CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF THE US MISSILE DEFENSE STRATEGY IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

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ABSTRACT

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF THE US MISSILE DEFENSE STRATEGY IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

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The thesis seeks to chart the continuity and change of the U.S ballistic missile defense strategy in the Post-Cold War Era. It attempts to portray the cycles of confrontationist approach and retreat or compromise on BMD from George W. Bush era to Obama presidency in the light of modifications made on Bush proposed plan, which offered to deploy Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) systems in Poland and Czech Republic, by Obama administration. This thesis tries to depict the reasons and motives beyond the modification of the Bush proposed BMD plans by Obama administration. It is argued that Obama administration has modified the plans mainly because of getting the Russian Federation's cooperation against Iran's nuclear program. While arguing the reasons and motives beyond the revision in the plans, hegemonic stability theory gives the clear insights to understand the modification and U.S BMD strategies.

Key words: the United States, the Russian Federation, Ballistic Missile Defense, NATO

ÖZ

SOĞUK SAVAŞ SONRASI DÖNEMDE AMERİKA BİRLEŞİK DEVLETLERİ'NİN BALİSTİK FÜZE STRATEJİSİNDEKİ DEVAMLILIĞI VE DEĞİŞİMİ

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Bu tez Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD)'nin soğuk savaş sonrası dönemde balistik füze savunması stratejilerindeki devamlılık ve değişim sürecini değerlendirmeyi hedef almaktadır. Obama yönetimi tarafından Bush yönetiminin Polonya ve Çek Cumhuriyeti'ne yerleştirmeyi önerdiği balistik füze savunma sistemleri planının değiştirilmesi ışığında Bush ve Obama dönemindeki balistik füze savunma stratejilerindeki oluşum ve devamlılığın bir çerçevesini çizmek de bu tezin konusudur. Tez Obama döneminde Bush yönetimi balistik füze savunma sistemleri planında yapılan değişikliğin arkasındaki nedenleri de ortaya koymaktadır. Obama döneminde yapılan değişikliğin nedenlerinden en önemlisinin İran'ın nükleer programına karşı Rusya'nın desteğini almak olduğu gözlemlenir. Hegemonik istikrar teorisi değişikliğin sebeplerini anlamada net bir fikir vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Rusya Federasyonu, Balistik Füze Savunması, NATO

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BMD	Ballistic Missile Defense
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
EU	European Union
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
EPAA	European Phased Adaptive Approach
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
SDI	Strategic Defense Initiative
GPALS	Global Protection against Limited Strikes
UN	United Nations
MAD	Mutually Assured Destruction
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
ABMD	Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense System
GBI	Ground Based Interceptor
SBIRS	Space Based Infrareds System
PTTS	Precision Tracking Space System
DSP	Defense Support Program

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF THE US MISSILE DEFENSE STRATEGY IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

CHAPTER I

Introduction

During the Cold War period, the states, especially United States (US) and USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, entered to a new race whose aim is to acquire and produce nuclear weapons and especially BMD[1] (Ballistic Missile Defense). Those states that have ballistic missile defense, like the US and the Soviet Union in the Cold War and then the Russian Federation after the dissolution of the USSR, have their own protection from offensive weapons. However, having ballistic missile defense systems (BMD) has made the states a primary target against the missile attacks in a state of war. Therefore, having BMD systems has also made the development of radar systems integrated into ballistic missiles to monitor the enemy's moves and acts.

[1] Please note that there are two sides of BMD issue, namely supporters of the BMD as a security needs and other side, opponents of BMD. Supporters of BMD includes the political elite who thinks air defense could be provided against missiles with BMD technologies and sphere of influence could be expanded with deployments of BMD worldwide, arms industry who makes profit from the sale of weapons and without BMD technologies, a significant portion of the profit will be lost. Therefore, it is important also economically for capitalism. Other side does not support the idea of BMD, because it is the unnecessary distribution of financial resources and there is no proved operational effectiveness of the system. According to some opponents, the states having this capability expand its sphere of influence and threaten other states. Therefore, there is no consensus on the issue in the USA. It should be kept in mind that in this thesis the views of the supporter of the BMD has been the subject matter since that is the one which was put into practice.

During the Cold War it was argued that the missile defense system was part of a strategy of deterrence particularly between US and USSR. "The two countries adopted deterrence strategies based on nuclear retaliation, largely because effective defense against ballistic missiles was difficult to attain."[2] BMD is also an issue of technological competition and also a part of military supremacy with the growing technical feasibilities and financial power of states. Moreover, the market for ballistic missile defense systems have been expanding and the marketing dimension of the missiles is getting much more attention. In the post-Cold War years it is therefore more than an issue of deterrence. Deployment of missile defense system has been important not only during the Cold War but also after the dissolution of Soviet Union and during the post-Cold War years. It is an important component of the nuclear arms race and military competition.

This thesis attempts to explore cycles of confrontation and compromise from the George W. Bush to Barack Obama era of U.S Missile Defense Strategy and seeks to grasp whether there is continuity or change.

In order to understand and explore the cycles of confrontation and compromise from George W. Bush and Barack Obama eras, "hegemonic stability theory" may give necessary insights to analyze subject in question. "Hegemonic structures of power, dominated by a single country, are most conducive to the development of strong international regimes whose rules are relatively precise and well obeyed."[3] "When one state's power dominates the world, that state can enforce rules and norms unilaterally avoiding the collective goods problem.[4] While hegemon exercises leadership and imposes power on other states, it can use diplomacy, coercion or persuasion. In short, a hegemon dominates the rules and arrangements of international political and economic relations.

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[2] Ogawa Shinichi,"Missile Defense and Deterrence,"*NIDS Security Reports,* 3, March 2002, p. 24.

[3] Benjamin James Cohen, *International Political Economy: An Intellectual History,* (NJ:Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 68

[4] Joshua S. Goldstein and Jon C. Pevehouse, *International Relations*, (New York: Pearson - Longman, 2005), p. 59.

After the end of the Cold War and demise of the USSR, U.S has stayed as "one superpower" in the 1990s in international politics, though later a multipolar international system would emerge. Defining the system as unipolar would be most suitable description for international politics after the end of the Cold War. As Krahmann stated that, unipolar system does not necessarily require the hegemon, but the hegemon can only occur in the unipolar system.[5] Therefore, the hegemon status of the U.S should be considered the outcome of the unipolar system. When the economic, military and political power of U.S is considered, it is obvious that the U.S has stayed as only superpower in international politics and that the system became unipolar in the 1990s.[6] Firstly, a state must have the capability to enforce the rules of the system. In the 1990s as the single superpower, "the United States accepted new responsibilities for a ''New World Order'' that would defend national borders against violent change (Kuwait) and quell violence in failed and abusive states (Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo) in exchange for expanding American hegemony both East and West."[7] The aim of the U.S administration is obvious: to build a global order with the U.S at its center. Similar to regional hegemony established by the U.S in Latin America in the past, the U.S would accept many more responsibilities securing peace, order and stability in international politics; "others would accept a measure of subordination as the price of social order."[8]

> Since January 2001 the United States has unilaterally abandoned the Kyoto accords on global warming, rejected participation in the International Criminal Court, and withdrawn from the Antiballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, among other unilateralist foreign policies.[9]

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[5] Bülent Sarper Ağır, "Bush Doktrini: Küresel Bir Hegemonik İstikrar Arayışı mı?, "*Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 3/12, Kış 2006-2007, p. 73.

[6] *ibid*., p. 74.

[7] David A. Lake, "American Hegemony and the Future of East- West Relations,*" International Studies Perspectives,* 7, July 2006, p. 27.

[8] *ibid*., p. 27.

[9] Robert A. Pape, "Soft Balancing Against the United States," *International Security,* 30/1, Summer 2005, p. 7.

Withdrawal from the ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile) Treaty, the invasion of Iraq and war in Afghanistan and contact with Poland and Czech Republic to allow the deployment of missile defense in Europe bypassing the European Union (EU) and NATO are typical examples of Bush unilateralism. "The Bush strategy is one of the most aggressively unilateral U.S. national security strategies ever."[10] Whether Bush has undermined the authority of the U.S on other states by behaving unilaterally and weakened the U.S in international politics or not is controversial issue. It is obvious that Bush has damaged the image of the U.S. After Obama came to power; the general tendency of the Obama administration's moves has showed a tendency towards multilateral and more peaceful diplomacy methods, although the final decision maker is the U.S. For instance, some phases of Obama's EPAA (European Phased Adaptive Approach) project are being applied as a NATO project and NATO has tried to include Russia in this project. However, the original idea and plans belong to the U.S and when if necessary the U.S brings the NATO into the project. As a result, the essence of the system which the hegemon shapes can be explained insofar as "dominant states that wield partial authority over multiple subordinates have traditionally been referred to as hegemons- and the social orders they create as "hegemonies".[11] Briefly, the U.S meets the first requirement "the capability to enforce the rules", as stated, and will be explored further in the next chapters on the decision to deploy BMD.

The second attribute necessary for a state to be a hegemon is "the will to do so" that means "the capability to enforce the rules of the system."[12] Even if a state has enough power to shape the global social order, does not want to be a hegemon, it will not be. However, U.S has shown great determination to be the vanguard of the leading history. George W. Bush is the president who has stated most clearly the will of the U.S to shape the world order. He stated that "we

[10] *İbid*., p. 7

[11] *ibid*., p. 25.

[12] Martin Griffiths, "Beyond the Bush Doctrine: American Hegemony and World Order," *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, 23/1, July 2004, p. 63.

understand history has called us into action, and we are not going to miss that opportunity to make the world more peaceful and more free."[13] It is obvious that U.S has the will to do so and has showed great commitment to bring peace and freedom in fighting with terrorists and "rogue states". Of course, which methods and strategies will bring peace and create a freer world is controversial.

Finally, a state must have a "commitment to a system that is perceived as mutually to beneficial for the major states."[14] Here the system should be understood as the one which U.S wants to create or shape the existing order properly with its national interests.

In the 2000s, the international system turned into more of a multipolar structure.

> In the emerging system of multipolarity, major players such as China and Russia cautiously used their economic influence over Western politico-economic interests as a diplomatic tool to accelerate the transformation of the global governance structures toward a more balanced status quo. [15]

From this standpoint, Russia, China and EU are the actors in the multipolar system and thus the U.S administration has tried to formulate her BMD policy taking into account the noted powers and positions. Indeed, if those actors develop policies and strategies that can change the structure of the current political system, the status of hegemon of U.S will be in danger. Therefore, proportional control of the U.S is needed in that sense.[16] So, the deployment of BMD, the invasion of Iraq and the Middle East policies of the U.S are strategies to protect and impose the superiority of the U.S in the existing global order in transition from a unipolar to a multipolar order.

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[13]Robert Jervis, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," *Political Science Quarterly, 118/3, Fall 2003,* p.368.

[14] Griffiths, *op cit.*, p. 63

[15] Sadık Ünay, "Reality or Mirage?: BRICS and the Making of Multipolarity in the Global Political Economy," *Insight Turkey,* 15/3, 2013 Summer , p. 78.

[16] Ağır, *op cit.*, p. 90

Thus, policies and strategies after the demise of the USSR and the end of the Cold War need to be explored in parallel with hegemonic stability theory. In the transition from a unipolar international order in the 1990s to a multipolar one in the 2000s, the US seeks to continue its position and formulates its policies within this context. The U.S has the capability to enforce the rules of the order, the will to do so and a commitment to the order despite challenging actors like China and Russia .Those attributes are clearly seen in the policies and strategies in U.S foreign policy. In this thesis, therefore I attempt to explore what the policies of the U.S are within this framework, which is transition from a unipolar to a multipolar order, as well as to what extent there is continuity and change in the US strategy of the BMD policy, in consultation with the hegemonic stability theory.

Following the introduction, Chapter II sets the historical ground of the development of ballistic missile strategy in world politics briefly starting from the era from Ronald Reagan to George W. Bush and cycles of confrontational approach and retreats from ballistic missile strategy in order to build up an argument throughout the thesis.

Chapter III will attempt to analyze the George W. Bush years by identifying the era as the renewal of a confrontational approach. The chapter will uncover the reasons and motives beyond the reasons which shaped the Bush administration BMD strategy. Then the Russian response to the proposed Bush era plan will be examined. In this chapter, the Bush administration proposed plan, which was revised by Obama administration, to be deployed of BMD systems in Poland and the Czech Republic will be also examined in detail.

The main focus in Chapter IV will be devoted to developments that led to modifications of the Bush era plan for a “Phased Adaptive Approach” under the Obama administration. This chapter will reflect renegotiations under the Obama administration. The modification that has been done by Obama administration to Bush proposed plan will be discussed in detail. Likewise the effects of the actual developments and crisis in Ukraine and pressure on Obama to adopt a neo-Reaganist approach will be discussed.

Additionally in Chapter III and IV, the place and the role of Turkey in ballistic missile defense system will be discussed.

Finally, in the conclusion the continuity and change of the US's BMD strategy will be pointed out.

CHAPTER II

BRIEF HISTORY OF US BMD STRATEGY

2.1 Introduction

The history of ballistic missile defense goes back to the end of WWII. The first true ballistic missile was developed at the end of WWII. Serious efforts to find a defense system against ballistic missile defense began shortly after the first use of V-1 and V-2 missiles by Nazi Germany in England and allied forces in France. "Beginning on September 8, 1944, for example, the first of 500 German V-2 missiles hit London resulting in, by time strikes ended on March 27, 1945, more than 2,500 deaths."[17] This event changed military understanding and made missiles attractive for states seeking to establish military superiority over others. The US has allocated and spent a lot of funds on ballistic missile defense projects. "The United States remains the only nation devoting a significant portion of its national defense budget to missile defense." [18] The detailed comparison of the defense budgets of the U.S and other companies is to be given in chapter III. .

James Forrestal, the US Secretary of Defense between 1944 and 1947, stated that "that all new weapons developed a countermeasure, beginning with what the Romans developed to counteract Hannibal's use of elephants."[19] Indeed, this idea dominated the history of warfare because every new weapon has needed

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[17] Richard Dean Burns, *The Missile Defense systems of George W. Bush: A Critical Assessment*, (Praeger Security International, 2010), p.10

[18] Joseph Cirincione, "Brief History of Ballistic Missile Defense and Current Programs in the United States." 1 February 2000.

http://www.carnegieendowment.org/2000/02/01/brief-history-of-ballistic-missile-defense-and-current-programs-in-united-states/4qy (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[19] Burns, *op. cit*., p.1

a defense system or weapon to counteract it. From this perspective, an increase in military buildup expenditure and arms race could be easily understood, though this idea is not enough to explain all the reasons for the arms race. The statement of Forrestal should be seen as the root of the new arms race after the end of WWII. In the beginning, although there were inadequate technical and operational capabilities as well as financial resources, this project attracted attention from government officials, military officers, scientific community and a segment of the public. Following the WWII, the US presidents, Eisenhower (1953- 1961), Kennedy (1961- 1963), Johnson (1963- 1969) and Nixon (1969- 1974) were highly interested in the BMD systems.[20] Eisenhower authorized the operational development of a nuclear tipped interceptor missile, Nike- Zeus. In the late 1960s, the system was renamed as Safeguard by the Nixon administration and the focus was changed for the deployment "around offensive missile fields rather than cities, to ensure that these missiles could survive a first strike to ensure retaliation against the Soviet Union".[21] Ballistic Missile Defense projects were developed through the Strategic Defense Initiative of Ronald Reagan, the Global Protection Against Limited Strikes of the first Bush Administration, the National Missile Defense Technology Development of Bill Clinton, the National Missile Defense acquisition of George W. Bush and finally Obama's missile defense efforts named the "European Phased Adaptive Approach". All these developments in the Cold War created its own arms control and non-proliferation regimes. The 1972 ABM Treaty between US and USSR is important in that sense that it allowed each state to have only two ABM deployment areas. "The treaty permits each side to have one limited ABM system to protect its capital and another to protect an ICBM (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile) launch area."[22] Although there were some changes in the treaty, it has stayed as the main document of Ballistic Missile

[20] History of Ballistic Missile Defense will be explained in detailed in next parts of this chapter.

[21] Steven A. Hildereth, "Ballistic Missile Defense: Historical Overview," *CRS Report for Congress, 9 July 2007*, p.3.

[22] "Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems."
http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/abm/abm2.html (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

regimes between US and USSR –after the Cold War, the Russian Federation continued as the successor of Soviet Union- until US quitted ABM treaty in 2001 after Bush explained that "I have concluded the ABM treaty hinders our government's ability to develop ways to protect our people from future terrorist or rogue state missile attacks."[23]

2.2 Confrontationist Approach of Raegan Era.

Before going into the analysis of BMD in the Reagan era, it is appropriate to make use of Fred Halliday's classification of the Cold War era that can give the necessary insights to analyze the general conjuncture and development of Raegan BMD strategies. Fred Halliday classifies the Cold War period into four main parts, namely and respectively; Phase I- First Cold War (1946- 1953), Phase II – the period of Oscillatory Antagonism (1953-1969), Phase III- Détente (1969-1979) and finally Phase IV (1979- onwards).[24] This classification is important because each term has different characteristics. Also the US and USSR had different strategies in each term towards each other due to new developments in world politics. The presidential terms of Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) are located in the "Second Cold War" (1979-1985) of Halliday's classifications of Cold War period. Although Reagan's policies, especially BMD in the name of Strategic Defense Initiative, did not start the Cold War II, they made a great contribution to the start of the Cold War II. Firstly, "Cold War II involved an increased emphasis by both sides upon the likelihood of war and on the need for military preparations against possible attacks from the enemy."[25] In that sense Cold War II is essentially

[23] Jessica Reaves, "Bush Drops a Bomb on the ABM Treaty," *Time*, 13 December 2001. http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,188326,00.html (Accessed on 10 May 2014)

[24] Fred Halliday. *The Making of the Second Cold War,* (London Verso Editions 1986), p.3.

[25] *ibid*., p. 11.

similar to the Cold War I. Although weapons cannot have direct political effects, it is obvious that arms races or military buildups have their own political logic. Secondly, the military programs of Reagan administration are concerned with developing new capacities for conventional intervention in the third world and checking a new wave of revolutions. It is related to bargaining power. Each military buildup spending of US has increased its bargaining power and damaged the financial status of USSR because each spending of US has obliged the USSR to invest much more money on arms development because of arms race, which blocks the USSR from investing in other sectors in industry. Although arms may never be used in a war or conflict situation, they serve to weaken the adversary. Therefore, even in a state of peace, an arms race holds an important place in conflicts among systems. It is obvious that developments in the arms race, especially in nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, have affected the strategic balance. As a result, although the arms race holds an important place in the concept of Cold War and world politics, "rather than being irrational or beyond human control, the arms race reflects conscious aims pursued by political actors, and it is these that have to be identified."[26]

The BMD issue has been a partisan political issue in the Cold War II (1979- 1990). Actually, the Cold War II came after Détente (1969- 1979) period in Halliday's classification of Cold War. Halliday states that "Détente was marked by a retreat from the all-out arms race, by a rhetoric of peace and a pursuit of agreed levels of armament"[27] After the Détente period the Cold War II period again features a renewal of confrontationist policies of both sides; the U.S and the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. and the major capitalist states again experienced a breakdown of relations in the Cold War II. However, it cannot be stated as a complete breakdown of relations but an increase in tension. "Moreover the "Hot Line" remained in place, and data on space exploration were being exchanged

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[26] *ibid.*, p.29.

[27] *ibid.*, p.10

during Cold War II."[28] Before Détente period during the First Cold War (1946-1953) U.S had an overwhelming military superiority over the Soviet Union in both conventional and nuclear weapons, however in the Cold War II the Soviet Union caught up with levels of U.S military superiority.

In Cold War I, the U.S had larger economy than the U.S.S.R. and was establishing its hegemony in world economy. However, the U.S hegemony was declining before and during Cold War II.[29] The fundamental reason for the start of Cold War II is because the U.S.S.R. has started to be close rival of the U.S in the military power and the relative decline in U.S military superiority is an important contributory cause of Cold War II. Since the U.S experienced a decline in military superiority, it has developed an alarmist response and tried to continue its hegemony with ideology, increasing its bargaining power and burdening the enemy.[30] Indeed, Reagan's SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) aimed to expand the U.S military power in order to sustain its hegemony and increase the bargaining power of the U.S by burdening the enemy; the U.S.S.R. Therefore, Raegan's initiative made a great contribution to development of Cold War II and shows the essence of it.

The efforts of Ronald Reagan in BMD have changed the status of the project by making Ballistic Missile Defense project permanent defense expenditure for the U.S. His new effort was called the "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI). "The Reagan Administration continued to increase funding for defenses against ICBMs begun under the Carter Administration. But, in March 1983, President Reagan announced an expensive, new effort to develop non-nuclear ballistic missile defenses that would protect the United States against a full scale attack from the Soviet Union."[31] Reagan and his supporters have

[28] *ibid*., p.15

[29] Rune Skarstein: "Cold War: An Aberration or the Normality of Contemporary International Politics," *Journal of Peace Research*, 22/2, June 1985, pp. 175-180.

[30] *ibid*, p 177.

[31] Hildereth., *op.cit.*, p.3-4

supported the project and their publicized efforts made the BMD deployment a political partisan issue by stitching it onto the ideological structure of the Republican Party. This is the result of not only Reagan's own initiatives but the "Reagan administration was dominated by hardliners who opposed the idea of détente and believed that arms control agreements had given the Soviet Union undue advantages."[32] In this regard, Reagan has never supported arms control regimes and launched a BMD program that would finally undermine the ABM treaty. Those are the signs of a right wing offensive in US and also other capitalist countries which experienced rise of the right wing between 1980 and 1985.

Ronald Reagan's "The Strategic Defense Initiative" has been a new expansive effort and vision despite the technical uncertainties about the planned and proposed system, to develop non-nuclear ballistic missiles that aim to protect US against a full scale attack from Soviet Union. The defensive shield that would be established in accordance with SDI would "employ both non-nuclear interceptor missiles and more exotic laser or x-ray devices designed to destroy incoming missiles."[33] The system could work perfectly for the protection of US mainland from ballistic missiles if there were not any technical challenges and material cost estimates. The major technical problems prevented the US from establishing a perfect missile defense system in 1980s. The technical problems were;

- "the ability of the enemy to overwhelm a system with offensive missiles;
- the questionable survivability of space-based weapons;
- the inability to discriminate among real warheads and hundreds of thousands of decoys;
- the problem of designing battle management, command, control and communications that could function in a nuclear war; and,
- Low confidence in the ability of the system to work perfectly the first and, perhaps, only time it is ever used."[34]

[32] Burns, *op cit*.,p. 32

[33] Hildereth., *op cit*, p.3-4

[34] Cirincione., *op cit*.

