

Monitoring of the Work of the Verkhovna Rada

11TH SESSION
IX CONVOCATION



ЛЗИ Agency
for Legislative
Initiatives

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Annotation

This monitoring of the work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the ninth convocation in its 11th session consists of an executive summary, four sections, and annexes. The sections cover:

- 1) Legislative 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 and adoption, deadlines for submitting opinions of the main committees, timeframes from registration to adoption of the law, including by readings and initiators;
- 3) Committees: total number and breakdown by initiators of opinions on rejection, number of committee meetings and their workload in accordance with the number of registered draft laws and provided opinions on draft laws, including the workload per 1 committee member and 1 secretariat employee;
- 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.

The annexes contain lists of the five draft laws included in the ranking based on various quantitative indicators (e.g., the number of days from registration to adoption).

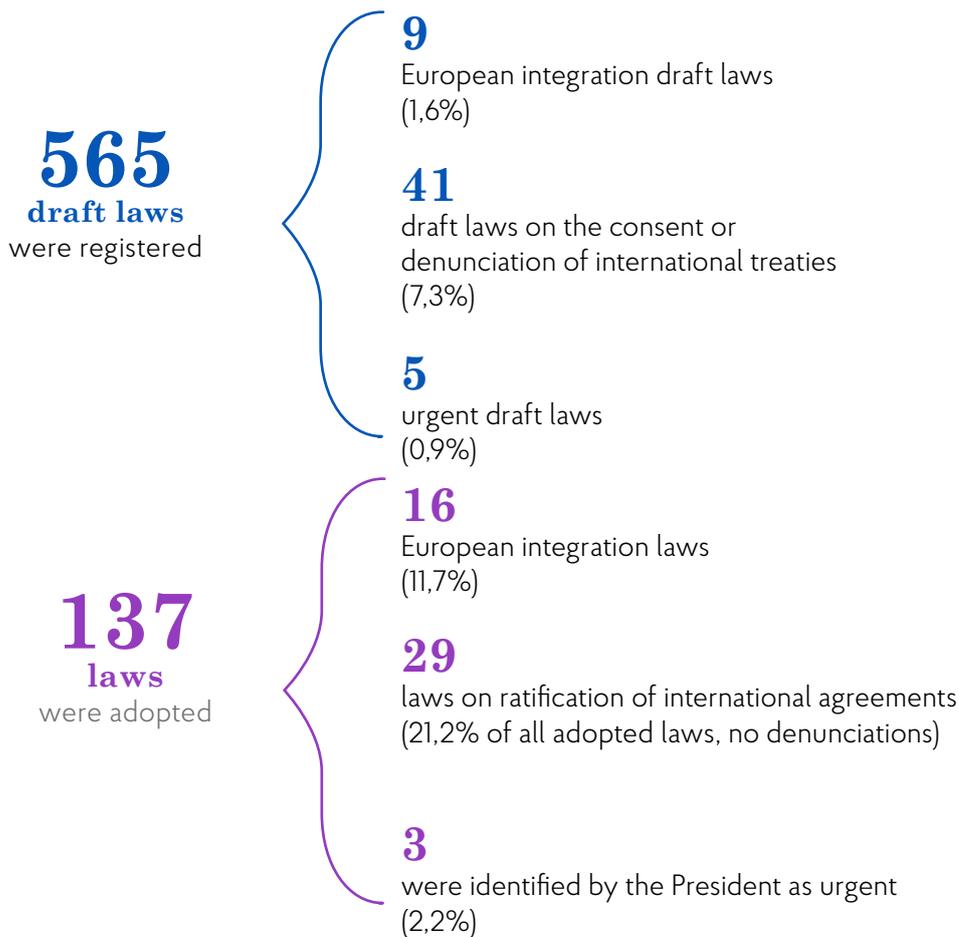
List of Abbreviations

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

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

Summary

Key performance indicators of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 11th session of the ninth convocation:



The President vetoed (and submitted proposals for) three draft laws. All of them were re-adopted with the President's proposals. One draft law that had been vetoed in the previous session was also adopted.

50 laws were adopted in general after the first reading

35%

87 laws were adopted in general after the second reading

65%

Monitoring of the work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 11th session of the ninth convocation revealed six key trends: 1) overcoming the crisis of limited decision-making capacity; 2) the President of Ukraine's return to regular legislative activity in domestic policy; 3) increased legislative activity on European integration; 4) low legislative performance of the mono-majority; 5) controversial dynamics of legislative spam; and 6) an increase in the volume of violations.

Overcoming the crisis of limited decision-making capacity

A total of 137 laws were adopted during the 11th session. This is a relatively strong figure compared to the 10th session, which set a record low for the number of laws passed. Thus, during the 10th session, only the most recent, often minor, technical draft laws were adopted, which raised no significant objections or discussions. By contrast, during the 11th session, both the number of laws passed and the period for their registration increased, and it became possible to pass draft laws that had undergone more extensive processing and included more substantial changes. Both the higher number of laws passed and their registration period show that the consensus-building challenges seen during the 10th session were effectively addressed in the 11th session.

The President's return to regular law-making

During martial law, the President, as a legislative initiator, authored primarily ratifications, own decrees, and few symbolic draft laws. And their number was relatively low. In contrast, during the 11th session, the President doubled the number of registered draft laws compared to the 9th and 10th sessions.

For the first time during martial law, the President of Ukraine authored more than 15% of the laws passed, marking a one-and-a-half-fold increase over the previous two sessions. Notably, these included not only decrees and ratifications, as had been the case in almost all prior sessions during martial law. During the 11th session, there were also 3 standard laws. All of these, moreover, were marked by the President as urgent.

Strengthening legislative activity on European integration

Several indicators demonstrated the strengthening of the Verkhovna Rada's legislative activity aimed at approximating Ukrainian legislation to EU legislation. Thus, during the 11th session, 16 European integration laws were adopted (11.7% of all laws adopted).

In terms of the reforms ratified by the Verkhovna Rada, the largest number of agreements were ratified with the EU (4 agreements).

In terms of committee work, the work of the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU is illustrative. It was this committee that demonstrated the largest increase in performance among the other committees. The growth occurred both in terms of the number of opinions provided (+11 opinions) and the number of draft laws (+14 draft laws), which was reflected in an increase in the workload per MP (+1.38 opinions provided per MP) and an increase in the workload per secretariat employee (+1.02 opinions provided per secretariat employee).

Poor legislative performance of the mono-majority

During the 11th session, the “Servant of the People” faction showed a record low share of registered and adopted laws.

This is the fourth session in which the “Servant of the People” faction’s performance in terms of registered draft laws has been declining. However, during the 11th session, the “Servant of the People” faction set a record by demonstrating the lowest rate (39% of all registered draft laws) in the entire ninth convocation.

The record low share of registered draft laws correlates with the record low share (42%) of adopted laws initiated by members of the “Servant of the People” faction.

The contradictory dynamics of legislative spam

Overall, indicators show a decrease in legislative spam during the 11th session. Thus, the growth of legislative spam observed during the 10th session was interrupted. However, the activities of one parliamentary group have many signs of legislative spam, which makes the overall observation of a decrease in legislative spam somewhat controversial.

The decrease in legislative spam is evidenced by:

- ▶ The total number of registered draft laws for the session is lower - 565 draft laws. This is 118 draft laws less than in the previous spring [ninth] session.
- ▶ The proportion of draft laws with a single signatory decreased, while the share of draft laws with 8-22 signatories increased.
- ▶ Halving the share of adopted laws with a single signatory and increasing the share of adopted laws with 8-22 and 23+ signatories.

At the same time, the performance of the “Restoration of Ukraine” group stands out from the general trend of reduced legislative spam. Despite their small number, the MPs of this group registered 107 draft laws (19% of all registered draft laws), which outpaced most factions and groups, and even the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. With **5.94 draft laws per MP**, the “Restoration of Ukraine” group set a record for the entire ninth convocation in terms of the number of initiated draft laws per MP. This figure is twice as high as any other figure for any other faction or group in previous sessions (or four times as high as the figures for other factions and groups in the 11th session). This marks the third consecutive session in which MPs from this group have demonstrated such high rates (more than 5 draft laws per MP). Against the backdrop of high rates of registration of draft laws, it is noteworthy that during the 11th session, not a single law initiated by MPs of this group was adopted. This pattern is a strong indicator of legislative spam - registration of a large number of low-quality draft laws with little chance of adoption.

Increase in the volume of violations

The situation with violations of the constitutional procedure for signing draft laws is becoming increasingly threatening. During the 11th session, the deadline for signing (or submitting

proposals) was violated in respect of 54 laws, i.e. in 39% of cases. In addition, seven other laws were neither signed by the President, vetoed, nor received proposals (despite the signing deadline having passed). One more draft law was not even signed by the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada. Combined, these violations affect 45% of all laws passed during the 11th session. That is, almost every second law passed. This is a worrying statistic that has worsened with each session held under martial law.

It is worth noting that during the first six months of martial law, 16.4% of laws had violations of the constitutional procedure. The following, 8th session, showed a 22.4% rate of laws for which the President violated the constitutional deadline. During the 9th session, this figure reached 36%. During the 10th session - 42%. If this trend continues, it is likely that by the 12th session, we can expect the President to violate the constitutional procedure for half of the laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada. It is difficult to justify such a volume of violations by martial law, as there were three times as many violations during the 11th session as during the first six months of martial law, when Russian troops were stationed near Kyiv. Nor can they be explained by regulatory and procedural shortcomings, as the relevant rules have not been changed.

The volume of violations of the VRU Rules of Procedure is also significant: procedural rules were breached for up to 53% (slightly more than half) of laws considered during the 11th session. This represents a threefold increase in violations compared to the period before February 24, 2022.

Legislative Activity

Registered draft laws

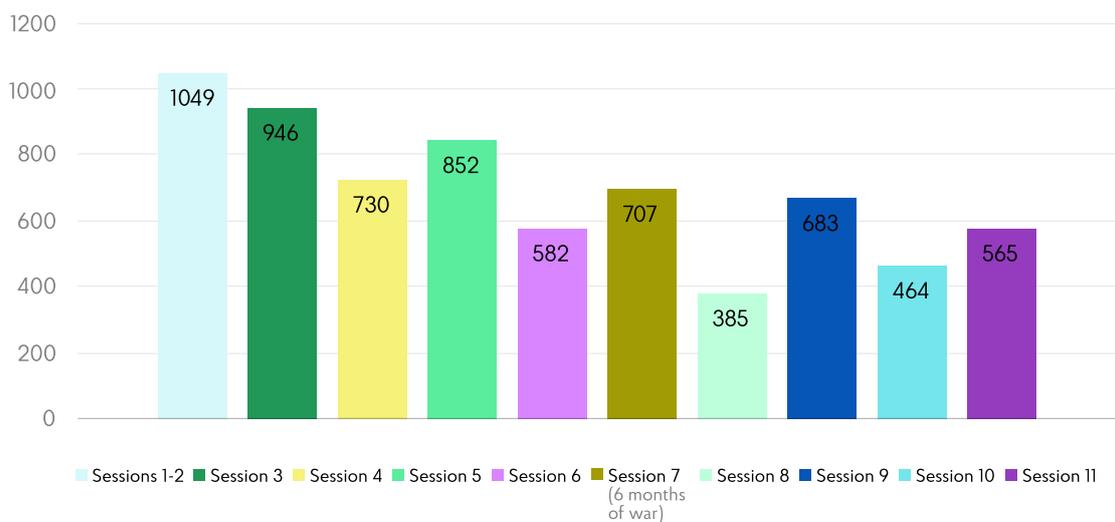
During the 11th session, 565 draft laws were registered. This is 118 fewer draft laws than in the previous spring [ninth] session. This trend contrasts with the dynamics of the 9th session (when the Verkhovna Rada reached a plateau - the number of registered draft laws remained almost unchanged compared to the previous similar session) and the 10th session (when there was an increase in the number of registered draft laws). Thus, based on the results of the 11th session, it can be inferred that there has been a decrease in the legislative spam or at least a decline in legislative activity.

During the 11th session, 9 European integration¹ draft laws were registered. This makes 1.6% of all registered draft laws.

During the 11th session, 41 draft laws on the consent or denunciation of international treaties were registered. This makes 7.3% of all registered draft laws.

During the 11th session, 5 urgent draft laws were registered. This is 0.9% of all registered draft laws.

Number of registered draft laws by session



Registered draft laws

¹ A European integration law is a law recognised by the Committee on European Integration as “European integration”, has a corresponding mark in the electronic system and is sent to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine for additional examination.

Registered draft laws by initiator

Initiator ²	Number of registered draft laws (percentage of the total number of draft laws)
“Servant of the People” Faction	224 (39.6%)
“Restoration of Ukraine” Group	107 (18.9%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	101 (17.9%)
President of Ukraine	31 (5.5%)
“European Solidarity” Faction	28 (5%)
Non-factional	27 (4.8%)
“Voice” Faction	26 (4.6%)
“Fatherland” Faction	12 (2.1%)
“Party ‘For the Future’” Group	4 (0.7%)
“Trust” Group	3 (0.5%)
“Platform for Life and Peace” Group	2 (0.4%)

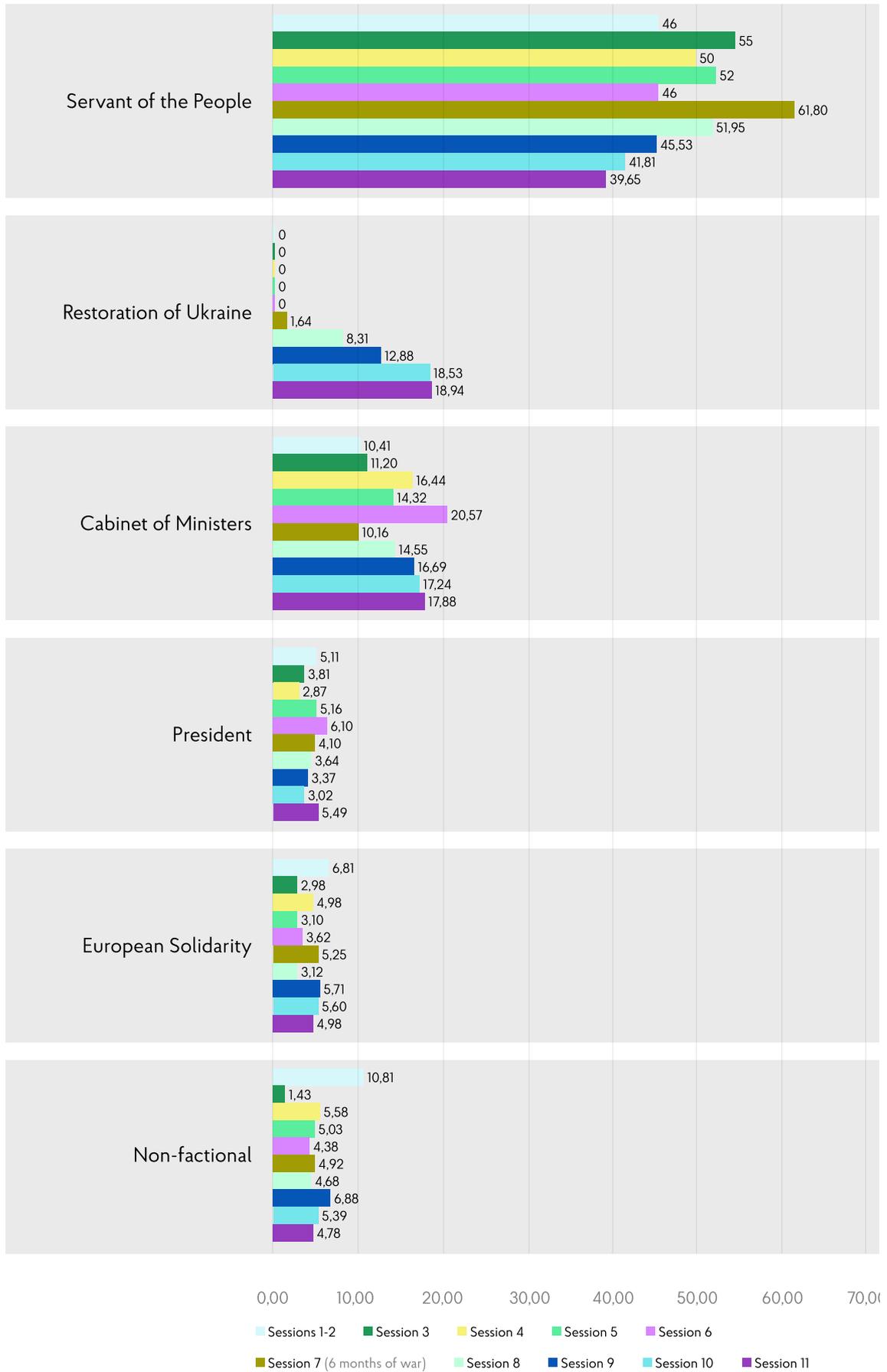
For the most part, the indicators of the 11th session are quite standard for factions and groups, as well as for the Cabinet of Ministers. Minority factions (“European Solidarity”, “Fatherland”, “Voice”), as well as non-factional MPs, registered 12-28 draft laws, and three groups (“For the Future”, “Trust”, PFLP) registered up to 5 draft laws each. At the same time, four notable aspects stand out:

