

**DOĐU ASYA'DA
ABD - JAPONYA - KUZHEY KORE
ÜÇGENİNDE YAYGINLAŞTIRILMIŞ
NÜKLEER CAYDIRICILIK**

Yazar
Yeliz YAZAN KOÇ



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*Bu Kitap Prof. Dr. Burak S. GÜLBOY'un Danışmanlığında Yürütülen Yeliz YAZAN KOÇ'a ait "ABD'nin Doğu Asya'daki "Güvenlik Mimarisi"nin Yaygınlaştırılmış Caydırıcılık Kavramsallaştırması Çerçevesinde Analizi: ABD-Japonya-Kuzey Kore Üçgeninde "Bir Mükemmel Caydırıcılık Oyunu" Adlı Doktora Tezinden Üretilmiştir.

ISBN

978-625-8125-15-3

Kitap Adı

Doğu Asya'da ABD-Japonya - Kuzey Kore Üçgeninde Yaygınlaştırılmış Nükleer Caydırıcılık

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Sayfa ve Kapak Tasarımı

Akademisyen Dizgi Ünitesi

Yayıncı Sertifika No

47518

Baskı ve Cilt

Vadi Matbaacılık

Bisac Code

BUS069000

DOI

10.37609/akya.1383

GENEL DAĞITIM

Akademisyen Kitabevi A.Ş.

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Yenişehir / Ankara

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SUNUŞ

1853'te Komodor Mathew C. Perry ABD donanmasına ait dört gemilik bir filo ile Edo (günümüzdeki adı ile Tokyo) limanına gelerek Tokugawa Shogunluđunun temsilcileri ile görüřmeler yaptıđında, Japonya'nın 1600'lerin bařından beridir izlediđi ve *sakoku* olarak anılan, dıřa kapalılık politikasını da sona erdirmekteydi. 1854'te Komodor Perry'nin Japonya'ya yeni bir filo eřliđinde ikinci geliři ve Japonya'yı ABD ticaretine ačan anlaşma ile bařlayan süreç, yalnızca Japonya'nın kaderini deđil, aynı zamanda Asya-Pasifik evreninin de kaderini şekillendirecekti.

20. yüzyılın bařındaki iki geliřme Asya-Pasifik'teki siyasi yapıyı yeniden şekillendirdi. Bunlardan ilki 1898'deki ABD ile İspanya arasındaki savař sonunda ABD'nin Filipinilere yerleřerek bir Asya'ya etki edecek bir konuma yerleřmesi idi. İkinci önemli geliřme ise Meiji Restorasyonu ertesinde modernleřmesini hızla tamamlayan Japonya'nın 1905'teki Rus-Japon Savařı ile hem Asya-Pasifik'teki en önemli güç haline gelmesi ve hem de Kore'ye hakim olarak Asya kıtasında da etkin bir konuma ulařması idi.

Görüldüğü üzere Asya-Pasifik'te 1853'te bařlayan karřılařma, ABD ve Japonya'nın kaderini birbirine bađlamakla kalmadı, ama aynı zamanda iki devleti bölgedeki çıkarlarından dođan rekabet itibariyle bir çakıřma rotasına da soktu. Söz konusu rekabet İkinci Dünya Savařı'nda Japonya'nın 1941'deki Pearl Harbour saldırısı ile bařlayan ve 1945'te ABD'nin Hirořima ve Nagazaki'de kullandıđı nükleer silahlar ile sona eren bir hesaplařma ile tamamlandı.

İkinci Dünya Savařı ertesinde ABD'nin küresel stratejisi uluslararası güvenliđin küresel eksende liberal ideolojiye rakip olan komünist ideolojiyi benimseyen rejimleri çevrelemek ve izole etmek üzerinde şekillenirken, bu stratejinin bileřenleri bölgesel güvenlik organizasyonları ile şekillendi. NATO bu organizasyonlar arasında en öne çıkan kurumsallařmadır ve temel olarak Avrupa güvenliđinin SSCB'nin (Rusya'nın) ve ortaklarının çevrenmesi ve çevrendikleri alan dıřında aktive olmalarının caydırılmasına odaklanmıřtır.

İkinci Dünya Savařı ertesinde ABD, Asya'da da bir güvenlik organizasyonu örgütlemek için Japonya'yı merkez ve Çin'i de ortak olarak tanımlamıřsa da, 1949'da Çin'deki komünist devrim ve hemen sonrasında bařlayan Kore

Savaşı, ABD'nin bu bölgede hesapladığı güvenlik demografisini tamamen deęiřtirmiřtir. Bu nedenle de 1950'lerden itibaren ABD artık SSCB'ye odaklı deęil, Asya'daki komünist rejimleri çevrelemeyi ve caydırmayı hedefleyen bir güvenlik örgütlenmesini organize etmeye başlamıřtır.

