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Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies

ISSN: 1694-5409

2024



Cilt / Volume: 5 Sayı / No: 2

Research Paper / Araştırma Makalesi

Kyrgyzstan's Strategic Culture and Its Impact on the Balancing Policy between Russia and the US

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Abstract

The article explores the strategic culture of Kyrgyzstan and its impact on the policy of balancing between Russia and the United States from 1991 to 2024. It analyzes the historical roots of strategic culture, its key elements, and their impact on the country's foreign policy behavior. Content analysis of official documents and qualitative analysis of theoretical approaches to strategic culture are used as research methods. The main attention is paid to balancing instruments — diplomatic, economic, and military — and their effects on the maintenance of sovereignty, economic development, and military security. The article also reveals the limitations and risks of balancing strategies, including dependence on external actors and the need for flexible adaptation. The findings contribute to a deeper understanding of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy and may be useful for analyzing the behavior of small states in the context of great power competition.

Key Words: Strategic culture, Balancing, Foreign policy, Kyrgyzstan.

Kırgızistan'ın Stratejik Kültürü ve Arasındaki Dengeleme Politikasına Etkisi Rusya ve ABD

Öz

Makale, 1991'den 2024'e kadar Kırgızistan'ın stratejik kültürünü ve bunun Rusya ile Amerika Birleşik Devletleri arasındaki dengeleme politikasına etkisini inceliyor. Stratejik kültürün tarihsel kökleri, anahtar unsurları ve bunların ülkenin dış politika davranışı üzerindeki etkileri analiz edilmektedir. Araştırma yöntemleri olarak, resmi

Atif için: / Please Cite As:

Usenov, A. (2024). Kyrgyzstan's strategic culture and its impact on the balancing policy between Russia and the US. *Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies*, 5(2), 382-395.

Geliş Tarihi / Received Date: 13.12.2024 Kabul Tarihi / Accepted Date: 21.12.2024

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belgelerin içerik analizi ve stratejik kültürle ilgili teorik yaklaşımların nitel analizinden faydalanılmıştır. Ana odak noktası, dengeleme araçları - diplomatik, ekonomik ve askeri - ve bunların egemenliğin korunması, ekonomik kalkınma ve askeri güvenliğin sağlanmasındaki etkileridir. Makale, aynı zamanda dengeleme stratejilerinin sınırlamaları ve risklerini de ortaya koymaktadır; bunlar arasında dış aktörlere bağımlılık ve esnek uyum sağlama ihtiyacı yer almaktadır. Bulgular, Kırgızistan'ın dış politikasının daha derinlemesine anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmakta ve küçük devletlerin büyük güç rekabeti bağlamındaki davranışlarını analiz etmek için faydalı olabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Stratejik kültür, Dengeleme, Dış politika, Kırgızistan.

INTRODUCTION

In the context of strategic competition between the great powers, Central Asia has become an arena of struggle for influence. Kyrgyzstan, with its limited resources, seeks to preserve its sovereignty and ensure security through a policy of balancing between Russia and the United States. The basis of this strategy is strategic culture — a set of historically established norms, traditions, and beliefs that determine the country's foreign policy behavior.

The historical experience of interaction with the Russian Empire, the USSR, and independent development after 1991 has shaped Kyrgyzstan's approach, combining flexibility, multi-vectorism, balance, and the desire for autonomy. These qualities have allowed the country to maneuver between the great powers, capitalizing on their rivalries. Strategic culture influences the choice of allies, determines long-term priorities, and shapes the perception of international threats.

The aim of the article is to analyze the strategic culture of Kyrgyzstan and its influence on the balancing policy. For this purpose, the historical foundations and key elements of strategic culture, its relationship with the theory of neoclassical realism, as well as the main tools and effects of balancing policy are investigated. The results of the study can be useful for analyzing the foreign policy behavior of small states in the conditions of geopolitical competition.