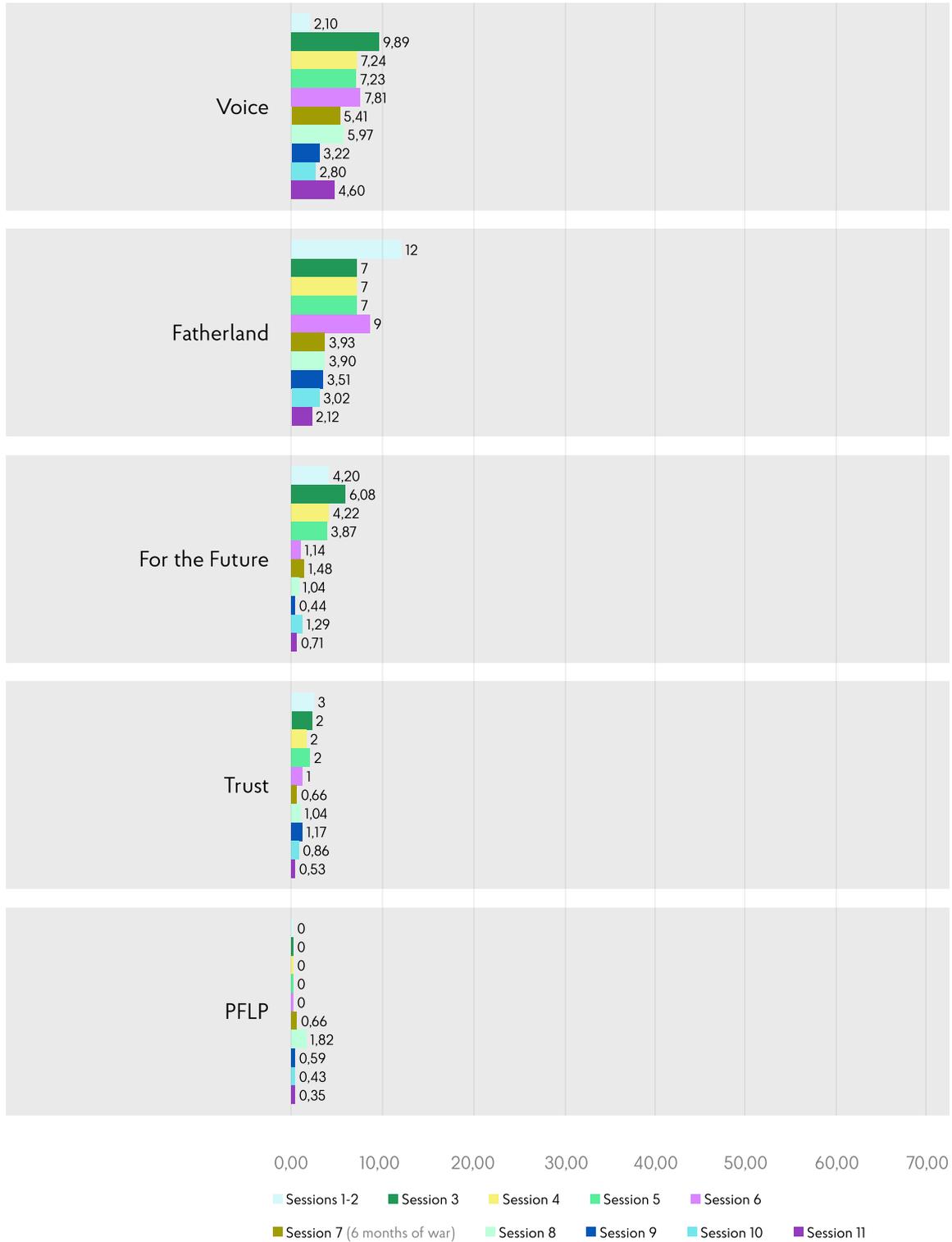
- 1) The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine registered the **second largest share of draft laws among all sessions of the ninth convocation**. However, this result was achieved due to a decrease in the legislative activity of other actors.
- 2) The performance of the “Restoration of Ukraine” group is notably strong. **Despite its small number**, this group registered 107 draft laws, outpacing most factions and groups, including the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. However, the steady increase in the share (by about 5% in the total ratio per session) of draft laws from this group, which had been taking place over the past three sessions, has now halted. However, the fact that a small minority group of MPs registers nearly one in five draft laws in parliament suggests legislative spam – submitting numerous low-quality draft laws with little chance of adoption.

² For the sake of simplicity, the term “Initiator” is used here and in the following tables. This is indeed the case when it comes to the Government and the President. The VRU factions do not have the right of legislative initiative, so when referring to factions, it should be understood as the faction or group to which the first signatory (initiator) among the MPs belongs.

- 3) Despite a slight decrease in the share of registered draft laws, the “Servant of the People” and “Voice” factions set a kind of record, demonstrating the lowest rates for the entire ninth convocation. While this can be explained by a decrease in the number of members of the “Servant of the People” faction, the low performance of the “Voice” faction for the second session in a row cannot be explained by the same. At the same time, it is the MPs of the “Servant of the People” faction who still register the most draft laws, and the total number of draft laws they initiate is twice as high as the Cabinet’s.
- 4) The President doubled the number of registered draft laws compared to the 9th and 10th sessions, and this increase was not only due to ratifications and international treaties, but also to the initiation of some domestic policy laws.

Registered draft laws by initiators and by session, in %.





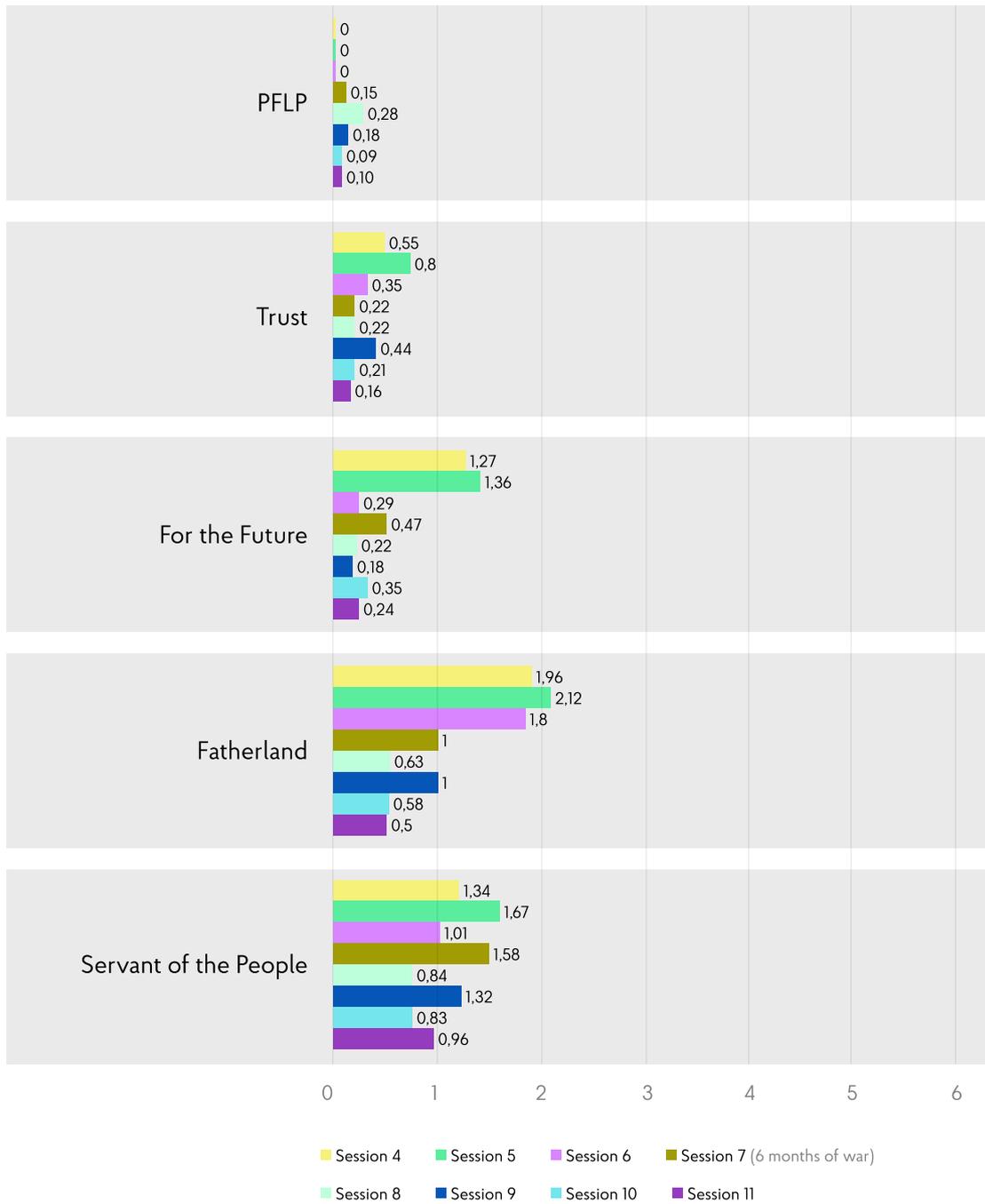
The ownership of the draft law is determined by the factional affiliation of its initiator. For MPs, the initiator is identified as the first signatory of the draft law. While this method has certain limitations, it is also applied in the VRU Secretariat. In addition, part 3 of Article 90 of the Rules of Procedure explicitly designates the MP whose signature appears first as the initiator of a draft law.

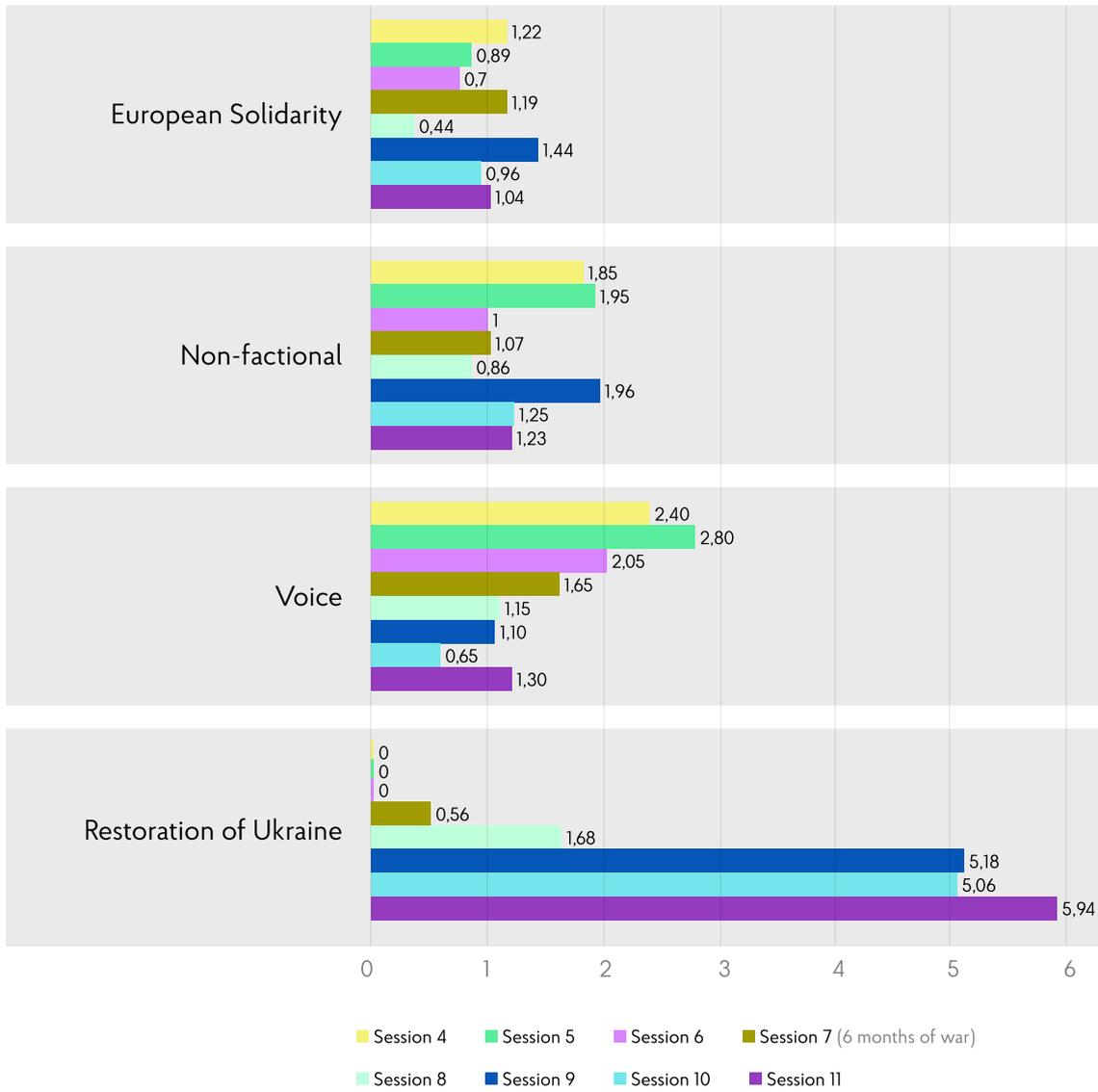
The number of registered draft laws per MP³ for most factions and groups reflects a typical pattern for the ninth convocation. There is approximately 1 draft law per MP who is a member of a faction. The only exception is the “Fatherland” faction, with an average of 0.5 draft laws per MP. For MPs who are members of parliamentary groups, this figure is even lower than 0.3 draft laws per MP⁴. However, the “Restoration of Ukraine” group stands out significantly, with an unusually high rate of 5.94 draft laws per MP for the ninth convocation. This rate is twice as high as any other for any faction or group in previous sessions (or four times higher those of other factions and groups in the 11th session). This marks the third consecutive session in which MPs from this group have shown such high output (more than 5 draft laws per MP). This number of draft laws per MP is another sign of legislative spam.

³ It is important to note that the number of draft laws per MP should not be viewed as a measure of the effectiveness of factions or groups. Instead, it helps to clarify the general trends in the work of the Verkhovna Rada. The number of draft laws submitted by individual MPs is deliberately excluded here, as MPs often perceive it as a performance metric, leading them to register more draft laws at the expense of quality – a key factor contributing to legislative spam.

