

**Joanna Marszałek-Kawa<sup>1</sup>**

## **Remarks on The System of State Authorities in the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan of 8 December 1992**

**Keywords:** System of State Authorities, Constitution, the Republic of Uzbekistan, president, parliament, election system

**Słowa kluczowe:** system organów państwowych, konstytucja, Republika Uzbekistanu, prezydent, parlament, system wyborczy

### **Summary**

The aim of this article is to present the system of state authorities in the Republic of Uzbekistan, shaped under the provisions of the existing fundamental law amended in 2014. We will also address the question whether the implemented reform of an institutional character means the adoption of a democratic form of government.

### **Streszczenie**

## **Uwagi o systemie organów państwowych w Konstytucji Republiki Uzbekistanu z dnia 8 grudnia 1992 roku**

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie systemu organów państwowych w Republice Uzbekistanu, ukształtowanego zgodnie z przepisami obowiązującego prawa gruntownie znowelizowanego w 2014 r. Postaram się również odpowiedzieć na pytanie, czy wdrażane reformy o charakterze instytucjonalnym oznaczają wprowadzenie demokratycznej formy rządów.

---

<sup>1</sup> The author is an Associate Professor in Department of Political System RP on the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Studies of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. E-mail: kawadj@box43.pl.

**I.**

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the governing elites of the newly emerged states in Central and Eastern Europe declared that the political identity of societies would be based on values such as democracy, self-governance, civic virtue, pluralism, respect for human rights, justice and social solidarity. The emulation of Western solutions has become the foundation for the construction of new social and political structures. Former Soviet republics from Central Asia imitated the Western world with an intention to supplement their own transformation path<sup>2</sup>. Their aim was to prepare a multi-stage plan of necessary changes that could secure safe transition from centrally planned economy to free market economy based on new mechanisms and solutions. They sought new solutions that could facilitate effective integration with the global economy. Changes in the economic sphere were designed to be implemented simultaneously with social and democratic reforms. It should be noted that this process is still in progress. The authorities of the Republic of Uzbekistan declare that they will relentlessly pursue democratic reforms and the construction of the civil society. In 2010, President Islam Abduganiyevich Karimov indicated the directions of desired changes, which he referred to as the “Uzbek development model.”<sup>3</sup> This strategy involves the implementation of further reform towards the “socially oriented free market economy”<sup>4</sup>.

On 8 December 1991, in the village of Viskule in the Białowieża Forest, Belarus, Ukraine and the Russian Federation signed the historic Belavezha Accords, declaring the Soviet Union effectively dissolved<sup>5</sup>. Under the agree-

---

<sup>2</sup> See also: D. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia: A Political and Cultural History of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tadjikistan, Turkey and Iran*, New York 2009, p. 480; D. Dagiev, *Regime Transition in Central Asia: Stateness, Nationalism and Political Change in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan*, New York 2014, p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> A. Abduvakhitov, *Presidential Election in Uzbekistan*, Tashkent 2015, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *General Information about the Republic of Uzbekistan*, Tashkent 2014, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Por. G.R. Capisani, *Nowe państwa Azji Środkowej*, Warsaw 2004, p. 390; M. Smoleń, M. Lubina, *Rozpad ZSRR i jego konsekwencje dla Europy i świata. Wspólnota Niepodległych Państw*, Warsaw 2011, p. 425.

**Table 1. The fundamental principles of the „Uzbek model” of transformation**

First principle	Priority of economics over politics, which means that economic reform must be free from all dogmas, postulates and outdated stereotypes and should not be subject to any ideology
Second principle	The state – the main reformer – must define the main priorities, directions and stages of the reform, develop national development programs and consistently implement them
Third principle	The rule of law in all spheres of the society. A democratically adopted constitution and laws must be observed by everybody without exception
Fourth principle	Holding strong social policy. The introduction of market relations should be accompanied by the introduction of effective measures to ensure the reliable social protection of the population, especially large, low-income families, and people in the retirement age
Fifth principle	Transition to market economy is performed by taking into account the evolution of the objective economic laws in consistently, deliberately, and stage by stage

Source: *General information*, op.cit., p. 65.

ment, the USSR ceased to exist as the “subject of international law and geopolitical reality.”<sup>6</sup> As Martin Malia put it, “the Soviet Union collapsed like a house of cards, because it had always been a house of cards.”<sup>7</sup> The USSR was replaced by the Commonwealth of Independent Nations. 15 new states were established as well, with five of them in Central Asia, i.e. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan<sup>8</sup>.

The Republic of Uzbekistan has a very important position in the region<sup>9</sup>. It covers a vast area of 447,400 sq km<sup>10</sup>. It is also the most populated country in Central Asia with almost 30 million residents. Uzbekistan

<sup>6</sup> A. Kamińska, *Stanisław Szuszkiewicz: ZSRR rozpadł się nieoczekiwanie, na polowaniu w puszczy*, <http://www.polskieradio.pl/75/926/Artykul/495234,Stanislaw-Szuszkiewicz-ZSRR-rozpadl-sie-nieoczekiwanie-na-polowaniu-w-puszczy> (1.06.2016).

<sup>7</sup> I. Krastev, *Europejska dez-integracja: wnioski płynące z rozpadu Związku Radzieckiego*, <http://www.krytykapolityczna.pl/Opinie/KrastevEuropejskadez-integracjaWnioskiplynacezupadkuZwiazkuRadzieckiego/menuid-183.html> (11.06.2016).

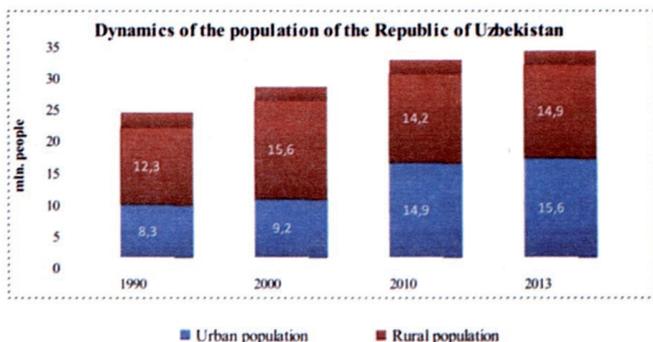
<sup>8</sup> A. Amanbayeva, *The Collision of Islam and Terrorism in Central Asia*, “Asian Criminology” 2009, n. 4, pp. 165–189.