Because of the technical obstacles and cost estimates Reagan administration announced that "it would begin with a "Phase I" deployment of land-based and space-based sensors and interceptors."[35] Of course, this new system would not be sufficient for the US as proposed and planned system. However, it could break attack's ineffectiveness and calls offensive side into to the question whether than kind of attack would be efficient or not.

Supporters of SDI realized that many of the technologies and capabilities proposed under SDI would be prohibited by the ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile) Treaty signed in 1972 between US and Soviet Union. Therefore, the Reagan administration made a new interpretation of ABM treaty. The re-interpretation of the treaty supports the idea that testing of space based technologies and new missiles are allowed by the ABM Treaty. Re-interpretation has brought a new discussion to the scene. The supporters of the "traditional" interpretation of the treaty defend the idea that the ABM Treaty prohibits development, testing or deployment of any space-based, air based, sea-based or mobile land based ABM systems. On the other hand, "proponents of the "reinterpretation" of the Treaty, argue that while the parties are prohibited from developing, testing or deploying ABM systems and their components that were in existence at the time the Treaty was signed, the parties are permitted to develop, test and deploy ABM systems that were created after the Treaty was signed."[36] Here the legal status and details of implications ABM Treaty will not be discussed. It is obvious that this subject has been opened to discussion for new military technologies especially in ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons to be developed in the future. Unilaterally withdrawal of the US under the George W. Bush administration on June 2002 and developments in missile defense deployment shows the validity of that discussion. Although Reagan has made a new interpretation of the ABM Treaty, he "vowed to

[35] Hildereth., *op cit.*, p.3

[36] Richard A. De Tar, "The Proposal for Reinterpreting the ABM Agreement: Death of a Treaty," *American University International Law Review*, 3/2, 1988, p. 420.

follow the traditional interpretation."[37] Also, the Reagan administration started new negotiations with the USSR, known as the Defense and Space Talks in order to reach agreement on modifications to or a replacement for the ABM Treaty.[38]

As a result, the Ronald Reagan administration not only has brought a new vision and expansive effort to the ballistic missile defense understanding with Strategic Defense Initiative but also has opened the ABM Treaty up to discussion by re-interpreting the ABM Treaty. Reagan's BMD project may well be defined as a confrontationist approach which aimed to weaken the USSR's military technology. From the perspective of hegemonic stability theory, the U.S has tried to sustain its hegemonic power by trying to weaken the military power of USSR. This would not only increase the leverage power of the U.S and decrease the maneuvering power of the USSR, but also, it would be an additional economical cost for the USSR to respond to this move.

> SDI was instrumental in the demise of the USSR, but was certainly not the sole factor. In the end, the combination of greater political and social freedoms instituted by Gorbachev, and policies implemented under Reagan to impose severe economic and political burdens on Moscow, together led to the collapse of the Soviet Union, on Christmas Day, 1991.[39]

2.3 From George Bush to Bill Clinton Years: Retreat from Confrontationist Stance

2.3.1 George H.W Bush Era Plans

As I stated above, the Strategic Defense Initiative Program had included material costs and technical obstacles and therefore George H.W. Bush responded

[37] *ibid*., p. 426.

[38] Hildereth., *op cit*., p.4

[39] Tyrus W. Cobb, "Reagan's Star Wars and the Collapse of the USSR", *National Security Forum*, 22 March 2013, http://nationalsecurityforum.org/newsletter/reagans-star-wars-and-the-collapse-of-the-ussr/ (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

to Phase I with a "further contraction of the goals for SDI."[40] Above all, the bipolar system collapsed because USSR as a superpower in Cold War was dissolved. The most important threat of the U.S during the Cold War did not exist anymore. Bush administration realized that new threats could be terrorist organizations and small states whose action could not be predicted. Therefore, instead of deploying ballistic missile system aiming to protect US against a large scale attack, the US would deploy a defensive system that could provide Global Protection Against Limited Strikes (GPALS). It could be defined as the more modest version of Reagan's SDI. The new focus of Bush senior recognized the demise of the Soviet Union and therefore the new project sought to protect US and its allies against limited scale attack because of the decreasing likelihood of large scale attack.[41] Also Bush's new program would transfer a portion of cost of the project onto Europe. George H.W Bush greatest test came when Iraqi President Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in August 1990 then threatened to move into Saudi Arabia. Bush sent 425,000 American troops. They were joined by 118,000 troops from allied nations.[42] After weeks of air and missile bombardment, the ceasefire decision was taken by the United Nations. The U.S found this a good opportunity to test patriot missile defenses in the Gulf War. "Patriot missiles have demonstrated the technical efficacy and strategic importance of missile defenses. This underscores the future importance of developing and deploying a system for GPALS, to defend against limited missile attacks, whatever their source. The effectiveness of the Patriot system was proved under combat conditions."[43]Indeed, after patriots had been effective in the Gulf War, GPALS was adopted in principle because it was cheaper than SDI and technically had demonstrated its effectiveness.

[40] *ibid.*

[41] *ibid.*

[42] Frank Freidel and Hugh Sidey, *The Presidents of the United States of America*, (The White House Historical Association, 2006), p.86.

[43] Cirincione, *op cit.*

GPALS was designed by Bush administration to include up to 1,000 land based interceptors and perhaps another 1,000 space based interceptors with space based sensors.[44] Also Bush administration has distinguished the planned and proposed system would exceed the limits defined in ABM treaty and therefore held negotiations with Russian government in 1992 to replace the ABM Treaty for a more cooperative and flexible regime. However, those negotiations have been suspended by Bush administration which also changed the objectives for a national missile defense program. The possible reason for the suspension of the negotiations between Russian Federation and the U.S is the response of Russian Federation to U.S. The U.S.S.R was just dissolved and Russian Federation is in the process for establishing new structure and governance. In 1992, Boris Yeltsin clearly stated the position which the Russian Federation will take, in his address to the United Nations (UN) Security Council on January 31, 1992. According to Russian Federation ABM Treaty is "an important factor of maintaining strategic stability in the world." Also, Yeltsin added that Russian Federation "is ready to develop, then create and jointly operate a global defense system, instead of the SDI system."[45] Since Yeltsin clearly stated that Russian federation is not favor of change or modification in ABM Treaty, negotiations had been suspended.

To sum up, the Bush period is the years Cold War ended and the threat definition has changed from the U.S.S.R. to terrorist organizations and small states whose strategies and moves are unpredictable. Therefore, the Bush administration has modified the SDI of Reagan and preferred a modest version of it. It did not exactly cancelled the plan because the U.S, despite the fact that the U.S.S.R. has no longer exists, has tried to reinforce its hegemonic status by continuing its military projects and strategies.

[44] Hildereth., *op cit*, p.4

[45] Anne L. Clunan, *Construction of Russia's Resurgence,* (The John Hopkins University Press,2009), p. 194.

2.3.2 Bill Clinton Years

After coming to power in 1993, Bill Clinton administration emphasized missile defense deployment development against short-range missile threat. According to Aspin, Secretary of Defense for one year from 1993 to 1994 stated that regional ballistic missile threat already existed but a ballistic missile threat to U.S might emerge only in the future.[46] In 1995, The Missile Defense Act of 195 under the National Defense Authorization Act for Financial Year was passed during this time and legislation aimed to develop affordable and operationally effective theater missile defense on multiple sites of U.S against limited, accidental, or unauthorized ballistic missile threats. One of the important decisions on legislation was offering negotiations with Russia on proposed missile defense deployment development and option of withdrawing from ABM Treaty if negotiations fail. However, Bill Clinton vetoed financial year 1996 Defense Authorization Bill "on the grounds that there was no threat, that signing it would prematurely commit the United States to a particular type of missile defense technology; that it was inconsistent with the ABM Treaty; and it would jeopardize offensive reductions of nuclear weapons under the Strategic arms."[47] Although Bill Clinton vetoed the bill, the legislation signaled the George W. Bush period decision that will be explained below. Finally the Clinton administration developed a new missile defense strategy in 1996, which was offering continued development of missile defense technology and deploying those missiles until the end of 2003, possibly 2005. However, on September 2000 Clinton cancelled the deployment of a national missile defense at that time. Clinton stated that he could

[46] Steven A. Hildereth and Amy F. Woolf, "Missile Defense: The Current Debate," Erin V. Causewell (Ed.), *National Missile Defense Issues and Development*,(Novinka Books:Newyork, 2002),p.80.

[47] Baker Spring, "Clinton's Failed Missile Defense Policy: A Legacy of Missed Opportunities," *The Heritage Foundation*, 21 September 2000. http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2000/09/clintons-failed-missile-defense-policy (Accessed on 20 June 2014)

not conclude the deployment and move forward because they did not have enough confidence in the technology and operational effectiveness of missile defense system.[48] It is obvious that whether the system will be operationally effective and feasible or not is a matter of fact but efforts of U.S to delay the project at that time in order to change the context of ABM Treaty remains an issue.

2.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, the SDI of the Reagan era was a confrontationist stance and moved the BMD discussions to a different status by making it permanent defense expenditure and a cornerstone for the defense of the U.S presence in the world. However, George Bush and Clinton have retreated from the confrontationist approach for technical, financial and political reasons as well as the absence of the U.S.S.R., which collapsed in 1991. However, this retreat from a confrontationist approach has not changed the status of BMD and it has stayed as a permanent defense expenditure, which still leads to serious discussions.

Ronald Reagan, George W. H. Bush and Bill Clinton have tried to apply different strategies in regard of BMD, but all presidents are committed to deploying ballistic missile defense for security and did not cancel the plans. Only some modifications were made in the plans. Reagan's SDI was a confrontationist approach whereas the others have retreated from this approach. However, the aim of all policies and strategies is to sustain and reinforce the hegemonic status of the U.S in the world. Therefore, the U.S has defined new threats after the U.S.S.R.

[48] Frank H. Colombus (Ed.), *Russia in Transition*, (Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2003), p.129.

was dissolved in order to apply its projects. If there was no threat, there would be no necessity for military application.

CHAPTER III

THE GEORGE W. BUSH YEARS: A TENDENCY TOWARDS RENEWAL OF THE CONFRONTATIONIST APPROACH

3.1 Introduction

During the George W. Bush period, the tendency was towards the renewal of the confrontationist approach on deployment of BMD. Before the presidency of Bush, BMD policies showed a retreat from the confrontationist approach during the Clinton and George W. H. Bush presidencies. This chapter will be an inquiry into Bush policies and reasons of the renewal of confrontationist approach.

The first part of the chapter will attempt to analyze the transition from a unipolar system to a multipolar system and provide a brief background including the properties of the BMD policies of the Bush administration in early 2000s.

Following the first part, the second part of the chapter will be devoted to George W. Bush's disbelief in Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) and how the 9/11 attacks shaped the Bush doctrine and Bush administration's policies.

The third part will focus on the negotiations with Poland and Czech Republic for deployment of BMD in Eastern Europe, and the response of the Russian Federation and European actors will be highlighted.

Finally, the conclusion will point out the general attitudes of the Bush administration on BMD are confrontationist policies and clarify the relevance of BMD strategies through hegemonic stability theory.

3.2 Transition from Unipolar to Multipolar International System

After the end of the Cold War period, the 1990s were the years of a unipolar international system. By the time of the demise of the U.S.S.R., the bipolar international system had disintegrated. The U.S had become the only superpower and the international system had become unipolar.[49] The demise of the U.S.S.R. has created by an absence of balance of powers and the U.S became the hegemon. However, the early 2000s were the years of transition from a unipolar system to a multipolar[50] system. The superpower status of the U.S has been damaged and other influential actors like China, Russian Federation, Japan, the European Union and India have started to affect the international system because while the capacity and capability of those actors were increasing continuously, the U.S's development is not as large compared to other actors'. For instance, seen in the table below, GDP growth (annual %) is one of the indicators which shows the gross domestic product and capacity of domestic industry. It is seen that other influential actors apart from the EU show a greater rate of development than the U.S in their productive capacity. This is only an indication to give an example of general developments in the early 2000s and the economic effect on reasons of decline in U.S hegemony.

[49] Kenneth N. Waltz. "Globalization and Governance", *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 32/4,December 1999, p. 699.

[50]Here the multipolarity is defined as an international system in which there are a number of influential actors, a balance of power or multipolar system is formed.

GDP Growth Annual %

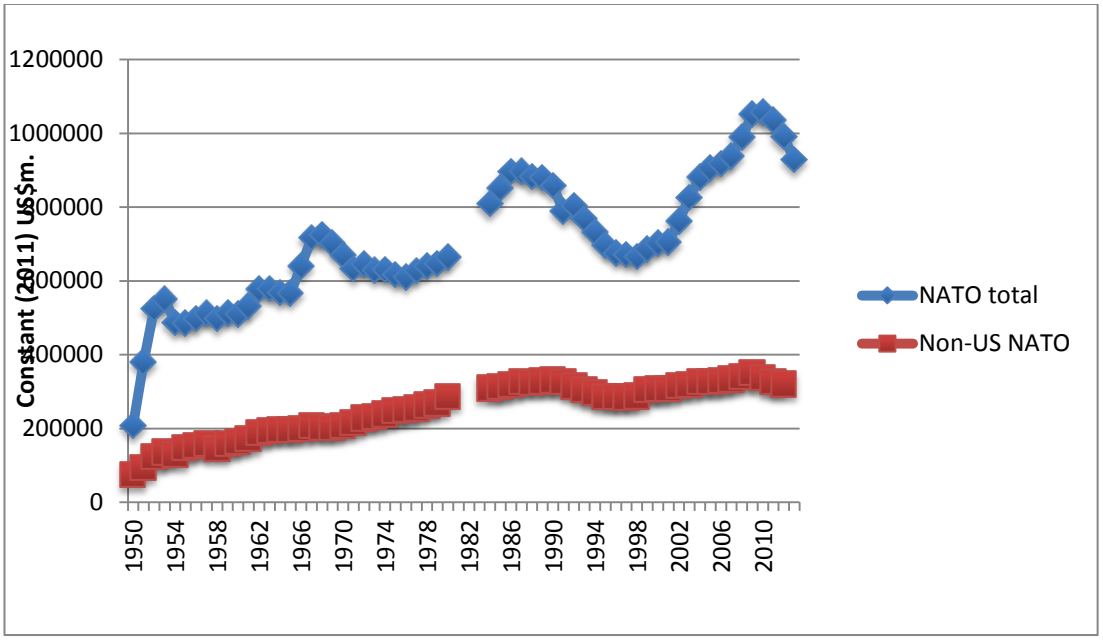
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
US	**GDP growth (annual %)**	4	3	3	2	0	-3	3	2	3
China	**GDP growth (annual %)**	10	11	13	14	10	9	10	9	8
India	**GDP growth (annual %)**	8	9	9	10	4	8	10	7	5
Russian Federation	**GDP growth (annual %)**	7	6	8	9	5	-8	5	4	3
EU	**GDP growth (annual %)**	3	2	3	3	0	-5	2	2	0

Source: The Worldbank Databank, World Development Indicators.[51]

George W. Bush came to power in 2001 as the 43rd president of the U.S. The Bush presidency was the period when U.S superpower status declined and the U.S tried to protect its hegemon status with more confrontationist policies such as increasing military expenditure. Indeed U.S military expenditure has always been higher than other actors. However, during the George W. Bush administration U.S military expenditure raised sharply as seen in the graph below. In the graph it is clearly seen that after the 2000s, NATO total spending increased sharply whereas non- US NATO did not. This is the effect of increases in U.S spending.

[51] The Worldbank Databank, World Development Indicators http://databank.worldbank.org/data/views/reports/tableview.aspx?isshared=true (Accessed on 20 June 2014)

Total NATO Military Spending 1950- 2013 and total excluding U.S



Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database.[52]

During the George W. Bush presidency, the most remarkable events were the 9/11 attacks in 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Those exact examples of the Bush administration turn towards the renewal of a confrontationist approach in foreign policy. In that framework, Bush-proposed BMD also reflect the renewal of a confrontationist stance, whereas the George Bush and Clinton years were retreat from the Reagan years strategy.

> The 2002 National Security Presidential Directive 23, National Policy on Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), called for missile defenses to protect the United States, its deployed forces, and its allies. President Bush's policy announcement stated the deployments would include "ground-based interceptors, sea-based interceptors, additional Patriot (PAC-3) units, and sensors based on land, at sea, and in space.[53]

[52] "Sipri Military Expenditure Database"

http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database (Accessed on 20 June 2014)

[53] Burns, *op cit.*, p.79.

As explained in detail in previous chapter, the first significant plan for Ballistic Missile Defense was the SDI under Ronald Reagan. It was an ambitious plan aiming to develop effective interceptors and protect the whole area of the US from Soviet missiles. However, it was not realized because of huge cost estimates and technical obstacles as well as political reasons. In January 1991, Bush senior abandoned plans to protect against a massive Soviet first strike and designed GPALS for the protection of US area and its allies. Under the Bill Clinton administration, BMD stayed focused on technical and theater missile defense. Also during the 1990s BMD technologies had experienced small and gradual progress because of limited funds. In 1998, with increasing funds for ballistic missile defense concentration on strategic missile defense has increased. "The main reason was growing threat from North Korea and other hostile nations with ability to acquire ballistic missiles and the need for protection from accidental attack from Russia or China."[54] In 1998, a commission was formed to assess the ballistic missile threat to the United States named the Rumsfeld commission. Donald Rumsfeld was the chairman of the commission and was the chairman of the Board of Directors of Gilead Sciences, Inc.[55] After George W. Bush came to power, Rumsfeld served as the U.S Secretary of Defense from 2001 to 2006. The Rumsfeld Commission was effective in shifting back the focus onto strategic missile defense. The Rumsfeld commission concluded that the missile threat is growing against the US because of the ability of "hostile nations" namely, Iraq, Iran and North Korea to attack, or the risk of accidental attack from the Russian Federation and China. The threat could be greater than US has assessed and US may have little or no warning of threats.[56] The report also stated that "North Korea, Iran and Iraq would be able to inflict major destruction on the U.S within

[54] Radovan Eugel, "Reasons Behind the Change of American Ballistic Missile Defense Architecture in Europe," *Defense&Strategy*, 10/2, December 2010, p.28

[55] "Report of the Commission to Assess United States National Security Space Management and Organization" 11 January 2001. http://www.dod.gov/pubs/spaceintro.pdf (Accessed on 10 June 2014)

[56] "The Rumsfeld Commission Report" 31 July 1998 http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/1998_cr/s980731-rumsfeld.htm (Accessed on 1 May 2014)

about five years of a decision to acquire such a capability (10 years in the case of Iraq) "[57] Briefly, Rumsfeld commission emphasized the reasons why the U.S has been facing the possibility of "rogue nations" acquiring such a capability and accidental attacks by claiming that US is in threat. "President William (Bill) Clinton confronted a series of issues related to U.S missile defense priorities, but he succeeded initially in limiting their costs and scope."[58] The report of the commission has directed the U.S BMD objectives especially under the George W. Bush administration. It will not be wrong to state that the Bush administration plans were already on the table when George W. Bush came to power in 2001.

3.3 Disbelief in MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction)

After Bush came to power, he has shown his mistrust in doctrines based on the theory of deterrence, mutually assured destruction (MAD). "…the idea of mutually assured destruction-predicated on the assumption that nuclear-armed states must possess both a first-and second-strike capability-came to define the nuclear relationship between the United States and Soviet Union."[59] The concept supports the idea that neither the United States not its enemies will start a war because the other side will retaliate massively.[60] Actually the concept fits to Cold War period. Although United States and the Soviet Union have the most destructive nuclear weapons, both states have protected the balance and this

[57] Maria Ryan, *Neoconservatism and the New American Century*, (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2010) p.121.

[58] Burns, *op cit*., p.55

[59] Maj David Williams, "US Nuclear Policy, 1945- 1968", *Air&Space Power Journal*, 24/4, Winter 2010,p.32.

[60] Col Alan J. Parrington, "Mutually Assured Destruction Revisited: Strategic Doctrine in Question" J., *Airpower Journal*, 11/4, Winter 1997, p.6.

created their own ballistic missile regime between two superpowers and the world. However, George W. Bush period has undermined this BMD regime.

The speech on missile defense on May 1, 2001 by George W. Bush showed his desire to search for new foundation for world peace and security. In his speech, Bush clearly defined what he understands from the new world order and what the new threats are after the end of the Cold War and to be in the future. According to George W. Bush, the threat and "unquestioned enemy" was Soviet Union and there were good reasons to distrust to this communist state. The security of both nations were linked to each other, because the possible attack of one on the another could be the end of both nations or could drag both states and their allies into war. Therefore, the 1972 ABM Treaty made this premise official and Bush thinks that the ABM treaty, contrary to idea of the ABM Treaty protecting the peace, left the both sides completely open and vulnerable to nuclear attacks.[61] Actually, Bush defined the threat as the Soviet Union in the Cold War period and then he criticized the treaty, leaving both sides open to nuclear attacks. Indeed, if threat is the Soviet Union, the ABM Treaty limits the capacity of both states and theoretically prevents nuclear attack. Also whereas Bush does not define threats as terrorist groups or rogue states in the Cold War period, he supports the idea that the ABM Treaty made U.S vulnerable and defenseless to other threats than the U.S.S.R. It is obvious that Bush was starting to justify the withdrawal of US from ABM Treaty and giving signs of it.

