

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Philippine-South Korean<sup>1</sup> relations from 1948-1971 can be viewed within the framework of an era where the world was divided into two distinct forces — that of the so-called Free World led by the United States and that of the communist camp led by the Soviet Union. This era is more popularly known as the Cold War years. In the early 1970s however, the Cold War seemed to have thawed into a trend towards a multipolarized alignment of forces in international politics.<sup>2</sup>

It was within the Cold War era that the Korean peninsula became one of the first battlegrounds of this ideological rivalry between the two superpowers. The Philippines, being also a part of the East Asian region to which Korea belongs,<sup>3</sup> could not help but develop significant relations with that country. And since Korea had become a tinder box in the region, the Philippines has every reason to feel a certain measure of anxiety.

In 1950, the Philippines became actively involved in the anti-communist war in Korea. Until now, it is still a member of the United Nations Command stationed in that divided country. And because South Korea is fast emerging as an economic force of growing importance in the region due to its rapidly expanding foreign trade, the Philippines cannot avoid relating with it.

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<sup>1</sup> Philippine(s) refers to Republic of the Philippines or R.P. South Korea refers to Republic of Korea or R.O.K. The terms are hereafter used interchangeably with their corresponding official names or abbreviations.

<sup>2</sup> Although observers differ as to exact periodization of different phases of the international climate, this study adopts Rosenau's characterization of international political history thus: tight bipolarization from 1945 to 1959; loose bipolarization in the 1960s; and a pattern resembling the balance of power system that emerged in the 1970s. See James Rosenau, Kenneth Thompson, and Gavin Boyd, *World Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 1976), pp. 22-23.

The distinctions between the tight and loose bipolar structures in world politics were first expounded by Morton Kaplan in *System and Process in International Politics* (New York: Wiley, 1957). According to his model, a tight bipolar system exists when two superpowers dominate world politics to such an extent that other states feel compelled to align themselves with one or the other; a loose bipolar system emerges when there is a breakdown within the hierarchy of the former system such that other states begin to evolve toward great-power status, and the two dominant powers are less able to command the strict allegiance of those in their orbit of influence.

<sup>3</sup> Sheldon Simon includes Korea and the Philippines in his geographical definition of East Asia. However, he qualifies that as a *system*, East Asia should not be taken as one but as a series of overlapping systems geographically subdivided into Northeast Asia, which includes Korea, and Southeast Asia, which includes the Philippines. See Sheldon Simon, "East Asia," in Rosenau et al., *World Politics*, chapter 23.

Philippine relations with Korea and other small Asian countries, however, have not assumed as much importance as had its relations with traditional partners like the U.S. and Japan. It was only in the late 1960s that the pressure of world events compelled the Philippines to reorient its foreign relations. Taking the form of closer identification with Third World countries in general and with its Asian neighbors in particular, among others, this new orientation has been increasingly reflected in Philippine foreign policy goals and behavior.<sup>4</sup>

With this particular thrust in foreign policy, there is a felt need to examine and evaluate the patterns of relations between the Philippines and these Third World countries. The present study therefore hopes to augment the limited body of knowledge on the Philippines' bilateral relations with its Asian neighbors.

No systematic study has been made and published on Philippine-South Korean relations. The few books, pamphlets, and articles on the subject deal mainly on certain specific military and trade aspects of the relations between the two countries.<sup>5</sup> The present work attempts to provide a coherent data base for the future study and further analysis of Philippine-South Korean relations.

At the same time, it also tries to examine the nature and the basis of the relations between the two countries in the context of the Cold War era.

The main assertion of this study is that the relations between the Philippines and South Korea from 1948 to 1971 were mainly a function of their congruent Cold War foreign policies characterized by and manifested in their close alignment with the United States and a rigidly anti-communist posture.

### *Theoretical Framework*

The study makes use of the "systems theory" as its general tool of analysis in examining international relations.

