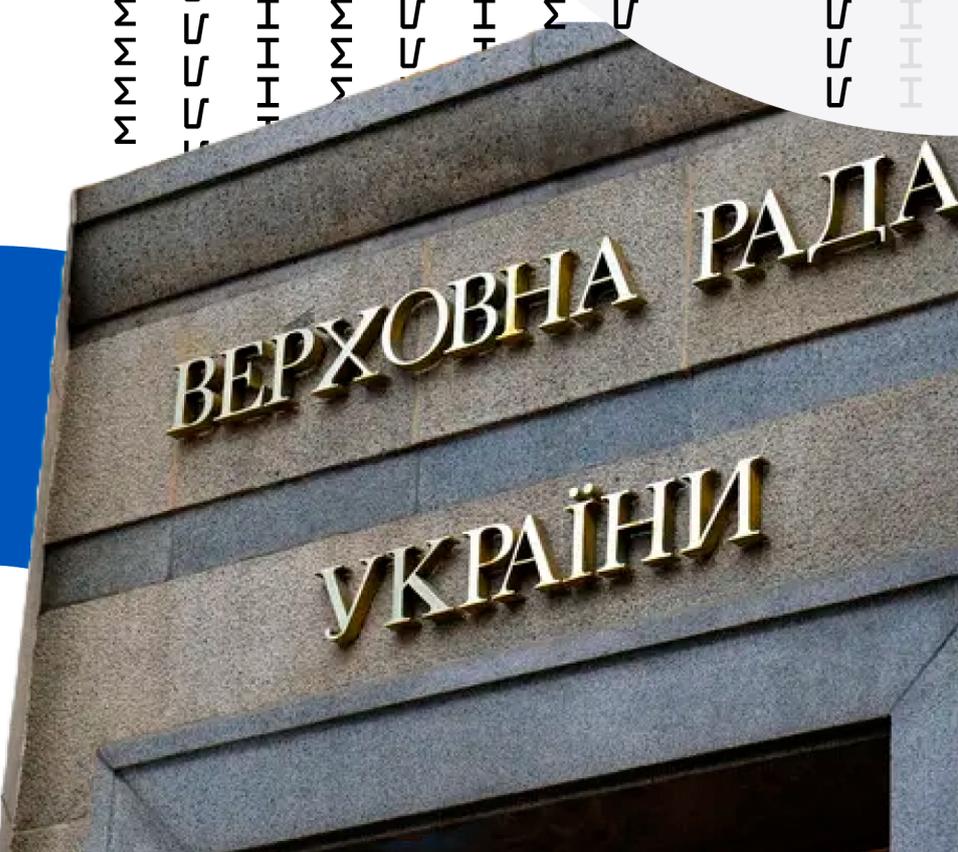


Monitoring Report of the Activity of the Verkhovna Rada

12TH SESSION
9TH CONVOCATION

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Annotation

This monitoring report of the activity of the 12th session of the 9th Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine consists of a summary, five units and annexes. The units cover:

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

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

List of abbreviations

1. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine – VRU
2. Main Scientific and Expert Department – MSED
3. Main Legal Department – MLD
4. Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine – CMU
5. Committee on Agrarian and Land Policy – Committee on Agrarian Policy, in diagrams – Agrarian Policy
6. Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy – Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy, in diagrams – Anti-Corruption Policy
7. Budget Committee, in diagrams – Budget
8. Committee on Humanitarian and Information Policy, in diagrams – Humanitarian Policy
9. Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management, in diagrams – Environmental Policy
10. Committee on Economic Development, in diagrams – Economic Development
11. Committee on Energy, Housing and Utilities, in diagrams – Energy
12. Committee on National Health, Healthcare and Insurance, in diagrams – National Health
13. Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation, in diagrams – Foreign Policy
14. Committee on Ukraine’s Integration into the European Union, in diagrams – EU Integration
15. Committee on Youth and Sports – Committee on Youth and Sports, in diagrams – Youth and Sports
16. Committee on National Security, Defence and Intelligence – Committee on National Security, in diagrams – National Security
17. Committee on the Organisation of State Power, Local Self-Government, Regional Development and Urban Planning, in diagrams – Organisation of State Power
18. Committee on Education, Science and Innovation – Committee on Education, in diagrams – Education
19. Committee on Human Rights, Deoccupation and Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations (until 15 August 2022 – Committee on Human Rights, Deoccupation and Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts and the Autonomous

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

Summary

Main indicators of the work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 12th session of the 9th convocation:

436
draft laws
registered,
of which:

4

European integration draft laws
(0,9%)

12

draft laws on the consent or
denunciation of international treaties
(3%)

3

urgent draft laws
(0,7%)

108
draft laws
were adopted
in their entirety,
of which:

12

European integration draft laws
(11,1%)

14

laws on ratification of international treaties
(13%)

3

laws were identified by the President as urgent
(2,8%)

The President vetoed (and submitted his proposals) draft laws five times. One draft law was adopted (after a second veto) during the 12th session.

33 laws were adopted in their
entirety after the first reading

31%

75 laws were adopted after
the second reading

69%

Monitoring of the work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 12th session of the 9th convocation revealed three key trends: 1) the development of the military agenda and its saturation to the pre-war level; 2) a lower level of legislative activity amid the contradictory dynamics of legislative spam; 3) increased violations of the legislative procedure.

Development of the military agenda and its saturation to the pre-war level

The 9th Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has been working under martial law for more time (over 3 years) than under normal conditions. In 2022, the Verkhovna Rada suspended almost all the draft laws prepared before the introduction of martial law and focused on adapting legislation to the conditions of martial law and the realities of a full-scale war. Later, in the second half of 2022 and in 2023, the Verkhovna Rada partially returned to the draft laws registered before 24 February 2022. However, there were fewer and fewer such draft laws over time, and now the Parliament is increasingly focused on the new agenda. In particular, only five of the 108 laws adopted during the 12th session were registered before 24 February 2022.

During the six sessions of the martial law parliament, so many draft laws of the martial law agenda were pending that the speed of their consideration reached (and sometimes even exceeded) the level of 2021. Now, the 9th Ukrainian parliament is considering them for the longest time [on average]: an average of 335 days pass from registration to adoption of a draft law in the second reading and in its entirety.

A similar situation has developed with the time spent on consideration of draft laws in the session hall. The format of considering draft laws in the session hall in the 10th, 11th, and 12th sessions is increasingly reminiscent of the times before the full-scale invasion: there are more discussions, and they are longer. The likely reasons for this are: (1) a decrease in the number of draft laws with consensus support, (2) a gradual easing of existing information restrictions on the coverage of the Parliament's work, which encourages MPs to speak more, and (3) a gradual increase in the perceived level of security in the Parliament building.

Lower level of legislative activity against the background of contradictory dynamics of legislative spam

The 12th session of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine showed a relatively low number of registered draft laws (436). It means that each MP registered just over 1 draft law on average. The lower level of legislative activity is not a bad thing: it is better to register and pass a few high-quality laws than to waste energy on hundreds of empty and unpromising initiatives. Let's hope that parliamentarians are moving in this direction. There are even some reasons for this. High-quality draft laws are usually the result of the collective work of MPs, not individual lawmaking. During the 12th session, the share of draft laws with 8–22 signatories increased, equalling the share with one initiator.

Not everything looks good, as there are signs that the practice of legislative spamming, which involves registering many unpromising draft laws, is still prevalent. The legislative activity of MPs from the Restoration of Ukraine group has several signs of legislative spam: (1) on average, one MP of this group registered almost five draft laws in the 12th session, while the figures of MPs of other factions and groups do not even reach the level of 1 draft law per 1

MP; (2) the share of draft laws registered by MPs of this group reaches 20.4% of all registered draft laws, which is higher than the share of government draft laws (15.8%), despite this (3) not a single draft law initiated by MPs of the Restoration of Ukraine group was adopted during the 12th session.

Increased number of violations of the legislative procedure

The level of violations of the legislative procedure increased during the 12th session. **Two-thirds (66%) of the laws had violations** of the procedures established by the Rules of Procedure during the 12th session. An increase in violations occurred in the second reading, which has not been observed since the 8th session.

The number of violations of the Constitution of Ukraine during the 12th session remained high. 44% of draft laws adopted during the 12th session were signed by the President of Ukraine with a violation of the 15-day deadline or were not signed at all. Perhaps the only positive thing is that the number of constitutional violations did not increase compared to the 11th session. Since 2022, the percentage of draft laws that violated the 15-day signing deadline has been steadily increasing. The 12th session broke this trend, stabilising the figure at 44%.

Legislative activity

Summary

436 draft laws registered. Of which:

- ▶ 4 (0.9%) European integration draft laws.
- ▶ 12 (3%) draft laws on the consent or denunciation of international treaties.
- ▶ 3 (0.7%) urgent draft laws.

108 draft laws were adopted in their entirety. Of which:

- ▶ 12 (11.1%) European integration draft laws.
- ▶ 14 (13%) laws on ratification of international treaties.
- ▶ 3 (2.8%) laws were identified by the President as urgent.

The 12th session of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine was marked by relatively low legislative activity. With 436 draft laws registered, this is the second-lowest number of draft laws registered per session. The decrease in the number of initiatives is not a negative phenomenon in itself if it indicates a focus on the quality of legislative acts. During the 12th session, the share of draft laws with 8–22 signatories increased, which partly indicates a decrease in legislative spam. However, there are also indicators that show that the problem of legislative spam is still relevant. The Restoration of Ukraine group demonstrated very high activity: one MP of the group accounts for almost five registered draft laws (five times more than for other factions and groups), and their share of the total number of draft laws reaches 20.4%, which puts them in second place after the Servant of the People (43.6%) in terms of legislative activity. At the same time, not a single draft law of the Restoration of Ukraine group was adopted in the course of the 12th session.

Registered draft laws

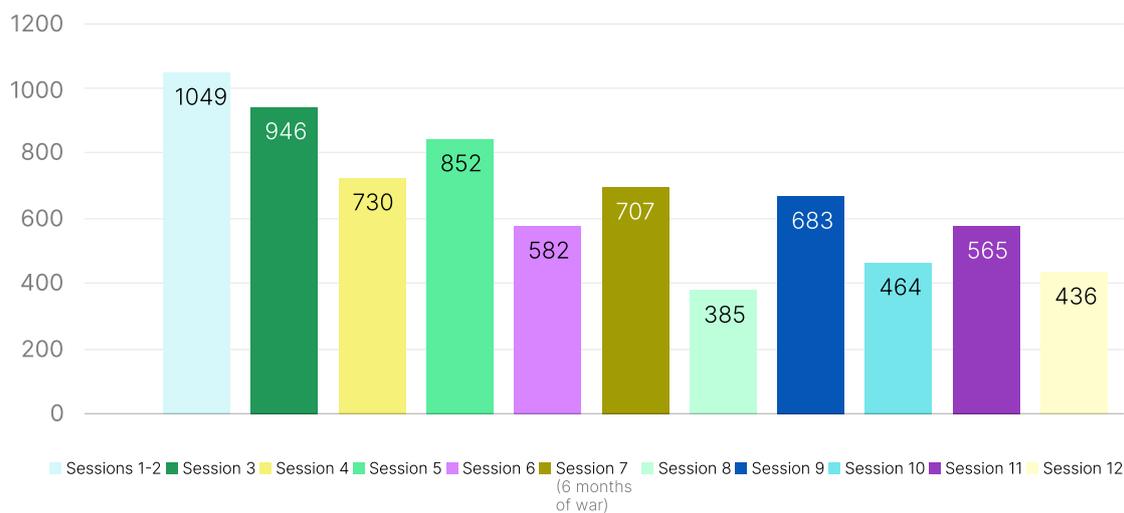
436 draft laws were registered during the 12th session, 28 fewer than in the previous autumn, the 10th session. Overall, the 12th session had the second-fewest registered draft laws (the 8th session had the most, with 385 draft laws). This result continues the gradual decrease in the number of registered draft laws that began in the 9th session. This demonstrates a potential reduction in the volume of legislative spam or at least a decrease in legislative activity.

Four European integration¹ draft laws were registered during the 12th session. This is slightly less than 1% of all registered draft laws.

12 draft laws on the consent or denunciation of international treaties were registered in the 12th session. This is 3% of all registered draft laws.

Four urgent draft laws were registered during the 12th session. This is 0.7% of all registered draft laws.

Draft laws registered by session



¹ A European integration law is one recognised by the Committee on European Integration as the “EU integration” law. It has a corresponding label 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 total draft laws)
Servant of the People faction	190 (43.6%)
Restoration of Ukraine group	89 (20.4%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	69 (15.8%)
Non-factional	24 (5.5%)
Fatherland faction	16 (3.7%)
European Solidarity faction	16 (3.7%)
President of Ukraine	13 (3%)
Holos faction	7 (1.6%)
Party For the Future group	6 (1.4%)
Dovira group	3 (0.7%)
Platform for Life and Peace group	3 (0.7%)

The indicators of the 12th session are quite standard and similar to those of the 10th and 11th sessions for the majority of factions and groups, as well as for the Cabinet of Ministers. Minority factions (European Solidarity, Fatherland, and Holos) and non-factional MPs registered 7–24 draft laws. However, compared to the 11th session, the share of draft laws from Holos and European Solidarity decreased, while the share of draft laws from Fatherland increased. Three groups (For the Future, Dovira and PFLP) registered less than 7 draft laws each. At the same time, the following features are worth noting:

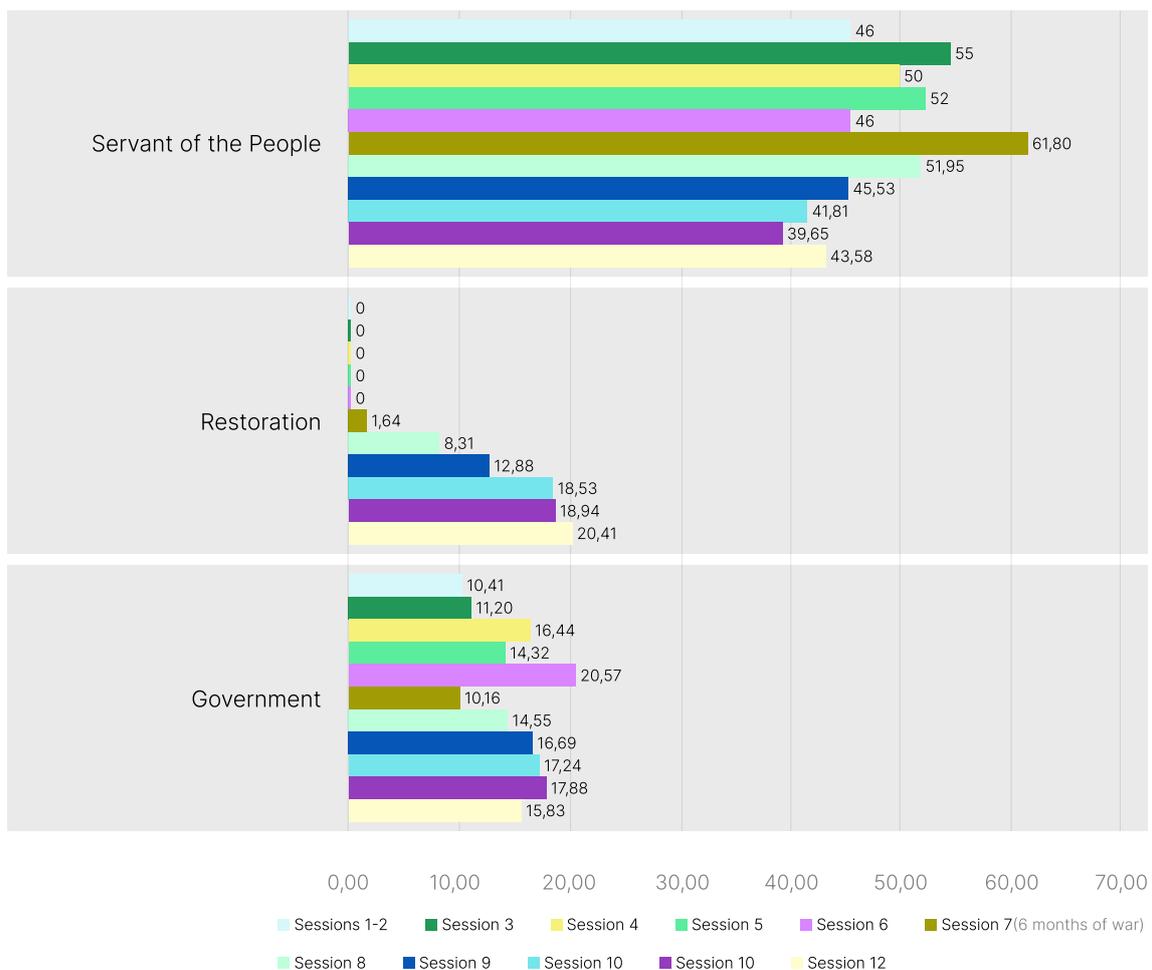
- 1) The President and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine demonstrate a decrease in the share of registered draft laws compared to the 11th session. The share of draft laws initiated by the President returned to the same level as in the 8th, 9th and 10th sessions.
- 2) The performance of the Restoration of Ukraine group continues to deviate from the general trend. During the 12th session, the group once again set a record by increasing the share of registered draft laws to 20.4%. That is, members of the