⁴ It is logical to assume that the legislative work within parties that form factions is more systematically organized than in groups formed by majoritarian MPs, given the stable organisational structure and the opportunity to establish the work of the MPs’ association as formal initiators of legislation. This obviously affects the ability to develop group draft laws.

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

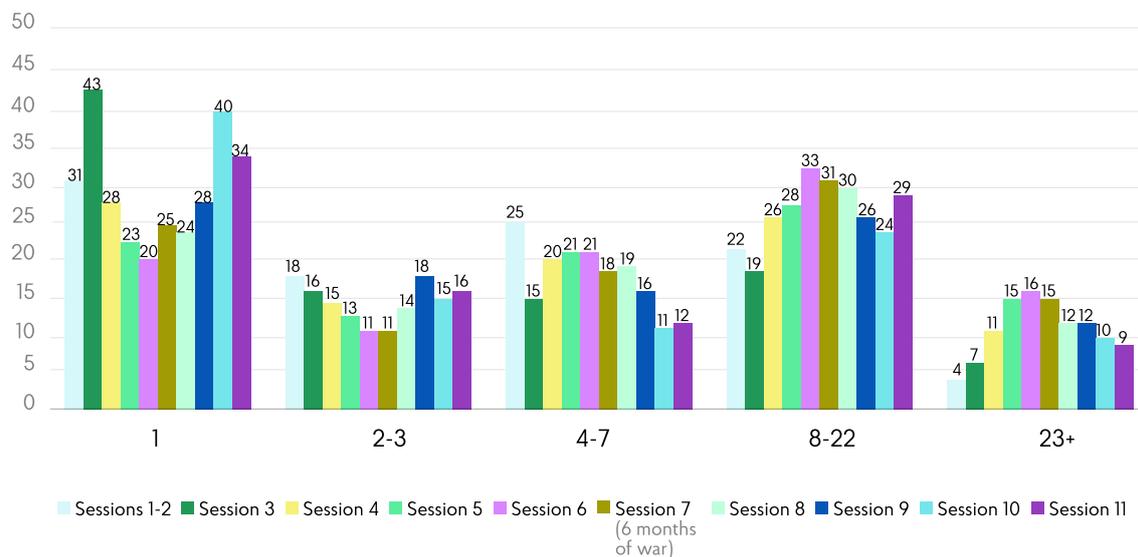




Registered draft laws by group of signatories

Groups by the number of MPs who signed the draft laws	Number of draft laws initiated by MPs (percentage of the total number of MPs' draft laws)
1	148 (34%)
2-3	71 (16%)
4-7	50 (12%)
8-22	126 (29%)
23+	38 (9%)

Distribution of draft laws by the number of signatories in %



In the context of the number of signatories to draft laws, the 11th session halted the trends of the previous four martial law sessions (7th-10th sessions), which indirectly indicated an increase in legislative spam. The share of draft laws with a single signatory decreased compared to the 10th session, while the share of draft laws with 8-22 signatories increased. This may indicate a higher level of cooperation among MPs and, consequently, a slightly higher quality of draft laws. In all other groups, there were changes within 1%. At the same time, despite the decrease, for the third session in a row, the share of draft laws with a single signatory prevails over all others.

The record of the 11th session was 82 signatories to a single draft law⁵, which addresses the basic principles of Ukraine’s state policy on interaction with national movements of the colonial peoples of the Russian Federation. The draft law is currently under consideration by the committee.

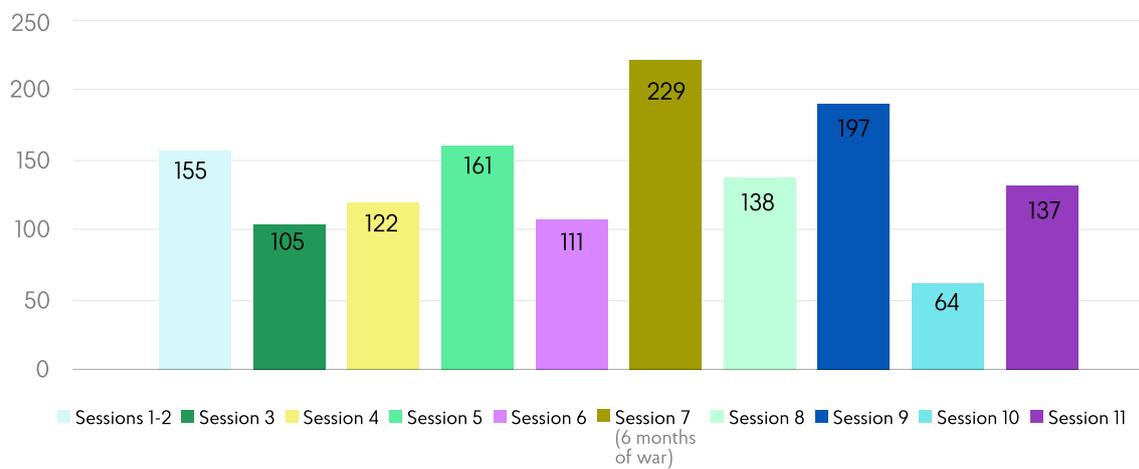
⁵ Draft Law on the Basic Principles of State Policy of Ukraine on Interaction with National Movements of the Colonial Peoples of the Russian Federation No. 11402 of 15.07.2024. The initiator (first signatory) is Maria Mezentseva-Fedorenko.

In the context of parliamentary monitoring, it is assumed that a larger number of signatories correlates with better-quality draft laws, a higher level of consensus, and indicates a reduction in legislative spam.

Laws adopted

During the 11th session, 137 laws were adopted in general. This is fewer than the usual number of laws passed by the Parliament during spring sessions under martial law (by one third fewer than in the previous spring [ninth] session). However, this figure is relatively good compared to the 10th session, suggesting that the problems with votes consolidation, which characterised the 10th session, have at least been partially overcome.

Number of draft laws passed by session



Adobted draft laws

During the 11th session, 16 European integration⁶ laws were adopted. This is 11.7% of all laws adopted.

During the 11th session, the Verkhovna Rada adopted 29 laws related to providing consent to international treaties. This is 21.2% of all laws passed. It appears that Ukraine has completed the process of withdrawing from joint agreements with aggressor states, as all international draft laws were related to ratifications and accessions to new agreements. There were no denunciations of agreements with Russia, Syria or Iran. Out of 29 treaties ratified by the Verkhovna Rada during the 11th session, 12 were multilateral agreements and 15 were bilateral agreements. The largest number of treaties was ratified with the EU (4 treaties), Lithuania (2 treaties) and the UK (2 treaties).

Three draft laws (2.2%) adopted during the 11th session were designated as urgent by the President of Ukraine.

The President has vetoed (and submitted proposals for) three draft laws. All of them were re-adopted with the President's proposals. One draft law was also adopted (with the President's proposals) that had been vetoed at one of the previous sessions.

⁶ A European integration law is a law recognised by the Committee on European Integration as "European integration", has a corresponding mark in the electronic system and is sent to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine for additional examination.

Laws adopted by initiators

Initiator	Number of laws (percentage of total number of laws)
“Servant of the People” faction	58 (42.3%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	44 (32.1%)
President of Ukraine	23 (16.8%)
“Voice” faction	4 (2.9%)
“European Solidarity” faction	3 (2.2%)
“Fatherland” faction	2 (1.5%)
Non-factional	1 (0.7%)
“Party “For the Future” group	1 (0.7%)
“Trust” Group	1 (0.7%)

The monitoring of the 11th session revealed four substantial observations.

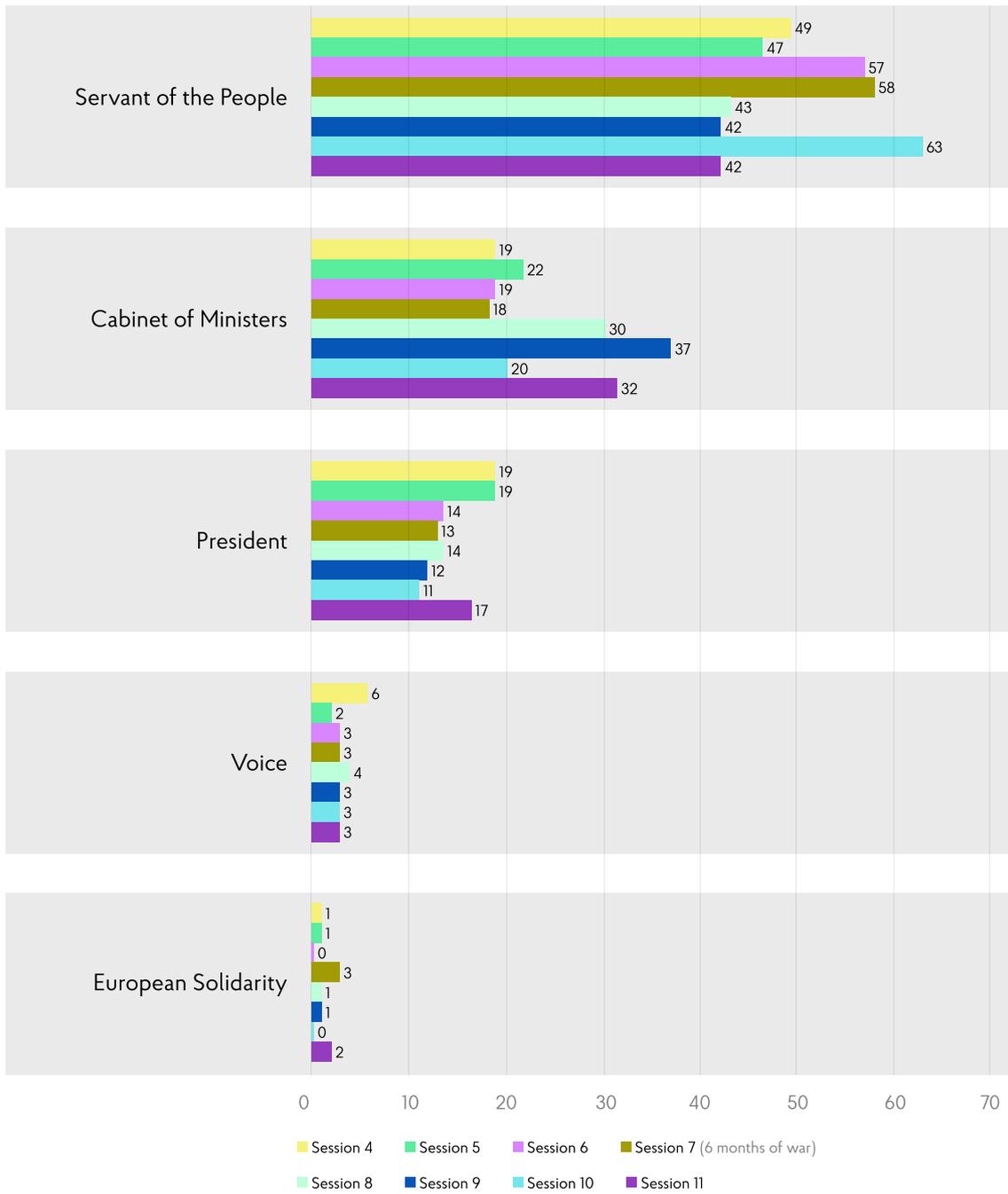
Firstly, the MPs of the “**Servant of the People**” faction showed one of the lowest shares of laws passed in the entire ninth convocation. This generally correlates with the low share of registered draft laws.

Secondly, MPs of all factions and minority groups, except for the “**Restoration of Ukraine**”, authored at least 1 law adopted during the 11th session. The absence of laws initiated by MPs of the “**Restoration of Ukraine**” group against the background of sky-high rates of registered draft laws indicates legislative spamming by MPs of this group.

Thirdly, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine showed the **second largest share of adopted laws (initiated by the Cabinet)** for all sessions of the ninth convocation.

Fourthly, for the first time during martial law, the **President of Ukraine** authored more than 15% of the laws, making a one-and-a-half-fold increase compared to the previous two sessions. Notably, these laws were not limited to decrees and ratifications, as in most previous sessions during martial law. During the 11th session, there were also 3 ordinary laws, all of which were designated as urgent by the President himself.

Adopted laws by initiator and by session in %





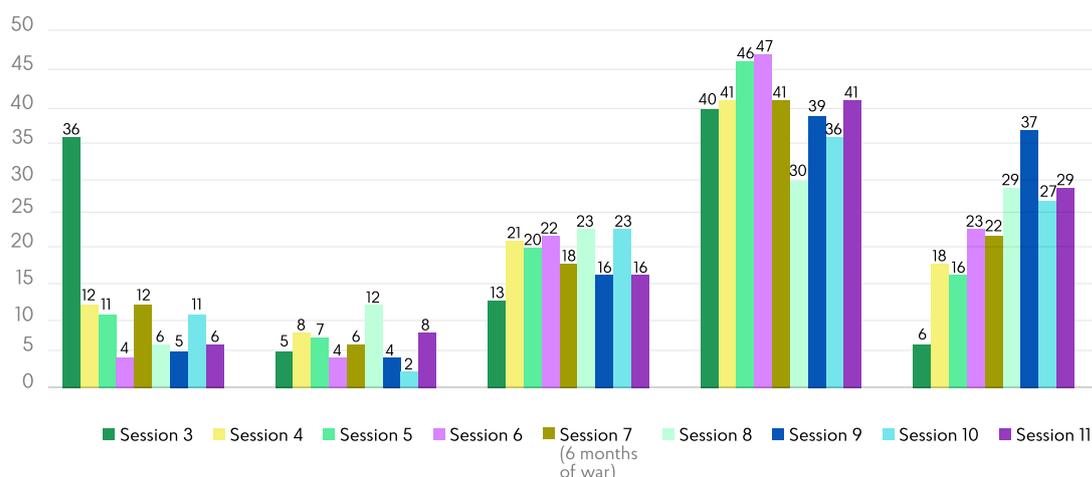
Laws adopted by groups of signatories

The 11th session generally continued the positive trends observed in previous sessions (with the exception of the 10th session). Specifically, the share of adopted laws with 8-22 and 23+ signatories increased compared to the previous 10th session, while the share of adopted laws with a single signatory almost halved. This supports the rule: “The more signatories, the more likely a law is to be passed.” 70% of adopted laws had more than 8 signatories. That is, **draft laws with a large number of signatories have a better chance of becoming law than draft laws with a small number of signatories.**

The Law on the Preservation of the Gene Pool of the Ukrainian People No. 10448 of 30 January 2024, adopted by the Verkhovna Rada on 07 February 2024, has the most signatories. It has 89 signatories.

