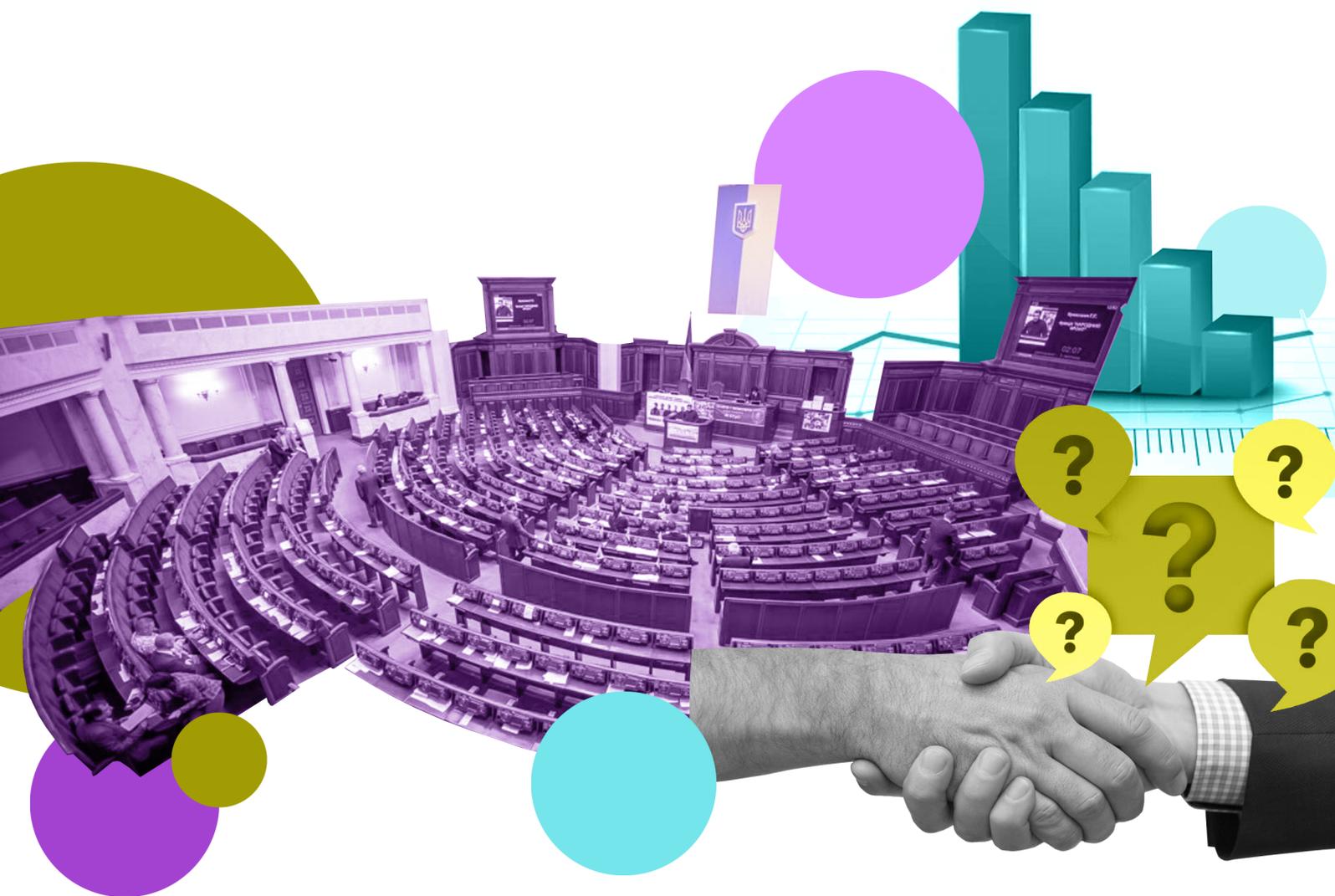


Monitoring the work of the Verkhovna Rada

10TH SESSION
IX CONVOCATION



ЛЗИ Agency
for Legislative
Initiatives

Monitored by the specialists of the Analytical
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Annotation

This monitoring for the 10th 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).

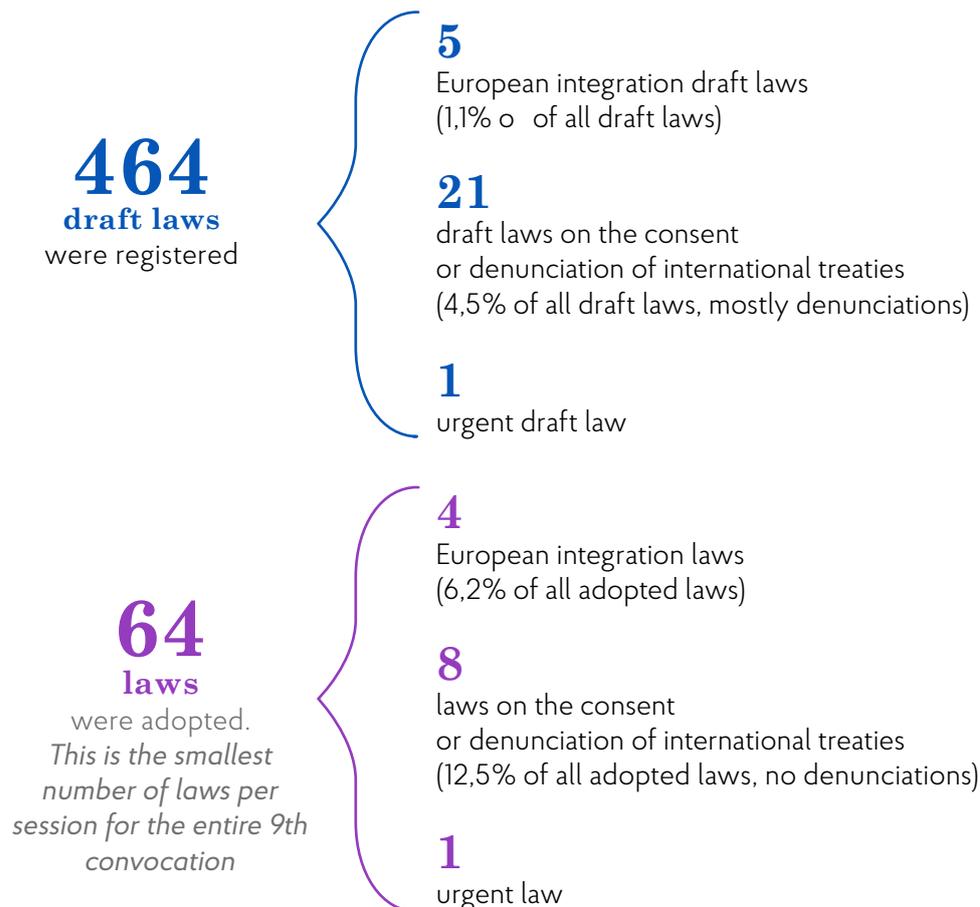
List of abbreviations

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 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

Main indicators of the work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 10th session of the 9th convocation:



The President vetoed (and submitted his proposals) draft laws twice. One of them was re-adopted with the President's proposals.

23 were adopted in their entirety after the first reading

36%

41 laws – after the second reading

64%

Monitoring of the work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 10th session of the 9th convocation revealed five key trends: 1) complete update of the legislative agenda; 2) formal distancing of the President of Ukraine from domestic policy; 3) strengthening of the Cabinet of Ministers in the legislative process; 4) signs of revival of the legislative spam; 5) increasing level of violations of the constitutional procedure. Some of these trends are signs of crisis processes in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, which were not observed even during the first year of the full-scale invasion.

Updated, military and stable agenda

97% of all draft laws passed during the 10th session were registered after 24 February 2022. This means that they concerned issues relevant to a full-scale war and martial law. All draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety concerned the situation not only after 24 February 2022 but also during the six months of the 10th session (H2, 2023). Only two draft laws out of 41 (5%) adopted in the second reading and in their entirety were registered for the second reading before 24 February 2022, while all the rest concerned issues relevant to martial law.

The distribution of draft laws by committees (which corresponds to their subject matter/policy area) has not changed dramatically. Compared to the previous autumn session (8th session), the difference in the volume of opinions provided by the main committees varied from -18 to +9, and the volume of draft laws assigned to committees changed even less: the fluctuations ranged from -7 to +15 assigned draft laws. This means that the legislative work is focused on approximately the same issues/areas as a year ago.

The content of this renewed and stable agenda can be described as a focus on finance, security and order, as well as social support. This can be stated based on the opinions provided by the committees on the draft laws. The busiest committees during the 10th session were the Committee on Finance (54 opinions), the Committee on Legal Policy (25 opinions), the Committee on the Organisation of State Power (24 opinions), the Committee on Law Enforcement (23 opinions), the Committee on National Security (23 opinions) and the Committee on Social Policy (23 opinions).

Formal distancing of the President of Ukraine from domestic policy

Only seven presidential draft laws were adopted during the entire 10th session. Even against the background of a record-low total number of adopted draft laws, the President's share is still quite low. The Verkhovna Rada has never passed so few presidential draft laws in the 4th–10th sessions¹ of the entire 9th convocation. Moreover, the previous session also set such an anti-record, but the 10th session broke it. If during the 9th session, it was 12%, now it is 11% of all laws. Only one “ordinary” law was adopted; the other six were ratifications and decrees. The only law that breaks out of this trend was adopted in the second reading and in its entirety. And this only “ordinary” law is rather the exception that proves the rule. This is a long-overdue draft law, adopted in the first reading back in the summer of 2021 and pending the second reading for 879 days.

¹ The time when we monitored these indicators.

The formal 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 in all sessions during the martial law regime. Not a single “ordinary” presidential law was adopted during the 7th and 9th sessions.

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

During the 10th session, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine strengthened its formal positions in the legislative process, improving a number of indicators. The Cabinet of Ministers increased its share of registered draft laws to 17.2% and showed the second-highest share of registered governmental draft laws for all sessions of the 9th convocation. The timeframe for providing the first committee opinion (both for the first and second readings) for government draft laws was almost halved, and for the second consecutive session, opinions on government draft laws were provided faster than on MPs’ draft laws. Government draft laws went from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety rather quickly (on average, in 56 days). This is the fastest passage of government draft laws over the period of the 4th–10th sessions. Governmental draft laws that were adopted in the second reading and in their entirety halved (by 168 days) the average time from registration to adoption (compared to the 9th session), and for the first time since the 6th session, they are passing this way faster than the MPs’ draft laws. This result was achieved, inter alia, due to faster processing of draft laws in the second reading, which was reduced by 62 days on average for government draft laws compared to the previous session. Thus, 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 third consecutive session.

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

The revival of legislative spam in the 10th session is evidenced by three signs:

- › an overall increase in the number of registered draft laws;
- › an abnormally high number of registered draft laws by one of the parliamentary groups and
- › an increase in the share of draft laws with a small number of signatories.

Four hundred sixty-four draft laws were registered during the 10th session. This is quite unexpected since during the 1st–8th sessions, there was a steady decline in the number of draft laws registered during the session. The Verkhovna Rada reached a plateau during the 9th session, with the number of registered draft laws almost unchanged compared to the previous similar session. However, the 10th session demonstrated an increase in the number of registered draft laws compared to the previous similar session. This, in turn, is one of the signs of legislative spam – the registration of many poorly developed draft laws that have no real prospect of being adopted. This unbalances the agenda and increases pressure on the expert and analytical units of the Verkhovna Rada Secretariat.

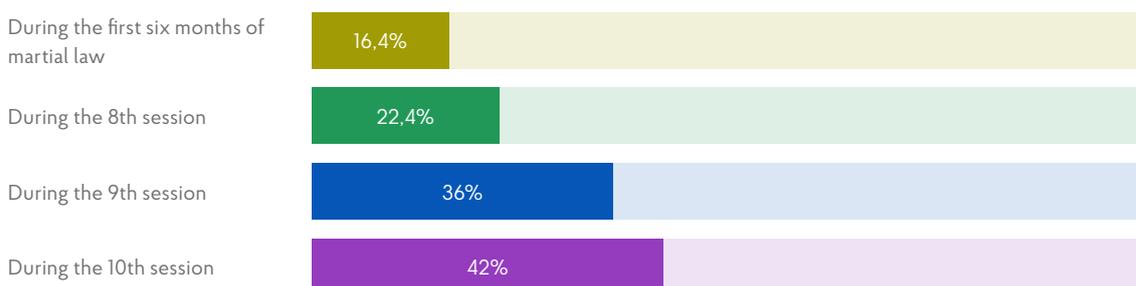
Performance indicators of the Restoration of Ukraine group stand out significantly among factions and groups. Despite a small number of its members (only 17 MPs), it registered as many as 86 draft laws, outperforming most factions and groups and even the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. This is the third session in a row when the share of registered draft laws from MPs of the Restoration of Ukraine group has been steadily increasing (by approximately 5% in total per session). In terms of the number of draft laws per MP, the Restoration of Ukraine group also has an extremely high rate (twice as high as any other faction or group in previous sessions): it is **5.06 draft laws per MP** for the 9th convocation.

In terms of the number of signatories to draft laws, the 10th session continued the trends of the previous three martial law sessions (7th, 8th, and 9th), 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, 8 to 22, or over 23 signatories decreased. The share of draft laws with one signatory increased significantly (by 12%). **For the second session in a row, the share of draft laws with one signatory outnumbered all other shares of draft laws.** The increase in the share of draft laws with a small number of signatories in the course of the 10th session began to translate into an increase in the share of such laws. The share of adopted laws with 8 to 22 and over 23 signatories decreased compared to the previous 9th session, while the share of adopted laws with one signatory doubled.

Violations

The situation with the violation of the constitutional procedure for signing draft laws is becoming increasingly threatening. During the 10th session, the deadline for signing (or submitting proposals) was missed in 34% of cases, in respect of 22 laws. In addition, five more laws were neither signed by the President nor vetoed or ones that received proposals. All these violations, when combined, will constitute 42% of all laws passed during the 10th session. That is, **four out of ten laws** are rather sad statistics progressing with each new martial law session.

Laws involved violations of constitutional procedure



If this trend continues, then during the next session, we can expect the President to violate the constitutional procedure regarding half of the laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada.

The volume of “traditional” violations of the Rules of Procedure is not increasing, nor is it decreasing. The situation observed during the 9th session most closely resembles that of the tenth session in terms of the share of violations. Procedures for considering up to 54% (slightly more than half) of the laws were violated during the 10th session. At the same time, unlike during the 9th

session, the practice of adopting draft laws “on the fly”, when draft laws are adopted in the first reading and in their entirety on the day of their registration, was not used during the 10th session.

