

SOUTH KOREA AS A MIDDLE POWER: A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH KOREA-
ASEAN RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

SOUTH KOREA AS A MIDDLE POWER: A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH KOREA- ASEAN RELATIONS

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This thesis aims to understand how South Korea operationalized her middle power policies in her relations with ASEAN from a constructivist perspective. In this study, middle powerness is accepted as a state identity of South Korea since South Korean governments (beginning with 1991) are emphasizing and using the “middle power” concept to shape their foreign policy agenda. However, before analyzing the relations with ASEAN it is important to look at Korean foreign policy since the foundation of the country, although emphasis will be given to the post- Cold War governments due to the reason that middle power discourse was began to be used by those governments following the end of Cold War. By looking through the post-Cold War administrations, it will be tried to figure out how the middle power identity was constructed and how it constituted foreign policy agenda of South Korea. Secondly, as the case study of the dissertation; South Korea – ASEAN relations will be examined from the middle power framework based on a constructivist theoretical approach. The material change in the international system and the change in self-perception of South Korea with the end of Cold War structure directed South Korea to follow a more active role in international politics. This

role shows itself in economic, political, and socio-cultural realms. Since ASEAN is almost a full scale representative of Southeast Asia, including a wide range of nations differing in terms of population, economic well-being, ethnicity, religion, and various state formations, it will provide a rich floor to understand South Korean foreign policy and its middle power identity oriented actions in one but a complex region. Considering the fact that ASEAN is the second biggest trade partner of South Korea after China, and ASEAN is getting the second most Foreign Direct Investment from South Korea, each actor is economically important for each other. Although the emphasis was started to be given to ASEAN during Lee Myung-bak administration starting in 2008, relations have developed deeply. This analysis argues that South Korea follows a low politics oriented pattern including economic, and socio-cultural issues concerning its relations with ASEAN using a combination bridge and culture-oriented role modes of middle power whereas tries to keep its distance in security and high-tension issues by applying a more realist oriented middle power pattern. In addition to that, South Korea's this low politics pattern is not a result of realpolitik but a choice of her own middle power identity that tries to serve peace and prosperity in international politics.

Keywords: South Korea, foreign policy, middle power identity, Southeast Asia, ASEAN.

ÖZ

ORTA ÖLÇEKLİ BİR GÜÇ OLARAK GÜNEY KORE: ASEAN – GÜNEY KORE İLİŞKİLERİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tezin ana amacı Soğuk Savaşın bitimiyle birlikte Uzakdoğu coğrafyasının gerek ekonomik gerekse sosyo-kültürel açıdan dikkat çeken ülkesi Güney Kore'nin Güneydoğu Asya Uluslar Birliği ile ilişkilerini orta ölçekli bir güç kimliği çerçevesinde nasıl yürüttüğünü tahlil etmektir. Bu kimliğe bağlı olarak, Güney Kore'nin Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde orta ölçekli bir güç olarak dış politikasında yaşadığı değişim ve dönüşüm incelenecektir. Bahse konu değişim ve dönüşümün Güneydoğu Asya coğrafyası ile olan ilişkileri nasıl etkilediği temel sorunsal olup; analizler Güneydoğu Asya Uluslar Birliği çerçevesinde yapılacaktır. Orta ölçek gücündeki ülkelerin özellikle Soğuk Savaş sonrası yıkılan iki kutuplu dünya düzeninde kendilerine daha aktif bir rol yaratma çabaları uluslararası ilişkilerde önemli bir çalışma alanı ortaya çıkarmıştır. Güney Kore de bu orta ölçekli güçlerden biri olarak kabul edilmekte olup, dış politikasını bu kimlik doğrultusunda şekillendirmiştir. Güney Kore'nin kendini Kore yarımadasının güvenlik çıkmazından sıyrıp diğer bölgelere ve ülkelere odaklanma isteği büyük ölçüde Lee

Myung-bak döneminde başlamıştır. Kendisine daha aktif bir uluslararası rol tanımlamak isteyen Güney Kore hükümeti, Başkan Lee'nin "Global Kore" vizyonu ile birlikte Güneydoğu Asya'yı öncelikli alanlardan biri olarak görmüştür. Bunun temel nedenleri bu bölgenin herhangi bir büyük gücün tamamen etkisinde olmayışı, Güney Kore'nin tarihsel olarak bu bölge ile olumsuz bir tarihsel geçmiş ve hafıza taşıyor olması, güçlü komşuları Japonya'nın tarihsel olarak bölge ile olumsuz bir geçmiş paylaşıyor olması ve Çin'in de Güney Çin Denizi sorunu nedeniyle problemlili bir ilişkisinin olması şeklinde sıralanabilir. Bu durum Güney Kore'yi oldukça avantajlı bir pozisyona taşımakta olup, inşa ettiği orta ölçekli güç kimliğinin mekanizmalarını ASEAN ile ilişkilerinde verimli bir şekilde kullanabilmesine olanak sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güney Kore, dış politika, orta güç kimliği, Güneydoğu Asya, Güneydoğu Asya Uluslar Birliği

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
APEC	Asia – Pacific Economic Cooperation
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
ROK	Republic of Korea
DPRK	Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
AKFTA	ASEAN Korea Free Trade Area
APSC	ASEAN Political Security Community
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
ASCC	ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ADMM	ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting
ADMM Plus	ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting Plus
EAS	East Asia Summit

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the biggest challenges in the 21st century is how big states relate to small states.¹

The international political system has changed and transformed itself in many ways in the last century. The world had seen two big destructive wars (and some wars that may seem more local but in fact had global impacts like Korean War and Vietnam War) leaving millions of people dead, injured, places in ruin. Republic of Korea (hereafter South Korea and ROK will be used interchangeably), has been one of the countries in which war was lived heavily and the whole country was almost destroyed. However, South Korea has become one of the most successful and high-technology based growing economies of Asia in the years following the end of Korean War till the end of Cold War. It gave priorities to some industries (called key industries namely communication & electronics, heavy chemical, steel, and automobile) during the Park Chung Hee's presidency period and today it is among the high income countries according to the World Bank data, having a market economy which ranks 15th in the world by nominal GDP, and 12th by purchasing power parity (PPP). Being classified as a recipient of development assistance until the 1990s, South Korea started to behave as an assistance provider at the late early 1990s. With President Lee Myung-Bak administration "Global Korea" became a new agenda-set and constituted a fresh vision for the country. Although this "Global Korea" seems to be dealing with national security and development assistance fields more it also gives room to foreign policy which foresees the expansion of South Korea's regional and international role.

¹ From a speech given by Jagat S. Mehta at the Indian International Centre on the 3th of November 2006. He was the Foreign Secretary in the Government of India from 1976 to 1979.

In line with its increasing share of world economic activities and her rising demand for a more active citizenship of world community, Korea started to be a shining star in the political sphere and academia. There is a wide range of literature on how to describe Korea's power status in the international system and regional affairs. Starting with the 1990s, South Korea was began to be labelled as a middle power. Since an undefined time period, Korea had been said to be a "shrimp among whales". Here the whales represent China and Japan as big powers compared to Korea. Together with this new "middle power" perception and through it, South Korea is changing and leaving its traditional "shrimp" character or at least trying to leave and get a new identity in her foreign policy conduct.

There is a comprehensive debate of how to theorize "middle powerness" and what the components of it are. The discussion for Korea's role in international realm mostly concentrates on middle power pattern mainly starting from early 1990s. The interesting point about South Korea is the fact that she – in addition to the attributions in the literature as being defined as a middle power – defines herself as a middle power state and constructs a "middle power identity" intentionally. She, in another way, is defined as a middle power in the literature and also exhibits herself as a middle power and emphasize it altogether. South Korea, in this identity construction follows certain patterns in accordance with constructivist approach. One of these roles is "bridge" role. South Korea sees herself as a bridge between developed and developing world. Once upon a time South Korea herself was a aid In this study, South Korea is accepted as a middle power state and a specific region will be analyzed by looking to the relations in a closer way to understand how South Korea use it middle power identity in her foreign relations.

The end of two-super power camped world order has created the discussion of what kind of a new order might be established. One possible expectation has been the United States would continue as the sole superpower of the world and other significant countries follow a routine stable trend. Another possible option has been again USA being the great power and some regional powers would be gaining energy in a way to balance the great power. The surprising actor came from the Asia in a way replacing USSR, the People's Republic

of China. Since late 1970s, as a natural outcome of its economic opening to the world, China has enhanced its economic, social and political influence in the region. This automatically brought the power struggle and sphere of influence rivalry among the two superpowers although Chinese authorities usually hesitate to use the term of “superpower” which brings the military power directly to the minds. The economic well-being of the Chinese society is emphasized to be the priority of the government.

China had always been there but had closed herself to the world and with the fall of the USSR, China has been the most suitable candidate to fulfill the “other” superpower cadre against the USA. The growing existence of China at almost all arenas like economic development, rise in military capacities, even as a soft power relying on Confucius institutes has directly influenced the regional and international context. Beside China, it is not possible to ignore the other regional powers in the neighboring geographies. Russia, as a continuation of the USSR, is still showing the desire of going back to those good old days in the Central Asia which is one of the most energy-rich parts of the world and thus prone to power struggle within itself. Moreover, India is being shown another great regional power in sub-regions of Asia, increasing the volume of economic relations, trade and bilateral political agreements. Japan, with its new leader Shinzo Abe, is again signaling the desire of going back to those good old days at which Japan was the number one of industrial development and military capacity. The geography surrounding Korean peninsula is therefore having a paramount transformation through which new leadership role(s) are defined and going to being shaped.

At this point, South Korea whose people historically perceive their nation as a “shrimp among whales”(Shim, 2009) has believed to feel as stranded between those powers although this has usually been the case as being a neighbor of China, Japan and Russia so far. Since the 1990s and increasingly with the millennium, politicians and scholars in South Korea have started to argue about the nation as a “middle power” capable of performing crucial influence within the Northeast Asia and beyond (Park, Shin, & Keyser, 2013). With the demise of the Soviet Union ending the divided picture of the world,

combining with the rising of Chinese leadership in Asia, Korea has to restructure and define her position in regional and world affairs.

The middle power theorists so far have not given certain explanations because of which some countries have been put in the category of this but the same countries are not seen as middle powers by some other academics. Although there are many consistent definitions, they are controversial at the same time. In addition to that, the linkage and intersection between middle-powerness and foreign policy pattern has not been touched upon adequately.

The complexity of the power issue is directly related to mostly western-centric and western-originated international relations theories. One of the first and structured criticisms came from Martin Wight by asking “why there is no international theory?” in his debate establishing article (Wight, 1966). Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan argues that there is now a substantial body of theory considering international relations; however, they questioned “why there is no non-western international theory?”(Acharya & Buzan, 2010). In mainstream western-centric IR theories, East Asia cases are not included as much as the other regions are included in analysis. Maybe this is stemming from the belief that actors in East Asia behave very similar to other actors of other regions; however, there is studies show evidence of new findings when East Asian cases are concentrated on. Some examples are David C. Kang’s work on developmental states and varieties of capitalism, Clifford Geertz and Benedict Anderson’s work on South East Asian identity, and James Scott’s work on resistance or contentious politics (Johnston, 2012). This definitely gave hope to the scholars who are searching for to establish a non-western IR theorizing that includes the historical, cultural, intellectual resources of Asian region. One of the main concepts of mainstream western IR theories is “power” with no doubt giving shape to also “balance of power”, “balancing”, and “bandwagoning” discussions. This “balance of power” and its offshoots balancing & bandwagoning framework is creating a debate in line with the rise of China and the relations among countries in the region. Since power is relatively defined “middle power” is again a contentious concept to be applied both in the world and in the Asia region.

It has been a flourishing academic debate how middle-powerness has an impact on foreign policy pattern of states for decades. Following the end of Cold War, due to which the small states or the states that are not the definite superpowers of the world, has no longer felt a harsh pressure of choosing a camp. Rather they started to feel more autonomy and maneuver capability in their conduct of foreign and domestic policy issues.

The nexus with Southeast Asia countries is crucial both for economic and political reasons for South Korea. ASEAN is clearly a rising community of the bigger Asia region. Southeast Asia is an attractive location not only for big economies of Asia but also for the all developed industrial nations since it offers new markets and relatively cheap labor force. Having put the economic growth, social progress, and cultural development at the center of their agenda, ASEAN members are working to find ways of developing those goals mainly relying on the relations with three important nations of East Asia (China, Japan and Korea). ASEAN+3 have been focusing on political and security cooperation, finance and economic cooperation, environment, climate change and sustainable development, and socio-cultural cooperation. As being a member of Plus Three structure, South Korea gives importance to its relations with ASEAN at political, economic, and cultural levels.

1.1. Research Question and Methodology

The concept of middle power (also being divided as traditional middle powers and emerging middle powers; traditional middle powers include Canada and Australia as being western powers but emerging middle powers include new comers from different parts of the world like Brazil, Korea, Turkey, Mexico) covers a considerable portion of area studies and international relations (Shim & Flamm, 2013).

At this point, my research question is how South Korea has operationalized her “middle power” identity towards the neighboring region of Southeast Asia since the Cold War. The sub-questions also exist. The question that how South Korea constructed herself a middle power identity is quite crucial in searching for the main research question. ASEAN

has been selected as the case region because of the fact that Southeast Asia is one of the most convenient political geography for South Korea to show its middle power capabilities and characteristic. For the analysis, it is planned to focus on some certain inner regional and bilateral issue areas such as trade and security policies, humanitarian issues, and environmental policies. Actually these issue areas are categorized under three main heading. Those will be explained in coming parts. At the conclusion part, I try to figure out what the head of theories to better explain the South Korea's middle-powerness role in the region and explain reasons of the pattern (whether different for some issue areas like trade policy, humanitarian issues or security policy or the same for all) South Korea follows and applies in the selected case of Korea – ASEAN relations.

South Korea is being labeled as a middle power since the 1980s with its increasing economic capacity and active international role. However, it is interesting and different than other middle power countries in the literature that South Korea is willingly and consciously defining herself as middle power. The literature based on South Korea's being a middle power mostly taking it for granted and composed of comparative studies of countries on a more security related issues such as a comparison of "South Korea and Vietnam on security policies", or "South Korea and Australia development assistance and national security". There is not much focus on the whole construction of middle power identity through governments and how it is practiced in a wide-scale region like Southeast Asia. I, in a humble way, will try to contribute to the literature by analyzing the South Korea's foreign policy behavior in Southeast Asia region taking the ASEAN unit of analysis from a constructivist perspective after the Cold War in which period Asia has certainly witnessing a crucial transformation thanks to China's rising leadership and "de-centering of global capital"² (Dirlik, 2010). While having my research, I will make an effort to provide an inside account to understand phenomena by analyzing the beliefs and desires held by the actors involved (Taniguchi, 2014). My focus area is Southeast Asia and will be specifically ASEAN relations based. For the case selection, I have deliberately

² Dirlik argues that there have been two developments to reconsider area studies in general and Asia studies in particular: they are the end of Cold War and de-centering of global capitalism.

concentrated on this region since this part of the world is quite competitive in terms of state activities, non-state organizations and initiatives, has a liberal environment and contains all kind of actors. Moreover, in Southeast Asia geography, it is relatively difficult to talk about the predominance of one nation or state which enables us to have a more healthy analysis of South Korean foreign relations and middle-powerness. It may help us showing the reasons and mentality behind the South Korean bilateral relations with the ASEAN organization and regional countries. Since South Korea is a relatively small territory compared to its closest neighbors China, Japan, and Russia; it might give us how an economically well-off but politically fragile due to the divided structure of the peninsula country plan and materialize its relations with her surrounding environment. By applying the constructivist middle power approach to South Korea's engagement with the prospective region, I aim to find out whether there is a regular pattern for South Korea as a middle power for the certain issue areas or there are different strategies pursued along with different calculations and interests. From getting that result, by studying other regional relations of South Korea, it might be possible to come to a generalization if any similarities and differences exist in South Korean foreign policy. This will be the subject of future studies.

It is not aimed to merely concentrate on cause – effect relations regarding the foreign policy of South Korea in the post-Cold War period; instead I will try to examine the process and mind-set which shape the vision of the country by unrevealing the meanings given to events & social phenomena by the actors involved. During my thesis study, I will have a “single-case research design”(King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994) which will be based on a comprehensive literature reading covering scholarly books, journal articles, reports, policy briefs of the politicians, bureaucrats, academicians, private sector and experts on South Korea. I will also make use of primary sources like archives, reports and agreements published and signed at the end of summits attained by ASEAN and South Korea regularly, newspapers, in addition to secondary sources like periodical literature, and academic books written and used by South Korean research institutes, European and

American based Asia and Korea focused think-tanks, opinion leaders, and decision-makers.

1.2.Summary of Chapters

This thesis has five chapters. In the introduction chapter, I will give the theoretical framework, scope, objective and research method of the study.

In the second chapter, it will be tried to summarize the middle power concept through the literature review, its emergence throughout the history and usage for different nation states, and provide a categorization of middle power theories. In this part, different International Relations theories will be also briefly examined to understand their explanatory roles on the middle power concept. In line with this analysis, it will be focused on the features of constructivism, its contribution to the middle power discussion and constructivism will be used as the main theoretical base of this study.

In the third chapter, it will be shown how the middle power concept is constructed by the political leaders and policy makers of South Korea. The foreign policy of the country will be focused from a historical perspective and the changes and continuities will be tried to understand while the liberal and conservative governments succeed over each other. After that, it will be figured out that how those government changes are reflected on the foreign policy agenda of South Korea and how the interest of South Korea emerged for the Southeast Asia region.

In the fourth chapter, firstly, the general framework of Southeast Asia and South Korea relations will be mentioned. In this context ASEAN will be taken as the unit of analysis since ASEAN is a platform of regional representation and includes all the countries of the region as members. For this aim the history of ASEAN will be provided, its working mechanism and pillars will be given. Following that the beginning of South Korea – ASEAN relations will be talked about. After that, South Korea and ASEAN relations will be analyzed under three main headings which are at the same time the names of ASEAN's pillars. Those are "Political Community", "Economic Community", and "Socio-Cultural Community". Under each heading there will be issues and those will be tried to understand

from the constructivist middle power theoretical perspective. In this chapter, it is argued that South Korea has identified herself as a benign Northern neighbor which doesn't seek any economic or cultural exploitation of the region and respects to the internal affairs of the members and tries to keep neutral on security matters.

The last chapter is the fifth chapter and it is conclusion part of the study. In this part, the strengths of the theoretical framework used in this thesis are indicated.

CHAPTER II

MIDDLE POWER THEORY LITERATURE

One of the vital points in social sciences is that we need and want to have clearly defined concepts to make a comprehensive and understandable analysis. Among many new concepts and issues we have the “middle power” especially since the 1950s although the usage of the term has increased evidently in the post-Cold War era. The reasons of the interest are as follows. The 1960s and 70s witnessed a curiosity in the nature and role of small states in the international society (Holbraad, 1984). This curiosity has also some reliable causes. Firstly, new states had emerged in Asia and Africa after the Second World War and thanks to decolonization period. Secondly, during the 1960s, East-West relations came to a new epoch by superpowers’ coming closer to each other. This détente is generally referred to policy agenda of U.S. President Nixon which started in 1969. With the emergence of new states and their more attention demanding positions in the international system pushed academia to concentrate on those states not falling in the group of great or superpowers. What the study of those small and medium ranked states’ can bring us is quiet important. Andrew Carr tells that there are two significant points why we should have a clear understanding of what “middle power” is. First one is that, many politicians and policy makers in both developed and developing countries point the term in their political & public campaigns and rhetoric, seeing political resonance and geopolitical sense in it (Carr, 2013). The second point is that the term “middle power” represents an essential caution to studies of international relations which are too firmly focused on great power politics (Carr, 2013). When the others are examined and analyzed we might have a clearer picture of how and why big powers follow a certain path in their relations with the others.

The concept “middle” is already a relatively defined one too as “power” is. It might be helpful and better to start with first “power” concept and have a general look upon it. The

international relations discipline has an incredible literature on the “power” concept. Although the main theoretical debate of this study will not be the “power” concept itself, it may be helpful at least to draw the border and mentions what the things are that make a state “power”. While using “power” in this study, I mainly refer to nation-state because the general perception of the international society is requiring that. As Holbraad puts it “a state is a great power not only because it commands military strength and economic resources of the highest order but also because it enjoys a certain status and belongs to a special class in international society” (Holbraad, 1984).

The grading of powers is significant since the labeling definitely has an impact on the states’ foreign policy, domestic policies, the leaders’ agendas, economic relations etc. Again here it is not aimed to have a long review of power literature but it is important at least to talk about the elements that create power because most of the definition problems are stemming from that criteria or labels used for definitions themselves.

It is composed of many elements. The basic components are size of population, strategic location and geographical extent, and economic and industrial production; in addition to those there are also administrative and financial efficiency, education and technological skill points to be included (Wight, 1978). Wight classifies powers under five subtitles: dominant powers, great powers, world powers, minor powers, and sea and land powers.

Martin Wight argued in his famous book “Power Politics” that the great powers have always been a minority in the society of states; the big majority of states are not great powers and the remaining part is composed of minor powers (Wight, 1978). Page 61

Before continuing with the middle power theories, it is important to give some literature on the “power”.

2.1. Classification of Power

“**Dominant power**” might be described as a power that can measure strength against all its rivals combined; Britain was given to exemplify dominant power in the mid eighteenth

century (Wight, 1978). He continues his writings saying that dominant power is not a frequently used label for states and efforts really much to give a scientific definition for great power.

“Great power” is defined a power with general interests, i.e. whose interests are as wide as the states-system itself, which today equals to world-wide (Wight, 1978) page 50.

The phrase **“world power”** is often referred to imply a power with interests in the world at large; in addition to this a more precise definition might be argued as a great power which can push out effectively in Europe a strength that is derived from resources outside Europe (Wight, 1978) page 56. Wight showed Spain as the first dominant power to dominate Europe due to its being as the first effective world power. Likewise, Britain, France and Russia fall into the same category throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Before sea and land power, the last category minor power is designated as the majority of world state system. It is divided into two sub-categories having prominence resulting in a differentiation from the common pattern. These two categories are regional great powers and “middle powers”. Italy and Germany are given as examples before they united in Europe. Moreover, Egypt, Iraq and Saudi Arabia have been said to be regional great powers of the Arab world (Wight, 1978).

Sea power is explained based on the fact that states-system came into being in the second half of the fifteenth century almost overlapping with the Great Discoveries. The Great Discoveries enabled us to see that European sea power could surround the world’s continents. Artillery in warfare also came at the same time in adaption and these two techniques or way of war, concurrence, and influence had fed each other. The time until 1945 was called “the Vasco da Gama epoch” by K. M. Panikkar (Panikkar, 1959)³. He brought a linkage between the ends of the European overseas empires and European hegemony by 1945. This argument created the question of whether the supremacy of sea power had also come to an end (Panikkar, 1959).

³ For more details please look at the book of K. M. Panikkar named “Asia and Western Dominance”.

Wight argued in his “**Sea Power and Land Power**” chapter that if the Americans had not initially conquered the Pacific they could not have bombed Japan (Wight, 1978). However, we encountered with the classic description of sea power at the end of nineteenth century in the writings of the American naval officer Mahan. However, when it comes to the last two decades of Mahan’s life, it became a strong possibility that industrial growth of some states may erode the predomination of sea power over land power. This far-sighted observation(Wight, 1978) was put forward by Mackinder (British geographer) and he was approved by the First World War. His basic argument was that it was easier for land power to take to the sea than for sea power to take to the land.

Mackinder specified a region and named it as “**Heartland**” (pivot area) of the world. This specific region covers the Baltic Sea, Black Sea, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Tibet and Mongolia. The character of this region is the author argued that it rejects the sea power to be able to access (Mackinder, 1904). Mackinder and Mahan clearly had an influence on the European political leaders and German thinkers like Hitler who in a way followed the projection of those geopolitical focused writers. However, it is not always true that the sea power has an ultimate superiority over land power or vice versa. Especially the examples given by Mackinder belong to the more contemporary history part of international politics; on the other hand, in the medieval ages there are many examples of sea power victories over land power⁴. In addition to sea power and land power, the First World War also opened a new chapter in war history by revealing the air power to consider but it was not taken alone for a prominent indicator or supportive element of “power”.

This categorization of Wight has been also shaping the future and present ideas and frameworks of the experts and academics by which the debate of how the powers can be labeled and how their foreign policy or similar patterns (domestic politics, state’s international organizations relations etc.) might be understood in accordance with such a grouping.

⁴ For more detailed explanation, please refer to the “Sea Power and Land Power” chapter of Martin Wight’s Power Politics where he gave a critical analysis of Mackinder’s heartland theory.

The middle power theorists unfortunately are not able to agree on a clear-cut definition of the concept itself. Disagreements over definitions are a very natural phenomenon in social sciences and it is also the case regarding “middle power”. As Ping puts it “no commonly accepted definition or method of definition of middle powers exists” (Ping, 2005) is still reflecting the truth. The problems related to the concept and the approaches which work to have a more applicable and comprehensive definition can be summarized as follows: assumptions are taking the structure as given in the world order and there is the bias of certain type of middle power should be there and exist (Huelsz, 2009).

The conceptualization of middle ranking states has been around for centuries (Ping, 2005). The roots of grading of powers can be seen at the beginnings of states-system. There started a simple recognition that states differ from each other by their type and magnitudes. This evolved into the doctrine that, according to their size, they have distinct roles in international society (Wight, 1978). At least 500 years earlier works of Thomas Aquinas, Giovanni Botero and Hugo Grotius are accepted as the first references of this middle class of states (Ravenhill, 1998).

The concept was first brought and made popular in modern International Relations theory by Organski’s (1958) power transition theory, which defines international politics as a hierarchy consisting of four types of powers (Organski, 1958).

These four types of power described as dominant powers (today frequently referred as superpowers), great powers, middle powers, and small powers. The categorizations of Organski and Wight have many similar points but Organski uses “middle power” more explicitly. However, it is hard to accept that Organski puts on each of his group balanced emphasis; rather he focuses on larger powers like many IR theorists do. The existences of middle powers occupy a kind of linkage between great or super powers and small powers in the analyses. The first examples of middle power states are Canada and Australia in the literature. These two states had been usually categorized as such in the post-World War II years. Within the changing dynamics of international system; for instance the end of bipolar world order, shift of economic production towards the eastern world seriously, rising and growing economies, there are new comers accepted as middle powers like South

Africa, Brazil, South Korea, Turkey to name some of them. Their being middle power is mostly examined through their regional roles and behavior and their foreign policy relations.

The analyses which try to come to a reasonable conclusion in order to understand how “middle-powerness” influences foreign policy agenda and pattern make an important portion of the literature. This literature at the same time, focuses on the states’ international collective role which define themselves as middle power; therefore, the concept fall into the intersection of foreign policy analysis and international relations theories (D. A. Cooper, 2011).

2.2. Middle Power Theories

It is possible to categorize middle power theories under four main different approaches respectively **the functional model, the systemic-structural approach, Keohane’s “in between” approach (identity approach), and the behavioral model** within the existing literature. The criticism directed towards traditional middle power theories has focused on the artificial division of structure and agency. It is seen that structural-systemic approaches concentrate on mainly material capabilities, geographical and population size and signals for example GDP, trade volume as the determining features of middle powers whereas the agential or behavioral approach consider and take into account the structural context as part of an explanation for middle power behavior (Huelsz, 2009). On the other hand, it is also possible to relate middle power theories with the main international relations theories and classify them accordingly.

