

WHY DOES TURKEY PRIORITIZES ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN
NATIONS (ASEAN) COOPERATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA RELATIONS?

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MERVE NAZ ABANOZOĞLU

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**WHY DOES TURKEY PRIORITIZES ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST
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RELATIONS?**

submitted by **MERVE NAZ ABANOZOĞLU** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in International Relations, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Ebru BOYAR
Head of Department
Department of International Relations

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin BAĞCI
Supervisor
Department of International Relations

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şerif Onur BAHÇECİK (Head of the Examining
Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of International Relations

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin BAĞCI (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of International Relations

Assist. Prof. Dr. Hatice ÇELİK
Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi
Institute for Area Studies, Department of Asian Studies

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Merve Naz ABANOZOĞLU

Signature:

ABSTRACT

WHY DOES TURKEY PRIORITIZES ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN) COOPERATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA RELATIONS?

ABANOZOĞLU, Merve Naz

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Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Hüseyin BAĞCI

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The thesis' main aim is to focus on the relations between Turkey and Southeast Asia region in the historical sense. The thesis gives importance to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which was established on 8th August 1967, and has a Sectoral Dialogue Partnership with Turkey. The historical analysis aims to respond to the changing role of Southeast Asia and ASEAN in Turkish Foreign Policy. In this sense, as a subgoal, the thesis focuses on ASEAN's role and importance in the world order. It analyses the relations in the historical mind by considering the relations between Turkey and analysing both the region and its importance in the global sense of Turkey. Examining Turkey's comparative historical approach to ASEAN and Southeast Asia, the thesis includes the policies of Necmettin Erbakan, Ahmet Davutoğlu and Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu eras. To answer the subgoal of the research question, "ASEAN Centrality" and "ASEAN Way" concepts are included in the research to bilateral relations of Turkey and members of ASEAN. Those concepts also enlighten the role and importance of ASEAN for Turkey too. In a general sense, with qualitative analysis in history and cases, the aim is to highlight how the attitudes changed. ASEAN has an essential role for Turkey in active

Southeast Asia policies. The main research question on these issues is "Why does Turkey give importance to the ASEAN in Turkey's changing foreign policy?" and will discuss the strategic transition from D8 to ASEAN.

Keywords: Turkish Foreign Policy, ASEAN, Asia Anew Initiative, ASEAN Centrality, The ASEAN Way

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE GÜNEYDOĞU ASYA İLİŞKİLERİNDE NEDEN GÜNEYDOĞU ASYA ULUSLAR BİRLİĞİ (ASEAN) İŞBİRLİĞİNE ÖNCELİK VERİYOR?

ABANOZOĞLU, Merve Naz

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Tezin temel amacı, tarihsel anlamda Türkiye ile Güneydoğu Asya bölgesi arasındaki ilişkilere odaklanmaktır. Tez, 8 Ağustos 1967'de kurulan ve Türkiye ile Sektörel Diyalog Ortaklığı bulunan Güneydoğu Asya Ülkeleri Birliği'ne (ASEAN) önem vermektedir. Tarihsel analiz, Güneydoğu Asya ve ASEAN'ın Türk Dış Politikasında değişen rolüne cevap vermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu anlamda tez, bir alt amaç olarak ASEAN'ın dünya düzenindeki rolü ve önemine odaklanmaktadır. Türkiye arasındaki ilişkileri göz önünde bulundurarak ve hem bölgeyi hem de küresel anlamda Türkiye'nin önemini analiz ederek ilişkileri tarihsel akılda analiz eder. Türkiye'nin ASEAN ve Güneydoğu Asya bölgesine karşılaştırmalı tarihsel yaklaşımını inceleyen tez Necmettin Erbakan, Ahmet Davutoğlu ve Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu dönemleri politikalarını içermektedir. Türkiye'nin Güneydoğu Asya bölgesine doğru değişen dış politikasında ASEAN'a neden öncelik verdiği araştırma sorusunun alt amacına cevap verebilmek için, Türkiye ve ASEAN'ın daimi üyelerinin ikili ilişkilerine yönelik araştırmaya “ASEAN Merkeziliği” ve “ASEAN Yolu” kavramları dahil edilmiştir. Bu kavramlar, ASEAN'ın Türkiye için de rolüne ve önemine ışık tutuyor. Genel anlamda tarih ve vakalarda nitel analizlerle

amaçlanan tutumların nasıl deęiřtięini ortaya çıkarmaktır. ASEAN, aktif Güneydoęu Asya politikalarında Türkiye için önemli bir role sahiptir. Bu konulara ilişkin temel araştırma sorusu "Türkiye'nin deęişen dış politikasında ASEAN'a neden önem veriyor?" sorusudur ve D8'den ASEAN'a stratejik geçiřten bahsedecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Dış Politikası, ASEAN, Yeniden Asya İniyatifi, ASEAN Merkeziyeti, ASEAN Yolu

To my Parents and my Sister

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AFTA: ASEAN Free Trade Area
APEC: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF: ASEAN Regional Forum
ASA: Association of Southeast Asia
ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEANAPOL: ASEAN Interpol
ASEAN +1: ASEAN and China
ASEAN+3/APT: ASEAN Plus Three
ASEM: Asia- Europe Meeting
AT-JSCC: ASEAN Turkey – Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee
BRI: Belt Road Initiative
BSEC/KEI: Black Sea Economic Cooperation
CICA: Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia
D8: Developing 8 Islamic Countries Organization for Economic Cooperation
DEİK: Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey / Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu
EAS: East Asia Summit
ECO: Economic Cooperation Organization
EEC: European Economic Community
EU: European Union
FTA: Free Trade Agreement
G-20: Group of Twenty
MAPHİLİNDO: Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia Cooperation
MFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MIKTA: Mexico, Indonesia, Korea, Turkey, Australia
OIC: Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
PCA: Practical Cooperation Areas

RCEP: Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

SDP: Sectoral Dialogue Partner

SEANWFZ: Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone

TAC: Treaty of Amity and Cooperation Agreement

THPA: Transboundary Haze Pollution Act

TİKA: Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency

UN: United Nations

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Today, Southeast Asia has an increasing role globally. With the words of Kishore Mahbubani, the 21st century will be the Asian century¹, and Turkey, which is aware of this, has Asian policies that also renewed with the new century. Turkey has changed its attitude towards the Southeast Asia region and increased its relations both with ASEAN members individually and with ASEAN as an organization.

One of the main aims of the thesis is to fill the literature's gigantic gap. From the day it was established, Turkey had more interest towards the West than the East. Turkey has put itself in Europe and is trying to become a member of the European Union (EU). The historical relations between the member countries of ASEAN and Turkey go beyond the establishment of the ASEAN. However, the Turkish foreign policy's priority changed patterns with Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan in 1996-1997. These changing patterns created a policy of beginning dialogues between the Southeast Asia region. With the help of the network created in D8 and OIC, Turkey stepped into ASEAN and Turkey in the 1990s and increased relations with ASEAN member countries and with the organization itself. During the years of Erbakan's government, one of the critical changing Turkish foreign policy patterns is the inclination towards Islamic countries more than the European Union. Islamic Countries Partnership includes Indonesia and Malaysia. The partnership's vision comes from the belief that Islamic Countries are more beneficial than the West, and leaving Turkey's Europe centred attitude established the basics of D8² countries and new partnerships in security, economy and socio-cultural relations.

¹ Mahbubani, K. (2022). *The Asian 21st Century*. Singapore: Springer. Pg.14

² T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı'ndan. T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. (n.d.). Retrieved March 7, 2020, from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/gelisen-sekiz-ulke-_d-8_.tr.mfa

The D8 community was established on 15th June 1997 regarding partnerships in the common market, defence and cultural issues between Islamic countries, developing countries stronger and should play a central role in such initiatives.³ Turkey had strong relations with Indonesia before they met in organizations.⁴ With the increase in bilateral relations with Malaysia, a member of ASEAN, Turkey has strong alliances inside the ASEAN. These relations supported the membership process, so with these relations and changing policies, Turkey has included the ASEAN partnership in its agenda too since 1990. In brief words, after the Erbakan era, Turkey created itself options to network with the region. ASEAN is an important regional organization and increases its role in the region day by day. The thesis firstly gives information about the research framework then will mention Turkish foreign policy towards Southeast Asia region in detail as the evolution from Erbakan, Davutoğlu and Çavuşoğlu era. Secondly, ASEAN and its structural form will be mentioned. Afterwards, continue with the expression of the ASEAN Way and its belonging. Then focus on debates about theoretical approaches "Is Asia A Method?" Non-Western-IR, constructivist approach and British School approaches and lastly focus on Turkey- ASEAN relations and Turkey's bilateral relations with ASEAN members. In the end, the thesis aims to answer "Why has Turkey prioritized Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) cooperation in Southeast Asian relations?"

1.2 Literature Review

The main research topic of the thesis is "Why does Turkey prioritizes ASEAN cooperation in Southeast Asian relations?". Analyzing the relations between ASEAN and Turkey regarding changing patterns of Turkish Foreign Policy, and "ASEAN centrality" with regards to this question literature review focus on the keywords about ASEAN, Asia Anew Initiative and ASEAN Centrality and The ASEAN Way. The literature review made by JStor, Ebsco, Google Scholar, Research Gate, Bibliographies of the sources which are relevant to research subject, the

³ Haşgüler, M., & Uludağ, M. B. (2014). Devletler Arası ve Hükümetler-Dışı Uluslararası Örgütler. İstanbul: ALFA Yayınları. pg.442

⁴Yıldırım, S. (2020). Uluslararası İlişkilerde Asya 'Kuşak-Yol'un Geo-Ekonomisi ve Güvenliği. Ankara: Nobel Yayın.pg. 340

official website of ASEAN, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam, in addition to the interview with diplomats and their webinars related to the case.

The main reason behind reviewing the literature about ASEAN in each sense is trying to understand the way of looking at ASEAN's literature and searching for a gap. The sequence of the literature review is focused on a grouping of the studies. In review, to comparisons, some of the articles and sources read are not included in comparisons. The main reason behind this is to give importance to the primary sources pioneered by the other resources, cited by nearly all the resources and open discussions, and selected articles from the discussions to create a literature framework. Some articles, like the ones by Amitav Acharya, are the ones that created debates all over the studies and developed meaningful discussions for understanding the vision of ASEAN and theory.

During the literature review, it is observed that there is not one consensus about the future role of the ASEAN in the region. Theories about the future of the ASEAN and its role in the region concerns two options; ASEAN will maintain its strength in the region and get stronger, ASEAN will maintain its power above the members, but has lost its dominance in the region with regards to increasing states in a world order like China and Japan, because of their policies and their increasing role. However, both visions agree that today ASEAN has centrality in the region, which has an increasing tension in the region, possibly affecting its dominant power with its border neighbours; China, Japan and, for some sources, Korea. Another important fact seen is; most of the literature related to the topic is studied individually but not combined. There are existing studies about conceptualizing the ASEAN Centrality Turkish Foreign Policy towards Asia, but the studies about the combination of the changing patterns and increasing relations with ASEAN are missing. ASEAN as a structure has three pillars: economy, socio-cultural and security. Existing studies about bilateral relations with member countries primarily focus on economic relations.

There are too many research studies about changing policies of Turkey during the AKP government; however, the analysis of the changing relations with regards to Asia preference ASEAN and ASEAN countries are not studied, and the relations

with ASEAN and Turkey are only studied under economic conditions relations. Towards the path of finding the answers to the aforementioned questions, it will be assumed that analyzing the bilateral relations of Turkey with ten member countries with and without ASEAN will help to see which path is preferred why, and what the benefits of sectoral dialogue partnership in ASEAN are more than having individual relations with ten members. In this sense, the role of ASEAN in the region and the ASEAN way is important to understand the inner structure of the ASEAN and its members.

The literature has a gap; the strength comes from its weaknesses. It is strong because there are many studies about ASEAN with different perspectives. Nearly every issue is somehow studied. However, it is also weak because there are too many counter ideas; studies are not focused on combining the ideas; focused on the separate issues, case studies, theory discussions etc. The literature review observed that the ASEAN's role in the region is considered the most critical organization in Asia, not only for Southeast Asia. There are critical research studies that focus on ASEAN from different perspectives. However, there are still missing points. Studies focused on why ASEAN became successful, its economic importance in the region, and similar studies exist; yet there are missing points about linking the issues. According to the literature review, my research showed me that; there is an increasing interest in ASEAN. The reason is the acts of ASEAN itself and its history and the way of diplomacy, called "The ASEAN Way". Another point that is noticed in the literature review is that the relationship between ASEAN and partner countries has not been examined equally by academic sources. Although Turkey is a sectoral dialogue partner, the details of its relations with ASEAN and the process do not appear in the literature as often as other partner countries, and the issue of how to strengthen bilateral relations is incomplete.

1.3. Research Question and Methodology

The literature review shows that; ASEAN and Turkey relations are missing fields of research in literature. The only available academic research sources belong to individual bilateral relations with permanent members of the ASEAN and Turkey, Turkey's changing policy towards Asia and the ASEAN Centrality. Also, existing reports prepared by the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEİK/ Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu) and the Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

(MFA) briefly explains the status of the relations, which primarily include economic data. The literature review also shows two points about the topic chosen; it is not questioned: "Why Turkey and ASEAN are getting closer while there are existing relations with most of the member countries of the ASEAN?" Secondly, most of the literature analyses two of them only in economic benefits and signed FTAs individually; what are the benefits of ASEAN-Turkey relation more than the economy?

After analyzing the research interest area literature, the research question specified as "Why has Turkey prioritized ASEAN cooperation in Southeast Asian relations?". The thesis also includes answers for a sub-question of "How Turkish Foreign Policy toward Southeast Asia has evolved?" for finding out the outcomes of the relations between ASEAN and Turkey. This research aims to show the main reason behind the relations between Turkey and ASEAN. As a regional organization that officially declared that Turkey is too far from the region, it is impossible to have a partnership; however, it signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) and started the dialogues with Turkey.

The thesis' hypothesis claims that Turkey has different relations with ASEAN and with members of the ASEAN: Laos, Myanmar, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, and Cambodia. These relations are different from each other, and in some points, ASEAN dialogue partnership is the tool for gaining relations with some members and differentiate from D8. Also, this interest in ASEAN is related to the ASEAN's increasing role in the region.

According to hypothesis and goals, prepared frameworks, and the examples in literature, the research methodology will be qualitative. In research, the assumed research instruments will be the existing research about the ASEAN itself, the factsheets about the diplomatic meetings published by ASEAN and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the countries' profile, and their relations with Turkey individually, and the concepts of "ASEAN Centrality" and "The ASEAN Way". Most importantly, Turkish Foreign policy from Erbakan Era will be analysed. So, the methodology will be qualitative.

Realist theory will be used in the thesis, while most literature has a classical liberalism approach. According to the findings and the theoretical approach, the main aim is to show the pragmatic relation between Turkey and ASEAN. To understand

the reason behind the comparative analysis of two ways of relations, with and without ASEAN in a historical way and its institutional structure and increasing role in Asia and differences of profits preferring the relation with ASEAN will be the topic of the thesis. By meaning profits, unlike literature, the thesis aims to focus on economics and other pillars of the ASEAN.

Concepts considered in the research are most importantly "ASEAN Centrality". Understanding and conceptualizing this is critical because how you look at the concept changes the role you give to ASEAN and its relations. According to Amitav Acharya,⁵ there are many ways of looking at ASEAN Centrality. There is no strict definition because today, the main aim and role of the ASEAN are changing. Sub-structures like ASEAN+ forums and the pillars of economic, socio-cultural and security communities create a leader form of ASEAN in the region. Another critical concept mentioned in literature towards ASEAN Centrality is "The ASEAN Way". Those concepts are related to each other. ASEAN Way is the name of the way of thinking of ASEAN in problem-solving and decision making, and the path towards ASEAN Centrality. According to Mahbubani, the ASEAN Way is different from the thinking style in decisions. ASEAN prefers to act on taking the positive incomes in the long run. The ASEAN Way also depends on the provision of possible threads and crises, so ASEAN always acts with precautions and focuses on finding the consensus.⁶

To sum up, ASEAN is a regional organization located in South-East Asia founded during the Vietnam War. Its establishment reason is its primary goal: avoiding war. Today, this aim slightly shifted to living in harmony and staying away from war while acting together in the economy, social life, and security with the ASEAN Way of diplomacy making, which resulted in ASEAN centrality in Asia.

Regionalism and regional organizations are essential concepts that take a role in analyzing literature reviews. To make the research something different from

⁵ Acharya, A. (2017). The Myth of ASEAN Centrality? *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 39(2), 273-279. <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/667776>

⁶ Kishore Mahbubani in his works mostly highlights the importance of the ASEAN Way and the role of Cooperation and Consensus. For more details his work can read the book as a whole focuses on the case "Mahbubani, Kishore;, and Jeffrey Sng. n.d. *The ASEAN Miracle A Catalyst for Peace*. Ridge Books Singapore"

regionalism and literature, regionalism should also conceptualize. The aim is to provide an answer to "Do relations belong to region/country itself or institutional structure?" Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore S. Rajaratnam in his 1st September 1992 dated article wrote;

If the last decade of the 20th century, to whose final death throes we are now the unhappy witnesses, can be termed the Age of Nationalism, then the 21st century, whose pale dawn is visible over the horizon, can be aptly described as the Coming Age of Regionalism.⁷

That article does not highlight the development of nations in the same region with a political and social system opinion about institutionalism and regionalism in Asia. The thesis will analyze the role of the regional organization in bilateral relations and its independent benefits with its structure and system itself, take it as a whole and take its aims and goals. The thesis will find out whether ASEAN has a leader role in the region that affects the individual relations with Turkey, or is it possible to gain the same relations with member countries with the same profits?

The question of the thesis is its' advantage. During the literature review, there is no existing research that combines all those perspectives together in detail which are the comparative relations of Turkey and ASEAN members with and without the ASEAN institution, the role of the regional organization and asking the ASEAN centrality the role of ASEAN in Asia policies of Turkey in details could not found yet. The gap in the literature is the advantage of the research. However, missing information and the method chosen for research creates limitations and possible handicaps for research. So, research should focus on each detail that is found and try to construct a relationship with the correct theory. And there is a limitation of sources, so despite taking both together as "ASEAN and Turkey", the process will follow the historical route towards ASEAN preference of Turkey, and Turkey's bilateral relations with member countries of ASEAN differently and at the end try to combine each other.

Unlike the EU, the ASEAN region is too far from Turkey's geopolitical location, limiting relations regarding some membership criteria. Still, Turkey insists on being a Dialogue partner in ASEAN. Changing the policies of Turkey towards both Asia and Africa is one of the reasons which shaped the relations with ASEAN

⁷ The Founding of ASEAN . ASEAN. (n.d.). Retrieved November 8, 2021, from https://asean.org/?static_post=asean-the-way-ahead-by-s-rajaratnam

but not the only one. ASEAN is important in the sense of analyzing Turkey's changing policies and analyzing the preference towards institutions, not to countries individually. Today Turkey has the status of "Sectoral Dialogue Partner" in ASEAN since 5th August 2017, 50th ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting, while it also has bilateral relations with permanent members. In the thesis, the leading hypothesis is to find out the background of the relations between Turkey and ASEAN and understand the profits of the relation with the institution itself with regards to having relations with members without regional organization. In this sense, understanding the role of ASEAN for members, individual relations of Turkey with member countries without ASEAN and under the roof of ASEAN is essential. ASEAN Centrality and the ASEAN Way concepts are chosen to highlight ASEAN's role and understand the status of ASEAN in the region.

Does this relation belong to the increasing role of the ASEAN in the region, the institutional structure itself and the benefits of the way of problem-solving and politics they applied, which is considered ASEAN WAY or is it the next series of actions of changing policies of Turkey in Foreign Policy? According to this primary objective, the precise definition of ASEAN, ASEAN Centrality, and The ASEAN Way will be conceptualized, then changing patterns in Turkish Foreign Policy, D8 to ASEAN path will be historically mentioned and foreign policies between Turkey and member countries with and without ASEAN and directly the relations with ASEAN will be analysed.

CHAPTER 2

IS ASIA A METHOD?

As mentioned before, while some of the literature focuses on ASEAN as an organization, ASEAN Literature also has the debate over "Non-Western IR", and this issue comes as a topic in the literature about ASEAN research. This headline has branches and discussions in itself; Different theoretical approaches towards ASEAN for showing there is no western IR that is possible to apply to Asia, the ones that compare Asia values and European values and found themselves including ASEAN values too.⁸ The debates focus on the ASEAN method or Asian method, the ones seeing ASEAN Way as a method to represent Non-Western IR. Some works specifically consider Asia as a method, and the ones read region and ASEAN with British School, Realism, Liberalism and comparative analyses with constructivism.

To generalize, the headline in this part of the literature review includes articles on the theoretical approaches towards ASEAN. This headline is too related to each issue already mentioned and includes titles not mentioned before. Not all literature can be expressed here, so anecdotes from commonly used ones are mentioned for creating the framework. The reason ASEAN had into theory search is the reason behind the strong position of ASEAN in the region. In some cases, this position is related to the outcome of a non-western IR theory, while some see that as a methodology more than theory building. The ASEAN is considered a strong regional organization which is centralized in Southeast Asia and has a say in Asia itself, and this organization created new approaches in the literature. However, whatever the theoretical approach or outcome, they have the same question "What is

⁸ Acharya, A. (1997). Ideas, identity, and institution-building: From the 'ASEAN way' to the 'Asia-Pacific way'?' Pacific Review, 10(3), 319–346. doi:10.1080/09512749708719226 pg.320

behind the ASEAN Way and the peace success?" which ends with ASEAN Centrality.

