

Renata Czekałska

<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6595-4233>

Jagiellonian University in Kraków

r.czekalska@uj.edu.pl

DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.06

“Friends in Need” – Some Remarks on the Contacts Between the Turks¹ and the Koreans

ABSTRACT

The article explores the historical and cultural interactions between the Turkic peoples and the inhabitants of the Korean Peninsula, focusing on how these connections have shaped their relationship over time. Drawing on the theories of balance of power by Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz, and the concept of cultural security, the article describes exchanges, including trade, strategic alliances, and cultural interactions. It traces the early contacts facilitated by the Silk Road, which enabled the flow of goods, ideas, and technologies, and examines the geopolitical implications of these interactions, such as during the Mongol invasions. The article also discusses the significant impact of the Korean War, when Turkey's decision to send troops to support Korea marked a key moment in bilateral relations, strengthening diplomatic ties and creating a lasting bond. Finally, it investigates cultural resonance between the two nations, particularly the popularity of the ‘Korean wave’ (*Hallyu*) in Turkey, highlighting the role of these cultural ties in fostering mutual understanding and enhancing diplomatic relations.

KEYWORDS: Turkish-Korean relations, cultural diplomacy, balance of power, Korean War, *Hallyu*

-
- 1 In the title as well as the text of this essay, the term “Turks” refers to the broader group of Turkic peoples, who have played a significant role in the history of Eurasia, particularly in Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. The exact origins of the Turks remain a subject of scholarly debate, but they are generally believed to have originated in Central Asia, particularly in the regions around modern-day Mongolia and the Altai Mountains. In 14th century, one branch of this group founded the Ottoman Empire, which until the early 20th century ruled over a sundry array of peoples and cultures, leaving a lasting impact on the territories under its control. Today, the Turks constitute a diverse group with a rich cultural heritage: Turkey is a prominent state straddling the Middle East and Europe, while other Turkic-speaking nations of Central Asia have gained independence and established their own identities. Therefore, the scope of relationships mentioned in this essay extends beyond the territorial boundaries of modern-day Turkey.

Suggested citation: Czekałska, R. (2025). “Friends in Need” – Some Remarks on the Contacts Between the Turks and the Koreans. © ⓘ *Perspectives on Culture*, 3(50), pp. 49–60. DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.06

Nadesłano: 11.09.2024

Zaakceptowano: 24.07.2025

STRESZCZENIE

„Przyjaciele w biedzie” – kilka uwag o kontaktach turecko-koreańskich

W artykule podjęto temat historycznych i kulturowych interakcji między ludami tureckimi a mieszkańcami Półwyspu Koreańskiego, koncentrując się na tym, w jakiej mierze powiązania te kształtowały ich relacje. W odniesieniu do teorii równowagi sił Hansa Morgenthaua i Kennetha Waltza oraz koncepcji bezpieczeństwa kulturowego w artykule opisano wymianę, w tym handel, sojusze strategiczne i interakcje kulturowe. Prześladowano skrótkowo wczesne kontakty ułatwione przez Jedwabny Szlak, umożliwiające przepływ towarów, idei i technologii, a także poddano analizie geopolityczne implikacje interakcji, do jakich dochodziło choćby podczas najazdów mongolskich. W artykule omówiono również znaczący wpływ na wzajemne relacje wojny koreańskiej, podczas której decyzja Turcji o wysłaniu wojsk w celu wsparcia Korei była kluczowym momentem w stosunkach dwustronnych, wzmacniającym więzi dyplomatyczne i tworzącym głęboko zakorzoną więź. Ponadto zbadano relacje kulturowe, a w szczególności popularność „koreańskiej fali” (*Hallyu*) w Turcji, a także podkreślono rolę więzi kulturowych we wspieraniu wzajemnego zrozumienia i wzmacnianiu stosunków dyplomatycznych.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: stosunki turecko-koreańskie, dyplomacja kulturalna, równowaga sił, wojna koreańska, *Hallyu*

Introduction²

The historical contacts between the Turkic peoples and the inhabitants of the Korean Peninsula have been characterized by a network of cultural exchanges, trade relations, and political dynamics. Despite the geographical distance separating them, a complex web of interactions has shaped their histories and facilitated the possibility of mutual understanding.

Inspired by the theories of the balance of power by Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz, set against the background of the idea of cultural security, this essay delves into the multifaceted aspects of the historical relations, exploring significant events and cultural exchanges that have forged a distinctive connection between these peoples, one that falls into the proverbial category of “friends in need.”