International relations is here taken as "the interaction of governments of sovereign states,"<sup>6</sup> while the term "system" is used as a "set of

<sup>4</sup> See for instance, the following: Narciso Ramos, "Philippine Foreign Relations: 1968," *Fookien Times Yearbook* (October 1968), pp. 72f; Carlos P. Romulo, "Foreign Policy in the Seventies," *Fookien Times Yearbook* (September-October 1971), pp. 58f; Carlos P. Romulo, *Rejoining Our Asian Family* (Manila: Department of Foreign Affairs, 1969); see also "Marcos Bids to Bind Asia Ties," *Manila Daily Bulletin*, January 11, 1968, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> These include: Juan Villasanta, *Dateline: Korea—Stories of the Philippine Battalion* (Bacolod City: Nalco Press, 1954); Ernesto Jimenez, ed., *These Are Your Boys, the Avengers* (Tokyo: International Printing Co., 1954); Manuel Gallego, *The Philippine Expeditionary Forces to Korea Before the Eyes of the Law* (Manila: Mag-simpan Press, 1950; Clemente Abello, "Korea-Philippine Joint Meeting on Trade," *Commerce* 12 (December 1964): 24-25; Wee Dong Chang, "Philippines-Korea Trade Prospects," *Fookien Times Yearbook* (October 1967), pp. 132f.

<sup>6</sup> E. Raymond Platig, "International Relations as a Field of Inquiry," in James Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, rev. ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 16.

components with identifiable attributes, among which patterned relationships persist over a period of time."<sup>7</sup> The field of international relations can therefore be considered a system.<sup>8</sup>

There is a growing tendency to view the world as a global international system composed of parts or subsystems.<sup>9</sup> This view stresses the pattern of interstate relations within the different subsystems.

The general systems theory as applied to international relations can be explained as:

the existence of a system in which all those engaged in action in international politics, the nation-states, governments, diplomats, politicians, interest groups, and national and international organizations, are elements in relationships, the interaction of which contributes to the system as a whole.<sup>10</sup>

Proponents of this framework say that its advantage lies in its holistic approach and comprehensiveness. It is said to give a clearer formulation of the main variables in the study of international politics.

Of the main variables identified, the present work focuses on only one — the actions of nations as components of the system.

The conduct of relations of a nation with other nations is said to be dictated by its foreign policy. This policy expresses the state's reactions to perceived dangers and opportunities in the international setting. It determines whether a state would become friendly toward some states and hostile toward others. States with congruent or harmonious national values, interests and ideologies are friendly to each other while those which conflict in these areas are generally unfriendly or hostile to each other.<sup>11</sup>

The foreign policy of a state may be determined with the use of three conceptual distinctions, namely, as a cluster of orientations, as a set of commitments and plans of action, and as a form of behavior.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Andrew Scott, *The Functioning of the International Political System* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See for instance, Kaplan, *System and Process in International Politics*, chapter 1; Scott, *International Political System*, p. 26; Richard Rosecrance, *Action and Reaction in World Politics* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963); Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba, eds., *The International System* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963); J. W. Burton, *Systems, States, Diplomacy and Rules* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1968); Joseph Frankel, *Contemporary International Theory and the Behavior of States* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973); James E. Dougherty, "The Study of the Global System," in Rosenau et al., *World Politics*; Charles Reynolds, *Theory and Explanation in International Politics* (London: Martin Robertson, 1973).

<sup>10</sup> Reynolds, *International Politics*, p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> Norman Padelford and George Lincoln, *The Dynamics of International Politics* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), pp. 221-223.

<sup>12</sup> James Rosenau, "The Study of Foreign Policy," in Rosenau et al., *World Politics*, p. 6.



Orientations specifically consist of "attitudes, perceptions and values that derive from the historical experiences and strategic circumstances which mark the state's place in world politics."<sup>13</sup>

As a set of commitments and plans of action, foreign policy consists of "specific goals and means for achieving them that are deemed to be appropriate responses to the opportunities and challenges abroad."<sup>14</sup>

As a form of behavior, on the other hand, foreign policy refers to the concrete actions taken by officials of nations with respect to external events and situations.<sup>15</sup>

The study of foreign policy as a form of behavior makes use of certain instruments and assumes certain patterns. The instruments used in this study were: diplomatic-political, economic, military and cultural.