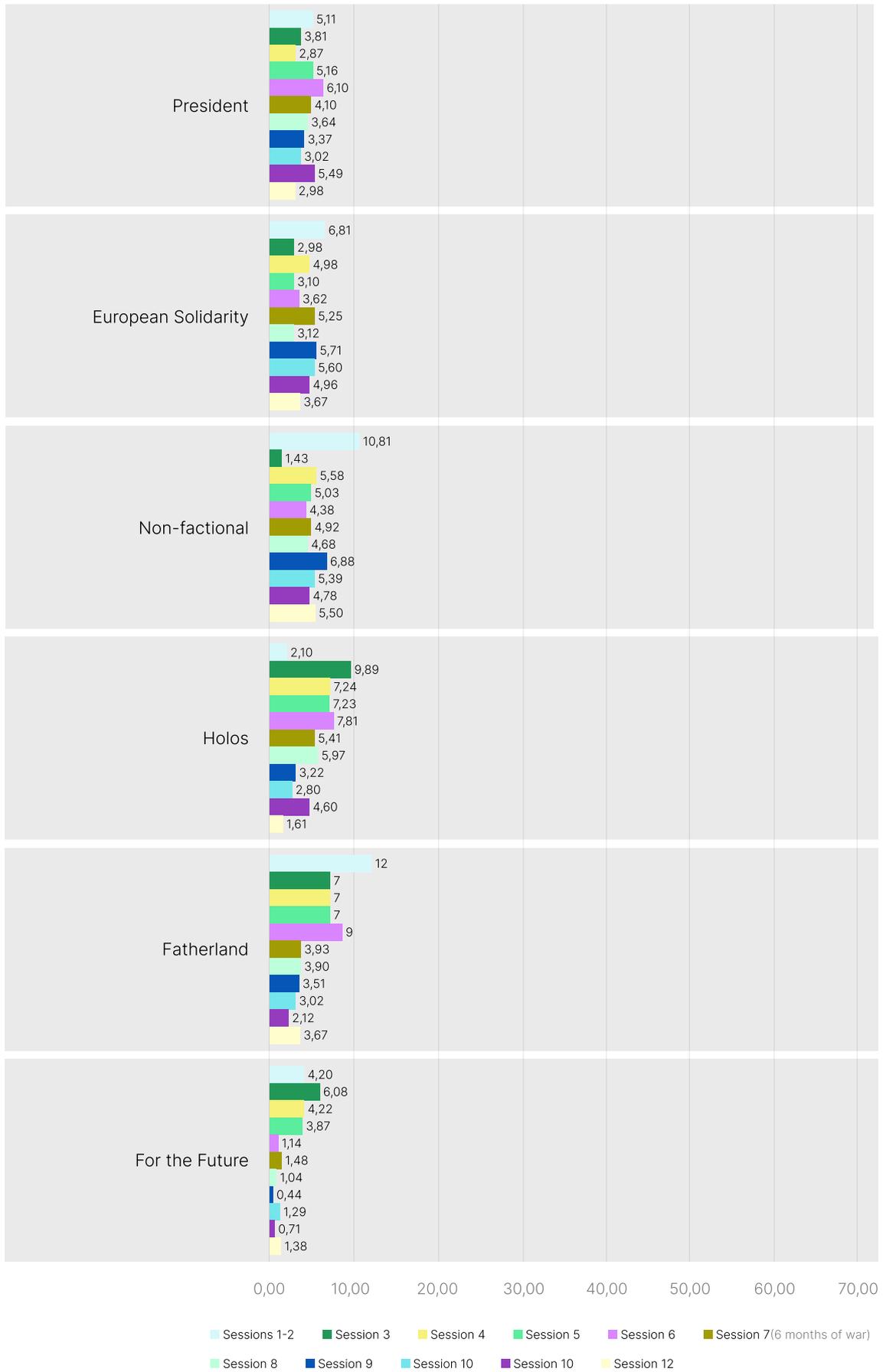
² For the sake of simplicity, the term “initiator” is hereinafter used in such tables. This is true when it comes to the government or the President. VRU factions do not have the right of legislative initiative, so when it comes to factions, it should be understood as the faction or group to which the first signatory (initiator) among the MPs belongs.

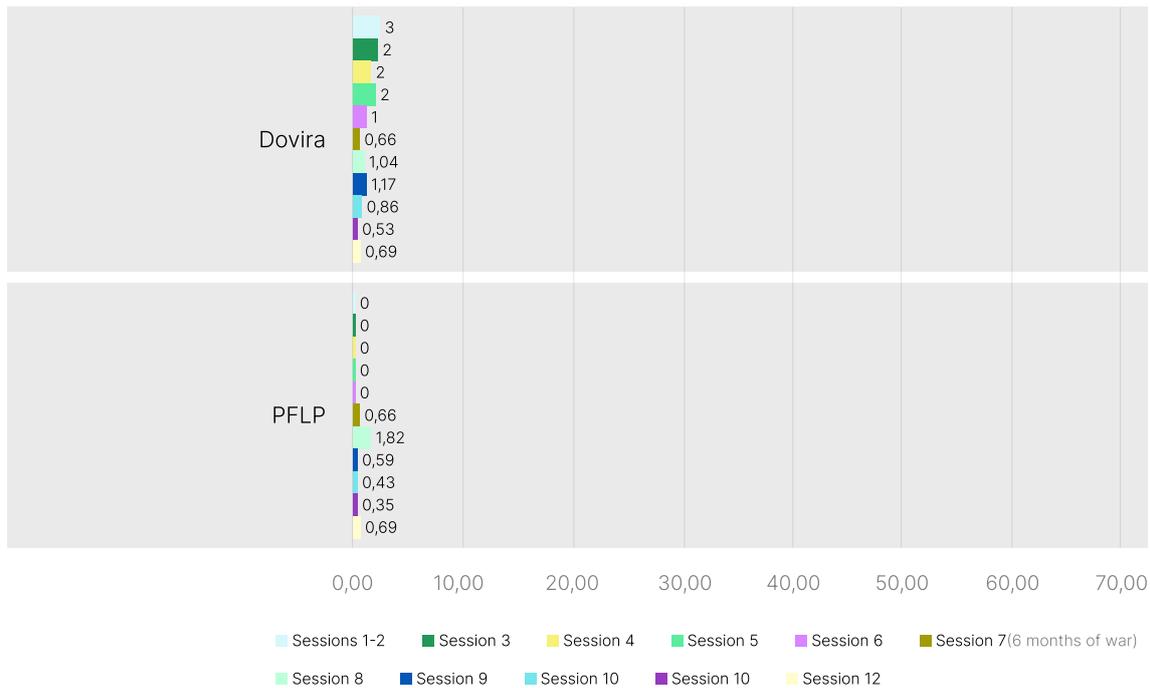
Restoration of Ukraine group registered every fifth draft law registered during the 12th session. This trend has been going on for the fourth session in a row (it started in the 8th session). Thus, despite the small number of MPs, the Restoration of Ukraine has outpaced most factions and groups, as well as the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. The increase in the share of draft laws registered by the minority group of MPs to the point where the group registers almost every fifth draft law in the parliament is a sign of legislative spam, i.e., the registration of many low-quality draft laws that have no real prospect of being adopted.

- 3) The Holos faction demonstrates a significant decrease in the share of registered draft laws in the 12th session. These are the lowest figures for the faction in the entire 9th convocation. A significant decrease in the faction’s legislative activity cannot be explained by a decrease in the number of its members (only one MP left the Holos faction during the 12th session).
- 4) The Servant of the People faction slightly increased the share of registered draft laws, showing a 4% increase compared to the 11th session. Thus, the Servant of the People broke the downward trend of the previous four sessions.

Draft laws registered by entity and session in per cent







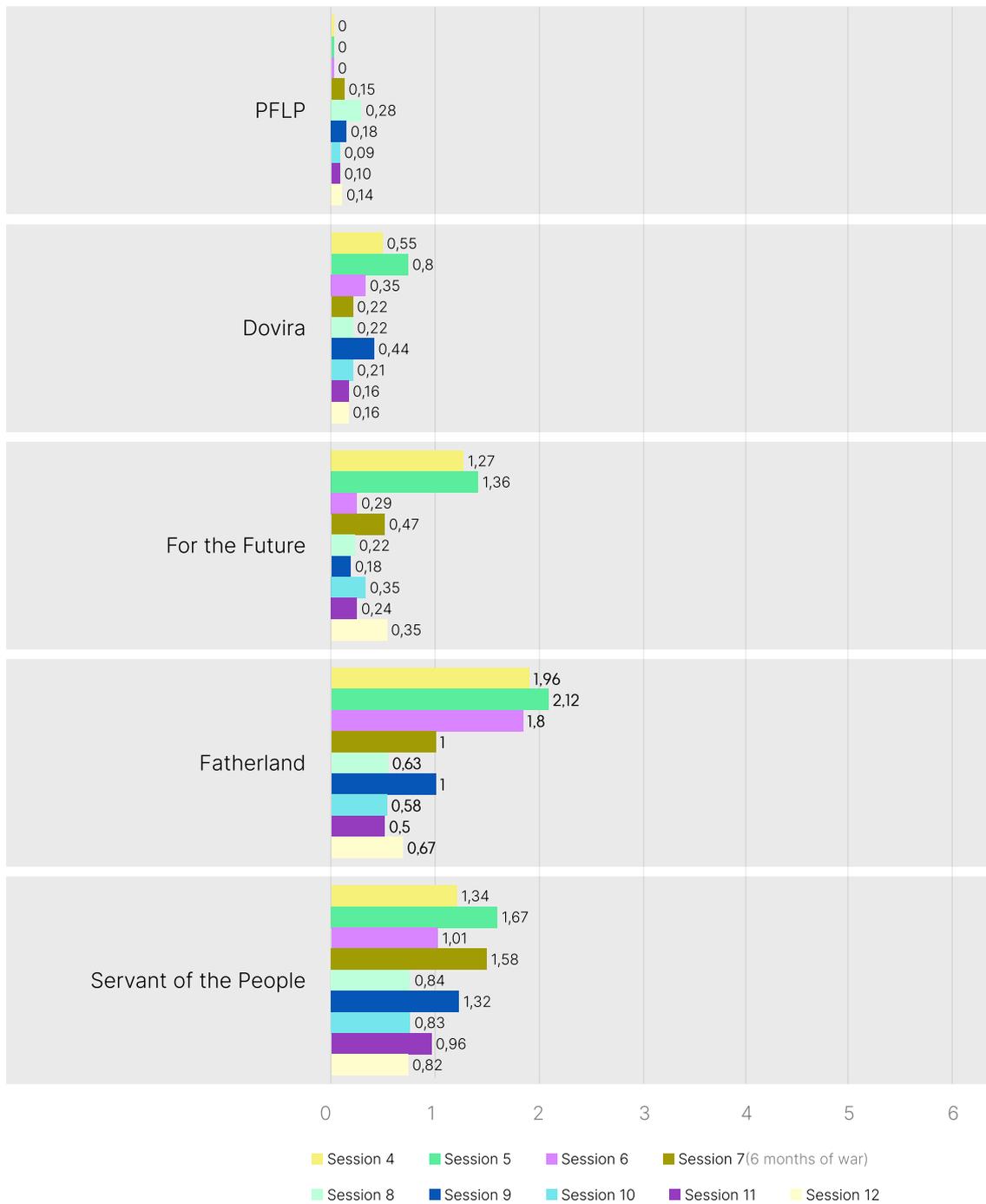
The authorship of the draft law was determined by the initiator's factional affiliation. For MPs, the first signatory of the draft law is considered the initiator. This method has its limitations, but it is used, in particular, by the VRU Secretariat. In addition, Article 90(3) of the Rules of Procedure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

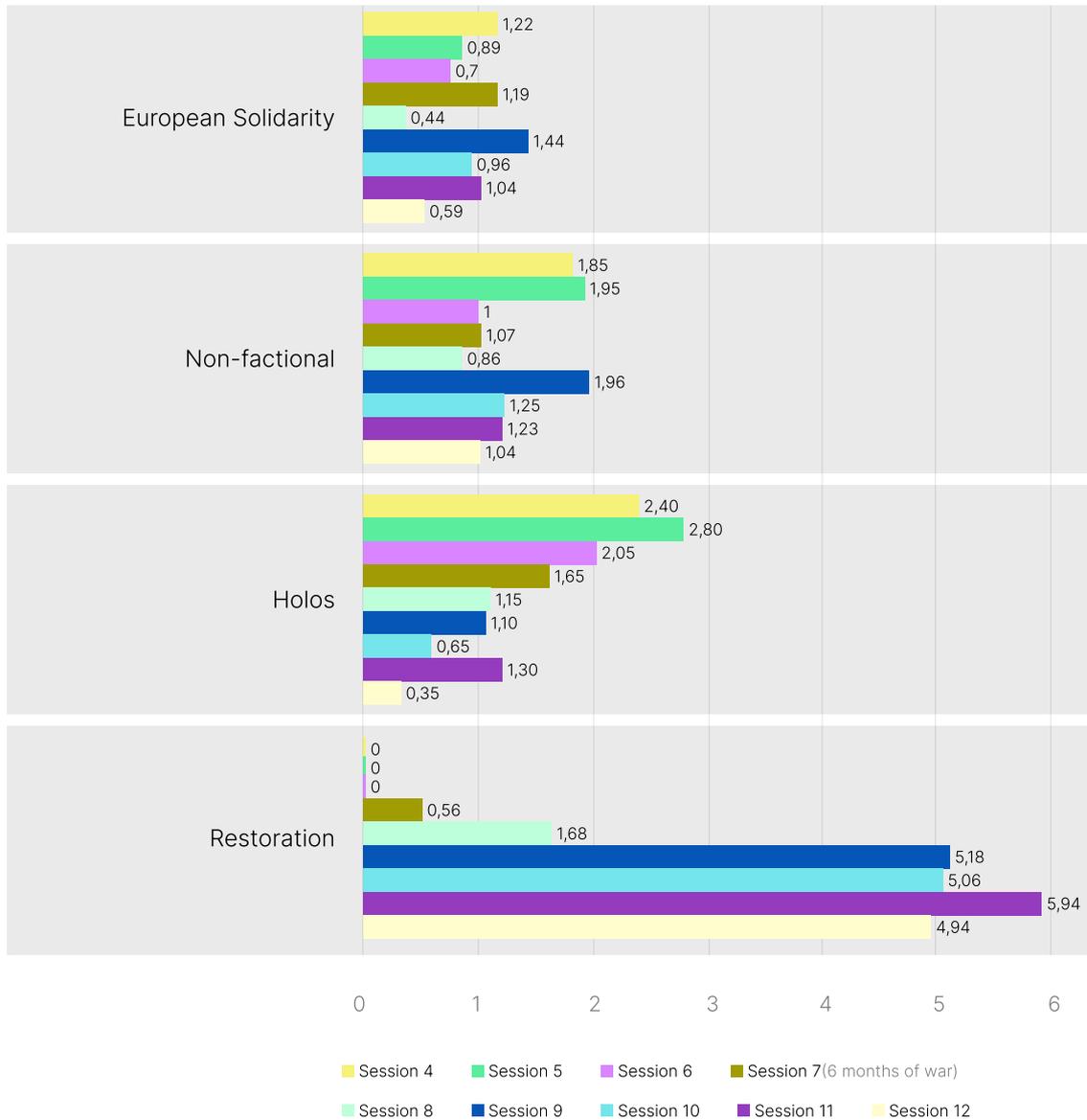
The number of registered draft laws per MP³ for the majority of factions and groups in the 12th session shows a non-standard situation for the 9th convocation. The overall decrease in the number of draft laws was manifested in the fact that, unlike in most sessions, now there is sometimes significantly fewer than 1 draft law per MP who is a member of any faction. This is especially evident in the case of the Holos faction, which has an average of 0.35 draft laws per MP. This figure is even lower for MPs belonging to parliamentary groups⁴. The Restoration of Ukraine group continues to be the most prolific, with an unusually high rate of 4.94 draft laws per MP for the 9th convocation. Despite the relatively lower figure for the 12th session compared to the three previous sessions, the Restoration of Ukraine group has at least 5.5 times more draft laws per MP than any other faction or group during this session. This number of draft laws per MP is another sign of legislative spam. At the same time, these figures indicate that the record total share of registered draft laws by the MPs of the Restoration of Ukraine group is due to the low performance of other factions and groups, and not to the increased activity of the members of this parliamentary group.

³ It is worth noting that the number of draft laws per MP does not indicate the efficiency of factions or groups. It is rather an indicator that allows for a better understanding of the general trends in the Verkhovna Rada's work. The number of draft laws registered by specific MPs is deliberately not given here, as they often perceive it as an indicator of their efficiency. This encourages them to register more draft laws, neglecting the quality, which is one reason for legislative spam.

⁴ It is logical to assume that legislative drafting in parties forming factions is better established than in groups formed by majoritarian MPs due to the existing stable organisational structure and the possibilities of establishing the work of the parliamentary association as a subject of the right of legislative initiative. This obviously affects the ability to develop group draft laws.