<sup>9</sup> See: A.C. Kuchins, J. Mankoff, O. Backes, *Central Asia in a Reconnecting Eurasia: Uzbekistan’s Evolving Foreign Economic and Security Interests*, “Center for Strategic & International Studies” 2015, June, p. 56; A. Zamarajewa, *Kazachstan–Uzbekistan: rywalizacja o przywództwo w Azji Centralnej*, Pułtusk 2007, p. 167.

<sup>10</sup> [Http://www.panstwo.atlas.edu.pl/uzbekistan.html](http://www.panstwo.atlas.edu.pl/uzbekistan.html) (5.06.2016).

is a multiethnic state inhabited by 130 different nationalities. Uzbeks account for almost 83.1% of the population, Russians – 2.6%, Tajiks – 4.8%, Kazakhs – 2.6%, Karakalpaks – 2.2%, Tatars – 0.7%, and Kyrgyz people – 0.9%. Other ethnic groups in Uzbekistan, including, among others, Turkmen, Ukrainians, Jews, as well as Poles, Germans and Koreans, account for 3.1% of the population of Uzbekistan<sup>11</sup>. At present, the growing urbanisation process has led to changes in the social structure and 51% of the society lives in cities.

**Diagram 1. The dynamics of the population of the Republic of Uzbekistan**



Source: *General Information...*, p. 59.

As the Constitution of Uzbekistan of 1992 stipulates, “All citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan shall have equal rights and freedoms, and shall be equal before the law, without discrimination by sex, race, nationality, language, religion, social origin, convictions, individual and social status. Any privileges may be granted solely by the law and shall conform to the principles of social justice” (art. 18).

Moreover, under art. 12 of the fundamental law, “In the Republic of Uzbekistan, public life shall develop on the basis of a diversity of political institutions, ideologies and opinions. No ideology shall be granted the status of

<sup>11</sup> *General Information*, op.cit., p. 58.

state ideology”<sup>12</sup>. It should be emphasised here that although the constitution makers do not use the term “secular state”, the clear dissociation from ideology in the country with Muslim traditions may be explained not only as a departure from communist or fascist ideology, but also from the religious one<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, Uzbekistan is – in accordance with the existing fundamental law – a secular state. Sunni Islam is the leading denomination (92% are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, while 1% are Shia Muslims based near Bukhara and Samarkand), followed by 93% of the population. The followers of the Orthodox Church account for almost 4% of the total number of citizens<sup>14</sup>.

Uzbekistan is an important partner in trade and economic exchange especially for the countries of South-East Asia. It is a member of a number of international organisations, such as: UN, UNESCO, WHO, ISO, FAO, and regional ones: the Commonwealth of Independent Nations and the Eurasian Economic Union. Uzbekistan has rich deposits of natural resources, including large beds of 100 various minerals located in 2,900 deposits. The country has the fourth largest gold deposits in the world. Moreover, it holds the seventh place when it comes to the amount of uranium and the tenth as regards the size of copper deposits. In Uzbekistan, natural gas and oil are also mined and large deposits of shale gas have been discovered. Large revenues – accounting for about 1/3 of the state budget – are generated by the exploitation of deposits of silver, zinc, lead, wolfram, molybdenum, iron ores, and others<sup>15</sup>.

On 24 March 1990, at the session of the Supreme Council of the Uzbek SSR, the office of the President of the Uzbek SSR was established<sup>16</sup>. The person appointed for the post was Islam A. Karimov, the former First Secretary

---

<sup>12</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, Tashkent 2014, see: chapter II entitled *Democracy*, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> S. Kawa, *Zasady prawa wyznaniowego Republiki Uzbekistanu*, <http://www.sawp.org.pl/index.php/biuletyny/biuletyn-nr-7/67-zasady-prawa-wyznaniowego-republiki-uzbekistanu.html> (1.06.2016).

<sup>14</sup> [Http://www.slideshare.net/PortalPromocjiEksportu/uzbekistan-52755543](http://www.slideshare.net/PortalPromocjiEksportu/uzbekistan-52755543) (15.06.2016).

<sup>15</sup> [Http://www.krytykapolityczna.pl/artykuly/swiat/20141105/uzbekistan-czyli-zapomniane-pieklo](http://www.krytykapolityczna.pl/artykuly/swiat/20141105/uzbekistan-czyli-zapomniane-pieklo) (15.06.2016), <http://www.slideshare.net/PortalPromocjiEksportu/uzbekistan-52755543> (15.06.2016). See also: *Rosja, Ukraina, Białoruś, Mołdawia, Litwa, Łotwa, Estonia, Gruzja, Azerbejdżan, Armenia, Kirgizja, Turkmenia, Tadżykistan, Uzbekistan, Kazachstan*, ed. J. Cichocki, A. Łabuszewska, Warsaw 2001, p. 60.

<sup>16</sup> See: *Uzbekistan: historia – społeczeństwo – polityka*, ed. T. Bodio, Warsaw 2001, p. 536.

of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Uzbek SRR. On 18 June 1990, at the second session of the XII Congress of the Supreme Council of the Republic, the Declaration of the Sovereignty of Uzbekistan was adopted<sup>17</sup>. Finally, on 31 August 1991, at the fourth session of the Supreme Council, the independence of Uzbekistan was proclaimed. The Declaration of Independence was approved in a nationwide referendum by the majority vote of citizens. On 1 September, Uzbeks celebrate the Independence Day<sup>18</sup>.

The Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan was adopted on 8 December 1992, during the 11<sup>th</sup> session of the Supreme Council of the Republic<sup>19</sup>.

