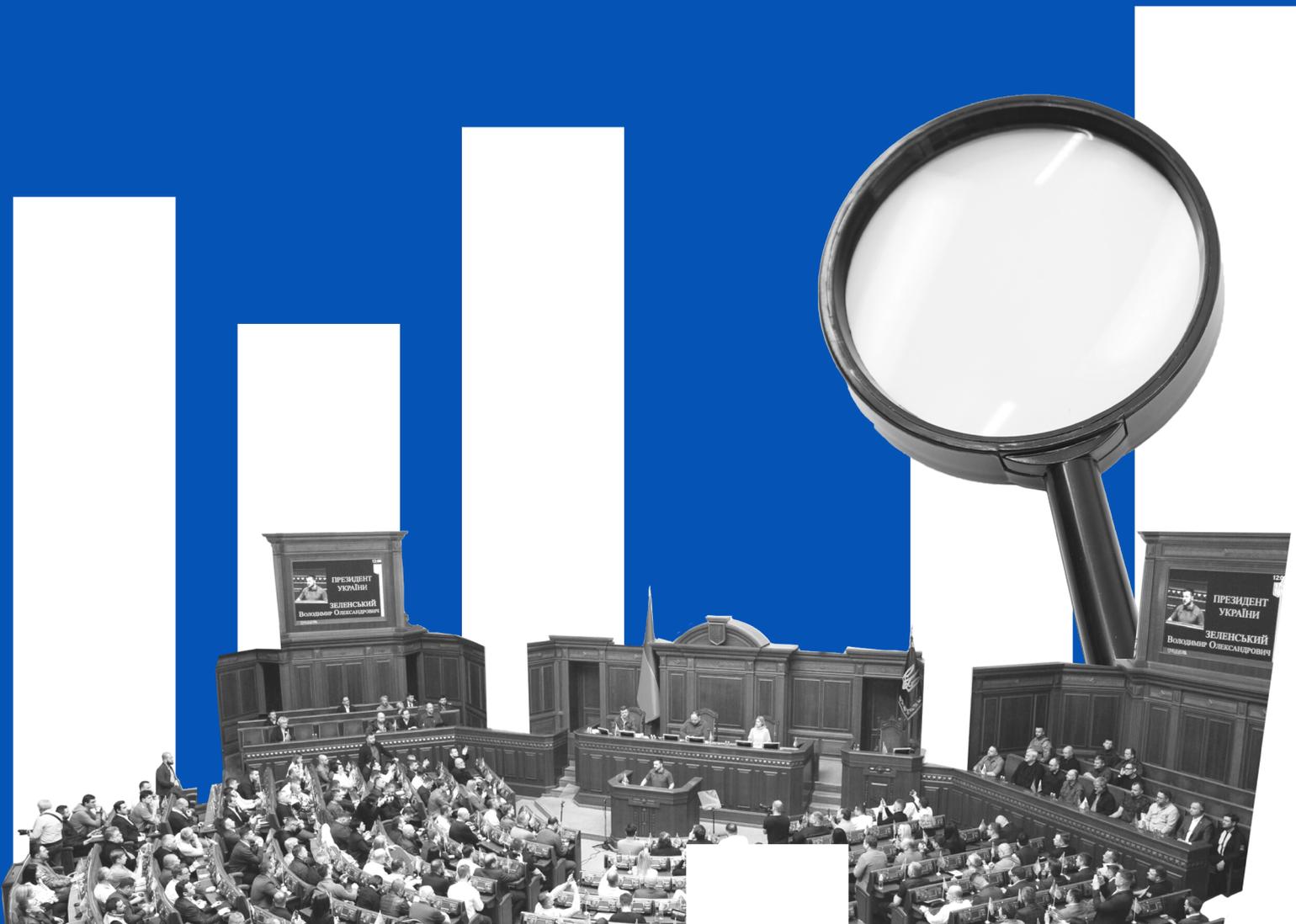




# Temporary commissions in the Parliament: oversight without the ability to influence





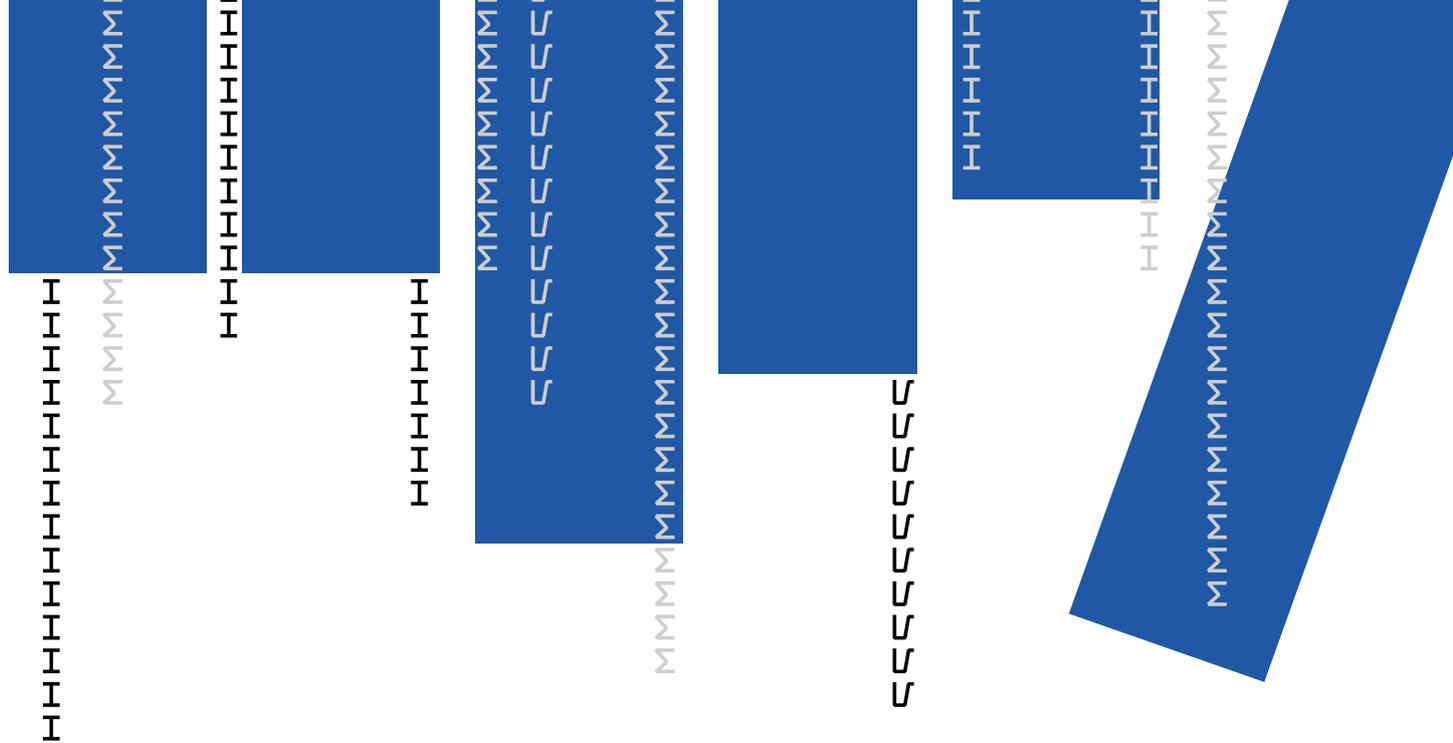
# Temporary commissions in the Parliament: oversight without the ability to influence

*This monitoring has been prepared with the support of Sweden. The contents of the document are the sole responsibility of the CSO “Agency for Legislative Initiatives” and do not necessarily reflect the position of Sweden.*

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# Temporary commissions in the Verkhovna Rada: the main points of the study

Temporary commissions (usually called “committees” in other countries) are one of the most important and interesting work formats in modern parliaments. While standing committees are established at the beginning of each regular convocation, work until its completion and usually have a clear scope of competencies, temporary commissions can be created by the parliament at any time to address any urgent issue. As soon as the issue is resolved, the temporary committee reports on it and ceases its work.

Although the functions and powers of such parliamentary structures vary from country to country, they mainly perform legislative drafting and control functions. They involve drafting or revising draft laws (if they cannot be addressed to any standing committee by their scope of influence), controlling the activities of other branches of authority, including the government, checking compliance with legislation, spending budget funds, etc. A separate function of temporary committees is parliamentary inquiry. It involves providing MPs with the opportunity and authority to conduct their own investigation, independent from the official inquiry, into the most high-profile cases if the public believes that law enforcement agencies are not working effectively enough or that the authorities are deliberately concealing certain facts. Committees that are established for this purpose are called committees of inquiry.

The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has its own analogue of temporary committees. These are temporary special and temporary investigative commissions. They operate based on similar principles: the Rada can establish temporary ad hoc commissions to address specific issues or work on draft laws, while temporary commissions of inquiry are engaged in parliamentary inquiries. Statistics show that the Verkhovna Rada has used this tool quite often: from the 3rd to the 9th convocations, which we analysed for the study, 40 temporary ad hoc and 164 temporary commissions of inquiry were created.

The areas of interest to MPs within the temporary commissions are also quite different. Thus, most of them – nine temporary ad hoc commissions – dealt with national security issues, and another seven each – with issues of public administration (e.g., conducting the reforms) and social security. Many ad hoc commissions were established to monitor compliance with the electoral law (six) and to work on amendments to the Constitution (five). When it comes to temporary investigative commissions, the majority of parliamentary inquiries in Ukraine concern corruption (25 investigative commissions) and crimes against public figures (22 commissions): activists, journalists, or politicians. Although the creation of temporary commissions helped resolve problematic situations in several cases (for example, relevant legislation was developed, or the authorities received recommendations and instructions from MPs), it is difficult to assess the feasibility of some of them. Thus, the report is the main “product” of a temporary commission’s work (apart from any draft laws developed in the case of a temporary ad hoc commission). The Commission should register this document in the form of a draft resolution, and the Verkhovna Rada should consider it extraordinarily at the next plenary session and ultimately adopt or reject it. However, temporary commissions in the Verkhovna Rada registered their reports only in a minority of cases: Out of 40 temporary ad hoc commissions that worked in the Verkhovna Rada from the 3rd to 9th convocations, only 13 registered at least one report. The Rada, in turn, has adopted at least one report in only eight cases. Out of 164 temporary investigative commissions, reports were ultimately registered for only 88, and the Rada approved at least one in 55 cases. MPs’ approach to temporary commissions not only complicates understanding of how appropriate the creation of such a structure was in each case but also makes them ineffective. The authorities should consider the developed recommendations only if the report has been registered in the parliament and adopted.

MPs also pointed out the ineffective work of many temporary commissions: In the 4th convocation, the Rada adopted a resolution analysing the results of the work of 42 established temporary commissions and recognising that only 11 of them had done the work for which they were created. MPs then pointed to a lack of material and technical support, the absence of specialised legislation, and the authorities’ unwillingness to cooperate with MPs as reasons for the failure of most temporary commissions.

Time passed, and norms regarding the work of temporary commissions were first written into the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada. Later, in 2019, a specialised law appeared. In the 9th convocation, the situation with reporting improved. Out of 11 temporary ad hoc commissions, the Rada adopted reports from five, and five more are pending consideration. Out of 29 temporary in-

vestigative commissions, the Rada adopted reports from 10 (10 more are pending consideration). However, MPs point to the same problems that were relevant almost two decades ago: The law regulating the activities of temporary commissions is fragmented and does not provide sufficient powers, in particular, to temporary investigative commissions; material and technical support does not cover the needs of all temporary commissions, in particular, the need for specialists (and most of all, lawyers); liability for refusal to cooperate with temporary commissions, in particular, within the framework of parliamentary inquiries, is not sufficiently strict. This leads to the fact that, although the authorities cannot refuse such cooperation directly, they fulfil the requirements only formally.

Moreover, MPs note that the effectiveness of temporary commissions is significantly influenced by the subjective factor of whether the MPs working in them are ready to make every effort and resolve the issue. Additionally, in their opinion, there is currently a lack of tools that would ensure control over the authorities' fulfilment of parliamentary recommendations.

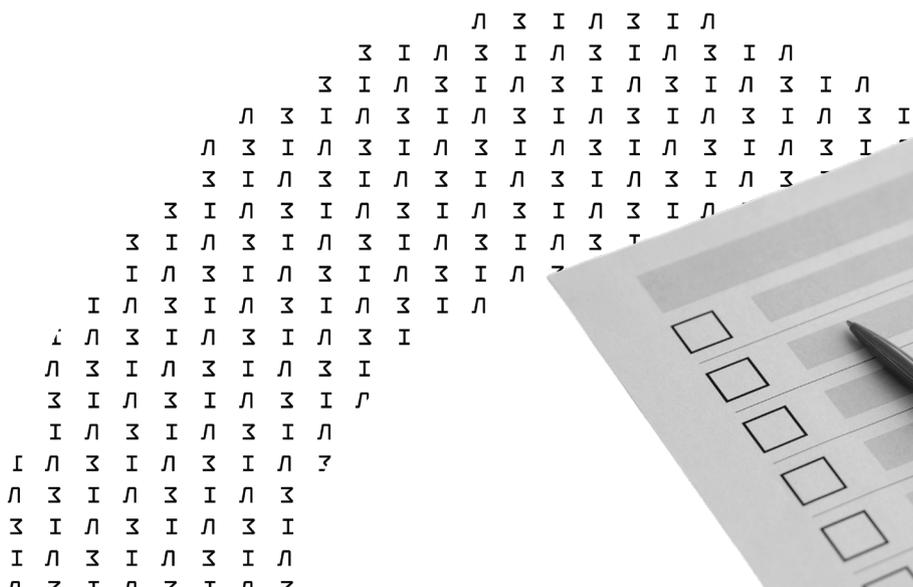
In our study, we tried to analyse in detail what MPs did within the framework of temporary ad hoc and temporary investigative commissions, what was the effectiveness of their work, and what problems prevent temporary commissions from being an effective tool for solving the problems that concern voters the most.

# Methodology

The study was conducted in two stages: desk research and empirical.

The desk stage of the study included a review and comparative analysis of Ukrainian and foreign legislation regulating the activities of temporary ad hoc and temporary investigative commissions (committees). Within the framework of the desk study, we analysed the main legislative acts governing the work of temporary ad hoc and temporary investigative commissions (committees) in Ukraine and abroad (constitutions, rules of procedure of parliaments, specialised laws, etc.) To analyse the practical activities of the temporary ad hoc and temporary investigative commissions in the Verkhovna Rada, we have collected and systematised resolutions on the establishment of the respective commissions (listed in the annexes). To assess the work of these commissions, we have collected resolutions and draft resolutions on their reports.

The empirical stage of the study included in-depth interviews with respondents (three) – MPs of the current (one) and previous (two) convocations. The main criterion for selecting MPs for an interview was their successful experience of working in the temporary investigative commission: it had a report on the results of its work adopted by the Verkhovna Rada, which contained a list of completed tasks and recommendations (proposals) for the authorities or law enforcement agencies. The interviews focused on the respondent's practical experience participating in the work of temporary ad hoc and temporary investigative commissions, the problems faced by MPs in the course of performing their duties within such commissions, and ways to improve the work of these commissions. The interviews were conducted in February – March 2024. Interviews were conducted using the in-depth interview method with a semi-structured guide. As interviews were semi-structured, researchers were able to ask clarifying questions if necessary. The interviews were recorded and transcribed to summarise and analyse MPs' experiences of participating in the work of the temporary commissions. The results of the interviews in the study are presented in a summary form. Participants were informed that participation in the interview was voluntary and that the information they provided was anonymous and confidential.



# Chapter 1

## What are parliamentary temporary commissions?



Legislative and control functions, along with the representative one, are among the most important for parliaments in modern democracies<sup>1</sup>. The main work within these functions is carried out by parliamentary committees – collegial bodies that the parliament or a separate house of parliament establishes from among its representatives to address a specific range of issues.

It is in the committees that MPs work on the development of new legislation, discuss and approve draft laws, study the issues related to the government's activities, organise hearings, invite the public to discussions, etc. In fact, whether it is addressing an important social problem or developing new legislation, these issues always go through a discussion stage in the specialised committee of the parliament.

The way in which parliaments of different countries organise the work of committees and their structure varies from country to country. Primarily, it depends on the parliamentary tradition and the needs for which these committees are created. For example, the parliaments of most continental European countries have different types of committees – standing, temporary, ad hoc, investigative, etc.

Modern scientific studies offer different classifications of parliamentary committees<sup>2</sup>. For example, committees can be classified by function: domestic committees, which are involved in administering the work of the parliament itself; legislative committees, whose work is related to the development, preparation, or refinement of draft laws; and scrutiny committees, which monitor the government's work, its efficiency, money spending, and policymaking.

In two-house parliaments, committees are divided into 1) those committees that operate separately in each house and 2) joint committees, in which representatives of both houses participate.

In addition, by form, the committees are divided into standing and temporary (ad hoc)<sup>3</sup>. Parliament

<sup>1</sup> Coghill K., Holland Ryu, Kinyondo A., Lewis C., Steinack K. (2012). The functions of Parliament: reality challenges tradition. *Australasian Parliamentary Review*, Vol. 27(2), P. 55–70.

<sup>2</sup> Tim A. Mickler (2017). Committee autonomy in parliamentary systems — coalition logic or congressional rationales? *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 23:3, 367–391.

<sup>3</sup> In our study, we use the most recent classification (by form) and focus on examining the characteristics of the organisation and work of temporary committees (commissions), considering that temporary committees in parliaments can perform both legislative and control functions, including parliamentary inquiries.

usually approves **standing committees** at the beginning of its work, and they function for the duration of the current convocation of parliament. The structure of such committees can vary. It can correspond to the governmental structure when a certain committee is responsible for the same area as a certain ministry (according to this principle, for example, the Committee on Education and Science will be responsible for the range of issues related to the activities of the relevant ministry). In addition, standing committees can be responsible for different areas but without reference to the government structure<sup>4</sup>. The Agency for Legislative Initiatives thoroughly examined the specifics of the organisation and functioning of standing parliamentary committees in another issue of the Parliament journal<sup>5</sup>.

On the other hand, a **temporary committee (commission)** is a collegial body that the parliament establishes from among its representatives for a certain period of time with a specific task. Once the committee has completed its task and reported to the parliament, it ceases to exist. Temporary committees (commissions) are usually divided into ad hoc and investigative committees.

**Temporary ad hoc committees (commissions)** are established by the parliament to address specific issues that are outside the scope of any standing committee. This tool is used to address a wide range of issues, such as developing or finalising draft laws, analysing a particular problem and developing proposals for solving it, studying the state of affairs in a particular area and informing the parliament about it, etc.

It should be noted that temporary structures created by the parliament to address specific tasks may have different names in various countries. In most Western countries, the term “select committee”<sup>6</sup> or “ad hoc committee” (i.e., for a specific task or case)<sup>7</sup> is used, while in the scientific literature, the term “special committee”<sup>8</sup> and, less often, “special commission” are used<sup>9</sup>. All of these terms correspond to the Ukrainian term “temporary ad hoc commission,” which is enshrined in the legislation.

In most countries with parliamentary or mixed forms of government, **temporary investigative commissions** are the main subjects of parliamentary inquiry. Such an inquiry is part of the parliament’s control function<sup>10</sup> and provides that MPs, separately from the judiciary or official investigation, can autonomously and independently study particularly high-profile cases primarily related to the activities of the government, authorities, state-owned enterprises, and

<sup>4</sup> This principle partially works in Ukraine. For example, in the 9th convocation, there are committees on finance, taxation, and customs policy (which is accountable to the Ministry of Finance) or the committee on digital transformation (which is accountable to the Ministry of Digital Transformation). However, the total number of committees is higher than the number of ministries, and some committees have more specific functions (e.g., the Committee on Freedom of Speech or the Committee on Budget).

<sup>5</sup> Parliament journal // Agency for Legislative Initiatives. 2017. No. 3. P. 9–32.

<sup>6</sup> Select Committees Under Scrutiny // Institute for Government. 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Strom K. Parliamentary Committees in European Democracies. The New Roles of Parliamentary Committees (1998).

<sup>8</sup> Rush M. (1982). Studies of parliamentary reform: Parliamentary committees and parliamentary government: the British and Canadian experience. The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 20(2). P. 138–154.

<sup>9</sup> Rogers L. Parliamentary Commissions in France. I. Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 38. Issue 3. September 1923. P. 413–442.

<sup>10</sup> Control functions of the parliament: Ukrainian and foreign experience. P. 2 // Agency for Legislative Initiatives. 2006.

occasionally local self-government bodies. MPs who are members of temporary investigative commissions are granted extensive powers: they have the right to request (and receive) all information necessary for studying the issue, invite representatives of the authorities to provide explanations and testimony, interrogate witnesses, and collect and examine evidence.

Although a parliamentary inquiry cannot replace an investigation conducted by law enforcement agencies in most countries, it can highlight the problem's particular importance to society and draw attention to it. The conclusions of such an inquiry, presented to parliament, may include additional facts that law enforcement agencies have overlooked for various reasons.

Both temporary ad hoc committees and temporary committees of inquiry are accountable to the parliament. Usually, temporary committees present the results of their work in the form of a written report. The report's structure may include a list of measures taken by the temporary committee during its term of work, conclusions on a particular problem or situation, and, in some cases, recommendations or instructions to the authorities or law enforcement agencies<sup>11</sup>. Legislation developed within the framework of the work of a temporary ad hoc committee (if the parliament has assigned it a corresponding task during its creation) and a written report are the main indicators of its effectiveness.