2 Note on Romanization: This paper employs the McCune–Reischauer system for historical and dynastic terms (e.g., Koryō, Chosŏn) and the Revised Romanization for modern cultural terms (e.g., Hallyu), in accordance with common academic convention.

The Concept of “Friends in Need”

Morgenthau and Waltz are two prominent figures in the field of international relations who have contributed significantly to the debate on alliance theory and the concept of the balance of power. While their arguments are not identical, they share some key ideas about what drives countries to form alliances and mutually support each other's interests. Both scholars emphasize the importance of power and the balance of power in international relations. They argue that states form alliances to ensure their own survival and security in an anarchic international system. While Morgenthau's classical realism (1948) focuses on the pursuit of power as a state's primary goal, Waltz's neorealism (1979) centers on the structural factors that shape state behavior within the international system. The shared concern with preventing the dominance of any single state remains a key concept in both their theories, forming the basis of the balance of power in international relations (Waltz, 1979).

Within the framework of the idea of the balance of power, the concept of cultural security – referring to the notion that states may seek to protect their cultural identity, values, and way of life in addition to their physical security (Anheier & Isar, 2011; Nemeth, 2014; Stone, 2011; Williams, 2007) – adds an extra dimension to the motivations behind state behavior and alliances in international relations. This idea, which emerged in response to historical and contemporary challenges to the preservation of cultural identity, heritage, and diversity, has evolved alongside changing geopolitical, social, and cultural dynamics, and it continues to be a topic of interest in discussions about security, identity, and protection of culture in the modern world.

While Morgenthau's classical realism primarily emphasizes the pursuit of power and security as the main drivers of state behavior, it does not entirely discount the importance of cultural elements. States may be motivated to form alliances or take certain actions to protect their cultural values and identity if they perceive these are under threat. For example, if a state regards another state's actions as a threat to its cultural values – such as religious beliefs or national identity – it may form alliances not only to counter that perceived threat in addition to maintaining the balance of power. Correspondingly, Waltz's structural realism focuses primarily on systemic factors and the distribution of power in the international system. Yet, cultural security can still be incorporated into this framework: states may consider cultural factors as part of their security calculus if they believe that shifts in the international balance of power could lead to the erosion or subversion of their cultural identity. For instance, a state with a distinct cultural heritage might be more inclined to join an alliance to prevent the dominance of a state perceived as culturally incompatible or hostile.

Thus, incorporating cultural security into these theories adds complexity to the motivations behind state behavior and alliances, and appears to provide

a useful theoretical framework fit for explaining the relationships between the Turkic peoples and the Koreans, both historically and in the modern globalized world. In both cases, while power and security remain central, cultural considerations might factor in shaping strategic decisions. Moreover, cultural security can influence how states perceive threats and opportunities in the international system, potentially shaping their alliances and actions in response.

Early Contacts and Cultural Exchange

The early contacts between the Turkic peoples and the Korean Peninsula represent a fascinating chapter in the history of East Asian and Central Asian interactions. These interactions were significantly shaped by the geographical and cultural dynamics of the region, as well as the broader context of the Silk Road trade which was pivotal in encouraging early contacts between them. In this extensive trade network, which spanned from the Mediterranean to East Asia and passed through various regions including Central Asia, the Turkic nomadic tribes were central players, acting as intermediaries between East Asia and Central Asia. Through their itinerant movements and trading activities, they established connections with the Korean Peninsula.

The Turkic peoples were renowned for their equestrian skills and military prowess, which made them indispensable in safeguarding and facilitating trade along the Silk Road. As they traversed the vast Central Asian steppes, they encountered various cultures, including that of the Koreans. In this way, alongside goods, ideas, technologies, and cultural concepts were exchanged. For instance, the spread of Buddhism, a significant social, cultural, philosophical, and spiritual movement, was facilitated by the Silk Road, and it likely had an impact on both the Korean and Turkic societies. This exchange of social and philosophical ideas contributed to the broader cultural landscape of the region. Besides, the Silk Road was also a conduit for the exchange of artistic and technological innovations. Pottery, textiles, and other artifacts from both Turkic and Korean cultures may have found their way into each other's societies, leaving behind a legacy of shared artistic influences.