The system of authority is regulated by the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan and articles of the act on state government at the local level of 2 September 1993<sup>20</sup>. The constitution consists of the preamble and six sections, which include 26 chapters and 128 articles. As A. Abduvakhitov notes, 60 out of 128 articles regulate the status of the residents of Uzbekistan<sup>21</sup>. Under art. 68 of the fundamental law, Uzbekistan “shall consist of regions, districts, cities, towns, settlements, kishlaks and auls, and the sovereign Republic of Karakalpakstan”. Thus, as far as the administrative division is concerned, Uzbekistan is divided into: twelve regions called viloyats (Russian: oblasti): Andijan, Bukhara, Fergana, Jizzakh, Xorazm, Namangam, Navoiy, Qarshi, Samarkand, Guliston, Termez, Tashkent, and Nukuz. Other administrative units include cities, with a separate legal and administrative status granted to Tashkent<sup>22</sup>. What is important, each change, establishment or dissolution of a territorial unit of the state must be approved by the Oliy Majlis.

The fundamental constitutional principle is the principle of the separation of powers (art. 11). The activity of courts is regulated by the Law of the Repub-

<sup>17</sup> A. Abduvakhitov, *Uzbekistan and its electoral system*, Tashkent 2015, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> See. A. Saidov, K. Wojtaszczyk, *Konstytucyjne podstawy ustroju Państwa*, [In:] *Uzbekistan: historia-społeczeństwo-polityka*, ed. T. Bodio, Warsaw 2001, p. 129.

<sup>19</sup> The Constitution Day is celebrated in Uzbekistan on 8 December.

<sup>20</sup> For more details see: Сборник нормативно-правовых актов о деятельности правоохранительных органов, Адалат, Taszkient 2014, p. 504.

<sup>21</sup> A. Abduvakhitov, *Presidential election*, op.cit., p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/PortalPromocjiEksportu/uzbekistan-52755543> (15.06.2016), M.P. Pawłowski, *Władza w terenie i samorząd terytorialny Republiki Uzbekistanu*, <http://blog.lpig.pl/2014/11/wladza-w-terenie-i-samorzad-terytorialny-republiki-uzbekistanu> (15.06.2016).

**Table 2. Administrative and territorial division of Uzbekistan (as of January 1, 2014)**

Name of regions	Population, thousands	Area of the territory, thousands sq km
The Republic of Karakalpakstan	1736,50	166,59
regions:		
Andijan	2805,50	4,30
Bukhara	1756,40	40,32
Djizzak	1226,80	21,21
Kashkadarya	2895,30	28,57
Navoi	901,10	110,99
Namangan	2504,10	7,44
Samarkand	3445,60	16,77
Surkhondaryo	2308,30	20,10
Syrdarya	763,80	4,28
Tashkent	2725,90	15,25
Fergana	3386,50	6,76
Khorezm	1684,10	6,05
Tashkent city	2352,90	0,34
<b>the Republic of Uzbekistan</b>	<b>30 492,80</b>	<b>448,97</b>

Source: *General Information...*, p. 57.

lic of Uzbekistan On Courts. The jurisdiction of courts is determined by the nature of the case to be considered. What is important, it is not permitted to establish extraordinary and emergency courts<sup>23</sup>. Under art. 106 of the fundamental law, the judicial authority is exercised by independent courts<sup>24</sup>. The judicial system in Uzbekistan consists of: the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Uzbekistan, The Supreme Court of the Republic of Uzbekistan, The Higher Economic Court of the Republic of Uzbekistan, The Supreme court

<sup>23</sup> A. Abduvakhitov, *Presidential Election*, op.cit., p. 19.

<sup>24</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, op.cit., p. 57.

of the Republic of Karakalpakstan on civil and criminal cases, The Economic Court of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, regional and Tashkent city courts on civil and criminal cases, interdistrict, district and city courts on civil and criminal cases, martial and economic courts (art. 107)<sup>25</sup>.

As art. 108 of the fundamental law stipulates, “The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Uzbekistan shall hear cases relating to the constitutionality of acts of the legislative and executive authorities. The Constitutional Court shall be elected from political and legal scholars and shall consist of the Chairman, Deputy Chairman and judges of the Constitutional Court including a representative from the Republic of Karakalpakstan [...]” The powers of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Uzbekistan are specified by art. 109 of the constitution, in accordance with which it shall: define the compliance of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan and resolutions of the chambers of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan, decrees of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, enactments of the government and local bodies of state authority, interstate treaties and other obligations of the Republic of Uzbekistan; conform the compliance of the Constitution of the Republic of Karakalpakstan to the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, laws of the Republic of Karakalpakstan – to laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan; interpret the norms of the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan, as well as hear other cases relating to its competence in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan<sup>26</sup>.

## II.

The Uzbek constitution-makers declare that the nation is the sovereign, because – under art. 7 of the fundamental law – “The people are the only source of state power”<sup>27</sup>. The nation exercises authority through its representatives chosen in universal elections. Art. 10 of the Constitution specifies that it is the President of the Republic and the Oliy Majlis (the bicameral Parliament

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, p. 57.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, pp. 58–59.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, p. 5.

of the Republic) that act on behalf of the people. “No part of the society, political party, public association, movement or individual shall have the right to act on behalf of the people of Uzbekistan”<sup>28</sup>.

Uzbekistan is an authoritarian presidential republic, in which Islam Karimov has held the office of President since 29 December 1991<sup>29</sup>. “The President of the Republic of Uzbekistan is the Head of the State and executive authority in the Republic of Uzbekistan” (art. 89). It should be noted that since Uzbekistan regained independence, the election law has been modified a number of times. Changes introduced in 2003, 2008, 2012 and 2014 remodelled the election system<sup>30</sup>. They were supplemented with the amendments to the existing constitution. In October 2010, President Karimov said that “the election system that is an essential component of democratic reforms and of the modernization of the country is constantly developing. Our practice and experience, especially accumulated during the last elections have put the issues of the further democratization of the electoral processes on the top of the agenda”<sup>31</sup>. According to Akmal Kholmatovich Saidov, I. Karimov’s opponent in the presidential election, professor of law and the head of the National Centre for Human Rights, the election system in Uzbekistan is based on three principles: first, it respects international standards of human rights and international election laws; second, it applies the best practices of western democracies; third, it takes account of national and historical traditions concerning electoral practices, balancing them with democratic reforms<sup>32</sup>.