Crisis processes in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine

Monitoring of the work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 10th session recorded several indicators that may indicate crisis processes in the VRU.

Only 64 laws were adopted during the 10th session. This is the lowest number of laws adopted during the session in the entire 9th convocation, half as many as in the previous similar autumn session. This means that the range of issues on which the MPs (or at least the majority of them) have a consensus is shrinking, as is the VRU’s ability to adopt decisions.

The decline in the number of laws passed looks especially strange against the backdrop of a trend towards an increase in the number of registered draft laws, which, in turn, is a sign of the revival of legislative spam.

Another sign of the crisis is a decrease in the share of registered draft laws from MPs of the Servant of the People faction, despite the overall increase in the number of registered draft laws during the 10th session. MPs from the Servant of the People faction set an anti-record in terms of this indicator by registering the smallest share of draft laws for all sessions of the 9th convocation.

Formal indicators of the President’s legislative activity are rather ambiguous, which may also be an indication of the crisis process. Monitoring shows that during martial law, the Parliament hardly ever adopts “ordinary” presidential laws related to domestic policy. What does this mean? On the one hand, it is possible that the President has indeed decided to leave the legislative dimension of domestic policy to the discretion of the Government and Parliament. At the same time, it may also indicate the opposite: it is quite likely that the President has such a decisive influence that the Government and MPs act in accordance with the President’s vision of policy, adopting only those laws that are in line with this vision. That is why the President does not even need to exercise the formal right to submit legislative initiatives. This allows the President not to be formally involved in unpopular legislative initiatives in the field of domestic policy.

Legislative activity

Registered draft laws

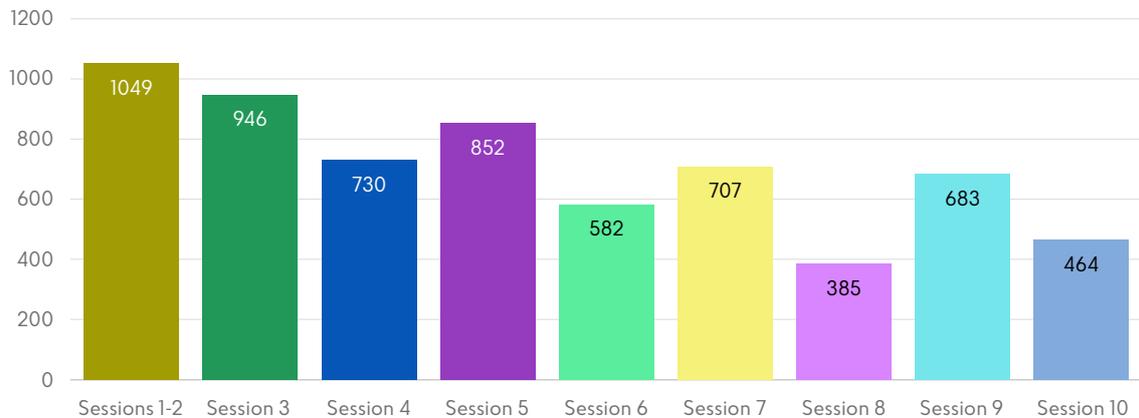
Four hundred sixty-four draft laws were registered during the 10th session. This is quite unexpected since during the 1st–8th sessions, there was a steady decline in the number of draft laws registered during the session. The Verkhovna Rada reached a plateau during the 9th session, with the number of registered draft laws almost unchanged compared to the previous similar autumn session. However, the 10th session demonstrated an increase in the number of registered draft laws compared to the previous similar session. This, in turn, is one of the signs of legislative spam, which unbalances the agenda and increases pressure on the structural units of the Verkhovna Rada Staff responsible for preliminary processing and support of draft laws.

During the 10th session, the following were registered

5 EU integration ² draft laws	1,1% of all registered draft laws
21 draft laws on the consent or denunciation of international treaties	4,5% of all registered draft laws
1 urgent draft law	0,2% of all registered draft laws

² 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>)

Registered draft laws by session



Registered draft laws

Registered draft laws by the initiator

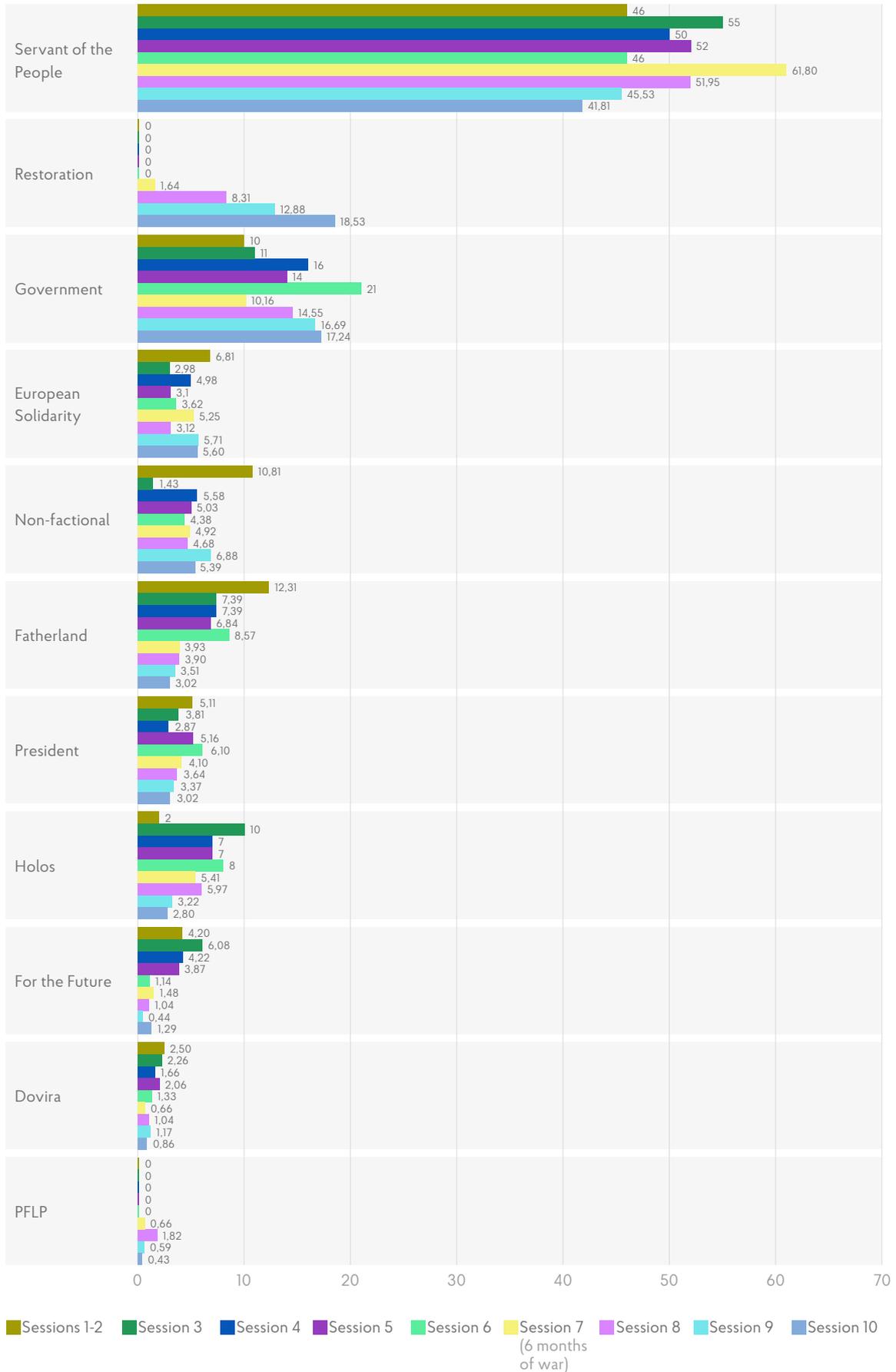
Initiator ³	Number of registered draft laws (percentage of total draft laws)
Servant of the People faction	194 (41,8%)
Restoration of Ukraine group	86 (18,5%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	80 (17,2%)
European Solidarity faction	26 (5,6%)
Non-factional	25 (5,4%)
Fatherland faction	14 (3%)
President of Ukraine	14 (3%)
Holos faction	13 (2,8%)
Party For the Future group	6 (1,3%)
Dovira group	4 (0,9%)
Platform for Life and Peace group	2 (0,4%)

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

The indicators of the 10th session are quite standard for the majority of factions and groups, as well as for the President. The President also registered fifteen draft laws, while the minority factions (European Solidarity, Fatherland and Holos) registered draft laws ranging from 13 to 26, and three groups (For the Future, Dovira and PFLP) registered up to 10 draft laws. At the same time, there are three important exceptions.

1. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine increased its share of registered draft laws and showed the second-largest share of registered draft laws for all sessions of the 9th convocation.
2. The performance of the Restoration of Ukraine group is significantly different. Despite a small number of its members, it registered as many as **86 draft laws**, outperforming most factions and groups and even the Cabinet of Ministers. This is the third session in a row when the share of registered draft laws from the Restoration of Ukraine group has been steadily increasing (by approximately +5% in total per session). 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).
3. Against the background of the Cabinet of Ministers and the Restoration of Ukraine group, the Servant of the People faction slightly reduced the share of registered draft laws, showing the lowest share of registered draft laws for all sessions of the 9th convocation. However, it is the MPs of this faction who still register the most draft laws, and the total number of draft laws initiated by them is significantly higher than that of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Registered draft laws by entity and session in per cent



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 explicitly defines the MP whose signature is the first to appear as the initiator of a draft law.

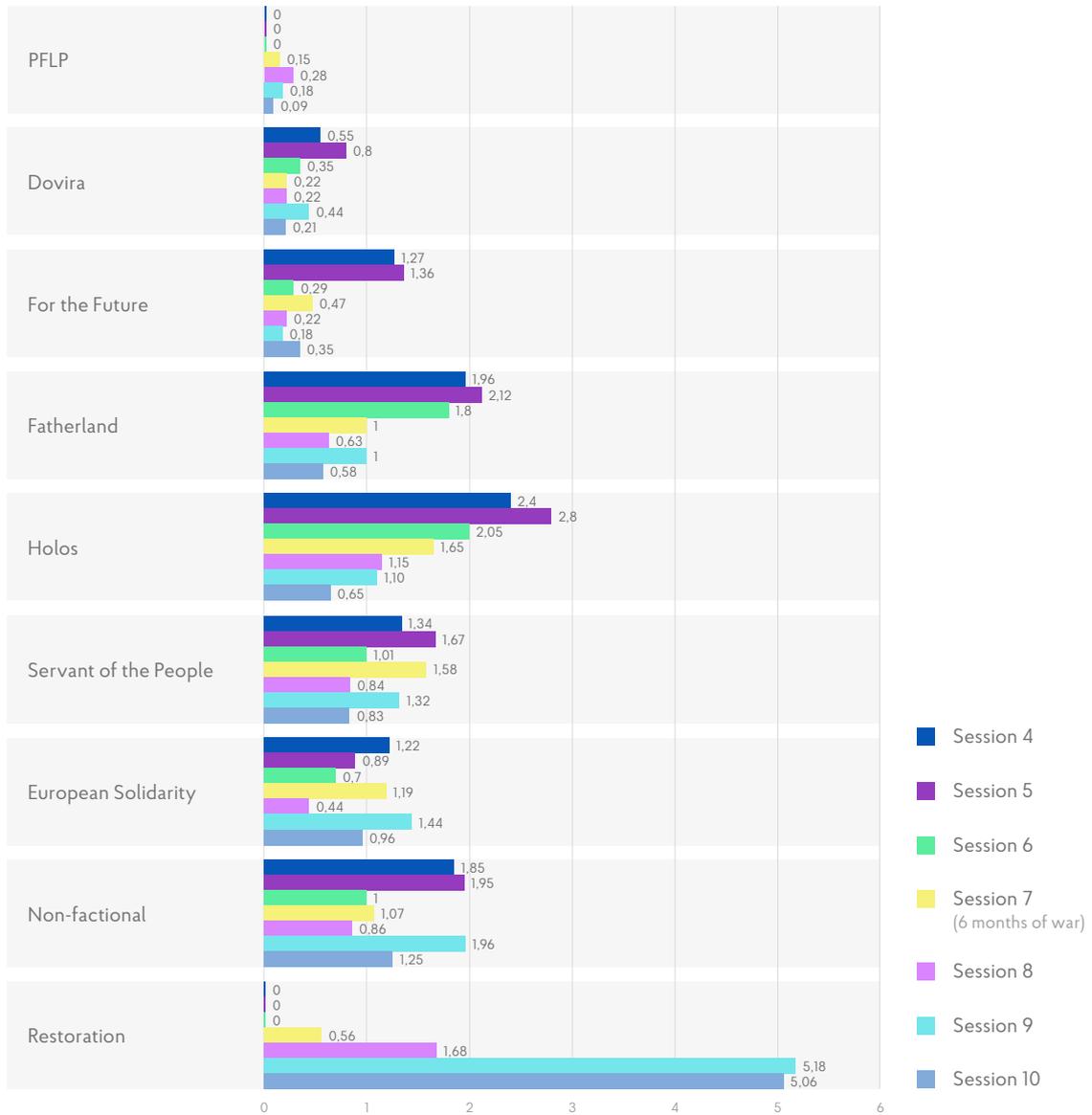
The number of registered draft laws per MP⁴ for most factions and groups shows a standard situation for the 9th convocation. One MP who is a member of a faction has up to one draft law⁵. For MPs members of parliamentary groups, this figure is less than 0.5 draft laws per MP⁶. However, the Restoration of Ukraine group stands out the most, with an extremely high rate of 5.06 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 is the second session when MPs from this group have demonstrated such a high rate (more than five draft laws per MP). This number of draft laws per MP is another sign of legislative spam.

⁴ 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.

⁵ This is normal for autumn sessions.

⁶ 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.

