

EUROPEAN UNION AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC'S MULTIVECTOR FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY

A. Mirzaev¹, D. Maldybaev¹, I. Ivanov²

1. Kazy Dikambaev Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic
Kyrgyz Republic, Bishkek
2. Kazakh German University
Kazakhstan, Almaty

Abstract

This study evaluates the role of the Western vector in the foreign policy of the Kyrgyz Republic. It examines the dynamics of cooperation between the Kyrgyz Republic, aka Kyrgyzstan, and its Western partners from 2015 to 2025, analyzing diplomatic, economic, and institutional aspects within the framework of a multivector strategy. The research's novelty is distinctive in applying a theoretical approach grounded in the concepts of flexibility, balancing, and multi-vector partnership. Unlike earlier studies that treat the Western dimension either fragmentarily or within a broader regional context, this article presents it as an independent instrument for strengthening Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy autonomy. The findings demonstrate that sustained engagement with the European Union and the United States is vital for enhancing the resilience of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy and consolidating its sovereignty.

Key words: international cooperation of Kyrgyzstan, foreign policy strategy, multi-vectorism.

Introduction

Regarding the priorities of Kyrgyz Republic's foreign policy, Ryzhov I. V. and Borodina M. Y. highlight that the concept of foreign policy delineates Kyrgyz Republic's "foreign policy space" at three levels: regional, continental, and global. The main foreign policy vectors for Kyrgyz Republic in the 21st century are identified as Western, Russian, and Asian. The Western vector encompasses relations with EU countries, the United States, and Türkiye. [1]

The Kyrgyz Republic, located in the heart of Eurasia, traditionally builds a multi-vector foreign policy focused on balancing the interests of the world's leading centers of power. The Western vector, covering relations with the European Union, the United States of America, and other states, occupies a special place in the strategy of the country's foreign policy positioning. Against the backdrop of recent transformations in the system of international relations, the issue of Bishkek's foreign policy along the Western vector has become more relevant. The below two key events of the last decade have contributed to this relevance. The first was the coronavirus pandemic of 2020. The second was the crisis in Ukraine. Both events forced the leadership of Kyrgyz Republic to reflect on the impact of cooperation with key actors of global politics on the country's economy. Bishkek's foreign policy along the Western vector opens access for citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic to modern technologies, education, and academic exchange. Western countries, constituting the core of the G20 format, play a key role in making global decisions. Therefore, Kyrgyz Republic's cooperation with European countries and the United States can contribute to the development of education, science, art, and culture. Conversely, it is significant to recognize the significance of key actors in Kyrgyz Republic's foreign policy, namely the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China (PRC). Official Bishkek participates with these countries in common security formats, such as the CSTO and SCO, as well as in common integration projects such as the EAEU and the "Belt and Road" initiative.

The main challenge for Bishkek's foreign policy implementation is that the Kyrgyz Republic exists within a contradictory geopolitical context. On the one hand, Kyrgyz Republic is tied to commitments within

Russian- and Chinese-dominated formats that provide its military security and economic development. On the other hand, the sustainable development of the country requires active expansion of cooperation with Western states, which possess significant investment, technological, and educational potential. Thus, the country's leadership faces the problem of developing a balanced strategy for foreign policy implementation.

Our study seeks to assess the role of the Western vector in the modern foreign policy of the Kyrgyz Republic. In existing academic publications, Kyrgyz Republic's Western foreign policy vector is mostly considered fragmentarily - in the context of democratization, trade and economic relations, or security issues. At the same time, a comprehensive analysis of its place within the overall system of the country's foreign policy priorities is lacking. Meanwhile, the Western direction is becoming increasingly significant against the backdrop of growing geopolitical tensions and changes in the structure of the global order, which requires deeper study. Achieving this goal will allow us to determine its importance for strengthening the country's international standing, as well as to identify how the Western direction contributes to the preservation of Kyrgyz Republic's resilience and independence under conditions of global transformations.

Methodology and Materials

Our study uses a combination of theoretical works on regionalism and adaptive strategies of small states, regional studies, and empirical sources. The theoretical basis consists of modern interpretations of multi-vector regionalism and adaptation strategies (pieces of work on regionalism; studies of regional practices in Southeast Asia and multilateral security) that are used to construct the analytical framework of "flexibility - balance - multi-vector strategy." The regional context is reflected in works devoted to the evolution of Central Asian regionalism and the external interests of Russia, the USA, and China, as well as practical reports and official documents (including the foreign policy concept of the Kyrgyz Republic, European and American sources, and World Bank analytical reports). The chronological framework of the analysis covers the period between 2015 and 2025.