Groups by the number of signatories - MPs for adopted laws	Number of laws submitted by MPs (percentage of the total number of MPs' laws)
1	4 (5,7%)
2-3	6 (8,6%)
4-7	11 (15,7%)
8-22	29 (41,4%)
23+	20 (28,6%)

Breakdown of adopted laws by number of signatories in percentage terms



Passage of Draft Laws

Number of laws by readings:

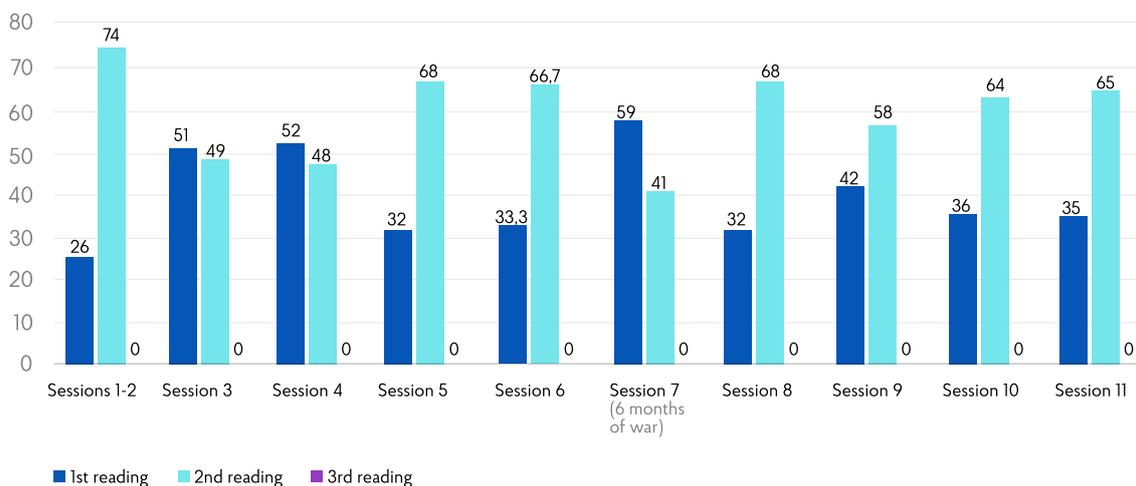
50 – adopted in general after the first reading (35%);

87 – adopted in general after the second reading (65%);

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

The 11th session maintained the standard distribution of adopted laws by readings. Two-thirds of the laws were adopted in the second reading and in general, and one-third in the first reading and in general. The situation was the same during the 5th, 6th, 8th, and 10th sessions. The trend of not utilising the third reading persisted – with no draft law passing through three readings⁷. Adopting laws in two readings provides an opportunity for better preparation, addressing identified shortcomings, and correcting mistakes highlighted during the first reading. However, this process also requires more time.

Percentage (%) of laws passed by readings



⁷ According to part 1 of Article 102 of the Rules of Procedure, “Draft laws are considered by the Verkhovna Rada, as a rule, according to the procedure of three readings”. For more information on the peculiarities of the third reading, please see <https://parlament.org.ua/2021/09/29/analitika-dnya-tretye-chitannya-zajve/>

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

When reviewing the information on committees, it is important to consider that this monitoring relies primarily on the number of opinions of the main committees. This methodology is used due data accessibility. Specifically, the information on the opinions of the main committees is constantly available on the website of the Verkhovna Rada, regularly updated, and covers all main committees' opinions. However, the committees perform various other functions and tasks beyond providing opinions of the main committees. Three committees⁸ provide mandatory opinions on all draft laws, some committees may be tasked with preparing opinions as subsidiary committees, committees consider and make decisions as part of their oversight function, consider letters and appeals, hold conferences, roundtables, etc. However, this information is published only in fragments, making it unsuitable for regular monitoring. Nonetheless, any available data in a systematic format is included when possible. These limitations should be taken into account in the following analysis, which is based on the findings of the main committees.

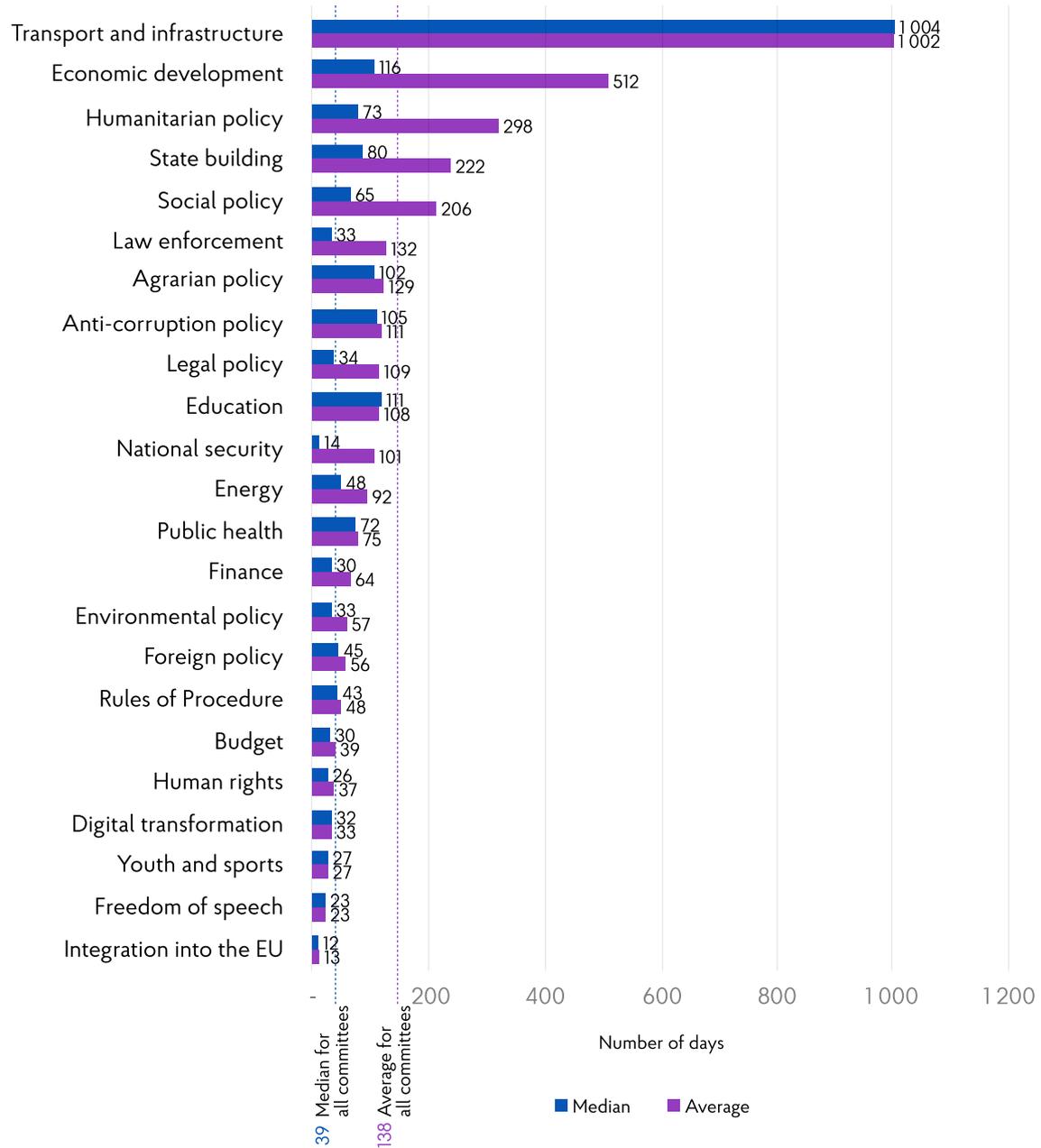
The time taken for the main committees to provide their opinions on draft laws⁹ offers insights into several key indicators. In terms of committees, the time from registration to the first committee opinion characterises the workload of the committees and makes it possible to predict the speed of preliminary processing of a draft law depending on its main committee. In terms of initiators, the time taken to provide opinions characterises the commitment of committee members to a particular initiator and enhances the predictive capabilities of the speed of preliminary processing. Finally, the time taken to receive the first opinion of the main committee, together with the data on the overall passage of draft laws, allows for a better understanding of the overall dynamics of the passage of draft laws.

The committees provided their opinions for the first reading in an average of 138 days, and half of all opinions were provided in 39 days.

⁸ Committee on Budget, Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy and Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union

⁹ The data presented here relates only to cases where opinions were provided. The time between the registration date of the draft law and the date of the first opinion of the main committee was calculated, including opinions on inclusion in the agenda. This type of opinion was considered because, during preliminary processing, committees frequently assess draft laws on their merits as part of their deliberations.

Number of days from registration to issuance of the first opinion of the main committee¹⁰



¹⁰ It should be noted that fewer than 5 first opinions for the first reading for the 11th session were provided by such committees as the Committee on Youth and Sports; Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy; Committee on Budget; Committee on Transport and Infrastructure; Committee on Rules of Procedure; Committee on Freedom of Speech.

The speed of issuing opinions varies significantly across committees.

The speed of issuing opinions varies significantly across committees. In some cases, the difference is as high as 80-fold. Comparing the performance of the 11th session with the preceding 10th session, the time to issue the first opinion decreased for one third of the committees, while the time for issuing the first opinion increased for half of them. Usually, it was a moderate increase of 1-2 months.

Generally, there is a correlation between committee workload and the speed of issuing opinions. However, this is not always the case. The Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on Finance, and the Committee on National Security, provided their first opinions on draft laws relatively quickly despite a high number of opinions. Conversely, the Committee on Transport and Infrastructure, with a moderate number of opinions, took a comparatively long time to issue its first opinions on draft laws.

Submitting subject	Average number of days	Median ¹¹ number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	127	45
MPs	160	39
President of Ukraine	31	14

Regarding initiators, the situation has returned to the standard. Compared to the 10th session, the average number of days for submitting a committee's first opinion for the first reading has doubled for the Cabinet of Ministers and the President, and increased by a third for MPs. However, for the third session in a row, the average time for providing first opinions on governmental draft laws is shorter than the average time for providing first opinions on MPs' draft laws. At the same time, the median time for providing the first committee opinion on MPs' draft laws is even slightly shorter than the median time for providing the first opinion on governmental draft laws. In both cases, these indicators increased by one and a half times compared to the 10th session. The President's draft laws, as usual, receive the fastest first committee opinions, staying in the committees for an average of one month, and half of such draft laws receive the first committee opinion in less than two weeks.

During the 11th session, the draft laws of the majority of factions took on average twice as long to receive opinions as in the 10th session. This was mainly due to the consideration of previously accumulated (in the first months of martial law) draft laws, as the median indicators hardly increased. However, for the draft laws initiated by MPs from the "Fatherland" faction and non-factional MPs, the speed of providing first opinions, on the contrary, decreased¹².

¹¹ The median is the value that divides all data in half, i.e. half of all observations will be less than the median, and half will be greater than the median.

¹² It should be noted that for the groups "Platform for Life and Peace", "For the Future", "Trust", and the "Opposition Platform - For Life" faction, the indicators were calculated on the basis of only one opinion. 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 and groups have more than 7 opinions.

Factional affiliation of the initiator	Average number of days	Median number of days
OPFL	1050	1050
“Trust”	331	331
“European Solidarity”	211	51
“Servant of the People”	167	42
Cabinet of Ministers	127	45
“Restoration of Ukraine”	126	59
“Voice”	101	28
“Fatherland”	43	35
“For the Future”	34	34
Non-factional	32	16
“Platform for Life and Peace”	32	32
President	31	14

The five longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to the first opinion of the main committee, as well as the five fastest draft laws, are presented in Annex 1.

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

The speed of submission of committee opinions for the second reading¹³ is less reliable as an indicator due to the smaller number of such opinions per committee. While these data¹⁴ should be interpreted cautiously, they still highlight noteworthy trends. **8 out of 18¹⁵ committees (nearly half) increased the average time needed to provide opinions for the second reading compared to the previous session, while the other half reduced their processing time.**

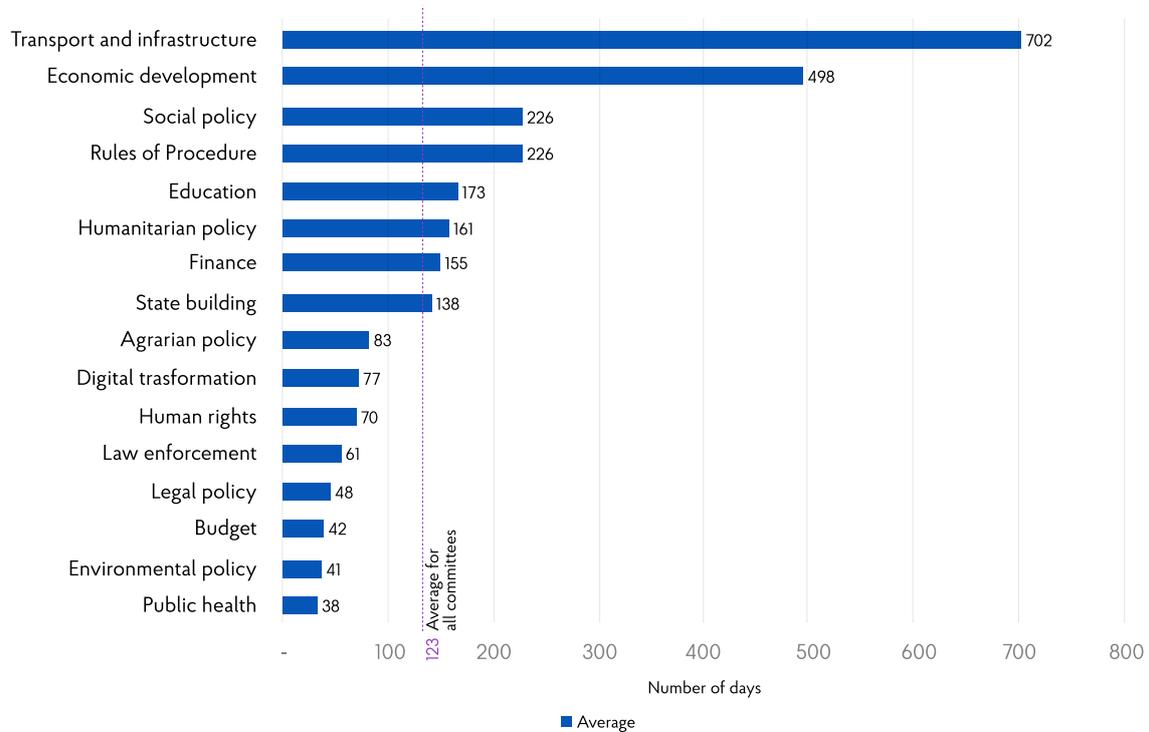
On average, it took 123 days for committees to issue opinions following the adoption of a draft law in the first reading, with half of all opinions provided within 43 days. That is, the speed of committee processing of draft laws for the second reading differs from the speed of processing for the first reading by about 10%.

¹³ The number of days between the date of adoption of the draft law in the first reading and the date of submission of the first opinion of the committee for the second reading was calculated (although there may be several opinions).

¹⁴ Due to the small number of second reading opinions, only the average is used here. Only 6 committees submitted 5 or more second reading opinions for the 11th session.

¹⁵ Another 5 committees did not provide any opinions for the second reading.

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



Initiator

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

Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine

126

MPs

124

President of Ukraine¹⁶

73

The speed of submitting the committee's first opinion for the second reading has returned to the standard dynamics by subject: the average speed of government and MPs' draft laws is almost the same. For example, compared to the 10th session, the average speed for MPs' draft laws has slightly decreased (by 9 days), while for government draft laws it has tripled. For presidential draft laws, the speed also increased slightly (by 22 days), which did not prevent presidential draft laws from receiving the first committee opinions for the second reading the fastest.

¹⁶ During the 11th session, the committees provided only 2 opinions on the President's draft laws for the second reading. As a result, this category is highlighted in grey in the table.

Affiliation of the initiator ¹⁷	Average number of days
“Trust”	417
“Servant of the People”	130
Cabinet of Ministers	126
PFLP	106
President of Ukraine	73
“Fatherland”	39
“Voice”	38
Non-factional	35
“European Solidarity”	23

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

¹⁷ It should be noted that a large number of opinions (more than 5) were provided only on draft laws of the Government and MPs of the “Servant of the People” faction. For the President and other factions and groups, the number of second reading opinions was fewer than 5. They are highlighted in grey in the table. For these categories, this value can be explained by coincidence.

Timeframe for passing laws from registration to adoption

The average time for the adoption of laws, regardless of the reading, is 211 days, with a median of 111 days (i.e., half of the draft laws were adopted in more than 111 days and half in less than 111 days).

