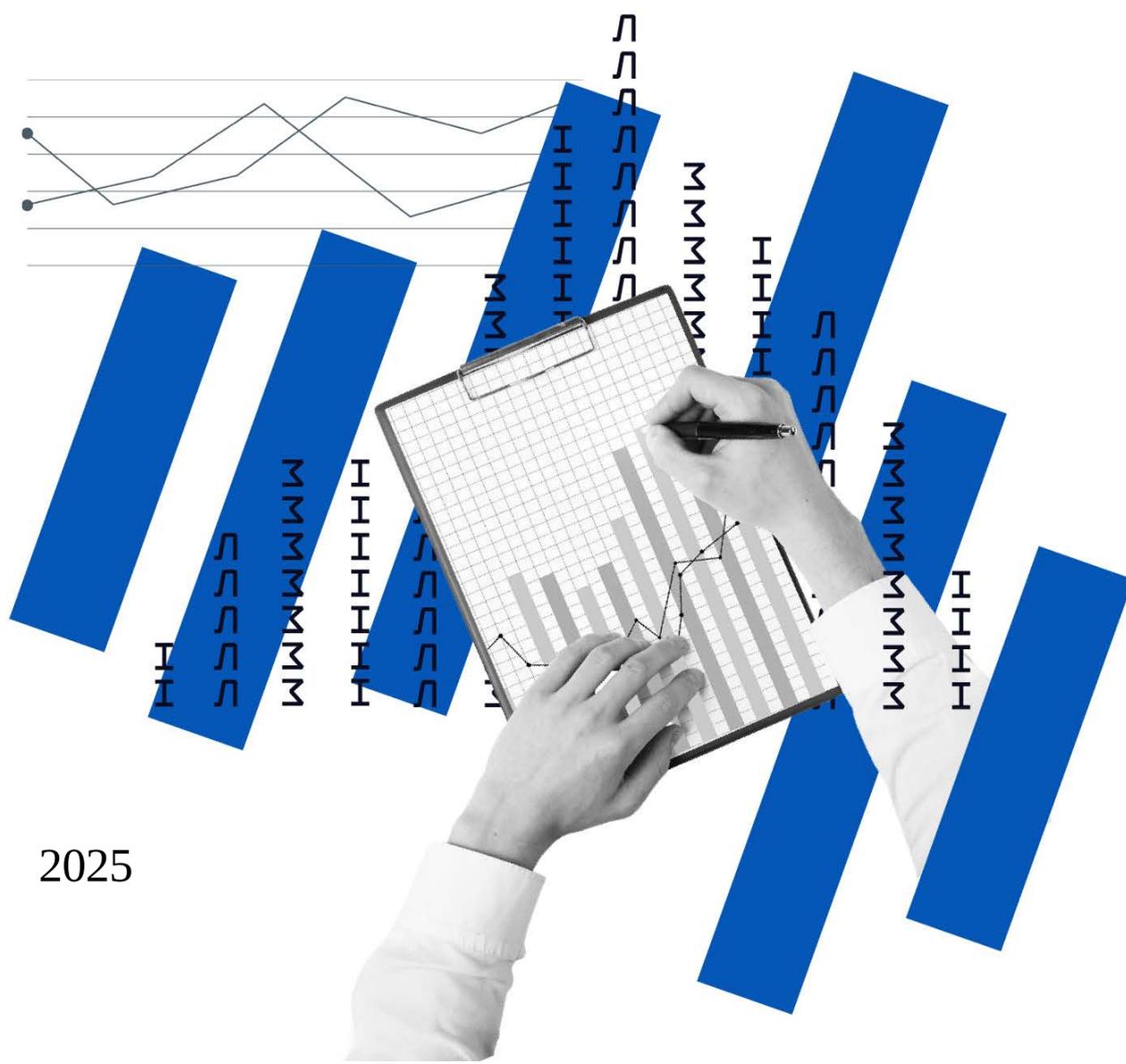


Monitoring of the Implementation of the Legislative Agenda for 2024



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Abstract

This monitoring of the implementation of the Legislative Agenda for 2024 aims to assess the effectiveness of this planning instrument for the legislative activity of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, as well as to examine the activities of parliamentary committees in the context of implementing the Legislative Agenda for 2024.

The monitoring consists of two parts:

- 1) Information on the state of implementation of the Legislative Agenda for 2024: timeliness of adoption; structure and number of tasks; registration of draft laws, and their consideration.
- 2) Activities of parliamentary committees in the context of implementing the Legislative Agenda for 2024.

List of Abbreviations

1. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine — Verkhovna Rada, VRU
2. Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine — Government, CMU
3. Legislative Agenda — Agenda, LA

Methodology

The status of implementation of the tasks set out in the Legislative Agenda for 2024 was determined based on reports submitted by the committees of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in response to public information requests.

Although the LA is approved for a calendar year, due to the specific features of the Verkhovna Rada's working schedule, it should be analysed in the context of the parliamentary session cycle. This is evidenced, first, by the timing of the adoption of the Legislative Agenda (*at the beginning of a regular session, which starts on the first Tuesday of February*) and, second, by the deadline for committees to report on its implementation (*January of the current year, at the end of a regular session*). Accordingly, the planning period of the LA covers two regular sessions of the Verkhovna Rada. At the same time, the Agenda includes tasks with deadlines in January 2024. For this reason, the monitoring of the implementation of the Legislative Agenda covers a 13-month period, from January 2024 to January 2025 inclusive.

The monitoring is conducted using the following indicators:

Completed: a law was adopted to implement the task.

Partially completed: a draft law was registered to implement the task; the draft law was considered by the relevant committee, and a conclusion was prepared during the reporting period; or the draft law was considered by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the reporting period.

Not completed: no draft law was registered to implement the task; the draft law was not considered by the committee during the reporting period (no committee conclusion); or, where a committee conclusion had been adopted earlier (prior to the inclusion of the draft law in the Agenda), the draft law was not considered by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the reporting period.

Removed from consideration: the draft law was rejected during the reporting period or was not included in the Agenda.

Summary

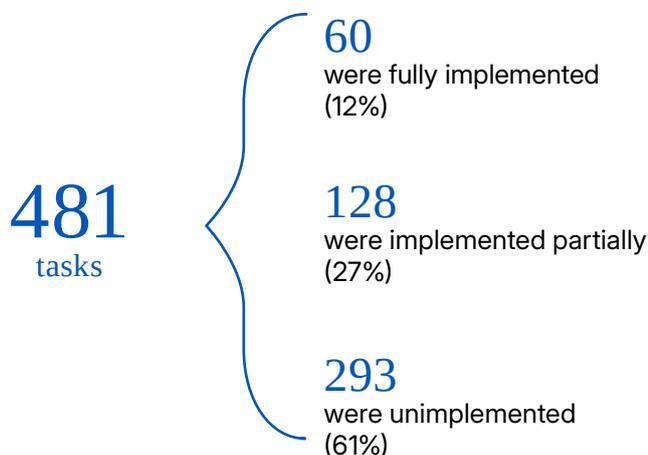
The Legislative Agenda for 2024 was adopted on time, on 6 February 2024, following the opening of the regular 11th session of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the IX convocation.

The 2024 LA consists of two sections. The first contains a list of issues aimed at fulfilling Ukraine's international legal obligations in the field of European integration, while the second covers all other issues requiring legislative regulation. Each section is divided into subsections, the titles of which correspond to the names of parliamentary committees. The Legislative Agendas for 2023 and 2024 share a similar structure, which allows for speaking of a certain standardisation in the presentation of the Agenda.

The 2024 LA includes 481 tasks, of which 95 tasks fall under the first section and are aimed at European integration. Although the number of tasks in the Agendas has been gradually decreasing since 2020 (with the exception of 2021, which contained the lowest number of tasks over the past five years — 376 tasks), implementation of the Agenda remains unrealistic, particularly when compared with the number of laws adopted over the same period.

Implementation of a task under the LA does not always mean the adoption of an already registered draft law. Some tasks envisage the drafting and registration of a new draft law. The Agenda provides for the submission of draft laws to implement 279 tasks (58% of the total), while another 202 tasks (42%) already include the numbers of draft laws that are to be adopted. The LA is government-centred, as it assigns to the Government the obligation to register new draft laws to implement 213 tasks.