It should be pointed out that the amendment to the election law passed at the end of 2011 reduced the presidential term of office from seven to five years. The Uzbek constitution limits presidents of the country to two terms of office. This provision was ignored when the incumbent won a third term in office in December 2007. The current president’s term in office has also been extend-

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p. 6.

<sup>29</sup> www.president.uz (30.05.2016), see also: I. Karimov, *Uzbekistan na progno XXI wieku*, trans. D. Muszyńska-Wolny, Warsaw 2001, p. 193.

<sup>30</sup> For more details see: Законы Республики Узбекистан о выборах, АДОЛАТ, Tashkent 2014, p. 320; G.R. Malikova, *Presidential elections in the Republic of Uzbekistan: questions and answers*, Tashkent 2015, pp. 3–25.

<sup>31</sup> A. Abduvakhitov, *Presidential Election*, op.cit., p. 21.

<sup>32</sup> A. Kh. Saidov, *International election standards and national legislation of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, Tashkent 2014, p. 24.

ed twice through national constitutional referenda”<sup>33</sup>. President Islam Karimov has clearly won presidential elections four times already: on 29 December 1991, he won 87.10% of the votes; on 9 January 2000, he obtained 95.70% of the votes; on 23 December 2007, 90.77% of the voters supported Karimov; in the last election, on 29 March 2015, he received 90.39% of the votes cast<sup>34</sup>.

Under art. 90 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the head of state is elected for the term of five years, with the possibility of being re-elected. A citizen of the Republic of Uzbekistan at the age of 35 or older, who is in full command of the state Uzbek language, and has been the resident on the territory of Uzbekistan for at least 10 years, may be elected the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The President has to comply with the principle of *incompatibilitas*, which means that the head of state, during his term of office, may not hold any other paid post, serve as deputy of a representative body, or engage in commercial activity. The President enjoys personal immunity<sup>35</sup>. Former Presidents of the Republic of Uzbekistan, upon completion of their term of office, become lifetime senators (art. 97)<sup>36</sup>.

Upon being elected in direct election, the President takes an oath at the sitting of the Legislative Chamber, the content of which is specified in art. 92 of the fundamental law: “«I do solemnly swear to faithfully serve the people of Uzbekistan, to strictly follow the Constitution and laws of the Republic, to guarantee the rights and freedoms of its citizens, and to conscientiously exercise the duties vested on the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan”<sup>37</sup>.

The President of the Republic has a very strong position, determined by his numerous powers, stipulated, among others, in art. 93 of the fundamental law, under which the head of state: guarantees the observance of rights and freedoms of citizens; takes necessary measures on the protection of sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of the country; represents the country in international relations; conducts negotiations and signs interna-

<sup>33</sup> [Http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2820](http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2820) (30.05.2016).

<sup>34</sup> [Http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2820](http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2820) (30.05.2016). For more on presidential election of 2015 see: *Election of the President of the Republic Uzbekistan – the Most Important Stage of the Consolidation of National Statehood and Development of Civil Society in the Country*, Tashkent 2015, pp. 10–188.

<sup>35</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, op.cit., p. 42.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 49.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 43.

tional treaties and agreements; receives letters of credence and recall from diplomatic and other representatives accredited to him; presents nominees for appointment of diplomatic and other representatives of the Republic of Uzbekistan to foreign states; presents nominees for the top state positions stipulated in the fundamental law; presents for consideration and approval by the chambers of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan a nominee of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Uzbekistan and relieve him of his post in case of resignation, passing the vote of no confidence in Prime Minister adopted by the chambers of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan or in other cases stipulated by law; approves, upon the nomination of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Uzbekistan, members of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan and relieves them of their posts; appoints and relieves the Procurator-General of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Chairman of the Accounting Chamber of their post with their subsequent approval by the Senate of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan; represents to the Senate of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan; nominees for the post of Chairman and judges of the Constitutional Court, Chairman and judges of the Supreme Court, Chairman and judges of the Higher Economic Court, the Chairman of the Board of the Central Bank of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Chairman of the State Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan for Protection of Nature; appoints and relieve judges of regional, inter-district, district, city, martial and economic courts of their posts; signs and promulgates laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan; serves as the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Uzbekistan; rules on matters of citizenship and granting political asylum; exercises other powers stipulated by the present Constitution and laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan<sup>38</sup>.

The President also has the right to dissolve the parliament in constitutionally specified circumstances, e.g. in case of insuperable disagreements between the two Chambers of the parliament, which puts under threat their normal functioning, or adopting by them decisions contradicting the constitution. The decision of the head of state must be approved by the Constitutional Court. If the head of state dissolves the parliament, the new elections must be held

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, pp. 43–47.

within three months. The parliament may not be dissolved during the state of emergency (art. 95).

As experts indicate, “what is a component of the Uzbek transformation is the personification of politics and the continuity of power. It is characterised by the implementation of its own model of reforms rather than the emulation of European patterns”<sup>39</sup>.

On 12 November 2010, Islam Karimow, in his policy statement entitled “The concept of the further deepening of democratisation and the construction of civil society”, he outlined the assumptions of the institutional reform of the state, which provided foundations for changing the existing fundamental law that strengthened the position of the parliament and political parties. As the result of the amendment to the constitution, the government is now appointed on the basis of the parliamentary majority<sup>40</sup>. The parliament also gained more scrutiny powers, such as a motion of no confidence in the cabinet and the government’s obligation to submit annual reports to the parliament.

According to M. Musiał, the changes were first of all aimed at improving the image of Uzbekistan at the international arena. However, they did not have a significant influence on the process of the democratisation of the existing political system, nor did they limit the strong position of the head of state. The parliament, despite being granted new powers, still plays a secondary role and its authority is of a surface character<sup>41</sup>.

