



**“INTERDEPARTMENTAL COORDINATION OF
MINISTRIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF
KARAKALPAKSTAN IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
STATE POLICY: INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS,
LEGAL CONFLICTS, AND DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION**

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ABSTRACT

In the context of the large-scale administrative reform of “New Uzbekistan” (2022–2024), the issue of the effectiveness of public administration in regions with special legal status is becoming critically important. This study is devoted to a comprehensive constitutional, legal, and administrative analysis of the mechanisms of interdepartmental coordination between ministries and agencies of the Republic of Karakalpakstan (RK). The paper examines the unique administrative structure of “dual subordination,” in which the executive authorities of the RK are accountable both to the Zhokargy Kenes and the Council of Ministers of the RK, as well as to the relevant ministries of the Republic of Uzbekistan (RUz). Based on an analysis of legislation (the Constitutions of the RUz and the RK, LRU-682 “On Normative Legal Acts,” Presidential Decree DP-269), materials on law enforcement practice, and data from digital platforms (“E-qaror,” “Ijro.gov.uz”), systemic legal conflicts arising in the process of implementing national policy at the regional level are identified. Particular attention is paid to the digital transformation of rule-making as a tool for unifying the legal space and reducing corruption risks. The study demonstrates that the existing coordination model, despite the introduction of advanced digital tools, retains elements of institutional dysfunction, manifested in the contradiction between the unitary vector of governance and the constitutional guarantees of the sovereignty of the Republic of Karakalpakstan. The article proposes scientifically



based models for optimizing administrative procedures and improving conflict of laws.

INTRODUCTION

The current stage of development of Uzbek statehood is characterized by a transition from extensive bureaucracy to a results-oriented “service state” model. Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. UP-269 of December 21, 2022, “On Measures to Implement Administrative Reforms in New Uzbekistan” [1] became the starting point for a radical restructuring of the executive branch. The reduction in the number of ministries and departments, the optimization of staffing levels, and the introduction of a compact management system presented regional elites, and above all the leadership of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, with the extremely difficult task of adapting to the new model.

The Republic of Karakalpakstan, as a sovereign state within the Republic of Uzbekistan [2], is a unique subject for administrative and legal analysis. It is the only region in Central Asia that has the constitutional right to secede from the unitary state by referendum (Article 74 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan in its current version retains its status, despite the discussions in 2022) [3]. Such a high constitutional status inevitably leaves its mark on the daily activities of the executive authorities. The ministries of Karakalpakstan operate within a complex system of coordinates, where the vertical structure of strict subordination to Tashkent (in terms of methodology, standards, and financing of state programs) intersects with the horizontal structure of accountability to the local parliament, the Zhokargy Kenes, and the government, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan [4].

The relevance of the research topic is determined not only by theoretical interest in the phenomenon of asymmetric unitarianism, but also by practical challenges. The events of July 2022, when proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan concerning the status of Karakalpakstan provoked mass unrest in Nukus [3], demonstrated that administrative and legal issues in this region are inextricably linked to socio-political stability. Errors in interdepartmental coordination, ignoring local specifics when implementing centralized decisions, or legal nihilism at the local level can have far-reaching consequences.

The central scientific problem of this study is the contradiction (dichotomy) between the need to ensure a unified legal and economic space for the Republic of Uzbekistan and the constitutional autonomy of the executive power of the Republic of Karakalpakstan.

The ministries of the Republic of Karakalpakstan (e.g., the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Employment and Poverty Reduction of the Republic of Karakalpakstan) are legally in a state of “dual subordination”. On the one hand, they are obliged to carry out the orders, instructions, and regulations of the relevant



republican ministries (located in Tashkent), ensuring the unity of state policy. On the other hand, they are structural subdivisions of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, financed (in part) from the local budget and accountable to the Zhokargy Kenes [6].

This institutional duality gives rise to a number of practical problems:

1. Conflicts of competence. When the directives of the central ministry contradict the regional development priorities approved by the Zhokargy Kenes.
2. Bureaucratic inertia. The need for double approval of regulatory legal acts (RLAs) delays the adoption of management decisions.
3. Digitalization gap. The uneven implementation of e-government systems (E-qaror, ljro.gov.uz) at the central and local levels creates technical barriers to effective coordination.