Language is another avenue through which these early contacts left their mark. Linguistic parallels between the Turkic and Korean languages may have emerged during this period. While it is challenging to pinpoint specific linguistic exchanges, the proximity of these groups and their interactions would likely have resulted in some degree of linguistic influence. Some linguists claim that both Korean and Turkish languages belong to the same Ural-Altaic language family (Lee & Ramsey, 2011; Kim & MacNeill, 2020), stating, for example, that “[b]ecause Koreans and Turkic peoples originated from the Central Asia, there are

many morphological similarities between Korean and Turkish languages” (Lee, 2012, p. 228). The same author concludes that “[w]ith the Turkish and Korean belonging to similar groups, nationals of both countries retained similarities in their ways of thinking, traditional customs, and practices” (Lee, 2012, p. 228).

In the field of politics, the early contacts verified by historical sources took place between Koguryō and the Turks, when the armies of the two presented a united front against China. A Turkish attack on the Sui dynasty (589–618) in 597 was followed by a Koguryō attack west of the Liao River the following year and a brief Sui counterattack. The Sui accepted a Koguryō apology but “the discovery of a Koguryō envoy in the camp of the Turkish Khan in 607 revived Chinese fears of a strong alliance of northern peoples” (Henthorn, 1971, p. 47). Later, during the reign of the T’ang dynasty (618–905),

Turkish forces to the northwest of China had held the attention of T’ang, preventing her from doing more than attempting to mediate a peace between the three warring states on the peninsula. Silla continued to seek aid from T’ang. With the defeat of the Turks in 628, T’ang reconsidered the Silla appeals and responded (Henthorn, 1971, p. 50).

It is therefore important to note that, in the framework of early relations between the Turkic peoples and Korean Peninsula, these initial contacts occurred within the broader context of geopolitical shifts in the region. The Korean Peninsula was often caught in the middle of power struggles between neighboring states and empires, and the historical contacts between the Mongols and the Koreans were marked by periods of cooperation, conflict, and cultural exchange. Most of the early interactions took place primarily during the time of the Mongol Empire, which had considerable influence over the Korean Peninsula.

Mongol Invasions of Korea

As the kingdom of Koryō was forced to pay tribute to the Mongols, the state acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mongol Khans (Seth, 2016, pp. 118–123, 130–131). The most significant and tumultuous period of Mongol-Korean relations occurred during the Mongol invasions of Korea, also known as the Mongol Invasions of Koryō (1231–1270; Henthorn, 2015), initiated by the Mongol Empire under Genghis Khan and later his successors. These invasions proved devastating for the kingdom of Koryō (918–1392), which eventually submitted to Mongol authority and became a vassal state of the Mongol Empire. The Koryō rulers, particularly King Kongmin (1351–1374), were forced to pay tribute to the Mongols and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mongol Khans (Seth, 2016, pp. 118–123, 130–131).

Mongol control over Korea had a profound impact on Korean society and governance during this period. The Mongols implemented administrative changes in Koryŏ, establishing a dual administration system in which Mongol officials oversaw key government functions alongside Korean officials. They also introduced a census system, which had implications for taxation and conscription. However, despite the political and military turmoil, there were still cultural exchanges during this period. Korean craftsmen and scholars were sent to the Mongol capital of Karakorum, technologies, art, and knowledge were transferred between the two cultures (Henthorn, 2015; Hwang, 2010, pp. 52–59; Seth, 2016, pp. 120–123, 130–131).

According to David M. Robinson, some scholars argue that during the reign of King Kongmin (1330–1374), there was a strong anti-Mongol sentiment in Koryŏ. The king took various actions to resist Mongol control, such as launching military strikes against Mongol relay stations, purging Mongol-affiliated individuals, abolishing Mongol titles, and restoring pre-Mongol administrative practices. This perspective suggests a desire for Korean autonomy though it was hindered by external factors such as Chinese rebel forces and Japanese pirate raids. Other scholars, however, contend that important continuities in Koryŏ's relationship with the Mongols persisted from the 1350s to the 1380s. The Yuan throne continued to exert influence by appointing and dismissing Korean kings, among other practices. From this viewpoint, actions that may seem anti-Mongol were instead aimed at consolidating the Koryŏ throne's power rather than expressing proto-nationalist sentiments (Robinson, 2017). This interpretation would prove the so-called prudent attitude of both the parties in supporting each other in times of need, often in alliance against a third power (or powers).