2.3. Realism Oriented Middle Power Theories

2.3.1. The Functional Model

The functional model actually shares some points with the systemic-structural approach. Although “middle power” has been commonly used since 1945, the “middle-powerness”

was first addressed in the article of Lionel Gelber in 1946. In his article, he talked about some “functional” capabilities of some states that differentiated them from others which have a lower degree of influence (Gelber, 1946).

The functionality may be grounded as when great or major powers have the necessary instruments to affect the international politics more broadly, some powers have the capacity to influence only in some specific areas. These “middle” ranked states are in between two groups of states: first group is great powers which can show its ability and capacity at any time and the second one is small powers which mostly due to their small populations, limited land and other resources can spread influence at no time.

Claxton in his 1944 article thinking on the place of Canada in the post-war era, tried to take attention to the “functional matters”. Among them, we can count health, the prevention of women and drug trafficking, production and distribution of food. He said that those matters should be the priorities of post-war agendas’ of states and international organizations. He continues that Canada is not a great power but has many valuable mine sources and is the world’s third trading nation by which Canada differs from many other small states. Functional approach mainly argues that a middle power should show its influence in international organizations and forums as such contributing the common good of international society.

2.3.2. The Systemic-Structural Approach

Carsten Holbraad contributed with his comprehensive book “Middle Powers in International Politics” to the middle power literature extensively. He structured his book mainly dealing with the historical theoretical analysis of states-system which could be explanatory in understanding the process that paved the way of “middle-power” concept.

This approach is based on the hierarchical international order organized by the balance of power mechanism. Economic and political power of a state is considered to be the most valuable attributing point within the systemic-structural approach.

Realists (such as Holbraad) argued in his book that there are some states not as strong and powerful as great powers but notably stronger than the minor powers and small states which actually generate the majority of states in the international system (Holbraad, 1984). These states are usually mentioned as middle powers.

Middle powers do not share a class differing from great powers meaning that great powers are easier to classify as a group mostly because middle powers have less shared interests and solidarity than great powers. In this approach, strength and power are seen as the best indicators of distinguishing characters of middle powers. It is quite difficult and hard to ignore the subjectivity to assess and make concrete understanding of the power. This resulted in the attempts of some writers who tried to measure power. The intensive focus was given to economic factors such as GDP, defense share of national budget, trade volume etc.

2.3.3.Keohane's "in between" Approach

A middle power is defined as "a state whose leaders consider that it cannot act alone effectively but may be able to have a systemic impact in a small group or through an international institution"(Keohane, 1969).

Keohane had argued in his one of the early articles that it is a more appropriate categorization of fourfold division of states rather than concentrating on small-great dichotomy.

System-determining' states are the great power(s) that shape the system while the 'system-influencing' states cannot individually dominate the system but nevertheless have important influence in the shaping of the system. The 'system-affecting' states do not have any significant impact on the system on their own but can affect the system by working through alliances or regional and international organizations, while 'system-ineffectual' states are those that cannot affect the system at all unless they are members of very large

coalitions that are most probably led by the larger powers. These four categories Keohane (1969: 296) refers to as 'great', 'secondary', 'middle' and 'small' powers.

3.Liberalism Oriented Middle Power Theories

3.1.The Behavioral Model

The behaviorist approach to the issue, taking the psychological and behavioral motifs into consideration for middle powers, was discussed more during the 1980s. As a product of those discussions, the book of Cooper, Higgott and Nossal (1993) *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order* is seen as the milestone study of the behavioral approach. Liberals (such as Cooper, Higgott and Nossal) argue that middle powers are recognizable by their foreign policy behavior. For the behaviorists, middle powers are able to be recognized by their inclination to follow multilateral resolution, their willingness to be ready to compromise in global disputes etc.

Another categorization came from Andrew Carr. He mentions that there are three main approaches which define middle powers: by their position, their behavior and their identity (Carr, 2013). This approach is based on quantifiable factors for instance gross domestic product (GDP), population, military size and defense spending to reach a more "objective" hierarchy of state size. "Middle" seems to be a quantitative concept making quantitative approaches quite good to be applied to itself, the picture is different than it seems. According to 2013 UN data, there are 193 sovereign states recognized by the United Nations but only around 20 states can be accepted as "middle powers" by looking at crucial quantitative signals while if we make a list merely focusing on military strength or population the sequencing result in a different manner. Meaning that, the states that are at 70-90 on a list of GDP or etc. does not necessarily puts them into middle power class. It is hard to be accepted as the best definition or approach to examine the middle power states by only taking the quantitative measures into account in a social world of affairs.

There are many other elements that should be given attention like historical enmity, geographical and strategic position, type of governance etc. Due to this lack of qualitative elements, this approach has been criticized as being intellectually unsatisfying (Carr, 2013). Moreover, it was argued that this approach has proved to be nearly at no value in foreseeing or examining the behavior of those states classed as middle powers (Ravenhill, 1998).

This approach was developed as a counter-criticism towards position approach with no surprise. The creators of this approach had been mostly Canadian and Australian scholars in the late 1980s and early 1990s searching for a better explanation which was able to analyze how middle powers act. This approach was believed to show its influence on middle powers' behavior especially in multilateral forums, coalition-building to encourage trade liberalization (A. Cooper, Higgott, & Nossal, 1993). However, with the contribution of his article, he made an argument that there are two types of middle powers – traditional and emerging ones- (Jordaan, 2003). In addition, the emerging middle powers mostly non-western including India, Brazil, Malaysia, South Africa have perceived to be different than traditional ones in many ways covering their attitudes toward democracy, human rights, global economic pattern etc.

4. Constructivism Oriented Middle Power Theories

4.1. The identity approach

This approach is suggested to be the best option to understand middle power behavior relying on the political category developed by policy makers (Hynek, 2007). The ideas and vision of the political leaders and governments define the identity of a state and shapes its position in the international system. This approach has been linked to constructivism by looking at an early version in the work of Robert Keohane who argued that: “instead of focusing on perceptions of whether security can be maintained primarily with one's

own resources we should focus on the systemic role that states' leaders see their countries playing" (Keohane, 1969).

From this point of view, the constructivist approach can be seen a successful one to give at least a clue about the foreign policy agenda of the leaders and governments and some possibility of prediction for the future analysis. South Korea is a quite interesting case among the middle powers because of the fact that she is not only labeled as a middle power by "others" such as academics and political strategists but

After these three approaches Carr comes with an alternative one – **systemic impact – approach**. At the very core of this assumption power is seen an "actual or potential relationship between two or more actors (persons, states, groups etc.) rather than a property of any of them (Baldwin, 2002). For a relational power analysis, it is argued to be a better way to examine power by reference to "scope (influence over which issue), domain (the target of the influence), and its cost (opportunity costs of abandoning a relation" (Guzzini, 1993). The context is seen crucial in systemic impact approach. As Cox argued "middle power role is not a fixed universal but something that has to be rethought continually in the context of the changing state of the international system (Cox, 1989). In line with this framework, at the first years of the post-Cold War period, the foreign policy of South Korea did not show her middle power capacity but with Kim Dae-jung government reflected South Korea's middle power evaluation (Robertson, 2007). Both thanks to South Korea's own increasing power and China's rise in the region – for Southeast Asia it is not only a rise but also means a "China threat" - which is somehow changing the balance in the world affairs makes the study of middle-powerness of South Korea important.

"Middle power" is a helpful analytical tool in both International Relations and Area Studies scholarship. When international system and structure is thought of, great power politics, quantitative parameters as GDP, military expenditures, growth rates etc., can't always give an explanation for every states' foreign policy and regional behavior. There are smaller ranked states whose existence can't be denied so that they should also be taken

into consideration for a better analysis of world politics. The difficulty of generalizing the whole smaller states remaining out of the great powers directs scholars searching for alternative frameworks like “middle power”. At this point, the issue gets deepened with the inclusion of localness. It is quite difficult to bring all the nation states under the same umbrella of middle power category because each of them carries distinctive characteristics arising from their own unique environment. As a non-western success story (in economic and technological advancement) and now also aspiring to be an active player in the international affairs, South Korea can be a good example to search on. Its geographical place, historical connections with the neighbors China and Japan, its stable economy but politically fragile situation due to North Korea issue puts South Korea in an interesting position. South Korea differs from the first generation of middle power like Canada and Australia. Those two states had already been in the western world from political and cultural perspectives; however, South Korea is not a western country and has been under the eastern cultural world. Although “middle power” is itself a western originated concept, the application of it to South Korea may give us the chance of understanding how a middle power in Asia behaves and shapes her foreign policy in its region.

5. Constructivism

Constructivism is one of the main theories of the International Relations discipline. The birth of it came with the end of the Cold War. Realist school of thought couldn't foresee the demise of the Soviet Union and with its inability to explain the end of Cold War (because realism would argue that Cold War would end with a clash of superpowers resulting in a war that would change the system) new criticism was directed to realist school. This new approach was claiming that the international system and its character – anarchy – as defined by realist is something that can be changed. They say not only the material things but also ideational forms are significant and the ideas, norms, and social perceptions influence the international system and politics. Moreover, the perception of states themselves and their identity are directly related to other states' behaviours and perceptions. In line with the constructivist approach, some of the scholars studying middle

power also prefer to focus on the identity aspect of the middle power studies. Therefore, constructivism and a branch of middle power theories intersect at the identity creation point. Realism and liberalism oriented middle power approaches have tried to bring a clear definition and discussed what the main parameters that make a state a middle power. The problem of these two camps can be said that they are taking the middle powerness as something pre-given or attached to a nation state merely relying on material resources and political acts. However, they mostly ignore the social construction of state identity which is based on ideas, culture, self-identification and self-realization. These construction steps are important components of state identity and in line with this identity states shape their foreign policy pattern. Constructivism differs from realism at this point as the constructivists don't take anarchy of the international system as pre-given but claim it is created by the states' perceptions and definition.

Different from realist and liberalist school, constructivism puts emphasis on the identity and how the middle powers see themselves. This perception of a state considering herself and the way she defines herself can be seen as self-identification. It is independent from the other states' and other people's judgement. It is totally the way that you define yourself.

Laura Neack mentions about the middle power as follows:

The self-identified middle power internalized the idea of the middle power and began conforming their external behaviors to expectations...middle powers were self-defined as states that committed their relative affluence, managerial skills, and international prestige to the preservation of international peace and order (Neack, 2008).

Neack has been one of the leading constructivist scholar that studies middle power. She emphasized the internalization of the middle powerness. It is significant to remember that it is developed in South Korea in this manner. With the 1990s, South Korea succeeding in economic development and relatively lessening tension on Korean peninsula, began to search for action in international sphere. The internalization first should be realized by the leaders and politicians of the state then they can put it in action.

5.1. Identification Process of Middle Power Identity

5.1.1. Construction of State Identity

Identity is defined as “the qualities and attitudes that a group of people have, that make them different from other people” in the Longman Dictionary⁵. This definition is important in the sense that it holds the crucial element of identity which is “other”. To draw the lines of being a group or being “we”, the “other” should also exist and be defined. However, the concepts should be clearly separated from each other here. Those concepts are national identity and state identity. These two may seem very close to each other but they have different meanings and roles. National identity is the framework for the people of a nation that bring them together at the “we” feeling and being “we” desire. The consciousness of the “we” serves the continuity of the nation state surely. Historical developments and internal political events shapes the national identity and memory for instance wars, migration movements, ethnic clashes, etc. On the other hand, state identity is something different. State identity may go parallel to the national identity and may have similar vision while the vice versa is also possible. State identity is inclined to change with the changing governments, administrators, bureaucracy, and political leaders. Wendt mentions about the self-understanding (identification) and identity relation as follows:

“Identity is at base a subjective or unit-level quality, rooted in an actor’s self-understandings. However, the meaning of those understandings will often depend on whether other actors represent an actor in the same way, and to that extent identity will also have an intersubjective or systemic quality”. (Wendt, 1999: 224)

In addition to that, states may have several identities ranging from macro to micro level, long lasting to temporary ones etc. The common point of these identities is the fact that states try to maintain its existence by thinking and putting in order its priorities and interests both in internal and external realm. The external realm is the core area for states

⁵ <http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/identity>

to exhibit their interest, ideas, actions, and behavior which can be summarized as foreign policy. In other words, foreign policy is one of the core elements that reflect state identity. In relation with this, there are some basic parameters that constitute foreign policy. These are material change, norm change in internal and international level, self-perception of a state itself, and others' perceptual change. Here, it is concentrated on external affairs and in this study, I focus on state identity and how this middle power identity is reflected in South Korea – ASEAN relations. To analyze it, it is necessary to look at the South Korean state identity as a middle power. There are some key points that exert influence on the state identity. Those can be named as material change, norm change, self-perceptual change and others' perceptual change.

5.1.2. Material Change

The material change both at international and national level transforms the state identity. This transformation is realized by policy makers and through the continuous change of regional and global material system the transformation is revisited and reshaped. This material change is one of the key elements of constructing state identity. Jepperson, Wendt, and Katzenstein argue that international structure has influence on actors at three points; these three points are behavior (foreign policy) of actors, change in actors' identities, interests, and capabilities, and existence of actors (Jepperson, Wendt, Katzenstein, 1996: 41). Through this change, the actors re-evaluate their capabilities, foreign policy agenda, and their interests which would lead to transformation in the perception of international environment and relations.

5.1.3. Norm Change in International and Domestic Dimensions

To talk about how norm change have an impact on foreign policy agenda of states, it is better to have a look at what "norm" is in international relations and international studies. The word "norm" brings to our minds the ethical and moral dimension. Charles Saint-

Pierre, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant tried to use and emphasize norms to prevent the wars. Meanwhile, Hugo Grotius, the founder of international law, also have studied on the norm with the similar purpose. The birth of International Relations discipline attracted many scholars, mostly the idealists, to search on norm and whether it is possible to prohibit wars and establish peace via cooperation in international organizations. Haas had been one of the pioneers of putting norm at the heart of regional integration mainly regarding European Community (EC). For a long period of time, norm study has been under liberals influence which starts to change with the arrival of constructivists to the discussion. Unlike liberals, constructivists tries to understand not only norm itself but how the norm is constructed and see the transformation of it. Bjorkdahl says the norms are important in the sense that they tend to guide behavior by providing motivations for actions (Bjorkhdal, 2002). She continues by classifying norm definition into four categories: rationalist perspective, sociological perspective, normative perspective, and constructivist perspective (Bjorkhdal, 2002: 13-15). In the first one, norms are seen as regulated rules, obligations and rights, and standard of behavior. In the second one norms are seen as regularities and uniformities in behavior. The third one is, normative perspective, can be said to a challenge to power and interest based explanations. Justice and rights through moral and ethical norms of behavior are seen to be the main components of this perspective (Raymond, 1997). For the last perspective, constructivists see the norm as a package of intersubjective understanding collective expectations concerning the proper behavior of states and other actors in a given context (Bjorkhdal, 2002: 15). This classification has been directed toward functionality. According to Bjorkdahl, there are three functions of norms which are regulative, constitutive, and practical. The first one means rules and order are regulating behavior. The meaning of action and interest are defined by constructivist norms. Practical norms are a combination of first two and institutionalized and applicable to every day life.

5.1.4. Self Perceptual Change

The constructivist theory takes the state as the main unit of analysis. While realist theory argues that states act in an anarchical international system, constructivism says that this system is a social structure characterized by three elements which are shared knowledge, material sources, and practices as a consequence of the inter-subjective nature of relations among states (Wendt, 1995:73). The intersubjectivity of the nature of relations is a result of the existence of different state identities in the international system. Those identities are defined in the historical context by shared norms, achievements, and narratives. Through those shared memory, self and other perceptions emerge and result in states' locating themselves in relation to others. This positioning naturally brings out the "self" and "other" dichotomy. As constructivism argues about ideas, social transformation of norms and interests, this is also reflected in a change of self-perception. States consider their situation and context and adopt themselves in accordance with the changes in social structure.

5.1.5. Others' Perceptual Change

The "other" is a reflection of "self" actually. For a nation state, the remaining states other than itself all together means the other or others. For different understandings of self and other, the writings of Wendt and his categorization is quite useful. He classifies three cultures of anarchy namely Hobbesian, Lockean, and Kantian and says that self and other representation as a role structure can be explained using enmity, rivalry, and friendship as metaphors (Wendt, 1999: 247). For the ASEAN and South Korea relations, I argue each actor perceives the other as friends and believe they can construct peaceful and progressive relations.

After giving the middle power literature, it would be necessary and useful to talk about the ways and concepts that middle powers use to shape their foreign policies. These ways and concepts would be categorized as the ones falling under the title of realist approach

and the ones falling under the liberal approach. This categorization may seem excluding constructivist approach; however, this is not the case. The realist policies can be summarized as balancing, bandwagoning, and neutrality. The liberal policies can be said functional diplomacy, niche diplomacy, and coalition diplomacy. The constructivist policies are bridge role, norm diffuser, and development and aid supporter.

6. Realist Policies

The first middle power framework, the position approach, is directly related with its realist roots. As realism focus primarily on the power, state interest and survival in an anarchical international environment where there is not a supreme authority or sovereign to regulate the inter-state relations; position approach also concentrates on concrete parameters like GDP, geographical size, population which are believed to put a state into middle power category. Under realist theory, there are three main foreign policy behavior.

Balance of power politics consist of the root of the all realist based theories. Realists, generally speaking, match the rise of great powers with war, instability in the international system and change in the owner of the power. This expectation seemed to be the same for the East Asia and Southeast Asia region as well. The rise of China created tremendous pessimism regarding the regional balance and international politics. However, at least so far, any direct clash hasn't occurred in the region. China and the USA is definitely the two determinant powers in the Asia Pacific but interestingly South Korea is not balancing one of them against other. South Korea has a good economic relation with both of them, the USA is on the South Korean side about the North Korean threat and China is seeming to balance between North Korea and South Korea.

Bandwagoning may have been used by Wolfers for the first time. He explains bandwagon policy as a strategy that "some weak countries seek safety by getting on the bandwagon of an ascending power, hoping somehow to escape complete subjugation once their strong friend getting supremacy (Wolfers, 1962). After Wolfers, Waltz also wrote about the term. He said "as soon as someone looks like the winner, nearly all jump on the bandwagon

rather than continuing to build coalitions intended to prevent anyone from winning the prize of power (Waltz, 1979).

Neutrality is one of the profound policy behaviors that nation states follows when they are not willing to participate in an international affair, structure and event.

7.Liberal Policies

Liberal policies of the middle power states increase their maneuver capabilities in the international politics. Those policies can be mentioned in two folders. First one is the Canadian style and the second one is the Australian style. Niche diplomacy and coalition diplomacy can fall under the Australian style, and functional diplomacy and mediation are regarded as Canadian type of foreign policy (Cooper). According to these liberal oriented middle power scholars, behavior is at the center of a middle power nation. Mainly in the international organizations, it is seen that those nations try to serve as a good citizen of international community. Although liberal oriented scholars put emphasis on the behavior of states to assess middle power character, they ignore and don't detail the process of how states becoming middle powers.

8.Constructivist Policies

Constructivist middle powers have a Kantian anarchy of culture and don't perceive the others as enemy or rival associated with Hobbesian and Lockean thought. In line with the Kantian thought, South Korea sees ASEAN as a friend and actor that can be cooperated with. Constructivist middle powers are mainly dealing with sharing ideas and norms in their foreign policy steps with other states and actors. In addition to those tools that shape middle power nations' foreign policies, it would be good to remember an important part of Chun's work:

South Korea's brand of middle power diplomacy is based on six elements: (1) help great powers lessen strategic mistrust; (2) suggest an issue-specific dispute settlement mechanism; (3) develop multilateral institutions or to actively participate in and further existing institutions; (4) preempt and import globally established norms to the region and set up the principle on which East Asia can solve disputes; (5) create a cooperative network among like-minded middle powers to strengthen their positions vis-à-vis great powers; and (6) become a co-architect in making and reforming regional security architecture (Chun, 2015).

Moreover, depending on what issue the middle power selects to engage upon, it is possible to see four identities of middle power diplomacy: early mover, bridge, coalition coordinator, and norm diffuser (Lee, Chun, Suh, Thomsen: 2015). In South Korea-ASEAN relations it is possible to see these identities clearly.

CHAPTER III

THE KOREAN FOREIGN POLICY in the AFTERMATH of the KOREAN WAR: CHANGES and CONTINUITIES

The modern era has not been an easy period for Korean peninsula. At the beginning of the 20th century, Korea was transformed from a vassal state of China to a colony of Japan. Following the Japan's defeat in the Second World War, Korea believed to get free but it was not a real conclusion. The end of the World War II did not exactly finish the political conflict on Korean Peninsula. On the contrary, it was the beginning of a destructive period for the Korean people. The catastrophic Korean War lasted until the Armistice Agreement signed in 1953 leaving the country divided by the 38th parallel. Korean peninsula is the last country which was divided during the Cold War years and has not managed to unify yet. This peculiar situation of her makes peninsula one of the fragile geographies of the world and takes attention of academics on a variety of issues regarding the nation. Since the war and the following years constituted the basic parameters of Korean domestic and international politics and policy decision making process, I take the end of Korean War as a turning and definitive point in the contemporary Korean history.

Although mentioned in the introduction part that this thesis narrows its scope by merely focusing on the post-Cold War era foreign policy of South Korea regarding ASEAN relations specifically. To analyze and understand the underlying factors, changes and continuities in foreign policy attitudes and agenda; it is better to provide a chapter of political developments of South Korea that constituted the making of modern South Korea.

In this chapter, I will be focusing on the milestones in the making of modern South Korea starting with the Korean War, continuing with the Park Chung-hee administration and his economic achievements and political crisis, Roh Tae-woo presidency (in his term for the first time "middle power" was used in 1991), Kim Young-sam administration

(globalization policy called “**segye**wha” and “세계화” in Korean), Kim Dae-jung and his Sunshine Policy, Roh Moo-hyun government, and a transition from liberals or progressives to conservatives with the Lee Myung-bak administration (“Global Korea” strategy), a continuation of conservatives with Park Geun-hye government coming to power in 2013, and the new Presidency of Moon Jae-in just elected in May 2017, relations with North Korea (engagement policy or hard-line approach), and crucial developments in regional relations.

By having look at all these administrations and issues, I would like to understand how the foreign policy agenda and perceptions of South Korea was shaped, how the state identity was created and foreign policy was organized and reorganized (if it has ever been done) and see if there has been any paradigm shift in her foreign policy look.

3.1.Middle Power (Junggyun-guk) and “Middle Power Diplomacy”

It is one of the consensuses shared by many different academic schools of thought and political ideologists that the world politics is being and might be reorganized due to the emergence of new challenges and ambitious countries mostly out of the western bloc. The research regarding middle powers was intensified with the end of Cold War since it opened new spaces and possibilities in the more flexible international order. Middle power is a western originated concept and first representatives of this theoretical concept are again western states like Canada, Australia, and Nordic countries. Although there is not a widely accepted or agreed definition of “middle power” in the literature, there is a common share at least on how to categorize the middle power nations. We come across that there are three main ways to define it: in terms of capabilities, function, and behavior. In addition to that another categorization is also possible: realism based middle power, liberalism based middle power, and constructivism based middle power. South Korea falls into this middle power category by fulfilling (and working continuously to fulfill) a “middle power” pattern and diplomacy not only from positional approach or realism based middle power understanding but also from liberal and constructivist approaches. Details

of this categorization has been discussed in the literature review part; however, throughout this chapter those will be touched upon in line with the developments, changes, continuities and paradigm shifts in South Korean foreign policy issues again.

South Korea is relatively an emerging middle power in the literature along with Brazil, Turkey, and Mexico. In the literature review, it was tried to give a summary of resources that labels South Korea as a middle power. The interpretation of the mostly western academics is quite valuable but it is also significant to check how this concept emerged in Korean politics, what the main leading motives behind it were and how the transition through being a middle power was managed. This may help us to show what Korean political leaders, academics, and business world do understand and how they do contextualize being a middle power. Rozzman mentions about the South Korea's middle power environment as follows:

“As a middle power (economically and militarily ranked about tenth in the world), South Korea is situated at the crossroads of four great powers, each of which considers itself in the tops rank and entitled to an assertive regional policy. This is a unique environment, strikingly different from that of a European middle power such as Italy without assertive neighbors or some scattered middle powers such as Brazil far from great power competition. South Korea also has the unparalleled challenge of seeking reunification with a state that is militarily and economically beyond the normal means of control of the global community and could even pose an enormous threat to it” (Rozman, 2006).

It is seen that the middle power concept was first used as an analytical category in the middle of 1980s with regard to Korean case in the literature. In addition; however, only in recent decades, it was conceptualized as an ideology for Korea's foreign policy statecraft (John, 2014). Since the 1980s, hosting the Olympics in 1988 and then co-hosting FIFA world cup in 2002 brought the middle power label to South Korea but from foreign policy perspective it became popular in Lee Myung-bak Presidency. Regardless of the

ambiguity of a certain time showing the exact usage of the term for South Korea, it is widely accepted that South Korea is a middle power as a leading scholar states, “Indeed, it is hard to think of South Korea as anything but a middle power” (Robertson, 2007). Below it is seen that there are certain concrete explanations of some Korean ministers and academics between 2010 and 2014 mentioning about South Korea’s middle power identity.

“Through various initiatives, such as its programs in green growth and development cooperation, South Korea has demonstrated the influence middle powers may have on global governance.” Kim Sung-han, former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea, February 2013⁶.

“The contours of Asia after it rises are going to depend on forward-looking strategic choices by China, the United States, and Japan, but also key middle powers such as South Korea, Australia, and Indonesia.” Chung Min Lee, Dean of the Graduate School of International Studies, Yonsei University, December 2011⁷.

Here it is shown that how the conceptual foundations of various middle-power narratives are seen in the South Korean case.

Table 1: Conceptual foundations of various middle-power narratives in the South Korean context⁸.

	Geographical notion	Hierarchical notion	Strategic notion
Dimension	Being in the middle	Being a middle power	Positioning in the middle

⁶ Kim Sung-han, “Global Governance and Middle Powers: South Korea’s Role in the G20,” Council on Foreign Relations, February 2013, <http://www.cfr.org/south-korea/global-governance-middle-powers-south-koreas-role20/p30062>.

⁷ Chung Min Lee, “The Perils of a Monotone Asia,” PacNet 69, December 15, 2011, <http://csis.org/files/publication/pac1169.pdf>.

⁸ This table is based on Sohn, Y. (2015), ‘중견국 정체성의 실천: 한국의 경우’ [The Practice of middle power identity: the case of South Korea], paper presented at the Korean Association of International Studies Conference, 6 November 2015, p. 63. It also includes findings of Shin, D. M. (2012), ‘The Concept of Middle Power and the Case of the ROK: A Review’, in Rüdiger, F., Hoare, J., Köllner, P. and Pares, S. (eds) (2012), *Korea 2012: Politics, Economy and Society*, Leiden: Brill; Moon (2015), *China’s Rise and Security Dynamics on the Korean Peninsula*; and Shin (2015), ‘South Korea’s elusive middlepowermanship.