Key indicators for the implementation of the 2024 LA:



The Parliament fully implemented 60 tasks, which accounts for only 12% of the total number of tasks, while a further 128 tasks were implemented only partially (27%). Accordingly, the 2024 LA was implemented at only 39%. If all indicators of the Agenda are taken into account — such as the timeliness of submitting new draft laws and compliance with deadlines for their consideration — only 11 tasks can be classified as having been fully implemented in strict accordance with the Agenda. In the first, European-integration-focused section, only 19 tasks were implemented (20% of the tasks in that section).

In order to implement 60 tasks, the Verkhovna Rada adopted 60 laws between January 2024 and January 2025, whereas a total of 236 laws were adopted during this period overall. Thus, only one

in four adopted laws was aimed at implementing the tasks set out in the 2024 LA. Of the 60 adopted laws, 17 were European integration-related. In most cases, including with regard to European integration legislation, the initiators of the laws were Members of Parliament.

A total of 293 tasks remained unimplemented, accounting for 61% of the overall number of tasks.

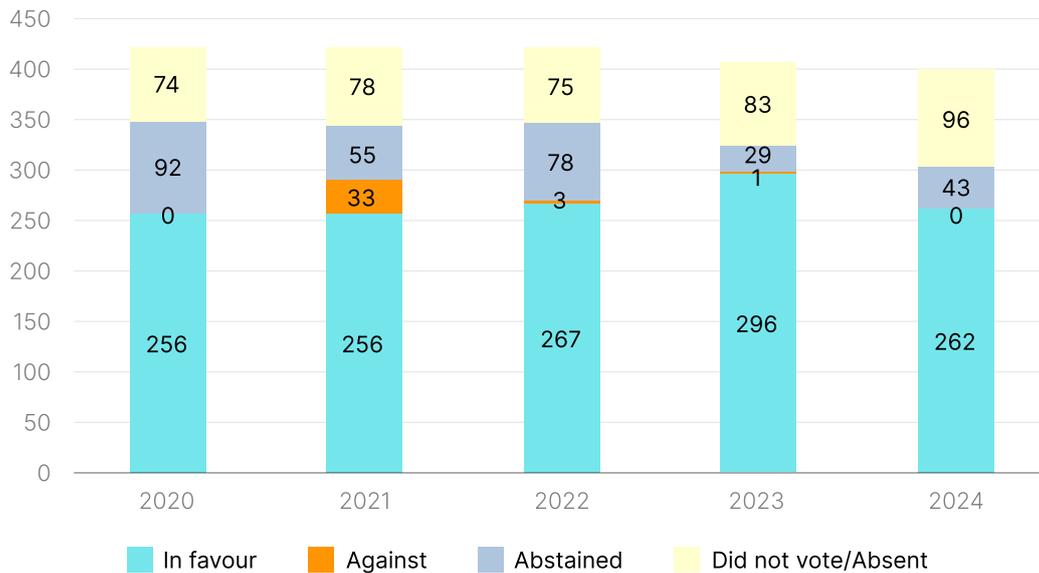
The largest number of tasks in the 2024 LA was assigned to the Committee on Law Enforcement (64 tasks). Five committees with the highest number of tasks are responsible for the implementation of half of all tasks set out in the Agenda. The Committee on Finance recorded 18 implemented tasks, the highest number among all committees. The Committee on Environmental Policy has the largest number of unimplemented tasks — 40 in total. The Committee on Rules of Procedure is the only committee that has no fully or partially implemented tasks.

The process of drafting the Legislative Agenda, its content, and the approach taken by committees to formulating proposals for inclusion in the Agenda require substantial revision to genuinely ensure that the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and its committees are capable of implementing it. An optimal solution would be to reduce the number of tasks to a level that corresponds to the actual capacity of the Verkhovna Rada to adopt laws and of committees to prepare draft laws for consideration. Improved communication with the Government is also required to address the problem of the non-submission of new draft laws, which has been one of the factors contributing to the high rate of non-implementation of the Agenda.

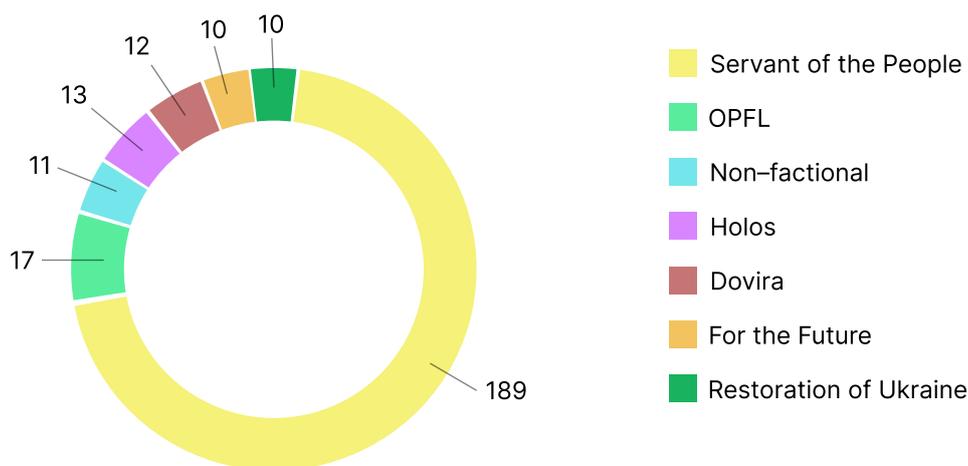
Timeliness of the Adoption of the Legislative Agenda

The Rules of Procedure of the VRU provide that the Parliament approves the Legislative Agenda annually at the beginning of the regular session, which starts on the first Tuesday of February. **In 2024, the Legislative Agenda was adopted on time — on 6 February — following the opening of the 11th regular session of the Verkhovna Rada of the IX convocation. The decision was supported by 262 Members of Parliament from six parliamentary factions and groups, as well as non-affiliated MPs.**

Results of the Vote on the LA



Number of Votes in Favour by Parliamentary Factions/Groups



The parliamentary factions Fatherland and European Solidarity¹ did not cast a single vote in support of the 2024 LA.

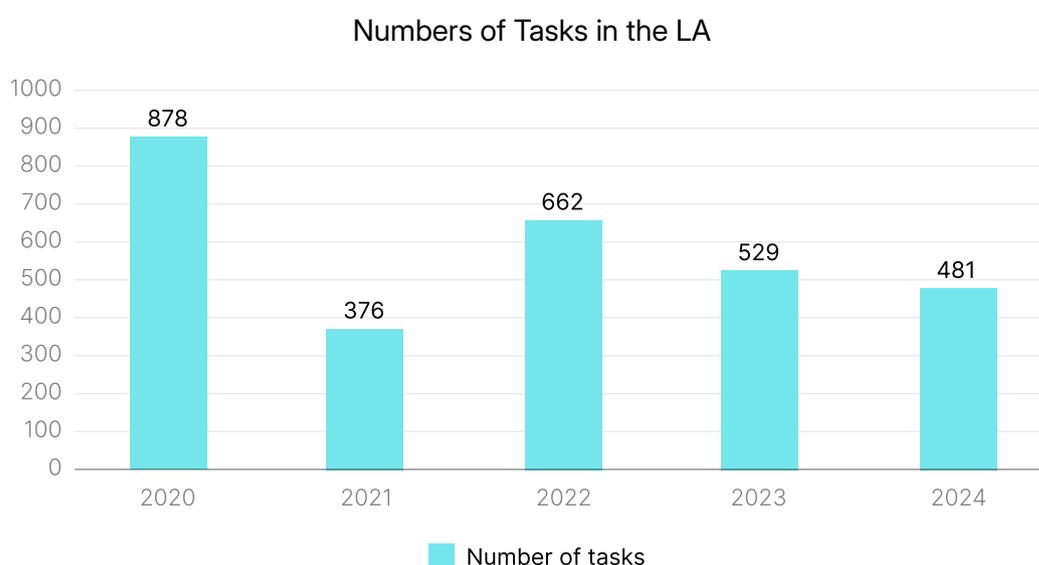
Structure and Number of Tasks in the 2024 LA

The 2024 LA consists of two sections. The first contains a list of issues requiring legislative regulation aimed at adapting Ukraine's legislation to European Union law (the EU acquis) to fulfil Ukraine's international legal obligations in the field of European integration. The second section covers other issues requiring legislative regulation. Each section is divided into subsections whose topics correspond to the names of parliamentary committees (for example, anti-corruption policy; finance, tax and customs policy, etc.).