After Mongol rule over Korea ended in 1356, paving the way for subsequent dynastic rule, the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910) emerged. During the more than five centuries long Chosŏn history, only limited direct relations with the Turkic peoples occurred, as the state's primary focus was on its immediate neighbors in East Asia. Nevertheless, there were some indirect connections, principally through trade and cultural exchanges, as the Silk Road continued to provide links between Korea and regions populated by the Turks, with goods such as silk, spices, and other commodities passing through intermediaries. The Chosŏn state's main concerns, however, centered on securing its northeastern borders, particularly against the Jurchen tribes and later the Manchu, while its interactions with Central Asian Turkic regions remained relatively minor compared to the more prominent regional relationships. As a result,

[d]uring the Yi Dynasty [Chosŏn Dynasty – R.C.] of Korea the Turks, who had once been neighbors as well as blood relations, moved far away from Korea to Europe and built a great empire, so that Turks and Koreans had to become estranged from each other during the Yi Dynasty (Suh, 2007).

Later Contacts and the Turkish Heroes of the Korean War

After a long gap in direct relations, the most significant renewed contact occurred in the 1950s with Turkey's decision to participate in the Korean War, an event of profound significance in Korea's modern history.³ It marked a shift in Turkey's stance on international politics and economics that had been in place since the end of World War II. This shift was accompanied by a re-evaluation of fundamental concepts such as Westernization, democracy, civil-military relations, secularization, the role of Islam in society, state involvement in the economy, and state interference in cultural and social affairs (Brown, 2008).

During this period, following a request from the U.N. Secretary General in mid-July 1950, the Turkish National Assembly unanimously voted to send ground troops to Korea. Over the course of the three-year Korean War, a total of 14,936 Turkish soldiers participated, with many of whom were injured or went missing, including 741 who lost their lives in battle (US Department of Defense, 2002). The Turkish military made substantial contributions to key battles, such as the battle of the Ch'öngch'ön River (24 Nov – 2 Dec 1950), shedding blood in the pursuit of Korea's freedom and democracy (Appleman, 2008, pp. 91; Blair, 1989, 368–371; Evanhoe, 2010).

The decision to take part in the foreign conflict thousands of miles away was a significant departure from the established Turkish policy. It was motivated by a range of factors, including the economic setbacks caused by World War II, constraints on foreign trade, inflation, and a heavy military budget. These economic difficulties led to growing dissatisfaction with the government's policies and fueled calls for changes in Turkey's financial and economic development programs. Both domestic and foreign voices began advocating for free trade, favorable conditions for foreign investment, and a shift from public to private sector control of the industrial base.

In September 1951, Turkey was admitted to NATO, cementing its position as a vital partner in the Western Alliance. The Turks felt that they had earned their status as equal partners, but tensions arose from the perception that Western aid came with conditions and an ideological bias against communism. Turkish military command, supply, and training were integrated into NATO, yet the Turks felt that they were not provided with the advanced weaponry they needed, which caused resentment.

3 Turkey's history had had been shaped by the aftermath of World War I, leading to the founding of the Republic of Turkey after a struggle against occupying forces. The early diplomatic isolation of the new state prompted Turkey to adopt a policy of non-involvement in foreign conflicts, justified by an ideology of progress, asserting that non-belligerence would allow the state to allocate resources to development rather than militarization.

The deployment of Turkish troops during the Korean War had a profound impact on the perception of Koreans by the Turkish people. Despite their Islamic faith, the Turks viewed the Koreans they fought alongside as brothers in arms, transcending the mere label of allies. When Turkish veterans of the Korean War returned home, they were often referred to as “Koreli” (Korean) instead of by their names, emphasizing the deep bond forged during their service (Lee, 2012, p. 229). This shared experience not only laid the foundation for the relationship between the two nations but also played a pivotal role in developing friendly ties between their respective governments. Following the conclusion of the Korean War, formal diplomatic ties were established in March 1957. Furthermore, “the Turkish media continued reporting news about Korea from 1953, when the Korean War ended with a call for a ceasefire, until 1960, reminding Turks of Korea” (Lee, 2012, p. 230).

The Korean War saw Turkish troops deployed as part of a U.N. force. Even after most foreign forces withdrew from Korea by the late 1960s, Turkey and Thailand maintained troops there, symbolizing the United Nations Command. The presence of Turkish troops was crucial for Korea’s domestic and international goals, given their bravery during the conflict. In 1960, Turkey initially planned to withdraw its troops but extended their presence annually at the request of Korea and the U.S. Ultimately, Turkey reduced its brigade to a small honor guard of eleven members, which symbolized the U.N. Command. These troops finally left Korea in June 1971 (Lee, 2012, pp. 230–231).