2.1 Non-Western IR Approach

"Non-Western IR" and reading ASEAN from this perspective is the current widespread issue in the literature. Amitav Acharya is the one who sees Asia as a Method and writes immensely about this issue and defends the idea that Asia IR is still progressing and defines that most of the studies analyses Asia are realism, liberalism and constructivism, which are true. He questions if even constructivism really helps to understand the region. Regarding this, he defines the Chinese School of IR should be focused on because of prevailing school of thought, which also affects the policymaking, "Confucianism" As he also mentioned, it is still a theory in progress, but actively debated among academics.⁹

2.2 Constructivist Approach

In the literature, the article written by Timo Kivimaki, "The Long Peace of ASEAN", focuses on ASEAN to provide support for the constructivist theory of liberal democracies. In this sense, the author focuses on the region and the ASEAN Way with a comparative frame shown as; "Objective condition & normative community (always peace), Objective conditions & no normative communities (always peace), No objective conditions & normative community or not (sometimes war) (Table 1.1)

⁹ Both articles mention about the case ; Acharya, A. (2017). 'Theorising the international relations of Asia: necessity or indulgence?' Some reflections. *Pacific Review*, 30(6), 816–828. doi:10.1080/09512748.2017.1318163 Acharya, A. ve Stubbs, R. (2006). Theorizing Southeast Asian relations: An introduction. *Pacific Review*, 19(2), 125–134. doi:10.1080/09512740500473106

Table 1.1 Kivimaki Approach Towards War ¹⁰



The constructivist claims are the following: Objective conditions & normative community (always peace), Objective conditions & no normative communities (sometimes war), No objective conditions & normative community (always peace) (Table 1.2)”¹¹

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Kivimäki, T. (2001). The Long Peace of ASEAN. *Journal of Peace Research*, 38(1), 5–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343301038001001> pg.6

Table 1.2: Kivimaki Approach Towards Peace¹²

The constructivist claims are the following:



The article focuses on the peace years for the ASEAN members during 1968-94 compared to the Malaysian confrontation's bellicose period. This time was mentioned as "...when most of the objective bases for the perception of common interests, common commitment to democratic procedures and liberal norms, and institutional restraints on war were arguably strong..."¹³ So, the context only includes the five establishers and their democracy index according to ASEAN data. Kivimäki highlights the point that there are differences between the individual acts and policies under ASEAN, as mentioned before. In the end, he defends the idea that when a democratic nation is dealing with other democratic nations, decision-makers can expect to honour the norm of democratic consolidation and can act accordingly within a spirit of a normative consensual system when resolving their international problems. This consensual system is "The ASEAN Way", which is mentioned as Suharto's way of relation "mutual interest".

2.3 Realist Approach

Realist approaches found in the literature have a common point: they always have a comparative approach. So they include information that includes more than one theory. Some sources also have a constructivist approach but in a critical way,

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

with comparing liberalism or realism. One of the examples belongs to Kai He, which is focused on institutional realism for answering the questions of "(1) ASEAN still matters in terms of coping with extra-regional threats through an institutional balancing strategy; (2) ASEAN's future depends on its institutional consolidation in dealing with intra-regional security problems."¹⁴ While criticizing neoliberal and constructivist approaches at the same time.

Another realist approach belongs to Richard Stubbs and Sarah Eaton,¹⁵ which compares constructivism and neo-realism. The article focuses on is ASEAN powerful with a realist and a constructivist perspective. According to the article, neorealists see ASEAN as an organization that lacks the capacity either to compel its members to comply with its own rules or get its East Asian neighbours to not follow its prescriptions for regional behaviour. According to Stubbs, constructivist approaches focus on the ASEAN way with three common issues; different empirical roles drawn for ASEAN, power, and ASEAN's future role.

2.4 British School

One of the commonly used theories in the case of ASEAN is British School. Shaun Narine is one of the examples of them. He allows looking at ASEAN with a comparative theoretical approach of Amitav Acharya and Bull. The article examines the basics of English school and how Hedley Bull's approach differentiate in British School, then explores the similarities and differences between constructivism and the English School, and evaluates the English School as a distinct approach to IR In the end while answering "why has ASEAN endured?"¹⁶. Understands ASEAN with three traditions of English School regarding "The Anarchical Society" and with how Acharya identifies ASEAN's legal-rational norms which are "a prohibition against the use of force/the pacific settlement of disputes; regional autonomy; the doctrine of

¹⁴ He, Kai. (2006). Does ASEAN Matter? International Relations Theories, Institutional Realism, and ASEAN. *Asian Security*. 2. 189-214. 10.1080/14799850600920460. Pg.6

¹⁵ All the article summarized; Eaton, S. ve Stubbs, R. (2006). Is ASEAN powerful? Neo-realist versus constructivist approaches to power in Southeast Asia. *Pacific Review*, 19(2), 135–155. doi:10.1080/09512740500473148

¹⁶ The main research question of the article; Shaun Narine (2006) The English School and ASEAN, *The Pacific Review*, 19:2, 199-218, DOI: 10.1080/09512740500473247

non-interference; no military pacts and a preference for bilateral defense cooperation.”¹⁷

States exist in an anarchical world. There is an importance to state sovereignty, and states do not have to constitute a society parallel to the signing of the Declaration of Bangkok, which established the ASEAN. The importance of the thesis is unlike other theoretical approaches; this approach claims the differences between commonly used theories;

Vietnam/Cambodia era it was focused on one issue. With the end of the Cold War, its members tried to find new functions for ASEAN rather than letting it go; keeping the institution alive was important to them, even though it had little impact as an economic regime and had seemingly served its political purpose. In the post-Cold War era, ASEAN has started to demonstrate more success as a functional organization, but even that is not yet assured. Moreover, this latter-day functionality cannot explain ASEAN members' earlier commitment to the regime. Constructivists have tried to explain this puzzle by arguing that ASEAN forms the core of a shared Southeast Asian identity.¹⁸

He applies the Bull theory towards the ASEAN and compares it with constructivism as the structure takes ASEAN into post-cold war to 1997 crises and 2000 to today.

Narine mostly focuses on the international society approach of the About Bull and says,

Bull defines international institutions as ‘a set of habits and practices shaped towards the realisation of common goals’ He identifies the key institutions of international society as the balance of power, international law, diplomacy, war and great power management of the international system.¹⁹

Narine applies these five to ASEAN and how they violate some of those five points in years with the aim of their own sovereignty was mentioned in the article. In the end author also agrees that the British School approach creates a complex approach and comparison to ASEAN.

¹⁷ Ibid. pg.204

¹⁸ Ibid. pg 204

¹⁹ Ibid. Pg 207

CHAPTER 3

TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Asia is rising and gaining an important role in the world order during the 21st century. This path towards becoming an important actor in international order also changes the countries' policies towards Asia. With this regard, Turkey also changed its foreign policy towards Asia in the last three decades. The thesis will focus on the Southeast Asia region and ASEAN relations with Turkish foreign policy. In brief words, the relations increased after 1997 and gained full speed with Çavuşoğlu era "Asia Anew Policy". Before that, during the Cold War era, the relations between Turkey and South Asia were limited with Japan, South Korea and China. The 1990 agenda was the economic crisis, and 2001 policies changed as an area focused to bilateral but priorities are still Far East Japan, China, not Southeast Asia. The biggest problem for seeing the evolution of Turkish foreign policy towards the region is the instability of the definition "Southeast Asia" thesis will also consider this and show how region definition shaped. This chapter tries to give a framework of significant attitudes of the foreign policy of the ministers then give comparative details under Asia Anew Initiative explanation and role of ASEAN, which has the most critical role in the region in these relations.

3.1 Erbakan Era (1996-1997)

Turkey's frosty relations with Southeast Asia have activated in 1996-1997 policies with the Erbakan era. During those years, Erbakan changed the classical approach of Turkish foreign policy and priorities. With coalition government in Erbakan era foreign policies not focused on the region like the east or west, foreign relation priorities religion-focused, which is Islam. During coalition government, while Erbakan focused on relations with Islamic countries, other agendas in the

ministry of foreign affairs were considered by former minister Tansu Çiller.²⁰ However, according to Faruk Sönmezoğlu, Erbakan didn't give enough respect to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; even though he approved policies he disagreed with, like the EU policies, he also shaped the Turkish Foreign Policy.

With the Erbakan era, priorities shaped with Islam countries and organizations in this sense, international organizations have priorities, and active roles are the network areas for Islam world cooperation. As a Muslim majority organization, the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) created a platform that fills the regional gap between EU and ASEAN²¹ D8 created a vital platform to reach Southeast Asia countries as the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). So, D8 and OIC are differentiating and gaining importance in this era to analyze the relations between Turkey and Southeast Asia.

3.1.1 Muslim identity in Southeast Asia Foreign Relations

Developing 8, which is known as D8, was established on 25 June 1997. It is the most important foreign policy made in 1996-1997 and lost its impact with government change. It is highly similar to OIC and also different from it. While Turkey is a member of OIC since the day it was established on 25 September 1969²² and has a common platform with Muslim countries. The answer to why establishing D8 is an important strategy for Turkey comes from understanding the OIC conditions. During the years D8 was established, OIC is a missing organization in the sense of economic cooperation even if it creates a common identity under "Muslim" and is available to share cultural policies.²³ With regards to this, it is possible to say that D8 is an outcome that comes from fulfilling this economic alliance gap. The second important thing is, while doing this, it also gives priority to its non-Europe focused line, which is the Erbakan policy, and searches eastern countries with Muslim identity, so the relations with Egypt, Nigeria, Iran, Pakistan, Bangladesh,

²⁰ Sönmezoğlu, F. (2016). *Son Onyıllarda Türk Dış Politikası (1991-2015)*. İstanbul: DER Kitabevi.pg 87

²¹Ibid.pg.388

²² T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı'ndan. T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. (n.d.). Retrieved November 12, 2019, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/OIC.en.mfa>

²³ Hasgüler, M., & Uludağ, M. B. (2014). *Devletler Arası ve Hükümetler-Dışı Uluslararası Örgütler*. İstanbul: ALFA Yayınları. pg.429

Malaysia and Indonesia meet under D8 with Turkey. The common point of the 8 members is; all of them are members of OIC, have Muslim-dominated and high populated countries, have both socio-culturally and politically active roles in the region, and prioritize their economic relations. The overall result is D8 as an alternative platform that focuses on economic ties and combining elective countries comes as a network advantage afterwards in Southeast Asia policies like strengthening the ties between Malaysia and Indonesia.

Erbakan, who gave great importance to the economy in his period, frequently expressed that he wanted an Islamic Union rather than a Customs Union. In this sense, he made his first visits to Asian countries. During his visit to Southeast Asia, which he organized via D8, he visited Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. While realizing the region's economic potential during his trip, he also emphasized the importance of ASEAN²⁴

...Malaysia and Indonesia are members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). As seen in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and Brunei, Philippines, Singapore Muslims are also in a certain proportion in Thailand and Vietnam. However, Brunei, Malaysia and Indonesia are the majority of the population Muslims. There are four hundred and ten million populations in just seven countries that I count. Now when relations are developed between Asian economies at the same time, it is in our nature. It means the activation of great potential...²⁵

3.2 Davutoğlu Era (1 May 2009 to 29 August 2014)

In Southeast Asia relations, Davutoğlu differentiates from both Erbakan and Çavuşoğlu because he lived three years in Malaysia and his "Eastern Expansion" includes Asia too.²⁶ Former Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, during his era 1 May 2009 to 29 August 2014, named his foreign policies as "Strategic Depth"²⁷. With regards to this Strategic Depth, Turkey also changed its Asia policies. Strategic Depth is differentiating from previous policies with its priorities.

The thesis focuses on the Southeast Asia region policies, and during the Strategic Depth era, this specific region is not the primary agenda. Actually, the

²⁴ Temiz, S. (2021). Necmettin Erbakan'ın Güneydoğu Asya Seyahati ve Etkileri. GAZİANTEP UNIVERSITY JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, 763-776. Retrieved 2022. Pg770

²⁵ Ibid.pg 772

²⁶Pehlivan Türk, B. (2016). Türk Dış Politikasında Doğu Asya Perspektifi. In Ü. Özdağ, & Y. Demirağ, Stratejik Derinlikte Savrulan Türk Dış Politikası (pp. 167-186). Ankara: Kripto. Pg 175

²⁷ Davutoğlu, A. (2001). Stratejik Derinlik Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu. İstanbul: KÜRE Yayınları.

policy does not include a region named as "Southeast Asia". According to the Davutoğlu statement, Turkey stands in between Europe and Asia. This bridge contributes to Turkish foreign policy as a "Eurasian" country, making it essential and unique. The same policy "Strategic Depth" categorizes the Asia region into four groups; North Africa, South Asia, East Asia, and North Asia; as mentioned before, no Southeast Asia region definition exists.

Strategic depth does mention the thesis' focused Southeast Asia region with generalizing the region under International organizations. What the Southeast Asia Policy is and ASEAN effect is; The third dimension in Strategic Depth considers Asia policy International organization. According to Strategic Depth, IGOs are essential "strategic tools and networks". According to Ahmet Davutoğlu, D8 is one of the important and strategic alliances Turkey established. However, it did not become active as it should due to domestic politics of Turkey. However, what gave Turkey a to expand towards the region are other important strategic tools and networks, such as The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) and Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC/KEI) which are tools for East Europe and West Asia while D8 is for Africa, South & East Asia, since D8 couldn't be successful because of its inactive situation, it did not become active as it wished.

It is still incapable of connecting individually with Southeast Asia countries; however, the common identity is "Asian", not European but protected its western relations with the "Eurasian" definition during the Davutoğlu era. Also, as an identity issue during the relations, this era used Islam while adding common history from the Ottoman Empire. Emphasizing the relations from the established Ottoman Empire for rebuilding the strength again using the historical background seen as the solution for an identity crisis. Islam and Ottoman Empire. More details will be explained in the Asia Anew Initiative part.

3.3 Çavuşoğlu Era

Çavuşoğlu as the current foreign minister is the first era that prioritizes Asia while announcing it simultaneously. In this sense, it has an important role that should be analyzed. This era highlights the importance of the rising role of Asia in the current century and, with regards to this, announces the "Asia Anew Initiative" roadmap. Çavuşoğlu era categorized Asia into five groups; Eurasia, West Asia, East

Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia and Central Asia. The policy generally lines not a specific member of a region like Europe or Asia or religion. The policy is aware that Asia is rising, and Turkey must have a dynamic relationship with Asia without giving up on classic Turkey stands like "EU oriented". With regards to this "Asia Anew Initiative" announced.

The most significant handicap for Asia Anew Initiative is that it is new, and there is a lack of information in the literature about what it is and the details. However, the thesis will try to explain this initiative in detail.

3.3.1 Asia Anew Initiative

In the literature review, Turkish Foreign Policy gains a new term, "Asia Anew Initiative", which is also researched in addition to Asia policies after 1999 to understand Turkey's changing Asia policies. Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu firstly announced "Asia Anew Initiative" concept in 11th ambassadors' conference (3-9 August 2019). Regarding the lack of official information about the "Asia Anew Initiative", the speeches they made were analyzed with regards to historical background and limited academic resources.

As presented "anew", the previous Turkish Asia policies in the short term were also briefly examined. This evolution regarding its relationship with the main thesis question will be analyzed in another chapter too. One of the main sources is "Strategic Depth",²⁸ written by Ahmet Davutoğlu. He mentions in his book about the changing foreign policy of Turkey and the role of Asia in this policy after the Cold War. Regarding the statements in "Strategic Depth," it is possible to link the historical relation of Turkey-ASEAN with D8 networks.²⁹ Like Acharya³⁰, Davutoğlu highlights that Asia is too general, and Turkey is between Europe and Asia (East-West). In this sense, the policies are changing and combining. According to this view and the press statements of Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, the first

²⁸ Davutoğlu, A. (2001). *Stratejik Derinlik Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu*. İstanbul: KÜRE Yayınları.pg 183

²⁹ Ibid.pg282

³⁰ Acharya in his work analyses the region and the borders for more details resource can be read; Amitav Acharya, *The Idea of Asia, Asia Policy*, No. 9 (JANUARY 2010), National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), pp. 32-39

important fact in the policy differentiating from previous Asia extensions of Turkey is that Turkey is not located into a specific group of religion or region. This new policy locates Turkey as a "bridge" in the sense of culture, economy and as a region, not specifically European or Asian country, a "Eurasian" country. According to Amitav Acharya, his works claims that Asia regions are defined by the institutions and includes the words "the term Asia was used by the Greek historian Herodotus to designate Anatolia, in modern Turkey, in the context of the Greek-Persian wars. But Asia, in many ways, was an invention of colonialism. Francois Godemont, a French scholar of Asia, associates "Asia" (and "the East") with "a fantasy seemingly woven from a Baudelaire poem, a melody by Ravel, a short story by Somerset Maugham and a James Ivory film."³¹ The definition of the bridge "between two continents" began with Davutoğlu. However, the expansion was made by Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu. So, what is changed; the priorities, regional definitions and policies towards Asia

Firstly, the regional definition is changed. Davutoğlu defines Asia as; North Africa, South Asia, East Asia, and North Asia, but the book does not give detailed regional policies and explanation of the borders of the subgroups. However, another chapter in his book focuses on "strategic tools and networks" According to Ahmet Davutoğlu, D8 is one of the important and strategic alliances Turkey established. However, it did not become active as it should due to the domestic politics of Turkey. However, what gave Turkey a to expand towards the region are other important strategic tools and networks, such as The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) and Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC/KEI), which are tools for East Europe and West Asia while D8 is for Africa, South & East Asia since D8 couldn't be successful because of its inactive situation. It is also important to say that Former Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan established relations with Southeast Asia under the roof of D8.³² When we look at the policies of the Erbakan period, priorities were given to eastern countries and Muslim countries. Although the subgrouping of the

³¹ Ibid.pg.32

³² Temiz, S., Aydoğdu T.(2019). A Review to ASEAN and Turkey Relations; ASEAN as Southeast Asia's Raising Union, İğdır Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, No:19,July. Pg. 581

Asian region is not as detailed as Çavuşoğlu and Davutoğlu, the main motif was Islam and the East, and international organizations played an important role in these relations. With the Asia Anew Initiative policy of Turkey geopolitical divisions focus on Asia under five sub-Asia regions; with defining Turkey itself to Eurasia or West Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, East Asia and South Asia. The more detailed region divisions come with more detailed and specified policies.

So, Turkey's previous policy towards Asia is similar to Amitav Acharya's conceptualizing of Asia³³; policies with institutions and relations with those institutions members define the region and institution defines the policies. However, with Asia Anew Initiative, we see that differentiation in defining the regions, increasing the role of countries individually, and increasing ambassadors in the regions in addition to giving importance to institutions.

Secondly, the priorities changed. The biggest change is the role of Asia, and the official explanation by Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu proves that. He says, "Asia is rising; it will be the century of Asia". In the same speech, he highlights that "there is no axis shift" but "active seeking for new alliances". Priorities changed in the sense of adding importance to Asia in addition to Europe. Also, it is not possible to say that Turkey gives up on Islamic Countries Organization and other networking organizations, which Erbakan policy gives importance. But it is moving on to phase two in relations with Asia Anew Initiative, which is creating sustainability to the network it gained. So moving from meeting with the region phase to sustain the relations and giving more importance to Asia without disconnecting from Europe is the main changings. Regarding changes in subgrouping the Asia region and priority changes, the policies are also shaping.

Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu also mentions changes in policies in his briefings, including the individual policies towards countries. With regards to this, a search is made about how policies shaped with "Asia Anew Initiative", the main roadmap of the "Asia Anew Initiative" and more detailed information more than the words of "Asia is rising, it will be the century of Asia" and details were asked in

³³ Amitav Acharya, The Idea of Asia, Asia Policy, No. 9 (JANUARY 2010), National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), pp. 32-39 pg.32

order to MFA, some Ambassadors and lastly deputies of The Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

One of the important sources is Nilvana Darama, who is Turkey's current Asia Anew Initiative Ambassador. According to her speech,³⁴ the priority in bilateral relations is "economy and trade". Turkey wants to be a partner in both developing and economic relations and has an active role in bilateral and multilateral relations in the concept of the Asia Anew Initiative. Regional problems like Kashmir, Rohingya, and the South China Sea are the issues Turkey gives close attention with UN perspectives. She emphasized that the Asia Anew Initiative, which has been shaped towards the modernization of the relations that have existed for 30 years, started with economic transformations.

So, the expansion towards Asia for Turkey is not new but have changing patterns, as mentioned before. "Asia Anew Initiative", which is an initiative that considers all the differences of the region, includes the important countries of the future as the countries it covers. In Ambassador Darama's words, "It is permanent geography on which our roots are based, our focus on Asia a little more, in order to take advantage of this position ... We aim to position Asia more accurately... Turkey added 13 new missions that were open in Asia"³⁵ Asia Anew Initiative does not only include one ethnic or religious identity but cover all of the Asia with priority of economic growth.

Also, the literature analyses all the speeches that began with the one Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu gave in 11th Turkish Ambassadors' Conference. Turkey's "Asia Anew Initiative" presented by Ahmet Faruk Işık is one of them. His article mentions about historical ties between the region and current cooperation and possible cooperation between Turkey and Asian countries. Işık says that "Turkey sees Asia Anew Initiative as a new diplomatic tool for making new friends"³⁶ with regards to quoting the speech of Çavuşoğlu "...We need to be strong in the field and we need to be

³⁴ Darama, Nilvana (24.02.2021), Türkiye'nin Yeniden Asya Girişimi: Hedefler ve Yöntemler (Webinar), Foreign Policy Institute

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Işık, A. F. (2019, September). Turkey's Asia Anew Initiative. Taiwan Brain Trust Think-Tank Journal (TBT), pg.80/4

strong at the table. If we are strong in the field, we can achieve our goal in trade, investment and in our international relations. But we must conserve our gains, achieved in the field, at the table also."³⁷ He also highlights that there is a false perception; there is no axis shift; Turkey is an Eurasian country.

Another study found is of Omair Anas, "The evolution of Turkey's Asia Policy in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives". Paper focused on three issues regarding increased attention on Asia by Turkey; ideological fault-lines within Turkey helped to reset, changing global balance, and internal tension between Indo-China. The article has a critical approach towards the relations and builds historical progress.³⁸ Anas also mentions that the explanations belong to Çavuşoğlu, and even there is an increased trade capacity Anas criticizes the Free Trade Agreements Turkey signed with Southeast Asian Nations. He found them not sustainable and too risky to sustain because of the active changing dynamics in the region. With regards to his statistics (Table2); he claims that ;

The total trade volume between Turkey and the Asian economies is growing and diversifying across the sectors. 30 percent trade of Turkey's trade is with Asia, second after Europe, and the upward trend continues. The trade relations, however, are likely to face a deficit of necessary comparative advantage and complementarity due to the huge difference of size in Asian and Turkish markets.³⁹

³⁷Ibid.80/4

³⁸ Anas, O. (2020). The Evolution of Turkey's Asia Policy in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies*, 14(3), 430–446. doi:10.1080/25765949.2020.1808379 pg.443

³⁹ Ibid, pg.443

Table 2: Analyzing of Turkey-Asia trade Volume ⁴⁰

Countries (2018 volume)	Export (Million)	Import (Million)
Afghanistan	11.6	145.5
Bangladesh	373	484
Bhutan	186	2.21
Cambodia	13.7	94.7
China	2.91 (Billion)	20.7 (Billion)
India	1.121 (Billion)	7.535 (Billion)
Indonesia (2015)	207	1638
Iran	2.31(Billion)	3.29 (Billion)
Japan	479	4.120 (Billion)
Kazakhstan (2015)	750.2	1.39
Kyrgyzstan (2015)	294.818	77.857
Laos (2015)	1.43	1.48
Malaysia	286	3.1
Maldives	64.5	0.01
Mongolia (2015)	23	0.5
Myanmar (2015)	30.7	8
Nepal	53.1	41.1
Pakistan (2018)	462	330
Singapore (2015)	442.5	365.2
South Korea	584	6.6 (Billion)
Sri Lanka (2018)	119.1	100.6
Tajikistan (2015)	162.192	203.760
Thailand (2015)	174	1.38
The Philippines (2015)	104.0	115.7
Turkmenistan	1859.3	557.4
Uzbekistan (2015)	489.1	711.5

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Ministry of Trade, Republic of Turkey.