The patterns of foreign policy as behavior include: 1) recognition of other states and the exchange of diplomatic and consular offices; 2) conclusion of treaties of friendship, commerce, and other administrative matters; 3) adherence to certain international agencies such as the United Nations; and 4) support of some principles of international law.<sup>16</sup>

In understanding the RP-ROK relations, the systems approach was used. However, the study also made use of the patron-client approach because it clarifies the basis of these relations vis-a-vis the influence of a superpower.

There are two broad levels of analysis used in this study, namely, the unit level and the global systems level.

Nation-states are considered the unit level of the state system. Their government's foreign policies are among the prime inputs into the international political system. It is important then to examine their foreign policies in order to understand their relationship with the other components of the international system.

There is a view that within the international political system, relationships are highly stratified. This structure includes a few "top dog" nations, namely, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.; several middle-level nations; and the rest, the "underdog" nations. This classification is made on the basis of a nation's wealth, power, and international status. This hierarchal structure limits the foreign policy alternatives of the "underdog" nations. Galtung, the proponent of this view, theorizes that the rank and position of a country in this international system largely define and limit the range of the country's foreign policy alternatives.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Padelford and Lincoln, *Dynamics of International Politics*, p. 334.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 334-335.

<sup>17</sup> Johan Galtung, "International Relations and International Conflicts: A Sociological Approach," paper read at the International Sociological Association Plenary Session, September 4-11, 1966, cited in Marshall R. Singer, "The Foreign Policies of Small Developing States," in Rosenau et al., *World Politics*, p. 275.

5. Immediately after World War II, the individual states were often deeply involved in bilateral relations with various external powers than with one another. There was little involvement in international politics among the member states of the Asian subsystems.

6. Asian politics has been shaped to a large extent by the ideological problems of the Cold War. Asian states have generally been involved in the competition between the superpowers and the latter's respective power interests in the area. This competition is manifested in the bipolar alliance system and the efforts of the U.S. to construct an Asian defense perimeter against communist expansion.

Since 1945 the main protagonists that control the dominant (bipolar bloc) systems are the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Generally considered the only two nations qualifying as "superpowers," they exceed all other states by a "substantial margin in their economic potentials, military capabilities, mobility of power, and range of their interests."<sup>21</sup> As such, they have gained predominant influence over the international political system following World War II and have consequently set the tone of international politics since 1945.

The depth of the ideological and political differences between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. has given rise to a global rivalry that has often led to a two-power confrontation. This situation has brought about the Cold War and the characteristics of bipolarity. These two powers have greatly influenced the behavior of other states, dividing the world into the Free World or noncommunist bloc and the communist bloc.<sup>22</sup>

This study is viewed primarily from this ideological framework, that is, the Free World led by the U.S. versus the socialist world led by the U.S.S.R.

The global political environment also includes regional and international organizations. The functions of these organizations are to promote general welfare and to maintain stability within the international system. They also provide the forum for discussion and cooperation among member states.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Michael H. Armacost, *The Foreign Relations of the United States*, (California: Dickenson Pub. Co., Inc. 1969), p. 6. Also, for a comprehensive discussion on the international hierarchy and classification of states in terms of the five factors of power, see Steven Spiegel, *Dominance and Diversity: The International Hierarchy* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1972), pp. 38-128.

<sup>22</sup> See for instance, Louis Halle, *The Cold War as History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967); David Horowitz, *The Free World Colossus* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1965); William Parker, *The Superpowers* (London: The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1972).

<sup>23</sup> Charles Pentland, "International Organizations," in Rosenau et al., *World Politics*, pp. 631-638.