The structure of the LA in previous years was different. In 2020, the first adopted LA consisted of two sections (a main and an additional part) and did not include a thematic or committee-based breakdown. The 2021 LA was divided into 20 thematic sections, each further subdivided, with several different committees responsible for tasks within a single section or subsection.

The 2022 LA contained 12 thematic sections; however, as in 2021, several main committees were designated within a single section. Unlike the 2024 Agenda, the 2023 LA did not include a separate European integration section, but it was also divided into thematic subsections. This allows us to speak of the achievement of a certain standardised approach to the presentation of tasks and the structure of the Agenda.

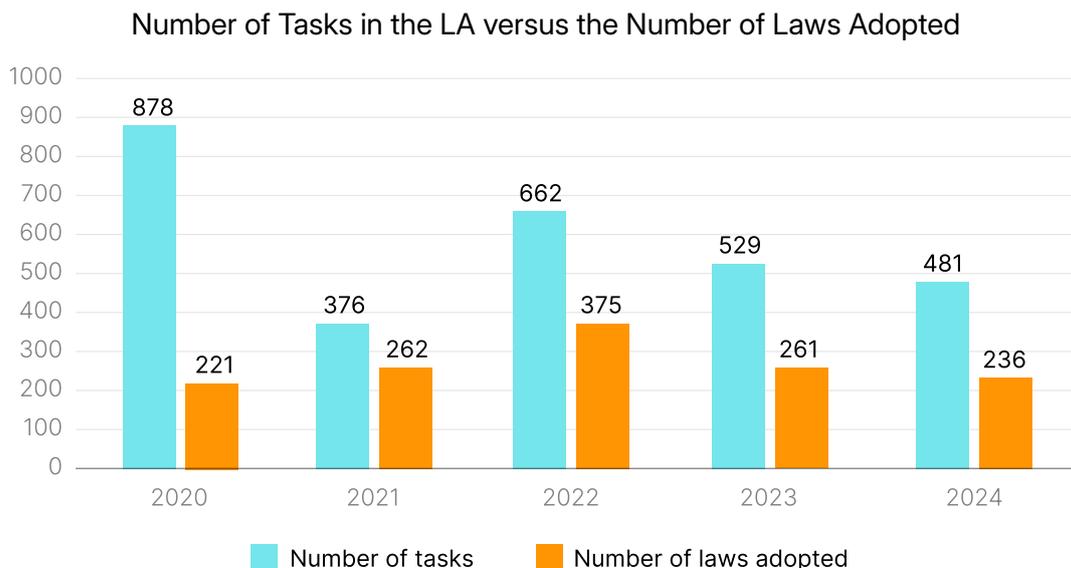
The 2024 LA includes 481 tasks, of which 95 are contained in the European integration section.



¹ Members of the European Solidarity parliamentary faction also did not vote in favour of the LA in any of the previous years. Prior to its dissolution, the parliamentary faction OPFL likewise did not support the 2020–2022 LA.

In previous years, the number of tasks was significantly higher. For example, the 2020 LA — approved for the first time after the relevant amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine — contained a record 878 tasks, while the smallest number was recorded in the 2021 Agenda, which included 376 tasks.

In 2022, the number of tasks in the Agenda reached 662. Although a downward trend in the number of tasks has been observed in subsequent years, their total still amounts to several hundred. **When comparing the Verkhovna Rada’s capacity to adopt laws with the number of tasks set out in the LA, the unrealistic nature of such Plans becomes evident.**



For example, in 2020, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted 221 laws, which is almost four times fewer than the number of tasks set out in the Plan. In 2023, the number of laws adopted was twice as low as the number of tasks envisaged.² Between January 2024 and January 2025, the Verkhovna Rada adopted 236 laws, while the Legislative Agenda contained 481 tasks. Thus, **even if every adopted law had been aimed at implementing the Agenda (which was not the case), the level of implementation would still not have reached even half of the planned targets.**

Submission of Draft Laws

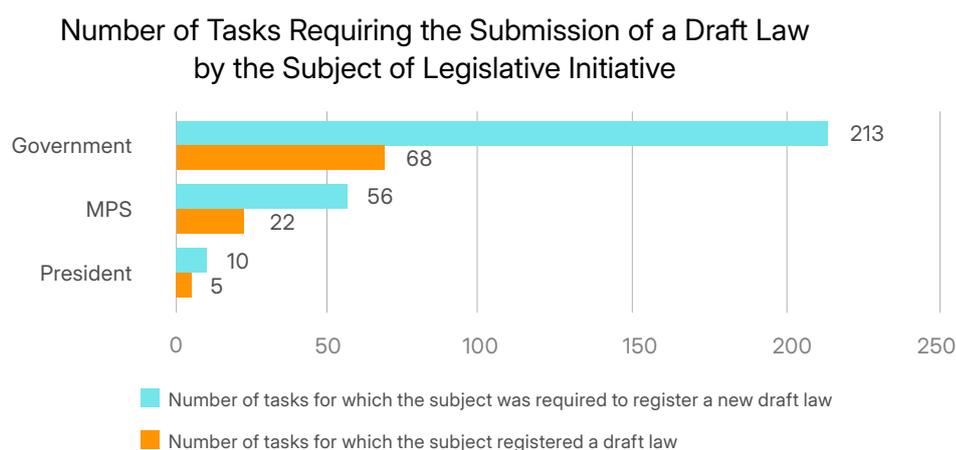
Implementation of a task under the LA does not always imply the adoption of an already registered draft law. Some tasks provide for the drafting and registration of a new draft law, for instance, where a parliamentary committee considers that a specific issue requires legislative regulation. By way of example, the Committee on National Security considers it necessary to

² As a general rule, the adoption of one draft law is deemed to constitute the fulfilment of one task. However, even taking into account the possibility that a single adopted law may fulfil several tasks, the total number of tasks remains excessively high for the Legislative Agenda to correspond to the Verkhovna Rada’s actual legislative capacity.

develop a draft law on the development of the defence-industrial complex.³ In such cases, instead of indicating a draft law number and registration date, the Agenda specifies the deadline for submitting a new draft law to the Verkhovna Rada (e.g. December or June) and identifies the subject of legislative initiative responsible for registering the draft law.

The Agenda envisages the submission of new draft laws to implement 279 tasks (58% of the total), while 202 tasks (42%) already refer to draft laws that are to be adopted.

Under the Constitution, the right of legislative initiative is vested in only three subjects: Members of Parliament, the Government, and the President. Accordingly, the share of newly submitted draft laws will be calculated with respect to these three subjects.⁴



The Agenda can unequivocally be described as government-centred, as it places responsibility on the Government to submit draft laws for the implementation of 213 tasks (almost 45% of the total number of tasks). The CMU registered draft laws for only one-third of these tasks. It is precisely the Government's failure to submit new draft laws that contributed to the high rate of non-implementation of the LA.

Members of Parliament were required to submit legislative initiatives for 56 tasks,⁵ yet they registered new draft laws for only 22 of their own tasks. At the same time, cases are common where MPs register draft laws in relation to tasks for which the Agenda designates a different subject of legislative initiative, or where they register alternative or revised draft laws. Overall, within the framework of the LA, MPs submitted 73 draft laws.

As regards the President, he is responsible for submitting draft laws for the implementation of only 10 tasks; of these, he submitted five draft laws, which mainly concern external relations, such as the ratification of international agreements.

³ Item 193, Section II of the 2024 LA.

⁴ Two tasks (items 372 and 375 of Section II) did not identify a subject of legislative initiative as required by the Constitution.

⁵ Two tasks designated both Members of Parliament and the Government as responsible for submission and were therefore counted for both subjects.

Certain Issues Related to the Submission of New Draft Laws

There are cases where, as of the date of adoption of the LA, a draft law aimed at implementing a given task had already been registered, yet the LA contains information on the need to submit a new draft law. Of the 28 such cases identified, 22 can be explained by the timing of the preparation and adoption of the Agenda, where draft laws were registered in December 2023 or January 2024. Committees submit proposals to the LA in December; therefore, for example, proposals submitted in the first half of December will no longer take into account draft laws registered in the second half of December or in January, even though they may be aimed at implementing tasks set out in the Agenda.

For 25 tasks, the Legislative Agenda sets the deadline for submitting a new draft law in January, which is peculiar given that the Agenda itself is adopted by the Verkhovna Rada only in February. In other words, the subject of legislative initiative is expected, within the framework of the LA, to register a draft law 'in advance', in January 2024.