An interdisciplinary approach combining qualitative and quantitative methods was used to achieve the goal. The main research methods are: content analysis — official documents of the Kyrgyz Republic, as well as key international agreements with Russia and the United States, were analyzed. Special attention is paid to the identification of strategic elements of the balancing policy. Qualitative analysis — to explain the causes and consequences of strategic decisions, qualitative analysis of political statements, speeches of leaders, and political processes in the Kyrgyz

Republic in the period from 1991 to 2024 was applied. These methods allowed for a comprehensive assessment of the influence of strategic culture on the choice of foreign policy course and the effectiveness of balancing instruments.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Concept and Definition Of Strategic Culture

The term "strategic culture" was first proposed by Jack Snyder. According to his concept, strategic culture reflects stable norms, traditions, and values that shape the foreign policy behavior of a state. Within it, he emphasized the role of historical experience and previous interactions with great powers.² The following scholars made an important contribution to the further development of strategic culture approaches: S. Huntington argued that culture shapes the perception of international threats and adaptation to them³; Colin Gray defined it as a set of beliefs and behavioral patterns passed from generation to generation⁴; D. Johnston described it as a "set of cognitive models" that influence the perception of international threats and long-term orientations of foreign policy behavior⁵. These approaches to strategic culture formed the basis for analyzing the behavior of states in the international arena.

Thus, the strategic culture of a state is a set of historically established traditions, norms, values, and beliefs that shape its perception of external threats and opportunities, as well as influence its behavior in the international arena. In particular, it influences how a state adapts to the international environment, what strategies it chooses, and what tools it applies.

Neoclassical Realism and Strategic Culture

The traditional analysis of strategic culture is mainly based on the theory of neoclassical realism, which takes into account both external and internal factors affecting the behavior of states. In particular, neoclassical realism argues that the foreign policy behavior of states is determined not only by the international system but also by internal factors, including strategic culture. Consequently, it recognizes that strategic culture plays an

² Snyder, J. (1977). The Soviet strategic culture: Implications for limited nuclear operations. RAND Corporation.

³ Huntington, S. P. (1996). The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order. Simon & Schuster.

⁴ Gray, C. (1999). Modern strategic culture: Definitions and concepts. Cambridge University Press.

⁵ Johnston, A. I. (1995). Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History. Princeton University Press. pp. 34

important role in shaping a state's long-term strategies and foreign policy decisions by filtering international signals through the lens of cultural and historical values. Historical events, such as wars, conflicts, or the colonial past, shape the beliefs of elites and society about how a state should act in the international arena⁶. In this vein, neoclassical realists emphasize that strategic culture also influences the choice of allies and partners. For example, cultural biases may lead a state to favor one ally over another, even if objective strategic calculations indicate the opposite⁷. Among other things, historical animosity or cultural differences may discourage alliances despite economic or military benefits. In addition, strategic culture determines not only short-term foreign policy decisions, but also a state's long-term goals and priorities. It creates a kind of "cultural inertia" that can prevent abrupt changes in foreign policy even if international conditions change⁸. In particular, in the presence of favorable international signals, states with a culture of caution may hesitate to engage in major international initiatives.

In this way, this concept is used in studies of the foreign policy of small and medium-sized states. Kyrgyzstan, as a small state, is under constant pressure from the great powers and has to adapt its foreign policy to changing conditions. In this context, strategic culture plays an important role in interpreting international signals and choosing a balancing strategy. The historical tradition of flexibility inherent in nomadic peoples makes Kyrgyzstan particularly susceptible to using a balancing approach. Thus, Kyrgyzstan's strategic culture, combined with the theory of neoclassical realism, explains how the country maintains its independence and maneuvers between Russia and the United States.

METHODOLOGY of STRATEGIC CULTURE RESEARCH

The study of strategic culture of Kyrgyzstan is based on the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. The following methodological approaches are applied within the framework of the research:

Content Analysis: This method was applied to analyze the conceptual foundations of strategic culture. Fundamental documents of Kyrgyzstan, including foreign policy concepts (1999, 2007 and 2019), the Silk Road

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⁶ Johnston, A. I. (1995). Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History. Princeton University Press. pp. 45-48.

⁷ Ripsman, N. M., Taliaferro, J. W., & Lobell, S. E. (2016). Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics. Oxford University Press. pp. 75-77.

⁸ Zakaria, F. (1998). From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role. Princeton University Press. pp. 47-49.

Diplomacy Doctrine (1998) and international agreements with Russia and the United States were used as sources. In the process of content analysis, key elements of strategic culture (flexibility, multi-vector and balancing) were highlighted.

Qualitative Analysis: This method aims to study the perception of international threats through the prism of Kyrgyzstan's strategic culture. Published official speeches of presidents and analytical reports of independent experts on regional policy were used. This allowed us to analyze how the political elite perceives and interprets the signals of the international environment.