COLD WAR ENVIRONMENT  
1948-1971

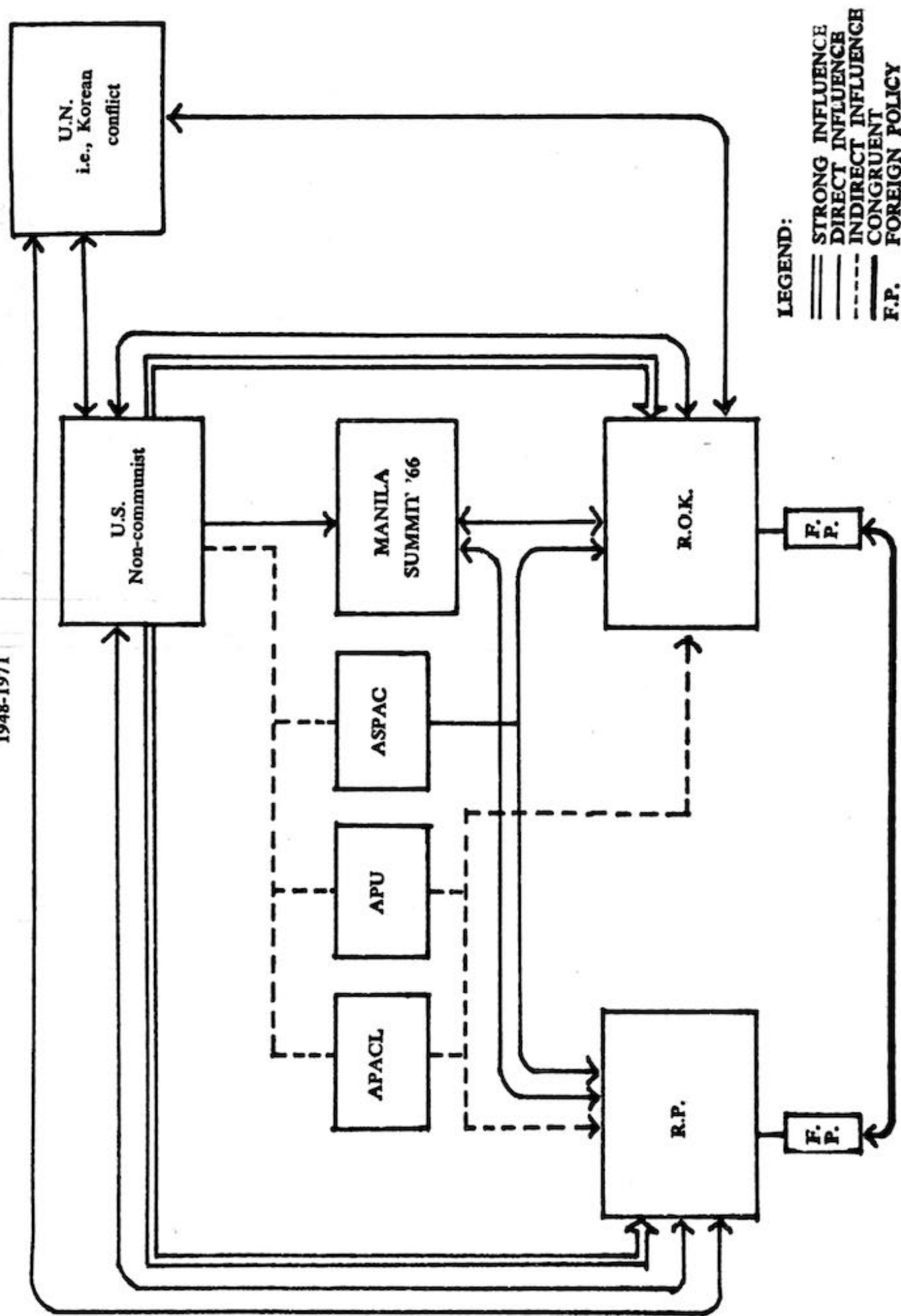


FIGURE 1. Schematic Diagram of Theoretical Framework



However, the superpowers strongly influence these organizations in the performance of their role of pursuing the members' foreign policy goals. This is particularly true in the international organizations dominated by the superpowers. For instance, the degree of U.S. influence on the United Nations Organization, which has often become a major instrument of U.S. foreign policy goals, cannot be denied.<sup>24</sup> In the same vein, regional organizations have been widely used as instruments in implementing policies that reflect the bipolar alignments among member states.<sup>25</sup> A general assumption regarding international and regional organizations is that

the degree to which any consensus created among the members [of regional or international organizations] is likely to be compatible with their [dominant powers'] particular interests.<sup>26</sup>

The present work views international organizations and organized international political activities as instruments of foreign policies that reflect the superpowers' ideological and political orientations.