As a theoretical and methodological framework, the concept of "accommodation regionalism" is used. It assumes the republic's effort to adapt to complex circumstances, part of which are the interests of larger regional players. Thus, the Western vector of the Kyrgyz Republic is considered as a tool of integration into the Western-oriented part of the world community. Theoretical frameworks of the study include regionalism concepts reflected in the works of Söderbaum F. [2] Dent C. [3], Acharya A. [4] and Buranelli C. [5] All four works share an interdisciplinary approach to regionalism as a complex, multi-vector, and dynamic phenomenon that goes beyond narrow economic or political integration. Söderbaum focuses on rethinking the concept in the 21st century, analyzing regionalism as an open and adaptive form of political organization influenced by global and local factors. Dent examines Southeast Asian regionalism through the lens of opportunities and threats for external actors, showing how regional structures create conditions for interaction with the EU. Acharya links regionalism with multilateral security mechanisms, emphasizing the role of norms, institutions, and collective security in the Asia-Pacific. F. Costa Buranelli, in turn, applies theoretical approaches to analyze the Central Asian experience of the 1990s, identifying the functions of regional initiatives in shaping order, habituation, and external positioning. A common theme in these works is the recognition that regionalism is not only an instrument of economic integration, but also a means of institutional adaptation, managing asymmetries, and reconciling interests under conditions of a changing world order.

The analysis of the Western vector of Kyrgyz Republic's foreign policy was conducted according to three criteria: Flexibility of the foreign policy course, which presumes maintaining membership in the CSTO and SCO while developing cooperation with the EU and the USA; Balance of interests of the main partners, which is a natural need of Kyrgyz Republic's foreign policy course since this balance largely guarantees the country's subjectivity; Multi-level partnership – using formats of bilateral diplomacy with Western countries, including in the areas of security, investment, and information technology.

Flexibility of the foreign policy course is a fundamental characteristic of the foreign policy strategy of small states. Under conditions of uncertainty and great-power competition, they cannot afford a rigid foreign policy course, as this limits room for maneuver and increases vulnerability. Flexibility implies the ability to adapt to changes in the international environment, adjust priorities, and at the same time maintain interaction with different centers of power. This feature allows small states to solve the problem of security provision. As Kovalyov A. A. emphasizes: "States that employ strategic hedging should not face threats from rising regional

superpowers, and their security environment should not be based on the ‘hard logic of a bloc,’ allowing some flexibility regarding attachment to one side.” [6, p.35]

Balancing the interests of major partners reflects the strategy of equalizing the interests of external actors present in the region. For small states located at the crossroads of great powers’ interests, balancing is not therefore much a choice as a necessity for ensuring national security and preserving autonomy. This is especially relevant for modern Kyrgyz Republic. As Turusbekov D. B. notes: “For Kyrgyz Republic, balancing between centers of power — the ‘great powers’ — can be both risky and extremely beneficial; it all depends on diplomatic skill and a sense of proportion. Excessive rapprochement with any of the leading actors in world politics — be it Russia, the USA, or China — threatens to pull the country into its sphere of influence or, more mildly, its ‘gravitational zone,’ from which it will later be difficult to escape.” [7, p.285] In modern conditions, balancing involves not only military, but also economic, diplomatic and informational instruments. A significant role in this process is played by the country’s participation in various international institutions, which allows mitigating pressure from the strongest players and adapting foreign policy strategy to the changing situation.

Multilevel partnership characterizes the state’s desire to develop foreign policy ties in different areas (economy, security, and humanitarian cooperation). For small states, multilevelness becomes an instrument for expanding opportunities for influence and reducing risks associated with dependence on a single bloc or alliance. In Kyrgyz Republic’s case, this manifests itself in the fact that Bishkek maintains a high pace in bilateral relations with key Western partners across a wide range of issues. The choice of these criteria for analysis is determined by both theoretical and practical considerations. From a theoretical point of view, flexibility, balance and multi-vector approaches are universal characteristics of the behavior of small states in the context of the transformation of the international relations system that is taking place at this stage. From a practical point of view, these three dimensions are most clearly manifested in the foreign policy practice of Kyrgyz Republic in 2015–2025, when the country is faced with the need to maneuver between the interests of Russia, China, the United States and the EU. An analysis of Bishkek’s foreign policy through the prism of flexibility, balance and multi-leveling allows us to consider the Western vector of foreign policy as a dynamic and multi-vectoral strategy aimed at achieving a balance of interests and strengthening the state’s position in the context of the transformation of the global order.

1. The Results of the Study

The analysis of the Western vector of the Kyrgyz Republic’s foreign policy in 2015–2025 showed that the key characteristics of its foreign policy strategy are flexibility, balance of interests, and multi-vector partnership. These elements provide the country with the ability to adapt to the changing international environment and strengthen its subjectivity. The period of study was marked by intensifying geopolitical competition in Central Asia, which required Kyrgyz Republic to participate more actively in international initiatives and to build dialogue with various external players. Important roles were played by cooperation agreements with the European Union, [8] as well as joint programs with the United States, which contributed to the modernization of the economy and increased its resilience during global crises.