The aim of the work is to develop a theoretical model of effective interdepartmental coordination in the Republic of Karakalpakstan based on a comprehensive analysis of the regulatory framework and empirical data, minimizing legal risks and improving executive discipline in the context of digitalization.

To achieve this goal, the following tasks are being addressed:

1. To reveal the constitutional and legal nature of the status of the ministries of the Republic of Karakalpakstan in the executive branch of Uzbekistan.
2. To analyze the legislation on rule-making (LRU-682) as it applies to the acts of the ministries of the Republic of Karakalpakstan and identify areas of conflict.
3. To study the procedural mechanisms for coordinating decisions (including the role of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Karakalpakstan).
4. To assess the impact of the introduction of the E-qaror information system on the transparency and legality of decision-making by the Council of Ministers and departments of the Republic of Karakalpakstan.

The study is based on the dialectical method of understanding socio-legal phenomena. The formal legal method (analysis of normative legal acts), comparative legal method (comparison of the powers of the ministries of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Karakalpakstan), institutional analysis method (study of management structures), and statistical method (analysis of data on the use of E-qaror) were used. The empirical basis consists of the Constitutions of Uzbekistan and Karakalpakstan, the laws of Uzbekistan and Karakalpakstan, presidential decrees, government resolutions, as well as data from the legal systems Lex.uz, Joqargikenes.uz and E-qaror.gov.uz.

Theoretical and constitutional foundations of interagency coordination. To understand the nature of interagency coordination, it is necessary to refer to the foundations of the state structure. Article 85 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan states: "The sovereign Republic of Karakalpakstan is part of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The sovereignty of the Republic of Karakalpakstan is protected by the Republic of Uzbekistan" [2]. This provision is duplicated in Article 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, which defines Karakalpakstan as a sovereign democratic state [4].



However, this sovereignty is limited, or, more precisely, integrated in nature. Article 87 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan establishes the principle of the supremacy of federal (republican) law: "The laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan are binding on the territory of the Republic of Karakalpakstan" [2]. This creates a complex legal hierarchy for any ministry in Nukus. The minister in Karakalpakstan is not a fully autonomous figure; he acts within the framework outlined by Uzbek legislation, but taking into account the specifics enshrined in the Constitution and laws of Karakalpakstan.

In administrative law, this model is characterized as asymmetric unitarianism. Unlike a classical federation, where the subjects have clearly delineated areas of jurisdiction, in the Uzbekistan-Karakalpakstan model, the competence of the ministries of the Republic of Karakalpakstan often mirrors that of the ministries of the Republic of Uzbekistan, but with territorial restrictions (see Table 1).

Table 1. Comparative analysis of the constitutional basis for the activities of the executive branch

Comparison criterion	Republic of Uzbekistan (Central Administration)	Republic of Karakalpakstan (Regional Administration)	Coordination mechanism
Source of sovereignty	The People of Uzbekistan (Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan)	The people of Karakalpakstan (Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Karakalpakstan)	Mutual recognition of sovereignty with priority given to the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan
Legal framework	Laws of the Oliy Majlis, Decrees of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan	Laws of the Zhogargy Kenes, Decrees of the Chairman of the Zhogargy Kenes	Harmonization of the legislation of the Republic of Karakalpakstan with the acts of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Article 86 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan)
Appointment of ministers	By Presidential Decree approving the Oliy Majlis	By resolution of the Zhogargy Kenes, at the proposal of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan	Preliminary approval of candidates by the relevant Uzbek minister (unspoken practice/regulation).



Head of the executive branch	Prime Minister of the Republic of Uzbekistan	Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan	The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan is ex officio a member of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan
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The phenomenon of dual subordination: Administrative and legal theory. The institution of dual subordination is the cornerstone of the system of government in Karakalpakstan. In theory, this means that a governing body is subordinate vertically to a higher body within the same system (sectoral subordination) and horizontally to the executive body with general jurisdiction in the given territory (functional-territorial subordination).

In the context of Karakalpakstan, this scheme looks as follows:

Vertical (sectoral competence): The Ministry of Health of the Republic of Karakalpakstan is subordinate to the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Uzbekistan [5].

Subject matter. Uniform treatment standards, diagnostic protocols, vaccine procurement, licensing requirements, digital health platform (IT-Med).