As Stanisław Kawa accurately remarks, “the President’s strength helps to maintain balance in the system of clan and family relations, not letting anyone dominate others. It protects the country against separatist tendencies, which arise from complex ethnic relations. The President’s apparatus, which is formally a consultative body, is actually superior to the government in the administrative hierarchy and effectively helps the President to retain absolute power”<sup>42</sup>.

---

<sup>39</sup> M. Pietruszewski, *Republika Uzbekistanu po 1991 r.*, <http://www.psz.pl/118-gospodarka/republika-uzbekistanu-po-1991-roku> (30.05.2016).

<sup>40</sup> See: art. 98 of Constitution.

<sup>41</sup> M. Musiał, *Uzbekistan: wstęp do uregulowania problemu sukcesji?*, [www.new.org.pl/downloadmagazine.php?f=new\\_3\\_4\\_2011\\_007](http://www.new.org.pl/downloadmagazine.php?f=new_3_4_2011_007) (30.05.2016).

<sup>42</sup> S. Kawa, *Zasady prawa wyznaniowego Republiki Uzbekistanu*, op.cit.

The Council of Ministers is the supreme organ of state authority in Uzbekistan<sup>43</sup>. It is composed of the Prime Minister, his deputies, heads of state commissions, and the chairman of the government of the autonomous Republic of Karakalpakstan<sup>44</sup>.

Under art. 98 of the fundamental law, the Council of Ministers is responsible for the state's economic, social, financial and monetary policy, for its development and implementation of programmes of the development of science, culture, education, health, as well as for other spheres of the economic and social life. Moreover, the government controls, coordinates and manages the work of state and economic executive bodies. It also guarantees that laws passed by the parliament and decrees, resolutions and ordinances of the President of the Republic are implemented. The Council of Ministers presents to the Legislative Chamber annual reports concerning the most important state matters<sup>45</sup>.

The government is accountable to the parliament and the President of the Republic. Under art. 98 of the fundamental law, a vote of no confidence is passed by the majority of two thirds of the total number accordingly of deputies and members of the Senate. If both chambers pass this motion, the president accepts the resignation of the prime minister and the whole cabinet is automatically dissolved. Then, in accordance with a procedure stipulated by the constitution, the President of the Republic consults a new candidate for the prime minister with the parliamentary majority. However, if the parliament refuses to approve the new nominee twice, the president dissolves the parliament.

The Oliy Majlis (transl. Great Assembly) is the bicameral parliament being the supreme legislative body in Uzbekistan<sup>46</sup>. Its term of powers is five years. The parliament consists of the Senate (the upper house) and the Legislative Chamber (the lower house). There are 100 members of the Senate, with 16 of them being appointed by the president from among authoritative citizens with large practical experience and experts in the field of science, art, literature, manufacture, and other spheres of state and public activity, and 84 members

---

<sup>43</sup> [www.gov.uz](http://www.gov.uz) (30.05.2016).

<sup>44</sup> [Http://www.slideshare.net/PortalPromocjiEksportu/uzbekistan-52755543](http://www.slideshare.net/PortalPromocjiEksportu/uzbekistan-52755543) (30.05.2016).

<sup>45</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, op.cit., pp. 49–50.

<sup>46</sup> [www.parliament.gov.uz](http://www.parliament.gov.uz) (30.05.2016).

elected by regional and local councils (six representatives of the Autonomous Republic of Karakalpakstan, regions of Uzbekistan and the city of Tashkent). From amongst 150 deputies to the Legislative Chamber, 135 are elected by an absolute majority vote in single-member constituencies to serve 5-year terms. All citizens of Uzbekistan who have reached 18 years of age have the right to elect. Any citizen of Uzbekistan who has reached 25 years of age and has resided on the territory of this country for not less than five years, and is not incapacitated or imprisoned under a final and binding sentence may run for election<sup>47</sup>. At least 33% of the electorate must turn out in each constituency for the election in that constituency to be valid. If this does not happen, a run-off between the top two candidates is held. This also happens if no candidate receives an absolute majority in the first round.” The remaining 15 seats, due to serious ecological problems of the country, are reserved for the Ecological Movement of Uzbekistan in general elections<sup>48</sup>.

The Legislative Chamber exercises its powers in constitutionally specified spheres, and thus: it elects the Speaker and his deputies, as well as chairmen of committees and their deputies, adopts decisions on matters relating to the organisation of its activity and the internal schedule of the chamber, adopts resolutions concerning political, social and economic matters, as well as issues of the domestic and foreign policy of the state, rules matters on the deprivation of immunity the matters on deprivation of immunity a deputy upon the motion submitted by the Procurator General (art.79)<sup>49</sup>. The exclusive powers of the Senate, in turn, include, among other things, the election of the Chairman of the Senate and his deputies, the election (upon the nomination of the President of the Republic) of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Supreme Court of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Higher Economic Court of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the ratification of decrees of decrees of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the appointment and relief of diplomats of their posts upon the nomination of the President of the Republic and the Chairman of the Board of the Cen-

---

<sup>47</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, op.cit., art. 76–78, pp. 24–26.

<sup>48</sup> [Http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Uzbekistan-Ustroj-polityczny;4575646.html](http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Uzbekistan-Ustroj-polityczny;4575646.html) (30.05.2016), <http://www.eksportuj.pl/artykul/pokaz/id/10778/uzbekistan-ustroj-polityczny-podzial-i-struktura-administracyjna> (30.05.2016).

<sup>49</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, op.cit., pp. 29–30.

tral Bank of the Republic of Uzbekistan, ruling of matters on the deprivation of the immunity of a member of the Senate, the adoption of acts on amnesty upon the nomination of the president, making decisions concerning the internal schedule of the Senate, hearing reports of the Procurator General, the Chairman of the State Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan for Protection of Nature, and the Chairman of the Board of the Central Bank of the Republic of Uzbekistan (art. 80)<sup>50</sup>.