The opposite extreme is the setting of deadlines for the submission of new draft laws in December 2024 — this applies to 27 tasks. Given that the average time required for the adoption of a draft law from registration to adoption amounts to 211 days during the 11th session and 254 days during the 12th session, the decision to register draft laws in December with a view to their subsequent consideration is, at the very least, short-sighted. **Within the framework of implementing the LA, the Verkhovna Rada did not adopt a single draft law registered in December 2024.**

Such provisions in the LA give grounds to conclude that the committees submitting proposals to it, as well as Members of Parliament, tend to perceive the Agenda more as a formality than as a genuine instrument for planning legislative activity.

Status of Task Implementation

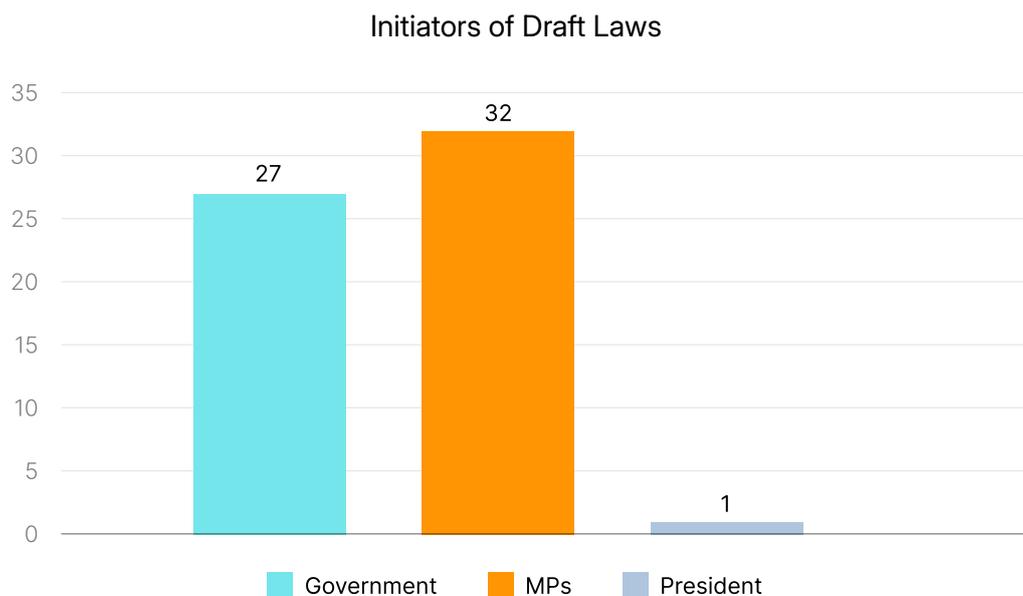
Completed Tasks

Parliament fully completed 60 tasks, which accounts for only 12% of the total number of tasks, while a further 128 tasks were partially completed (27%). As a result, the 2024 LA was implemented at just over one-third — 39%.

In the first, EU integration-related section, 19 tasks were completed (20% of the total number of tasks in that section), while a further 20 tasks (21%) were partially completed. In the second section, 41 tasks were completed (11% of the total number of tasks in the section), and an additional 108 tasks were partially completed (22%).

In implementing the 60 completed tasks, the Verkhovna Rada adopted 60 laws between January 2024 and January 2025,⁶ while a total of 236 laws were adopted during the same period. This means that **only one in four adopted laws was aimed at implementing the tasks of the Legislative Agenda for 2024.**

⁶ The fulfilment of a single task does not always entail the adoption of one law. In some cases, the fulfilment of one task may require the adoption of several laws, while in others the adoption of one law may result in the fulfilment of several tasks.



Most of the adopted draft laws were initiated by Members of Parliament (53%), while slightly fewer were registered by the Government (45%). The only law initiated by the President (2%) concerned the ratification of the Agreement on Ukraine's participation in the European Union Anti-Fraud Programme.⁷

Of the 60 adopted laws, 17 were EU integration-related⁸ (28% of the total number of adopted laws). Eleven EU integration laws were initiated by Members of Parliament, while six were registered by the Government. In total, during the monitoring period of the implementation of the 2024 LA, the VRU adopted 28 EU integration laws, meaning that almost two-thirds (61%) of EU integration legislation was included in the Agenda.

The draft law that took the longest to be adopted was Draft Law No. 3356-d,⁹ registered in November 2020: 1,307 days elapsed between its registration and final adoption. The fastest legislative process applied to Draft Law No. 12232,¹⁰ which was adopted just 11 days after registration.

A list of the five draft laws with the shortest and longest periods between registration and adoption is provided in [Annexe 1](#).

⁷ [Draft Law on the Ratification of the Agreement between Ukraine, of the one part, and the European Union, of the other part, on Ukraine's participation in the Union Anti-Fraud Programme, No. 0281 of 21.06.2024.](#)

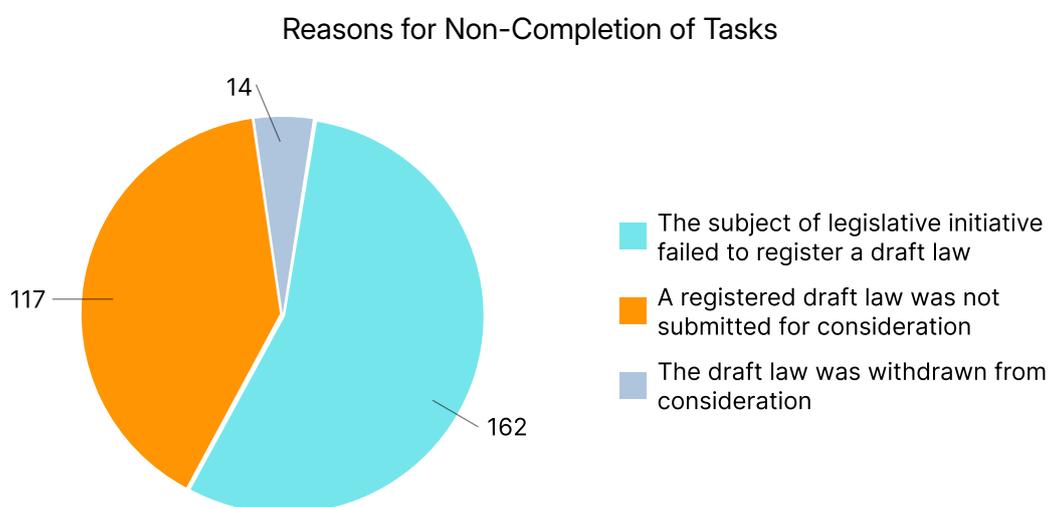
⁸ That is, they were marked accordingly on the official website.

⁹ [Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine Concerning the Mandatory Use of Liquid Biofuels \(Biocomponents\) in the Transport Sector, No. 3356-d of 05.11.2020.](#)

¹⁰ [Draft Law on Amendments to the Budget Code of Ukraine Concerning Transactions Involving Contingent Liabilities, No.12232 of 22.11.2024.](#)

Not Completed Tasks

A total of 293 tasks were not completed, representing 61% of all tasks.



Two main reasons can be identified as to why certain tasks were not completed:

- 1) The responsible legislative initiative holder failed to register a draft law to implement the task.

The 2024 LA provides for the registration of new draft laws to implement 279 tasks, of which 213 tasks assign responsibility for registering a new draft law to the Government. However, the CMU registered draft laws for the implementation of only 68 tasks, which constitutes one-third of the planned number (32%). It was precisely the Government's failure to register new draft laws that contributed to the high rate of non-completion of the LA.

Members of Parliament were required to register draft laws to implement 56 tasks, but submitted draft laws for only 22 tasks (39%). At the same time, there are numerous cases where Members of Parliament register draft laws for tasks for which the Agenda designates a different legislative initiative holder, or where they register alternative or revised draft laws. The President was responsible for registering 10 draft laws, of which only five were submitted (50%).

Overall, due to the failure of the responsible legislative initiative holder to register a draft law, 162 tasks were not completed, accounting for more than one-third of all tasks (34%).

- 2) The Verkhovna Rada did not consider a registered draft law during the reporting period.

This reason accounts for the non-completion of 117 tasks (24% of the total number), where a draft law had already been registered but, for various reasons, was not considered by the relevant committee or by Parliament during the reporting period.

The oldest not completed task for this reason concerns draft law No. 1193-1,¹¹ registered by Members of Parliament as early as September 2019. A list of the five draft laws that have been registered and remain pending consideration for the longest period is provided in [Annexe 2](#).