Bush defined today's world as a vastly different one from the Cold War period because the Soviet Union no longer exists and Russian Federation is very different to the USSR because there has been a transition for Russian Federation from communism to a free market economy. Therefore, for the new term Bush felt that he needed to define new threats. Not only the Russian Federation and U.S or responsible allies of US like Britain or France have nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, but also some of the world's least responsible states (then they became

[61] "President Bush Speech on Missile Defense, 1 May 2001. http://www.fas.org/nuke/control/abmt/news/010501bush.html (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

"rogue states") have nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Those countries have been seeking to develop new capabilities and weapons of mass destruction in order to threaten their neighbors and prevent the U.S helping its allies in strategic parts of the world. In his speech Bush exactly states what is really happening with this words "To maintain peace, to protect our own citizens and our own allies and friends, we must seek security based on more than the grim premise that we can destroy those who seek to destroy us." [62]Therefore, he invites the world to rethink the situation and world order and find new ways to keep the peace. New threats defined by Bush need new frameworks that would allow U.S to develop missile defenses to counter the new threats within the world. Finally, Bush stated that "to do so, we must move beyond the constraints of the 30-year-old ABM Treaty"[63]

As a result, after already starting his presidential term George W. Bush showed his disbelief in MAD and gave signs of a withdrawal from the ABM Treaty. Finally, Bush gave official notice on December 2001 to the Russian Federation of the withdrawal of the U.S unilaterally from the ABM Treaty by stating that September 11 attacks proved that the threats the U.S faces today are different from those of the Cold War.[64] Therefore US withdrew from the ABM Treaty to search for a new framework and develop new capabilities after a short period following the 9/11 attacks.

3.4 Effect of 9/11 Attacks on Bush Doctrine.

As I stated above in the introduction part, the 9/11 attacks were the most important element in the development of the foreign policy stance of George W.

[62] *ibid.*

[63] Sean D. Murphy, *United States Practise in International Law Volume 1: 1999-2001*,(Cambridge University Press: United Kingdom, 2002), p. 454.

[64] Statement by the Press Secretary, "Announcement of Withdrawal From the ABM Treaty," 13 December 2001. http://www.acq.osd.mil/tc/treaties/abm/ABMwithdrawal.htm (Accessed on 10 May 2014)

Bush and accelerated the implementation of George W. Bush's BMD deployment plans. He defended and supported his plans more strongly after 9/11 attacks. Bush has already explained what he wants to do about missile defense deployment and according to him the 9/11 attacks showed where one of the threats will come from; terrorist groups. 9/11 showed the U.S public that the threat from terrorist groups exists and urgent measures must be applied. Therefore, the 9/11 attacks just accelerated the process and BMD deployment plans proposed earlier. Additionally, 9/11 affected the Bush doctrine in US foreign policy that was effective during the Bush presidency.

Bush foreign policy doctrine has been very controversial policy after 9/11 attacks. "The basic idea of the Bush doctrine is that the United States has a unique historical responsibility that grows out of the conjunction of American military power and American moral and spiritual values."[65] Exactly the idea comes from "American exceptionalism" which is the idea that paves the way for United States to lead the vanguard of the history because of its liberal- democratic values. From that standpoint, U.S tries to defend democratic values around the globe and the military power of U.S has a moral focus on that subject. Although the idea is clearly explaining the basic idea, whether U.S is defending and spreading the democratic values around the globe or not is doubtful. If we accept the idea that U.S is the spreading democratic values around the globe, how can we explain the support and good relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and U.S? From that standpoint, American exceptionalism needs to be reinterpreted. The most suitable explanation for American exceptionalism would be that U.S is the vanguard of capitalist economic system and protects and defends the principles of it around the globe. The basic idea of the states in relations with others is pragmatism and to gain power. Therefore, to explain American exceptionalism with core idea of "democratic values" will not be enough to explain the U.S relations with other regimes. Additionally, "American exceptionalism" could be

[65] Andrew Fiala, "The Crusade for Freedom: A Just War Critique of the Bush Doctrine," *Political Theology*, 9/1, January 2008, p. 47.

explained with the American hegemony. As stated end explained in detail, the U.S wants to continue its hegemon status and acts in that way.

Here, the differences between preemptive and preventive attacks and how George W. Bush has applied the preemptive attacks instead of preventive attacks in NSS (National Security Strategy) is to be analyzed because preventive attack is one of the main components of Bush foreign policy doctrine. Firstly, "preemptive attack is one that is launched based on expectation than adversary is about to attack and, that striking first will be better than being attacked."[66] Preemptive attacks are expected to make difference between victory and defeat and it can reduce the amount of damage estimated from enemies' attacks. A state launching a preemptive attack should be certain that threat is imminent and adversary is about to attack.[67] The example for preemptive attack is the 1967 Six-Day war in which Israel has attacked Egypt then Syria in order to prevent and defeat organized attacks by its neighbors. The Arab forces were shocked by Israeli surprise attack and Israel has become successful in this attack.

Secondly, although preventive attacks have similarities with preemptive ones, "they are launched in response to less immediate threats.[68]" While preemptive attacks are launched to strike first, preventive ones are launched to fight sooner rather than later. Generally the basic motive of preventive attacks is the idea that the adversary will increase its military capabilities and grow stronger, therefore before it happens attack is launched.

The invasion of Iraq should be analyzed as a case in point. Although Bush administration has explained his strategy as preemption and Iraq war has been justified with this doctrine; the invasion of Iraq is simply a preventive war. The U.S attacks on Iraq "would have been genuinely preemptive only if Iraq appeared

[66] Karl P. Mueller and Others, *Striking First: Preemptive and Preventive Attack in U.S National Security Policy,*(RAND Corporation, 2006), p. 6.

[67] *ibid*., p.6.

[68] *ibid*., p.8.

poised to launch an attack that could not have been preempted later."[69] Before the invasion of attacks, Bush has claimed that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and can attack on U.S allies in the Middle East in the foreseeable future. However, the issue was so controversial and still discussed. Many state that there is no evidence of it and also U.S forces could not find any WMDs in Iraq.[70] Therefore, attacks on Iraq should be considered as preventive attack, even if Bush administration and U.K has labeled the attacks as preemptive ones. The Bush administration has created justification for the U.S attacks on Iran and those reasons have been used as the basis of preemptive strikes of Bush administration.

The Bush administration tried to get support of other states in its intervention on Iraq with the article 51 of UN Charter. In Chapter VII of the UN Charter, Article 51 allows for states to use force in self- defense.[71] However, United Nations did not support the intervention on Iraq 2003. Kofi Annan in 2004, as a seventh secretary general of the United Nations from 1997 to 2006 has stated that "I have indicated it was not in conformity with the UN charter from our point of view, from the charter point of view, it was illegal."[72] Therefore, Bush administration tried to justify its preemptive actions on Iraq by presenting the WMD issue as justification for the attack to be made by Saddam on the U.S allies in the future.

In brief, one of the main components of Bush doctrine is preemptive strikes. The others are unilateralism, democracy promotion and military actions against countries that harbor terrorists. Those core ideas have shaped American foreign policy during Bush period. Unilateralism and military actions against countries

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[69] *ibid*., p.8.

[70] "CIA's Fınal Report: No WMD Found in Iraq" , *Associated Press*,25 April 2005. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/7634313/ns/world_news-mideast_n_africa/t/cias-final-report-no-wmd-found-iraq/#.U7iM5fl_thw (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[71] "Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, And Acts of Aggression," Charter of the United Nations, 26 June 1945 http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter7.shtml (Accessed on 30 June 2013)

[72] BBC, "Iraq War Illegal, says Annan," 16 September 2004 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3661134.stm (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

that harbor terrorists is clearly seen in Bush foreign policy. Indeed, the first and the most important component of the Bush doctrine is unilateralism and it showed itself in ABM talks and the "missile shield is a particularly telling example".[73] However, to establish democratic regimes in other countries with military intervention is questionable and is not convincing.

As I stated above it is not enough to explain Bush doctrine with core idea of "American exceptionalism". To explain the Bush doctrine with theory of hegemonic stability is more suitable. Bush doctrine as stated above is the aggressive unilateralist policy of the U.S. The Bush administration by adopting the unilateralist policies tried to keep and sustain the hegemon status of the U.S in transition period in the international system from unipolar to multipolar. Actually, the policies of the Bush administration are reactions and strategies to declining hegemon status of the U.S. Although the U.S has stayed as the powerful actor in the world politics, the U.S is not a hegemon anymore. "In economic terms, multi-polarity spells a new order in which interdependence is the norm and the U.S, while still overwhelmingly powerful, no longer occupies the role of hegemon."[74]

3.5 Negotiations for Deployment of BMD in Eastern Europe: Poland and Czech Republic

Bush administration was dedicated to establishing the BMD to protect the mainland and particularly in the allies of the U.S. In the deployment of BMD in Eastern Europe, the new debate occurred in the U.S namely Old and New Europe. The issue is related with the concept of "Old Europe" and "New Europe" or American capitalism and Western capitalism. Old Europe and New Europe terms have been used by Donald Rumsfeld to refer to the two different positions that

[73] Charles-Philippe David and Frederic Ramel,"The Bush Administration's Image of Europe: From Ambivalence to Rigidity," *The International Journal of Peace Studies*, 8/1, 2003.

[74] Lionel Barber, "The end of US hegemony: Legacy of 9/11," *Financial Times*, 5 September 2011. http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/f6acf1a6-d54d-11e0-bd7e-00144feab49a.html#axzz37isHy636 (Acessed on 15 July 2014)

European countries have taken on the issue of inspections for the WMD and war in Iraq [75] The old Europe is mainly labeled as the states, generally France and Germany, that are against any military action and supports the diplomatic and peaceful solution of conflict. The new Europe consists of largely of EU applicant countries from the East and states that have been more supportive of the U.S position. Europe has showed that states of Europe could not act as one nation and "New Europe" and "Old Europe" concepts could create a new dividing line. "In introducing the idea of "New Europe", the primary U.S objective was to undermine the Franco- German position vis-à-vis European affairs as well as Iraq issue.[76]" Actually, the New Europe had been supportive of the U.S military strategies in deployment of BMD in Eastern Europe.

Decision of the U.S on intervention in Iraq and negotiations on deployment of BMD in Eastern Europe are clearly unilateralist policies of the U.S. There are reasons that pave the way for the U.S to act unilaterally. During the Bush period, the US policy was in transition from unilateralism to multilateralism. Therefore, the U.S tried to sustain its hegemony and protect its status in the world politics with unilateralist actions. The US was pursuing hegemonic stability. For instance, reasons of the unilateral action of the U.S on deployment of missile defense in Eastern Europe clarify the motives beyond the U.S strategy. Firstly, the U.S did not want to share the political leadership of this project with European major actors or NATO because it would limit the maneuvering space of the U.S. Secondly, as the producer country in military technology, the U.S does not want to share military technology with the Europe because it is has unique power and capacity for their developing military strategies. Finally, the U.S does not want to share its intelligence reports with Europe because having them makes the U.S stronger. If the project in Bush period had been applied multilaterally together with Europe, the U.S should have shared political leadership, military technology

[75] Mustafa Türkeş, "New vs Old Europe": Contested Hegemonies and the EEC's Dual-guarantee Strategy", *International Problems*, 57/3, 2005, pp. (229-244)

[76] ibid., p. 239

and intelligence reports. Therefore the U.S has chosen to develop bilateral ties with Poland and Czech Republic and thus to achieve hegemonic stability.

After the withdrawal of U.S from ABM treaty in 2001[77], subsequently the U.S in 2004 deployed a total of 24-30 ground- based interceptors at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California and Fort Greely in Alaska. This "is meant to provide a rudimentary defense against the North Korean nuclear and ballistic missile threat."[78] The interceptors would have information from different radar sites near North America." According to Ballistic Missile Defense Review posted in February 2010, the continental United States is now and for the foreseeable future protected against limited ICBMs attacks."[79] The core interceptors have been deployed under the Bush administration and report in 2010 stated the efficiency[80] of the system. The threat here is North Korea and U.S provided a protection for the mainland. At the same time, the US showed their European allies that the U.S was not obliged to show all BMD technologies to European allies. The Bush administration has provided protection for the mainland and what remained necessary for protection against threats that can come from terrorists and "rogue states" was to deploy BMD in Europe. When George W. Bush had not yet announced his deployment of ballistic missiles in Alaska and California, unofficial talks were in progress with Poland and Czech Republic about "the possibility of locating U.S missile defense units on their territory.[81] In the early 2007, the Bush administration after discussions with Poland and Czech Republic has officially proposed to deploy ten ground based interceptors in Poland, an advanced radar system in Czech Republic and other radar to a state closer to Iran in order to defend against Iranian missile threat. The project would be completed

[77] On December 13, 2011 George W. Bush explained that U.S would withdraw from ABM Teraty in the six months.

[78] Peter Brookes, "The Need for Missile Defense," *Policy Review*, 151, 1 October 2008, p. 39

[79] Eugel, *op cit*., p.29

[80] Efficiency has been used in theory "it is supposed to protect mainland" but it is not obvious that the system is operationally effective because there is still debate about the effectiveness of it.

[81] Burns, *op cit*., p.79

by 2013 with at least $4 billion cost.[82] The second plan was to deploy "transportable forward acquisition radar" in a country not yet defined but it would be closer to Iran. However, the plans were not implemented until the end of Bush's presidential term. It was stated that the reason was mainly the difficult negotiations. Poland has tried to get as much as possible for this interceptor site and in the Czech Republic there was a strong political opposition to deployment and two thirds of the population was against the deployment.

In short, the George W. Bush administration had deployed additional ground- based interceptors in mainland Alaska and California. Negotiations on the deployment of BMD in Eastern Europe were conducted with Poland and Czech Republic to protect its allies in Europe by deploying missiles and radar site.[83] Here the question is how threats against U.S have been defined by Bush administration and why they are seen as threats.

First of all, the reason for the US administration deploying BMD on the American mainland and Europe is obvious. U.S wants to protect herself and her allies against terrorists and "rogue states". However, the decision of U.S to deploy BMD and establish a radar site in Eastern Europe should be analyzed. Briefly, The U.S officials stated that because of a gap in Eastern Europe's anti-missile defense capabilities, any possible threat by Iran in the future against Europe or U.S allies could not be countered. Therefore, there is a need for anti-ballistic missile system in Europe.[84] However, while Bush tries to protect Europe from possible missile attack with deployment of BMD in Eastern Europe, it leaves the Southeast Europe unprotected. It is understood from the plan that Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria will be left unprotected. Also there is another important threat from

[82] Steven A. Hildereth and Carl Ek. "Long Range Ballistic Missile Defense in Europe" *Current Politics & Economics of Europe*, 21/4, November 2010, p.423

[83] The response to Bush proposed plan, the position of Europe in deployment of BMD in Europe and Russia factor will be explained below.

[84] BBC News, "Q&A: US Missile Defense." 20 September 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6720153.stm (Accessed on April 16, 2013)

North Korea but in Alaska and California U.S aimed to deploy ground based missile defense system against North Korea.[85] U.S allies needed missile system to protect them from possible Iran threat because Iran has been developing short and long range missiles thereby trying to persuade Europe under that threat.

Bush administration constantly stated that Iran, North Korea and Iraq are the main threats to the global peace and stability. This can be explained with hegemonic stability theory. There is a global social order which is protected and shaped by U.S with its will and capability to set the rules. From this standpoint, others should accept the subordination for the continuation of the system because system is not only beneficial to the hegemon (U.S) but also beneficial to subordinate countries. The policies and behaviors of North Korea and Iran are unpredictable and they can damage the system. Also North Korea and Iran were criticizing the existing global order. Before the end of his presidency term, Ahmedinejad has called for the new world order by stating that "I do believe the system of empires has reached the end of the road. The world can no longer see an emperor commanding it."[86] Actually this idea is a good explanation of Iran's attitude about how Iran sees the world order. In the same way North Korea prefers to be out of the system. U.S tries to integrate other states into the system to allow the continuation of its hegemonic status. Since both states are opposed to the national interests of U.S at the regional level and their policies and strategies are unpredictable and potential to harbor terrorists, they are labeled "rogue nations" by the U.S administration.

[85] Burns, *op cit.* p.80.

[86] The Telegraph, "Mahmoud Ahmedinejad Calls for New World Order," 26 September 2012 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/iran/9567298/Mahmoud-Ahmadinejad-calls-for-new-world-order.html (Accessed on 18 June 2013)

In short, according to the Bush administration the major strategic threats are North Korea and Iran. "North Korea claims to have tested a nuclear device and has a ballistic missile and satellite lunch program."[87]

Moreover, the Bush administration argues that Iran has been continuing to develop and acquire ballistic missiles with different ranges. According to the Bush administration both states are unpredictable and dangerous and "did not believe that they could be constrained by traditional forms of military deterrence, diplomacy or arms control".[88] It is obvious that the Bush administration developed its strategies based on "innovative and modern" strategies such as military intervention by not believing deterrence instead of traditional ones. Why, according to the Bush administration, Iran is an important threat for U.S and allies is to be analyzed. Although U.S sees Iran as a threat, whether it is a really a threat to Western security or not is arguable. Firstly, Iran does not accept subordinated status in global social order which is shaped by the U.S. Secondly and the most important one, Iran is behaving against the national interests of the U.S administration. After 1979 Iranian revolution, many conflicts have been experienced between U.S and Iran, namely, the 1979 hostage crisis, the support of U.S for Iraq against Iran, Hezbollah bombings and relations with Israel. Although historical developments have affected the formation of Iran- U.S relations, 9/11 attacks has shaped these relations. After the 9/11 attacks, George Bush in his 'State of the Union Address' in 2002 labeled three states namely; Iraq, Iran and North Korea as the 'axis of evil' because those countries support and sponsor terror and seek weapons of mass destruction.[89] Also Iran could prevent Western states or companies from reaching oil sources in the Middle East. Iran can

[87] Hildereth and Ek, *op cit*., p.426

[88] *ibid*., p.426.

[89] George W. Bush, "2002 State of the Union Adress", 29 January 2002 http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2002.htm (Accessed on 18 May 2013)

threaten oil exporters in the Gulf.[90] Another important point is that Iran is trying to have nuclear weapons and U.S is completely against that in spite of Iran's claims to use it for peaceful aims like energy production.

In addition to these, Israel and the U.S relations are a significant factor in the Middle East policies of the US and the Bush administration has put an emphasis on the maintenance of a close and strong relationship with Israel. Relations and security cooperation of U.S with Israel goes back to the Cold War years, when the state of Israel came to be seen as a front to the Soviet influence in the Middle East and to counter to Arab nationalism.[91] Despite the fact that the Cold War has ended and the world has changed, the cooperation of U.S and Israel still remain the same because Israel is a counterweight against radical groups and forces in the Middle East, including political Islam and violent extremism. In the 1990s, the international system was clearly unipolar and the U.S in order to keep up the unipolar system tried to protect the global and regional balance which is defined by the US based on the national interests of it and capitalism. Early 2000s were transition from unipolarity to multipolarity and the U.S tries to protect its hegemon status. Middle East is one the region where the significant opposition to the system has been coming from because of the political Islam and violent extremism. In this perspective Iran regionally is a serious threat to the U.S interests in the Middle East. Therefore, Iran is perceived as a threat to U.S interests in the Middle East.

As a result, the U.S administration considers both Iran and North Korea as a threat. Indeed, threats from both states are not new and traces of threats could be found in the Cold War period. Korea has remained under Japanese colonial rule until 1945 however, after Japan had surrendered to the Allied Powers, the land

[90] Nikolai Sokov, 'Missile Defence: Towards Practical Cooperation with Russia', *Survival*, 52/4, 1 August 2010, p.121.

[91] Michael Eisenstadt and David Pollock, "Friends With Benefits: Why the U.S.-Israeli Alliance is Good for America," *Foreign Affairs Web,*7 November 2012. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/138422/michael-eisenstadt-and-david-pollock/friends-with-benefits (Accessed on 13 September 2013)

was separated along the 38th parallel where American forces stayed in the south and Soviet troops in the North of it. In 1948, two states namely, the Republic of Korea (South) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) were established in the peninsula. South Korea was backed by U.S and North Korea by USSR and China. After the demise of the USSR, North Korea has attracted attention with its nuclear program. George W. Bush has labeled North Korea to be a part of the "Axis of Evil". In October 2006 North Korea tested its first nuclear weapon and in 2008, U.S placed the country on the U.S list of "Designated State Sponsors of Terrorism".[92] It is obvious that only reason for labeling North Korea as a part of the "Axis of Evil" is not its nuclear program but because North Korea prefers to be outside of the capitalist system which the U.S defines and North Korea's actions and policies are unpredictable and can damage the system.

As stated above, Bush administration's proposed plan will be left Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria, namely Southeast Region, unprotected. Here, as a strategic partner or ally of the U.S, the position taken by Turkey and place and role of it should be looked into.

As the Cold War ended modernization of Turkey's military arsenal has been in constant discussion and because of the new security challenges particularly during and after the Gulf War (1990- 1991) Turkey attempted to modernize its military arsenal. In the modernization program, space based technologies and missile systems are the most important one. Although Turkey has produced short and medium range missiles since late 1990s, Turkey focused on long range missiles because of the political uncertainty in Middle East in 2000s.

Turkey, as a transcontinental country, has a very significant geostrategic importance. From the end of the WWII to end of the Cold War and after the end of the Cold War should be analyzed separately for Turkey's strategic importance

[92] Russia Today, "North Korea Threats Timeline," 31 March 2013. http://rt.com/news/north-korea-threats-timeline-108/ (Accessed on 30 May 2014)

for the U.S and Western world. After the end of the WWII, the world politics has experienced the bipolar system with two superpowers, namely the U.S and the U.S.S.R. Turkey in this bipolar world placed herself in the Western bloc that is led by the U.S. In this period, due to base demand of Stalin on straits and land on Kars redirected the Turkish political elite to define a Soviet threat and paved the way for the development of bilateral ties with the U.S[93]. Also sending of troops to support South Korea in Korean War (1950-1953) showed the determination of Turkey to place herself in the Western bloc.[94] Briefly, after the end of the Cold War, in a bipolar world, Turkey has placed in Western bloc and developed policies parallel with Western world.

The end of the Cold War and dissolution of U.S.S.R., NATO as a military institution of Western bloc, was not dissolved unlike the Warsaw Pact. The organization to undertake the new roles and functions according to new situations after the end of the Cold War has been subjected to institutional change.[95] There were two approaches for NATO's enlargement strategies namely, maximizing and minimalist approach. About NATO's future after the end of the Cold War, fundamentally there are three main arguments. First one is the idea that NATO and Warsaw pact should be abolished and Europe should concentrate on establishing a pan- European security organization. Secondly, some believed that there is still necessity for NATO but primacy should be given to European institutions. Finally, some argued that NATO is important for European security and American engagement in European security affairs. Therefore," NATO needed to be preserved, reformulated, and made the centerpiece of Europe's new security architecture." [96] Minimalist approach supports the idea that since the NATO has been established to deter against Soviet attack and Soviet Union does

[93] Mustafa Türkeş, "NATO Bağlamında ABD- Türkiye İlişkilerinde Devamlılık ve Değişim," in *Türk Dış Politikasının Analizi*. Edited by Faruk Sönmezoğlu , (Der Yayınları, İstanbul), p.382

[94] *ibid*., p.382-383

[95] *ibid*., p.390

[96] Michael E. Brown, "NATO at Fifty: Minimalist NATO: A Wise Alliance Knows When to Retrench," *Foreign Affairs*, 78/3, May 1999, p. 204.

not exist anymore, NATO should be retrenched. On the other hand, maximizing approaches argues that NATO should preserve its existence and continue its enlargement for the European security.[97] Briefly," no other alliance in the history has re- created it for times as different as the Cold War and today's challenge to construct a Europe "whole and free"."[98] Turkey has stayed in NATO while it is enlarging.