Finally, another changing pattern is the One Road One Belt trade path and the role of Turkey in the project, which helps to increase Turkey's position in the region and Turkey's economic expectations from Asia. In the project, Turkey is in Central Path, and Turkey always highlights that Asia is rising and this century will be the Asia century. Hence, the relationships that are built with Asian countries are beneficial for Turkey.

To sum up, there is an interrelated relation between the regional definition, priorities, and policy change. In the end, it is possible to read them as an overall. But what is not changed is that Turkey does not give up from Europe. It considered itself as a bridge between two, the bridge between East and West. Also, Turkey gives importance to international organizations while it develops bilateral relations and prioritizes decisions of the organization and its necessities. When it comes to Southeast Asia policies of "Asia Anew Initiative", Turkey still uses its previous Asia policy, which is meeting with the region with regards to its Southeast Asia policy. ASEAN is its networking, and strategic tool for regional expansion for Turkey and most of the new missions opened in Southeast Asia after this.

⁴⁰ Ibid. pg.444

CHAPTER 4

UNDERSTANDING ASEAN

After the post-Cold War era, not all Asia-Pacific region survived from the communism threat as they wished, like the USA. On 8th August 1967, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) formed by five countries; Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The foreign ministers were invited to Bangkok. At the end of the discussions, the "ASEAN Declaration", also known as the Bangkok Declaration, was officially signed and ASEAN established. "The five Foreign Ministers who signed it – Adam Malik of Indonesia, Narciso R. Ramos of the Philippines, Tun Abdul Razak of Malaysia, S. Rajaratnam of Singapore, and Thanat Khoman of Thailand, who also known as "founding fathers"."⁴¹ With those names and signatures under Bangkok Declaration, ASEAN was officially declared as a regional organization in Southeast Asia.

Bangkok declaration mentions the main aim as "the collective will of the nations of Southeast Asia to bind themselves together in friendship and cooperation and, through joint efforts and sacrifices, secure for their peoples and for posterity the blessings of peace, freedom and prosperity."⁴², but the timing of the creation of the ASEAN and the founding countries situation was a security concern towards the issue of Vietnam occupation of Cambodia. "So in the case of Vietnam, it was not belief in regionalism but resolution, born out of common fear that eventually brought about the collapse of communist Vietnam."⁴³ However, the ending of the war didn't

⁴¹ ASEAN. Retrieved January 12, 2020, from <https://asean.org/asean/about-asean/history/>

⁴²The ASEAN Declaration. ASEAN. Retrieved January 12, 2020, from <https://asean.org/the-asean-declaration-bangkok-declaration-bangkok-8-august-1967/>

⁴³ The Founding of ASEAN . ASEAN. Retrieved November 8, 2021, from https://asean.org/?static_post=asean-the-way-ahead-by-s-rajaratnam

end the ASEAN. The number of members increased following years with the end of the Vietnam War. Brunei Darussalam joined on 7th January 1984, Vietnam on 28th July 1995, Lao PDR and Myanmar on 23rd July 1997, lastly Cambodia joined on 30th April 1999.

The main cause at the beginning was born out of fear rather than idealistic convictions about regionalism. However today, "ASEAN with its flexing and changing structure adapts the changing system with not forgetting its establisher thoughts of peace and "strong together"⁴⁴ It is important to realize that the founders are aware of their weaknesses and threats and still today they believe that there is a need for cooperation to survive in the region and in the international system. This awareness makes them continue their alliance and cooperation in other issues like economics and security too. The organization witnessed an economic crisis in 1997. However, today it is one of the important economies in the world with the combination of its ten members. The power of the ASEAN in the region with its population, according to IMF predictions, is above 650 million, and its economic growth is 3 trillion dollars. With its %4.5 growth ratio, it has 114.5 billion dollars (2018). From the day it established and expanded its member numbers in the region, as an organization, ASEAN expanded its activities too and have a dominant role in the region with its existence and success.

1993 witnessed two key developments that were headed by ASEAN: the formation of the ASEAN Regional Forum, which linked the ASEAN states with eleven Pacific Basin countries plus the EU, and the institutionalization of Asia—Pacific Economic Cooperation (often referred to as APEC) with the establishment of a Secretariat in Singapore.⁴⁵

Today, ASEAN has a 3-pillar system structure and has partnerships from worldwide with different titles. The structure creates cooperation areas in political, economic, and socio-cultural issues, so since 2015 pillar system has actively worked under ASEAN Secretariat. Today the Secretariat of the ASEAN is in Jakarta, Indonesia.

Turkey is not a permanent member of ASEAN. The relations between the two are strengthened with Turkey's changing foreign policy and the Treaty of Amity and

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Evans, G. ve Newnham, J. (1998). The Penguin Dictionary for International Affairs.pg.5

Cooperation Agreement (TAC). Today the relations are still in progressive status. As Sectoral-Dialogue Partner, Turkey aims to gain "Dialogue Partner" status. Details will be mentioned under the Turkey-ASEAN part. (Turkey gained its Sectoral dialogue partner status in ASEAN's 50th anniversary on meeting held 4-6 August 2017 after seven years signing TAC. This status is only given to Turkey and Pakistan, and Turkey aims to rise its status in the organization.) With its unique problem-solving, ASEAN has an increasingly political role in the region and changing structures in Asia. ASEAN has become an important actor in the Asia region and partner.

4.1 Changing Structure

The major declaration in its first phase aims to unite countries under the ASEAN name in the region and cooperate in the sense of economy, social and cultural sense, and security. Structural changes that came in with new treaties and aimed to cooperate in the region continue with the agreement signed in 1976 Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia and 1995 Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (SEANWFZ). These agreements created the lawful atmosphere of ASEAN and binding rules in society. In 2003 ASEAN chose a structural change on policy, and this policy created ASEAN's three-pillar structure and system. The ASEAN Charter was created in 2005, during the 11th Summit of ASEAN. This charter creates an opportunity for ASEAN to improve the aims of the Bangkok declaration. So, the Kuala Lumpur Declaration was signed and claimed the charter establishment regarding the three-pillar system, economy, security, and socio-cultural.

During the years of creating the charter and coming together with the aims of the Bangkok Declaration, ASEAN also played an important role in the region. One of the biggest roles is the creation of regional organizations in Asia. Creating awareness to unity helped the creation of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), Asia Economic Cooperation (APEC), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), East Asia Summit (EAS). All those organizations and lastly RCEP shows the role of ASEAN as a regional organization creates bigger unities in the region in different issues and assigns a centralized role in the region.

ASEANAPOL is another structural form created by ASEAN in 1981 with five establishing members. "Together we keep this region safe" motto is their

common security platform, and today it increased information and intelligence information exchange under this platform.⁴⁶

4.2 Being an External Partner

ASEAN has an increasing role in the region. More than being a permanent member like existing ten countries status, there are opportunities to have diplomacy with ASEAN too in different status. ASEAN external relations with non-ASEAN member countries are categorized as dialogue partner, sectoral dialogue partner and development partner. All of them create 18 external partner networks to ASEAN. Each partnership status has its unique privileges and criteria and creates ARF, ASEAN Plus Three (APT), which are different platforms for different agendas.

According to ASEAN, there are different ways of memberships and their criteria are changing. The first category is Dialogue Partnership; this partnership focuses on the criteria of a developed economy. The projects between dialogue partners take priority over economic and technical cooperation, so the criteria are these. Regarding those two ideas, while the first dialogue partner communications were held in 1972 with European Economic Community (EEC) and Japan, the first formal dialogue partner is Australia which joined the community in 1974 and started its communications afterwards with Japan and EEC. Today, most of the partners aimed to gain this status, but only ten of them have it (Table 3.1) Australia, Canada, China, the European Union, India, Japan, the Republic of Korea, New Zealand, Russia, and United States are "ASEAN dialogue partners". Each partner has its own contact chosen from member states as ASEAN Country Coordinator and the Country Coordinator changing in order.

⁴⁶ Temiz, S., Aydođdu T.(2019). A Review to ASEAN and Turkey Relations; ASEAN as Southeast Asia's Raising Union, Iđdır Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, No:19,July pg.582

Table 3.1 ASEAN Dialogue Partners and their ASEAN Country Coordinator by years

DIALOGUE PARTNERS

No.	Dialogue Partners	ASEAN Country Coordinator		
		2015-2018	2018-2021	2021-2024
1	Australia	Myanmar	Malaysia	Lao PDR
2	Canada	Philippines	Myanmar	Malaysia
3	China	Singapore	Philippines	Myanmar
4	European Union	Thailand	Singapore	Philippines
5	India	Viet Nam	Thailand	Singapore
6	Japan	Brunei Darussalam	Viet Nam	Thailand
7	Republic of Korea	Cambodia	Brunei Darussalam	Viet Nam
8	New Zealand	Indonesia	Cambodia	Brunei Darussalam
9	Russia	Lao PDR	Indonesia	Cambodia
10	United States	Malaysia	Lao PDR	Indonesia

Sectoral Dialogue Partners are, in brief words, "smaller specified dialogue partners". This partnership is limited to specific issues, and except for that, all the processes and aims are similar to a dialogue partnership. The reason behind this partnership status is not clear, and status may be given willingly "cooperation under specified issues" or maybe for seeing critical threats towards ASEAN Way like the unbalanced economy or political instability while the partnership has advantages. This partnership is effective for partners to communicate and support each other issues they are strong. It gives opportunity to ASEAN for a protective attitude towards its three-pillar system and gives the opportunity to partners to observe the whole structure and choose the branch they want to support. However, unlike dialogue partners, sectoral partners are directly coordinated by ASEAN Secretariat (Table 3.2)

Table 3.2 ASEAN Sectoral Dialogue Partners and their Coordinator

SECTORAL DIALOGUE PARTNERS

No.	Sectoral Dialogue Partners	Coordinator
1	Norway	ASEAN Secretariat
2	Pakistan	ASEAN Secretariat
3	Switzerland	ASEAN Secretariat
4	Turkey	ASEAN Secretariat

Development partnership is another status that has nearly the same as dialogue partnership but a stronger position than dialogue partnership; it is directly bonded to the ASEAN Secretariat (Table 3.3). The last statuses are observers and guests. This status mentioned as "should be granted only to potential members of ASEAN who satisfy the criteria set for ASEAN members". After all stages of meetings, the potential members are called "a guest" and then "observers" to meetings to see the ASEAN Way of action concretely.

Table 3.3 ASEAN Development Partners and their Coordinator

DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS

No.	Development Partner	Coordinator
1	Chile	ASEAN Secretariat
2	France	ASEAN Secretariat
3	Germany	ASEAN Secretariat
4	Italy	ASEAN Secretariat

Today, ASEAN has four types of partnership: permanent members, dialogue partners, sectoral dialogue partners, and development partners. Except for all these partnerships defining the partner status of Timor-Leste is the most critical agenda of ASEAN. As the youngest democracy established in the region in 2005, it aims to become a permanent member. However, due to the lack of "consensus and cooperation" in the decision, which is the keystone of "the ASEAN Way", it has been on the agenda since 2011. Unlike their traumatic relations with Indonesia, the lack of consensus is not because of Indonesia, and it has strong economic relations with Timor-Leste. Singapore has a suspicious stand because of the decrease in Timor-Leste's economics. Singapore sees it as economic instability, which is a possible threat to ASEAN's economic integration plans and their low status in health and education. One of the important points in ASEAN history is the 1997 economic crisis. The reason behind Singapore's economic stability search in Timor Leste's economy is Singapore's judgmental approach towards 1997 Economic Crisis reasons. The crises occurred when ASEAN increased its permanent members, and even though ASEAN members had recovered from a strong crisis instantly, Singapore thinks that instability and rush decisions may cause problems.

To sum up, about the structure of ASEAN and its history, the biggest strength in the literature about the structure of ASEAN is its security pillar analyzing and role of ASEAN in the region. Secondly, the economy pillar comes. The missing part for understanding ASEAN and its structure is its socio-cultural pillar. Its capability to protect history and adapt to "today" and proven economic strength mostly after the 1997 crisis shows that ASEAN is an important actor in Asia-Pacific and increasing in the world order. Its capability to make diplomacy in the region and the example of RCEP makes ASEAN a powerful partner because of ASEAN Centrality in the region.

4.3 ASEAN Centrality

Another commonly studied issue in regards to ASEAN is "ASEAN Centrality". This issue is important for understanding both studies about the ASEAN and ASEAN's role for the region and its members. The "Centrality" concept is highlighted but differentiates from other groups because ASEAN centrality is the research outcome in different issues and topics. While some articles or sources are put into one group, the studies about centrality also discuss other issues like the ASEAN Way. So, having another group for "ASEAN Centrality" in the thesis is for understanding the existing research better.

ASEAN centrality works focus on the role of ASEAN in the region and changing structure of the ASEAN. One of the most crucial writers about the region is Amitav Acharya. In his article on ASEAN Centrality Myth⁴⁷, he focuses on the difference between ASEAN centrality and Asia centrality. In those perspectives, China in the region, then Japan are the leaders of Asia centrality. He divides the ASEAN centrality into two topics: the centrality of goodwill and the centrality of substance. The centrality of substance focuses on the ASEAN +1/+3/ARF/ EAS⁴⁸. The critical issue about centrality is ASEAN brings all the economic, political, security, socio-cultural issues together.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Acharya, A. (2017). The Myth of ASEAN Centrality? *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 39(2), 273-279. <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/667776>

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ The combination of the multiple Amitav Acharya articles. Acharya, A. (1967). The Idea Of Asia. *Angewandte Chemie International Edition*, 6(11), 951–952., 9(9), 32–39., Acharya, A.

Another source belongs to Ceren Ergenç. In her article in general lines⁵⁰, Ergenç mentions two essential issues about the region to understand how the region is shaped and how ASEAN gained importance in the region. The first is Cold War, and the second issue is the region's colonial history. Ergenç also highlights the importance of the ASEAN with its differences from other organizations in the region and its shift towards norm builder and a strong institution than ARF, APSC, AEC, ASCC etc. The most important issue is the way of establishment and the main aim of founding the institution. As an institutional bureaucracy, the ASEAN Way is also mentioned in the article and mentioned how important it is to find a middle way between ASEAN and member countries' self-interest. Ergenç strongly emphasizes the point that ASEAN is strong because of its institutional structure and the flexibility that it has. This flexibility makes ASEAN adaptable to each major transformation in history. Even though there is a dilemma between the ASEAN Way and the main aim of ASEAN, this structure helps it survive and rise in the global arena. As regional perspective highlights the process of Turkey towards membership and divides the region into three timelines; from the colonization era to the end of WWII, Cold War, Post Cold War era. The article summarises its words with reading Asia as a method and the importance of Indo-Pacific and reading ASEAN Centrality.

4.4 The ASEAN Way

Since the day it was established more than 50 years ago, ASEAN has been a peace platform, and this issue is another examined topic in literature as an achievement. ASEAN has a three-pillar structure, and its mechanism of diplomacy named "The ASEAN Way", also known as "Musyawarah and Mufakat"⁵¹ / "Cooperation and Consensus", is the way of sustaining its existence. Literature about

(1997). Ideas, identity, and institution-building: From the 'ASEAN way' to the 'Asia-Pacific way'?" *Pacific Review*, 10(3), 319–346. doi:10.1080/09512749708719226, Acharya, A. (2013). ASEAN 2030: Challenges of Building a Mature Political and Security Community. SSRN Electronic Journal. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2350586

⁵⁰ Overall summary of the chapter written by Ceren Ergenç. Source is; Ergenç, Ceren. 2020. "Introduction:ASEAN after 50 :historical,theoretical and regional perspectives." Pp. 1–13 in ASEAN as a Method: Re-centering Processes and Institutions in Contemporary Southeast Asian Regionalism, edited by C. Ergenç,

⁵¹ Mahbubani, Kishore;, and Jeffrey Sng. n.d. The ASEAN Miracle A Catalyst for Peace. Ridge Books Singapore pg17

the ASEAN way focuses on the importance of "The ASEAN Way", where it comes from, case analysis, the triangle of ASEAN Way-Pathway to Peace and Centralization, the reflections of members towards ASEAN Way.

The ASEAN Way is nearly explained by every research focused on ASEAN. The reason for highlighting this concept is the importance of the ASEAN structure; it is the way of debating, decision taking and solving the issues. Understanding the unification of ASEAN and the existing peace of ASEAN makes understanding their way of diplomacy a must. "The ASEAN Way" is seen as the way of continuing their current peace in the region and respect towards other members. The ASEAN Way focuses on the issues with the vision of preventing them before they occur, and precautions and predictions also comply with the "Musyawarah & Mufakat" way, which gives all the members the right of voice and a need for consensus; the equal right of a word is essential. It is also essential for the thesis because the ASEAN Way is the way of diplomacy of ASEAN. When it comes to bilateral relations, it is the way of solving, discussing issues and building relations with Turkey.

So, for ASEAN, precautions, preventions and acting together with a scenario that all the members accept are important. However, this comes with additional meetings and banning the sudden reflections. This lack of a strong voice in the organization and cooperation in important cases can create positive incomes where there are cons.

One of the cons is the consensus of ten-member can occur in long times. Each country has its own priorities and agenda in domestic politics, even though they respect the ASEAN agenda. Also, ASEAN is still lacking in the sense of norm building.⁵² None of the issues passes if a member is left unsatisfied. The lack of strong one voice in the immediate moment creates the gate of the individual act opportunity when the meetings occur. Regarding the Bangkok Declaration, none of the ASEAN members can criticize the individual act, so this issue threatens the ASEAN Centrality.

Pros are much more than cons. The strengths of the ASEAN Way are its precautionary ways, and each member has a voice. This makes security threats to take

⁵² Tang, K., & Mahbubani, K. (2018, June 15). ASEAN: An unexpected success story. The Cairo Review of Global Affairs. Retrieved December 20, 2019, from <https://www.thecaireview.com/essays/asean-an-unexpected-success-story/>

concern and have a roof role in South-East Asia. With regards to this, The ASEAN Way unexpectedly creates centrality in the region too. All the members and neighbours or partners of the organization respect the way of diplomacy because it is founded on consensus. TAC and the Bangkok Declaration content is one of the important ways of protecting respect towards each other. Every word is equal, and every wish is aimed to make it alive. This brings countries together in peace and with respect to each other in their aims of growing together.

4.4.1 The ASEAN WAY Belonging & Is It a Real Success?

Kishore Mahbubani, when it comes to defining ASEAN's success towards decades, chooses words of " ASEAN should be awarded the Nobel Peace"⁵³ The reason behind this is ASEAN was established with fear and as a precaution towards communism threat during the Cold War. And, the belief towards its sustainability is less because other regional alliances in the region established in those years could not survived.

There are multiple claims about The ASEAN Way and its belonging. Some researchers claim that it belongs to Indonesian culture; some say that specifically Former President of Indonesia Suharto is the owner of the method, and some say that "the ASEAN Way" is the combination of all of the founding fathers' way of thought; and also another important claim is the effect of turning points created it.

4.4.1.1 Indonesian effect on the ASEAN Way

The ASEAN Way concept is mentioned as Indonesian culture in Kishore Mahbubani's works; however, the methodology does not belong to Indonesian culture itself. But another perspective which is analyzing the Indonesian effect on the ASEAN Way is saying that more than the community, it belongs specifically to the Former President of Indonesia Suharto.

The approach towards the ASEAN Way's belonging is also mentioned in the article named "The Long Peace of ASEAN", written by Kivimäki. According to this article, this consensual system is mentioned as a "Suharto way of relation based on its focus on "mutual interest".⁵⁴

⁵³ Mahbubani, Kishore;, and Jeffrey Sng. n.d. The ASEAN Miracle A Catalyst for Peace. Ridge Books Singapore Pg 232

⁵⁴ Kivimäki, T. (2001). The Long Peace of ASEAN. Journal of Peace Research, 38(1), 5-25. Retrieved February 15, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/425780> Pg.13

According to Overholt;⁵⁵ The ASEAN Way only belongs to Indonesia, while some sources defend the idea that the hegemony of Indonesia and common culture bring it together. During the international platforms, Indonesia is seen as the leader, mediator and according to its role, Overholt reads The ASEAN Way as an Indonesian way and Indonesia was the unofficial, expected leader internationally.

Even if today's ASEAN structure and community comes together with its members and there are obvious effects of each member in constructing the ASEAN Way, the role Indonesia also takes on its shoulders is also undeniable. Today the ASEAN Secretariat is located in Indonesia, Jakarta and even the summits are held in different member countries and hosted by members equally each year, dialogue partners are placing their units in Indonesia to strengthen their relations with ASEAN.

4.4.1.2 Comparative Way of looking at the Peace Success

The ASEAN Way and its way of problem-solving with regards to case analysis create a comparative way of looking and bringing the pros and cons of the ASEAN Way with real-life experiences. This creates the opportunity to understand the success of the ASEAN Way and the problem-solving mechanism of ASEAN more than its belonging.

One of the case studies looking at the ASEAN Way implication belongs to Helena Varkkey, Şerif Onur Bahçecik, and Mohd Talib Latif, and in their article, the main concern is the global governance and how it can be analyzed in ASEAN, so the article takes a regional issue and its resolving process with the ASEAN effect. The haze problem in the region is the case taken, and the authors are focused on the process of solving the problem, attitudes of the countries and sanctions. Historical timeline of the case and attitudes are mentioned the issue is the most important income of the region. In addition to producing palm oil, preparing the next harvest includes burning forests because it is the economic and easiest way. Negotiation meetings are briefly mentioned, and it is possible to say that the process is long because of the ASEAN way. Both ASEAN priorities and member countries' considerations meet in the middle way in 10 years.

⁵⁵ Overholt, W. H. (2011). *Asya, Amerika ve Jeopolitiğin Dönüşümü*. Efil Yayınevi.pg 163-164

To sum up, THPA (Transboundary Haze Pollution Act) is a great way of explaining the ASEAN and its problem-solving methods; Malaysia is assigned for prevention, Singapore for monitoring, and Indonesia for firefighting. Its preference is diplomacy rather than sanctions, even if it mentions there will be sanctions. The role of ASEAN in regional governance can only be understood by looking into interaction commitments, enforcements, and relations of the member countries in detail.⁵⁶

So, the article makes us realize that the ASEAN as a structure has the power to bring people together and negotiate an issue that considers the region and the globe. However, this power lacks instant action because of the ASEAN Way, the way of doing it causes long negotiation meetings. Even though at the end, everyone wins but the process is long. Haze issue in this sense is an important criticism towards centrality too.