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

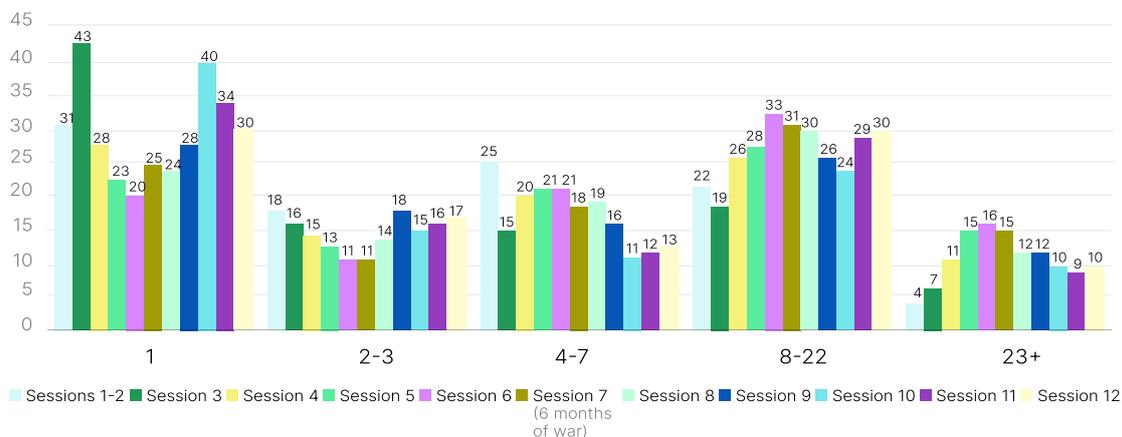




Registered draft laws by group of signatories

Groups by the number of MPs who signed draft laws	Number of draft laws initiated by MPs (percentage of the total number of draft laws from MPs)
1	107 (30,2%)
2–3	59 (16,7%)
4–7	45 (12,7%)
8–22	107 (30,2%)
23+	36 (10,2%)

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



In terms of the number of signatories to draft laws, the 12th session continued the downward trend in the number of draft laws with 1 initiator, a large number of which indirectly indicated the presence of legislative spam. The share of draft laws with 1 signatory decreased compared to the 10th and 11th sessions. Instead, all shares of all other groups of draft laws showed a slight increase. This may indicate a higher level of cooperation between MPs and, accordingly, a slightly higher quality of draft laws. Moreover, unlike in the two previous sessions, the number of draft laws with one signatory is not the largest; it is equal to the share of draft laws with 8–22 signatories.

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

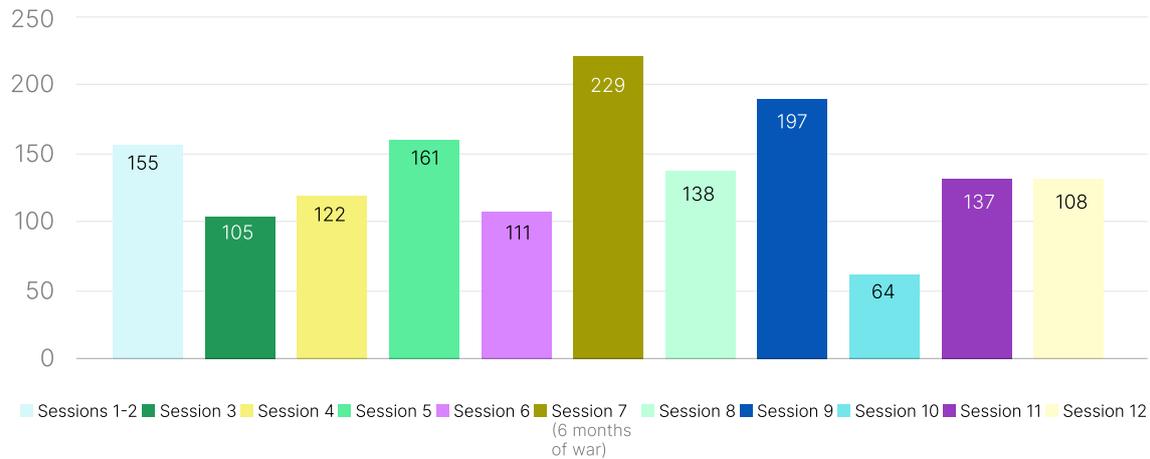
The draft law on changing the names of local general courts No. 12351 of 23 December 2024 has the most signatories, namely 72.

Laws adopted

108 laws were adopted in their entirety during the 12th session⁵. This is a relatively low figure for the 9th convocation. At the same time, it is a relatively good indicator compared to the previous autumn session (10), since the number of adopted draft laws increased by 44. Moreover, the ratio of adopted to registered draft laws in the 12th session is the same as in the 11th, so we can say that there are no new difficulties with adopting laws similar to those in the 10th session.

⁵ 109 draft laws were technically adopted during the 12th session. However, draft law No. 11150 of 4 April 2024, “Proposals of the President of Ukraine to the Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Protecting the Interests of Owners of Land Shares (Stakes), and Application of Administrative Procedure in the Field of Land Relations,” was adopted after a second veto in the 12th session. This draft law is not included in this monitoring report, as its passing and first adoption after the veto were mentioned in the monitoring report of the 11th session of the VRU.

Draft laws passed by session



12 European integration⁶ laws were adopted during the 12th session. This is 11.1% of all laws passed.

During the 12th session, the Verkhovna Rada passed 14 laws on granting consent to international treaties. This is 13% of all laws passed. All international draft laws were ratifications and accessions to new agreements (without denunciations). There were 10 multilateral agreements and 5 bilateral agreements out of 14 treaties ratified by the Verkhovna Rada during the 12th session. Among all these agreements, most were ratified with France (3 agreements) and the EU (2 agreements).

Three draft laws (2.8%) adopted during the 12th session were identified by the President of Ukraine as urgent.

The President vetoed (and submitted his proposals) draft laws five times. One draft law was adopted after a second veto.

Laws passed by initiator

Initiator	Number of laws (percentage of total laws)
Servant of the People faction	47 (43.5%)
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	33 (30.5%)
President of Ukraine	16 (14.8%)
Holos faction	4 (3.7%)

⁶ A European integration law is one recognised by the Committee on European Integration as the “EU integration” law. It has a corresponding label in the electronic system and is sent to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine for additional examination.

European Solidarity faction	4 (3.7%)
Fatherland faction	2 (1.9%)
Non-factional	2 (1.9%)
Party For the Future group	0 (0%)
Dovira group	0 (0%)
Restoration of Ukraine group	0 (0%)

The monitoring of the 12th session revealed several observations.

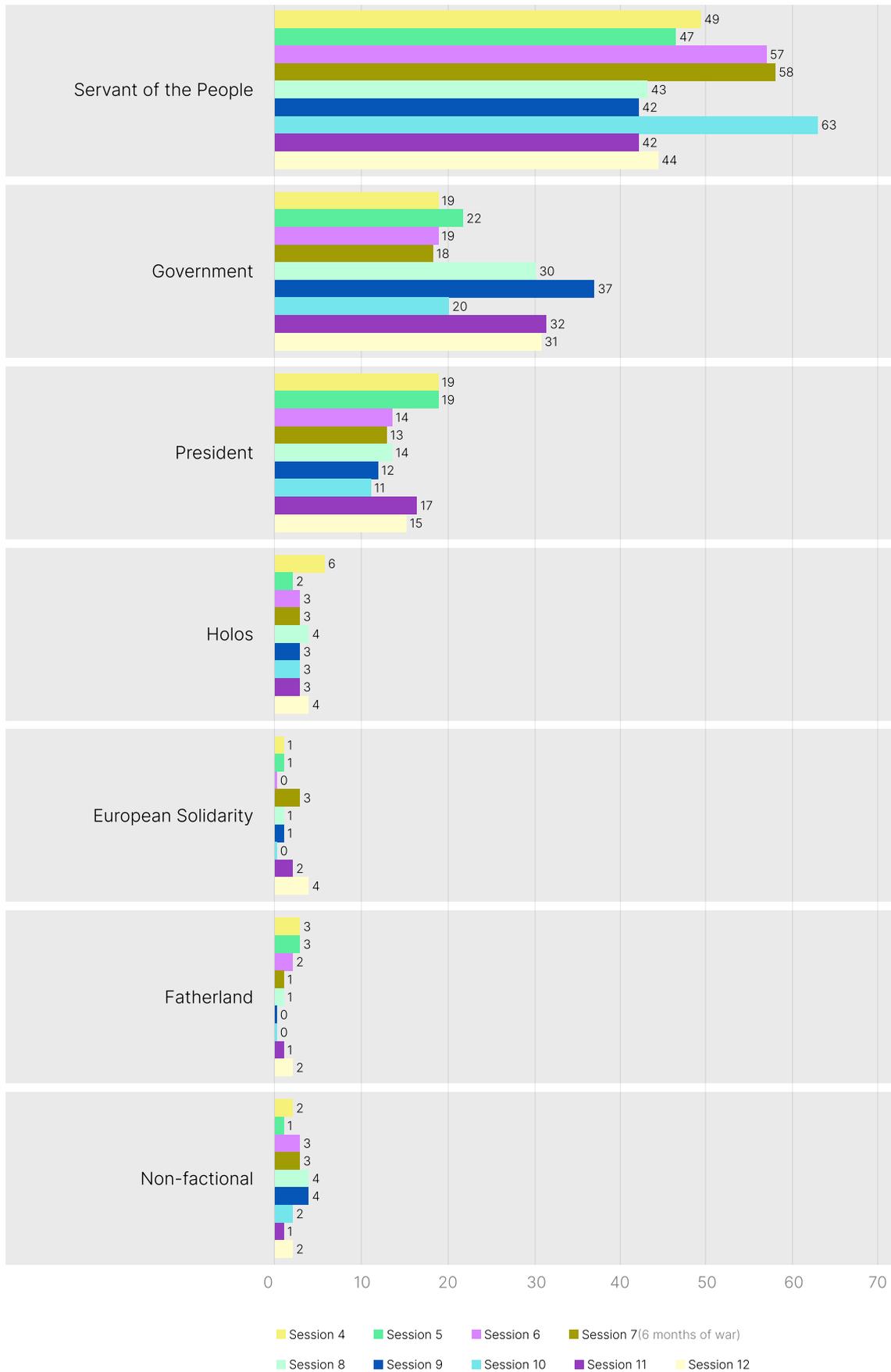
First, MPs of the Servant of the People faction slightly increased their share of all adopted draft laws (43.5%) compared to the 11th session (42.3%). This figure is fairly typical for the Servant of the People when considering the period of martial law.

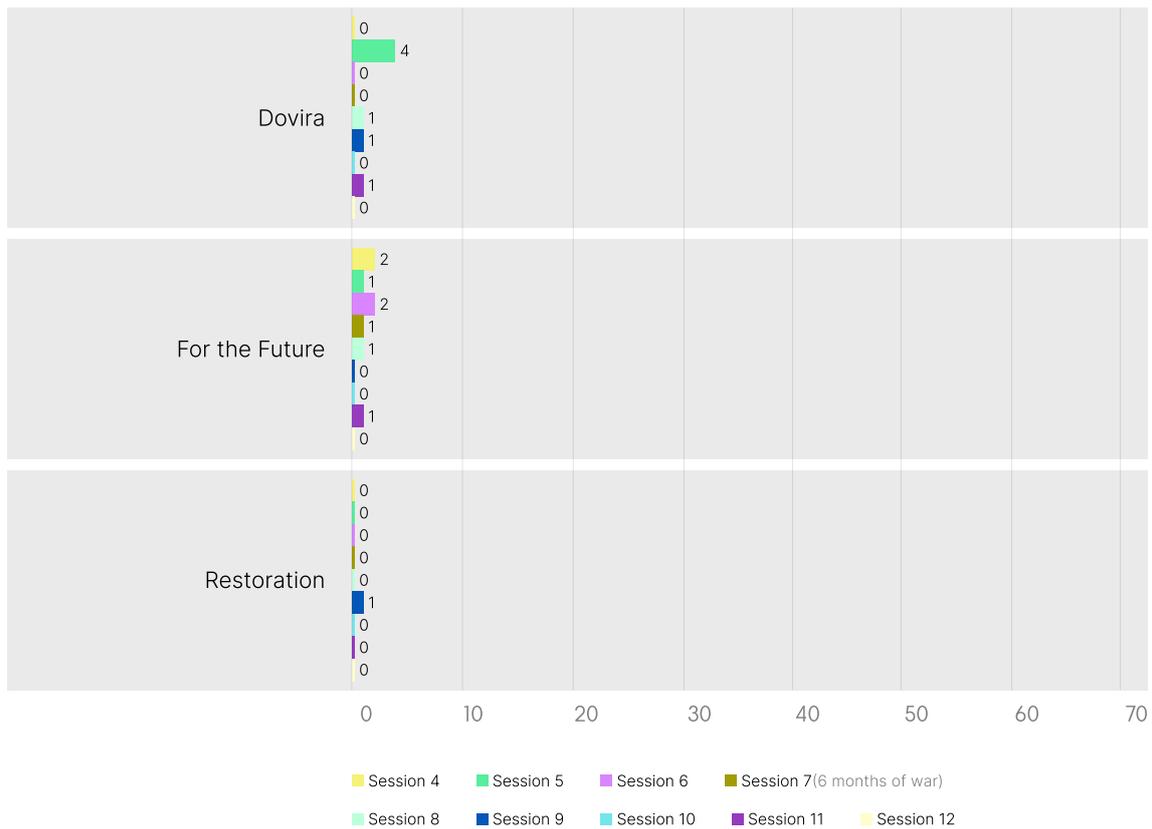
Second, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine shows a gradual decrease in the share of initiated laws for the second session in a row. At the same time, if we analyse the entire 9th convocation, the government's performance is quite high, as the Cabinet of Ministers initiates almost every third law. Of course, this is a bit less than their record-breaking performance during the 9th session. However, it is much higher than in the previous autumn (10th) session. The share of adopted laws initiated by the President of Ukraine also decreased (14.8%) compared to the results of the 11th session (16.8%), when the President initiated the largest share of laws during the period of martial law.

Third, the share of laws initiated by minority faction and non-factional MPs did not exceed 12% in total, while this value did not exceed 3.7% for each individual faction.

Interestingly, not a single law initiated by representatives of parliamentary groups was passed during the 12th session. This confirms the thesis about the signs of legislative spam in the context of the Restoration of Ukraine group.

Draft laws passed by entity and session in per cent





Laws passed by groups of signatories

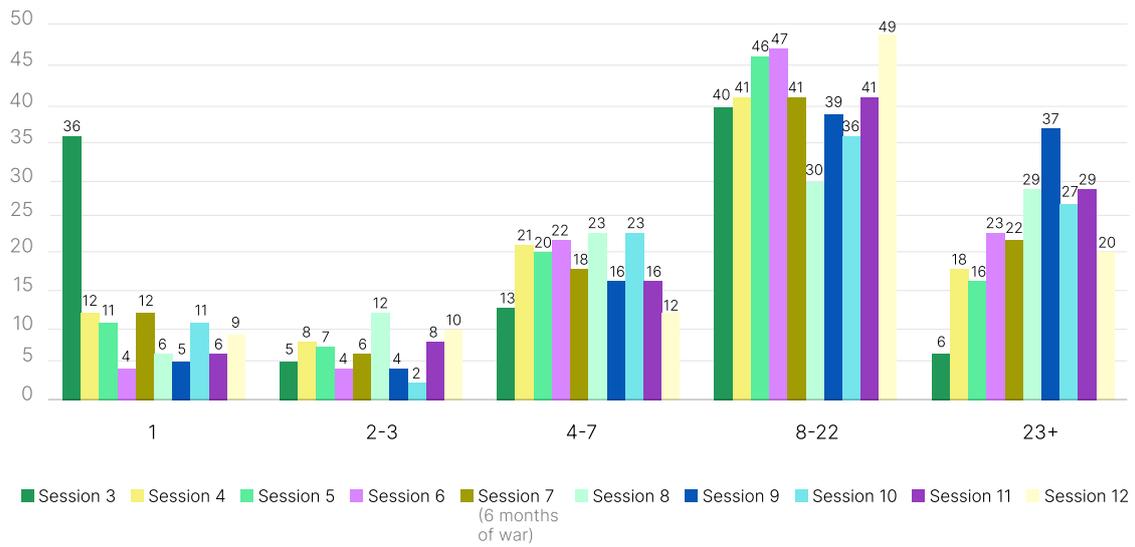
The 12th session partially continued the positive trends of the previous sessions (of which the 10th session is a standout). Compared to the previous 11th session, the share of adopted laws with 8–22 signatories has increased significantly, accounting for almost half of all draft laws passed. At the same time, there was a significant increase in the number of draft laws with one signatory and a decrease in the number of those with 23+ signatories, while 70% of the adopted laws had more than eight signatories. In other words, **draft laws with a large number of signatories have a better chance of becoming law than those with a small number of signatories.**

The Law on Peculiarities of Regulating Business Activities of Certain Types of Legal Entities and Their Associations in the Transition Period No. 6013 of 9 September 2021, adopted by the Verkhovna Rada on 9 January 2025, has the most signatories, namely 131.

Groups by the number of signatories – MPs for adopted laws	Number of laws submitted by MPs (percentage of total MPs’ laws)
1	5 (8,5%)
2–3	6 (10,2%)
4–7	7 (11,9%)

8-22	29 (49,2%)
23+	12 (20,3%)

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



Passage of draft laws

Summary

- ▶ 30.6% of draft laws were adopted after the first reading, 69.4% – after the second reading, and the third reading was not applied.
- ▶ Only 5 out of 108 laws adopted in the 12th session were registered before 24 February 2022, indicating the dominance of the martial law agenda.
- ▶ Main terms of passage of draft laws (average values):
 - from registration to adoption in the first reading and in entirety – 71 days;
 - between the first reading and adoption in the second reading and in entirety – 156 days;
 - from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety – 335 days.