The first sitting of the Legislative Chamber and the Senate are convoked not later than in two months after the elections to the Legislative Chamber and not later than in one month after the formation of the Senate. Sittings of the Legislative Chamber are held during sessions, which are convoked since the first working day of September till the last working day of June of the next year. Sittings of the Senate are convoked by the Chairman as required, but not less often than three times in a year. A quorum required for the adoption of legal acts by the Legislative Chamber and the Senate is the absolute majority of deputies (senators) of the total composition of both chambers. At the adoption of constitutional laws, the presence of at least two thirds of the total number of all deputies and senators is obligatory (art. 81)<sup>51</sup>.

Each chamber of the parliament holds separate sittings. Joint sittings are convoked in constitutionally specified cases, such as, for example, hearing the speech of the President of the Republic on important social or economic matters, or matters concerning the home and foreign policy of the state, or hearing speeches delivered by foreign heads of state, and the “adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, introducing alterations and additions; adoption of the Constitutional laws and laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan, introducing alterations and additions; adoption of decision on holding a referendum of the Republic of Uzbekistan and designation the date of its holding; determination of the guidelines of home and foreign policies of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and adoption of strategic state programmes; determination of the structure and powers of the bodies of the legislative, executive and judicial authorities of the Republic of Uzbekistan; [...] approval of the state budget of the Republic of Uzbekistan submitted by the Cabinet of Min-

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, pp. 31–32.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, pp. 33–33.

isters of the Republic of Uzbekistan and control over its execution; [...] legislative regulation of the administrative and territorial structure, and alteration of the boundaries of the Republic of Uzbekistan; formation, annulment and renaming of districts, towns, cities and regions, and alteration of their boundaries; [...] ratification of decrees of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan on the formation and abolition of ministries, state committees and other bodies of state administration; formation of the Central Election Commission of the Republic of Uzbekistan; consideration and approval, upon the nomination of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, of a nominee of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Uzbekistan, as well as hearing and discussing reports of the Prime Minister on urgent issues of social and economic development of the country; election of an Authorized person of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan for human rights and his deputy; consideration of report of the Accounting Chamber of the Republic of Uzbekistan; ratification of decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan on announcement of condition of war in case of attack on the Republic of Uzbekistan or necessity of implementation of contractual obligations on mutual defence from aggression; ratification of decrees of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan on announcement of general and partial mobilization, introducing, extension and discontinuance of the state of emergency; ratification and denouncement of international treaties; implementation of parliamentary control and other powers stipulated by this Constitution”<sup>52</sup>.

Joint sittings may also be convoked, if both chambers agree, for considering other matters. “The matters on joint conducting by the chambers shall be considered, as a rule, first by the Legislative Chamber and then by the Senate of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan”<sup>53</sup>.

Under art. 83 of the fundamental law, “The right to initiate legislation shall be vested on the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, The Republic of Karakalpakstan through its highest representative body of state authority, deputies of the legislative Chamber of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the Higher Economic Court, the

---

<sup>52</sup> Ibidem, p. 33.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem.

Procurator-General of the Republic of Uzbekistan and shall be exercised by introducing a bill by the subjects of the right to initiate legislation into the Legislative Chamber of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan”<sup>54</sup>.

The law comes into effect when it is adopted by the Legislative Chamber, approved by the Senate, signed by the President of the Republic and issued in the official publication (art. 84). Conciliatory commissions, composed of members of both chambers, may be formed if there are disagreements between the two chambers concerning the law under consideration. The President of the Republic may return the law with his objections to the Legislative Chamber. In case of the approval of the law by both chambers by the majority of at least two thirds, the president is obliged to sign it within 14 days and promulgate.

The Speaker and his deputies supervise the work of the Legislative Chamber. The Speaker (and his deputies) is elected by the absolute majority of the total number of deputies in secret ballot. The Speaker (and his deputies) may be recalled before the appointed time by the majority of not less than two thirds of the total number of deputies of the chamber (art. 85). The Chairman and his deputies supervise the work of the Senate. The Chairman is elected by the majority of votes of the total number of senators upon the nomination of the President of the Republic. He may be recalled before the appointed time by the decision adopted by at least two thirds of all senators in secret ballot (art. 86)<sup>55</sup>.

Both the Legislative Chamber and the Senate form standing and extraordinary committees for implementing specific tasks (art. 87). The constitution introduced the principle of *incompatibilitas*, under which deputies and senators, while exercising their mandate, cannot be engaged in any form of paid activity, except for research and teaching work (art. 88). Members of parliament have the right of immunity, which means that they cannot be brought to criminal responsibility, arrested or be without the consent of the Legislative Chamber and the Senate (art. 88)<sup>56</sup>.

It should be pointed out that the constitution may be altered by law adopted by the majority of not less than two thirds of the total composition of both chambers. The constitution may also be amended by way of a referen-

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, pp. 34–35.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, pp. 38–39.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, pp. 40–41.

dum (art. 127). The parliament may adopt a law on alterations and amendments to the fundamental law not earlier than after six months after the submission of a relevant proposal. Each alteration to the constitution requires broad discussion. Should the Oliy Majlis reject a proposal on the alteration of the Constitution, it may be renewed not earlier than in a year (art. 128)<sup>57</sup>.

On 27 November 2015, the Legislative Chamber, and then a week later – on 4 December 2015 – the Senate, adopted the “Act on the Introduction of Amendments and Supplements to Some Legal Acts of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Under this act, the Act on the Legislative Chamber of the Great Assembly (the Oliy Majlis) of the Republic of Uzbekistan” of 12 December 2002 was changed. What is the most important thing is the fact that it changes the content of art. 12 of the existing constitution. In accordance with the adopted regulation, the Legislative Chamber obtained the right to lodge interpellations concerning the implementation of state programmes, the execution of the law, as well as in a number of other matters. The right to submit questions to state authorities is also granted to a deputy to the Legislative Chamber, who may demand that their representatives justify their actions or explain their position on issues relating to the observance of laws and interests of voters from the constituency from which he was elected and the interests of the Ecological Movement of Uzbekistan. A senator may also submit questions concerning interests of a regional character. The detailed conditions of the implementation of the above powers are specified in a number of documents, especially the provisions of the amended regulations of both chambers, i.e. “On Regulations of the Legislative Chamber of Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan and On regulations of the Senate of Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan”<sup>58</sup>.