Time from registration to adoption in the first reading and in general

Session number	Average number of days	Median number of days
Sessions 1-2	26	21.5
Session 3	60	32
Session 4	75	69
Session 5	81	65
Session 6	102	72
Session 7 (six months of war)	64.5	8
Session 8	77	24
Session 9	49	33
Session 10	41	26
Session 11	52	36

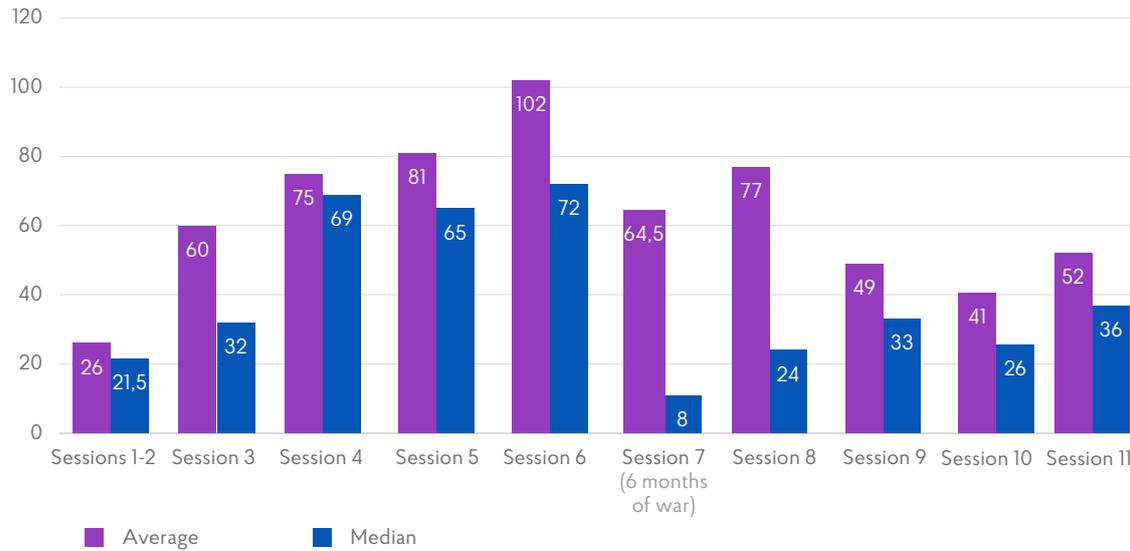
The time required for the adoption of a draft law in the first reading and in general increased during the 11th session. For 60% of the draft laws (those that took the longest to pass), the increase was 8-14 days (compared to the 10th session). Meanwhile, the remaining 40% of draft laws either saw no change the time required for passage or experienced a slight reduction of a couple of days. The general trend of increased time for the passage of a draft law from registration to adoption in the first reading and in general is reflected in both the average and median number of days, which increased by approximately 10 days compared to the 10th session.

Almost all draft laws adopted in the first reading and in general were registered in 2024. The only exceptions were four draft laws registered in June, August, November, and December 2023, respectively. Thus, the 11th session marked a departure from the trend of the previous two sessions of radical updates to the agenda and a corresponding reduction in the time from registration to adoption in the first reading and in general. It is likely that this shift is connected to the resolution of the problem of lack of votes, which in previous sessions allowed only fresh draft laws to be passed without objections (which meant fewer laws passed in total).

The experimental indicator “growth rate” was 10 (ten) days, although this figure is influenced, in part, by the negative value of the previous period. The growth rate indicates that during the 11th session, the pace of passage of draft laws began to be gradually affected by the previously

accumulated backlog of unreviewed draft laws. Consequently, the review of these draft laws contributed to an accelerated, non-linear growth in the average rate of passage. The growth rate is calculated as the average difference between the difference in deciles¹⁸ of the number of days from registration to adoption of the 10th and 9th sessions and the difference in deciles of the number of days from registration to adoption of the 11th and 10th sessions¹⁹.

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

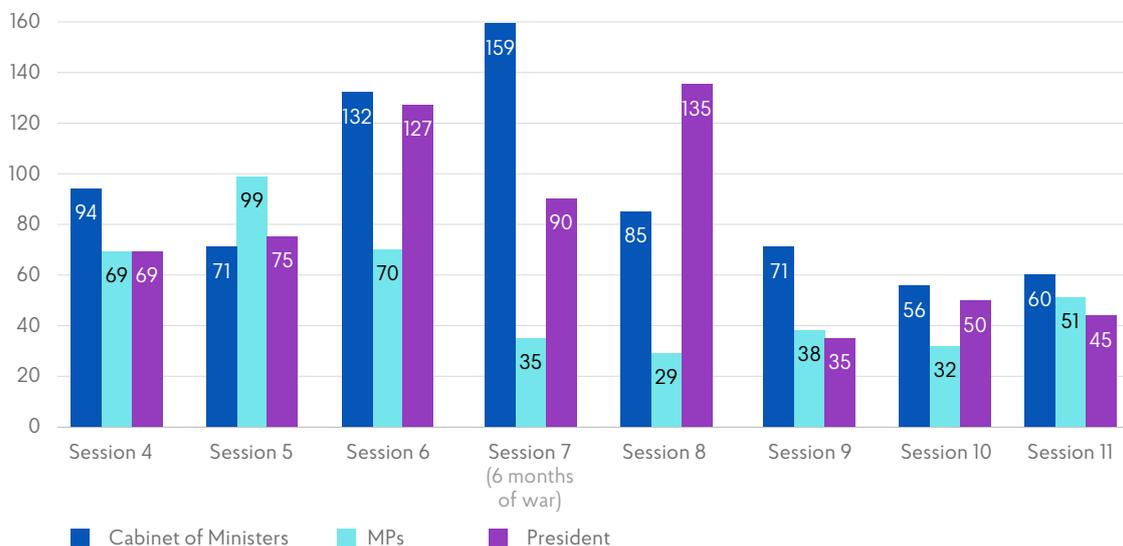


Initiating entity	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	60	32
MPs	51 (51 for the “Servant of the People” faction)	53 (56 for the “Servant of the People” faction)
President of Ukraine	45	31

¹⁸ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quantile>

¹⁹ In other words, the pace describes the rate of increase in the time taken to pass a draft law. For example, let’s imagine that between the first and second sessions, the average time for passing draft laws increased by 10 days, and between the second and third sessions, the increase was 7 days. In this case, the indicator called the pace would be -3 days, meaning that the growth slowed down. If the increase between the second and third sessions was 15 days, the rate would be 5 days, indicating that growth had accelerated.

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



A total of 20 governmental, 8 parliamentary and 22 presidential draft laws were adopted in the first reading and in general. Notably, not all governmental and presidential draft laws were limited to ratifications with decrees (as was the case in the previous several sessions); some ordinary laws were also included during the 11th session.

The time taken for governmental draft laws to pass from registration to adoption in the first reading and in general ended the reduction trend seen in the previous three sessions, increased by an average of 4 days to 60 days. The average time for the passage of MPs’ draft laws, compared to the 10th session, increased even more (by 19 days), reaching 51 days (the highest figure during the martial law period). Interestingly, while both the average and median timeframes for parliamentary draft laws increased, only the average timeframe for governmental draft laws increased, while the median timeframe decreased by 16 days. This suggests that some governmental draft laws have been processed more quickly from registration to adoption in the first reading, but the average time has increased due to the consideration of a certain number of old draft laws. For the President, both the average and median timeframe for passage, on the contrary, even slightly decreased.

The five longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to adoption in the first reading and in general, as well as the five fastest draft laws, are presented in Annex 3.

Time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general

Session number	Average number of days	Median number of days
Session 1-2	47	37
Session 3	159	173
Session 4	190	173
Session 5	259	230
Session 6	300	258
Session 7 (six months of war)	225	89.5
Session 8	328	274
Session 9	296	202
Session 10	196	146
Session 11	302	187

During the 11th session, the time taken to pass draft laws from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general increased significantly. On average, the time taken from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general increased by 106 days compared to the 10th session, with the median value increasing by 41 days. The timeframe increased for all draft laws. For half of the fastest draft laws, the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general has doubled (compared to the 10th session), by 40-65 days. For another 30% of draft laws, the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general increased even more (compared to the 10th session), by 102-138 days. For the 10% of the slowest draft laws, the time taken to pass the first reading and adoption in general increased by more than 300 days. Only 7 out of 87 (8%) draft laws adopted in the second reading and in general were registered by 24 February 2022. This means that during the 11th session, laws were mostly adopted that were in line with the martial law agenda. The increase in the time it took for draft laws to pass from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general also resonates with the solution to the problem of lack of votes, which in previous sessions allowed only fresh draft laws to be passed without objections (which meant fewer laws passed in total).

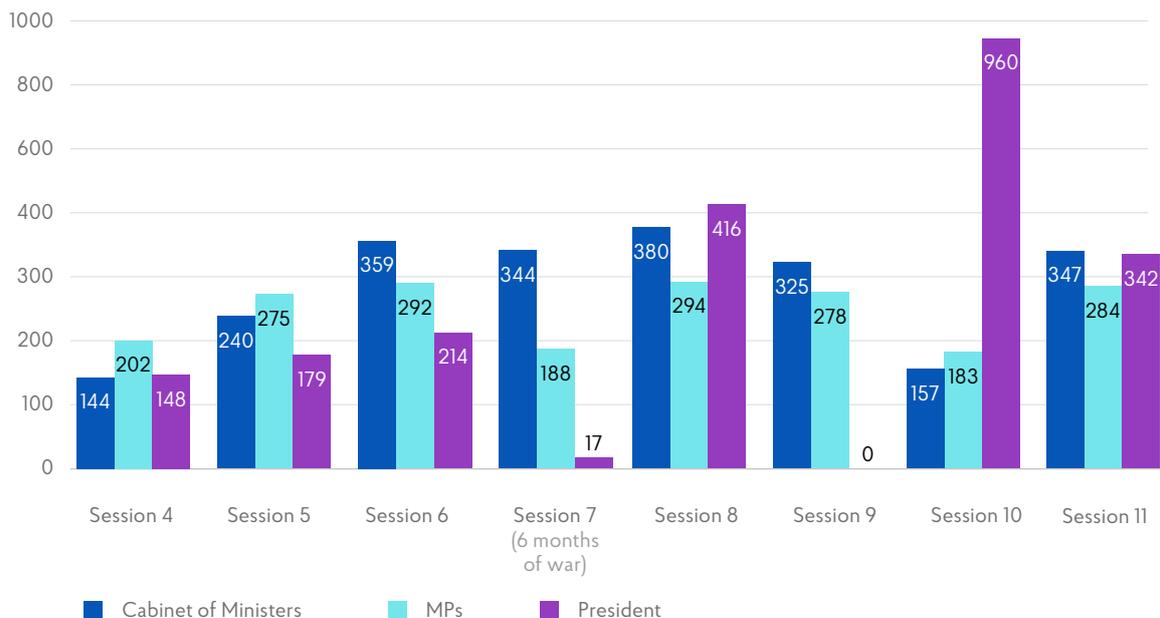
The growth rate of the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general also increased and reached 220 days, although this figure is due, among other things, to the negative value of the previous period. The growth rate shows that during the 11th session, the speed of passage of draft laws began to be significantly affected by the previously accumulated backlog of draft laws, and as a result of the consideration of such draft laws, the average rate of passage of draft laws is growing non-linearly faster.

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	347	215
MPs	284 (270 for the “Servant of the People” faction)	186 (187 for the “Servant of the People” faction)
President of Ukraine ²⁰	342	342

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



²⁰ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted only 1 presidential draft law in the second reading and in general during the 11th session. Therefore, this entity is highlighted in grey in the table.

The government's draft laws doubled (by 190 days) the average time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general, making them the slowest among all legislative initiators once again. Moreover, MPs' draft laws now take, on average, 101 days longer to pass. As a result, the records and non-standard trends observed in the previous session were broken, and the overall dynamics have returned to the established norm.

The only presidential draft law adopted in the second reading and in general addressed the use of English in Ukraine. It took 342 days from registration to adoption, but this does not provide sufficient basis to evaluate the President of Ukraine's influence as a legislative initiator during this period, as only 1 such draft law was adopted. Nonetheless, another interesting observation can be made: for the first time during martial law, the President initiated several ordinary laws (not merely decrees and ratifications). In this way, the President broke the trend of formally abstaining from legislative activity in domestic politics.

The five longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general, as well as the five fastest draft laws, are detailed in Annex 4.

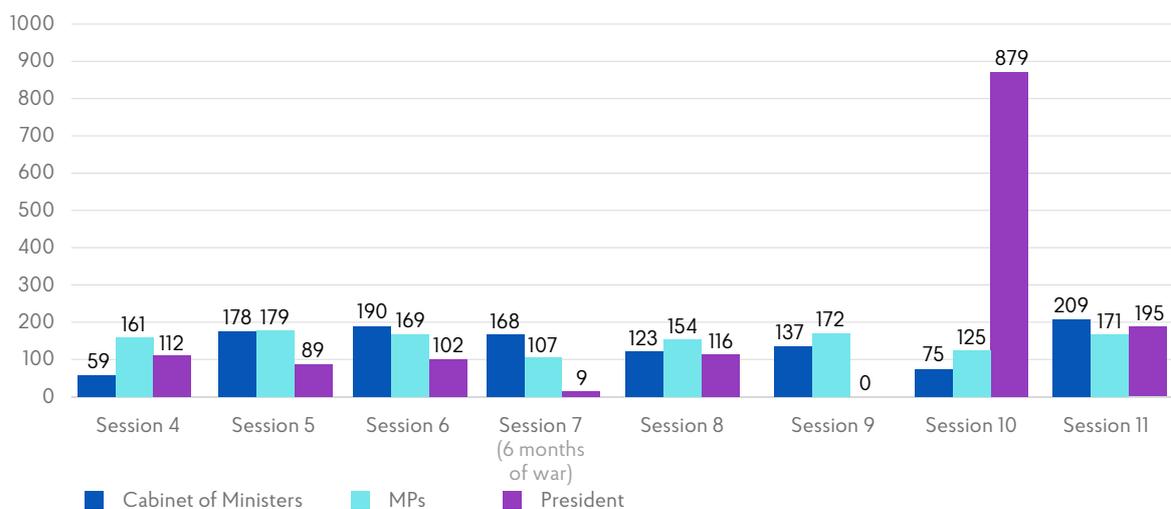
The period between the first reading of the draft law and its adoption in the second reading and in general

Session number	Average number of days	Median number of days
Session 4	93	75.5
Session 5	130	91
Session 6	168	148
Session 7 (six months of war)	121	38
Session 8	141	57
Session 9	159	97
Session 10	133	90
Session 11	181	75

The time between the adoption in the first reading and the adoption in the second reading and in general for the draft laws adopted during the 11th session showed non-standard dynamics. It increased for 40% of the fastest draft laws (by 10-15 days) and for 30% of the slowest (by 38-188 days), while for 20% of the "average" draft laws, the time between the first and second reading decreased by 15-18 days. However, on average, the passage slowed down by 48 days, meaning that the speed of processing draft laws decreased. This partly explains the increase in the time taken for draft laws to pass from registration to adoption in the second reading and in general.

Initiating entity	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	209	90
MPs	171 (170 for the “Servant of the People” faction)	61 (70 for the “Servant of the People” faction)
President of Ukraine ²¹	195	195

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



During the 11th session, the process of passing draft laws from the first reading to the second reading and in general reverted to the patterns observed in the 6th and 7th sessions regarding the ratio of time spent on MPs' and governmental draft laws. Governmental draft laws demonstrated the slowest progress among the three legislative initiators. Compared to the 10th session, the time required for MPs' draft laws to pass increased by 46 days (approximately 25%), while for governmental draft laws, the respective time increased by 134 days, nearly tripling the previous figure.