During the sessions of the parliament in the period of martial law, many draft laws of the martial law agenda are pending. As a result, the speed of consideration of draft laws registered after 24 February 2022 has reached the level of 2021. Now, the 9th Ukrainian parliament is considering them for the longest time: an average of 335 days pass from registration to adoption of a draft law in the second reading and in its entirety.

Number of laws by readings:

33 – adopted in their entirety after the first reading (30.6%);

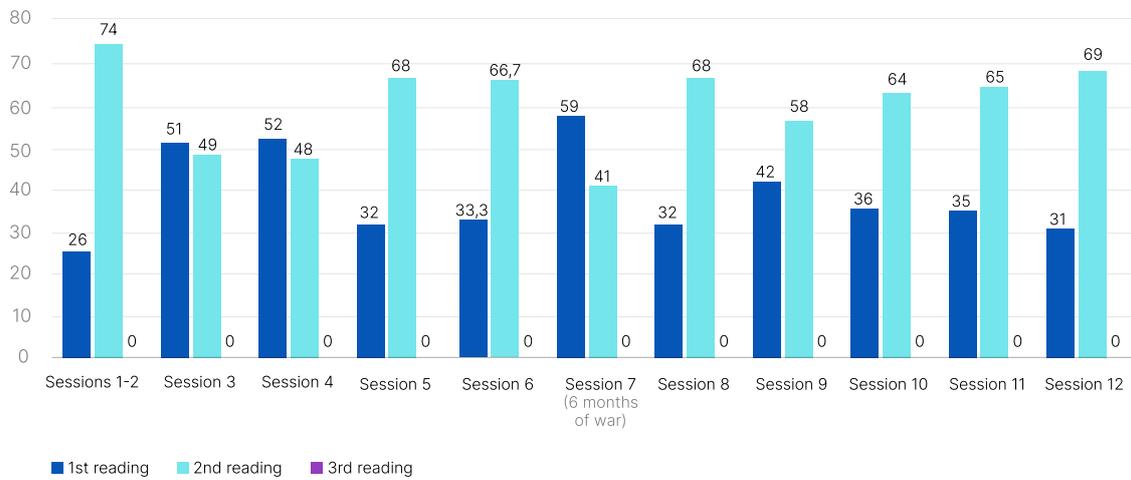
75 – adopted in their entirety after the second reading (69.4%);

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

The 12th session continued the standard distribution of adopted laws by readings. More than two-thirds of laws were adopted in the second reading and in their entirety, and 30.6% in the first reading and in their entirety. The situation was also similar during sessions 5, 6, 8, 10 and 11. The trend of not using the third reading has not changed – **no draft law has passed three readings**⁷. Two readings allow for better preparation of the draft law and correction of shortcomings and errors discovered during the first reading. However, two readings also require more time.

⁷ According to Article 102(1) of the Rules of Procedure, “draft laws shall be considered by the Verkhovna Rada, as a rule, according to the procedure of three readings.” For more information on the peculiarities of the third reading, please follow the link.

Percentage (%) of laws passed by readings



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

When reviewing the information on committees, it should be borne in mind that this monitoring report is based on the number of opinions of the main committees. These methods are used due to the availability of data. Specifically, the Verkhovna Rada website constantly provides information on the opinions of the main committees, which are regularly updated and cover all opinions of the main committees. However, the committees perform many other functions and tasks in addition to providing opinions of the main committees. Three committees⁸ are required to provide mandatory opinions on all draft laws. As auxiliary committees, committees may be tasked with preparing opinions. Committees consider and make decisions within the framework of the oversight function. They consider letters and appeals, and hold conferences and round tables. However, all this information is published only in fragments, so it cannot be used for a regular monitoring format. However, this information is used if it is available in a form acceptable for systemic monitoring. These limitations should be considered when reviewing the information below, which is based on the opinions of the main committees.

The timing of the main committees' opinions on draft laws⁹ allows for assessing several important indicators. In terms of committees, the time from registration to the submission of the first opinion by the committee characterises the workload of the committee and enables forecasting, in general terms, the speed of preliminary processing of a certain draft law depending on its main committee. In terms of initiators, the time of submitting opinions characterises the commitment of committee members to a particular initiator and enhances the

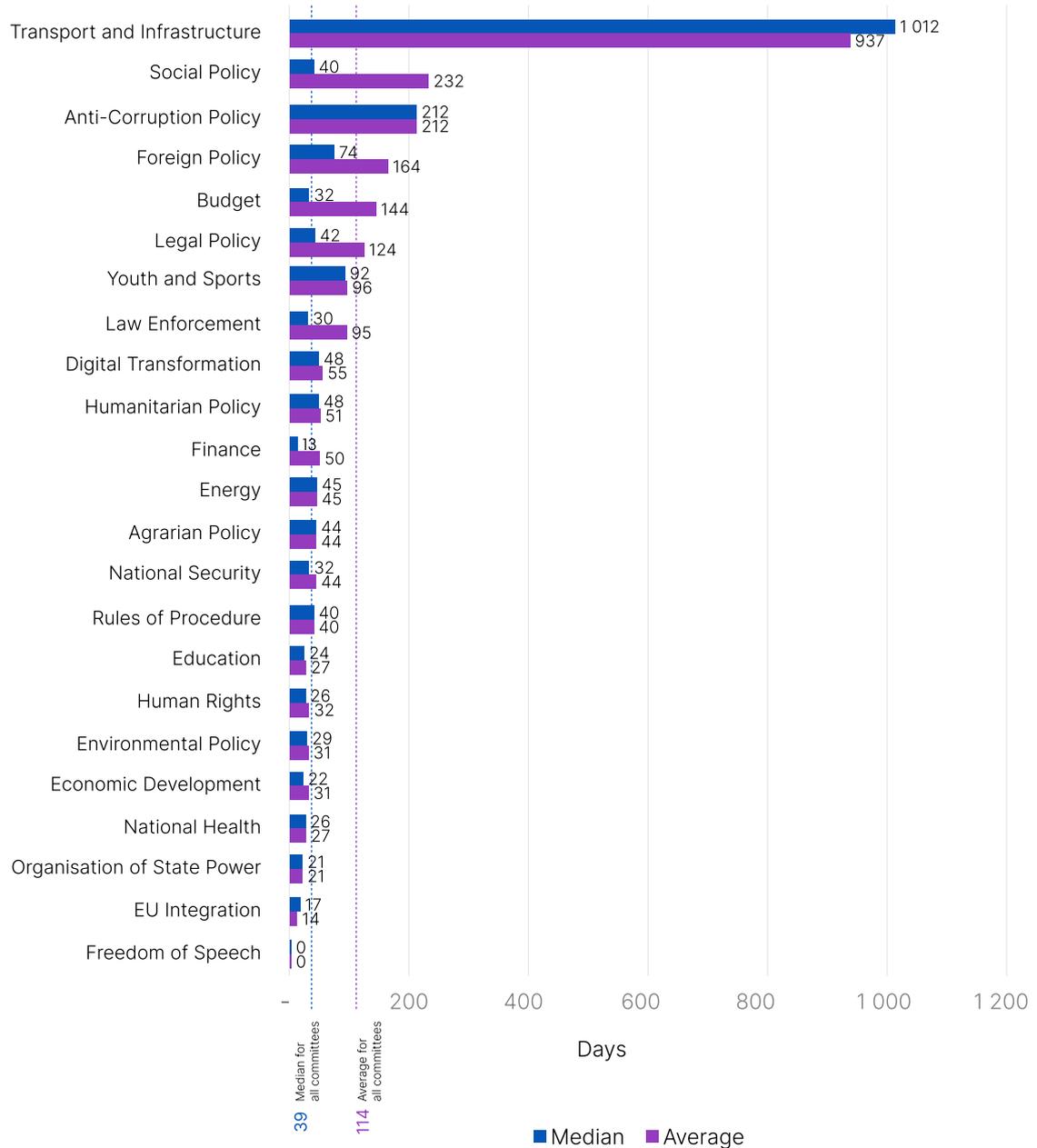
⁸ Budget Committee, Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy and Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union

⁹ The data presented relate only to cases where opinions were provided. The time between the date of draft law registration and the date of submission of the first opinion by the main committee, including opinions on inclusion in the agenda, was calculated. This type of opinion was taken into account, as the committee often considers draft laws on their merits during preliminary processing.

predictive capabilities of the speed of preliminary processing. Finally, the time required to receive the main committee’s first opinion, together with the data on the overall passage of draft laws, allows for a better understanding of the dynamics of the passage of draft laws.

On average, the committees provided their opinions for the first reading in 114 days, and half of all opinions were provided in 36 days.

Days from registration to the first opinion of the main committee



The speed of issuing opinions varies greatly from committee to committee. The difference in some cases is **60-fold**. If we compare the performance of the 12th session with that of the previous 11th session, the time for issuing the first opinion decreased for two-thirds of the committees and increased for about one-third. It was an increase of 1–2 months in most cases.

In general, the workload and the speed of issuing opinions are mostly correlated. However, this is not the case sometimes. Despite the relatively large number of opinions submitted, the Committee on Legal Policy, the Committee on Finance and the Committee on National Security were relatively quick to provide their first conclusions on draft laws. The Committee on Transport and Infrastructure, with a moderate number of opinions, took a relatively long time to provide its first opinions on draft laws.

Submitting entity	Average number of days	Median ¹⁰ number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	111	31
MPs of Ukraine	118	41
President of Ukraine	85	7

Compared to the 11th session, the average number of days for the President to provide the first committee opinion for the first reading more than doubled. The average time for submitting an opinion decreased for MPs and the Cabinet of Ministers. For the fourth session in a row, the **average time for providing first opinions on government draft laws is shorter than the average time for providing first opinions on MPs' draft laws**. At the same time, the median time for the first committee to provide an opinion on presidential draft laws is significantly shorter than the median time for the first opinion on government and MPs' draft laws. Despite the increase, the President's draft laws, receive the first committee opinions the fastest as usual, with half of such draft laws receiving their first committee opinion in less than a week.

During the 12th session, the majority of factions' draft laws received opinions twice as fast as in the 11th session on average, at about the same level as in the 10th session. However, the speed of providing first opinions, on the contrary, increased for the draft laws initiated by MPs from the Fatherland faction and the Dovira group¹¹.

¹⁰ Recall that the median is the value that divides all the data in half, meaning that half of all observations will be less than the median, and half will be more than the median.

¹¹ It should be borne in mind that indicators were calculated on the basis of less than five opinions for the Restoration of Ukraine and Dovira groups, as well as the Holos and Opposition Platform – For Life factions, and for non-factional MPs. 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. It is 5 or more opinions in other factions and groups.

Factional affiliation of the initiator	Average number of days	Median number of days
OPFL	1350	1350
Dovira	550	550
Fatherland	278	35
Government	111	31
Holos	88	60
Servant of the People	88	38
President	85	7
European Solidarity	72	79
Restoration of Ukraine	58	58
Non-factional	7	10

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

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

The speed at which committee opinions are submitted for the second reading¹² is less indicative due to the small number of such opinions per committee. These data¹³ should be treated with caution, but they are also worthy of attention. **10 out of 18¹⁴ committees (i.e., more than half) increased (compared to the previous 11th session) the time it took them to provide opinions for the second reading on average**, while another third reduced this time.

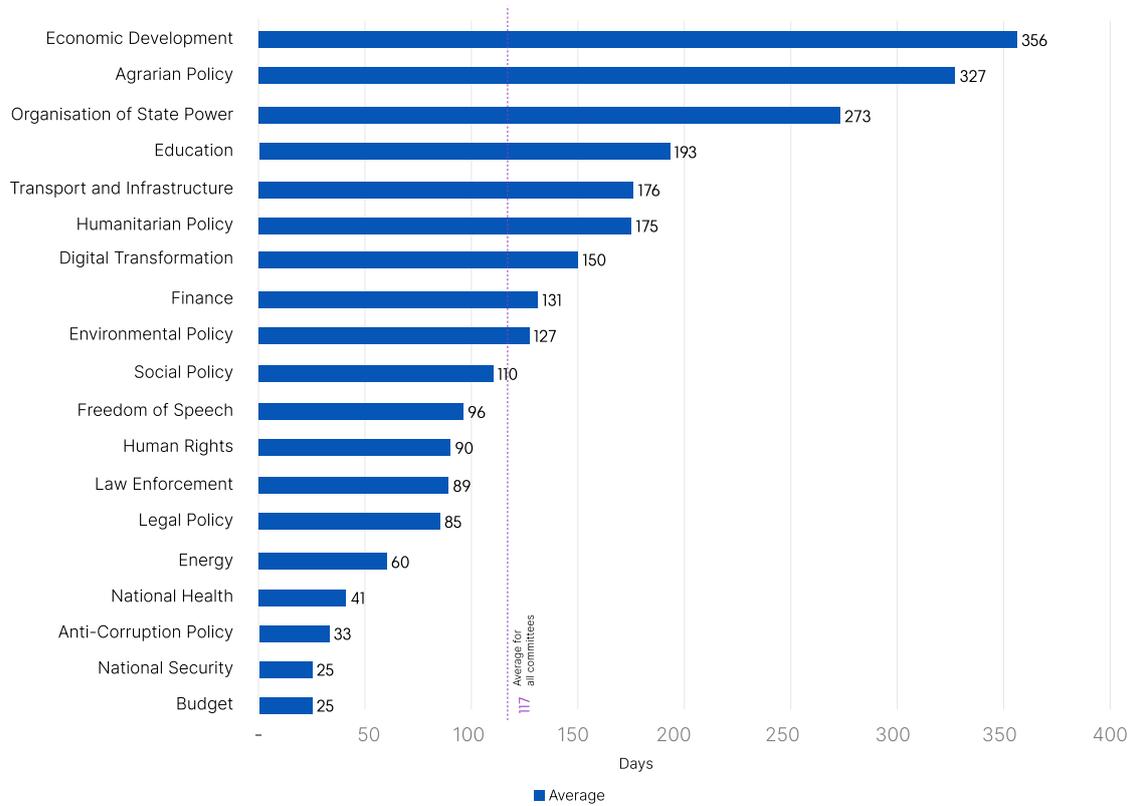
The average time from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to the provision of the opinion for the second reading was 117 days, slightly less than in the 11th session. Half of all opinions were provided in less than 76 days, significantly longer than in the 11th session. In other words, the speed at which the committee processes draft laws for the second reading is not very different from the speed at which they are processed for the first reading.

¹² The number of days between the date the draft law was adopted in the first reading and the date the committee submitted its first opinion for the second reading was calculated (although there may be several opinions).

¹³ Due to the small number of opinions for the second reading, only the average is used here. Only 7 committees submitted 5 or more opinions for the second reading in the 12th session.

¹⁴ Another 5 committees did not provide any opinion for the second reading.

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



Initiator	Average number of days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	147
MPs of Ukraine	109
President of Ukraine ¹⁵	45

The speed of providing the first committee opinion for the second reading shows that the average time for providing opinions on governmental draft laws increased (by 21 days), while the average time for MPs' draft laws decreased (by 15 days). The time it took for members of the Servant of the People faction to submit the first committee opinion for the second reading also decreased (by 31 days).

¹⁵ During the 12th session, the committees provided only three opinions on draft laws of the President of Ukraine for the second reading. Therefore, this entity is highlighted in grey in the table.

Affiliation of the initiator ¹⁶	Average number of days
Non-factional	408
Government	147
Servant of the People	99
European Solidarity	98
Holos	59
President of Ukraine	45

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

Time from registration of laws to their adoption

The average time for adopting laws, regardless of the reading, is 254 days, with a median of 129 days (i.e., half of draft laws were adopted in more than 129 days and half in a shorter period of time).

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

Session	Average number of days	Median number of days
1-2 sessions	26	21.5
session 3	60	32
session 4	75	69
session 5	81	65
session 6	102	72
session 7 (6 months of war)	64.5	8
session 8	77	24

¹⁶ It should be noted that a large number of opinions (more than 5) were submitted only on draft laws of the government and members of the Servant of the People faction. For the President and other factions and groups, there were less than 5 draft laws for which opinions were submitted. They are highlighted in grey in the table. For these categories, this value can be explained by coincidence.

