for more than 50 days, and the record signing period was 75 days.

The delay in signing during the first six months of martial law could be explained by understandable circumstances: the longest waiting draft laws were those submitted for signature in February-April, when Russian troops were standing outside Kyiv. There was also a problem with draft laws being removed from the agenda, and the draft laws were waiting for signature for a long time.

**During the 8th session, the situation was different: almost 85% of the draft laws that were overdue for signature had very minor delays, ranging from 3 to 10 days.**

However, the share of draft laws that were signed in violation of the constitutionally established deadline increased (compared to the first six months of martial law). It is difficult to blame the President for deliberately delaying the signing of draft laws for a couple of days; it is more likely that some employees of the Presidential Office are not responsible enough for organising the constitutionally mandated process of signing draft laws.

Two draft laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada during the 8th session were sent to the President for his signature, but have not yet been signed (and the 15-day deadline has already been violated). These are the following draft laws:

1

Draft Law on Amendments to the Final Provisions of the Family Code of Ukraine (regarding certain issues of placement and stay of a child in a foster care family during the period of martial law)

**No. 7443 of 08.06.2022;**

2

Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Reforming the Sphere of Urban Development

**No. 5655 of 11.06.2021.**



# Peculiarities of 8th Session

This section discusses the specific features of Session 8. These are the features that are either too unique to be monitored on a continuous basis, or do not fit into the general paradigm of quantitative monitoring, or are otherwise special issues that have not been covered in other sections.

The peculiarities of the 8th session can be divided into two categories: **those related to MPs and those related to draft laws.**

a record decrease in the number of sitting MPs

The first parliamentary feature was a record decrease in the number of sitting MPs. **As of the last day of the 8th session (6 February 2023), there were 409 MPs. Since then, a few more MPs have lost their mandates, so there is a realistic prospect that in some time the number of MPs will be less than 400.** Of course, it is debatable to what extent this may affect legislative work, as the mandates are mostly lost by those who are considered “pro-Russian MPs”; they often do not participate in lawmaking or in the oversight function.

increase the number of non-committee MPs

Another way to reduce pro-Russian influence is to increase the number of non-committee MPs. **MPs who are not members of committees have less capacity and less efficiency in the exercise of their powers. During the 8th session, a number of MPs were excluded from the committees.** Most of them are former members of the OPFL faction - V. Rabinovych, R. Kuzmin, V. Medvedchuk. A former member of the “Servant of the People” faction, I. Vasylykovskyy, also joined this group. Moreover, all of these MPs were initially excluded from the relevant committees, and after a while, they were deprived of their parliamentary mandates. Already in the 9th session, S. Lyovochkin was also expelled from the committee, so it can be assumed that he will also cease to act as an MP in the near future.

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<sup>44</sup> Not including those who were stripped of their mandate at this meeting.

<sup>45</sup> The media reported that V. Zelenskyy had deprived this MP of Ukrainian citizenship by a secret decree.

## a new category of draft laws

In the context of legislative work, we can draw attention to a new category of draft laws – **draft laws aimed at adapting Ukrainian legislation to the provisions of the European Union acquis and fulfilling Ukraine’s international legal obligations in the field of European integration.** They are marked with special labels in the search system, have special supporting documents, and are proposed to be considered under a special procedure (a Resolution was adopted, but the relevant draft law failed to receive enough votes for adoption). In addition, special units should be created within each committee to deal with these draft laws. In other words, along with ratifications, presidential decrees, draft laws amending the Constitution, and some other categories, a new type of draft law has emerged.