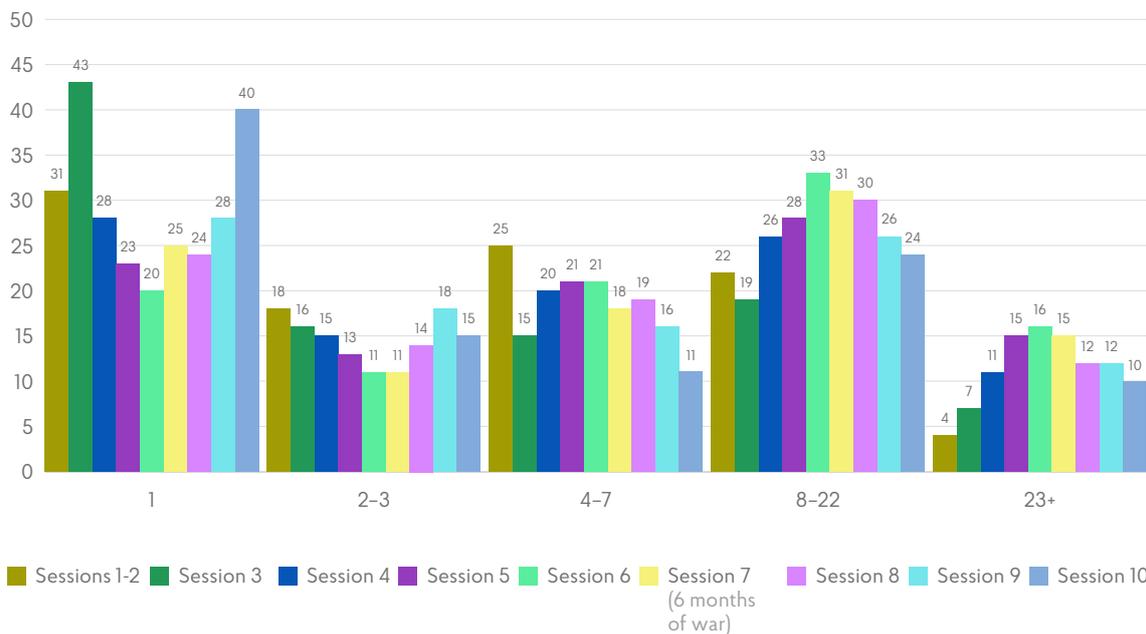
Draft laws per MP of factions/groups by session



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	148 (40%)
2-3	55 (15%)
4-7	42 (11%)
8-22	90 (24%)
23+	35 (10%)

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



In terms of the number of signatories to draft laws, the 10th session continued the trends of the previous three martial law sessions (7th to 9th), 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, 8 to 22, or over 23 signatories decreased. The share of draft laws with one signatory increased significantly (by 12%). For the second session in a row, the share of draft laws with one signatory outnumbered all other shares of draft laws.

The record of the 10th session is 93 signatories to one draft law⁷ that prohibits the dissemination of information about the work of the VRU during martial law. This draft law has now been passed in the first reading.

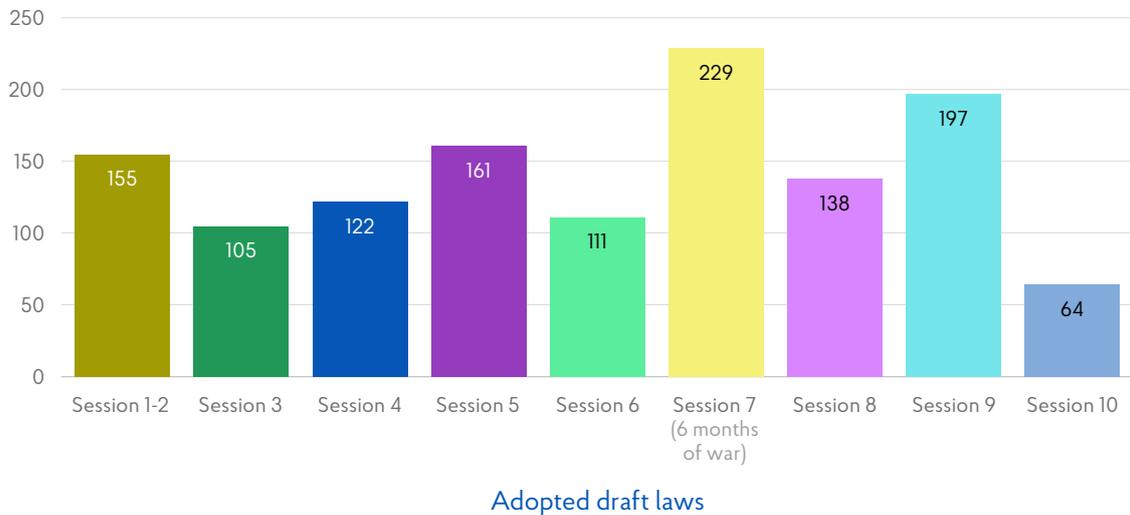
In this section of the parliamentary monitoring, authors assume that a larger number of signatories positively correlates with better elaboration of draft laws and a higher level of consensus and is a sign of a decrease in legislative spam.

Laws passed

A total of 64 laws were passed during the 10th session. This is the lowest number of laws passed during the session for the entire 9th convocation, half as many as in the previous similar autumn session. The number of laws passed is particularly surprising given the trend of the increasing number of registered draft laws.

⁷ Draft Law on Amending Certain Laws of Ukraine on Improving the Procedure for Processing and Using Data in State Registers for Military Registration and Acquiring the Status of a War Veteran during Martial Law No. 10062 of 18 September 2023. The initiator (first signatory) is Davyd Arakhamia.

Draft laws adopted by session



Laws passed

Number of laws	Percentage of total laws passed
4 (European integration ⁸)	6,2%
8 (on granting consent to international treaties)	12,5%

Unlike the previous 9th session, all “international” draft laws were ratifications and accessions to new treaties. There were no denunciations of treaties with Russia, Syria or Iran. Out of the eight treaties ratified by the Verkhovna Rada during the 10th session, two multilateral agreements and six bilateral treaties were concluded with the EU (two treaties), Korea, Sweden, Moldova, and the International Development Law Organisation.

One draft law adopted during the 10th session was identified by the President of Ukraine as urgent. This is draft law No. 5420 of 23 April 2021 on criminalising the smuggling of goods and excisable goods and false declaration of goods.

During the 10th session, the President vetoed (and submitted his proposals) draft laws twice. One of them was re-adopted with the President’s proposals, while the other has not yet been considered.

⁸ 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>).

Laws passed by the initiator

Initiator	Number of laws (percentage of total laws)
Servant of the People faction	40 (62,5%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	13 (20,3%)
President of Ukraine	7 (10,9%)
Holos faction	2 (3,1%)
Non-factional	1 (1,6%)
Opposition Platform – For Life faction ⁹	1 (1,6%)

The 10th session demonstrated four interesting observations.

First, **despite the record low share of registered draft laws**, MPs of the **Servant of the People** faction showed a **record high share of adopted laws**, although this may be due to the overall low number of laws (only 64 per session).

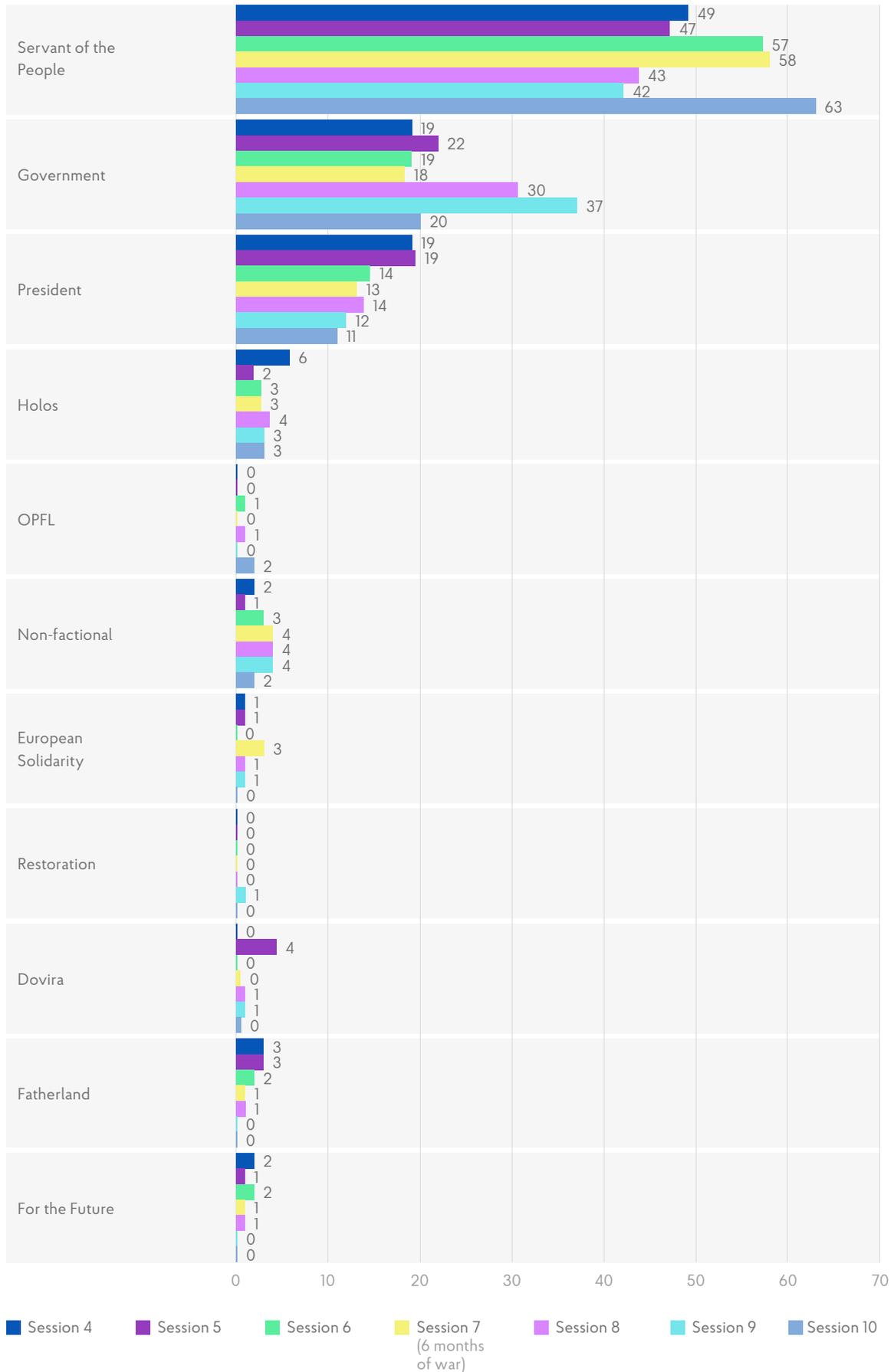
Second, there were **unusually few laws from minority factions and groups** passed. Usually, at least one law is adopted from MPs of the European Solidarity, Fatherland, Holos factions and the Dovira, For the Future and Restoration of Ukraine groups. Instead, during the 10th session, laws were adopted only from MPs of the Holos faction.

Third, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has returned to its usual 20% share of adopted laws after two sessions (8th and 9th), although during the previous two sessions, this figure reached 30–37%.

Fourth, the **President of Ukraine** has demonstrated a **record-low share of adopted laws** for the second session in a row. If during the 9th session it was 12%, now it is 11%. The President of Ukraine was the author of one law adopted in the second reading and in its entirety, not just decrees, ratifications and security laws, as during the 7th and 9th sessions.

⁹ As of 2023, the OPFL faction no longer exists. We determine the factionalism of laws and draft laws by the date of their registration. That is, if an MP from the OPFL registered a draft law in 2021 that was adopted in its entirety in 2023, we still assign this draft law to the OPFL.

Draft laws adopted by entity and session in per cent



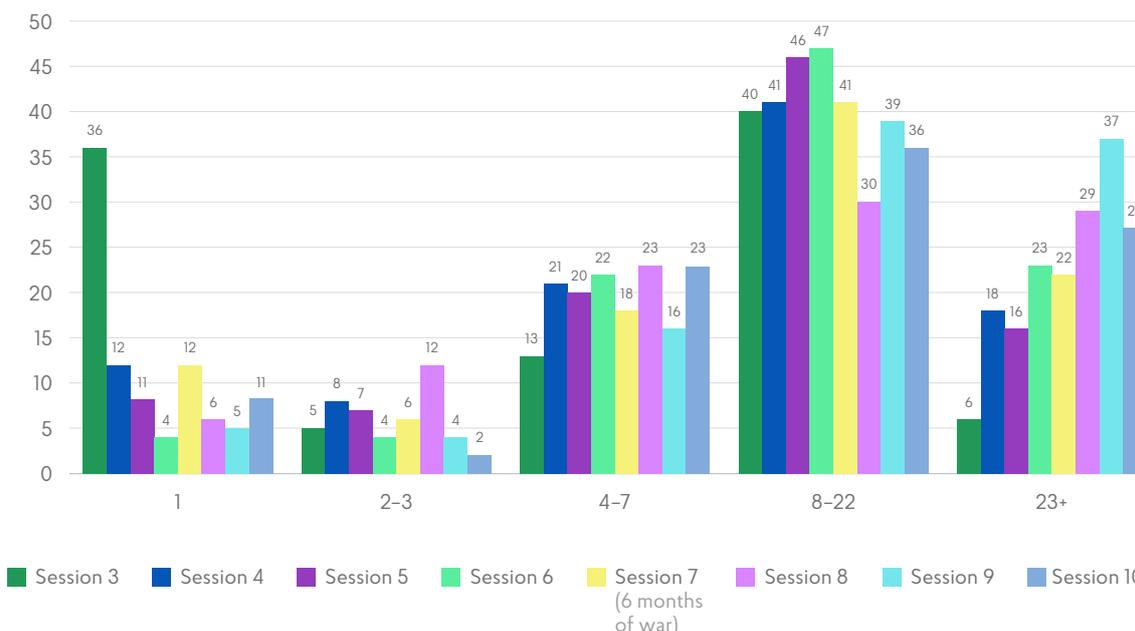
Laws adopted by groups of signatories

The trend of an increasing share of draft laws with a small number of signatories has also spread to the type of laws that are adopted. The share of adopted laws with 8 to 22 and over 23 signatories decreased compared to the previous 9th session, while the share of adopted laws with one signatory doubled. At the same time, the rule “the more signatories, the more likely the law is to be passed” still applies, as, despite the decline, two-thirds of the laws passed still have more than eight signatories. 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 Improving the Procedure for Processing and Using Data in State Registers for Military Registration and Acquiring the Status of a War Veteran During Martial Law No. 10062 of 18 September 2023, adopted by the Verkhovna Rada on 16 January 2024, has the most signatories. It has 93 signatories.