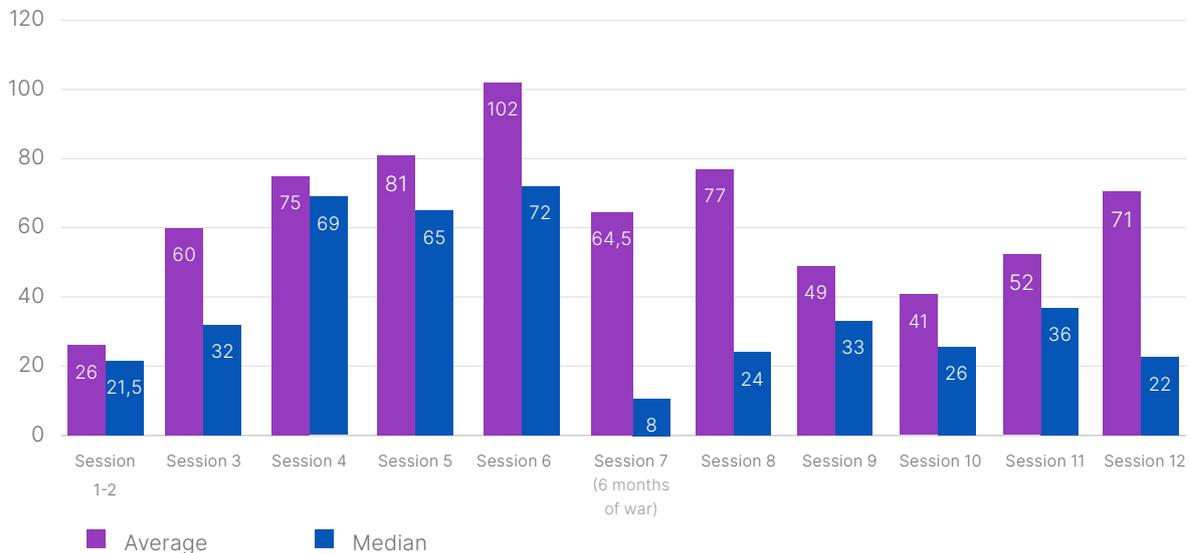
session 9	49	33
session 10	41	26
session 11	52	36
session 12	71	22

The time required to pass 70 per cent of the draft laws in their entirety in the first reading slightly decreased. At the same time, the time required for the most time-consuming draft laws to be adopted increased. As a result, the median time decreased, but the average time increased compared to the 11th session.

All (except for one) draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety were registered after May 2024. The exception is 1 draft law registered in November 2022. This trend is generally in line with the standard logic of using the first reading as a fast track for adopting the most urgent draft laws.

The experimental indicator “growth rate” increased to about two days, which means that the time required to pass a draft law in its entirety and in the first reading has almost linearly increased. The growth rate is calculated as the average difference in deciles¹⁷ between the number of days from registration to adoption for the 11th and 10th sessions and the number of days from registration to adoption for the 12th and 11th sessions.¹⁸

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

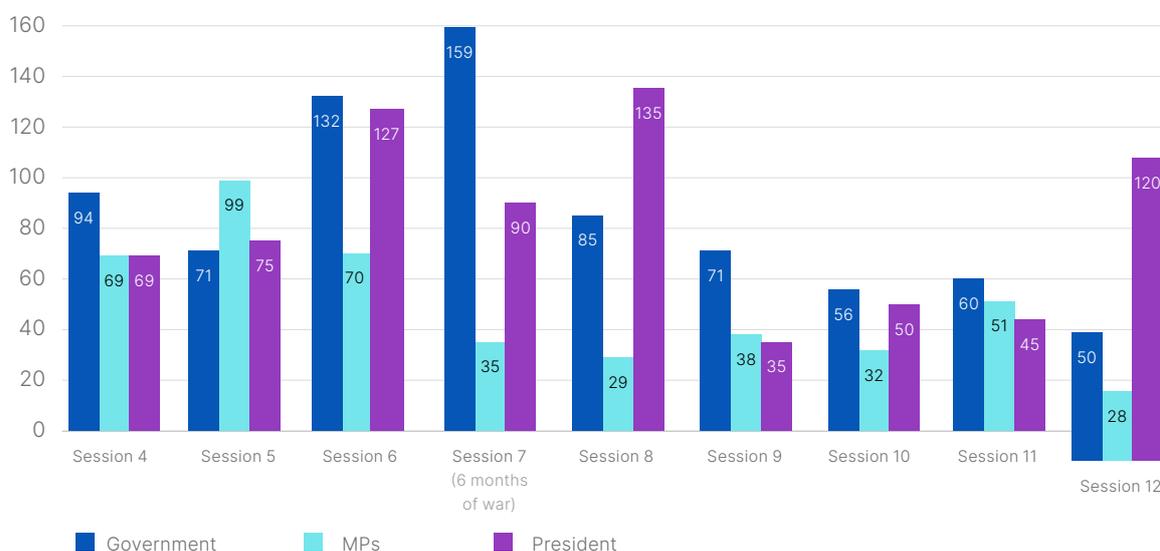


¹⁷ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quantile>

¹⁸ In other words, the pace describes the rate of increase in the time for adoption. For example, imagine that the average time for passing draft laws increased by 10 days between the first and second sessions, while the increase was 7 days between the second and third sessions. Then the indicator, which is called the pace here, would be -3 days, meaning that the growth slowed down. If the increase between the 2nd and 3rd sessions was 15 days, the pace would be five days, which would mean that the growth accelerated.

Initiating entity	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	50	30
MPs of Ukraine	28 (19 for the Servant of the People faction)	18 (18 for the Servant of the People faction)
President of Ukraine	120	22

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



10 governmental, 10 parliamentary and 13 presidential draft laws were adopted in the first reading and in their entirety. Not all governmental draft laws were ratifications only (as in the 9th and 10th sessions); some ordinary laws were added to them during the 12th session. At the same time, all presidential draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety were decrees and ratifications.

The time it took for governmental draft laws to pass from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety decreased, demonstrating the highest speed of passage in the 4th–12th sessions of the 9th convocation. Compared to the 11th session, the average time for passing parliamentary draft laws decreased significantly (by 23 days) and is also the fastest in the 4th–12th sessions of the 9th convocation.

It is interesting to note that the average term for presidential draft laws increased, while the median term decreased by 9 days. This means that some presidential draft laws passed faster from registration to adoption in the first reading and in their entirety, but the average time increased due to the consideration of a certain number of old draft laws. Overall, the average passage time for presidential initiatives is one of the highest for the 4th–12th sessions of the 9th convocation. However, all these initiatives are decrees and ratifications.

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

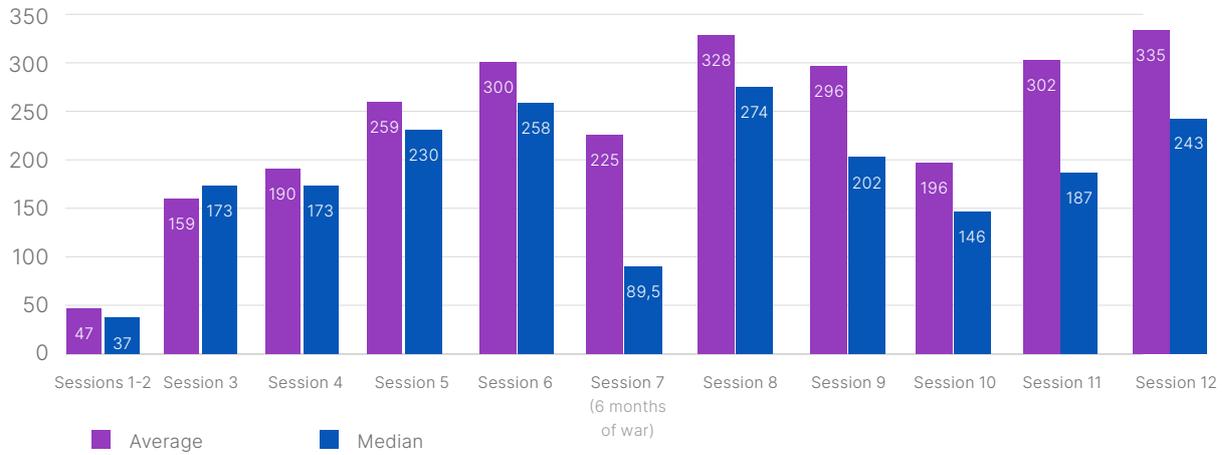
Time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety

Session	Average number of days	Median number of days
sessions 1–2	47	37
session 3	159	173
session 4	190	173
session 5	259	230
session 6	300	258
session 7 (6 months of war)	225	89.5
session 8	328	274
session 9	296	202
session 10	196	146
session 11	302	187
session 12	335	243

During the 12th session, the passage time of draft laws from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety continued to increase. On average, the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety increased by 33 days compared to the 11th session and 139 days compared to the 10th session. The median value increased by 55 days compared to the 11th session. Not all draft laws increased in terms of the timeframe. The timeframe for 30% of the fastest draft laws decreased by 5–13 days (compared to the 11th session). For the remaining 70% of draft laws, the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in their entirety increased by up to 124 days in some cases. Only 5 out of 75 (7%) draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety were registered by 24 February 2022. This means that during the 12th session, the laws that were in line with the martial law agenda were mostly adopted. Such indicators show that during the 6 sessions of martial law, the Verkhovna Rada actually developed a new agenda with a new volume of draft laws, but during the three years of martial law, so many of these draft laws have been pending that now the Ukrainian parliament is considering them for the longest time of the entire 9th convocation [on average].

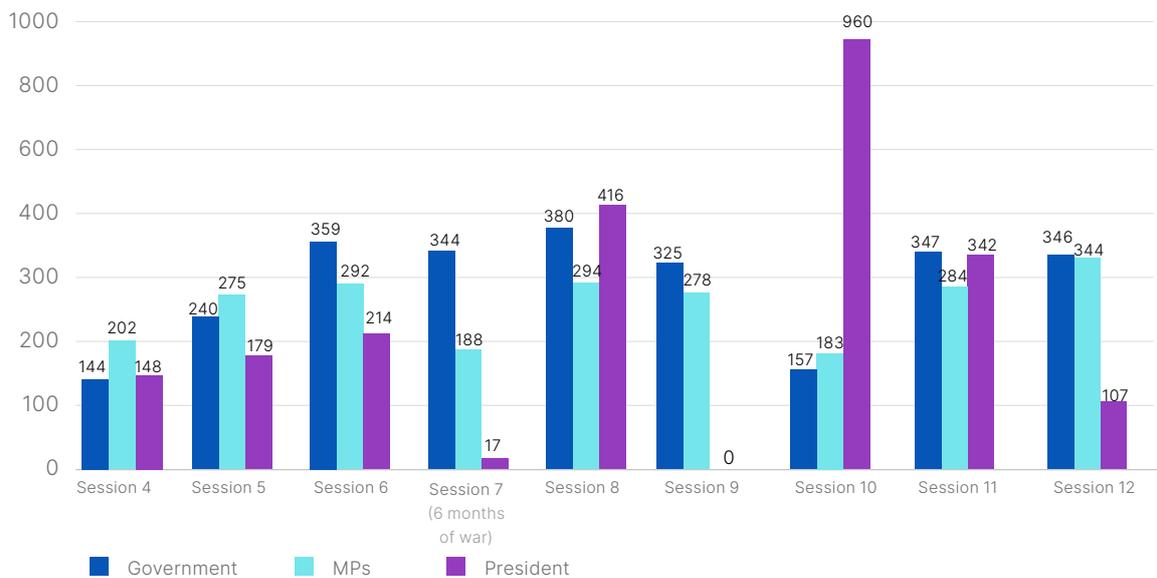
The growth rate of the time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in its entirety decreased and amounted to -75 days. In other words, the timeframe for adopting draft laws has increased, but the growth rate has dropped significantly.

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	346	324
MPs of Ukraine	344 (346 for the Servant of the People faction)	243 (258 for the Servant of the People faction)
President of Ukraine ¹⁹	107	127

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



¹⁹ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted only 3 presidential draft laws in the second reading and in their entirety during the 12th session. Therefore, this entity is highlighted in grey in the table.

The **governmental draft laws** hardly changed (compared to the 11th session) the average time from registration to adoption in the second reading and in entirety, and they still **go through this process the slowest among all subjects of legislative initiative**. At the same time, MPs' draft laws were adopted, on average, 60 days slower than in the 11th session. As a result, the average time for the adoption of governmental and MPs' draft laws in the second reading and in their entirety has equalised and is now almost a year.

Three presidential draft laws were adopted in the second reading during the 12th session. The time from registration to adoption in the second reading during this session was one of the shortest for the 9th convocation.

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

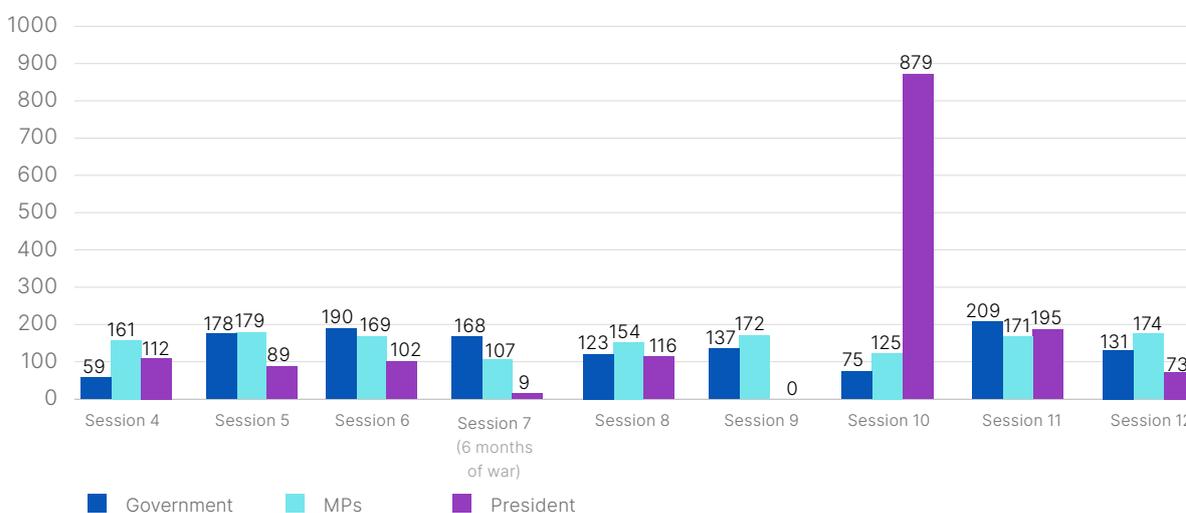
The period between the first reading of the draft law and its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety

Session	Average number of days	Median number of days
session 4	93	75.5
session 5	130	91
session 6	168	148
session 7 (6 months of war)	121	38
session 8	141	57
session 9	159	97
session 10	133	90
session 11	181	75
session 12	156	92

The time between adoption in the first reading and the second readings and in their entirety for the draft laws passed during the 12th session showed unusual dynamics. Compared to the 11th session, it remained almost unchanged for 40% of draft laws, increased for about 30% (by 12–55 days) and decreased for 20% of the slowest draft laws (by 89–161 days). However, the passage of such draft laws was accelerated by 25 days on average, meaning that the speed of processing draft laws increased on average.

Initiating entity	Average number of days	Median number of days
Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	131	168
MPs of Ukraine	174 (172 for the Servant of the People faction)	64 (64 for the Servant of the People faction)
President of Ukraine ²⁰	73	92

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



The process of passing draft laws from the first to the second readings and in their entirety during the 12th session returned to the trends of the 8th, 9th and 10th sessions in terms of the ratio of time spent on MPs’ and governmental draft laws, as now governmental draft laws are passing faster than MPs’ legislative initiatives. Compared to the 11th session, the respective time for passing governmental draft laws decreased by 78 days (i.e., 37%), while the increase for MPs’ draft laws was not significant and amounted to 3 days compared to the 11th session.

These data show that the increase in the time required to pass a draft law in the second reading and in its entirety is not so much due to the delay in their processing for the second reading as to the fact that these draft laws had been waiting for consideration in the first reading in the session hall for a long time.

Annex 5 contains the 5 longest draft laws in terms of the number of days from adoption of the draft law in the second reading and in its entirety, as well as the 5 fastest draft laws.

²⁰ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted only 3 presidential draft laws in the second reading and in their entirety during the 12th session. Therefore, this entity is highlighted in grey in the table.

Plenary time

Summary

- ▶ During the 12th session, 65 hours were spent considering draft laws in the session hall, the highest number for autumn sessions since the beginning of the full-scale invasion.
- ▶ 92% of the plenary time in the 12th session was spent on consideration of draft laws initiated by the Servant of the People faction, the government and the President. This share remains consistently high (over 90%) throughout the 9th convocation, with a record high of 98.5% during the 10th session.
- ▶ Draft laws with both readings in the 12th session were considered for an average of 77 minutes. The time for consideration of such draft laws continued to increase during the 12th session, while the 12th session exceeded the time before the full-scale invasion in terms of the median time (28 minutes).

Starting from the 10th session, the number of discussions of draft laws in the session hall has been increasing, and they have been lasting longer. Now, the indicators are increasingly reminiscent of the times before the full-scale invasion. There are three main reasons for this: (1) a decrease in the number of draft laws with consensus support, (2) a gradual easing of information restrictions on the coverage of the Verkhovna Rada's work, and (3) a gradual increase in the perception of security in the Parliament building.

Only data related to the time spent considering draft laws were used to calculate the plenary time indicators. The time for registration, the announcement of inquiries, "government hour", resolutions, etc., was not included.

Plenary time

MPs spent more than 65 hours of plenary time considering draft laws during the 12th session. This is much more than in the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th sessions. Therefore, the total amount of plenary time is gradually returning to the normal regime.

The amount of plenary time spent began to gradually increase starting from the 9th session. Thus, MPs spent 51 hours of plenary time considering draft laws during the 9th session, almost as much as they did during the 7th session (the first six months of the war). The 10th session saw an increase in plenary time (60 hours), 31 hours more than the previous autumn 8th session. In general, it is interesting that during the 10th session (the autumn session, which lasts shorter than the spring one), there was more plenary time than during the 9th session. The 11th session lasted 76 hours, which is 1.5 times more than the 9th session. The time spent on the consideration of draft laws during the 11th session is the highest during the

full-scale invasion. A total of 65 hours were spent in the 12th session, which is the highest for an autumn session during the full-scale invasion.