Narrative	Location of the Korean peninsula at the geopolitical juncture	Mid-sized, mid-ranked power identity	Strategies of neutrality, equidistance, balancing, etc.
Related concepts	Central state (Joongshimgook, 중심국)	Middle power (Joonggyungook, 중견국)	Neutral state (Joonglipgook, 중립국)
	Focal state, foothold or base (Geojeomgookga, 거점국가)	Semi-advanced or middle-income state (Joongjingook, 중진국)	Balancing power (Gyunhyunggook, 균형국)
	Bridge state (Gagyogookga, 가교국가)	State with mid-level power (Joongganseryukgookga, 중간세력국가)	
Strategic implications	Setting a spatial boundary for Korean strategic thinking	Seeking a narrative of support for South Korea's claim to provide a diplomatic bridge between greater and smaller power groups Conceptual ambiguity and arbitrariness in self-categorization	Historical lineage (e.g. Korean neutral state in early 20th century) Reluctance, hesitation, strategic sensitivities
Leadership	Roh Moo-hyun government	Lee Myung-bak government	Roh Moo-hyun and Park Geun-hye governments

3.2.The Korean War

One of the most important events of the Cold War years was certainly the outbreak of Korean War in the peninsula. This devastating war (started on the 25 June 1950) was finished with the armistice treaty signed on 27 July 1953. Although the treaty created a demilitarized zone between South Korea and North Korea and enabled many war prisoners to return back from two sides, a peace treaty has not been signed yet and these two countries are still at war, technically. Korean War has been one of the key, and maybe the most important, affective political developments in the modern Korean history from two dimensions. The war, the post-war politics and the policies regarding how to deal and engage with North Korea have been usually top issues in South Korean domestic politics. Secondly, the tension coming from this partition and North Korea's nuclear program have been defining the international relations and foreign policy of South Korea. Due to this war, security has been one of the significant parameters of Korean both domestic and international politics. This war has been one of the critical material changes of modern Korean history which had tremendous impact on the country. Being a divided nation opened a new chapter in South Korean politics. As mentioned above, even the progressive and conservative politics differentiation is made in accordance with their policies regarding the attitude towards North Korea.

3.3.An Overview of Korean Foreign Policy in the Cold War Era

This period can be defined as a period lived under the United States of America's protection both in terms of security and politics. Although the USA seems to be the main player and agenda setter in the Korean politics during the Cold War it is better to accept the existence and influence of some other actors and ideas. Those other actors and ideas (ideologies) are result of some successively events. The Treaty of Kanghwa (1876) signed with Japan can be taken as the starting point for the opening of Korean ports to Japanese and Western ships (Buzo, 2007). Those opening finally resulted in Japan's increasing

involvement with the peninsula and ruling the country starting from 1910 until 1945. The Japanese hegemony came to an end with the World War II but the following Korean War devastated the lives of Korean society. After the armistice agreement (not a peace treaty there the war technically continues), Korean politics mostly shaped by its relations with North Korea, its strong partnership with the USA, and its effort to recover the economy and become an advanced nation. As Kihl argued it is traditionally accepted that foreign policy of Korea was subordinated by three themes: legitimacy, security, and development (Kihl, 2005). These three themes may seem as common concerns of all newly established nations but in case of South Korea those are quite reasonable and meeting the exact meaning when the situation and history of the peninsula is thought. To put in another way, South Korea as a new state after the division, had to legitimize its existence against North Korea. Related to that, it had to configure its security policy and provide a secure environment for its citizens. Lastly, after the deathful Korean War, recovery of the economy and development was inevitable focus and aim of the Korean state.

To understand foreign policy behavior, it is also crucial to analyze the domestic politics and inner political differences which shapes the foreign policy makers' decisions. The South Korean politics have long distinguished between two main political camps: progressives and conservatives. The progressive camp has been closely associated with support for the Sunshine Policy toward North Korea and for a foreign policy independent from the United States. Meanwhile, adherents of the conservative camp have generally been known for their steadfast support of the security alliance with the United States and their antagonism toward North Korea. However, when the foreign policy is concerned these two may meet at some pragmatist line. For example, the progressives' support for North Korea is not unconditional. Many progressives recognize the threat posed by the DPRK's nuclear program. They are also critical of human rights violations by Pyongyang. Although progressives view the United States with a degree of suspicion, they recognize the importance of the U.S.-South Korea security alliance (Khamidov, 2008).

3.4. Main Cold War Governments

3.4.1. Park Chung Hee Administration

He started to rule the country following a military coup de'tat on 16 May, 1961 until he was assassinated on 26 September, 1979. His era was marked by the economic development and recovery of the country from the war beside the uprisings due to his authoritarian ruling. From foreign policy perspective, he did not have a well-planned foreign policy agenda. He mainly concentrated on economic issues and tried to increase trade volume with Japan especially. When he came to power, North Korea was in a better position due to high industry remained from Japan's occupation of the peninsula, and mostly the support of communist bloc countries China, Soviet Union and East Germany. Although his era seems to be a stagnant period, his economic success paved the way for coming leaders to claim South Korea's economic situation should be reflected in its international activism. Park Chung-hee era reflects and constitutes the traditional foreign policy of South Korea which is based on development, security, and legitimization. Despite being a military man, Park Chung-hee concentrated on the economic progress and prosperity of the country. This shows the relation of his era with development. He also emphasized the necessity of a national security agenda and self-capacity to be able to defend itself. This is the focus on security.

3.4.2. Roh Tae-woo Administration (1988-1993)

He was the first President of South Korea to use the middle power. In 1991 Hoover Institution speech, Seoul has used the term 'middle power' as a way of presenting its aspirations in the international stage. He described the ROK as a middle power which is a successful free market economy committed to active participation in multilateral forums in pursuit of its security agenda. Here the focus was on economy and security of the nation.

3.5. Post-Cold War Governments

3.5.1. Kim Young-sam Administration (1993-1998)

Kim Young-sam was elected as the 7th President of South Korea and stayed in office between 25th Feb. 1993 and 25th Feb. 1998, being the first civilian president after almost 30 years. During his stay in power, he gave importance to increase Korea's visibility in international arena. To make it more concrete he announced his globalization policy in November 1994. In his election campaign, he emphasized the internationalization of world politics and the need for Korea to play a more active role.

In 1993, Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Sung-joo mentioned the five basic elements of the government's new diplomacy: **globalization, diversification, multi-dimensionalism, regional cooperation, and futuristic orientation**⁹ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1994, 15-18). With the membership of Korea to the United Nations (1991, North Korea also became a member in the same year), the main motivation behind the new policy was to engage in new diplomatic and economic relations with countries whose potential were promising. Moreover, the interdependence to the USA and the density of this bilateral relationship was being hoped to diminish. In addition to that, it was highlighted that Northeast Asia should not be the one and only region of concentration and diplomatic ties. During his administration, both UN and OECD accepted Korea as member state; however, the corruption criticisms would force Kim Young-sam to delegate his globalization policy to his successor, Kim Dae-jung.

3.5.2. Kim Dae-jung Administration (1998-2003)

Kim Dae-jung has been one of the most influential and also internationally well-known presidents of South Korean history mainly thanks to his Sunshine Policy. Kim Dae-jung

⁹ Minister of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic White Paper, 1994, Seoul.

approached the globalization policy from a different angle. When he came to power, the 1997 economic crisis was on the top of the agenda of the new government and he thought globalization policy could be the only remedy (Koh, 2000). To increase Korea's influence in international community, financial contribution of the country to UN budget was raised by 0.26 % between 1994 and 1998. In addition to that, extra troops were deployed in East Timor in 1999 again under the UN Peacekeeping operation. Although Kim Dae-jung did not abolish "globalization" policy of previous government, his foreign policy concentration stayed quite limited to Northeast Asia as North Korea being at the heart of the agenda. His term was mostly remembered easily thanks to his "Sunshine Policy".

3.5.3. Roh Mu-hyun Administration (2003-2008)

Kim Dae-jung's Sunshine Policy became the Peace and Prosperity Policy in Roh Mu-hyun presidency. President Roh also stressed the need of South Korea to play a more active role in international arena, he stayed very much focused on the near region and he mentioned that "age of the Northeast Asia was fast approaching" and the country should "play a pivotal role in the age of Northeast Asia in the 21th century" (Roh, 2003). A commission was gathered and started to work on the strategies and policies needed (Presidential Commission on Policy Planning). In the report, South Korea was labeled as a "strong middle power" and argued that South Korea would be among the eight biggest economies in the world by 2020 (*Korea's Future: vision and strategy*, 2008). Beside regional focus, the report was also talking about the necessity of diversification of diplomatic relations and ties with other regions which were stated in the "seggyewha" policy of the Kim Young-sam administration. By putting stress on the strong middle power identity, President Roh internalized the "pivotal role" that South Korea can play in the international affairs.

3.5.4. Lee Myung-bak Administration (2008-2013)

Paradigm Shift in Traditional Korean Foreign Policy

Following the Kim Young-sam government, Lee Myung-bak went further and drew the lines of his foreign policy agenda and named it “Global Korea”. This policy was hoping to see Korea becoming a leading international player¹⁰ which was mentioned by the President Lee in his visit to USA in April 2008. Moreover, President Lee was in favor of Korea’s expanding her diplomatic horizon beyond the Northeast Asia region (Choi, 2009). On this aim, President Lee came with a new policy mechanism called “New Asia Initiative”. In March 2009, he visited Indonesia with the clear goal of widening the country’s international relations with ASEAN (Saxer, 2013). This visit can be accepted as paving the way for a cooperative period in relations between South Korean government and ASEAN.

The “Global Korea” and “New Asia Initiative” can be seen as deliberate policies of government to contextualize and identify the country as a middle power. Another significant event was the approval of “Act on Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations” by the legislature in 2010. This act was allowing the government to deploy maximum of 1000 peace-keepers¹¹. Another policy agenda of Lee administration was environmental issues. He started to mention about a “Low Carbon, Green Growth” paradigm and the government’s effort was finalized in the establishment of Global Green Growth Institute in Seoul (GGGI)¹². This is important since this is the first international organization that Korea was the initiator by herself.

Another step that was taken with the Lee Myun-bak government was the “Low Carbon, Green Growth” strategy as a new vision for the development of economy of South Korea.

¹⁰ Office of the President, 2009b, Collection of President Lee Myung-bak’s speeches, vol. 2, Seoul.

¹¹ http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2012/june12_1.pdf accessed on February 10, 2015.

¹² For further information, Choe, W., Korea’s green growth strategy: an international dimension, IFANS Bries, 2011, the Institute for Foreign Affairs and National Security, Seoul.

Lee Myung-bak was certainly influenced by some people and they directed the team of researchers in order to shape the MB (Myung-bak) Doctrine. Those people were Kim Tae-hyo, presidential adviser for external strategy, Hyun In-taek, former professor at Korea University, and Yoo Jong-ha, former foreign minister (Khamidov, 2008).

“Korea is well positioned to talk about the problems of the global economy and present solutions to them. That is because we are a middle power nation that has successfully risen from being one of the poorest countries in the world.” [Translated] Lee Myung-bak, former President of the Republic of Korea, February 2010¹³.

3.5.5. Park Geun-hye Administration (2013-2017)

She came to power in 2013, and due to recent corruption scandal was impeached on the 10th of March, 2017. She is the daughter of the famous Korean President Park Chung-hee. During her administration, a harsh policy vision was in effect against the North Korean regime. She has been heavily criticized as having an unstable, undecided and inconsistent foreign policy pattern. When she came to power, she mentioned a new foreign and domestic policy vision. Park government established a three-pillar foreign policy. Those pillars were the Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula, the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative, and middle-power diplomacy.

“The Park Geun-hye government, as a responsible middle power in the international community, wishes to give back the help we received in the past. As a trustworthy friend, it wishes to make meaningful contributions to maintain the peace and stability of the

¹³ “Radio and Internet address to the nation by President Lee Myung-bak [translated transcript],” Korea.net, February 8, 2010, <http://www.korea.net/Government/Briefing-Room/Presidential-Speeches/view?articleId=91043>.

international community.” Yun Byung-se, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, August 2013¹⁴.

Table 2: The concept of middle power in South Korea’s policy discourses¹⁵

	Roh Moo-hyun (2003–08)	Lee Myung-bak (2008–13)	Park Geun-hye (since 2013)
Government ideological leaning	Progressive	Conservative	Conservative
Geographical/conceptual focus	Regional	Global	Rethinking China
Self-identity	Northeast Asia’s hub Balancer between Japan and China Northeast Asian Initiative, with South Korea as key facilitator of regional cooperation	‘Global Korea’ Middle power Member of the G20 and of the OECD Development Assistance Committee Bridge between rich and poor countries Respected global citizen and agenda- setter	Reluctance to promote middle-power identity, except for MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey and Australia) activities
Applied policy areas	Economic cooperation Security	Economic cooperation Climate change	International development

¹⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Republic of Korea, “Remarks by H.E. Yun Byung-se Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Korea 10th Annual Iftar Dinner August 1, 2013,” August 2, 2013, http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?typeID=12&boardid=14137&seqno=312638&c=&t=&pagenum=1&tableName=TYPE_ENGLISH&pc=&dc=&wc=&lu=&vu=&iu=&du=.

¹⁵ This table is based on Sohn, Y. (2015), ‘중견국 정체성의 실천: 한국의 경우’ [The Practice of middle power identity: the case of South Korea], paper presented at the Korean Association of International Studies Conference, 6 November 2015, p. 63. It also includes findings of Shin, D. M. (2012), ‘The Concept of Middle Power and the Case of the ROK: A Review’, in Rüdiger, F., Hoare, J., Köllner, P. and Pares, S. (eds) (2012), *Korea 2012: Politics, Economy and Society*, Leiden: Brill; Moon (2015), *China’s Rise and Security Dynamics on the Korean Peninsula*; and Shin (2015), ‘South Korea’s elusive middlepowermanship’.

	International development		
	Efforts to lessen dependency on alliance with the United States	US-centred approach US–Japanese–Korean security cooperation	‘Equidistance’ or ‘balanced’ diplomacy between China and United States
	Pursuing northeast Asian economic/security architecture		
Criticism	Anti-US Ambitious but naive Tensions with US strategic flexibility	Pro-US Lack of regional vision	Ambiguity and confusion between MIKTA diplomacy and overall middle-power diplomacy

3.6. Constructing Public Awareness

The high-ranking of a nation in terms of GDP, security investment, population and similar concrete parameters among other nations does not necessarily put the country in the category of middle power. Actually it is a deliberate policy vision of the governments to define their countries as a middle power within world affairs and international system. When we consider South Korea it shows the clear signs of this intended vision of politicians and leaders of the country. It was mentioned that Lee Myung-bak Presidency had been a turning point in Korean foreign policy due to his implementation of “Global Korea” vision. This administrative period can be accepted as the beginning of South Korea to be declared as a middle power state by its bureaucracy, statesmen, and also society. In this part, it will talk about how think tanks and state-initiated structures helped the construction of South Korean middle power identity.

In the promotion of “middle power” label, we come across with government officials, academics, policy think-tanks, and media. To give some example; the East Asia Institute, based in Seoul, organized a Middle Power Diplomacy Initiative to create an environment for the development of a middle power network in Asia. East Asia Initiative defines itself as a non-profit and independent research organization and works for the promotion of middle power perception in South Korean society. It was founded in May 2002.

Another one is ASAN Institute, too has a detailed program on middle powers (<http://en/asaninst.org/issues/middle-power>). In addition to those, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS) under the umbrella of Korea National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA), organized a symposium on foreign affairs of middle power states, mainly Mexico, Indonesia, Korea, Turkey, and Australia (MIKTA) in November 2013.

There are some important institutions located in South Korea that focus on the middle power status of South Korea and try to promote it in a planned manner. Those institutions are working to promote the discourse of middle power and operationalize the effectiveness of it through their events, conferences, exchange programs etc. Among those institutions there are East Asia Institute, Global Green Growth Institute, ASEAN-Korea Center, MIKTA, ASAN Policy Institute. Some of those institutions are at the same time the outputs of South Korean middle power activism; in other words, they are created thanks to leadership of South Korea. Those are Global Green Growth Institute and MIKTA. At this point, I would like to touch upon those institutions briefly and mention about their importance regarding South Korean middle power diplomacy.

3.7.MIKTA

This association was established under the leadership of South Korea and consists of five middle powers namely: Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, and Australia. The foundation of this organization and the working mechanisms of it can be a good example of South Korea’s middle power vision and policies. The significant point here that South

Korea took the initiative to establish this organization which is a concrete sign of South Korea's using its initiative taking middle power behavior.

This is one of the new middle power consultative group which was promulgated at the United Nations General Assembly in September 2013. The initiative was taken by the ROK Foreign Ministry and was primarily supported by Australian counterpart shows the intention of South Korea's playing an active diplomatic role by being an early mover in norm setting and norm diffusion.

3.8.Global Green Growth Institute

The Global Green Growth Institute (GGGI) is a treaty-based international inter-governmental organization dedicated to supporting and promoting strong, inclusive and sustainable economic growth in developing countries and emerging economies. It was established in 2012, at the Rio+20 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development. GGGI is accelerating the transition toward a new model of economic growth – green growth – founded on principles of social inclusivity and environmental sustainability.

In contrast to conventional development models that rely on the unsustainable depletion and destruction of natural resources, green growth is a coordinated advancement of economic growth, environmental sustainability, poverty reduction and social inclusion driven by the sustainable development and use of global resources.

GGGI is an interdisciplinary, multi-stakeholder organization that believes economic growth and environmental sustainability are not merely compatible objectives; their integration is essential for the future of humankind¹⁶.

¹⁶ <http://ggi.org/about-gggi/background/organizational-overview/>

3.9.The End of Cold War

The end of the Cold War era is definitely of the most critical material changes of modern international system. This also meant a lot for South Korea. During the Cold War years, Korea had experienced catastrophic Korean War and managed to recover itself in years. This recovery was seen in not only in economic development but also in political realm too. In line with this, Republic of Korea was accepted as a member to the United Nations on 17th, September 1991. Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea) became also a member on the same date. Although South Korea had been in observer position, full membership became a crucial step to be able to pursue a more international and cooperation oriented policy. In November 1995 South Korea was elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council and joined the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) at the end of 1996. The entrance to the global organizations has increased South Korea’s self-esteem and the country started to believe the time for South Korea is coming for also to politically shine. Those two developments were two of the key foreign policy aims of the Kim Administration as part of the “globalization” package¹⁷ (Office of the President 1997, 132). These memberships were perceived by the Kim Young-sam administration as quite successful results; however, being member does not necessarily bring an active participation in international problems and affairs, and make the country be seen an important player. Here came the solution from Kim Young-sam government and in 1993, for the first time, South Korea deployed a road repairing battalion to Somalia under the UN peacekeeping operation (Saxer, 2012, pp.401). This first peacekeeping was followed by the army medical team going to West Sahara in 1994 and in 1995 army engineers’ going to Angola.

With all these developments, it would not be wrong to say that Korean foreign policy has seen a paradigm shift from a framework usually focused on bilateral and alliance management of the previous decades to another one which is continuously concentrating

¹⁷ Office of the President, 1997, Korea’s quest for reform and globalization: selected speeches of President Kim Young-sam, Vol. II, Seoul.

on structural and global governance agendas (John, 2014). The end of bipolar world system and the rise of China which is seen a counter balance to the USA presence in Asia region created the new opportunities for South Korea to demand new roles for its middle power identity and middle power diplomacy involving international mediation, peacekeeping, and consensus building within multilateral organizations (Neack, 2013).

3.9.1. The Rise of Korean Leadership in International Affairs

There are three elements that have promoted the emergence of new middle powers: those are the end of the Cold War, globalization, and the weakening of US hegemony (Nye, 2011). Considering all those change, it is said that the structure has been losing importance in analyzing international affairs, and it is witnessed that the role of agents is increasing (Saxer, 2013). In addition to that structural change, what we are seeing is that goals and ambitions of political leaders (political leadership) take some states from middle power category and make them show “middle power behavior” (Ravenhill, 1998). In November 2010 G20 Summit was held in Seoul; however, this summit was different than previous ones since for the first time a summit was realized in a country that is not a G8 member. This event is important in two aspects. The first one is that the desire to host such a summit shows the South Korean self-perception that she is good enough so that she can manage such an organization. The second aspect is that other members of the G-20 believe that South Korea is capable enough of organizing this event. Following that summit, Korea hosted the 4th High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan in 2011.

While South Korea was aware of its own change in capacity and vision, there was a search for new areas to exhibit its influence and prove herself as a strong economy and successful nation.

President Lee Myung-bak has been seen the pioneer in establishing the “middle power” strategy of South Korea. Although Kim Young-sam laid the foundations of a more active South Korea in international affairs with his “globalization” or “segyewha” policy, Lee Myung-bak set a broader foreign policy agenda by trying to break away from Northeast

Asia region and promote relations with other neighboring countries and regions. This goal was based on the idea that South Korea is a developed nation in terms of its economic scale but it could play a larger role in line with these economic indicators.

Although South Korea is a dialogue partner of ASEAN since the 1991 and ASEAN+3 were initiated in 1997, the density of the relations can be seen in the leadership of President Lee. The issue areas which are on the top of the list in terms of relation density are economic (trade) partnership, environmental problems, humanitarian aid, and cooperation in peacekeeping operations. The details of this part will be provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

ASEAN – SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS

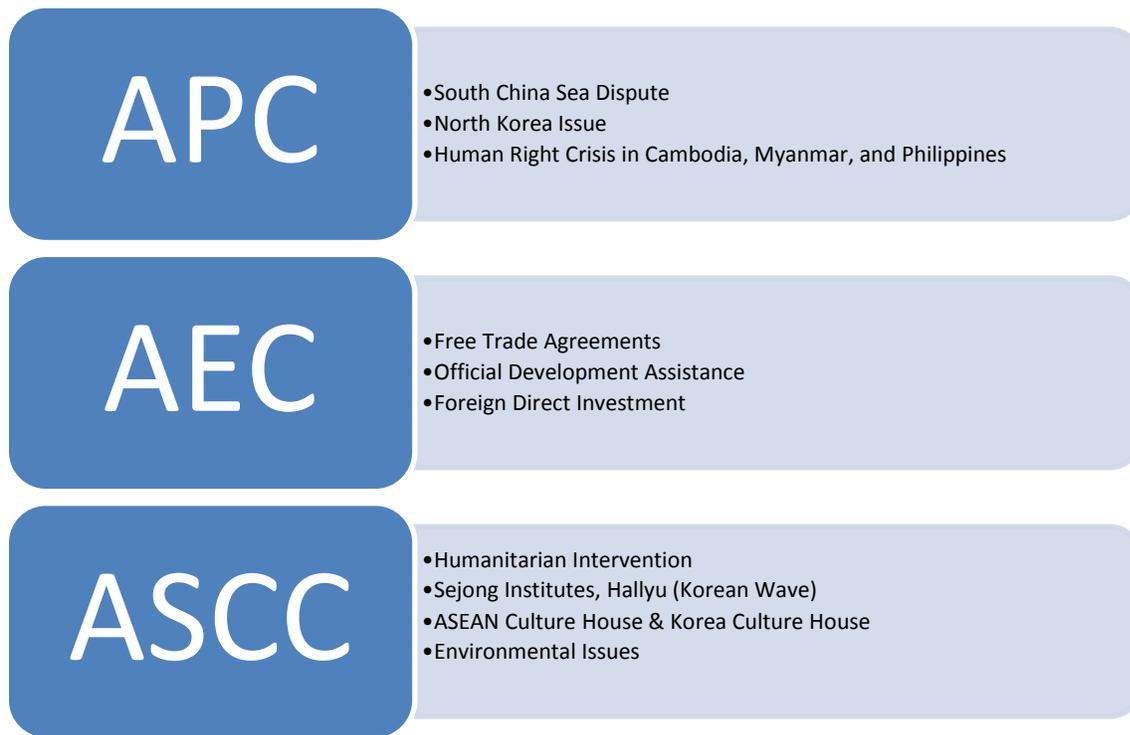
In this chapter of the dissertation, Association of Southeast Asia Nations (hereafter ASEAN will be used) and Republic of Korea (ROK or South Korea will be used interchangeably) relations will be discussed from a constructivist perspective. Here, it will be tried to analyze and understand South Korean attitude as a middle power toward a regional organization, ASEAN. In this relation, it is argued that South Korea uses its middle powerness as a state identity and constructs her relations based on this identity. While doing this analysis, ASEAN's main institutional structure will be used as the framework. ASEAN has three central pillars within itself. Those communities are Political – Security Community, Economic Community, and Socio – Cultural Community.

As mentioned in the literature part, middle power theories can be classified roughly under three basic categories. Those categories are realism based middle power (power and structure oriented), liberalism based middle power (behavior oriented), and constructivism (identity, norm, social change oriented) based middle power. Those three ASEAN communities and those three middle power groups (when thought of that realism is fundamentally interested in high politics, power politics, and security issues, liberalism is putting institutions and economic dependence at its center, and lastly constructivism is trying to explain phenomenon via identity, social facts and social changes) creates a well-matched framework for the analysis. The ASEAN- South Korea relations meet at a common ground interestingly. ASEAN, as will be mentioned in ASEAN Charter later, defines itself as a more economic and socio-cultural organization. Among its main aims

and principles there are economic growth, prosperity, social progress, cooperation in sharing of technical assistance related to environmental, health, and education issues, and regional peace. Those emphasized areas are totally compatible with South Korean middle power identity and vision. It is because South Korea has seen her self-identification as a benign Northern neighbor in security matters (not in favor of conflict, supporting peace and diplomatic solutions), a bridge role in economic and technical matters (not a economic hegemon that intends exploitation), and a culture and norm sharing partner (not a cultural hegemon) in socio- cultural matters.

The issue areas will be analyzed in accordance with their relevance to each community. To exemplify, security issues will be touched upon in ASEAN Political Community, free trade agreements will be under ASEAN Economic Community, environment, health, education, human rights and disaster relief will be under the umbrella of ASEAN Socio – Cultural Community. While examining the issue areas, the summits, the reports of those summits, declarations and treaties will be the main source of analysis of relations between ASEAN and South Korea.

To make it clear, the chart below shows the categorization of issue areas.



Before going into the details of the each issue areas and pillars, it would be better to give a historical outlook of ASEAN.

4.1.The Foundation of ASEAN

ASEAN has become the most high profile and successful regional organization in the Third World (Stubbs, 2004). Given the diversity of member states in terms of size, colonial experiences and culture beside the history of conflict and tension, that characterized regional relations from the end of the Second World War to the mid-1960s, the foundation of ASEAN can be considered as a surprise.

Association of Southeast Asia Nations was established in 1967 with the gathering of five countries namely: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. They signed the ASEAN Declaration (also known as Bangkok Declaration) on 8 August 1967. Today, it consists of ten members: Brunei, Burma/Myanmar, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos,

Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. In the literature, it is frequently come across that ASEAN is doing different than other regional and international organizations which is called ASEAN Way. In the original sense, the ASEAN Way referred to the close interpersonal ties among the leaders' of ASEAN founding members (Acharya, 1998).