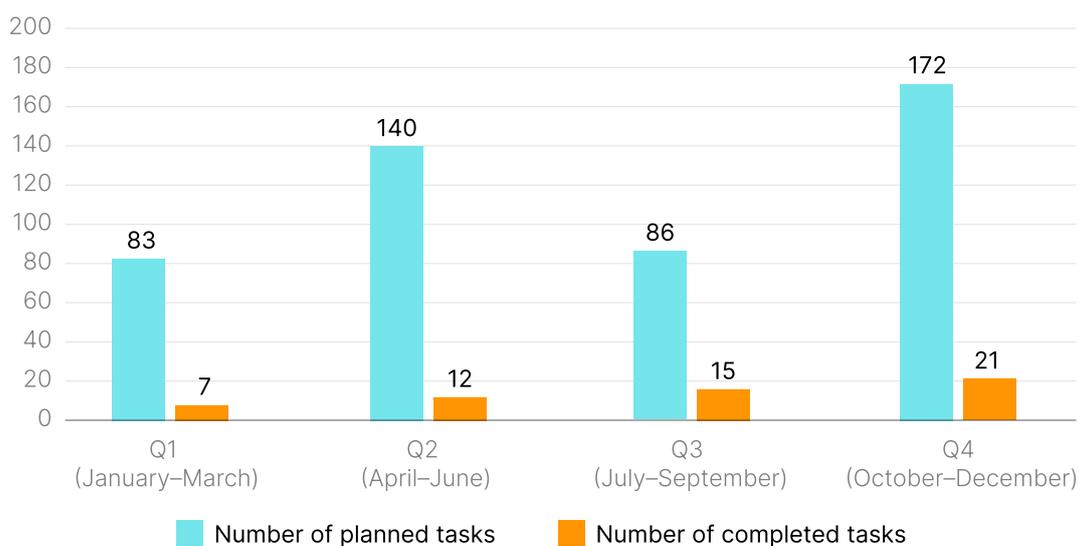
¹¹ Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine to Align Them with European Union Legislation in the Field of the Transport of Dangerous Goods, No. 1193-1 of 20.09.2019.

In addition, **draft laws relating to 14 tasks (3%) were rejected or removed from consideration.** One case is particularly noteworthy, as the rejection of a draft law did not result in the task being not completed. Draft law No. 6004-d, which was intended to initiate reform of industrial pollution and constituted one of the conditions for receiving financing under the Ukraine Facility, failed to secure the required number of votes at second reading (by a margin of one vote). As a result, on the same day, Members of Parliament registered a new draft law No. 11355, which was almost identical to the rejected draft law No. 6004-d. Subsequently, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the newly registered draft law and, accordingly, the task was completed.¹²

Timeframes for Consideration

The Agenda specifies when each task is to be completed. In the first quarter (January–March), the LA envisaged the completion of 83 tasks (17% of the total), and in the second quarter, 140 tasks (26%). In the third quarter, the Verkhovna Rada was expected to complete 86 tasks (18%), while the largest number of tasks — 172 (36%) — was scheduled for the fourth quarter. To some extent, these timeframes reflect the specific features of the VRU's work schedule, as a lighter workload is allocated to quarters that include parliamentary recesses.¹³

Timeframes for Completion of Tasks



The largest number of tasks — approximately one-third — were completed during the fourth quarter. The ratio between completed and planned tasks once again demonstrates the real capacity of the Verkhovna Rada to implement the Agenda. A further four tasks, that is, the

¹² Item 20, Section I of the Legislative Agenda for 2024.

¹³ Regular sessions of the Verkhovna Rada commence on the first Tuesday of February and the first Tuesday of September each year and conclude, respectively, no later than 45 days and 10 days before the opening of the next session.

adoption of the relevant draft laws, were completed in January 2025, while one task was completed much earlier — in July 2023, prior to the adoption of the Agenda.¹⁴

Following an analysis of implementation, the deadlines established by the Agenda appear largely conditional: of the 60 completed tasks, only 17 were completed within the timeframes set by the Agenda, while 34 laws were adopted later than planned.

The greatest delay occurred with draft law No. 10017¹⁵: although it was scheduled for adoption in the first quarter, it became law only 262 days later, in December. The shortest delay concerned draft law No. 11159,¹⁶ which became law only eight days after the planned fourth-quarter deadline, although it was adopted in January 2025. On average, draft laws were adopted with a delay of 103 days.

A list of the five draft laws with the longest period between the planned consideration deadline and adoption is provided in [Annexe 3](#).

Nine laws demonstrate the opposite situation — they were adopted earlier than planned. The earliest was draft law No. 10337¹⁷: although the Agenda envisaged regulation of lobbying only in the fourth quarter, the law was adopted in February 2024, 221 days earlier than scheduled.

Status of Implementation of the LA by Parliamentary Committees

The monitoring includes an analysis of how the Agenda is implemented by parliamentary committees, as it is the committees that submit proposals for the formation of the Legislative Agenda and, as main committees, consider draft laws registered for the implementation of the LA.¹⁸

On average, a single committee is responsible for 22 tasks, while the median number is 16 tasks. This means that half of the committees are responsible for fewer than 16 tasks, and the other half for more than 16 tasks.

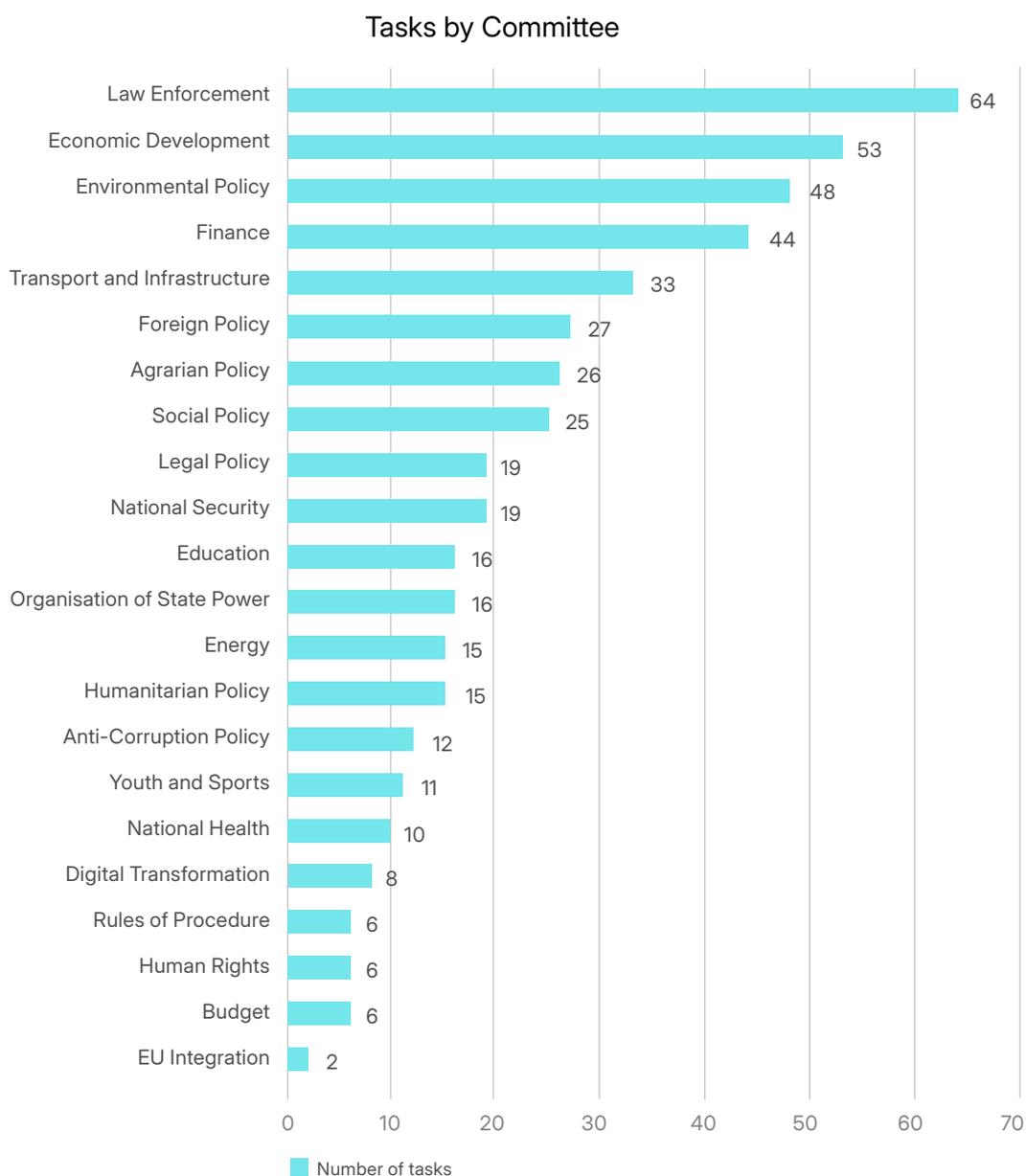
¹⁴ Item 72, Section I provides for the adoption of draft law No. 3716, registered in June 2020 and adopted at first reading as early as February 2021 (main committee: the Committee on Transport and Infrastructure). However, in July 2023, draft law No. 8185 (main committee: the Committee on Law Enforcement) was adopted, which in substance duplicates the provisions of draft law No. 3716.