Korea and the U.S. worked diligently to retain Turkish military presence, recognizing its significance for global peace and anti-communist unity. The Turkish contingent represented the U.N. Command after other nations withdrew their combat units. After the troops left, bilateral relations shifted towards economic and commercial cooperation, including sister city agreements, cultural exchanges, and trade promotion agreements. Notably, a Korean War Memorial Monument in Ankara became a symbolic representation of the friendly ties between the two nations (Lee, 2012, p. 331).

Hallyu in Turkey – Indication of Cultural Proximity?

While observing the phenomenon of *Hallyu* (the Korean Wave) in a global context, the case of *Hallyu* in Turkey could be singled out as especially captivating because of the unique historical and cultural relationship between the two nations, as well as their possible emotional closeness, which can be attributed to shared historical memories and origins, cultural ties and parallels, and a deep bond forged during the Korean War.

According to Chong-Jin Oh and Young-Gil Chae, two Korean scholars who researched the influence of cultural interconnectedness on the reception

of *Hallyu* in Turkey, crucial to the success of this phenomenon is the connection Turkish audiences feel with “East Asian sentiment.” The authors also claim that themes and structures of Korean dramas resonate with Turkish audiences and their conservative values. Based on in-depth interviews conducted in their research, they assess that the contemporary Turk’s love for Korean pop culture is tied to shared Altaic heritage, language, history, and a sense of empathy for Asian cultural values (Oh & Chae, 2013, pp. 83–86).

Similarly, a study conducted on Turkish consumers by Tuğba Borazan Karadeniz and Nur Özer Canarslan offers practical implications and valuable insights into South Korean products gaining increased recognition in the Turkish market. According to their findings, Turkish consumers show heightened interest in Korean popular culture, leading to a favorable perception of Korean products, with cultural elements in K-drama and K-pop influencing purchase decisions. The study reveals that South Korea enjoys a positive image in terms of both the nation and product quality, demonstrating the effective use of cultural elements as a form of soft power and cultural export. The authors state that they examined “the effect of *Hallyu* (K-pop and K-drama), country image and cultural proximity on the intention to purchase Korean products among consumers who are members of Korean fan groups in social media living in Turkey” (Borazan & Canarslan, 2022).

Also, a study by Eunsuk Cho and Oktay Gökhan Banbal, which combines historical analysis and questionnaire results to shed light on Korea’s evolving image in Turkey, showed that a notable shift occurred in 2002, when Korea transitioned from being seen as a war-torn nation undergoing economic revival to a technologically advanced country known for high-quality dramas and captivating culture. The authors argue that in recent years, *Hallyu* has taken a unique path in Turkey, quietly igniting interest in Korean culture among the Turkish population. Unlike in some Islamic countries, Turks found remarkable parallels between their daily lives and those portrayed in Korean TV dramas and music, particularly in aspects such as interpersonal relationships and family dynamics (Cho & Banbal, 2015).

As the quoted studies show, the phenomenon of *Hallyu* emerges more strongly in Turkey than in many other countries, making it a particularly captivating case within the global context. This uniqueness arises from the evident historical and cultural bonds between Turkey and South Korea, dating back to the times when neither state existed in their current form, and is reinforced by shared memories, cultural affinities (also referred to as “East Asian sentiment”), and the profound connection formed during the Korean War.

Conclusion

The historical contacts between the Turkic peoples and the Koreans, as outlined in this essay, reveal a long record of cultural exchange, strategic alliances, and shared historical experiences. These interactions, shaped not only by political motivations but also by cultural resonance between them, aptly illustrate the suggested concept of “friends in need.”

The early contacts, primarily facilitated by the Silk Road, brought the Turkic nomadic tribes and Koreans into each other's orbit, fostering the exchange not only of goods but also ideas, technologies, and linguistic influences. These interactions were not without geopolitical implications, as seen during the Mongol invasions, when Korea found itself in the middle of power struggles involving the Mongols and the Turks.

However, it was during the Korean War in the 1950s that the most recent and significant contact occurred. Turkey's decision to send troops to support the side of the conflict which would later become the Republic of Korea marked a profound shift in its international stance, resulting in the forging of a strong bond between the two nations. This alliance, rooted in the crucible of war, not only strengthened diplomatic relations but also laid the groundwork for the cultural affinity evident in the Turkish reception of *Hallyu*, just as the influence of Korean popular culture in Turkey reflects the enduring connection between these two nations.