The geopolitical importance of Turkey in both periods is important and the relations with the U.S hold an important place. "Turkey is at the center of American geopolitical calculations because of its location at the crossroads of the Balkans, eastern Mediterranean, Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East, with its Arab- Israeli problems."[99] For the U.S, Turkey is an important strategic ally.

> However, the context has changed. During the Cold War, Turkey was important as a barrier against the expansion of Soviet power into the Middle East. Today, Turkey's strategic importance lies in its capacity to act as a bridge to the Muslim world and serve as a stabilizing force in the Middle East and Central Asia-two areas of growing strategic importance to the United States.[100]

The strategic importance of Turkey, the membership of Turkey to NATO and positioning herself into the Western bloc directed the policies of Turkey. Deployment of radar system in Kürecik and patriots in Antep, Maraş and Adana is the outcome of the policies and position of Turkey in the world politics. The decision of Turkey on deployment of ballistic missile defense items will be analyzed in this framework and Turkey's strategies during the transition (after the end of the Cold War) from unipolar to multipolar international system structure.

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[97] Robert E. Hunter, "Maximizing NATO: A Relevant Alliance Knows How to Reach," *Foreign Affairs,* 78/3, May 1999, p. 190-191.

[98] *Ibid.,* p.190.

[99] Cengiz Çandar and Graham E. Fuller, "Grand Geopolitics for a New Turkey," *Mediterranean Quarterly,* 12/1, 1 January 2001, p. 22.

[100] F. Stephen Larrabee, *Turkey as a U.S. Security Partner*, (RAND Corporation, 2008), p.25

Here it is appropriate to give a brief background of Turkey's position about BMD. The familiarity of Turkish political elite and military personnel on missile system goes back to 1950s. In 1957, Eisenhower administration has decided to deploy medium range missiles in Europe to balance the technological developments which the U.S.S.R. has made in Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) and sent the satellite "Sputnik" to the space. Those were the Jupiter and Thor missiles. The decision of the U.S was welcomed by the United Kingdom, Italy and Turkey. The agreement between the U.S and Turkey officials on deployment of fifteen Jupiter missiles on Turkey was ratified on October 28, 1959. The Jupiter missiles were deployed in İzmir, Cigli. Although reason for deployment is seen as military, considering the shortage of capabilities of Jupiter missiles and technological developments which Soviet Union made, it was the counter action of the U.S mostly political and psychological.[101]

The deployment of Jupiter missiles and following developments has given the important lessons to Turkey. Jupiter missiles in Turkey have become a bargaining issue in Cuban missile crisis between the U.S and the U.S.S.R. After U.S has taken the intelligence reports showing the establishment of Soviet missiles nn Cuba in September 1962, the U.S administration was alarmed.[102] Between the U.S and the U.S.S.R. administration negotiations continued for thirteen days and in return for the removal of Soviet missiles in Cuba, the U.S accepted the removal of Jupiter missiles in Turkey. In the Turkish press and among the Turkish political elite, the possible bargaining between the U.S and the U.S.S.R. in return Cuba for Turkey is evaluated as impossible and the removal can be realized with general disarmament. However, from the beginning of the

[101] Ayşegül Sever, "Yeni Bulgular Işığında 1962 Küba Krizi ve Türkiye," *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi,* 52/1, 1997, p. 649.

[102] Priscilla Roberts (Ed.), *Cuban Missile Crisis: The Essential Reference Guide,* (ABC- CLIO, California, 2012) p.XI.

Cuban missile crisis U.S has established parallelism between missiles in Cuba and Turkey and entered into a bargaining between the U.S.S.R.[103]

In the short term after the Cuban missile crisis, removal of Jupiter missiles did not create a crisis since Turkey did not know the bargaining.[104] However, a few years later and especially after the Johnson letter sent on June 5, 1964, Turkish political elite has seen that how Turkey was passivized. This event has paved the way for Turkish elite to be suspicious on the commitment of the U.S and thus affected the US- Turkey relations. [105] Cuban missile crisis has shown that how having the ballistic missiles makes countries first target for the strike in a state of war.

> After the end of the Cold War, Turkey made plans to modernize its armed forces. The modernization issue reached a crescendo in 1991, after the secondary challenges posed by the first Gulf War and the growing salience of ballistic missiles in the Middle East[106]

In 1991 during the Gulf War, in order to provide the border security and to support U.S forces against Saddam Hussein, Patriot air defense missile system was deployed by the U.S in Diyarbakır, Batman and Adana. Patriot missiles were used against Scud missiles of Saddam Hussein that were originally produced by Soviet Union.[107] Patriot missiles were deployed by the U.S with negotiations with Turkey bilaterally that means they are not deployed as a collective security or NATO project. The Gulf War has shown that Turkey needs to produce and develop its ballistic missile technologies and air defense systems.

> Ankara first began in 1989 to procure civilian satellites, but since the mid-1990s, had begun to focus on the military specific applications of satellites.

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[103] Sever, *op cit.*, p. 53.

[104] *ibid*., p. 660.

[105] *ibid*., p. 660.

[106] Aaron Stein, "Turkey's Space Policy," *EDAM DiscussionPaper Series*, 2014/3, May 2014, p.1

[107] Sol Haber Merkezi, "NATO'dan Talep EdilenPatriot FüzelerSavaş Riskini Artırıyor," 26 November 2012, http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/natodan-talep-edilen-patriot-fuzeler-savas-riskini-artiriyor-haberi-63117 (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

> Turkey's future procurement and development of military specific satellites, as well as interest in ballistic missile technologies necessitates that Ankara clearly articulate its current plans to develop ballistic missile technologies.[108]

In 1990s because of the crisis between Greece and Turkey, Turkey has purchased Popeye-1 missiles from Israel in the late 1990s. Turkey has aimed to increase its deterrence capability against Greece and military arsenal which can give the fastest and largest damage against enemy in a state of war.[109] Popeye-1 missiles had been mounted on F-4 fighters.[110]

In early 2000s, as I stated in the previous chapters, Bush has developed bilateral ties with Poland and Czech Republic to deploy interceptors and a radar site. The range of Bush missile defense project that would be deployed in Europe was not covering the southeast Europe. Also in the Bush project there was not any role for Turkey.[111] While discussions between the U.S, Russian Federation and Europe have been continuing about the outcome of the deployment plans in Czech Republic and Poland, Turkey has preferred to follow the discussions and keep silent.[112] During the Bush period, the reason to keep Turkey out of the project could be the Iraq war and Turkey's no vote for the U.S because the relations were shaken. "On March 1, 2003, the Turkish parliament voted to refuse the United States military the permission to invade Iraq from the North on Turkish soil."[113]

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[108] Stein, *op cit*. p.1.

[109] Mustafa Türkeş, "NATO Bağlamında ABD- Türkiye İlişkilerinde Devamlılık ve Değişim," p.925

[110] Zaman, "İsrail- Türk Füzesinde Sona Doğru," 4 August 1999, http://arsiv.zaman.com.tr//1999/08/04/dunya/all.html (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[111] Cenap Çakmak, "Türk Dış Politikasının Füze Kalkanı İmtihanı," *BİLGESAM,* 30 October 2010, http://www.bilgesam.org/incele/1229/-turk-dis-politikasinin-fuze-kalkani-imtihani/#.U53NQ_l_thw (Accessed on 30 July 2014)

[112]Yılmaz Aklar, "Füze Kalkanı Bunalımı," *Hürriyet Dünya*, 30 April 2007, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/6468308.asp (Accessed on 13 March 2014)

[113] Doug Penhallegon, "The Story Behind Turkey's No Vote on Iraq in 2003," June 2012, http://www.thewashingtonreview.org/articles/the-story-behind-turkeys-no-vote-on-iraq-in-2003.html (Accessed on 14 May 2014)

Therefore, the U.S was shocked at the decision and the relations have been questioned.

> Moreover, Bush's unilateralism in foreign policy has other negative implications for Turkey's security. A number of arms control and disarmament treaties as well as the nonproliferation regimes, which are sincerely observed and considered to be mainstays of Turkish foreign policy, are being seriously undermined as a result of the unprecedented negligence of the U.S president.[114]

There was not a defined role in Bush proposed plan and Turkey remained as unprotected on the basis of the new plan. After the announcement of negotiations to deploy BMD systems in Poland and Czech Republic, Turkey has preferred the project to be a NATO project because of the lessons taken by Turkish officials on Cuban Missile Crisis, Johnson Letter in 1964 and 1974 Turkish Intervention on Cyprus.[115] Additionally, it was stated in the press, Turkey did not let the U.S to deploy BMD in Turkish soil because it would be an American project.[116] Therefore, Turkey in Bush period did not behave so demanding for the BMD systems.

3.6 Response to Bush's Proposed Plan

The reactions and strategies of the Russian Federation, Iran and major European allies also need to be taken into account. As noted above in the Bush era BMD plan, in the early 2007, the Bush administration, after discussions with Poland and Czech Republic, proposed to deploy ten ground based interceptors in Poland, an advanced radar system in Czech Republic and other radar to a state

[114] Mustafa Kibaroğlu, " Turkey: Missing Bill Clinton," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist,* 60/2, March/April 2004, p.32.

[115] Mustafa Kibaroğlu, " NATO'nun Ballistik Füze Savunma Sistemi ve Türkiye," *Uluslararası İlişkiler,*34/9, Yaz 2012, p.192.

[116] Kemal Lale, "Turkey to OpposeHosting US Missile Shield, Turkish Diplomats Say," *Today's Zaman,* 30 November 2009.

closer to Iran in order to defend against Iranian missile threat. The project would be completed by 2013 with at least $4 billion cost as stated above.

Here the reactions and political implications of the other states should be considered in the perspective of hegemonic stability theory. In the unipolar system, the U.S was the hegemon who in order to increase its own security will try to expand its political, economic and territorial control under the subordinate countries and modify the international system in favor of its interests.[117] However, the system is not unipolar now and there are other influential actors. The U.S tried to affect and prevent the political implications of other states that do not accept their subordination[118] status like Iran and North Korea. Therefore, the deployment of American military power outside its borders should be seen as a means of maintaining hegemony. Indeed, the U.S forces the other states to accept the roles that are defined by the U.S for other states. This coercion[119] brings the leverage strategy which includes the use of military power in order to force the other states in the less powerful areas of the U.S to make concessions.[120] For example, Iran does not accept its place in the system which is defined by the U.S and develops its nuclear program despite great opposition from the U.S. On the other hand, the U.S by applying an embargo on Iran and deploying BMD on Iran's around tries to restrict the capacity of Iran to maneuver in the Middle East region.

After Bush has announced his deployment of a missile defense system in Poland and Czech Republic reactions came not only from major European powers and Russian Federation but also from U.S congress. Many members of U.S congress questioned why the Bush administration chose Poland and Czech

[117]Ağır, *op cit*., p. 71-100

[118]Here the "subordinated" refers to states that accept the system which the U.S shapes, others are the states that does not accept their subordinated status and prefers to be outside of the system. Here the system does not mean American capitalism but capitalism in which American and European capitalism can come to a shared point.

[119] Not only consent is the key here, but also hegemony bring coercion to other states.

[120] Ağır, *op cit*., p. 71-100

Republic for its missile system because that system would protect some European countries but not protect countries like Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria or in other words closer states to Iran or Middle East region. Because of the criticisms noteworthy funding was not requested by the Bush administration.[121]

The most scathing criticism came from Russian Federation. According to Russian Federation, negotiations of U.S with Poland and Czech Republic take no notice of the Joint Declaration that was signed on May 24, 2002 between Russian Federation and the U.S calling for U.S- Russian Federation cooperation on missile defense for Europe. The proposal by the Bush administration deploying missiles in Eastern Europe was "neither joint nor cooperative". It was a unilateral move by the U.S ignoring the Joint Declaration.[122]

Although U.S has given assurances that the missile defense system is not against threats from Russian Federation but from Iran, the Russian Federation saw this step as against Russia's own security and nuclear weapons. This argument shows that Russia Federation is not persuaded that it is against Iran. After the Bush administration announced the deployment of the missile defense system, Medvedev furiously stated that "we will not be hysterical about this but we will think of retaliatory steps."[123] After this statement Russian officials have announced that they would deploy "Iskander offensive missiles" in Kaliningrad near Poland borders. However, though this does not make military sense, they are tools of diplomacy because Iskander missiles can only be used preemptively or retaliatory. The former would mean a state of war against NATO and the latter

[121] Burns, *op cit*. p. 82

[122] Burns, *op cit*., p.80

[123]John Swaine and Richard Holt, "Czech Missile Shield: Russia to 'retaliate' Over US Plan, President Dmitry Medvedev says," 9 July 2008. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/2274635/Czech-missile-shield-Russia-to-retaliate-over-US-plan-President-Dmitry-Medvedev-says.html (Accessed on May 28, 2013)

would occur should NATO attack the Russian Federation.[124] Therefore the Russian announcement seems to be a tool of diplomacy.

Moreover, Russia continued to criticize projects and offered new options for changing the U.S plan. Firstly, they offered to use Russian radar in Azerbaijan instead of the Czech Republic to monitor Iranian acts. However, U.S experts stated that radar in Azerbaijan could only a complement not a replacement.[125] Russian Federation has continued to offer alternatives projects to U.S'. Putin during the G-8 Summit in 2007 offered to locate U.S missiles in countries like Turkey and Iraq or on sea based platforms. Two weeks later, Putin offered to establish radar in southeastern Russia, Armavir that is in the 450 miles north of the Iranian border. Putin did not want to do that bilaterally but wanted to cooperate and include other states through NATO- Russia council.[126] The aim of Russia has been to eliminate the radar and interceptors establishment project in Poland and Czech Republic. However, Bush always stated that the planned or proposed project in both states is necessary.

Although U.S has explained that missile defense project is against Iran and North Korea, the Russian Federation has seen that project as a threat to its own defense and nuclear arsenal. This opposition should not only be understood narrowly against missile defense projects but also against increasing U.S military presence and sphere of influence in Europe. That should be analyzed in relation to end of the Cold War, the fall of communism and the USSR and the transition of the Russian Federation from communism to a capitalist system. After the end of the Cold War, the Russian Federation has found itself in a search to establish a new governance structure. Putin has used both Tsarist and Soviet era symbols in order to form a new national idea. The West after the demise of the USSR expected that former communist states and Russian Federation would integrate

[124] Mikhail Tsypkin, "Russian Politics, Policy Making and American Missile Defence" *International Affairs*; 85/4, July 2009, p.794-795.

[125] Burns, *op cit*., p.85.

[126] Burns, *op cit*., p.85.

into the Western system. Putin has stated that the Russian Federation is a part of European civilization. However, the Russian Federation has distanced itself from European ideas of democracy and development paths by stressing that the Russian Federation, with its unique ideas, values and norms will follow a different path to democracy.[127] Indeed it was Putin's idea to create a new and powerful Russian Federation.

One of the most important reasons regarding why Russian Federation is against U.S actions in general is NATO. Although the Warsaw Pact, founded in 1955 against NATO by communist states, was dissolved in 1991, NATO has survived. Also NATO was reorganized according to the needs of post-Cold War era. [128] Russia has objected to NATO expansion from the beginning because they saw it from the beginning as breaking promises that were made after the unification of Germany. Former communist states like Poland, Czech Republic and etc. have become members of NATO. The possible future membership of Georgia and Ukraine to NATO has made the Russian Federation angry.

NATO after the breakup of USSR has been in place in the U.S and Europe to form a new security order by including new members and expanding its sphere of influence towards East Central Europe. The Russian Federation has objected to that movement because is not included in that process. Therefore the Russian Federation has proposed building new security structure for Europe.

Russia has aimed to restore the influence of Moscow in its neighbors and former USSR countries. In that sense, the real aim of Russia is to restore great power status in the region. For example, Russia stated that colored revolutions were engineered by U.S and Europe to weaken Russia's influence in the region. Also missile system deployment project is seen as a threat to Russia's security by trying to weaken its influence in the region.

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[127] Angela Stent. "Restoration and Revolution in Putin's Foreign Policy". *Europe-Asia Studies.*60/6, August 2008, p.1091-1092.

[128] Mustafa Türkeş, "Doksanlı Yıllarda NATO'nun öncelikleri ve Türkiye, En Uzun On Yıl," Gencer Özcan, Şule Kut(Ed.), (Boyut Kitapları, İstanbul, 1998), p. 200

After 9/11, the Russian Federation has found itself in cooperating with the U.S against terrorism. The Russian Federation cooperated with the U.S in Afghanistan in return for US silence on Russian activities at Chechnya, consulting the Russian Federation on major international issues and recognizing the Russian sphere of influence. Although the Russian Federation has cooperated with the U.S on the Afghanistan issue, it criticized the resignation of the US from the ABM treaty, U.S Iraq operations, the expansion of NATO, declaration of the independence of Kosovo, the agreement on conventional forces and deployment of missile defense in Eastern Europe. [129]

In brief, the Russian Federation in general has opposed U.S unilateral actions. Putin has opposed the missile defense project because it is assumed to be a threat to the security of the Russian Federation and the Russian Federation is not pleased with the increasing U.S presence in its neighbors and on former Soviet soil.

Another important response to Bush proposed plan came from Iran. While Bush administration was explaining the aim of deployment of missile, Iran was one of the treats together with North Korea. According to Bush administration, Iran's sponsorship of terror and demand for having weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapons were the reasons which made the Iran threats. After announcement of the deployments plan in Poland and Czech Republic, Ahmadinejad has stated in talks during the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) in 16 August 2007, "these intentions go beyond just one country. They are of concern for much of the continent, Asia and SCO members."[130] Here, Ahmadinejad stated that the target is not only Iran but other states. Ahmadinejad has meant that the target of the US is to expand its domain by deploying ballistic missiles. Not only Iran should be alarmed with this move, but also states in Asia should be alarmed and strategy should be improved together against the U.S.

[129] Stent. *op cit.,* p.1096.

[130] James Orr, "Iran condems US missile defense," *The Guardian (Online),* 16 August 2007. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/aug/16/usa.iran (Accessed on 15 June 2014)

However, Iran did not stop the development of its nuclear program. "Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was quoted as telling state television that his government will not negotiate with anyone about its right to nuclear technology."[131] Iran also has continued to develop their missiles despite the opposition from the U.S. In 2010, after Obama has come to power, Iranian officials stated that "very soon we will test long-range aerial defense missiles, including Iranian S-300s."[132] It is clear that Iran has been developing missile system for quite some time. Iran has continued to develop her nuclear program despite the US containment policy. The U.S has taken into account the Russian Federation's reactions, but Iran's response are ignored by the U.S administration because Russian cooperation against the Iran nuclear program is more feasible and essential than Iran's stopping the nuclear program.

3.7 Conclusion.

This chapter is devoted to explaining the BMD policies of the Bush administration, motives beyond the decisions of George W. Bush and the response to Bush's proposed plan from Europe and especially from the Russian Federation.

As explained above, the Bush administration has established and tried to expand a ballistic missile policy to protect its own mainland and allies from possible or unpredictable missile attacks by "rogue nations" and terrorist groups. The "rogue nations" classification has been made by the U.S to persuade Europe about the immediate threat and support U.S actions and foreign policies like intervention on Iraq and deployment of BMD. Since the U.S understood that

[131] Matt Spetalnick, "Bush: Missile Shield is meant to deter Iran," *Reuters*, 23 October 2007. http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/10/23/us-bush-shield-idUSWAT00833920071023 (Accessed on 15 July 2014)

[132] Agence France- Presse, "Iran to test own S-300 missiles despite Russia," 11 November 2010. http://www.defencetalk.com/iran-to-test-own-s-300-missiles-despite-russia-30069/ (Accessed on 11 November 2010)

European major actors will not support the BMD plans and the US did not want to share political leadership, military technology and intelligence reports as explained above, the Bush administration chose to act unilaterally. Indeed, the U.S wanted to give a message to Europe that the U.S could sustain and continue its hegemony without the support of its European allies. The U.S has acted as if the international system was unipolar but there was a transition from a unipolar to multipolar system. With the absence of support of European allies and without the cooperation of the Russian Federation the BMD issue was in deadlock and the plans were not fully implemented in the Bush period.

CHAPTER IV

OBAMA ERA PLANS: THE RENEGOTIATION

4.1 Introduction

After Obama has become the president of the U.S on January 20, 2009; he offered the Russian president Medvedev to negotiate the U.S missile defense projects in Poland and Czech Republic in return for Russia's support and cooperation on Iran's nuclear weapons and missile programs. William J. Burns, the undersecretary of state for political affairs, delivered the letter in a visit to Moscow.[133] The letter included an offer which stated that "Obama would back off deploying a new missile defense system in Eastern Europe if Moscow would help stop Iran from developing long- range weapons."[134] Also Obama had clarified that the project was not aimed at Russia but Iran and wished support from Russia against Iran. This action from Obama has showed his willingness to cooperate on missile defense and it will bring cooperation with European major powers whereas Bush had acted as a unilateral to implement the plans. Obama has earned sympathy with his positive and cooperative approach in the world politics on the issue of eliminating nuclear weapons and ballistic missile defense. Obama has modified Bush era plans and EPAA (European Phased Adaptive Approach) has been developed. Here the question that will be inquired is that how, why and in what sense Obama administration has modified the Bush era plan.

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[133] Burns, *op cit.*, p.137

[134] Peter Baker, "Obama Offered Deal to Russia in Secret Letter," *The New York Times (Online),* 2 March 2009. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/03/washington/03prexy.html?_r=0 (Accessed on 16 July 2014)

This section is devoted to analyze the Obama's strategies on BMD starting from the return from Bush's decision to deploy BMD in Poland and Czech Republic but extension of the plans to the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. This paved the way for the new policies and strategies on BMD not only for the U.S but also for Europe. Following the modifications, the pressure on Obama administration is to renew the confrontationist approach because of the crisis in Ukraine that will be analyzed.