Amitav Acharya, in his article,⁵⁷ also mentions the ASEAN way under four ideas; cooperative security, open regionalism, soft regionalism, and flexible consensus. Those concepts are focused on understanding the difference between "Asia Way" and "ASEAN way", which is theoretically what literature focuses on. "Is Asia a Method and role of ASEAN". Acharya takes a notion to criticisms and reasons behind them. "No intervention" policy comes from the Bangkok Declaration. This issue in 1997 wished to soften "constructive intervention" or "flexible engagement" with regards to Hun Sen's coup in 1997 in Cambodia. This proposal met with strong opposition from other states because of the threat against state sovereignty. So, ASEAN Way is criticized for this issue. However, during the latest coup d'état that occurred in Myanmar, 1st February 2021, ASEAN came together and made an unofficial meeting with Myanmar for humanitarian issues and for possible threats and precautions to sustain the ASEAN Structure and Unity.

⁵⁶The article summarized and tried to paraphrase the all content. Varkkey, Helena, Şerif Onur Bahçecik, and Mohd Talib Latif. 2020. "ASEAN in Regional Environmental Governance: Bright Prospects or Hazy Future?" Pp. 15–34 in *ASEAN as a Method: Re-centering Processes and Institutions in Contemporary Southeast Asian Regionalism*, edited by C. Ergenç.

⁵⁷The brief outline was the four topics. Acharya studies each topic differently and in each subject takes the ASEAN Way role and affects in the region. Acharya, Amitav. 1997. "Ideas, Identity, and Institution-building: From the 'ASEAN Way' to the 'Asia-Pacific Way'?" *Pacific Review* 10(3):319–46. doi: 10.1080/09512749708719226

4.4.1.3 Turning points for ASEAN

According to Kishore Mahbubani, there are five turning points in ASEAN's success; communism, strong leaders, geopolitical luck, market-oriented economic policies, and ASEAN based regional networks⁵⁸. The first point is the common fear of communism in 5 founding members; Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. In August 1967, Singapore Foreign Minister S. Rajaratnam shared his concerns and thoughts with his ASEAN colleagues with deep conviction, saying, "if we do not hang together, we of the ASEAN nations will hang separately."⁵⁹ At that point, founders understood that they were supposed to act together as non-communist leaders against communism. In the years of fighting against communist countries' actions in the region, ASEAN came together and always worked together. The second turning point for the ASEAN is its leaders. As an organizational structure, the system highly depends on the leaders and their perspectives. The critical issue here is that ASEAN opens doors to leaders to prioritize their national interests and erase ASEAN. However, during the first years of the ASEAN, the leaders of the first five members held strong, saw ASEAN as a solution, and preferred to act together. Mostly in the case of Vietnam, they trust each other and continue this relationship until today with increasing the members.

The third turning point for ASEAN is its geopolitical luck. By geopolitical luck, the timing of the events and the region's luck are mentioned. Firstly, in Cold War, the following events in China did not affect much the ASEAN members; and ASEAN succeeded in protecting the members. Fourthly, market-oriented economic policies are another success point for the sustainability of the ASEAN. Like the EU, ASEAN succeeded in creating a market area in the region and established this area for non-member states; dialogue partners.

Lastly, all-regional networks are built with the name of the ASEAN. Those ASEAN based regional networks are the strength and turning point for the organization. Because those networks like ASEAN+3, ASEAN +6 and sectoral dialogue partners, show the respect of the leaders to ASEAN and shows the first time in general lines the harmony between the timing of the events that occurred in the

⁵⁸ Mahbubani in his work mentions in details about this five points and analyse them in Chapter 1; Mahbubani, Kishore;, and Jeffrey Sng. n.d. *The ASEAN Miracle A Catalyst for Peace*. Ridge Books Singapore

⁵⁹ Ibid.pg64

world during Cold War times and the successful fight against the communist countries done by founder leaders of the ASEAN complete each other like puzzle pieces. The founder leaders of the ASEAN under threat of communism handled the crises well, like Vietnam-Cambodia, China events in the region. During these issues, mutual trust to each other strengthened the ASEAN. Their way of resolution "Musyawarah and Mufakat", strong leaders and common enemies created columns of the ASEAN. Then by protecting the relations and similar motivations, ASEAN expanded to build networks and created security, peace and strong economic partnership in the region.

Unlike the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) and the MAPHILINDO (Malaysia, Philippines, and Indonesia), which established alliances in the region around the same time and circumstances, ASEAN survived and created a peace miracle as Mahbubani says. However, the organization is dealing with lots of criticism, like lacking an integrated economic structure, norm building, ASEAN Centrality, and as its role in the region not only should be leading but also should be sitting on the driver seat. Acharya defines this as;

ASEAN centrality is not a result of the generosity of the big powers, but a consequence of two other long-term factors. First, none of these great powers—including the US, the PRC, Japan, and India—would be acceptable to the rest of the region as the sole driver of regionalism, as each carries baggage from the past. Second, the two most important East Asian powers, the PRC and Japan, do not find each other acceptable in such a role, and the prospect for a Sino-Japanese rapprochement in the manner of the post-War Franco-German reconciliation, which will provide the strongest challenge to ASEAN centrality, does not appear likely.⁶⁰

In the end, those concepts, the ASEAN Way and the ASEAN Centrality are integrated. The diplomatic method seen as the diplomatic result to success in ASEAN Way creates the path towards ASEAN Centrality. ASEAN has the advantage, but it is not using it as effectively as it could.

⁶⁰ Acharya, Amitav. (2013). ASEAN 2030: Challenges of Building a Mature Political and Security Community. SSRN Electronic Journal. 10.2139/ssrn.2350586. pg.20

CHAPTER 5

TURKEY AND ASEAN

Analyzing Turkey and ASEAN relations is the main aim of the thesis, and according to the literature review, this issue is a missing topic in academic literature. There are three aspects of the subject: the ASEAN perspective, Turkey's perspective and Bilateral relations of Turkey with ASEAN Members

5.1 From ASEAN Perspective

The ASEAN Secretariat shares information about the progress, meetings, and decisions are taken on its official site. Reports show that two sides, Turkey and ASEAN, came together with the summit meetings of ECO⁶¹. Also, Turkey hosted the "8th ASEAN+3 Finance Ministers' Meeting" in Istanbul, which includes Finance Ministers of ASEAN, China, Japan and the Republic of Korea (ASEAN+3) under the chairmanship of Chansy Phosikham, former Minister of Finance of Lao PDR⁶². Even though the detailed information about the two and their relationship is missing, it began with the 43rd meeting of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting held in Vietnam. TAC is an agreement that every country must sign to be a partner with ASEAN since 24 February 1976. The official documents mention that; The Republic of Turkey acceded to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) on 23 July 2010 In Ha Noi, Viet Nam. During the same meeting, ASEAN stated that Turkey's interest, commitment and orientation to ASEAN is appreciated, and both sides aim to strengthen partnerships⁶³. The agreement which;

⁶¹ ASEAN. Retrieved March 7, 2020, from <https://asean.org/the-11th-asean-eco-joint-ministerial-meeting/>

⁶²The Joint Ministerial Statement of the 8th ASEAN+3 Finance Ministers' Meeting Istanbul, Turkey. ASEAN. Retrieved March 7, 2020, from <https://asean.org/the-joint-ministerial-statement-of-the-8th-asean3-finance-ministers-meeting-istanbul-turkey/>

⁶³ASEAN. Retrieved June 5, 2020, from <https://asean.org/asean-sg-turkey-shows-interest-commitment-and-orientation-towards-asean/>

desires to enhance peace, friendship and mutual cooperation on matters affecting Southeast Asia consistent with the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Ten Principles adopted by the Asian-African Conference in Bandung on 25 April 1955, the Declaration of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations signed in Bangkok on 8 August 1967, and the Declaration signed in Kuala Lumpur on 27 November 1971 divides principles, amity and cooperation expectations from the countries.⁶⁴

As an addition, ASEAN also highlights the 2nd meeting of the AJ-JSCC meeting because of the importance of the agenda. With this meeting, the expected path towards the future is created and signed between two sides as an action plan for 2019-2023.

Even though the relations seemed positive and progressive when looked at official documents, some sources have criticism towards Turkey and ASEAN relations, noting that ASEAN paused the relations because of Turkey's instability in politics and economics. But the 3rd Meeting of AT-JSCC reports show that this progress in relations continues.

The last sources are the on-duty ambassadors in Turkey of ASEAN member countries invited to discuss the relations. After the private mailings between the ambassadors, even though all the ASEAN member countries were questioned to; analyze bilateral relations with Turkey, the effect of ASEAN, and the role of ASEAN in their country, most of them did not return. However, the ambassadors' answers highlighted a common issue: "the importance between the times of the Post-Cold War era and before in the relations" and "the importance of both "ASEAN and Turkey."

5.2 From Turkey's Perspective

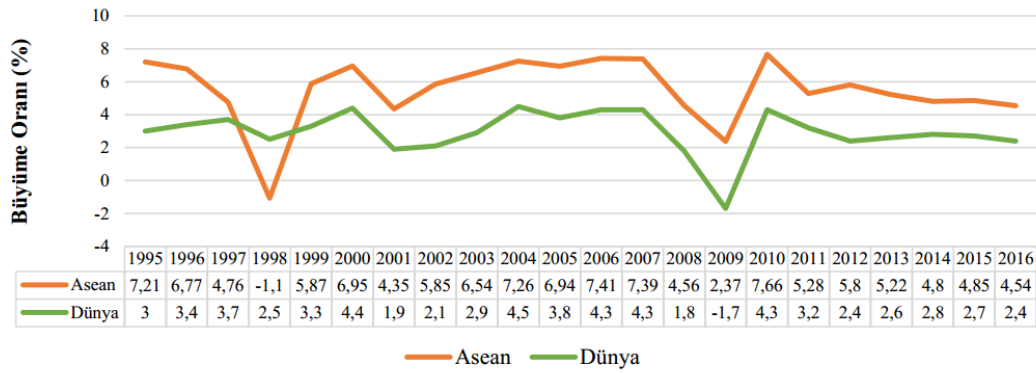
On the other side of the relations, Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) also shares information about the relations and mentions TAC. According to the MFA, Turkey represents its willingness to cooperate with ASEAN since 1999 as a dialogue partner, and this relationship has been on the agenda of Turkey since 1999. Turkey, after attending some meetings as an observer, relations gained speed. The two sides officially signed TAC on 23 July 2010 then became sectoral dialogue

⁶⁴ASEAN. Retrieved November 12, 2019, from <https://asean.org/treaty-amity-cooperation-southeast-asia-indonesia-24-february-1976/>

partners in the 50th ASEAN meeting held during 4-6 August 2017.⁶⁵ Also, the ministry shares the information about the ASEANAPOL, which is the police organization of ASEAN, which Turkey became an observer to in 2014. AT-JSCC deputies belong to the ASEAN Secretariat and accredited Turkey's Indonesia Embassy. Ministry also highlights the Practical Cooperation Areas' (PCA) importance, which is the roadmap between two sides for 2019-2023 without giving the details except for Turkey's fund to ASEAN, 1 million dollars.

Turkey's ultimate objective for developing its relations with ASEAN is to achieve Dialogue Partnership. However, since the moratorium is still in effect with no sign of lifting, Turkey has applied to become a Sectoral Dialogue Partner (SDP) with ASEAN in 2015 in order not to lose the momentum of relations.⁶⁶

Table 4: ASEAN Economic Growth⁶⁷



About the current relations between Turkey and ASEAN, more than the official documents and press releases, there is one existing economic research found which is written by Ferhat İspiroğlu and Pınar Pazarcı with the title "ASEAN-

⁶⁵ T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı'ndan. T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Retrieved November 12, 2019, from <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/guneydogu-asya-ulkeleri-birligi.tr.mfa>

⁶⁶ Turkey's Relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN),” Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed August 1, 2018, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/asean.en.mfa>.

⁶⁷ İbid. Pg232

Türkiye Dış Ticaret İlişkileri". According to research, they write "ASEAN has more benefits from this relation"⁶⁸ Research focuses on the economic success of the ASEAN countries in the world, how this region healed their economy after the 1997 economic crisis quickly, (Table 4) and the general trade sectors between Turkey and ASEAN. (Table 5) Research shows that ASEAN members have a leading role in world economics, and growth in their economy is always one step forward from the world. The comparative analysis tables taken from İspiroğlu and Pazarcı help create concrete data for reading relations in the economic field.

Table 5: Turkey-ASEAN Trade Products⁶⁹

	<i>İhracat</i>	<i>İthalat</i>
Brunei	Demir/Çelik Depolar, İnşaat Aksamları Yontulmaya, İnşaat Elverişli İşlenmiş Taşlar	Ağaç ve Ahşap Eşya; Odun Kömürü
Endonezya	Yaprak Tütün ve Tütün Döküntüleri Buğday Unu, Elektrik Kontrol Panoları	Sentetik İplik ve Sentetik İpliklerinden Dokunmuş Mensucat
Filipinler	Buğday Unu, Tütün Ürünleri, İlaç Ürünleri	Elektronik Entegre Devreler, Hindistan Cevizi, Brezilya ve Kaju Cevizi, Matbaacılığa Mahsus Baskı Makineleri
Kamboçya	Pamuklu Mensucat, İlaç Ürünleri, Toplu Taşıma Taşıtları	Takım Elbise, Ceket, Blazer, Pantolon, Tulum, Şort, Etek, Tişört, Fanilalar, Atletler vd.
Laos	Kümes Hayvanlarının Etleri ve Sakatları, Toplu Taşıma Taşıtları	Kauçuktan İç Lastikler, Erkekler ve Erkek Çocuklar İçin Gömlekler
Malezya	Altın (Ham, Yarı İşlenmiş, Pudra Halinde), Petrol Yağları ve Bitümenli Minerallerden Elde Edilen Yağlar, Prefabrik Yapılar	Palm Yağı ve Fraksiyonları, Diyodlar, Transistörler vb Yarı İletkenler, Led Ürünler, İşlenmemiş Alüminyum
Mynmar	Demir-Çelikten İnşaat ve İnşaat Aksamı, Ayçiçeği, Aspir, Pamuk Tohumu Yağları ve Bunların Fraksiyonları	Parça, Şerit veya Motif Halinde İşlemeler, Kadın ve Kız Çocuk İçin Manto, Kaban, Kolsuz Ceket, Pelerin,
Singapur	Petrol Yağları ve Bitümenli Minerallerden Elde Edilen Yağlar, Gümüş Ürünleri, Yolcu Gemileri, Gezinti Gemileri, Feribotlar, Yük Gemileri, vb.	Etilen Polimerleri, Otomatik Bilgi İşlem Makine ve Bunlara Ait Birimler, Manyetik-Optik Okuyucular, Tedavide veya Korunmada Kullanılmak Üzere Hazırlanan İlaçlar.
Tayland	Demir veya Alaşımız Çelikten Yassı Hadde Ürünleri, Motorların Aksam ve Parçaları, Ayçiçeği, Aspir, Pamuk Tohumu Yağları	Eşya Taşımaya Mahsus Motorlu Taşıtlar, Diyodlar, Transistörler vb, Yarı İletkenler, Işık Yayan Diyodlar (Led), Klima Cihazları
Vietnam	Zencefil, Safran, Zerdeçal, Kekik, Defne Yaprakları, Köri ve Diğer Baharatlar, Telefon Cihazları, Ses, Görüntü veya Diğer Bilgileri Almaya ya da Vermeye Mahsus Diğer Cihazlar, Kümes Hayvanlarının Etleri ve Yenilen Sakatları	Telefon Cihazları, Ses, Görüntü veya Diğer Bilgileri Almaya ya da Vermeye Mahsus Diğer Cihazlar, Sentetik Filament İplikleri, Dış Tabanı Kauçuk, Plastik, Kösele ve Yüzü Dokumaya Elverişli Ürünler

The article allows reaching lots of tables in analyzing economic relations and understanding both the positions of ASEAN and Turkey individually in the world. (Table 6, Table 7, Table 8, Table 9) According to the tables, it is possible to see the success of the ASEAN Economic Community, individual roles of the members and

⁶⁸ İspiroğlu, F., & Pazarcı, P. (2018, 01 26). ASEAN-Türkiye Dış Ticaret İlişkileri. Social Sciences Studies Journal, 4(13), pp. 229-241.pg.238

⁶⁹ Ibid.pg.237.

Turkey. Concerning the 2023 plan signed between Turkey and ASEAN and the data Pazarıcı and İspiroğlu bring together, it is possible to say that there is progress in the sense of economic goals.

Table 6: GDP Development in ASEAN Countries (1980-2016)⁷⁰

<i>Ülkeler</i>	<i>1980 GSYİH</i>	<i>2016 GSYİH</i>	<i>Büyüme Oranı (%)</i>
Brunei	4.928.824.958	11.400.266.877	131
Endonezya	72.482.337.370	932.259.177.765	1186
Filipinler	32.450.541.843	304.905.406.846	839
Kamboçya	2.533.727.592*	20.016.747.754	690
Laos	1.757.142.806**	15.903.437.790	805
Malezya	24.488.033.442	296.359.118.755	1110
Mynmar	8.905.066.164***	67.429.590.536	657
Singapur	11.893.405.684	296.965.712.342	2396
Tayland	32.353.440.727	406.839.679.302	1157
Vietnam	14.094.687.821****	202.615.893.444	1337
Türkiye	68.789.289.566	857.748.989.288	1146

1993 Yılı verisi, **1984 Yılı Verisi, *** 2000 Yılı Verisi, **** 1985 Yılı Verisi

Table 7: GDP per Capita (1980-2016) in ASEAN Countries (2010 Fixed Price)⁷¹

<i>Ülkeler</i>	<i>1980 Kişi Başı GSYİH</i>	<i>2016 Kişi Başı GSYİH</i>	<i>Büyüme Oranı (%)</i>
Brunei	59.391	31.430	-47
Endonezya	1.230	3.974	223
Filipinler	1.687	2.753	63
Kamboçya	316*	1.078	241
Laos	423**	1.643	288
Malezya	3.317	11.028	232
Mynmar	211	1.420	573
Singapur	13.309	52.601	295
Tayland	1.404	5.901	320
Vietnam	389***	1.770	354
Türkiye	4.987	14.071	182

* 1993 Yılı verisi, **1984 Yılı Verisi, *** 1984 Yılı Verisi

⁷⁰ Ibid.pg.232

⁷¹ Ibid.pg.233

Table 8: Population in ASEAN Member Countries (1980-2016)⁷²

<i>Ülkeler</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>2016</i>	<i>1980-2016 Büyüme Oranı</i>
Brunei	193.949	423.196	118
Endonezya	147.490.365	261.115.456	77
Filipinler	47.396.968	103.320.222	118
Kamboçya	6.692.107	15.762.370	135
Laos	3.258.144	6.758.353	107
Malezya	13.798.125	31.187.265	126
Mynmar	33.369.712	52.885.223	58
Singapur	2.413.945	5.607.283	132
Tayland	47.385.323	68.863.514	45
Vietnam	53.700.000	92.701.100	73
Türkiye	43.975.921	79.512.426	81

Table 9: ASEAN Countries Economic Freedom Rankings (2017)⁷³

<i>Ülkeler</i>	<i>2017</i>
Brunei	35
Endonezya	84
Filipinler	58
Kamboçya	94
Laos	133
Malezya	27
Myanmar (Burma)	146
Singapur	2
Tayland	55
Vietnam	147
Türkiye	60

However, as the authors mentioned in their article, this relation is not beneficial for Turkey. Overall statistics show that some ASEAN members are ten times better than Turkey like Singapore, while some are worse than Turkey like Brunei.⁷⁴ (Table 10 and Table 11) However, ASEAN has the success to combine all and move together towards success. So, this situation creates the question that while Turkey is not the one, who has more benefits?

⁷² Ibid. pg. 233

⁷³ Ibid. pg. 234

⁷⁴ DEİK (Foreign Economic Relations Board). (2008). ASYA'NIN YÜKSELEN BİRLİĞİ ASEAN. <https://www.deik.org.tr/uploads/asean.pdf>

Table 10: Trade Volume Development Between Turkey and ASEAN (2007-2016) ⁷⁵

<i>Ülkeler</i>	<i>2007Yılı Ticaret Hacmi(Bin S)</i>	<i>2016 Yılı Ticaret Hacmi(Bin S)</i>	<i>2007-2016 Değişim (%)</i>
Brunei	959	8.125	747
Endonezya	1.533.664	1.678.358	9
Filipinler	237	229	-3
Kamboçya	17.347	91.394	427
Laos	756	3.780	400
Malezya	226	410	81
Mynmar	12.404	38.357	209
Singapur	562.500	780.400	39
Tayland	1.292.465	1.646.183	27
Vietnam	389.400	1.969.716	406

Table 11: Turkey – ASEAN Foreign Trade Data (2007-2016) ⁷⁶

	<i>2007</i>			<i>2016</i>		
	<i>İhracat</i>	<i>İthalat</i>	<i>Denge</i>	<i>İhracat</i>	<i>İthalat</i>	<i>Denge</i>
Brunei	953	6	947	8.122	2,7	8.119
Endonezya	173.736	1.359.928	-1.186.186	253.636	1.424.722	-1.171.085
Filipinler	40,2	196,6	-156,4	106,7	122,4	-15,7
Kamboçya	5.298	12.049	-6.751	14.177	77.217	-63.040
Laos	22	734	-712	2.244	1.536	708
Malezya	181,3	45	136,3	308,9	101,1	207,9
Mynmar	603	11.801	-11.198	27.254	11.103	16.152
Singapur	299.300	263.200	36.100	417.200	363.200	54.000
Tayland	63.021	1.229.444	-1.166.423	163.890	1.482.293	-1.318.403
Vietnam	76.720	312.680	-235.961	233.860	1.735.856	-1.501.996

Also, another source belongs to the Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK), which is more expanded, and the current version of the work belongs to İspiroğlu and Pazarcı. The Foreign Economic Relations Board prepared a more detailed catalogue. It focused on country profiles of the ASEAN members, the economic trade relations, which is similar and supports the idea that economically Turkey is not gaining much from this relation even though the primary goal was economy in Asia Anew Initiative.

Last but not least, Turkey's vision is resources taken from Former Indonesia Ambassador Prof. Dr. Mahmut Erol Kılıç, which is accredited to ASEAN-Turkey relations and focuses on ATJSCCR. Turkey and ASEAN relations have been

⁷⁵ Ibid. pg. 238

⁷⁶ Ibid. pg. 236

diplomatically organized under a specific community named ASEAN-Turkey Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee (AT-JSCCR) since 2017, a sub-unit of the ASEAN Secretariat. Turkey assigned its' Indonesian Ambassador to represent Turkey in this committee simultaneously. The Embassy of Jakarta is accredited to the Republic of Indonesia, the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, and AT-JSCCR. During the literature review, I had the chance to communicate with the embassy and received some information about the relations between two important dates; after the AT-JCCR meeting in Indonesia on 3 December 2020 and visit of Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu to Jakarta afterwards. Embassy shared the speech of Former Ambassador Prof. Dr. Kılıç made in AT-JSCCR.⁷⁷ The points Ambassador highlighted are the increasing progressive relation between two and the success. The framework he draws is determined Turkey for the relations and work for the relations, which is also beneficial for Turkey. He also highlighted that the diplomacy of the ASEAN way is not suitable for Turkey. It is too slow, and members are too closed to foreign investment.