3.1 Flexibility of Foreign Policy Course

The flexibility of the foreign policy of the Kyrgyz Republic is manifested in the ability to simultaneously maintain membership in traditional security alliances and integration associations of post-Soviet space, such as the CSTO and SCO, and simultaneously build active interaction with Western partners. Kyrgyz Republic’s foreign policy continues the tradition of “multi-vectorism”, which is traditionally understood as the desire to build relations simultaneously with different centers of power. Among the striking events of the last decade, one can recall how the American Manas air base (aka Transit Center at Manas)¹ was closed in Kyrgyz Republic. Against this background, official Bishkek is becoming part of the Eurasian Economic Union created by Moscow. Participation in the CSTO provides Kyrgyz Republic with guarantees of collective security and political support from Russia and other allies, and membership in the SCO strengthens the country’s position

¹ On June 3, 2014, the official closing ceremony of the US air base took place at Manas Airport.

in the regional system of multilateral cooperation with China. On the other hand, Bishkek seeks to develop relations with the European Union and the United States, which is expressed in the conclusion of the Enhanced Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with the EU, the operation of the GSP+ trade preferences regime, as well as the preservation of extensive American aid programs through USAID in the areas of education, healthcare and local development. Such a dual strategy allows Kyrgyz Republic to minimize foreign policy risks, maintain a balance between the eastern and western centers of power and strengthen its own sovereignty. Moreover, such an approach corresponds to the concept of "adaptive regionalism" described in modern academic literature: small states, being between competing actors, strive not to choose one partner, but to flexibly combine various formats, which ensures the sustainability and maneuverability of their foreign policy.

The manifestation of flexibility in Kyrgyz Republic's foreign policy can be considered as a necessary protective measure, since larger players, with whom Bishkek's foreign policy is aimed, have their own interests, for which strategies are created in relation to the region. Analyzing the approaches in Russian foreign policy towards the countries of Central Asia, it can be determined that Moscow is solving two geopolitical problems. The first task is to create strong and inseparable ties with the countries of the region. The second task is to include the countries of the region in various formats of ensuring security. [9, pp.54-55]

At the same time, the United States of America also has its own interests in the region. Washington's growing attention to the situation in Central Asia since the mid-2010s, the actions of the White House administrations in the region demonstrate a focus on achieving two goals: distancing the countries of the subregion from Russia and China and containing destabilization in them. [10, p. 73] Washington officially publishes its strategy for the countries of the region, in which it sets out the goals, the implementation of which is officially declared. At the same time, the importance of the specially created format of interaction with the countries of region C5+1 is noted. In particular, it is noted: "U.S. participation in the C5+1 supports regional connectivity and Central Asian sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. C5+1 projects are being implemented across Central Asia with over \$34 million from the United States Government in the areas of security, economic connectivity, and environment". [11]

All of China's political interests, and along with them the Belt and Road initiative, boil down to the following: preserving its own sovereignty, resisting Western pressure, which has intensified recently, creating a new concept of international security, and promoting a more balanced and diversified development of the region and the world. [12, p. 293] The territory of Kyrgyz Republic is given an important role in ensuring the transit of Chinese goods in the direction of the European Union, as well as access to the natural resources of Kyrgyz Republic.

The interests of the European Union in relations with Kyrgyz Republic are related to the development of cooperation in the field of transport, extraction of natural resources, as well as in the field of investment. The official Internet resource "The Diplomatic Service of the European Union" contains information on the development of cooperation between the European Union and Kyrgyz Republic. In particular, it is noted there: Since 2016, the Kyrgyz Republic has benefited from unilateral and preferential access to the EU market through the Special Incentive Arrangement for Sustainable Development (GSP+) of the EU Generalized Scheme of Preferences. The trade and economic relations aspects of the EPCA are complementary with the market access and sustainability commitments offered by the EU's GSP. The Kyrgyz Republic is the EU's third trading partner in Central Asia. GSP+ has contributed to an increase in EU – Kyrgyz trade in goods in 2023 by 116% (over 2022) reaching EUR 2.845 billion.[13]

Given that each of Bishkek's key foreign policy vectors pursues its own interests in Central Asia, the leadership of the Kyrgyz Republic must demonstrate flexibility to safeguard its agency at the regional level and, by extension, globally. The Western vector—encompassing relations with the United States and the European Union—remains the primary means of reinforcing this agency in dealings with China and Russia. Moscow and Beijing, owing to their geographic proximity, possess greater capacity to influence Kyrgyzstan. By contrast, an expanded partnership with the European Union and deepened cooperation with the United States serve as essential guarantees for maintaining the existing balance.