4.2 Two Steps Forward One Step Back: Retreat from Poland and Czech Republic, and Extension to the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean Sea

After Obama has taken charge of the office in 2009, Obama administration announced that it will modify the Bush era BMD plan. This decision has been presented by media, journalists and many academics as the cancellation of Bush era plan. However, after reevaluating the Obama's missile defense plans, it is obvious that Obama era plan is a modification of Bush era plans. The modification here means "modification" in place of deploying missiles and transforms the plan from unilateral act of the U.S to the multilateral one with the cooperation of major European powers, NATO and also Russia. Since Obama administration is still affiliated and ambitious to deploy missiles like George W. Bush, to name the acts as cancellation of Bush era plans is not correct.

During the Obama's transatlantic visit,[135and136] Obama on April 5, 2009 has given his Prague speech that also assisted Obama to win Nobel Prize. Prague Speech of Obama is important in order to understand the strategy of the Obama

[135] BBC News, "Obama Promotes Nuclear-Free World," *BBC News*, 5 April 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7983963.stm (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[136] "2 April: G20 Summit in London, 3 April: Obama meets Sarkozy in France and Merkel in Germany, 4 April: Leaders hold NATO Summit in Strasbourg, 5 April: Obama in Prague for US-EU Summit, 6-7 April: Obama visits Turkey

administration on nuclear weapons. Obama called the states for a world without nuclear weapons and preventing to the spread of them. "But Geir Lundestad, the secretary of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, said that Obama's emphasis on international co-operation, arms control and nuclear disarmament had "already had a very significant impact on international relations".[137] However, it is controversial that whether a politician's statements are enough to believe that Obama would keep his promises or not because he was at the beginning of his presidency. It seems that the prize was given to his intentions. However, today it seems that "the new phased, adaptive approach to BMD in Europe, unveiled on the same day as the cancellation of the Bush program, may actually prove to be larger, more comprehensive, involve more assets, and become operational far more rapidly than the third site system."[138] The European Phased Adaptive Approach- EPAA which is Obama's BMD plan therefore needs to be looked into in detail.

Obama emphasized that a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty would also be signed between Russia and the U.S. Since Obama administration assumed that Iran is still a threat because of its developing missile system and nuclear weapons, U.S would continue its missile defense projects but aiming that the system is going to be more cost effective and technologically proven. If Iran threat is eliminated, U.S would abandon the deployment of missile projects. Obama has offered cooperation against Iran threat with other countries and especially Russia.[139] The message of Obama has also stated that the US has been in favor of Russia because the Obama administration is trying to eliminate Iran threat that would occur due to Iranian nuclear program.

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[137]Gwladys Fouche and James Sturcke, "Nobel Peace Prize Awarded to Barack Obama," *The Guardian*, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/oct/09/nobel-peace-prize-barack-obama (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[138] Andrew Futter, "Sensitive Rationalization or overlooked expansion?Demysttifying the Obama Plan for Missile Defense in Europe," *British American Security Information Council: Getting the Zero Paper,* 15, 1 March 2010. p.1.

[139] Burns, *op cit.*, p. 137

In the beginning of the Obama presidency, the Obama administration has announced that according to their intelligence sources Iran is less focused to develop long range ballistic missile but short range missiles, and thus U.S should concentrate on deploying land based system and sea based interceptors closer to Iran.[140] That system would be cheaper, quicker and more effective. Moreover, that system would protect countries like Turkey and Greece that were not included in Bush era plans. Turkey has also become one of the countries in which a radar system was established in Malatya Kürecik in 2012 and patriot missile systems in Adana, Gaziantep and Kahramanmaraş in 2013. The former one is a part of the U.S BMD and a phase of it has become a NATO project. Kürecik radar system is permanent systems deployed in Turkey. The latter one is demanded from NATO and provided by Germany, Netherlands and US against threats that may come from Syria. Patriot systems in Turkey are temporary and duration of the program is to be finished on January 31, 2015. However, when needed and demanded the duration of the program is extendable.[141]

On September 17, 2009 president Obama had announced that U.S would pursue a "Phased Adaptive Approach in Europe". The new approach would be designed based on Aegis missile defense system.[142]

> Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) is the naval component of the Missile Defense Agency's Ballistic Missile Defense System (BMDS). Aegis BMD builds upon the Aegis Weapon System, Standard Missile, Navy and joint forces' Command, Control and Communication systems. The Commander, Operational Test and Evaluation Force, formally found Aegis BMD to be operationally effective and suitable. The Navy embraces BMD as a core mission. In recognition of its scalability, Aegis BMD/SM-3

[140] BBC News, "Q&A: US missile defense," 20 September 2009. *BBC* , http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6720153.stm (Accessed on 16 April 2014)

[141] Anadolu Ajansı, "Patriotlar'a ihtiyaç halinde süresi uzatılabilir," 23 June 2014. http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/348730--ihtiyac-halinde-suresi-uzatilabilir (Accessed on 25 June 2014)

[142] Tom Z. Collina, "The European Phased Adaptive Approach at a Glance," *Arms Control Association*, May 2013. https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Phasedadaptiveapproach (Accessed on 20 June 2014)

system is a keystone in the Phased Adaptive Approach (PAA) for missile defense in Europe.[143]

Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense System (ABMD)[144] was initially a sea based system but in upcoming phases it will be based on land. There are four phases in the ABMD. However "removing a major roadblock to Russian support for another round of nuclear arms reductions, the Department of Defense last month effectively canceled the fourth phase of its plans to deploy missile interceptors in Europe over the next decade."[145] The fund that was provided for Phase- 4 of EPAA would be redirected to deploy additional 14 ground based interceptor (GBI) missiles in Alaska by 2017 to address the increasing missiles and nuclear threats from N. Korea.[146]

EPAA similar to the Bush administration is aimed by deploying to deal with threats posed by Iranian short and intermediate range ballistic missiles to U.S assets, personnel and allies. The system will be flexible with mobile radars and interceptors will be placed on cruisers and destroyers. According to Obama administration, the new plan would be more cost effective and technologically more advanced. The new plan is the modified version of Bush era plans with the same ambitions and done for the same reason; which is to deal with threats posed by Iran and N. Korea. Whereas Bush plan mainly included deployment in the ground, Obama plan is more mobile by deploying radar and interceptors in cruiser and destroyer. Also this will provide the U.S to evolve the plans in the future based on the changing threats in the world.

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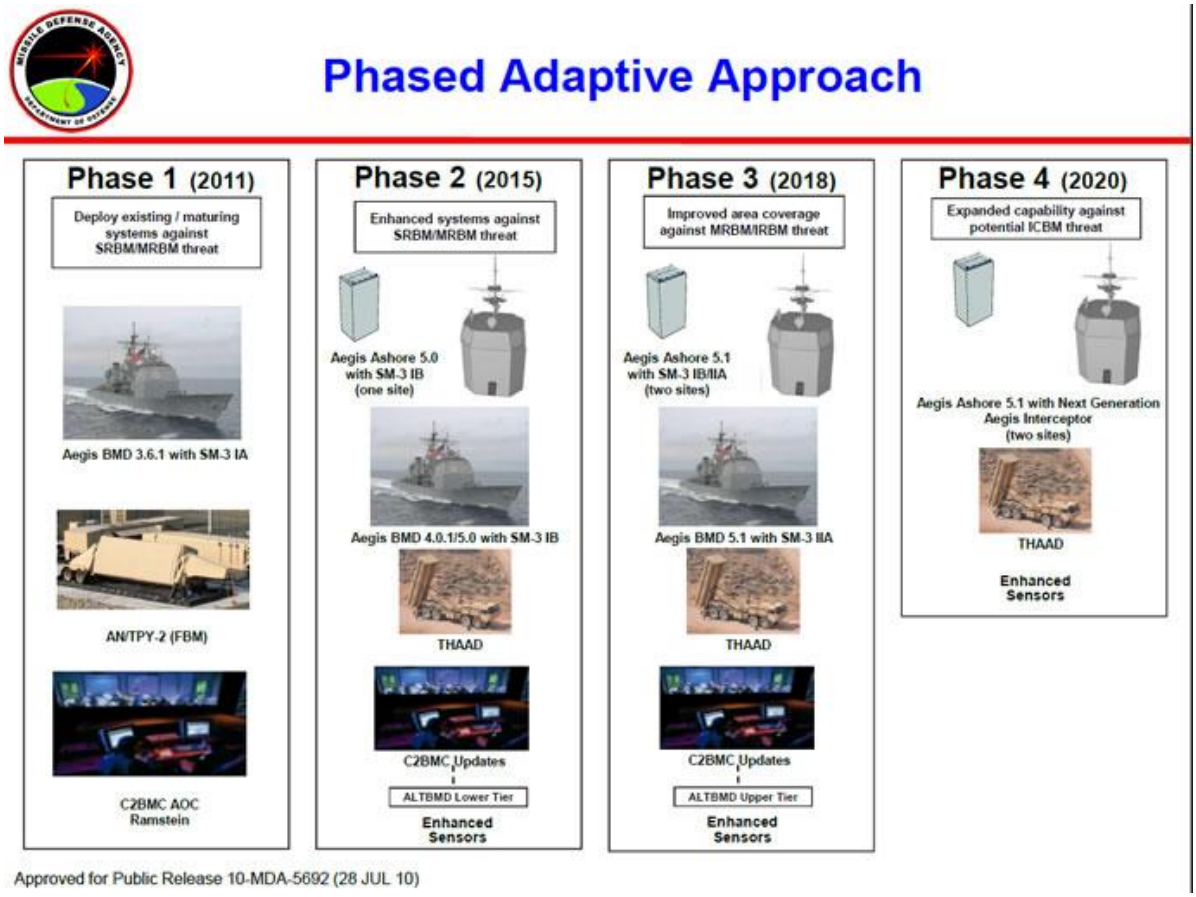
[143] U.S. Department of Defense, "Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense," *Missile Defense Agency*, 21 October 2013. http://www.mda.mil/system/aegis_bmd.html (Accessed on 20 June 2014)

[144] For the detailed explanation regarding the status please see, U.S. Department of Defense, "Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense, Status" *Missile Defense Agency*, 21 October 2013. http://www.mda.mil/system/aegis_status.html (Accessed on 20 June 2014)

[145] Tom Z. Collina, "Pentagon Shifts Gears on Missile Defense," *Arms Control Association*, April 2013 http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2013_04/Pentagon-Shifts-Gears-on-Missile-Defense (Accessed on 20 June 2014)

[146] *ibid*.

It is appropriate to examine the Phased Adaptive Approach in order to show the modifications of Bush plan made by the Obama administration and proposed and planned program of Obama administration.



Source: U.S Department of Defense, Missile Defense Agency.

On October 2009, Lieutenant General Patrick J. O' Reilly, USA Director, Missile Defense Agency gave a speech before the House Armed Services Committee and briefly explained the details of the plan. Briefly, the main idea of the speech was to clarify the details of the EPAA. He stated that the EPAA would enhance the missile defense protection for the U.S and Europe for allies and friends of the U.S, their personnel and families. The new system would be more adaptable to respond to uncertainties and developments and would provide more

powerful missile defense system capability for NATO and U.S homeland security.[147]

The Phase 1 of EPAA strategy would be applied on 2011- 2015 years. There are two components of the phase I. One is the warships carrying SM3-IA missiles, which would navigate around the Black Sea and Mediterranean. Second are the sensors such as "the forward based Army Navy/ Transportable Radar Surveillance system (AN/TPY-2)"[148] One of those radars are actively working in State of Israel and second TPY-2 radar has been deployed in Kürecik, Malatya in Turkey. Both radars have been reporting to Germany Ramstein NATO quarters. Turkey in the new plan has significantly important place because in the phase I of EPAA, the limited ballistic missile defense system protection for Southern Europe has been provided. However, the protection for east and southeast of Turkey is not in the defended area that is aimed to provide protection in the application of Phase II of EPAA.

[147] Patrick J. O'Reilly, Speech Before the House Armed Services Committee, 1 October 2009. p.2. http://www.mda.mil/global/documents/pdf/ps_hasc100109.pdf (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[148] Sıtkı Egeli, *Füze Tehdidi ve Nato Füze Kalkanı* (İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları/ Güvenlik Çalışmaları Dizisi,İstanbul, 2013.), p. 45

[149]

Source: Congressional Budget Office

Following the Phase I, Phase II is planned to be applied. Phase II would be fully active in 2018 and is planned to start in 2015. The Obama administration proposes the deployment of the SM3-IB block missile not only at sea based locations but also at land based. The system would have a greater capacity to use a network of sensors and greater ability to discriminate threat objects.[150] Actually the strategy is to promote ballistic missile system not only at sea based locations but also at the land and the plan is to deploy BMD in Romania. The missile that would be deployed under the framework of Phase I is type of IA missiles. However, under the Phase II, IB block missile would be deployed and "this interceptor differs from the Block IA in its "seeker" technology, consisting of a two color seeker, or "kill warhead," and improved optics."[151] Also IB type missiles will have a range of more than 3.000 km and therefore it will increase the area of defense. In addition to the missile above another important BMD system

[149] The graph shows the defended area of the Aegis Missile System.

[150] J. O'Reilly, *op cit*., p.3-4.

[151] Collina, "The European Phased Adaptive Approach at a Glance," op cit.

is THAAD (Terminal High- Altitude Area Defense). The aim of THAAD is to prevent missiles coming from off the top layer and atmosphere. The THAAD would be mobile and deployed at the land especially in the areas like in the East and Southern Europe in which the protection was not provided with the Phase I.[152]

Phase III would be fully effective in 2020 and is planned to start in 2018. During Phase III, it is planned to deploy an additional ballistic missile defense base in Poland. Moreover the new type of missiles called IIA which would have the capability to rise into the sky faster than IB missiles by fifty percent would be deployed. The new type of missiles will prevent the incoming missile threats by hitting them earlier than other IA and IB block missiles. Also addition to these new type of missiles a new type satellite system that would provide a better tracing system would be deployed, namely SBIRS(Space Based Infrareds System) and PTTS (Precision Tracking Space System) instead of still used one DSP(Defense Support Program). After these deployments, the administration plans to use Reaper type unmanned aircraft to distinguish the coming missiles better. [153]

Actually the Phase III will broaden the defended area and the limited BMD is going to be shaped against the ballistic missiles whose range is over 5.500 km. At that point Russia has opposed the idea because she is worried about losing its strategic nuclear deterrence and seeing those steps threatening against Russia[154] despite Obama's call for cooperation on missile defense.

If the Phase IV was not cancelled by Obama administration, it would be effective after 2020. Compared to previous three phases, the planned system would be more effective and have greater capacity for protection. In that respect, the new block missile IIB would be designed and, missiles would be hit when

[152] Egeli, *op cit*., p.47

[153] Egeli, *op cit*., p.48

[154] Egeli, *op cit*., p. 48

they are in ascent phase. They would be destroyed with this new missile before waiting for them to rise their top range or to start to fall to the target. Also, since 2009 U.S has been defending doctrine of "early intercept" in missile defense, therefore the projects are developed for that aim. [155] "According to the Defense Science Board (2011), the SM-3 IIB's planned mission to intercept targets prior to the deployment of multiple warheads or penetration aids – known as "early intercept" – requires "Herculean effort and is not realistically achievable, even under the most optimistic set of deployment, sensor capability, and missile technology assumptions."[156]

Indeed, the first three phases have aimed to protect firstly Europe and then other allies in the Europe and other regions closer to Europe, the final phase has aimed to prevent the ballistic missiles coming to mainland of the U.S and hit them in ascent phase. Therefore, the mainland would be protected with the application of Phase IV. It is obvious that Russian Federation is worried about the developments in the BMD systems in Europe. Russian Federation has been seeing her intercontinental nuclear ballistic missiles as the cornerstones of nuclear stability and nuclear deterrence in relations with U.S.[157] The opposition came from Russia, which will be explained in details below, has been taken into consideration and the U.S has cancelled the Phase IV of EPAA. The final phase has been stated by Russian federation as an obstacle to cooperation on nuclear arms reductions and other issues.[158] Actually, it cannot be stated that the U.S has cancelled the phase IV only for Russian opposition. U.S needed Russian cooperation on the problems in the Middle East region like Iran's nuclear program and civil war in Syria. Since Russian Federation is one of the most powerful regional actors, U.S has been seeking the cooperation of Russia.

[155] Egeli, *op cit*, p. 50.

[156] Collina, "The European Phased Adaptive Approach at a Glance," op cit.

[157] Egeli, *op cit*, p. 51

[158] David M. Herszenhorn and Michael R. Gordon, "U.S. Cancels Part of Missile Defense That Russia Opposed," *The New York Times*, 17 March 2013, p. A12.

Bush administration had developed bilateral relations with states in Europe to deploy ballistic missile especially Poland and Czech Republic. Also ballistic missile defense plan proposed by Bush was mainly based on the deployments of the missiles on land. However, the Obama administration has modified the plan and developed multilateral ties for deployment of missile defense system. "At the November 2010 NATO Summit in Lisbon, NATO's leaders has decided to develop a ballistic missile defense (BMD) capability to pursue its core task of collective defense" In that context U.S EPAA and other possible national contributions are welcomed by NATO.[159]

When the White House announced the policy change on Bush proposed plan on September 17, 2009, two main reasons have been presented for the change. According to intelligence sources, U.S has announced that Iran is developing short and medium range ballistic missiles faster than previously projected, whereas she is developing Iranian Intercontinental Ballistic Missile slower than previously estimated. Therefore in the near future, missile threats from Iran will be the U.S Allies and partners as well as U.S deployed personnel – military and civilian- and their families in the Middle East and Europe. [160] Therefore a new plan had to be designed against the immediate threats.

Another main reason that the Obama administration announced is the fact that there are significant advancement in capabilities and technologies and this is expected to continue. There is development in interceptor capabilities and improved sensor technologies which offers a variety of options to detect and track enemy missiles. Due to these two main changes, there has been a need for an adaptable architecture which would be responsive to the current threat and be possible to incorporate "relevant technologies quickly and cost effectively to

[159] NATO, "Ballistic Missile Defence," http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49635.htm (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[160] The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, "Fact Sheet on U.S. Missile Defense Policy, A Phased, Adaptive Approach for Missile Defense in Europe." *The White House.* 17 September 2009. http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/FACT-SHEET-US-Missile-Defense-Policy-A-Phased-Adaptive-Approach-for-Missile-Defense-in-Europe (Accessed on 30 June 2013)

respond to evolving threats."[161] Therefore, Obama administration has developed EPAA for missile defense in Europe. However, the two reasons presented by official sources are not enough to explain the reason of the modification in the Bush proposed missile defense plan. Here the real question is that why did Obama revise Bush era missile defense project and if there is what could be the bargaining issues between U.S and Russia in order to get support of Russia on Iran' nuclear program and missile development project.

One of the main reasons that led to modifications in the plan is to get support and corporation with Russia especially on Iran's nuclear program and other strategic issues in the Middle East region. Actually, since the U.S wants to continue its hegemonic status, she wants to keep Russia in the system. Of course, participation of Russia in the system is not supposed to be like the integration of former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe or Eastern Bloc. Only the U.S does not want Russia to threaten her interests in the region and positions itself against the enlargement of the US domain.

In the literature, whether there is a bargaining between U.S and Russia is debated. Leaders of both states signaled their desires. For example even after Obama explained that he would abandon the Bush era plans, Putin had expressed his gladness and wanted to lift trade restrictions and move further in World Trade Organization membership for Russia. Also it is obvious that Russia could play a significant role in strategic issues in the region such as Iran's nuclear program, Syrian issue, NATO enlargement, Afghanistan and Central Asia and the new START treaty. Russian reaction and relations with Russia will be explained in detail in the next section.

Another important reason for the modification in the Bush proposed plan is related with the financial issues. Cost effectiveness of the new proposed plan is the important feature of Obama administration. Since the U.S and the world have experienced the economic productivity decline and financial problems, Obama

[161] *ibid.*

administration has preferred a new cost effective plan. Also for the share from the budget for BMD has declined compared to previous years. "The new budget proposes to reduce the already inadequate missile defense budget of $10.3 billion in FY 2012 to $9.7 billion in FY 2013, and to $9.2 billion in FY 2014."[162] The U.S wants to continue its hegemonic status by expanding its economic and military power and influence on other subordinated states. In that sense the U.S wants to deploy her military power in the different places of the world to keep a control mechanism. Obama administration wanted to continue this policy and offered new plan despite the financial decline of the U.S.

Bush era plans on missile defense was unilateral act of U.S. U.S has come to an agreement with Poland and Czech Republic by developing bilateral ties with those states. Neither EU nor NATO is involved in that decision making process. This action was not welcomed by European powers as well. Major European powers want the BMD policy within the framework of NATO. This can be clearly explained by Angela Merkel statement given on 13 March 2007 that "Germany prefers a solution within NATO and open dialogue with Russia."[163] This statement also makes sense when the close relations between Russia and Germany especially economically (trade in energy sector) and politically is being taken into account. Also before leaving the office Jacques Chirac stated that as a whole Europe we must be very careful not to create new dividing lines and a new arms race.[164] European major powers have been critical about the Bush proposed plan as can be seen in the speeches of Chirac and Merkel. Since the U.S had the aggressive foreign policy in Bush period, image of the U.S has been damaged and every policy of the U.S has not been supported by Europe. European major

[162] Baker Spring, "Congress Must Stop Obama's Downward Spiral of Missile Defense," *The Heritage Foundation Backgrounder,* 2798, 20 May 2013, p. 1.

[163]Meier, Oliver. "European Split Over U.S Missile Defense Plans" *Arms Control Today,* 37/3, 1 April 2007. p.36.

[164] *ibid*, p.38

powers are not satisfied with the Bush plan because Bush administration has excluded the European powers in the decision making process.