Historical-Comparative Analysis: To analyze the formation of strategic culture of Kyrgyzstan, the method of historical-comparative analysis was used. Historical examples of interaction of the Kyrgyz Republic with the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union and independent development after 1991 allowed to identify cultural and historical codes that influence the current strategic culture of the country.

Inductive Method: used to summarize the key trends in the strategic culture of Kyrgyzstan based on empirical data and retrospective analysis of historical events. Based on the analysis of specific examples (the situation with the US and Russian military bases), general conclusions about Kyrgyzstan's strategic preferences were formed. Hence, the research methodology covers both theoretical understanding of the concept of strategic culture and empirical analysis of its manifestations in specific examples of Kyrgyzstan's balancing between Russia and the United States.

STRATEGIC CULTURE of KYRGYZSTAN

A) Historical Background and Key Elements

Kyrgyzstan's strategic culture has been shaped by both historical experience and traditional culture and the country's geopolitical location.

(1) **Historical Factor:** Kyrgyzstan's history includes numerous stages of external pressure and integration with great powers. From the Turkic Kaganate and Mongol rule to the Russian Empire and the USSR, the strategic culture of the Kyrgyz has been shaped by the struggle for autonomy and the desire to preserve sovereignty. An example is the experience of interaction with the Soviet Union, when despite being part of the USSR, Kyrgyzstan was able to preserve elements of its cultural and ethnic identity⁹.

⁹ Beishembiev, E. D., Boljurova, I. S., & Junushaliev, D. D. (2004). *Introduction to the history of Kyrgyz statehood: A course of lectures for universities*. Bishkek: Archimedes, pp. 23, 56-57.

- (2) Nomadic Tradition Factor: The nomadic way of life inherent in the ancestors of the Kyrgyz has shaped the ability to be flexible and adapt in the face of constant change. Nomads were always under the threat of external raids and had to maneuver between different "centers of power". These qualities are also reflected in Kyrgyzstan's modern foreign policy behavior, where balancing has become the main tool for preserving sovereignty¹⁰.
- (3) Geopolitical Factor: Kyrgyzstan's geographical location at the crossroads of ancient trade routes, such as the "Great Silk Road", has always made it not only an important link between East and West, but also an object of external conquests¹¹. But at the same time, its geographical remoteness from seaports and major international development centers, as well as its small territory located in the highlands (mountains occupy 93% of the total area), limit its economic development and make it dependent on the external environment. On the one hand, this creates risks for independence, but on the other hand, it opens up opportunities for participation in regional initiatives.

As a result, all of these factors combined to form the elements of a strategic culture.

B) Key Elements of Kyrgyzstan's Strategic Culture Are;

- (1) Flexibility and Adaptability: historical experience and nomadic tradition have contributed to the Kyrgyz ability to quickly adapt to changing external conditions.
- (2) **Neutrality and Balance**: maintaining independence from external powers has become not only a goal, but also an important element of political culture.
- (3) Multi-Vectorism: the desire to maintain relations with various powers, avoiding excessive dependence on one partner.
- (4) Survival Through Balancing (maneuvering): the Kyrgyz have learnt from the lessons of history, when Kyrgyz lands were under the influence of different empires, led to the development of skills in maneuvering between strong actors.

C) Modern Foundations of Strategic Culture

Kyrgyzstan's strategic culture, based on a centuries-old tradition of flexibility and neutrality, allows the country to pursue a multi-vector and

¹⁰ Ploskikh, V. M., & Junushaliev, D. D. (2015). History of the Kyrgyz and Kyrgyzstan: Textbook for universities. Bishkek: KRSU, pp. 56-58, 73.

¹¹ Tabyshaliev, S. T. (1992). Kyrgyzstan on the Great Silk Road. Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. Bishkek: Kyrgyzstan, pp. 12-13.

balanced policy in modern international relations. The basis for the continuation of these approaches can be considered the "Silk Road Diplomacy Doctrine" put forward by the first president Askar Akayev in 1998¹², as well as the Foreign Policy Concepts of the Kyrgyz Republic dated 1999, 2007 and 2019¹³. These documents enshrine Kyrgyzstan's aspiration to integrate into international economic and political structures, as well as to develop and strengthen relations with all countries of the world¹⁴, including maintaining balanced relations with world powers, avoiding complete dependence on any one great power.