To sum up, Turkey and ASEAN relations froze from 1999 to 2015; however, after the increase in meetings and diplomatic visits, the AT-JSCC was established under the ASEAN Secretariat, which is the key point of the relations today. Together, the Practical Cooperation Areas (PCA) was agreed at the 2nd Meeting of the ASEAN-Turkey Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee (AT-JSCC) at the ASEAN Secretariat. This roadmap towards the future includes economics, security and cultural activities, too, and the briefings published showed that relations are diplomatically going well.

5.3 Bilateral Relations of Turkey with ASEAN Members

Turkey has bilateral relations with the ASEAN permanent members without the ASEAN platform. However, AT-JSCC allows reaching all the Southeast Asia Region to Turkey. Analyzing the bilateral relations between the members and Turkey shows the importance of the ASEAN effect to bilateral relations with ten members.

⁷⁷ Speech text is able to read in list of tables part. Kılıç, M. E. (2020). 3. ASEAN-Türkiye Ortak Sektörel İşbirliği Komitesi(AT-JSCC) Toplantısı. Opening Speech. 3. ASEAN-Türkiye Ortak Sektörel İşbirliği Komitesi(AT-JSCC) Toplantısı, Jakarta, Indonesia

5.3.1 Brunei Darussalam

The first diplomatic relations between Brunei Darussalam and Turkey were established on 27 June 1984.⁷⁸ The high-level diplomatic visits with Brunei did not occur until 2002. During the 2000s, two high-level visits were made by Brunei, His Royal Highness Prince Mohamed Bolkiah, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2002) and Her Royal Highness Princess Hajah Masna, Ambassador-at-Large (2004). After 2012 the relations increased. With His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah of Brunei's visit to Turkey on 8-10 April 2012, followed by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on 9-10 November 2012. The embassy in Bandar Seri Begawan opened after those visits on 15 October 2013, and The Bruneian Embassy in Ankara was opened on 8 January 2014, which is also accredited to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also, the meetings like the 13th Islamic Summit Conference, Extraordinary Islamic Summit, and ASEAN meetings created a platform to talk about increasing relations.⁷⁹ The main bilateral goals are the defence industry increasing the trade and investment, education and tourism sectors. Today there are small numbers of agreements between two about those interests; the Agreement on Economic, Trade and Technical Cooperation (2012) the Agreement on the Mutual Abolition of Visas (2012). Also, The Royal Brunei Technical Services (RBTS) has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with one of Turkey's companies. Those economic relations are similar to other Southeast Asian countries, are increasing but also have a trade deficit, and limited with certain sectors.

5.3.2 Cambodia

Diplomatic relations between Turkey and Cambodia were established in 1959, though opening Embassies occurred much later. Turkish Embassy in Phnom Penh was opened in 2013, while Cambodia has two honorary consulates in Turkey, one in Ankara and the other in İstanbul. According to some of the sources, the reason behind the gap in communication is; since the mid-1970s, relations have remained limited due to the domestic political developments in Cambodia, geographical

⁷⁸Ministry of Foreign Affairs Brunei Darussalam, Retrieved November 12, 2021 [http://www.mfa.gov.bn/Shared%20Documents/politics2documents/\(Final\)%20Areas%20of%20Coverage%20-%20Europe.pdf](http://www.mfa.gov.bn/Shared%20Documents/politics2documents/(Final)%20Areas%20of%20Coverage%20-%20Europe.pdf)

⁷⁹ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs., Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-brunei-darussalam.en.mfa>

distance and differences in Turkey's foreign policy priorities.⁸⁰ After Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu's first visit at the level of Foreign Ministers in 2015, the gap in bilateral relations began to be filled. According to official statements, The Kingdom of Cambodia pursues a foreign policy that protects and promotes its national interests by five main tasks; protect national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality; maintain peace, security, stability, order, and social unity, foster more friendship abroad based on the spirit of national independence, promote economic diplomacy, continue to support and strengthen multilateralism, enhance the quality, efficiency and capacity of Cambodian diplomats.⁸¹ With this regard, bilateral relations are increasing day by day, mostly in economic relations. The reason behind the increase is the changing priorities of Turkey and its vision towards the region. In 2018, Cambodia and Turkey signed eight agreements in different sectors, including education, culture, tourism, water management, agriculture, and investment, during a 3-day official visit in İstanbul.⁸² Also, after bilateral talks between Prime Minister Hun Sen and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on the Fifth Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA), Hun Sen expressed his support for Turkey's request to move from a sectoral dialogue partner of ASEAN to a dialogue partner, promising to work to support Turkey's relations with the group and thanked Turkey for its strong support and assistance to the ASEAN Regional Mine Action Center and for its contributions to ASEAN in combating terrorism.⁸³

5.3.3 Indonesia

The relations between Indonesia and Turkey are historical and always active. The first relations began with Aceh and Ottoman Empire times, and the existence of

⁸⁰ From rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. , Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-cambodia.en.mfa>

⁸¹ Cambodia's foreign policy direction. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. Retrieved February 8, 2021, from <https://www.mfaic.gov.kh/Page/2021-02-08-Cambodia-s-Foreign-Policy-Direction>

⁸² Cambodia, turkey bolster cooperation - khmer times. Khmer Times - Insight into Cambodia. (2018, October 21). Retrieved February 8, 2021, from <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/542602/cambodia-turkey-bolster-cooperation/>

⁸³ Hun Sen and Erdogan pledge to boost Cambodia-turkey trade. Cambodianess. Retrieved February 8, 2021, from <https://cambodianess.com/article/hun-sen-and-erdogan-pledge-to-boost-cambodia-turkey-trade>

the relations kept going for more than 70 years⁸⁴. Also, the literature includes academic sources that commonly compare two in Islamic populism. "Turkey was one of the first nations that recognized Indonesia's independence. Diplomatic relations were established in 1950, and the Turkish Embassy in Jakarta opened on 10 April 1957."⁸⁵ The historical relations are not only economic but also cultural. Turkey built Turkey-Indonesia Business Council in 1995. "Turkey and Indonesia enjoy close and multifaceted relations, with a wide range of opportunities for further cooperation. Indonesia, which is the world's third-largest democracy, is also the most populous Muslim-majority country and occupies a strategic location between the Indian and the Pacific Oceans."⁸⁶

Today, Turkey has the Embassy in Jakarta and has been accredited to ASEAN since 2010. ASEAN is not the only international organization Turkey and Indonesia cooperate with; UN, OIC, G-20, D-8, and MIKTA are the other organizations. Like other Southeast Asian countries, there is a trade deficit in relations, but the market and investments increase every day.

5.3.4 Laos PDR

Laos is one of the poorest countries in South Asia and has tried to expand its economy and change its status since 1986. Its membership in ASEAN since 1997 and AFTA creates an important role in the economic plans. When it comes to its relations with Turkey, diplomatic relations were established in 1958, yet opening an Embassy had to wait until 27 December 2017.⁸⁷ It is possible to say that Laos PDR is one of the Southeast Asian countries which take attention again with changing policies of Turkey and with the help of the ASEAN Embassy in Vientiane, which opened on 27 December 2017. Former Prime Minister Sisoulith Thongloun (active President) visited Turkey in 2008. The relations are strong in the sense of economics.

⁸⁴ Retrieved February 5, 2022, Kemlu.go.id

⁸⁵ From rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (n.d.). Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-indonesia.en.mfa>

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ From rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (n.d.). Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-laos.en.mfa>

Since 2010, it was promised that both would be the most favoured country in the customs duties and fees applied mutually in import and export.

5.3.5 Malaysia

Malaysia is one of the Southeast Asia countries with existing relations coming from the Ottoman Empire. The first relations increased during the fight towards colonialism, Malay Sultanate of Malacca got help from Ottoman Empire, and close relations continued. Diplomatic relations between Turkey and Malaysia were established in 1964. Between 1970-1980, a broad-based infrastructure was prepared for relations. Turkey and Malaysia come together in many international platforms such as the UN, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the D-8; these collaborations increase the bilateral relations on many other issues.⁸⁸ There is potential in this relation in the economic sense and cultural sense. In 2014, during the ASEAN and Turkey relations building, the Free Trade Agreement between Turkey and Malaysia was signed. This agreement is special because it constitutes the first-ever FTA that Turkey concluded with an ASEAN member. It came into force on 1 August 2015. This FTA is important for Turkey in the sense of its first FTA with ASEAN members and becoming a step forward to further its relations with the region. The latest development in relations is the Turkish Aerospace Industry (TAI) investment as the opening of a new office in Malaysia on 24 November 2021.⁸⁹

When Malaysia's foreign policy is considered alone in brief words, it is shaped with three main points; its' strategic location in Southeast Asia, its attributes as a trading nation and its unique demography, which resulted as independent, principled and pragmatic foreign policy.⁹⁰ Malaysia gives importance to ASEAN as much as it gives importance to promoting its role in the region. It continues to promote a forward-looking and pragmatic foreign policy that facilitates trade, attracts

⁸⁸ From rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-malaysia.en.mfa>

⁸⁹The Malaysian Reserve. Retrieved November 25th, 2021, from https://themalaysianreserve.com/2021/11/25/turkish-aerospace-industrys-new-office-in-malaysia-cements-stronger-ties/?__cf_chl_jschl_tk__=XLUBLqXN9hmcwtien6nhESHsigdyCxBLm95sUd43KI-1637923463-0-gaNycGzNCJE

⁹⁰ Malaysia's foreign policy Malaysia's foreign policy. Malaysia's Foreign Policy - Portal. Retrieved December 7, 2021, from <https://www.kln.gov.my/web/guest/foreign-policy>

foreign investment, and projects Malaysia as a stable and peaceful country. Its foreign policy gives importance to Muslim World and the "prosper thy neighbour" policy. This policy crates priority in relations with Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-the Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA), Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMTGT). As a Muslim majority country, Malaysia gives importance to OIC Group of Seventy Seven (G77), Developing Eight (D8), Asia Middle East Dialogue (AMED), Far East Asia Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC), Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).⁹¹

Malaysia is an important strategic partner in different perspectives. First of all, it has rich natural resources, trade pathways, and an important location for Southeast Asia. Secondly, it is one of the main actors in ASEAN as a founding member, making Malaysia respectful to the alliances stemming from ASEAN relations. However, it is important to highlight that Malaysia is pragmatic in its foreign policy and gives importance to its economic benefits in its alliances. The trade potential between the two is high, but since the day FTA between two countries came into force and 70% of custom duties removed, trade volume increased, but Turkey's trade deficit increased too. Also, As current export levels and trade records show, Turkey's international arms market share is limited to low to medium technology products such as land systems and small patrol vehicles, with one of the largest customers being Malaysia.⁹²

5.3.6 Myanmar

Myanmar is also an important part of Southeast Asia. Like its relations with other Asia countries regarding the Asia Anew Initiative policy, Turkey considers Myanmar as a partner and aims to increase bilateral relations in each sense. Still, the political and economic problems that Myanmar has not been able to resolve in the country are also an obstacle to the advancement of bilateral relations.

⁹¹Malaysia's foreign policy Malaysia's foreign policy. Malaysia's Foreign Policy - Portal. Retrieved December 7, 2021, from https://www.kln.gov.my/web/guest/foreign-policy?p_p_auth=VFzrTKCs&p_p_id=49&p_p_lifecycle=1&p_p_state=normal&p_p_mode=view&_49_struts_action=%2Fmy_sites%2Fview&_49_groupId=8390448&_49_privateLayout=false

⁹² Bağcı,H. & Kurç,Ç. (2017) Turkey's strategic choice: buy or make weapons?, Defence Studies, 17:1, 38-62, DOI: 10.1080/14702436.2016.1262742 pg.54

The first diplomatic relations between Turkey and Myanmar were established on 02.09.1958⁹³. The Turkish Embassy in Bangkok was accredited to Myanmar until the Embassy in Myanmar came into operation on 9 March 2012 in Naypyidaw. Myanmar does not have a resident Embassy in Turkey. The Burmese Embassy in Cairo is accredited to Turkey.⁹⁴

In foreign policy, cooperation in economics-politics-cultural unity, Arakan (Rohingya) issue is one of the cases Turkey keep on agenda. In relations, Turkey prefers to help Myanmar with the help of the UN; 2007 humanitarian aids, 2010-Cyclone Nargis Aids are some examples. Myanmar has lots of political and ethnic problems, which creates instability in relations too, and bilateral relations do not grow fast as Turkey wishes. Turkey is protecting the relations with the help of international organizations. Also, its trade relations are not beneficial for Turkey, but Turkey is optimistic about this issue.

5.3.7 Philippines

The diplomatic relations between Turkey and the Philippines began on 13 June 1949. Even though the relations began in 1949 after nearly four decades, the Turkish Embassy in Manila was opened on 17 October 1990, while The Philippines Embassy was opened in 1991.⁹⁵ The biggest support in relations comes from the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) Office in the Philippines, which opened in April 2015 in Manila. Today, the economic relations are increasing, but it is less than expected. Also, there is still a trade deficit. However, the biggest trade sector is tourism, and both sides aim to expand the existing ratio⁹⁶ Inside the

⁹³ Diplomatic relations with Myanmar. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retrieved December 7, 2021, from <https://www.mofa.gov.mm/deplomatic-relations-with-myanmar/>

⁹⁴ From rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-myanmar.en.mfa>

⁹⁵ From rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retrieved February 7, 2020, from https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-philippines_.en.mfa

⁹⁶Unit, P. I. S. Philippine Ambassador, Governor of Ankara Aim for Closer Philippines-Turkey Relations. Retrieved December 7, 2021, from <https://dfa.gov.ph/dfa-news/news-from-our-foreign-service-postsupdate/29705-philippine-ambassador-governor-of-ankara-aim-for-closer-philippines-turkey-relations>

ASEAN members, Philippines is the primary country that sends tourists to Turkey. More than economic relations, Turkey also gives advisory support to political issues. Turkey helps to find solutions between armed Muslim groups and the government.

With the export-oriented defence policy, Turkey's main concern has become the exportability of procured weapon systems either through selling the completed weapon platform or integrating Turkish defence companies into global production chains. The first priority in defence procurement is having the export rights for the weapon system that is co-produced or produced with foreign licences, such as the T-129 ATAK helicopter.⁹⁷

Today Turkish companies continue 3 projects in the Philippines, including the export of ATAK helicopters and Amphibious Armored Combat Construction Equipment (AZMİM) and M113 tower modernization.⁹⁸

5.3.8 Singapore

Singapore is one of the important founding members of ASEAN, and the bilateral relations with Turkey began on 12 February 1969. The Turkish Embassy in Singapore was opened on 1 November 1989, while The Singaporean Embassy in Ankara was opened on 23 July 2012. The relations between the two not progressive until the 2002 Asia-Pacific extension of Turkey; however, today, Singapore is the second-largest buyer of Turkish exports in the Asia-Pacific region after China. The biggest handicap between the two is shaping the FTA. Singapore has a large free trade agreement with the EU, and due to the missing parts in the Customs Union, Turkey cannot get the required efficiency and lags in economic relations. Therefore, there are gaps between Turkey's customs union agreement with the EU and EU-Singapore free trade agreement. The missing parts are tried to be fulfilled with bilateral agreements between Turkey and Singapore. "The Prevention of Double Taxation and Prevention of Fiscal Evasion concerning Taxes on Income" and "the Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments" are the agreements that fill

⁹⁷ Bađcı,H. & Kurç,Ç. (2017) Turkey's strategic choice: buy or make weapons?, *Defence Studies*, 17:1, 38-62, DOI: 10.1080/14702436.2016.1262742 pg.49

⁹⁸ Yıldırım, G. (2022). Türk Savunma sanayisi filipinler'de Yeni Görevler için hazır. Retrieved April 18, 2022, from <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/ekonomi/turk-savunma-sanayisi-filipinlerde-yeni-gorevler-icin-hazir/2558665>

some of the gaps.⁹⁹ Today Mersin International Port is one of the important investments in Turkey.

According to Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong's answer to the question of strategic partnership, he defined Turkey relations in his speech on 14 October 2014 as;

...Well, the strategic partnership covers a wide range of areas – cultural cooperation, educational cooperation, economic cooperation, security cooperation. But also, under economic cooperation, it covers transportation and transportation includes civil aviation. Singapore has an important air hub in the Far East. I think Istanbul has become an important air hub in this part of the world between Asia and Europe....¹⁰⁰

More than his answer in his speech, he highlights that Turkey and Singapore have mutually opened doors to reach Europe and Asia. The same year was also important for agreements about counterterrorism.

5.3.9 Thailand

Turkey established diplomatic relations with Thailand in 1958 and opened its Embassy in Bangkok the same year. The Royal Thai Embassy in Ankara was opened in 1972. Similar to other Southeast Asian countries, a visit at the level of Heads of State between Turkey and Thailand is missing, but there is an increase in relations. The two have dialogues and diplomatic meetings with the help of international organizations. According to Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

The most recent high-level visit between Turkey and Thailand was the visit of Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, on 26-30 July 2019 to Thailand on the occasion of the 52nd ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting held in Bangkok under Thailand's Term Presidency.¹⁰¹

Also, another visitation occurred for the Turkey-Thailand-ASEAN Sectoral Dialogue Partnership meeting, and the bilateral relations meeting occurred on the same dates.

⁹⁹ From rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-singapore.en.mfa>

¹⁰⁰ Prime Minister's Office Singapore. (2018, December 24). Transcript QA session press conference prime minister Lee Hsien Loong and prime minister. Prime Minister's Office Singapore. Retrieved December 7, 2021, from <https://www.pmo.gov.sg/Newsroom/transcript-qa-session-press-conference-prime-minister-lee-hsien-loong-and-prime-minister>

¹⁰¹ From rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs Retrieved February 7, 2021, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-thailand.en.mfa>

The relations between the two span more than six decades, and the two have Free Trade Agreement negotiations since 2017. Thailand's foreign policy focuses on promoting Thailand's role on the global stage with; playing a constructive role in the region and on the global stage, strengthening ASEAN solidarity, promoting economic and cultural relations, enhancing international cooperation in the area of security, engaging in proactive diplomacy for the people.¹⁰² With regards to those perspectives, bilateral relations are shaped. The main agreements that constitute the legal basis of bilateral relations are the Trade Agreement (1987), the Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement (1989), the Agreement on Prevention of Double Taxation (2002) and the Agreement on the Reciprocal Encouragement and Protection of Investments (2005). The Civil Aviation Agreement between Turkey and Thailand was signed in 1987, and the negotiations on the Maritime Cooperation Agreement are underway.¹⁰³ Today, many agreements bring Turkey and Thailand together in science, culture, tourism, and education. Most recently, the "Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Tourism between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Kingdom of Thailand" entered into force in December 2019.¹⁰⁴ Also, Turkey have huge investment to region in small home appliance market with Arçelik, Arzum companies while CP Group make investments Turkey too.

Although there was tension between the two countries in 2015 over the fact that Thailand gave a large part of the Uyghur Turks lives in Thailand to China, today, the relations with Turkey are particularly good. Even though too many agreements and platforms bring two together, the trade volume is much below the potential.

5.3.10 Vietnam

Vietnam is another important member of the ASEAN, which was included in the family later on, and one of the key elements for Turkey to Access to Indo-Pacific market, technology market and Far East market. The relations between the two is more active than some of the ASEAN members. The diplomatic relations date back

¹⁰² กระทรวงการต่างประเทศ. Retrieved December 7, 2021, from <http://www.mfa.go.th/>

¹⁰³ From rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs Retrieved February 7, 2021, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-thailand.en.mfa>

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

to 1978¹⁰⁵ , but it was not active until 1997. Relation between the two revived again in 1997, with Embassies in Hanoi and Ankara creating an increase in bilateral relations and trade.

23 July 2010, Turkey's former Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu visited Vietnam for strengthening ASEAN relations. During Turkey's Chairmanship to the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) ¹⁰⁶ (2010-2014), Vietnam joined CICA. Turkey and Vietnam have several agreements about education, culture, technology and science. Ankara and Hanoi became sister cities in 2011. Also, Joint Economic and Trade Committee Meetings between Turkey and Vietnam were held, which lastly held on 7 July 2017 in Hanoi. Even though the economic relations do not meet the expectations, television series export is taking a huge role between two countries. While Vietnam gives importance to Turkish TV series and cinema, they also give importance to trade and investment fairs which are important points that increase commercial and cultural relations. Also, during Covid-19, Turkey gives aid to 200.000 doses of Covid-19 vaccine, oxygen concentrators and medical supplies.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ From rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retrieved February 7, 2021, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-vietnam-siyasi-iliskileri.en.mfa>

¹⁰⁶T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı'ndan. T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı. Retrieved January 7, 2021, from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/asyada-isbirligi-ve-guven-arttirici-onlemler-konferansi.tr.mfa>

¹⁰⁷Admin. (2004, June 1). Retrieved December 7, 2021, from <https://www.mofa.gov.vn/en>

CHAPTER 6

EVOLUTION FROM D8 TO ASEAN

The 21st century will mark the end of the era of Western domination. The major strategic error that the West is now making is to refuse to accept this reality. The West needs to learn how to act strategically in a world where they are no longer the number 1.-Kishore Mahbubani¹⁰⁸

Turkey, as mentioned, expanded its Southeast Asia policies firstly with Erbakan Era with the help of D8, and today it continues its relations by giving priority to ASEAN. So, why does ASEAN has the main role in the regional policies? According to research, it is possible to say that Turkey changed its policies towards the region and as three eras, there are successful points and failures. With all the minuses and pluses, the Southeast Asia region policies shaped with seven main issues from Erbakan to Davutoğlu.

The first point is naming the region and legitimizing the region. We see that the region definition of Southeast Asia is not mentioned in the Erbakan era because the policy is not regional focusing; it exists religion-based. However, this created the opportunity to make a breakthrough towards Southeast Asia countries. In the Davutoğlu era, Asia's regional definition changed. Davutoğlu defines Asia as; North Africa, South Asia, East Asia, and North Asia, but the book does not give detailed regional policies and explanation of the borders of the subgroups. So, Southeast Asia is not the priority; however, ASEAN relations and partnership came as an agenda. With Turkey's Asia Anew Initiative policy, Asia is divided into 5 sub-Asia regions; with defining Turkey itself to Eurasia or West Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, East Asia, and South Asia. The more detailed region divisions come with more detailed and specified policies. Defining Southeast Asia as a sub region makes it legitimate and one of the important points in foreign policy.