After the Bush era project has been modified by Obama administration, NATO states were included in the project related to NATO missile defense architecture. Bush era project was the unilateral movement by the U.S that has been criticized harshly by Russia and also by European powers like Germany and France. Now EPAA offered by Obama was the multilateral strategy and Russia was invited to participate in the process for cooperation in NATO- Russia Council. Russia was also invited to NATO Lisbon Summit on November 2010. Here "multilateral" is used in the meaning that the project would be realized together with U.S and NATO. Indeed the project is the originated by Department of Defense of U.S. and NATO is included into the project. Rasmussen hopefully stated that NATO will get ahead of not only Cold War period but also post-Cold War period by moving forward. A fresh start was aimed in relations with Russia. After the end of the summit, declaration was published. In the declaration, it was expressed that NATO has decided to develop missile defense project and invited Russia to work together on that issue.[165] Russia has reacted positively and is negotiating with NATO on missile defense project. However, the current development shows that although Russia and NATO have negotiated for missile defense, no concrete development has been achieved.

Indeed the issue is related with the concept of "Old Europe" and "New Europe" or American capitalism and Western capitalism. Old Europe and New Europe terms have been used by Donald Rumsfeld.

> When the governments of France and Germany resisted the Bush administration's calls for military intervention in Iraq, the US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (2003) denounced them as being out of step

[165]NATO, "Lisbon Summit Declaration," 20 November 2010. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68828.htm (Accessed on 22 April 2014)

with times. Given the enlargement of NATO, Rumsfeld suggested that the new Europe lies farther to the East.[166]

The old Europe is mainly labeled as the states, such as France and Germany, that are against any military action and supports diplomatic and peaceful solutions for conflicts. The new Europe consists of largely of EU applicant countries from the East and states that have been more supportive of the U.S position. Europe has showed that states of Europe could not act as one nation and "New Europe" and "Old Europe" concepts could create a new dividing line. "In introducing the idea of "New Europe", the primary U.S objective was to undermine the Franco-German position vis-à-vis European affairs as well as Iraq issue." [167] However, Obama administration has modified the Bush proposed plan and thus project has been linked with NATO and European Union and Russia has been tried to be kept within the system.

Obama administration has focused on its missile defense plans against missiles which are owned by North Korea and Iran, not all of the countries that had missiles whereas Bush administration announced that "America faces a growing ballistic missile threat. In 1972, just nine countries had ballistic missiles. Today, that number has grown to 27 and it includes hostile regimes with ties to terrorists"[168] Therefore Obama administration decided the deployment places of missiles by considering the immediate threat from Iran and N. Korea. However Bush administration planned to deploy missile defenses around the world starting from Europe. Obama administration has considered that Iran short range missile threats are urgent and new approach should be applied therefore phased adaptive approach has been developed. Indeed since Iran has short and medium range missiles based on the information taken from intelligence sources, Bush proposed plan would not protect all Europe. However Obama proposed plan "does not initially cover all of Europe neither, but it does provide more immediate coverage

[166] Erik Jones, "New Dynamics of Old Europe," *French Politics*, 1/2, July 2003, p. 233.

[167] Türkeş, *op cit.*, p.1

[168] Burns, *op cit.*, p. 139

from existing Iranian missiles."[169] That is the bargaining chip with which Obama administration tried to persuade the European allies.

As a result, it is obvious that Obama proposed plan is more pragmatic and cost effective compared to Bush plan and also provides more coverage from Bush era plan. The main reason of the changes can be stated namely as financial reasons, the new information taken from intelligence sources about the missile defense developments and nuclear program, harsh criticism of major European powers and Russia on Bush proposed plan and desire to "reset" the relations with Russia of Iran. Also since Obama administration is to be considered with more cooperation together with the participation of NATO, it will affect the relations and paves the way for cooperation with European allies.[170] Also that would have an impact on Russian cooperation. However, current developments like the crisis in Ukraine and statements of both NATO and Russian officials show that no development has been made with Russia on missile defense plans.

Whereas Bush administration had left the Southeast Europe including the countries like Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey as unprotected, Obama administration proposed plan to protect such areas and Turkey has important place in the plan. After Obama has come to power, Bush plan has been modified and EPAA has been announced as the new plan by Obama administration. In the new plan, because of the Iran's missile capabilities, Obama administration offered to deploy major components of missile shield to the regions closer to Iran. "Hence, Turkey's geographical place gained prominence in the eyes of American authorities."[171] Finally, after the negotiations Turkey accepted the deployment of radar systems

[169] *ibid*., p.140

[170] The subject of the next chapter will be an inquiry of the political implications of BMD and relations of U.S with other states specifically related with missile defense, especially with Russia.

[171] Mustafa Kibaroğlu, "Turkey's Place in the Missile Shield," *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 15/2, 2013, p.230.

and patriot missiles. However, the negotiations were tough between the U.S, NATO and Turkey.

2010 NATO Lisbon Summit has shown the desire of European states and U.S cooperation to establish ballistic missile defense together. Also it is understood from decisions of NATO Lisbon Summit; NATO tries to activate NATO- Russian council in order to prevent possible opposition of Russian Federation. Based on the plan agreed at the Lisbon summit, an early warning radar system has been deployed in 2011 at Malatya Kurecik and is in operation since 2012. [172]

Although the missile defense issue has been taken up by some newspapers in Turkey publicly in October 2010, before the Lisbon Summit of NATO, the actual content of the discussion on the issue was not revealed extensively. The WikiLeaks documents have shown that, there was ongoing debate between Turkish and U.S officials regarding the deployment of missile defenses. The given documents below highlight the nature of the debate.

In the document sent to U.S Secretary of Defense from the US Ankara Embassy, with the reference ID, 09 ANKARA 1472 on 13 October 2009, it is stated that the U.S missile defense update will be welcomed by Turkey and she will be ready to find new ways to help PAA (Phased Adaptive Approach). Also how Turkey would contribute to PAA. It is obvious that after Obama administration explained its PAA strategy in missile defense, Turkey wanted to take active role in the project. As it is stated in Bush chapter, Turkey was left unprotected under the Bush proposed plan. This was a primary concern for Turkey. The Turkish governments also put emphasis on two issues: the Turkish government tried to manage its relations with both Islamic world and Russian Federation. Therefore, "the [Turkish] government must be able to demonstrate that any missile defense program is not specifically anti- Iran and, nor blatantly

[172] Mustafa Türkeş, "Füze Savunma Sistemi ve Türkiye'de Patriotlar: Ne Amaçlıyorlar, Biz Ne Yapmalıyız," http://www.sosyalistlerinmeclisi.org/node/42 (Accessed on 15 July 2014)

pro- Israel."[173] Also Turkey wants to be sure that Russia is not opposed to Turkey's role and which system will be under the NATO command and control should be clarified. Also, it is stated that PAC-3 (Patriot Advanced Capability-3) is offered to Turkey's air defense tender.

In the document sent to U.S Secretary of Defense from the US Ankara Embassy, with the reference ID, 10 ANKARA126 on 26 January 2010, there are some questions for Turkish government actually political. According to PM Erdogan, "such a system must be implemented in a NATO context to diminish the political cost that his government will likely bear, both in terms of domestic politics and in Turkey's relations with Iran.[174] This meant that Turkey's stance was closer to the Europen stance. Also Erdogan was concerned about the participation of Turkey into the system could give later a protection for Israel against Iranian counter strike. It is stated that the system will be NATOize if Turkey has stated how much NATO would be enough. It is obvious that there is an ongoing debate and bargain ship to deploy missile defenses in Turkey and the government's concerns are discussed.

The document sent with the reference ID, 10ANKARA251 on 2 February 2010 is related with the debate between secretary of defense Robert Gates and Turkish secretary of defense Vecdi Gönül regarding the current proposed missile defense system, PAA. Firstly Gönül stated that the new plan is better than the previous system because the previous one did not cover Turkey. Also Gönül emphasized that "without a radar based in Turkey, significant areas in the eastern part of the country would not be covered by the system."[175] Secondly, Gönül

[173] "Viewing Cable 09ANKARA1472, Scenesetter: Your Visit to Turkey", http://wikileaks.ch/cable/2009/10/09ANKARA1472.html (Accessed on 10 August 2014)

[174] "Viewing Cable 10ANKARA126, Secretary's Gates' Turkey Bilateral Visit", http://wikileaks.ch/cable/2010/01/10ANKARA126.html (Accessed on 10 August 2014)

[175] "Viewing Cable 10ANKARA251, Secretary of Defense Gates's meetings with Turkish", https://wikileaks.org/cable/2010/02/10ANKARA251.html (Accessed on 10 August 2014)

acknowledged that host countries for radar site could also be the Southeast European countries; Turkey was the optimal site for deployment. Gönül mentioned that Ankara is also concerned with Iran's program but international community does not have enough evidence for the existence of weapons program. However, an air defense is important for Turkey's European allies. Finally, for Turkey it is important that the Turkish militarily is prepared for the future possible conflicts in the Middle East. In conclusion, Vecdi Gönül states the demands of Turkey in missile defense deployment and offers the U.S. to deploy a radar site in Turkey.

The document sent with the reference ID, 10ANKARA302 on 2 February 2010, includes the opinions regarding the Feridun Sinirlioglu's, undersecretary of ministry of foreign affairs of Turkey, on missile defense. Sinirlioglu questioned the U.S. officials about Russia's reaction on missile defense. Burns, deputy secretary of state, said that Russians are much more comfortable towards the Phased Adaptive Approach (PAA) and the U.S. would develop bilateral ties with Russian Federation and continue for conversations in NATO-Russia Council. "Sinirlioglu recalled PM Erdogan's request in his recent meeting with SECDEF Gates that Iranian threat not be highlighted to justify PAA." [176]

In conclusion, it is obvious that the WikiLeaks documents suggest that there have been some negotiations between the two sides. However, the WikiLeaks documents do not show entire negotiations between two sides and thus there are some episodes which cannot be pin pointed because of lack of enough evidences. Even so, it may be said that the Turkish government wanted to get the radar system deployed in Turkey in return for Turkey being part of the NATO BMD strategy and also was highly concerned with BMD strategy's objective

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[176] "Viewing Cable 10ANKARA302,U/S Burn's February 18 Meetings with U/S", https://wikileaks.org/cable/2010/02/10ANKARA302.html (Accessed on 10 August 2014)

against Iran and Russian Federation. In other words, Turkey's strategy was not identical with that of the US strategy.

Before Lisbon Summit, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and political elite of ruling party (AKP) has made statements about the Turkey's concerns on missile defense that is projected to be deployed in Turkey. The plan was U.S originated and the U.S has included the NATO into the project because the European partners demanded that it should not be a US's unilateral initiative. Until Lisbon Summit, ballistic missile defense plan of Obama has been discussed and concerns of the parties have been stated.

Turkey had some concerns about the plan. First one is that "Turkey wanted the project to be a NATO project rather than an American project alone based on the lessons learned from the 'Jupiter' missile crisis in 1962."[177] Actually, in Lisbon Summit, NATO had accepted to be in the project and concern of Turkey had been solved. However, before Lisbon Summit, Turkey had commanding concern about the missile system that was to be deployed in Turkish soil. Before the Lisbon Summit, Erdogan stated about the ballistic missile system "If these issues are related with our soil in general, command of missile system should be certainly given to us. Command of another country cannot be accepted."[178] Before the summit Erdogan was very sensitive on the issue. However, after Lisbon summit, Erdogan has accepted command of NATO on missile defense. "We have always stated that the command issues should be entirely under NATO." Erdogan said in response to questions from reporters following his participation in a signing ceremony in Ankara."[179] The change in the attitude of Erdogan could be

[177] Kibaroğlu, *op cit.,* p.231

[178] "Erdoğan: Komuta Bizde Olmalı, "*Sol Portal*. 15 November 2010.

http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/erdogan-komuta-bizde-olmali-haberi-35828 (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[179] "PM Erdoğan clarifies position on NATO missile command," *Today's Zaman,* 23 November 2010. http://www.todayszaman.com/news-227662-pm-erdogan-clarifies-position-on-nato-missile-command.html (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

related with the other concerns of Turkey. "Turkey did not want any country's name to be explicitly pronounced as the source of the threat against which the alliance would be developing the project. " [180] Turkey was concerned with the issue because of two reasons, namely relations with Iran and Iran can have a justification for "further advancing their missile and other military capabilities."[181] Although Iran is not clearly stated as a threat in the declaration of Lisbon Summit, it is clearly known from the statements of the U.S administration that deployment of a component of ballistic missile defense in Turkey is related with the Middle East policies. Also in the declaration the concerns over the development of nuclear missiles by Iran have been stated.[182] Commander of Iranian Revolutionary Guard Air Force, General Emir Hali Hacizade stated that in a possible attack against Iran, the first target of Iran would be the NATO ballistic missile defense system in Turkey.[183] It is obvious that to be or not on the declaration as a threat for Iran is not important because Iran is aware of the aim of ballistic missile defense components. NATO Lisbon Summit and deployments show that Turkey could not go beyond the decisions taken in NATO.

Turkey has demanded for having the components of ballistic missile defense. The government has started a bid for the purchase of ballistic missile batteries and also to produce it in Turkey for technology transfer. The firms that participated in the bid process were from the U.S, China, Russian Federation and France- Italy cooperation. The process has been resulted with the acceptance of Chinese company CPMIEC which reacted positively and accepted to produce missiles together with Turkey. The result of the bid process has not been welcomed by U.S and NATO members. NATO has stated that the Chinese

[180] Kibaroglu, *op cit*., p.232

[181] Ibid, p. 232

[182] The full text of the document is available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68828.htm (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[183] "İlk Hedefimiz Türkiye'deki NATO füze kalkanı," *Yakın Doğu Haber* , 26 November 2011. http://www.ydh.com.tr/HD9536_ilk-hedefimiz-turkiyedeki-nato-fuze-kalkani.html

missiles cannot be adapted to the NATO system deployed in Turkey. Also, the U.S congress has prohibited the use of U.S funds in use of integration of Chinese missile systems to the U.S systems.[184] The reason for Turkey to choose the Chinese systems is the lower price compared to other companies in the bid and technology transfer. Other companies do not accept to produce missile systems together because after technology transfer Turkey can start to produce its own missiles.[185] This is the economic side. The second one is that political reactions came from the U.S and NATO. The reason of the U.S and NATO could be the suspicion about Turkey's foreign policy direction. Having ballistic missile defense creates a dependence on foreign policy by the NATO and the U.S. For instance, in a state of war with Iran, if NATO members decided to fire patriots from Turkey to Iran, Turkey cannot claim that there is no responsibility of her. In this situation, Turkey becomes a target for Iran. Therefore to produce it in Turkey is important for increase the maneuver capability in the foreign policy. However the process has been continuing and the results will be seen in the future.

In general reactions to Obama plan were positive in Europe. Not only European countries but also Russia has praised the revision of Obama's plan. Some stated that the Obama administration has shelved the plans in order to appease Russia. Leaders of Germany, France, Austria and Slovakia have supported the policy shift. Rasmussen, general secretary of NATO, labeled the change as positive movement and offered a "NATO and Russia" cooperation on missile defense.

Czech Republic and Poland, of course, have reacted differently. Polish and Czech leaders did not criticize Obama's plans publicly. However, some

[184] "Rusya Füze İhalesine Geri Döndü," *Milliyet,* 8 Mayıs 2014.

http://www.milliyet.com.tr/rusya-fuze-ihalesine-geri-dondu/gundem/detay/1879151/default.htm (Accessed on 18 June 2014)

[185] "Çin'le Birlikte Füze Üretmek Türkiye'yi Güç Haline Getirir," *Rusya'nın Sesi Radyosu*. 7 October 2013.

http://turkish.ruvr.ru/2013_10_07/cinle-birlikte-fuze-uretmek-turkiyeyi-guc-haline-getirir/

conservative Polish newspapers labeled the change as the betrayal of the U.S to Poland. Also former Poland president Lech Walesa and Czech Prime Minister Mirek Topolanek criticized Obama's policy towards the region. Czech president Vaclav Klaus has stated that the strategy change would not result with cooling of the relations. Some senators of Czech ruling party is not pleased with the policy change. Moreover, Czech foreign minister Jan Kohout stated that change in missile plans of U.S has created an empty space and should be filled with new and concrete projects.[186]

Public opinion in Czech Republic and Poland was not largely supportive of Bush era plan. Also Czech government had lost in a no-confidence vote in 2009 and analyzers state that controversial missile defense projects had played an important role in the loss.[187] Criticisms to Bush missile plans came from the notion that Poland and Czech Republic would be one of the first targets of Iran to attack. Therefore, it has both advantages and disadvantages. While shield protects the region, the region would be one of the targets of Iran in a state of attack.

The most positive reaction came from Russia. Medvedev has stated that ""We appreciate this responsible move by the U.S. president toward realizing our agreement," and "I am prepared to continue the dialogue."[188] Also Putin appreciated Obama's decision and wanted the U.S to move on Russia's membership to World Trade Organization by raising the trade limitations. Russian officials announced that they would not deploy offensive Iskander missiles in Kaliningrad. [189] Briefly, Russian leaders and officials have appreciated that movement.

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[186] Hildreth and Ek, Carl. "Long Range Ballistic Missile Defense in Europe" *op cit*., p.101-102

[187] Burns, *op cit*., p.137

[188] Kevin Whitelaw, "Obama's Missile Plan Decision: What It Means," *NPR*, 17 September 2009. http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=112909735 (Accessed on April 22, 2013)

[189] David J. Kramer "Resetting U.S-Russia Relations: It Takes Two" *The Washington Quarterly.* 33/1, January 2010, p.66 http://www.twq.com/10january/docs/10jan_kramer.pdf (Accessed on 28 May 2011)

On May 11, 2011 Rasmussen's article has been published. In the article, Rasmussen explains that the cooperation is so close between NATO and Russia. Rasmussen hopes that NATO and Russia could establish security together not against each other with the leadership and assistance of the U.S.[190] Rasmussen here is so optimistic because he mentions missile defense project as a very important part of security structure. However, Russia is not happy with Western security structure and proposes new security establishment. Moreover, the result of negotiations is still ambiguous and cannot be exactly stated agreement on missile defense projects with Russia will be made. Lastly, Rasmussen has explained in June 9, 2011 that NATO and Russia is under the same missile threat. Therefore they should cooperate on missile defense project. However, Russian Ministry of Defence has stated that they have conflicts with NATO because Russia wants NATO to guarantee that NATO will not use proposed missile defense project against Russia. [191]

Obama and Joe Biden have explained their desire to "reset" relations between Russia and the U.S. Leaders of both states made speeches that emphasized on resetting the U.S and Russia relations.[192] Also lastly Joe Biden made a speech about U.S-Russia reset. According to Biden, the security and economic interests of both states are similar. Therefore, Russia and the U.S can cooperate.[193] The common points in both Obama and Biden's statements were the

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[190] Andres Fogh Rasmussen, "NATO, Russia coming to an agreement on missile defense". 11 May 2011, *Chicago Tribune*, http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/ct-oped-0511-nato-20110511,0,2113107.story (Accessed on 13 May 2014)

[191] "Rusya NATO Arasında Yeni Kriz," *Milliyet*, 9 June 2011.

http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/planet/17990909.asp?gid=381 (Accessed on 12 May 2014)

[192] "Obama, Medvedev Say 'Reset' US-Russia Relations," *Associated Press*, 24 June 2010. http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2010/06/24/obama-medvedev-say-reset-us-russia-relations?PageNr=1 (Accessed on 28 May 2014)

[193] Joseph R. Biden Jr. "The Next Steps in the U.S.-Russia Reset," *The New York Times, 13 March 2011*. (http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/14/opinion/14iht-edbiden14.html (Accessed on 15 May 2011)

cooperation on Iran, Afghanistan, and N. Korea, the new START treaty and accession of Russia to the WTO.

Russia does not want Iran to have nuclear weapons but it is not alarmed like Europe and US because they have a different policy towards Iran. For Russia, Iran is a very important trading partner and an entry to world politics and Middle East affairs. Also Russia sees Iran's nuclear program as a guarantee for security against pressures coming from U.S. Possible US-Iran rapprochement might hurt benefits of Russia. In a possible rapprochement Iran and Russia would compete for energy market in Europe.[194] Also Iran's military facilities, development of oil and gas reserves and nuclear development program are strongly supported by Russian contractors.[195] Change in U.S decision to deploy missiles in East Central Europe has aimed to get assistance of Russia on Iran's nuclear program. Russia has shown desire to cooperate on missile defense project but how it will act on Iran issue or whether it will be harsh is still ambiguous.

Other issue was the possible membership of Ukraine and Georgia to NATO. Russia has always opposed NATO enlargement because it thinks that NATO is expanding the regions that are Russia's sphere of influence. Russia has accused the West because of engineering colored revolutions in those states. The peak point in the conflict was the Russia-Georgia war in South Ossetia.[196]Also there were some objections to the membership of Georgia and Ukraine like Germany because of Russia's position in the region. In the near future, it is clear that Georgia and Ukraine would not be the members of NATO. However, both states want to integrate into Western system. Therefore, Russia could play an important role to solve these conflicts in the region. However, the current crisis in Ukraine shows that, cooperation on BMD will be delayed. Indeed, Russia wants

[194] Eugene Rumer and Angela Stent. "Russia and the West" *Survival,* 51/2, April-May 2009. p.99.

[195] John Jack Rooney, "Missile Defense and Rising Global Tensions" *The New Presence,* 11/1, Spring 2009, p.41.

[196] Eugene Rumer and Angela Stent, *op cit*., p. 98-101

to increase and restore its great power status by increasing its influence in the region. The U.S also wants to continue her hegemonic status and therefore the interests of both states conflict with each other.

Another issue is Afghanistan and Central Asia. Russia, U.S and Europe have been pursuing a policy to prevent Taliban to come to power in Afghanistan and are providing security and stability for it. However, Russia does not always have a supporting role in Afghanistan. For example in 2005 Russian motivated Shanghai Cooperation Organization asked the withdrawal of U.S from Central Asia. Also in 2009, Russia wanted Kyrgyzstan to expel U.S from the Manas air base. While Russia cooperates with U.S in Afghanistan, it is clear that it does not want a permanent U.S presence in the region[197] The U.S has used and wants to continue to use Russian lands for transportation of their soldiers and military equipment's to Afghanistan.[198] Briefly, the U.S needs support and cooperation of Russia in Afghanistan.