Under art. 32 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, “Citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan shall have the right to participate in the management of public and state affairs, both directly and through representatives. Such participation shall be exercised by way of self-administration, holding referendums and democratic formation of state bodies, as well as development and enhancement of public control over the activity of state bodies”<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, op.cit., p. 67.

<sup>58</sup> *Ensuring the rule of law*, “Uzbekistan Today” 2016, No. 5(485), February 5, p. 2.

<sup>59</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, op.cit., art. 32, p. 13.

What plays a significant role among the institutions of direct democracy is a referendum, which is called on important state matters or on the alteration of the constitution. The referendum on the alteration of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan is of an optional character. Under art. 78 par. 3 and 127 of the constitution, the fundamental law may be altered by a law adopted by at least two thirds of the total number of deputies of the Legislative Chamber and members of the Senate or by a nationwide referendum.

The Act of 18 November 1991 “On the Referendum of the Republic of Uzbekistan”, amended on 30 August 2001, which specifies, among other things, the procedure and principles of holding a nationwide referendum, also says that “decisions adopted by way of a referendum have the highest legal force and may be repealed only by way of a referendum”<sup>60</sup>. What is important, a referendum is held on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage, in secret ballot (art. 5 of the Act on the Referendum...). All citizens of Uzbekistan who have reached the age of 18 are entitled to take part in a referendum. People who are incapacitated or imprisoned under a final and binding sentence cannot vote in a referendum (art. 6 of the Act on the Referendum...) <sup>61</sup>.

The first referendum was Mikhail Gorbachev’s attempt to save the unity of the Soviet Union. 93.7% Uzbeks voted for maintaining the status of the Soviet Republic then<sup>62</sup>. The second nationwide referendum, which was held together with the presidential elected, took place on 29 December 1991. 98.2% of the voters expressed their approval for the adoption of the “Act on the foundations of the state independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan”, adopted on 31 August 1991 by the Supreme Council of the Uzbek SSR<sup>63</sup>. The third nationwide referendum in Uzbekistan was held on 26 March 1995. The subject was the three-year extension of the term of office of the president – which was to end in 1997 – until 2000. Finally, according to the published official results, 99.6% of citizens voted for the extension of the term of office of Islam Karimov<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> J. Szukalski, R. Żmigrodzki, *Instytucja referendum ogólnokrajowego w Uzbekistanie – regulacje prawne i praktyka*, “Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne otrzymywało” 2015, No. 2, pp. 71–73; see also: Zakon Nr 417-XII, 1991, art. 1.

<sup>61</sup> J. Szukalski, R. Żmigrodzki, *op.cit.*, pp. 71–73; see also: Zakon Nr 417-XII, 1991, art. 1.

<sup>62</sup> T. Bodio, T. Mołdawa, *Konstytucje państw Azji Centralnej: tradycje i współczesność*, Warsaw 2007, s. 488; J. Szukalski, R. Żmigrodzki, *op.cit.*, s. 80.

<sup>63</sup> T. Bodio, T. Mołdawa, *op.cit.*, pp. 515–517; J. Szukalski, R. Żmigrodzki, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 501–502; *Ibidem*, p. 80.

As Jerzy Szukalski and Radosław Żmigrodzki note, the fourth nationwide referendum in Uzbekistan concerned the extension of the term of office of Islam Karimov until 2007 and the establishment of a bicameral parliament. Approximately 91% of citizens voted for the introduction of the proposed changes. Following the referendum results, a number of important laws were adopted, including the constitutional act of 4 April 2002 “on the Results of the Referendum and Basic Principles of the Organisation of State Authority”. Then, on 2 December 2002, the parliament adopted two constitutional acts, i.e. “On the Senate of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan and On the Legislative Chamber of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan”. On 24 April 2003, in turn, the law was adopted “On the Introduction of Amendments and Supplements to the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan”, which altered the content of chapter five of the constitution in the section concerning the composition and powers of both chambers of the parliament, as well as specified the powers of the president and prime minister in a new way. The act also amended the regulations concerning the activity of local organs of state authority, the judiciary, the election system, and the procedure for the adoption of the fundamental law<sup>65</sup>.

### III.

In the first transformation period, the authorities emphasised that the reforms required a strong government. It was the state that was the main initiator of the introduced changes<sup>66</sup>. Politics was to respond to challenges connected with the economic development of the state. Both politics and economy are to serve the principal purpose, i.e. the improvement of the living standard and of the level of security in Uzbekistan. Uzbek experts indicate that the economic reform that was conducted – based on the individual transition model – laid stable groundwork for implementing further constitutional changes aimed at strengthening democracy in the country through, among other things, providing favourable conditions for the development of non-govern-

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibidem, pp. 503–505; Ibidem, p. 81.

<sup>66</sup> See: A. Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, Ithaca 2015, p. 440.

ment organisations, transparent state institution, a multi-party system, or private media<sup>67</sup>.

It should be noted here that democratic institutions cannot develop if a constitution does not guarantee that citizens' rights and freedoms are respected. There is no doubt that the rule of law in the state will be ensured if its parliament has a strong position, especially with regard to its function of scrutiny over the executive branch. However, whether parliamentary work is really valuable and whether citizens' rights and freedoms are guaranteed does not exclusively depend on the adopted legal solutions. The existing political culture is important as well. In order to answer the question about the degree of the democratisation of state institutions, we need to study thoroughly to what extent specific legal norms have been implemented. When it comes to the importance of the parliament in its relations with the government and the president, we should critically examine how deputies and senators exercise the function of scrutiny over the government's activity or how they assess the level of the execution of the law. The process of democratisation is subject to evaluation not only at the declarative level, but also in the sphere of the implementation of basic values, such as the freedom of conscience and religion, the freedom of assembly, the freedom before the law, justice, political pluralism, etc. There is no doubt that the Uzbek constitution makers – when amending the existing legal acts – usually do it with respect for international standards, including the sphere of respect for the rights and freedoms of man and citizen. One cannot ignore Uzbekistan's achievement in this field; on the other hand – as it was mentioned before – it is extremely important to check the functioning of these new solutions and their observance by the authorities in practice.