1945'ten günümüze řekillenen bu güvenlik organizasyonu ilginç bir paradoks yaratmıř ve eskiden rakip olan ABD ve Japonya'yı kapsamlı bir anlamlandırma gerektiren bir iř birlięi yapılanmasına zorlamıřtır.

Elinize ulařan bu eser kendine has aktörleri ve özellikleri doęrultusunda řekillenen ve ABD tarafından başarıyla organize edilen Asya-Pasifik alt sistemi güvenlik yapılanmasını, uluslararası güvenlik terminolojisinin mükemmelleřtirdięi bir kavramsallařtırma ve teorizasyon çerçevesinde, bölgeye ve yapıya özel bir tarihsel sorgulama ve kurgu ile okuyucuya ulařtırmaktadır.

Asya-Pasifik'in az bilinen ve kendine has özellikler taşıyan yapısı içinde akan zamanını, gerek ABD'nin küresel güvenlik modeli içinde bir bileřen olarak üst seviyede ve gerekse de bölgesel aktörlerin organizasyonu konusunda alt seviyede analiz edebilmenin zorluęunun üstesinden gelmeyi, üst seviyedeki akademik donanımını yansıtabilme ve karmařık bir bütünü basitleřtirerek okuyucuya sunabilme maharetlerini ustalıkla sergileyerek bařaran Dr. Yeliz Yazan Koç dilimizdeki literatüre deęeri büyük ve takdiri hak edecek bir katkı yapmaktadır.

Günümüzdeki geliřmelerin uluslararası güvenlięin küresel yapısını ve bu çerçevede de Asya-Pasifik boyutunu yeniden řekillendireceęi düşünöldüğünde, geçmiřten günümüze ve geleceęe akan bir kurguyu başarıyla oluřturan Dr. Yeliz Yazan Koç'un eseri, akademik seviyesinden ödün vermeden her seviyede okuyucuya katkı yapma duruluęuna sahip kalitesi ile önemini ve deęerini her seviyede ve zamanda gösterecektir.

Prof. Dr. Burak Samih Gülboy
İstanbul Nisan 2022

ÖN SÖZ

Dünya tarihinde nükleer silahlardan acı çeken tek ulus olan Japonya'nın Hiroşima kentindeki Barış Anıtı'nda yer alan "bu hata tekrarlanmayacak" sözü, akıllarda nükleer silahların var olduğu bir dünyada "peki ama nasıl?" sorusunu uyandırmaktadır. Bu soruya stratejik düşüncenin cevabı, barış ve "barış olmayan barışın" sürdürülebilirliğinin anahtarı olan caydırıcılıktır. Tarih, devletlerin varoluşundan itibaren sahip olunan yeteneklerle rakibi eylem yapma niyetinden vazgeçirmeye ve mevcut statükonun devam ettirilmesine dayanan doğrudan ve yaygınlaştırılmış caydırıcılık ilişkilerine sahne olmuştur. Bu kitapta, caydırıcılık çalışmalarında dikkat çeken korunan aktörün rolünün görmezden gelinmesi sorunsallaştırılmakta ve bu durumun yaygınlaştırılmış caydırıcılığın başarısını ve sürdürülebilirliğini analiz etmeyi zorlaştırdığı savunulmaktadır. Bu noktadan hareketle çalışma, korunan aktör olarak Japonya'nın ABD ile ittifakında artan rolünün ve güçlenen caydırıcılık duruşunun ittifakın inanılabilirliğini arttırırken aynı zamanda kendisini Kuzey Kore'nin doğrudan hedefi haline getirdiğini; dahası, ABD-Japonya-Kuzey Kore üçgenindeki yaygınlaştırılmış genel caydırıcılığın anlık caydırıcılığa kaymasını tetiklediğini iddia etmektedir. Caydırıcılık çalışmalarının kayıtsız kaldığı korunan aktörün, incelediği üçgende başat role sahip olduğunu iddia etmesi ve bunu yeni bir teoriyle yapması bakımından bu çalışmanın özgün olduğuna inanıyor ve alana katkı sağlayacağını umuyorum.

Bu çalışma, zihinsel ve ruhsal olarak uzun ve zorlu bir sürecin ürünüdür. Kuşkusuz bu çalışmanın yazımı en keyifli bölümü, deneyimlediğim bu zorlu sürecin destekleriyle parçası olan ve kimi zaman karamsarlığa kapılıp kaybettiğim inancımı ve özgüvenimi bana yeniden kazandıran herkese kuru biz sözle de olsa teşekkür etmemi sağlayan bu satırlardır.