Tools. Orders of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Uzbekistan, sectoral regulations, conference calls.

Horizontal (territorial competence). The Ministry of Health of the Republic of Karakalpakstan reports to the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan.

Subject matter: Material and technical support for hospitals, building repairs, local personnel policy, interaction with district hokimiyats, response to local emergencies.

Instruments: Resolutions of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, protocol instructions of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, decisions of the Zhokargy Kenes.

As noted by researcher G. Erniyazova [4], the problem of improving the legal status of the Republic of Karakalpakstan is closely linked to the need for a clear division of powers within this dual subordination. The lack of clear boundaries often leads to the ministry finding itself “between a rock and a hard place,” receiving conflicting instructions. For example, the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Uzbekistan may require staff reductions to optimize the budget (UP-269), while the Zhokargy Kenes may require the preservation of jobs in the social sector to maintain employment in a region with a difficult environmental and economic situation (in the Aral region).

Impact of the 2023 Administrative Reform (DP-269). The adoption of Presidential Decree No. DP-269 “On Measures to Implement Administrative Reforms in New Uzbekistan” [1] launched a process of profound transformation of the administrative apparatus. The reform involved reducing the number of independent agencies and consolidating them.



For Karakalpakstan, this meant the need for a simultaneous change in the structure of the Council of Ministers. The principle of institutional isomorphism required that the structure of the government in Nukus mirror that of Tashkent.

If in Tashkent the Ministry of Economy and the Ministry of Finance merge into the Ministry of Economy and Finance [9], a similar merger should take place in the Republic of Karakalpakstan.

If an Agency for Strategic Reforms under the President is created, its territorial divisions must be integrated into the management system of the Republic of Karakalpakstan.

This transformation placed a significant burden on interagency coordination mechanisms. During the transition period (first half of 2023), there were delays in decision-making due to uncertainty about the status of the reorganized agencies. The decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan of April 2023 [10] was aimed at implementing these reforms at the local level, but the process of forming new staffing tables and regulations for ministries required considerable time and coordination with the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Karakalpakstan.

Rule-making in the Republic of Karakalpakstan: procedures and conflicts. The fundamental document regulating the process of creating legal norms is the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. LRU-682 of April 20, 2021, "On Regulatory Legal Acts" [11]. This law has direct effect throughout the territory of Uzbekistan, including Karakalpakstan, and establishes strict requirements for the hierarchy and quality of acts.

According to Article 4 of the Law, a regulatory legal act is an official document adopted in accordance with the law and aimed at establishing legal norms [11]. Critically important for the ministries of the Republic of Karakalpakstan is Article 11, which establishes the limits of regulation of subordinate acts. Subordinate acts (which include orders of ministers and resolutions of agencies) are not allowed to establish norms on issues that are subject to regulation exclusively by laws [11].

This provision is often violated at the regional level when agencies attempt to introduce new obligations for entrepreneurs or citizens that are not provided for by law. For example, the introduction of additional local taxes or reporting requirements by acts of the ministries of the Republic of Karakalpakstan without a corresponding legislative act of the Zhogargy Kenes is a direct violation of LRU-682.

The Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Karakalpakstan is a key link in the system of interdepartmental coordination and control of legality [15]. Unlike sectoral ministries, the Ministry of Justice has interdepartmental control powers.

Functions of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Karakalpakstan in the field of coordination:

1. Legal expertise. All draft normative legal acts developed by the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, ministries, and local administrations are subject to mandatory legal expertise by the Ministry of Justice [11]. Without a positive conclusion ("visa") from the Ministry of Justice, the document cannot be adopted.



2. State registration. Departmental regulatory legal acts (orders of ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan that are binding in nature) come into force only after state registration with the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Karakalpakstan.

3. Anti-corruption review. In accordance with the law [11], the Ministry of Justice reviews drafts for the presence of corruption-prone factors (broad discretionary powers, vague deadlines, excessive requirements).

Practice shows that the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Karakalpakstan often returns draft acts for revision. The main reasons for return are:

contradiction with acts of higher legal force (laws of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, presidential decrees);

exceeding the competence of the department;

conflicts with previously adopted acts of other ministries.