As President Islam A. Karimov reckons, the global practice shows that “the election system is of the utmost importance for establishing the lawful civil society. This is why we are constantly improving our legislation in accordance with modern requirements”<sup>68</sup>. It is difficult to disagree with this opinion indeed. However, if our evaluation of the progress of the democratisation process was limited to the analysis of texts, we would come up with a false picture

---

<sup>67</sup> A. Abduvakhitov, *Uzbekistan and Its Electoral*, op.cit., pp. 8–9.

<sup>68</sup> A. Kh. Saidov, *International Election Standards and National Legislation of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, Tashkent 2014, p. 37.

of the reality. It is obvious that we need to develop mechanisms that would enable the construction of democratic structures. On the other hand, it is equally, or even more, important to create wide possibilities for citizens of using these instruments in an unlimited and unrestricted way. Is it possible, however, in Uzbekistan – the country the president of which claims that: “... in our country, there can either be democracy or order. I’m choosing the latter?”<sup>69</sup>.

## Literature

- Abdovakhitov A., *Presidential Election in Uzbekistan*, Tashkent 2015.
- Abdovakhitov A., *Uzbekistan and Its Electoral System*, Tashkent 2014.
- Amanbayeva A., *The Collision of Islam and Terrorism in Central Asia*, “Asian Criminology” 2009, No. 4.
- Bodio T., Mołdawa T., *Konstytucje państw Azji Centralnej: tradycje i współczesność*, Warsaw 2007.
- Capisani G.R., *Nowe państwa Azji Środkowej*, Warszawa 2004.
- Dagiev D., *Regime Transition in Central Asia: Stateness, Nationalism and Political Change in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan (Routledge Advances in Central Asian Studies)*, New York 2014.
- Election of the President of the Republic Uzbekistan – the Most Important Stage of the Consolidation of National Statehood and Development of Civil Society in the Country*, Tashkent 2015.
- Ensuring the rule of law*, “Uzbekistan Today”, No. 5(485), 5 February 2016.
- General Information about the Republic of Uzbekistan*, Tashkent 2014.
- Hiro D., *Inside Central Asia: A Political and Cultural History of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tadjikistan, Turkey and Iran*, New York 2009.
- Kamińska A., *Stanisław Szuszkiewicz: ZSRR rozpadł się nieoczekiwanie, na polowaniu w puszczy*, <http://www.polskieradio.pl/75/926/Artykul/495234,Stanislaw-Szuszkiewicz-ZSRR-rozpadl-sie-nieoczekiwanie-na-polowaniu-w-puszczy>.
- Karimov I., *Uzbekistan na progu XXI wieku*; trans. D. Muszyńska-Wolny, Warszawa 2001.
- Kawa S., *Zasady prawa wyznaniowego Republiki Uzbekistanu*, <http://www.sawp.org.pl/biuletyny/nr-7/67-zasady-prawa-wyznaniowego-republiki-uzbekistanu>.
- Khalid A., *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, Ithaca 2015.

---

<sup>69</sup> M. Pietruszewski, *Republika Uzbekistanu po 1991 r.*, <http://www.psz.pl/118-gospodarka/republika-uzbekistanu-po-1991-roku> (10 06 2016).

- Krastev I., *Europejska dezintegracja: wnioski płynące z rozpadu Związku Radzieckiego*, <http://www.krytykapolityczna.pl/Opinie/KrastevEuropejskadezintegracjaWnioski-plynacezupadkuZwiazkuRadzieckiego/menuid-183.html>.
- Kuchins A.C., Mankoff J., Backes O., *Central Asia in a Reconnecting Eurasia: Uzbekistan's Evolving Foreign Economic and Security Interests*, "Center for Strategic & International Studies" 2015, June.
- Malikova G.R., *Presidential elections in the Republic of Uzbekistan: questions and answers*, Tashkent 2015.
- Musiak M., *Uzbekistan: wstęp do uregulowania problemu sukcesji?*, [www.new.org.pl/downloadmagazine.php?f=new\\_3\\_4\\_2011\\_007](http://www.new.org.pl/downloadmagazine.php?f=new_3_4_2011_007).
- Pawłowski M.P., *Władza w terenie i samorząd terytorialny Republiki Uzbekistanu*, <http://blog.lpig.pl/2014/11/wladza-w-terenie-i-samorzad-terytorialny-republiki-uzbekistanu>.
- Pietruszewski M., *Republika Uzbekistanu po 1991 r.*, <http://www.psz.pl/118-gospodarka/republika-uzbekistanu-po-1991-roku>.
- Rosja, Ukraina, Białoruś, Mołdawia, Litwa, Łotwa, Estonia, Gruzja, Azerbejdżan, Armenia, Kirgizja, Turkmenia, Tadżykistan, Uzbekistan, Kazachstan, eds. J. Cichoński, A. Łabuszewska, Warszawa 2001.
- Saidov A. Kh., *International Election Standards and National Legislation of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, Tashkent 2014.
- Saidov A., Wojtaszczyk K., *Konstytucyjne podstawy ustroju Państwa*, [In:] *Uzbekistan: historia-społeczeństwo-polityka*, ed. T. Bodio, Warsaw 2001.
- Smoleń M., Lubina M., *Rozpad ZSRR i jego konsekwencje dla Europy i świata. Wspólnota Niepodległych Państw*, Warsaw 2011.
- Szukalski J., Żmigrodzki R., *Instytucja referendum ogólnokrajowego w Uzbekistanie – regulacje prawne i praktyka*, "Środkoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne otrzymywało" 2015, No. 2.
- Uzbekistan: historia – społeczeństwo – polityka*, ed. T. Bodio, Warsaw 2001.
- Zamarajewa A., *Kazachstan–Uzbekistan: rywalizacja o przywództwo w Azji Centralnej*, Pułtusk 2007.
- Законы Республики Узбекистан о выборах, Адолат, Ташкент 2014.
- Сборник нормативно-правовых актов о деятельности правоохранительных органов, Адолат, Ташкент 2014.