D) Balancing As a Foreign Policy Choice of Kyrgyzstan

- 1) The Essence and Concept of Balancing: Balancing as an element of foreign policy strategy is a process of maneuvering between the interests of great powers in order to minimize dependence on one power and preserve sovereignty. Unlike multi-vector policy, which implies interaction with several centers of power, balancing emphasizes active maneuvering and threat management between two great powers. The main goal of balancing is to preserve political autonomy, economic independence and military security. For Kyrgyzstan, this means being able to adapt to changes in global politics and capitalize on great power rivalries.
- **2)** The Main Balancing Instruments Are: (1) Diplomatic instruments: Kyrgyzstan actively uses participation in international organizations. Bilateral agreements with Russia and the United States are an important tool for maintaining a balanced foreign policy; (2) Economic instruments: Kyrgyzstan's economic policy includes attracting financial assistance, investments and loans from international financial institutions (IMF, World Bank) and individual states. This allows the country to minimize its dependence on a single economic partner. Membership in the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) also provides opportunities for access to the markets of the Union's member states¹⁵; (3) Military instruments: Military agreements and the deployment of military facilities play a key role in the country's security. Kyrgyzstan has previously allowed the U.S. to host the Manas military airbase, which brought significant financial benefits to the

¹² The Kyrgyz Republic's Silk Road Diplomacy Doctrine (1998). Put forward by President Askar Akayev and approved by the United Nations.

¹³ Concepts of the Foreign Policy of the Kyrgyz Republic. Adopted on May 17, 1999, January 10, 2007, and March 11, 2019.

¹⁴ Koichuev, T. (2011). Historical turning points in the development of Kyrgyzstan: A comprehensive theoretical analysis. National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic. Bishkek: Ilim, 264 p.

¹⁵ Kuznetsov, A. (2015). Post-Soviet transformations and new regionalism in Eurasia. Routledge, p. 89.

country¹⁶. On the other hand, Russian military facilities, such as the base at Kant, provide protection from external threats and help strengthen ties with Russia.

Comparative table of balancing instruments (1991-2024)

Period	Diplomatic instruments	Economic instruments	Military instruments
1991-2000	Diplomatic relations with the USA (1991) and Russia (1992), accession to the CIS (1991)	Accession to the WTO (1997), assistance receipt from the U.S. and the Russian Federation	Participation in the DKB (1992) and NATO program (1994), Russian border guards in the KR (1991-1999)
2001-2005	Contracts on U.S. air bases (2001) and RF (2003)	Expanded financial support from the U.S. and the Russian Federation	Manas (2001) and Kant (2003) bases of the U.S. and the Russian Federation, strengthening participation in the CSTO (2002), joint exercise
2006-2010	Renewal of airbase agreements with the United States (2006, 2009)	Further increase in financial support from the U.S. and the Russian Federation	Preservation of the U.S. and Russian bases, joint exercises
2011-2024	Denunciation of the airbase (2013) and aid (2015) agreements with the U.S.	Accession to the CU (2011) and then to the EAEU (2015), strengthening financial support to the Russian Federation	Closure of the US base (2014), increase in the lease period of the Russian Federation base (2017)

3) Balancing Policy Effects: Kyrgyzstan's balancing policy has a significant impact on its foreign policy strategy, providing the country with advantages in three key areas: (1) Maintaining foreign policy autonomy: Balancing between the great powers allows Kyrgyzstan to maintain its independence in strategic decision-making and minimize the risks of domination by one power; (2) Gaining economic benefits: The rivalry between Russia and the United States allows Kyrgyzstan to receive economic support from both

¹⁶ MacFarlane, S. N. (2004). Western engagement in the Southern Caucasus and Central Asia. Chatham House Papers, Royal Institute of International Affairs.

sides¹⁷. Support through democratization programs, economic aid and investments create conditions for the country's economic growth; (3) **Ensuring** military security: Kyrgyzstan's participation in the CSTO strengthens the country's military security through access to military assistance from allies¹⁸. On the other hand, U.S. support also strengthens national security capabilities.