Groups by the number of signatories – MPs for adopted laws	Number of laws submitted by MPs (percentage of total MPs' laws)
1	5 (11,4%)
2-3	1 (2,3%)
4-7	10 (22,7%)
8-22	16 (36,4%)
23+	12 (27,3%)

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



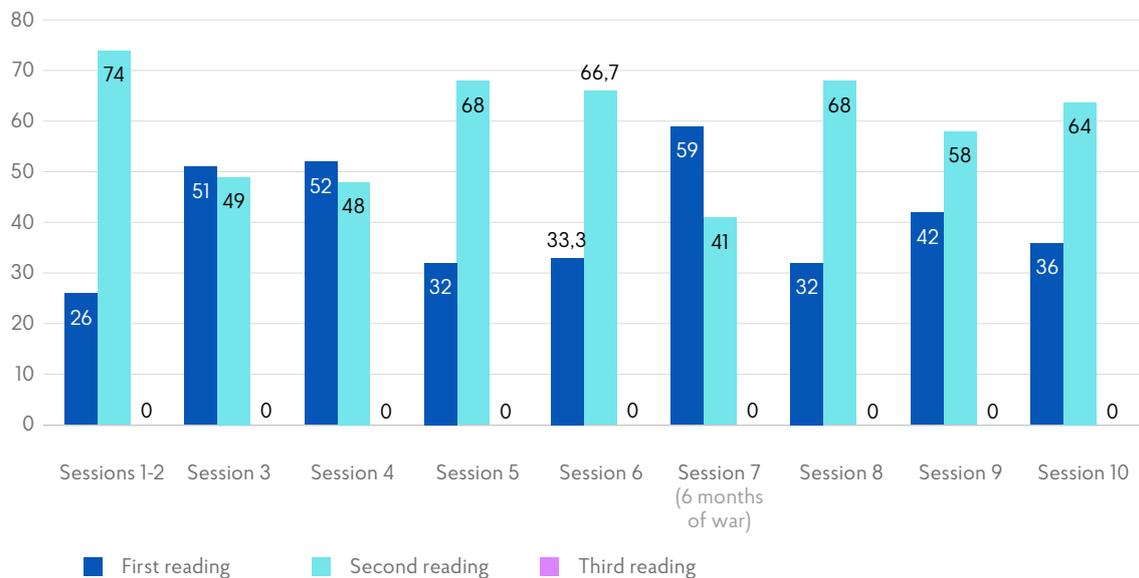
Passage of draft laws

Number of laws by readings:

- › 23 – adopted in their entirety after the first reading (36%);
- › 41 – adopted in their entirety after the second reading (64%);
- › 0 – adopted in its entirety after the third reading (0%).

The 10th session resumed the standard distribution of laws passed by readings. Two-thirds of the laws were adopted in the second reading and in their entirety, and one-third in the first reading and in its entirety. The situation was the same during the 5th, 6th and 8th sessions. The trend of not using the third reading has not changed – no draft law has passed three readings¹⁰. 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



¹⁰ 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 committees¹¹ 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.

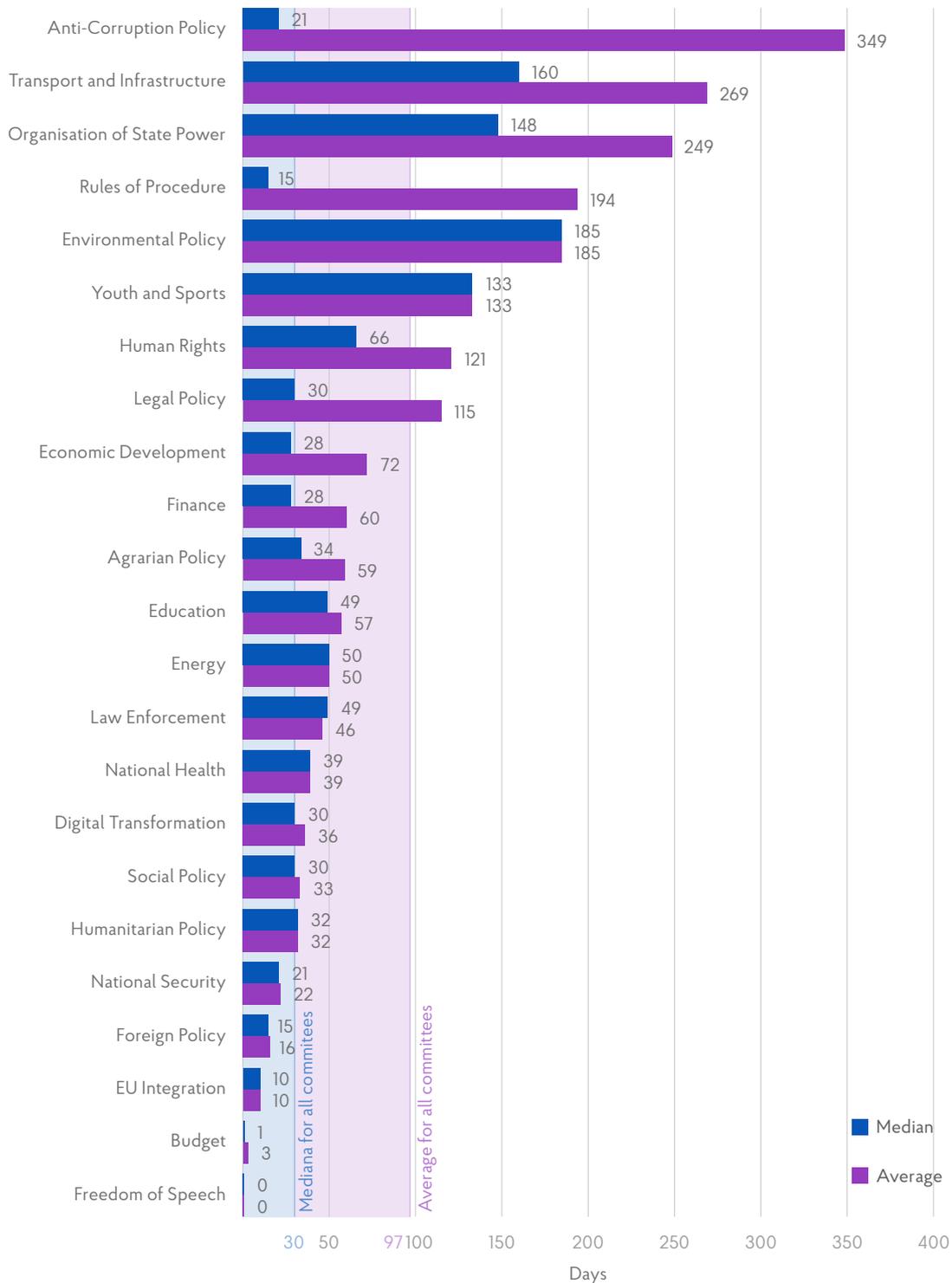
The timing of the main committees' opinions on draft laws¹² allows for assessing several important indicators. In terms of committees, the time from registration to the submission of the first opinion by the committee characterises the workload of the committee and enables forecasting, in general terms, 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 97 days, and half of all opinions were provided in 30 days.

¹¹ Budget Committee, Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy and Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union.

¹² 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 committee¹³



¹³ It should be taken into account that the following committees submitted less than five first opinions for the first reading for the 10th session: the Committee on Youth and Sports, the Committee on Humanitarian Policy, the Committee on Environmental Policy, the Committee on Energy, the Committee on National Health, the Committee on EU Integration, and the Committee on Rules of Procedure. The Committee on Freedom of Speech did not provide any first opinion as a main committee during the 10th session.

The speed of issuing opinions varies greatly from committee to committee

The difference in some cases is 100-fold. If we compare the performance of the 10th session with the performance of the previous 9th session, the time for providing the first opinion decreased for one-third of the committees, remained almost unchanged for one-third, and increased for one-third.

In general, the workload and the speed of issuing opinions are correlated in most cases. However, the situation is different in some cases. Despite the relatively large number of provided opinions, the Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on Finance, the Committee on Social Policy and the Committee on National Security provided their first opinions on draft laws rather quickly. Despite having a moderate number of opinions, the Committee on Transport and Infrastructure, the Committee on Environmental Policy and the Committee on Youth and Sports took a relatively long time to provide their first opinions on draft laws.

Submitting entity	Average number of days	Median ¹⁴ number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	65	30
MPs of Ukraine	111	32
President of Ukraine	14	14

The situation looks unusual in terms of submitting entities and initiators. The average number of days to provide the first opinion decreased by 17 days for MPs' draft laws and almost twice (by 52 days) for government draft laws compared to the 9th session. For the second session in a row, 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. Moreover, the average time to provide the first opinion on an MP's draft law is almost twice as long as the average number of days for government draft laws. However, the almost equal median number of days indicates that half of both MPs' and government draft laws are reviewed at approximately the same speed. Median indicators of all entities remained at almost the same level as during the 9th session. 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.

During the 10th session, draft laws of most factions received opinions faster or at about the same speed as during the 9th session. However, for the draft laws initiated by MPs from the Fatherland faction, the Restoration of Ukraine group and non-factional MPs, the speed of providing first opinions decreased¹⁵.

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ It should be noted that indicators for the Platform for Life and Peace, For the Future, Dovira groups, and the European Solidarity and Opposition Platform – For Life factions 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.

Initiator's factional affiliation	Average number of days	Median number of days
OPFL	721	748
Fatherland faction	416	48
Non-factional	248	144
For the Future group	100	100
Servant of the People faction	80	27
Restoration of Ukraine group	73	66
Holos faction	66	26
Government	65	30
Platform for Life and Peace group	43	43
European Solidarity faction	37	40
President	14	14
Dovira group	1	1

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 reading¹⁶ is less indicative, given the small number of such opinions per committee. These data¹⁷ should be treated with caution, but they are also worthy of attention. Thus, **8 out of 18¹⁸ committees (almost half) increased (compared to the previous session) the average time it took them to submit opinions for the second reading**, while the other half decreased this time.

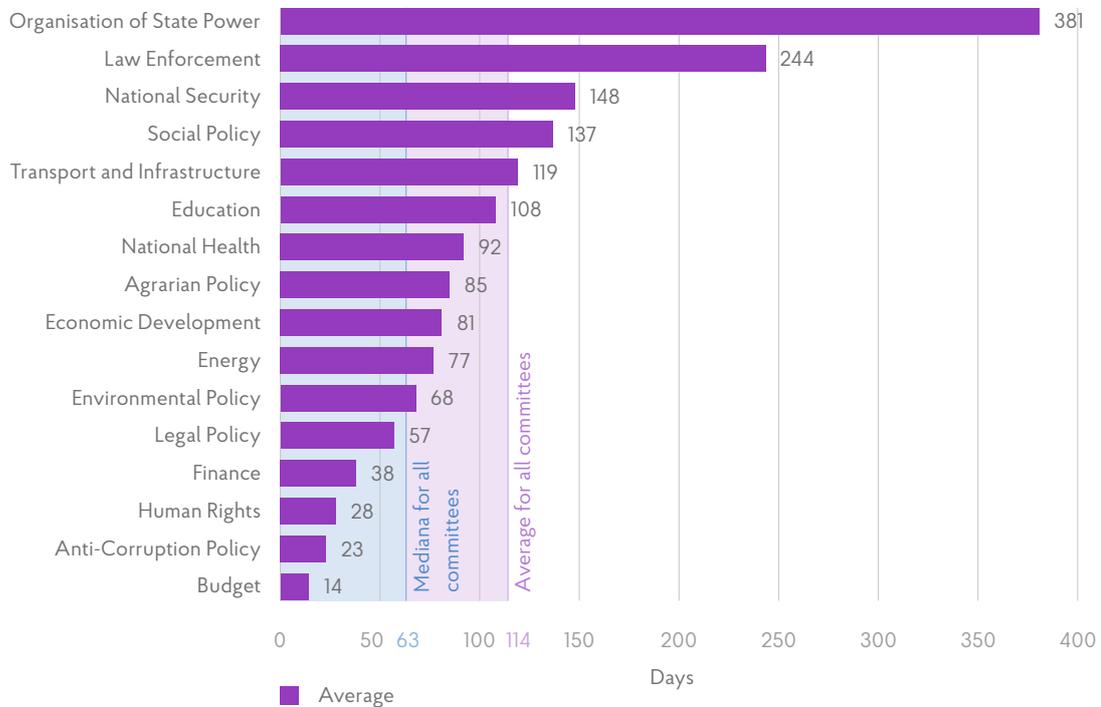
The time from the adoption of a draft law in the first reading to the provision of an opinion for the second reading is 114 days on average, and half of all opinions were provided in 63 days. In other words, the speed of committee processing of draft laws for the second reading differs from the speed of processing for the first reading by about 15%.

¹⁶ 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).

¹⁷ Given the small number of opinions for the second reading, only the average is used here. Only five committees submitted five or more opinions for the second reading in the 10th session.

¹⁸ Another five committees did not provide any opinion for the second reading.

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	46
MPs of Ukraine	133
President of Ukraine ¹⁹	51

For government draft laws, the time to submit the first committee opinion for the second reading was halved compared to the previous 9th session. Government draft laws received their first opinions for the second reading faster than during the previous martial law sessions (7th, 8th and 9th) and, for the first time, received opinions on average faster than MPs’ or presidential draft laws. For MPs’ draft laws, the time for submitting the first committee opinion for the second reading increased by an average of 35 days. This is the third consecutive session when the time for submitting the first opinion for the second reading for MPs’ draft laws has increased. The only presidential draft law received the first opinion for the second reading somewhat slower than during the 7th or 8th sessions.

¹⁹ The committees provided only one opinion to draft laws of the President of Ukraine for the second reading in the course of the 10th session. Therefore, this entity is highlighted in grey in the table.

Initiator's Affiliation ²⁰	Average number of days
Holos faction	440
For the Future group	197
Servant of the People faction	109
European Solidarity faction	55
President of Ukraine	51
Government	46
Non-factional	28

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.

Time from registration of laws to their adoption

The average time for the adoption of laws, regardless of the reading, is 140 days, with a median of 65 days (i.e., half of the draft laws were adopted in more than 65 days and half in less than 65 days).

Time from registration to adoption in the first reading and in 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
10	41	26

²⁰ It should be taken into account that a large number of 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.