¹⁰⁸ Mahbubani, K. (2022). *The Asian 21st Century*. Singapore: Springer. Pg.14

The second point is the dilemma of "East or West". Until Erbakan, we see strict biased policy towards the east and preferred "western" policies. Choosing specifically one side changed with Davutoğlu. He mentions that Asia is too general, and as a geological stand, Turkey is between Europe and Asia (East-West) as of bridge "between two continents". The same vision continues with Çavuşoğlu. He highlighted that "Turkey is not located into a specific group of religion or region. This new policy locates Turkey as "bridge" in the sense of culture, economy, and as a region not specifically European or Asian country, a "Eurasian" country." Also he always highlighted in the announcements of the Asia Anew Initiative policy meetings "there is no axis shift." there is no east or west prioritized policies; Turkey is Eurasian, so both Asia and Europe is important for itself.

The third point which changed is the role of IGOs/NGOs. As mentioned before, Turkey's previous policy towards Asia is similar to Amitav Acharya's conceptualizing of Asia¹⁰⁹, which is policies with institutions and relations with those institutions members define the region and institution defines the policies. However, with Asia Anew Initiative, we see that differentiation in defining the regions, increasing the role of countries individually, and increasing ambassadors in the regions in addition to giving importance to institutions. Erbakan gives importance to organizations more than bilateral relations. It is possible to say this because he leads D8. Davutoğlu gives importance to organizations but defines them as strategic tools and network platforms. He continues the vision comes from Erbakan as "network" platforms but materialized them not prioritized. With Asia Anew Initiative, bilateral relations are more important than organizations. Also we see that Turkey see international organizations to boost its defence exports too.¹¹⁰ Each sub-group has its' policy, and this is the wrecking point of how ASEAN differs because policy prioritizes ASEAN for the Southeast Asia region more than bilateral relations. "Asia Anew Initiative" applies Amitav Acharya's perspective only for the Southeast Asia region with ASEAN. So ASEAN in policies is a tool to create sustainability with personal relations.

¹⁰⁹ Amitav Acharya, The Idea of Asia, Asia Policy, No. 9 (JANUARY 2010), National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), pp. 32-39

¹¹⁰ Bağcı,H. & Kurç,Ç. (2017) Turkey's strategic choice: buy or make weapons?, Defence Studies, 17:1, 38-62, DOI: 10.1080/14702436.2016.1262742 Pg.49

The fourth change is the identity choice of Turkey in its foreign policies. According to Faruk Sönmezoğlu, "Turkey seeks a new identity in every crisis or every time its relations with the West deteriorate."¹¹¹ This identity in policies Erbakan era prefers Muslim. In contrast, Davutoğlu prefers "Neo-ottoman and Bridge", but today we see flexible and focus group (region) oriented (Turk, Muslim, Eurasian, possible to say pragmatic) multi-identity which combines all the historical identity preferences at the same time.

The fifth subject is the priority towards the region. Erbakan period, priorities were given to eastern Muslim countries. So, only Malaysia and Indonesia from the region have importance. Although the subgrouping of the Asian region is not as detailed as Çavuşoğlu and Davutoğlu, the main motif was Islam and the East, and international organizations played an important role in these relations. Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu proves that. He says, "Asia is rising; it will be the century of Asia". In the same speech, he highlights "no axis shift" but actively seeking new alliances. The priority towards the region occurred with the Asia Anew Initiative. A sub-point that affects the region's priority is the international importance of the region. Regional importance changed during the years, and Asia gained importance. The 21st century is named the "Asia Century". According to Kishore Mahbubani, "From the years 1 to 1820, the largest economies in the world were Asian. After 1820 and the rise of the West, however, great Asian civilizations like China and India were dominated and humiliated. The 21st Century will see the return of Asia to the centre of the world stage."¹¹² which gained it back. The historical background is changing is belong to the region itself and Cold War, which are independent of the preferences of Erbakan, Davutoğlu and Çavuşoğlu. The region had a colonial history and decolonization, then afterwards found itself in the communism threat, Vietnam war, etc., which all supported the ASEAN's establishment. These hot dynamics in the far region also blocked the relations, and when the region gained stability too, it affected the relations. So evolving the foreign policy towards Asia is reasonable, and forgetting it before the 1990s is understandable. However, it is rising today, and One Road One Belt and RCEP are

¹¹¹ Sönmezoğlu, F. (2016). *Son Onyıllarda Türk Dış Politikası (1991-2015)*. İstanbul: DER Kitabevi. Pg. 87

¹¹² Mahbubani, K. (2022). *The Asian 21st Century*. Singapore: Springer.pg.71

the most important valid proofs of this. But it is also important to highlight again that Asia is coming together with ASEAN.

In the end, the evolution of Southeast Asia region policies makes sense to understand the importance of the region; however, Why ASEAN question was answered with the combination of all those five issues. The region has a multicultural, multireligious and hard to find identity structure. Even ASEAN cannot combine ten neighbour countries under a common identity. We see that it come together with common fear. This common fear comes from inside out, making it last longer than other organizations established in the region. Turkey as a country gives priority to found identity search in foreign policy not capable to found identity in the region, the region itself has this problem. Take its first steps with religion and with D8. This network invites Turkey to ASEAN. As a developing region that does not only include one ethnic or religious identity, Turkey found the ASEAN Way safe and secure, which respects Turkey's own identity.

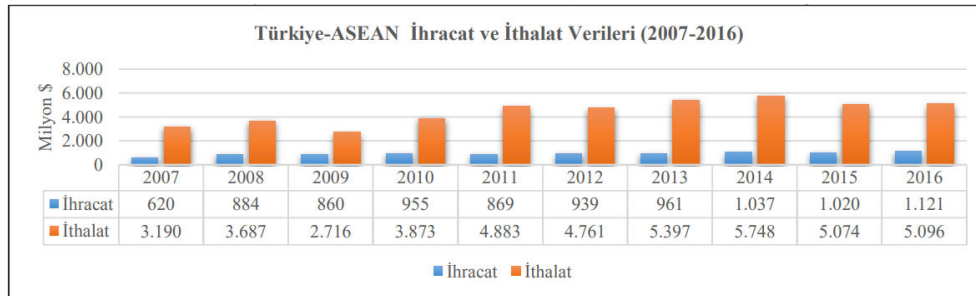
With ASEAN, Turkey does not need to create an identity for the region that still has important conflicts inside Turkey, like Rohingya and Uyghur Turks in Thailand. When it's a security issue, it may act as with its thought and ASEAN will protects its thoughts. ASEAN protects the states' inside choices, and their sovereignty does not judge them or force them, "Cooperation and Consensus of them all" is the solution. Whether or not ASEAN has created a single identity in the region is a question that comes up in literature and theory research. Still, from the perspective of Turkey, it has succeeded in creating an identity that brings the region together. For this reason, Turkey has already managed to reach ten countries with ASEAN, when there were other organizations that it could not reach while using Islamic, Asian, Western, Eurasian or Ottoman identities in the time period when it was in search of identity.

As a trading state, Turkey, in its foreign policy, always gives importance to economics and with "zero problem policy" means more economic strength¹¹³ . Still, when we look at relations with numbers, Turkey is economically in a loss in the relationship that does not seem beneficial at first glance. However, Turkey has managed to establish cultural ties with the countries thanks to ASEAN day by day, again under the identity of ASEAN. İspiroğlu and Pazarcı allow comparing before

¹¹³ Kirişçi, K. (2009). The transformation of Turkish foreign policy: The rise of the trading state. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 40, 29-56. doi:10.1017/s0896634600005203 pg.36

and after to compare trade relations increased in each sense. As a result, the graphs show us that the economic growth of ASEAN is more than the worlds' growth and unexpectedly, even after 1997 economic crises catch up the world too quickly and continue to grow at least %2 bigger than the world. In ASEAN-Turkey relations, the trade deficit is higher. However, there are countries where the deficit is closed. Increasing trade data in the general ASEAN region such as Laos and Brunei shows that the trade deficit has been increasing with imports and exports over the years. Although the balance was achieved in some countries such as Laos and Myanmar, Vietnam increased the deficit. Looking at trade products, a multi-sectoral market can be seen. But the overall result of 10 member countries as ASEAN shows that Turkey has a huge trade deficit.(Table 12)Economic relations between ASEAN we see that the market potential inside the ASEAN is high. During the years Turkey's partnership discussed 2010-2014, there is an increase when comparing the years it nearly doubled it.

Table.12: Turkey-ASEAN Import/Export (2007-2016)¹¹⁴



So, the current economic results with a high trade deficit may create a non-profit image. Omair Anas mentions even there is an increased trade capacity, he criticizes the Free Trade Agreements Turkey signed with Southeast Asian Nations they are not sustainable and too risky to sustain because of the active changing dynamics in the region. But it is obvious that Turkey stabilized its Southeast Asia relations with ASEAN and the ASEAN Way and ASEAN Centrality guarantees

¹¹⁴ İspiroğlu, F., & Pazarıcı, P. (2018, 01 26). ASEAN-Türkiye Dış Ticaret İlişkileri. Social Sciences Studies Journal, 4(13), pp. 229-241.Pg237

Turkeys' benefits in debates. In the security agenda, Turkey began to cooperate with countries about terrorism and culturally opened embassies and is today capable of sustaining bilateral relations with the help of ASEAN. ASEANAPOL, as an example, creates opportunity while ensuring that Turkey receives intelligence about national security threats about Turkey which are also located in the Southeast Asia Region like PKK and FETÖ. As an institutional organization, ASEAN creates an opportunity to show Turkey's Defence Industry and sell technology to the region too.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Amitav Acharya metaphorizes the Asia region as the Banyan Tree¹¹⁵ because of its expansionist situation and hard-to-define regional borders. Today, Asia is gaining importance economically and strategically. Southeast Asia Region today has a population of over 622 million people, and the region is one of the strongest economies in the world. It is believed that by 2050 it will have the 4th largest economy in the world.¹¹⁶ With the Asia Anew Initiative policy, Turkey located itself to Asia as a "Bridge to Europe" without any axis shift as a Eurasian country.

Regarding rising Asia and the Asia Anew Initiative policy of Turkey, which is newly announced, the research interest began with Turkey's ASEAN and Southeast Asia policies. The study examined the relations of Turkey and Southeast Asian Nations and focused on why Turkey prioritized ASEAN in Southeast Asia relations under this new policy. To make it more understandable, put on the historical evolution of relations between Turkey and the Southeast Asia region. The relationship between the two is progressive and peaceful. Turkey is trying hard to be a dialogue partner rather than a sectoral partner. But what is the reasoning behind choosing a regional institution as a partner, and is this relation sustainable?

The literature review showed the importance and uniqueness of the ASEAN. ASEAN is one of the keystones of Asia, as its territorial expansion includes ten countries, and most of the population lives there. As its unique method, named "The ASEAN Way," puts it, the cooperation and consensus brought ASEAN to this day and is still standing since 1967. ASEAN is an outstanding regional organization with

¹¹⁵ Acharya, A. (2010). The Idea of Asia. *Asia Policy*, 9, 32–39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24904969> pg.35

¹¹⁶ ASEAN countries: Association of Southeast Asian Nations 2022. ASEAN Countries | Association of Southeast Asian Nations 2022. (n.d.). Retrieved February 1, 2022, from <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/asean-countries>

its location and its way of looking at issues. As members of the organization, the countries' leaders have heavier responsibilities to each other than to their own countries; because the existing system of the ASEAN belongs to the mutual trust between the leaders and then the states. According to the blueprints, ASEAN keeps an open door for national interests as a priority, but the success is since leaders do not see ASEAN any more different than their nation. ASEAN successfully created an awareness of ASEAN concerns parallel with possible national interests and created a shared identity between leaders. However, it is not successful in receiving embrace from ASEAN the citizens. While citizens cannot say "we are ASEAN," the leaders can give it a priority and say that they are ASEANs. This is a possible strength and weakness for every decision taken under ASEAN because there is always a risk of breaking the trust chain for leaders. However, this chain has never been broken for five decades. The leaders are aware of the differences in cultures, such as religion. In the end, they have established their own way, "THE ASEAN WAY" of peace, which mostly comes from the Indonesian culture and helps achieve the consensus. And the ASEAN Way says that even though the role of the ASEAN in the states belongs to the leaders because the security concern of the ASEAN (according to the general secretary of the ASEAN) is nation first, region still comes after. It creates common awareness and creates binds between members as regional priorities. The main aim was always maintaining peace, so it is possible to say that ASEAN is not sleeping; it is always active in securing the region. It is always searching for possible threats, just like radar and tries to solve them before coming face to face with them. In these processes, they use mutually beneficial relations and trust. This role of the ASEAN and its widespread alliances make ASEAN an effective actor in the region and gives centrality.

ASEAN and the "ASEAN Way" can be read with the help of various International Relations Theories like Constructivism, Realism or British School. The most important of all is the regional non-western IR approach in the literature. When it comes to the thesis, the norms of ASEAN are highly essential for understanding bilateral relations. One of the crucial issues that must be highlighted is Turkey and ASEAN differentiating from each other in terms of decision making. When it comes to ASEAN, it is multicultural. It includes different variations of governments and move with discussions focused on "Cooperation and Consensus," the way that has

brought them peace for decades. While "the ASEAN Way" is too slow for Turkey, Ambassador Darama summarized the process as "...Setting our goals is not only determined by the ministry, but also all part of a process. It is determined by the coordination institution and the implementation committee evaluates it here and if it gets approval, it is turned into practice with an instruction."¹¹⁷ This process is too quick, while ASEAN is too precautious and slow. It was not fitting for Turkey as it set the goals and determined to take an active role in Southeast Asia. What has been done, and what is missing? Turkey is honoured by this relation and wishful to expand the cooperation areas with ASEAN. At the last AT-JSCC meeting, post-COVID-19 relations were discussed, and during the meeting, besides the progress of the relations in the 3-year plan within the framework of the PCA drawn up at the 2nd AT-JSCC meeting, what has been done in the past was commemorated too. It was emphasized that more emphasis should be placed on economic targets. Turkey deposited 1 million USD dollars to the Secretariat in December 2019 in order to finance common projects for the future, which is already being spent on cultural and academic projects.

But when we look beyond the diplomatic explanations, the relations are not beneficial as much as diplomats say it is in the economic sense. First of all, although ASEAN indeed is one of the world's biggest economies, Turkey still cannot find a strong market inside of the ASEAN, so this trade deficit creates a disadvantage for Turkey. Secondly, the outcomes of the partnership process have been brought up in research. Before ASEAN relations gained speed, members were divided into three. The ones that have strong relations before, the ones may categorize as middle, and the ones even don't have ambassadors. However, with expansion to Asia and with TAC, most of the new embassies are the ASEAN members. ASEAN provides a platform to talk with 10 Asian countries simultaneously. The other important issue that should be noticed is the triangle of EU-ASEAN-Turkey. Turkey has defined itself as a "bridge" between Europe and Asia since Davutoğlu. Once upon a time, this mission belongs to IOC and D8. But ASEAN does not need any bridge towards the EU, and there are summits between the two that are held without Turkey, which is another issue. Adding to this issue, when the very modernized RCEP, FTAs with

¹¹⁷ Darama, Nilvana (24.02.2021), Türkiye'nin Yeniden Asya Girişimi: Hedefler ve Yöntemler (Webinar), Foreign Policy Instititue

countries and the old-fashioned Customs Union with EU consider it as a bridge country, problems may come up in the following years.

So, those points show that ASEAN was chosen because of its centralized role in Asia. Those 3-year expansion in ASEAN relations are before the expression of "Asia Anew Initiative" but when "Asia Century" prediction already occurred. The "ASEAN Way" is a strong path to find the consensus in each sense, and it is also a platform that does not intervene with the countries' own internal diplomacies. This unification is important for a region like Asia, and thanks to RCEP, ASEAN shows its centrality strength. So, Turkey is only aiming for economic benefits. Still, when the process is considered, ASEAN is a tool for a defined Southeast Asia and a consensus platform in Asia, which has different cultures and identities. At least today, there are no economic benefits for Turkey in the ASEAN market. The investors in ASEAN and the market of ASEAN are conservative.

ASEAN also matters. According to former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, "ASEAN is one of the most successful organizations which I look up to and admire." It matters because of way too many reasons but the combination of the literature is that ASEAN has its own unique way of diplomacy, "The ASEAN Way" which is still a question mark that comes from Lee Kuan Yew or Sukarno or the combination of all. However, at the end of the day, ASEAN is the miracle of peace, combination and cooperation since the day it was established 1967. It is important to study ASEAN and its importance for the region and for Turkey is coming together with regards to changing relations. Turkey explained that there is an important because ASEAN, day by day, increases its role in the region and even though there is a dichotomy for each issue in regards to ASEAN and missing points in literature waiting for research; ASEAN certainly has a centralized role in the region and this dominant power in the region has its way towards policies and relations. ASEAN's consensus-building structure as an organization that came together with a post-colonial identity where people cling to each other for security is one of the most important actors today. It is getting stronger day by day and can adapt to the century, is accepted by the region and the world by providing a platform that respects everyone and gives every person an equal voice.

However, at the end one of the hypothesis, it cannot be proven that there is a direct relation between D8 and ASEAN. At the beginning of the research, one of the

predictions was that Turkey's individual relations between Muslim countries, who are also founder members to ASEAN, like Indonesia, were the invitations. However, ASEAN as an international organization has its own structure and has a powerful and individual way of existence which is "The ASEAN Way", and it says that each member has the veto power to deny a decision and no power to force others into accepting it. Cooperation and consensus are important, and with each day, being a member of ASEAN become more difficult. One of the reasons for that is the 1997 economic crisis. So, inviting to a meeting is the final stage of ASEAN to accept the country they also wanted to cooperate with. This means that even the relations between some of the members increased unpredictably fast with the help of ASEAN. Also, ASEAN-Turkey relations go way before the Asia Anew Initiative, even though they gained shape with ASEAN Centrality and Asia Anew Initiative.

So, the thesis shows that the relations between Turkey and ASEAN have changed since the Erbakan era because of regional definitions, priorities, and policies that have changed with today's dynamics. At first sight, ASEAN is too far from Turkey, and Turkey insists on improving its relations with this regional organization. So while Turkey is not a part of that region, it insists on increasing its status in ASEAN, which is a regional organization, is the main trigger for this research. This research shows that this interest is a solution for the stalemate. As a result of years of unsuccessful efforts to open up to the region, hold on to the region and establish relations, it gains importance because it sees it as a tool and as an exit. The rapid temporal progression of its strategic importance is the identity tool that Turkey clings to in the ASEAN region, which wants to be a part of important economic global projects such as One Road One Belt, RCEP. Although this relationship seems to be at a loss now, it can be profitable when managed successfully. However, data is limited to comment on this topic in more detail.

To summarize, in general, the relationship between Turkey and ASEAN is not a new one. A worthwhile point is Turkey is not profiting from this relationship. Considering the importance of the economy in the Asia Initiative priorities, Turkey has a trade deficit, and economic relations is the biggest priority. In the Asia Anew Initiative policy, ASEAN differs from other Asian regions with its motives from the past. The new initiative, which goes over the policy towards the country, is associated with the Davutoğlu period as a network tool that goes to ASEAN

countries. In contrast, the use of Muslim identity as a common cultural point among the ten multicultural member countries can be compared with the Erbakan period. On this occasion, with the acceleration of Turkey's relations with ASEAN, its relations with 10 Southeast Asian countries and with the most important actor in the region have also been strengthened. ASEAN is a preferable mediation platform in terms of security due to its ASEAN Way technique and peaceful environment, conciliatory attitude and openness to the conversation even on the most complex issues. This has made it a primary strategic tool in the policy of the ASEAN Anew Initiative aimed at one-to-one country-specific policymaking. Turkey approaches more than one country in its relations with ASEAN, guaranteeing that there will be consensus under one roof. The ASEAN WAY cooperation and consensus feature and the fact that it has been keeping the peace with a central role in the region since 1967 and its participation in the important economic contracts of rising Asia make ASEAN a critical actor. While granting money for joint projects to the ASEAN secretariat, being a sectoral partner restricts Turkey. When we look at individual relations, most of the relations with ten countries were established during the Çavuşoğlu period, and they do not match the economic interest, which is one of the priorities of the new initiative because there is a trade deficit. However, Turkey is optimistic about this issue because trade products are intermediate products, and it is thought that Turkey will close this gap in its processed form. In fact, there is potential in the long run. However, it is not certain how much it can neutralize the commercial relations of the region, which is conservative about this investment. However, for increasing the relations, it should open Embassy for ASEAN like other dialogue partners. Relations with ASEAN have been on the agenda since 1990 for Turkey, which could not sign an FTA with all of its ASEAN members. Looking at the past Asian policies, the region mainly contains motifs from Erbakan and Davutoğlu. Çavuşoğlu combined the motifs of the duo in ASEAN.

To sum up, with all this research, the thesis answered the role of ASEAN for Turkey and tried to show this with the historical evolution of Turkish foreign policy. The subject has an important role in the literature because ASEAN-Turkey relations and the D8 to ASEAN strategic timeline are missing in the literature. This case might study again after the end of the Çavuşoğlu era because the Asia Anew Initiative is a new policy, and the analysis is not retrospective for current policy. This missing

point might fulfil with another research and might change some of the outcomes received. However, the changes will not be about how Southeast Asia is rising and how Turkey found ASEAN more strategic than D8 and the link between them. The outcome of "pragmatic relations" because of the ASEAN way and ASEAN Centrality outcome might have metamorphosis, which time will let us see.