The five longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from the adoption of the first reading to the adoption of the second reading and the adoption in general, as well as the five fastest draft laws, are detailed in Annex 5.

²¹ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted only 1 presidential draft law in the second reading and in general during the 11th session. Therefore, this subject is highlighted in grey in the table.

Committees

The information on the timeframe for submitting committee opinions is provided in the section on the speed of passage of draft laws.

Opinions on rejection

Name of the subject of the legislative initiative	Number of opinions on rejection of draft laws (percentage of the total number of opinions on rejection)
MPs	61 (95%)
Cabinet of Ministers	3 (5%)
President	0

Factional affiliation of the initiators of the draft laws	Number of opinions on rejection of draft laws (percentage of MPs' opinions on rejection)
"Servant of the People" faction	27 (44%)
Non-factional	11 (18%)
"Voice" faction	10 (16%)
"European solidarity"	6 (10%)
Group "Restoration of Ukraine"	3 (5%)
"Fatherland" faction	2 (3%)
"Platform for Life and Peace"	1 (2%)
"For the Future"	1 (2%)

During the 11th session, the main committees prepared 64 opinions recommending the rejection of draft laws. The opinions on rejection may indicate both the political loyalty of the committees and the level (at least minimal) of quality of draft law preparation. Notably, two thirds of the rejected draft laws were alternative proposals. Presidential draft laws appear to meet both criteria, as none received an opinion on rejection (though it should be noted that there were few

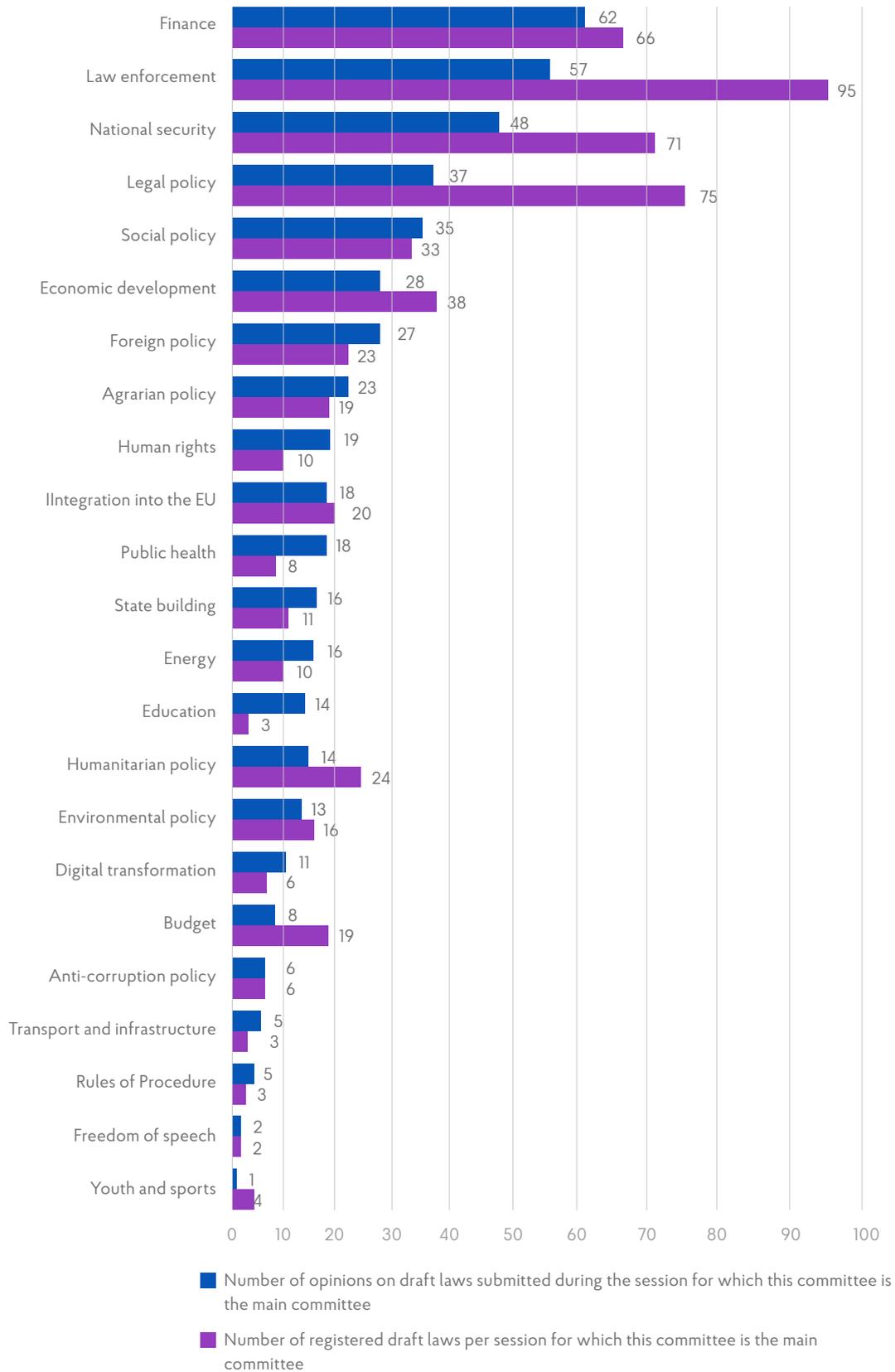
presidential draft laws and they were almost exclusively ratifications and decrees). The government's draft laws also seem to be relatively unproblematic: only 3 of them received a rejection opinion. The majority of rejection opinions were issued for draft laws submitted by members of the "Servant of the People" faction, which is logical given the number of such MPs and their legislative activity.

Workload of committees

When assessing the workload of the committees, it is important to note that this monitoring primarily calculates the workload based on the number of opinions provided by the main committees. This methodology is used due to the availability of data (open data format). Specifically, the information on the opinions of the main committees is constantly available on the website of the Verkhovna Rada, regularly updated and available for all opinions of the main committees. However, the committees, of course, perform many other functions and tasks besides providing opinion of the main committees. Three committees²² are required to provide mandatory opinions on all draft laws, other committees may be tasked with preparing opinions as subsidiary committees, committees also consider and make decisions on the oversight function, review letters and appeals, hold conferences, roundtables, etc. These limitations should be kept in mind when reviewing the information below, which is based on the opinions of the main committees.

²² Committee on Budget, Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy and Committee on European Integration.

Workload of the main committees



The graph below has two indicators. First, it shows how many opinions²³ were provided by the main committees. The second indicator is the number of draft laws that were assigned to each committee as the main committee, according to the subject matter of the committees' jurisdiction. Together, they show the distribution of legislative work on preliminary processing of draft laws.

The Committee on Finance has the highest workload in terms of the number of opinions provided (62 opinions), while the Committee on Law Enforcement has the highest potential workload in terms of the largest number of draft laws (95 draft laws). These two committees are consistently the most heavily loaded with draft laws. Three other committees also have a relatively high workload (compared to other committees): The Committee on National Security (48 opinions), the Committee on Legal Policy (37 opinions), and the Committee on Social Policy (35 opinions). This is a relatively standard distribution for the last five sessions of martial law (7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th sessions).

The following committees decreased the number of opinions provided during the 11th session the most (compared to the same period of the preceding 9th session): The Committee on Law Enforcement (-85 opinions), the Committee on State Building (-24 opinions) and the Committee on Legal Policy (-24 opinions). The decrease in these figures can be explained by a rather significant increase in the number of opinions submitted during the 9th session (which, in turn, was associated with a surge in legislative activity at the beginning of the full-scale invasion), i.e. the figures for the 11th session reflect a normalisation of legislative activity.

The number of opinions issued has hardly increased compared to the 9th session. This reflects a broader trend of reduced legislative activity or at least a **stabilisation of the pace of work**. However, the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU (+11 opinions) and the Committee on Agrarian Policy (+10 opinions) saw the strongest increase in the number of opinions provided (compared to the 9th session).

The volume of draft laws assigned to committees, compared to the 9th session, has changed in the range from -24 to +16 assigned draft laws.

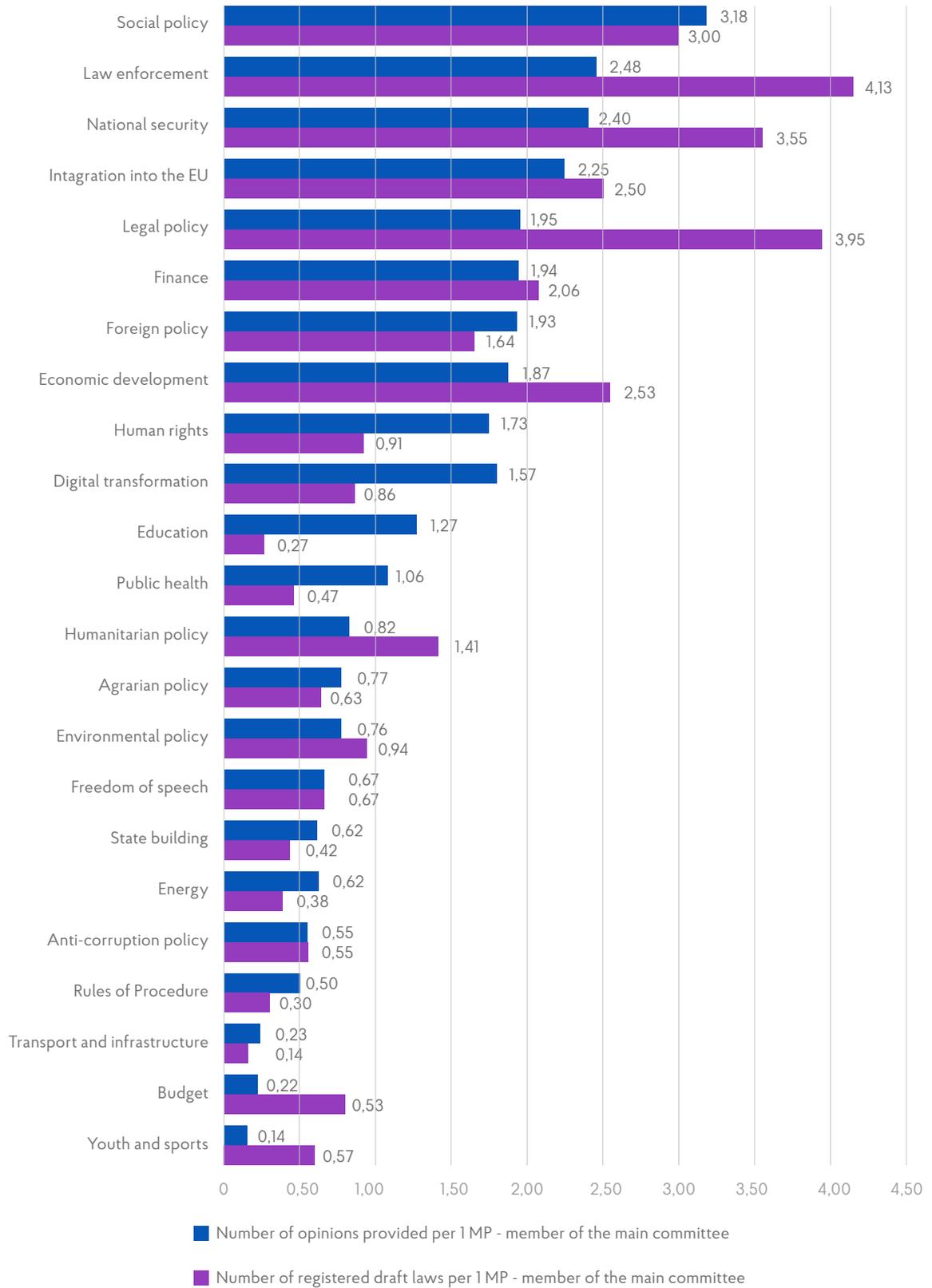
The potential workload (number of assigned draft laws) of the committees during the 11th session decreased the most (compared to the 9th session) for the Committee on State Building (-24 assigned draft laws), the Committee on Law Enforcement (-21 assigned draft laws), and the Committee on Finance (-21 assigned draft laws). This data correlates with and explains the decrease in the number of submitted opinions.

The potential workload of the committees increased the most for the following three committees: the Committee on National Security (+16 scheduled draft laws), the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU (+14 scheduled draft laws), and the Committee on Economic Development (+13 scheduled draft laws).

It is noteworthy that the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU has increased its performance both in terms of the number of opinions issued (+11 opinions) and the number of draft laws submitted (+14 draft laws), which can be explained by the large number of ratifications of agreements between Ukraine and the EU (or EU member states).

²³ The number of opinions does not equal the number of draft laws considered. The Committee may provide several opinions on one draft law, for example, an opinion on its inclusion in the agenda, opinions on the first and second readings, on repeated readings, on the text of the draft law to be substituted, and so on.

Workload per 1 member of the main committee



Another dimension of the workload of the committees is demonstrated by the above graph, which shows the number of opinions or registered draft laws per 1 MP-member of the committee²⁴. Four committees have a heavy workload (the number of both registered draft laws and opinions provided exceeds 2 per MP): the Committee on Social Policy (3.18 opinions per MP), the Committee on Law Enforcement (2.48 opinions per MP), the Committee on National Security (2.4 opinions per MP), and the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU (2.25 opinions per MP). Another six committees have a workload of more than 1.5 opinions per MP. For the majority of the committees, the absolute workload (number of opinions provided) correlates with the workload per MP.

Only three committees have a ratio of opinions provided per MP that falls below the 0.5 mark. These are the Committee on Youth and Sports (0.14 opinions per MP), the Committee on Budget (0.22 opinions per MP)²⁵ and the Committee on Transport and Infrastructure (0.23 opinions per MP).

When comparing the 11th session to the similar 9th session, a noticeable difference in workload emerges, with the variation in opinions provided per MP ranging from -3.44 to +1.38. In contrast, the number of draft laws assigned per MP showed less variation, ranging from -1.18 to +1.75.

The real workload (i.e., the number of opinions provided per MP) decreased the most for the Committee on Law Enforcement (-3.44 opinions provided per MP) and the Committee on Social Policy (-1.45 opinions provided per MP), which did not prevent these committees from remaining among the busiest. Overall, during the 11th session, the workload decreased for 16 committees (two-thirds) and increased for only 7 committees (one-third), compared to the same period of the 9th session. The most significant increase in the real workload was for the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU (+1.38 opinions per MP).

As in the case of the number of opinions provided, the potential workload (i.e. the number of draft laws per MP) increased for only one third of the committees, while for two thirds it decreased. The potential workload decreased the most (compared to the 9th session) in the Committee on Social Policy (-1.18 scheduled draft laws per MP) and the Committee on Foreign Policy (-1.05 scheduled draft laws per MP). Instead, the potential workload of the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU increased the most (+1.75 scheduled draft laws per MP).