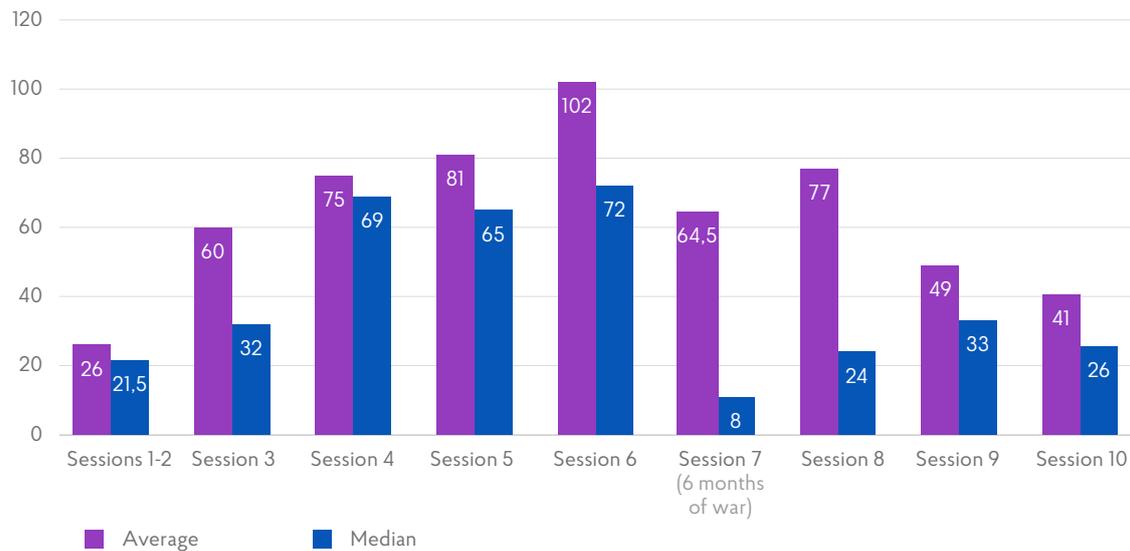
70% of draft laws passed in the first reading and in their entirety were adopted in less than 52 days. The time for their passage from registration to adoption in the first reading and in entirety remained approximately at the same level²¹ as during the 8th and 9th sessions. At the same time, for 30% of draft laws that take the longest to pass, the time from registration to adoption in the first reading decreased by 11–33 days compared to the 9th session. For the second session running, the time it takes to pass the longest-delayed draft laws has been declining. All draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety were registered during the second half of 2023. This demonstrates a significant update of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine’s agenda. Thus, for the stage “from registration to adoption in the first reading and in entirety,” the 10th session demonstrated record indicators, the second highest after the 7th session (the first six months of martial law). The 10th session also demonstrated a complete update of the agenda, as all the draft laws passed in the first reading and in their entirety concerned the situation existing not only after 24 February 2022 but also during the six months of the 10th session. At the same time, unlike during the 9th session, the practice of adopting draft laws “on the fly,” when draft laws are adopted in the first reading and in their entirety on the day of their registration, was not used during the 10th session. The experimental indicator “growth rate” was 2 (two) days, although this indicator is primarily due to the negative value of the previous period. The growth rate shows that during the 10th session, draft laws were quickly passed from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety. The growth rate is calculated as the average difference between the difference in deciles²² of the number of days from registration to adoption during the 8th and 7th (first six months of the full-scale invasion) sessions and the difference in deciles of the number of days from registration to adoption in the 10th and 9th sessions²³.

²¹ The difference in time compared to the 8th or 9th sessions was up to 10 days longer or shorter.

²² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quantile>

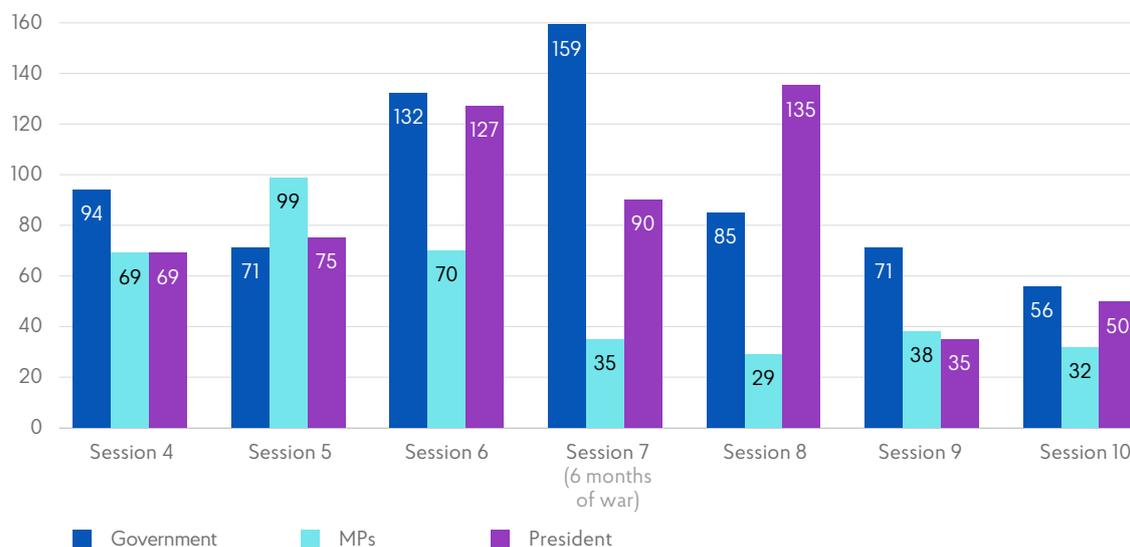
²³ In other words, the “pace” describes the rate of increase in the time for adoption. For example, imagine that the average time for adopting draft laws increased by 10 days between the 1st and 2nd sessions, and this increase was seven days between the 2nd and 3rd sessions. Then the indicator, which 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.

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	56	48
MPs of Ukraine	32 (33 for the Servant of the People faction)	21 (19 for the Servant of the People faction)
President of Ukraine	50	42

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



Four government draft laws, 13 MPs' and six presidential draft laws were adopted in the first reading and in their entirety. **One-third of the MPs' and government draft laws were adopted in the first reading and in their entirety.** At the same time, all but one of the presidential draft laws were passed in the first reading and in their entirety.

Both presidential and government draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety are ratifications or approvals of decrees. **Both ratifications and approvals of decrees are always adopted in the first reading.**

Government draft laws moved from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety rather quickly, in 56 days on average. This is the **fastest passage of government draft laws over the period of the 4th to 10th sessions.** However, compared to the MPs' and presidential draft laws, government draft laws took the longest to pass during the 10th session, although they almost caught up with the MPs' draft laws. During the 10th session, **presidential draft laws moved from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety in an average of 50 days,** which is relatively fast but 15 days longer than during the 9th session. However, the average speed (32 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, 8th and 9th sessions.

The top 5 longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to adoption in the first reading and in 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 entirety²⁴

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
10	196	146

²⁴ Data are provided only for laws that were not vetoed.

During the 10th session, the speed of passage of draft laws from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety increased significantly. On average, the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety decreased by 100 days compared to the 9th session, and the median value decreased by 56 days. The speed increased for all draft laws. For 30% of the fastest draft laws, the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety was halved (compared to the 9th session) – by 30–60 days. For the remaining 70% of draft laws, the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety was also significantly reduced (compared to the 9th session) – by 53–390 days. Only two draft laws out of 41 (5%) adopted in the second reading and in entirety were registered by 24 February 2022. This means that the agenda was radically updated during the 10th session. The Verkhovna Rada passed laws that almost exclusively dealt with wartime issues. The growth rate of the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety also decreased and amounted to -74 (minus seventy-four) days.

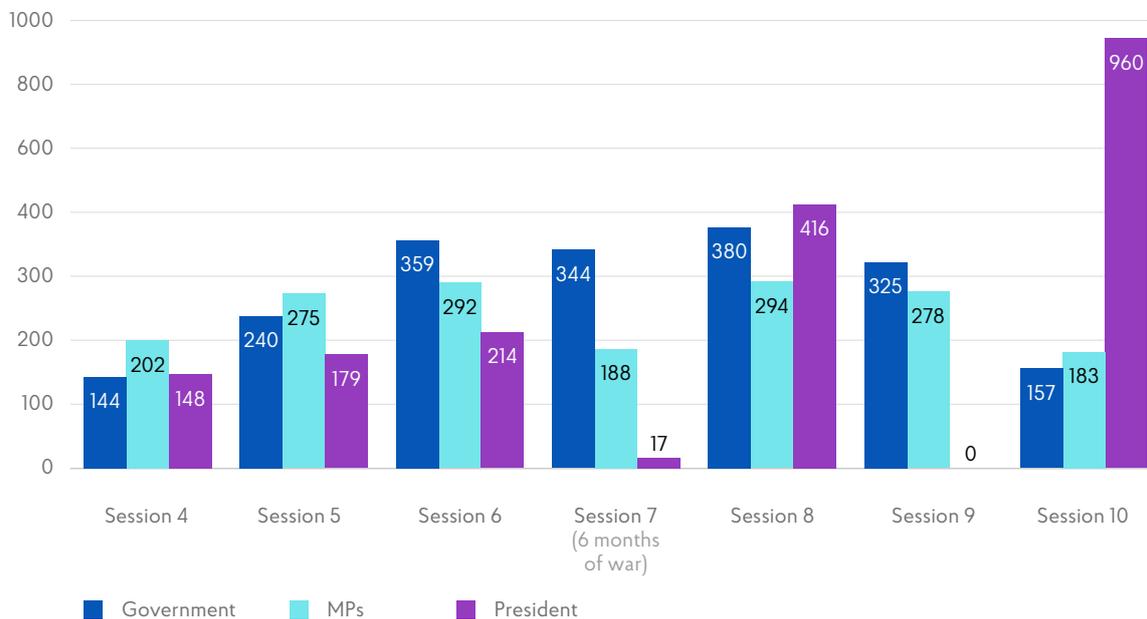
Comparison of sessions by the number of days spent on adopting draft laws in the second reading



Initiating entity	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	157	57
MPs of Ukraine	183 (161 for the Servant of the People faction)	149 (161 for the Servant of the People faction)
President of Ukraine ²⁵	960	960

²⁵ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted only one presidential draft law in the second reading and in its entirety during the 10th session. Therefore, this entity is highlighted in grey in the table.

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



Government draft laws halved (by 168 days) the average time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety, and for the first time since the 6th session, they are going through this process faster than MPs’ draft laws. At the same time, MPs’ draft laws were adopted faster by almost 100 days, surpassing even the indicators of the 7th session, i.e., the first six months of martial law, when all legislative initiatives were passed extremely quickly. In addition, the indicators of MPs’ draft laws in the 10th session set a record for the 4th to the 10th sessions.

The only presidential draft law passed in the second reading and in its entirety, unlike the presidential draft laws of the first reading, is quite ordinary law. It went from registration to adoption in 960 days, which is significantly higher than all the passage rates of presidential draft laws of previous sessions, but this does not allow for drawing conclusions about the influence of the President of Ukraine as a subject of legislative initiative on the lawmaking process, since only one such draft law was adopted. However, this situation confirms another observation from the martial law era, namely that the President formally withdrew from his legislative function in the domestic policy. At the same time, it is difficult to assess the informal influence of the President of Ukraine on the legislative branch of power using the tools of this monitoring.

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, can be found in Annex 4.

The period between the first reading of the draft law and its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety²⁶

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
10	133	90

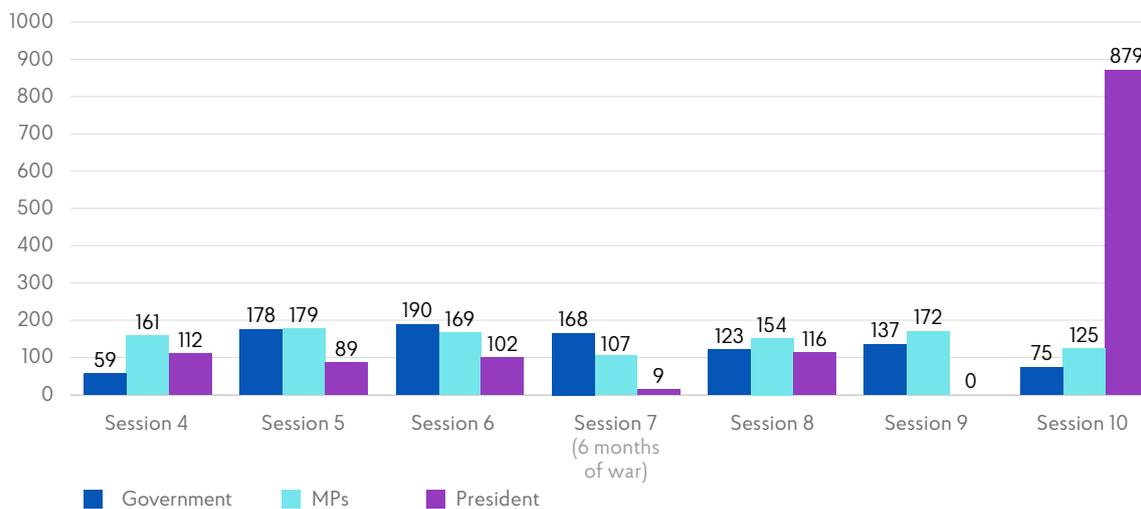
The time between adoption in the first reading and adoption in the second reading and in entirety for draft laws adopted during the 10th session decreased compared to the 9th session. For 60% of draft laws, the reduction was 6 to 22 days, and for another 40% of the draft laws, it was 35 to 75 days. That is, the Verkhovna Rada accelerated the processing of draft laws in committees, expert and analytical units, and the processes of political approval of draft laws. This means that the reduction in the total time for draft laws to pass from registration to adoption in the second reading is not only due to a more recent date of their registration but also to the acceleration of their processing.

Initiating entity	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	75	21
MPs of Ukraine	125 (104 for the Servant of the People faction)	103 (103 for the Servant of the People faction)
President of Ukraine ²⁷	879	879

²⁶ Data are provided only for laws that were not vetoed.

²⁷ The President did not initiate any draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety during the 10th 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



The process of passing draft laws from adoption in the first reading to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety during the 10th session reflects the trends of the previous two (VIII and IX) sessions: governmental draft laws were processed faster than MPs’ draft laws. For both the government and MPs’ draft laws, the time of passing of draft laws from the first reading to the second reading and in their entirety decreased (compared to the 9th session). The reduction was 62 days for government draft laws and 47 days for MPs’ draft laws. 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 third consecutive session.

The record time (879 days) for the processing of the only presidential draft law adopted in the second reading and in its entirety shows that this draft law was shelved after its adoption in the first reading and was updated only during the 10th session.