Sovereignty and non-interference are the key norms of ASEAN, and they are mentioned in the first treaty of ASEAN, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) formed in 1976 which was the first summit of ASEAN after then years of existence. In addition, first comprehensive constitutional document of the Association, was drawn up by ASEAN officials and formally adopted by the ASEAN leaders in November 2007 at their 13th Summit (Nesadurai, 2008). The Charter includes eight chapters and 55 Articles explaining ASEAN's purposes and basic principles, its institutional structures, membership criteria and the rights and duties of member states, and principles and procedures for decision making, implementation and dispute settlement, as well as the organization's budget and finances¹⁸. The ASEAN Charter entered into force on 15 December 2008. The significance of it is explained as follows in ASEAN's official webpage:

- New political commitment at the top level
- New and enhanced commitments
- New legal framework, legal personality
- New ASEAN bodies
- Two new openly-recruited DSGs
- More ASEAN meetings
- More roles of ASEAN Foreign Ministers
- New and enhanced role of the Secretary-General of ASEAN
- Other new initiatives and changes¹⁹.

The ASEAN Declaration which is also known as Bangkok Declaration sets the aims, purposes, and fundamental principles of the institution. To speed up the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region; to promote regional peace and

¹⁸ http://www.asean.org/storage/images/ASEAN_RTK_2014/ASEAN_Charter.pdf

¹⁹ <http://asean.org/asean/asean-charter/charter-of-the-association-of-southeast-asian-nations/>

prosperity by being devoted to the United Nations Charter; to enhance cooperation on mutually beneficial areas among member states; to promote technical assistance to each other on educational, professional and administrative issues; to eliminate the problems related to trade, economic interaction and improve transportation infrastructure in the region are the most emphasized points in the Declaration²⁰. In addition to these aims, there are some fundamental principles mentioned in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (1976). Those are mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of each member, non-interference to each nation's internal affairs, and solution of problems via peaceful manners.

After giving these introductory remarks about ASEAN and its Charter, institutional body of the ASEAN which includes mainly, ASEAN Economic Community, ASEAN Political-Security Community, and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community will be mentioned. Those communities are significant in understanding the mentality of ASEAN as a regional organization so that it will be helpful analyzing its relations with South Korea in terms of political and security, economic, and socio-cultural affairs. When it was 1978, ASEAN realized the advantageous position in the political context of the Cold War and its status as the only functioning regional organization in Southeast Asia decided to establish another regional framework which is called ASEAN – Post Ministerial Conference (PMC). This new framework provided ASEAN to act as a single corporate entity but at the same time being able to engage with a set of external parties. Engaging with external parties was thought to be crucial in the stabilization of the wider region beyond ASEAN (Nesadurai, 2008). Australia, the USA, the European Union, and Japan were the first dialogue partners of the ASEAN and in the 1990s South Korea, Russia, and China were added to the group.

Critics to ASEAN

It is a very long discussion that whether ASEAN is a successful international organization or not. There are some key issues and events that had led to criticisms toward ASEAN.

²⁰ <http://asean.org/asean/about-asean/>

To give some example for that, from the mid-1990s ASEAN was not successful in dealing with trans-boundary pollution coming from forest fires in Indonesia, 1997-98 Asian financial crisis, political repression and human right abuses in Burma.

After six years passed the economic crisis (1997), ASEAN started a process of revisiting her grouping and repair her perception among member states and in international area in addition to the effort of rebuilding her credibility. Main critics to ASEAN have been usually done on the issue of sovereignty/non-interference. The Association clearly gives the higher importance to the member states' sovereignty principle and takes serious their insistence on this principle. Although this criticism, it is noteworthy that since the establishment of ASEAN, Southeast Asia nations didn't have any disputes and conflicts endangering the peace and prosperity of the region. The emphasis of ASEAN to be respectful to internal affairs of each member is also a common ground for South Korea too. South Korea especially in the security issues tries to keep its distance to all parties which makes a close friend it in the eyes of ASEAN.

4.2.ASEAN – Northeast Asia: An Overall Look

To have a more accurate analysis of ASEAN-Korea relations, it is necessary to mention about the other two actors of the Northeast Asia: China and Japan. For very long period of time, Japan was the foremost regional player for ASEAN since Japan was seen as the main actor in terms of enabling and helping region's economic development using foreign aid and investment. This positive Japan image, at least in terms of economic relations, started to deteriorate due to Abe administration's nationalist discourse and activities since its coming to power in 2006. The expressions of Prime Minister Abe, his desire to take Japan to its militarily strong and self-dependent days, created concern for the ASEAN governments and citizens. China, on the other hand, has a troubled relation with ASEAN because of the South China Sea dispute. Korea, at this point, seems advantageous compared to other two East Asian states regarding relation with Southeast Asia.

4.3.ASEAN – South Korea Relations: An Outlook

Southeast Asia has been a significant geography (thanks to region's high population, positive perception of South Korea among region's nations) in terms of economic relations for South Korea; therefore, increasing economic interdependence and cooperation can be said to be the most attracting point in the Korea – ASEAN relations. This characteristic of the region provides a healthy environment for South Korea show its constructivism oriented middle power mechanisms. Those mechanisms include bridge role, providing technical assistance and development aid, and enhancing economic interdependence. In addition to those, South Korea has a soft power character too which makes her different from traditional western-middle powers (Canada and Australia). In this chapter, the relations will be studied under three headings as political, economic, and socio-cultural relations.

As constructivists give importance to the normative and ideational structures beside the material structures, South Korea and ASEAN share a lot in terms of ideas and norms which have a continuously positive impact on the relations. Since Korea has no any territorial or ethnic minority problems with the members of the Association, it happens in a smooth process to deal with economic issues and specifically to sign FTAs with member countries. Over the past four decades, the relationship between ASEAN and Korea has been one of consistent growth. This success largely derives from complementary aspects on both sides. Bilateral trade and investment between Korea and ASEAN have been steadily increasing in recent decades. Even though trade volume decreased in 1998 due to the financial crisis, it recovered after 1999. Currently they are each other's fifth largest trading partner and ASEAN is the third-largest destination for foreign direct investment (FDI) from Korea.

Southeast Asia is a quite convenient region for South Korea to establish strong, long-lasting, peaceful, and profitable relations. 2010 signaled the beginning of a progress period in ASEAN- Korea relations. At the 13th ASEAN-ROK Summit on 29 October 2010, it was agreed to enhance ASEAN-ROK dialogue relations from “**comprehensive**

cooperation” to a **“strategic partnership”**. This has been a major step in the sense that both sides perceives each other as valuable actors and would like share more. For this aim, the Leaders initiated a Joint Declaration on ASEAN-ROK Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity and its Action Plan covering the 2010-2015. At the end of that period, Malaysia expressed satisfaction with this implementation and another five years term was organized covering 2016-2020. This is seen not only an extension of the previous one but a more detailed Plan of Action (POA) that will draw a framework for more practical measures to develop cooperation in coming years.

To celebrate the 25th anniversary of ASEAN-ROK Dialogue, on 11-12 December 2014, Commemorative Summit was held and declared *Joint Statement on the 25th Anniversary of the ASEAN-ROK Dialogue Relations: Our Future Vision of ASEAN-ROK Strategic Partnership, “Building Trust, Bringing Happiness”*. The title of the statement is also giving a clue about the perception of actors towards each other. The emphasis on the “trust” indicates that each actor believes they are friends (according to Kantian culture of anarchy which was mentioned in the previous chapter) and can trust each other. In other words, the actors don’t see each other as enemies or rivals.

The starting point will be the inauguration of ASEAN in 1967; however as it will be seen the relations would enhance in the aftermath of Cold War period. There are some reasons for the concentration of the relations in the post-Cold War years. First reason is that ASEAN had been newly established in 1967 and it needed time to set its own institutional criteria, legal framework, goals, and how to manage all these defining characteristics in an institutionalized and proper way. It should be also noted that the members of the association had bilateral problems (they will be mentioned in coming parts in detail) among each other which as expected slowed down the intensification and deepening of relations within ASEAN. Second reason is that because South Korea has, like most of the medium sized states (middle power states can also be used here), felt the need to think their foreign policy agendas (priorities, threat perception, opportunities) in a comprehensive manner following the demise of the USSR and triumph of liberal world order which was one of the most frustrating structural changes in world politics.

During the Cold War years, South Korea had been under the security umbrella of the United States of America and was a close ally of it in the Asia region. Due to North Korea issue and nuclear threat coming from his brother, South Korea established her foreign policy agenda in line with her security need and protection of its territory. However, things started to change. Mainly with the Lee Myung-bak Administration South Korean state went through a paradigm shift from traditional Korean foreign policy agenda to a new modified version of it. Traditional Korean foreign policy was getting the North Korea issue as the main issue to be dealt with and in a way was stuck in the peninsula tension. On the other hand, with the paradigm shift during Lee Myung-bak government, South Korea announced itself that she would be more global oriented, would develop her relations with different regions other than Northeast Asia and be a more active player in the international affairs. Southeast Asia has been a noteworthy region for this new foreign policy orientation. Southeast Asia region is a fertile geography for Korea because the region is not under the domination of one single power which enable South Korea to follow a relatively more independent foreign policy and show its own intentions and capabilities in terms of economic, political, security, and social interests.

The relations between South Korea and Southeast Asian countries had been neglected for some decades as the priority of South Korea had been the recovery after the Korean War and the political turmoil in Southeast Asia (such as Vietnam War and inter-state and intra-state conflicts) pushed countries to set different agendas rather than enhancing cooperation and developing relations. However, nowadays, the Korean restaurants, the impact of Korean dramas, Kpop or *Hallyu*, can be seen in the streets of Southeast Asian countries. In recent years, South Korea has been promoting close and intense relations with Southeast Asia based on mutual respect and understanding. Before, South Korea had been mainly concerned with her front yard because of her immediate big neighbors such as China, Japan and Russia, and the US role in the region. However, the country has now started to look at her far neighbors, where it is noticed that South Korea can play a major role. The ROK-ASEAN FTAs have already been improving the relations between South Korea and the ASEAN community. Moreover, the country's efforts are not limited to only

FTAs. South Korea has also established the New Asia Initiative (NAI) in 2009 to develop relations and increase cooperation with Southeast Asia countries²¹. South Korea also promotes ODA (official development assistance) and sustainable growth in Southeast Asia on which the details will be provided under related parts.

There is also an increasing rate of Southeast Asia countries' students going to Seoul for their studies. In all of these efforts, South Korea establishes herself as a model for the countries in Southeast Asia. Indeed, the country has the capacity for that because even though China and Japan are seem to have bigger economic investment compared to South Korea, China's growing economy and military together with Japan's increasing nationalistic discourse relatively decrease the chance of China and Japan at the region. At this point, South Korea presents itself closer to Southeast Asia countries as a model due to their success after the Korean War in the peninsula coupled with destruction and reconstruction process, and her successful democratization process. Also, South Korea does not have any territorial disputes in Southeast Asia region making her an even more reliable model for Southeast Asia countries. With consideration to all these facts, South East Asia presents itself as an opportunity for the strategic engagement with South Korea in the region in economic, political and cultural terms.

Southeast Asia is again another significant area for South Korea especially when the eagerness of the ASEAN members for the economic development and sustainable growth because South Korea can be an inspiring model for those developing Southeast Asia states.

4.4.Sectoral Dialogue Relations

ASEAN and Republic of Korea began sectoral dialogue relations on 2 November 1989 by signing and exchanging the letters at the ASEAN Secretariat Building, His Excellency Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and the current Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee on behalf of ASEAN and His Excellency Mr. Choi Ho-Joong, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea on behalf on

²¹ <http://keia.org/publication/korea-southeast-asia-us-relations-gap-us-triangle>

the Republic of Korea. The signing was done in the presence of the Ambassadors of ASEAN member countries and Dialogue Countries, representatives of the EC and the UNDP, foreign dignitaries, senior officials of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, distinguished members of the private sectors of ASEAN and the Republic of Korea as well as the Secretary-General of the ASEAN Secretariat and his staff.

The exchanged letters establishing sectoral dialogue relations are as follows:

“The ASEAN -ROK Sectoral Dialogue will initially concentrate on the areas of trade, investment and tourism, with the possibility of expanding the relations to include other areas such as development cooperation, transfer of technology and human resources development (HRD).

On the modalities of this Sectoral Dialogue, ASEAN and the ROK agreed to set up an ASEAN ROK Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee (ASEAN -ROK JSCC) consisting of senior government officials from both sides. This inter-governmental consultative body will facilitate the ASEAN-ROK Sectoral Dialogue Relations in the agreed areas. The first ASEAN -ROK Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee Meeting will be held in one of the ASEAN capitals on a date to be mutually agreed upon.

On ASEAN’s own machinery, ASEAN has agreed that Indonesia shall be the first ASEAN member country to coordinate the ASEAN -ROK Sectoral Dialogue Relations and that the ASEAN Committee in Seoul (ACS), composed of ASEAN Heads of Diplomatic Missions accredited to the Republic of Korea would be formed to facilitate the conduct of the said Dialogue Relations.

Aware that the momentum and effectiveness of the Sectoral Dialogue also depends very much on the activities of the private sector, ASEAN and the ROK wish to encourage the formation of an ASEAN-ROK Business Council.

The establishment of the ASEAN-ROK Sectoral Dialogue Relations is in line with the direction given by the Third Meeting of the ASEAN Heads of Government in Manila in December 1987 on ASEAN relations with -additional third countries of groups of countries and international organizations/institutions to the effect that such relations need not reach a full dialogue status but may be undertaken on specific areas which would yield positive mutual benefits.”²²

Following that, Korea has been a dialogue partner of ASEAN since July 1991 (at the ASEAN’s 24th Ministerial Meeting, and through the ASEAN Plus Three multilateral framework of East Asian co-operation, it now meets regularly with ASEAN at summit levels. In these dialogues mutual support for moving towards strengthened Korea–ASEAN cooperation was reaffirmed. Those active and intense relations between two actors show the shared ideas and norms between ASEAN and South Korean middle-powerness.

The relatively unproblematic relations of ASEAN and Korea (compared to ASEAN – China relations due to South China tension) is growing interdependence and cooperation between ASEAN and Korea, for the latter as a member of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), an ASEAN dialogue partner, and a player in the ASEAN plus Three. Furthermore, the ASEAN member countries and Korea are members of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC). Korea and ASEAN have jointly executed over 100 co-operation projects since 1990 in the areas of trade, investment, tourism, technology transfer, and the fostering of human resources.

In October 1994, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) organized the first Korea–ASEAN conference in Singapore to look into the emerging issues in trade and investment relations between Korea and ASEAN. That first Korea–ASEAN conference was followed by another conference in Seoul in cooperation with the Korean Association of Southeast Asian Studies. In the coming years both the ASEAN region and Korea have

²² http://asean.org/?static_post=exchanged-letters-establishing-sectoral-dialogue-relations-between-asean-and-republic-of-korea-jakarta-2-november-1989

experienced momentous developments — 11 September, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the rising spectre of new transnational threats, foremost of which is international terrorism, the reorientation of America's international security role and attendant impacts on friends and allies, and regional expansion on the ASEAN side. Those events have caused some changes in North and South Korean relations, stagnation in the Japanese economy, the rising economic profile of China, and changing patterns of international economic relations. These developments have had various impacts on Korea and ASEAN countries; and as such, call for a much-needed re-examination of the political and economic realities governing the ASEAN–Korea relationship.

4.5.ASEAN Political – Security Community and Related Themes

In the political security pillar, there are three attention grabbing issues. They are South China Sea Dispute, North Korea or North Korea regime, and human rights crisis in Cambodia, Myanmar, and Philippines.

As known, South China Sea is a long-lasting dispute between some ASEAN members and China. Although South Korea is not a directly involved side of the story, the attitude of South Korea is important in two respects. First one is that the explicit support of South Korea to China against ASEAN in South China Sea dispute is highly likely to have a negative impact on South Korea-ASEAN relations mostly in economic terms. Second one is the fact that high risk also is available in political and security term. South Korea's being a clear-cut side of the dispute may push ASEAN to take a stance against South Korea considering North Korea regime and its nuclear activities.

The second issue is the North Korea. North Korea regime is not only a threat for South Korea but for all the Asia region even for the whole international community. South Korea has established its strategy against North Korea mostly based on as being under the security umbrella of the USA. The magnitude of the USA on the North Korea issue is clear; however, to take the backing of the other actors in the region like ASEAN is

extremely important to make South Korea relax and feel stronger. These two troubled issues constitutes an exam in ASEAN-South Korea relations.

ASEAN-ROK cooperation in the political and security fields has been strengthened by regular dialogue through existing mechanisms such as the ASEAN-ROK Summit, Ministerial Meetings, ASEAN-ROK Dialogue and Senior Officials Meetings. The ROK has been engaged in ASEAN-led mechanisms, including the ASEAN Plus Three (APT), the East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting Plus (ADMM Plus). ROK established its mission to ASEAN in Jakarta in September 2012, and appointed its first resident ambassador in October 2012.

The ASEAN Leaders have agreed to establish the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) to further strengthen the political and security cooperation among ASEAN nations that had been established over decades. The APSC will aim to make possible that countries in the region live at peace with one another and with the world in a just, democratic, peaceful, and harmonious environment²³.

The members of the Community promise to rely exclusively on peaceful processes in the settlement of intra-regional differences and regard their security as fundamentally linked to one another and connected by geographic location, common vision and objectives. The components are as follows: political development, shaping and sharing of norms, conflict prevention, conflict resolution, post-conflict peace building, and implementing mechanisms. The APSC Blueprint was adopted by the ASEAN Leaders at the 14th ASEAN Summit on 1 March 2009 in Cha-am/Hua Hin, Thailand²⁴. The APSC Blueprint visualizes ASEAN to be a rules-based Community of shared values and norms; a cohesive, peaceful, stable and resilient region with shared responsibility for comprehensive security; as well as a dynamic and outward-looking region in an increasingly integrated and interdependent world.

²³ <http://asean.org/asean-political-security-community/>

²⁴ <http://asean.org/asean-political-security-community/>

The APSC Blueprint is guided by the ASEAN Charter and the principles and purposes contained in that. It outlines a roadmap and timetable to establish the APSC by 2015. It also leaves room for flexibility to continue activities beyond 2015 in order to retain its significance and have an enduring quality.

With all these peaceful oriented policies and summits, the core political-security problem for ASEAN is the clash of interest with People's Republic of China on the issue of South China Sea. This is usually named as “**China threat**” and is seen as the most compelling challenge for regional security. South China Sea dispute primarily have to do with the ownership of a group (230 in total) of small islands and reefs known as the Spratly Islands. Although those islands are inhabited, their two assets are making them valuable. The first one is the spotting of potentially important oil deposits. The second one is the fact that those islands provide access to huge fishing grounds. These two economic-based features of the Islands make them a reason of clash of interest between China and ASEAN. Not all the members of the ASEAN claim the islands but Vietnam, the Philippines, Brunei, and even Laos are among the parties of the dispute.

The South China Sea constitutes an important test-case for ASEAN and Korea relations. Since both China and ASEAN are quite significant economic partners of Korea both in terms of investment and trade volume, the attitude of South Korea to this island conflict may be problematic. Not only the economic reasons but also the security and political dimension of the picture and maybe the latter part is more challenging for South Korea. China has been an ally of the North Korea from the foundation of the North Korea till today, and at the same time acted as a balancer against the United States of America's presence in the region and USA's sanctions against the North Korean regime.

Starting from the late 1990s until the mid-2000s, China had a policy of following a good neighbor behavior and having bilateral relations with Southeast Asia nations considering the overall issues and particularly maritime and territorial disputes.

Beside China's claim as the one side of the story, Brunei, Malaysia, Philippines, and Vietnam are among the ASEAN members as being the other side of the story that have claim over Spratly Islands.

China argues about its sovereignty by using a nine-dash line. This nine-dash line hasn't been precisely explained by China so it is still an ambiguous point for everyone. This ambiguity definitely affects the progress for the solution of the dispute. From one of point perspective, this nine-dash line can be interpreted as a maximalist claim to sovereignty and control over all of the features, land, water, and seabed within the area bounded by nine-dash line (Marina Tsirbas, 2016). This probability is the main fear of the many countries in the region. However, here the problem is that sovereignty and jurisdiction are mixed and not clear enough. To define them broadly, sovereignty is having the ownership of something, while jurisdiction could be seen having the ability of getting use of specific output in an area such as fish and minerals in your exclusive economic zone. But still, this doesn't necessarily mean you can do whatever you want in that area regarding the navigation or intervening on the navigation issue. It cannot be claimed that China is explicitly arguing a maximum usage of nine-dash line; however, some of China's actions and discourse disturbing the Southeast Asia countries. The clearest example of it is the reaction of China to freedom of navigation and over flight operation within the South China Sea. Although the South China Sea dispute seems to be high risk of clash area the ASEAN and China signed the "Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea" on the 4th of November, 2002. The sides declare following:

“1. The Parties reaffirm their commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and other universally recognized principles of international law which shall serve as the basic norms governing state-to-state relations;

2. The Parties are committed to exploring ways for building trust and confidence in accordance with the above-mentioned principles and on the basis of equality and mutual respect;

3. The Parties reaffirm their respect for and commitment to the freedom of navigation in and over flight above the South China Sea as provided for by the universally recognized principles of international law, including the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea;

4. The Parties concerned undertake to resolve their territorial and jurisdictional disputes by peaceful means, without resorting to the threat or use of force, through friendly consultations and negotiations by sovereign states directly concerned, in accordance with universally recognized principles of international law, including the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea;

5. The Parties undertake to exercise self-restraint in the conduct of activities that would complicate or escalate disputes and affect peace and stability including, among others, refraining from action of inhabiting on the presently uninhabited islands, reefs, shoals, cays, and other features and to handle their differences in a constructive manner.

Pending the peaceful settlement of territorial and jurisdictional disputes, the Parties concerned undertake to intensify efforts to seek ways, in the spirit of cooperation and understanding, to build trust and confidence between and among them, including:

a. holding dialogues and exchange of views as appropriate between their defense and military officials;

b. ensuring just and humane treatment of all persons who are either in danger or in distress;

c. notifying, on a voluntary basis, other Parties concerned of any impending joint/combined military exercise; and exchanging, on a voluntary basis, relevant information.

6. Pending a comprehensive and durable settlement of the disputes, the Parties concerned may explore or undertake cooperative activities. These may include the following:

a. marine environmental protection;

b. marine scientific research;

c. safety of navigation and communication at sea;

d. search and rescue operation; and

e. combating transnational crime, including but not limited to trafficking in illicit drugs, piracy and armed robbery at sea, and illegal traffic in arms.

The modalities, scope and locations, in respect of bilateral and multilateral cooperation should be agreed upon by the Parties concerned prior to their actual implementation.

7. The Parties concerned stand ready to continue their consultations and dialogues concerning relevant issues, through modalities to be agreed by them, including regular consultations on the observance of this Declaration, for the purpose of promoting good neighbourliness and transparency, establishing harmony, mutual understanding and cooperation, and facilitating peaceful resolution of disputes among them;

8. The Parties undertake to respect the provisions of this Declaration and take actions consistent therewith;

9. The Parties encourage other countries to respect the principles contained in this Declaration;

10. The Parties concerned reaffirm that the adoption of a code of conduct in the South China Sea would further promote peace and stability in the region and agree to work, on the basis of consensus, towards the eventual attainment of this objective”²⁵.

Here the two parties mainly agree on the principle of respecting each other and declare the solution would be on a basis of mutual respect and via diplomatic mechanisms, and most importantly without use of force. However, it is not aimed here to give all the explanations of the claimant states, their actions and strategies in detail but rather it is aimed to tell about one of the main flashpoints of Asia region shortly and analyze what it means and where it stands in Korea-ASEAN relations; therefore, be able to understand the stance of Korea at this issue. South Korea is argued to be stuck in the clash of interests of two big powers concerning this issue. They are, China on the one hand as one of the biggest claimant states for South China Sea, and on the other hand the USA who is trying to preserve its presence in Asia-Pacific.

On 3 June 2015, the US Assistant Secretary of State, Daniel Russel, speaking in a seminar in Washington mentioned about the ongoing artificial island construction of China in the South China Sea. He mentioned that South Korea isn't directly involved in the issue but said that Seoul has all the more reasons to speak out since it's speaking not in self-interest but in support of universal principles. He continued with a more interesting point saying that “Korea must assume the role of a major stakeholder in international order” (Russel, 2015). This is important in the sense that for the first time a high-ranking American official was directly asking for Seoul to be more involve in the issue. As important as this request, the answer from the Korean side was noteworthy. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yun Byung-se, expressed that “Our government hopes for peace and stability in the South China Sea by a complete and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea and a swift signing of a code of conduct between China and the ASEAN countries”²⁶. Here, South Korean government was one more putting stress

²⁵ http://asean.org/?static_post=declaration-on-the-conduct-of-parties-in-the-south-china-sea

²⁶ http://www.arirang.co.kr/News/News_View.asp?nseq=180220

on the peaceful solution of the conflict and although the main security ally – the USA – has asked for a speak out; she was trying to keep her distance to the matter and not involved. This shows us that South Korea is reluctant to be a part of the discussion by supporting any of the claimant sides; therefore, in favor of downgrading security matters in her relations with ASEAN.

The developed economy of South Korea (but a natural resource-poor country) and its continuous need for natural resources mostly petroleum and natural gas is making South Korea dependent on acquirement of those natural resources. This situation is making South Korea concerned about the safety of the sea lines of communication. For both economic interests and its respect to internal affairs, South Korea makes her best to stay neutral on the South China Sea dispute.

The Straits of Malacca and Singapore (Southeast Asia's strategic straits) are very high priority of South Korea regarding the sea lines of communication. To secure these straits, especially against the piracy threat, Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP) was signed and entered into force on the 4th September, 2006. South Korea was also among 20 signatory states of this agreement. Moreover, all members of the ASEAN are also the signatory states of ReCAAP. In addition to strategic straits, Southeast Asia is the second trading partner of South Korea after China. Furthermore, according to ASEAN-Korea Center figures, in 2016, South Korea was the second biggest Foreign Direct Investment provider to ASEAN with 5 billion \$ dollar following the USA's 12.9 billion \$²⁷. Although Southeast Asia is such an important geography for South Korea, regarding South China Sea, the ROK hadn't mentioned its stance in an explicit manner for years. The related explanations were coming from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' spokespersons and they were putting emphasis on the issue of freedom of navigation and saying the ROK was hoping that the

²⁷http://www.aseankorea.org/eng/Resources/statistics_view.asp?pageNum=50&page=1&boa_num=11427&boa_gubun=13&pageReturn=statistics&boa_cnt=605

claimant states would solve the problem in a peaceful way via diplomatic dialogue. This is the usual explanation of non-claimant states for the South China Sea dispute.

But on 4th of November in 2015, during the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus), there came a statement from the Defense Minister of South Korea. Han Min-koo said that “freedom of navigation and flight should be guaranteed in the disputed South China Sea”²⁸. He said that in a regional security forum held during the meeting and defence ministers of China, USA and ASEAN countries' were sitting together. In addition, Han Min-koo repeated his speech at the general session of the ADMM-Plus by saying “the stance of the Republic of Korea is that a peaceful resolution of the South China Sea dispute and the freedom of flight and navigation should be guaranteed”. It should be seen a historical moment because of the fact that for the first time, a high-ranking South Korean official pointed out the South China Sea problem while top American and Chinese defence officials were in the same room. This explanation is also important in the sense that there had been continuous news that the USA was pressuring the South Korea to take a stance (against China, not difficult to guess) on South China Sea.