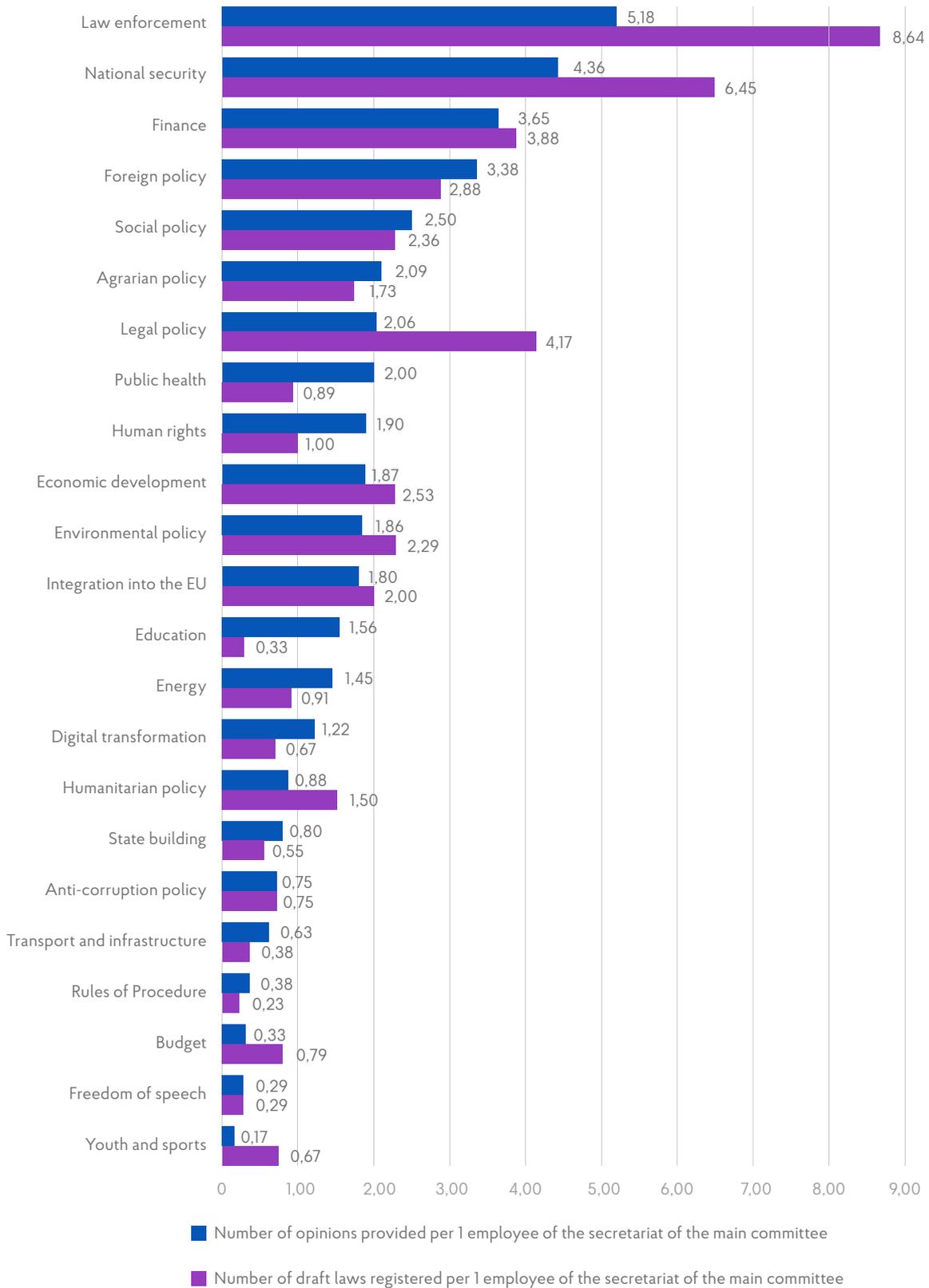
Trends in the actual and potential workload per committee member are generally consistent with the data on the workload of committees.

When comparing the least and most busy committees, their workload **differs by a factor of 22**. This situation in the 11th session, as well as certain trends in the workload of the committees that move from session to session, add to the relevance of the issue of redistributing either MPs or areas of responsibility between the committees.

²⁴ The number of MPs at the end of the 11th session – in the course of the 11th session the number of MPs in committees changed.

²⁵ It is worth remembering the high workload of this committee as it is mandatory for all draft laws.

Workload per 1 employee of the secretariat of the main committee



The Committee on Law Enforcement (5.18 opinions per staff member), the Committee on National Security (4.36 opinions per staff member), the Committee on Finance (3.65 opinions per staff member), and the Committee on Foreign Policy (3.38 opinions per staff member) have the highest workloads²⁶ (the number of opinions issued per staff member exceeds 3). In most committees, the absolute workload (number of opinions issued) correlates with the workload per secretariat staff member.

In four committees, the number of opinions provided does not exceed 0.5 (opinions) per 1 employee of the secretariat. These are the Committee on Youth and Sports (0.17 opinions per 1 employee), the Committee on Freedom of Speech (0.29 opinions per 1 employee), the Committee on Budget (0.33 opinions per 1 employee), and the Committee on the Rules of Procedure (0.38 opinions per 1 employee).

The real workload (number of opinions issued per 1 employee of the secretariat) during the 11th session (as compared to the 9th session) decreased in the Committee on Law Enforcement (-6.65 opinions issued per 1 employee of the secretariat). Most of all real workload increased in the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU (+1.02 opinions per 1 employee of the secretariat) and the Committee on Agrarian Policy (+1.01 opinions per 1 employee of the secretariat).

When comparing the potential workload (number of draft laws per 1 employee of the secretariat) during the 11th session and the 9th session, the Committee on Transport showed the strongest decrease in the workload (-1.65 draft laws per 1 employee of the secretariat). The Committee on National Security (+1.45 draft laws per 1 employee of the secretariat) and the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU (+1.33 draft laws per 1 employee of the secretariat) saw the largest increase in the potential workload.

If we compare the number of opinions issued per 1 employee of the secretariat in the most and least busy committees, there is a 30-fold difference. This data once again confirms the need to redistribute resources, including human resources, among the committees.

The committee aspect of the Verkhovna Rada's work during the 11th session showed a fairly typical situation. The busiest committees were traditionally the following: The Committee on Finance, the Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on National Security, the Committee on Legal Policy, and the Committee on Social Policy. The growth of almost all indicators of the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU is also noteworthy.

When examining the quantitative indicators of the committees' work, it is important to consider the mandatory opinions provided by subsidiary committees. The Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU, the Committee on Budget, and the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy have a relatively low workload as the main committees, but they are required to provide their mandatory opinions on all other draft laws, which requires significant resources.

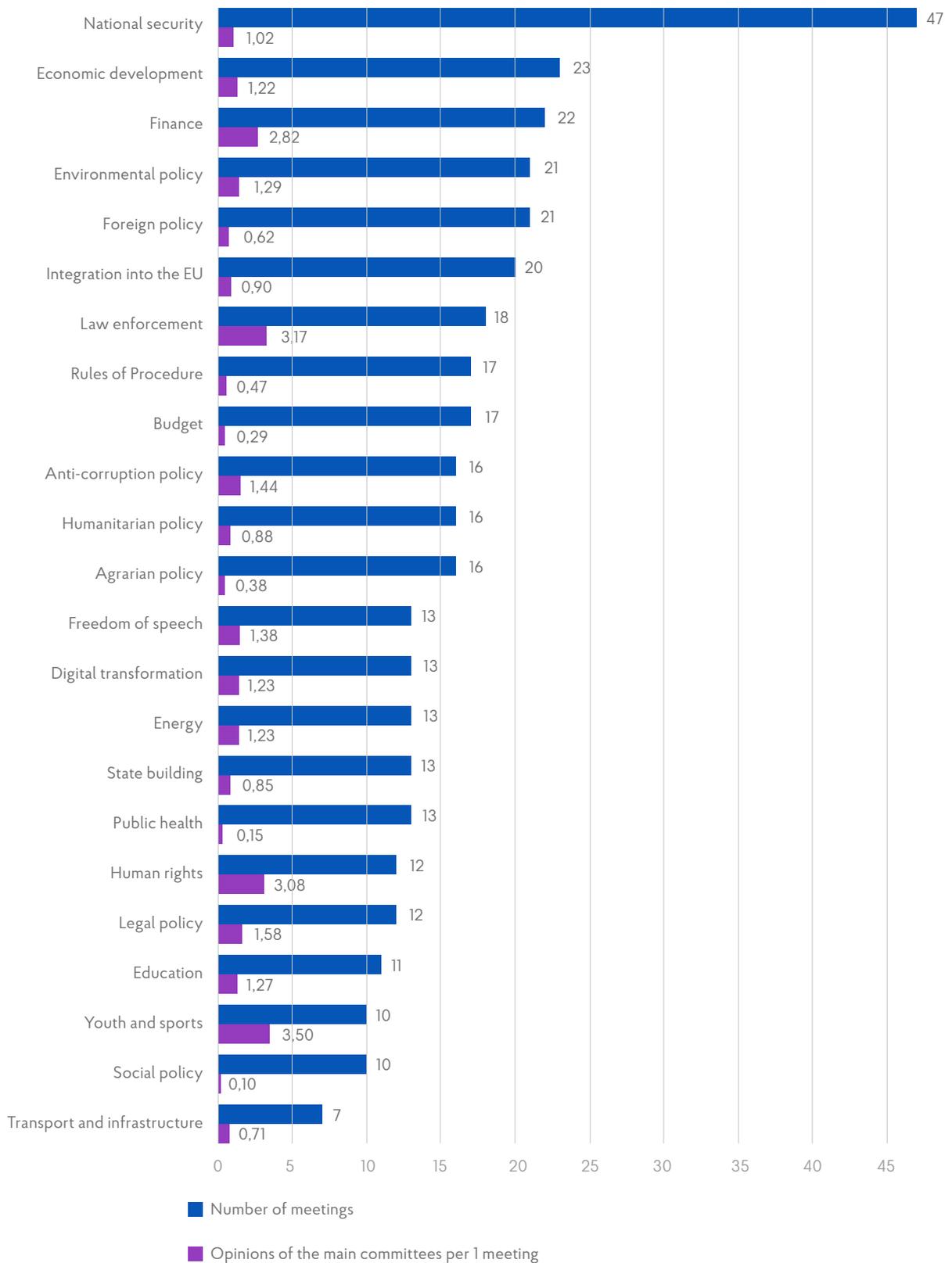
To better understand the specifics of the work of the VRU committees, the graph below shows the number of committee meetings and the average number of opinions of the main committees per meeting.

²⁶ To calculate the number of employees of the committee secretariats, we used data as of the beginning of February 2024.

Six committees held more than 20 meetings during the 11th session. In addition, six other committees held more than 15 meetings. Only 1 committee held fewer than 10 meetings during the 11th session.

The Committee on Social Policy leads in the number of opinions per meeting (3.5 opinions per meeting). Four committees adopt more than two opinions per meeting. While 10 committees (almost half) adopt less than one opinion per meeting.

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



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

The table below presents preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee, including the workload of the three mandatory committees: The Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy, the Committee on Budget, and the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the EU. These committees are required to provide opinions²⁷ on all draft laws. This function may sometimes require more resources than their role as the main committees.

According to the data, the Committee on Humanitarian Policy (24 oversight issues), the Committee on Environmental Policy (20 oversight issues), the Committee on Budget (18 oversight issues), and the Committee on Freedom of Speech (18 oversight issues) are the most active in monitoring the implementation of laws and resolutions. Together with the data on the workload with draft laws, this data shows that the committees compensate for the relatively lower workload with draft laws by more actively exercising their oversight function. Some of the committees can be classified as oversight committees at all, or at least as committees with a priority oversight function. For example, the Committee on Freedom of Speech provided only 2 opinions as the main committee (and almost none at all in the previous session), yet it remains one of the most active committees in exercising its oversight function.

Name of the Committee	Committee meetings held		Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee	Conferences, seminars, round tables
	In total	Including offsite	In total	Including oversight of the implementation of laws and regulations		
Committee on Agrarian and Land Policy	16	0	43	0	0	85
Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy	16	3	123	0	61	2
Committee on Budget	17	0	363	18	284	47
Committee on Humanitarian and Information Policy	16	2	53	24	4	92
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	21	4	66	20	19	18
Committee on Economic Development	23	0	98	7	1	33

²⁷ This includes conclusions on compliance with the requirements of anti-corruption legislation, budget legislation, and European integration commitments.

Name of the Committee	Committee meetings held		Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee	Conferences, seminars, round tables
	In total	Including offsite	In total	Including oversight of the implementation of laws and regulations		
Committee on Energy, Housing and Utilities	13	2	63	9	13	45
Committee on Public Health, Medical Care and Medical Insurance	13	0	38	9	2	20
Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation	21	0	85	8	0	34
Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union	20	1	419	10	394	29
Committee on Youth and Sports	10	0	53	5	21	18
Committee on National Security, Defence and Intelligence	47	0	111	5	2	33
Committee on State Building, Local Self-Government, Regional and Urban Development	13	0	49	1	3	33
Committee on Education, Science and Innovation	11	0	63	5	18	30
Committee on Human Rights, De-occupation and Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations	12	0	48	5	12	88
Committee on Legal Policy	12	0	54	0	0	1
Committee on Law Enforcement	18	1	60	8	0	65

Name of the Committee	Committee meetings held		Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions on draft laws submitted to the main committee	Conferences, seminars, round tables
	In total	Including offsite	In total	Including oversight of the implementation of laws and regulations		
Committee on Rules of Procedure, Deputy Ethics and Organisation of Work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine	17	0	67	5	15	0
Committee on Freedom of Speech	13	1	96	18	16	18
Committee on Social Policy and Protection of Veterans' Rights	10	0	61	4	5	14
Committee on Transport and Infrastructure	7	0	27	13	0	46
Committee on Finance, Tax and Customs Policy	22	0	69	8	1	28
Committee on Digital Transformation	13	0	87	6	63	53
Total:	381	14	2,196	188	934	832

Violation of the Rules of Procedure

This section provides an overview of violations of the Rules of Procedure observed during the adoption of laws in the 11th session.

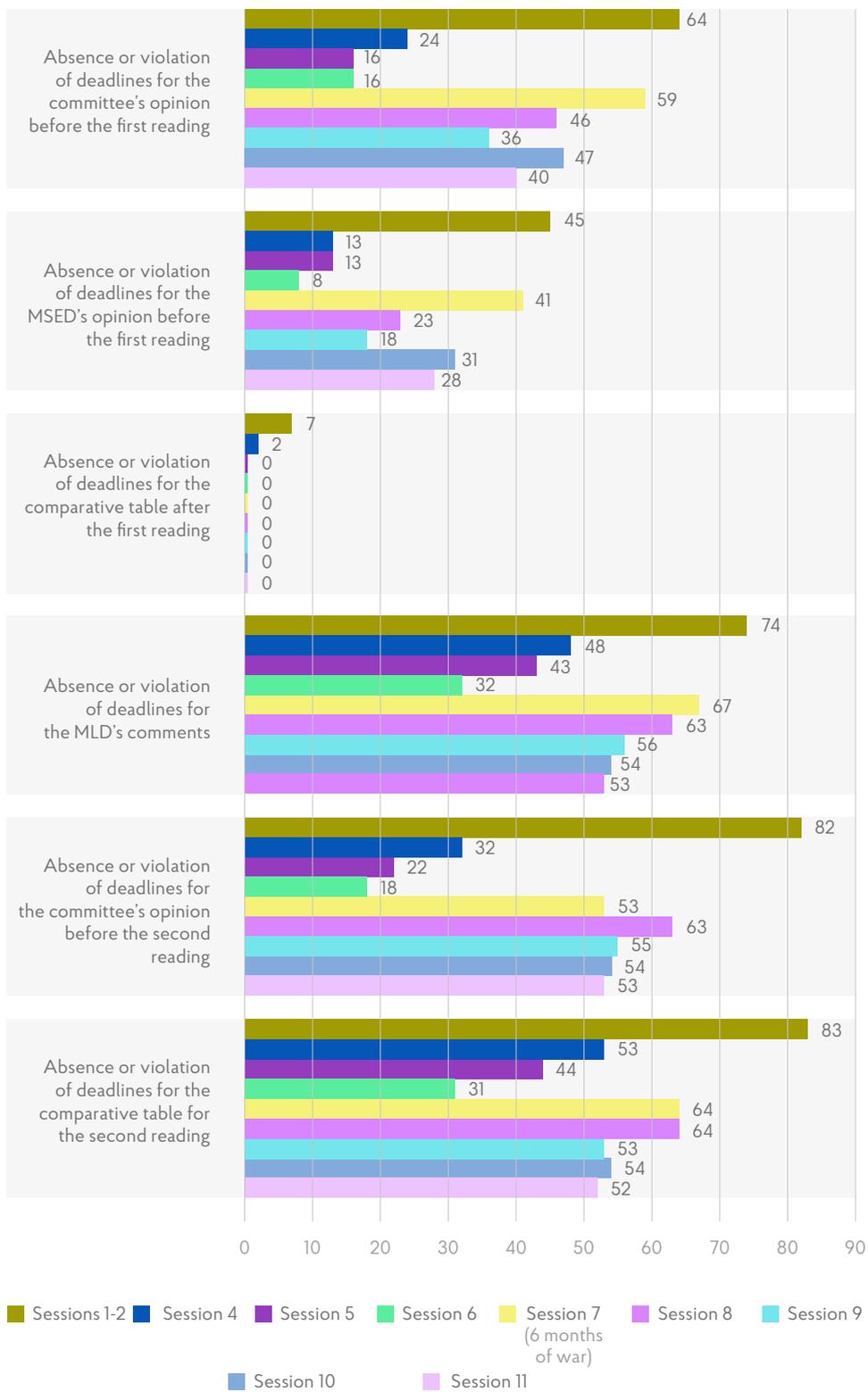
The 11th session saw a slight decrease in violations across all categories. Procedures of the adoption of **up to 53% of laws (slightly more than half) involved violations**. The only type of violation²⁸ not recorded was the failure to provide sufficient time (at least 7 or 14 days) for submitting amendments to the comparative table for the second reading.