## the new role of the TSC

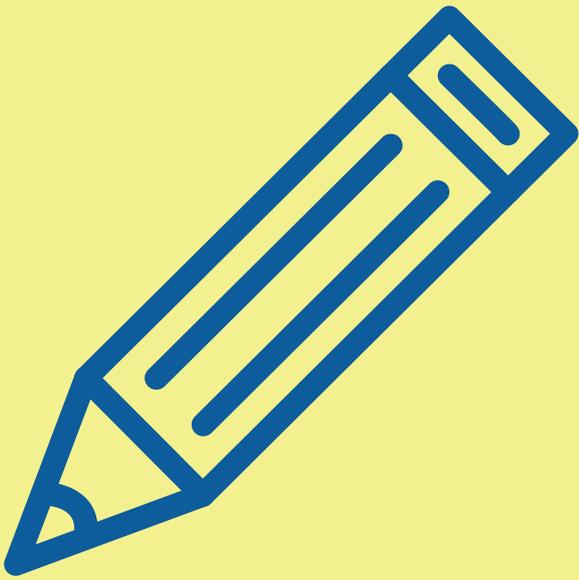
Another feature of the draft law is the new role of the TSC. **During the 8th session, the Temporary Special Commission was assigned a draft law as a main committee.** We are referring to the Draft Law on the Application and Observance of International Humanitarian Law in Ukraine No. 8268 of 06.12.2022, which was assigned to the Temporary Special Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on International Humanitarian and International Criminal Law in the Context of the Armed Aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine. **This is a rather unusual practice. Usually, all draft laws fall under the jurisdiction of existing Verkhovna Rada committees in one way or another. And TSCs are not usually involved in drafting legislation. The typical scope of work of a TSC is to investigate something or study a specific issue.** However, the main result of the work of the TSC is reports, not drafting of laws. **It can be assumed that in the case of this TSC, there was a need for a special image-building political and legal measure - the use of international humanitarian and criminal law to bring Russia to justice.** And this need was formalised by the creation of a Temporary Special Commission, which was to develop one or more legislative acts and review and process them itself. In fact, the TSC itself is headed by the same MPs who initiated the decision to establish it and ultimately wrote the draft law that the TSC considered.

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<sup>46</sup> TSC can mean both a temporary investigative commission and a temporary special commission, and they have similar powers.

## the timeframe for the President of Ukraine to sign draft laws

**The situation with the timeframe for the President of Ukraine to sign draft laws is also unresolved, although not new.** 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 not signed either by the President or by another (not directly defined by the Constitution) subject. They seem to get lost and remain in limbo. **This situation has existed before, and the number of such draft laws has only slightly decreased compared to the first six months of martial law.** As of the end of the 8th session, there were 22 such draft laws, two of which were submitted to the President for signature during the 8th session, and 11 more (i.e. half of all such draft laws) were submitted during the 7th session, which was the first six months of martial law.



Annexes

## Annex 1

### Time from registration to provision of the of the first opinion of the main committee

#### Top 7<sup>47</sup> draft laws with the shortest time from registration to the first opinion of the main committee

Titles of draft laws	Number of days from registration to delivery of the first opinion of the main committee
Draft Law on Approval of the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On Extension of the Period of General Mobilisation”	0
Draft Law on Approval of the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On Extension of the Term of Martial Law in Ukraine”	0
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine, the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences and other legislative acts of Ukraine regarding the peculiarities of military service under martial law or in a combat situation	1
Draft Law on Amendments to Section II of the Law of Ukraine “On the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine” regarding restrictions on the appointment of the Director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine in connection with the introduction of martial law	1
Draft Law on Amendments to Subsection 2 of Section XX “Transitional Provisions” of the Tax Code of Ukraine on Facilitating the Importation of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and Certain Other Goods into the Territory of Ukraine	3
Draft Law on Amendments to Clause 3 of Section II “Final and Transitional Provisions” of the Law of Ukraine “On Amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Improving the Electronic Form of Document Flow in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine” on Certain Issues of Organisation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in the Conditions of Martial Law	3
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on Improving Cooperation with the International Criminal Court in Proceedings in Ukraine	3

<sup>47</sup> Top-7 because several draft laws have the same shortest time.