The emphasis of the South Korean Foreign Minister on the freedom of navigation on and flight over the South China Sea seems to be reflecting the United States' stance; however, this should not be read as a bandwagoning act of middle power. During the ADMM-Plus forums, countries attended to the meeting, wanted to prepare a joint declaration on what have been talked; however, China didn't agree this. Moreover, it was mentioned before that China and ASEAN had signed the “Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea” and now the USA asked to include a “Code of Conduct” of this declaration but it wasn't accepted by China. According to one official, the reason why the Chinese part didn't accept the “Code of Conduct” for South China Sea was expressed as following: “South China Sea matters belong to the diplomatic authorities and it shouldn't be included in the documents of defense authorities”²⁹. Following this developments, South Korean Defense Minister Han Min-koo had a bilateral meeting with his Chinese counterpart and

²⁸ <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/news/2015/11/04/0200000000AEN20151104008751315.html>

²⁹ <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/news/2015/11/04/0200000000AEN20151104008751315.html>

proposed opening of one more hotline each for the Navy and the Army of the two countries in a bid to eliminate any risk of accidental clash of Chinese and American forces in the sea and air; that offer was positively answered by Chinese Defense Minister. Although the first high-level official statement of South Korea with the emphasis on freedom of navigation and guarantee of flight over South China Sea is likely to be perceived a more pro-American stance, the proposition of Mr. Han to his Chinese counterpart for a hotline reflects South Korean goodwill and intention to mediate between two superpowers. Therefore, South Korea's stance on the South China Sea dispute is a good example of South Korea's "mediator" role as a character of middle power state. In addition to that, Chun had mentioned in his work that one of the middle power diplomacy characters of South Korea's was to help great powers lessen strategic mistrust. Here, it is seen that South Korea is searching for building trust and make the parties of the conflict get rid of structural threat perceptions and prevent a conflict.

By reading the South Korean Defense Minister's effort to be a mediator and a bridge between China and the USA it can be accepted as a sign of South Korea's effort to help great powers lessen strategic mistrust.

Another development occurred recently. South Korean Foreign Minister Yun Byung-Se is welcomed by Vietnam's Deputy Prime Minister Pham Binh Minh in Hanoi on 20 March 2017. "The Prime Minister proposed that South Korea continue its support over the position of Vietnam and Southeast Asia on the South China Sea issue and to help the country improve its law enforcement at the sea", the government said in a statement on its website after the meeting between Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc and South Korea's Foreign Minister Yun Byung-se³⁰. However, the explanation didn't include any clear point whether South Korea answered this expectation positively or not. This meeting and the following development one again show that South Korea is trying to be as much neutral as possible and keep its distance to the parties of the dispute.

³⁰ <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-03-20/vietnam-seeks-south-korean-support-in-south-china-sea>

Second test – case for ROK – ASEAN relations is the **North Korea issue**. The North Korean regime’s nuclear weapon enrichment ambitions have always been the top security concern of South Korea. South Korea as being an ally of the USA in the region, may seem tackling with the troubled brother at its border, taking the support of the ASEAN against North Korean regime is quite important. During the 11th East Asia Summit (include ASEAN, Australia, China, Japan, South Korea, Russia, India, New Zealand, and the USA) held in Vientiane on the 8 September 2016, the main theme was the advancement of nuclear disarmament. Since ASEAN has defined itself as a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone, the emphasis was done on preserving it for the future of a peaceful region. In the final statement of the Summit, there was included the North Korean regime’s nuclear activities as below:

“Recalling and fully supporting the unanimous adoption of Resolution 2270 by the United Nations Security Council on 2 March 2016, which unequivocally condemned the January nuclear test and February long-range ballistic missile launch and registering deep concern over the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea’s subsequent and repeated ballistic missile launches in violation and flagrant disregard of the Council’s relevant resolutions and urge the DPRK to abandon its nuclear and ballistic missile programs in a complete, verifiable and irreversible manner, and uphold its international legal obligations; express grave concern over the DPRK’s nuclear tests and ballistic missile launches and call for the full implementation of all relevant UNSC resolutions, including the UNSC sanctions regime and the 2005 Joint Statement; call for the continuation of joint efforts to resume meaningful Six Party Talks at an early date to make substantial progress in the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in a peaceful manner”³¹.

The nuclear proliferation agenda of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) is seen as a serious threat jeopardizing the whole peace and stability of the region. It wouldn’t be an exaggerated argument to claim that North Korea threat is perceived as

³¹ <http://asean.org/storage/2016/09/EAS-Non-Proliferation-Statement-Final.pdf>

serious as and seen as big as the China threat and China's claim over South China Sea. South Korea definitely under the USA's security and protection umbrella when it comes to North Korea regime threat; however, South Korea is aware of the fact that getting the support of other actors along with the USA against Russia and China bloc on this issue would be more beneficial and strategic. This effort of South Korea shows that it pursues a niche diplomacy meaning that it tries to achieve a multidimensional coalition supporting itself on North Korea issue. This seems working actually because the Secretary-General of ASEAN, Le Luong Minh, mentioned in his interview with Channel News Asia that "ASEAN's position on the ongoing tension on the Korean Peninsula is very clear and consistent" on 28 April, 2017³². This explanation on the other hand, came as a response to the letter of North Korean Foreign Minister Ri Yong-Ho written to Secretary-General of ASEAN. According to the letter, North Korean Foreign Minister was saying:

"I express my expectations that ASEAN which attaches great importance to the regional peace and stability will make an issue of the US-South Korean joint military exercises at ASEAN conferences from the fair position and play an active role in safeguarding the peace and safety of Korean Peninsula"³³.

He was also continuing with his argument that the tension on the peninsula is due to South Korea-USA military exercises and the situation was on the brink of a war which could totally damage the whole region and asking for help of ASEAN. This step is seen historical in the sense that North Korea was for the first time asking for the help of ASEAN so openly. As mentioned before, the letter was given answer that the stance of ASEAN on this issue is clear and it is supporting peace and stability of the region. At the end of the

³² <http://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asiapacific/asean-s-position-on-north-korea-clear-and-consistent-sec-gen-8799020>

³³ <http://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asiapacific/north-korea-seeks-southeast-asian-support-in-row-with-us-8797450>

summit, as the host country's President Duterte asked for all sides to be patient regarding North Korea problem.

South Korea is not only asking for the support of ASEAN at an organizational level but also asking the member states to put distance with their relations with North Korea by using bilateral manner. One example is that previous Korean President Lee Myung-bak visited Myanmar in May 2012. He met with Myanmar President Thein Sein and requested him to quit Myanmar's military cooperation with Pyongyang.

Another North Korea related explanation came during the 18th ASEAN-Republic of Korea (ROK) Summit which was held on 7 September 2016 in Vientiane, Lao PDR. The Meeting was chaired by H.E. Thongloun SISOULITH, Prime Minister of the Lao PDR. The Summit was attended by all Heads of State/Government of ASEAN Member States and H.E. Park Geun-hye, ex-president of the Republic of Korea (ROK). The Secretary-General of ASEAN was also in attendance. At the end of the Summit, below statements were in the official statement of the Chairman:

“We reiterated the importance of maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and expressed support for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in a peaceful manner. We shared serious concerns over the recent developments on the Korean peninsula, including the nuclear test on 6 January 2016 and subsequent launches using ballistic missile technology, including submarine-launch ballistic missile on 23 August 2016 by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), which are in violation of the relevant United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions. We called for the creation of an environment conducive to the resumption of the Six-Party Talks to make further progress in denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in a peaceful manner. We urged the DPRK to comply with all relevant UNSC resolutions, including the UNSC Resolution 2270 and called on all parties to exert common efforts to maintain peace and security in the said region. We expressed support for the Republic of Korea's Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula and the “Initiative for Peaceful Unification of the Korean Peninsula” as well as the

Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative (NAPCI) in promoting lasting peace in the Korea Peninsula, as well as cooperation and trust in Northeast Asia”³⁴.

South China Sea and North Korea are two inter-related matters for the region. It is because of the fact that the USA is part of the region in political and military terms. The American existence in the region is creating a picture like this: the USA doesn't want China dominate the South China Sea by its sovereignty claims and practices but at the same time wants to decrease the North Korean nuclear weapon risk. What the USA does at this point is that it is trying to come to a deal with China that China would be pushing North Korea more to give up its nuclear program and the USA would be more willing to cooperate and use diplomatic manners and dialogue on the South China Sea. The prevention of a possible conflict either due to South China Sea or North Korean regime would be quite profitable for South Korea. That would mean the stability is going to be preserved in the region. To show the inter-connectedness of these two issues it would be good to remember the meeting (at the 16th IISS Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore, on June 3 2017) of Pentagon Chief Jim Mattis with South Korea's Defense Minister Han Min-koo and Japanese Defence Minister Tomomi Inada to convince them that the United States can work with China to prevent North Korea's nuclear weapons program without compromising its opposition to Beijing's continued "militarization" of the South China Sea³⁵. This explanation seems to be a guarantee for South Korea and Japan not to worry about the ongoing tension on the South China Sea thanks to the USA's being there both politically (by keeping open the diplomatic channels) and militarily (by continuing its military exercises and regular flights); however, the situation is still too vulnerable to relax. The best option that South Korea can do might be keep its position as a benign Northeast Asia actor and try to mediate the relations among ASEAN, China, and the USA.

The last issue in this category is named as human rights. The aim is not give the details of the issue but the mention about the South Korean attitude. The human rights violation in

³⁴ <http://asean.org/storage/2016/09/Chairmans-Statement-of-the-18th-ASEAN-ROK-Summit-Final.pdf.pdf>

³⁵ <https://www.pri.org/stories/2017-06-03/north-korea-south-china-sea-and-more-what-pentagon-chief-asia>

some members of the ASEAN community has been meeting in silence by the South Korean governments. They have no comments or explanations on the issue. This alone shows again South Korea is deliberate on the vulnerable matters and goes on

4.6. Economic Community and Related Themes

The ASEAN – South Korea economic relations are examined under three issues. They are Free Trade Agreements (FTAs), Official Development Assistance (ODA), and Foreign Direct Investment. However, before them, it is better to look at what the Economic Community is and how it works.

The establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2015 was a major milestone in the regional economic integration agenda of ASEAN which offers opportunities in the form of a huge market of US\$2.4 trillion and over 622 million people together. According to 2015 parameters, AEC was collectively the third largest economy in Asia and was the sixth largest economy in the world³⁶.

The AEC Blueprint 2025, adopted by the ASEAN Leaders at the 27th ASEAN Summit on 22 November 2015 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. By this new Blueprint, the AEC Blueprint (2008-2015) which had been adopted in 2007 was completed and replaced. The AEC Blueprint 2025 gives broad directions through strategic measures for the AEC from 2016 to 2025. Along with the ASEAN Community Vision 2025, and the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) Blueprint 2025 and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Blueprint 2025, the AEC Blueprint 2025 constitutes part of ASEAN 2025: Forging Ahead Together.

The AEC Blueprint 2025 is aimed towards achieving the vision of having an AEC by 2025 that is highly integrated and cohesive; competitive, innovative and dynamic; with

³⁶ <http://asean.org/storage/2012/05/Binder-AEC-at-a-Glance.pdf>

enhanced connectivity and sectoral cooperation; and a more resilient, inclusive, and people-oriented, people-centred community, integrated with the global economy³⁷.

The AEC Blueprint 2025 consists of five interrelated and mutually reinforcing characteristics, namely: **(i) A Highly Integrated and Cohesive Economy; (ii) A Competitive, Innovative, and Dynamic ASEAN; (iii) Enhanced Connectivity and Sectoral Cooperation; (iv) A Resilient, Inclusive, People-Oriented, and People-Centred ASEAN; and (v) A Global ASEAN**³⁸. These characteristics support the vision for the AEC as envisaged in the ASEAN Community Vision 2025³⁹.

*“The AEC Blueprint 2025 sets out the strategic measures under each of the five characteristics of AEC 2025. To operationalize the Blueprint’s implementation, these strategic measures will be further elaborated in and implemented through the work plans of various sectoral bodies in ASEAN. The sectoral work plans will be reviewed and updated periodically to ensure their relevance and effectiveness. Partnership arrangements with the private sector, industry associations and the wider community at the regional and national levels will also be actively sought and fostered to ensure an inclusive and participatory approach to the integration process. Institutions will be strengthened and enhanced approaches to monitoring and public outreach will likewise be developed to support the effective implementation of the Blueprint”*⁴⁰.

To achieve above mentioned five characteristics of AEC Blueprint 2025, the AEC 2025 Consolidated Strategic Action Plan was announced. This plan was designed to operationalize the strategic measures in the AEC Blueprint 2025. It takes into account the

³⁷ <http://www.asean.org/wp-content/uploads/images/2015/November/aec-page/ASEAN-Community-Vision-2025.pdf>

³⁸ <http://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/archive/5187-10.pdf>

³⁹ <http://www.asean.org/wp-content/uploads/images/2015/November/aec-page/ASEAN-Community-Vision-2025.pdf>

⁴⁰ <http://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/archive/5187-10.pdf>

relevant sectorial work plans, and will be reviewed periodically to account for developments in each sector.

The AEC Blueprint 2025 is believed to make an ASEAN that is more proactive, having had in place the structure and frameworks to operate as an economic community, cultivating its collective identity and strength to engage with the world, responding to new developments, and seizing new opportunities. The new Blueprint will not only ensure that the 10 ASEAN Member States are economically integrated, but are also sustainably and mostly integrated in the global economy, thus contributing to the goal of shared prosperity⁴¹. South Korea has mentioned its support⁴¹ to ASEAN in the application of AEC Blueprint 2025.

Free Trade Agreements

South Korea as a late comer to the free trade agreement network in Northeast Asia, wanted to close the gap between itself and its neighbors. The first indicator of this request was the President Roh Moo-hyun. It was in 2003 that Roh administration issued an aggressive FTA policy, also known as “simultaneous multi-faceted FTA promotion” agenda. This was believed to move Korea’s place upward and fill the existing gap with its neighbors in the FTA network. This initiative was directly related to South Korea’s changing self-perception. In another words, by having more FTAs, South Korea would be more visible to its neighbors which would definitely change the others’ perception of South Korea in a positive manner. Here, I would like to show the FTA situation of South Korea since 2003 (Table 3).⁴²

Table 3: Free Trade Agreement (FTAs) of South Korea since 2003

⁴¹ <http://asean.org/asean-economic-community/>

⁴² The information that is shown at the table is taken from the official website of South Korea’s Minister of Foreign Affairs.

FTAs in effect	Concluded FTAs	FTAs under negotiation	FTAs under consideration
Korea-Singapore FTA	Korea-Turkey FTA (※ FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT, AGREEMENT ON TRADE IN GOODS)	Korea-Canada FTA	Korea-MERCOSUR TA
Korea-India CEPA	Korea-Colombia FTA	Korea-Mexico FTA	Korea-Israel FTA
Korea-EFTA FTA		Korea-GCC FTA	Korea-Central America FTA
Korea-ASEAN FTA		Korea-Australia FTA	Korea-Malaysia FTA
Korea-Chile FTA		Korea-New Zealand FTA	
Korea-EU FTA		Korea-China FTA	
Korea-Peru FTA		Korea-Vietnam FTA	
Korea-U.S. FTA		Korea-Indonesia FTA	
		Korea-China-Japan FTA	
		RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership)	
		Korea-Japan FTA	

ASEAN-Korea Free Trade Agreement (AKFTA) is a concrete example of strong economic ties between two actors in developing intra-regional trade volume. The negotiations on the AKFTA commenced in early 2005 and subsequently the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between ASEAN-Korea was signed by ASEAN and Korea on 13 December 2005⁴³.

⁴³ <http://akfta.asean.org/index.php?page=background-of-akfta>

Official Development Assistance

ODA can be defined as the flow of financial resources from the central and/or local governments of donor countries and multilateral agencies to developing countries⁴⁴. Official Development Assistance (ODA) is one of the effective mechanisms of South Korea in shaping its economic relations with Southeast Asia nations. South Korea is the second biggest provider of ODA toward ASEAN after the USA. ODA (official development assistance) is managed via three platforms: Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA), Economic Development Cooperation Fund (EDCF), and international organisations.

KOICA

Economic Development Cooperation Fund was established to promote economic cooperation between South Korea and developing countries on June 1, 1987. The EDCF has been assisting partner countries by relying on Korea's own development experience over the years. Among the first countries who took assistance are Philippines and Vietnam. In 1990, EDCF's first Overseas Investment Credits to Korean Firm: Sericulture and Raw Silk Manufacturing Investment Project was concluded with The Philippines. In 1998, Conclusion of the first Agreement and Arrangement: Padang By-Pass Project with Indonesia was realized. In 2004, The 2nd Misamis Oriental Telephone Expansion and Modernization Project was conducted with the Philippines. In the history of the KOICA, ASEAN members have occupied a big portion. This shows us that South Korea sees developing nations of ASEAN as partners in need and does its best to transmit its experience to those nations.

Foreign Direct Investment

ASEAN is one of the important destinations for FDI of South Korea mostly in manufacturing, extractive, and infrastructure related activities. There are more than 3770 Korean subsidiaries working in ASEAN. There are some motivations of South Korea of

⁴⁴ <https://www.odakorea.go.kr/eng/overview.What.do> accessed on April 14, 2017

choosing ASEAN for FDI. They are market-seeking factors that include following the customers or being close to customers of the region. This market-seeking motive is important for finance and retail companies of South Korea. Another motive is to secure the entrance to natural resources facilities. This motive is more suitable for extractive industries of South Korea. The last motive is to enlarge market shares and get new contracts for infrastructure companies.

ASEAN receives 16 per cent of the world FDI equal to \$120 billion in 2015. 16 per cent of all Korean FDI worldwide and 40 per cent of all Korean FDI in Asia during 2010-2015 went to ASEAN. Hyundai, POSCO, and many manufacturing companies, and MSMEs operate.

4.7. Socio-Cultural Community and Related Themes

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community desires to make contribution to construct an ASEAN Community which is people-oriented and socially responsible through a vision of enduring solidarity and unity among the people and member states of ASEAN. Increasing the life quality of the lives of ASEAN people stands at the very heart of the ASEAN Socio – Cultural Community (ASCC) agenda. For this aim, the strategy and planning mechanism of the ASCC also called as ASCC BluePrint was in effect during the period of 2009 and 2015. It has been quite influential regarding enhancing the coherence of policy frameworks and institutions to advance Human Development, Social Justice and rights, Social Protection and Welfare, Environmental sustainability, ASEAN awareness, and narrowing the development gap⁴⁵. There are some issue areas that will be touched upon in line with the ASCC Blueprint but there is some more apart from them. These are the tools of South Korea that are influential to deepen its cultural ties with ASEAN and realize mutual exchange of cultural values. One of them is King Sejong Institutes.

Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention

⁴⁵ <http://www.asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/8.-March-2016-ASCC-Blueprint-2025.pdf>

This issue area is expected to be relatively a more controversial part in ASEAN-ROK relations. The reasons of it will be mentioned later but first it is better to give the concrete steps taken by South Korea to cooperate in this area with ASEAN. The ROK has taken an active role in the ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting - Plus. For the period of 2014-2017, the ROK is co-chairing the ADMM-Plus Experts' Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations (EWG on PKO) with Cambodia. The ROK also hosted EWG on PKO workshop from 16-18 September 2015 in Seoul. The active role of South Korea in these events shows the functional diplomacy and niche diplomacy of its middle power. The tension is expected to come from the Myanmar and Cambodian human rights violations; however, South Korean governments have never been involved in this controversial issue even though in recent years there occurred some protests against South Korea clothing firms operating in Cambodia. This is seen as a sign that South Korea doesn't want to involve in internal affairs of the ASEAN members and stay away from again high-tension issues. The non-intervention to the internal affairs of the member states is one of the important principles of ASEAN and the attitude of South Korea on the human rights crisis show its respect to that principle and is appreciated by ASEAN. This is also another sign of norm sharing pattern of relations.

ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)

The ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) conducted a Regional Workshop on Strengthening National Plans of Action on Trafficking in Persons to Ensure Effective Implementation of the ASEAN Convention against Trafficking in Persons, mainly Women and Children (ACTIP) and ASEAN Plan of Action against Trafficking in Persons, on 1 – 2 December 2016 in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The Workshop was organized and led by the AICHR-Cambodia, with the support from the ROK through ASEAN-ROK Cooperation Fund⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ <http://aichr.org/news/aichr-regional-workshop-on-strengthening-national-plans-of-action-on-trafficking-in-persons-to-ensure-effective-implementation-of-the-asean-convention-against-trafficking-in-persons-especially-women/>

It is timely to give some information about this fund. The ASEAN-ROK Cooperation Fund, established in 1990, has been operated with an annual budget of USD 7 million (started from 2015) funded from the Korean government, totaling USD 66,762,001.75 through the end of 2014⁴⁷. The ASEAN-ROK Cooperation Fund conducts a variety of projects and activities in the areas of development cooperation, technology transfer, human resource development, people to people exchanges, and exchanges of intellectuals and culture through agreement between Korea and ASEAN. In its sub-levels, the ASEAN-ROK Future-Oriented Cooperation Project Fund mainly aims to promote people exchanges, while the ASEAN-ROK Special Cooperation Fund focuses more on implementing cooperation projects to bring about tangible benefits in each field. The ASEAN-ROK Cooperation Fund has been recognized to have substantially bolstered cooperative ties between the two sides as well as furthered development among and within ASEAN countries⁴⁸.

H.E. Keo Remy, the President of the Cambodian Human Rights Committee was the Keynote Speaker of the Workshop. As the first country to ratify the ACTIP, H.E. Remy highlighted Cambodia's commitments and efforts to counter trafficking in persons (TIP) covering various key strategies, notably the strengthening of laws and policies by enactment of various national anti-trafficking laws. In their remarks, the Chair of the AICHR, H.E. Mr Phoukhong Sisoulath and the Representative of Cambodia to the AICHR, H.E. Ms. Polyne Hean highlighted that this Workshop is part of the AICHR's continued commitment to facilitate the mainstreaming of human rights-based approach in the implementation of the ACTIP and APA.

The Workshop was attended by relevant ASEAN Organs and Sectoral Bodies, international agencies as well as relevant Cambodian line ministries responsible for counter-trafficking. It examined the good practices and challenges of the national plans of action on TIP both inside and outside the ASEAN region. Some of the good practices highlighted include bilateral arrangements among the sending and receiving countries, the

⁴⁷ <http://asean.mofa.go.kr/english/as/asean/Programmes/Cooperation/index.jsp>

⁴⁸ <http://asean.mofa.go.kr/english/as/asean/Programmes/Cooperation/index.jsp>

use of technology and social media to enhance anti-TIP efforts as well as the establishment of specialist units within the national agencies of the AMS to better address the issues of TIP. In terms of challenges, common issues faced by ASEAN Members include the limitation of resources and proper victims identification system.

The Workshop evaluated the recommendations to strengthen the national plans of action on TIP and looked into ways and means to integrate the provisions of the ACTIP and APA into the national plans of action, policies and legislation of the AMS. The relevant AMS were encouraged to ratify the ACTIP, integrate its provisions into their national plans of action and undertake mid-term stock-taking of their national plans of action to ensure their coherence with the ACTIP and APA.

Environmental Issues

Environment is a meaningful area for South Korea. South Korean governments have stressed on this issue for a long period of time. South Korea can be accepted as a norm setter and awareness raiser in this issue area. With the inauguration of Lee Myung-bak to the office in 2008, South Korea began to apply a new strategy for the economic development which is called “Low Carbon, Green Growth”. This is seen as the agenda and norm setter character of the middle power diplomacy as constructing awareness and taking the lead.

Following this South Korean initiative for an environment-friendly development vision another step was taken, this time, with ASEAN. The cooperation to address the issue of land and forest degradation has been strengthened through a flagship project on Restoration of Degraded Forest Ecosystem in the Southeast Asian Tropical Regions (AKECOP). Phases I to VII of the AKECOP project were completed from 2000 to 2015 and it is now in Phase VIII. AKECOP received the ROK’s support through the ASEAN-ROK Special Cooperation Fund.

The Republic of Korea proposed to establish the Asian Forest Cooperation Organization (hereinafter referred to as “AFoCO”) at the ASEAN-ROK Commemorative Summit held

on 1-2 June 2009 in Jeju Island, Korea. This move is again an evidence of South Korea's taking the lead in environmental issues and its close cooperation with ASEAN. From a constructivist perspective, this initiative is a norm setter characteristic of South Korean middle power state identity.

The Agreement between ASEAN and the ROK on Forest Cooperation (AFoCo) was signed and entered into force on 5 August 2012 for 2 years, and subsequently was extended in August 2014 for another two years, until August 2016. The Agreement aims to strengthen forestry cooperation, particularly in preventing deforestation and forest degradation, as well as promoting sustainable forest management. Projects and activities are on-going under the AFoCo to further strengthen forest cooperation between both sides. It is seen that environmental issues are quite high-cooperation possible areas since the results will be beneficiary for both parties. The initiative of South Korea on environmental issues is a sign of the fact that ASEAN and South Korea are sharing a common vision and agree on the protection of environment and meet at the same ideational platform considering environment.

Sejong Institutes, Hallyu (Korean Wave)

As Joseph Nye mentions "South Korea has the economic and cultural resources to produce significant soft power, allowing it to design a foreign policy that will give it a larger role in global governance"⁴⁹. This soft power asset is one of the critical component of constructing middle power identity which would be more successful if a nation has soft power. One of them is Sejong Institutes in South Korean case. King Sejong Institutes are important tools for South Korea to spread its cultural influence over the world. There are 68 of these institutes in the Asia region and if China is excluded with its 22 institutes, ASEAN (all members) has the highest number of institutes with 17. Some of the Sejong Institutes are operating under the Korea Culture Center's.

⁴⁹ <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/south-korea-s-growing-soft-power?barrier=accessreg>

Asian attention on the Korean Peninsula has been fairly limited, with much focus on the fluctuation in its security environment — weapons of mass destruction (WMD), nuclear proliferation, and with new leader Kim Jong-un’s sudden nuclear threats to the world. Despite the popularity of Korean movies, popular music, actors and actresses — a new cultural phenomenon sweeping Asia, usually called “The Korean Wave” (in Korean, Hallyu) — among citizens in ASEAN countries in recent years, the understanding of Korea needs to be further enhanced.

The Korean restaurants, the impact of Korean dramas, Kpop or *Hallyu*, can be seen in the streets of Southeast Asian countries. In recent years, South Korea has been promoting increasing relations with Southeast Asia based on mutual respect and understanding via its cultural asset. The Korean culture as getting increasingly popular among ASEAN people is a sign of Korea’s using its identity as a mean of middle-powerness and increasing its existence.