It is assumed that the alignment of a small nation with a superpower will have a great influence on its relations with other states. This influence could be heavier when the small nation becomes a client state of the superpower.

A patron-client relationship involves the following features: defense agreements, military aid, training of troops, establishment of bases, economic-financial ties through investments, aids, exclusive or predominant trade relations, and currency agreements.<sup>27</sup>

In this study, it has been assumed that the United States has maintained a preeminent position in the Philippines and South Korea as reflected in their ideological orientation and patterns of foreign policy behavior. Thus, in understanding the bilateral relations between two client states of a superpower, a triangular arrangement emerges. At the peak of the triangle is the superpower which acts as a linkage in a bilateral relationship between its clients in a particular geographical region.

<sup>24</sup> For discussions and analyses of the relationship between the United Nations and American foreign policy, see Richard N. Gardner, *In Pursuit of World Order*, rev. ed. (New York: Praeger, 1966); Leland M. Goodrich, *Korea: A Study of U.S. Policy in the United Nations* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1956); J. G. Stoessinger, *The U.N. and the Superpowers* (New York: Random House, 1965); Jon Halliday, "The United Nations and Korea," in Frank Baldwin, ed., *Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1973).

<sup>25</sup> For instance, two regional European alliance organizations obviously illustrate this: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), where American presence is overwhelming in terms of troops and bases; and the Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact), composed of Eastern European states. The Soviet presence in the organization is unmistakably predominant.

<sup>26</sup> Pentland, "International Organizations," p. 631.

<sup>27</sup> John Herz, "The Territorial State Revisited: Reflections on the Future of the Nation-State," in Rosenau et al., *World Politics*, p. 85. For a thorough discussion of the patron-client relationship in the international system, see Spiegel, *Dominance and Diversity*, pp. 129-169.

## *Organization and Presentation*

As a primarily descriptive-analytical work, this study has been organized in the following manner: an introductory chapter (Chapter I) stating its scope, significance, and theoretical framework; followed by a comparative study (Chapter II) of the basic foreign policy orientation, tenets, and behavior of the Philippines and South Korea from their immediate post-independence period to the early 70s. This is to show the basic content and direction of the foreign policies of each country, particularly during the Cold War era.

Chapters III and IV examine Philippine and South Korean participation in organized international and regional affairs, as well as R.P.-R.O.K. bilateral relations, respectively. Specifically, the bilateral relations include the diplomatic-political, economic, military, and socio-cultural aspects. These chapters intend to seek the extent, nature, and function of Philippine-South Korean relations in the global, regional, and bilateral levels as determined by their respective foreign policies.

Finally, from the presentation of these historical facts, Chapter V attempts to draw some conclusions regarding the nature and function of Philippine-South Korean relations from 1948-1971.

### *Sources of Data*

The data in this study come from primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include Philippine and South Korean government documents available in Metro Manila, such as presidential publications, annual embassy reports and dispatches, publications from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, treaties, agreements, and annual trade reports. Unpublished but decoded official communications on the presidential and ministerial levels were examined from the Quirino Presidential Papers File at the Ayala Museum and Library in Makati, Metro Manila. Official records and publications of international organizations relevant to the study were also used.

Other sources such as newspapers, magazines, journals, books, and other related publications were perused whenever primary sources were not available, or for leads to primary sources. Finally, some members of the Philippine and South Korean diplomatic corps were interviewed to help provide insights which could contribute to a substantial analysis of the data gathered.

The documents used in this study are limited to books, papers, and periodicals available in the Philippines. As a consequence, this work tends to present the Philippine point of view. The chapter on RP-ROK bilateral



relations in particular depends mainly on the reports of the Philippine embassy in Seoul as well as on local newspapers. This is primarily due to the inaccessibility of Korean foreign affairs reports to alien researchers.

A dearth of materials on Philippine-South Korean bilateral relations is noteworthy. Even the Philippine sources like the embassy reports, a gap in chronological reporting has been noted. The initial report of the Philippine mission in Seoul, for instance, was submitted only in 1957. Also, the annual reports from 1960 to 1967 were unaccounted for in the library files of the Philippine Ministry of Foreign Affairs.