4) Impact of Balancing Policy on The Sovereignty of Kyrgyzstan

- 1) Advantages of balancing: (1) Strengthening sovereignty. A balancing policy allows Kyrgyzstan to maintain autonomy in foreign policy decisionmaking, avoid domination by one power, and maintain flexibility in foreign policy. An example of this is the country's ability to maneuver between the United States and Russia when concluding important bilateral agreements. Participation in international organizations such as the CIS, CSTO, EAEU, NATO and WTO, among others, also contributes to sovereignty by allowing the country to engage in multilateral diplomacy¹⁹; (2) Economic benefit. Balancing provides Kyrgyzstan with access to financial and humanitarian resources from several external actors, including the United States, Russia, and international financial institutions (IMF, WB). Membership in the EAEU provides access to the markets of other member states, which promotes the growth of Kyrgyz exports. Financial support from the U.S., including through the lease of the Manas airbase, has provided Kyrgyzstan with substantial revenues that have been used to support the country's budget; (3) Political stability. In a multipolar world, the balancing strategy helps to reduce the risks of political instability associated with the dominance of one of the parties. In particular, the possibility to simultaneously cooperate with Russia and the United States gives Kyrgyzstan more room for maneuver in case of geopolitical crises. Maintaining stability is also linked to the ability to choose strategic partners depending on changes in global trends.
- **2)** Limitations and balancing risks: (1) Increased dependence on external actors. Participation in integration projects and deployment of military bases may lead to increased dependence on one of the great powers. For example, membership in the EAEU limits the ability to pursue an independent economic policy. In turn, the presence of a Russian military base in Kant makes Kyrgyzstan more dependent on Moscow's support; (2)

¹⁷ Petrov, V. (2016). Eurasian integration and Russia's role in Central Asia: Economic aspects and security issues. Eurasian Studies Review, 12(3), p. 102.

¹⁸ Cooley, A. (2012). Great games, local rules: The new great power contest in Central Asia. Oxford University Press, p. 92.

¹⁹ Olcott, M. B. (2010). The second chance of Central Asia. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Political vulnerability. The conditions of geopolitical competition may force Kyrgyzstan to choose between major partners, which may lead to deterioration of relations with one of the powers. For example, the closure of the U.S. airbase in 2014 demonstrated how geopolitical pressure can force a country to change its foreign policy. As a result, relations with the U.S. deteriorated, affecting financial and humanitarian assistance; (3) The need for rapid strategy review. The geopolitical situation can change rapidly and Kyrgyzstan has to adapt to new realities, which requires flexibility and quick response. Changes in political leadership and external challenges force the country to revise its balancing strategy. An example is the denunciation of agreements with the United States on the Manas Transit Center in 2014 and the subsequent reorientation towards strengthening relations with Russia.

CONCLUSION

The evolution of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy strategies demonstrates the adaptation of a small country to changing geopolitical realities. These strategies are based on the strategic culture formed under the influence of historical, cultural and geopolitical factors. Kyrgyzstan's strategic culture, which includes elements of flexibility, multi-vectorism, balancing and striving for autonomy, serves as a basis for making key foreign policy decisions.

Kyrgyzstan used a balancing strategy to minimize risks and strengthen its sovereignty. This strategy allowed the country to maneuver between U.S. and Russian interests while maintaining flexibility and strategic autonomy. Foreign policy autonomy was ensured through the country's participation in multilateral organizations and diversified relations with the great powers. The economic benefits of the balancing policy have manifested themselves in the form of financial support, preferences in trade and investment. Competition between Russia and the United States allowed Kyrgyzstan to benefit from both sides, financing infrastructure projects and receiving humanitarian aid. Economic benefits have strengthened the resilience of the national economy and provided access to new markets. In the military sphere, the balancing strategy has allowed Kyrgyzstan to strengthen military security, enhanced the country's military capabilities, and improved its ability to respond to regional threats. These measures have contributed to improving national security.

Despite the positive effects, the balancing policy has its limitations and risks. In particular, dependence on individual states, such as Russia, may limit the flexibility of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy course. The country's

political vulnerability stems from the need to choose between the competing interests of great powers. In addition, rapid revision of foreign policy strategy requires significant diplomatic resources and adaptability from Kyrgyzstan.

In general, Kyrgyzstan's strategic culture remains a key factor determining the choice of balancing strategies. It shapes the perception of international threats and determines the direction of foreign policy activity. Kyrgyzstan's balancing approach allows the country to preserve its sovereignty, strengthen its economic position, and ensure military security. Nevertheless, the long-term sustainability of this strategy depends on the country's ability to adapt to changes in the international environment and diversify its foreign policy ties. Further research could focus on analyzing the prospects for changing the balancing strategy and developing recommendations for small countries influenced by competing great powers.

In addition, the application of methodology based on content analysis of strategic documents, comparative analysis of strategies of other small states and qualitative analysis of international threat perception allowed to substantiate the conclusions of the study. These methods provided a comprehensive analysis of strategic culture and its role in balancing Kyrgyzstan. The applied approach can be useful for studying the foreign policy behavior of small states in the conditions of global competition.