The trend of a gradual increase in the time spent on consideration of draft laws in the session hall shows that with each new session, the Verkhovna Rada's working regime is increasingly resembling the pre-martial law era: there are more discussions, and they are becoming more time-consuming. However, the pre-war figures are sometimes 1.5 to 2 times higher than the highest performance indicators of the Verkhovna Rada during martial law.

During the 12th session, 92% of the plenary time was devoted to considering draft laws of the government, namely the Servant of the People faction, the government, and the President. The situation when the discussion of the government's draft laws takes up more than 90% of the plenary time has been maintained almost throughout the entire 9th convocation (93% for the 9th session and 91.6% for the 11th session). The 10th session showed record results, when 98.5% of the total plenary time was spent on the government's draft laws, leaving only 1.5% for the minority's draft laws. It is important to note that one of the peculiarities of the 10th session was the record-low number of laws passed (for the entire 9th convocation).

Plenary time for laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety (seconds)

Session	Average	Median
4	509 sec (8.5 min)	182 sec (3 min)
5	391 sec (6.5 min)	118 sec (2 min)
6	701 sec (12 min)	901 sec (15 min)
7	151 sec (2.5 min)	42 sec (0.7 min)
8	260 sec (4 min)	86 sec (1.5 min)
9	302 sec (5 min)	134 sec (2 min)
10	418 sec (7 min)	185 sec (3 min)
11	612 sec (10 min)	668 sec (11 min)
12	536 sec (9 min)	568 sec (9.5 min)

The amount of plenary time spent discussing draft laws gradually increased starting from the 7th session. The time spent on the consideration of draft laws in the first reading gradually increased until the 11th session, while the 12th session showed a certain decrease in both the average and median time.

During martial law, each new session demonstrated that the Verkhovna Rada was gradually returning to its pre-war work format. The results for the 11th and 12th sessions had generally

reached the level that existed before the full-scale invasion when about half of the relevant draft laws were considered for more than 10 minutes.

Plenary time for laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety (the first reading of which was before the 12th session)

Session	Average	Median
4	1,003 sec (17 min)	258 sec (4 min)
5	3,527 sec (59 min)	139 sec (2 min)
6	1,439 sec (24 min)	408 sec (7 min)
7	449 sec (7 min)	141 sec (2 min)
8	440 sec (7 min)	79 sec (1 min)
9	872 sec (14.5 min)	193 sec (3 min)
10	1,226 sec (20 min)	477 sec (8 min)
11	834 sec (14 min)	471 sec (8 min)
12	866 sec (14 min)	434 sec (7 min)

The time spent on draft laws that were considered only in the second reading during the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th sessions increased significantly compared to the 7th and 8th sessions. The average and median for the 9th session are almost twice as high as for the 8th session. Starting from the 10th session, the speed of consideration of draft laws in the second reading began to normalise and return to the level before the full-scale invasion. The 11th and 12th sessions continued this trend. Moreover, the consideration of draft laws was even longer than before 2022 in some cases.

Plenary time for laws with both readings during the 12th session

Session	Average	Median
4	2,000 sec (33 min)	1,423 sec (24 min)
5	2,178 sec (36 min)	1,178 sec (20 min)
6	4,851 sec (81 min)	1,556 sec (26 min)
7	798 sec (13 min)	367 sec (6 min)

8	910 sec (15 min)	285 sec (5 min)
9	920 sec (15 min)	547 sec (9 min)
10	4,830 sec (80 min)	830 sec (14 min)
11	1,714 sec (29 min)	881 sec (15 min)
12	4,593 sec (77 min)	1,705 sec (28 min)

The draft laws with both readings in the 9th session were considered for a slightly longer period of time than the 7th and 8th sessions. The 10th, 11th, and 12th sessions continued this growth. As of the 10th session, the average time spent on the draft laws with both readings was 80 minutes, the second-highest result in the 9th convocation (the highest result in the 6th session was 81 minutes). During the 12th session, the increase in the time for consideration of such draft laws continued, while the 12th session exceeded even the time before the full-scale invasion by many indicators (including the median).

Thus, the format of considering draft laws in the session hall in the 10th, 11th, and 12th sessions is increasingly reminiscent of the times before the full-scale invasion and even exceeds them by some indicators. The reasons for the gradual increase in the time spent on consideration of draft laws may be as follows:

1. First, a decreased number of draft laws with consensus support.
2. Second, the gradual easing of existing information restrictions. In 2024, steps were taken to return to open meetings, and journalists were allowed to enter the parliament. As a result, there are more opportunities to use the parliamentary rostrum to communicate political positions on draft laws, which was meaningless given the parliament's information closure.
3. Third, the image of Russian sabotage and reconnaissance groups in the centre of Kyiv and Russian troops on its outskirts began to fade, so the perception of the level of security in the Parliament building changed.

The top 5 longest draft laws in terms of the amount of time they took to be considered in the plenary hall can be found in Annex 6.

Committees

Summary

- ▶ The busiest committees are the Committee on Legal Policy (44 opinions submitted), the Committee on Law Enforcement (36 opinions) and the Committee on National Security (35 opinions).
- ▶ The Committee on Social Policy and the Committee on Legal Policy each have more than two draft laws and opinions per MP. The workload (the number of opinions provided) does not exceed 0.5 per MP in 9 committees.
- ▶ The Committee on National Security was the leader in terms of the number of meetings (as in the 10th session), with 30 meetings; it was the only committee that held more than 20 meetings in the 12th session.

During the 12th session, the Verkhovna Rada committees continued to work despite a gradual decrease in the number of registered draft laws. The total number of opinions provided decreased (from 305 in the 10th session to 292 in the 12th). The Committees on Legal Policy, Law Enforcement, and National Security had the largest workload in terms of the number of opinions provided. Despite the relatively low workload in the legislative process, some committees were actively involved in the oversight function. The uneven workload distribution between the committees, which sometimes differs by a factor of 22, raises the issue of redistribution of responsibilities or the composition of MPs and secretariat staff in the committees.

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

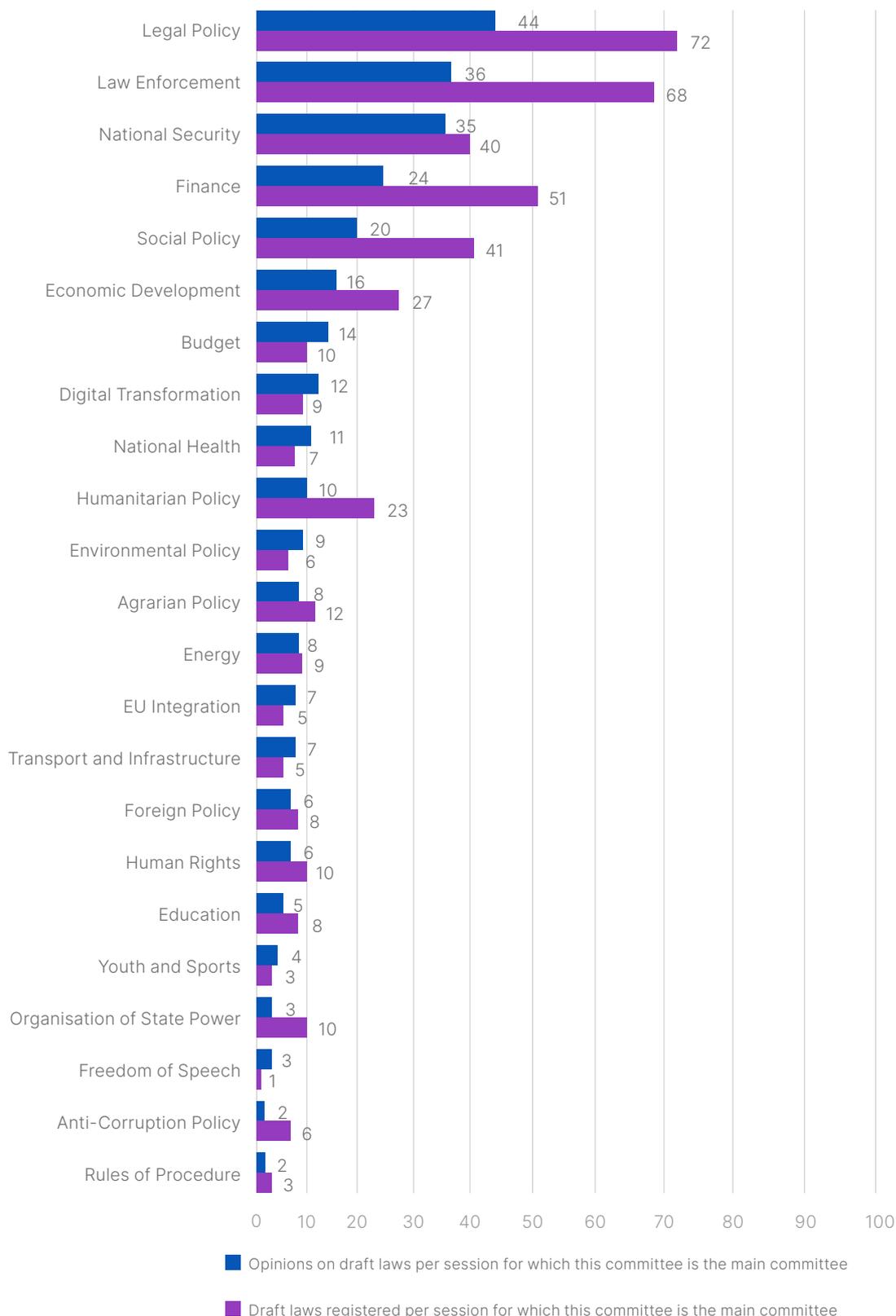
Workload on committees

When considering the workload on the committees, it should be borne in mind that this monitoring **calculates the workload primarily based on the number of opinions from the main committees**. These methods are used due to the availability of data (open data format). Specifically, the Verkhovna Rada website constantly provides information on the opinions of the main committees, which are regularly updated and cover all opinions of the main committees. However, the committees **perform many other functions and tasks in addition to providing opinions of the main committees**. Three committees²¹ are required to provide mandatory opinions on all draft laws; committees may be tasked with preparing opinions as auxiliary committees; committees consider and take decisions on the oversight function; they consider

²¹ Budget Committee, Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy and Committee on EU Integration

letters and appeals; hold conferences, round tables, etc. These limitations should be considered when reviewing the information below, which is based on the opinions of the main committees.

Workload of the main committees



This diagram has two indicators. First, it shows the number of opinions²² provided by the main committees. The second indicator is the number of draft laws assigned to each committee as the main committee in accordance with the subject of the committees' jurisdiction. Together, they show the distribution of legislative work on the preliminary processing of draft laws.

The Committee on Legal Policy has the highest workload in terms of the number of opinions provided (44 opinions) and the highest potential workload in terms of the largest number of draft laws assigned (72 draft laws). The Committee on Law Enforcement ranks second, with 36 opinions and a potential workload of 68 draft laws. These two committees are consistently among the busiest in terms of legislative work. Three other committees also have a high workload (compared to other committees): the Committee on National Security (35 opinions), the Committee on Finance (24 opinions), and the Committee on Social Policy (20 opinions). This is a relatively standard distribution for the last six sessions of martial law (the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th sessions).

The total number of opinions submitted decreased by 13 (from 305 in the 10th session to 292 in the 12th session). This reflects the general trend of a decrease in the number of registered draft laws (and, consequently, opinions on them).

The following committees reduced the number of opinions provided during the 12th session the most (compared to the same autumn 10th session): the Committee on Finance (-30 submitted opinions), the Committee on the Organisation of State Power (-21 submitted opinions) and the Committee on Education and Science (-14 submitted opinions).

At the same time, the number of opinions provided by some committees increased compared to the 10th session. The largest increase in the number of opinions provided (compared to the 10th session) was in the Committee on Legal Policy (+19 opinions), the Committee on Law Enforcement (+13 opinions), and the Committee on National Security (+12 opinions).

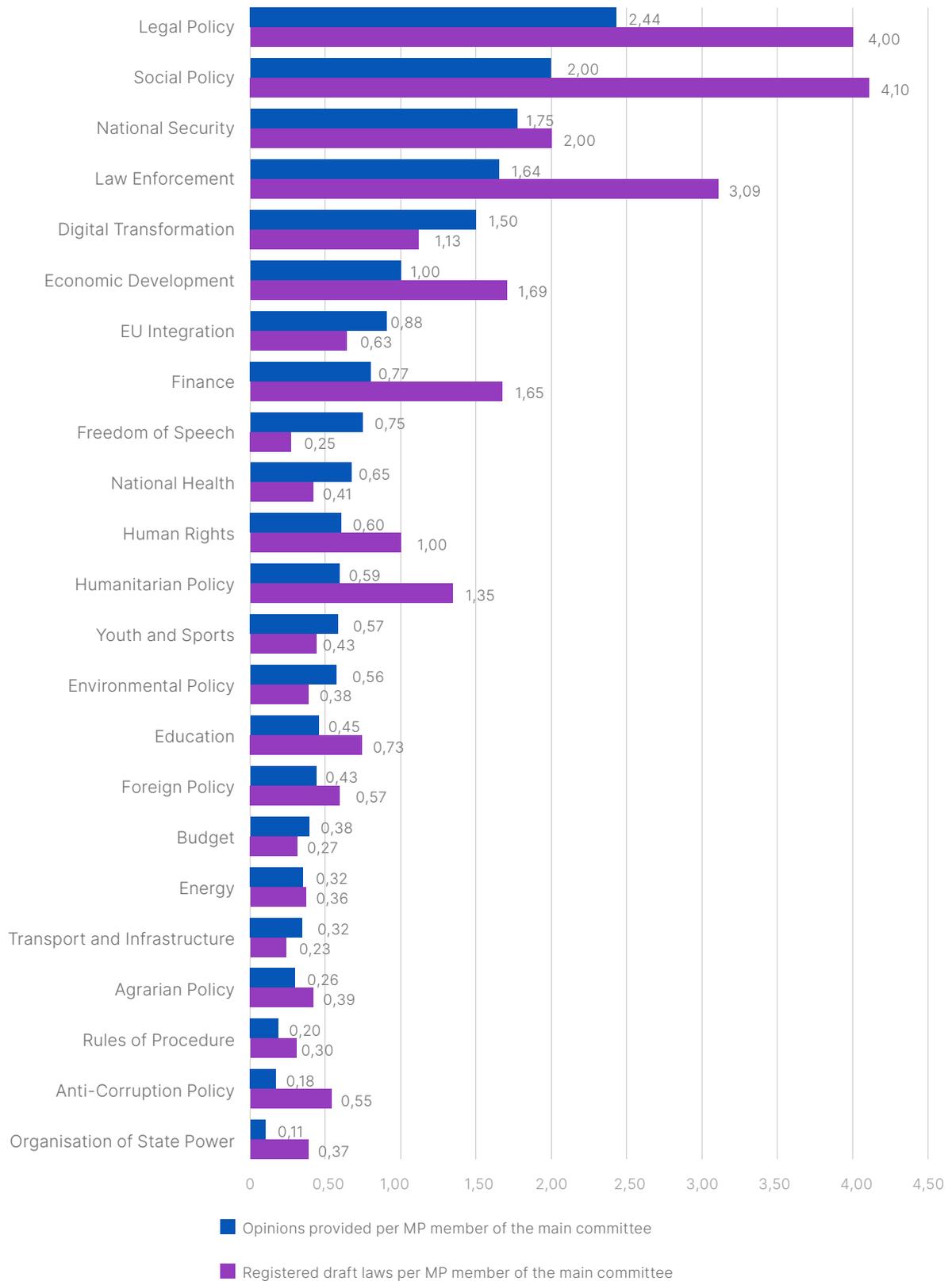
Compared to the 10th session, the volume of draft laws assigned to committees changed in the range from -25 to +30 assigned draft laws.

The potential workload (number of assigned draft laws) of the committees during the 12th session decreased the most (compared to the 10th session) for the Committee on Finance (-25 assigned draft laws) and the Committee on Budget (-15 assigned draft laws). For the Committee on Finance, these data correlate with and explain the decrease in the number of opinions provided, while the Committee on Budget increased the number of opinions provided by 1, despite the decrease in the number of registered draft laws by 15. This can be explained by the processing of draft laws registered during previous sessions.

The potential workload of the committees increased for the following three committees: the Committee on Legal Policy (+30 assigned draft laws), the Committee on Social Policy (+18 assigned draft laws) and the Committee on Humanitarian Policy (+15 assigned draft laws).

²² The number of opinions does not equal the number of draft laws considered. The Committee can provide several opinions on one draft law, e.g., an opinion on its inclusion in the agenda, opinions for the first and second readings, for repeated readings, on the text of the draft law to be submitted as a substitute, etc.

Workload per MP of the main committees



The above diagram, which shows the number of opinions or registered draft laws per MP – committee member – also measures the workload on the committees²³. Two committees have a heavy workload (the number of both draft laws assigned and opinions submitted exceeds 2 per MP), namely the Committee on Social Policy (4.1 draft laws per MP and 2 opinions per MP) and the Committee on Legal Policy (4 draft laws and 2.44 opinions per MP). Three other committees have a workload of more than 1.5 opinions per MP. These are the Committee on Law Enforcement, the Committee on National Security and the Committee on Digital Transformation. For most committees, the absolute workload (the number of opinions provided) correlates with the workload per MP committee member.