¹⁵ [Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine Concerning Mandatory State Social Insurance, No. 10017 of 06.09.2023.](#)

¹⁶ [Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine Concerning the Promotion of Volunteering among Education Seekers, No. 11159 of 9 April 2024.](#)

¹⁷ [Draft Law on Ethical Lobbying, No. 10337 of 13 December 2023.](#)

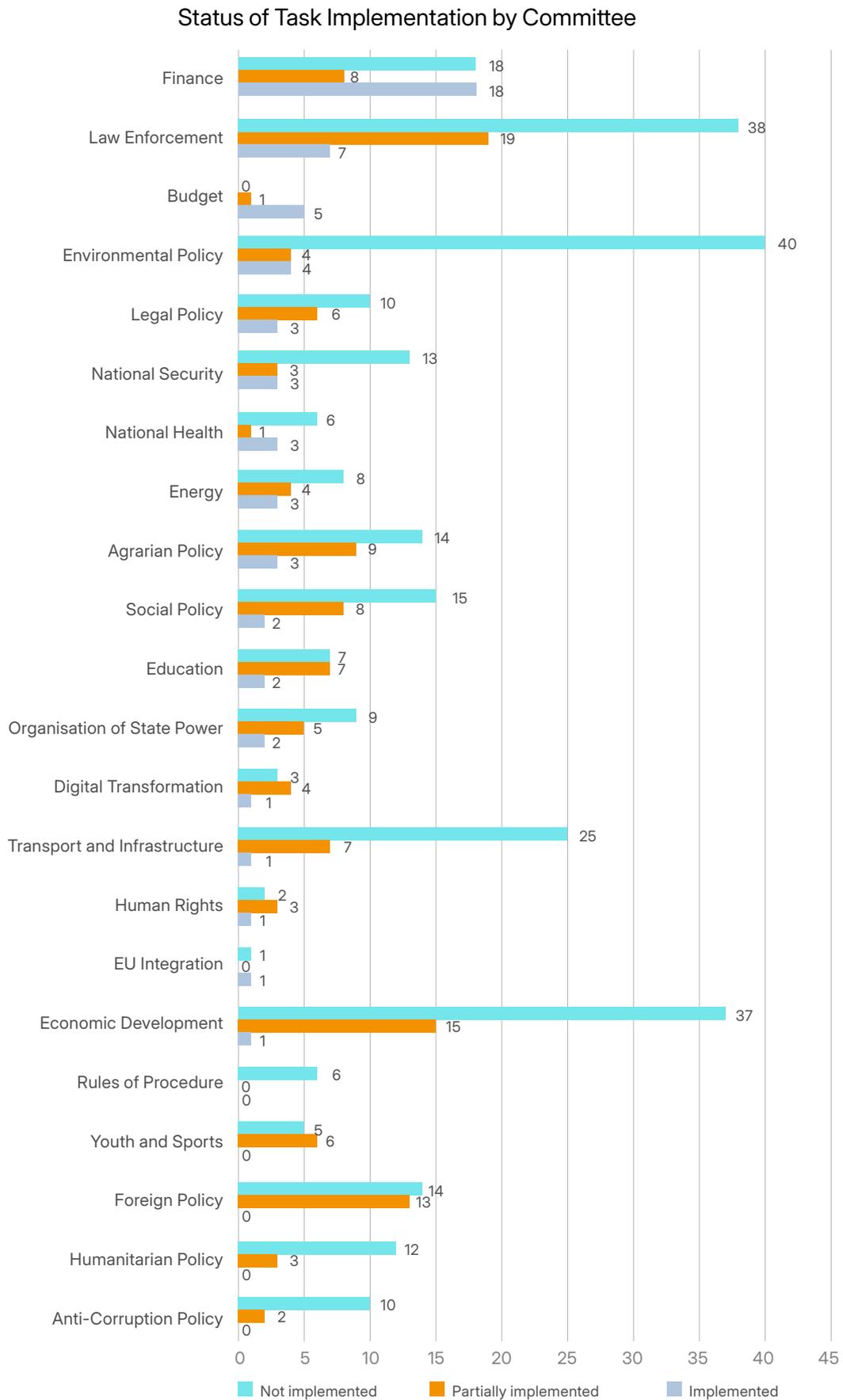
¹⁸ The number of tasks attributed to a committee is calculated based on the results of the implementation of the LA, rather than at the time of its adoption. This is because, following registration, some draft laws considered by the Verkhovna Rada in the context of fulfilling Agenda tasks may be assigned a different main committee than originally indicated in the Legislative Agenda. For example, item 317 of Section II of the 2024 Legislative Agenda designated the Committee on Social Policy and Protection of Veterans' Rights as the main committee. However, following the registration of the draft law (No. 11159 of 09.04.2024), the Committee on Education, Science and Innovation was designated as the lead committee. Accordingly, the fulfilment of this item of the LA is attributed to the Committee on Education, Science and Innovation.



The largest number of tasks under the 2024 LA is assigned to the Committee on Law Enforcement (64 tasks). More than 40 tasks are assigned to three other committees: the Committee on Economic Development (53 tasks), the Committee on Environmental Policy (48 tasks) and the Committee on Finance (44 tasks). These four committees, together with the Committee on Transport and Infrastructure, are responsible for the implementation of half of all tasks under the 2024 LA.

Five committees act as main committees for fewer than 10 tasks each. These are the Committee on Digital Transformation (eight tasks), the Committee on the Rules of Procedure, the Committee on Human Rights and the Committee on the Budget (six tasks each), as well as the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union (two tasks).

Completed/Not Completed Tasks



The Committee on Finance has 18 completed tasks, the highest number among all committees. All other committees have fewer than 10 completed tasks. Five committees have no completed tasks at all: the Committee on the Rules of Procedure, the Committee on Youth and Sports, the Committee on Anti-Corruption Policy, the Committee on Humanitarian Policy and the Committee on Foreign Policy.

However, when looking at the percentage of completed tasks relative to the total number of tasks, other committees emerge as leaders in implementation. With 18 completed tasks (41%), the Committee on Finance ranks only as the third most effective committee. The Committee on Budget has completed 83% of its tasks, while the Committee on EU Integration has achieved a 50% completion rate. At the same time, these high percentages are largely explained by the small number of tasks assigned to these committees. For example, the Committee on Budget has only six tasks, and the Committee on EU Integration has just two tasks.