Social welfare and development is another issue area that can be seen under the main heading the Socio-cultural Community. South Korea has a strong supporter of ASEAN in this issue. It can be understood from the Joint Statement of the 5th ASEAN Plus Three Ministerial Meeting on Social Welfare and Development as follows:

“We acknowledged the initiative of the Republic of Korea in supporting the development of an enabling policy environment through research on active ageing and comparative study on social welfare laws. We likewise recognized the continuing commitment of the Republic of Korea in promoting community-based services for older persons to facilitate the exchange of good practices on responding to the needs of ageing societies. We recognized the valuable and continuing support of the Plus Three Countries and looked forward to deepening our partnership on promoting the welfare of older persons/elderly, children, and persons with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups, as guided by the goals and objectives of the Strategic Framework on Social Welfare and Development 2016-2020”⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ <http://asean.org/storage/2016/10/Joint-Statement-5th-AMMSWD-3ADOPTED.pdf>

Again, South Korea is trying to share its own capacity, knowledge and experience with ASEAN on social issues. This attitude enables South Korea to be welcomed more and more in the region.

Terrorism is another area of cooperation between ASEAN and South Korea. In the Post-Cold War era, instead of massive use of physical force in inter-state conflicts the humanity is facing so called non-conventional security threats such as terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), religious and ethnic conflicts, environmental degradation, drug trafficking and piracy (Leong, 2007). These new versions of security challenges necessitate more cooperation among member states of the association and other platform members since these problems can't be managed through only one's own work. In recent years, South East Asia countries have lived some serious terrorist attacks and the issue is one of the top priorities of the member states. When the emphasis on peace at the ASEAN Charter is thought, it is understandable that the region is dedicated to preserve peace and stability of the region.

The ASEAN-South Korea Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism was signed by the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN and the ROK at the margins of the 38th AMM in July 2005 in Vientiane. The ASEAN-South Korea Senior Officials' Consultations on Transnational Crime (SOMTC+ROK Consultations) was held for the first time on 9 June 2006 in Bali, Indonesia and has been held nine times since then. At the 9th SOMTC + ROK Consultation in June 2015 in Siem Reap, ASEAN and the ROK finalized an ASEAN-ROK Work Plan on the Cooperation on Combating and Preventing Transnational Crimes for further endorsement or adoption by the ROK⁵¹.

Southeast Asia has been exposed to the use of terrorism, ranging from underground communist movements to ethnic and religion based separatist groups. At some point between 1948 and 1979, most of the non-communist states of the region experienced communist insurgencies in which terrorist tactics were employed. During the Cold War, revolutionary communism was the biggest common threat to states in the region and was

⁵¹ http://asean.org/?static_post=asean-republic-of-korea-dialogue-relations

an important catalyst for the formation and development of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). From their experience with the communists, these states learned the importance of a comprehensive and coordinated national strategy that embraces intelligence, political, ideological, and, when necessary, military dimensions.

In the early post-9/11 years, regional responses to terrorism were confined largely to discussions in regional forums, declarations, and capacity building efforts. As two Singapore-based scholars have observed of this period; “ASEAN’s multilateral framework of counter-terrorism mechanisms has been more notable for capacity building and confidence-enhancing measures than for member states taking concrete actions or acting in concert” (Desker & Pavlova, 2005). Capacity building efforts took place largely, though not exclusively, through framework of ASEAN, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and related ASEAN entities.

Successive ASEAN declarations have expressed the political will to fight terrorism. They also facilitate national governments’ counter-terrorism efforts in the face of possible domestic political constraints. The Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism issued at the Seventh ASEAN Summit in Brunei in November 2001 stressed the need to strengthen cooperation at all levels – bilateral, regional, and international – and combat terrorism “in a comprehensive manner” (see, <http://aseansec.org/5620.htm>). The Chairman’s statement after the 11th ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur in December 2005 re-emphasized the need “to maintain and intensify cooperation among states in the region to combat terrorism” (see, <http://www.aseansec.org/17724.htm>). ASEAN forums like the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the ASEAN Summit, the ASEAN Plus Three and the East Asia Summit have continued to stress the importance of combating terrorisms at their regular meetings.

ASEAN members have also signed declarations or memorandums of understanding with various dialogue partners – including US, China, EU, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, India, the Republic of Korea, and Canada – on cooperative measures to deal with terrorism and other non-traditional security threats, demonstrating ASEAN’s commitment to work

with other countries in the fight against terrorism. ASEAN declarations are often followed by regularly reviewed plans of action. The 2001 Declaration at the Seventh ASEAN Summit, for example, identified a slew of implementation measures, including reviewing and strengthening the national mechanisms to combat terrorism, signing and ratifying the relevant international anti-terrorism conventions, enhancing intelligence sharing and regional cooperation on law enforcement, developing regional capacity building programs, and discussing and exploring ideas and initiatives to increase ASEAN's involvement with the international community "to make the fight against terrorism a truly regional and global endeavor". These ideas were incorporated in the ASEAN Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crime, adopted in May 2002 under the aegis of the ASEAN Ministerial Committee on Transnational Crime (AMMCT).

ASEAN Culture House & Korea Culture House

There is ASEAN – Korea Centre to promote the relations and is working actively to create a long-lasting partnership between ASEAN member countries and South Korea. The ASEAN-Korea Centre was established as an intergovernmental organization with the aim to promote exchanges among Korea and the ten ASEAN member states. It was officially inaugurated in 13 March 2009, the year which marked the 20th anniversary of the Dialogue Partnership between ASEAN and Korea in accordance with the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed at the 11th ASEAN-Republic of Korea (ROK) Summit in November 2007, and entered into force in December 2008⁵².

The ASEAN-Korea Centre can be defined as a social bridge and has played a vital role in raising the awareness of the culture and arts of ASEAN and South Korea. In 2012, the ASEAN-Korea Centre organized two events, namely, the "ASEAN Culture and Tourism Fair 2012" convened in both Seoul and Yeosu, South Korea, on 6-10 June 2012, which showcased a variety of cultural programs and performances – including diverse traditional dances, folk songs, and instrumental music by more than 70 member cultural troupes

⁵² <https://www.aseankorea.org/eng/AKC/introduction.asp>

invited from 10 ASEAN Member States; and “Bravo! ASEAN in Korea” from 15 September to 27 October 2012, a music and dance contest for ASEAN residents in South Korea.

In 2016, the ASEAN- Korea Centre (AKC) implemented 22 projects in including its flagship programs such as the ASEAN Trade Fair, the ASEAN Culinary Festival, the ASEAN Connectivity Forum, and the ASEAN-Korea Youth Network Workshop. In 2017, the AKC focuses on celebrating the 50th Anniversary of ASEAN, promoting the ASEAN-ROK Cultural Exchange Year, supporting sustainable development in ASEAN, reinforcing capacity-building elements, and enhancing ASEAN awareness in the ROK⁵³.

On 7 May 2017, to enhance capacity building for ASEAN Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), which account for 98% of business establishment in the region, the ASEAN-Korea Centre organised the first Trade Facilitation Workshop for Indonesian Food MSMEs in cooperation with the Ministry of Trade of Indonesia on 4 and 6 April 2017 in Jakarta and Makassar respectively.

This was the first in a series of workshops that were designed to facilitate ASEAN-Korea economic cooperation and contribute to mutually beneficial partnership between ASEAN and Korea. Similar workshops focusing on different sectors, based on the needs of ASEAN Member States, will be held later this year in Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand and next year for the remaining Member States.

The workshop introduced sourcing trends, branding and marketing strategies, logistics system, as well as up-to-date packaging design and technology to the MSMEs. It also provided one-on-one business consultation to address specific questions regarding access to the Korean market. It was expected that through the workshop, ASEAN MSMEs would enhance their capacity to access the Korean market as well as enjoy the benefits of the ASEAN – Korea Free Trade Area.

⁵³ <http://asean.org/storage/2012/05/Overview-ASEAN-ROK-Dialogue-Relations-As-of-15-June-2017.pdf>

Secretary-General of ASEAN-Korea Centre Kim Young-sun; Ms. Arlinda, Director General of the Ministry of Trade of Indonesia; Kim In-ho, Chairman of the Korea International Trade Association; and Cho Tai-young, Korean Ambassador to Indonesia graced the opening ceremony of the workshop. It was attended by over 200 Indonesian MSMEs who gained knowledge about the competitiveness and further access to the Korean market⁵⁴.

On 13 October 2015, the Second Seminar on the ROK-ASEAN Socio-Cultural Partnership was convened in Jakarta, Indonesia. The title of the seminar was “Enhancing Socio-Cultural Awareness & Friendship” and was hosted by the Mission of the Republic of Korea to ASEAN and organised by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI). The seminar was organised for its first time to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of ASEAN-ROK Dialogue relations in Jakarta last year⁵⁵.

In his welcoming remarks, H.E. Suh Jeong-in said:

"ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community is in charge of areas that would affect the daily-livelihoods of ASEAN population. An effective and efficient ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community will greatly contribute to raising people's awareness of 'oneness' and 'belongingness'. Korea will be a very good partner for ASEAN to stackle with such issues that matter the most to ASEAN people." He also emphasized the bilateral cultural exchanges between the ROK and ASEAN. At the Commemorative Summit in Busan, our leaders agreed that two sides need to enhance and expand our people-to-people linkage. We are well-aware that K-Wave, also known as hallyu, from Korea has been very popular in this region, but I do not think our Leaders' agreement to enhance and expand our people-to-people linkage means only the wider spread of K-pop, Korean movies and dramas in the region. I believe that what our Leaders really meant is to deepen our mutual understanding of each other's diverse cultural heritage in both directions, not one direction. For many Koreans, ASEAN's rich and diverse cultural heritages are not well-introduced in Korea. To strengthen our people-to-people linkage, we need to

⁵⁴ <http://asean.org/asean-korea-centre-builds-asean-msmes-capacity/>

⁵⁵ http://asean.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/legengreadboard.jsp?typeID=16&boardid=15262&seqno=727673&c=&t=&pagenum=1&tableName=TYPE_ENGLEGATIO&pc=&dc=&wc=&lu=&vu=&iu=&du=

begin with deepening our understandings of abundant and diverse cultural heritages of both ASEAN and Korea.

That is why our President proposed to establish an “ASEAN Culture House” in Busan at the Commemorative Summit which was cordially welcomed by ASEAN leaders. ASEAN Culture House is planned to complete its construction by 2017. I am so pleased to share with you that now Korea is in process of building an “ASEAN Culture House” in Busan. The year 2017 will also be very special for two other reasons. First, Korea and ASEAN will celebrate 2017 as the Year of “ASEAN-Korea Cultural Exchange.” Also, in 2017, ASEAN will be celebrating the 50th Anniversary of its founding”⁵⁶.

The welcoming speech of the His Excellency Suh Jeong-in at the 2nd Seminar on the ROK-ASEAN Socio-Cultural Partnership gives important message regarding the ASEAN – South Korea partnership:

“About two months away from now, we will see very significant milestone for ASEAN, the launch of the ASEAN Community made of 3 Pillars: ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). As a Dialogue Partner of ASEAN, Korea will continue to be with ASEAN in its launch of ASEAN Community and beyond. In this regard, I firmly believe that to achieve a successful establishment of ASEAN Community, the roles of ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community should be constantly emphasized. The areas under the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community are directly linked with people of ASEAN and their everyday livelihoods. In order to achieve the main goal of “realizing a socially responsible and a truly people-oriented, people-centered ASEAN”, it is important to keep in mind two challenges which are closely interrelated with each other. First is how to tackle with daily issues such as public health, education, poverty eradication; second is how to raise ASEAN awareness in the process of ASEAN Community building efforts.

I believe that the solution lies with ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community and its areas of work. ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community is in charge of the areas that would affect the daily livelihoods of ASEAN population. An

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http://asean.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/legengreadboard.jsp?typeID=16&boardid=15262&seqno=727673&c=&t=&pagenum=1&tableName=TYPE_ENGLEGATIO&pc=&dc=&wc=&lu=&vu=&iu=&du=

effective and efficient ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community will greatly contribute to raising people's awareness of "oneness" and "belonging". Korea will be a very good partner for ASEAN to tackle with such issues that matter the most to ASEAN people. In this regard, the Korea-ASEAN Cooperation fund, which is increased to US 7 million Dollars as part of the outcomes of the Commemorative Summit last year, would be an enabler. This is why I believe that today's seminar covers very important subjects, including issues I shared with you. From today's presentations and discussions, I hope that all of us here can gain and learn more knowledge about socio-cultural aspect of our successful relationship. Moreover, I sincerely hope that this seminar can actually highlight the importance of ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community and its future after the official launch of ASEAN Community in the Post-2015 era"⁵⁷.

In his speech, he puts emphasis on the importance of ASEAN Socio-cultural Community and mentions that Korea, as a dialogue partner of ASEAN, will be also a great contributor and cooperative partner in the areas that are crucial to ASEAN people such as public health, education, and poverty reduction. Those areas are also part of Korea's ODAs and show us how the economic and social issues are linked to each other in Korea's attitude toward ASEAN. Moreover this linkage is creating a fruitful base so that South Korea can use its middle power roles in a more effective manner.

Here is another statement of His Excellency Suh Jeong-in, the Ambassador of ROK to ASEAN regarding the socio-cultural relations between South Korea and ASEAN:

"Culture is often taken for granted. In fact, culture has nurtured us in every way from the way we live, think and die. Once Paulo Coelho, a famous writer of *The Alchemist*, emphasised culture as a prerequisite to establish and maintain peace and prosperity regionally and globally. Coelho mentioned, I quote, 'Culture makes people understand each other better and if they understand each other better in their soul, it is easier to overcome the economic and political barriers'. We have to attach a great importance

⁵⁷ The welcoming speech of the His Excellency Suh Jeong-in at the 2nd Seminar on the ROK-ASEAN Socio-Cultural Partnership on 13th of October, 2015, in Jakarta, Indonesia. Details can be found at http://asean.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/legengreadboard.jsp?typeID=16&boardid=15262&seqno=727673&c=&t=&pagenum=1&tableName=TYPE_ENGLEGATIO&pc=&dc=&wc=&lu=&vu=&iu=&du= .

to maintain culture and even network between different cultures which will lead us to understand better of ourselves. Even in the diplomatic corps, culture is crucial to bridge a state to another.

ASEAN is no exception. This watershed regional organisation has paid heed to develop and nurture the socio-cultural community along with political-security and economic communities at the end of 2015. At that time, the leaders also adopted a 10-year looking ahead vision entitled with ASEAN 2025: Forging Ahead Together. 'ASEAN's Socio-Cultural Blueprint 2025', in particular, praises 'a people-oriented, people-centred community' by pursuing the goal to achieve 'a dynamic and harmonious community that is aware and proud of its identity, culture and heritage with the strengthened ability to innovative and proactively contribute to the global community'.

ASEAN timely pledged such goal to envision its regional identity. This is because the region has inherited rich and priceless cultural assets. A diversity of religion, ethnicity and language encompassing Muslim, Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity has enamoured the international audiences to draw attention on each ASEAN member state's culture as well as ASEAN culture as whole. The goal is set now and the means should be sought after. One of the means is the network with 10 ASEAN Dialogue Partners which will encourage and assist ASEAN's creed to reach its goal. Among the partners, the Republic of Korea (ROK) is considered a pioneer to build a constructive relationship in culture with ASEAN. Since 1989, ASEAN and the ROK have maintained a high-level partnership in political-security, economic and socio-cultural communities. The partnership was elevated to the strategic partnership in 2010. Under its supportive relationship, ASEAN-Korea Centre was established in 2009 to promote trade facilitation and investment by highlighting the ASEAN Economic Community. In 2012, the Mission of the Republic of Korea to ASEAN was opened by facilitating the diplomatic ties between the two. On September 1st, ASEAN Culture House will be opened to showcase beautiful ASEAN cultures to the Korean and ASEAN citizens. With these three main ASEAN-supporting organs of ROK, we have conceptualised '3 Shared Futures' with ASEAN, which are Shared Peace, Shared Prosperity and Shared Progress. As culture has been given more attentions in strengthening the soft diplomacy, the ROK proposed ASEAN Culture House to be built in Busan at the ASEAN-ROK 25th Anniversary

Commemorative Summit in 2014. This unique but authentic initiative was welcomed by 10 ASEAN leaders. The rationale behind the ROK's gesture was that understanding each other's culture is a key to mutually prosper. In addition, we have observed long enough that Korean cultures from traditional forms to K-Wave have been actively promoted in ASEAN countries through Korea Culture Centres in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. ASEAN culture has not been widely promoted in Korea. In order to overcome a cultural deficit as well as boost a mutual understanding in cultures, we tiptoed into genuine move to host the culture house in Korean soil. ASEAN Culture House will comprise of 4 storeys with 2 basements. The deck of the building is being built with Kumea, the Indonesian timber and the roof design is inspired by Indonesian traditional house. It will be also equipped with modern technologies such as virtual reality. In line with that, Korea initiated 'Digitalisation of ASEAN UNESCO heritages' to virtualise the images of ASEAN UNESCO heritage sites.

Each ASEAN member will be also given its own space to showcase its decent and authentic art and culture to the Korean and ASEAN citizens. To complete the culture house with diverse cultural assets of ASEAN, we have worked closely with each country to procure the artefacts. In the case of Indonesia, we have discussed to organise the country space with diverse woodworks in architecture, gravestone and furniture as well as Garuda. We also have a grand plan to organise a special inaugural exhibition entitled with 'Celebrating the beauty of Marriage – ASEAN seen through wedding traditions and cultures'. The theme was chosen to symbolise the House as a marriage in culture between ASEAN and Korea. I believe ASEAN Culture House will be a pioneer to provide a platform to connect the two different cultures. It will also channel ASEAN-ROK artists' communities. This is rather ambitious but I strongly envision that the ASEAN Culture House will definitely bring the seed to bloom ASEAN and the ROK cultures in every form in which it will engage all people in the region to understand and empathise each other better and more to realise a truly peaceful and secure region. This year is culturally watershed as it celebrates jubilee of ASEAN as well as ASEAN-ROK Cultural Exchange year of 2017. There are plentiful events from 'International Conference on ASEAN-Korea Partnership' to the future leaders' conference. I believe the culture house will be a beautiful lighthouse to guide people to learn its own

and other cultures better in which it will lead to enlighten the region's sustainable vision”⁵⁸.

The Ambassador here points out the significance of cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea. The existence of Korea Culture Houses in some ASEAN member countries is seen a positive step to enable the relations to deepen among people but he says ASEAN Culture House will further enhance the Korean people learn the ASEAN culture closely. It can be argued by reading the speeches of Ambassador that both South Korea and ASEAN are ready and willing to exchange their culture and they are seeing it as a chance and tool to improve the relations. The construction of ASEAN House in Busan can be interpreted as a sign of that South Korea is not only promoting its own culture to ASEAN but also welcoming its partner's culture. This move is argued to be showing South Korea's desire to construct herself as the “benign neighbor” that has no intension of cultural exploitation towards ASEAN. Another point here is that South Korea, different from the traditional western middle powers, have a strong asset: its interesting and attractive culture. This includes Korean language, Korean films and dramas, K-Pop, Korean cuisine, successful Korean esthetic surgery, Korean make-up brands etc. Those are effective tools for South Korea to enter into a region at which she is less known as compared to its near neighbors. In addition to social impacts of these tools, they are also providing a market for South Korea.

⁵⁸ <http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/opinion/26344-s-korea-to-showcase-asean-culture.html>

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this dissertation has been to understand how South Korea had operationalized her middle power state identity shaped her foreign policy agenda considering her relations with Southeast Asia in general and ASEAN in particular. To say it in another way, I have looked at the relationship of South Korea as being a middle power with ASEAN as a regional organization from a constructivist perspective. For this purpose, ASEAN's main institutional communities were closely examined in terms of their coverage, efficiency, and practices considering ASEAN's relations with South Korea as a dialogue partner. From the literature review on, it was tried to be shown that middle power concept is a broad and loosely defined concept of contemporary international politics. Despite its all roughness, it is still a useful discourse to analyze the foreign policies of countries that are neither great powers nor small powers. Following the end of bipolar world order, South Korea, on one hand relaxed with the demise of the Soviet Union thinking it would be the same destiny for the North Korean communist regime and would accelerate the collapse of Kim family at the North, on the other hand, realized the new opportunities may come within this new globalized and multipolar world order.

The first important policy vision came with the introduction of "globalization" policy by the Kim Young-sam government in 1994. The core purpose of the globalization policy was to get rid of South-North conflict's limitations and to decrease the ongoing reliance on the USA, and be part of the advanced countries' club. The objective capabilities of South Korea by the early 1990s were thought, it was surely a middle power, but it didn't have the aspiration mostly the political leadership to be able to exercise a greater

international role. Here I interpret it as the difference between middle power and middle power identity and/or middle power diplomacy. What I mean by difference is that by looking at the concrete parameters such as GDP, population, military expenditures, and economic well-being it seems enough to label a country as a middle power. However, if the country isn't willing to show its capabilities and desire to play a bigger role than it already is playing, this means it is not fulfilling the necessities of middle power identity and or middle power diplomacy. In the literature part, it was mentioned that middle powers have some certain roles that they apply in their foreign policy interactions. Those are balancing, bandwagoning, and neutrality as realism based options, niche diplomacy, coalition building, and mediator as liberalism based options, and usage of soft power, identity construction, bridge role, norm sharing and norm diffusor as constructivism based options.

After Kim Young-sam government, Kim Dae-jung and Roh Mu-hyun governments also continued to be part of the goal of a more active Korean role both at regional and global level. The turning point is considered the term of the CEO leader. The President Lee Myung-bak came with the "Global Korea" vision and perceived the enhancement of the global role of Korea as central to his team's foreign policy objectives. The hosting of G20 summit by South Korea as the first non-G8 state had been viewed as a success, in the words of President Lee, having "hit the road towards a bigger global role as an advanced nation" (President Lee quoted by *Yonhap News Agency*, January 11, 2011). Lee Myung-bak had come to power after then years of progressive (usually also called as liberals) governments that are one of the two main wings of South Korean politics beside conservatives. During those progressive governments, the priority was given to North Korean relations and normalization on the peninsula. Moreover, the normalization process was believed to be reached by increasing economic cooperation and dialogue with North Korea regime so that it would eventually lead to political trust and political intension. As mentioned in the South Korean foreign policy chapter, the difference between progressives and conservatives in South Korean politics mainly result from their attitude toward North Korea. Progressives approach the matter with a more soft tone; however,

conservatives believe in a more harsh style to be more effective. Although the last President Park Geun-hye showed a lower degree of enthusiasm emphasizing the middle power identity of South Korea, there is the fact that middle power identity is embraced by all governments since the 1990s. The explicit usage of it may change from administration to administration surely, but it is also depended on the regional dynamics and international context and developments.

As a shrimp between whales, South Korea has usually been stuck in the peninsula's divided situation and its bringing security oriented foreign policy agenda. The unproblematic and friendly neighboring region, the Southeast Asia, seemed to be a fruitful environment to increase South Korea's ambitions on the way of showing its middle power capabilities so that more visible on the international stage. This is also not independent from the other two Northeast Asia neighbors' situation. The rise of China is reflected as the "China threat" in the previous chapters. The ongoing sovereignty and jurisdiction claims of China over South China Sea is the most dangerous threat for ASEAN. In addition to China, Japan is also standing there with a problematic and aggressive past which increased the fears of ASEAN due to Abe's nationalistic discourse. Therefore, South Korea is perceived as a benign, baggage free Northeast neighbor from the ASEAN perspective.

When the South Korea – ASEAN relations are considered, as mentioned in the introduction, the issue areas were decided in line with the main communities of ASEAN: political and security issues, economic issues, and socio-cultural issues. Under the political and security community, there are three main conflict areas. The first one is the South China Sea dispute. The sovereignty claims of China and members of ASEAN namely, Vietnam, Brunei, and Laos over the Spratly Islands is standing a challenging phenomenon for the ASEAN. The rise of China firstly in economic terms and secondly in military terms creating concerns in the Southeast Asia and in ASEAN regarding the possibility of a direct clash over South China Sea. One one hand there is China as the rising power of Asia which fears ASEAN most, on the other hand there is the USA tries to keep its position in the Asia-Pacific and balance China. This equation seems to be

pushing South Korea to clearly show its side; however, South Korea tries to keep a neutral position on this issue as much as possible. South Korea is not trying to balance China while standing with the USA because China in economic term is what the USA in military term is for Korea. This behavior of Korea shows one of the six principles of Korean middle power diplomacy as mentioned at Chun's work which is trying to decrease tension and mistrust among great powers and contribute to the stability and peace of the region.

Another problematic issue is the North Korean regime. North Korea has been a participant in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), which comprises 27 members, since 2000. In 2008, North Korea acceded to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC), the milestone treaty for ASEAN's external relations. Since ASEAN Regional Forum is the platform for its members to talk about the security matters, South Korea can use it as a neutral dialogue zone to have chance of meeting North Korean representatives. The North Korean regime, more precisely their nuclear and missile tests, constitutes the real threat firstly for South Korea but also for the whole Asia region. Aware of it, ASEAN tries to be a mediator in this context. Surin Pitsuwan, a Thai foreign minister and also former secretary general of ASEAN, expressed his ideas on the issue as follows: I would like to see the appointment of an ASEAN Regional Forum special envoy on the Korean Peninsula. ASEAN has urged the North Korea due to its nuclear missile tests at organizational level through its declarations accepted at the end of annual summits. It was also mentioned in the previous chapter that South Korea is seeking for new allies other than the USA to deal with North Korea. So ASEAN is seen as a beneficial ally at this point. This idea has its arguments surely. Some ASEAN members have close historical, economic and military ties with North Korea. Myanmar and Vietnam are the two of those countries. South Korean governments have tried to keep its relations good with those states at the bilateral level so that it might be another possible way of reaching North Korean regime. This shows that South Korea is trying to make a cooperative network as part of its middle power diplomacy.

The last issue is the human rights. Myanmar and Cambodia have been heavily criticized due to their human rights violations for years. In these two countries, opposition have been

suppressed and there are various human rights violations including journalists, politicians, and many other groups. South Korea has not been involved and hasn't given any statement regarding the issue. In a way, it acts like there isn't such a problem in those countries.

Under the Economic Community part I have looked several issues. The main issues have been the economic relations and Free Trade Agreements (FTAs), Official Development Assistance (ODAs), environmental cooperation. The economic relations, on the other hand, are more dynamic and showing continuous growth. The ASEAN and South Korea represent a profitable market for each other since decades. The AKFTA, in addition to bilateral FTAs of South Korea with single ASEAN member states, takes attention in terms of its volume. ASEAN's trade with the ROK has increased from to RM153.5 billion in 2004 to RM 396.7 billion in 2011 and for 2012, ASEAN and South Korea recorded total trade of RM417.9 billion and South Korea, with a GDP per capita of RM103,355 represents an important market for ASEAN's exports⁵⁹. In 2005, ASEAN and Korea signed the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation (Framework Agreement), and subsequently, signed four (4) more agreements that form the legal instruments for establishing the ASEAN-Korea Free Trade Area (AKFTA)⁶⁰.

In addition to FTAs, Official Development Assistant (ODAs) is another tool of South Korea to use in her relations with ASEAN. ODAs can be categorized under two main headings. The first group of activities is covering the construction of infrastructures like road, dam, and sewage system. The second group is to advocate capacity building in the fields of education, health and rural development. Developing countries of ASEAN are taking South Korea as an advanced nation in terms of economic parameters and seeing it as a role model who doesn't have a historical conflict within the region and perceived as a benign Northeast neighbor. ODA is the one of the most strong policy tools of South Korea in deepening and enhancing the cooperation with ASEAN via peaceful, non-hegemonic, and non-exploitive manner.