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APPENDICES

A. PROF.DR.MAHMUD EROL KILIÇ'S OPENING SPEECH, 3RD AT-JSCC MEETING, 03.12.2020

Table 13: Speech Text pg.1

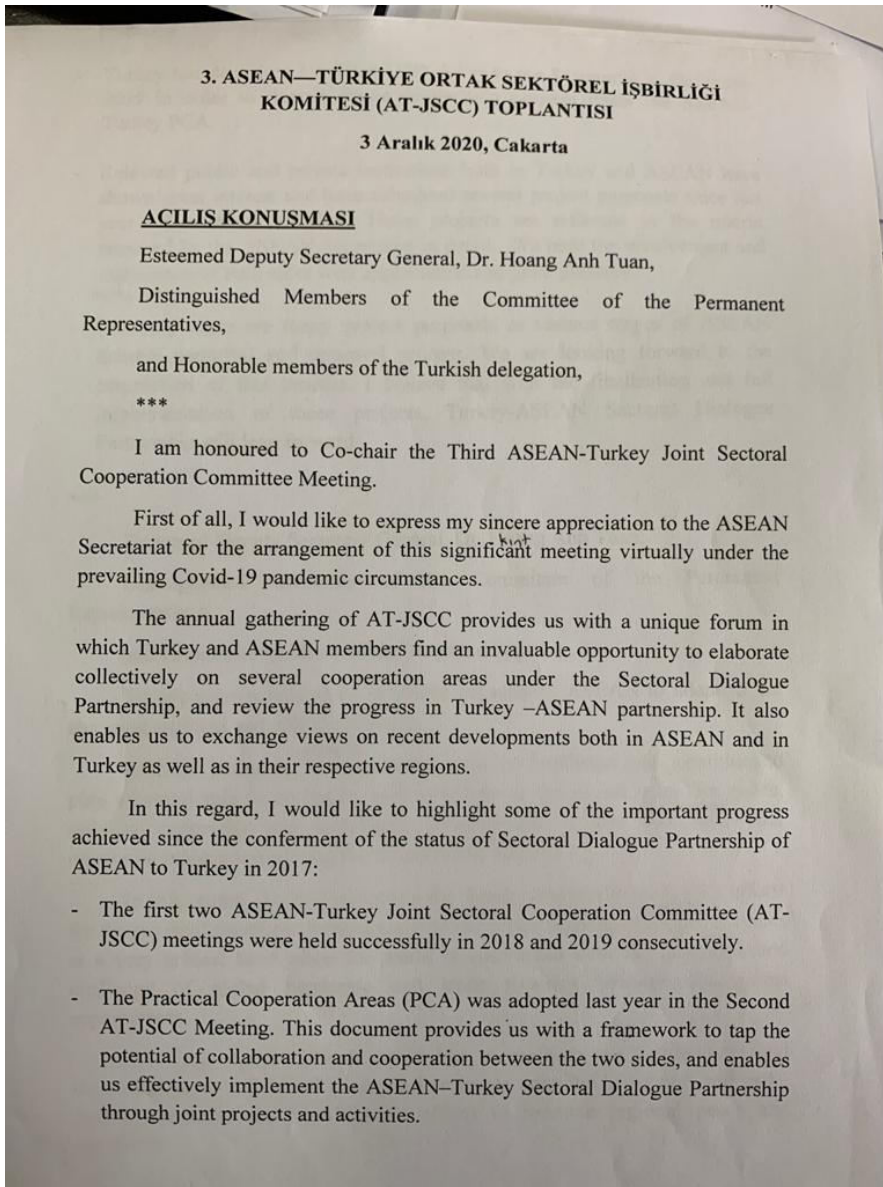


Table 14: Speech Text pg.2

- Turkey has deposited 1 million USD dollar to the Secretariat in December 2019 in order to finance future cooperation projects under the ASEAN-Turkey PCA.
- Relevant public and private institutions both in Turkey and ASEAN have shown great interest and have submitted several project proposals since last year's Committee meeting. These projects are reflected in the matrix prepared by the ASEAN Secretariat in detail. We note the involvement and enthusiasm of both sides with appreciation and great pleasure.
- Currently there are many project proposals at various stages of ASEAN internal appraisal and approval process. We are looking forward to the completion of this process. I believe that with the finalization and full implementation of these projects, Turkey-ASEAN Sectoral Dialogue Partnership will leap forward.

Esteemed Deputy Secretary General, Dr. Hoang Anh Tuan,

Distinguished Members of the Committee of the Permanent Representatives,

and Honorable members of the Turkish delegation,

Turkey acknowledges the enhanced capacity of ASEAN to adapt to the changing regional and global dynamics.

ASEAN, being the pivotal institution in the Southeast Asia, continues to play a central role in its region and contribute to the global cause for peace, stability, prosperity and sustainable development. It also spearheads the economic integration among the Asia-Pacific nations.

In this regard, Turkey welcomes the steady progress in ASEAN's efforts for the regional economic integration with the recent signing of RCEP. It comes at a very critical time when the world is confronted with the unprecedented challenge of global pandemic and trade rivalries between the global superpowers.

With this opportunity, I would like to reaffirm our commitment and determination as a Sectoral Dialogue Partner, to continue to support and make positive contributions to ASEAN's efforts to promote regional peace and prosperity.

Table 15: Speech Text pg.3

ASEAN, Turkey Agree to Enhance Partnership

ASEAN and Turkey reaffirmed their commitment to further enhance their partnership at the Third Meeting of the ASEAN-Turkey Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee, held via videoconference on Thursday. The meeting noted the progress made in ASEAN-Turkey's cooperation following the inception of the partnership three years ago. "ASEAN appreciated Turkey for establishing the ASEAN-Turkey Fund at the ASEAN Secretariat to support the implementation of cooperative activities between the two sides," the ASEAN Secretariat stated in a press release on Friday. Further, they discussed the completed, ongoing, and planned projects in implementing the ASEAN-Turkey Practical Cooperation Areas for the period 2019-2023. The meeting also explored opportunities to further enhance cooperation in various areas such as trade and investment; promotion of business-to-business contact; digital skills; addressing money laundering and terrorist financing; agriculture; disaster management; human development; sustainable development; science and technology; education; tourism; smart cities; renewable energy; and people-to-people contact. Both sides also deliberated on possible activities in addressing the covid-19 pandemic and its socio-economic impacts. This includes possible support to the ASEAN Covid-19 Response Fund, Regional Reserve of Medical Supplies for Public Emergencies, ASEAN Comprehensive Recovery Framework and its implementation plan. The Deputy Secretary-General of ASEAN for ASEAN Political-Security Community Hoang Anh Tuan and Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to ASEAN Mahmut Erol K?i?ç co-chaired the meeting. Members of the Committee of Permanent Representatives to ASEAN were in attendance. (Medcom, 4 December 2020)

Social Affairs Minister Juliari Batubara Surrenders to KPK

Social Affairs Minister Juliari Batubara surrendered to the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) on Sunday (6/12) morning after he was named suspect in a bribery case related to the covid-19 social assistance (Bansos) program. The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) politician arrived at the KPK headquarters at around 02.50 Western Indonesia Time (WIB). He entered the building without giving any statement to the waiting reporters. Besides Juliari, KPK also declared two Social Affairs Ministry officials and two bribe givers as suspects in the corruption case. The Minister allegedly received Rp17 billion from the vendors of procurement of goods and services in the covid-19 handling program. The other suspects are Matheus Joko Santoso (MJS), Adi Wahyuni (AW), Ardian I.M (AIM) and Harry Sidabuke (HS).

Some response over arrest of Juliari Batubara

President Joko Widodo

"We surely respect the legal process which carried out by KPK", said Jokowi. "I temporarily assign the Coordinating Minister of Human Development and Culture to carry out the job of Minister of Social Affairs."

Hasto Kristiyanto - Secretary General of PDI-P

"The Party has forbid all forms of power misuse, including corruption. The Chairman of the Party, Mrs. Megawati always gives direction to her cadres who has political position to not misuse their power or doing any corruption."

Table 16: Speech Text pg.4

I hope that strengthening institutional bonds and enhancing cooperation and collaboration between Turkey and ASEAN will finally pave the way for granting the status of “Dialogue Partner” to Turkey in the near future.

Thank you very much.

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışmada içinde bulunduğumuz yüzyıla adını veren Asya çağında, Türkiye'nin Güneydoğu Asya bölgesine yönelik ilişkileri incelenmiş ve çalışma Necmettin Erbakan döneminden Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu Yeniden Asya İnisiyatifi dönemine, D8 - ASEAN ilişkileri arasında bir köprü kurmayı hedefleyerek bölge ilişkilerinde ASEAN tercihinin nedenselliğini ve etkilerini araştırmıştır. Çalışmanın temel sorusu "Türkiye'nin Güneydoğu Asya ilişkilerinde neden Güneydoğu Asya Ülkeleri Birliği(ASEAN) işbirliğine öncelik vermiştir?"dir.

Tez giriş ve sonuç bölümleri dâhil olmak üzere yedi bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm giriş, literatür taraması, araştırma sorusuna giden yol ve metodolojiye yer vermiştir. İkinci bölümde Asya bölgesine yönelik teorik yaklaşımlara değinilmiş Üçüncü bölümde, Türkiye'nin dış politikası ve Güneydoğu Asya bölgesinin politikadaki yeri tarihsel anlamda incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda Necmettin Erbakan, Ahmet Davutoğlu ve Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu dönemlerine değinilmiştir. Dördüncü bölümde ASEAN yapısal olarak incelenmiş, ASEAN merkeziliği ve ASEAN yolu örgütün bölgesel önemini anlamak ve karar alma mekanizmasını anlamak için incelenmiştir. Beşinci bölümde, Türkiye'nin ASEAN ile ilişkileri iki tarafın bakış açısından incelenmiş ayrıca Türkiye'nin Güneydoğu Asya bölgesinde yer alan örgüt üyesi 10 ülke ile örgüt dışı bireysel ilişkileri incelenmiştir. Son bölümde D8 den ASEAN'a olan Türkiye'nin Güneydoğu Asya politikalarının nasıl değiştiği değerlendirilmiştir. Sonuç bölümünde ise genel bulgulara yer verilmiş olup sonuç kısmında tezin özetine değinilmiştir. Bu kapsamda tez metot olarak nitel verilerin analizi ile tez sorusuna cevap aramıştır. Toplanan veriler ile Türkiye Güneydoğu Asya ilişkilerinde neden ASEAN işbirliğine öncelik veriyor? Sorusu tarihsel analiz, resmi dokümanların analizleri ile Erbakan'dan Çavuşoğlu dönemine stratejik olarak değişimi incelemiş ve etkileri ile nedenselliği araştırmıştır. Tez verileri akademik makaleler, resmi bakanlık açıklamaları ve yayınları içermektedir.

Bu kapsamda ilk olarak, literatür taraması ve metodolojiye yer verilen tezde, esas araştırma sorusu araştırma motivasyonu olan "Türkiye Güneydoğu Asya

ilişkilerinde neden ASEAN işbirliğine öncelik veriyor?” sorusu iken bu soruyu daha doğru analiz edebilmek amacıyla tez aynı zamanda ASEAN’ın yapısına ve önemine de değinmiştir. ASEAN, Yeniden Asya İnisiyatifi, ASEAN merkeziliği ve ASEAN yolu anahtar kelimeleri ile yapılan literatür araması sonucu metodoloji nitel verilere dayandırılarak bölge ve zaman açısından araştırma daraltmıştır. Literatür araması akademik internet kaynaklarına bakılarak yapılmış olup; buna ek olarak bahsi geçen ülkelerin kendi Dışişleri Bakanlığı siteleri Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı sitesi, ASEAN resmi internet sitelerine bakılmış ve buralardan çekilen bildirimler, toplantı notları ve analizler tezde kullanılmıştır. Tez bölge tanımını Amitav Acharya'nın kullanımı üzerine belirlemiş olup ASEAN üyesi ülkeleri Güneydoğu Asya bölgesi olarak tanımlamıştır. Bu sayede ASEAN ilişkileri ve ikili ilişkiler ayrı ayrı incelenirken bölge bütünlüğü korunmuştur ve tarihsel bir analize yer verilmiştir. Tarih tanımlama noktasında literatür taramasında fark edilen önemli tarihlerin birleşimi sonucunda dönemsel olarak Erbakan dönemi, Davutoğlu dönemi ve Çavuşoğlu dönemi birbiriyle kıyaslanmak üzere seçilmiştir. Tez bu noktada var olan verilerle belirlenen dönemleri detaylı olarak karşılaştırmalı bir tarihsel yaklaşım sunup bölgeye olan Türk dış politikasını incelemiştir. ASEAN yolu ve ASEAN merkeziliği konseptlerinin tezde zorunlu olarak işlenmesi gereken başlıklar olduğu kararı literatür araması esnasında verilmiş olup teze dahil edilmiştirler. Bu bağlamda toplanmış olan veriler 7 başlıkta bir araya getirilmiştir. Tezin hipotezi Türkiye'nin ASEAN ve ASEAN üye ülkeleri ile farklı ilişkileri olduğu yönündedir. Laos, Myanmar, Malezya, Tayland, Singapur, Endonezya, Filipinler, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam ve Kamboçya olan üye ülkeleri ve ASEAN ilişkileri birbirlerinden farklılık göstermektedir. Türkiye'nin ASEAN ile diyalog ortağı olması, D8 ile farklılık göstermektedir çünkü ASEAN aracılığı ile üye ülkelere erişim sağlayabilmektedir. Bu ilgi ASEAN’ın yalnızca bölgedeki etkisinden kaynaklı değil aynı zamanda dünya çapında artan rolüyle de alakalıdır. Literatürde yer alan boşluğu dolduracak olan tezin konusu Türkiye'nin kendi bölgesinden çok uzakta bölgesel bir örgüt olan ASEAN’a duymuş olduğu ilgi ve ikili ilişkilerinde örgüt içi pozisyonunu daha da yükseltmek istemesi sebebiyle ortaya çıkmıştır. İkinci başlıkta literatür aramasında bölgeye ve örgüte farklı teorilerden yaklaşımların olduğu dikkat çekmiştir. Burada ASEAN yolu ve ASEAN merkeziliği aynı zamanda batılı olmayan uluslararası ilişkiler teorisi metodu olarak tartışıldığı realist yaklaşımların olduğu liberal teori ile

yaklaşımların olduğu İnşacılık, İngiliz Ekolü yaklaşımlarının olduğu dikkat çekmiştir.

Üçüncü bölümde 21.Yüzyıl'da Asya'nın dünyada giderek yükseldiği ve önemli bir rol aldığı fark edilmiş olup Türkiye'de dış politikasını Asya'ya yönelik değiştirmeye başlamıştır. Bu değişim ikili ilişkilerde 1997 sonrasında Asya'yı daha çok duymak Asya'daki bazı ülkeleri giderek daha çok tanımaya başladığı görülmüştür. Tez Türkiye'nin Güneydoğu Asya politikalarını incelemiş ve bunu Erbakan, Davutoğlu ve Çavuşoğlu dönemi olmak üzere alt başlıkları ayırmıştır. Dönemler incelenirken uluslararası örgütlerin dış politikadaki yeri ve Güneydoğu Asya'nın dış politikada yeri ölçüt olmuştur. Bu bağlamda ilk olarak 1996-1997 yılları ele alınmıştır koalisyon hükümeti olan bu dönemin tezde Erbakan dönemi olarak adlandırılmasının nedeni dönemin Dışişleri Bakanı Tansu Çillerden daha aktif rol oynadığı Faruk Sönmezoğlu tarafında dile getirilmiş olmasından dolayıdır. Türk dış politikasının klasik tutumunun kırılmış olduğu bir dönemde doğu batı çatışmasında dış politika önceliği bölge değil din odaklı olarak değiştirmiştir. İslam ülkelerini gündeme taşıyan politika Müslüman işbirliğine odaklı dış politikaya öncelik vermiştir. İslam kimliğini çatısı altında şekillenen aynı zamanda uluslararası örgütlere önem vermekte olan Erbakan döneminde kurulan D8 örgütünün önemi Müslüman ülkeleri bir araya gelmiş olması. D8 örgütü yapısı gereğince bakıldığında Müslüman kimliğin altında yalnızca kültürel değil, iktisadi işbirliği boşluğunu doldurmayı hedeflemektedir ve bu vasıta ile Erbakan Güneydoğu Asya bölgesini keşfetmiştir. Mısır, Nijerya, İran, Pakistan, Bangladeş, Malezya ve Endonezya'yı bir araya getiren ve Türkiye ile ilişkilerini kuvvetlendir D8 üyelerinin nüfusu Müslüman çoğunluktadır, yüksek popülasyona sahiptirler ve sosyo-kültürel ve siyasi anlamda bölgelerinde aktif rolleri vardır. Davutoğlu 2009-2014 yılları arasında Türkiye'nin Dışişleri Bakanı olmuş ve batı genişlemesinde politikalarına Asya'yı da dâhil etmiştir. Stratejik Derinlik adını vermiş olduğum kitabında Asya politikalarını ve Türkiye'nin dış politikasını incelemiştir. Buna göre önceki dönemlerden farklılaşmasının esas nedeni "Avrasya" kavramını kullanılması ve Türkiye'nin kendisini Avrasya ülkesi olarak tanımasıyla başlamaktadır. Her ne kadar tezin konusu Güneydoğu Asya olsa da Stratejik Derinlikte Asya bölgesi dört gruba ayrılmıştır ve Güneydoğu Asya tanımı yoktur. Kuzey Afrika, Güney Asya, Doğu

Asya ve Kuzey Asya bölünmesinde ASEAN ayrı bir başlıktır. Bahsi geçen ASEAN politikaları uluslararası örgütler kısmında yer almaktadır.

Bu vesileyle Davutoğlu döneminde Güneydoğu Asya bölgesinin ASEAN ile aktif olduğunu ve D8 yerine konumlandığını bilmekteyiz. Kendisinin de çok önemli bir stratejik platform olduğunu vurguladı D8'in kapasitesine ulaşamadığını aynı zamanda stratejik araç olarak değerlendirdiği uluslararası örgütleri arasında yer aldığını görüyoruz. Çavuşoğlu dönemine bakıldığında Güneydoğu Asya'nın yükselişine Türkiye'nin ne kadar önem verdiğini görmekteyiz. Yeniden Asya İnisyatifi olarak adlandırılan ve 2019 yılında duyurulan politika açılımında Asya beşe bölünmüştür. Bu politikada da Türkiye Avrupa ve Asya'nın bir parçası olarak spesifik bir taraf seçmemiş, iki kıtanın arasındaki köprü görevini üstlenmiştir. Hiçbir eksen kaymasının olmadığını ve Avrupa'dan vazgeçmediğini sıkça vurgulayan Türkiye İnisyatifte giderek yükselen ve parçası olduğu Asya ilede ilişkilerini sıkı tutacağını söylemektedir. Yeniden Asya İnisyatifi detaylarına inildiği zaman literatürde kısıtlı bilgi vardır. Açılıma bakıldığı zaman bu açılım bir önceki Asya politikasında ilk olarak alt bölge tanımlamaları ile değişmektedir. Güneydoğu Asya'nın tanımlamalara eklenmesiyle aynı zamanda daha detaylı bir kıta analizinin yapıldığı görülmektedir. Ayrıca ikili ilişkilerin ve bölge odaklı özel politikaların hassasiyetine vurgulanmıştır, ancak dikkat edilmiştir ki Güneydoğu Asya bölgesinde ikili ilişkilerden ziyade politikada ASEAN Türkiye için ikili ilişkilerden daha önceliklidir ve büyük önem kazanmaktadır. Önceki politikalara göre tek kimlik arayışına girmeyen inisyatif bünyesindeki Güneydoğu Asya'ya bakıldığında bölge özelinde önemli sıcak çatışmalar vardır ve çatışmalar Türkiye'nin gündeminde yer almaktadır. İlişkilere dikkat eden Türkiye genel olarak tutumunu BM çerçevesinde yapmaktadır. Özetle aslında Türkiye'nin Asya'ya açılımı yeni değil ancak yeniden Asya inisyatifi ile değişmiştir. Türkiye'nin kıtada aktif rol alması amaçlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda ilişkiler incelendiği zaman her ne kadar Dışişleri Bakanlığı tarafından ekonomik ilişkilerin önemi vurgulansada bölge ile yüksek bir ticaret açığı vardır. Serbest ticaret anlaşmalarının imzalanmış olduğu aktif müzakerelerin devam ettiği bölgenin ekonomik hacmi yüksektir.

Dördüncü başlık tezde örgüt ilişkileri anlamak için ASEAN daha detaylı olarak incelenmiştir; ASEAN yapısı, ASEAN yolu ve ASEAN merkezliliği. ASEAN 8 Ağustos 1967'de Güneydoğu Asya bölgesinde Endonezya, Malezya, Filipinler,

Singapur ve Tayland tarafından kurulan örgüt ardından genişlemiş ve 10 ülkeyi kapsar hale gelmiştir. Esas kurulma amacı korku ile tetiklenen ve bölgedeki savaşlarla Komünizmin sınır tehdidi sonucu oluşan örgüt birlikte daha güçlü olduklarına inanmaktadır ve sistemlerini birliktelik, beraberlik ve barış üzerine kurmuştur. Kurucu üyeler tehditleri, kendi zayıf noktalarını bilmekte ve sistemde tek başlarına hayatta kalmalarının zorluğunun farkında oldukları için birlikteliğe öncelik vermişlerdir. Örgüt kurulduktan sonra en büyük sıkıntısını 1997 yılında yaşamış oldukları ekonomik krizle görmüştür. Çünkü artık yapısı sadece güvenlik değil aynı zamanda ekonomi, sosyal kültürel ve siyasi işbirliğine de dayanmaktadır. ASEAN günümüzde bölgenin popülasyonu, bölgenin ekonomik önemi gereğince oldukça önemli bir yere sahiptir. Günümüzde ASEAN merkezi Endonezya, Jakarta'dadır. Türkiye ise örgütün en önemli Anlaşması olan TAC imzalamıştır. Her ne kadar Türkiye diyalog ortağı olmayı 1999 yılında talep etmiş olsa bile ikili ilişkiler Sektörel diyalog ortaklığı çatısı altında ilerlemektedir. Türkiye'nin ilişkileri Endonezya Büyükelçiliği'ne akredite edilmiş olup 3 yıldır düzenli zirveler yapılmaktadır. Bu statüyü ASEAN'ın 50. yılında 4-6 Ağustos 2017 tarihleri arasında TAC anlaşmasını imzaladıktan 7 yıl sonra kazanabilmiştir. Aynı konumda Pakistan ve Norveç vardır. Sistemine bakıldığı zaman çatısı altında APT,AEC, ARF, ASEANAPOL gibi birçok birlikteliği kapsamaktadır. ASEANAPOL 1981 yılında 5 kurucu üye tarafından oluşturulmuştur ve "bölgeyi güvenli tutacağız" motivasyonu ile ortak güvenlik-istihbarat platformlarını oluşturmuşlardır. ASEAN'ın günümüzde 18 dış ortağı vardır. Bunlar diyalog ortağı, sektörel ortak ya da gelişme ortağı olarak kategorize edilmişlerdir. Her bir kategori birbirinden farklı ilişkilerle ve gereklilikler ile gelmektedir. Türkiye ise bahsedildiği üzere diyalog ortağı olmak isterken günümüzde sektörel ortaktır. Ancak bu durumunu değiştirmek istediğini her platformda dile getirmektedir. Diyalog ortaklığı olarak adlandırılan ilişki çoğunlukla gelişmiş ekonomiye bakmakta olup, daha çok ekonomik ve teknoloji işbirliğine dayalıdır. Günümüzde Avustralya, Kanada, Çin, Avrupa Birliği, Hindistan, Japonya, Kore, Yeni Zelanda, Rusya ve Amerika diyalog ortaklarıdır. Ortakların her 3 yılda bir koordinatörü değişmektedir. İlişkileri 10 üye ülkeden bir tanesi aracılığı ile yürütülmektedir. Sektörel Yoluk ortaklığına bakıldığı zaman daha özet kelimelerle ilişki kısıtlı özelleştirilmiş ve daha Diyalog Ortaklığı küçük çaplıdır, süreç sonunda çoğunluk her zaman diyalog ortaklığı statüsünü kazanmayı hedefler ancak ilişki

isteyerek ya da iki tarafında isteği üzerine kısıtlandırılır ya da tek taraflı bir süreliğine bu çatı altında yaşanıyor olabilir günümüzde Norveç Pakistan, Türkiye ve İsviçre Sektörel ortaklardandır. Bu ortaklık ülkeler tarafından özellikle talep edilebileceği gibi Türkiye örneğinde ülkede görülen bazı eksiklerden ötürü, gözlem amaçlı örgüt tarafından diyalog ortaklığına geçmeden önce gözlem bölgesi olarak da kullanılmaktadır. ASEAN siyasi düzensizlik ve düzensiz ekonomi görmüş olduğu ülkeleri her ne kadar işbirliği yapmak istese de kendi özel diplomasi yöntemleri olan ASEAN yoluna tehdit olarak görebileceği için bir süreliğine Sektörel ortaklığa itmektedir. Bu şekilde ilişkiyi kuvvetlendirmiş olup bir süre daha bekler ve ne zaman güvenirse ilişkiler diyalog ortaklığına çıkartılabilir. Bu bağlamla ilişkiler ASEAN Sekreteryası tarafından yürütülmektedir. Yalnızca limitli tutulan, ortak alanda uzlaşılan sektörlerde işbirliği yapılmaktadır. Son kategori olarak adlandırılan gelişme ortaklığı; diyalog ortaklığına çok benzemekte ancak pozisyon olarak Sekreteryaya ya bağlı ve daha kuvvetlidir. Türkiye'nin de bir dönem içinde bulunduğu gözlemci ya da konuk durumları ortaklık türlerinden değildir, gözlemci veya konuk olarak davet edilen ülkeler o dönem incelenir ve potansiyel görüldüğü zaman ortaklığa taşınır.