3.2 Balance of Interests of Major Partners.

The policy of balancing the interests of key partners is a necessary condition for Kyrgyz Republic to maintain internal stability and foreign policy autonomy. This specificity is described in the work of Elif Özدilek, who notes that "Kyrgyz Republic, as a small state, demonstrates mastery in its relations with major powers by carefully balancing geopolitical considerations, economic interests, and regional security dynamics." [14, p. 25]

Kyrgyz Republic's balancing policy is implemented through three main directions - diplomatic, economic and military. As A. Usenov emphasizes, "Kyrgyz Republic actively uses participation in international organizations. Bilateral agreements with Russia and the United States are an important tool for maintaining a balanced foreign policy" [15, p. 388]. In the diplomatic sphere, Kyrgyzstan relies on active participation in international organizations and the conclusion of bilateral agreements with key partners, enabling Bishkek to balance relations among competing centers of power. Economically, this balancing strategy is reflected in the diversification of financial assistance and investment sources, including cooperation with international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, as well as with individual states. Membership in the Eurasian Economic Union provides additional opportunities to access member-state markets and mitigates reliance on any single economic partner. In the military domain, the experience of hosting the U.S. Manas airbase is illustrative, as it facilitated defense cooperation while simultaneously generating substantial economic benefits for the country.

Maintaining a balance of interests among major partners is largely a product of the Kyrgyz Republic's flexible foreign policy. Such balance is attainable only through the country's successful integration into regional structures. In practice, this is reflected in Bishkek's participation in the SCO security framework and the CSTO collective defense system. On the economic front, Kyrgyzstan's integration into the Eurasian Economic Union and involvement in China's Belt and Road Initiative create opportunities to leverage its transit potential and expand access to neighboring markets. These engagements, in turn, strengthen the Republic's agency at the regional level by embedding it within the region's economic and security architectures.

The period of 2022-2023 was marked by a significant diversification of Kyrgyz Republic's international relations. The country considerably expanded the geography of its economic cooperation beyond its traditional engagements with the Russian Federation (RF) and the People's Republic of China (PRC). [16, p. 1971] This diversification has largely contributed to the fact that by 2025 the country had formed the necessary balance of interests in a variety of areas. For example, the balance of interests of Kyrgyz Republic's partners in the security area is in practice determined by the ability to cooperate through defense ministries with China, Russia and neighboring countries in the region. Along with this, the country's foreign policy is always influenced by the global background. For example, a deterioration in the global background can affect the non-nuclear status of the Central Asian countries. This is evidenced by the results of one of the studies conducted at the Kazakh-German University. It notes that: "The study showed that the main threat to the nuclear-free status of the Central Asian countries is the disruption of the global balance of power, which can lead to changes in the architecture of regional security. This, in turn, can largely be the result of a change in the foreign and security policy vectors of the countries in the region." [17, p. 102]

Maintaining a balance of interests among key partners serves as a safeguard for Bishkek, helping to mitigate the negative consequences of shifts in global geopolitical alignments. Regular consultations with regional partners cushion the economic shocks that stem from trade disputes and other disruptions. After 2022, Bishkek coordinated economic policy with Moscow within the framework of the EAEU while simultaneously engaging Brussels on the development of transport corridors through Central Asia. This multivector approach provides the Kyrgyz Republic not only with short-term economic stability but also with a durable foundation for preserving sovereignty and independence in a transforming world order. The importance of this balance is underscored by the Kyrgyz economy's reliance on the free flow of remittances. As highlighted in a World Bank analytical report: "Remittance flows have demonstrated remarkable resilience through the COVID-19 pandemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine, helping to mitigate the already significant impact that they have had on poverty in the country." [18, p. 26] Thus, the balance of geopolitical interests for Kyrgyz Republic is not only a diplomatic formula, but also a practical strategy to mitigate the consequences of global trade wars and political crises. Constant consultations with key partners (Russia, China, the EU, and the US) allow

Bishkek to flexibly respond to changes in the external environment, find compromise solutions and minimize risks.

The Western vector contributes to maintaining balance in Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy by expanding the country's capacity to operate in multilateral settings. Formats such as "C5+1" provide a platform to address economic and security issues with the participation of extra-regional actors possessing significant financial resources and political influence. In this sense, the Western dimension does not compete with Kyrgyzstan's relations with neighboring states but complements them as an additional source of stability and development. It facilitates the strengthening of cross-border infrastructure, promotes economic modernization, and supports the creation of new platforms for dialogue. For the Kyrgyz Republic, situated at the crossroads of a complex geopolitical environment, such a multi-vector strategy serves not only as a tool of current policy but also as a foundation for long-term stability, enabling the country to minimize risks and capitalize on opportunities generated by the transformation of the world order.