During the 11th session, the frequency of violations of the Rules of Procedure varied depending on whether the laws were being considered in the first or second reading. For the first reading, the share of violations decreased compared to the 10th session. For the second reading, the share of the violations of the Rules of Procedure remained relatively unchanged compared to the 10th session. Accordingly, the frequency of violations is lower compared to the 7th and 8th sessions. The decrease in the share of violations for the first reading is a positive trend, but the volume of violations for both the first and second readings is still significantly (two to three times) higher than in the period up to 24 February 2022.

In the graphs and table, data on the percentage of draft laws adopted with certain violations of the Rules of Procedure are presented by sessions.

²⁸ If only laws that were not vetoed are considered.

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



Violation of the Rules of Procedure on Laws Adopted in the Verkhovna Rada²⁹

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws monitored for violations	Number of laws with violations
Committee's opinion prior to the first reading (absence of such opinion or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these opinions before their consideration in the session hall).	The opinion is provided 7 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the first reading.	137	52 (40%) violations, 30 - violations of deadlines, including 12 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of the opinion. All opinions are available.
MSED's opinion prior to the first reading ³⁰ (absence of such opinion or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these opinions before their consideration in the session hall).	The opinion is provided 7 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the first reading.	137	38 (27.7%) violations of the deadline, including 4 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of the opinion and 1 case when the draft law was adopted in the absence of the MSED's opinion.

²⁹ Unlike previous materials, this monitoring presents data on violations in relation to vetoed and non-vetoed draft laws in a single table.

³⁰ The VRU Rules of Procedure do not contain a clear and direct requirement that the MSED's opinion is mandatory. Alongside part 4 of Article 103, which states that no comments are made if no opinions are issued within 14 days, there are also provisions emphasizing the need for the MSED's opinions:

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

Thus, it can be concluded that the VRU Rules of Procedure are imperfect and contain contradictory provisions. For example, the MSED may issue an opinion after the 14-day deadline (due to its workload), creating uncertainty about the main committee's next steps – whether to treat the lack of timely opinions as no comments or to consider them later.

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws monitored 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 timeframe that does not allow all subjects to submit their amendments within the timeframe established by the Rules).	Proposals and amendments must be submitted to the table no earlier than 14 days after the adoption of the draft law in the first reading, or 7 days in case of a shortened deadline.	87 (draft laws adopted in the second reading).	There were no violations of the deadlines. All tables are available.
MLD's opinions (absence of MLD's opinions or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these opinions before their consideration in the session hall).	The MLD's comments are submitted 10 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the second reading, or 5 days in case of a shortened deadline.	87 (draft laws adopted in the second reading).	46 (52.9%) violations of deadlines, including 3 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day the MLD's opinions were provided. All opinions are available ³¹ .
Committee's opinion to the second reading (absence of committee's opinions or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these opinions before their consideration in the session hall room).	The committees' opinions for the second reading are submitted 10 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the second reading, or 5 days in case of a shortened deadline.	87 (draft laws adopted in the second reading).	46 (52.9%) violations of the deadlines, including 3 cases of adoption of the draft law on the day of submission of the opinions. Committee opinions are available for all laws.
Comparative table for the second reading (absence of a comparative table or violation of the terms provided for familiarisation with these tables before their consideration in the session hall).	The tables must be submitted 10 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the second reading, or 5 days in case of a shortened deadline.	87 (draft laws adopted in the second reading).	45 (51.7%) of deadline violations. All tables are available.

³¹ The MLD's opinion was not available for the draft state budget, but this omission was not considered a violation due to the established practice of not having the MLD's opinion for budget-related documents in different years.

In addition to the usual violations of the Rules of Procedure, the monitoring included violations of the Constitution in terms of breach of the 15-day deadline for the President to sign the adopted laws (Article 94 of the Constitution). The monitoring analysed 137 laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 11th session. The deadline for signing (or submitting proposals) was violated in 54 laws, i.e. in 39% of cases³². In addition, another 7 laws were neither signed by the President, nor vetoed, nor accompanied by proposals (although the deadline for their signature had already passed). And one more draft law was not even signed by the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada. If we combine all these violations, it will amount to 45% of all laws passed during the 11th session. That is, almost every second law passed. This is a quite sad statistic, which has worsened with each session. For comparison, during the 10th session, this figure stood at 42%.

Certainly, it doesn't matter whether the deadline was breached by two days or a hundred and two days - in both cases, it is a violation. The record for the longest delay in signing during this session was 81 days.

The trend of increasing violations of constitutional procedure has grown since the introduction of martial law. During the first six months of the martial law, the share of laws with violations of the constitutional procedure was 16.4%. The 8th session demonstrated stabilisation of the work of the Verkhovna Rada and executive authorities, but the share of laws in which the President violated the constitutional deadline increased to 22.4%. During the 9th session, this figure was already 36%. During the 10th session, it increased to 42%. While during the 11th session, this figure reached 45%. If this trend continues, it is likely that the President will breach the constitutional procedure for signing half of the laws passed by the Verkhovna Rada during the next session. It is difficult to justify this volume of violations by martial law, as there were three times as many violations during the 11th session as during the first six months of martial law, when Russian troops were stationed near Kyiv. Nor can they be explained by regulatory and procedural shortcomings³³, as the relevant rules have not been changed.

During the 11th session, the President vetoed and submitted proposals to three draft laws in a timely manner (without violating the 15-day deadline). The Verkhovna Rada has now adopted decisions (re-adopted with the President's proposals) on all three. Two of these draft laws were considered within the prescribed 30-day period, and one was considered in violation of this period. At the same time, all three draft laws did not violate the rules on submitting committee opinions and comparative tables 3 days before the consideration. Interestingly, one of these draft laws was vetoed again with proposals and is currently awaiting a new iteration of consideration.

³² In addition, out of the 3 draft laws submitted to the President after their re-adoption with the President's proposals, the deadlines for signing 2 draft laws were violated. That is, out of 140 signing procedures, 64 procedures were violated.

³³ According to the Constitution of Ukraine, the President has 15 days to either sign the law and officially promulgate it or return it to the Parliament with motivated and formulated proposals. Upon the President's decision, the government organises an expert review of the law submitted to the President for signature. According to the CMU Rules of Procedure, the government has a maximum of 7 days to submit its proposals for the President to sign the law or substantiated and reasoned proposals on whether the President should exercise his veto. The time required to prepare generalised comments and proposals depends both on the scope and complexity of the law and other factors such as the day of the week and time of receipt of a copy of the law, the number of ministries involved in the review, differences in their positions on the adopted law, internal bureaucratic procedures in the ministries, technical reasons, etc. Any combination of these factors may delay the submission of the government's proposals on the law and, consequently, the President's decision to sign the law or return it to the Parliament.

All three vetoed draft laws were initiated by representatives of the “Servant of the People” faction, so it seems that in these 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

List of 7 draft laws³⁴ with the longest time from registration to the first opinion of the main committee

Titles of the draft laws	Number of days from registration to issuance of the first opinion of the main committee
Draft Law on Protection against Dumped Imports No. 4132 of 21.09.2020	1,275
Draft Law on Protective Measures No. 4134 of 21.09.2020	1,275
Draft Law on Protection Against Subsidised Imports No. 4133 of 21.09.2020	1,275
Draft Law on Railway Transport of Ukraine No. 1196-1 of 06.09.2019	1,678
Draft Law on Railway Transport of Ukraine No. 1196 of 29.08.2019	1,686
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Operation of Technology Parks No. 0943 of 29.08.2019	1,792
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on the Protection of Economic Competition No. 0877 of 29.08.2019	1,792

³⁴ The list contains seven draft laws, as several of them have the same maximum time limit.

Annex 2

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

The list of 5 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

Titles of the draft laws	Number of days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine, the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine and Other Legislative Acts of Ukraine Regarding the Revocation of State Awards for Promoting or Advocating the Aggressor State or Committing Other Unlawful Actions Against Ukraine No. 11410 dated 16.07.2024	13
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Defence Procurement” to Improve the Legal Regulation of Pricing in Defence Procurement During the Martial Law No. 10454 dated 01.02.2024	13
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on the Distribution of Cotton Varieties in Ukraine No. 10427-1 dated 07.02.2024	14
Draft Law on Amendments to Article 155 of the Law of Ukraine “On the Judiciary and the Status of Judges” Regarding the Organisation of the Work of Courts No. 11283 dated 22.05.2024	16
Draft Law on Amendments to the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences on Violation of Legislation on Lobbying No. 10373 dated 25.12.2023	19

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

Titles of the draft laws	Number of days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine to Regulate the Market for Motor Transport Services in Ukraine to Align Them with the European Union Act No. 4560 dated 30.12.2020	579
Draft Law on Rating No. 5819 dated 22.07.2021	638
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Improving the Mechanism for Attracting Private Investment Using the Mechanism of Public-Private Partnership to Accelerate the Restoration of War-Damaged Facilities and the Construction of New Facilities Related to the Post-War Economic Reconstruction of Ukraine No. 7508 dated 01.07.2022	651
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Implementation of Electronic Tickets for Road and Urban Electric Transport No. 5705 dated 24.06.2021	824
Draft Law on Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine to Improve Corporate Governance of Legal Entities Whose Shareholder (Founder, Participant) is the State No. 5593-d dated 06.07.2021	936

Annex 3

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

The list of 5 draft laws with the shortest time from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in general

Titles of the draft laws adopted in the first reading and in general	Number of days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in general
Draft Law on Approval of the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Extension of the Period of General Mobilisation" No. 11434 dated 23.07.2024	0
Draft Law on Approval of the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Extension of the Martial Law in Ukraine" No. 11433 dated 23.07.2024	0
Draft Law on Amendments to Chapter XII "Final Provisions" of the Law of Ukraine "On Military Duty and Military Service" regarding the Terms of Military Service No. 11035 dated 22.02.2024	1
Draft Law on Approval of the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Extension of the Term of General Mobilisation" No. 10457 dated 05.02.2024	1
Draft Law on Approval of the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Extension of the Martial Law in Ukraine" No. 10456 dated 05.02.2024	1

List of 5 draft laws with the longest time of passing the draft law from registration to its adoption in the first reading and in general

Titles of the draft laws adopted in the first reading and in general	Number of days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in general
Draft Law on Ratification of the Supplementary Agreement between Ukraine and the Technical Secretariat of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons on Privileges and Immunities for Technical Assistance Visits No. 0244 dated 02.01.2024	113
Draft Law on Ratification of the Agreement on Digital Trade between Ukraine and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland No. 0245 dated 02.01.2024	113
Draft Law on Ratification of the Council of Europe Convention on Joint Cinematographic Production (Revised) No. 0236 dated 28.11.2023	190
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On Public Procurement" on Managed Access Agreements No. 9428 dated 27.06.2023	268
Draft Law on Amendments to Article 2 of the Law of Ukraine "On Public Procurement" to Regulate Certain Issues in Connection with the Termination of the Social Insurance Fund of Ukraine No. 9633 dated 21.08.2023	331

Annex 4

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

The list of 5 draft laws with the shortest time from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in general

Titles of the draft laws adopted in the second reading and in general	Number of days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in general
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Defence Procurement” to improve the legal regulation of pricing in defence procurement during the legal regime of martial law No. 10454 dated 01.02.2024	21
Draft Law on Integrated Prevention and Control of Industrial Pollution No. 11355 dated 19.06.2024	27
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Criminal Executive Code of Ukraine, and Other Laws of Ukraine Regarding the Introduction of the Institution of Conditional Early Release of Persons from Serving Sentences for Their Direct Participation in the Defence of the Country, Protection of Its Independence, and Territorial Integrity No. 11079-1 dated 28 March 2024	41
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Protection of the Interests of Owners of Land Shares (Units) and Application of Administrative Procedure in the Field of Land Relations No. 11150 dated 04.04.2024	48
Draft Law on Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine on the Implementation of the Provisions of the European Union Excise Tax Acts No. 11256-2 dated 29.05.2024	50

The list of 5 draft laws with the longest time from registration of a draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in general

Titles of the draft laws adopted in the second reading and in general	Number of days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in general
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine to Improve Corporate Governance of Legal Entities in Whose Shareholder (Founder, Participant) is the State No. 5593-d dated 06.07.2021	961
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Regulation of Domestic Workers No. 5695 dated 23.06.2021	1037
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Implementation of Electronic Tickets for Road and Urban Electric Transport No. 5705 dated 24.06.2021	1077
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Mandatory Use of Liquid Biofuels (Biocomponents) in the Field of Transport No. 3356-d dated 05.11.2020	1307
Draft Law on Public Consultations No. 4254 dated 23.10.2020	1336

Annex 5

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

The list of 5 draft laws with the shortest passage time from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in general

Titles of the draft laws	Number of days from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in general
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Defence Procurement” to improve the legal regulation of pricing in defence procurement during the martial law No. 10454 dated 01.02.2024	15
Draft Law on Integrated Prevention and Control of Industrial Pollution No. 11355 dated 19.06.2024	26
Draft Law on Amendments to the Civil Procedure Code of Ukraine and the Code of Administrative Procedure of Ukraine on Guaranteeing the Right to Judicial Protection in Minor Disputes No. 11026 dated 19.02.2024	27
Draft Law on Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine on Rent for the Use of Radio Frequency Spectrum (Radio Frequency Resource) of Ukraine No. 10423 dated 22.01.2024	27
Draft Law on Amendments to the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences on Violation of Legislation on Lobbying No. 10373 dated 25.12.2023	27

List of 5 draft laws with the longest time from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in general

Titles of the draft laws	Number of days from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in general
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On State Regulation of Capital Markets and Organised Commodity Markets” and Certain Other Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Regulation and Supervision of Capital Markets and Organised Commodity Markets No. 5865 dated 26.08.2021	800
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Implementation of Electronic Tickets for Road and Urban Electric Transport No. 5705 dated 24.06.2021	861
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Improving Corporate Governance of Legal Entities Whose Shareholder (Founder, Participant) is the State No. 5593-d dated 06.07.2021	952
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Mandatory Use of Liquid Biofuels (Biocomponents) in the Field of Transport No. 3356-d dated 05.11.2020	1070
Draft Law on Public Consultations No. 4254 dated 23.10.2020	1203