Bu noktada, öncelikle yazdığım her satırı büyük bir titizlikle okuyarak her yönümü kaybettiğimde geri bildirimleriyle yönümü bulmamı sağlayan, yapıcı tavrı ve dikkat çektiği noktalar ve sorduğu sorularla beni yeniden düşünmeye sevk eden kıymetli hocam Prof. Dr. Vişne Korkmaz'a teşekkürü bir borç bilirim. Değerli hocam Prof. Dr. Burak Samih Gülboy'a bana olan inancı, desteği ve değerli katkıları için çok teşekkür ederim. Akademik çalışma hayatımda karşı karşıya kaldığım zorlukların, akademik odağımı kaybettirmeden üstesinden gelmemi sağlayan kıymetli hocam Prof. Dr. Haluk Alkan'a şükranlarımı sunarım.

■ | ■ Ön söz

Bu çalışmanın araştırma ve yazım sürecinin bir bölümünü, Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu (TÜBİTAK) 2214-A Yurtdışı Doktora Sırası Araştırma Bursu kapsamında misafir araştırmacı olarak ABD'nin New York eyaletinde bulunan Columbia Üniversitesi Siyaset Bilimi Bölümü'nde alanın duayen isimlerinden biri olan Prof. Dr. Robert Jervis'in danışmanlığında gerçekleştirdim. Önerdiği kitaplarla ve düzenli olarak belirli aralıklarla yaptığımız ikili görüşmelerde bana ışık tutan yorumlarıyla bu çalışmanın oluşmasında büyük katkıları olan Prof. Jervis'e, ABD'de bulunduğum altı ay boyunca bana danışmanlık yaptığı için minnettarım. Geçtiğimiz yıl hayatını kaybeden Jervis'le tanışabilme ve çalışabilme imkanı bulduğum için oldukça şanslıyım. Işıklar seninle olsun Bob Jervis...

Hayatımın her evresinde olduğu gibi bu kitabın yazım sürecinde de her zaman yanımda olan, bana inanan ve her vazgeçtiğimde kendimde yeniden başlama gücünü bulmama vesile olan sevgili aileme hissettiğim minnettarlığı kelimelerle ifade edemem. İyi ki varlar. Ve son olarak, anlayışıyla, sonsuz sevgisi ve desteğiyle enerji ve motivasyon kaynağım olan değerli eşim, yol arkadaşım, Cihan Koç'a teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

Dr. Yeliz YAZAN KOÇ

İstanbul-2022

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KISALTMALAR

ABD:	Amerika Birleşik Devletleri
BDA:	Banco Delta Asia
BMD:	Balistik Füze Savunma
Bkz:	Bakınız
BM:	Birleşmiş Milletler
Çev.:	Çeviren
Ed.:	Editör
Ibid.:	Aynı Eser
KCNA:	Kuzey Kore Merkezi Haber Ajansı
KEDO:	Kore Yarımadası Enerji Geliştirme Organizasyonu
MC:	Milletler Cemiyeti
MGK:	Milli Güvenlik Kurulu
MKYK:	Müttefik Kuvvetler Yüksek Komutanlığı
NDR:	Nükleer Duruş Raporu
NPT:	Nükleer Silahların Yayılmasının Önlenmesi Antlaşması
ÖSK:	Öz Savunma Kuvvetleri
P:	Page
S:	Sayfa
SSCB:	Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği
THAAD:	Bölge Yüksek İrtifa Hava Savunması
TMD:	Harekat Alanı Füze Savunması
TPP:	Trans Pasifik Ortaklığı
UAEA:	Uluslararası Atom Enerji Ajansı
UPR:	Ulusal Polis Rezervi
USPR:	Ulusal Savunma Programı Rehberi

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ÖZGEÇMİŞ

1989 yılında İskenderun'da doğan Yeliz Yazan Koç, 2011 yılında Çukurova Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü'nden mezun olmuştur. İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümünde yüksek lisans yapmış ve "İnsan Hakları Bağlamında Avrupa Birliği'nin Yasadışı Göç Politikası: Türkiye Örneği" başlıklı teziyle 2014 yılında yüksek lisansını tamamlamıştır. 2012-2021 yılları arasında İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümünde araştırma görevlisi olarak çalışan Yazan Koç, 2014 yılında aynı bölümde doktora eğitimine başlamış olup doktora tez araştırmasının bir bölümünü, TÜBİTAK 2214-a bursu kapsamında ABD'nin New York eyaletinde bulunan Columbia Üniversitesi Siyaset Bilimi Bölümünde yürütmüştür. Haziran 2021'de doktora eğitimini tamamlayarak "Dr." unvanını alan Yeliz Yazan Koç'un çeşitli konularda kitap, makale, kitap bölümü ve tebliğleri bulunmakla birlikte ilgi alanları nükleer caydırıcılık, Doğu Asya, Avrupa Birliği ve yasadışı göçtür.