3.3 Multilevel Partnership

Multilevel partnership should be viewed as a natural extension of the principles of flexibility and balance in Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy. While flexibility allows the country to adapt swiftly to external shifts, and balancing provides a "cushion" of predictability in relations with major powers, multi-vector partnership translates these strategies into durable practice. This is achieved through institutional engagement within regional frameworks such as the SCO and CSTO in the security sphere, and the Belt and Road Initiative and the EAEU in the economic domain.

The country's foreign policy concept directly states that: "In order to promote national interests, assist in ensuring national and regional security and solving socio-economic problems, the Kyrgyz Republic actively interacts within the framework of the United Nations, the Eurasian Economic Union, the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States, the Economic Cooperation Organization and other international organizations." [19]

In practice, multileveling is manifested in a combination of two approaches to interaction. The first approach is to build multi-level cooperation within the framework of bilateral interaction. This can include all areas of cooperation without exception, from trade to the IT industry. Such tracks provide quick and measurable benefits that can be purposefully linked with national development programs. The second approach is cooperation within the framework of regional and interregional platforms, where the parties develop agreed standards and comparable practices, which facilitates transit and logistics projects, joint management of migration flows and coordination of crisis management measures.

The Western vector of the foreign policy of the Kyrgyz Republic plays a key role in the formation and development of the country's multi-level partnership, especially in the context of its relations with neighbors (China, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan). The geographical position of Kyrgyz Republic predetermines the need to build a complex and flexible system of foreign policy relations, in which the Western direction acts not so much as an alternative to eastern partners, but as an important addition that ensures the balance and diversification of external resources.

The importance of the Western vector for multi-level partnership is that it provides Kyrgyz Republic with an "independent channel of economic and political interaction" that is not dependent on regional power centers such as Iran, Russia, and China. In a situation where the country's economy is closely tied to the Russian labor market, and trade and infrastructure projects are largely oriented toward China, having an alternative partner in the form of Western countries helps reduce the risks of excessive dependence. For example, cooperation with the European Union within the framework of the trade preference scheme and sustainable development programs creates opportunities for the export of products that do not directly compete with goods from neighboring countries and also provides access to modern quality standards and environmental requirements.

An important and in many ways unique part of Kyrgyz Republic's multi-level partnership with the United States and Europe is support for "soft forms of cooperation," which cover education, healthcare, public administration reform, and the development of local communities. These projects create an additional level of

interaction that goes beyond traditional diplomatic relations. Programs implemented with the support of the U.S. (note: administered by USAID up until July 1, 2025 when USAID's operations have ceased and U.S. foreign assistance has now been administered by the U.S. State Department.) and European funds have been working not only at the national level, but also in border areas, where they contribute to improving living standards and reducing social tensions. As a result, horizontal ties between Kyrgyz Republic's civil society and Europe and the United States are strengthened, which is an important element of long-term stability in the region.

2. Discussion

The results confirm that the Western vector of Kyrgyz Republic's foreign policy is an important and stable element of its multi-vector strategy. As Ryzhov and Borodina note, Kyrgyz Republic's foreign policy model is structured along three directions — Western, Russian, and Asian — reflecting Bishkek's effort to adapt to a multi-vector international environment and avoid excessive dependence on a single major actor. [1] Such multi-vectorism, enshrined in official documents, creates the preconditions for the Western direction to become not only a means of diversifying external relations, but also an important instrument for strengthening the country's international subjectivity.

The importance of the Western direction is also confirmed by the broader context of Central Asian foreign policy. Isaev A., Ashiraliyev A., and Maldybaev D. note that in recent years the region has seen a gradual increase in the role of Western countries as sources of investment and technology, while their influence remains targeted and largely non-military. [16] In the case of Kyrgyz Republic, this is manifested in the emphasis on economic and humanitarian projects, as well as in the development of institutional dialogue through formats such as CA+EU and CA+USA.

The theoretical analysis confirms that Kyrgyz Republic, as a small state, can use internal, derivative, and collective sources of power to achieve its foreign policy goals. As S. E. Ozdilek emphasizes, "small states can show their influence by using internal, derivative and collective power" [14] in practice, this is expressed in combining internal resources — political stability, diplomatic flexibility, institutional integrity — with external resources, including Western programs of financial and technical assistance. Collective forms of power are realized through participation in multilateral formats and international organizations, such as the UN and OSCE, allowing Bishkek to integrate into global processes and reduce risks of asymmetry in relations with great powers.

An analysis of empirical data allows us to highlight the specific features of Kyrgyz Republic's interaction with Western countries. As D. B. Turusbekov's research shows, relations with the United States have developed unevenly since the establishment of diplomatic ties in 1991, going through phases of active cooperation and reduced involvement. In the 2000s, the key element of cooperation was the operation of the Manas airbase, which was of strategic importance for US operations in Afghanistan. After its closure in 2014, the emphasis in bilateral relations shifted to economic and humanitarian projects, as well as programs in the field of education and democratic development. [7] This shows the evolution of the Western vector from military-strategic cooperation to "softer" forms of interaction oriented towards human capital and institutional strengthening.