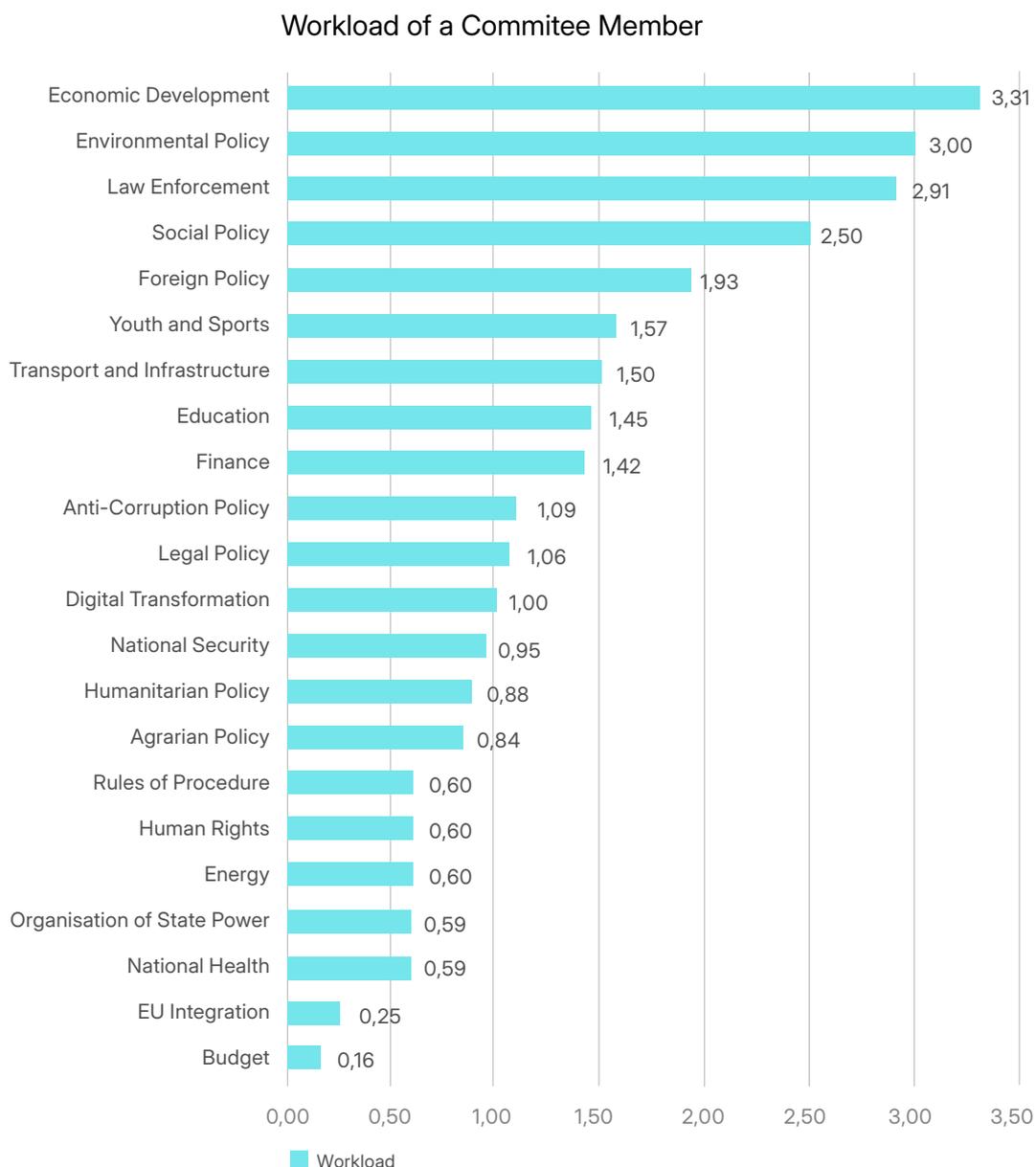
Conversely, a small number of tasks does not automatically ensure better implementation. The Committee on the Rules of Procedure and the Committee on Digital Transformation also have a limited number of tasks — six and eight, respectively — but this has not translated into higher completion rates. The Committee on the Rules of Procedure has no completed tasks at all, while the Committee on Digital Transformation has a completion rate of only 13% (with just one task completed).

The highest number of incomplete tasks is observed in the Committee on Environmental Policy, with 40 incomplete tasks. Slightly fewer not-completed tasks are recorded for the Committee on Law Enforcement (38 tasks) and the Committee on Economic Development (37 tasks). Half of the committees have 10 or fewer tasks that have not been completed. This is partly explained by the overall number of tasks assigned to each committee: committees with the largest total number of tasks also tend to have the highest number of not completed ones.

The Committee on the Rules of Procedure also has no partially completed tasks, making it the only committee with 100% non-completion of all assigned tasks. By contrast, the Committee on Budget is the only committee with no not completed tasks at all. A further five committees have less than half of their tasks not completed in percentage terms: the Committee on Human Rights (33%, or two not completed tasks), the Committee on Digital Transformation (38%, or three not completed tasks), the Committee on Finance (41%, or 18 not completed tasks), the Committee on Education (44%, or seven not completed tasks), and the Committee on Youth and Sports (45%, or five not completed tasks). All other 16 committees failed to complete more than half of the tasks assigned to them under the LA.

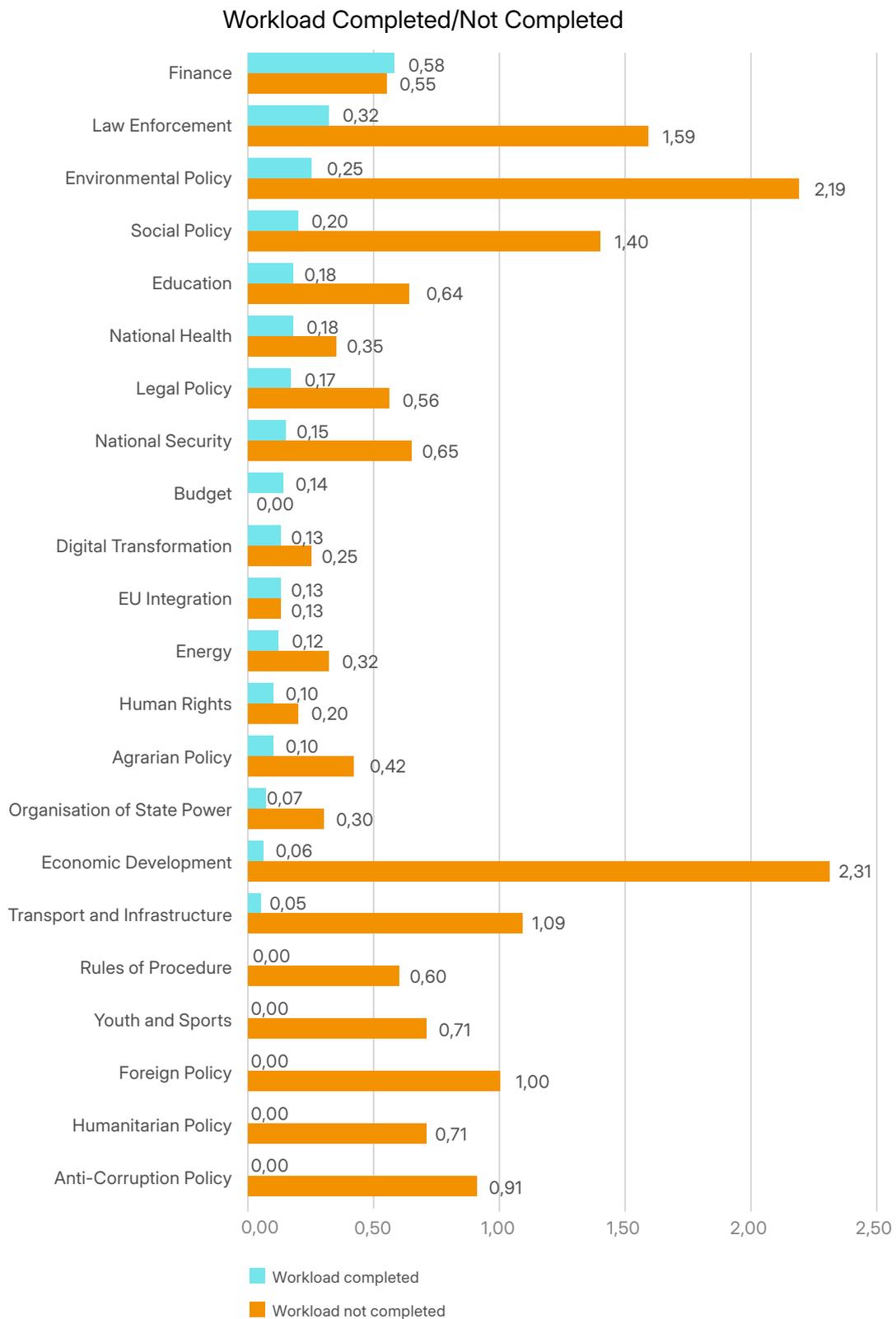
Workload of Members of Parliament

Calculating the number of tasks and completed tasks per committee makes it possible to assess the workload per individual Member of Parliament serving on a committee.



The highest workload in the context of the LA falls on Members of Parliament serving on the Committee on Economic Development, with 3.31 tasks per committee member. A similarly high workload (more than two tasks per member) is observed for members of three other committees: the Committee on Environmental Policy (3.00 tasks), the Committee on Law Enforcement (2.91 tasks) and the Committee on Social Policy (2.50 tasks). By contrast, a low workload (fewer than 0.5 tasks per member) is observed among members of the Committee on Budget (0.16 tasks) and the Committee on Ukraine's Integration into the European Union (0.25 tasks). Such a low workload can be explained by the small number of tasks assigned to these committees, combined with a relatively large number of committee members.