The number of opinions provided per MP did not reach 0.5 in nine committees (and this value did not reach 0.5 in nine committees in the 10th session either). The lowest number of opinions per MP is in the Committee on the Organisation of State Power (0.11 opinions per MP), the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy (0.18 opinions per MP) and the Committee on the Rules of Procedure (0.2 opinions per MP).

The 12th session and the similar 10th session have no significant difference in workload, as the difference in the number of opinions provided per MP ranges from -1.27 to +1.13. The number of assigned draft laws fluctuated a little more, ranging from -1.10 to +2.

The actual workload (i.e., the number of opinions provided per MP) decreased the most for the Committee on Education (-1.27 opinions provided per MP) and the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy (-1 opinion provided per MP). The Committee on Legal Policy saw the largest increase in its actual workload (+1.13 opinions per MP).

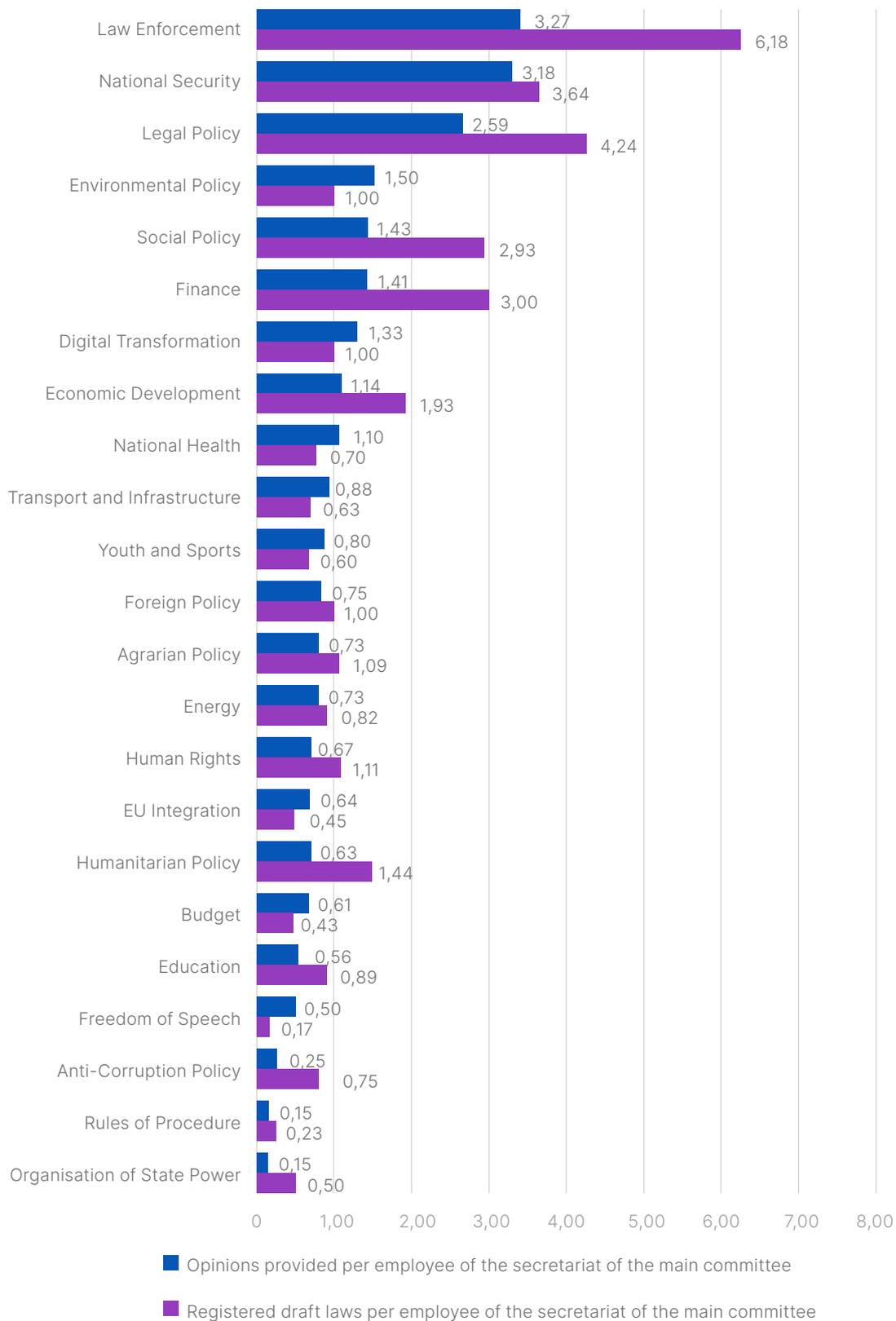
The potential workload decreased the most (compared to the 10th session) in the Committee on the Rules of Procedure (-1.10 assigned draft laws per MP). On the other hand, the potential workload of the Committee on Social Policy increased the most (+2.01 assigned draft laws per MP) and the Committee on Legal Policy (+1.79 assigned draft laws per MP).

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

If we compare the least and most busy committees, their **workload differs by a factor of 22**. This situation in the 12th session, as well as certain trends in the workload of committees that shift from session to session, make the issue of redistributing either MPs or areas of jurisdiction among committees relevant.

²³ The number of MPs in the committees changed at the end of the 12th session and during the 12th session.

Workload per employee of the secretariat of the main committee



The Committee on Law Enforcement (3.27 opinions per employee) and the Committee on National Security (3.18 opinions per employee) have a heavy workload (the number of opinions provided exceeds 3 per employee²⁴). There was only one such committee in the 10th session. In most committees, the absolute workload (number of opinions provided) correlates with the workload per secretariat staff member.

The number of opinions provided does not reach 0.5 (opinions) per secretariat staff member in three committees. These are the Committee on the Rules of Procedure (0.15 opinions per employee), the Committee on the Organisation of State Power (0.15 opinions per employee) and the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy (0.25 opinions per employee)²⁵.

The biggest decrease in the actual workload (number of opinions provided per secretariat staff member) during the 12th session (compared to the 10th session) was in the Committee on Education (-1.82 opinions provided per secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Finance (-1.59 opinions provided per secretariat staff member). The Committee on Law Enforcement (+1.36 opinions per 1 secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Legal Policy (+1.2 opinions per secretariat staff member) saw the largest increase in the actual workload.

When comparing the potential workload (number of assigned draft laws per secretariat staff member) during the 12th and the 10th sessions, the Committee on Foreign Policy showed the strongest decrease in the potential workload (-1.5 draft laws per secretariat staff member). The Committee on Legal Policy (+1.9 assigned draft laws per secretariat staff member) and the Committee on Social Policy (+1.58 assigned draft laws per 1 secretariat staff member) saw the largest increase in the potential workload.

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

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

Only one committee held more than 20 meetings in the 12th session, namely the Committee on National Security (this committee was also the leader in terms of the number of meetings in the 10th session). In addition, five other committees held 15 or more meetings. Seven committees held less than 10 meetings in the course of the 12th session. All indicators are almost the same as in the previous winter session.

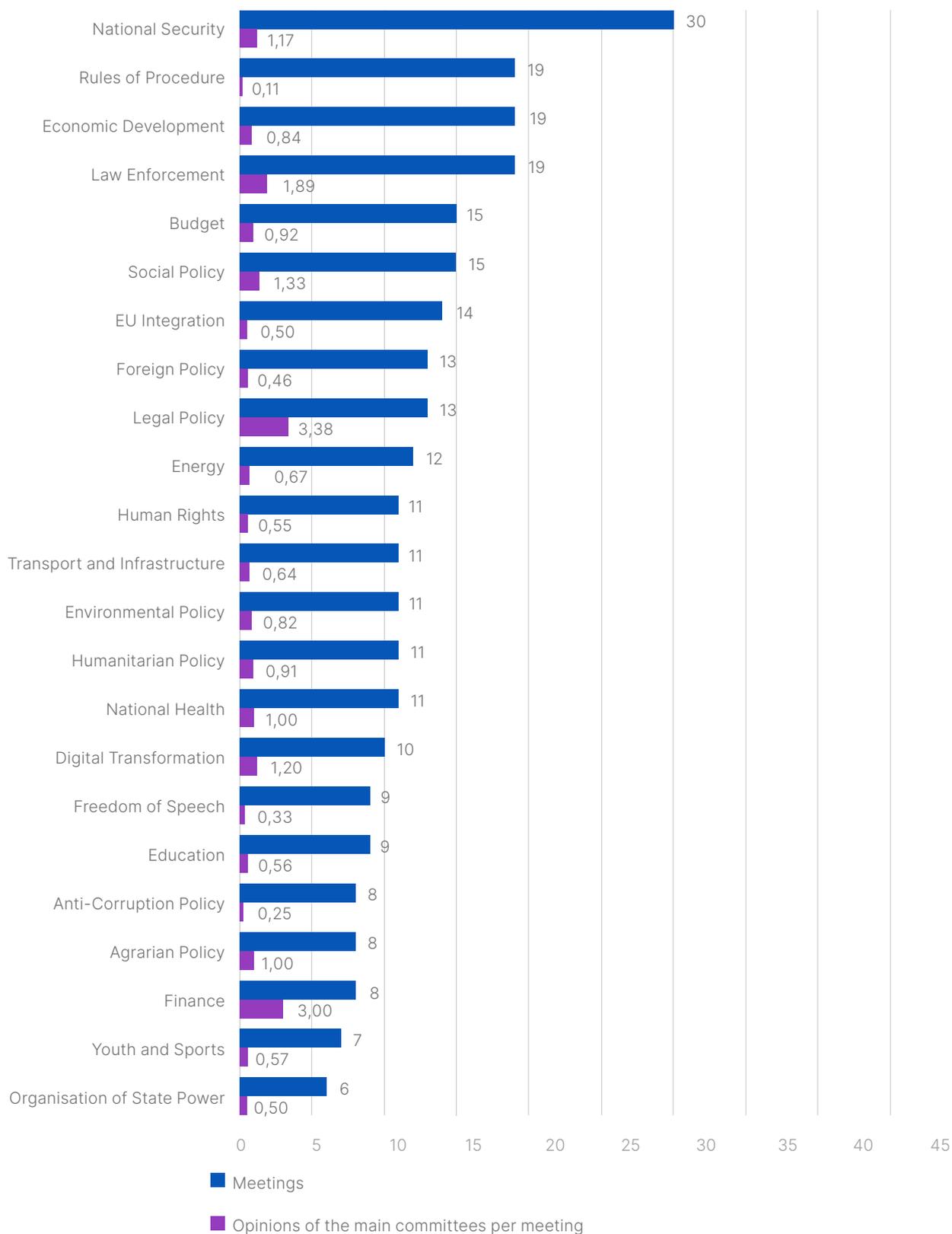
The Committee on Legal Policy is the leader in terms of the number of opinions per meeting (3.38 opinions per meeting). The Finance Committee also has close indicators – 3 conclusions

²⁴ Data as of the beginning of February 2025 were used to calculate the number of committee secretariat staff members.

²⁵ Along with its workload as the main committee, the Committee on Anti-Corruption is one of the three "mandatory committees" and, therefore, has a heavy workload in this regard.

per 1 meeting. Overall, only these two committees adopted more than two opinions per meeting. Fifteen committees (65% of all committees) adopted less than one opinion per meeting, compared to 10 for the 11th session and 11 for the 10th session.

Committee meetings and opinions of the main committees per meeting



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

The table below shows preliminary opinions on draft laws for the main committee, which allow us to see, *inter alia*, the workload of three mandatory committees: the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy, the Committee on Budget, and the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union. It is these committees that are required to provide their opinions²⁶ on all draft laws. This function may sometimes require more resources than their opinions as the main committees.

According to the data, the Committee on Humanitarian Policy (18 issues under control), the Committee on Law Enforcement (17 issues under control) and the Committee on Freedom of Speech (17 issues under control) are the most active in monitoring the implementation of laws and resolutions. Together with the data on the workload of the legislative process, these data show that the committees compensate for the relatively lower workload by more actively exercising their oversight function. Some of the committees can be called oversight committees, or at least committees with a priority oversight function. For example, the Committee on Freedom of Speech issued only 3 opinions as the main committee (even this is a high figure compared to other sessions), but it is one of the most active committees in terms of exercising its oversight function. It is worth noting the high workload of the Committees on Legal Policy and National Security, which have one of the highest indicators of the workload per MP and also have one of the highest oversight workloads.

Committee	Committee meetings held		Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions provided on draft laws to the main committee
	total	incl. off-site	total	incl. on oversight of laws and resolutions	
Committee on Agrarian and Land Policy	8	0	30	1	1
Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy	8	0	56	0	24
Budget Committee	15	0	226	8	197
Committee on Humanitarian and Information Policy	11	2	45	18	4
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	11	0	35	5	12

²⁶ We are discussing opinions on compliance with the requirements of anti-corruption legislation, budget legislation, and obligations related to European integration.

Committee	Committee meetings held		Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions provided on draft laws to the main committee
	total	incl. off-site	total	incl. on oversight of laws and resolutions	
Committee on Economic Development	19	0	54	5	1
Committee on Energy, Housing and Utilities	12	1	52	14	4
Committee on National Health, Healthcare and Insurance	11	0	37	12	4
Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation	13	0	37	8	1
Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union	14	0	224	6	237
Committee on Youth and Sports	7	0	35	5	10
Committee on National Security, Defence and Intelligence	30	0	88	14	1
Committee on the Organisation of State Power, Local Self-Government, Regional Development and Urban Planning	6	0	17	0	1
Committee on Education, Science and Innovation	9	0	48	12	17
Committee on Human Rights, Deoccupation and Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations	11	0	39	1	16
Committee on Legal Policy	13	1	62	0	1

Committee	Committee meetings held		Issues considered at committee meetings		Preliminary opinions provided on draft laws to the main committee
	total	incl. off-site	total	incl. on oversight of laws and resolutions	
Committee on Law Enforcement	19	0	60	17	0
Committee on Rules of Procedure, Parliamentary Ethics and Support to the Work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine	19	0	93	1	8
Committee on Freedom of Speech	9	0	54	17	14
Committee on Social Policy and Protection of Veterans' Rights	15	0	55	3	7
Committee on Transport and Infrastructure	11	0	46	7	12
Committee on Finance, Taxation and Customs Policy	8	0	29	2	0
Committee on Digital Transformation	10	0	69	5	47
Total:	289	4	1491	161	619

Opinions on rejection

Legislative initiative entity	Number of opinions on rejection of draft laws (percentage of the total number of opinions on rejection)
MPs of Ukraine	31 (84%)
Government	6 (16%)
President	0

Factional affiliation of draft law initiators	Number of opinions on rejection of draft laws (percentage of MPs' opinions on rejection)
Servant of the People faction	21 (68%)
Fatherland faction	3 (10%)
Non-factional	2 (6%)
European Solidarity	2 (6%)
Restoration of Ukraine group	1 (3%)
Opposition Platform – For Life faction	1 (3%)
Dovira group	1 (3%)
For the Future group	0 (0%)
Holos faction	0 (0%)

37 opinions of the main committees on rejecting draft laws were prepared during the 12th session. Opinions on dismissal may indicate both the political loyalty of committees and the level (at least minimal) of quality of draft laws prepared. At the same time, almost half of the rejected draft laws are alternative ones (the share of rejected alternative draft laws was two-thirds in the 11th session). Presidential draft laws seem to meet both criteria, as they do not have any opinions on dismissal (however, it should be remembered that there were few presidential draft laws, and these are often ratifications and decrees). Governmental draft laws appear to be mostly problem-free; only six have received an opinion on dismissal. However, it is worth noting that this is twice as many as in the 11th session when more draft laws were registered. Draft laws submitted by members of the Servant of the People faction received the most opinions on dismissal, which is logical given the number of MPs and their legislative activity.

Violations of the Rules of Procedure

Summary

- ▶ The number of violations of the Rules of Procedure during the adoption of laws remained high in the 12th session, with approximately 66% of laws adopted containing violations.
- ▶ The share of violations in the second reading of draft laws increased by 7–8% compared to the 11th session.
- ▶ The total share of violations of the constitutional deadline (15 days) for the President to sign laws in the 12th session was 44%. For 38 laws, the deadline for signing (or submitting proposals) was violated, and 9 laws were neither signed nor vetoed.

The volume of legislative procedure violations during the 12th session remained high, with two-thirds of the draft laws adopted containing violations. An increase in violations occurred in the second reading, which has not been observed since the 8th session. The only positive aspect is that, for the first time since 2022, the 12th session did not increase the number of violations of the constitutional deadline (15 days) for the President to sign laws.

This section provides information on violations of the Rules of Procedure during the adoption of laws during the 12th session.