⁵⁹ <http://www.miti.gov.my/index.php/pages/view/972>

⁶⁰ <http://akfta.asean.org/uploads/docs/AKFTA-factsheet-2011.pdf>

The socio-cultural community is also a successful area of partnership, cooperation, mutual understanding, and exchanging cultures of two actors. The bilateral exchanges of experts, groups, media representatives, festivals provide a cooperative context for relations. There are many platforms for South Korea and ASEAN to deepen their cooperation in this field. The first can be the ASEAN-Korea Centre. This centre has organized numerous events, exchange programs, youth festivals, expert groups meeting etc. to provide a base that each actor would know and learn from those interactions.

Disaster management is another area of good relations. On disaster management, the ASEAN Leaders encouraged South Korea to consider providing technological support to the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre). Moreover, the ASEAN Post Ministerial Conference 10+1 Session with South Korea on 1 July 2013 noted the successful convening of ARF DiREX 2013 and 2nd Asia-Pacific Water Summit, which provide important opportunities to enhance the capabilities of ASEAN and South Korea in the area of disaster and water management capabilities. This is again showing the intention of South Korea using its technical expertise considering its relation with ASEAN to deepen the ties.

As a result of the analyses of the selected region covering the relations with South Korea, it has been concluded that South Korea has been following a pattern of low politics foreign policy towards ASEAN. The main motivation is based on having economic interest oriented and mutually respecting and appreciating socio-cultural relations. According to region's characteristics and in line with the issue areas, South Korea shapes her foreign policy agenda and pattern. When South Korea has none or less political tension such as territorial disputes with a region like Southeast Asia and if the region is willing to take her as role model then Korea acts more like a role model in terms of economic development, socio-cultural relations and agenda setter in the solution of environmental, technical assistance, and humanitarian aid areas. It should be noted also that North Korea regime is seriously a big obstacle in front of South Korean governments to be able to play a greater role. Unfortunately, this security concern is limiting the policy options of South Korea as a middle power.

Here it is beneficial to mention and remind that it is not realistic to come to a definite and universal middle power behavior or pattern. Middle powers follow a changing and dynamic route through changing conditions of the time, international structure and international politics. To add, one theoretical framework can't explain the every action and engagement of a middle power, however, as seen in the case of South Korea it shows herself as a dedicated middle power willing to play a bridge role between herself and developing ASEAN nations in terms of economic and socio-cultural matters. Moreover, South Korea doesn't show any economic exploitation and cultural hegemonic behaviors which is welcomed by ASEAN. In security issues, South Korea defines herself a close cooperative partner but at the same time a peaceful-solution seeker in regional conflicts. In this study, it has been analyzed that South Korea-ASEAN relations show us a constructivist middle power diplomacy characters and if other international organization and/or state relations of South Korea is analyzed, it could be possible to come to a general picture of South Korea's middle power diplomacy by comparing those results. This would be the subject of further studies.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY

Bir Orta Güç Olarak Güney Kore: Güney Kore – ASEAN İlişkileri Örneği

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı Kore Cumhuriyeti'nin (buradan sonra Güney Kore olarak kullanılacaktır) orta güç kimliğini nasıl inşa ettiğini anlamak ve bu bağlamda bir orta güç olarak, bölgesel bir örgüt olan Güneydoğu Asya Ülkeleri Birliği (buradan sonra ASEAN olarak kısaltması kullanılacaktır) ile ilişkilerini analiz etmektir. Bu analiz inşacı yaklaşım çerçevesinde yapılacaktır. Güney Kore, literatürde kendilerine orta ölçekli güç tanımı yapılan devletlerden farklı olarak kendini de bu şekilde tanımlamakta ve hatta bizzat kendisi bu tanımı devlet olarak inşa etmiştir. İnşacılık uluslararası ilişkiler disiplininin temel yaklaşımlarından biridir.

Bölümlerin Özeti

Bu tez toplam 5 kısımdan oluşmaktadır. Birinci kısım olan giriş bölümünde, Güney Kore'nin özellikle Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde Kuzeydoğu Asya coğrafyasında ekonomisiyle ve kültürel yapısıyla dikkat çekmeye başlayan ve parlayan bir güç olmasından, uluslararası politikada daha etkin bir rol oynama isteğinden ve isteğini bir orta güç kimliği bağlamında gerçekleştirmeye çalışmasından bahsedilmektedir.

İkinci bölüm olan literatür taraması kısmı, tezin kavramsal çerçevesini oluşturan “orta güç” söyleminin uluslararası ilişkiler literatüründe ilk olarak ne zaman ve hangi bağlamda ortaya çıktığı ile başlamaktadır. Literatürde bu kavramı ortaya koyan ve farklı şekillerde yorumlayan ve tanımlayan temel eserlerden bahsedilmektedir. Buna bağlı olarak, orta ölçekli güç kavramının analitik çerçevesi ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır. Orta güç kavramı üzerine yazılmış en temel yapıtlar şüphesiz Holmes, Holbraad ve Wood'un çalışmalarıdır. Orta ölçekli güç kavramına dair şimdiye kadar ortaya konan eserler ve tanımlamaları üç

ana başlık altında toplamak mümkündür. Bunlar realism temelli orta güç teorileri, liberalism temelli orta güç teorileri ve yapısalcılık temelli orta güç teorileridir.

Üçüncü bölümde Güney Kore'nin Kore Savaşı'ndan itibaren izlediği dış politika genel bir çerçevede ele alınmıştır. Bu inceleme hükümetler bazında yapılmış olup değişen hükümetlerle birlikte Güney Kore'nin dış politika gündemindeki ve yapısındaki değişiklikler ve dönüşümler anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Dördüncü bölümde ise Güney Kore'nin "orta güç" kimliğini bölgenin temel aktörlerinden olan ASEAN ile ilişkilerinde ne şekilde kullandığı, hangi alanlarda nasıl stratejiler izlediği, hangi konu başlıklarında ne şekilde bir tutum sergilediği analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Son bölüm olan sonuç kısmında, Güney Kore'nin Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde değişen dönüşen dış politika yapısı, öncelikleri, algıları ışığında ASEAN ile olan ilişkisinin "orta güç" ve orta güç kimliği bağlamında ne şekilde görülmekte olduğu anlatılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu analiz esas olarak, ASEAN örgütünün temel organları üzerinden yapılmıştır. Daha açık bir ifade ile anlatmak gerekirse ASEAN 3 ana birimden oluşmaktadır. Birinci birim siyasi – güvenlik topluluğudur. İkinci birim ekonomik topluluğudur. Üçüncü birim ise sosyo – kültürel topluluğudur. Bu üç sütunlu yapı ASEAN Topluluğu (ASEAN Community)'nu oluşturmuştur.

Kuzeydoğu Asya'ya Genel Bir Bakış

Kuzeydoğu Asya dediğimiz coğrafya literatürde de ana hatlarıyla Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti, Kore Cumhuriyeti ve Japonya'yı içine alan kuşak için kullanılır. Bu çalışmada da Kuzeydoğu Asya ile kastedilen bu üç ülkedir. Güney Kore, tarihsel olarak çoğunlukla iki büyük güç arasında sıkışıp kalmış bir ülkedir. Batı komşusu Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti, ki kendisini "orta krallık" olarak da tanımlar ki bu ifade Çin'in kendini dünyanın merkezinde gördüğünün ifade edilişidir, uzun yüzyıllar boyunca Kore yarımadasını etkisi altında tutmuştur. Eklemek gerekir ki bu durum sadece Kore yarımadası için değil de daha geniş bir coğrafya için de aynı şekildedir. Doğu komşusu olan Japonya ise 1910 yılında Japonya ve Kore arasından imzalanan anlaşmaya dayanarak Kore Yarımadasını 1945 yılına kadar

işgal altından tutmuştur. Bu işgale zemin hazırlayan ise 1905 yılında Japonya ve Kore arasında imzalanan Kore'yi Japonya'nın idaresi altına sokan anlaşma olmuştur. Japonya'nın yaklaşık 35 yıl süren Kore yarımadasındaki varlığı ve bu süre zarfında meydana gelen kimi üzücü ve travmatik olaylar iki ülke arasında halen devam etmekte olan sorunlara yol açmıştır. Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin de kuruluşundan itibaren Kuzey Kore rejimine olan desteği ve uluslararası platformda her daim koruyucu bir rol üstlenmesi Güney Kore açısından olumlu karşılanmamaktadır. Genel olarak bakıldığında ortaya çıkan tablo her ne kadar fazla olumsuz görünse de, özellikle Çin'in kapılarını 1979'da dış dünyaya açmasıyla birlikte bölgede bütün dikkatleri üzerine çeken – özellikle ekonomik anlamda – bir patlama yaşanmıştır. Bu enerji ilk etapta Çin, Kore ve Japonya arasındaki ekonomik ilişkilerin artmasına ve yoğunlaşmasına katkı sağlamıştır. Japonya, sanayileşmesini İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan önce tamamlayan gelişmiş bir ülke olarak özellikle Kore'ye gelişme modeli olma noktasında örnek teşkil etmiştir. Bu üç ülke arasındaki ticaret hacmi dünyanın en hareketli ve yoğun alanlarından birini teşkil etmekte olup birbirleri arasında kolaylıkla vazgeçilemeyecek bağımlılıklar yaratmıştır.

Güney Kore'nin Siyasi Geçmişi

Kore Cumhuriyeti, uzun yıllar süren Japon işgalinden sonra İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın da getirdiği yıkımın ardından kurulmuş bir cumhuriyettir. Sovyetler Birliği'nin Postdam Konferansı'nda (Temmuz – Ağustos 1945) savaşın Uzakdoğu ayağına katılma kararı alınmasıyla Kore Yarımadası 38. Enlemden ikiye bölünmüş; ve kuzeyde kalan topraklar Sovyet askeri hareket alanı, güneyde kalan topraklar ise Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin askeri hareket alanı olarak belirlenmişti. Bu gelişmeyle birlikte Kore yarımadası, Almanya'nın yaşadığı kaderi yaşamak durumunda kalmış ve Uzakdoğu coğrafyasının Almanya'sı olmuştur. 38. Enlemden bölünmenin ardından, iki ayrı kısımda da seçimler yapılmış ve 10 Mayıs 1948'de Syngman Rhee önderliğinde Güney Kore hükümeti kurulmuştur. Öte yandan, Sovyetler Birliği buna tepki olarak bir seçim düzenlediğini belirtip 9 Eylül 1948'de Kore Demokratik Halk Cumhuriyeti'ni (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) ilan etti. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Çin ve Sovyetler Birliği arasındaki gerilim 7 Ekim 1950'de savaşa dönüştü ve 27 Temmuz 1953'te imzalanan ateşkes anlaşması ile yarımadada kısmen barış hakim olmuş oldu. Burada savaşın

nedenleri, aşamaları ve dahil olan büyük güçler açısından nasıl bir anlam ifade ettiği noktalarına girilmeyecektir. Bu farklı bir çalışmanın konusu olabilecek kadar detaylı bir mevzuudur ve buradaki amaç sadece Güney Kore'nin kısa bir tarihsel sürecini aktarmaktır. Daha fazla önem verilmek istenen nokta, Güney Kore'nin büyük bir yıkımın ardından kurulmuş olmasına rağmen kısa süre içinde özellikle ekonomik açıdan kendini toparlaması ve Kore Savaşı'ndan yarım asır sonra 2000'li yıllarda kendini uluslararası sistemde kayde değer noktalara taşımış olmasıdır.

Soğuk Savaş Dönemi Güney Kore Hükümetleri

Park Chung-Hee Başkanlık Dönemi

Park Chung-hee yaptığı askeri darbe ile iktidarı ele geçirmiş ve uzun yıllar boyunca Güney Kore'nin devlet başkanlığı görevini yürütmüştür. Başkan Park dönemi Kore siyasi hayatı içerisinde iki noktada önem arz etmektedir. Bu noktalardan birinci ekonomik büyüme ve kalkınmadır. Park döneminde bazı alanlar öncelikli olarak gündeme alınmıştır ve bu alanlarda devlet desteğiyle sanayileşme çabaları gösterilmiştir. Petro-kimya, elektronik ve telekomünikasyon, gemi yapımı ve savunma sanayii alanları bahsedilen öncelikli alanlardandır. Bugün Güney Kore'de, bazı noktalarda eleştirilmekle birlikte, Park dönemi ekonomiye yaptığı katkı nedeniyle toplumun her kesimi tarafından takdirle anılmaktadır. Güney Kore'yi savaştan sonra bulunduğu zor ve olumsuz koşullardan alıp bugünkü noktaya taşımasında Park'ın ciddi bir emeği olmuştur. Fakat bu olumlu algının yanında bir de yoğun eleştiri alan bir konu vardır. Bu da Park döneminin oldukça otoriter bir görünümde olması ve birçok öğrenci hareketinin ve eyleminin kanlı bir şekilde bastırılmasıdır.

Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Güney Kore Hükümetleri

Kim Young-sam Başkanlık Dönemi (1993-1998)

1994 Kasım'ında açıkladığı "Segyewha" (Türkçeye küreselleşme veya globalleşme olarak çevrilebilir) politikası ile Güney Kore'nin dışa açılımına dair ilk kapsamlı planı ortaya koymuştur. Bu plan, Güney Kore'nin daha aktif bir uluslararası rol oynama isteğinin ilk kez açıkça ifade edilmesi açısından önem arz etmektedir. Başkan Kim'in ardından Dışişleri Bakanı Han Sung-joo bu yeni diplomasi programının temel taşlarını şu

şekilde sıralamıştır: küreselleşme, çeşitlendirme, çok yönlülük, bölgesel işbirliği ve geleceğe odaklılık. Bu söylemin Güney Kore'nin yarımadadan çıkıp dünyaya daha fazla dahil olma arzusunun ilk adımı olduğu iddia edilebilir.

Kim Dae-jung Başkanlık Dönemi (1998-2003)

Kim Dae-jung dönemi denildiğinde ilk akla gelen nokta Güneşli Politikası (Sunshine Policy)'dir. Bu politikanın temelinde Kuzey Kore ile ilişkileri daha yumuşak bir zeminde yürütme motivasyonu vardır. Bu doğrultuda Kuzey Kore'yi çevreleme politikasının gevşetilmesi, Kuzey Kore'yi kucaklamak ve nihai olarak da Kuzey Kore hükümetinin nükleer çalışmalarına son vermesini sağlamak amaçlanmıştır. Güneşli Politikasının en önemli yanlarından biri de zamanlamasıdır. Başkan Kim bu politikayı Kuzey Kore'ye karşı duyulan öfkenin ve toplumdaki daha sert politikalar izlenmesi gerektiğini savunanların en yoğun olduğu dönemlerden birinde halka sunmuştur.

Roh Moo-hyun Başkanlık Dönemi (2003-2008)

Güney Kore'nin 16. Devlet Başkanı olan ve ünlü bir insan hakları savunucusu ve avukat olan Başkan Roh dönemi de ilginç gelişmelerin yaşandığı bir dönem olmuştur. Kim Young-sam'ın aksine Kim Dae-jung ve Roh Moo-hyun biraz daha bölgesel ilişkilere ve Kore yarımadasına odaklanmışlardır. Roh Moo-hyun 2005 yılında Güney Kore'nin "bölgesel dengeleyici" (regional balancer) olacağından bahsetmiş ve bu kavram Roh Doktrinini veya "Dengeleme Girişimi" (Balancer Initiative) olarak siyasi literatüre geçmiştir.

Lee Myung-bak Başkanlık Dönemi (2008-2013)

Başkan Lee Güney Kore'de CEO Başkan olarak anılmaktadır. Bu ifadenin nedeni kendisinin devlet başkanı olmadan önce Samsung Grubu'nda üst düzey bir görevde bulunmuş olmasıdır. Lee Myung-bak dönemi esasen Güney Kore siyasetinde ve dış politikasında bir paradigma değişikliğinin yaşandığı dönemdir. Bu değişiklik "Global Korea" stratejisi ile birlikte gelmiştir.

Park Geun-hye Başkanlık Dönemi (2013-2017)

Park Geun-hye Güney Kore'nin 11. Devlet Başkanı olup 2013 yılında göreve gelmiştir. Muhafazakar kesimin adayı olmasının yanı sıra Kore siyasetine yön vermiş efsanevi

başkan Park Chung-Hee'nin de kızı olması kendisini Kore siyasetinde ilginç bir noktaya getirmiştir.

Fakat 2016 yılı sonlarına doğru ortaya çıkan yolsuzluk ve devlet sırlarını ifşa etmek suçlamalarıyla kendisi Anayasa Mahkemesi tarafından görevinden alınmıştır. Halen cezaevinde bulunan eski başkan Park'ın yargı süreci devam etmektedir.

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asia Nations)

ASEAN'ın kuruluşu Endonezya, Filipinler, Malezya, Singapur ve Tayland Dışişleri Bakanlarının 8 Ağustos 1967'de Bangkok'ta imzaladıkları beş maddelik bildirgeye dayanmaktadır. Bu başlangıç metninde ASEAN'ın kuruluş amaçları ifade edilmektedir. Bu amaçlar; kültürel, ekonomik, teknik, sosyal, eğitim ve diğer alanlarda işbirliği gerçekleştirilmesi ile adalet kavramına, hukuka ve Birleşmiş Milletler ilkelerine saygı çerçevesinde bölgesel barış ve istikrarın tahsis edilmesi olarak belirlenmiştir.

ASEAN'ın kuruluş yıllarında ön planda olan çatışmaların durdurulması ve siyasi istikrarın sağlanması gibi hususlar, Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde yerini ekonomik işbirliğinin geliştirilmesine yönelik çabalara bırakmıştır.

1976'da imzalanan Dostluk ve İşbirliği Anlaşması (Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia) ve 1995'te imzalanan Güneydoğu Asya Nükleer Silahlardan Arındırılmış Bölge Anlaşması (Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone- SEANWFZ) ASEAN'ı yasal açıdan da bağlayıcılığı olan bir örgüte dönüştürmüştür.

2005 yılı Aralık ayında Kuala Lumpur'da düzenlenen 11. ASEAN Zirvesi, Örgütün gelişiminde önemli bir aşama teşkil etmiştir. Zirve sırasında, ASEAN'ın hedef ve amaçlarına ulaşılabilmesi için yasal ve kurumsal bir çerçeve sunan "ASEAN Şartı (ASEAN Charter) Hazırlanmasına Yönelik Kuala Lumpur Deklarasyonu" imzalanmış ve "ASEAN Güvenlik Topluluğu", "ASEAN Ekonomik Topluluğu" ile "ASEAN Sosyo-Kültürel Topluluğu" şeklinde üç sütuna dayanan "ASEAN Topluluğu (ASEAN Community)"nin kurulması kararlaştırılmıştır.

2014 Kasım ayında Myanmar'da düzenlenen 25. ASEAN Zirvesi sonucunda önemli bir adım atılmıştır. Bu adım 2015 Sonrası ASEAN Topluluğu Vizyonu'nun temel unsurlarının belirlenmiş olmasıdır.

-ASEAN Siyasi-Güvenlik Topluluğu,

- ASEAN'ın Temel İlkelerine Bağlı Kalma,
- Barış, Güvenlik ve İstikrarın Sürdürülmesi ve Arttırılması,
- ASEAN'ın Dış İlişkilerinin Derinleştirilmesi ve Genişletilmesi,
- ASEAN Ekonomik Topluluğu,
- ASEAN-Sosyo-Ekonomik Topluluğu bu unsurları teşkil etmektedir.

Ayrıca, 2015 Nisan ayında Malezya’da düzenlenen ASEAN Zirvesi sonucunda;

- “İnsan Odaklı ve İnsan Merkezli ASEAN Kuala Lumpur Bildirisi”,
- “Küresel Ilımlılar Hareketi Langkawi Bildirisi”,
- “Afetler ve İklim Değişikliğine karşı ASEAN, ASEAN Toplulukları ve İnsanlarının Direncinin Kurumsallaştırılması ASEAN Bildirisi” kabul edilmiştir⁶¹.

Yine aynı zirve esnasında ASEAN Topluluğunun teşkili, 2015 sonrası ASEAN Vizyonu, Güney Çin Denizi üzerindeki hak iddiaları, “Küresel Ilımlılık Hareketi” ve aşırılık ve terörizm ile mücadele konuları da ele alınmış olup bu hususlara dikkat çekilmiştir.

Kuala Lumpur’da 21-22 Kasım 2015 tarihlerinde gerçekleştirilen 27. ASEAN Liderler Zirvesinde Kuala Lumpur bildirisi yayınlanmıştır. Bu bildiriye en önemli nokta ASEAN Ekonomik Topluluğunun (AEC) 1 Ocak 2016 tarihinden itibaren kurulacak olmasını belirtmesidir. Bu Topluluğun kurulması daha açık bir ifade ile 625 milyonluk bir coğrafyanın tek ve merkezi bir Pazar ve üretim üssü haline gelmesini mümkün kılması anlamına gelmektedir. Bu örgütün tarihi açısından son derece kritik öneme sahip bir gelişmedir.

AEC’nin hayata geçirilmesiyle beraber bölge içinde ciddi bir ekonomik hareketlilik beklenmektedir. Bu beklenti büyük ölçüde mal ve hizmetlerin serbest dolaşımı ve buna bağlı olarak da üretim maliyetlerinin ve hammadde fiyatlarının önemli ölçüde azalması mantığına dayanmaktadır. Ayrıca ASEAN bölgesinde üretilen ürünlerin yüzde 70’inden fazlasında gümrük vergisinin kaldırılması hedeflenmektedir. Henüz bu hedefe tamamen ulaşıldığını söylemek mümkün olmasa da tarife dışı engelleri kaldırmak için üye devletler çaba sarfetmeye devam etmektedirler. AEC kapsamındaki beklentilerden bir diğeri de

⁶¹ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/guneydogu-asya-ulkeleri-birligi.tr.mfa>

büyümedir. Daha fazla serbestleştirme ve entegrasyonu hedefleyen AEC kapsamında ASEAN GSYH'sının 2025'e kadar %7 oranında büyümesi hedeflenmektedir⁶².

Aynı Zirvede, müzakereleri Ekim 2015'te tamamlanan Trans-Pasifik Ortaklık Anlaşmasının (TPP) yanısıra bölgesel entegrasyona katkı sağlayacak bir diğer girişim olan Bölgesel Kapsamlı Ekonomik Ortaklık (RCEP) müzakerelerinin de 2016 yılında sonuçlandırılması teşvik edilmiştir. RCEP de ASEAN'ın oldukça önem verdiği bir oluşumdur.

ASEAN'ın önemli bileşenlerinden bir tanesi de ASEAN+3 Forumudur. Bu Forum 1997 yılında oluşturulmuştur. ASEAN+3 Forumunun temel fonksiyonu ASEAN ülkeleri ile Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti, Japonya ve Güney Kore arasında bir diyalog zemini oluşturmaktır. Buradan hareketle örgüt ve bu üç önemli Uzakdoğu Asya devletleri arasında siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel işbirliğinin geliştirilmesine yönelik istişareler gerçekleştirilmektedir.

Kuzeydoğu Asya – ASEAN İlişkilerine Genel Bir Bakış

Güney Kore'nin özellikle Lee Myung-bak dönemindeki dışa açılım ve daha aktif bir dış politika izleme isteği, Kore'nin ASEAN örgütüyle olan ilişkilerinde de son derece olumlu yansımalar ortaya koymuştur. Güney Kore'nin ASEAN ile sağlam temelli ve olumlu ilişkiler kurmasında etkili olan bazı bölgesel, ekonomik ve tarihsel faktörler söz konusudur. Bölgesel faktörlerden kasıt öncelikle güvenlik bağlamındaki meselelerdir.

ASEAN için hayati önem taşıyan konulardan biri Güney Çin Denizi ve buradaki adalar üzerinde Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin hak iddia etmesidir. Spratly Adaları olarak bilinen ve irili ufaklı yaklaşık 200 adayı kapsayan bu alanda Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin yanısıra Vietnam, Filipinler ve Laos gibi ASEAN üyesi devletler de egemenlik hakkı iddia etmekte olup; sorunun muhtemel bir çatışmaya dönüşme ihtimali ASEAN'ı tedirgin etmektedir. Buna ek olarak, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin 1979'da kapılarını dış dünyaya açması ile başlayan ekonomik ve siyasi yükselişi de "Çin tehdidi" (China threat) olarak ASEAN'ı ve Güneydoğu Asya bölgesini tedirgin etmektedir.

⁶² Ibid.

Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin ASEAN ile bu şekilde sıkıntılı bir düzlemde olması, her ne kadar ekonomik ilişkiler güçlü görünse de, siyasi ve güvenlik meselelerinde Çin'e dezavantajlı bir durum yaratmaktadır.

Öte yandan, Doğu Asya'nın diğer önemli gücü ve aktörü Japonya'ya baktığımızda Japonya için de durum çok berrak değildir. Japonya'nın İkinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Güneydoğu Asya coğrafyasına yaşattığı olumsuzluklar toplumsal hafızalardan ve siyasi arenadan henüz silinmiş değildir. Buna rağmen Japonya gelişmişlik avantajını kullanarak uzun yıllar boyunca Güneydoğu Asya ülkelerine ekonomik büyümede model ülke olmuş, ekonomik ve ticari ilişkileri geliştirmiş ve kalkınma yardımlarında bulunmuştur. Ekonomik ilişkilerin olumlu seviyede seyretmesi yine de Japonya'nın taşıdığı tarihsel yükünü her daim bir olumsuzluk olarak ilişkilerde hissettirmektedir. Özellikle Japonya'da Abe hükümeti ile yükselen milliyetçilik, Abe'nin Japonya'yı eski güçlü günlerine kavuşturma isteği Kuzeydoğu Asya da olduğu gibi Güneydoğu Asya'da da endişe ile karşılanmıştır. Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin Güney Çin Denizi sorunu, Japonya'nın tarihsel yaklaşımı bu iki ülkeyi ASEAN gözünde şüpheli ve tedirgin edici bir noktada bırakmaktadır.

Bu noktada, ASEAN üye devletleri ile tarihsel hiçbir sorunu olmayan, herhangi bir sömürü geçmişi olmayan ve böyle bir niyet içinde de olmayan Güney Kore gibi orta ölçekli bir gücün ASEAN karşısındaki pozisyonu oldukça avantajlıdır.

Güney Kore – ASEAN İlişkilerinin Kısa Bir Tarihçesi

Güney Kore ve ASEAN Kasım 1989'da sektörel diyalog ilişkisi başlatmıştır. ASEAN'ın 1991 yılının Temmuz ayında Kuala Lumpur'da düzenlediği 24. ASEAN Bakanlar Toplantısı'nda Güney Kore'ye en yüksek "Diyalog Ortağı" statüsü verilmiştir. 1997 yılında, ASEAN – Güney Kore arasındaki işbirliğinin zirve seviyesine yükseltilmesinden bu yana iki aktör arasındaki ilişkiler genişlemiş ve derinleşmiştir. İkili arasındaki ilişki, 2004 yılında düzenlenen 8. ASEAN – Güney Kore Zirvesinde "Kapsamlı İşbirliği Ortaklığı üzerine Ortak Deklarasyon"un (Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Cooperation Partnership) imzalanması ve 2005 yılındaki 9. ASEAN – Güney Kore

Zirvesi'nde Ortak Deklarasyon'u uygulayabilmek için ASEAN – Güney Kore “Aksiyon Planı”nın adapte edilmesi ile yeni bir ivme kazandı.