An analysis of law enforcement practice allows us to identify several types of conflicts arising in the work of the ministries of the Republic of Karakalpakstan:

Hierarchical conflicts. Contradiction between an act of a ministry of the Republic of Karakalpakstan and an act of a ministry of the Republic of Uzbekistan. According to Article 87 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan and Article 12 of LRU-682, an act of the republican (Republic of Uzbekistan) level takes precedence if it is adopted within the limits of competence. However, in practice, local officials often follow “their own” act until the prosecutor’s office protests.

Competence conflicts. A situation where two agencies (e.g., the Ministry of Water Resources of Karakalpakstan and the Committee on Ecology of Karakalpakstan) regulate the same issue (e.g., water use in the Amu Darya delta) differently. In the context of the environmental crisis in the Aral Sea region, such conflicts are critical [3].

Linguistic (semantic) conflicts. These arise when translating normative acts from Uzbek into Karakalpak. Terminological discrepancies can lead to different interpretations of legal norms at the local level. The Law on the State Language requires authenticity of texts, but the shortage of qualified legal translators in government agencies creates risks.

Procedures and mechanisms. From paper to digital. The highest executive authority coordinating the activities of ministries is the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan [6]. Its status is regulated by a separate Law of the Republic of Karakalpakstan “On the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan”.

The Council of Ministers uses the following coordination tools:

Presidium meetings: Weekly meetings where operational issues are discussed and disagreements between ministers are resolved.

Interdepartmental commissions: Creation of temporary or permanent working groups to solve complex tasks. For example, issues of land relations and changes in land categories are resolved through the Government Commission [1], which includes representatives of various departments (Ministry of Agriculture, Cadastre, Ecology).

Monitoring groups: In accordance with the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan [13], groups are being set up to monitor the implementation of decisions to support entrepreneurship. This is a form of top-down control that ensures uniform law enforcement practices.



The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan (currently Farhod Ermanov [12]) plays a key role as a mediator between Tashkent and Nukus. His status as a member of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan allows him to directly raise regional issues with the Prime Minister and President of Uzbekistan.

A revolutionary step in the mechanism of interdepartmental coordination was the introduction of a unified electronic system for the development, coordination, and registration of decisions by local government authorities — “E-qaror” (e-qaror.gov.uz) [7].

Prior to the introduction of this system (before 2021), the process of coordinating draft decisions of hokims and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan was carried out on paper. This led to:

- delays (documents were lost or lay waiting for signature for weeks);
- corruption risks (the possibility of substituting sheets, signing “retroactively”);
- low quality of work (lack of real expertise from related departments).

E-qaror functionality in Karakalpakstan:

The system provides a fully digital document lifecycle:

1. Initiation: The project is uploaded to the system by the executor.
2. Parallel approval: The project is simultaneously sent to all relevant departments (finance, economy, cadastre, etc.).
3. Automatic review: The system is integrated with the databases of the Ministry of Justice, which ensures that the legal review stage is not skipped.
4. Electronic digital signature (EDS): Each endorsement and final signature is carried out only through EDS, which guarantees personalized responsibility.

Statistics on the use of the system in Karakalpakstan [14] show a steady increase in the number of decisions made through E-qaror. In 2023–2024, thousands of decisions will pass through the system, ranging from the allocation of material assistance to the approval of regional investment programs. Resolutions of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan No. 443-13-0-Q/23 of December 7, 2023 [8] and No. 9-13-0-Q/24 of January 5, 2024 [14] concerning anti-corruption control were adopted and published through this platform, confirming its status as the main channel for legitimizing management decisions.

The effectiveness of coordination depends not only on decision-making, but also on monitoring their implementation. To this end, the ljro.gov.uz system has been introduced in Karakalpakstan [6].

This system allows real-time monitoring of the implementation of orders issued by the President and Government of Karakalpakstan.

Mechanism: An instruction from Tashkent (decree, resolution) enters the system and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan assigns it to the executors (ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan), then Ministers enter data on implementation.

Transparency: The system highlights overdue instructions in red, which automatically affects the KPIs of department heads. This creates a powerful incentive for



horizontal coordination, as the execution of a single item often requires the actions of several ministries.

The dissertation research [6] proposes to enshrine the mandatory use of electronic systems in the Law “On Regulatory Legal Acts” of the Republic of Karakalpakstan in order to exclude the possibility of “paper” circumvention of digital control.