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

The monitoring of the passage of draft laws during the 10th session revealed three important trends.

First, a significant update of the agenda is observed. All draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety and 95% 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, the President initiated only one ordinary draft law adopted in the second reading and in its entirety. All presidential draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety are decrees and ratifications. This demonstrates that the President of Ukraine formally withdraws from domestic policy issues and concentrates on defence and foreign policy. The same situation was observed during the 7th and 9th sessions, while it was less pronounced during the 8th session.

Third, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has been improving its formal performance indicators for several sessions in a row, setting several records for the 4th to 10th sessions. The improved indicators relate to the speed of submission of committee opinions, the passage of draft laws from registration to adoption, and the speed of passage of draft laws between the first reading and adoption in the second reading and in their entirety.

Committees

Information on the time frame for submitting committee opinions is contained in the section on the speed of passage of draft laws.

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	46 (96%)
Government	2 (4%)
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	26 (55%)
Restoration of Ukraine group	8 (17%)
Non-factional	6 (13%)
Fatherland faction	4 (9%)
Opposition Platform – For Life faction	2 (4%)
Holos faction	1 (2%)

Forty-eight opinions of the main committees on rejecting draft laws were prepared during the 10th 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 (however, it should be remembered that there were few presidential draft laws, and these were almost exclusively ratifications and decrees). Government draft laws also seem to be problem-free for the most part: only two of them received opinions on dismissal. Draft laws submitted by members of the Servant of the People faction received the most opinions on dismissal, which is logical given the number of such MPs and their legislative activity.

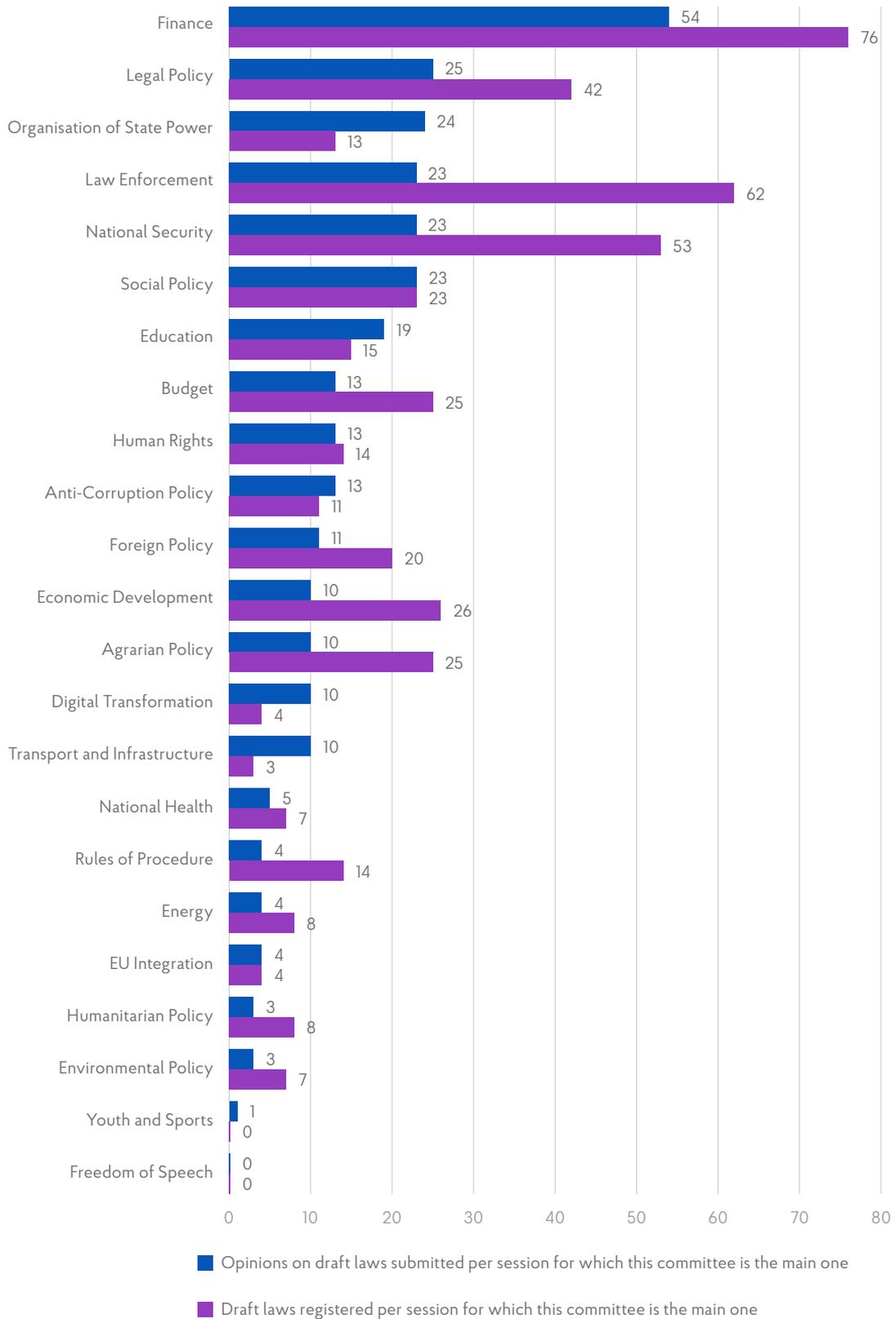
Other factions and groups received less than five opinions on dismissal each. The only significant exception is the Restoration of Ukraine group, whose draft laws received a relatively large number of opinions on dismissal in both quantitative and relative terms. However, the indicator of this group correlates with the share of draft laws initiated by MPs of this group.

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 committees²⁸ 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.

²⁸ 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 opinions²⁹ 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 the distribution of legislative work on the preliminary processing of draft laws.

The Committee on Finance has the largest workload both in terms of the number of opinions provided (54) and the number of draft laws registered (76). Five other committees have a similarly high workload: the Committee on Legal Policy (25 opinions), the Committee on the Organisation of State Power (24 opinions), the Committee on Law Enforcement (23 opinions), the Committee on National Security (23 opinions) and the Committee on Social Policy (23 opinions). This is a fairly standard distribution for the last four sessions during martial law (7th, 8th, 9th and 10th), with the only peculiarity being that the Committee on Finance regained the title of the busiest committee (it was the Committee on Law Enforcement during the 9th session).

The committees that significantly reduced the number of opinions provided during the 10th session (compared to the corresponding 8th session) were those that had considerably increased this number during the first year of martial law: the Committee on National Security (-18 opinions), the Committee on Economic Development (-16 opinions) and the Committee on Finance (-15 opinions). In addition, the Committee on Environmental Policy significantly reduced the number of its opinions (-17 opinions).

The number of opinions issued has hardly increased compared to the 8th session. This reflects the general trend towards a decrease in the volume of draft laws being processed or at least a stabilisation of the pace of work. However, the Committee on the Organisation of State Power (+9 opinions), the Committee on Anti-Corruption (+9 opinions) and the Committee on Digital Transformation (+8 opinions) saw the biggest increase in the number of opinions provided compared to the 8th session.

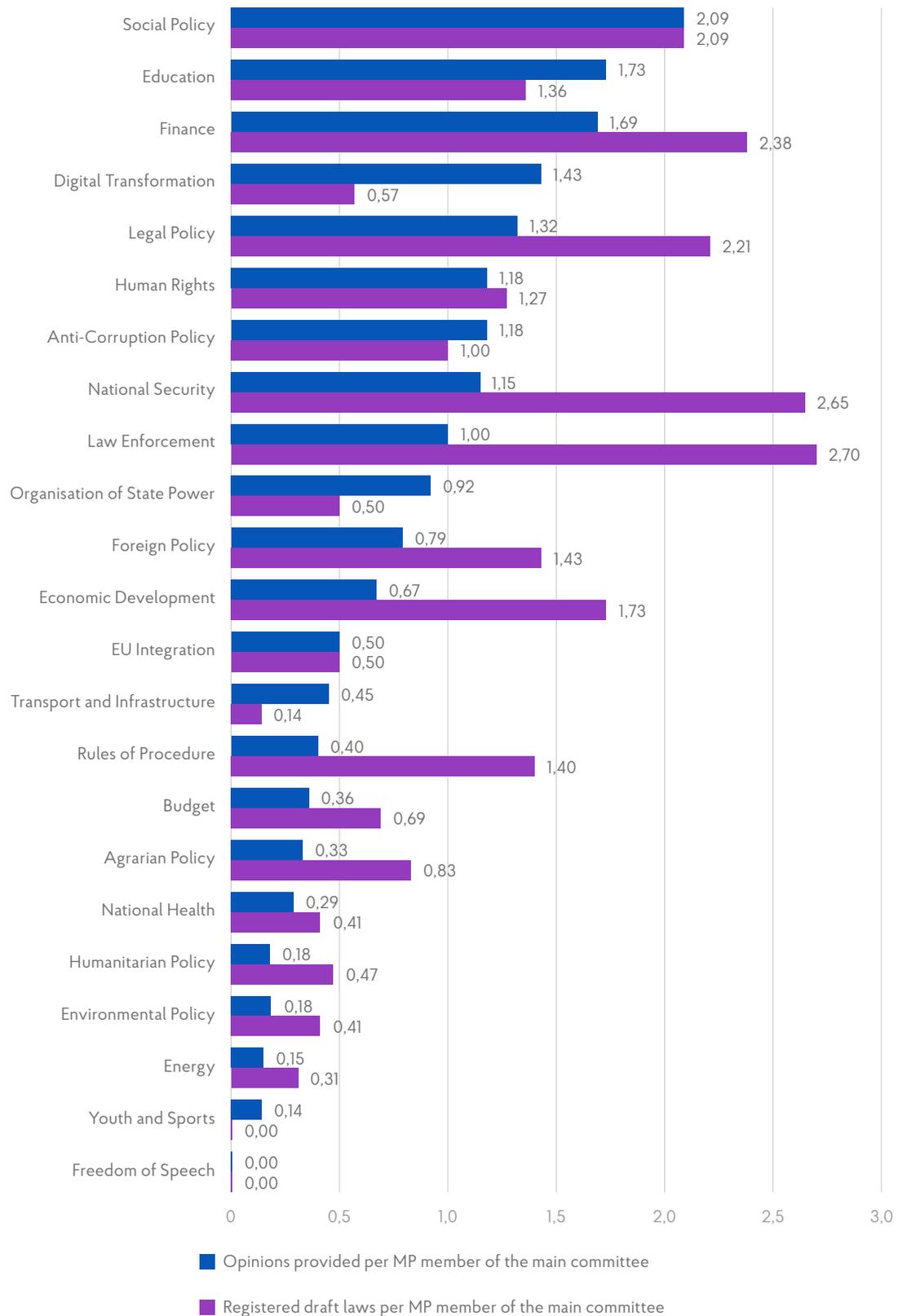
The volume of draft laws assigned to committees also remained almost unchanged compared to the 8th session. The fluctuations ranged from -7 to +15 assigned draft laws. This shows a relative stabilisation of legislative drafting.

The potential workload (number of assigned draft laws) of committees during the 10th session decreased the most (compared to the 8th session) for the Committee on Transport and Infrastructure (-7 assigned draft laws) and the Committee on Humanitarian Policy (-6 assigned draft laws).

The potential workload of committees increased the most for the following three committees: the Committee on Legal Policy (+15 assigned draft laws), the Committee on National Security (+15 assigned draft laws) and the Committee on Law Enforcement (+12 assigned draft laws).

²⁹ 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 – also measures the workload on the committees³⁰. Only the Committee on Social Policy has a heavy workload (the number of both draft laws assigned and opinions provided exceeds two per MP). Two other committees, the Committee on Education and the Committee on Finance, have workloads of more than 1.5 opinions per MP. For the majority of committees, the absolute workload (the number of opinions provided) correlates with the workload per MP – committee member. The only exception is the Committee on Education, which has a relatively higher workload per MP.

The number of committees with the number of opinions issued per MP below 0.5 increased significantly. At present, these are 10 out of 23 committees, or almost half. The least busy are the Committee on Freedom of Speech (which did not provide a single opinion³¹), the Committee on Youth and Sports (0.14 opinions per MP), and the Committee on Energy (0.15 opinions per MP).

If we compare the 10th session with the similar 8th session, we can talk about the stabilisation of the work regime, as the difference between the number of opinions submitted per MP ranges from -0.96 to +1.14. The number of assigned draft laws fluctuated even less, ranging from -0.43 to +0.92.

The actual workload (i.e., the number of opinions provided per MP) decreased the most for the Committee on Economic Development (-0.96 opinions provided per MP) and the Committee on Environmental Policy (-0.93 opinions provided per MP). Instead, the largest increase in the actual workload was for the Committee on Digital Transformation (+1.14 opinions per MP) and the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy (+0.87 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 Youth and Sports (-0.43 assigned draft laws per MP). Instead, the potential workload of the Committee on National Security (+0.92 assigned draft laws per MP) and the Committee on Legal Policy (+0.86 assigned draft laws per MP) increased the most.