The novelty of this research lies in integrating a modern theoretical framework—encompassing flexibility, balancing, and multi-vector partnership—with a comprehensive analysis of the Western vector. Unlike previous studies that address this dimension only fragmentarily or within a broader regional context, the present study systematically examines the roles of the EU and the United States as key actors. The findings demonstrate that engagement with these partners enhances the Kyrgyz Republic's agency and diversifies its external relations in the context of ongoing global transformations.

3. Conclusion

The foreign policy of the Kyrgyz Republic toward the United States and the European Union is a core component of strengthening the country's international agency. This dimension is particularly significant amid the transformation of the global order and the intensification of great-power competition.

- Flexibility provides space for maneuver and safeguards strategic autonomy.
- Balance of interests mitigates the impact of global conflicts and trade disruptions.
- Multi-vector partnership operationalizes these approaches through bilateral, regional, and global cooperation.

The Western vector plays a pivotal role by supplying alternative resources, advanced technologies, and access to international norms and standards that bolster the resilience of Kyrgyzstan's domestic system. EU initiatives, cooperation with the United States, and participation in international organizations open markets, expand financing channels, and enable regional projects. This is particularly crucial given Kyrgyzstan's complex geopolitical environment, where Western engagement can act as both a neutral mediator and a guarantor.

In the long term, the Western orientation enables Kyrgyzstan to transcend a passive role of adapting to the interests of larger powers and instead pursue an independent foreign policy agenda. It reinforces diplomacy, institutional capacity, and national identity as integral elements of active participation in international relations.

Thus, the Western vector is not merely a tool of balance or diversification but a vital pillar of Kyrgyzstan's strategy to consolidate subjectivity. Its continued development reduces vulnerabilities and positions the country more confidently within a shifting global order, laying the foundation for sustainable development and the protection of national interests.

Список литературы

1. Рыжов, И. В., Бородина М. Ю. Основные приоритеты внешней политики Кыргызстана // Россия и новые государства Евразии. – 2019. – № 3(44). – С. 142-157. – DOI 10.20542/2073-4786-2019-3-142-157.
2. Söderbaum F. Rethinking regionalism in the 21st century. — London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. — 253 p.
3. Dent C. M. Regionalism in Southeast Asia: opportunities and threats for the European Union // European Business Review. — 1998. — Vol. 98, № 4. — P. 184–195.
4. Acharya A. Regionalism and multilateralism: essays on cooperative security in the Asia-Pacific. — Singapore: Eastern Universities Press/Marshall Cavendish, 2003. — 391 p.
5. Costa Buranelli F. Central Asian regionalism in the 1990s: order, familiarization, and spotlighting // Post-Soviet Affairs. — 2025. — Vol. 41, № 4. — P. 348–375. — DOI:10.1080/1060586X.2025.2516188.
6. Ковалев А. А. — Актуальные вопросы стратегии безопасности малых государств // Вопросы безопасности. –2021. – № 2. – С. 28–40. DOI: 10.25136/242409–7543.2021.2.3490Бурусбеков Д.Б. Основные направления и особенности политических и экономических взаимоотношений Кыргызской Республики и США в 1991 -2022 гг.// Постсоветские исследования. 2025. Т. 8. №3. С.276-287.
7. Кыргызская Республика: Подписано Соглашение о расширенном партнерстве и сотрудничестве (СРПС) с Европейским Союзом // European External Action Service. [электронный ресурс] URL: <https://www.eeas.europa.eu> (дата обращения: 08.09.2025).
8. Иванов И. П. Геополитическое влияние России в Евразии // Narxoz Law and Public Policy. – 2020. – № 3(3). – С. 52–62.
9. Давыдов А. О стратегической значимости Центральной Азии для США. Россия и новые государства Евразии, 2022, № IV (LVII), сс. 60–77. DOI:10.20542/2073–4786-2022-4-60-77
10. U.S. strategy for Central Asia 2019-2025: advancing sovereignty and economic prosperity // U.S. Embassy & Consulate in Kazakhstan [электронный ресурс] <https://kz.usembassy.gov/u-s-strategy-for-central-asia-2019-2025-advancing-sovereignty-and-economic-prosperity/> (дата обращения: 18.08.2025)
11. Abubakirova D. B. China's interests in Central Asia in the framework of the Belt and Road initiative. Postsovetskie issledovaniya = Post-Soviet Studies. 2021;4(4):285–295. (In Russ.)
12. Kyrgyz Republic: Signing of Enhanced Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (EPCA) with the European Union /The Diplomatic Service of the European Union [электронный ресурс] <https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas> (дата обращения: 18.08.2025)