Modern parliaments in different countries perform many functions, so the creation of separate committees – standing and temporary – has a number of advantages. Primarily, this significantly saves time and effort for MPs: instead of discussing and amending each individual draft law, this work can be delegated to a committee, and the meeting time can be devoted directly to the adoption of laws. In addition, sectoral committees are usually composed of MPs who have previous experience or expertise in a particular area. That is, the issues delegated to this committee will be considered in more depth and professionally than if a large number of MPs without the relevant expertise tried to resolve them in the limited time of the plenary session.

At the same time, temporary committees are needed for the “one-time” resolution of a specific problem. They bring together MPs to address the problem, serve as an additional platform for discussion, and highlight the importance of this issue for citizens.

<sup>11</sup> It should be noted, however, that the conclusions of temporary commissions are not binding on other authorities in all countries. For example, in a number of countries, the results of a parliamentary inquiry can serve as an additional source of information for law enforcement agencies, but they are not obliged to consider them or implement the parliament's recommendations.

# Chapter 2

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## Temporary committees in parliaments around the world



## 2.1. History of temporary ad hoc committees

The history of parliamentary committees begins with the emergence of parliamentary governance in the world. For example, prototypes of committees in Great Britain have been known since the 14th century<sup>12</sup>. Since the parliament was seen more as an advisory body to the monarch in those early days, such committees had only one function – to consider citizens’ petitions and sort them according to the branch of authority that should respond to them – the king, the parliament, or the court – and forward them accordingly<sup>13</sup>.

In those distant times, committee work was almost unregulated, and they were all, in essence, temporary: MPs gathered in small groups to address a specific issue. Parliamentary committees in a form closest to the modern one began to be established in the 16th to 18th centuries during the development of parliamentary governance in Europe. The range of issues to be addressed by the parliament is significantly expanding. The number of draft laws that need to be developed, reviewed, and adopted is also growing. The need to address these issues with a full parliament eventually became a burden for parliaments, so they began to establish small groups that could devote more time to discussing specific issues or working on draft laws. They could propose their decision during a meeting of the full parliament, which the parliament could support or reject. As a result, issues were resolved faster and more efficiently.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II, 263; III, 452. Anson, I, 309.

<sup>13</sup> The Origin of the Standing-Committee System in American Legislative Bodies J. Franklin Jameson *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 9. No. 2 (Jun., 1894). P. 246–267.

Returning to Great Britain's example, it is worth noting that the practice of creating separate committees in this country had already taken root by the middle of the 16th century. In Great Britain's House of Commons (the lower house of parliament), such committees worked mainly to develop draft laws. Around the same time, committees of inquiry were established in Great Britain's Parliament<sup>14</sup>. The powers of committees at that time also differed little from those of today: they had their own premises in the Palace of Westminster, where they could hold hearings. Committee members could invite representatives of other authorities and the public to hearings, as well as appoint subcommittees to carry out even more specific tasks. The first committees were almost always created as ad hoc committees to work on a particular law, and once this work was completed, they were dissolved. Over time, this approach was simplified. Instead of creating a separate committee for each similar issue, they began to establish standing committees that operated throughout the entire convocation and had their own area of responsibility<sup>15</sup>.

The gradual transition from temporary to standing committees is a common feature in the history of many parliaments worldwide. As the number of draft laws increased, the establishment of temporary committees to process each of them only slowed down the legislative process. In addition, some draft laws did not require detailed study and improvement, so the creation of a separate temporary committee to work on them became an unnecessary formality.

For example, from 1811 to 1813, the US Senate was forced to create 250 temporary committees to work on legislation<sup>16</sup>. This process became a burden for MPs, as almost the entire meeting time was spent on appointing a committee to consider one or another draft law. In 1816, the first 11 standing committees of the US Senate began to operate. The procedure for adopting laws has also changed: whereas previously, the Senate had to discuss each draft law in full before sending it to a committee (which had to be created beforehand!), from now on, a registered draft law was immediately sent to the relevant standing committee for processing, where it had to receive its first approval. Within the first years of this system's existence, 90% of new draft laws were submitted to the standing committees, which significantly accelerated the adoption of new legislation.

Similarly, the history of committees in France developed in this manner. The late 18th and early 19th centuries were a turbulent period for France due to political instability and frequent changes in power (often followed by a change in the form of parliament). The authorities were demanded to act quickly, but the overly formalised procedure for adopting new laws was the last thing that contributed to speed<sup>17</sup>. Of course, to adopt each individual draft law, a temporary commission that would work on it and submit a report to the parliament at the end of its work was necessary. After that, the draft law passed two readings in the Chamber of Deputies (the lower chamber of the National Assembly) and then moved on to the Senate (the upper chamber). The procedure for adopting laws

<sup>14</sup> The Origin of the Standing-Committee System in American Legislative Bodies J. Franklin Jameson Political Science Quarterly. Vol. 9. No. 2 (Jun., 1894). P. 246–267.

<sup>15</sup> Committees. Historical Perspective // House of Commons Procedure and Practice. 2000.

<sup>16</sup> About the Committee System | Historical Overview // United States Senate.

<sup>17</sup> Parliamentary Commissions in France. I Lindsay Rogers Political Science Quarterly. Vol. 38. No. 3 (Sep., 1923). P. 413–442.

was subsequently simplified, and temporary ad hoc committees were replaced by standing ones. While in 1898, there were 735 such committees, in four years – by 1902 – their number decreased to 137<sup>18</sup>.

By the early 20th century, most parliaments around the world already had both standing and temporary committees in the form we know them today. While most of the legislative drafting work was transferred to the standing committees (although their functions were not limited to it), temporary ad hoc committees were mainly established for short-term tasks. Establishing temporary ad hoc committees may also serve to perform control functions, such as investigating how certain legislation is implemented, where and how the government, authorities, or state-owned enterprises spend funds, etc. They can also be established for the development of legislation, but primarily in cases where the area of such legislation is not covered by any standing parliamentary committee.

## 2.2. History of temporary investigative committees

Another important function that parliaments in most countries assign to temporary committees is to conduct parliamentary inquiries. The history of parliamentary inquiry goes back more than a century. For example, the first temporary committees with similar functions in Great Britain date from the 16th century<sup>19</sup>. In other European countries, the first temporary investigative committees appeared in the early 19th century, and their emergence, as in the case of temporary ad hoc committees, was primarily associated with the development of parliamentarians and new functions for parliaments, such as control over government activities.

For example, in the United States, committees of inquiry have played an important role since their inception and have had significant rights that have expanded over time. Committees were first empowered to conduct the parliamentary inquiry in 1827<sup>20</sup>. At that time, the House of Representatives authorised the Committee on Industry to request documents and summon persons to investigate issues related to tariff legislation. The resolution in question sparked lively discussions among the

<sup>18</sup> Parliamentary Commissions in France. I Lindsay Rogers *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Sep., 1923). P. 413–442.

<sup>19</sup> The Origin of the Standing-Committee System in American Legislative Bodies J. Franklin Jameson *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Jun., 1894). P. 246–267.

<sup>20</sup> About Investigations | Historical Overview // United States Senate.

congressmen during the vote, as the reasons for such a “significant and unusual”<sup>21</sup> expansion of the committee’s powers seemed unclear. However, the resolution was eventually approved, and subsequently, all<sup>22</sup> committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate received this right.

In 1859, the Senate of Congress established the first investigative committee to investigate an incident in which a group of armed men from the abolitionist movement seized an arsenal near Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in the autumn of that year<sup>23</sup>. At that time, even important state-owned facilities such as arms depots were poorly guarded, making them easy targets for attackers. In this case, the arsenal was guarded by only one guard, who was taken hostage by the gang, as well as several residents of the little town. State law enforcement and federal troops were able to reclaim the arsenal only after two days, with a total of 17 people killed in the skirmish. Based on the investigation results, the committee prepared a detailed report<sup>24</sup> that not only outlined facts it was able to establish but also recommended that the US authorities implement militarised security at all strategic state-owned facilities. This case is also important for the history of parliamentary inquiries in the United States as it led to a significant expansion of the powers of investigative committees. In particular, since then, they have gained the right to issue subpoenas.

A century later, the US Supreme Court expanded the committees’ powers even further: They were granted the right to summon and interrogate witnesses and, in case of disobedience, demand their punishment. In addition, if a witness lied before Congress, he or she could be found guilty of perjury.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the Senate alone has created 25 temporary investigative committees<sup>25</sup> that have investigated some of the most high-profile crimes: the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, the sinking of the Titanic, the Vietnam War, etc. One of the most well-known parliamentary inquiries was conducted by the Senate after the Watergate scandal – a case in which a group of people associated with then-presidential candidate Richard Nixon tried to install wiretaps at the Democratic Party headquarters. Although Nixon won the election, two years later, as a result of an investigation, his presidential career ended with impeachment<sup>26</sup>.

The ability to conduct their own inquiries appeared in most European parliaments in the second half of the 19th century. For example, in Germany, the first temporary investigative commission started its work in 1872<sup>27</sup>, in Belgium – in 1880 (when the relevant law was adopted<sup>28</sup>).

21 On debates in Congress. 1827. P. 862–864.

22 Standing and temporary committees.

23 About Investigations | Historical Overview // United States Senate.

24 Report of the temporary investigative committee.

25 Selected list of temporary investigative committees of the US Congress Senate.

26 Investigative committee into the activities of the presidential election campaign (Watergate Committee).

27 Marx, Fritz Morstein. Commissions of Inquiry in Germany. *The American Political Science Review* 30, No. 6 (1936). 1134–43.

28 Official website of the Belgian Senate.

In some countries, a parliamentary inquiry appeared even later. For example, in Switzerland, the first parliamentary inquiry took place in 1964<sup>29</sup>. It concerned inflated costs for the purchase of fighter jets. The results of this inquiry influenced the government's decision to reduce the number of fighter jets to be purchased. The next temporary investigative commission was convened in 1989 because of the "file scandal"<sup>30</sup>: the investigation revealed that the Federal Department (equivalent to a ministry) of Justice and Police of Switzerland had illegally collected and stored secret dossiers on Swiss citizens and foreigners for political reasons. The parliamentary inquiry uncovered almost a million files relating to individuals, organisations, private companies, and political groups. Overall, throughout its history, the Swiss Parliament has convened temporary investigative commissions four times.

Today, parliaments in most countries of the world can conduct their own inquiries and create temporary committees for this purpose. In some countries (e.g., the United States and Great Britain), inquiries can be conducted by both standing and temporary committees. Only a minority of countries do not provide for a parliamentary inquiry at all. For example, in Slovakia, this possibility existed until 1996, when the Constitutional Court ruled that the activities of temporary investigative committees violated the separation of powers and were unconstitutional<sup>31</sup>.

## 2.3. Modern temporary committees in parliaments of different countries

Today, no parliament can do without a certain number of standing and temporary committees within its structure. Although their activities often do not attract significant media and public attention, committees are the working unit where all the parliament's most important decisions are developed, discussed, and given preliminary approval. Emphasising these functions of committees, researchers sometimes even use the term 'parliaments in miniature' to describe them<sup>32</sup>.

The organisation and functions assigned to committees vary considerably between countries; in some places, they are broader. In others, they are more limited. While in the United States, the UK, and several continental European countries, committees have greater power to, for example, conduct parliamentary oversight and further implement its results, in other countries (in particular, in most Scandinavian countries), the power of committees is limited – the recommendations they provide to the authorities or law enforcement agencies (during a parliamentary inquiry) do not necessarily have to be taken into account and implemented.

<sup>29</sup> Credit Suisse: what is a parliamentary inquiry committee?

<sup>30</sup> Political police and state security in Switzerland // Swiss Federal Archives. 2019.

<sup>31</sup> Committees of Inquiry. Comparative Survey // European Parliament. 2020.

<sup>32</sup> Goodwin G. (1962). Subcommittees: The Miniature Legislatures of Congress. *American Political Science Review*. 56(3). P. 596–604.

An example of a parliament where committees have a fairly extensive system and broad powers is the UK parliament. Committees operate in both the House of Commons (lower house) and the House of Lords (upper house). Each committee performs its own function. In particular, legislative drafting work is carried out by standing general committees<sup>33</sup> and the Committee of the Whole House<sup>34</sup> in the House of Commons. The other four standing committees, the so-called Grand Committees (Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and Regional), deal with issues specific to their respective regions. Instead, ad hoc committees (there are standing and temporary committees in the House of Commons) examine government work, focusing on three main aspects: spending money, policy-making, and administration<sup>35</sup>. Although the House of Commons cannot appoint separate investigative committees, parliamentary inquiry can be conducted by standing committees.

In the House of Lords, legislative drafting is carried out by two standing committees: the Grand Committee and the Committee of the Whole House. Temporary committees are divided into ad hoc and investigative committees. Ad hoc committees are responsible for studying specific issues. Once such a committee has fulfilled its function and provided a report on its work, it ceases to exist<sup>36</sup>. The function of parliamentary inquiry can be assigned to, but is not limited to, temporary committees of inquiry: in fact, certain inquiries can also be conducted within the framework of a standing committee's work if the issue of inquiry falls within the area of their responsibility. Ad hoc committees in the House of Lords have broad powers<sup>37</sup>: they can request any information from the authorities, summon officials to meetings, and engage external experts. At the same time, some researchers note<sup>38,39</sup> that the implementation of these legal powers may be problematic. Therefore, in order to achieve their goal, MPs may resort to "unconventional" methods, such as political or reputational pressure on those who refuse to cooperate with the committee.

In addition, the House of Commons and the House of Lords can establish joint committees to address specific issues. This occurs, for example, if certain representatives of the House of Commons and the House of Lords have the necessary expertise to resolve the issue.

<sup>33</sup> UK Parliament.

<sup>34</sup> UK Parliament. Committee of the whole House.

<sup>35</sup> UK Parliament. Select Committees.

<sup>36</sup> Caygill T. Post-legislative scrutiny in the UK Parliament The Post-Legislative Scrutiny Series, 1, Nottingham Trent University (2011).

<sup>37</sup> Institute For Government (2020). Select committees.

<sup>38</sup> Richard Gordon Q.C., Street A. Select committees and coercive powers — clarity or confusion?

<sup>39</sup> What are the strengths and weaknesses of UK Parliament Select Committees?

The US Congress has a similar principle of committee organisation. However, with the difference that both the House of Representatives (lower house) and the Senate (upper house) can establish temporary committees of inquiry there. Standing committees of Congress handle legislative drafting work, while temporary committees are created by MPs to study specific and urgent issues. For example, in January 2023, the House of Representatives established a relevant ad hoc committee in response to the increasing tension in relations between the US and China<sup>40</sup>. In total, there are seven ad hoc committees in the last convocation of the Congress: two in the House of Representatives and five in the House of Lords<sup>41</sup>.

Therefore, in parliaments around the world, temporary ad hoc committees (commissions) typically perform legislative drafting and parliamentary control functions. The legislative drafting function is expressed in the possibility of studying and submitting amendments to draft laws and the right to decide which draft law should be considered in the parliamentary hall. The controlling function of temporary committees is expressed in the possibility of conducting a parliamentary inquiry. Although temporary investigative committees (commissions) have broad powers to conduct parliamentary inquiries in most countries, their influence is rather limited. Thus, in most countries, parliamentary inquiry is conducted independently of judicial investigation (and in some countries, parliamentary inquiry is not possible if judicial investigation is already underway), and judicial authorities are not officially obliged to use the results of parliamentary inquiry in their activities.

In Annex 1, we provide examples of committee organisation in the parliaments of various countries (bicameral and unicameral) for greater clarity. In Annex 2, we describe the powers of temporary committees in the parliaments of countries around the world.

<sup>40</sup> Select Committee on the Strategic Competition Between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party.

<sup>41</sup> Committees of the US Congress.

# Chapter 3

## Temporary commissions in Ukraine



Temporary commissions in the Verkhovna Rada have been functioning since its first convocation following the declaration of independence. Thus, since the early 1990s, the Verkhovna Rada has had standing committees (called “standing commissions” until 1997) that dealt with a specific range of issues. In addition, the Rada could establish temporary commissions.

In the first convocation of the Verkhovna Rada, commissions were not yet divided into temporary investigative commissions and temporary ad hoc commissions; instead, they were called “temporary MP commissions” or “temporary commissions.” For example, one of the first temporary commissions was established in 1992 in connection with the need to introduce Ukraine’s own currency: The coupon karbovanets (better known as karbovanets)<sup>42</sup>. This temporary commission included MPs as well as representatives of the Ministry of Economy, the NBU, and Oschadbank. Together, they had to develop regulatory acts to put the coupon karbovanets into circulation.

During the second convocation in 1996, temporary commissions were divided into ad hoc commissions and investigative commissions by purpose and powers. In April of the same year, the Verkhovna Rada created the first temporary ad hoc commission that was supposed to finalise the draft Constitution of Ukraine (the Basic Law itself was adopted on 28 June 1996)<sup>43</sup>.

The first temporary investigative commission also started its work in July 1996<sup>44</sup>. It was created to investigate abuses during the attempted privatisation of the Skadovsk Commercial Sea Port. Although the resolution on the establishment of this commission stated that its conclusions should be heard in almost three months, in September 1996, the commission’s report still was not made public.

<sup>42</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 2253-XII, adopted on 6 April 1992, “On the Creation of the Temporary Commission to Coordinate the Introduction of National Monetary Units and the Establishment of Own Financial and Credit Systems.”

<sup>43</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 169/96-VR, adopted on 24 June 1996, “On the Establishment of the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission for the Drafting of the Constitution of Ukraine.”

<sup>44</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 336/96-VR, adopted on 12 July 1996, “On the Establishment of the Temporary Investigative Commission to Verify the Legality of the Alienation of the Skadovsk Commercial Sea Port’s Property.”

In general, **temporary commissions** are collegial bodies that are convened to resolve a specific issue or conduct a parliamentary inquiry. According to the law, the tenure of the temporary commission cannot exceed one year (although in the 9th convocation, MPs found a way to circumvent this norm: The Temporary ad hoc commission on the protection of investors' rights is re-established every year after its term of office expires).

Several regulatory acts regulate the activities of temporary commissions in the Verkhovna Rada, including Article 89 of the Constitution of Ukraine, which provides MPs with the opportunity to create temporary ad hoc commissions “for the preparation and preliminary consideration of issues” and temporary investigative commissions “to investigate issues of public interest”<sup>45</sup>. In addition, Chapter 17 of the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada Ukraine contains provisions regarding the procedures for convening, tenure, and reporting specifics of temporary commissions<sup>46</sup>. Until 2019, the Constitution and the Rules of Procedure were the only documents that regulated the activities of temporary commissions in the Verkhovna Rada. The Verkhovna Rada adopted a separate law, “On Temporary Investigative Commissions and Temporary Ad Hoc Commissions,” in December 2019 only<sup>47</sup>.

The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine may establish a **temporary ad hoc commission** to study certain issues and submit proposals to the Verkhovna Rada, the government, or other authorities for their resolution. Such a commission may be established for the preparation, preliminary consideration, or refinement of draft laws if they are not within the competence of any committee of the Verkhovna Rada (except for the creation of a temporary ad hoc commission to continue work on a draft law amending the Constitution of Ukraine).

**Temporary investigative commission** is one of the main tools of parliamentary control, it is established to conduct inquiries into issues of public interest. Such a commission operates independently of the inquiry, and its activities are directed at examining the circumstances of an event of public interest, searching for new facts, finding new evidence, etc. At the same time, a temporary investigative commission cannot replace the official investigation, administer justice instead of a court, or establish the guilt or innocence of a certain person in committing a crime.

<sup>45</sup> Constitution of Ukraine.

<sup>46</sup> Law of Ukraine No. 1861-VI, adopted on 31 December 2023, “On the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada”.

<sup>47</sup> Law of Ukraine No. 400-IX, adopted on 19 December 2019, “On Temporary Investigative Commissions and Temporary Ad Hoc Commissions of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine”.

In addition to ad hoc and investigative commissions, there is a special type of temporary commission – an ad hoc temporary investigative commission. It is governed by the law on impeachment of the President (i.e. removal from office) and is set up if such a procedure begins<sup>48</sup>. As such a precedent has not yet occurred in the history of independent Ukraine, our study only considers the work of temporary ad hoc commissions and temporary investigative commissions.

MPs can establish temporary commissions on their own initiative. To do this, they must register a resolution with the Verkhovna Rada on the establishment of the commission, which specifies its name, purpose, main tasks, composition, and terms of activity. At least one-third of the parliament's constitutional composition (150 out of 450 MPs) must vote in favour of creating a temporary investigative commission.

The composition of temporary commissions is formed from MPs nominated by factions and groups in the Verkhovna Rada. Factions and groups have the right to proportional participation of their MPs in such bodies. This is important to ensure that representatives of both the coalition and the opposition participate in parliamentary control. At the same time, each faction can decide for itself whether its representatives will participate in the work of a particular commission. Similarly, each faction decides in its own way which of its representatives to delegate to the temporary commission. Most often, MPs who have previous experience or connections that could be useful in resolving the issue in question are delegated. In addition, some factions have their own internal rules of procedure that govern MPs' participation in temporary commissions.

“ There are internal procedures. In some factions, these procedures are more formalised, while in others, they are less formalised.” The Samopomich faction, for example, had the faction's regulations, which outlined the main points, rules for decision-making, approval, initiation of various candidates, etc. [...] I am, among other things, a human rights activist by profession, so it is obvious that I was one of those who initiated it (the Temporary Investigative Commission – ed.). It was absolutely logical that I, as the person who initiated it and understood the value and importance of this issue, would be a representative (of the Temporary Investigative Commission – ed.) ”

MP of the previous convocation

<sup>48</sup> Law of Ukraine No. 39-IX, adopted on 10 September 2019, “On Special Procedure for Removing the President of Ukraine from Office Impeachment”).

The work of temporary commissions takes place in the form of meetings. For example, at the first meeting, a newly created temporary commission usually resolves organisational issues – appoints a secretariat, distributes responsibilities, etc. Moreover, temporary commissions may hold on-site meetings to examine the circumstances of the case, interview those involved, etc. This is necessary during a parliamentary inquiry to gain a more detailed understanding of the situation in the field and to interview those involved (witnesses and others).

According to their tasks, temporary ad hoc commissions and temporary commissions of inquiry have different powers. Thus, the powers of temporary ad hoc commissions coincide with those of the main committees: They can develop draft laws and other acts of the Verkhovna Rada on their own initiative or make proposals and amendments to existing ones, and they can invite representatives of the authorities, civil society, etc. to their meetings. The powers of temporary investigative commissions are quite broad: they have the right to obtain all information, documents and other materials necessary for their activities from state bodies, local governments, law enforcement agencies, etc. If necessary, temporary investigative commissions may seize the requested documents or obtain copies of them. Moreover, temporary investigative commissions may invite witnesses to obtain testimony or explanations and engage third-party experts and law enforcement officials (e.g., prosecutors).

Both temporary ad hoc commissions and temporary investigative commissions are accountable to the Verkhovna Rada. Based on their activities, they are required to prepare a report (which, as we will see later, does not always happen in practice). The report is the main document through which parliament and the public can assess the effectiveness of the temporary committee's work. In this document, the commission outlines its work results: the actions taken, the conclusions reached, and the recommendations and proposals made to the authorities.

Hearing reports of temporary commissions should be included in the agenda of the Verkhovna Rada meetings as an extraordinary matter, without a vote, on the next day scheduled for a plenary session following the submission of the report. The Verkhovna Rada should consider the report of the temporary commission as a matter of priority. Even if the Verkhovna Rada has not completed considering the previous session's agenda items, they should be suspended to hear the report of the temporary commission.

After hearing the report and accepting (or rejecting) it, the Rada may terminate or extend the temporary commission's work.

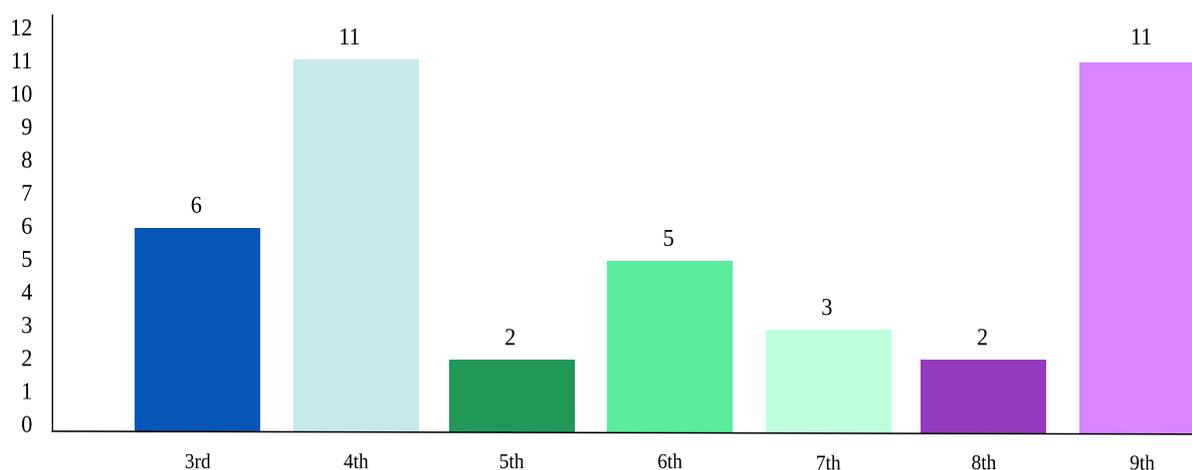
In the next two sections, we will examine in detail the work of temporary ad hoc commissions and temporary commissions of inquiry that operated in the Verkhovna Rada during the third to ninth convocations<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> We selected this specific period because the resolutions on the work of the temporary ad hoc commissions and investigative commissions of the first and second convocations contain only general information about them. Furthermore, up until the third convocation, the temporary commissions of the Verkhovna Rada did not publish reports on their activities.

## 3.1. Temporary ad hoc commissions

During the third to ninth convocations, 40 temporary ad hoc commissions operated in the Verkhovna Rada<sup>50</sup>. The largest number of temporary ad hoc commissions operated in the fourth and ninth convocations.

Chart 1. The number of temporary ad hoc commissions by convocation



The tasks assigned by the Verkhovna Rada to temporary ad hoc commissions are quite different. Ad hoc commissions were most frequently established to investigate a particular issue or situation within a particular area and inform the Verkhovna Rada of the results of such investigations. For example, during the sixth convocation, a Temporary Ad Hoc Commission was established to monitor the state of flood relief in several western oblasts during July 2008<sup>51</sup>. The Commission was instructed to check the status of flood relief efforts, monitor the use of budgetary funds allocated for this purpose, and provide the Verkhovna Rada with generalised information on the situation.

Another purpose of establishing temporary ad hoc committees is legislative drafting work. In nine cases, the Verkhovna Rada created temporary ad hoc commissions to develop draft laws and other regulatory acts from scratch. In 11 cases, ad hoc commissions were tasked with finalising already developed draft acts: making changes, additions, etc. Another 14 ad hoc commissions were to preliminarily review and prepare draft laws for the first or second reading. Such commissions were established by the Rada, for example, to process draft laws that either provided for constitutional amendments or whose areas did not fall under the jurisdiction of any standing committee.

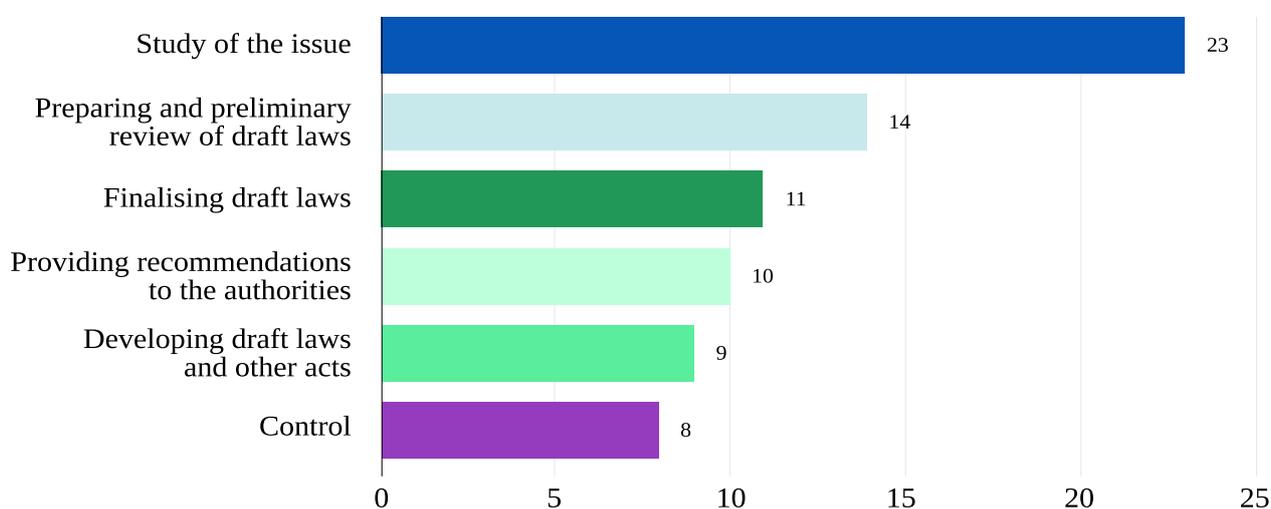
<sup>50</sup> We have counted the number of resolutions on the establishment of temporary ad hoc commissions on the website of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. The list of temporary ad hoc commissions is provided in Annex 3.

<sup>51</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 572-VI, adopted on 23 September 2008, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to Monitor the State of Liquidation of the Consequences of the Natural Disaster that Occurred on 23–27 July 2008 in Vinnytsia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Zakarpattia, Lviv, Ternopil and Chernivtsi Oblasts".

In nine cases, the Verkhovna Rada tasked ad hoc commissions with formulating recommendations for the authorities. For example, during the ninth convocation, the Verkhovna Rada created a temporary ad hoc commission, which, in cooperation with specialised committees, was tasked with developing a state policy on restoring the territorial integrity of Ukraine<sup>52</sup>. This commission's task was not only to develop draft laws but also to develop recommendations for the authorities (and the Verkhovna Rada in particular) on the de-occupation of Ukrainian territories.

Finally, in eight cases, the Verkhovna Rada created temporary ad hoc commissions with the aim of parliamentary control. For example, most of these commissions were supposed to monitor compliance with the law during elections, as well as budget funds spending, social payments, etc.

Chart 2. Tasks of temporary ad hoc commissions in accordance with the resolutions of the Verkhovna Rada on their establishment<sup>53</sup>



The goals and tasks of temporary ad hoc commissions also differ by convocation. Thus, in the third convocation, the Verkhovna Rada established temporary investigative commissions mainly for legislative drafting work. Three out of six temporary ad hoc commissions were tasked with drafting and preliminary reviewing draft laws: the Civil Code<sup>54</sup>, amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine<sup>55</sup>, and draft laws aimed at ensuring and exercising the electoral rights of Ukrainian citizens<sup>56</sup>. Another temporary ad hoc commission was established to control the payment of com-

<sup>52</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 211-IX, adopted on 17 October 2019, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Developing and Implementing the State Policy on the Restoration of Territorial Integrity and Ensuring the Sovereignty of Ukraine".

<sup>53</sup> The chart shows more cases of assigning certain tasks than the actual number of temporary ad hoc commissions for all convocations, as the Verkhovna Rada often assigned ad hoc commissions more than one task (for example, to study an issue and prepare a draft law to address it or to control budget expenditures and provide recommendations to the authorities).

<sup>54</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 195-XIV, adopted on 20 October 1998, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission on the Preparation and Preliminary Consideration of the Draft New Version of the Civil Code of Ukraine".

<sup>55</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 2215-III, adopted on 18 January 2001, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission on the Preparation and Preliminary Consideration of Draft Laws on Amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine Following the Results of the all-Ukrainian Referendum on People's Initiative".

<sup>56</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 684-XIV, adopted on 20 May 1999, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Ensuring Electoral Rights of Ukrainian Citizens During the Preparation and Conduct of Elections of the President of Ukraine".

pensation to victims of Nazi persecution<sup>57</sup>, and another one to prepare a budget resolution<sup>58</sup>. Unfortunately, it is impossible to assess the effectiveness of these commissions' work, as relevant draft resolutions on their reports are not even registered on the Verkhovna Rada's website<sup>59</sup>.

In its fourth convocation, the Verkhovna Rada established 11 temporary ad hoc commissions. This is one of the highest indicators for the analysed period. The tasks set by the Rada for these ad hoc commissions varied. In four cases, the commissions were created to finalise legislation. For example, a separate commission was intended to process three draft laws on amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine<sup>60</sup>. Although a report on its work is absent, the Verkhovna Rada's website contains information about the adoption of one of the three documents (Law of Ukraine No. 2222-IV, "On Amending the Constitution of Ukraine"<sup>61</sup>, adopted on 8 December 2004, later declared unconstitutional in 2010<sup>62</sup>).

Another temporary ad hoc commission in this convocation was established to study a particularly high-profile case in the history of Ukrainian-Russian international relations. This concerns the Tuzla island, which became a sort of "trial run" for Russia for making unfounded territorial claims against Ukraine and the first attempt to seize Crimea. Recall that in the autumn of 2003, Russia began, without warning, to dredge a dam in the Kerch Strait, which was intended to connect Tuzla with the Taman Peninsula. In November, dam construction was stopped. In the same year, a temporary ad hoc commission that had to study the circumstances of the case began its work<sup>63</sup>. The commission reported its work results two years later during a conference (the report was never made public). MPs found that Russia's construction of the dam caused the island to flood. Therefore, the government was given recommendations: to build infrastructure on the island to strengthen its connection with mainland Ukraine and to strengthen the coastline of Tuzla to eliminate the effects of flooding<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 684-XIV, adopted on 20 September 2001, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Control over the Payment of Compensation to Victims of Nazi Persecution from the Ukrainian National Fund for Mutual Understanding and Reconciliation".

<sup>58</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 24-XIV, adopted on 22 June 1998, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to Prepare a Budget Resolution".

<sup>59</sup> Assessing the effectiveness of these ad hoc commissions is also complicated by the fact that resolutions establishing them do not specify their tasks. Therefore, it is difficult to establish which draft laws or other regulatory acts these ad hoc commissions have been working on.

<sup>60</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 381-IV, adopted on 26 December 2002, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for the Processing of Draft Laws of Ukraine on Amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine".

<sup>61</sup> Draft Law No. 4180 of 19 September 2003, "On Amending the Constitution of Ukraine".

<sup>62</sup> Resolution of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine in case 1-45/2010 of 30 September 2010, No. 20-rp/2010.

<sup>63</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 1235-IV, adopted on 23 October 2003, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Ensuring Parliamentary Control over the Regime of the State Border of Ukraine in the Area of the Kosa Tuzla Island".

<sup>64</sup> Statement of the Temporary ad hoc commission on ensuring parliamentary control over the regime of the state border of Ukraine in the area of Kosa Tuzla Island on the website of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

While the temporary ad hoc commission on Tuzla demonstrated effectiveness (though it did not publish a report), another commission had less defined activity contours. Thus, in the 4th convocation, the Verkhovna Rada established the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission on Future<sup>65</sup>. The tasks outlined in the resolution on its creation appear rather vague: the commission had to prepare “issues on forecasts and plans for the future” for consideration by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, as well as determine the directions of technological and innovative development of the state, process the “issues on factors and models of future development” and maintain relations with parliaments of other countries, scientific organisations, etc. The resolution’s most specific task is “to analyse the economic and social development programmes of Ukraine, nationwide (national) and state programmes, and programmes of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.” From such a description, one might conclude that the specific task of the committee was indeed to analyse the mentioned documents; however, the commission’s report was never made public. Therefore, there is no clear understanding of what and why this temporary ad hoc commission was doing during the fourth convocation. The most interesting thing is that a similar commission with almost identical tasks worked during the eighth convocation<sup>66</sup>. At the end of its work, it even registered two reports on the results of its activities in the Verkhovna Rada – though they were not adopted<sup>67</sup>. The most specific result of the commission’s work during the eighth convocation was the organisation of seven conferences and one hearing, following which the participants agreed “to start developing a draft law that would harmonise the state system of forecast documents and define the conditions for cooperation between the legislative and executive branches in this area.” However, it is not known whether the relevant document has been drafted and adopted.

While the Verkhovna Rada had a relatively small number of temporary ad hoc commissions during the fifth to eighth convocations, the Parliament began to create them much more frequently in the ninth convocation. Thus, over almost four years of the current convocation’s work, the Parliament has established 10 temporary ad hoc commissions. The range of issues for which the current convocation has established temporary ad hoc commissions is mainly related to the social protection of veterans<sup>68</sup>, defence and countering Russia’s armed aggression. For example, the first temporary ad hoc commission established by the current parliament was dedicated to the legal protection of veterans. However, the Verkhovna Rada did not ignore the problems of businesses: in 2019, it set up a Temporary ad hoc commission on investor rights protection<sup>69</sup>, which was tasked with developing legislation to facilitate business operations, as well as studying certain cases of violations of business rights in Ukraine.

<sup>65</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 655-IV, adopted on 3 April 2003, “On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Future”.

<sup>66</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 353-VIII, adopted on 22 April 2015, “On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Future”.

<sup>67</sup> Search results for draft laws registered by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

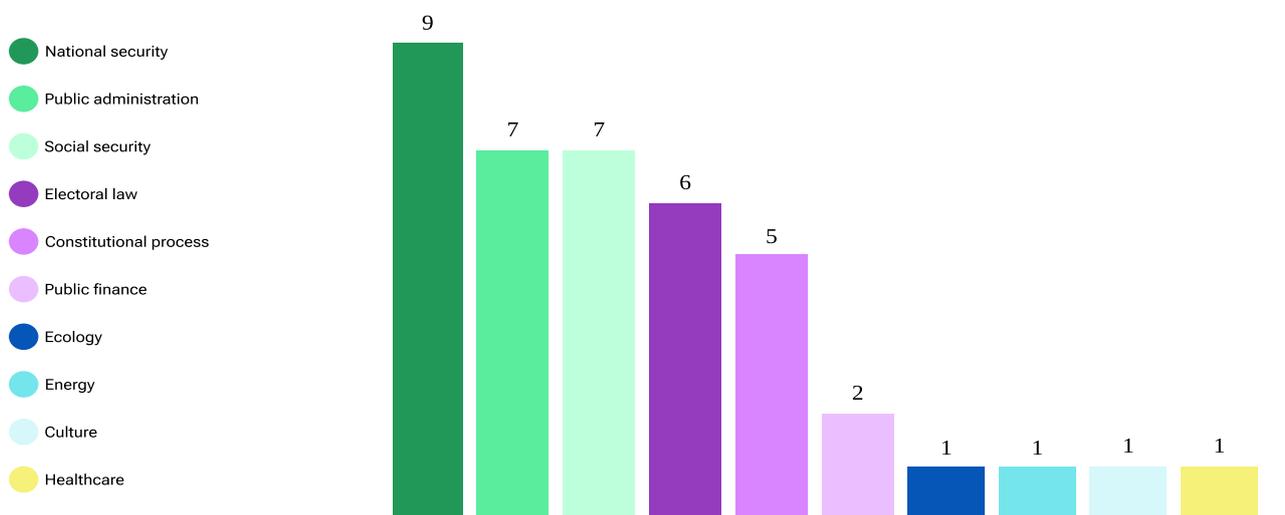
<sup>68</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 683-IX, adopted on 5 June 2020, “On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Protection of Investors’ Rights”.

<sup>69</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 683-IX, adopted on 5 June 2020, “On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Protection of Investors’ Rights”.

However, the largest number of temporary ad hoc commissions – seven out of ten – were established by the Verkhovna Rada after the beginning of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022. The first such commission was established to develop draft laws implementing international humanitarian and international criminal law into Ukrainian legislation<sup>70</sup>. Subsequently, the Rada also established ad hoc commissions to monitor the use of international humanitarian aid<sup>71</sup>, and after Russia launched massive attacks on Ukrainian energy infrastructure, an ad hoc commission to study the state of implementation of measures to protect Ukrainian energy facilities and prepare relevant proposals<sup>72</sup>. The scope of other temporary commissions includes the development of legislation on the protection of veterans of the Russo-Ukrainian war and internally displaced persons.

Overall, if we analyse all convocations, the majority of temporary ad hoc commissions were related to national security, primarily the protection of Ukrainian territories and the support of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. The second most important area for the Verkhovna Rada was public administration. This category includes temporary ad hoc commissions established to develop legislation to implement reforms. For example, in the third convocation, a commission worked on finalising the Civil and Commercial Codes of Ukraine and legislation on political, legal, and administrative reforms. In subsequent convocations, these were ad hoc commissions on reforming the Security Service of Ukraine and preparing the concept of judicial and legal reform (both in the sixth convocation). Social welfare issues ranked third: control over payments to privileged populations, protection of veterans and internally displaced persons (during the ninth convocation), etc. The Verkhovna Rada established six commissions to draft laws amending the Constitution of Ukraine and five more to monitor the observance of citizens’ voting rights during national or local elections.

Chart 3. Temporary ad hoc commissions of the Verkhovna Rada by areas of work



<sup>70</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 2351-IX, adopted on 1 July 2022, “On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc 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”.

<sup>71</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 2424-IX, adopted on 19 July 2022, “On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Monitoring the Receipt and Use of International Material and Technical Assistance during Martial Law”.

<sup>72</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 2478-IX, adopted on 29 July 2022, “On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Preliminary Consideration of Issues That Could Lead to a Crisis in the Energy Market of Ukraine Before and During the Armed Aggression of the Russian Federation Against Ukraine”.

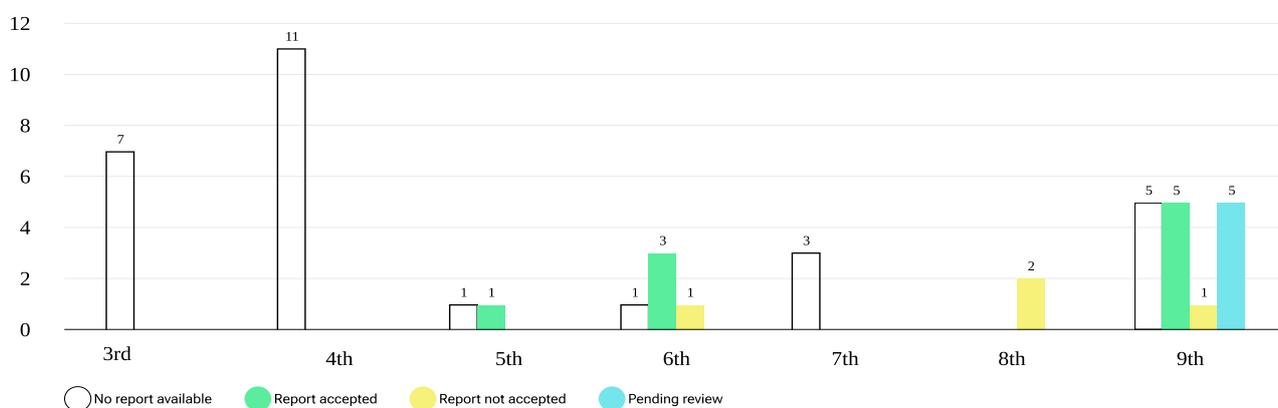
## Reporting of ad hoc committees

The main result of the temporary ad hoc commission's work is its written report. It is registered in the Verkhovna Rada by a relevant resolution, which the parliament must hear and adopt. The temporary ad hoc commission's report contains a detailed list of measures taken during its activity and results, including information collected, draft and adopted draft laws, etc.

A report is a mandatory document through which both Parliament and the public can assess the effectiveness of an ad hoc commission's work. The Verkhovna Rada should hear this report as soon as possible at its next plenary session. However, although these requirements are stipulated in Ukrainian legislation, violations are quite common in practice: out of 40 temporary ad hoc commissions that operated from the third to the ninth convocations, we found only 18 reports. At the same time, several reports could belong to the same temporary ad hoc commission. Therefore, during this entire period, 13 temporary ad hoc commissions registered their reports with the Verkhovna Rada. Only seven of them adopted at least one report.

For example, draft resolutions on the reports of temporary ad hoc commissions in the third, fourth and seventh convocations were neither registered nor published on the Verkhovna Rada's website. Although the absence of reports on the Verkhovna Rada's website significantly complicates the analysis of the effectiveness of temporary ad hoc commissions, this does not mean that MPs did not prepare such reports at all. For example, the report of the previously mentioned committee on Tuzla was never published, but it did develop recommendations for the authorities, and these results were highlighted in the media. In addition, some reports may not have been registered for political reasons, for example, because the Verkhovna Rada did not prioritise them (as we mentioned earlier, they should be considered a matter of priority). Lastly, some commissions did not register the report due to inefficient work and lack of results.

Chart 4. Number of reports of temporary ad hoc commissions by the status of adoption<sup>73</sup>



<sup>73</sup> The number of reports is higher than the number of temporary ad hoc commissions, as one ad hoc commission could submit more than one report based on its work results.

Thus, the Verkhovna Rada of the fifth convocation had two temporary ad hoc commissions, the report of one of which was registered and adopted by the Verkhovna Rada. This temporary ad hoc commission was established to investigate facts of abuse of power by senior officials and authorities in decision-making. The Commission has to monitor the acts of the President of Ukraine and the Cabinet of Ministers for such violations and inform the Rada about the results. Based on the results of this work, the commission submitted a preliminary report, which the Verkhovna Rada heard and adopted<sup>74</sup>. This document's structure differs from the others, as it contains only a list of acts of the President of Ukraine that were adopted without observing the norms of the Constitution. In the text of the resolution itself, the Verkhovna Rada recommended that the President revoke such acts.

During the sixth convocation, the situation was already better: the Verkhovna Rada heard and adopted three out of five reports of the temporary ad hoc commissions. During the eighth convocation, two ad hoc commissions compiled and submitted reports, but the Verkhovna Rada did not approve any of them. It was the previously mentioned commission on future and the commission that the Rada established to verify the facts of possible violations during the repeat voting in mayoral elections in Kryvyi Rih in November 2015 (we recall that the victory of Yuriy Vilkul caused protests among the citizens)<sup>75</sup>.

Most of the reports (five) were submitted (and adopted by the Verkhovna Rada) by the temporary ad hoc commissions of the current convocation. At the same time, as of the end of March, six more commission reports were pending consideration by the Parliament. Only one ad hoc commission has not registered any reports during its activity. This was a temporary commission tasked by the Verkhovna Rada to study and improve the interaction of the standing committees regarding countering threats to Ukraine's national interests during the de-occupation of the territories occupied by Russia<sup>76</sup>.

Instead, five ad hoc commissions submitted their reports. Unlike reports of the previous convocations, the reports of the ad hoc commissions of the ninth convocation are quite detailed and structured. After analysing them, we can try to get an impression of the effectiveness of these bodies. For example, one of the most effective was the Commission on Investor Rights Protection (in fact, the Verkhovna Rada establishes this commission anew every year after its one-year term of office expires). As of the end of March, this ad hoc commission submitted six reports on the results of its activities: one was not adopted by the Rada, two were adopted, and three are pending. According to these reports, the ad hoc commission has developed nine draft laws. In addition, the commission cooperated directly with investors and resolved their appeals. The two adopted reports refer to con-

<sup>74</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 1196-V, adopted on 19 June 2007, "On the Preliminary Report of the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to Study the Issues of Analysing the State of Compliance with the Constitution and Laws of Ukraine in the Law-Making and Law Enforcement Activities of State Bodies, Officials, and Other Subjects of Power".

<sup>75</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 849-VIII, adopted on 26 November 2015, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Verification of Violations During the Repeat Voting in the Elections of Kryvyi Rih Mayor on 15 November 2015".

<sup>76</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada No. 211-IX, adopted on 17 October 2019, "On Establishing the Temporary Ad Hoc Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for Developing and Implementing the State Policy on Restoring Territorial Integrity and Ensuring the Sovereignty of Ukraine".

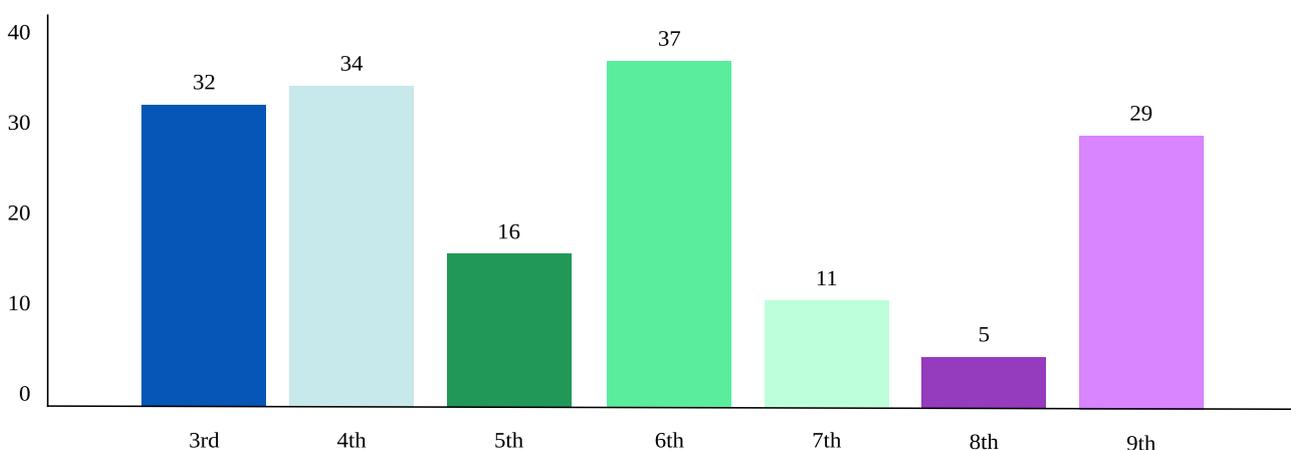
sidering 23 such appeals, of which ten were fully resolved and the rest are under consideration. In total, investors filed more than 60 appeals to the Commission.

Although the Verkhovna Rada has established temporary ad hoc commissions on a wide range of issues, the lack of reports makes it difficult to assess the effectiveness of those who worked in previous convocations. Reports were not registered for several reasons, including a lack of time for their consideration, the ineffective work of the ad hoc commission, and, as a result, the lack of results. In most cases, they also remain unknown. The situation improved significantly during the ninth convocation, as most of the ad hoc committees drafted and registered their reports on the results of their activities, and the Verkhovna Rada heard and adopted them. Among the positive changes, it is noteworthy that these documents indeed contain detailed information about the commission's work and its results – a list of registered and adopted draft laws, recommendations to the authorities, etc.

## 3.2. Temporary investigative commission

During the third to ninth convocations of the Verkhovna Rada, MPs resorted to parliamentary inquiries quite often. During all this time, 164 temporary investigative commissions have operated in the Rada<sup>77</sup>. For example, during the third convocation, the Verkhovna Rada established 32 investigative commissions whose work covered a wide range of issues, primarily focusing on controlling budget expenditures, corruption offences, privatisation, elections, etc. The Verkhovna Rada established the most investigative commissions during the sixth convocation (37) and the least during the seventh convocation (six). Since the beginning of the current convocation, the Verkhovna Rada has set up 29 temporary investigative commissions.

Chart 5. Number of temporary investigative commissions of the Verkhovna Rada by convocation



<sup>77</sup> Annex 4 provides an exhaustive list of temporary investigative commissions that worked in the Verkhovna Rada from the third to the ninth convocation.

MPs often point out that temporary investigative commissions are a tool of the opposition that gives them the power to control the government's actions: inspecting budget expenditures, conducting an independent parliamentary inquiry if the official investigation is stalled, etc. However, we checked the affiliation of the initiators and chairs of temporary investigative commissions with the coalition and the opposition<sup>78</sup> and found that most of them were members of the coalition. For example, coalition MPs initiated temporary investigative commissions in 91 cases. In comparison, opposition MPs initiated investigative commissions in 59 cases (we did not determine the affiliation of the remaining initiators due to the lack of results from roll-call votes during that period). Similarly, 86 temporary investigative commissions were chaired by coalition MPs, while opposition MPs chaired 49 temporary investigative commissions. Annexes 3 and 4 provide the full list of initiators and chairs of temporary ad hoc and temporary investigative commissions, including their affiliation with the coalition or the opposition.

The reasons for their establishment are quite different: it can be a high-profile criminal case, a case of corruption or embezzlement, or other violations of the law. MPs often establish temporary investigative commissions because the official authorities do not pay enough attention to a particular case, and the official investigation does not work effectively. In this case, MPs can conduct their own inquiry. To do this, they have the authority to summon and interrogate witnesses, seize any documents or copies of documents necessary for the inquiry, obtain explanations from representatives of the authorities, etc. Moreover, since MPs have immunity (meaning they cannot be prosecuted for their words and actions within the scope of their professional activities), they have more leeway for public disclosure if a case is not investigated properly.

“ In all cases, the unifying factor was that law enforcement agencies did not respond sufficiently to the signals sent by the public, to facts in the case that should have been investigated, but, in the opinion of experts, MPs and the public, were not properly investigated. These cases either received no attention or were ignored. ”

MP of the previous convocation

The Verkhovna Rada established the most temporary investigative commissions (25) to investigate corruption crimes, including high-profile cases of bribery and forgery, state property mismanagement, and budget funds misappropriation. For example, during the third convocation, the Rada created a temporary investigative commission to check how Kyiv officials spend state and local budget funds on road repairs and reconstruction, the legality of tax privileges, and the introduction of local

<sup>78</sup> It should be noted that there is still no law on opposition in Ukraine, and the determination of whether an MP is a member of the coalition or the opposition was based on coalition agreements that were in force during the years of the temporary investigative commissions operated. If no coalition agreements were in effect during those years, we determined the MPs' affiliation with the coalition or the opposition according to how they voted for the government: if they voted in favour, they were classified as members of the coalition, and if they voted against or abstained, they were classified as members of the opposition. In addition, sometimes, in the early convocations (before the sixth convocation), the roll-call voting results were unavailable, making it impossible to determine the MP's affiliation.

taxes and fees<sup>79</sup>. The Rada has also created investigative commissions to investigate facts of bribery among MPs (such commissions operated, for example, during the third<sup>80</sup> and fifth<sup>81</sup> convocations). The Rada of the current convocation established seven temporary investigative commissions to investigate corruption-related cases. One of the most well-known examples, which was also widely publicised by the media, is the fact that the investigative commission was supposed to investigate facts of embezzlement and mismanagement at Ukrzaliznytsia.<sup>82</sup> At the conclusion of its work, the commission prepared two reports (both adopted by the Verkhovna Rada), in which it analysed the company's operational and financial results in detail, provided the Cabinet of Ministers with recommendations for the company's reformation, and recommended that the investigation materials on certain officials at Ukrzaliznytsia be transferred to law enforcement agencies.

The next major category of cases investigated by MPs is crimes against public figures: activists, journalists, MPs, etc. In total, the Verkhovna Rada of the third to ninth convocations established 22 temporary investigative commissions to investigate these cases.

For example, the third convocation of the Verkhovna Rada had an investigative commission into one of the most high-profile cases in the history of independent Ukraine – the murder of Georgii Gongadze. In total, three investigative commissions into this case operated in the Verkhovna Rada – during the third<sup>83</sup>, fourth<sup>84</sup> and fifth<sup>85</sup> convocations. Certain investigative commissions were also established to investigate the so-called cassette scandal<sup>86</sup> (in the fourth convocation) and the abuse of power by law enforcement officers during the “Ukraine without Kuchma” protest on 9 March 2001. Another high-profile case for the investigation of which the Verkhovna Rada established temporary investigative commissions during the fourth<sup>87</sup> and sixth<sup>88</sup> convocations was the attempted poisoning of Viktor Yushchenko, a candidate for President at the time. In recent years, the most high-profile

<sup>79</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 30-XIV, adopted on 29 June 1998, “On Establishing the Temporary Investigative Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to Study the Legality of the Use of Budgetary Funds in Kyiv in 1996–1998”.

<sup>80</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 35-XIV, adopted on 10 July 1998, “On the Composition of the Temporary Investigative Commission to Verify Allegations of Bribery During Voting for Candidates for the Post of Chair of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine”.

<sup>81</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 29-V, adopted on 25 July 2006, “On Establishing the Temporary Investigative Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Investigation of Allegations of Bribery of Members of Parliament of Ukraine”.

<sup>82</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 1141-IX, adopted on 27 January 2021, “On Establishing the Temporary Investigative Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Inspection and Assessment of the State of the Joint-Stock Company Ukrainian Railways, Investigation of Facts of Possible Inaction, Violation of the Legislation of Ukraine by Management Bodies of the Said Enterprise, which Led to a Significant Deterioration in the Technical Conditions of the Enterprise and Key Production Indicators”.

<sup>83</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 1959-III, adopted on 21 September 2000, “On the Status of the Criminal Investigation into the Disappearance of Journalist G. Gongadze, public figure M. Boychyshyn, murders of MPs of Ukraine Y. Shcherban and V. Hetman and attempts to kill MP of Ukraine V. Bortnyk, attacks on MPs of Ukraine O. Yeliashkevych, V. Khara, the abduction of the son of MP of Ukraine V. Alyokhin and the deaths of MPs of Ukraine V. Boyko, M. Miaskovskyi, S. Drahomaretskyi” .

<sup>84</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 84-IV, adopted on 11 July 2002, “On the Investigation into the Circumstances of the Murders of Journalists Georgii Gongadze and Ihor Aleksandrov, the Assassination Attempt on the Life of MP of Ukraine Oleksandr Yeliashkevych and Facts of Violations of the Constitution and Laws of Ukraine by State Officials”.

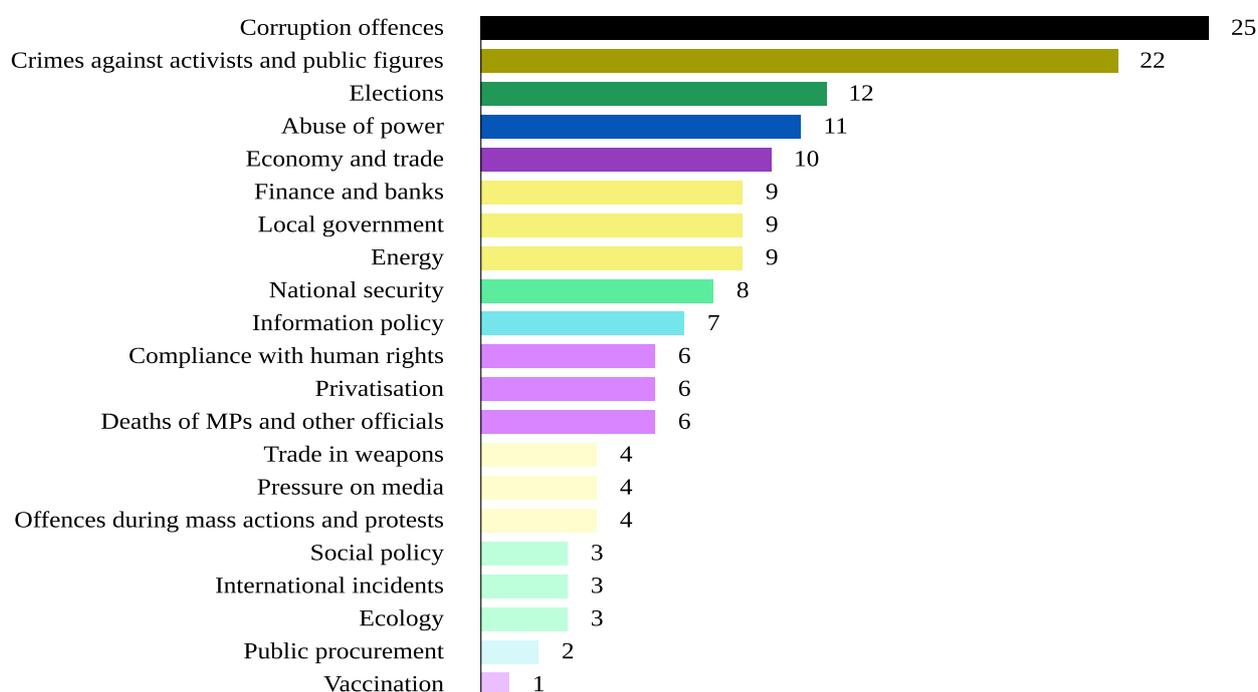
<sup>85</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 177-V, adopted on 21 September 2006, “On Establishing the Temporary Investigative Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Investigation into the Circumstances and Causes of the Death of Journalist G. Gongadze and Finding Out the Reasons for the Delay in the Investigation of the Criminal Case” .

<sup>86</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 2950-IV, adopted on 6 October 2005, “On Establishing the Temporary Investigative Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Investigation into the Circumstances of the Organisation of the Cassette Scandal and its Impact on the National Security of Ukraine”.

crime against public figures was the contract killing of Kherson activist Kateryna Handziuk. In July 2018, an attacker doused Handziuk with acid, as a result of which the activist died in hospital a few months later. For the parliamentary inquiry into this case, the Verkhovna Rada established temporary investigative commissions twice – during the eighth<sup>89</sup> and ninth<sup>90</sup> convocations.

The Verkhovna Rada also established 12 temporary investigative commissions to investigate abuses during elections (national and local) and 10 temporary investigative commissions to investigate issues related to the economy and trade. Chart 5 shows the breakdown of the Verkhovna Rada’s temporary investigative commissions by area of inquiry.

Chart 6. Temporary investigative commissions of the Verkhovna Rada by areas of inquiries



Within the framework of a parliamentary inquiry, the Verkhovna Rada assigned the temporary investigative commissions a wide range of tasks: analysing and studying a particular situation, verifying facts of illegal actions or activities of the authorities, and processing complaints. For example, the Temporary Investigative Commission into the attacks on Kateryna Handziuk had to check the

<sup>87</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 2016-IV, adopted on 21 September 2004, “On the Temporary Investigative Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine into the Circumstances of the Poisoning of the Candidate for the Post of President of Ukraine, MP of Ukraine Viktor Andriiovych Yushchenko”.

<sup>88</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 1206-VI, adopted on 31 March 2009, “On Establishing the Temporary Investigative Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Investigation of Circumstances of the Poisoning of the Candidate for the Post of President of Ukraine, Viktor Andriiovych Yushchenko, and the Clarification of Reasons and Identification of Persons Responsible for the Delay in the Investigation of the Criminal Case and the Transfer of Materials to the Court”.

<sup>89</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 2605-VIII, adopted on 6 November 2018, “On Establishing the Temporary Investigative Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to Investigate Information on the Attacks on Kateryna Handziuk and Other Civic Activists”.

<sup>90</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 366-IX, adopted on 12 December 2019, “On Establishing the Temporary Investigative Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to Exercise Parliamentary Control Over Investigations into the Attacks on Kateryna Handziuk and Other Civic Activists in 2017–2018”.

progress of law enforcement investigations into this crime, as well as facts of attacks on other civil society activists, collect relevant information and explanations from all those involved, authorities and local self-government bodies, and initiate prosecution of the guilty persons.

In cases regarding corruption offences, temporary investigative commissions were tasked with examining the circumstances of the offence and making recommendations to the authorities. Thus, during the ninth convocation, the Verkhovna Rada created an investigative commission to investigate corruption in state-owned enterprises and institutions subordinated to the National Academy of Agrarian Sciences<sup>91</sup>. The commission’s tasks included investigating possible abuse by the academy’s management, checking the facts of illegal land use, and investigating how efficiently the academy spent state budget funds in general.

Temporary investigative commissions prepare their work results as a written report, which the Verkhovna Rada must hear out of turn at the next plenary session. However, although such a requirement is stipulated in the law, in practice, only a minority of reports of the temporary investigative commissions are approved by the Verkhovna Rada. Thus, out of 164 temporary investigative commissions that operated in the Verkhovna Rada from the third to the ninth convocation, at least one report was approved in 55 cases, or only one-third of the commissions. In other cases, the report was either not accepted (in 33 cases) or not registered at all (and such cases are the most numerous – 66). In addition, 10 temporary investigative commissions prepared reports for the current convocation, but they are still pending consideration by the Verkhovna Rada.

Chart 7. Number of reports of temporary investigative commissions by the status of adoption



<sup>91</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 2789-IX, adopted on 1 December 2022, “On Establishing the Temporary Investigation Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Investigation into Facts of Corruption at State Enterprises, Institutions and Organisations of the National Academy of Agrarian Sciences of Ukraine”.

The absence of reports of the temporary investigative commissions or their non-approval by the Verkhovna Rada is a negative trend, as such a report is the main indicator of the effectiveness of the work of the temporary investigative commissions. In it, the investigative commission sets out facts it found during the parliamentary inquiry and its recommendations or instructions to the authorities. The majority of resolutions on the adoption of reports of temporary investigative commissions state that the report with the results of the parliamentary inquiry should be sent to judicial bodies and law enforcement agencies for review after adoption. In the most high-profile cases, the report is also sent to the President of Ukraine.

“ The [temporary investigative] commission developed something that the law enforcement agencies were forced to take into account. This was the foundation that made it possible to find and prosecute those persons and show the public that at least at the stage of commission of this crime, these persons were found and held accountable. ”

MP of the previous convocation

It is important to note that recommendations to the authorities, law enforcement, and judicial authorities outlined in the report of the temporary investigative commission are binding. In particular, law enforcement agencies are required to review facts established by the temporary investigative commission within the framework of the official investigation and assess them through procedural processing. Law enforcement agencies should process this information and, if necessary, conduct additional examinations, search for property, persons involved in the parliamentary inquiry, etc.

“ First, it (the report – ed.) is needed to show the result of the work of the commission, which was authorised by the parliament to find the truth in a particular issue. And the assessment of this report is the measure of how well this commission worked. If there is nothing there, just recommendations to “take into account,” and that’s it; it means they worked in vain for their own interests and used the committee’s mechanisms to the minimum. But if the report is accepted, and within the report it is directed to a specific body, and moreover, it draws the attention of the investigative body to certain facts, then Parliament is the highest representative body, and the investigative body will react whether it wants to or not, it has to respond. ”

MP of the previous convocation

However, according to MPs, even when the temporary investigative commission presented specific conclusions and recommendations and its report was approved, law enforcement agencies ignored the parliamentary inquiry or implemented the instructions and recommendations only formally. This, in turn, undermines MPs' work and reduces the effectiveness of investigations into high-profile cases in general. At the same time, effective tools to monitor the implementation of such recommendations and instructions are lacking, so the only way the parliament can force law enforcement officials to comply with them is through political and reputational pressure.

“ In some investigations, I can say that as soon as the temporary investigative commission ceased to work, as soon as we issued our conclusion – another big disadvantage of this instrument now – as soon as this control and pressure ceased, these (law enforcement agencies – ed.) immediately relaxed. In fact, there were many cases where investigations were ongoing, and when people from parliament who were overseeing the implementation of these instructions left, they (cases – ed.) simply vanished.

”

MP of the previous convocation

To remedy this situation, MPs believe that legislation should provide for certain post-implementation control over the execution of instructions of temporary investigative commissions. It can be carried out, for example, through mandatory reports by law enforcement and other authorities at MPs' requests or the submission of such reports within a certain period of time, regardless of whether the term of the current convocation has ended or is continuing.

In a number of cases, investigative commissions can be an effective tool of parliamentary control. Due to them, MPs have the opportunity to conduct their own independent study of the problem, make conclusions and draw the investigation's attention to facts that have not been properly investigated. Moreover, since an MP has indemnity, i.e. is not responsible for his or her decisions and statements during his or her professional activities, a temporary investigative commission can serve as an additional platform for discussing a particular high-profile problem and for its additional exposure and updating.

At the same time, according to MPs who participated in the interviews, a negative trend is the fact that there are no reports of temporary investigative commissions or their non-approval by the Verkhovna Rada, as the public, on the one hand, cannot fully assess the effectiveness of the work of investigative commissions, and the official investigation and authorities do not receive information or recommendations on further investigation.

## 3.3. Temporary commissions in the Verkhovna Rada: problems

The idea of parliamentary temporary commissions is primarily to expand the powers of MPs and provide them with an additional platform for discussing and resolving issues that are of the greatest concern to the public and which, for various reasons, cannot be directed to the standing committees of the Verkhovna Rada. Although all convocations (except for the 8th) actively used such structures, their effectiveness until the last convocation was rather low: among the temporary ad hoc commissions, only 13 registered at least one report on the results of their work (of which the Rada adopted at least one in eight cases), and among the temporary investigative commissions, 88 out of 164 registered reports, and at least one report was adopted by the Rada in 55 cases.

Although the absence of reports does not always mean that the temporary commission's work is ineffective (for example, the media could have reported on the results of those who dealt with the most high-profile issues), this situation makes it much more difficult and sometimes impossible to analyse the effectiveness of temporary commissions. By the way, the Verkhovna Rada noted this fact. During the fourth convocation, MPs adopted a resolution aimed at streamlining the activities of temporary ad hoc commissions and temporary investigative commissions<sup>92</sup>. The resolution stated, in particular, that over the course of eight sessions, the Rada had established 42 temporary ad hoc commissions and temporary investigative commissions, of which only 11 "completed a certain amount of work on issues for the examination and investigation of which they were created." These commissions submitted their proposals to the Verkhovna Rada or developed regulatory acts. However, it was noted that nearly 30 chairs of such commissions did not inform the Rada about their activities throughout their operation and did not provide any proposals regarding the issues for which they were established. The resolution also stated that the Rada must soon hear the information (reports) of eight more temporary commissions, and the work of 12 commissions was suspended. This resolution already cited the reasons for the failure of most temporary commissions, including a lack of material and technical support, the absence of legislation governing the activities of such commissions, and the unwillingness of authorities' representatives to cooperate with MPs and provide them with information.

This resolution is the only one of all the convocations analysed where MPs analysed the success of the work of temporary commissions and drew attention to problems. However, it shows that the ineffectiveness of most of them was noticeable and worried MPs even then.

<sup>92</sup> Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 3101-IV, adopted on 17 November 2005, "On Measures Regarding the Regulation of the Activities of Temporary Ad Hoc Commissions and Temporary Investigative Commissions the Verkhovna Rada".

Although additional powers of temporary commissions were introduced in the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada in 2006, the problems have not disappeared. The situation with reports has partially improved in the current convocation, as most temporary commissions at least register them with the Verkhovna Rada.

However, the main stakeholders – MPs with whom we conducted interviews – even in 2023 note that problems remain the same: imperfect legislation (in particular, lack of powers for temporary commissions of inquiry), poor material and technical support, and cooperation with the authorities.

Thus, according to MPs, the law on temporary ad hoc commissions and investigative commissions adopted in 2019 is fragmented and does not grant MPs sufficient powers within the framework of a parliamentary inquiry. For example, at present, MPs in temporary investigative commissions cannot procedurally formalise the evidence and information they have received. Such a right is appropriate in cases where public disclosure of certain facts may harm the investigation (for example, a criminal may learn that he or she is a suspect and take the opportunity to flee the country), and keeping these facts secret will lead to the fact that law enforcement agencies if it is not to their advantage, will not include them in the official investigation. Instead, the possibility of procedural registration of evidence would guarantee that such information would still be attached to the investigation materials and used in court. Currently, such procedural formalisation can only occur after the report of the temporary investigative commission has been approved if the Rada decides to send it to law enforcement and investigative agencies (which almost always happens in high-profile cases). Although the argument against granting MPs this right may be based on the Constitution's provision that temporary investigative commissions cannot replace the investigation, MPs noted that this possibility could be provided by allowing the involvement of a special prosecutor who would deal with the procedural processing of evidence at the request of MPs.

Another problem faced by MPs who are members of temporary investigative commissions is the unwillingness of the authorities, including law enforcement agencies, to cooperate. Although the specialised law obliges officials to respond to requests from parliamentary investigative commissions and to attend their meetings when necessary and provides for liability for failure to do so, in practice, they may not provide information in full or may do so only superficially, limiting themselves to mere formalities. Some MPs believe that the penalty for refusing to cooperate with temporary parliamentary commissions should be stated in the Criminal Code of Ukraine to remedy this.

In addition, MPs of the previous convocation also drew attention to the problem of material and technical support for temporary investigative commissions and temporary ad hoc commissions, primarily the lack of staff in the relevant unit.

“ This is a matter of expert support and technical support for temporary investigative commissions. When we worked in the temporary investigative commission, the unit that was responsible for supporting temporary investigative commissions in the Verkhovna Rada was super limited, first in terms of the number of people and specialists. It was super busy because we were not the only temporary investigative commission. Therefore, if I, for example, hadn't had my own resources, hadn't involved my skilled lawyer's assistants, and hadn't received help from human rights organisations, we wouldn't have achieved the desired outcome, particularly regarding technical support. Therefore, this issue should be the key and main focus in terms of efficiency. ”

MP of the previous convocation

MPs also pointed out that although, by law, the reports of temporary commissions in the Verkhovna Rada should be considered first at a regular plenary session, this rule is sometimes violated, and the reports may not be put to a vote. A possible problem with the approval of reports may also be a lack of votes, as the decision to create a temporary commission requires 150 votes of MPs, and the approval of the report requires 226, and it may not always be possible to find them. In addition, MPs may themselves not give high priority to the results of the temporary commissions' work, sacrificing them to consider more important (in their opinion) issues.

In turn, according to MPs, reports do not always provide a sufficient understanding of the results of the temporary commissions' work. Since the law does not specify any uniform requirements for drafting this document, temporary commissions draw it up at their own discretion rather than according to a certain established structure. This can lead to fragmented information in the reports, and the drafting and registration of this document is carried out only formally.

In conclusion, MPs noted that the parliament currently lacks tools to monitor the authorities' compliance with the recommendations of temporary ad hoc commissions and investigative commissions since, under current law, the powers of temporary commissions end with the submission and approval of a report. Although their recommendations are de facto binding, it is impossible to verify whether they have been accurately and fully implemented. Parliament can partially prevent the failure to implement recommendations by publicising certain cases, i.e. by exerting reputational and political pressure. This is especially true for temporary investigative commissions in cases where

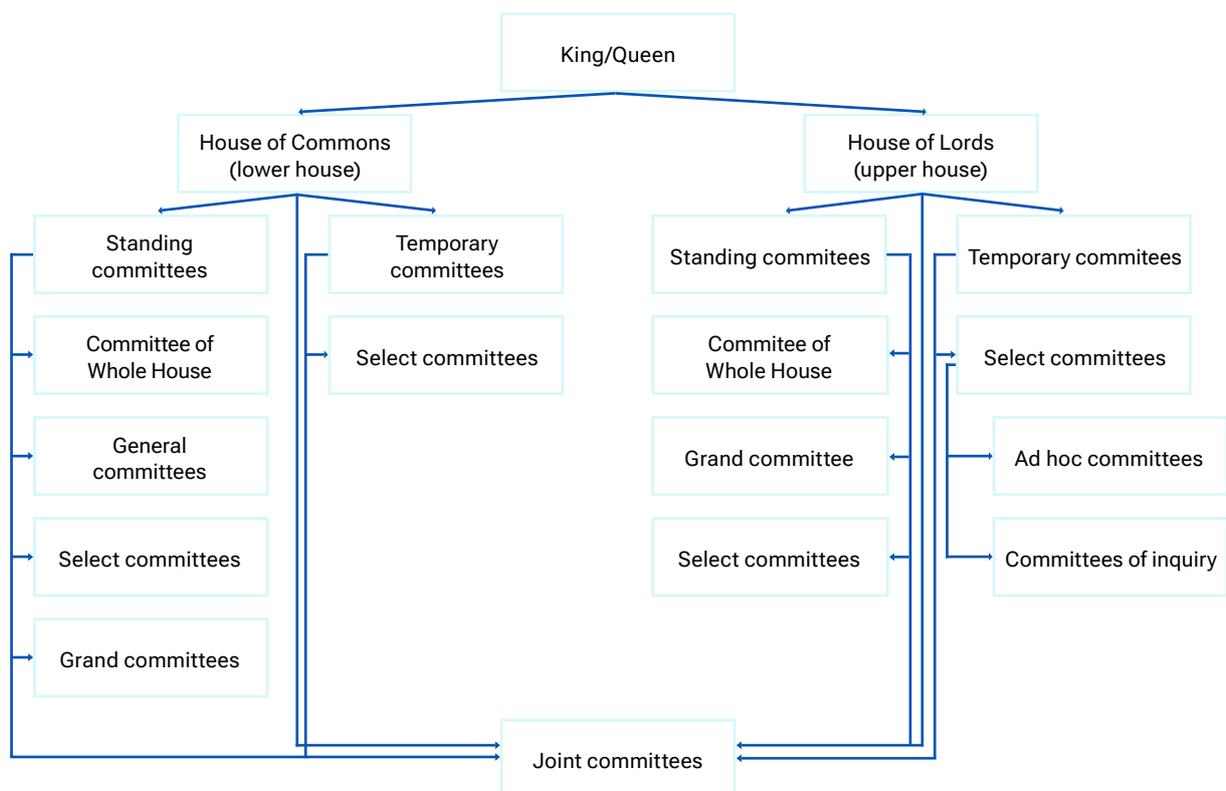
law enforcement agencies take into account the instructions and recommendations of MPs only formally but do not take any specific actions (in this case, law enforcement agencies may hide behind the rule that such recommendations are not binding, and the temporary investigative commission cannot take over the powers of the official investigation). This, in turn, leads to the fact that even the specific developments of the commission, stated in the report on the results of its activities, are nullified by ignoring them by other authorities that should implement these recommendations.

# Annexes

## Annex 1. Examples of committee systems in parliaments around the world (by form of work)<sup>93</sup>

### 1.1. Examples of committee systems in bicameral parliaments

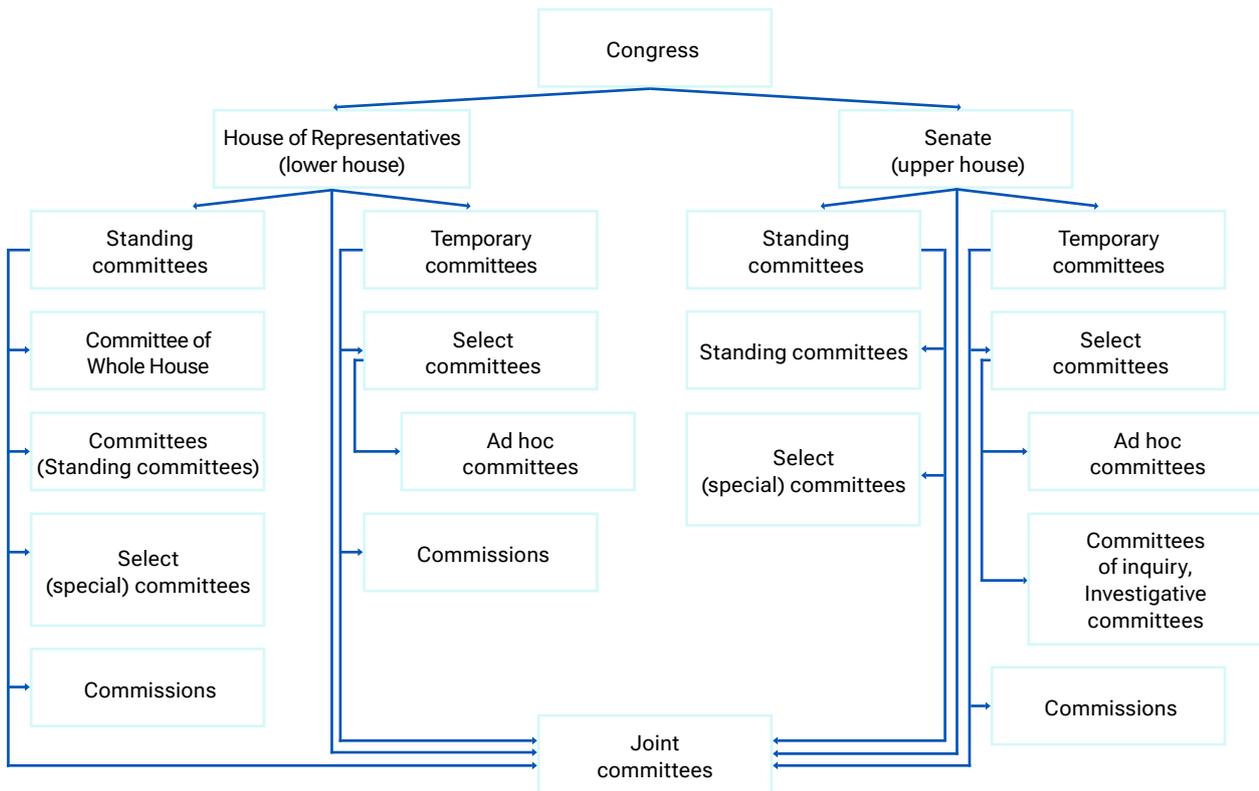
#### The United Kingdom<sup>94</sup>



<sup>93</sup> Data aggregated by the author based on information from parliamentary websites.

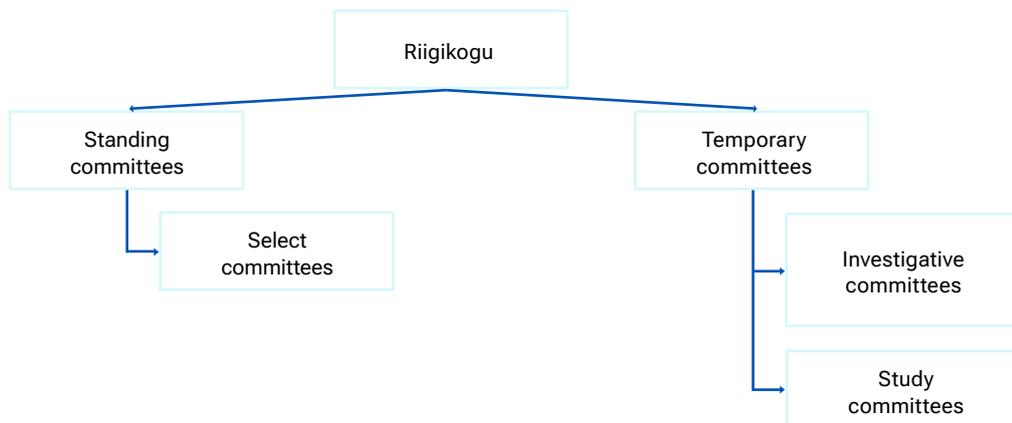
<sup>94</sup> Committees of the UK Parliament.

## USA<sup>95</sup>



## 1.2. Examples of committee systems in unicameral parliaments

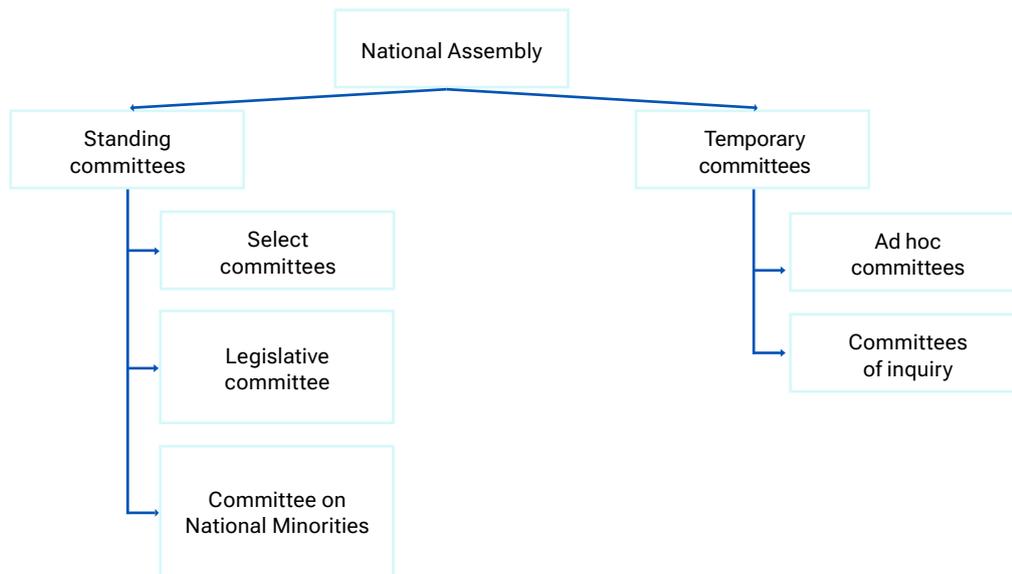
### Estonia<sup>96</sup>



<sup>95</sup> Committees in the US Congress.

<sup>96</sup> How can Parliamentary Committees be made more effective?

## Hungary<sup>97</sup>



# Annex 2. Regulation of temporary ad hoc and temporary investigative committees in parliaments of different countries

Country	Parliament (Chamber of Parliament)	Name of the temporary parliamentary bodies	Powers
<b>Bicameral parliaments</b>			
<b>Belgium</b>	Chamber of Representatives (lower house)	Temporary	<p>Regulation: Rules of Procedure of the Chamber of Representatives<sup>98</sup>.</p> <p>Establishment: Temporary committees may be established by the Chamber of Representatives or the President of the Chamber of Representatives to consider specific governmental or parliamentary draft laws.</p>

<sup>97</sup> Parliamentary committees in the National Assembly of Hungary.

<sup>98</sup> Rules of Procedure of the Chamber of Representatives of the Belgian Parliament.

Country	Parliament (Chamber of Parliament)	Name of the temporary parlia- mentary bodies	Powers
<b>Bicameral parliaments</b>			
<b>Belgium</b>	Chamber of Rep- resentatives (lower house)	Temporary	Rights and powers: not specified in the Rules of Procedure.  Accountability: The temporary committee must submit a report on the results of its work on the draft laws submitted to it.
		Investigative Committees	Regulation: Constitution of Belgium <sup>99</sup> , Rules of Procedure of the Chamber of Representatives, Law on Parliamentary Inquiries.  Establishment: The Chamber of Representatives has the right to conduct an investigation as a whole or to convene a temporary investigative commission.  Powers: the temporary investigative commission has the same powers as the investigation bodies. In particular, the right to summon officials and individuals to testify and the right to request documents. Unreasonable refusal to testify or giving false testimony may be punishable by a fine or even imprisonment.
<b>Belgium</b>	Chamber of Rep- resentatives (lower house)	Investigative Committees	Accountability: The investigative committee must draw up a written report on the results of its work. Although such a report is not legally binding, it carries significant political weight.
	Senate (upper house)	Ad Hoc Committees	Regulation: Rules of Procedure of the Senate <sup>100</sup> .  Establishment: The Senate may establish an ad hoc committee on any particular issue.
		Investigative Committees	Regulation: Constitution of Belgium, Rules of Procedure of the Senate, Law on Parliamentary Inquiries.

<sup>99</sup> Constitution of Belgium.

<sup>100</sup> Rules of Procedure of the Senate of Belgium.

Country	Parliament (Chamber of Parliament)	Name of the temporary parlia- mentary bodies	Powers
<b>Bicameral parliaments</b>			
<b>Italy</b>	Chamber of Deputies (lower house)	Special Committees	<p>Regulation: Rules of Procedure of the Chamber of Deputies<sup>101</sup>.</p> <p>Establishment: The Chamber of Deputies may establish a special committee on any issue.</p> <p>Rights and powers: development of legislation and other legislative acts related to the subject matter of the committee's competence; analysis of draft laws and submission of proposals.</p> <p>Accountability: Special committees should report on their work before the Chamber of Deputies.</p>
		Committees of Inquiry	<p>Regulation: Constitution of Italy<sup>102</sup>, Rules of Procedure of the Chamber of Deputies.</p> <p>Establishment: The Chamber of Deputies may establish a committee of inquiry of the Chamber or a joint committee of inquiry, which also includes representatives of the Senate.</p> <p>Rights and powers: In Italy, committees of inquiry have the same powers as judicial bodies. Committees of inquiry may summon officials and other persons to testify, obtain documents necessary for the investigation, engage experts, etc.</p> <p>Accountability: the committee of inquiry submits a report on the results of its work to the Chamber of Deputies, but judicial bodies are not obliged to take it into account.</p>

<sup>101</sup> Rules of Procedure of the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Parliament.

<sup>102</sup> Constitution of Italy.

Country	Parliament (Chamber of Parliament)	Name of the temporary parlia- mentary bodies	Powers
<b>Bicameral parliaments</b>			
<b>Italy</b>	Senate (upper house)	Special Commit- tees	<p>Regulation: Constitution of Italy, Rules of Procedure of the Senate<sup>103</sup>.</p> <p>Establishment: The Senate may decide to convene a temporary special committee, but its composition and powers are approved by the President.</p> <p>Rights and powers: studying and analysing draft laws and introducing amendments.</p> <p>Accountability: not defined in the Rules of Procedure.</p>
		Committees of Inquiry	<p>Regulation: Constitution of Italy, Rules of Procedure of the Senate.</p> <p>Establishment: The decision to establish a committee of inquiry is made by the Senate and the President of the Senate.</p> <p>Rights and powers: In Italy, committees of inquiry have the same powers as judicial bodies. Committees of inquiry may summon officials and other persons to testify, obtain documents necessary for the investigation, engage experts, etc.</p> <p>Accountability: at the end of the investigation, the committee of inquiry must adopt and publish a report on its work.</p>

<sup>103</sup> Rules of Procedure of the Senate of Italy.

Country	Parliament (Chamber of Parliament)	Name of the temporary parlia- mentary bodies	Powers
<b>Unicameral parliaments</b>			
<b>Estonia</b>	Riigikogu	Committees of Investigation	<p>Regulation: Parliamentary Rules of Procedure<sup>104</sup>.</p> <p>Establishment: The committee of investigation is established by a resolution of the Riigikogu, which defines the composition of the committee, its functions and terms of office.</p> <p>Rights and powers: The committee is authorised to summon persons and seize documents necessary for its work. The summoned persons are obliged to appear before the committee to testify and provide all requested documents. Instead, failure to appear or refusal to provide documents is punishable by a fine.</p> <p>Accountability: The committee is obliged to submit an interim report of its work to the parliament at least once a year and a report at the end of its term.</p>
		Study Committees	<p>Regulation: Parliamentary Rules of Procedure.</p> <p>Procedure for establishment: The Riigikogu may establish such a committee to analyse a problem of significant public importance. The resolution establishing the study committee establishes the committee's composition, mandate, functions, and term of office.</p> <p>Rights and powers: Obtaining information necessary for work from the government and other authorities; summoning members of the government to committee meetings and hearing them on issues related to the committee's activities; summoning officials and other persons to committee meetings.</p>

<sup>104</sup> Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of Estonia (Riigikogu).

Country	Parliament (Chamber of Parliament)	Name of the temporary parlia- mentary bodies	Powers
<b>Unicameral parliaments</b>			
<b>Estonia</b>	Riigikogu	Study Committees	Accountability: upon completion of its work, the study committee submits a report to the parliament.
<b>Hungary</b>	National Assembly	Ad hoc committees	<p>Regulation: Law No. XXXVI of 2012<sup>105</sup>.</p> <p>Procedure for establishment: The National Assembly adopts a resolution on the establishment of the ad hoc committee, which defines its name, composition, mandate and terms of work. The ad hoc committee may include not only members of parliament but also other persons. At the same time, MPs should make up at least half of the committee's membership. In addition, when determining the quorum in such a committee, the votes of only those committee members who are MPs are taken into account.</p> <p>Rights and powers: Not defined in the law.</p> <p>Accountability: Not defined in the law.</p>
		Committees of Inquiry	<p>Regulation: Law No. XXXVI of 2012.</p> <p>Procedure for establishment: The National Assembly may establish a committee of inquiry on any issue that is of public importance. The resolution on the establishment of the committee of inquiry is adopted by one-fifth of the National Assembly.</p> <p>Rights and powers: The committee of inquiry has the right to summon officials and other persons to provide testimony and documents necessary for the investigation. The Committee may summon such persons to its meetings.</p>

<sup>105</sup> Rules of Procedure of the National Assembly of Hungary.

Country	Parliament (Chamber of Parliament)	Name of the temporary parliamentary bodies	Powers
<b>Unicameral parliaments</b>			
<b>Hungary</b>	National Assembly	Committees of Inquiry	<p>If a person fails to appear and provide testimony or documents, the committee has the right to report this to the parliament.</p> <p>Accountability: The chair of the committee of inquiry draws up a report at the end of its work. After discussion in the hall, the National Assembly can either approve or reject the report.</p>
<b>Israel</b>	Knesset	Ad Hoc Committees	<p>Regulation: Law on the Knesset<sup>106</sup>, section 2 of the Rules of Procedure<sup>107</sup>.</p> <p>Procedure for establishment: The Knesset may convene a temporary committee on a particular issue from among the current MPs.</p> <p>Rights and powers: Temporary committees have the same powers as standing committees: summoning officials and other persons to testify, obtaining documents necessary for their work, studying a particular issue and, developing relevant legislation, etc.</p> <p>Accountability: Not defined in the law.</p>
		Investigative Committees	<p>Regulation: Law on the Knesset, section 2 of the Rules of Procedure.</p> <p>Procedure for establishment: The Knesset may establish an investigative committee on the basis of a proposal by one of the MPs. The proposal must contain the composition, powers, functions of the committee and the term for which it is established.</p> <p>Rights and powers: Committees of inquiry have the same powers as standing committees.</p>

<sup>106</sup> Law on the Knesset.

<sup>107</sup> Rules of Procedure of the Israeli Parliament (Knesset).

Country	Parliament (Chamber of Parliament)	Name of the temporary parliamentary bodies	Powers
<b>Unicameral parliaments</b>			
Israel	Knesset	Investigative Committees	Accountability: At the end of its term of office, the temporary investigative committee submits a report to the Knesset on the results of its work.
Germany	Bundestag <sup>108</sup>	Ad hoc committees and joint ad hoc committees (subcommittees)	<p>Regulation: Rules of Procedure of the Bundestag<sup>109</sup>.</p> <p>Procedure for establishment: standing committees may appoint temporary subcommittees by a one-third vote.</p> <p>Subcommittee may be convened and dissolved at any time by a one-third vote of the standing committee. If an issue falls under the jurisdiction of two or more committees, those committees may establish a joint subcommittee.</p> <p>Rights and powers: committees convene subcommittees to study specific issues within the area of the committee's competence.</p> <p>Accountability: subcommittees are accountable to the standing committees.</p>
		Study commissions	<p>Regulation: Rules of Procedure of the Bundestag.</p> <p>Procedure for establishment: The Bundestag can convene temporary commissions on a wide range of issues, including those of significant public importance. To convene a commission, the support of one-quarter of MPs is required.</p> <p>Powers: studying issues which are of significant public importance.</p>

<sup>108</sup> The Bundestag (Federal Assembly) in Germany is the Parliament of Germany. It is a body that represents the interests of the people and is elected in elections. The Bundesrat represents the interests of the federal states, and its members are delegated by the parliament of each state. Although these bodies are sometimes compared to the chambers (the Bundestag is the lower chamber and the Bundesrat is the upper), the German Parliament remains unicameral. URL: [http://www.ukrexport.gov.ua/ukr/z\\_info/ger/1128.html](http://www.ukrexport.gov.ua/ukr/z_info/ger/1128.html), <https://www.bundestag.de/en/parliament/function/legislation/14legrat-245876>.

<sup>109</sup> Rules of Procedure of the Bundestag.

Country	Parliament (Chamber of Parliament)	Name of the temporary parlia- mentary bodies	Powers
Germany	Bundestag <sup>108</sup>	Study commissions	<p>The Bundestag determines the scope of the commission's powers on a case-by-case basis.</p> <p>Accountability: the study commission should submit a report at the end of the term of office of the current Bundestag or an interim report on the basis of which the Bundestag decides whether to extend the commission's term of office.</p>
		Committees of Inquiry	<p>Regulation: Art. 44 (1) of the German Constitution<sup>110</sup>, law on committees of inquiry.<sup>111</sup>.</p> <p>Procedure for establishment: The Bundestag can convene a temporary committee of inquiry by one-quarter of the votes.</p> <p>Powers: obtaining documents necessary for a parliamentary inquiry; conducting on-site inspections; summoning witnesses and other persons to testify. If a person fails to appear before the committee within the established timeframe, he or she may be fined. The committee may appoint a special investigator who is not a member of the committee but is empowered to conduct an investigation for up to six months. During this period, the special investigator must report orally or in writing to the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on his or her work.</p> <p>Accountability: The temporary committee of inquiry must submit a written report at the end of its work. Although this report is considered an official document of the Bundestag, law enforcement agencies and courts are not obliged to take into account the results of the parliamentary inquiry and pass judgement on the basis of it.</p>

<sup>110</sup> Constitution of Germany.

<sup>111</sup> Law of Germany on Temporary Committees of Inquiry.

# Annex 3. Temporary ad hoc commissions in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (the third to the ninth convocations)

Convocation	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coalition/opposition <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coalition/opposition	Report <sup>113</sup>
3	To prepare a budget resolution	22 June 1998	Ivan Chyzh	-	Pavlo Kuznietsov	-	Missing
3	On the preparation and preliminary review of the draft new version of the Civil Code of Ukraine	4 December 1998	Viktor Medvedchuk	-	Viktor Medvedchuk	-	Missing
3	On ensuring the electoral rights of Ukrainian citizens during the preparation and conduct of elections of the President of Ukraine	20 May 1999	Oleksandr Yeliaskevych	-	Oleksandr Yeliashevych	-	Missing
3	On preparation and preliminary consideration of draft laws on amending the Constitution of Ukraine following the results of the all-Ukrainian referendum on people's initiative	18 January 2001	Oleksandr Pukhkal	-	Stepan Havrysh	Coalition	Missing
3	On finalising legislative acts in the field of political, legal and administrative reform in Ukraine	8 February 2001	Roman Bezsmertnyi	-	Stepan Havrysh	Coalition	Missing

<sup>112</sup> We determine the affiliation of MPs with either the coalition or the opposition based on the fact that their faction or group has signed a coalition agreement. As the first coalition in the Verkhovna Rada was set up in 2006 (the so-called Coalition of Democratic Forces), and in the following years, coalitions could break up and be formed within the limits of one convocation (this occurred constantly from the fifth to the eighth convocation), in the periods before 2006 and when coalition agreements were not in force (in particular, from 2012 to 2014), we determined the affiliation of MPs by their votes on the formation of the government (if the vote was given in favour, the MP was a member of the coalition, if “against,” “abstained,” or “did not vote,” the MP was a member of the opposition). In those years when there was no voting for the government election or when the results of roll-call votes were not published on the Verkhovna Rada’s website (in particular, during the third convocation), it was impossible to determine whether an MP belonged to the coalition or the opposition (empty cells in the table).

<sup>113</sup> The “missing” status of the report means that we have not found the report of the respective temporary ad hoc commission or temporary investigative commission on the Verkhovna Rada’s website. Given that all registered draft documents of the Verkhovna Rada, including draft resolutions, are published on the Verkhovna Rada’s website, in the absence of such, we conclude that MPs did not register draft resolutions on the reports of these temporary commissions.

Convocation	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coalition/opposition <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coalition/opposition	Report <sup>113</sup>
3	On monitoring the payment of compensation payments to victims of Nazi persecution from the Ukrainian National Foundation for Mutual Understanding and Reconciliation	20 September 2001	Oleksandr Moroz	Coalition	-	-	Missing
4	To control the observance of the law during the repeat elections of MPs of Ukraine on 14 July 2002	4 July 2002	Yurii Orobets	Coalition	Yurii Orobets	Coalition	Missing
4	On the financial and economic justification of the sources and mechanism for restoring the savings of Ukrainian citizens	15 July 2002	Kateryna Fomenko	Coalition	Kateryna Fomenko	Coalition	Not adopted
4	To analyse the state of affairs in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the progress of their reform, to summarise the problems in this area and to prepare proposals in connection with the Day of the Government of Ukraine on 12 November 2002	26 September 2002	Oleksandr Zinchenko	-	Oleksandr Zinchenko	-	Missing
4	On preparation and preliminary consideration of agreed draft laws on the principles of domestic policy of Ukraine, on the principles of foreign policy of Ukraine and on the principles of national interests and national development strategy of Ukraine	24 October 2002	Serhii Osyka	-	Oleksandr Zinchenko	-	Missing
4	On the processing of draft laws of Ukraine on amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine	26 December 2002	Vasyl Onopenko	Opposition	Stepan Havrysh, Oleksandr Moroz	Coalition	Missing
4	On monitoring the implementation of the Recommendations of the Parliamentary Hearings "On Ukraine–NATO Relations and Cooperation" and the NATO–Ukraine Action Plan	6 February 2003	Borys Tarasiuk	Coalition	Oleg Zarubynskyi	Coalition	Not adopted
4	On the future	3 April 2003	Ihor Yukhnovskiy	Coalition	Ihor Yukhnovskiy	Coalition	Not adopted

Conva- cation	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coalition/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
4	On ensuring parliamentary control under the regime of the state border of Ukraine in the area of the Kosa Tuzla island	23 October 2003	Viacheslav Kyrylenko	Opposi- tion	Ihor Ostash	Opposi- tion	Missing
4	On HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and drug addiction	1 July 2004	Hennadii Rudenko	Coalition	Raisa Bohatyrova	Coalition	Missing
4	On monitoring the imple- mentation of legislation on the election of the Presi- dent of Ukraine	7 September 2004	Vadym Lytvyn	Coalition	Vadym Lytvyn	Coalition	Missing
4	On monitoring electoral legislation	14 February 2006	Volodymyr Lytvyn	Coalition	Heorhii Kriuchkov, Ihor Yukhnovskiy	Coalition	Missing
5	To study the issues of analysing the state of observance of the Consti- tution and laws of Ukraine in the law-making and law enforcement activities of state bodies, officials and other subjects of power	12 January 2007	Mykola Komar	Coalition	Vasyl Khara	Coalition	Adopted
5	On the processing of draft laws of Ukraine on amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine	22 February 2007	Hryhorii Iliashov	Coalition	Adam Martyniuk	Coalition	Missing
6	On monitoring the state of liquidation of the conse- quences of the natural disaster that occurred on 23–27 July 2008 in Vinnytsia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Zakarpattia, Lviv, Ternopil and Chernivtsi Oblasts	23 Septem- ber 2008	Arsenii Yatseniuk	Coalition	Oleksandr Peklushenko	Opposi- tion	Adopted
6	On the reform of the Secu- rity Service of Ukraine and its legislative support	19 March 2009	Anatolii Hrytsenko	Coalition	Oleksandr Skybinetskyi	Coalition	Adopted
6	On the preparation of the concept of judicial and legal reform	23 December 2009	Olena Shustik	Coalition	Olena Shustik	Coalition	Not adopted
6	On the Autonomous Republic of Crimea	31 May 2011	Vladyslav Zabarskyi	Coalition	Borys Deich	Coalition	Adopted

Convocation	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coalition/opposition <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coalition/opposition	Report <sup>113</sup>
6	On the preparation of the draft Law of Ukraine on the election of MPs of Ukraine	3 November 2011	Oleksandr Omelchenko	Coalition	Ruslan Kniazevych	Opposition	Missing
7	On the Autonomous Republic of Crimea	25 June 2013	Olena Netetska	Coalition	Borys Deich	Coalition	Missing
7	On the preparation of a draft law on amending the Constitution of Ukraine	4 March 2014	Oleksandr Turchynov	Opposition	Valerii Pysarenko	Coalition	Missing
7	On the preparation of a draft law on the development and use of languages in Ukraine	4 March 2014	Serhii Soboliev	Coalition	Ruslan Koshulynskyi	Coalition	Missing
8	On the future	22 April 2015	Oleksii Skrypnyk	Coalition	Oleksii Skrypnyk	Coalition	Not adopted
8	On verification of facts of violations during the repeat voting on the elections of Kryvyi Rih mayor on 15 November 2015	26 November 2015	Yurii Lutsenko	Coalition	Leonid Yemets	Coalition	Not adopted
9	On the legal status of war veterans	2 October 2019	Yana Zinkevych	Opposition	Yana Zinkevych	Opposition	Adopted
9	On the development and implementation of state policy regarding the restoration of territorial integrity and ensuring the sovereignty of Ukraine	17 October 2019	Inna Sovsun	Opposition	Serhii Rakhmanin	Opposition	Missing
9	On investor rights protection	5 June 2020	Halyna Yanchenko	Coalition	Halyna Yanchenko	Coalition	Adopted
9	On international humanitarian and international criminal law in the context of the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine	1 July 2022	Oleksandr Bakumov	Coalition	Oleksandr Bakumov	Coalition	Adopted
9	On the monitoring of the receipt and use of international material and technical assistance during martial law	19 July 2022	Rustem Umerov	Opposition	Oleksandra Ustinova	Opposition	Adopted

Convocation	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coalition/opposition <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coalition/opposition	Report <sup>113</sup>
9	On the preliminary consideration of issues that could have led to the crisis in the energy market of Ukraine before and during the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine	29 July 2022	Oleksii Kucherenko	Opposition	Oleksii Kucherenko	Opposition	Pending review
9	To prepare and comprehensively regulate the provision of social guarantees to war veterans, defenders of Ukraine, and their families, as well as to families of deceased (late) war veterans and deceased (late) defenders of Ukraine	9 August 2023	Anatolii Ostapenko	Coalition	Anatolii Ostapenko	Coalition	Pending review
9	On the legal status, social support, and medical care of war veterans, servicepersons, defenders and members of their families	9 August 2023	Yana Zinkevych	Opposition	Yana Zinkevych	Opposition	Pending review
9	On the preparation of draft basic principles of state policy of Ukraine on interaction with national movements of small and Indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation	24 August 2023	Yaroslav Yurchyshyn	Opposition	Mariia Mezentseva	Coalition	Missing
9	On the protection of property and non-property rights of internally displaced persons and other persons affected by the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine	21 December 2023	Pavlo Frolov	Coalition	Pavlo Frolov	Coalition	Missing

## Annex 4. Temporary investigative commissions in the Verkhovna Rada (the third to the ninth convocations)

Convocation	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coalition/opposition <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coalition/opposition	Report <sup>113</sup>
3	On studying the situation with the constitutional rights of Ukrainian citizens to receive salaries, scholarships, pensions and other social benefits	3 June 1998	Viacheslav Chornovil	Opposition	-	-	Missing
3	Draft Resolution on the establishment of the Temporary Investigative Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to verify the legality of the allocation and use of funds for the overhaul of the Palace of Culture "Ukraine"	12 December 1996	-	-	-	-	Missing
3	On studying the legality of the use of budgetary funds in Kyiv for the period from 1996 to 1998	29 June 1998	Orest Melnykov	Coalition	-	-	Missing
3	On verification of allegations of bribery during the voting for candidates for the post of the Chair of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine	10 July 1998	Yurii Karmazin	Coalition	-	-	Missing
3	To verify facts of violation of the rights of Ukrainian shareholders of the Mykolaivcement Open Joint Stock Company	24 July 1998	Oleksandr Hudyma	Opposition	Ihor Kviatkovskiyi	Coalition	Adopted
3	On the investigation of circumstances of the creation and operation of the Joint-Stock Company "Derzhinvest of Ukraine", the state enterprise "Finprom", and the issuance of Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 233 of 27 March 1998	15 September 1998	Ihor Kviatkovskiyi	Coalition	-	Coalition	Missing
3	On the inspection of the activities of the National Bank of Ukraine	20 October 1998	Yevhen Marchuk	-	-	-	Not adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
3	On studying the circumstances related to the detention of MP of Ukraine P.I. Lazarenko in the Swiss Confederation	9 Decem- ber 1998	Stanislav Safronov	Coalition	Viktor Med- vedchuk	Coalition	Missing
3	On determining the real basis of budget revenues and expenditures from the energy market and oil and gas complex of Ukraine and the possibility of repayment of debts of the State Committee of Ukraine for Material Reserves	15 December 1998	Yuliia Tymoshenko	-	-	-	Missing
3	On verification of facts of illegal trade in weapons and military equipment and their illegal transfer to other countries in the period from 1991 to 1998	15 Decem- ber 1998	Oleksandr Malievskiy	Opposi- tion	-	-	Missing
3	On verification of facts of bribery of voters and falsification of protocols of precinct election commissions that took place during the elections of the MP of Ukraine on 20 December 1998 in the single-mandate constituency No. 221	22 December 1998	Serhii Holovaty	Opposi- tion	-	-	Adopted
3	On verifying facts of threats and bribery of voters and violations by members of precinct election commissions that took place during the election of the MP of Ukraine on 20 December 1998 in the single-mandate constitu- ency No. 101	12 January 1999	Oleksandr Charodieiev	Coalition	-	-	Missing
3	To inspect the activities of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the Ministry of Energy of Ukraine and its subdivisions in providing electricity to the population of Ukraine	4 February 1999	Ihor Nasalyk	Opposi- tion	Oleksii Kostusiev	Coalition	Adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
3	On studying the situation in the information space of Ukraine and the detention of the former editor-in-chief of the Pravda Ukrayiny newspaper	4 February 1999	Ivan Chyzh	Coalition	-	-	Missing
3	On studying the situation in the information space, in particular on the nationwide television and radio channels of Ukraine	2 March 1999	Ivan Chyzh	Coalition	Mykhailo Onufriichuk	Coalition	Missing
3	To investigate the circumstances of the death of MP of Ukraine V.M. Chornovil	9 April 1999	Yurii Kliuchkovskiy	Opposi- tion	Viktor Medvedchuk	Coalition	Missing
3	On the privatization of Mykolaiv Alumina Refinery Company Limited	13 May 1999	Ihor Kviatkovskiy	Coalition	-	-	Missing
3	On the investigation into the circumstances of opening foreign currency accounts abroad, the use and concealment of foreign currency proceeds by officials who are citizens of Ukraine	16 June 1999	Hryhorii Omelchenko	Coalition	-	-	Adopted
3	On the activities in the field of communications and informatisation	9 July 1999	Olena Mazur	Coalition	Hryhorii Dovhanchyn	Coalition	Missing
3	To investigate the circumstances surrounding the assassination attempt on the life of the MP of Ukraine, candidate for President of Ukraine, N.M. Vitrenko, the MP of Ukraine, V.R. Marchenko and other citizens of Ukraine	5 October 1999	Stepan Havrysh	Coalition	Oleksandr Zhyr	Opposi- tion	Adopted
3	To investigate the fact of violation of parliamentary immunity of the MP of Ukraine, M.V. Hutsol, by employees of the internal affairs bodies of Dniprovskiy District of Kyiv	24 December 1999	Mykola Haber	Opposi- tion	Anatolii Yermak	Coalition	Missing

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
3	On control and inspection of financial, economic and organisational activities of the former Chair of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the Secretariat of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine	21 January 2000	Oleksandr Zinchenko	Coalition	Yaroslav Kendzior	Opposi- tion	Not adopted
3	On the status of the criminal investigation into the disappearance of journalist G. Gongadze, public figure M. Boychyshyn, murders of MPs of Ukraine Y. Shcherban and V. Hetman and attempts to kill MP of Ukraine V. Bortnyk, attacks on MPs of Ukraine O. Yeliashkevych, V. Khara, the abduction of the son of MP of Ukraine V. Alyokhin and the deaths of MPs of Ukraine V. Boyko, M. Miaskovskyi, S. Drahomaretzkyi	21 September 2000	Yurii Karmazin	Coalition	Oleksandr Lavrynovych	Coalition	Adopted
3	On studying the socio-political situation that developed in the town of Vasylkiv, Kyiv Oblast, in connection with the early mayoral elections held in May 2000 and ensuring the constitutional rights of citizens by local state authorities	16 November 2000	Mykhailo Ratushnyi	Opposi- tion	-	-	Not adopted
3	To investigate the circumstances surrounding the events of 9 March 2001 in Kyiv	22 March 2001	Oleksandr Karpov	Coalition	-	-	Missing
3	To clarify the reasons that led to the financial crisis of the Joint-Stock Commercial Agricultural Bank "Ukraine"	5 July 2001	Petro Poroshenko	Coalition	Viktor Korol	Coalition	Adopted
3	To investigate the causes and circumstances of the murder of Ihor Aleksandrov, journalist, Director General of the IRTC TOR news and broadcasting company in Sloviansk, Donetsk Oblast	13 September 2001	Anatolii Khmelovyi	Opposi- tion	Anatolii Khmelovyi	Opposi- tion	Adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
3	To clarify the reasons that led to the crisis financial condition of the Commercial Joint-Stock Bank "Sloviansky"	15 November 2001	Oleksii Baburin	Opposi- tion	-	-	Missing
3	To investigate the activities of the head of Sumy Oblast State Administration, V.P. Shcherban	15 November 2001	Mykhailo Brodskyi	Coalition	-	-	Not adopted
3	To verify compliance with the requirements of the Constitution of Ukraine and the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine when adopting the Land Code of Ukraine	29 November 2001	Andrii Snihach	Opposi- tion	-	-	Missing
3	On the exercise of the electoral rights of citizens of Ukraine during the elections of MPs of Ukraine in 2002	17 January 2002	Anatolii Matviienko	Coalition	Oleksandr Yeliashkevych	Coalition	Adopted
3	To investigate the circumstances of violations of constitutional human and civil rights regarding the secrecy of telephone conversations	7 March 2002	Oleksandr Zadorozhnyi	Coalition	Oleh Lytvak	Coalition	Missing
4	On the investigation of massive violations of electoral legislation during the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and local governments in Donetsk Oblast, the cities of Odesa and Kirovohrad in January – March and June 2002	4 July 2002	Serhii Sas	Opposi- tion	-	-	Missing
4	To clarify the reasons that led to the crisis financial condition of the Joint-Stock Commercial Agricultural Bank "Ukraine" and to verify compliance with the law in its liquidation	4 July 2002	Viktor Korol	Coalition	Viktor Korol	Coalition	Adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- li- tion/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
4	On the investigation into the circumstances of the murders of journalists Georgii Gongadze and Ihor Aleksandrov, the assassination attempt on the life of MP of Ukraine Oleksandr Yeliashkevich and facts of violations of the Constitution and laws of Ukraine by state officials	11 July 2002	Hryhorii Omelchenko	Coalition	Hryhorii Omelchenko	Coalition	Adopted
4	On verification of facts of illegal trade in weapons and military equipment and their illegal transfer to other countries	11 July 2002	Taras Chornovil	Coalition	Serhii Sinchenko	Coalition	Adopted
4	On the death of MP of Ukraine Oleh Oleksenko	12 September 2002	Viktor Pynzenyk	-	Serhii Soboliev	Coalition	Adopted
4	On the investigation into the causes of the crisis in Ukrainian aviation	26 September 2002	Anatolii Lovin	Coalition	Anatolii Lovin	Coalition	Not adopted
4	On studying the observance of legislation and ensuring the constitutional rights of citizens during the preparation and carrying out of the campaign "Rise up, Ukraine!" on 16 September 2002	26 September 2002	Serhii Tihipko	-	-	-	Missing
4	On the investigation into the circumstances of the attack on the MP of Ukraine, V.L. Sivkovych	15 October 2002	Volodymyr Sivkovych	Coalition	Yurii Karmazin	Coalition	Missing
4	On verifying facts of illegal arms trade with the Republic of Iraq	17 October 2002	Dmytro Tabachnyk	-	Borys Andresiuk	Coalition	Missing
4	To investigate the activities of the National Council of Ukraine on Television and Radio Broadcasting in 2000–2002	28 November 2002	Yevhen Zhovtiak	-	Ihor Hryniv	Opposi- tion	Not adopted
4	To control compliance with the law when importing food and other goods into the customs territory of Ukraine	25 December 2002	Volodymyr Yavorivskyi	Coalition	Volodymyr Skomarovskyi	-	Not adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
4	To verify the legality of changes in the level of tariffs for housing and communal services in Odesa	6 February 2003	Oleksii Kozachenko	Coalition	Oleksii Kozachenko	Coalition	Missing
4	To clarify reasons for the establishment of arrears on loans raised by the state or under state guarantees	20 February 2003	Volodymyr Maistryshyn	Coalition	Volodymyr Maistryshyn	Coalition	Not adopted
4	To inspect the situation on the grain and bread market in Ukraine	3 April 2003	Vasyl Havryliuk	Coalition	Vasyl Havryliuk, Mykhailo Melnychuk	Coalition	Adopted
4	On studying the situation in connection with the extraordinary elections of the mayor of Mukachevo in the Zakarpattia Oblast in June 2003 and ensuring the constitutional rights of citizens during the elections, and facts of violations by law enforcement agencies of the electoral legislation of Ukraine	11 July 2003	Anatolii Matviienko	Coalition	Yurii Orobets	Coalition	Not adopted
4	To investigate the circumstances of the tragic death of Ivan Havdyda, a member of the Ternopil Regional Council and head of the Our Ukraine faction in the Ternopil Oblast Council	18 September 2003	Yaroslav Dzhodzhy	Coalition	Yurii Karmazin	Coalition	Missing
4	On verification of compliance with the requirements of the Ukrainian legislation by the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources of Ukraine when issuing special permits (licences) for subsoil use	18 September 2003	Valerii Pustovoitenko	Coalition	Mykola Shvedenko	Coalition	Missing
4	On inspection of compliance of the National Television Company of Ukraine with the requirements of the legislation of Ukraine on the use of budget funds, financial and economic activities	20 November 2003	Mykola Tomenko	-	Yurii Artemenko	-	Missing

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
4	On establishing facts of foreign interference in the funding of election campaigns in Ukraine through non-governmental organisations that exist on grants from foreign countries	11 Decem- ber 2003	Petro Symonenko	Opposi- tion	Valerii Mishura	Opposi- tion	Not ad- opted
4	On verification of the legal- ity and facts of violations during the construction of the Podillya shopping and service centre on the terri- tory of the Rozsosha village council of Khmelnytskyi Raion, Khmelnytskyi Oblast	5 February 2003	Oleh Tiahnybok	Opposi- tion	Oleh Lukashuk	Opposi- tion	Missing
4	On the inspection of the efficiency of public admin- istration bodies in ad- dressing a range of issues related to the decommis- sioning of the Chernobyl NPP, implementation of the Action Plan for the Shelter and Exclusion Zone on radioactive waste manage- ment	17 February 2003	Serhii Osyka	Opposi- tion	Serhii Osyka	Opposi- tion	Missing
4	On compliance with the requirements of Ukrainian legislation during the in- vestigation by the Main De- partment of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in Kyiv of a criminal case concerning a road traffic accident on 2 November 2003 involving the MP of Ukraine, L. Chernovetskyi	7 April 2004	Ivan Vernydubov	Coalition	Ivan Vernydubov	Coalition	Missing
4	On the investigation of facts of pressure on MPs of Ukraine by state bodies	3 June 2003	Vasyl Havryliuk	Coalition	Volodymyr Shkliar	Coalition	Adopted
4	On the investigation into the circumstances of the poisoning of the candidate for the post of President of Ukraine, MP of Ukraine Viktor Andriiovych Yush- chenko	21 September 2004	Volodymyr Stretovych	Coalition	Volodymyr Sivkovych	Coalition	Not adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ oppo- sition <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ oppo- sition	Report <sup>113</sup>
4	To clarify the circumstances of unlawful actions of tax service employees that led to the suspension of the work of the Open Joint Stock Company Halychyna Oil Refinery Complex (Drohobych, Lviv Oblast), as well as clarifying the reasons that led to the suspension of the work of the Closed Joint Stock Company "The Transnational Finance and Production Petroleum Company "UKRTATNAFTA" (Kremenchuk, Poltava Oblast)	7 October 2004	Serhii Slabenko	Coalition	Oleksandr Hudyma	-	Missing
4	To investigate the circumstances of the issuance of the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On the dismissal of V. Satsiuk from the position of First Deputy Head of the Security Service of Ukraine"	21 December 2004	Vasyl Bartkiv	Coalition	Vasyl Havryliuk	Coalition	Missing
4	On the investigation of reasons for the unsatisfactory state of the public procurement system and verification of facts of possible abuse of office by officials and other related issues	24 December 2004	Yurii Karmazin	Coalition	Serhii Osyka	Opposi- tion	Not adopted
4	On verifying the observance of constitutional rights and freedoms of a person and citizen	21 April 2005	Yurii Kostenko	Coalition	Viktor Musiyaka	Coalition	Adopted
4	On the verification of facts of corruption and abuse of office by individual officials published in the media	20 September 2005	Borys Bespalyi	Coalition	Volodymyr Zaplatynskyi	Coalition	Missing
4	On establishing the fact of illegal interference by Borys Abramovych Berezovskyi, a citizen of the Russian Federation with refugee status in Great Britain, in the financing of the election campaign of Viktor Andriiovych Yushchenko, a candidate for President of Ukraine	20 September 2005	Yurii Solomatin	Opposi- tion	Yurii Solomatin	Opposi- tion	Not adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
4	On the investigation into the circumstances of the organisation of the cassette scandal and its impact on the national security of Ukraine	6 October 2005	Viktor Drachevskiy	Coalition	Viktor Drachevskiy	Coalition	Missing
4	On the investigation of violations of the citizens' right to freedom of conscience	3 October 2005	Pavlo Sulkovskiy	Coalition	Pavlo Sulkovskiy	Coalition	Adopted
4	On the investigation into the attack on the editor-in-chief of the Kommunist Donbassa newspaper, Heorhii Popov, the damage by arson to the property of a foreign citizen, Valiz Arfush, and other facts of pressure on media representatives	17 November 2005	Mykola Kravchenko	Opposi- tion	Ihor Shurma	Opposi- tion	Missing
4	On audit of the financial and economic activities of the National Joint Stock Company "Naftogaz of Ukraine," the company's personnel policy and the conditions for supplying Ukraine with gas in 2006	10 January 2006	Ihor Shurma	Opposi- tion	Yulii Ioffe	Coalition	Missing
5	On the violation of the legislation during the elections to local self-government bodies in Cherkasy in 2006	25 July 2006	Mykhailo Pozhyvanov	Opposi- tion	Yurii Orobets	Opposi- tion	Adopted
5	On the investigation of allegations of bribery of MPs of Ukraine	25 July 2006	Volodymyr Zaplatynskiy	Opposi- tion	Viktor Borschevskiy	Coalition	Adopted
5	On the investigation of violations of the rights of MPs of Ukraine	25 July 2006	Ihor Shkiria	Coalition	Ihor Shkiria	Coalition	Missing
5	On the inspection of the situation with the supply of natural gas to Ukrainian consumers, payments for the supplied natural gas and possible violations of the current legislation in the energy market of Ukraine	3 August 2006	Oleksii Kunchenko	Coalition	Alla Aleksan- drovska	Coalition	Adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ oppo- sition <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ oppo- sition	Report <sup>113</sup>
5	On obstruction of the professional activities of journalists of the STB TV channel by the MP of Ukraine O.I. Kalashnikov, which took place on 12 July 2006 near the building of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine	14 September 2006	Mykola Tomenko	Opposi- tion	Stepan Kurpil	Opposi- tion	Adopted
5	On the investigation into the circumstances and causes of the death of journalist G. Gongadze and clarification of the reasons for the delay in the investigation of the criminal case	21 September 2006	Volodymyr Stretovykh	Opposi- tion	Volodymyr Moisyk	Opposi- tion	Adopted
5	On verifying facts of corruption and abuse of office by certain officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, as stated in the article "Other Militia" published in the 2000 newspaper on 8 September 2006	2 November 2006	Yevhenii Kushnarov	Coalition	Volodymyr Sivkovych	Coalition	Adopted
5	On the investigation into the expenditure of funds received from the privatisation of Kryvorizhstal OJSC	30 November 2006	Yuliia Tymoshenko	Opposi- tion	Yevhen Helieier	Coalition	Adopted
5	On studying the situation that developed in connection with the early elections to the office of Kirovohrad City Mayor on 26 November 2006 and facts of violations of the electoral legislation of Ukraine	14 December 2006	Volodymyr Oplachko	Opposi- tion	Leonid Fesenko	Coalition	Adopted
5	On the investigation into the circumstances relating to facts of violation of the Constitution of Ukraine, laws of Ukraine and beating of councillors of the Kyiv City Council during the consideration of the issue of changing tariffs for utilities at the plenary meeting of the third session of the Kyiv City Council of the fifth convocation on 7 December 2006	15 December 2006	Serhii Pashynskyi	Opposi- tion	Borys Bespalyi	Opposi- tion	Adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ oppo- sition <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ oppo- sition	Report <sup>113</sup>
5	On verifying the effective- ness of the functioning of special economic zones and territories of priority development in Ukraine	21 December 2006	Volodymyr Zaplatynskyi	Opposi- tion	Oleksii Plotnikov	Coalition	Adopted
5	On studying the reasons for selective refunds of val- ue-added tax, violations of tax legislation by officials of the State Tax Adminis- tration of Ukraine and the State Treasury of Ukraine	22 February 2007	Lev Biriuk	Opposi- tion	Ruslan Zozulia	Opposi- tion	Missing
5	On the investigation into the circumstances of the organisation of the preparation and issuance by officials of the Security Service of Ukraine of illegal orders to wiretap and sur- veillance of MPs, judges of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine, judges of courts of general jurisdiction and members of the Central Election Commission and the execution of these orders	9 April 2007	Mykhailo Chechetov	Opposi- tion	Yurii Samoilenko	-	Missing
5	On the investigation of circumstances of dismiss- als and appointments of judges of certain courts of general jurisdiction and their chairs, the Prosecutor General of Ukraine	27 April 2007	Yurii Boldyriev	Coalition	Vadym Kolesnichen- ko	Coalition	Missing
5	On the inspection of the activities of the National Council of Ukraine on Television and Radio Broadcasting and its subdivisions on super- vision over compliance by television and radio organisations with the legislation of Ukraine in the field of television and radio broadcasting	4 May 2007	Olena Bondarenko	Coalition	Yevhen Filindash	Coalition	Missing
5	On clarifying the circum- stances of the Council of Judges of Ukraine's decision to appoint judges to administrative positions and dismissal from these positions	8 June 2007	Andrii Sokil	Coalition	Ihor Zvarych	Coalition	Adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
6	On the investigation into the circumstances surrounding the violation of the Constitution of Ukraine, laws of Ukraine in the field of tariff, property, land, budgetary and financial relations by Kharkiv Mayor Mykhailo Dobkin and Kharkiv City Council Secretary Hennadii Kernes in the performance of their official duties	7 March 2008	Oleksandr Feldman	Coalition	Oleh Liashko	Coalition	Not adopted
6	On the investigation of circumstances of violation of the Constitution of Ukraine and laws of Ukraine, adoption of illegal decisions by officials of the Kyiv City Council and its executive body	7 March 2008	Oleksandr Yefremov	Opposi- tion	Mykola Tomenko	Coalition	Adopted
6	On the investigation of facts highlighted in the mass media regarding possible violations of Ukrainian legislation and human rights by the Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine Yuriy Lutsenko	7 March 2008	Mykola Dzhaha	Opposi- tion	Mykola Dzhaha	Opposi- tion	Missing
6	On clarifying the circumstances of high housing prices in Kyiv and other cities of Ukraine, as well as the failure of developers to fulfil their obligations under agreements on investment in housing construction	5 June 2008	Oksana Bilozir	Coalition	Oksana Bilozir	Coalition	Missing
6	On clarifying the circumstances of violations of the Constitution of Ukraine and the legislation of Ukraine by the Sevastopol City State Administration and Sevastopol City Council, other executive authorities on land relations, as well as on official abuse and embezzlement of public funds in the course of work under the Programme of Social and Economic Development of Sevastopol	5 June 2008	Ivan Vernydubov	Opposi- tion	Ivan Vernydubov	Opposi- tion	Adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
6	To investigate the cause of death of a 17-year-old teenager in Kramatorsk, Donetsk Oblast, and the onset of massive complications after measles and rubella vaccination among the population of Donetsk Oblast, as well as to verify the legality of the vaccine used for these vaccinations	5 June 2008	Tatiana Bakhtieieva	Opposi- tion	Viktor Korzh	Opposi- tion	Not adopted
6	On the investigation into the circumstances related to the construction of a metallurgical plant in the Bila Tserkva raion of Kyiv Oblast and the damage that may be caused to the environment in this regard	5 June 2008	Viacheslav Kyrylenko	Coalition	Ksenia Liapina	Coalition	Not adopted
6	On the investigation of facts of violations of the Constitution of Ukraine, the Land Code of Ukraine and other laws of Ukraine by Ternopil City Council, its failure to comply with court decisions when allocating, transferring, and granting land plots for use, as well as official abuse when disposing of municipal property and inaction of the prosecutor's bodies regarding violations of Ukrainian legislation in the activities of the city council	5 June 2008	Vasyl Derevlianyi	Coalition	Ivan Denkovych	Coalition	Adopted
6	On clarifying the circumstances of the supply of Ukrainian military equipment to Georgia in order to establish facts of violation of Ukrainian legislation and international law	2 September 2008	Valerii Konovaliuk	Opposi- tion	Valerii Konovaliuk	Opposi- tion	Adopted
6	On the inspection of the activities of the National Bank of Ukraine during the period of the financial crisis	18 December 2008	Oleksandr Yefremov	Opposi- tion	Yurii Polunieiev	Coalition	Not adopted

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6	On the investigation into the functioning of the gas transmission system of Ukraine and gas supply to the consumers in 2008–2009	13 January 2009	Inna Bohoslovska	Opposi- tion	Inna Bohoslovska	Opposi- tion	Not adopted
6	To investigate corrupt actions of officials that prevent the return of 16 MI-8 MT (MTV) helicopters, which were leased to the Ukrainian Helicopters Closed Joint Stock Company, to the Army of the Armed Forces of Ukraine	15 January 2009	Serhii Hrynevetskyi	Coalition	Oleksandr Kuzmuk	Opposi- tion	Missing
6	On the investigation of violations of the Constitution of Ukraine and the current legislation of Ukraine by officials of state administrations of Kyiv region in the course of granting and re-registering rights to land plots	19 February 2009	Kostiantyn Bondariev	Coalition	Kostiantyn Bondariev	Coalition	Adopted
6	On the investigation of circumstances of violation of the Constitution of Ukraine and laws of Ukraine, adoption of illegal decisions by officials of the Kyiv City Council and its executive body	19 February 2009	Volodymyr Yavorivskyi	Coalition	Kyrylo Kulykov	Coalition	Adopted
6	On the investigation into the circumstances of the illegal detention on 6 April 2005 by the Main Investigation Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Head of the Donetsk Oblast Council, Borys Kolesnikov, and his detention as well as the initiation of criminal proceedings against him	5 March 2009	Nestor Shufrych	Opposi- tion	Mykola Dzhyha	Opposi- tion	Not adopted

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6	On clarifying the circumstances of violations of the Constitution and laws of Ukraine by officials and the leadership of the Security Service of Ukraine in the performance of their official duties (regarding events surrounding the functioning of the National Joint Stock Company "Naf-togaz of Ukraine" and the gas transmission system of Ukraine)	5 March 2009	Serhii Pashynskyi	Coalition	Roman Zvarych	Opposi- tion	Missing
6	On the investigation of circumstances regarding violations of the requirements of the legislation of Ukraine during the alienation of state-owned stakes in joint-stock companies in the field of agricultural machinery in connection with the activities of the Open Joint Stock Company Leasing Company Ukragromashinvest, as well as clarification of the circumstances of bringing the Open Joint Stock Company Kherson Combine to bankruptcy	20 March 2009	Yurii Odarchenko	Coalition	Yurii Odarchenko	Coalition	Not adopted
6	On the investigation into the circumstances surrounding the poisoning of Viktor Andriiovych Yushchenko, a candidate for President of Ukraine, and the identification of causes and individuals responsible for the delay in the investigation and the submission of case materials to the court.	31 March 2009	Nestor Shufrych	Opposi- tion	Volodymyr Sivkovych	Opposi- tion	Missing
6	To verify compliance with Ukrainian legislation during the reconstruction of the Olimpiyskiy National Sports Complex	19 May 2009	Viktor Korzh	Opposi- tion	Ravil Safiullin	Opposi- tion	Adopted

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6	On the investigation into the circumstances of violations of the Constitution of Ukraine and the laws of Ukraine during the early elections to the Ternopil Oblast Council on 15 March 2009 and the facts of falsification of their results	19 May 2009	Oleksandr Budzherak	Coalition	Ivan Denkovych	Coalition	Not adopted
6	On the investigation into the circumstances of the incident involving the Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, Yurii Lutsenko, which took place on 4 May 2009 at the airport of Frankfurt am Main, Germany	19 May 2009	Ihor Vorotniuk	Coalition	Roman Zabzaliuk	Coalition	Missing
6	On the investigation into the incident involving the Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, Yurii Lutsenko, on 4 May 2009 and other reports of possible abuse by him	19 May 2009	Vladyslav Lukianov	Opposi- tion	Nestor Shufrych	Opposi- tion	Not adopted
6	On the investigation into the circumstances of the death of the MP of Ukraine of the fourth convocation I. Pluzhnykov and the seizure by unknown persons of his property and shares in the Inter TV company	19 May 2009	Volodymyr Pylypenko	Coalition	Andrii Portnov	Coalition	Missing
6	On the investigation of circumstances related to the unauthorised seizure of land plots and illegal construction of residential, office and entertainment centres in Simferopol and the inaction of law enforcement agencies	9 October 2009	Vasyl Kyselov	Opposi- tion	Vasyl Kyselov	Opposi- tion	Adopted
6	On the investigation of circumstances related to allegations of child molestation	20 October 2009	Pavlo Kostenko	Coalition	Kateryna Samoilyk	Opposi- tion	Not adopted

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6	On the investigation of cases of interference by state and local authorities and their officials in the activities of the mass media, as well as cases of mass media reports about pressure on freedom of speech in Ukraine	18 December 2009	Hanna Herman	Opposi- tion	Eduard Prutnik	Opposi- tion	Missing
6	On the investigation of circumstances and causes of inefficient management of state property in the agricultural sector	23 December 2009	Mykola Prysiachniuk	Opposi- tion	Serhii Ryzhuk	Opposi- tion	Missing
6	On the investigation into the legality of decisions taken by the National Council of Ukraine on Television and Radio Broadcasting regarding the holding of tenders and the determination of winners of tenders for obtaining (re-issuing) broadcasting licences using the relevant frequencies in 2005–2010	17 June 2010	Inna Bohoslovska	Opposi- tion	Inna Bohoslovska	Opposi- tion	Adopted
6	On clarifying the circumstances of the use of budget funds by the management of the State Committee of Ukraine for the State Material Reserve	18 June 2010	Ihor Rybakov	Coalition	Volodymyr Oliinyk	Coalition	Adopted
6	On the investigation of circumstances and causes of the current state of affairs in the credit cooperation system	1 July 2010	Ihor Prasolov	Opposi- tion	Ihor Prasolov	Opposi- tion	Adopted
6	On the investigation of cases of censorship in the mass media, pressure on freedom of speech in Ukraine and obstruction of the legitimate professional activities of journalists	1 July 2010	Yurii Stets	Coalition	Iryna Herashchenko	Coalition	Adopted

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6	On the decision of the Arbitration Institute of the Stockholm Chamber of Commerce, the investigation into the corrupt activities of RosUkrEnerg and the involvement of public officials and the arrest of the former head of the State Customs Service of Ukraine, A.V. Makarenko	1 July 2010	Andrii Kozhemiakin	Coalition	Roman Zvarych	Opposi- tion	Adopted
6	On the investigation into the circumstances of signing gas agreements between NJSC "Naftogaz of Ukraine" and OJSC "Gazprom" regarding the presence of signs of treason in the area of economic security of Ukraine	17 March 2011	Inna Bohoslovska	Coalition	Inna Bohoslovska	Coalition	Adopted
6	On the investigation of circumstances and consequences of the activities of Livelya and other related legal entities in the Ukrainian oil market	12 May 2011	Arsenii Yatseniuk	Opposi- tion	Roman Zvarych	Coalition	Missing
6	On the investigation of the circumstances that led to the situation around Indar CJSC	7 October 2011	Ihor Plokhoy	Coalition	Ihor Plokhoy	Coalition	Adopted
6	On the investigation of actions of Ukrainian law enforcement officers during the exercise of the constitutional right to freedom of peaceful assembly by participants in the rally on 24 August 2011 in Kyiv	19 October 2011	Anatolii Hrytsenko	Opposi- tion	Viacheslav Kyrylenko	Opposi- tion	Not adopted
6	On the investigation into the circumstances of violations of the Constitution of Ukraine, the Land Code of Ukraine, other laws of Ukraine and the adoption of illegal decisions by the Kyiv City Council in the period of 2007–2010	6 June 2012	Kyrylo Kulykov	-	Kyrylo Kulykov	-	Not adopted
7	On the investigation into facts of revision of the will of the Ukrainian people in the 2012 parliamentary elections	21 March 2013	Arsenii Yatseniuk	-	Arsen Avakov	-	Missing

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7	On the investigation of facts of violation of Ukrainian legislation in public procurement, inefficient use of public funds and abuse of office by officials of the Ministry of Health of Ukraine, other state-owned enterprises, institutions and organisations in the healthcare and pharmaceutical industry	15 May 2013	Andrii Ivanchuk	-	Anatolii Dyriv	-	Not adopted
7	On the investigation of facts of the attack on representatives of the mass media on 18 May 2013 in Kyiv at 15 Volodymyrska Street, and the investigation of other facts of pressure on the mass media, obstruction of the legitimate professional activities of journalists	23 May 2013	Arsenii Yatseniuk	-	Vitalii Yarema	-	Missing
7	On the investigation of illegal actions of law enforcement agencies and certain officials, encroachments on the rights and freedoms, life and health of citizens during the events related to mass actions of social and political protest that have been taking place in Ukraine since 21 November 2013	16 January 2014	Arsenii Yatseniuk	-	Hennadii Moskal	-	Missing
7	On the investigation into the circumstances of the death of O. Muzychko	28 March 2014	Serhii Soboliev	Coalition	Yurii Derevianko	Opposi- tion	Not adopted
7	On the investigation of facts of mass persecution of drivers who participated in peaceful protests using wheeled vehicles and their bringing to administrative responsibility	17 April 2014	Volodymyr Yavorivskiy	Coalition	Volodymyr Yavorivskiy	Coalition	Missing
7	On the investigation of the deaths of citizens in Odesa, Mariupol and other towns of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts of Ukraine	13 May 2014	Vadym Novynskiy	Coalition	Anton Kisse	Opposi- tion	Adopted

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7	On the verification of the use of funds transferred by citizens of Ukraine to support the Armed Forces of Ukraine and other military formations, and expenditures of the State Budget of Ukraine aimed at the needs of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and other military formations	5 June 2014	Iryna Herashchenko	Opposition	Iryna Herashchenko	Opposition	Not adopted
7	On the investigation into the circumstances of the destruction of an IL-76 military transport aircraft of the Air Force of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, which was approaching for landing at the airport of Luhansk	17 June 2014	Serhii Soboliev	Coalition	Oleksandr Chornovolenko	Coalition	Missing
7	On the inspection of compliance with the legislation in the field of state regulation of natural monopolies and related markets for energy, gas, heat and water supply	23 July 2014	Serhii Soboliev	Coalition	Oleksandr Chubatenko	Coalition	Missing
7	On the investigation of circumstances of the tragic events that led to the death and capture of volunteer battalion fighters, as well as servicepersons of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the National Guard of Ukraine near Ilovaisk, Donetsk Oblast	4 September 2014	Andrii Senchenko	Coalition	Andrii Senchenko	Coalition	Missing
8	On the investigation into the circumstances of embezzlement of public funds during the provision of hazardous hexachlorobenzene waste collection services in Kalush district of Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast in 2011–2014	19 March 2015	Anatolii Matviienko	Coalition	Ihor Nasalyk	Opposition	Missing
8	On the investigation of the conflict in the Zakarpattia Oblast	14 July 2015	Yurii Lutsenko	Coalition	Mykola Palamarchuk	Coalition	Not adopted

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8	On conducting a technical examination of construction works and verifying the effectiveness of the use of budget funds in the construction of bridge crossings over the Dnipro River in Zaporizhzhia	15 July 2015	Petro Sabashuk	Coalition	Petro Sabashuk	Coalition	Not adopted
8	To investigate information on the facts of embezzlement in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and undermining the state's defence capability in the period from 2004 to 2017	7 June 2018	Pavlo Kyshkar	Opposi- tion	Ivan Vinnyk	Coalition	Adopted
8	To investigate information on the attacks on Kateryna Handziuk and other civil society activists	6 November 2018	Yuliia Tymoshenko	Opposi- tion	Boryslav Bereza	Opposi- tion	Adopted
9	To investigate information on the compliance with legal requirements during the change of ownership of news TV channels and to ensure countering the information influence of the Russian Federation	17 October 2019	Olha Vasylevs- ka-Smahliuk	Coalition	Olha Vasylevs- ka-Smahliuk	Coalition	Not adopted
9	On the investigation of the fire (explosions) at the ammunition depots in Ichnya (Chernihiv Oblast), Kalynivka (Vinnytsia Oblast), Balakliia (Kharkiv Oblast), Svatove (Luhansk Oblast), Kryvyi Rih (Dnipro Oblast) in the period from 2014 to 2018	31 October 2019	Davyd Arahamiia	Coalition	Davyd Arahamiia	Coalition	Adopted

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9	On the investigation into possible violations of Ukrainian legislation and abuse of office by the President of the Ukrainian Football Association (Football Federation of Ukraine), Chair of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on Budget of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 8th convocation, A. Pavelko, when addressing the issue of financing and implementation of the budget programme "Construction of football fields with artificial turf in regions of Ukraine" in 2017–2018	15 October 2019	Anatolii Kostiukh	Coalition	Anatolii Kostiukh	Coalition	Pending review
9	To exercise parliamentary control over the investigations into the attacks on Kateryna Handziuk and other civil society activists in 2017–2018	12 December 2019	Ihor Vasyliv	Coalition	Ihor Vasyliv	Coalition	Adopted
9	To investigate information on the conclusion of the Agreement between the Ministry of Finance of Ukraine and the Ad Hoc Committee of Creditors on External Debt Restructuring in 2015	20 December 2019	Maksym Buzhanskyi	Coalition	Maksym Buzhanskyi	Coalition	Pending review
9	On the investigation of facts of possible corrupt actions of public officials published in the mass media, which led to significant losses of the State Budget of Ukraine	24 April 2020	Ivan Krulko	Opposi- tion	Ivan Krulko	Opposi- tion	Adopted
9	On the investigation of facts of corruption in the bodies of state architectural and construction control and supervision	15 September 2020	Andrii Puziichuk	Opposi- tion	Andrii Puziichuk	Opposi- tion	Pending review

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9	On the investigation of the causes of large-scale fires in Luhansk Oblast in 2020 and the actions/inaction of the Luhansk Oblast Department of the SES and the Luhansk Oblast State Administration – Luhansk Oblast Military-Civilian Administration in timely response to and prevention of emergency events	2 December 2020	Ruslan Horbenko	Coalition	Ruslan Horbenko	Coalition	Adopted
9	On the investigation of the causes of the unprofitability of coal-industrial enterprises	16 December 2020	Yurii Kamelchuk	Coalition	Yurii Kamelchuk	Coalition	Not adopted
9	On the inspection and assessment of the state of the Joint Stock Company "Ukrainian Railways," investigation of possible inactivity and violation of the legislation of Ukraine by the management bodies of the said company, which led to a significant deterioration in the technical condition of the company and its main production indicators	21 January 2021	Yuliia Hryshyna	Coalition	Yuliia Hry- shyna	Coalition	Adopted
9	On the investigation of cases and causes of violations of children's rights during the decentralisation of powers in child protection, reform of the system of institutional care and education institutions, exercise of the child's right to family upbringing and adoption, development (modernisation) of social services	18 February 2021	Pavlo Sushko	Coalition	Pavlo Sushko	Coalition	Adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ oppo- sition <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ oppo- sition	Report <sup>113</sup>
9	On the investigation of possible illegal actions of representatives of state authorities and other persons that could contribute to the violation of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of Ukraine and pose a threat to the national security of Ukraine	19 May 2021	Davyd Arahamiia	Coalition	Mariana Bezuhla	Coalition	Adopted
9	On the investigation of possible illegal actions of officials of the State Space Agency of Ukraine (National Space Agency of Ukraine) and space industry enterprises, in particular during the implementation of the Lybid and Cyclone-4 projects	10 May 2021	Serhii Taruta	Opposi- tion	Serhii Taruta	Opposi- tion	Missing
9	On the investigation into the death (murder) of the MP of Ukraine, A. Poliakov	18 November 2021	Anna Skorokhod	Opposi- tion	Anna Skorokhod	Opposi- tion	Adopted
9	On the investigation of possible corrupt actions by officials of the State Border Guard Service and the State Customs Service, which could lead to a decrease in state budget revenues and possible abuses in the financial and economic activities of the NJSC "Naftogaz of Ukraine"	27 January 2022	Ivan Krulko	Opposi- tion	Ivan Krulko	Opposi- tion	Pending review
9	On the investigation of facts that contributed to the temporary occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea	1 February 2022	Yelizaveta Bohutska	Coalition	Ihor Kopytin	Coalition	Pending review
9	On the investigation into the circumstances that led to the death of O.S. Lobodenko, the judge of the Avtozavodskyi District Court of Kremenchuk, Poltava Oblast, and O.M. Babaiev, mayor of Kremenchuk, Poltava Oblast	1 February 2022	Mykhailo Tsymbaliuk	Opposi- tion	Mykhailo Tsymbaliuk	Opposi- tion	Adopted

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
9	On the investigation of possible facts of illegal and ineffective execution by state authorities and local government bodies of measures to improve the system of management and deregulation of land relations (land decentrali- sation)	1 February 2022	Andrii Bohdanets	Coalition	Andrii Bohdanets	Coalition	Pending review
9	On the investigation of possi- ble violations of Ukrainian legislation in the field of re- ceiving, distributing, trans- porting, storing, and using humanitarian and other aid for its intended purpose, as well as inefficient use of state property that can be used for temporary ac- commodation of internally displaced persons and ensuring other needs of the state	20 September 2022	Serhii Kozyr	Coalition	Serhii Kozyr	Coalition	The re- port was adopted
9	On the investigation of facts of sexual violence committed as a result of the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine	20 September 2022	Maryna Bardina	Coalition	Maryna Bardina	Coalition	Pending review
9	On the investigation of possible facts of ineffec- tive activities of the State Agency of Forest Resourc- es of Ukraine, the State Agency of Water Resources of Ukraine and the State Ecological Inspection of Ukraine, their territorial bodies, enterprises, insti- tutions and organisations under their management, which could lead to a decrease in revenues to the state and local budgets	18 October 2022	Mykola Tyshchenko	Coalition	Mykola Tyshchenko	Coalition	Missing
9	On the investigation of corruption at state-owned enterprises, institutions and organisations of the National Academy of Agrarian Sciences of Ukraine	1 December 2022	Anatolii Hunko	Coalition	Anatolii Hunko	Coalition	Missing

Con- voca- tion	Name	Date of creation	Initiator	Coa- lition/ opposi- tion <sup>112</sup>	Chair	Coali- tion/ opposi- tion	Report <sup>113</sup>
9	On the investigation of possible violations of Ukrainian legislation by officials of the Bureau of Economic Security of Ukraine, state authorities and other state bodies exercising powers in the field of economic security, which could lead to a decrease in revenues to the state and local budgets	13 December 2022	Yaroslav Zhelezniak	Opposi- tion	Yaroslav Zhelezniak	Opposi- tion	Pending review
9	On the investigation of possible violations of the law during the alienation of state-owned property of Ukraine located abroad	23 February 2023	Fedir Venislavskiy	Coalition	Fedir Venislavskiy	Coalition	Pending review
9	On the investigation of possible facts of illegal activities in the field of financial services and financial service markets carried out with the use of information, electronic communication, information and communication systems and electronic communication networks	30 May 2023	Oleksandr Kunyt'skyi	-	Oleksandr Kunyt'skyi	Coalition	Not ad- opted
9	On the investigation of possible violations of Ukrainian legislation in public procurement during martial law	9 August 2023	Volodymyr Tsabal	Opposi- tion	Volodymyr Tsabal	Opposi- tion	Pending review
9	On the investigation of possible violations of the legislation of Ukraine in the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine, the Armed Forces of Ukraine, other military formations established in accordance with the laws of Ukraine, special purpose law enforcement agencies, positions in which are staffed by military personnel	21 September 2023	Anna Skorokhod	Opposi- tion	Anna Skorokhod	Opposi- tion	Missing

<b>Con- voca- tion</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Date of creation</b>	<b>Initiator</b>	<b>Coa- lition/ opposi- tion<sup>112</sup></b>	<b>Chair</b>	<b>Coali- tion/ opposi- tion</b>	<b>Report<sup>113</sup></b>
9	On the investigation of possible violations of Ukrainian legislation on exports and imports of goods whose country of origin or destination is the Russian Federation	21 September 2023	Artem Dubnov	Coalition	Artem Dubnov	Coalition	Missing
9	On the investigation of possible violations of Ukrainian legislation on the financing of treatment and rehabilitation of servicepersons in medical institutions	21 September 2023	Yuliia Tymoshenko	Opposi- tion	Yuliia Tymoshenko	Opposi- tion	Missing