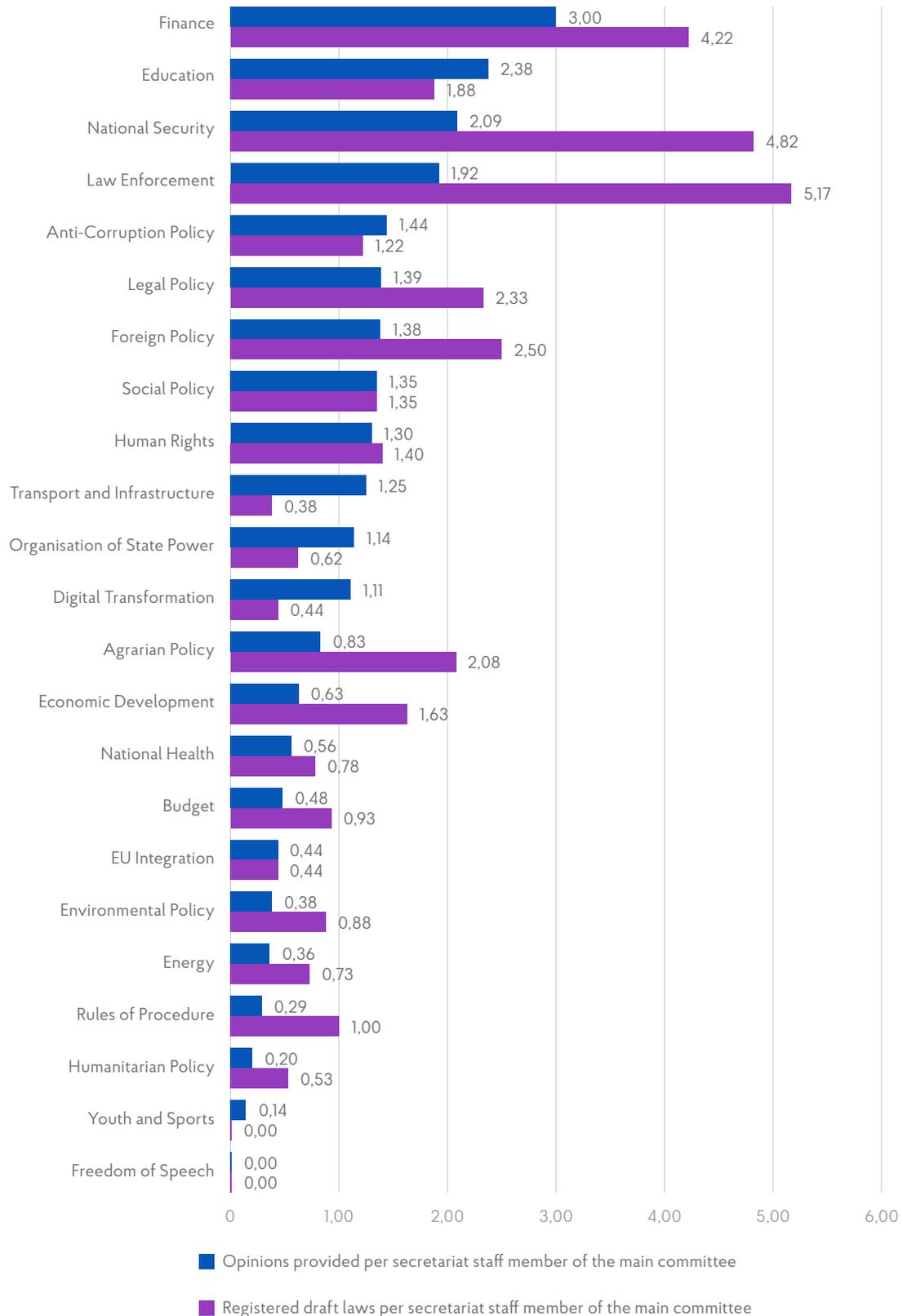
The trends in the actual and potential workload per committee member are generally consistent with the data on the workload of committees.

If we compare the least and most busy committees, their workload differs by a factor of 15. This situation in the 10th 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.

³⁰ The number of MPs at the end of the 10th session; during the 10th session, the number of MPs in committees changed.

³¹ At the same time, the Committee on Freedom of Speech, as the main committee, was not assigned any draft laws during the 10th session. That is, the reason for its low workload is not its low efficiency but the lack of a subject matter for issuing opinions – draft laws. This situation appeared due to the unusual distribution of the committees' areas of jurisdiction at the beginning of the 9th convocation.

Workload per secretariat staff member of the main committee



The Committee on Finance, the Committee on National Security and the Committee on Education have a heavy workload (the number of opinions issued exceeds two per secretariat staff member³²). For the majority of committees, the absolute workload (number of opinions issued) is correlated with the workload per secretariat staff member, with the Committee on Education being the only exception with a relatively higher workload per secretariat staff member. Nine other committees have a workload exceeding one opinion per secretariat staff member.

In one-third of the committees, the number of opinions issued does not reach 0.5 (opinions) per secretariat staff member. The least busy committees are the Committee on Freedom of Speech, the Committee on Youth and Sports, and the Committee on Humanitarian Policy.

The highest actual workload during the 10th session (compared to the 8th session) decreased in the Committee on Environmental Policy (-1.85 opinions per secretariat staff member) and the Committee on National Security (-1.33 opinions per secretariat staff member). The Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy (+0.94 opinions per secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Foreign Affairs (+0.91 opinions per secretariat staff member) featured the largest increase in the actual workload.

When comparing the potential workload (number of draft laws per secretariat staff member) during the 10th and 8th sessions, the Committee on Transport showed the strongest decrease (-0.74 draft laws per secretariat staff member). The potential workload of the Committee on National Security (+1.65 draft laws per one secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Law Enforcement (+1.32 draft laws per one secretariat staff member) increased the most.

If we compare the number of opinions submitted per secretariat staff member, **there will be a 21-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.

The committee dimension of the Verkhovna Rada's work during the 10th session showed a relatively typical situation. Traditionally, the busiest committees were the Committee on Finance, the Committee on Legal Policy, the Committee on the Organisation of State Power, the Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on National Security and the Committee on Social Policy. Compared to other sessions that occurred during martial law (7th, 8th and 9th sessions), only the performance of the Committee on the Organisation of State Power, which is usually less busy, stands out. A more important observation is the stabilisation of the pace of the committees' work under martial law.

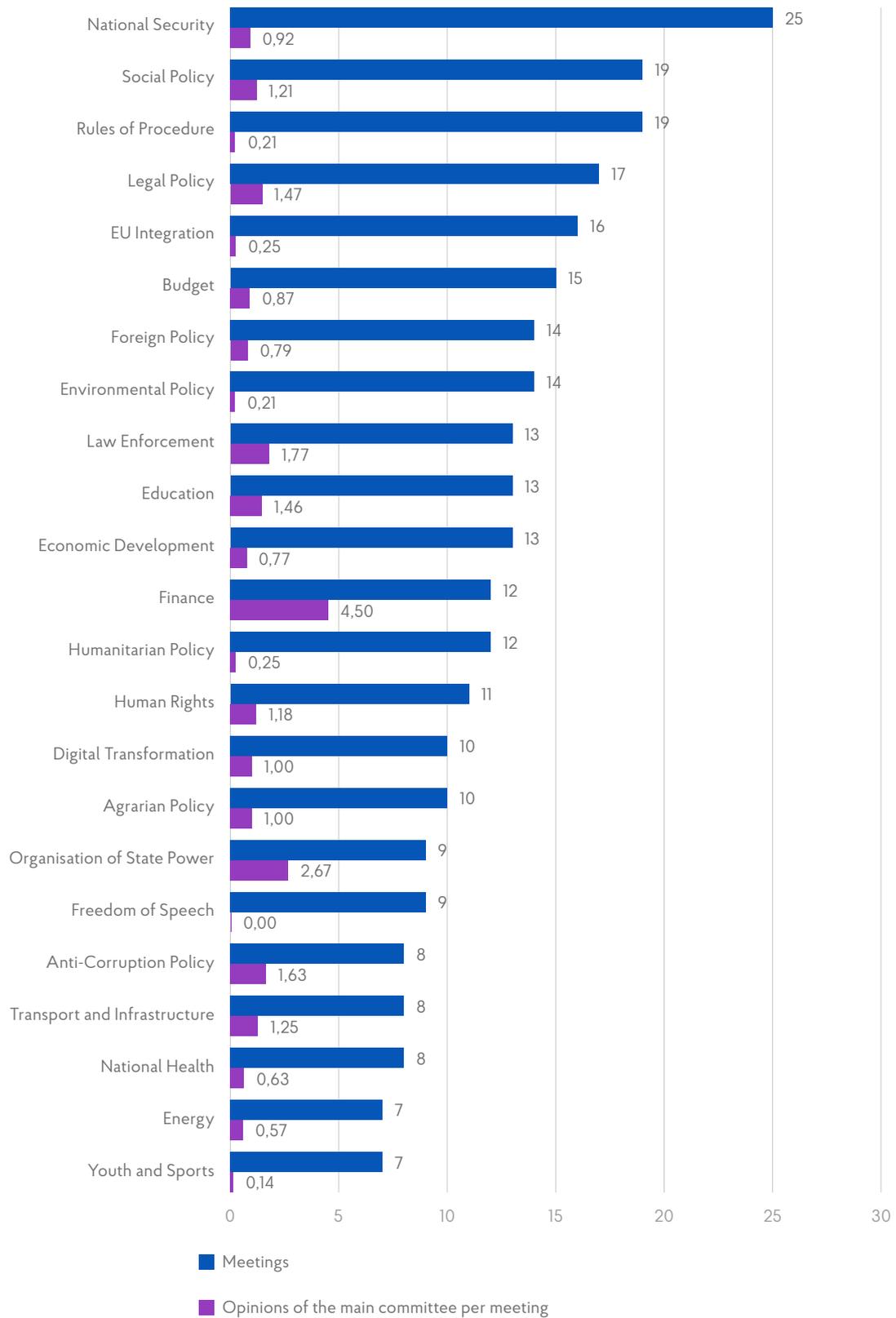
When considering the quantitative indicators of the committees' work, it is worth remembering the mandatory opinions of the auxiliary committees. The Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU, the Budget Committee, and the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy have relatively low workloads compared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

³² Data as of the beginning of February 2024 was used to calculate the number of committee secretariat staff members.

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

Only one committee held more than 20 meetings in the course of the 10th session. Furthermore, five committees held more than 15 meetings. Instead, seven committees had less than ten meetings during the 10th session. The leader in terms of the number of opinions per meeting is the Committee on Finance (4.5). Two committees adopt more than two opinions per meeting, while 11 committees (half) adopt 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 opinions³³ on all draft laws, and this function may sometimes require more resources than their opinions as the main committees.

Judging by the data, the Committee on Freedom of Speech (38 issues under control), the Budget Committee (18 issues under control), and the Committee on Humanitarian Policy (17 issues under control) are the most active in controlling the implementation of laws and resolutions. This indicates two interesting points. First, the Committee on Freedom of Speech has the priority oversight function since, during the 10th session, it did not provide opinions on draft laws as the main committee (no draft laws were assigned to it), but it has the largest number of control issues considered of all the committees (twice as many as the number of control issues of any other committee). Second, the Committee on Humanitarian Policy seems to compensate for its low workload of legislative drafting with more active oversight activities.

Committee	Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee	Conferences and seminars held
	Total	In particular, to control the implementation of laws and regulations		
Committee on Agrarian and Land Policy	37	2	1	79
Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy	98	0	16	11
Budget Committee	399	18	356	30
Committee on Humanitarian and Information Policy	45	17	6	72
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	61	10	28	11
Committee on Economic Development	37	5	1	18
Committee on Energy, Housing and Utilities	33	0	7	43

³³ We are talking about opinions on compliance with the requirements of anti-corruption 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	Conferences and seminars held
	Total	In particular, to control the implementation of laws and regulations		
Committee on National Health, Healthcare and Insurance	22	5	5	14
Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation	68	4	1	19
Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union	200	1	345	26
Committee on Youth and Sports	48	5	15	2
Committee on National Security, Defence and Intelligence	73	5	1	22
Committee on the Organisation of State Power, Local Self-Government, Regional Development and Urban Planning	57	1	3	46
Committee on Education, Science and Innovation	61	2	16	5
Committee on Human Rights, De-occupation and Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations	40	2	11	44
Committee on Legal Policy	52	1	2	0
Committee on Law Enforcement	55	9	0	48
Committee on Rules of Procedure, Parliamentary Ethics and Support to the Work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine	70	0	15	1
Committee on Freedom of Speech	66	38	35	11
Committee on Social Policy and Protection of Veterans' Rights	76	5	14	21
Committee on Transport and Infrastructure	48	0	11	19

Committee	Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee	Conferences and seminars held
	Total	In particular, to control the implementation of laws and regulations		
Committee on Finance, Taxation and Customs Policy	57	3	0	23
Committee on Digital Transformation	71	6	40	25
Total	1774	139	929	590

Violations of the Rules of Procedure

This section provides information on violations of the Rules of Procedure during the adoption of laws during the 10th session.

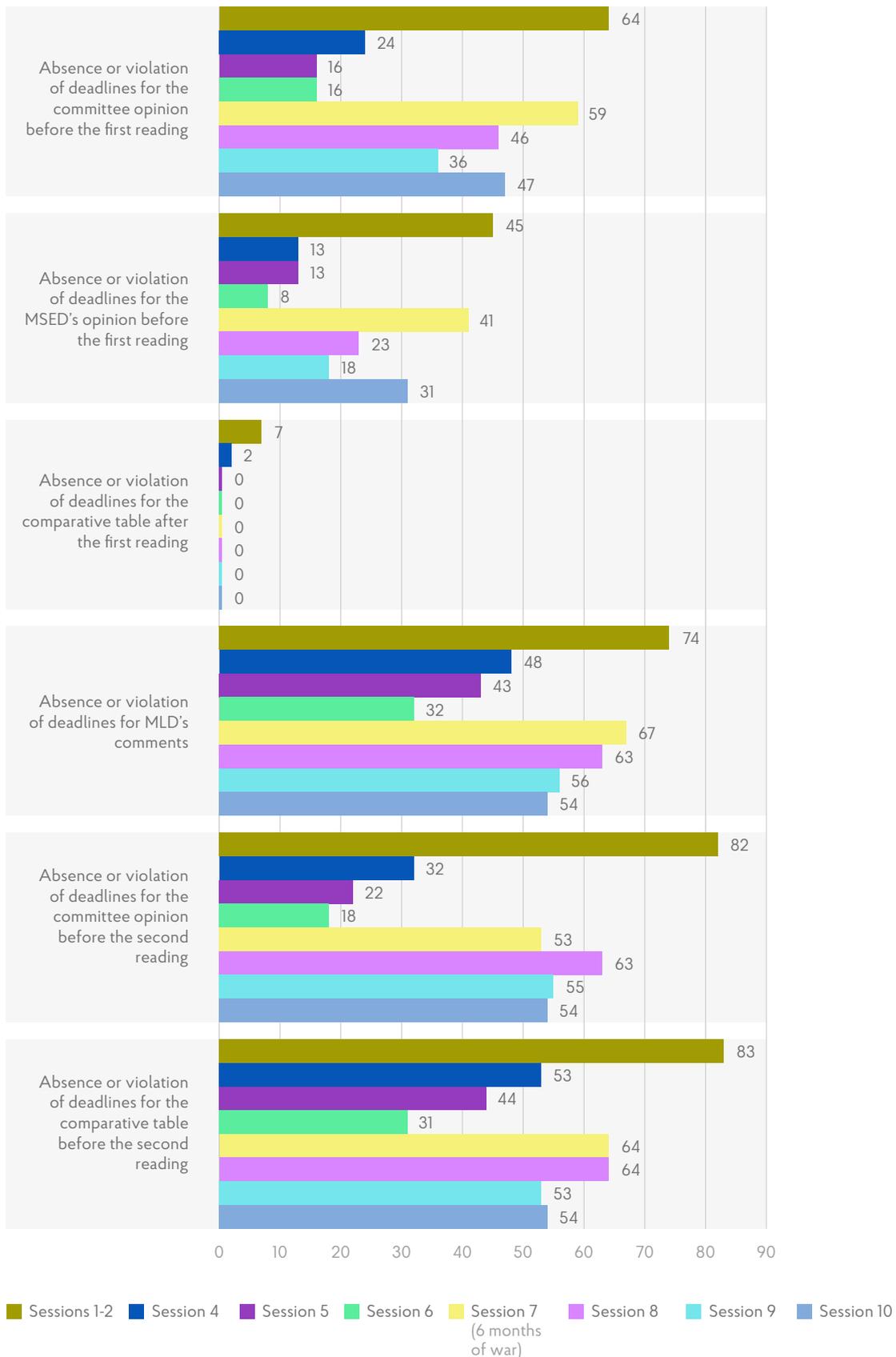
The 10th session most closely resembles the situation during the 9th session in terms of the share of violations. Procedures for considering up to 54% (slightly more than half) of the laws were violated during the 10th session. The only type of violation³⁴ that was not recorded was the provision of sufficient time (at least 7 or 14 days) for submitting amendments to the comparative table for the second reading. At the same time, 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) somewhat decreased.