13. Özdilek S. E. Impact of small states on international relations: Kyrgyz Republic's relations with great powers // International Relations and Regional Studies. — 2025. — № 1 (59). — P. 9–33. — DOI: 10.48371/ISMO.2025.59.1.001.
14. Usenov A. Kyrgyz Republic's strategic culture and its impact on the balancing policy between Russia and the US // Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies. — 2024. — Vol. 5, № 2. — P. 382–395.
15. Isaev A., Ashiraliev A., Maldybaev D. Foreign policy of Central Asian countries and issues of international security // Clío. Revista de Historia, Ciencias Humanas y Pensamiento Crítico. — 2025. — № 10. — C. 1963–1998. — DOI:10.5281/zenodo.15598277
16. Ivanov I., Petrenko S. Influence of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty Termination on the Regional Security of Central Asia // Ante Portas – Security Studies. — 2020. — No. 2 (15). — P. 91–104. — DOI:10.33674/120205.
17. Garcia Vargas A., Savonitto B. Digitizing remittances in the Kyrgyz Republic: analytical report. — Washington, DC: World Bank, 2023. — 28 p.
18. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic. Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Kyrgyz Republic [Electronic resource]. — Bishkek, 2019. — URL: <https://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/430045/edition/949067/ru> (accessed: 06.09.2025).

References

1. Ryzhov, I. V., Borodina M. Yu. Osnovnye prioritety vneshej politiki Kyrgyzstana // Rossiya i novye gosudarstva Evrazii. — 2019. — № 3(44). — S. 142-157. — DOI 10.20542/2073-4786-2019-3-142-157.
2. Söderbaum F. Rethinking regionalism in the 21st century. — London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. — 253 p.
3. Dent C. M. Regionalism in Southeast Asia: opportunities and threats for the European Union // European Business Review. — 1998. — Vol. 98, № 4. — P. 184–195.
4. Acharya A. Regionalism and multilateralism: essays on cooperative security in the Asia-Pacific. — Singapore: Eastern Universities Press/Marshall Cavendish, 2003. — 391 p.
5. Costa Buranelli F. Central Asian regionalism in the 1990s: order, familiarization, and spotlighting // Post-Soviet Affairs. — 2025. — Vol. 41, № 4. — P. 348–375. — DOI:10.1080/1060586X.2025.2516188.
6. Kovalev A. A. — Aktual'nye voprosy strategii bezopasnosti malyh gosudarstv // Voprosy bezopasnosti. — 2021. — № 2. — S. 28–40. DOI: 10.25136/242409–7543.2021.2.34906urusbekov D.B. Osnovnye napravleniya i osobennosti politicheskikh i ekonomicheskikh vzaimootnoshenij Kyrgyzskoj Respubliki i SShA v 1991 -2022 gg.// Postsovetskie issledovaniya. 2025. T. 8. №3. S.276-287.
7. Kyrgyzskaya Respublika: Podpisano Soglashenie o rasshirennom partnerstve i sotrudnichestve (SRPS) s Evropejskim Soyuzom // European External Action Service. [elektronnyj resurs] URL: <https://www.eeas.europa.eu> (data obrashcheniya: 08.09.2025).
8. Ivanov I. P. Geopoliticheskoe vliyanie Rossii v Evrazii // Narxoz Law and Public Policy. — 2020. — № 3(3). — S. 52–62.
9. Davydov A. O strategicheskoy znachimosti Central'noj Azii dlya SShA. Rossiya i novye gosudarstva Evrazii, 2022, № IV (LVII), ss. 60–77. DOI:10.20542/2073–4786-2022-4-60-77
10. U.S. strategy for Central Asia 2019-2025: advancing sovereignty and economic prosperity // U.S. Embassy & Consulate in Kazakhstan [электронный ресурс] <https://kz.usembassy.gov/u-s-strategy-for-central-asia-2019-2025-advancing-sovereignty-and-economic-prosperity/> (дата обращения: 18.08.2025)
11. Abubakirova D. B. China's interests in Central Asia in the framework of the Belt and Road initiative. Postsovetskie issledovaniya = Post-Soviet Studies. 2021;4(4):285–295. (In Russ.)
12. Kyrgyz Republic: Signing of Enhanced Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (EPCA) with the European Union /The Diplomatic Service of the European Union [электронный ресурс] <https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas> (дата обращения: 18.08.2025)