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

Names of draft laws	Number of days from registration to delivery of the first opinion of the main committee
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Creating Favourable Conditions for Employment of Persons with Disabilities	582
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Creating Favourable Conditions for Employment of Persons with Disabilities	590
Draft Law on Amendments to Section XII “Final and Transitional Provisions” of the Law of Ukraine “On the Judiciary and the Status of Judges”	594
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Regulation of Activities of Separate Subdivisions of a Legal Entity Established in Accordance with the Law of a Foreign State	704
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On the Use of Nuclear Energy and Radiation Safety” regarding radiation protection expert	792

## Annex 2

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

### Top 5 draft laws with the shortest time from the first reading to the submission 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 on the Customs Tariff of Ukraine	8
Draft Law on Amendments to the Customs Code of Ukraine to regulate the issue of bringing to administrative liability for actions aimed at unlawful exemption from customs duties or reduction of their amount, as well as other illegal actions aimed at evasion of customs duties	10
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on Improving Cooperation with the International Criminal Court in Procedural Actions on the Territory of Ukraine	10
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on the Formation and Implementation of State Policy in the Field of Critical Infrastructure Protection	10
Draft Law on Amendments to Article 166-11 of the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences in connection with changes to the procedure for submitting information to the state registrar on the ultimate beneficial owner of a legal entity	10

**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**

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 on Materials and Objects in Contact with Foodstuffs	479
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Reforming Urban Development	503
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Improving Legislation in the Field of Subsoil Use	546
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts on the Enforcement of Judgements of the European Court of Human Rights	568
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the First Steps of Business Deregulation through Civil Liability Insurance	855

## Annex 3

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

### Top 6<sup>48</sup> draft laws with the shortest time from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in entirety

Titles of the draft laws adopted in the first reading and in entirety	Number of days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in entirety
Draft Law on Amendments to Section II of the Law of Ukraine “On the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine” on establishing restrictions for the appointment of the Director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine in connection with the introduction of martial law	1
Draft Law on Amendments to Section XXI “Final and Transitional Provisions” of the Customs Code of Ukraine on Facilitating the Importation of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and Certain Other Goods into the Customs Territory of Ukraine	3
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2022”	4
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine, the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences and Other Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Peculiarities of Military Service under Martial Law or in Combat Situations	5
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Improving the Legal Framework for Audit Activities in Ukraine	6
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Physical Culture and Sports” regarding the distinction between sports events and competitions	6

<sup>48</sup> Top- 6 because several draft laws have the same shortest time.

## 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 its entirety
Draft Law on withdrawal from the Agreement on the Procedure for the Settlement of Disputes Related to the Conduct of Economic Activities	175
Draft Law on Ukraine's accession to the Marrakesh Treaty to Facilitate the Access of Blind Persons, Persons with Visual Impairments or Other Disabilities to Published Works	188
Draft Law on Amendments to Article 10 of the Law of Ukraine “On the State Service for Special Communications and Information Protection of Ukraine” in connection with Ukraine's withdrawal from the Agreement on Intergovernmental Field Communication and the Protocol on Amendments to the Agreement on Intergovernmental Field Communication	250
Draft Law on Liquidation of the District Administrative Court of Kyiv and Establishment of the Kyiv City District Administrative Court	609
Draft Law on Amendments to Section XII “Final and Transitional Provisions” of the Law of Ukraine “On the Judiciary and the Status of Judges”	609

## Annex 4

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

### Top 7<sup>49</sup> 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 general	Number of days from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety
Draft Law on Amendments to Clause 3 of Section II “Final and Transitional Provisions” of the Law of Ukraine “On Amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Improving the Electronic Form of Document Flow in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine” on Certain Issues of Organisation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in the Conditions of Martial Law	15
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on Improving Cooperation with the International Criminal Court in Proceedings in Ukraine	18
Draft Law on National Minorities (Communities) of Ukraine	19
Draft Law on Amendments to Section XX “Transitional Provisions” of the Tax Code of Ukraine regarding excise tax rates for the period of martial law and state of emergency	23
Draft Law on Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine to Facilitate the Restoration of the Energy Infrastructure of Ukraine	33
Draft Law on Amendments to the Customs Code of Ukraine to Facilitate the Restoration of the Energy Infrastructure of Ukraine	33
Draft Law on Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine regarding the taxation of transactions with real estate objects to be constructed in the future	33

<sup>49</sup> Top- 7, because several draft laws have the same shortest time.