Another topic is the new START treaty. The change and moderation in the relations between U.S and Russia, Obama and Medvedev administration have signed a new deal in 2010 and which entered into force in 2011. The negotiations started in 2006 but Putin and Bush could not finish the negotiations and could not come to an agreement. [199] However, Obama and Medvedev have signed the treaty. The insistence of Bush proposed plan in Obama's presidency could result with the reluctance of Russia to come to an agreement about arms control and reduction. Aggregate limits in new START Treaty are;

[197] Eugene Rumer and Angela Stent. *op cit.*, p.98-101

[198] The White House. Office of Press Secretary, "U.S-Russia Relations: "Reset" Fact Sheet," 24 June 2010. http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/us-russia-relations-reset-fact-sheet (Accessed 3 June 2014)

[199] Amy F. Woolf. "Strategic Arms Control After Start: Issues and Options" *Congressional Research Service*: *Report*, 13 January 2010.p.11 http://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R40084.pdf (Accessed on 4 June 2011)

> 700 deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), deployed submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and deployed heavy bombers equipped for nuclear armaments;
> 1,550 nuclear warheads on deployed ICBMs, deployed SLBMs, and deployed heavy bombers equipped for nuclear armaments (each such heavy bomber is counted as one warhead toward this limit);
> 800 deployed and non-deployed ICBM launchers, SLBM launchers, and heavy bombers equipped for nuclear armaments.[200]

In the Cold War period, amounting to 40,000 or 65,000 nuclear warheads[201] would be decreased to 1,550 with this agreement. It is interpreted as the important act by the Russian Federation and US for the disarmament of the world. However, based on the pessimist interpretation, the US and Russian Federation gets rid of the nuclear warheads that are old and includes high cost or modernization. After getting rid of old ones, both states would still have enough capability to deter threats.[202] Therefore, the new START treaty is an important step for the nuclear disarmament; it could be evaluated from the different side as well.

The other important issue was the membership of Russia in WTO. After the Obama administration has explained that it will abandon the Bush era plan, Putin wanted the U.S to lift trade restrictions and move forward on Russian WTO

[200] "New Start," *U.S Department of State*, http://www.state.gov/t/avc/newstart/index.htm (Accessed on 10 June 2014)

[201] Hasibe Özdal, "Rusya ve ABD'den Yeni Bir Start," USAK Stratejik Gündem, 14 April 2010. http://www.usakgundem.com/yazar/1522/rusya-ve-abd%E2%80%99den-yeni-bir-start.html (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[202] Serdar Erdurmaz, "START Anlaşması Devamı Olarak Nisan Ayında İmzalanacak Anlaşma Nükleer Silahlardan Arındırılmış Bir Dünya İçin Başlangıç Olabilir mi?" 1 April 2010. http://www.turksam.org/tr/makale-detay/665-start-anlasmasi-devami-olarak-nisan-ayinda-imzalanacak-anlasma-nukleer-silahlardan-arindirilmis-bir-dunya-icin-baslangic-olabilir-mi (Accessed on 10 April 2014)

membership. Then, Obama has expressed that U.S would help Russia on its membership to WTO. [203]

Briefly, these are the strategic issues why U.S needed cooperation of Russia and resulted with change in U.S BMD modification.

4.3 The Crisis in Ukraine and Pressure on Obama to renew neo- Reaganist Approach

Viktor Yanukovych had come to power as president in 2010 by "campaigning on a platform of closer ties with Russia".[204] After Yanukovych has become the president, his main rival in the presidential elections was Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, who was arrested because of the abuse of powers and jailed in October 2011.[205] However, action that initiated the protest had been in November 2013. In November 2013, Yanukovych had two economic choices for Ukraine. First one was to sign a trade association agreement with European Union to fasten the integration with Europe. Second one was to "take a $15bn loan from Russia and move his country toward a planned Eurasian Union with Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia."[206] Yanukovych has chosen the latter. Whether

[203] Elizabeth Williamson, "Obama: Russia Belongs in WTO" 25 June 2010. http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704911704575327004122683016.html (Accessed on 8 June 2013)

[204] Robert McMahon, "Ukraine in Crisis," *Council on Foreign Relations,* 5 May 2014. http://www.cfr.org/ukraine/ukraine-crisis/p32540 (Accessed on 30 June 2014)

[205] "Ukraine Crisis Timeline," *BBC,* 5 July 2014. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26248275 (Accessed on 5 June 2014)

[206] Alan Yuhas, "Ukraine Crisis: an essential guide to everything that's happened so far," *The Guardian,* 13 April 2014. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/11/ukraine-russia-crimea-sanctions-us-eu-guide-explainer (Accessedn on 29 June 2014)

his decision is rational or not is debated, however, "it would have forced Ukraine to decide between Russia and the EU."[207] Indeed, the decision has been interpreted by the protestors that seeking the integration with Europe as the choosing Russia instead of Europe and sustain its ties with Russia. "The decision provoked demonstrations in Kiev on what became known as the Euromaidan by protestors seeking to align their future with Europe's and speaking out against corruption."[208]Protests have continued and armed conflicts started between Ukrainian officials and protestors. However, the protests got worse in both East and Western Ukraine. On 24 February 2014, Russia had intervened in Crimea to provide the peace.

"Russian leader Vladimir Putin's campaign to annex the Crimean Peninsula has raised military tensions in Eastern Europe as former Soviet republics and their western neighbors wonder what Moscow's next move might be"[209] Not only Eastern Europe and neighbors of Russia are concerned but also U.S is concerned about the developments in the Crimean peninsula. Although Obama administration has modified the Bush era plans, due to the crisis in Ukraine, there is an increasing pressure on Obama by congress in U.S to renew the Bush proposed plan.

The Bush administration plan had included the deployment of interceptors in Poland and radar system in Czech Republic in the first step. Obama's plan has changed this step. However, after the Ukraine crisis, Eastern Europe states are suspicious about the Moscow's attitude. Despite the fact that Obama administration states that BMD strategy of the U.S is not against Russia and Russia is not a threat in that framework, "Russia is a threat to the whole of

[207] "Ukraine in Crisis," *Nation* ,298/12, 24 March 2014, p.3-5.

[208] Robert McMahon, *op cit*.

[209] Loren Thompson, "Ukraine Crisis, Poland's Air Defenses Become A Pressing Concern for Washington," 17 March 2014. http://www.forbes.com/sites/lorenthompson/2014/03/17/ukraine-crisis-polands-air-defenses-become-a-pressing-concern-for-washington/ (Accessed on 21 June 2014)

Europe. And Europe must finally understand what it is dealing with" Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaite said.[210] Actually, this shows the general attitude towards Russia in Eastern Europe. "Poland talks about modernizing its military. Latvia calls for more defense spending. Traditionally, neutral Sweden calls for a doctrinal shift in defense"[211] These are the first impressions of Ukraine crisis in Eastern Europe and also created a pressure for U.S administration to reconsider the security policies of Obama. It should be noted that Eastern Europe is alarmed with the Ukrainian crisis. However, European major powers are not alarmed like Eastern Europe because the crisis is not interpreted in the same way with Eastern European states.

Pressure on Obama to renew the Bush era plan is coming from the republican senators.

> Sens. Kelly Ayotte, John McCain and Lindsey Graham said Russian president Vladimir Putin was deeply uncomfortable with the Bush- era plan, even though the defense system was intended to deter the threat of missiles from Iran, not Russia. Breathing new life into the initiative, particularly by pursuing a third site in the Czech Republic, would be an effective way to punish Mr. Putin for his use of military force to annex Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula, the senators said.[212]

Indeed, the general perception of the republicans and some journalists are on the same way and are trying to create pressure on Obama administration. However, National Security Council spokeswoman Caitlin Hayden stated that although Bush proposed plans were modified, still there is an ongoing BMD plan and interceptor site in Romania will be operational in 2015 also Poland will have BMD interceptors in 2018.[213] Therefore Obama administration defends the idea

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[210] Andrius Sytas and Pawel Bernat, "As Ukraine Crisis Deepens, Russia's Neighbors Boost Defenses," *Reuters*, 7 March 2014.

[211] *ibid*.

[212] Guy Taylor, "GOP Senators back Bush-era missile defense system to punish Putin," *The Washington Times*, 30 March 2014. http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/mar/30/gop-senators-back-restoration-of-bush-era-missile-/?page=all (Accessed on 13 June 2014)

[213] *ibid*.

that despite the chanes made to the Bush proposed plan, there is an ongoing plan gradually developing as it is explained in detail above. However, the aggressive strategies of Russia in the region can bring the new additional military strategies and opened the security understanding into the discussion.

Briefly, the recent developments in Ukraine paved the way for the discussion of the security policies especially BMD strategy of Obama administration and created pressure to renew the confrontationist approach. Whether the Russian cooperation on deployment of missile defenses in Europe can be achieved or not is questionable.

4.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, Bush presidency was towards a renewal of the confrontationist approach in the missile defense strategy. It can be concluded that Obama administration's strategy on missile defense is the period of renegotiation. However, Obama's proposed missile defense plan could not be marked as total retreat from the deployment of Bush era BMD strategy. Obama modified the Bush era plan, NATO has welcomed the Obama administration plan after the renegotiations. Also Russia has been trying to integrate to the project by Obama administration as explained above.

This chapter is devoted to explain the reasons and motives beyond the modification of Bush era plan by Obama administration. Although Obama administration has modified the plan and presented by media and some academics as the cancellation of the plan, EPAA of Obama has shown that the plan will expand gradually and include the much more countries than Bush proposed plan for deployment.

One of the most important reasons of the modification in the plan was the Russian Federation's reaction to Bush proposed plan and the aim of integration of

Russia to the plan. The modification is welcomed by Russian Federation but Russia could not be integrated into the plan as it was supposed to be in the framework in NATO- Russian Federation Council. However, the crisis in Ukraine has affected the political elite in US and the pressure started on Obama to renew the Reaganist or confrontationist approach for the deployment of BMD in Europe against Russia.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This thesis is devoted to examine the continuity and change of the US missile defense strategy in the post-cold war era. Cycles of confrontation and compromise from the George W. Bush to Barack Obama era of U.S Missile Defense Strategy is shown.

The confrontationist approach and retreat from that stance has been explored in this thesis. Ronald Reagan, the president of the US form 1981 to 1989, fits into the Second Cold War in Halliday's classification. The Reagan plan was the Strategic Defense Initiative and brought a new vision to BMD systems. The initiative was expensive and required new effort to develop ballistic missiles that would protect United States against a full scale attack from USSR. Indeed, SDI was not only factor in the demise of the USSR but clearly instrumental on it because in arms race, it brought new severe economic burdens. Briefly, Ronald Reagan developed his strategy in the bipolar international system to sustain the hegemonic status of the U.S. against U.S.S.R.

However, George W. H. Bush and Bill Clinton years were the retreat from confrontationist approach and BMD of both administrations aimed to protect US from limited and accidental strikes. Of course, since USSR no longer exists and the U.S is only the superpower, it is not supposed to be a missile attack from a state like it was a possibility from the Soviet Union. Therefore the attack might come as a result of accident, therefore to protect the US against such accidents would be enough and it would decrease the requirement of financial resources allocated for the development of missile defense. Therefore both presidents focused on to develop missile systems against the limited strikes and short range ballistic missiles.

Whereas George W.H Bush and Bill Clinton years were the retreat from the confrontationist approach, George W. Bush period was a tendency towards renewal of confrontationist approach. 1990s were the years in during which the U.S was only superpower and the international system was unipolar. However Bush period (early 2000s) was a transition to multipolar system from unipolar one. Therefore, Bush developed policies to keep hegemonic status of the U.S. and the BMD strategy was one of the components of this strategy by making use of the military technology advantage.

After Bush came to power, he clearly gave the signals that the US will follow an aggressive unilateralist foreign policy. In his speech on missile defense on May 1, 2001, Bush had stated that in the Cold War period the enemy was the Soviet Union and she no longer exists. Bush defined today's world as a vastly different one from the Cold War period. After 9/11 attacks Bush had defined the threats as terrorist groups and states that sponsors of terrorism like Iraq and Iran. Therefore, a missile system should have been developed to prevent such threats. Thus, Bush administration had negotiated with Poland and Czech Republic to deploy missiles to protect particularly US allies in Europe from threats which could come from "rogue states", especially Iran. Bush administration had also aimed with the plan to strengthen her bargaining chip with Iran on Iran's nuclear program. However, not only Iran had criticized the plan, but also Russian Federation and major European powers especially, France and Germany had not been supportive to the plan. Briefly, after 9/11 attacks, Bush administration has developed its foreign policy and acted aggressively and unilaterally. BMD was one of the components of the US foreign policy to increase the US declining power. Bush administration was aware of the fact that the US hegemony was declining and some policies should have been adopted to sustain its hegemon status.

Obama years could be defined as the renegotiation for the Bush era missile defense and offered to Medvedev to in return for Russia's support on Iran nuclear program to rethink the Bush proposed plan. Also particularly European allies have

demanded the project to be a NATO project and NATO has welcomed the new project, EPAA. Obama has modified the Bush era plan. While Obama was retreating from the decision to deploy BMD in Poland and Czech Republic, with the EPAA the plan was extended to the Baltic Sea and Mediterranean Sea. Although there were changes were made to the plan, Obama plan will be deployed gradually. Actually, Obama administration did not change threat definition of Bush administration and still rogue states and terrorist groups could threaten the US interests in the different places of the world, essentially Middle East and Asia. After the modification, Russian Federation has cancelled her Iskandar missiles deployment plans in Kaliningrad. However, another aim of Obama administration to integrate Russian Federation to the BMD plan is not successful.

After crisis in Ukraine and Russian leader Putin's campaign to annex Crimean Peninsula has alarmed the US. There was an increasing pressure on Obama to renew the BMD policy and to reinstall Bush proposed plan. Actually, EPAA has been including the deployment missiles in Europe like Romania, some members of congress and media makes pressure on Obama to deploy missiles in Europe immediately. However, Obama administration did not change the status of the project yet.

In conclusion, although there were fluctuations in the US BMD strategies, it may be stated that none of the US administration gave of the BMD policy and each US administration continued to develop BMD strategy. Therefore BMD policy as permanent defense expenditure continued since Ronald Reagan presidency up to today. It seems that it will remain as such as long as the US wants to sustain its hegemonic status in word affairs.

The research done in this thesis allows suggesting that in the post-Cold War era, George Bush has shown tendency to renewal of the confrontationist approach whereas Obama administration has renegotiated for BMD plans. It appears that such cycle of confrontation and compromise will continue to dominate the international agenda.

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APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY

SOĞUK SAVAŞ SONRASI DÖNEMDE AMERİKAN FÜZE STRATEJİSİNDEKİ DEVAMLILIK VE DEĞİŞİM

Bu tez Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD)'nin soğuk savaş sonrası dönemde balistik füze savunması stratejilerindeki devamlılık ve değişim sürecini değerlendirmeyi hedef almaktadır. Obama yönetimi tarafından Bush yönetiminin Polonya ve Çek Cumhuriyeti'ne yerleştirmeyi önerdiği balistik füze savunma sistemleri planının değiştirilmesi ışığında Bush ve Obama dönemindeki balistik füze savunma stratejilerindeki oluşum ve devamlılığın bir çerçevesini çizmek de bu tezin konusudur. Tez Obama döneminde Bush yönetimi balistik füze savunma sistemleri planında yapılan değişikliğin arkasındaki nedenleri de ortaya koymaktadır. Obama döneminde yapılan değişikliğin nedenlerinden en önemlisinin İran'ın nükleer programına karşı Rusya'nın desteğini almak olduğu gözlemlenir. Hegemonik istikrar teorisi değişikliğin sebeplerini anlamada net bir fikir vermektedir.

Soğuk Savaş döneminde özellikle ABD ve Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği (SSCB) amacı nükleer silahlar elde etmek ve geliştirmek olan bir silah yarışının içine girdiler. Güdümlü füze sistemlerinin elde edilmesi ve geliştirilmesi de silahlanma yarışında ana hedeflerden biriydi. Soğuk savaş yıllarında güdümlü füze stratejisi nükleer caydırıcılık teorisinin en önemli parçalarından biri haline geldi. Silahlanmanın artması ve silah sektörünün gelişmesi ile birlikte füze sistemlerinin teknik kapasitesi de artmaya başladı ve böylece en önemli hava savunma araçlarından biri haline geldi.

Bu tezin amacı Amerikan güdümlü füze kalkan stratejisindeki saldırgan ve uzlaşmacı politikaların, Amerikan başkanlıkları döneminde nasıl değiştiğini

ortaya koymaktır. Füze savunma stratejilerindeki dalgalanmayı ortaya koymak için hegemonik istikrar teorisi bu tezin analitik çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır.

SSCB'nin yıkılması ve Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesiyle birlikte ABD tek süper güç olarak kaldı ve uluslararası sistem tek kutuplu bir sisteme dönüştü. Sistemin tek kutuplu olması, Amerikan hegemonyasının egemen olmasını sağladı. 1990'lar ABD'nin hegemonyasını sürdürdüğü ve ciddi bir rakip ile karşılaşmadığı dönemlerdi. Ancak 2000'li yıllar uluslararası sistemin tek kutupluluk 'tan çok kutupluluğa doğru geçişin yaşandığı yıllardı. ABD dünya üzerindeki etkisini sürdürmeye çalışırken, Avrupa Birliği (AB), Rusya Federasyonu ve Çin dünya siyasetindeki ağırlıklarını artırmaya başladılar. 1990'lu yıllarda ABD hegemon rolünü üstlenmeye hem istekliydi hem de yeterli güce sahipti. Ancak 200'li yıllara geldiğimizde ABD hala bu rolü devam ettirmekte istekli olsa dahi diğer aktörlerin güçlenmeye başlamasından dolayı hegemon rolünü devam ettirmekte engellerle karşılaşmaktadır. Bu yüzden ABD'nin 2000'li yıllardaki politikaları 1990'lu yıllara göre uluslararası konjonktürden etkilendiğinden değişiklikler göstermektedir. Aslında ABD hegemon statüsünü devam ettirmek için değişen duruma karşı politikalar geliştirmiştir. Güdümlü füze kalkan projesinin George W. Bush döneminde genişletilmesi ve Doğu Avrupa'ya yerleştirilmesinin önerilmesi, ABD'nin hegemonik statüsünü devam ettirmesine ve askeri teçhizat transferiyle etki alanının genişletilmesine yöneliktir.

Tez, il bölümde konu hakkında genel bir bilgi verirken, ikinci bölüm Ronald Reagan döneminden (1981- 1989) başlayarak George W. Bush dönemine kadar, füze kalkan stratejisinin gelişimini ortaya koymaktadır. Üçüncü kısım Bush dönemi füze kalkan stratejisini ve buna bağlı olarak oluşan tepkileri ortaya koymaktadır. Dördüncü kısım Obama döneminde Bush dönemi füze kalkan planlarında yapılan değişikliğin sebeplerini ve Obama'nın füze kalkan projesinden bahsedilmektedir. Ayrıca, üçüncü ve dördüncü kısımlarda Son olarak sonuç bölümü ABD'nin füze kalkan stratejilerindeki dalgalanmaların ortaya koymaktadır.

Güdümlü füze sistemlerinin ilk kullanımı İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın sonuna gitmektedir. Nazi Almanya'sının Birleşik Krallık ve Fransa'daki müttefikler üzerinde kullandığı V-2 füzeleri, bu füzelere karşı bir savunma sistemi oluşturulması gerekliliğini ortaya çıkardı. Daha sonraları özellikle ABD ve SSCB güdümlü füze kalkan projelerine çok yüksek miktarlarda kaynak ayırdılar ve bu silahlara sahip olmak, silahlanma yarışında önemli bir hale geldi.

Bugün kullanıldığı ve anlaşıldığı anlamıyla projenin devamlı bir savunma harcaması haline gelmesi Ronald Reagan döneminde gerçekleşti. Medya tarafından Yıldız Savaşları olarak adlandırılan ve Reagan'ın açıklamış olduğu Stratejik Savunma Girişimi, ABD'de stratejik bir savunma sitemi kurulmasını önerdi. Ayrıca bu girişim füze kalkan projesini bir iç politika meselesi haline de getirdi ve başkanlık seçimlerinde dillendirilen bir mesele haline geldi. Reagan dönemi Fred Halliday'ın Soğuk Savaş sınıflandırmasında İkinci Soğuk Savaş (1979-1990) dönemine denk gelmektedir. İkinci Soğuk Savaş'ın en karakteristik özelliklerinden birisi, silahlanma yarışının en yüksek noktalara ulaşmasıdır ve Reagan'ın yapmış olduğu girişim SSCB'nin sonunu getirmese de, silahlanma yarışında Sovyetlere büyük bir mali yük getirerek, SSCB'nin yıkılmasına katkı yapmıştır. Aslında Reagan'ın yaptığı bu girişim, SSCB hegemonyasının, ABD hegemonyasını tehdit eder konuma gelmesine karşı geliştirilmiş bir stratejiydi. ABD pazarlık gücünü artırarak hegemonyasını sağlamlaştırmayı hedef almıştır. Teknik ve finansal olarak projenin büyüklüğü düşünüldüğünde, gerçekleştirilmesi zor olsa da, ABD'nin elini SSCB karşısında güçlendirmiştir ve SSCB'nin dağılmasına finansal yük getirerek dolaylı olarak katkı yapmıştır.

Kısacası Ronald Reagan ABD'nin füze kalkan stratejisini çok farklı bir boyuta taşımıştır. Reagan SSCB karşısında pazarlık payını artırarak, ABD'nin hegemon statüsünü SSCB karşısında artırmayı hedeflemiştir.

Reagan'ın stratejik savunma girişimi SSCB için olduğu kadar ABD için de finansal yük getirmişti. George H.W. Bush (1989- 1993) başkanlığı soğuk savaşın sonuna gelindiği ve SSCB'nin dağılma sürecine girdiği ve nitekim dağıldığı bir dönemdi. İki kutuplu olan uluslararası sistem, SSCB'nin dağılmasıyla yerini

ABD'nin hegemon olduğu tek kutuplu sisteme bırakmıştı. Reagan'ın Stratejik savunma girişiminin finansal ve teknik açıdan zorluğu, Sovyet tehdidinin artık olmaması George W.H. Bush'u, Sovyetler tehditlere karşı değil de daha sınırlı ataklara karşı bir strateji geliştirmeye yöneltti. Bush "Global Protection Against Limited Strikes" (GPALS) adını verdiği yeni savunma sistemi terörist gruplardan ve Sovyet'lere göre daha küçük çaplı devletlerden ABD'ye gelebilecek sınırlı ataklara ve kısa menzilli füze saldırılarına karşı şekillendirildi. Aslında Bush sistemden tamamen vazgeçmeyerek, ABD'nin askeri etkinliğini sürdürmeyi ve hegemonyasını güçlendirmeyi hedeflemiştir.