13. Özdilek S. E. Impact of small states on international relations: Kyrgyz Republic's relations with great powers // International Relations and Regional Studies. — 2025. — № 1 (59). — P. 9–33. — DOI: 10.48371/ISMO.2025.59.1.001.
14. Usenov A. Kyrgyz Republic's strategic culture and its impact on the balancing policy between Russia and the US // Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies. — 2024. — Vol. 5, № 2. — P. 382–395.
15. Isaev A., Ashiraliev A., Maldybaev D. Foreign policy of Central Asian countries and issues of international security // Clío. Revista de Historia, Ciencias Humanas y Pensamiento Crítico. — 2025. — № 10. — C. 1963–1998. — DOI:10.5281/zenodo.15598277
16. Ivanov I., Petrenko S. Influence of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty Termination on the Regional Security of Central Asia // Ante Portas – Security Studies. — 2020. — No. 2 (15). — P. 91–104. — DOI:10.33674/120205.
17. Garcia Vargas A., Savonitto B. Digitizing remittances in the Kyrgyz Republic: analytical report. — Washington, DC: World Bank, 2023. — 28 p.
18. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic. Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Kyrgyz Republic [Electronic resource]. — Bishkek, 2019. — URL: <https://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/430045/edition/949067/ru> (accessed: 06.09.2025).

Түйіндеме

ҚЫРГЫЗ РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫНЫң КӨПВЕКТОРЛЫ СЫРТҚЫ САЯСАТЫНДАҒЫ ЕУРОПАЛЫҚ ОДАҚ ПЕН АҚШ

А.Мирзаев¹, Д.Малдыбаев¹, И.Иванов²

1. Қырғыз Республикасы Сыртқы істер министрлігінің Қазы Дикамбаев атындағы Дипломатиялық
академиясы

Қырғыз Республикасы, Бішкек

2. Қазақ-неміс университеті
Қазақстан, Алматы

Бұл зерттеудің мақсаты – Қырғыз Республикасының сыртқы саясатындағы батыс векторының орнын бағалау. Бұл мақалада 2015–2025 жылдардағы Қырғызстанның Батыс елдерімен қарым-қатынасының даму үрдісі қарастырылып, көпвекторлы саясат аясында батыс бағытындағы дипломатиялық, экономикалық және институционалдық аспектілерге талдау жасалады. Зерттеудің ғылыми жаңалығы икемділік, тепе-тәндікті сақтау және көпденгейлі әріптестік тұжырымдамаларына негізделген теориялық тәсілді қолданумен ерекшеленеді. Қолданыстағы еңбектерден айырмашылығы, онда батыс бағыты фрагментарлы түрде немесе кенірек өңірлік kontekste қарастырылса, бұл мақалада батыс векторы Қырғызстанның сыртқы саяси субъектілігін нығайтудың дербес құралы ретінде ұсынылады. Зерттеу нәтижесінде Қырғызстанның Еуропалық Одақпен және АҚШ-пен ынтымақтастырылған елдің сыртқы саясат стратегиясының орнықтылығын арттырумен қатар, оның халықаралық субъектілігін қамтамасыз етуде маңызды фактор екендігі анықталды.

Түйінді сөздөр: Қырғызстандың әл аралық қызметташтығы, тышкы саясий стратегия, көп вектордук.

Резюме

ЕВРОПЕЙСКИЙ СОЮЗ И США В СТРАТЕГИИ МНОГОВЕКТОРНОЙ ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ КЫРГЫЗСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ

А. Мирзаев¹, Д. Малдыбаев¹, И. Иванов²

1. Дипломатическая академия имени К. Дикамбаева
Кыргызская Республика, г. Бишкек
2. Казахстанско-Немецкий университет
Казахстан, г. Алматы

Цель исследования – оценка роли западного вектора во внешней политике Кыргызской Республики. В статье рассматривается динамика сотрудничества Кыргызстана с западными партнёрами в 2015–2025 гг., анализируются дипломатические, экономические и институциональные аспекты западного направления внешней политики в контексте многовекторности. Научная новизна исследования заключается в применении теоретической рамки, основанной на концепциях гибкости, балансирования и многоуровневого партнёрства. В отличие от существующих работ, где западное направление рассматривается фрагментарно или в более широком региональном контексте, в данной статье западный вектор представлен как самостоятельный инструмент укрепления внешнеполитической субъектности Кыргызстана. В результате исследования выявлено, что взаимодействие Кыргызстана с Европейским Союзом и с США является необходимым для повышения устойчивости внешнеполитической стратегии страны и обеспечения субъектности.

Ключевые слова: международное сотрудничество Кыргызстана, внешнеполитическая стратегия, многовекторность.

Авторы:

Azamat Mirzaev - PhD Doctoral Student Kazy Dikambaev Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic
alex5628life@gmail.com
ORCID <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-1788-4688>

Dolon Maldybaev - PhD Doctoral Student Department of International Relations Kazy Dikambaev Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic
dolon.maldybaev@gmail.com
ORCID <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-8193-7644>

Igor Ivanov,
Senior Lecturer
Faculty of World Politics
Kazakh-German University
ivanov@dku.kz
ORCID <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-7558-9052>