During the 10th session, the dynamics of the frequency of Rules of Procedure violations varies depending on the first or second reading. For the first reading, the share of violations increased compared to the 9th session, surpassing even the figures for the 8th session. For the second reading, the share of violations of the Rules of Procedure did not change significantly compared to the 9th session. Accordingly, the frequency of violations is lower compared to the 7th and 8th sessions. On the one hand, this means that the VRU has stabilised the pace of its work in the second reading so that the level of violations has not changed significantly compared to the previous session. However, unlike the dynamics in the period up to 24 February 2022, the share of violations does not decrease with each new session.

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

³⁴ If considering only the laws that were not vetoed.

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 Rada³⁵

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	64	There were 30 (46.8%) violations. Thirty violations of the deadlines, including four cases of the draft law being adopted on the day of its submission. All opinions are available
MSED's opinion on the first reading ³⁶ (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	64	There were 20 (31.2%) violations of the deadline, including three cases of the draft law being adopted on the day of submitting the opinion. All opinions are available

³⁵ Unlike the previous materials, this monitoring presents data on violations regarding vetoed and non-vetoed draft laws in one table.

³⁶ 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	41 (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	41 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	22 (53.6%) cases of missed deadlines, including one case of adoption of the draft law on the day of submission of the MLD's opinion; all opinions are available ³⁷
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	41 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	22 (53.6%) cases of missed deadlines, including one case of draft law adoption on the day of submission of opinions. 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	41 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	22 (53.6%) missed deadlines; 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

³⁷ 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.

94 of the Constitution). Sixty-four laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 10th session were monitored. The deadline for signing (or submitting proposals) was missed in respect of 22 laws, i.e., in 34% of cases. In addition, five more laws were neither signed by the President nor vetoed or ones that received proposals. All these violations, when combined, will constitute 42% of all laws passed during the 10th session. That is, 4 out of 10 laws are rather sad statistics progressing with each new session. In fact, this figure was 36% during the 9th session.

Of course, it does not matter whether the deadline was missed by 2 or 102 days – it is a violation in both cases. However, if we look at the record holders, the record signing period was 120 days.

Since the introduction of martial law, the trend towards an increase in the share and gravity of constitutional procedure violations has been growing. The share of laws with violations of the constitutional procedure was 16.4% during the first six months of martial law. 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 36% during the 9th session. It rose to 42% during the 10th session. If this trend continues, then we can expect the President to violate the constitutional procedure regarding half of the laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada already during the next session. It is difficult to justify such a volume of violations by martial law, as there were three times as many violations during the 10th session as during the first six months of martial law when Russian troops were near Kyiv.

During the 10th session, the President vetoed and submitted proposals for two draft laws on time (without violating the 15-day deadline). The Verkhovna Rada has so far adopted a decision (again, with the President's proposals) on one of them, while the other has not yet been considered. One of the draft laws considered was considered within 30 days of receiving the President's proposals, as provided for by the Rules of Procedure. At the same time, the comparative table was submitted late, missing the minimum three-day deadline.

One vetoed draft law was initiated by the head of the Servant of the People faction, and the other by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. Thus, it seems that in these two cases, the positions of the initiators 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 5 draft laws with the shortest time from registration to the first opinion³⁸ 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. 10211 of 6 November 2023	0
Draft Law on Approving the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Extending the Period of General Mobilisation" No. 10212 of 6 November 2023	0
Draft Law on Amending Section VI "Final and Transitional Provisions" of the Budget Code of Ukraine on Increasing Financial Support for the State's Defence Capability No. 10037-2 of 19 September 2023	0
Draft Law on Amending Section VI "Final and Transitional Provisions" of the Budget Code of Ukraine on Ensuring Support for the State's Defence Capability No. 10037-3 of 19 September 2023	0
Draft Law "On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Clarifying the Responsibilities of the Participants in Court Case" No. 10087-1 of 2 October 2023	0

³⁸ Top 5 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.

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 Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Including Personal Transport in the Unified Transport System of Ukraine and Improving Road Safety” No. 5479 of 11 May 2021	889
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On Prevention of Corruption” to Prohibit Persons Authorised to Perform the Functions of the State or Local Government and Their Family Members from Opening and/or Using Accounts and Keeping Financial Assets in Foreign Banks” No. 5350 of 8 April 2021	910
Draft Law “On Protecting Borrowers’ Rights under Microcredit and Microloan Agreements” No. 5184 of 2 March 2021	916
Draft Law “On Amending the Electoral Code of Ukraine and Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Peculiarities of Organising the Preparation and Conduct of Elections during the Quarantine Period Established to Prevent the Spread of Particularly Dangerous and Dangerous Infectious Diseases in Ukraine and to Improve Certain Provisions of the Electoral Legislation” No. 4117 of 18 September 2020	1109
Draft Law “On State Registration of Lobbying Entities and Lobbying in Ukraine” No. 3059 of 11 February 2020	1427

Annex 2

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

Top 6³⁹ draft laws with the shortest time from adoption in 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 Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Strengthening Social Protection of Service-persons, Police Officers and Some Other Persons” No. 9638 of 21 August 2023	11
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Ensuring the Rights and Freedoms of Convicted Citizens of Ukraine Transferred to Ukraine to Serve Their Sentences, and in Respect of Whom The Competent Authority of a Foreign State has Decided to Extradite Them to Ukraine for Prosecution or Execution of a Sentence” No. 9451 of 3 July 2023	11
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2023” on Financial Support of the Security and Defence Sector and Addressing Priority Issues” No. 10038 of 12 September 2023	13
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On Prevention of Corruption” on Bringing Certain Provisions in Line with the European Commission Conclusions on Ukraine” No. 10262 of 14 November 2023	15
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine” on Strengthening the Institutional Capacity of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine” No. 10203-1 of 14 November 2023	15
Draft Law “On Amending Section VI of the Budget Code of Ukraine on Ensuring Support for the Defence Capability of the State and Development of the Military-Industrial Complex of Ukraine” No. 10037 of 12 September 2023	15

³⁹ The top six, as three draft laws had the same time frame for providing the first opinion for the second reading.

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 Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Labour Regulation of Domestic Workers" No. 5695 of 23 June 2021	197
Draft Law "On Amending Certain Laws of Ukraine on a Measure to Prevent Threats to National Security – Deprivation of State Awards" No. 6163 of 11 October 2021	606
Draft Law "On the Right to Civilian Firearms" No. 5708 of 25 June 2021	672
Draft Law "On Amending the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences and the Criminal Code of Ukraine to Implement Provisions of the Law of Ukraine "On the Right to Civilian Firearms" No. 5709 of 25 June 2021	674
Draft Law "On Amending the Law of Ukraine "On Local Self-Government in Ukraine" on Ensuring Transparency of Local Self-Government" No. 6401 of 7 December 2021	689

Annex 3

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

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

Draft law	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in its entirety
Draft Law on Approving the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On Extending the Period of General Mobilisation” No. 10212 of 6 November 2023	2
Draft Law on Approving the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On Extending the Period of Martial Law in Ukraine” No. 10211 of 6 November 2023	2
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Laws of Ukraine on Taking into Account the Expert Opinion of the Council of Europe and Its Bodies on the Rights of National Minorities (Communities) in Certain Areas” No. 10288-1 of 5 December 2023	3
Draft Law “On Amending Clause 32 of Subsection 2 of Section XX “Transitional Provisions” of the Tax Code of Ukraine on Peculiarities of Importation of Goods for Security and Defence Needs” Nr. 10341 of 13 December 2023	7
Draft Law “On Amending the Customs Code of Ukraine on Exemption from Import Duty on Certain Defence Goods” No. 10342 of 13 December 2023	7

Top 6⁴⁰ draft laws with the longest time from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in their entirety

Draft law	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in its entirety
Draft Law “On Ukraine’s Accession to the Enlarged Partial Agreement on the Register of Damages Caused by the Aggression of the Russian Federation Against Ukraine” No. 0225 of 4 September 2023	65
Draft Law “On Ratifying the Agreement between Ukraine, on the one hand, and the European Union, on the other hand, on Ukraine’s Participation in the EU Civil Protection Mechanism” No. 0226 of 4 September 2023	65
Draft Law “On Ratifying the Agreement Between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Moldova on the Construction of a Road Border Bridge Crossing over the Dniester River on the Ukrainian-Moldovan State Border near the settlements of Yampil – Cosăuți” No. 0217 of 9 August 2023	91
Draft Law “On Amending Section XV “Final Provisions” of the Law of Ukraine “On the National Bank of Ukraine” No. 10023 of 8 September 2023	92
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Laws of Ukraine on Clarifying the Activities of the Ukrainian Book Institute to Support Distributors of Publishing Products and Providing a Certificate for the Purchase of Books” No. 9568 of 7 August 2023	93
Draft Law “On Ukraine’s Accession to the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation in Southeast Asia” No. 0214 of 26 July 2023	148

⁴⁰ Top 6, as two draft laws had the same time from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety.

Annex 4

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

Top 6⁴¹ draft laws with the shortest time from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in their entirety

Draft law	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Strengthening Social Protection of Service-persons, Police Officers and Some Other Persons” No. 9638 of 21 August 2023	16
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On Prevention of Corruption” on Bringing Certain Provisions in Line with the European Commission Conclusions on Ukraine” No. 10262 of 14 November 2023	24
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine” on Strengthening the Institutional Capacity of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine” No. 10203-1 of 14 November 2023	24
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the Judiciary and the Status of Judges” and Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Improving the Procedures for Judicial Career” No. 10140-d of 17 November 2023	24
Draft Law “On Amending the Tax Code of Ukraine and Other Laws of Ukraine on Lifting the Moratorium on Tax Audits” No. 10016-d of 16 October 2023	24
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2023” on Financial Support of the Security and Defence Sector and Addressing Priority Issues” No. 10038 of 12 September 2023	24

⁴¹ Top 6, as several draft laws had the same shortest time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety.

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

Draft law	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety
Draft Law on Amending the Law of Ukraine “On Postal Service” (on the Regulation of the Issuance of Digital Stamps)” No. 8280 of 13 December 2022	344
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Laws of Ukraine to Ensure the Rights of War Participants to Biological Post-Traumatic Paternity/Maternity” No. 8011 of 8 September 2022	440
Draft Law “On Regulating the Circulation of Cannabis Plants for Medical, Industrial Purposes, Scientific and Technical Activities to Create Conditions for Expanding Patients’ Access to the Necessary Treatment of Cancer and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorders Resulting from the War” No. 7457 of 10 June 2022	559
Draft Law “On Amending the Criminal Code of Ukraine and the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on Criminalisation of Smuggling of Goods and Excisable Goods, and False Declaration of Goods” No. 5420 of 23 April 2021	960
Draft Law “On Amending Article 367 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine on Strengthening Liability for Negligence in Office if It Caused the Death of a Person” No. 4634 of 25 January 2021	1017

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 6⁴² draft laws with the shortest time from adoption of the draft in the first reading to its 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 Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Ensuring the Rights and Freedoms of Convicted Citizens of Ukraine Transferred to Ukraine to Serve Their Sentences, and in Respect of Whom The Competent Authority of a Foreign State has Decided to Extradite Them to Ukraine for Prosecution or Execution of a Sentence" No. 9451 of 3 July 2023	12
Draft Law "On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Strengthening Social Protection of Servicepersons, Police Officers and Some Other Persons" No. 9638 of 21 August 2023	13
Draft Law "On Amending the Law of Ukraine "On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2023" on Financial Support of the Security and Defence Sector and Addressing Priority Issues" No. 10038 of 12 September 2023	16
Draft Law "On Amending the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine and Other Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Strengthening the Independence of the Specialised Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office" No. 10060 of 15 September 2023	17
Draft Law "On Amending the Law of Ukraine "On Prevention of Corruption" on Bringing Certain Provisions in Line with the European Commission Conclusions on Ukraine" No. 10262 of 14 November 2023	17
Draft Law "On Amending the Law of Ukraine "On the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine" on Strengthening the Institutional Capacity of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine" No. 10203-1 of 14 November 2023	17

⁴² Top 6, as several draft laws had the same shortest time from adoption in the first reading to adoption in the second reading and in their 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 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 Section XII “Final and Transitional Provisions” of the Law of Ukraine “On the Judiciary and the Status of Judges” in Connection with the Decision of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine No. 2-r/2020 of 18 February 2020 on Ensuring the Continuity of the Administration of Justice by the Highest Court in the Judicial System of Ukraine” No. 5456-d of 16 March 2023	246
Draft Law “On Amending the Law of Ukraine “On State Social Standards and State Social Guarantees” on Social Standards in the Field of Culture” No. 8395 of 30 January 2023	246
Draft Law “On Amending Certain Laws of Ukraine to Ensure the Rights of War Participants to Biological Post-Traumatic Paternity/Maternity” No. 8011 of 8 September 2022	246
Draft Law “On Amending the Criminal Code of Ukraine and the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on Criminalisation of Smuggling of Goods and Excisable Goods, and False Declaration of Goods” No. 5420 of 23 April 2021	879
Draft Law “On Amending Article 367 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine on Strengthening Liability for Negligence in Office if It Caused the Death of a Person” No. 4634 of 25 January 2021	889