Consequences, risks, and prospects. The lack of effective coordination between the center and the region can lead to serious socio-political crises. The most striking example is the events of July 2022 in Nukus [3].

Analysis shows that one of the reasons for the crisis was a communication and coordination error in the drafting of the constitutional law. The draft amendments, which proposed changing the status of Karakalpakstan's sovereignty (removing the word “sovereign” and abolishing the right to secession), were published for public discussion without proper preliminary explanatory work and, judging by the reaction of the population, without sufficient consideration of the opinions of local elites and civil society at the closed consultation stage.

Legal lesson: The coordination mechanism for the preparation of such fundamental acts should include not only bureaucratic coordination (ministerial approvals), but also broad public consultation and political expertise. A formal approach (a “check mark” on the approval sheet) is unacceptable in matters of federal or autonomous structure.

As noted by The Diplomat [3], President Shavkat Mirziyoyev's swift response (flying to Nukus and canceling the controversial amendments) helped stabilize the situation, but the very fact that the conflict arose indicates that the Nukus-Tashkent feedback channel within the administrative hierarchy had failed.

Problems with human resources and the “brain drain.” Coordination requires highly qualified civil servants. The complexity of modern tasks (digitalization, investment climate, ecology) requires world-class competencies from employees of the ministries of the Republic of Karakalpakstan. However, there is a shortage of qualified lawyers, economists, and IT specialists in the region.

The low competitiveness of salaries in the region's public sector compared to the private sector or jobs in Tashkent means that ministries in Karakalpakstan often employ specialists who do not have the skills required to work in complex systems such as E-qaror or to provide high-quality legal expertise. This reduces the quality of decisions and forces the center (Tashkent) to switch to “manual control”, replacing regional institutions.

Recommendations for improving coordination mechanisms. Based on the analysis, a set of measures is proposed to improve the system of interagency coordination:

1. Regulatory framework:

Develop and adopt administrative regulations governing interaction between the executive authorities of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Karakalpakstan. The document should clearly spell out the algorithms for resolving disputes (conciliation commissions) and the deadlines for reviewing requests.

Amend the Law of the Republic of Karakalpakstan “On the Council of Ministers,” establishing the priority of using digital platforms (E-qaror) as the only legitimate means of making regulatory decisions [6].



2. Institutional development:

Strengthen the role of the Permanent Representation of the Republic of Karakalpakstan to the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Tashkent. Transform it from a protocol body into a full-fledged analytical hub that provides preliminary expert assessment of central government initiatives in terms of their impact on the region.

Create a Situation Center under the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan that integrates data from all ministries in real time for informed management decisions.

3. Personnel and language support:

introduce mandatory linguistic expertise of normative legal acts in the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Karakalpakstan to eliminate semantic conflicts between Uzbek and Karakalpak texts of laws;

organize regular internships for employees of ministries of the Republic of Karakalpakstan in relevant ministries of the Republic of Uzbekistan to synchronize methodological approaches.

CONCLUSION

A study of the mechanisms of interdepartmental coordination between ministries in the Republic of Karakalpakstan has revealed a complex, dynamically developing system that is undergoing transformation. The “dual subordination” model, a legacy of the Soviet era and the compromises of the 1990s, is now being tested by administrative reforms and digitalization.

On the one hand, the introduction of the E-qaror and Ijro.gov.uz systems has significantly increased the transparency of procedures and executive discipline, reducing opportunities for local arbitrariness. The legal framework, based on the Law on Regulatory Legal Acts and the Constitution, provides the necessary framework for legality.

On the other hand, there remains a fundamental tension between the unitary nature of state policy and the constitutional status of Karakalpakstan's sovereignty. The events of 2022 showed that ignoring the specifics of the region in favor of bureaucratic unification carries high political risks. Effective coordination in such conditions cannot be based solely on hierarchical subordination; it requires the development of horizontal ties, dialogue platforms, and mechanisms for coordinating interests.

The future of the governance system in Karakalpakstan depends on the ability of the center and the region to build a model of cooperative unitarianism, where the ministries of the Republic of Karakalpakstan are not simply executors of Tashkent's will, but active co-creators of state policy, adapting national goals to the unique needs of the Priaralye region. This requires further improvement of legislation, investment in human capital, and deeper digital integration without compromising legal autonomy.

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