Violation of the Rules of Procedure

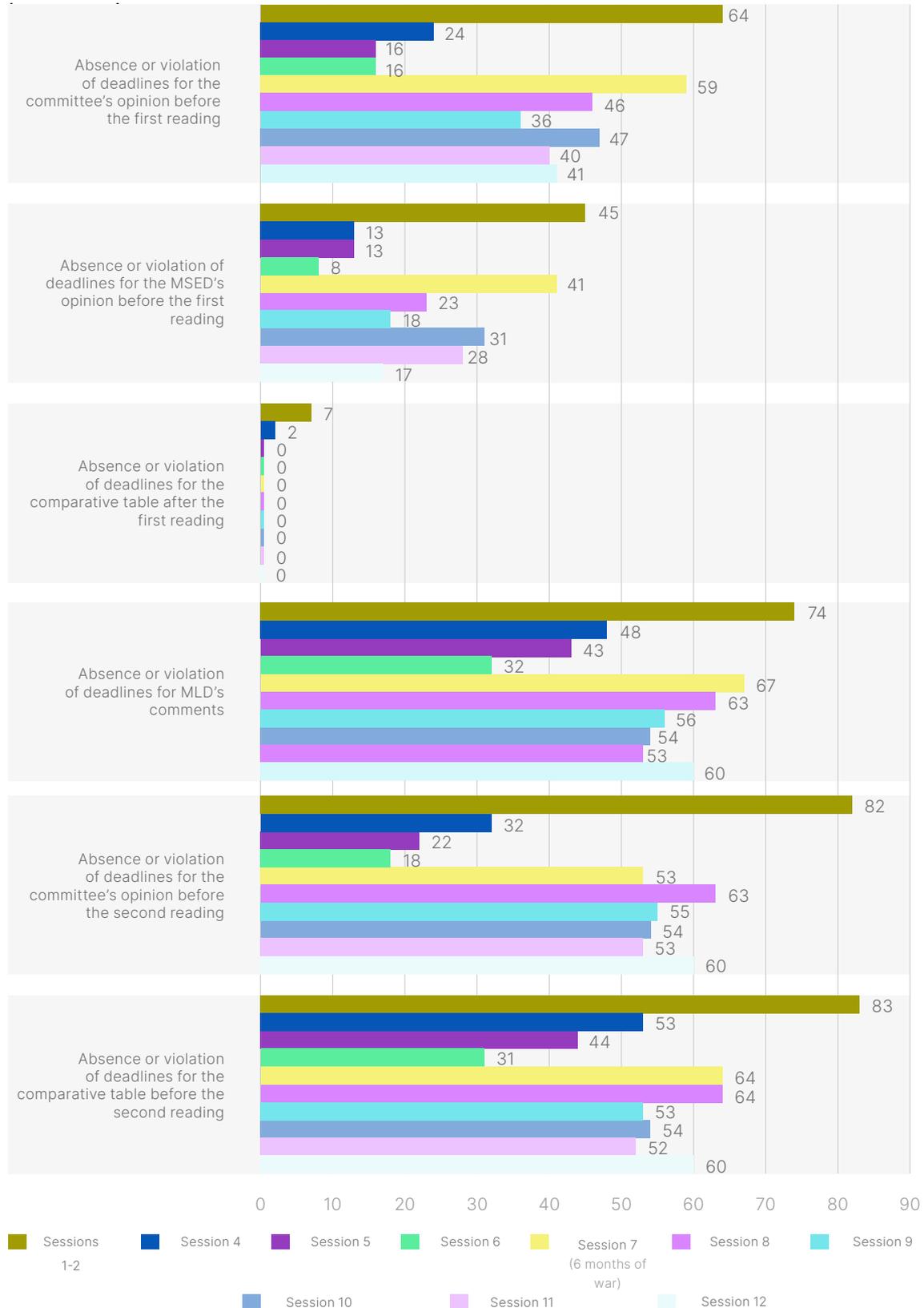
The 12th session showed a partial decrease in violations in some categories. However, the deadlines for submitting the committee's opinions for the first reading were increasingly violated. The procedures for consideration of **about 66% (two-thirds) of the laws were violated** during the 12th session.

During the 12th session, the frequency of Rules of Procedure violations varies depending on the first or second reading. For the first reading, the share of violations decreased compared to the 10th and 11th sessions, when considering the timing of the MSER's opinions. As for the other two violations of the first reading procedure, there were no significant changes, and the violations remained at the level of the 11th session.

For all three violations monitored for the second reading, the share of Rules of Procedure violations increased (by 7–8% compared to the 11th session). The volume of violations for both the first and second readings is still significantly (sometimes twice) higher than the volume of violations before 24 February 2022. The increase in the share of violations is a negative trend that has not been observed since almost the 8th session.

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

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



Violations of the Rules of Procedure concerning adopted laws in the Verkhovna Rada²⁷

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws checked for violations	Number of laws with violations
The committee's opinion on the first reading (absence of such opinions or violation of the deadlines for reviewing these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	An opinion shall be provided 7 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the first reading.	108	44 (40.7%) violations, 44 – violations of deadlines, including 1 case of adoption of the draft law on the day of submitting the opinion. All opinions are available.
MSED's opinion on the first reading ²⁸ (absence of such opinions or violation of deadlines for reviewing these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	An opinion shall be provided 7 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the first reading.	108	18 (16.6%) violations of the deadline. All opinions are available.

²⁷ Unlike the previous materials, this monitoring presents data on violations regarding vetoed and non-vetoed draft laws in one table.

²⁸ The VRU Rules of Procedure do not explicitly require that the MSED's opinion be mandatory. Along with Article 103(4), which states that no comments are made if no opinions are issued within 14 days, there are also provisions on the need for the MSED's opinions:

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

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

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws checked for violations	Number of laws with violations
Comparative table after the first reading (absence of a comparative table or creation of such a table within the deadlines that does not allow all entities to submit their amendments within the deadlines established by the Rules of Procedure)	Proposals and amendments shall be submitted to the table no earlier than 14 days after the adoption of the draft law in the first reading or 7 days in case of a shortened deadline.	75 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	No violations of deadlines. All comparative tables are available.
MLD's opinions (no MLD's opinions or violation of the terms provided for review with these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	MLD's opinions shall be submitted 10 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the second reading or 5 days in the event of a shortened deadline.	75 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	45 (60%) violations of deadlines. All opinions are available ²⁹ .
The committee's opinion for the second reading (absence of committee opinions or violation of the deadlines for reviewing these opinions before their consideration in the session hall)	Committee opinions for the second reading shall be submitted 10 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the second reading or 5 days in the event of a shortened deadline.	75 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	45 (60%) violations of deadlines. Committee opinions are available for all laws.

²⁹ No MLD's opinion on the draft state budget, but this was not considered a violation due to the established practice of not having MLD's opinion on budgets for different years.

Type of violation	Provision of the Rules of Procedure	Total number of laws checked for violations	Number of laws with violations
Comparative table on the second reading (absence of a comparative table or violation of the deadlines for reviewing these tables before their consideration in the session hall)	Tables shall be submitted 10 days before the draft law is considered in the session hall during the second reading or 5 days in the event of a shortened deadline.	75 (draft laws adopted in the second reading)	45 (60%) violations of deadlines. All tables are available.

Violation of the Constitution in the part of the deadline for signing laws

In addition to the usual violations of the Rules of Procedure, the **monitoring** included violations of the **Constitution, specifically the 15-day deadline for the President to sign adopted laws** (Article 94 of the Constitution). 108 laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the 12th session were monitored. The deadline for signing (or submitting proposals) was violated in respect of 38 laws, i.e., in 35% of cases. In addition, another nine laws were neither signed by the President, vetoed, nor received proposals (although the deadline for their signature had already passed). If we combine all these violations, they amount to almost 44% of all laws passed during the 12th session, which is almost the same as the value in the 11th session, when it was 45%. Thus, almost half of all laws passed during the 12th session violated the deadlines stipulated by the Ukrainian Constitution³⁰.

Of course, it does not matter whether the deadline was violated by two days or a hundred and two days – it is a breach in both cases. If we look at the record-breakers in this regard, the signing period of 77 days was record-breaking.

Since the introduction of martial law, the trend towards an increase in the share of constitutional procedure violations has been growing. During the first six months of martial law, 16.4% of laws violated constitutional procedures. The next 8th session demonstrated stabilisation of the work of the Verkhovna Rada and executive bodies, but the share of laws in which the President violated the constitutional deadline increased to 22.4%. This figure was already 36% during the 9th session. It rose to 42% in the course of the 10th session. During the 11th session, this figure reached 45%. This figure is 44% in the 12th session. Of course, a minimal decrease in the number of such cases is better than an increase. However, it is too early to discuss any significant changes in the existing trend of constitutional procedure violations. The volume of violations during the 12th session remains quite high, higher than during the

³⁰ The deadline for the President's signature was also violated regarding the repeatedly vetoed draft law No. 11150 of 4 April 2024, which was not included in the monitoring report due to its adoption and first veto during the 11th session.

first six months of martial law. These violations cannot be explained by regulatory and procedural shortcomings³¹, as the relevant norms have not been changed.

During the 12th session, the President vetoed and submitted proposals for five draft laws on time (without violating the 15-day deadline). The Verkhovna Rada has so far considered only one (No. 11150 of 4 April 2024), which was re-adopted with the President's proposals.

Four of the five vetoed draft laws were initiated by representatives of the Servant of the People faction, and one was initiated by the Cabinet of Ministers, 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.

³¹ According to the Constitution of Ukraine, the President has 15 days to sign the law and officially promulgate it or return it with their reasoned and formulated proposals to the Parliament. The government arranges for the expert examination of the law submitted to the President for signature, per the president's decision. According to the CMU Regulations, 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 the expediency of the President's veto. The time required to prepare generalised comments and proposals depends on the scope and complexity of the law, as well as 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 expert examination, differences in their positions on the adopted law, internal bureaucratic procedures in the ministries, technical reasons, etc. Any combination of these factors could delay the submission of the government's proposals for the law and, consequently, the President's decision to sign the law or return it to parliament.

Annexes

Annex 1

Time from registration to the first opinion of the main committee

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

Draft laws	Days from registration to the first opinion of the main committee
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On the Judiciary and the Status of Judges” to Improve the Procedure for Forming the Jury List No. 2709-1 of 16 January 2020	1726
Draft Law on the National Commission for State Regulation of Transport No. 3927 of 22 July 2020	1563
Draft Law on Measures to Streamline the System of Calculating the Subsistence Level, Social Benefits, Cash Payments and Penalties, and Fees for the Provision of Administrative Services (Administrative Fee) No. 5045 of 8 February 2021	1367
Draft Law on Measures to Streamline the System of Calculating the Subsistence Level, Social Benefits, Cash Payments and Penalties, and Fees for the Provision of Administrative Services (Administrative Fee) No. 5045-1 of 25 February 2021	1350
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine “On Transport” No. 6514 of 13 January 2022	1021

Annex 2

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

List of top 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

Draft laws	Days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading
Draft Law on Peculiarities of Selling State-Owned Stakes in the Authorised Capital of Banks No. 11474 of 12 August 2024	11
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2024" on Financial Support of the Security and Defence Sector No. 11417 of 18 July 2024	13
Draft law on Amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine, the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine and Other Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Deprivation of State Awards for Promotion or Propaganda of an Aggressor State or Other Illegal Actions Against Ukraine No. 11410 of 16 July 2024	13
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Military Service during Mobilisation by Persons Under 25 No. 11379-д of 6 August 2024	15
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine and the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on Improving the Regulation of Plea Agreements in Criminal Proceedings on Corruption and Corruption-Related Criminal Offences No. 12039 of 17 September 2024	16

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

Draft laws	Days from the first reading to the submission of the first opinion of the main committee for the second reading
Draft Law on the Legal Regime of Property of All-Union Public Associations (Organisations) of the Former USSR No. 6420 of 10 December 2021	783
Draft Law on Peculiarities of Regulation of Entrepreneurship of Certain Types of Legal Entities and Their Associations in the Transition Period No. 6013 of 9 September 2021	652
Draft Law on State Regulation of Plant Protection No. 8340 of 9 January 2023	526
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts Due to the Adoption of the Law of Ukraine "On Administrative Procedure" No. 10161 of 18 October 2023	273
Draft Law on Amendments to the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences to Strengthen Liability for the Use of Public Funds by Officials Managing and Receiving Funds of State and Local Budgets, State and Municipal Companies No. 10255 of 13 November 2023	252

Annex 3

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

List of top 6 draft laws with the shortest time from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in its entirety

Draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in its entirety
Draft Law on Approving the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Extending the Period of General Mobilisation" No. 12405 of 14 January 2025	1
Draft Law on Approving the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Extending the Period of Martial Law in Ukraine" No. 12404 of 14 January 2025	1
Draft Law on the Ratification of the Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union on the Implementation of the Credit Cooperation Mechanism for Ukraine No. 0295 of 4 December 2024	1
Draft Law on Amendments to Article 77 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine on the Application of Confiscation of Property in Case of Release from Serving a Basic Sentence with Probation No. 12243-1 of 4 December 2024	1
Draft Law on Approving the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Extending the Period of General Mobilisation" No. 12152 of 28 October 2024	1
Draft Law on Approving the Decree of the President of Ukraine "On Extending the Period of Martial Law in Ukraine" No. 12151 of 28 October 2024	

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

Draft laws adopted in the first reading and in their entirety	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the first reading and in its entirety
Draft Law on Ukraine's Accession to the Agreement on Port State Measures to Prevent, Deter and Eliminate Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing No. 0178 of 23 November 2022	729
Draft Law on Ratification of the Protocol of Amendment to the Charter of the Organisation for Democracy and Economic Development – GUAM No. 0273 of 16 May 2024	203
Draft Law on Ratification of the Amendments to the Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters No. 0272 of 16 May 2024	203
Draft Law on Ratification of the Protocol to the Agreement on the International Occasional Carriage of Passengers by Coach and Bus (INTERBUS Agreement) regarding the International Regular and Special Regular Carriage of Passengers by Coach and Bus No. 0280 of 18 June 2024	170
Draft Law on Ratification of the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Albania No. 0279 of 17 June 2024	157

Annex 4

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

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

Draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in their entirety
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On the Judiciary and the Status of Judges" regarding the Peculiarities of Taking the Qualification Exam No. 11425-д of 24 October 2024	27
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on the Procedure for Military Service under Contract by Foreigners and Stateless Persons in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the State Special Transport Service and the National Guard of Ukraine No. 12023 of 9 September 2024	31
Draft Law on Peculiarities of Selling State-Owned Stakes in the Authorised Capital of Banks No. 11474 of 12 August 2024	38
Draft Law on Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine on Peculiarities of Taxation during Martial Law No. 11416-д of 30 August 2024	41
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine and the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on Improving the Regulation of Plea Agreements in Criminal Proceedings on Corruption and Corruption-Related Criminal Offences No. 12039 of 17 September 2024	42

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

Draft laws adopted in the second reading and in their entirety	Days from registration of the draft law to its adoption in the second reading and in their entirety
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Improving the Quality of Food Products Consumed by Children No. 5148 of 25 February 2021	1287
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts on Measures Aimed at Restoring the Rights of Convicts and Persons in Custody Due to Improper Conditions of Detention No. 5652 of 11 June 2021	1259
Draft Law on Peculiarities of Regulation of Entrepreneurship of Certain Types of Legal Entities and Their Associations in the Transition Period No. 6013 of 9 September 2021	1218
Draft Law on Rating No. 5819 of 9 September 2021	1155
Draft Law on Amendments to the National Programme for the Development of the Mineral Resource Base of Ukraine until 2030 No. 6227 of 27 October 2021	1148

Annex 5

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

List of top 4 draft laws with the shortest time from adoption of the draft in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety

Draft laws	Days from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety
Draft Law on Peculiarities of Selling State-Owned Stakes in the Authorised Capital of Banks No. 11474 of 12 August 2024	14
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2024" on Financial Support of the Security and Defence Sector No. 11417 of 18 July 2024	15
Draft Law on the State Budget of Ukraine for 2025 No. 12000 of 14 September 2024	19
Draft Law on Amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine and the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on Improving the Regulation of Plea Agreements in Criminal Proceedings on Corruption and Corruption-Related Criminal Offences No. 12039 of 17 September 2024	20

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

Draft laws	Days from the adoption of the draft law in the first reading to its adoption in the second reading and in its entirety
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Improving the Quality of Food Products Consumed by Children No. 5148 of 25 February 2021	1077
Draft Law on Peculiarities of Regulation of Entrepreneurship of Certain Types of Legal Entities and Their Associations in the Transition Period No. 6013 of 9 September 2021	728
Draft Law on Rating No. 5819 of 22 July 2021	658
Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Ensuring the Rights of Persons with Disabilities to Work No. 5344-д of 18 November 2022	596
Draft Law on State Regulation of Plant Protection No. 8340 of 9 January 2023	537

Annex 6

Time of consideration of adopted draft laws in the session hall

List of 5 draft laws that took the longest to be considered in the plenary hall

Draft laws	Minutes (hours) spent on consideration of draft laws in the plenary hall
Draft Law on the State Budget of Ukraine for 2025 No. 12000 of 14 September 2024	592 min (9.9 hours)
Draft Law on Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine on Peculiarities of Taxation during Martial Law No. 11416-д of 30 August 2024	474 min (7.9 hours)
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2024" on Financial Support of the Security and Defence Sector No. 11417 of 18 July 2024	175 min (2.9 hours)
Draft Law on Amendments to the Budget Code of Ukraine on Updating and Improving Certain Provisions No. 12245 of 25 November 2024	160 min (2.7 hours)
Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On the Accounting Chamber" and Certain Other Legislative Acts of Ukraine No. 10044-д of 16 September 2024	119 min (2 hours)