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Ethical Declaration

The rules, ethics, and guidelines have been adhered to in the presentation of the content titled 'Kyrgyzstan's Strategic Culture and Its Impact on the Balancing Policy between Russia and the United States'; no distortion has been made on the data, and this work has not been submitted for review to any other academic publication platform.

Conflict of Interest Statement

There is no conflict of interest regarding this work.

GENIŞLETILMIŞ ÖZET

Büyük güçler arasındaki stratejik rekabet bağlamında Orta Asya nüfuz mücadelelerinin arenası haline gelmiştir. Kırgızistan, sınırlı kaynaklarıyla Rusya ve ABD arasında denge kurma politikasıyla egemenliğini korumayı ve güvenliğini sağlamayı amaçlıyor. Bu stratejinin temeli, ülkenin dış politika davranışını belirleyen, tarihsel olarak yerleşmiş bir dizi norm, gelenek ve inançtan oluşan stratejik kültürdür.

Rus İmparatorluğu, SSCB ve 1991 sonrası bağımsız gelişimle olan tarihsel etkileşim deneyimi, Kırgızistan'ın esneklik, çok yönlülük ve özerklik arzusu kombinasyonunu içeren bir yaklaşım geliştirmesine yol açmıştır. Bu nitelikler, ülkenin büyük güçler arasında manevra yaparak, onların rekabetlerinden yararlanmasını sağlamıştır. Stratejik kültür, müttefik seçimini etkiler, uzun vadeli öncelikleri belirler ve uluslararası tehditlere dair algıları şekillendirir.

Stratejik kültür terimi ilk olarak Jack Snyder tarafından ortaya atılmıştır. Snyder'ın kavramına göre, stratejik kültür, bir devletin dış politika davranışlarını şekillendiren, sabit normlar, gelenekler ve değerlere yansıyan bir olgudur. Tarihsel deneyimlerin ve büyük güçlerle yapılan önceki etkileşimlerin rolünü vurgulamıştır. Sonraki akademisyenler, stratejik kültür yaklaşımlarının gelişimine önemli katkılarda bulunmuşlardır. S. Huntington, kültürün uluslararası tehditleri algılama biçimini ve bunlara uyum sağlama kapasitesini şekillendirdiğini ileri sürmüştür. Colin Gray, stratejik kültürü, nesilden nesile aktarılan inançlar ve davranışsal kalıpların bir seti olarak tanımlamıştır. D. Johnston ise stratejik kültürü, uluslararası tehditleri algılayışı ve dış politika davranışlarının uzun vadeli yönelimini etkileyen "bilişsel modeller bütünü" olarak tanımlamıştır. Bu stratejik kültür yaklaşımları, devletlerin uluslararası arenadaki davranışlarını analiz etmenin temelini oluşturur.

Stratejik kültürün geleneksel analizi, genellikle devletlerin davranışlarını etkileyen hem dışsal hem de içsel faktörleri dikkate alan yeni klasik realizm teorisine dayanmaktadır. Yeni klasik realizm, devletlerin dış politika davranışlarının yalnızca uluslararası sistem tarafından değil, aynı zamanda stratejik kültür de dahil olmak üzere içsel faktörler tarafından belirlendiğini savunur. Bu yaklaşım, stratejik kültürün, bir devletin uzun vadeli stratejilerini ve dış politika kararlarını şekillendirmede önemli bir rol oynadığını, uluslararası sinyalleri kültürel ve tarihi değerler prizmasından geçirerek nasıl algıladığını kabul eder.

Savaşlar, çatışmalar veya sömürgecilik deneyimleri gibi tarihi olaylar, elitlerin ve toplumun bir devletin uluslararası arenada nasıl hareket etmesi gerektiğine dair inançlarını şekillendirir. Bu kavram, küçük ve orta büyüklükteki devletlerin dış politika çalışmalarında kullanılmaktadır. Küçük bir devlet olan Kırgızistan, büyük güçler tarafından sürekli baskı altındadır ve dış politikasını değişen koşullara uyarlamak zorundadır. Bu bağlamda, stratejik kültür, uluslararası sinyalleri yorumlamada ve dengeleme stratejisi seçmede önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Göçebe halklarda var olan esneklik tarihi geleneği, Kırgızistan'ı özellikle dengeleme yaklaşımını kullanmaya yatkın hale getirmektedir. Böylece, Kırgızistan'ın stratejik kültürü, yeni klasik realizm teorisiyle birleşerek, ülkenin bağımsızlığını nasıl koruduğunu ve

Rusya ile Amerika Birleşik Devletleri arasında nasıl manevra yaptığını açıklamaktadır.