The studies cited in this article highlight the significance of Korean dramas, music, and products for Turkish audiences, reinforced by shared heritage, historical memories, and cultural values. The deep emotional connection that many Turks feel with Korean culture testifies to the power of cultural diplomacy and its ability to transcend geographical and linguistic boundaries.

In a world where international relations are often characterized by geopolitical tensions and conflicts, the Turkish-Korean connection stands as a compelling example of how cultural ties and shared experiences can foster understanding and strengthen diplomatic relations. As these two nations continue to explore the potential of their cultural synergy, they could further enhance their global influence and contribute to a more interconnected and harmonious world, in line with the theoretical framework that recognizes the role of cultural security alongside power dynamics in shaping international relations.

REFERENCES

- Anheier, H.K. & Isar, Y.R. (2011). *Cultures and Globalization: Heritage, Memory and Identity*. London: SAGE.
- Appleman, R.E. (2008). *Disaster in Korea: The Chinese Confront Macarthur*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Blair, C. (1989). *Forgotten War: America in Korea 1950–1953*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Borazan Karadeniz, T. & Özer Canarslan, N. (2022). Reflection of the *Hallyu* Effect on Turkish Consumers’ Intention to Purchase Korean Products. *Anadolu Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 23(4), 306–322. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.53443/anadoluibfd.1171176>.
- Brown, C.S. (2008). The One Coalition They Craved to Join: Turkey in the Korean War. *Review of International Studies*, 34(1), 89–108. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/41307941>.
- Cho, E. & Banbal, O.G. (2015). The Korean Image in Turkey. In: Ji Sun Kim (ed.), *Korea in Eastern Europe – Perceptions and Cultural Connections. Viennese Contributions to Korean Studies*. Vol. VII. Wien: Praesens Verlag, 118–138.
- Evanhoe, E. (2010). *The Turkish Brigade*. Retrieved from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110628202710/http://www.korean-war.com/turkey.html> (access: 07.08.2025).
- Henthorn, W.E. (1971). *A History of Korea*. New York: Free Press.
- Henthorn, W.E. (2015). *Korea: The Mongol Invasions*. Leiden: Brill Archive.
- Hwang, K. (2010). *A History of Korea*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kim, M. & MacNeill, A. (2020). Relationship Between the Altaic Languages and the Korean Language. *Journal of Student Research*, 9(2), 1–3.
- Lee, H. (2012). An Analysis of Korean-Turkish Relations: Rising Trade Partnership and Deepening Integration. *Usak Yearbook*, 5, 227–245.
- Lee, K.-M. & Ramsey, S.R. (2011). *A History of the Korean Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morgenthau, H.J. (1948). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Nemeth, E. (2014). *Cultural Security: Evaluating the Power of Culture in International Affairs*. London: World Scientific Publishing.
- Oh, C.-J. & Chae, Y.-G. (2013). Constructing Culturally Proximate Spaces through Social Network Services: The Case of *Hallyu* (Korean Wave) in Turkey. *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 10(38), 77–99.
- Robinson, D.M. (2017). Rethinking the Late Koryŏ in an International Context. *Korean Studies*, 41, 75–98. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/44508440>.
- Seth, M.J. (2016). *A Concise History of Premodern Korea: From Antiquity Through the Nineteenth Century*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Stone, P.G. (2011). *Cultural Heritage, Ethics and the Military*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

- Suh, S. (ed.). (2007). *Brother Nations, Korea and Turkey: a History of Turkish Soldiers' Participation in the Korean War*. Seoul: Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs.
- US Department of Defense. (2002, December 5). *United States of America Korean War Commemoration – Fact Sheet*. United States of America Korean War Commemoration; US Department of Defense. Retrieved from: <http://korea50.army.mil/history/factsheets/allied.shtml>
- Waltz, K.N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Williams, M.C. (2007). *Culture and Security: Symbolic Power and the Politics of International Security*. London: Routledge.

Renata Czekalska – is a Professor of Asian Studies at the Institute of the Middle and Far East, Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. Her research interests include the cultural heritage of Asia, cultural contacts between Asia and Europe as well as between Asian civilisations, on top of the theory and practice of literary translation from and into Asian languages. She is the author of numerous articles and a number of books (in Polish, English, and Hindi), including five monographs and several anthologies of translated works.