Workload of Committee Members in Terms of Completed and Not Completed Tasks



All committees have a completed-task workload per MP below one. The highest figure — 0.58 completed tasks per MP — is recorded for the Committee on Finance, which is attributable to the relatively high number of tasks completed by that committee.

The highest number of not completed tasks per MP is observed in the Committee on Economic Development (2.31 tasks), followed closely by the Committee on Environmental Policy (2.19 tasks). More than one not completed task per committee member is also recorded for four additional committees: the Committee on Law Enforcement (1.59), the Committee on Social Policy (1.40), the Committee on Transport and Infrastructure (1.09) and the Committee on Foreign Policy (1.00).

Conclusion

The analysis of monitoring the implementation of the 2024 LA provides grounds to conclude that the Verkhovna Rada does not use it as a guiding instrument in its work. If all indicators of the LA are taken into account — such as the timeliness of submitting new draft laws, compliance with consideration deadlines and related factors — only 11 tasks can be regarded as fully compliant with the Agenda. In addition, the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada do not require committees to publish reports on the implementation of the Agenda,¹⁹ let alone to analyse its implementation. The promised tool for tracking draft laws included in the LA²⁰ has also never been developed.

The process of preparing the Legislative Agenda, its substantive content, and the approach taken by committees when submitting proposals require a substantial revision in order to ensure that the Verkhovna Rada and its committees are realistically capable of implementing it.

First and foremost, the number of tasks included in the Legislative Agenda should be reviewed so that it corresponds to the actual capacity of the Verkhovna Rada to adopt draft laws. Agendas containing several hundred tasks and draft laws clearly fail to reflect objective reality and the Parliament's actual performance indicators, including the number of laws adopted, the average time required to consider draft laws and the level of committee activity in preparing opinions on draft laws.

Committees should also reconsider their approaches to submitting proposals to the Legislative Agenda. The largest number of incomplete tasks is recorded for committees that are assigned the largest overall number of tasks. Moreover, committee reports reveal cases where different committees assess the implementation status of the same task differently, which once again indicates inconsistent practices across parliamentary committees.

Improved communication with the Government is also required, particularly with regard to the submission of new draft laws.

The Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada stipulate that committees are to submit proposals to the Legislative Agenda, taking into account the Programme of Activities and the indicative legislative planning documents of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. However, the provisions on the indicative plan were removed from the Rules of Procedure of the Cabinet of Ministers only a few days after the adoption of the law that introduced the Legislative Agenda, while the Programmes of Activities of the last two Governments have not been approved at all.

In practice, the preparation of proposals for the LA involves consultations between ministers and committees of the VRU, during which issues requiring legislative regulation in the coming year are identified, and tasks for preparing draft laws are allocated between ministries and parliamentary committees. All proposals submitted by ministries and Verkhovna Rada committees are coordinated at meetings of the relevant main committees.²¹ Accordingly, the need to register new draft laws cannot be regarded as unexpected for the Government.

¹⁹ A report on the implementation of the 2024 LA was published, for example, by the Committee on Legal Policy; however, the Rules of Procedure do not oblige parliamentary committees to publish such reports.

²⁰ Improving legislative planning in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine // RADA. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine ONLINE: Official web portal of the Parliament of Ukraine. 28.05.2020.

²¹ The legislative process in the defence sector: ALI prepared an analytical study // ALI. 13.08.2025.

At present, however, the Legislative Agenda, as a document intended to ensure a planned and predictable legislative process, plays only a nominal role. This is due, not least, to an insufficient level of coordination among subjects of legislative initiative and weak parliamentary oversight.

Annexes

Annexe 1

Top 5 draft laws with the longest time from registration to adoption

Main committee	Title of the draft law	EU integration–related draft law ²²	Days from registration to adoption
Committee on Energy and Utilities	Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine regarding the mandatory use of liquid biofuels (biocomponents) in the transport sector No. 3356-d of 05 November 2020	Yes	1,307
Committee on Legal Policy	Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts regarding measures aimed at restoring the rights of convicted persons and persons in pre-trial detention in connection with inadequate conditions of detention No. 5652 of 11 June 2021	No	1,259
Committee on Finance, Taxation and Customs Policy	Draft Law on Rating No. 5819 of 22 July 2021	Yes	1,155
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	Draft Law on Amendments to the Nationwide Programme for the Development of the Mineral Resource Base of Ukraine for the period up to 2030 No. 6227 of 27 October 2021	No	1,148
Committee on Finance, Taxation and Customs Policy	Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine 'On State Regulation of Capital Markets and Organised Commodity Markets' and certain other legislative acts of Ukraine regarding regulation and supervision of capital markets and organised commodity markets No. 5865 of 26 August 2021	Yes	910

²² Draft laws aimed at adapting the legislation of Ukraine to the provisions of European Union law (EU acquis) and at fulfilling Ukraine's international legal obligations in the field of European integration.

Top 5 draft laws with the shortest time from registration to adoption

Main committee	Title of the draft law	EU integration–related draft law	Days from registration to adoption
Committee on Budget	Draft Law on Amendments to the Budget Code of Ukraine regarding transactions with contingent liabilities No. 12232 of 22 November 2024	No	11
Committee on Budget	Draft Law on Amendments to Section VI 'Final and Transitional Provisions' of the Budget Code of Ukraine No. 11396 of 5 July 2024	No	13
Committee on Finance, Taxation and Customs Policy	Draft Law on Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine to align certain provisions with the Law of Ukraine 'On the Customs Tariff of Ukraine' and to clarify specific provisions No. 10321-1 of 21 December 2023 ²³	No	26
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	Draft Law on Integrated Prevention and Control of Industrial Pollution No. 11355 of 19 June 2024	Yes	27
Committee on Law Enforcement	Draft Law on Amendments to Article 31 of the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine regarding the improvement of the procedure for conducting criminal proceedings No. 11130 of 27 March 2024	No	28

²³ Another distinctive feature of this draft law is that it was adopted in January 2024, that is, prior to the approval of the 2024 LA.

Annexe 2

Top 5 draft laws that have been registered and remain pending consideration for the longest period

Main committee	Title of the draft law	EU integration–related draft law
Committee on Transport and Infrastructure	Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine to Bring Them into Compliance with European Union Legislation in the Field of the Transport of Dangerous Goods No. 1193-1 of 20 September 2019	Yes
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine Concerning the Training of Hunting Dog Breeds for Hunting, as well as the Regulation of the Population of Certain Species of Wild Animals No. 2232 of 4 October 2019	No
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	Draft Law on State Environmental Control No. 3091 of 19 February 2020	Yes
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine 'On the Disciplinary Statute of the Civil Protection Service' No. 3751 of 26 February 2020	No
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine Aimed at Improving Legislation in the Field of Hunting Management and Hunting and Preventing Illegal Hunting No. 3200 of 11 March 2020	No

Annexe 3

Top 5 draft laws with the longest delay between the scheduled consideration and adoption

Main committee	Title of the draft law	EU integration–related draft law	Days from the scheduled consideration to adoption
Committee on Social Policy and Protection of Veterans' Rights	Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Improving the Procedure for Wholesale and Retail Trade in Vehicles by Business Entities Registered with the MoA Main Service Centre No. 9083 of 6 March 2023	No	262
Committee on Transport and Infrastructure	Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Improving the Procedure for Wholesale and Retail Trade in Vehicles by Business Entities Registered with the MoA Main Service Centre No. 9083 of 6 March 2023	No	261
Committee on Legal Policy	Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts Concerning Measures Aimed at Restoring the Rights of Convicted Persons and Persons Taken into Custody in Connection with Inadequate Conditions of Detention No. 5652 of 11 June 2021	No	235
Committee on Law Enforcement	Draft Law on Amendments to the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences and the Criminal Code of Ukraine on Introducing Liability for Violations of Requirements for the Maintenance and Operation of Facilities of the Civil Protection Shelter Fund No. 9362-1 of 23 June 2023	No	193
Committee on Environmental Policy and Nature Management	Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Delimiting the Powers of Central Executive Authorities in the Field of Industrial Safety, Occupational Safety and Health, Occupational Hygiene, Handling of Explosive Materials, State Mining Supervision and State Supervision and Control over Compliance with Labour and Employment Legislation No. 9219 of 18 April 2023	No	191