Kırgızistan'ın stratejik kültürü, hem tarihsel deneyimler hem de geleneksel kültür ile ülkenin coğrafi konumu tarafından şekillendirilmiştir. Kırgızistan'ın stratejik kültürü, yüzyıllara dayanan esneklik ve tarafsızlık geleneğine dayalı olarak, ülkenin modern uluslararası ilişkilerde çok yönlü ve dengeli bir politika izlemesine olanak tanımaktadır.

Dengeleme, dış politika stratejisinin bir unsuru olarak, bir büyük güce olan bağımlılığı minimize etmek ve egemenliği korumak amacıyla büyük güçlerin çıkarları arasında manevra yapma sürecidir. Birkaç güç merkeziyle etkileşimi ima eden çok yönlü politikanın aksine, dengeleme iki büyük güç arasında aktif manevra yapmayı ve tehdit yönetimini vurgular. Dengelemenin temel amacı, siyasi özerkliği, ekonomik bağımsızlığı ve askeri güvenliği korumaktır. Kırgızistan için bu, küresel politikalardaki değişimlere uyum sağlamak ve büyük güçlerin rekabetlerinden yararlanabilmek anlamına gelir.

Kırgızistan'ın dış politika stratejilerinin evrimi, küçük bir ülkenin değişen jeopolitik gerçekliklere uyum sağlamasını göstermektedir. Bu stratejiler, tarihsel, kültürel ve jeopolitik faktörlerin etkisiyle şekillenen stratejik kültüre dayanmaktadır. Esneklik, çok yönlülük ve özerklik arzusu gibi unsurları içeren Kırgızistan'ın stratejik kültürü, anahtar dış politika kararlarının alınmasında temel bir dayanak oluşturur.

Kırgızistan, riskleri minimize etmek ve egemenliğini güçlendirmek amacıyla bir dengeleme stratejisi kullanmıştır. Bu strateji, ülkenin esnekliği ve stratejik özerkliğini koruyarak, ABD ve Rusya'nın çıkarları arasında manevra yapmasına olanak sağlamıştır. Dış politika özerkliği, ülkenin çok taraflı kuruluşlara katılımı ve büyük güçlerle çeşitlendirilmiş ilişkiler aracılığıyla güvence altına alınmıştır. Dengeleme politikasının ekonomik faydaları, finansal destek, ticaret ve yatırımlarda sağlanan ayrıcalıklar şeklinde kendini göstermiştir.

Pozitif etkilerine rağmen, dengeleme politikası kendi sınırlamaları ve risklerine sahiptir. Özellikle, Rusya gibi tekil devletlere olan bağımlılık, Kırgızistan'ın dış politika yönünün esnekliğini sınırlayabilir. Ülkenin siyasi kırılganlığı, büyük güçlerin rekabet eden çıkarları arasında seçim yapma zorunluluğundan kaynaklanmaktadır. Ayrıca, dış politika stratejisinin hızlı bir şekilde gözden geçirilmesi, Kırgızistan'dan önemli diplomatik kaynaklar ve uyum sağlama yeteneği gerektirmektedir.

Genel olarak, Kırgızistan'ın stratejik kültürü, dengeleme stratejilerinin seçiminde belirleyici bir ana faktör olmaya devam etmektedir. Bu kültür,

uluslararası tehditleri algılamayı şekillendirir ve dış politika faaliyetlerinin yönünü belirler. Kırgızistan'ın dengeleme yaklaşımı, ülkenin egemenliğini korumasını, ekonomik pozisyonunu güçlendirmesini ve askeri güvenliğini sağlamasını mümkün kılar. Ancak, bu stratejinin uzun vadeli sürdürülebilirliği, ülkenin uluslararası çevredeki değişimlere uyum sağlama ve dış politika bağlarını çeşitlendirme yeteneğine bağlıdır. Gelecekteki araştırmalar, dengeleme stratejisindeki değişimlerin olasılıklarını analiz etmeye ve rekabet halindeki büyük güçler tarafından etkilenen küçük ülkeler için öneriler geliştirmeye odaklanabilir.