Bill Clinton (1993-2001) göreve geldikten sonra Clinton yönetimi kısa menzilli füze tehdidi üzerinde yoğunlaştı. Bill Clinton sistemin teknik yetersizliğine olan güvenini söylemekten kaçınmadı. 1996 yılında ulusal düzeyde füze kalkan savunma siteminin 2005 yılı sonuna kadar kurulmasını öngören anlaşmaya rağmen, 2000 yılında bu anlaşmayı iptal etti. İptal ederken yaptığı açıklamada sistemin operasyonel olarak yetersizliğine olan inancını bir kez daha yeniledi. Aslında Bill Clinton döneminde de ABD tek kutuplu sistemde hegemonyasını devam ettirmekteydi ve Bill Clinton füze kalkan stratejisine bağlı kalarak ancak çok da sistemi genişletmeyerek, hegemonyanın devamını sağlamaya çalıştı.

George W. Bush dönemi Clinton ve George W.H. Bush döneminden farklı olarak, Reagan dönemindeki saldırgan güdümlü füze kalkan savunması stratejisini yenileme olarak görülebilir. 1990'lu yıllarda Amerika tek kutuplu sistemde hegemon statüsünü devam ettirirken, 2000'li yıllar AB, Rusya Federasyonu, Çin ve Hindistan gibi aktörlerin de güçlenmeye başladığı ve çok kutuplu uluslararası sisteme doğru bir geçişin yaşandığı dönemdir. Burada ekonomik veriler de dikkate alındığına gayri safi yurtiçi hasılalara da bakıldığında AB ve ABD dışındaki aktörlerin yüzde olarak artışı ABD'ye göre daha fazladır. Ancak bu ABD'nin askeri teknolojiye en çok yatırım yapan ve en çok finansal kaynak ayıran devlet olduğu gerçeğini değiştirmemektedir.

Soğuk savaş yıllarında mutually assured dectruction (MAD) teorisi, ABD ve SSCB gibi iki nükleer gücün, bir nükleer atışma alevlendiği takdirde, iki taraftan herhangi birisinin saldırıda bulunması durumunda iki tarafın da kazanamayacağı ve toplu bir yıkıma maruz kalacağından, birbirlerine karşı nükleer güçlerini kullanmayı alıkoyan görüşü ifade etmektedir. Ancak George W. Bush bu görüşü desteklemediğini belirtecek ve yenidünya düzeni kavramından ne anladığını açıkladıktan sonra, tehdidin artık SSCB olmadığını ve yeni tehdidin terörist gruplar ve bu gruplara yardım ve yataklık yapan ülkeler olduğunu belirtmiştir. Bu ülkeler arasında Irak, Iran ve Kuzey Kore bulunmaktadır. Bush MAD'e olan inançsızlığını gösterdikten sonra, Aralık 2001'de SSCB, daha sonra Rusya Federasyonu ve ABD arasında güdümlü füze silahları rejiminin nasıl olması gerektiğini düzenleyen Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM)' den çekileceğini açıkladı ve altı ay sonra anlaşmanın tarafı olmadığını bildirdi. Aslında bu anlaşma hem ABD'yi hem de SSCB'nin ne düzeyde füze savunma sistemi geliştirmesinin sınırlarını çizmekteydi. Bush bu anlaşmadan çekilerek ABD'nin istediği şekilde füze savunma sistemi yerleştirmesinin önünü açmış oldu.

Bush dönemi dış politikasının daha saldırgan bir tutum içine girmesine neden olan en önemli olaylardan biri de 9/11 saldırılarıdır. 9/11 ABD toplumuna söylenen terörist gruplardan gelebilecek tehlikelerin varlığı kanıtlanmış oldu ve bu gruplara ve terörizme destek veren ülkelere karşı stratejiler geliştirilmesi gerekliliği bir kez daha vurgulandı.

Aslında Bush döneminde çok kutuplu sisteme geçişin yaşanması ve terörist grupların ABD'yi tehdit eder hale gelmesi ABD'yi saldırgan dış politika izlemeye itti. Irak'a yapılan müdahale bu politikanın en iyi örneklerinden biriydi. Bush hegemonyayı sağlamlaştırmak ve tanımlamış olduğu tehditlere karşı politikalar geliştirmekte iken, güdümlü füze savunma stratejisi bu politikalardan biriydi. Bush yönetimi füze savunma sistemi ile birlikte tehdit edilen hegemon statüsünü devam ettirmeye ve askeri gücünü kullanarak etki alanını genişletmeye

çalıştı. Bush yönetiminin Avrupa'da konuşlandırmayı seçtiği ülke Polonya ve Çek Cumhuriyeti yani eski Sovyet etki alanı olan Doğu Avrupa'dır.

ABD'nin 2001 yılında ABM anlaşmasından çekilmesinden sonra, 2004 yılında toplam otuz tane yer tabanlı önleyici füze Kaliforniya'da bulunan Vandenberg Hava Üssü ve Alaska Fort Greely askeri fırlatma alanına yerleştirildi. Buraya ek olarak önleyici füzelerin yerleştirilmesinin amacının Kuzey Kore'den gelebilecek nükleer ve güdümlü füze tehlikesine karşı koymak için olduğu açıklandı ve bu füzeler ABD'deki radar sistemlerinden bilgiler alacaktı. ABD kendi ana topraklarını korumak için füze savunma sistemi yerleştirirken, Avrupa'ya füze savunma sistemleri teknolojisini transfer etmek zorunda olmadığını da gösterdi. Bush yönetimi kendi topraklarının güvenliğini güçlendirdikten sonra, geriye kalan ve koruma sağlanması gereken alanlar Avrupalı müttefikleriydi. Ancak bu dönemde Avrupa'da böyle bir talep oluşmuş değildi. Çünkü Avrupa'nın tehdit algılaması bazı noktalarda ABD'den farklıydı. Örneğin ABD'nin Irak'a müdahalesi sırasında askeri müdahaleye karşı olan ve daha barışçıl ve demokrasi yanlısı çözümden yana olan özellikle Almanya ve Fransa, ABD tarafından Eski Avrupa olarak tanımlandı.(Old Europe). Diğer taraftan Yeni Avrupa (New Europe) özellikle Soğuk Savaş döneminde SSCB etkisinde olan ve Soğuk Savaş bittikten sonra AB'ye yeni üye ülke ya da aday ülke olan ve ABD'nin askeri müdahalesini destekleyen ülkeleri sınıflandırmak için kullanılmıştır. Eski Avrupa diye tanımlanan grubun, tehdit algılamaları ya da çözüm yolları farklı olduğundan dolayı ABD'den direkt olarak füze kalkan sistemlerinin Avrupa'da konuşlandırılması gibi bir talepleri olmamıştır. Bu yüzden ABD füze kalkan projesinin yerleştirileceği ülkeleri seçerken Yeni Avrupa diye tanımladığı kesime yönelmiş ve Polonya ve Çek Cumhuriyeti ile müzakerelere başlamıştır. 2007 yılının başlarında Bush yönetimi bir süre devam eden müzakerelerden sonra resmi olarak Polonya ve Çek Cumhuriyeti'ne resmi olarak Polonya'ya yerleştirilmek üzere on adet önleyici füze ve Çek Cumhuriyeti'ne yerleştirilmek üzere bir radar sistemi kurulmasını teklif etti. Projenin 2013 yılı sonuna kadar tamamlanması ve en az dört milyar dolara mal

olması öngörülüyordu. Bu projenin amacının Iran ve Kuzey Kore'den gelecek tehditlere karşı olduğu açıklandı.

Türkiye'nin bu dönemdeki durumuna bakıldığında ise, ABD'nin önerdiği füze savunma sistemi projesinde sistemin konuşlandırılacak alanlarının içinde yer almadığı görülmektedir. Ancak Türkiye jeopolitik önemi açısından ABD'nin Orta Doğu ile ilgili stratejik planlamalarında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Ancak Bush döneminde yapılan füze kalkanı planlamasında Türkiye için tanımlanmış bir rol bulunmamaktadır. Bunun nedeni Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin (TBMM) Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin yabancı ülkelere gönderilmesi ve yabancı silahlı kuvvetlerin Türkiye'de bulunması için hükümete yetki verilmesine ilişkin tezkerenin veto edilmesi olabilir. TBMM vetosundan sonra ilişkiler çalkantılı bir dönem geçirmiş ve ABD Irak ile ilgili Türkiye üzerinden yaptığı planları değiştirmek durumunda kalmıştır.

Bush'un teklif etmiş olduğu plana tepkiler gecikmedi. En dikkate değer ve sert tepki Rusya Federasyonu'ndan geldi. Rusya Federasyonu ilk olarak ABD ve kendileri arasında 24 Mayıs 2002'de imzalanan ve her alanda iş birliğini öngören Ortak Deklarasyonun dikkate alınmadığını bildirdi. ABD'nin tek taraflı hareket ettiğini ve iş birliğini dikkate almadığı açıklandı. ABD kurulması için önerilen füze savunma sisteminin Rusya Federasyonu'na karşı olmadığını belirtmesine rağmen, planlanan yere konuşlandırılması Rusya Federasyonu tarafından bir tehdit olarak algılandı. Bush yönetimi Polonya ve Çek Cumhuriyeti'ne füze savunma sistemlerinin yerleştirilmesinin düşünüldüğünü açıkladıktan sonra, Rusya Federasyonu da Polonya sınırı yakınındaki Kaliningrad'a Iskandar füzelerini yerleştirileceğini açıkladı. Rusya Federasyonu projeyi eleştirmeye ve alternatif yollar önermeye devam etti. Örneğin radar sisteminin Çek Cumhuriyeti'ne kurulmasındansa Armavir'de bulunan ve Iran sınırının 450 mil kuzeyinde bulunan radar sisteminin kullanılmasını önerdi. Çünkü Rusya Federasyonu'nun çekincesi Çek Cumhuriyeti'ne kurulacak bir radar sisteminin Rus faaliyetlerini de izleyebileceği endişesiydi. Fakat Bush yönetimi bu önerileri

kabul etmedi ve sistemin Rusya Federasyonu'na karşı olmadığını belirtmeye devam etti.

Diğer tepki gösteren ülke, tehdit olarak görülen İran oldu. Ancak İran nükleer programından geri adım atmayacağını bir kez daha yeniledi.

Diğer önemli bir tepki de Rusya Federasyonu ile önemli enerji ticaret anlaşmaları yapan Almanya ve Fransa'dan geldi. Angela Merkel 13 Mart 2007'de Almanya'nın NATO içerisinde bir çözümü kabul edeceğini ve bunun da Rusya Federasyonu ile diyalog geliştirerek olacağını belirtti. Jacques Chirac ise Avrupa'nın önerilen füze savunma sistemi konusunda dikkatli olmasını ve yeni bir silahlanma yarışını başlatmaktan kaçınılması gerektiğini belirtti.

Sonuç olarak Bush yönetimi füze kalkanı savunma stratejisini uluslararası sistemin tek kutupluluktan çok kutupluluğa geçtiği bir dönemde geliştirdi. Bush yönetiminin geliştirmiş olduğu ve uyguladığı diğer politikalara da bakacak olursak, zayıflayan hegemonyasını sağlama almaya ve devam ettirmeye çalıştığı anlaşılmaktadır. Füze kalkan stratejisi de bu bağlamda, askeri gücünü kullanarak diğer aktörlere karşı pazarlık payını artırma ve etki alanını genişletmekle ilgilidir. Bu yüzden Bush yönetimin uyguladığı politika Reagan'ın da izlemiş olduğu politikaya benzer bir şekilde saldırgan bir tutum içerisindedir.

Obama 2009 yılında yönetime geldikten sonra, Medvedev'e Bush tarafından Polonya ve Çek Cumhuriyeti'nde kurulması teklif edilen füze savunma sistemlerini, Rusya Federasyonu'nun İran'ın nükleer programına karşı destek vermesine karşılık müzakere etmeyi önerdi. Ayrıca sistemin Rusya Federasyonu'na karşı olmadığını George W. Bush gibi yeniledi. Bir süre sonra Obama yönetimi Bush döneminde teklif edilen projeyi değiştirdi ve EPAA (European Phased Adaptive Approach) Aşamalı Uyarlanabilir Yaklaşım projesini duyurdu. Bush döneminde ilk adımda yerleştirilmesi öngörülen Polonya ve Çek Cumhuriyeti'ne kurulacak sistemin iptal edildiğini duyurdu. Obama yönetiminin tanıttığı yeni yaklaşım, aşamalı olarak füze savunma sisteminin kurulmasını ve Akdeniz ve Karadeniz'de mobil halde bulunacak AEGIS savaş sistemleri ile

İran'a karşı müttefiklerin ve ABD askeri üsleri ile personelinin korumasını sağlayacaktır. Planın ilerleyen aşamalarında Romanya ve Polonya'ya da füze savunma sistemleri kurulması öngörülmektedir. Türkiye'de aktif hale getirilen ve Malatya, Kürecikte kurulan radar sistemin de bu yaklaşıma entegre edildiği unutulmamalıdır.

Obama yönetimi değişikliği açıkladığında, değişikliğin nedenleri olarak iki ana neden sundu. Bunlardan birincisi, ABD'nin istihbarat kaynaklarına göre İran'ın yakın bir gelecekte uzun menzilli füze geliştirmesinin öngörülmemesi ve zaten İran'ın da kısa menzilli füzeler geliştirmeye yönelmesi olarak sunuldu. Bu yüzden İran'a daha yakın olan bölgelere füze savunma sisteminin yerleştirilmesi daha mantıklı bir tercih olarak sunuldu. İkinci neden olarak da projenin finansal boyutundan dolayı, projenin gelişiminin ve konuşlandırılmasının uzun vadede gerçekleşmesinin finansal açıdan ABD'yi de rahatlatacağı ABD'nin resmi görevlilerin yaptığı açıklamalardan anlaşıldı. Bununla birlikte Obama yönetiminin planı değiştirmesinde çok daha farklı nedenler de vardı.

En önemli neden, ABD'nin İran'ın nükleer programı karşısında Rusya Federasyonu'nun desteğini almak ve bu konuda işbirliğine girişmekti çünkü Rusya Federasyonu bölgede önemli bir aktör konumundadır. Ayrıca Rusya Federasyonunu da kurulacak yeni sistemin içerisine çekmeye çalışmakla birlikte Rusya Federasyonu'nun muhalif tavrını da azaltmayı amaçlamaktaydı.

Bush döneminde teklif edilen plan ABD'nin tek taraflı davranmasından ortaya çıkan bir plandı. Karar alma sürecinde ne NATO ne de AB yer almıştı. Ancak Obama döneminde geliştirilen yaklaşım da ABD'nin tek taraflı aldığı bir karar olsa da, sonrasında NATO'yu ve Rusya Federasyonu'nu bir ölçüde memnun etmiştir. NATO, Obama yönetimin geliştirdiği yaklaşıma daha sonradan dâhil olmuş ve proje Avrupa'da NATO çerçevesinde uygulanmaya başlanmıştır.

Bush yönetimi ile Obama yönetiminin uygulama istediği füze kalkan savunma sistemleri projesi arasındaki en önemli farklardan biri de, Obama yönetiminin İran'a daha yakın bölgeleri korumak istemesiyle, Bush yönetiminde

korumasız bırakılan Güneydoğu Avrupa'nın Obama yönetiminin planı ile koruma alanın kapsamına girmiş olduğudur. Burada en dikkat çeken ülke Bush yönetiminde kendisine rol tanımlanmamasına rağmen, jeopolitik önemiyle birlikte füze savunma sistemlerine ev sahipliği yapması öngörülen Türkiye olmuştur. 2010 Ekim ayında yapılan Lizbon zirvesi öncesinde Türkiye kamuoyunda füze kalkanına ev sahipliği yapılması ile ilgili tartışmalar yaşanmıştır ve Türk hükümeti komuta sisteminin kendilerinde olması gerektiği isteğini yenilemiştir. Ancak ortaya çıkan WikiLeaks belgeleri ABD ve Türk yetkililer arasındaki müzakerelerin çok daha önceleri başladığını ortaya koymaktadır. Türk yetkililerin ABD yetkililerine yaptığı açıklamalarda Obama'nın duyurmuş olduğu PAA yaklaşımında Türkiye'nin de yer almak istediğini fakat Türkiye'nin projeye ev sahipliği yapması ile birlikte İslam dünyası ve Rusya Federasyonu ile ilişkilerin ne duruma geleceği konusunda endişeleri olduğu görülmektedir. Türkiye tüm taraflarla ilişkilerini yönetebilme eğilimi göstermektedir. Ayrıca Türkiye komuta ve kontrol sisteminin hangi ölçüde NATO bünyesinde olacağını öğrenmek istemekte ve açıklanan sistemin İran'a karşı olmasının, özellikle resmi belgelerde çok geçmemesini isteyerek, İran ile olan ilişkileri de devam ettirme amacındadır. Savunma Bakanı Vecdi Gönül Türkiye'nin doğusunda yer alacak bir radar sisteminin ülkenin doğu tarafını da koruyacağına, ayrıca güneydoğu Avrupa ülkeleri içinde Türkiye'nin radar sistemine ev sahipliği yapacak en uygun ülke olduğu fikrini de ABD'li yetkililere bildirmiştir. Son olarak da Türkiye Dışişleri Bakanlığı müsteşarı Feridun Sinirlioğlu, ABD yetkililerine Rusya Federasyonu'nun tepkisini sormuştur ve Rusların yeni plandan daha hoşnut olduğunu ve NATO- Rusya Federasyonu konseyi içinde müzakerelerin süreceği yanıtını almıştır.

Açıkça görülmektedir ki aslında Türkiye füze kalkanı savunma sistemini kendisi talep etmiş ve ABD bu talebe olumlu yanıt vermiştir.

Plan açıklandıktan sonra Rusya Federasyonu yeni önerilen yaklaşıma olumlu tepkiler vermiştir. Rus yetkililer Kaliningrad'a yerleştirileceği açıklanan önleyici İskender füzeleri kararından vazgeçmiştir ve diyaloğa açık olduklarını

belirtmişlerdir. Avrupa devletleri de projeyi NATO bünyesine alarak olumlu tepki verdiklerini göstermişlerdir.

Bununla birlikte Ukrayna'da yaşanan kriz ve Rusya'nın kriz karşısında aldığı tavır diyaloğun kesintiye uğramasına neden olmakla kalmamış, ABD'de bazı kongre üyelerinin ve medya organlarının da Obama üzerinde Bush döneminde teklif edilen planları tekrardan geri getirmesi için baskı yaratmasına neden olmuştur.

Sonuç olarak George W. Bush dönemi Reagan dönemindeki gibi saldırgan tutumu yenilemeye yönelik olsa da Obama yönetimi füze savunma sistemi yerleştirilmesi kararından vazgeçmemekle birlikte Rusya Federasyonu da dâhil olmak üzere, taraflarla müzakere sürecine girmiştir.

Bu tez Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde Amerikan füze savunma stratejilerindeki devamlılık ve değişimi ortaya koymak için yazılmıştır. Ayrıca George W. Bush dönemindeki teklif edilen planın Obama döneminde değiştirilmesinin nedenleri ve arkasında yatan gerçekler de bu tezin konusunu oluşturmaktadır.

ABD'nin füze savunma strateji konusundaki stratejilerindeki değişimleri ve bu değişimlerin nedenleri ile birlikte arkasında yatan gerçekler aydınlatılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Fred Halliday'in yapmış olduğu soğuk savaşın dönemleri sınıflandırılmasında İkinci Soğuk Savaş dönemine denk gelen Ronald Reagan dönemi, ABD'nin füze savunma stratejisindeki saldırgan tutumunu ortaya koymaktadır. Reagan Stratejik Savunma Girişimi adını verdiği yaklaşım ile birlikte, nükleer dengeyi ABD lehine çevirmeye çalışmıştır. Bu yaklaşımı ile birlikte projeyi devamlı bir savunma harcaması haline getirmiştir. Reagan bu projeyi Soğuk Savaş'ın devam ettiği zamanda ortaya koyarak, SSCB tarafında finansal bir darboğaz yaratmaya çalışmıştır. İki kutuplu sistemde bunu yaparak ABD hegemonyasını SSCB hegemonyasına karşı üstün konuma getirmeye

çalışmıştır. Her ne kadar doğrudan SSCB'nin dağılmasını sağlamasa da, büyük bir etki yaptığı açıktır.

Reagan döneminin aksine, George W.H. Bush ve Bill Clinton dönemlerinde uygulanan stratejiler, SSCB'nin artık var olmadığı, ABD'nin tek süper güç olarak kaldığı, tek kutuplu uluslararası sistemde ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu nedenle ve finansal nedenlerden dolayı da iki başkan da kısa menzilli füze ve sınırlı atış gücüne sahip füze tehlikesine karşı stratejiler geliştirmiştir.

George W. Bush döneminde, uluslararası sistem tek kutupluluktan, AB, Çin, Rusya Federasyonu ve Hindistan gibi aktörlerin güçlenmesiyle çok kutupluluğa doğru geçmekteydi. ABD hegemonyası yaşadığı finansal darboğazdan dolayı da hegemonyasının gücünü kaybetme tehlikesiyle karşı karşıyaydı. Bush bu ortamda geliştirdiği stratejilerle hegemonyasını devam ettirmeye çalıştı. Füze savunma stratejileri ABD'nin askeri gücünü ve etki alanını küresel düzlemde genişletmek için kullanılan stratejilerden biriydi.

Obama dönemi ise George W. Bush döneminin aksine füze savunma stratejileri konusunda, Rusya Federasyonu da dâhil olmak üzere, Avrupalı müttefikleri ile tekrardan müzakerelerin başladığı bir dönem olmuştur. Bush dönemi füze savunma stratejisi değiştirilmiş ve Rusya Federasyonu ile İran'ın nükleer programına destek vermesi konusunda müzakerelere girilmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, Amerikan füze savunma stratejilerinde dalgalanmalar ve değişiklikler yaşansa da, Soğuk Savaş sonrası her yönetim füze savunma sistemlerinin kurulması konusunda kararlılıklarını sürdürmüşler ve kalıcı bir savunma harcaması olarak bütçede yer vermişlerdir. Görünen şudur ki bundan sonraki dönemlerde de ABD yönetimleri, füze savunma stratejisi yerleştirme konusunda kararlılığını sürdürürken, dalgalanmalar gerçekleşebilir.

APPENDIX A: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ■

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı: