

# Monitoring the work of the Verkhovna Rada

9TH SESSION  
IX CONVOCATION



**ЛЗІ** Agency  
for Legislative  
Initiatives

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# Annotation

This monitoring for the 9th session consists of an executive summary, four sections, and appendices. The units cover:

1. lawmaking activity: the total number of registered draft laws and laws, their breakdown by initiators and groups of signatories;
2. passage of draft laws: breakdown of laws by readings of adoption, deadlines for submitting opinions of the main committees, timeframe from registration to adoption of the law, including by readings and initiators;
3. committees: total number and breakdown by initiators of opinions on dismissal, number of committee meetings and their workload in accordance with the number of registered draft laws and submitted opinions on draft laws, including the workload per committee member and secretariat staff member;
4. violations of the Rules of Procedure: the number of violations of the Rules of Procedure in relation to draft laws and proposals of the President of Ukraine.

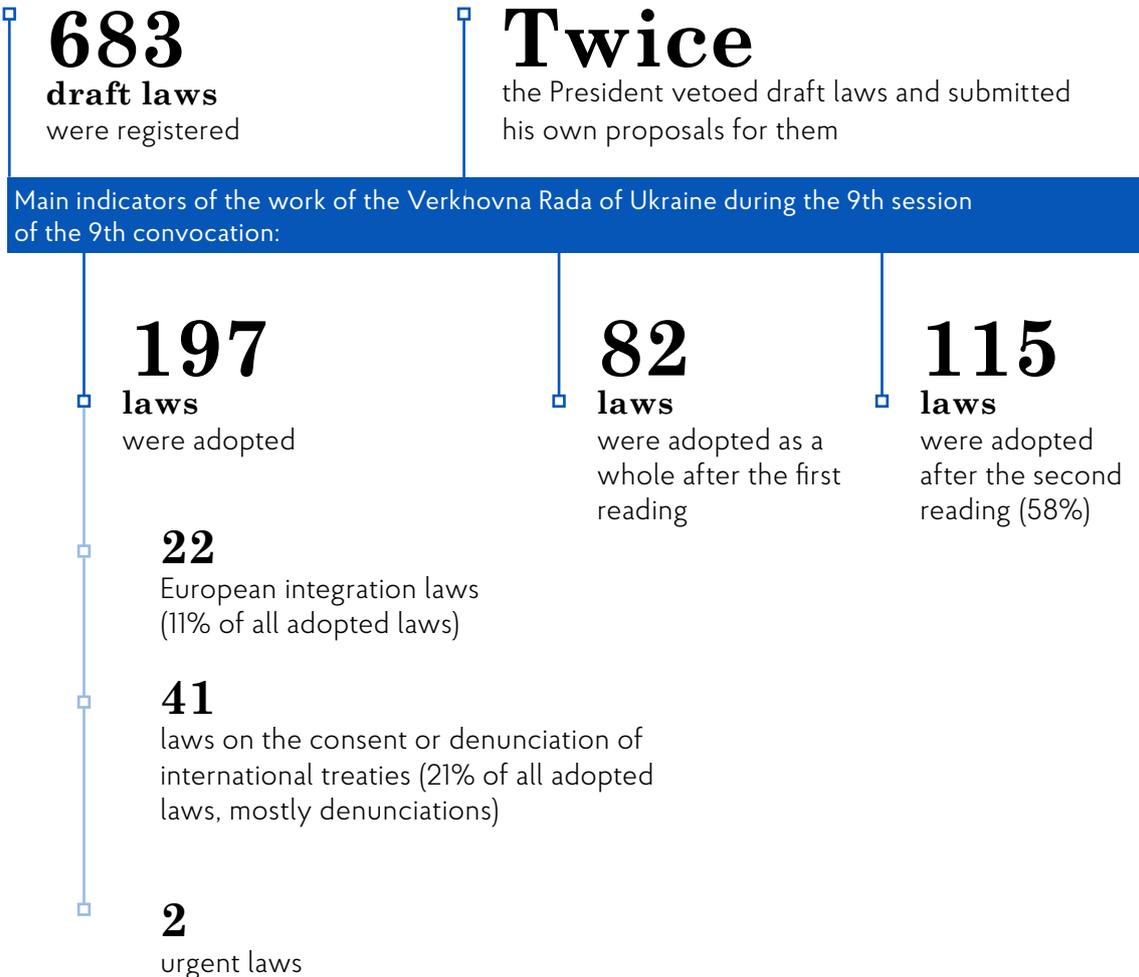
Appendices contain information on the top five draft laws in terms of various quantitative indicators (e.g., the number of days from registration to adoption).

# List of abbreviations

1. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine – VRU.
2. Main Scientific and Expert Department – MSED.
3. Main Legal Department – MLD.
4. Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine – CMU.
5. Committee on Agrarian and Land Policy – Committee on Agrarian Policy, in diagrams – Agrarian Policy.
6. Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy – Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy, in diagrams – Anti-Corruption Policy.
7. Budget Committee – in diagrams – Budget.
8. Committee on Humanitarian and Information Policy – in diagrams – Humanitarian Policy.
9. Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management – in diagrams – Environmental Policy.
10. Committee on Economic Development – in diagrams – Economic Development.
11. Committee on Energy, Housing and Utilities – in diagrams – Energy.
12. Committee on National Health, Health Care and Insurance – in diagrams – National Health.
13. Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation – in diagrams – Foreign Policy.
14. Committee on Ukraine’s Integration into the European Union – in diagrams – EU Integration.
15. Committee on Youth and Sports – Committee on Youth and Sports, in diagrams – Youth and Sports.
16. Committee on National Security, Defence and Intelligence – Committee on National Security, in diagrams – National security.
17. Committee on the Organisation of State Power, Local Self-Government, Regional Development and Urban Planning – in diagrams – Organisation of State Power.
18. Committee on Education, Science and Innovation – Committee on Education, in diagrams – Education.

19. Committee on Human Rights, De-occupation and Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations (until 15 August 2022 – Committee on Human Rights, De-occupation and Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Sevastopol, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations) – in diagrams – Human Rights.
20. Committee on Legal Policy – in diagrams – Legal Policy.
21. Committee on Law Enforcement – Committee on Law Enforcement, in diagrams – Law Enforcement.
22. Committee on Rules of Procedure, Parliamentary Ethics and Support to Work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine – Committee on Rules of Procedure, the Regulatory Committee, and in diagrams – Rules of Procedure.
23. Committee on Freedom of Speech – Committee on Freedom of Speech, in diagrams – Freedom of Speech.
24. Committee on Social Policy and Protection of Veterans' Rights – Committee on Social Policy, in diagrams – Social Policy.
25. Committee on Transport and Infrastructure – Committee on Transport Policy, in diagrams – Transport and Infrastructure.
26. Committee on Finance, Taxation and Customs Policy – in diagrams – Finance.
27. Committee on Digital Transformation – in diagrams – Digital Transformation.
28. Faction of the Servant of the People political party – Servant of the People faction, Servant of the People.
29. Faction of the Opposition Platform – For Life political party in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine – Opposition Platform – For Life faction, Opposition Platform – For Life, OPFL.
30. Faction of the All-Ukrainian Union Fatherland political party in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 9th convocation – Fatherland faction, Fatherland.
31. Faction of the European Solidarity political party – European Solidarity faction, European Solidarity.
32. Faction of the Holos political party in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 9th convocation – Holos faction, Holos.
33. Party For the Future parliamentary group – Party For the Future group, For the Future group, For the Future.
34. Dovira parliamentary group – Dovira group, Dovira.
35. Restoration of Ukraine parliamentary group in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine – Restoration of Ukraine group, Restoration of Ukraine, Restoration.
36. Platform for Life and Peace parliamentary group in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine – PFLP, Platform for Life and Peace group, Platform for Life and Peace.

# Summary



Monitoring of the work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 9th session of the 9th convocation revealed five key trends: 1) agenda update; 2) distancing of the President of Ukraine from domestic policy; 3) strengthening the role of the Cabinet of Ministers in the legislative process; 4) signs of revival of legislative spam; 5) increasing level of violations of the constitutional procedure.

## Agenda update

The agenda was significantly updated during the 9th session. All draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety and 78% of draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety were registered after 24 February 2022. That is, these are draft laws aimed at solving problems relevant to martial law. This is also confirmed by the record speed of passing draft laws from registration to adoption in their entirety (both in the first and second readings).

This new agenda can be better understood by identifying the busiest committees. The five busiest committees during the 9th session are: the Committee on Law Enforcement (142 opinions), the Committee on Finance (74 opinions), the Committee on Legal Policy (61 opinions), the Committee on Social Policy (51 opinions) and the Committee on National Security (39 opinions). Compared to the 8th session, the workload of the **Committee on Law Enforcement (+68 opinions)** and the **Committee on Legal Policy (+22 opinions)** increased the most. That is, after the initial financial and economic adaptation to martial law and full-scale war, **lawmakers focused on adapting the legal system, as well as on establishing new and amending old sanctions for violations of the law.** This situation clearly demonstrates which domestic policy instruments are most favoured by MPs – **regulation of the level of punishment for unlawful behaviour** – amendments to the Criminal Code and the Code of Administrative Offences.

## **Distancing of the President of Ukraine from domestic policy**

During the 9th session, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine did not pass any “ordinary” draft law of the President of Ukraine related to domestic policy. From among 23 laws initiated by the President, 15 were ratifications, six were approvals of decrees, and two urgent draft laws concerned changes to the significant dates – the postponement of the Victory Day over Nazism, the Day of Ukrainian Statehood, the Defenders Day and Christmas. Thus, just as during the 7th session (the first six months of martial law), the President once again withdrew from formal legislative influence on domestic policy. Of course, the President’s informal influence on domestic policy lawmaking is much higher.

Given the unusual nature of adopted presidential draft laws, they had two interesting features. First, during the 9th session, **presidential draft laws passed from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety the fastest during the 4th–9th sessions, in an average of 35 days.** Second, no presidential draft law was adopted in the second reading and in its entirety during the 9th session. This was also the first time in the 4th–9th sessions.

The distancing of the President of Ukraine from domestic policy issues and his concentration on defence and foreign policy are becoming increasingly characteristic features of martial law. The same situation was observed during the 7th session (6 months of martial law).

## **Strengthening the role of the Cabinet of Ministers in the legislative process**

During the 9th session, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine strengthened its formal positions in the legislative process, improving a number of indicators. The Cabinet of Ministers registered 114 (16.7%) draft laws, which is **one of the highest figures for the Government for all sessions of the 9th convocation.** Against the background of the Cabinet of Ministers, the Servant of the People faction slightly reduced its share (to 45.5%) of registered draft laws, showing one of the lowest shares for all sessions of the 9th convocation. Nevertheless, this faction’s MPs still register the most draft laws, and their total number of draft laws initiated is three times higher than that of the Cabinet of Ministers. The same situation was also observed for laws: **the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine initiated the largest share of laws for the Government of the 9th convocation, making 37.1% of all laws adopted, while MPs from the Servant of the People party initiated the lowest**

share of laws (42.1%) for the 9th convocation, although they still authored more laws than the Cabinet of Ministers or the President. In addition, it was for the first time that no laws were passed by MPs from the Fatherland faction and the For the Future group.

Perhaps for the first time, the average time for providing first opinions on government draft laws (down by 50 days) is shorter than the average time for providing first opinions on MPs' draft laws (up by 18 days). Government draft laws also moved from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety rather quickly, on average, in 71 days. This is the fastest passage of government draft laws in the 4th–9th sessions. Furthermore, the speed of passing from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety for government draft laws was the best for the 6th–9th sessions. For the second session in a row, the speed of government draft laws improved between the first reading and adoption in the second reading and in their entirety.

These indicators resonate with the idea of a government-centric model of decision-making. At the same time, monitoring encompasses primarily a formal procedure without focusing on measuring political weight and subjectivity.

## Signs of legislative spam revival

Six hundred eighty-three draft laws were registered during the 9th session. This roughly corresponds to the same 7th session in spring – summer 2022. It seems that the Verkhovna Rada has reached a plateau in the number of registered draft laws. The number of registered draft laws decreased by only 24 compared to the 7th session. At the same time, as of the end of the 7th session, the Verkhovna Rada had 420 MPs, and as of the end of the 9th session, it had 404 MPs. This means that the downward trend in the number of registered draft laws has stopped, and their number has stabilised. Against the background of this stabilisation, there are some signs of a revival of legislative spam.

During the 9th session, the practice of passing draft laws “on the fly” resumed. This is when they are adopted in the first reading and in their entirety on the day of their registration. There were three<sup>1</sup> such draft laws during the 9th session. Another nine draft laws were passed the day after they were registered. The share of draft laws with one, two, or three signatories increased. Instead, the share of draft laws with 4 to 7 and 8 to 22 signatories decreased. For the first time since the 4th session, the share of draft laws with only one signatory is higher than all other draft laws. In terms of registered draft laws, the Restoration of Ukraine group is a strong performer among factions and groups. Despite its small size, it registered as many as 88 draft laws, outperforming most factions and groups. Such a large number of registered draft laws, along with the minimal number of laws passed, is a sign of legislative spam (registration of many low-quality draft laws that have no real prospect of being passed). The Restoration of Ukraine group has an unprecedented figure for the 9th convocation – 5.18 draft laws per MP. This figure is twice as high as any other rate for any other faction or group in previous sessions. This number of draft laws per MP is another sign of legislative spam.

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<sup>1</sup> No. 0220 of 24 August 2023, No. 0221 of 24 August 2023 and No. 9378 of 10 June 2023.

## Increased level of violations of the constitutional procedure

The 9th session showed a record number of violations of the constitutional legislative procedure. The deadline for the President to sign (or submit proposals for) a draft law was violated in respect of 61 laws, i.e., in 31% of cases. In addition, eight more laws were neither signed by the President, vetoed nor received proposals. One law<sup>2</sup> was not even signed by the Chair of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and thus did not reach the President. All these violations, when combined, will constitute 36% of all laws passed during the 9th session. It means that every third law was signed in violation of the Constitution of Ukraine. The share of “ordinary” violations of the Rules of Procedure was also high, although it slightly decreased compared to the previous session. Thus, the 9th session resembles the situation observed during the first six months after the full-scale invasion in terms of the share of violations. Procedures for considering approximately 56% of laws (slightly more than half) had violations during the 9th session. Violations are more typical for the second reading (about 56% of draft laws) than for the first reading (almost 36% of draft laws).

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<sup>2</sup> Draft Law “On Amending Certain Laws of Ukraine on Improving the Legal Regulation of Issues Related to the Implementation of Measures of the Legal Regime of Martial Law” No. 8312 of 27 December 2022..

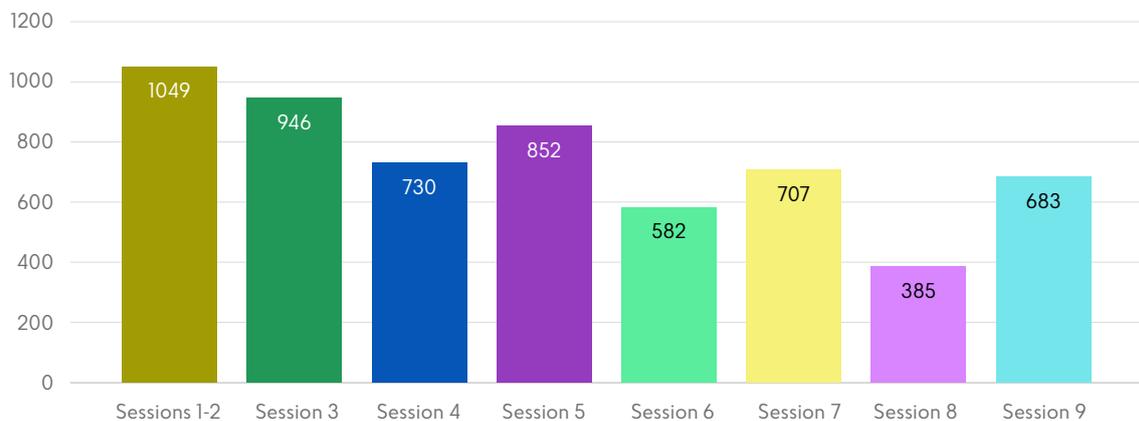
# Legislative activity

## Registered draft laws

Six hundred eighty-three draft laws were registered during the 9th session. This roughly corresponds to the same 7th session in spring – summer 2022. It seems that the Verkhovna Rada has reached a plateau in the number of registered draft laws. Their number decreased by only 24 compared to the 7th session. At the same time, as of the end of the 7th session, the Verkhovna Rada had 420 MPs, and as of the end of the 9th session, it had 404 MPs.

This means that the downward trend in the number of registered draft laws has stopped, and their number has stabilised. Accordingly, the tendency to reduce pressure on the structural units of the Secretariat of the Verkhovna Rada responsible for preliminary processing and support of draft laws has also ceased.

## Registered draft laws by session



Registered draft laws

## Registered draft laws by the initiator

Initiator <sup>3</sup>	Number of registered draft laws (percentage of total draft laws)
Servant of the People faction	311 (45,5%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	114 (16,7%)
Restoration of Ukraine group	88 (12,9%)
Non-factional	47 (6,9%)
European Solidarity faction	39 (5,7%)
Fatherland faction	24 (3,5%)
President of Ukraine	23 (3,4%)
Holos faction	22 (3,2%)
Dovira group	8 (1,2%)
Platform for Life and Peace group	4 (0,6%)
Party For the Future group	3 (0,4%)

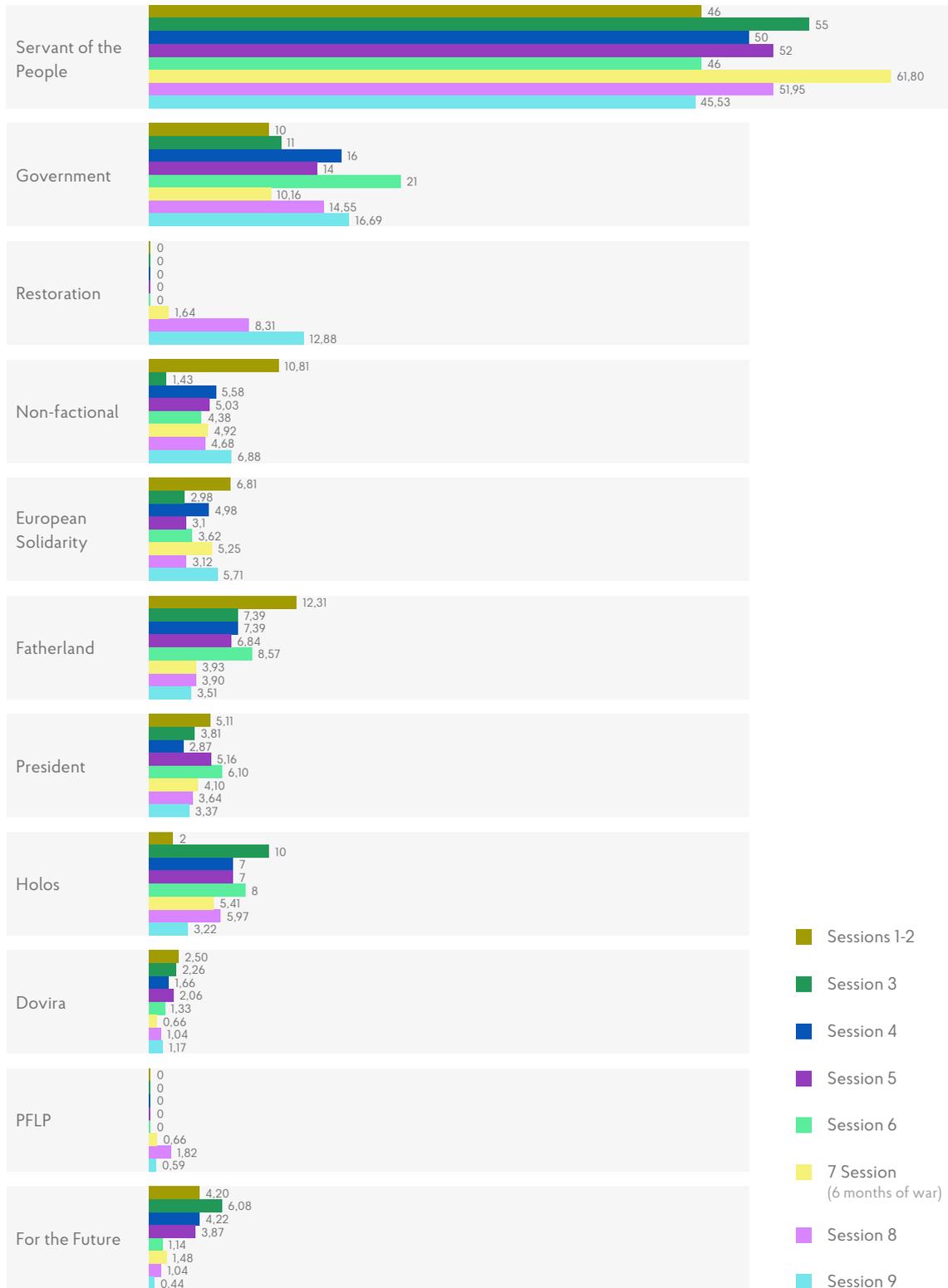
For some factions and groups, the number of registered draft laws did not differ from the figures for the 7th session and is more or less standard for them. This applies to the European Solidarity, Fatherland and Holos factions, which registered 20 to 30 draft laws each in the 9th session. The Dovira, Platform for Life and Peace and For the Future groups also registered up to 10 draft laws as a standard. The President of Ukraine registered 23 draft laws, which is also a standard figure for him.

Non-factional MPs slightly increased the number of registered draft laws, in particular, many draft laws were initiated by the leadership of the Verkhovna Rada and D. Razumkov.

The performance of the Restoration of Ukraine group is significantly higher. Despite a small number of its members, it registered as many as 88 draft laws, outperforming most factions and groups. Such a large number of registered draft laws, along with the minimal number of laws passed, is a sign of legislative spam (registration of many low-quality draft laws that have no real prospect of being passed). The most interesting indicators are those of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, which registered 114 draft laws, recording one of the highest figures for the Government for all sessions of the 9th convocation. Against the background of the Cabinet of Ministers, the Servant of the People faction slightly reduced its share of registered draft laws, showing one of the lowest shares for all sessions of the 9th convocation. Nevertheless, this faction's MPs still register the most draft laws, and their total number of draft laws initiated is three times higher than that of the Cabinet of Ministers.

<sup>3</sup> For the sake of simplicity, the term "initiator" is hereinafter used in such tables. This is true when it comes to the Government or the President. VRU factions do not have the right of legislative initiative, so when it comes to faction, it should be understood as the faction or group to which the first signatory (initiator) among the MPs belongs.

### Registered draft laws by entity and session in per cent

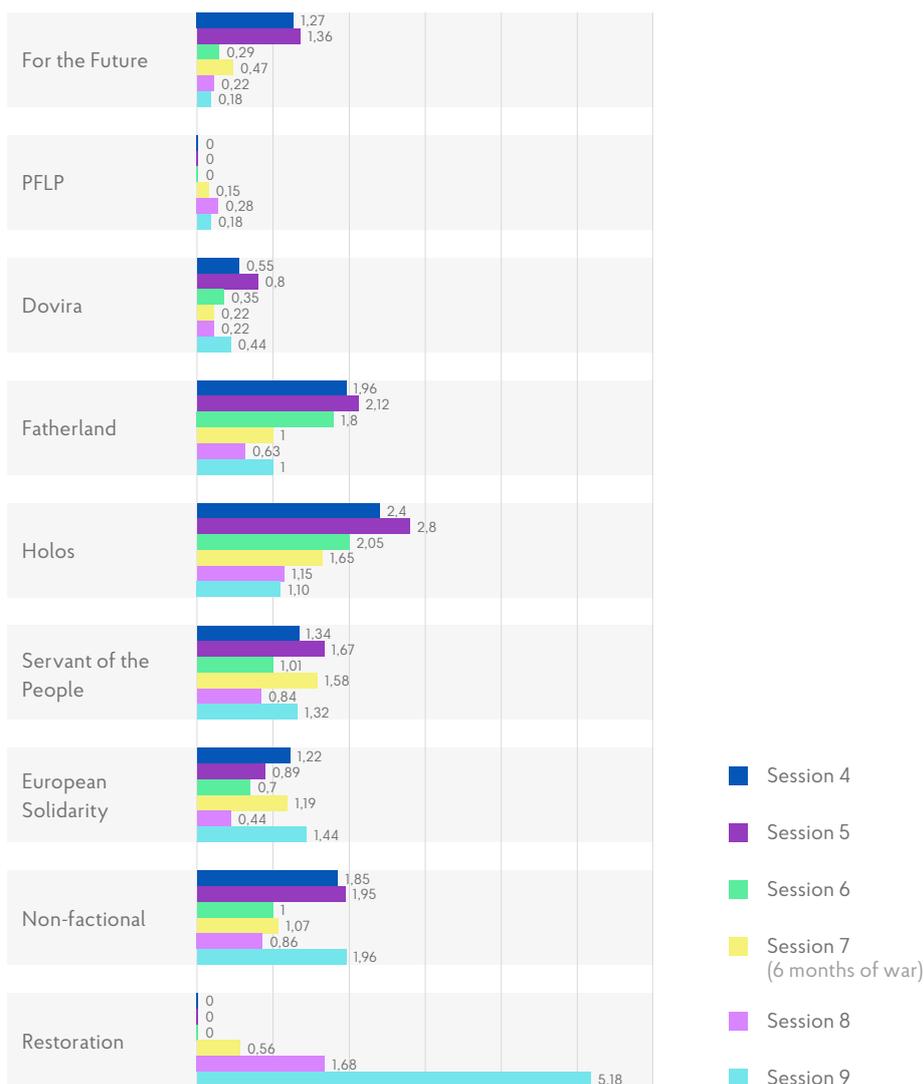


- Sessions 1-2
- Session 3
- Session 4
- Session 5
- Session 6
- 7 Session (6 months of war)
- Session 8
- Session 9

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

The number of registered draft laws per MP for most factions and groups shows a standard situation. One MP who is a member of a faction has from 1 to 1.44 draft laws. For MPs members of parliamentary groups, this figure is less than 0.5 draft laws per MP. Non-factional MPs stand out, as they registered an unusually high number of draft laws, an average of 1.96 per non-factional MP. However, the Restoration of Ukraine group stands out the most, with an unprecedented figure of 5.18 draft laws per MP for the 9th convocation. This figure is twice as high as any other rate for any other faction or group in previous sessions. This number of draft laws per MP is another sign of legislative spam.

### Draft laws per MP of factions/groups by session



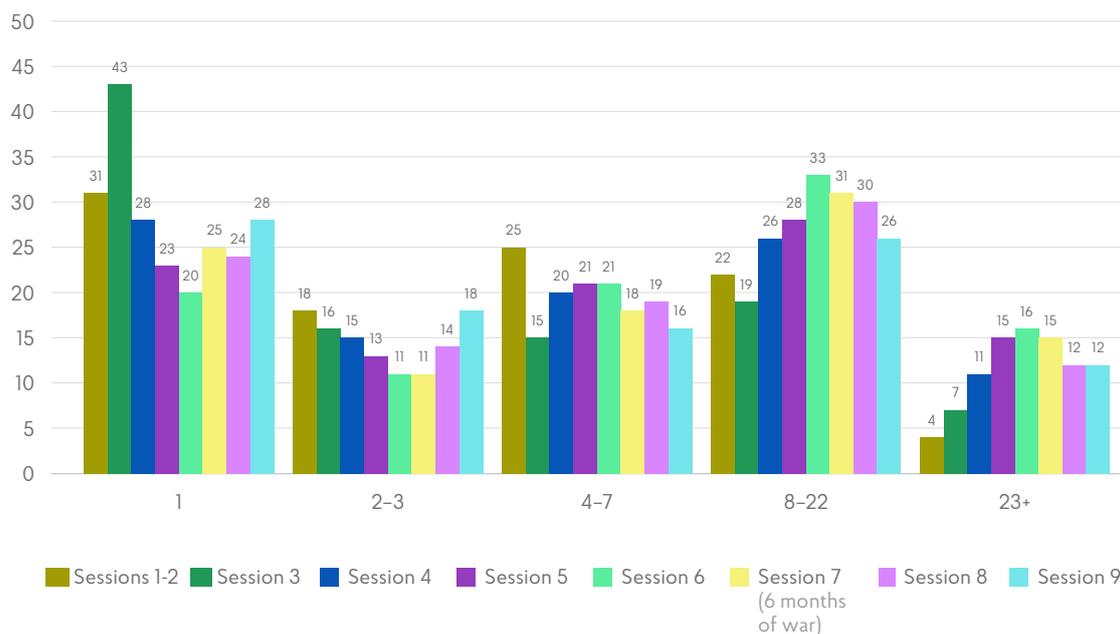
It is logical to assume that legislative drafting in parties forming factions is better established than in groups formed by majoritarian MPs due to the existing stable organisational structure and the possibility of establishing the work of the parliamentary association as a subject of the right of legislative initiative. This obviously affects the ability to develop “group” draft laws.

It is worth noting that the number of draft laws per MP cannot serve as an indicator of the efficiency of factions or groups. It is rather an indicator that allows for a better understanding of the general trends in the work of the Verkhovna Rada. The number of draft laws by specific MPs is deliberately not given here, as they often perceive it as an indicator of their efficiency, which encourages them to register more draft laws, neglecting the quality, which is one of the reasons for legislative spam.

### Registered draft laws by a group of signatories

Groups by the number of MPs who signed the draft laws	Number of draft laws for the 9th session initiated by MPs (percentage of the total number of draft laws from MPs)
1	75 (24%)
2-3	44 (14%)
4-7	61 (19%)
8-22	95 (30%)
23+	39 (12%)

### Distribution of draft laws by the number of signatories in per cent



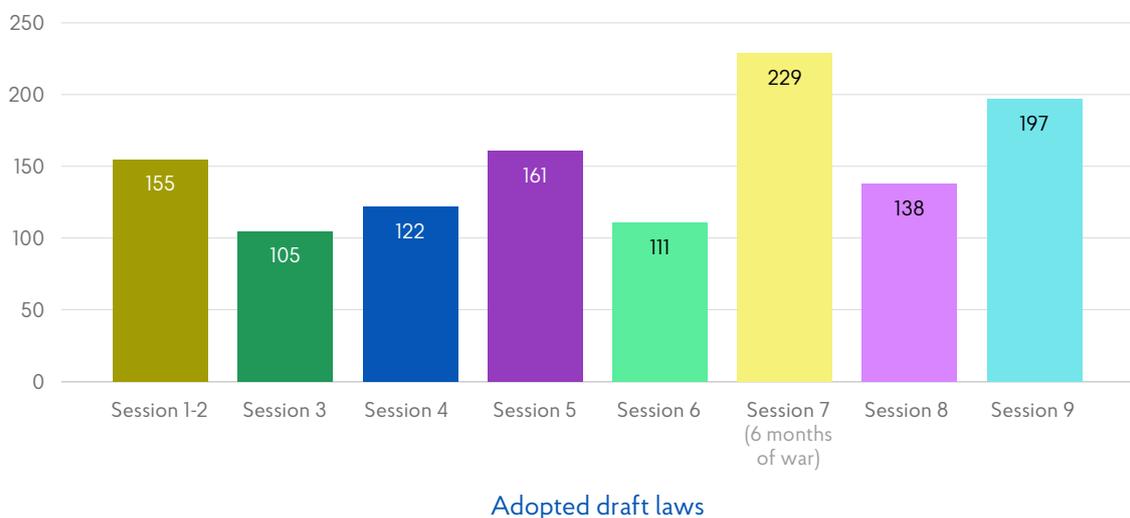
In terms of the number of signatories to draft laws, the 9th session continued the trends of the 8th and 7th sessions (i.e., trends that began after 24 February 2022), which unfortunately indirectly indicates an increase in legislative spam. The share of draft laws with one, two, or three signatories increased. Instead, the share of draft laws with 4 to 7 and 8 to 22 signatories decreased. For the first time since the 4th session, the share of draft laws with only one signatory is higher than all other draft laws.

The record of the 9th session is 140 signatories to one draft law<sup>4</sup> that prohibits the dissemination of information about the VRU's work during martial law. This draft law has now been passed in the first reading. In this section of the parliamentary monitoring, authors assume that a larger number of signatories positively correlates with better elaboration of draft laws and a higher level of consensus and is a sign of a decrease in legislative spam.

## Laws passed

A total of 197 laws were passed during the 9th session. This is less than what was passed during the 7th session (during the first six months of martial law), but still a very high figure, the second highest after the 7th session. This demonstrates the high workload of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and its desire to provide a legislative response to the changing circumstances caused by the full-scale war, martial law and the process of European integration.

### Draft laws adopted by session



<sup>4</sup> Draft Law "On Amending Certain Laws of Ukraine on the Prohibition of Dissemination of Information on the Plenary Session of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine During Martial Law" No. 9005 of 9 February 2023. Initiator (first signatory) – Ruslan Stefanchuk.

22 European integration<sup>5</sup> laws were adopted during the 9th session. This is 11% of all laws passed.

During the 9th session, the Verkhovna Rada passed 41 laws on the consent or denunciation of international treaties. This is 21% of all laws passed.

Twenty-four of these international treaties relate to the withdrawal, denunciation, suspension or termination of various types of international treaties with Russia or the CIS. In addition, Ukraine terminated three agreements with the Syrian Arab Republic and one agreement with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The remaining 17 laws are ratifications of international agreements. These include 12 multilateral agreements, including those related to the WTO, the Council of Europe, GUAM, the European Investment Bank and five agreements with the European Union. Moreover, Ukraine entered into five bilateral agreements: two with Moldova and one each with France, Qatar and North Macedonia.

The President of Ukraine identified two draft laws passed during the 9th session as urgent. Both of them concerned memorable dates. These are draft law No. 9278, which changed the date of the Victory Day over Nazism from 9 to 8 May, and draft law No. 9431, which also changed the dates of the Day of Ukrainian Statehood (moved to 15 July), the Defenders Day (moved to 1 October) and Christmas (moved to 25 December).

During the 9th session, the President vetoed (and submitted his proposals) draft laws twice. The President's proposals for both of these draft laws were not considered and adopted during the 9th session or as of today.

## Laws passed by the initiator

Initiator	Number of laws (percentage of total laws)
Servant of the People faction	83 (42,1%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	73 (37,1%)
President of Ukraine	23 (11,7%)
Non-factional	7 (3,6%)
Holos faction	6 (3%)
Restoration of Ukraine group	2 (1%)
European Solidarity faction	2 (1%)
Dovira group	1 (0,5%)

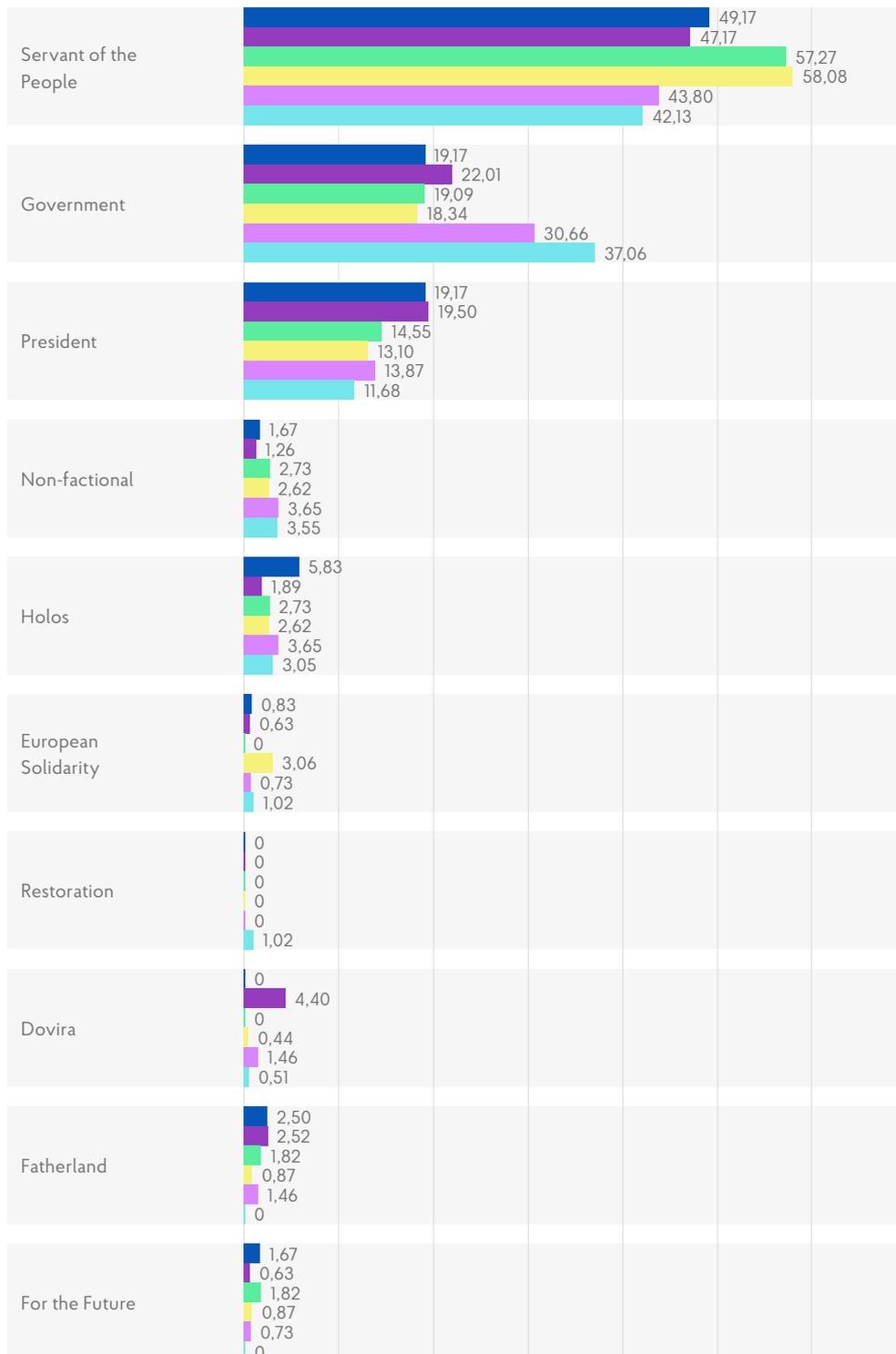
<sup>5</sup> A European integration law is one that is recognised by the Committee on European Integration as the "EU integration" law, has a corresponding label in the electronic system, and is sent to the Cabinet of Ministers for additional examination (<https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2483-IX#Text>).

The distribution of laws by initiators during the 9th session continues the trend set during the 8th session. The situation is most interesting in terms of the Servant of the People faction, the Cabinet of Ministers and the President. **MPs from the Servant of the People faction initiated the lowest (42.1%) share of laws in the 9th convocation**, although they still authored more laws than the Cabinet or the President. The President of Ukraine also has the lowest (11.7%) share of laws in the entire 9th convocation of the session. However, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine initiated the largest share of laws in the entire 9th convocation, namely 37.1% of all laws passed. This share increased by 7% compared to the 8th session. This situation resonates with the idea of forming a government-centric model of decision-making, which is being actively discussed within the framework of the parliamentary reform.

The nature of the President's legislative activity is also interesting. During the 9th session, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine did not adopt a single "ordinary" draft law of the President of Ukraine on domestic policy. From among 23 laws initiated by the President, 15 were ratifications, six were approvals of decrees, and two urgent draft laws concerned changes to the significant dates – the postponement of the Victory Day over Nazism, the Day of Ukrainian Statehood, the Defenders Day and Christmas. Thus, as during the 7th session (the first six months of martial law), the President once again withdrew from formal legislative influence on domestic policy. Of course, the President's informal influence on domestic policy lawmaking is much higher.

All MPs of minority factions and groups, as well as non-factional MPs, did not show any significant differences from their typical level – they initiated up to 5% of laws. MPs from three formations did not author any laws passed during the 9th session. As before, not a single law initiated by MPs of the Platform for Life and Peace group was adopted. Moreover, it was for the first time that no laws were passed by MPs from the Fatherland faction and For the Future group.

### Draft laws adopted by entity and session in per cent



■ Session 4   
 ■ Session 5   
 ■ Session 6   
 ■ Session 7 (6 months of war)   
 ■ Session 8   
 ■ Session 9

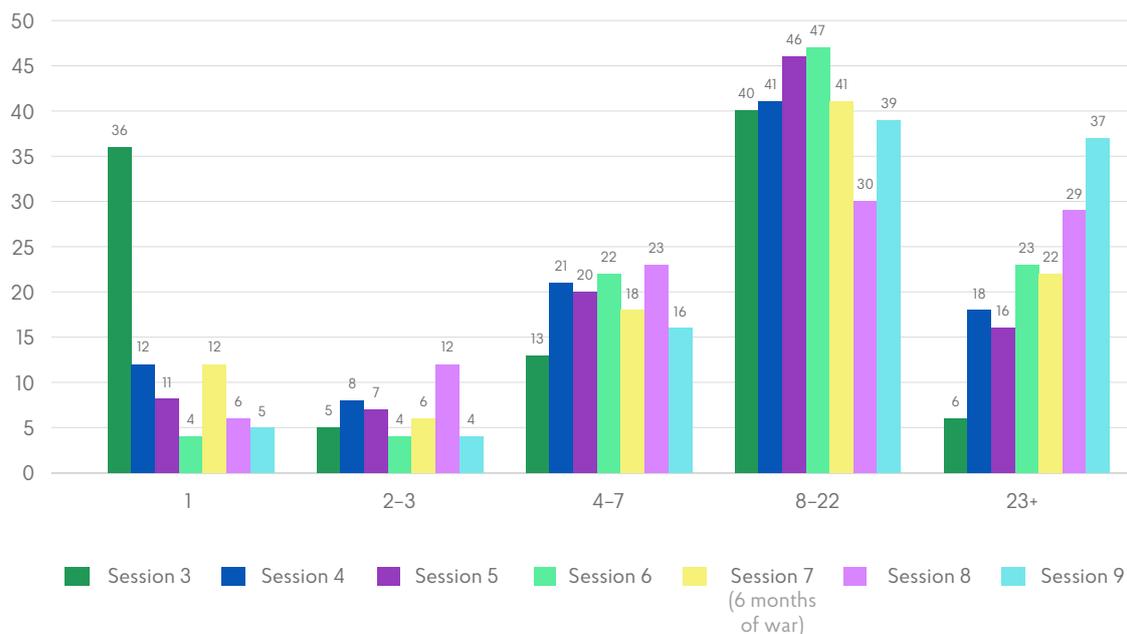
## Laws adopted by groups of signatories

In contrast to the steady upward trend in the share of draft laws with a small number of signatories, the situation for laws is the opposite. The share of laws with a large number of signatories far outweighs the share of laws with a small number of signatories. Draft laws with one or two to three signatories, although often registered, are hardly ever passed (do not become laws). Instead, draft laws with a large number of signatories (8 to 22 signatories or over 23 signatories) are registered much less frequently but are adopted much more often and become laws. In other words, draft laws with a large number of signatories have a better chance of becoming law than those with a small number of signatories.

The Law on Lawmaking No. 5707 of 25 June 2021, adopted by the Verkhovna Rada on 24 August 2023, has the most signatories, namely 191.

Groups by the number of signatories – MPs for adopted laws	Number of laws submitted by MPs (percentage of total MPs' laws)
1	5 (5%)
2-3	4 (4%)
4-7	16 (16%)
8-22	39 (39%)
23+	37 (37%)

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



# Passage of draft laws

## Number of laws by readings

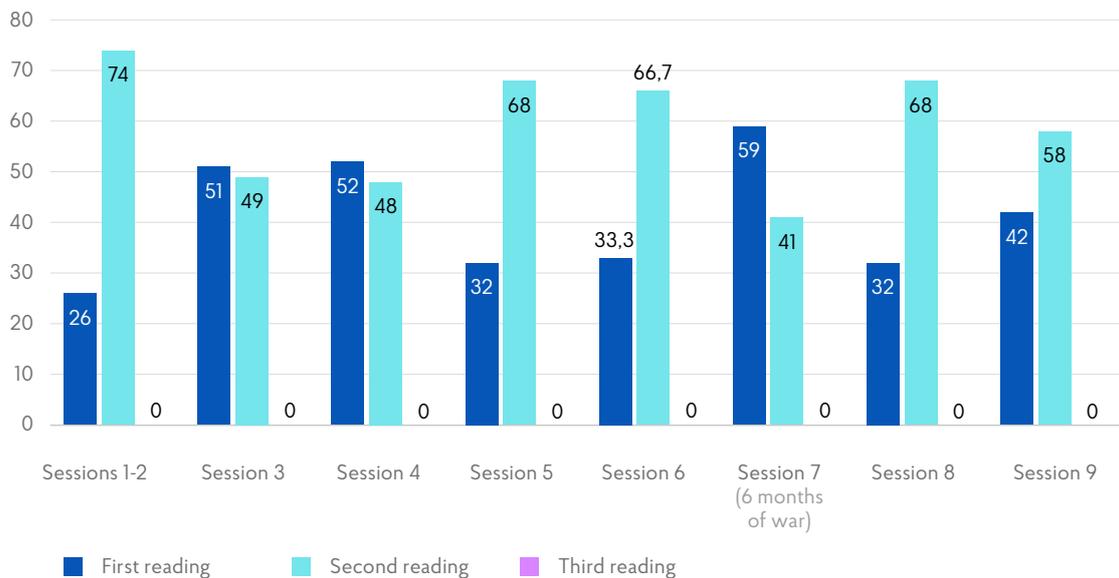
82 – adopted in their entirety after the first reading (42%);

115 – adopted in their entirety after the second reading (58%);

0 – adopted in their entirety after the third reading (0%).

During the 9th session, three out of five laws were adopted in the second reading, and two out of five laws were adopted in the first reading. However, the share of the second reading decreased compared to the 5th, 6th or 8th sessions. The trend of not using the third reading has not changed – no draft law has passed three readings<sup>6</sup>. Two readings allow for better preparation of the draft law and correction of shortcomings and errors made during the first reading. However, two readings also require more time.

## Percentage (%) of laws adopted by readings



<sup>6</sup> According to Article 102(1) of the Rules of Procedure: “Draft laws shall be considered by the Verkhovna Rada, as a rule, according to the procedure of three readings.” For more information on the peculiarities of the third reading, please follow the link: <https://parlament.org.ua/2021/09/29/analitika-dnya-tretye-chitannya-zajve/>.

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

When reviewing the information on committees, it should be noted that this monitoring is based on the number of opinions of the main committees. These methods are used due to the availability of data. Specifically, information on the opinions of the main committees is constantly available on the Verkhovna Rada website, is regularly updated, and covers all opinions of the main committees. However, the committees perform many other functions and tasks in addition to providing opinions of the main committees. Three committees<sup>7</sup> are required to provide mandatory opinions on all draft laws; committees may be tasked with preparing opinions as auxiliary committees; committees consider and make decisions within the framework of the oversight function; they consider letters and appeals; hold conferences, round tables, etc. However, all this information is published only in fragments, so it cannot be used for a regular monitoring format. However, it is used in cases where this information is available in a form acceptable for systemic monitoring. These limitations should be taken into account when reviewing the information below, which is based on the opinions of the main committees.

The timing of the main committees' opinions on draft laws<sup>8</sup> allows for assessing several important indicators. In terms of committees, the time from registration to the submission of the first opinion by the committee characterises their workload and performance and allows forecasting, in general terms, the speed of preliminary processing of a certain draft law depending on its main committee. In terms of initiators, the time of submitting opinions characterises the "commitment" of committee members to a particular initiator and enhances the predictive capabilities of the speed of preliminary processing. Finally, the time required to receive the first opinion of the main committee, together with the data on the overall passage of draft laws, allows for a better understanding of the overall dynamics of the passage of draft laws.

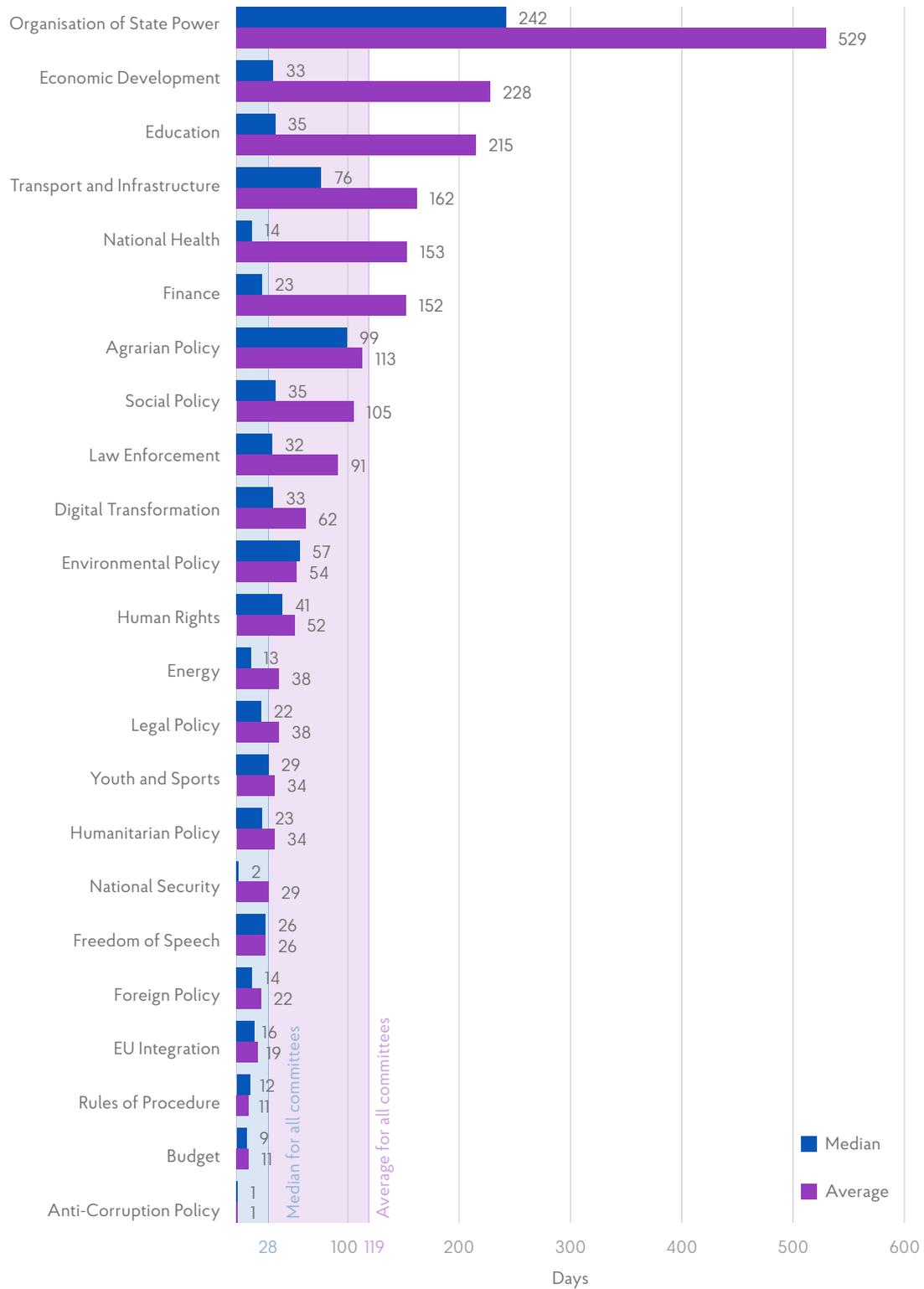
On average, the committees provided their opinions for the first reading in 119 days, and half of all opinions were provided in 28 days.

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<sup>7</sup> Budget Committee, Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy and Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union.

<sup>8</sup> The data presented relate only to cases where opinions were provided. The time between the date of draft law registration and the date of submission of the first opinion by the main committee was calculated, including opinions on inclusion in the agenda. This type of opinions was taken into account, as often during the preliminary processing, the committee actually considers draft laws on the merits.

### Days from registration to submission of the first opinion of the main committee<sup>9</sup>



<sup>9</sup> It should be taken into account that the following committees submitted less than five first opinions for the first reading during the 9th session: the Committee on Youth and Sports, the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy and the Committee on Freedom of Speech.

## The speed of issuing opinions varies greatly from committee to committee

The difference in some cases is 50-fold. Comparing the figures of the 9th session with the previous 8th session, half of the committees reduced the time for providing their first opinions. The decrease ranged from 40 to 200 days, depending on the committee. For other committees, the time to provide the first opinion either remained almost unchanged or increased. The increase ranged from 5 to 76 days<sup>10</sup>.

In general, the workload and the speed of issuing opinions are correlated in most cases. However, the situation is different in some cases. The Committee on Law Enforcement and the Committee on Legal Policy, despite the relatively large number of opinions submitted, provided their first opinions on draft laws rather quickly. The Committee on Transport and Infrastructure, with a moderate number of opinions, took a relatively long time to provide its first opinions on draft laws.

Submitting entity	Average number of days	Median <sup>11</sup> number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	117	36
MPs of Ukraine	128	28
President of Ukraine	12	12

The situation looks unusual in terms of submitting entities and initiators. Perhaps for the first time, the average time for providing first opinions on government draft laws is shorter than the average time for providing first opinions on MPs' draft laws. Accordingly, the average number of days for issuing the first opinion on MPs' draft laws increased (by 18 days), while it decreased (by 50 days) for government draft laws. However, the median number of days for government draft laws is still higher than the median number of days for MPs' draft laws, although the difference is insignificant. The median number of days decreased for draft laws from all submitting entities. This means that, in general, committees became faster in providing their first opinions. As usual, the President's draft laws are the fastest to receive the committees' first opinions, having been in the committees for less than two weeks.

<sup>10</sup> Except for indicators of the Committee on the Organisation of State Power, which are due to the provision of opinions on a group of 12 long-pending alternative draft laws under general No. 4043, which relate to the powers of the Central Election Commission.

<sup>11</sup> Recall that the median is the value that divides all the data in half, meaning that half of all observations will be less than the median, and half will be more than the median.

In the 9th session, draft laws of all factions received opinions faster than in the 8th session<sup>12</sup>.

Initiator's factional affiliation	Average number of days	Median number of days
Holos faction	449	66
OPFL	394	394
For the Future group	362	41
Dovira group	261	41
Government	117	36
Fatherland faction	102	24
Servant of the People faction	87	28
Non-factional	82	22
European Solidarity faction	71	40
Platform for Life and Peace group	69	69
Restoration of Ukraine group	48	41
President	12	12

Annex 1 contains the top 5 longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to the first opinion of the main committee, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws.

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

The speed of submission of committee opinions for the second reading<sup>13</sup> is less indicative, given the small number of such opinions per committee. These data<sup>14</sup> should be treated with caution, but they are also worthy of attention. Thus, 8 out of 18<sup>15</sup> committees increased (compared to

<sup>12</sup> it should be noted that the indicators for the Platform for Life and Peace, For the Future group, and the Opposition Platform – For Life faction were calculated using less than four opinions. They are highlighted in grey in the table. Therefore, fast or slow receipt of opinions on their draft laws is more a coincidence than a system. Other factions have more than five opinions.

<sup>13</sup> The number of days between the date the draft law was adopted in the first reading and the date the committee submitted its first opinion for the second reading was calculated (although there may be several opinions).

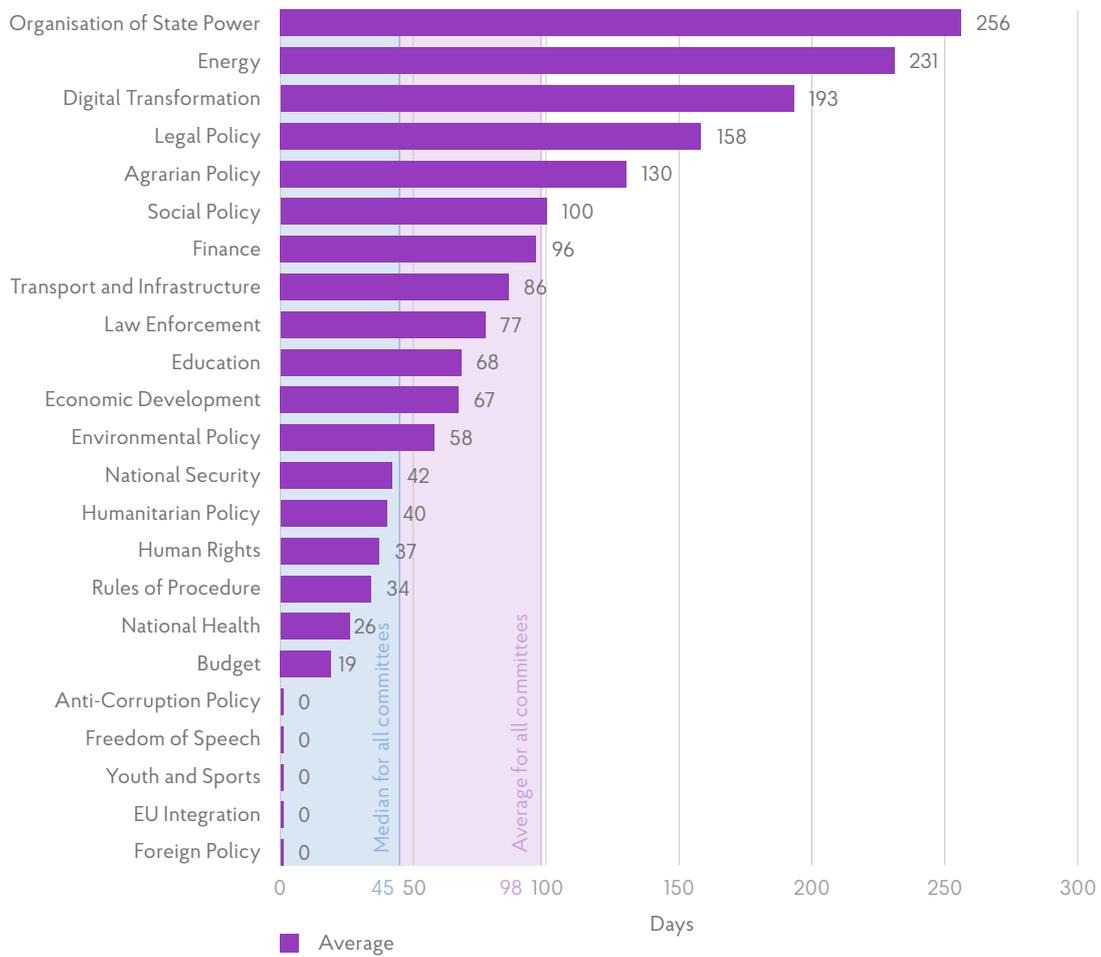
<sup>14</sup> Given the small number of opinions for the second reading, only the average is used here. Only four committees submitted 10 or more opinions for the second reading in the 9th session.

<sup>15</sup> Another five committees did not provide any opinion for the second reading.

the previous session) the average time it took them to submit opinions for the second reading, while 10 out of 18 committees reduced this time.

On average, it took 98 days from the adoption of a draft law in the first reading to the provision of an opinion for the second reading, and half of all opinions were provided in 45 days. In other words, the speed of committee processing of draft laws for the second reading differs from the speed of processing for the first reading by 20–30%.

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



Initiator	Average number of days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	97,2
MPs of Ukraine	98,5
President of Ukraine <sup>16</sup>	—

Given the nature of the President's legislative activity during the 9th session (ratifications, decrees and symbolic draft laws), all presidential initiatives did not reach the second reading but were always adopted in the first reading and in their entirety. Government and MPs' draft laws received first committee opinions for the second reading at almost the same rate. This repeats the same situation during the 7th session. Compared to the 7th session, the time for providing the first opinion for the second reading increased by one and a half times (by 30 days). Comparing the figures for the 9th and 8th sessions, the time for submitting opinions on government draft laws has increased slightly, while the time for submitting opinions on MPs' draft laws has slightly decreased. The time taken to provide opinions on draft laws submitted by the Servant of the People roughly reflects the time taken to provide opinions on draft laws submitted by MPs of other factions and groups and thus corresponds to the government's indicator.

Initiator's Affiliation <sup>17</sup>	Average number of days
European Solidarity faction	175
Non-factional	148
Government	97
Servant of the People faction	96
Dovira group	65
For the Future group	63
Holos faction	53

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

<sup>16</sup> During the 9th session, the Committees did not provide opinions on draft laws of the President of Ukraine for the second reading. They are highlighted in grey in the table.

<sup>17</sup> It should be taken into account that many opinions (over five) were provided only on draft laws of the Government, non-factional MPs and MPs of the Servant of the People faction. For the President and other factions and groups, there were less than five draft laws for which opinions were submitted. They are highlighted in grey in the table. For these categories, this value can be explained by coincidence.

## Time from registration of laws to their adoption

The average time for the adoption of laws, regardless of the reading, is 193 days, with a median of 103 days (i.e., half of the draft laws were adopted in more than 103 days and half in less than 103 days).

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

Session number	Average number of days	Median number of days
1-2	26	21,5
3	60	32
4	75	69
5	81	65
6	102	72
7 (6 months of war)	64,5	8
8	77	24
9	49	33

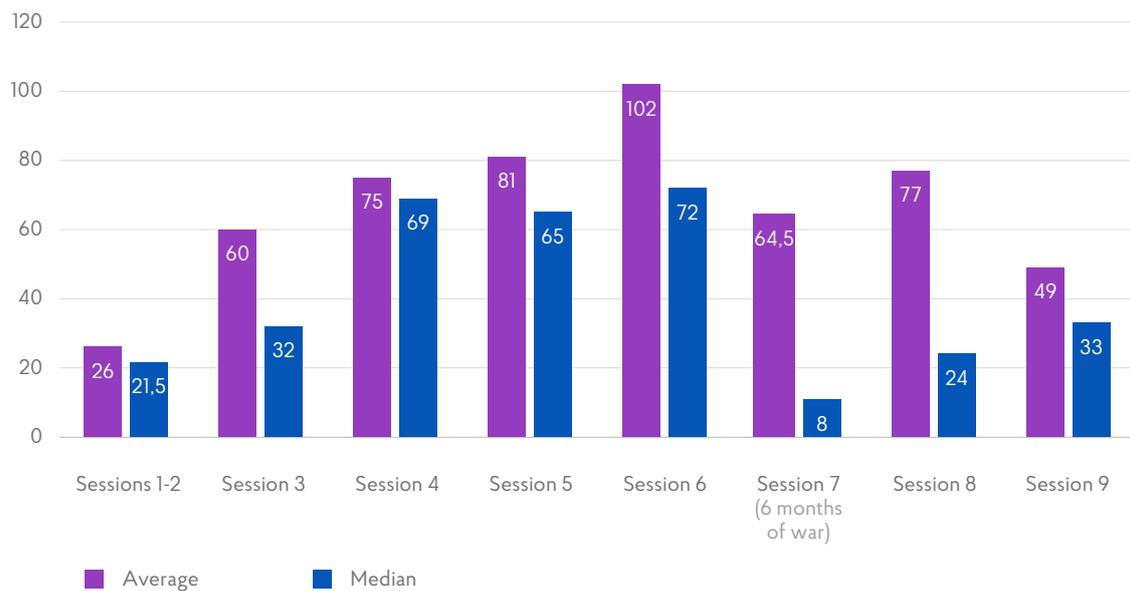
The time it took for draft laws to pass from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety remained at the same level<sup>18</sup>, as during the 8th session for 80% of the draft laws, which were adopted in less than 59 days. For another 20% of draft laws, the time from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety decreased by approximately 40 days. This applies to those draft laws that have the longest passage time. It is noteworthy that absolutely all draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety were registered after 24 February 2022. Only one such draft law was registered during the 7th session, while all the others were registered during the 8th or 9th sessions. Thus, for the stage from registration to adoption in the first reading and in the entire, the 9th session demonstrated record-breaking performance, the second after the 7th session (6 months of martial law). The 9th session also demonstrated a complete update of the agenda, as all draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety concerned the situation after 24 February 2022. At the same time, the practice of passing draft laws “on the fly” has been revived when draft laws are adopted in the first reading and in their entirety on the day of their registration. There were three such draft laws during the 9th session. Another nine draft laws were passed the day after they were registered.

The experimental indicator “growth rate” was -16 (minus sixteen) days, although this indicator is primarily due to the previous period’s negative value. The growth rate shows that during the 9th

<sup>18</sup> The difference in time compared to the 8th session was up to 10 days longer or shorter.

session, the draft laws were quickly passed from registration to adoption in the first reading and in the entirety. The growth rate is calculated as the average difference between the difference in deciles<sup>19</sup> of the number of days from registration to adoption during the 7th (first six months of the full-scale invasion) and 6th sessions and the difference in deciles of the number of days from registration to adoption during the 9th and 8th sessions<sup>20</sup>.

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

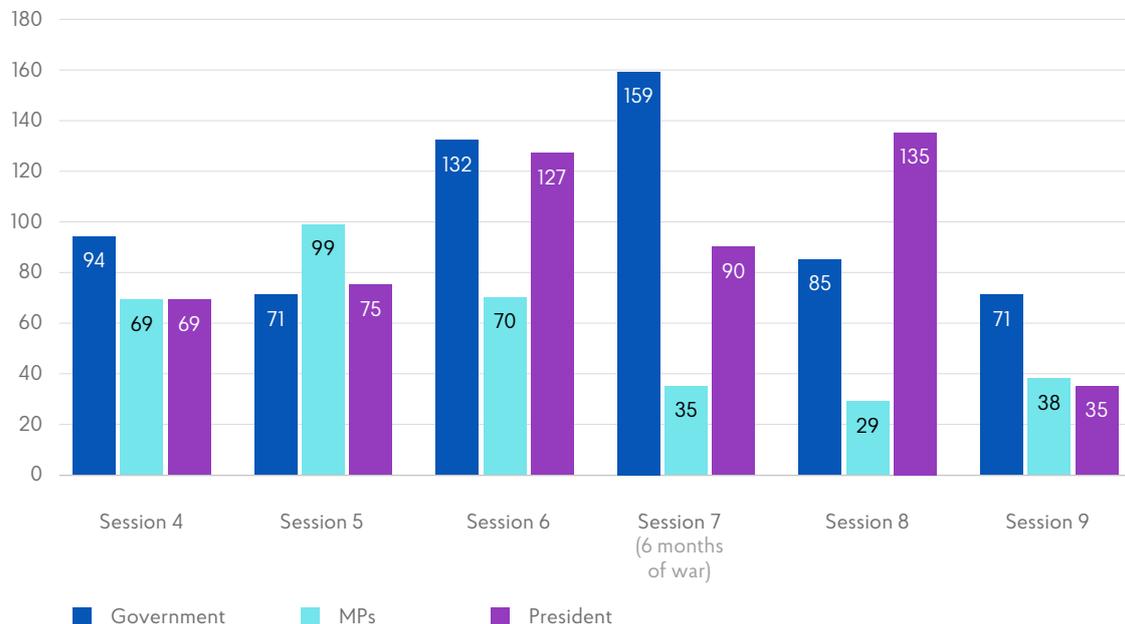


Initiating entity	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	71	53
MPs of Ukraine	38 (42 for the Servant of the People faction)	23 (23 for the Servant of the People faction)
President of Ukraine	35	31

<sup>19</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quantile>

<sup>20</sup> In other words, the “pace” describes the rate of increase in the time for adoption. For example, imagine that the average time for adopting draft laws increased by 10 days between the 1st and 2nd sessions, and this increase was seven days between the 2nd and 3rd sessions. Then the indicator, which is called the pace here, would be -3 days, meaning that the growth slowed down. If the increase between the 2nd and 3rd sessions was 15 days, the rate would be five days, which would mean that the growth accelerated.

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



Laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety are initiated approximately equally by MPs, the Cabinet of Ministers and the President. However, two-thirds of such laws from the Government are ratifications. All presidential draft laws were adopted in the first reading, and in their entirety, none of them made it to the second reading. This is no surprise, as all of the President’s draft laws were ratifications, decrees and two symbolic draft laws. Both ratifications and decrees are always adopted in the first reading.

The government draft laws went from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety rather quickly, on average, in 71 days. This is the **fastest passage of government draft laws in the 4th–9th sessions**. However, compared to MPs’ and presidential draft laws, the government draft laws took the longest to pass during the 9th session, twice as long as MPs’ or presidential draft laws. During the 9th session, the **presidential draft laws passed** from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety the **fastest in the 4th–9th sessions**, in an average of 35 days. However, the average speed (38 days) of passing MPs’ draft laws from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety was almost the same as during the 7th and 8th sessions.

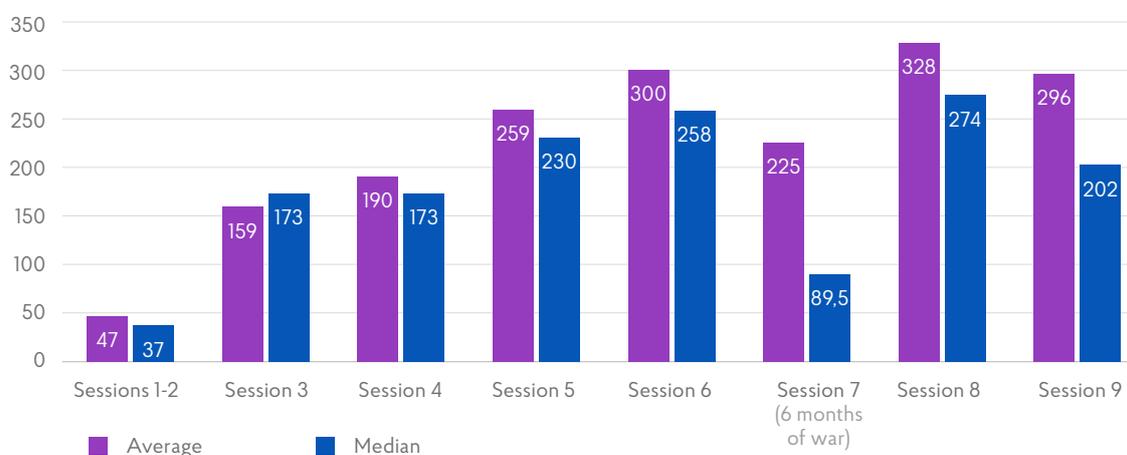
The top 5 longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws, can be found in Annex 3.

## Time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in the entirety<sup>21</sup>

Session number	Average number of days	Median number of days
1-2	47	37
3	159	173
4	190	173
5	259	230
6	300	258
7 (6 months of war)	225	89,5
8	328	274
9	296	202

Draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety during the 9th session showed different dynamics of passing from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety. 40% of the fastest draft laws took longer to pass from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety, increasing this time by 7 to 37 days. As for 60% of the draft laws that take the longest to pass from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety, the time for the relevant passage decreased by 30–127 days. On average, the passage of draft laws from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety has accelerated (the median and average values also show a slowdown) compared to the 8th session. The growth rate of the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in its entirety has also decreased and amounted to -142 (minus one hundred and forty-two) days. 22% of draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety during the 9th session were registered before the commencement of martial law, while the remaining 78% relate to the martial law agenda, as they were registered after 24 February 2022.

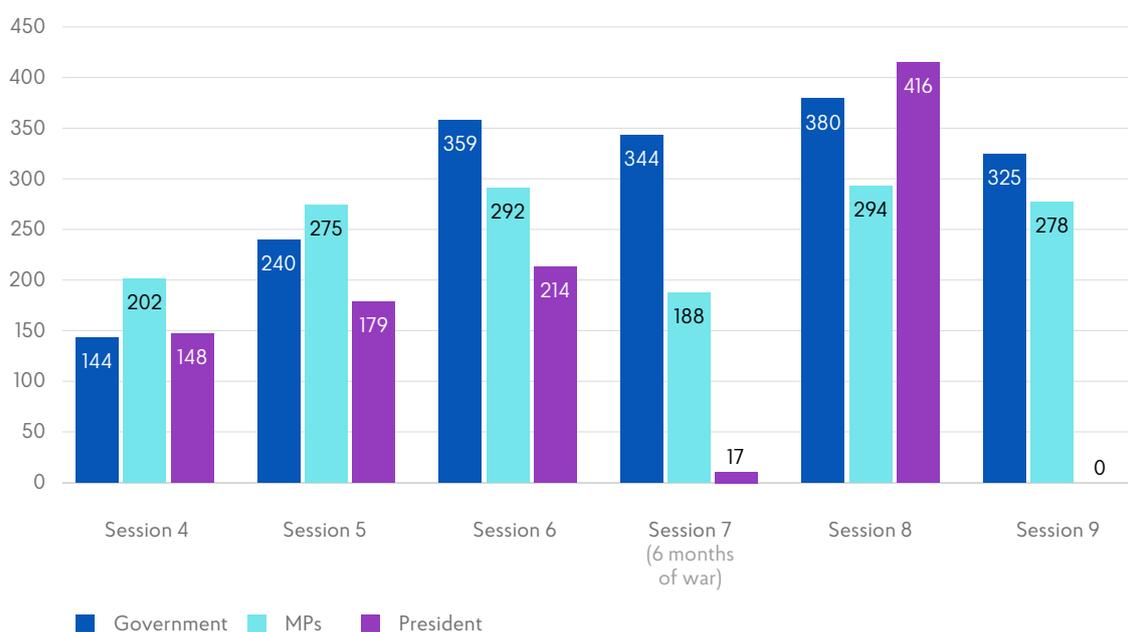
## Comparison of sessions by the number of days spent on adopting draft laws in the second reading



<sup>21</sup> Data are provided only for laws that were not vetoed.

Initiating entity	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	325	234
MPs of Ukraine	278 (283 for the Servant of the People faction)	194 (for the Servant of the People faction)
President of Ukraine <sup>22</sup>	–	–

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



During the 9th session, the government draft laws passed the fastest in the 6th–9th sessions, demonstrating the Government’s increased capacity to effectively promote its draft laws in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. However, they are still slower than MPs’ draft laws. MPs’ draft laws also became faster (if we compare the 8th and 9th sessions) in passing from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety.

No presidential draft law was adopted in the second reading and in its entirety during the 9th session. This was the first time in the 4th–9th sessions.

Annex 4 contains the top 5 longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws.

<sup>22</sup> The President did not initiate any draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety during the 9th session.

## The period between the first reading of the draft law and its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety<sup>23</sup>

Session number	Average number of days	Median number of days
4	93	75,5
5	130	91
6	168	148
7 (6 months of war)	121	38
8	141	57
9	159	97

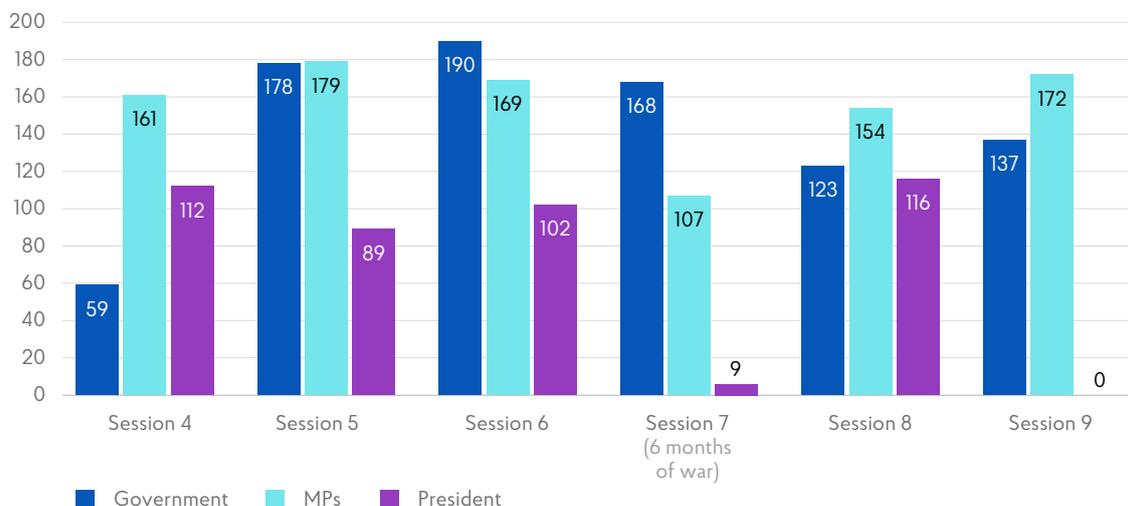
The time between adoption in the first reading and adoption in the second reading and in their entirety for draft laws adopted during the 9th session slightly increased compared to the 8th session. The increase ranged from 10 to 80 days for 80% of draft laws. In other words, the Verkhovna Rada spent more time working on draft laws in committees and expert and analytical units, and the process of political approval of draft laws took longer. This means that the reduction in the overall time for passing draft laws from registration to adoption in the second reading is not due to their faster processing but to consideration of “fresher” draft laws.

Initiating entity	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	137	79
MPs of Ukraine	172 (174 for the Servant of the People faction)	101 (112 for the Servant of the People faction)
President of Ukraine <sup>24</sup>	—	—

<sup>23</sup> Data are provided only for laws that were not vetoed.

<sup>24</sup> The President did not initiate any draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety during the 9th session. It is highlighted in grey in the table.

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



During the 9th session, in terms of the legislative initiative entities, the time between the adoption of government and MPs’ draft laws in the first reading and adoption in the second reading and in their entirety continued the trend of the 8th session. This time has increased for both government and MPs’ draft laws, although slightly more for the latter. Thus, the quantitative data show that the Cabinet of Ministers has been better at promoting its draft laws in the Verkhovna Rada (second reading) than MPs of Ukraine for the second consecutive session. MPs’ draft laws showed one of the longest passage times between the adoption in the first reading and in the second reading and in their entirety for the 4th–9th sessions.

Annex 5 contains the top 5 longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from the adoption in the first reading to the adoption in the second reading and in their entirety, as well as the top 5 fastest draft laws.

The monitoring of the passage of draft laws during the 9th session revealed three important trends.

First, the monitoring showed a **significant update of the agenda**. All draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety and 78% of draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety were registered after 24 February 2022. That is, these are draft laws aimed at solving problems relevant to martial law.

Second, for the first time in the 4th–9th sessions, the President did not initiate any draft law adopted in the second reading and in their entirety. All presidential draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety are decrees, ratifications and symbolic draft laws. This demonstrates that the **President of Ukraine withdraws from domestic policy issues** and concentrates on defence and foreign policy. The same situation was observed during the 7th session, while it was less pronounced during the 8th session.

Third, the **Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has significantly strengthened its formal performance indicators**, setting several records in the 4th–9th sessions. The improved indicators are associated with the speed of draft laws’ passage from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety, the speed of draft laws’ passage between the first reading and adoption in the

second reading and in their entirety, and the speed of receiving the first committee opinion on registered draft laws.

# Committees

Information on the timeframe for submitting committee opinions is contained in the “Passage of Draft Laws” section.

## Opinions on rejection

Legislative initiative entity	Number of opinions on rejection of draft laws (percentage of the total number of opinions on rejection)
MPs of Ukraine	81 (94%)
Government	5 (6%)
President	0

Factional affiliation of draft law initiators	Number of opinions on rejection of draft laws (percentage of MPs' opinions on rejection)
Servant of the People faction	37 (46%)
Holos faction	18 (22%)
Non-factional	6 (7%)
Fatherland faction	5 (6%)
European Solidarity faction	5 (6%)
Restoration of Ukraine group	4 (5%)
Dovira group	2 (2%)
Platform for Life and Peace group	2 (2%)
Party For the Future group	2 (2%)

Eighty-eight opinions of the main committees on rejecting draft laws were prepared during the 9th session. Opinions on dismissal may indicate both the political loyalty of committees and the level (at least minimal) of quality of preparing draft laws. At the same time, half of the rejected draft laws are alternative ones. Presidential draft laws seem to meet both criteria, as they do not

have any opinions on dismissal. Government draft laws also appear to be quite good: only five of them were rejected. Draft laws submitted by members of the Servant of the People faction received the majority of opinions on dismissal, which is logical given the number of such MPs and their legislative activity. Other factions and groups received less than five opinions on dismissal each. The only significant exception is the Holos faction, whose draft laws received a relatively large number of opinions on dismissal in both quantitative and relative terms. This is due to the provision of opinions on dismissal to the group of alternative draft laws to the draft law No. 4043. MPs from the Holos faction initiated these alternative draft laws.

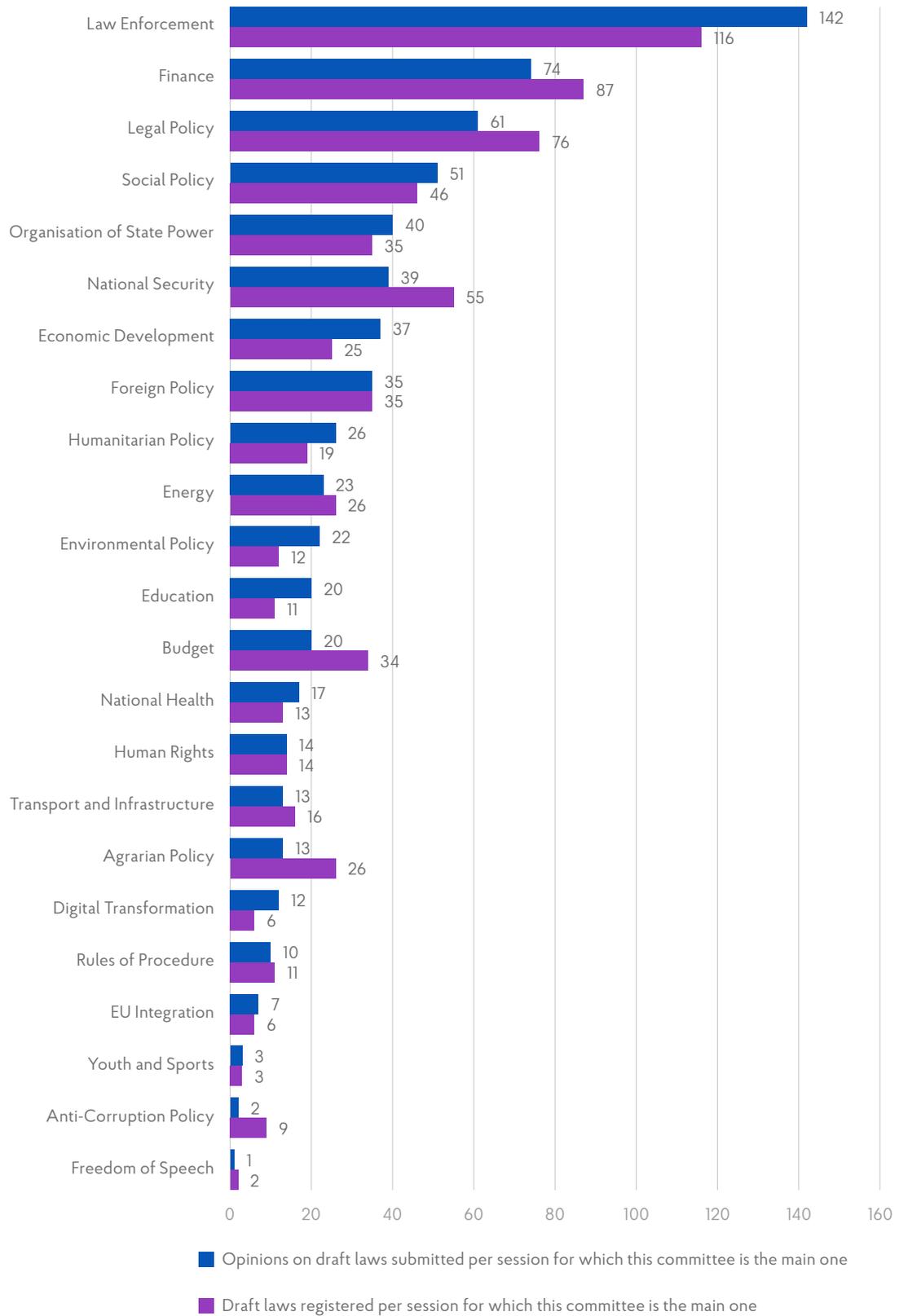
## Workload on committees

When considering the workload on the committees, it should be borne in mind that this monitoring calculates the workload primarily based on the number of opinions from the main committees. These methods are used due to the availability of data (open data format). Specifically, information on the opinions of the main committees is constantly available on the Verkhovna Rada website, is regularly updated, and covers all opinions of the main committees. However, the committees perform many other functions and tasks in addition to providing opinions of the main committees. Three committees<sup>25</sup> are required to provide mandatory opinions on all draft laws; committees may be tasked with preparing opinions as auxiliary committees; committees consider and make decisions on the oversight function, consider letters and appeals, hold conferences, round tables, etc. These limitations should be taken into account when reviewing the information below, which is based on the opinions of the main committees.

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<sup>25</sup> Budget Committee, Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy and Committee on EU Integration.

### Workload of the main committees



This diagram has two indicators. First, it shows the number of opinions<sup>26</sup> provided by the main committees. The second indicator is the number of draft laws assigned to each committee as the main committee in accordance with the subjects of the committees' jurisdiction. Together, they show how the legislative work on preliminary processing of draft laws is distributed.

The Committee on Law Enforcement has the most draft laws both in terms of the number of opinions provided (142) and the number of draft laws registered (116). **The Committee on Finance and the Committee on Legal Policy also have a significant workload.** This situation generally repeats the same period of the first six months of martial law (7th session), but the distribution of the workload has changed.

Committees that increased their number of opinions during the first six months of martial law the most reduced (compared to the first six months of martial law) the number of opinions submitted during the 9th session: the Committee on Economic Development (-37 opinions) and the Committee on National Security (-22 opinions).

The number of submitted opinions increased the most (compared to the first six months of martial law) in the committees responsible for **law and order**. Thus, the Committee on Law Enforcement almost doubled the number of submitted opinions (+68), and the Committee on Legal Policy increased the number by one and a half times (+22). In addition, two other committees, although not experiencing such a large increase in the number of opinions submitted, have significantly increased their performance in relative terms compared to the first six months of martial law: the Committee on Foreign Policy more than doubled the number of submitted opinions (+19), and the Committee on Energy Policy almost tripled the number of submitted opinions (+15).

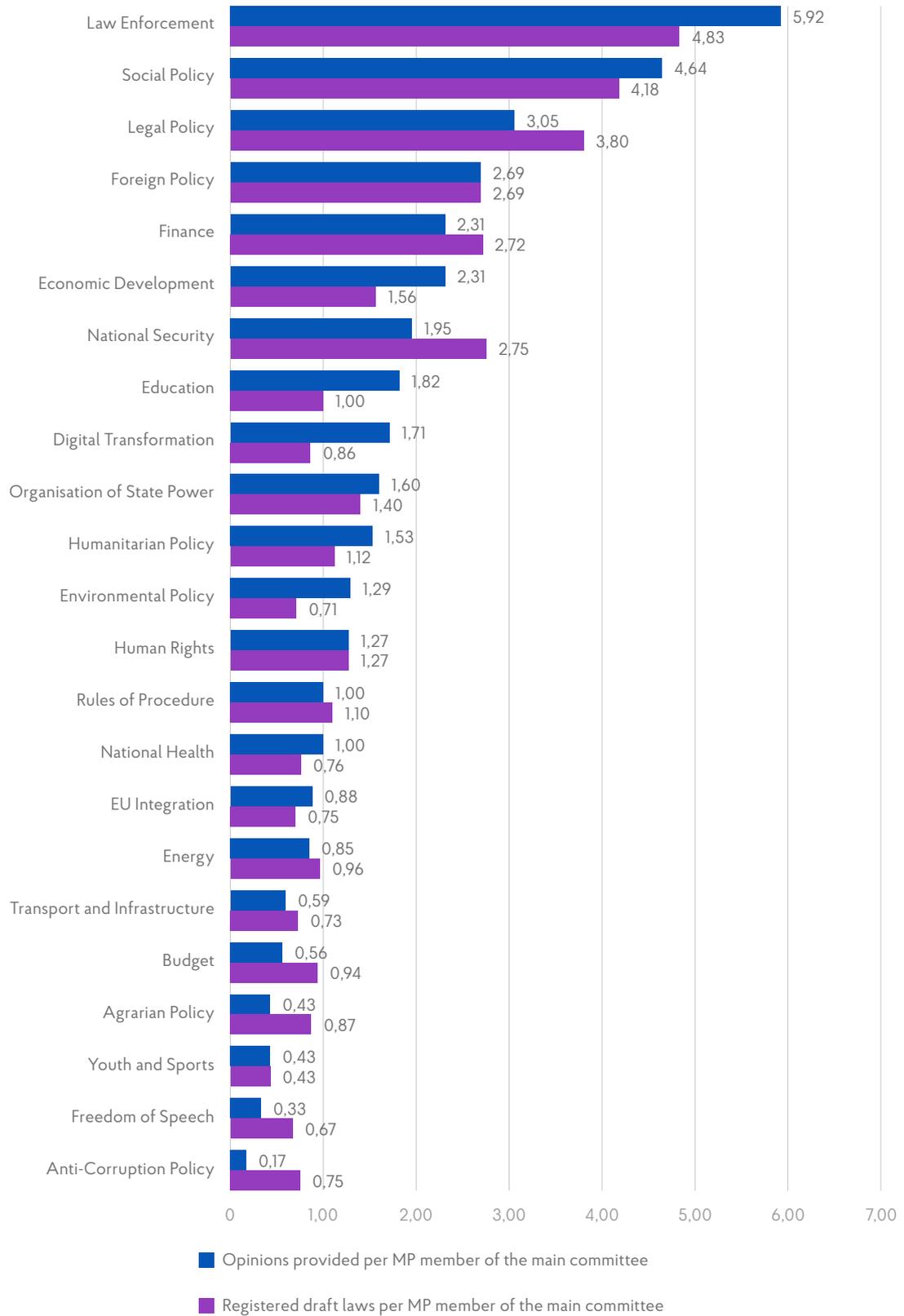
The potential workload of committees during the 9th session decreased the most (in terms of the number of assigned draft laws compared to the first six months of martial law) for the same three committees for which the actual workload also decreased: the Committee on Finance (-60 assigned draft laws), the Committee on National Security (-32 assigned draft laws) and the Committee on Economic Development (-22 assigned draft laws).

The increase in the potential workload (the number of assigned draft laws for the 9th session) by the committee generally corresponds to the increase in the actual workload. The potential workload (compared to the first six months of martial law) doubled for the Committee on Legal Policy (+31 assigned draft laws), the Committee on Foreign Policy (+16 assigned draft laws) and the Committee on Energy Policy (+13 assigned draft laws).

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<sup>26</sup> The number of opinions does not equal the number of draft laws considered. The Committee can provide several opinions on one draft law, e.g., an opinion on its inclusion in the agenda, opinions for the first and second readings, for repeated readings, on the text of the draft law to be submitted as a substitute, etc.

### Workload per MP member of the main committee



The above diagram, which shows the number of opinions or registered draft laws per MP – committee member – demonstrates a more correct workload on the committees<sup>27</sup>. Five committees have a heavy workload (the number of both draft laws assigned and opinions provided exceeds two per MP): the Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on Social Policy, the Committee on Legal Policy, the Committee on Foreign Policy, and the Committee on Finance. If we consider only the number of opinions per MP, the Committee on Economic Development also provided more than two opinions per MP in the course of the 9th session.

The Committee on Freedom of Speech, the Committee on Youth and Sports and the Committee on Agrarian Policy are the three committees with the least workload, where the number of submitted opinions per MP does not reach 0.5. Also, the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy (as the main committee) provided few opinions per MP. However, this committee is extremely overloaded with mandatory opinions on draft laws, for which it is not the main committee.

During the 9th session, compared to the first six months of martial law, the actual workload (i.e., the number of opinions per MP) decreased the most for the Committee on National Security (-2.05 opinions per MP) and the Committee on Economic Development (-1.94 opinions per MP). Instead, the largest increase in the actual workload was for the Committee on Law Enforcement (+2.83 opinions per MP), the Committee on Foreign Policy (+1.62 opinions per MP) and the Committee on Legal Policy (+1.53 opinions per MP).

The potential workload (i.e., the number of assigned draft laws per MP) decreased the most (compared to the first six months of martial law) in the Committee on National Security (-2.25 assigned draft laws per MP), the Committee on Finance (-1.13 assigned draft laws per MP) and the Committee on Economic Development (-1 assigned draft laws per MP). These are committees whose workload increased the most during the first six months of martial law. Instead, the potential workload of the Committee on Legal Policy (+2.04 assigned draft laws per MP) and the Committee on Foreign Policy (+1.34 assigned draft laws per MP) increased the most.

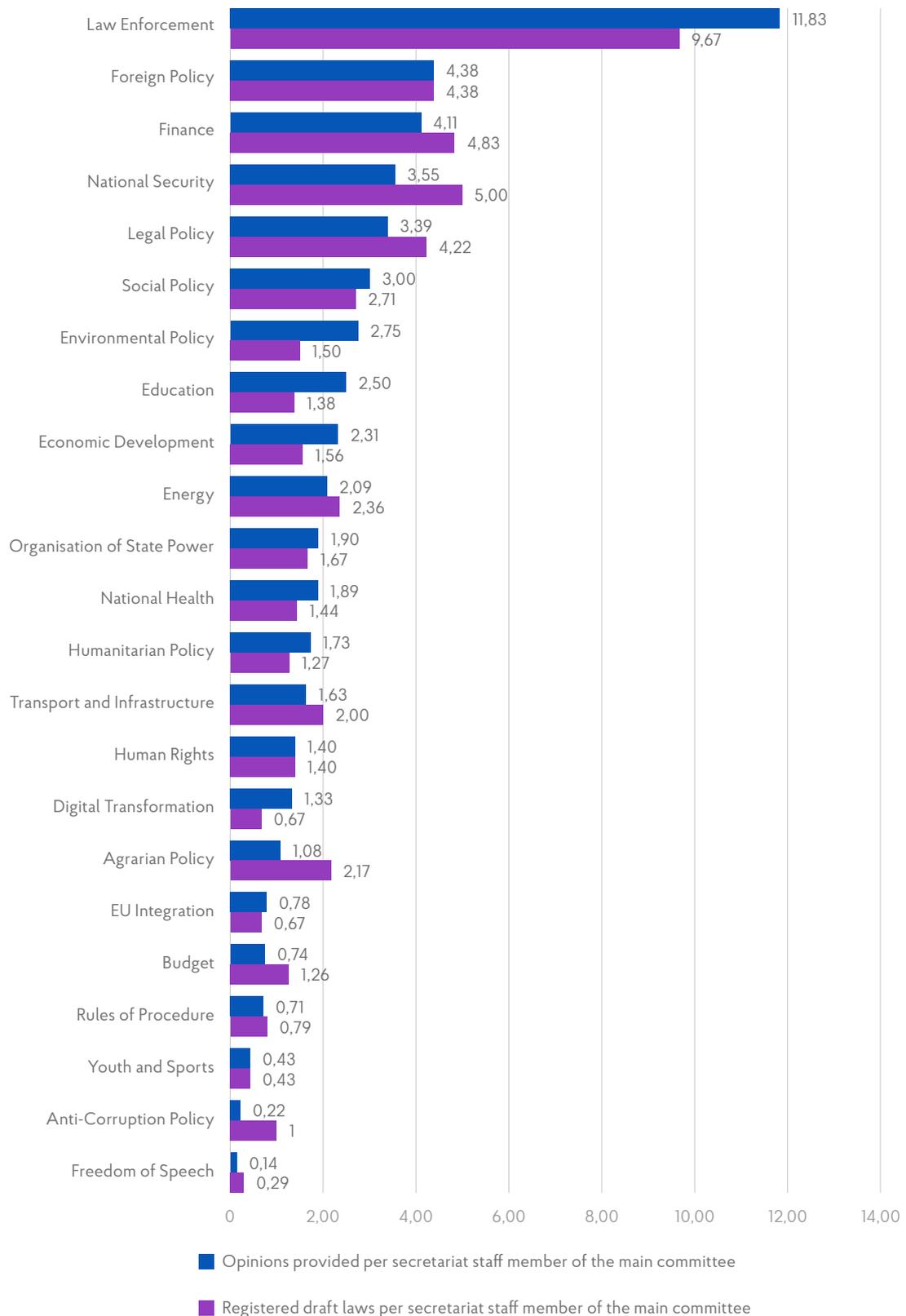
The trends in the actual and potential workload per committee member are generally consistent with the data on the workload of committees.

If we compare the least and most busy committees, their workload differs by a factor of 18. This situation in the 9th session, as well as certain trends in the workload of committees that shift from session to session, adds relevance to the issue of redistributing either MPs or areas of jurisdiction among committees.

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<sup>27</sup> The number of MPs in the committees at the end of the 9th session and during the 9th session changed.

## Workload per secretariat staff member of the main committee



The above workload per committee secretariat staff member<sup>28</sup> reflects the general trend. The Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on Foreign Policy, the Committee on Finance, the Committee on National Security, the Committee on Legal Policy and the Committee on Social Policy have a heavy workload (the number of opinions issued exceeds three per secretariat staff member). The situation was almost identical during the first six months of martial law. In 11 other committees, the workload exceeds one draft law assigned and one opinion provided per secretariat staff member.

The Committee on Freedom of Speech, the Committee on Youth and Sports and the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy are the three committees with the least workload, where the number of submitted opinions does not reach 0.5 per MP. However, the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy is extremely overloaded with mandatory opinions on draft laws for which it is not the main committee.

The highest actual workload during the 9th session compared to the 7th session decreased in the Committee on National Security (-2.27 opinions per secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Economic Development (-1.69 opinions per secretariat staff member). The Committee on Law Enforcement (+6.76 opinions per secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Foreign Policy (+2.88 opinions per secretariat staff member) saw the largest increase in the actual workload.

Comparing the potential workload (the number of assigned draft laws per secretariat staff member) during the 9th session and the first six months of martial law, the Committee on National Security (-2.27 assigned draft laws per secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Finance (-2.22 assigned draft laws per secretariat staff member) showed the strongest decrease in workload. The Committee on Foreign Policy (+2.48 assigned draft laws per one secretariat staff member), the Committee on Legal Policy (+2.37 assigned draft laws per one secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Law Enforcement (+2.1 draft laws assigned per one secretariat staff member) saw the largest increase in the potential workload.

If we compare the number of opinions submitted per secretariat staff member, **there will be an 84-fold difference between the most and least busy committees!** These data once again confirm the need to redistribute resources, including human resources, among the committees.

Comparing the data on different dimensions of the workload of the committees, we can notice one common feature – **the busiest committees during the 9th session are these five committees: the Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on Finance, the Committee on Legal Policy, the Committee on Social Policy and the Committee on National Security.** That is, as compared to the 7th session (the first six months of martial law), the workload of the Committee on Legal Policy and the Committee on Social Policy has increased. The workload of the Committee on National Security and the Committee on Finance decreased slightly due to two factors. **These two committees demonstrated the largest increase in the number of draft laws assigned and opinions provided during the first six months of martial law.** This was a reaction to the full-scale invasion and the conditions of martial law. It seems that the initial adaptation of the legislation was completed, and therefore, despite focusing on the same topics, the overall need for intensive regulation decreased, and thus, the legislative initiative entities paid less attention to the areas they had focused on at the beginning of the full-scale invasion.

The Committee on Law Enforcement became the busiest committee with record-breaking performance indicators. That is, after the initial financial and economic adaptation to martial law and

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<sup>28</sup> Data as of 6 September 2022 were used to calculate the number of committee secretariat staff members.

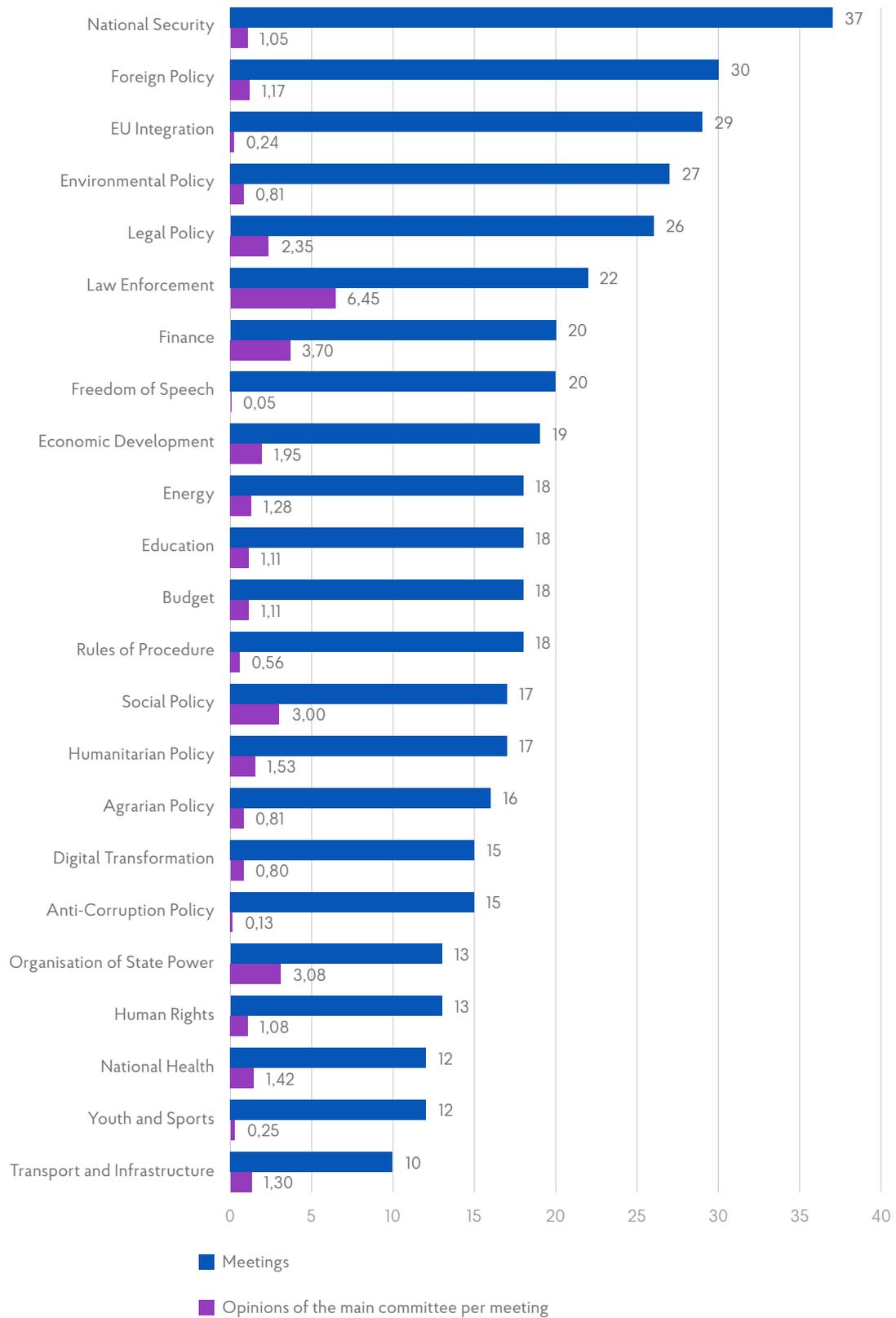
full-scale war, lawmakers focused on adapting the legal system, as well as on establishing new and amending old sanctions for violations of the law. This situation clearly demonstrates which domestic policy instruments are most favoured by MPs – regulation of the level of punishment for unlawful behaviour – amendments to the Criminal Code and the Code of Administrative Offences.

When considering the quantitative indicators of the committees' work, it is worth remembering the mandatory opinions of the auxiliary committees. So, the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU, the Budget Committee and the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy have a relatively low workload as the main committees, but they have to provide their mandatory opinions on all other draft laws, which requires significant resources.

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

Six committees held more than 20 meetings during the 9th session, while no committee held less than ten meetings. The leader in terms of the number of opinions per meeting is the Committee on Law Enforcement (6.5). Five committees adopt more than two opinions per meeting. And eight committees have less than one opinion per meeting.

### Committee meetings and opinions of the main committees per meeting



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

In the table below, preliminary opinions on draft laws to the main committee allow seeing, inter alia, the workload of three “mandatory” committees: the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy, the Committee on Budget and the Committee on Ukraine’s Integration into the European Union. These are the committees that are supposed to provide their opinions<sup>29</sup> on all draft laws, and this function may sometimes require more resources than their opinions as the main committees. In the previous sections, the Anti-Corruption and European Integration Committees showed low workloads for some indicators, but the information in the table shows that they have extremely heavy workloads.

Judging by the data, the Committee on Freedom of Speech (37 issues under control), the Committee on Law Enforcement (33 issues under control) and the Committee on Environmental Policy (25 issues under control) are the most active in controlling the implementation of laws and resolutions. This indicates two interesting points. The Committee on Law Enforcement, despite its record-breaking workload of legislative drafting, also has a significant workload of oversight activities. The Committee on Freedom of Speech seems to be the committee with the priority oversight function since it provides minimal opinions on draft laws as the main committee (draft laws are not even assigned to it) but has the largest number of oversight issues considered of all the committees.

The Committee on Social Policy is by far the busiest committee by the number of letters and appeals reviewed, with a wide margin over the others (2,901). In addition, the Committee on the Organisation of State Power, the Committee on National Health and the Committee on Law Enforcement also review many letters and appeals (over 1,500).

Committee	Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee	Letters and appeals reviewed	Conferences and seminars held
	Total	In particular, to control the implementation of laws and regulations			
Committee on Agrarian and Land Policy	63	8	10	938	74
Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy	167	6	114	580	3
Budget Committee	532	16	480	703	40
Committee on Humanitarian and Information Policy	69	10	13	898	85

<sup>29</sup> We are talking about opinions on compliance with the requirements of anti-corruption and budget legislation, budget legislation and obligations in the field of European integration.

Committee	Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee	Letters and appeals reviewed	Conferences and seminars held
	Total	In particular, to control the implementation of laws and regulations			
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	100	25	36	766	18
Committee on Economic Development	73	13	0	1068	13
Committee on Energy, Housing and Utilities	68	2	8	835	44
Committee on National Health, Healthcare and Insurance	45	11	1	1855	27
Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation	117	7	1	943	31
Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union	300	11	673	788	37
Committee on Youth and Sports	68	9	31	768	12
Committee on National Security, Defence and Intelligence	109	17	1	1113	24
Committee on the Organisation of State Power, Local Self-Government, Regional Development and Urban Planning	94	5	0	1918	99
Committee on Education, Science and Innovation	94	8	43	1443	20

Committee	Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee	Letters and appeals reviewed	Conferences and seminars held
	Total	In particular, to control the implementation of laws and regulations			
Committee on Human Rights, De-occupation and Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, National Minorities and Inter-ethnic Relations	54	4	22	785	42
Committee on Legal Policy	100	4	3	999	1
Committee on Law Enforcement	152	33	2	1669	29
Committee on Rules of Procedure, Parliamentary Ethics and Support to the Work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine	82	1	16	522	0
Committee on Freedom of Speech	86	37	26	286	31
Committee on Social Policy and Protection of Veterans' Rights	111	8	15	2901	26
Committee on Transport and Infrastructure	52	2	17	856	12
Committee on Finance, Taxation and Customs Policy	84	9	0	1115	49
Committee on Digital Transformation	75	10	49	799	27
Total	2695	256	1561	24548	744

# Violations of the Rules of Procedure

This section provides information on violations of the Rules of Procedure during the adoption of laws during the 9th session.

The 9th session resembles the situation during the first six months after the unleashed full-scale invasion in terms of the share of violations. Procedures for consideration of up to 56% (slightly more than half) of the laws were violated in the course of the 9th session. The only type of violation<sup>30</sup>, that was not recorded was the provision of sufficient time (at least 7 or 14 days) for submitting amendments to the comparative table for the second reading. The number of cases of adopting draft laws on the same day as a particular opinion (which makes it almost impossible to properly learn this document) increased<sup>31</sup> compared to the previous session.

During the 9th session, the number of violations of the Rules of Procedure began to decrease compared to the previous two sessions (7th and 8th). In other words, a year after the commencement of the full-scale invasion, the Verkhovna Rada is gradually stabilising the legislative process in the 9th session, reducing the number of violations. The share of laws adopted in violation of the Rules of Procedure has decreased for all violations tracked in this monitoring. Despite the downward trend in the share of violations, the indicators are still high. Traditionally, there are more violations in the second reading than in the first. More than half of the laws adopted in the second reading have procedural violations. At the same time, the share of violations during the first reading reached one-third (36%) of all adopted laws.

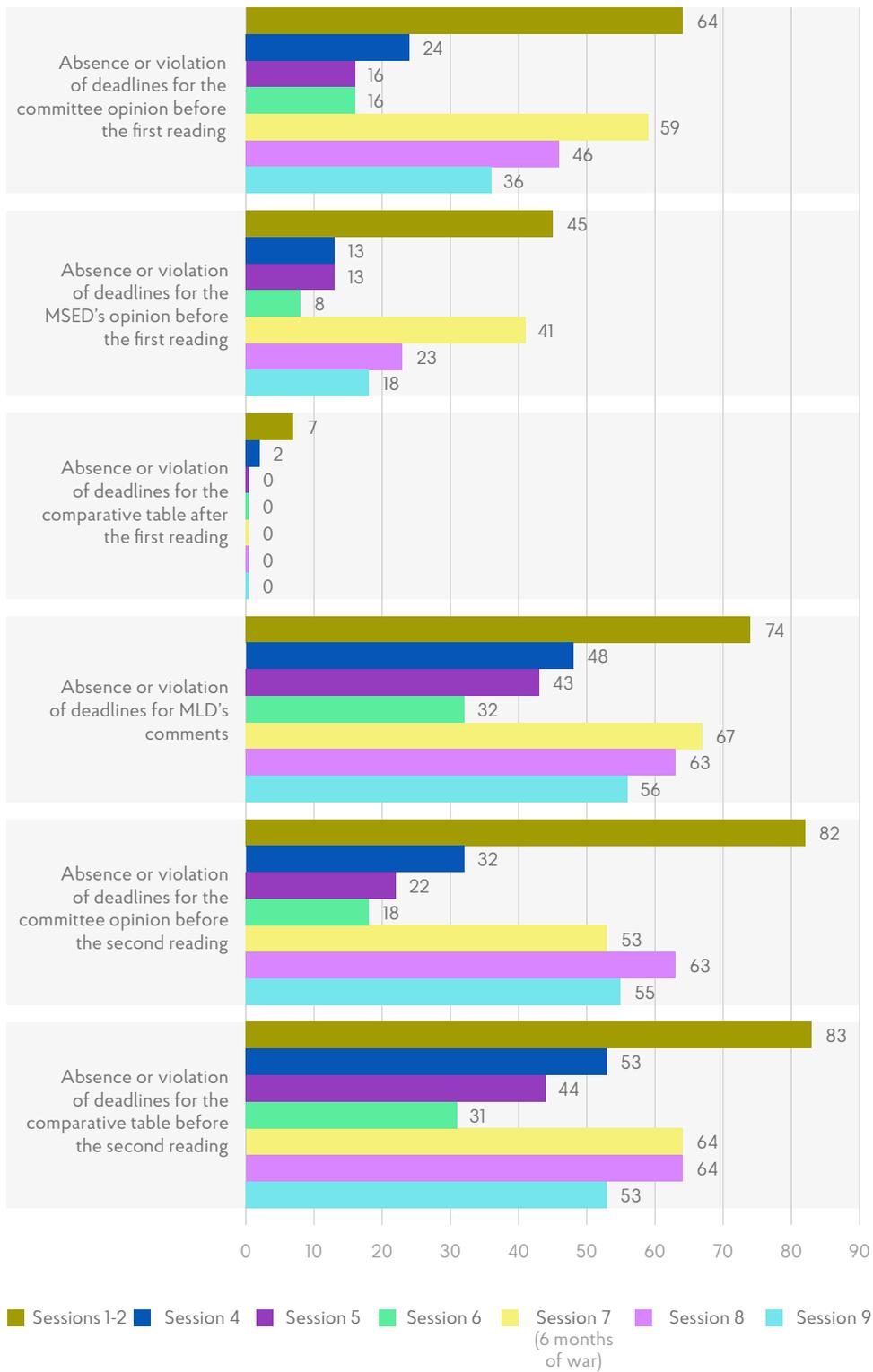
The diagrams and table show what percentage of draft laws were adopted with certain violations of the Rules of Procedure by session.

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<sup>30</sup> If considering only the laws that were not vetoed.

<sup>31</sup> Even given the proportionality of the number of laws passed during the 8th and 9th sessions.

### Distribution of types of the Rules of Procedure violations in per cent by session



## Violations of the Rules of Procedure concerning adopted laws in the Verkhovna Rada<sup>32</sup>

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws checked for violations	Number of laws with violations
The committee's opinion on the first reading (absence of such opinions or violation of the deadlines for reviewing these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	An opinion shall be provided seven days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the first reading	197	70 (35,5%) cases of missed deadlines, including 15 cases of passing the draft law on the day the opinion is submitted
MSED's opinion on the first reading <sup>33</sup> (absence of such opinions or violation of deadlines for reviewing these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	An opinion shall be provided seven days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the first reading	197	36 (18,2%) cases of missed deadlines, including two cases of absence of MSED's opinion and eight cases of passing the draft law on the day the opinion is submitted, while all opinions are available

<sup>32</sup> Unlike the previous materials, this monitoring presents data on violations regarding vetoed and non-vetoed draft laws in one table.

<sup>33</sup> The VRU Rules of Procedure do not contain a direct and clear requirement that the MSED's opinion is mandatory. Along with Article 103(4), which states that no comments shall be made if no opinions are issued within 14 days, there are also provisions on the need for the MSED's opinions:

1. Article 112 establishes that supporting documents to a draft law shall be provided to MPs no later than seven days before the day of draft law consideration at the plenary session of the Verkhovna Rada.
2. Article 99(2)(3) establishes that expert opinions on a draft law are part of the supporting documents.

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

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws checked for violations	Number of laws with violations
Comparative table after the first reading (absence of a comparative table or creation of such a table within the deadlines that does not allow all entities to submit their amendments within the deadlines established by the Rules of Procedure)	Proposals and amendments shall be submitted to the table no earlier than 14 days after the adoption of the draft law in the first reading or seven days in case of a shortened deadline	115 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	No missed deadlines; all tables are available
MLD's opinions (no MLD's opinions or violation of the terms provided for review with these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	MLD's opinions shall be submitted ten days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the second reading or five days in case of a shortened deadline	115 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	64 (55,6%) cases of missed deadlines, including six cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of submission of MLD's opinion; all opinions are available <sup>34</sup>
The committee's opinion for the second reading (absence of committee opinions or violation of the deadlines for reviewing these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	Committee opinions for the second reading shall be submitted ten days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the second reading or five days in case of a shortened deadline	115 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	63 (54,7%) cases of missed deadlines, including six cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of submission of opinions, while committee opinions are available for all laws
Comparative table on the second reading (absence of a comparative table or violation of the deadlines for reviewing these tables before their consideration in the session hall)	Tables shall be submitted ten days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the second reading or five days in case of a shortened deadline	115 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	61 (53%) cases of missed deadlines, including five cases of adoption of the draft law on the day the comparative table is submitted, while all tables are available

In addition to the usual violations of the Rules of Procedure, the monitoring included violations of the Constitution, specifically the 15-day deadline for the President to sign adopted laws (Article 94 of the Constitution). One hundred ninety-seven laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of

<sup>34</sup> No MLD's opinion on the draft state budget, but this was not considered a violation given the established practice of not having MLD's opinion on budgets for different years.

Ukraine during the 9th session were monitored. The deadline for signing (or submitting proposals) was violated in respect of 61 laws, i.e., in 31% of cases. In addition, eight more laws were neither signed by the President, vetoed nor received proposals. One law was not even signed by the Chair of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and thus did not reach the President. All these violations, when combined, will constitute 36% of all laws passed during the 9th session. Thus, every third law was signed in violation of the Constitution, which is a rather sad statistic.

Of course, it does not matter whether the deadline was missed by 2 or 102 days – it is a violation in both cases. If we look at record holders, six draft laws were waiting for the President's signature for more than 50 days, and the record time for signing was 113 days. As for draft laws still awaiting signature, they were all passed in the summer of 2023.

The trend towards an increase in the share and “depth” of violations of the constitutional procedure has been growing since the introduction of martial law. Violations during the first six months of martial law (16.4% of signatures were late) could be explained by the extreme working conditions when Russian troops were near Kyiv in February – April 2022. The next 8th session demonstrated stabilisation of the work of the Verkhovna Rada and executive bodies, but the share of laws in which the President violated the constitutional deadline increased to 22.4%. This figure was already 31% during the 9th session. The number of days before signing, when the President does not sign laws for two to four months, is also increasing.

During the 9th session, the President vetoed and submitted proposals to two draft laws on time (without violating the 15-day deadline). The Verkhovna Rada has not passed a decision on any of them, and one has already been withdrawn. Both draft laws were initiated by MPs from the Servant of the People faction, so it appears that in these two cases, the positions of the presidential faction MPs and the President were not agreed upon, or the draft laws were technically flawed.

# Annexes

## Annex 1

Time from registration to the first opinion of the main committee

**Top 11<sup>35</sup> draft laws with the shortest time from registration to the first opinion of the main committee**

Draft law	Days from registration to the first opinion of the main committee
Draft Law on Approving the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On Extending the Period of Martial Law in Ukraine” No. 8419	0
Draft Law on Approving the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On Extending the Period of General Mobilisation” No. 8420	0
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2023” on Provision of Expenditures for the Security and Defence Sector and Ensuring Decent Remuneration for Persons Performing the Duty to Defend the Homeland, Independence and Territorial Integrity of Ukraine” No. 9105-1	0
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Certain Issues of Legal Protection of Servicepersons” No. 9342-1	0
Draft Law “On Amending Article 10-1(18) of the Law of Ukraine “On Social and Legal Protection of Servicepersons and Members of Their Families” Concerning Military Leave” No. 9378	0
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Laws of Ukraine on the Work of Committees of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine” No. 9440	0

<sup>35</sup> Top 11 because several draft laws have the same shortest time from registration to the first opinion of the main committee. This excludes revised draft laws, which often receive a committee opinion simultaneously with or even before the registration of draft laws.

Draft law	Days from registration to the first opinion of the main committee
Draft Law “On Amending the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences, the Criminal Code of Ukraine and Other Laws of Ukraine on Improving the Procedure for Prosecuting Persons Authorised to Perform the Functions of the State or Local Government” No. 9587-2	0
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Certain Issues of Financial Support and Social Protection of Servicepersons, Police Officers and Some Other Persons” No. 9638	0
Draft Law “On Withdrawal from the Agreement on Cooperation of the CIS Member States in the Creation, Use and Development of an Interstate Network of Information and Marketing Centres for the Promotion of Goods and Services on Domestic Markets” No. 0220	0
Draft Law “On Termination of the Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation in Preventing the Spread of the Disease Caused by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)” No. 0221	0
Draft Law “On Withdrawal from the Agreement on Cooperation in Addressing HIV Problems” No. 0222	0

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

Draft law	Days from registration to the first opinion of the main committee
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the Central Election Commission” Concerning Public Opinion Polls” No. 4043-1	1092
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the Central Election Commission” to Prevent the Central Election Commission from Being Vested with Unnecessary Powers” No. 4043-2	1092
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the Central Election Commission” Concerning the Public Opinion Poll on Possible Loyalty to the Aggressor State” No. 4043-3	1092
Draft Law on Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the Central Election Commission” to Prevent the Central Election Commission from Being Vested with Unnecessary Powers No. 4043-4	1092
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the Central Election Commission” Concerning Public Opinion Polls” No. 4043-5	1092

## Annex 2

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

### Top 5 draft laws with the shortest time from the first reading to submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading

Draft law	Days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading
Draft Law “On Amending the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine in Terms of Peculiarities of Calculating the Time Frame for Pretrial Investigation under Martial Law” No. 9314-d	9
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Strengthening Social Protection of Service-persons, Police Officers and Some Other Persons” No. 9638	11
Draft Law “On Optimising the Ownership Structure of the Gas Transmission System Operator of Ukraine” No. 9311-1-d	12
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Minimising Potential Oligarchic Influence on Political Parties, Improving Mechanisms of State Funding and State Control over Political Parties” No. 9419-1	13
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2023” on the Use of the State Regional Development Fund” No. 9165	14

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

Draft law	Days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On State Regulation of Capital Markets and Organised Commodity Markets” and Certain Other Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Regulation and Supervision of Capital Markets and Organised Commodity Markets” No. 5865	492
Draft Law “On Amending the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences to Improve Legislation on Migration” No. 4411	527
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Mandatory Use of Liquid Biofuels (Bio-components) in the Transport Sector” No. 3356-d	624
Draft Law “On Lawmaking” No. 5707	644
Draft Law “On Public Consultations” No. 4254	738

## Annex 3

Time from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in its entirety

### Top 3<sup>36</sup> draft laws with the shortest time from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in its entirety

Titles of draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in its entirety
Draft Law “On Withdrawal from the Agreement on Co-operation of the CIS Member States in the Creation, Use and Development of an Interstate Network of Information and Marketing Centres for the Promotion of Goods and Services on Domestic Markets” No. 0220	0
Draft Law “On Termination of the Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation in Preventing the Spread of the Disease Caused by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)” No. 0221	0
Draft Law “On Amending Article 10-1(18) of the Law of Ukraine “On Social and Legal Protection of Servicepersons and Members of Their Families” Concerning Military Leave” No. 9378	0

<sup>36</sup> Another nine draft laws were passed the day after they were registered.

## Top 5 draft laws with the longest time from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in its entirety

Titles of draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in its entirety
Draft Law “On Termination of the Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Belarus on Cooperation in the Field of Technical Protection of Information and the Protocol between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Belarus on Amending the Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Belarus on Cooperation in the Field of Technical Protection of Information” No. 0179 signed in Minsk on 22 January 2003	132
Draft law “On Declaring the Natural Territories of Morshyn, the Natural Territories of the Morshyn Deposit of Mineral Therapeutic Brines and the Natural Territories of the Nyniv Deposit of Mineral Therapeutic Brines in Lviv Oblast a Resort of National Significance” No. 8319	163
Draft Law “On Suspension of the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Labour Migration and Social Protection of Migrant Workers and the Protocol on Amending the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Labour Migration and Social Protection of Migrant Workers in the Relations of Ukraine with the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus” No. 0184 of 15 April 1994	185
Draft Law “On Amending Article 26 of the Law of Ukraine “On Military Duty and Military Service” to Expand the Grounds for Discharge from Military Service of Certain Categories of Citizens During Martial Law” No. 8009	237
Draft Law “On Ratifying the Protocol between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Moldova on Amending the Free Trade Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Moldova” No. 0151 of 13 November 2003	329

## Annex 4

Time from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety

### Top 5 draft laws with the shortest time from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety

Titles of draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety
Draft Law “On Amending the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine in Terms of Peculiarities of Calculating the Time Frame for Pretrial Investigation under Martial Law” No. 9314-d	19
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2023” No. 8399	25
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Certain Issues Related to Military Service During Martial Law” No. 9342	30
Draft Law “On Optimising the Ownership Structure of the Gas Transmission System Operator of Ukraine” No. 9311-1-d	30
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On Defence Procurement” to Introduce Transparency in Defence Procurement (Except for Information on Procurement of Defence Goods, Works and Services Constituting Classified Information), Ensuring Protection of State Customers from Military Threats During Martial Law in Ukraine” No. 8381	31

## Top 5 draft laws with the longest time from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and its entirety

Titles of draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety
Draft Law "On Credit Unions" No. 5125	872
Draft Law "On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Regulation of Activities of Separate Subdivisions of a Legal Entity Established Under the Laws of a Foreign State" No. 4482	946
Draft Law "On Amending the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences to Improve Legislation on Migration" No. 4411	951
Draft Law "On Protecting Migrant Workers and Combating Fraud in Overseas Employment" No. 2365	1236
Draft Law "On Amending the Code of Ukraine on Bankruptcy Procedures (Concerning Measures Aimed at Repayment of Debts Incurred in the Wholesale Electricity Market)" No. 2390	1360

## Annex 5

Time to pass a draft law from its adoption in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety

### Top 7<sup>37</sup> draft laws with the shortest time from adoption in the first reading to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety

Draft law	Days from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety
Draft Law “On Amending the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine in Terms of Peculiarities of Calculating the Time Frame for Pretrial Investigation under Martial Law” No. 9314-d	13
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Minimising Potential Oligarchic Influence on Political Parties, Improving Mechanisms of State Funding and State Control over Political Parties” No. 9419-1	14
Draft Law “On Optimising the Ownership Structure of the Gas Transmission System Operator of Ukraine” No. 9311-1-d	15
Draft Law “On Establishing a Park-Monument of Garden and Park Art of National Significance “Mezhyhirya” No. 9354	15
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2023” No. 8399	17
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On Defence Procurement” to Introduce Transparency in Defence Procurement (Except for Information on Procurement of Defence Goods, Works and Services Constituting Classified Information), Ensuring Protection of State Customers from Military Threats During Martial Law in Ukraine” No. 8381	17
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Laws of Ukraine on State Final Examination and Admission Campaign” No. 8228-1 of 2023	17

<sup>37</sup> Top 7, as three draft laws have the same shortest time from adoption in the first reading to adoption in the second reading and in its entirety.

## Top 5 draft laws with the longest time from adoption of the draft in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety

Draft law	Days from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety
Draft Law "On Amending the Code of Ukraine on Bankruptcy Procedures" No. 4409	657
Draft Law "On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Improving the Activities of the Antimonopoly Committee of Ukraine" No. 5431	757
Draft Law "On Credit Unions" No. 5125	773
Draft Law "On Protecting Migrant Workers and Combating Fraud in Overseas Employment" No. 2365	1007
Draft Law "On Amending the Code of Ukraine on Bankruptcy Procedures (Concerning Measures Aimed at Repayment of Debts Incurred in the Wholesale Electricity Market)" No. 2390	1164