ASEAN yolu olarak adlandırılan kendisine özel diplomasi yöntemi ile bilinmektedir. Oy birliğine dayanan konuların uzlaşma ile çözüldüğü, herkesin memnuniyetine önem verilen ASEAN yolu örgütün yıllar süren başarısındaki gizem olarak da adlandırılmaktadır. Bununla birlikte örgütün merkezliliği ve giderek güçlenmesi örgütü vazgeçilmez yapmakta ve başarılı kılmaktadır. Son zamanlarda imzalanan RCEP ASEAN'ın bölgedeki kuvvetini ortaya sunmaktadır. ASEAN'ın APT, ARF gibi alt yapılarıyla bölgedeki bütün ekonomik siyasal güvenlik sosyal kültürel olayları bir araya getirmesi merkezi bir rol üstlenmesini sağlamaktadır, ancak ASEAN yolu olarak bahsedilen diplomasi yöntemi buradaki en önemli etkenlerden birisidir. Bölgesel perspektife bakıldığında zaman ASEAN yolu 50 yıldan uzun bir süredir bölgedeki barışı sağlayan bir yoldur. Literatürde örgütü anlamak için ASEAN yolunu ve ASEAN merkezliliğini anlamanın önemi olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. ASEAN Yolu literatürde tartışmalara yer vermektedir; aidiyetinin örgütle birlikte mi geliştiği yoksa kurucu ülkelerden Endonezya'ya mı ait olduğu tartışması farklı görüşleri ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Yöntem tamamen önlem alma, öngörme, birlikte hareket etme, uzlaşma, oy birliği noktalarına değinmektedir. Bu bağlamda ASEAN zirvelerinde bölgesel bir sorun ya da herhangi bir konu tek bir oturumda

çözülememektedir ve bu kimi zaman örgütün merkeziliğini de etkileyen bir eksisi olarak değerlendirilmekte iken aynı zamanda örgütün kuvveti olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Çünkü örgüt çapında hızlı karar alınamamaktadır, 10 üye ülkenin toplantılarda masadan herkesin istediği şekilde alınan bir karar ile kalkması gerekmektedir. Bu yöntem bölgeye ortak tehdide karşı güvenlik anlamında pozitif geri dönüş sağlarken, iç politikaları ve önceliklerin değişmesiyle uzun süren tartışma ortamlarının ortak bir kimlik inşasının önüne geçtiği ortaya çıkmaktadır. Kimi zaman ortak kuvvetli bir ses anında yaratılamamakta olup 10 ülkeyi bireysel hareket etmeye itmektir. Özetle, onu kuvvetli kılan ve bölgede merkez konuma getiren ve diğer ülkelerin bir parçası olmayı istemesi sebebi olan, mutlak barışı bölgede yaratan ASEAN yöntemi aynı zamanda kendisi için bir tehdittir. Bireysel hareket eden ülkelere örgütün hiçbir yaptırım hakkı Bangkok Deklarasyonu sebebiyle yoktur. Örgütün hiçbir şekilde ülkelerin iç politikalarına ve kararlarına karışma hakkı yoktur, bu bağlamda yöntemin Nobel Barış Ödülü almaya da yanacağına savunanlar da birlikte aidiyetinin Suharto'ya ait olduğunu savunanlar vardır. Bir o kadar da ortak çıkar kavramından kaynaklı Suharto'ya aitliğinden çok bunun Endonezya'da başladığı ancak ASEAN çatısı altında ortak kültür ile günümüzdeki haline evrildiğini savunanlar da vardır.

ASEAN ve Türkiye ilişkilerinin 3 alt başlıkta detaylı olarak incelendiği beşinci bölümde; ASEAN perspektifinden ilişkilere bakış, Türkiye perspektifinden ilişkilere bakış ve son olarak ASEAN üyesi olan 10 ülke ile Türkiye'nin ikili ilişkileri tek tek incelenmiştir. ASEAN çerçevesinden Türkiye'ye bakıldığında buluşmanın ilerleyişi, buluşmaların gündemleri ve detayları şeffaf bir şekilde ASEAN resmi sayfasında paylaşılmış olup özellikle 2 buluşmanın ASEAN tarafından daha ön plana çıkarıldığı gözlemlenmiştir. Türkiye'nin ASEAN ile ilişkilerinin başlangıç kısmının ASEAN resmi belgelerinde eksik olduğu fark edilmiş ama bu bilginin Türkiye perspektifinden bakıldığında ilişkileri geliştirmenin ilk adımı olan Dostluk ve İşbirliği Antlaşmasına (ASEAN/TAC) 19-23 Temmuz 2010 tarihlerinde Vietnam'da yapılan 43. ASEAN Dışişleri Bakanları Toplantısı sırasında imzaladığı bilindiğinden eksik tek taraflı doldurulmaktadır. Türkiye perspektifine daha detaylı bakıldığında 1999 yılından beri Türkiye'nin ASEAN ile ilişkilerini kuvvetlendirmek istediğini ve bunu diyalog ortaklığı çerçevesinde yapmak istediğini dile getirdiğini resmi bakanlık evraklarında görebiliyoruz. Türkiye gözlemci olarak

katıldığı ASEAN toplantılarının ardından talep ettiği diyalog ortağı olamasa da ilişkilerini AT-JSCC kapsamında sektörel ortaklık olarak kurmayı başarmıştır. İkili ilişkilere bakıldığında ilk bakışta fark edilen şey Türkiye'nin bölgede yer alan 10 ülke ile ilişkileri ASEAN ile kurmuş olduğu ilişkiden daha önceye dayanmakta. Ancak bu ülkelerden Türkiye ile olan ilişkilere bakıldığında zaman dönem dönem ikili ilişkilerin ilerleme göstermediği görülmüştür. ASEAN ilişkiler 1999 yılında Türkiye'nin diyalog ortağı olmak istediğini iletmesi ile başlamış olup, ilişkilerin esas başlangıç tarihi olarak kayda geçilebilir. Ancak örgütün en önemli anlaşmasını bundan 10 sene sonra imzalanabilmiştir. 2010 yılında imzalanan anlaşmadan sonra Türkiye 2015 yılına kadar diplomatik ziyaretlerinin çok yapamamıştır. Sektörel ortak olduktan sonra kurulan AT-JSCC Türkiye'nin Endonezya Büyükelçiliği'ne akredite edilip 2018 yılından beri aktif bir şekilde ortak çalışma alanları üzerine ilişkileri sürdürmektedir. ASEAN ülkeleriyle birebir ilişkilere bakıldığında zaman; Brunei Darrussalam ilişkileri 1984 yılında başlarken, üst düzey diplomatik ziyaretlerin 2002 yılına kadar yapılmadığı dikkat çekilmiştir. Genel hatlarıyla bakıldığında zaman Brunei ilişkileri 1984 yılında kurulmuş olmasına rağmen uluslararası örgütlerin yaratmış olduğum temas platformları vasıtasıyla özellikle 2012'den sonra hız kazanmıştır. Kamboçya ile ilişkilerimiz 1959 yılında temas kurulmasına rağmen elçilikler 2013 yılına kadar açılmamıştır. Bazı kaynaklara göre bunun arkasındaki neden Kamboçya'nın coğrafi olarak Türkiye'ye olan uzaklığı ve 1970'lerin ortasından itibaren yaşamış olduğu iç siyasi sorunlardır. Ancak, 2015 yılından sonra ilişkiler ikilinin tarihsel ilişkilerindeki boşluğu dolduracak hızda ilerlemiştir. Bu bağlamda Kamboçya'nın dış politikasına bakıldığında Kamboçya kendi hedeflerini içeren konularda Türkiye ile 2018 yılında 8 farklı anlaşma imzalamıştır bu anlaşmalar birbirinden farklı sektörlerde işbirliğini içermektedir. Bunlara eğitim, kültür, turizm, tarım, yatırım dahildir. Aynı zamanda ikilinin ilişkileri Kamboçya'nın ASEAN diyalog ortaklığını desteklemesi ile önemli bir yere gelmiştir. Türkiye Kamboçya ile ASEAN çatısı altında madencilik ve terörizm ile mücadele konusunda birlikte çalışmaktadır. Endonezya ilişkilerimize baktığımızda ilişkiler tarihsel zamanda çok eskiye dayanmaktadır. Ace İmparatorluğu ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu zamanından başlamakta olup aktifliğini her zaman korumuştur. Literatürde sıkça Müslüman ülke olarak karşılaştırıldığı fark edilen ikilinin diplomatik ilişkileri Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile 1950 yılında resmi olarak kurulmuştur. Sadece ekonomik anlamda olmamakla

birlikte kültürel anlamda da ilişkiler devam etmekte olup 1995 yılından beri iş konseyi ortaklığı vardır. Türkiye'nin 1957 yılında Jakarta'da açılan elçiliği 2010 yılından beri ASEAN ilişkilerine de akredite edilmiştir. İkili aynı zamanda Birleşmiş Milletler, G20, D8, MIKTA gibi başka platformlarda da bir arada çalışmaktadır. Laos Güneydoğu Asya'nın en fakir ülkesi olarak adlandırılırken, ASEAN birliğine 1997'de üye olmuştur. Türkiye ile ilk ilişkilerini 1958'de kurmuş ancak diplomatik ilişkiler 2017 yılına kadar beklemiştir. Genel hatları ile ilişkiler incelendiği zaman Türkiye'nin Asya'ya bağlı politikalarındaki değişiklikler ile Laos Türkiye'nin dikkatini çekmiştir ve ilişkilerde ASEAN önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Malezya ile ilişkiler aynı Endonezya gibi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na kadar dayanmaktadır. Birçok uluslararası platformda bir arada bulunan Türkiye'de Malezya ikili ilişkilerini bu platformlar vasıtasıyla da güçlendirmiştir hem kültürel hem ekonomik anlamda kuvvetli olan ilişkileri 2014 yılında Türkiye'nin ilişkilerini arttırmaya çalıştığı süreçte Serbest Ticaret Anlaşması imzalamaları ile bir kademe daha yükselmiştir. Bu bağlamda Malezya Türkiye'nin Güneydoğu Asya'da ilk STA imzaladığı ülke olarak önemli bir yere sahiptir. Karşılıklı yatırımlar yüksektir, aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin 2021 yılında TAI yatırım yapması ve savunma sanayinde bölgeye girmesi ilişkileri ilerletmiştir. Malezya'nın kendi politikası bağımsız ele alındığı zaman ASEAN'a çok önem vermekte olup aynı zamanda coğrafi yapısından ve demografisinden kaynaklı bağımsız prensipli ve çıkarıcı bir dış politika izlemeyi hedeflemektedir. ASEAN ve bölgede rolünü kuvvetlendirmeyi hedefleyen Malezya, Müslüman ülkeler ile birlikteliği önemli bulmaktadır. Doğal kaynakları, ticaret yolları, Güneydoğu Asya'daki konumu, ASEAN içerisindeki yeri ve kurucu bir üye olması Malezya'yı önemli bir ortak haline getirmektedir. Myanmar Güneydoğu Asya'nın önemli ülkelerinden bir tanesi olmasına rağmen siyasi ve ekonomik nedenlerden ötürü ikili ilişki kurmanın zor olduğu bir ülkedir. İlişkiler diplomatik anlamda ilk 1958 yılında kurulmuş olup 2012 yılına kadar ilerleme yaşanmamıştır. Günümüzde Myanmar 10 Güneydoğu Asya ülkesinden Türkiye'de elçilik açmayan 2 ülkeden biridir. Dış politikasına bakıldığı zaman Arakan sorunu Türkiye'nin bölge ile olan ilişkilerini önemli olarak etkilemektedir. Türkiye'nin gündemine gelen konuda Türkiye BM çatısı altında bölgeye yardım etmekte olup 2007 ve 2010 yıllarında insani yardım göndermiştir. Siyasi ve etnik sorunların çok yaşandığı bölgedeki düzensizlik ilişkilerin ilerlemesini engellemektedir. Bu noktada Türkiye'nin ASEAN ve

Birleşmiş Milletler gibi platformlar aracılığıyla bölgeye eriştiği gözlemlenmiş ve bu yolu tercih etmesinin ilişkilerin pozitif kalkmasını sağladığı fark edilmiştir. Filipinler ile ilişkilere bakıldığı zaman ilk diplomatik temas 13 Haziran 1949 yılında kurulmuş olmasına rağmen 40 yıl sonra elçilik açılmıştır. Bir sene ardından Filipinler'de Türkiye'de 1991'de temsilciliklerine açmışlardır ve ikili ilişki 2015 yılında Filipinler'de ofis açan TİKA'nın. İkili arasında hala ticari açık vardır. En büyük ticaret hacmine turizm sektörü sahiptir ASEAN içerisinde Filipinler Türkiye'ye en fazla turist gönderen ülkedir. İkili ilişkiler siyasi anlamda ve güvenlik anlamında ekonomik ilişkilerden daha çok önem taşımaktadır. Türkiye Filipinler'e siyasi konularda danışmanlık vermekte, aynı zamanda silahlı Müslüman gruplarına karşı hükümete destek olmaktadır. Savunma sanayisinde Türkiye'nin bölge ile ticareti yüksektir istihbarat silah konusunda ikili ilişkiler gün geçtikçe artmaktadır ve bu iktisadi ilişkilerden daha önemli bir gündem oluşturmaktadır. Singapur ile ilişkilerimiz 12 Şubat 1969 yılında başlamış olup 1989 yılına kadar ilerleme göstermemiştir. O yılı Türkiye Singapur büyükelçiliğini açmış olmasına rağmen Singapur'un elçiliğini 2012 yılında açmıştır. 2002 yılına kadar ilerleyemeyen ilişkiler Türkiye'nin Asya-Pasifik açılımı ile ilerlemiştir. Bugün Singapur Türkiye'nin Güneydoğu Asya'da ve Asya-Pasifik bölgesinde Çin'den sonra en fazla ithalat yaptığı bölgedir. STA şekillendirmektedir, aynı zamanda Singapur ilişkilerine bakıldığında görülmektedir ki ülkenin Türkiye'ye yatırımı özellikle Mersin Limanına oldukça çoktur. Tayland ilişkilerimiz resmi olarak 1958 yılında başlamış ve hız kaybetmeden devam etmiştir. 2019 yılında üst düzey ziyaretlerinde olduğu ilişkilerde Tayland Türkiye'den oldukça yatırım almaktadır. Özellikle ev elektroniği alanlarında Arçelik Arzum gibi firmalar bölgeye oldukça yatırım yapmış ve markette önemli yer edinmişlerdir. Ancak ikili ilişkiler 2015 yılında bir duraksama yaşamıştır. Elçiliğin kısa süreli kapanması derecesinde yaşanan gerginlik Tayland'ın bünyesinde bulunan Uygur Türklerini Çine teslim etmesi nedeniyle olmuştur. İkili sorunu çözmüş olup 2017'den beri STA müzakerelerine devam ettirmektedirler. ASEAN'ın dış politikasında önemli rol oynadığı Tayland, Türkiye ile ilişkilerini pek çok anlaşma ile bilim, kültür, turizm, eğitim konularında geliştirmiştir. Vietnam ile ilişkilere bakıldığı zaman; her ne kadar ASEAN'a sonradan dâhil olsa bile Güneydoğu Asya marketin de önemli bir yere sahiptir. 1978'de kadar uzanan diplomatik ilişkiler 1997 yılına kadar aktif olmamakla birlikte ikili ilişkiler sonrası kuvvetlenmiş özellikle

Türk dizileri konusunda Türkiye'ye ilgi gösterilmiştir. Aynı zamanda Türkiye COVID-19 sürecinde Vietnam'a önemli medikal desteği sağlamıştır

Sonuç olarak çalışmada Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kuruluşundan bu yana Güneydoğu Asya ilişkilerinin 1996-1997 yılları Erbakan Dönemi ile D8 ve İslam İşbirliği Örgütü aracılığı ile bölgedeki bazı ülkelerin diplomatik ilişkilerinde ilerleme görülmüştür. Değişen strateji, politikalarla günümüzde çok aktif bir şekilde sadece bu bölgeye yönelik özel politikalar geliştirdiği ve birçok alanda işbirliği sağladığı ortaya konmuştur. Yeniden Asya İnisiyatifi kapsamında Türkiye-ASEAN ilişkileri, ASEAN'ın bölgedeki merkezi rolü ve ASEAN yolu adı verdikleri diplomasi yöntemi ile kendi zor coğrafyalarında uzlaşma sağlayabilmeleri sebebiyle, faydacı değerlendirilmiş olup, tezin en büyük açığının Erbakan ve Davutoğlu dönemlerinin aksine Çavuşoğlu döneminin henüz kapanmamış olmasıdır. Bu sebeple tez retrospektif sunduğu dönemlerin aksine 2019 yılında uygulamaya konulan ve Yeniden Asya İnisiyatifi adı verilen politikaya karşın yapmış olduğu yorumlarda ilerleyen yıllarda daha somut kanıtlar elde ederek ilişkinin ASEAN yolu diplomasisi ve ASEAN merkezliliği sebebiyle örgüt çatısına konumlandırılmasına karşın yorumunu değiştiren veya teyit eden bir ek çalışma yapılabilir. Genel olarak bakıldığı zaman ortaya konmaktadır ki; Türkiye'nin Güneydoğu Asya politikaları Erbakan döneminden Çavuşoğlu dönemine şekillenmiştir. İlk olarak bölgenin tanınması; Her ne kadar ASEAN örgüt olarak tanınmış ve ilişkiler kurulmaya başlanmış olsa da Güneydoğu Asya adı ile anılması ve meşruluk kazanması Çavuşoğlu dönemine kadar beklemiştir. Davutoğlu bölgeyi dört, Çavuşoğlu ise Asya bölgesinin beşe bölmüştür. İkinci nokta ise Türkiye'nin doğu batı tartışmasından kendisini çıkartmasıdır. Bu değişim Erbakan döneminden sonra Davutoğlu zamanında Türkiye'nin kendisinin Avrasya ülkesi olarak tanımlaması ile başlamıştır. Çavuşoğlu'nun iki kıta arasında Eksen kayması olmaksızın Avrasya ülkesi olarak "Asya'nın batısı Avrupa'nın doğusu" olarak yeniden Asya inisiyatifinde kendini konumlandırması ile son bulmuştur. Üçüncü değişim Türkiye'nin uluslararası örgütlere dış politikasında vermiş olduğu roldür. Bu bağlamda Erbakan döneminde uluslararası örgütler oldukça önemli iken sonraki dönemlerde stratejik birer araç olarak değerlendirmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda önemlerini yine Davutoğlu döneminde korumuş Çavuşoğlu döneminde ikili ilişkilerde birebir kontak kurmak daha önemli olmuştur. Ancak Güneydoğu Asya bölgesi üzerinde bir uluslararası örgüt ihtiyacı

genel politika içerisinde farklılık göstermektedir. Türkiye'nin dış politikasındaki her değişim de aramış olduğu kimlik arayışı bir diğer nokta olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Erbakan döneminde bu kimlik çoğunlukla Müslümanlık, Davutoğlu döneminde neo-ottoman ve bir köprü görevi karşımıza çıkmakta ancak günümüzde bu kimlik krizinin daha esnek ve bölgedeki politikalara odaklı çok kimlikli ve tarihi bir birleşimden gelmekte. Beşinci değişim ise Erbakan döneminde Müslüman ülkelere öncelik verilirken dönemin sonunda bölgenin geleceği fark edilmiş ancak politikalara çok yansımamıştır. Gün geçtikçe Asya'nın yükselişi farkındalığıyla Güneydoğu Asya'da yer alan bütün ülkelere önem vermeye başlanmıştır. Araştırmanın sorusu olan Türkiye'nin neden Güneydoğu Asya ilişkilerinde ASEAN örgütüne önem verdiği sorusu aslında bütün bu değişimlerin cevabından geçer. Çünkü ASEAN kimlik sorunu, tarihsel bakış, bölgeye giriş, yükselen bölgedeki önemli rolü, çok kimlikli çok dinli bir bölgede tek bir kimlik çatısı altında ülkeleri toplayabilmesi ve fazlası ile tek başına Türkiye'ye yardımcı olmaktadır. Bu bağlamda aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin bölgedeki krizlere müdahale ederken sorun çözme mekanizması ASEAN yolu ile Türkiye'yi koruyan bir sisteme sahiptir. Türkiye bölgedeki 10 ülkeye yeniden Asya açılımı ile tam anlamıyla erişmiş olup arkasındaki araç ASEAN'dır. İlk başlangıçta ekonomik çıkarım olmadığı görülse dahi ilişkiler yalnızca ekonomik anlamda değil kültürel, güvenlik, sosyo-politik anlamda ilerlemektedir ve Türkiye'ye çok şey kazandırmaktadır. İktisadi anlamda ki ilişkiler zaman içerisinde ticari açığı kapatacak oldu düşünülmektedir.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : ABANOZOĞLU
Adı / Name : Merve Naz
Bölümü / Department : Uluslararası İlişkiler / International Relations

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