## 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 entirety	Number of days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On the Use of Nuclear Energy and Radiation Safety” regarding radiation protection expert	853
Draft law on Media	894
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the First Steps of Business Deregulation through Civil Liability Insurance	902
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on Protection of Rights and Interests of a Child in Case of Detention or Custody of their Parents	951
Draft Law on Amendments to the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences to Strengthen Administrative Liability for Illegal Fuel Trade	1039

## Annex 5

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

### Top 9<sup>50</sup> draft laws with the shortest time from the adoption 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 adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety
Draft Law on Amendments to Clause 3 of Section II “Final and Transitional Provisions” of the Law of Ukraine “On Amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Improving the Electronic Form of Document Flow in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine” on Certain Issues of Organisation of the Work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine under Martial Law	12
Draft Law on National Minorities (Communities) of Ukraine	12
Draft Law on Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine to Facilitate the Restoration of the Energy Infrastructure of Ukraine	12
Draft Law on Amendments to the Customs Code of Ukraine to Facilitate the Restoration of the Energy Infrastructure of Ukraine	12
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine (regarding certification of the gas storage operator and continuation of measures to prevent bankruptcy of the State Joint Stock Company Chornomornaftogaz)	12
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Ensuring the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens and the Legal Regime in the Temporarily Occupied Territory of Ukraine” on Certain Issues of Determining the Legal Status of the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine under Martial Law	12

<sup>50</sup>Top- 9, because all nine draft laws have the same shortest time.

Titles of draft laws	Number of days from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety
Draft Law on Amendments to the Customs Code of Ukraine to regulate the issue of bringing to administrative liability for actions aimed at unlawful exemption from customs duties or reduction of their amount, as well as other unlawful actions aimed at evasion of customs duties	12
Draft Law on Amendments to Article 166-11 of the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences in connection with changes to the procedure for submitting information on the ultimate beneficial owner of a legal entity to the state registrar	12
Draft Law on Amendments to the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences and the Code of Criminal Procedure of Ukraine on Electronic Identification and Electronic Trust Services	12

**Top 6<sup>51</sup> draft laws that take the longest time from the adoption 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 adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in entirety
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts on the Enforcement of Judgements of the European Court of Human Rights	594
Draft Law on Amendments to the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences, the Criminal Code of Ukraine and the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on the Enforcement of Judgements of the European Court of Human Rights	594
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Geographical Names” to Improve Activities Related to the Establishment, Regulation, Accounting, Registration, Use and Preservation of Geographical Names	594
Draft Law on Amendments to the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences to Strengthen Administrative Liability for Illegal Fuel Trade	814
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the First Steps of Business Deregulation through Civil Liability Insurance	856
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on Protection of Rights and Interests of a Child in Case of Detention or Custody of Their Parents	861

<sup>51</sup>Top- 6, because several draft law have the same time.

## Annex 6

### Time of consideration of laws in the session hall

#### Top 5 laws<sup>52</sup> with the longest<sup>53</sup> consideration time in the session hall

Titles of draft laws	Time required for consideration of relevant draft laws in the session hall
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Improving the Procedure for Selecting Candidates for the Position of a Judge of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine on a Competitive Basis	38 min.
Draft Law on Postal Service	44 min.
Draft Law on Media	54 min.
Draft Law on the Joint Stock Company “National Nuclear Energy Generating Company “Energoatom”	167 min. (2,5 hours)
Draft Law on the State Budget of Ukraine for 2023	194 min. (3 hours)

<sup>52</sup> Only the time of consideration in the 8th session is given. If the draft law was considered in several sessions, only the time spent in the 8th session is taken into account.

<sup>53</sup> Top 5 draft laws with the shortest time for consideration 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 whose expediency is discussed in a group along with other draft laws.



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