29 Ekim 2010'da Ha Noi'de düzenlenen 13. ASEAN – Güney Kore Zirvesi'nde diyalog ilişkilerinin “kapsamlı işbirliği”nden “stratejik işbirliği”ne yükseltilmesine karar verilmiştir. Liderler, yükselişin somutlaştırılması için ASEAN – Güney Kore Barış ve Refah için Stratejik Ortaklık ve bunun 2011-2015 dönemini kapsayan Aksiyon Planı üzerine Ortak Bildirge'yi kabul etti. 2016-2020 dönemi için Barış ve Refah için Stratejik Ortaklık Konulu Ortak Bildirge'nin Uygulanmasına Yönelik Yeni bir ASEAN-Güney Kore Eylem Planı, 5 Ağustos 2015'te Malezya'nın Kuala Lumpur kentinde düzenlenen Post-Bakanlar Konferansında kabul edildi.

ASEAN ve Güney Kore arasındaki yakın işbirliği ve karşılıklı anlayışı kolaylaştırmak için Güney Kore Eylül 2012'de Jakarta'daki ASEAN misyonunu kurdu ve Ekim 2012'de ASEAN'a ilk yerleşik Büyükelçisini atadı.

ASEAN ve Güney Kore, ASEAN-Güney Kore Diyalogunun 25. Yılı'nı ASEAN Üye Devletlerinde ve Güney Kore'de düzenlenen anma etkinlikleri düzenleyerek kutladılar. ASEAN - ROK Hatıra Zirvesi 11-12 Aralık 2014 tarihlerinde Busan'da düzenlendi. Bu zirvede ASEAN-Güney Kore Diyalog İlişkilerinin 25.Yıldönümü üzerine ortak bir bildiri Kabul edildi. Bildiride bulunan ASEAN-Güney Kore'nin Stratejik Ortaklık Vizyonu ve Geleceği, "Güven İnşaa edin, Mutluluk Getirin" temasıyla her iki tarafın da ikili ilişkileri daha üst çözümlere taşımaya dair olan taahhütleri yenilenmiş oldu.

İki taraf, siyasi ve güvenlik alanlarındaki işbirliğini mevcut bazı mekanizmalar (örneğin ASEAN-Güney Kore Zirvesi, Bakanlar Toplantısı, ASEAN-Güney Kore Diyalogu, Üst Düzey Bürokratlar Toplantısı gibi) üzerinden düzenli diyalog halinde kalarak güçlendirdi. Bunlara ek olarak, Güney Kore ASEAN'ın liderlik ettiği yapılara da entegre edildi. Bunların başlıcaları ASEAN +3 (APT), Doğu Asya Zirvesi (EAS), ASEAN Bölgesel Forumu (ARF) ve ASEAN Savunma Bakanları Toplantısı'dır. 27 Kasım 2004'te Laos'un başkenti Vientiane'de gerçekleşen ASEAN-Güney Kore Bakanlar Zirvesi'nde, Güney Kore Güneydoğu Asya'da Dostluk ve İşbirliği Anlaşması'nı (Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia) kabul etmiştir.

Güney Kore, 1994 yılında kurulan ASEAN Bölgesel Forumu'na kuruluşundan bu yana katılmakta olup forumun gelişiminde etkin bir rol oynamıştır. 2012 – 2014 yılları arasında, Endonezya ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ile birlikte, ASEAN Bölgesel Forumu Deniz Güvenliği üzerine Dönemler Arası Toplantısı'nın eş başkanlığını üstlenmiştir. Buna ek olarak, 22-25 Eylül 2014'te Seul'de yapılan 18. ASEAN Bölgesel Forumu Savunma Üniversitelerinin/Kolejlerinin/Kurumlarının Başkanları Toplantısına da eş başkanlık etmiştir.

Güney Kore, ASEAN Genişletilmiş Savunma Bakanları Toplantısı'nda öncelik verdiği altı alanda işbirliğini teşvik etmek için aktif bir rol üstlenmiştir. Bu alanlar: insani yardım, afet yardımı, deniz güvenliği, askeri tıp, terörle mücadele, barış gücü operasyonları ve insani mayın eylemleridir. 2014-2017 dönemi boyunca, Güney Kore ASEAN Genişletilmiş Savunma Bakanları Toplantısı Uzmanların Barış Gücü Operasyonları Üzerine Çalışma Grubu'na Kamboçya ile birlikte eş başkanlık yapmıştır.

ASEAN-Güney Kore arasında Uluslararası Terörizmle Mücadelede İşbirliğine Dair Ortak Deklarasyon, ASEAN Dışişleri Bakanları ve Kore Dışişleri Bakanı tarafından Temmuz 2005'te toplanan 38. ASEAN Bakanlar Toplantısı'nda Vientiane'de imzalandı.

ASEAN-Güney Kore Üst Düzey Yetkililerin Danışmanları Uluslararası Suçla Mücadele Üzerine (SOMTC + ROK İstisnaları) ilk defa 9 Haziran 2006'da Bali'de bir araya geldi. Haziran 2015'te 9. SOMTC + ROK Danışma Toplantısında, ASEAN ve Güney Kore, Sınırşan Suçlarla Mücadele ve Engelleme İşbirliği üzerine bir Çalışma Planı oluşturdu. 25 Mayıs 2016'da, Söz konusu Çalışma Planı'nı gözden geçirme kararı aldı. Yeni ASEAN-Güney Kore Eylem Planı 2016-2020 dönemini kapsadı. ASEAN ve Güney Kore anti-narkotik işbirliğine devam edip, Narkotik Suçlarla İlgili Bilgi Aktarımı Programı üzerine altı projenin uygulanmasına 2007'den 2013'e kadar devam ettiler. Projeler, ceza soruşturmasını güçlendirmeyi amaçladı. ASEAN-ROK Hatıra Zirvesi'nde (Aralık 2014), her iki taraf ulusötesi ticaretle mücadelede işbirliğini artırmaya karar verdiler.

Lee Myung-bak dönemindeki dış politika önceliklerinden biri bölgesel işbirliğini arttırmak ve Kore'nin mümkün olduğu kadar çok yönlü bir dış politika izlemesini başarmaktı. Bunu gerçekleştirmek adına en fazla önem verilen bölgelerden biri

Güneydoğu Asya olmuştur. ASEAN-Güney Kore Merkezi'nin 2016 verilerine göre, ASEAN Güney Kore'nin ikinci büyük ticaret ortağıdır (birinci sırada Çin yer almaktadır). Ayrıca ASEAN, doğrudan dış yatırımlar bakımından en fazla yatırımı 12.9 milyar dolarla Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinden alırken, Güney Kore de 5 milyar dolarla ASEAN'ın ikinci en büyük doğrudan dış yatırımcısıdır. Güney Kore ve ASEAN'ın ekonomik göstergeler bağlamında birbirleri için teşkil ettiği önem ortadadır. Güney Kore'nin doğal kaynaklar bakımından fakir bir ülke olması ancak gelişmiş ve büyümeye devam eden sanayi ve ekonomisini de ayakta tutabilmek için bu kaynaklara şiddetle ihtiyaç duyuyor olması Güneydoğu Asya'yı Kore için bir kez daha önemli kılmaktadır. Singapur ve Malakka Boğazları Kore için son derece önem arz etmektedir. Bu boğazların güvenliğinin sağlanması ve sürdürülebilir olması Kore'ye özellikle petrol ve doğalgaz gibi kaynakların sorunsuzca iletilmesi noktasında elzemdir. Bahse konu boğazların güvenliği için 4 Eylül 2006'da yürürlüğe giren "Korsanlıkla Mücadele ve Asyadaki Gemilere Yapılan Silahlı Yağmaya Karşı Bölgesel İşbirliği Anlaşması" (Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia-ReCAAP)'nı Güney Kore de imzalayarak anlaşmaya taraf olmuştur. Güney Kore ile birlikte toplam 20 ülke anlaşmayı imzalamış ve ASEAN üyesi tüm devletler de anlaşmaya taraftır. Bu anlaşmaya katılması, Kore'nin bahsedilen boğazlara ve enerji güvenliğine verdiği önemi göstermektedir.

Güney Kore – ASEAN İlişkileri

ASEAN'ın üç temel sütunu vardır. Bunlar siyasi-güvenlik topluluğu, ekonomi topluluğu ve sosyo-kültürel topluluğudur. Bu tezde ASEAN-Güney Kore ilişkileri incelenirken bu üç birim üzerinden gidilmiştir. Her bir topluluğun odaklandığı konu başlıkları üzerinden iki aktörün arasındaki ilişki analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu analiz Güney Kore'nin kendisini bir orta ölçekli güç olarak tanımlamasından ötürü bu kavramsal çerçeveden yapılmıştır.

Siyasi – Güvenlik Topluluğu ve Meseleler

Siyasi ve güvenlik topluluğu altında karşımıza üç önemli mesele çıkmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki Güney Çin Denizi sorunudur. Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti burada "nine-dash line" olarak ifade ettiği bir yöntemle (Bakınız Figure 3) Spratly Adaları'nı kapsayan ve birçok ASEAN

ülkesinin de rahatsız olduğu bir hak iddiasında bulunmaktadır. Çin en başından beri bunun bir egemenlik meselesi olduğunu belirtmekte ve kendisi için önemini vurgulamaktadır. Hatta problemin daha da derinleşmesine yol açacak bir adım atmıştır. Güney Çin Denizi'nde yapay adalar inşa etmeye başlamıştır ve 2015 yılından bu yana da yoğun bir biçimde bu inşaaata devam etmektedir. Bu da konunun tarafı olan ASEAN üyesi ülkeleri oldukça rahatsız etmekte olup Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin de tepkisini çekmektedir.

İkinci temel siyasi ve güvenlik meselesi ise Kuzey Kore rejimidir. Kuzey Kore'nin özellikle yeni lideri Kim Jong-un'un iktidara gelmesiyle yoğunlaşan nükleer füze denemeleri ve bu yöndeki açıklamaları başta Asya bölgesini olmak üzere tüm dünyayı tedirgin etmektedir. Güney Kore, Kore Savaşı'ndan günümüze değin güvenlik anlamında Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin koruma şemsiyesi altındadır. Kuzey Kore ile yaşanan herhang bir gerilimde gözler ABD'ye çevrilir ve desteği beklenir. Ancak böylesine hayati bir mevzuda sadece ABD'ye bağlı olmak Güney Kore'de gerek liberal çevrelerce gerekse toplum tarafından zaman zaman eleştirilmektedir. Bu eleştiriler de haklı olarak iktidara gelen siyasetçileri yeni destekler bulma arayışına itmektedir. Başkan Lee döneminde ortaya konan "Global Kore" (Global Korea) paradigması da temel olarak bu mantık üzerine dayanmaktadır. Güney Kore'nin kendisine yeni ortaklıklar kurmasını, yeni dostluklar edinmesini, daha küresel bir dış politika izlemesi gerektiğini vurgulayan Lee, bu amaçla Güneydoğu Asya bölgesini iyi bir başlangıç olarak görmüştür. Global Kore kapsamında oluşan Yeni Asya İnisiyatifi "New Asia Initiative" çerçevesinde ilk olarak Endonezya'yı ziyaret etmiş ve ASEAN bölgesi ile ilişkileri geliştirmeyi hedeflediklerini aktarmıştı. Bölge ile geliştirecek olan ilişkiler şüphesiz Kuzey Kore ile olan ilişkileri de etkileyebilecek kapasite idi. Çünkü Kuzey Kore ASEAN Bölgesel Forumu (ASEAN Regional Forum) üyesi olması sebebiyle örgüt üyesi ülkelerle de yakın temas halinde bulunmaktadır. Kuzey Kore'nin dış dünyadan ne denli kopuk halde olduğunu düşünürsek Güney Kore'nin de parçası olduğu ASEAN Bölgesel Forumu'nun tarafları bir araya getirme noktasındaki kritik önemini anlayabiliriz. Güney Kore'nin ASEAN'a önem vermesinin bir başka nedeni de ASEAN'ın Kuzey Kore konusunda kendine destek olabilecek bir aktör olduğuna inanmasıdır. Filipinler haricinde Kuzey Kore diğer ASEAN

ülkelerinde diplomatic misyonlara sahip olduğu için Güney Kore'nin bu beklentisi oldukça kayda değer görünmektedir.

Üçüncü konu başlığı ise insan hakları ihlalleridir. ASEAN üyesi ülkelerden Filipinler, Myanmar ve Kamboçya'da gerek muhalif kesime karşı uygulanan yöntemler ve bunlardan kaynaklanan ihlaller olsun gerekse Filipinler'de Başkan Duterte'nin uyuşturucuya karşı mücadelede izlediği yöntem olsun ciddi bir endişe kaynağıdır. Duterte göreve geldiği Mayıs 2016'dan itibaren uyuşturucuya karşı büyük bir mücadele başlatacağını belirtti; hatta bunu seçim kampanyası döneminde de ifade ediyordu. Resmi olmayan rakamlara göre o günden bugüne dek 7000 civarından insanın öldürüldüğü tahmin ediliyor. Bu operasyonlar hem Filipinler polisi hem de gönüllü kişiler tarafından yürütülüyor. Ancak ilginçtir ki demokrasiye ve insan haklarına azımsanmayacak derecede vurgu yapan Güney Kore siyaseti Güneydoğu Asya'daki bu konulara sessiz kalmayı tercih etmektedir. Bunun birkaç nedeni olabilir. Birinci neden ASEAN anayasasında yer alan ülkelerin içişlerine olan saygı ifadesidir. Güney Kore ASEAN'ın bir diyalog ortağı olarak bu meseleleri iç meseleler olarak görmekte olup herhangi bir eleştiri getirmekten kaçınmaktadır. İkinci sebep ise ekonomi temelli kaygılardır. ASEAN Güney Kore için oldukça önemli bir pazardır. Özellikle Doğrudan Dış Yatırımlar dikkate alındığında küçük ve orta ölçekli 3500 civarında Güney Kore şirketi ASEAN coğrafyasında faaliyet göstermektedir. Oldukça yoğun olan bu ekonomik ilişkileri iç işlerine müdahale ederek riske atmak istememek de Güney Kore'nin sessizliği için ikinci neden olabilir.

Ekonomik Topluluk ve Meseleler

Bu başlık altında üç konu değerlendirilmektedir. Birincisi Doğrudan Dış Yatırımlardır. ASEAN Güney Kore'nin DDY'leri için oldukça verimli bir alandır. Güney Kore ASEAN'a en fazla doğrudan dış yatırım yapan ilk on ülke arasındadır.

İkinci konu Resmi Kalkınma Yardımı'dır. Güney Kore Resmi Kalkınma Yardımı'nı ASEAN ile ilişkilerinde oldukça etkin bir şekilde kullanmaktadır. Bu yardımlar kapsamında teknik uzmanlık ve yardım gereken konularda ASEAN ülkelerinin personel eğitimi, eğitim, sağlık, altyapı ve ulaşım konularında çeşitli destekler örnek olarak verilebilir. ASEAN'ın temel hedefleri arasında olan insan hayatı kalitesini arttırmak ve

refah seviyesini yükseltmek Güney Kore'nin bu yardımlarıyla daha da mümkün hale gelmektedir ki bu durum ASEAN tarafından memnuniyetle karşılanmaktadır. Güney Kore hem Doğrudan Dış Yatırımlar hem de Resmi Kalkınma Yardımları sayesinde kendini “masum (zararsız) Kuzeydoğu komşusu” olarak ASEAN'a göstermeye çalışmaktadır.

Sosyo – Kültürel Topluluk ve Meseleler

Bu kısımda incelenecek birkaç alt başlık vardır. Bunlar Kral Sejong Enstitüleri, Kore'nin yumuşak gücü kapsamında sunduğu bazı öğeler ve ASEAN – Güney Kore Evi'dir.

Asya bölgesinde toplam 68 tane Kral Sejong Enstitüsü vardır. Bunlardan 22 tanesi Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'ndedir. Eğer Çin'i kategori dışında tutarsak, sahip olduğu 17 Kral Sejong Enstitüsü ile ASEAN coğrafyasına Güney Kore tarafından ne kadar önem verildiğini bir kez daha anlayabiliriz. Bu enstitüler aynı zamanda Kore Kültür Merkezleri bünyesinde de faaliyet göstermektedirler. Kore Kültür Merkezleri bünyesinde Asya bölgesinde toplam 11 tane Kral Sejong Enstitüsü bulunmakta ve bunların 4'ü ASEAN üyesi ülkelerdedir. Bu enstitülerde temel olarak Güney Kore'nin dili, tarihi, kültür bileşenleri faaliyet gösterdiği ülke halkına tanıtılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, Güney Kore'nin son yıllarda dikkat çeken başka bir kültür ögesi de K-pop ve Kore dizileridir. Çoğunlukla gençlerin ilgi gösterdiği bir alan olan pop müzik ve diziler de Güney Kore'ye orta ölçekli bir güç olarak sosyo-kültürel alanlarda avantaj sağlamaktadır. Çünkü ülkenin diğer coğrafyalara kendinin ekonomik bir hegemon olmadığını göstermesi noktasında güven inşaa etmesi gerekir; bu ve benzeri kültürel öğeler de insanların zamanla o ülkeye daha sempatik bakmasına, yakın hissetmesine ve güvenmesine imkan sağlayacaktır.

Sosyal meselere arasında değerlendirilecek bir başka konu başlığı ise çevredir. Çevre ve bununla ilgili konular Güney Kore'nin 1990lardan bu yana oldukça aktif olduğu bir alandır. Özellikle Devlet Başkanı Lee Myung-bak döneminde “Düşük Karbon, Yeşil Büyüme” (Low Carbon, Green Growth) söylemi ile çevrenin önemi vurgulanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu adımı da Seul'de Küresel Yeşil Büyüme Enstitüsü'nün (Global Green Growth Institute) 2012 yılında kuruluşu takip etmiştir. Bu enstitü hükümetler arası ve anlaşmaya dayalı bir nitelikte olup; kendini geliştirmekte olan ülkeler ile gelişmeye çalışan ekonomilerin güçlü, kapsayıcı, ve sürdürülebilir ekonomik büyümesine katkı sağlamaya

adamıştır. Bu enstitü yeni bir ekonomik büyüme modeli olan yeşil büyümeye doğru bir geçişi hızlandırmaktadır. Bu büyüme de sosyal kapsayıcılık ve sürdürülebilir çevreye dayanmaktadır. Çevreyi göz ardı eden geleneksel büyüme modellerinden farklı olan Yeşil Büyüme Güney Kore'nin ASEAN özelinde de ilişkilerinin gelişmesine imkan sağlayan bir mekanizmadır.

Güney Kore ve ASEAN arasında imzalanan Asya Orman İşbirliği Örgütü 2012 yılında yürürlüğe girmiştir ve Güney Kore'nin temel olarak ormanlık alanların korunması, geliştirilmesi ve çevre konularında ASEAN'a destek olması gibi hedefleri vardır.

Başka bir konu ise ASEAN Kültür Evi'dir. 1 Eylül 2017'de Güney Kore'nin Busan şehrinde hizmete açılan bu yapı ASEAN kültürünü Güney Kore halkına tanıtmayı amaçlamaktadır. ASEAN bölgesi dışında bu kadar büyük ve kapsamlı olarak inşa edilen ilk yapı olması nedeniyle de ayrıca önemli olan bu ev ASEAN ve Güney Kore arasındaki dostane ilişkilerin bir sembolü olmuştur.

Sonuç

Uzakdoğu coğrafyasının yükselen yıldızı olan Güney Kore, ekonomik gelişmişliğini özellikle Soğuk Savaş'ın bitiminden sonra, aktif bir uluslararası rol ile taçlandırmak istemektedir. Uzun yıllar kendini “balinaların arasında sıkışıp kalmış bir karides” olarak tanımlayan bu görece küçük Uzakdoğu devleti 1990'lardan itibaren kendine yeni bir kimlik inşa etme çabasına girmiştir. Bu kimlik orta ölçekli güç bağlamında şekillenmiştir. Güney Kore, literatürdeki birçok orta ölçekli güçten farklı olarak, hem akademik çevrelerden orta ölçekli güç etiketi almıştır hem de kendisini bu şekilde tanımlamaktadır. Başka bir ifade ile, Güney Kore siyasi liderleri ve politika yapıcılar 1990lardan itibaren orta ölçekli güç kimliğini benimsemişler ve bu doğrultuda dış politikalarını şekillendirmişlerdir. Güney Kore'nin daha aktif bir rol oynama çabasının ardında Kore yarımadasının güvenlik çıkmazından kurtulma isteği de önemli bir yer teşkil etmiştir. Çünkü Kore Savaşı sonrası harabeye dönen ülke uyguladığı ekonomik politikalarla birlikte 1990lara gelindiğinde sanayileşmiş ve gelişmiş bir Pazar ekonomisi haline dönüşmüştü. Bununla birlikte sadece Kore yarımadasındaki düşman kardeş Kuzey Kore ile kısır bir ilişki sarmalı halinde yaşamaktansa dışa açılmak ve uluslararası alanda daha görünür olmak istemiştir. Kendine uluslararası politikada daha aktif bir rol oynama

misyonu çizmiş ve devlet kimliğini bu doğrultuda inşa etmiştir. İlk kez 1991 yılında Başkan Roh Tae-woo tarafından kullanılan orta ölçekli güç kimliği o günden bugüne Güney Kore dış politikasına yön veren bir kavramsal çerçeve olmuştur. Devlet Başkanı Roh Moo-hyun 2005 yılında kullandığı “bölgesel dengeleyici” ifadesi ne siyasi çevrelerce ne de halk nezdinde sıcak karşılanmamıştır. Ancak asıl paradigim değişiminin Başkan Lee Myung-bak dönemiyle başladığı iddia edilebilir. Global Kore programıyla göreve başlayan Lee, Güney Kore’nin olduğu pozisyonun dışına çıkmasını ve daha aktif bir rol oynaması gerektiğini belirtmişti. Aynı zamanda Güney Kore’yi gelişme stratejisi bakımından da gelişmekte olan ülkelere sağlayacakları destekle birlikte bir köprü olarak gördüklerini vurgulamıştı. Bu bağlamda ekonomik kalkınma, uluslararası işbirliği ve çevre konularında işbirliği yapılması temel amaçlar arasında yer almıştır. Başkan Lee’nin ASEAN’a verdiği öneme yukarıda değinilmişti. Birçoğu gelişmekte olan ülke statüsünde olan Güneydoğu Asya Güney Kore için orta ölçekli güç mekanizmalarını oldukça verimli bir şekilde gösterebileceği bir coğrafyadır. Sahip olduğu teknolojik altyapı, teknik deneyim, sanayi geçmişi Güney Kore’yi ASEAN için önemli bir işbirliği ortağı haline getirmektedir. Ayrıca Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti’nin hem ekonomik hem de buna bağlı olarak artan askeri gücü ASEAN içinde ciddi bir tehdit olarak algılanmaktadır. Çin tehdidi olarak ifade ettikleri bu durum özellikle Güney Çin Denizi konusunda ASEAN’ı endişelendirmektedir. ASEAN ile bu şekilde bir sorunu olmayan Güney Kore bu durumda avantajlı bir durum yakalamaktadır. Benzer bir durum Japonya için de söz konusudur. Uzun yıllar boyunca ekonomik model olarak kendisini bölgeye kabul ettiren Japonya, Abe’nin iktidara gelmesi ve aşırı milliyetçi söylemleri nedeniyle ASEAN tarafından tedirginlikle karşılanmaktadır. Bu da Güney Kore’yi güçlü iki komşusuna kıyasla ASEAN nezdinde daha olumlu bir seviyeye çıkarmaktadır.

Güney Kore ve ASEAN arasında 1989 Kasım ayında başlayan sektörel diyalog ilişkileri 1991 yılında Güney Kore’ye Tam Diyalog Ortaklığı verilmesi ile bir üst kademeye taşınmıştır. 1997 yılına gelindiğinde ise ikili ilişkiler zirve seviyesine çıkarılmıştır. Ayrıca 2010 yılında düzenlenen 13. Zirvede ilişkilerin “kapsamlı işbirliği”nden “stratejik ortaklığa” dönüştürülmesi kararlaştırılmıştır. Bu amaçla da liderler, 2010-2015 yıllarını kapsayacak ASEAN – Güney Kore Barış ve Refah için Stratejik Ortaklık Deklarasyonunu

imzalamışlardır. 2012 yılında Güney Kore (Jakarta'ya) ASEAN'a ilk diplomatik misyonunu göndermiş ve ilk kalıcı büyükelçisini atamıştır. ASEAN ile ilişkilerinde ekonomik açıdan bir köprü rolü benimseyen (ekonomik hegemon olma amacı gütmeyen) Güney Kore siyasi meselelerde de içişlerine saygılı ve ASEAN'ın temel normlarına uyumlu hareket eden bir orta güçtür. Sosyo-kültürel meselelerde de kültürel bir üstünlük veya empoze eden bir tavır sergilemeyişi de bölgede memnuniyetle karşılanmasına imkan sağlamaktadır.

Birçok alanda sorunsuz bir zeminde ilerleyen ASEAN – Güney Kore ilişkileri önümüzdeki yıllarda da bu doğrultuda gitmeye ve daha da ilerlemeye müsait bir görüntü çizmektedir.

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Asian Studies	2010
BS	METU International Relations	2008
High School	Turgutlu Anadolu High School, Manisa	2003

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2014- Present	Kırıkkale University, Department of International Relations	Research Assistant
2008-2014	METU Department of Asian Studies	Research Assistant

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AWARDS&SCHOLARSHIPS

1. Visiting Researcher at the Academy of Korean Studies (2013), South Korea.
2. The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey, Ph.D. Scholarship
3. Republic of Korea Embassy in Ankara, High Performance Graduate Student
Scholarship (2008 Fall)
4. MNG Group of Companies Full Scholarship (2003-2008)

CONFERENCE PAPERS

6-10 August 2010	Participant at Harvard University Graduate Conference on Asia-“Sustaining Momentum: Ten Years into the Asian Century”, Singapore.
23-25 December 2011	Dış Politika Çalıştayı, Kamu Diplomasisi Koordinatörlüğü, Konya
5-7 September 2012	Paper presented, “Prospects on Korean Reunification”, Central European University, “Whither the Two Koreas? Continuity and Change on the Korean Peninsula”, Budapest.
25-26 October 2013	APISA 7 th Congress at METU, paper presented “Changing State-Business Relations in South Korea”
12 May 2015	“Locating Turkey in Asia” Symposium at METU, “South Korea and Turkey as Middle Powers: A Systemic Impact Approach?”
17-19 June, 2015	“Need for Asian Studies in the age of Globalization” presented at the 13th International Conference of IR, METU, Ankara named “Area Studies and International Relations: Intersecting Dimensions”
5-9 July, 2015	“Middle Power: A Comparison of South Korea and Turkey” presented at 9th “The International Convention of Asia Scholars” Conference in Adelaide, Australia.

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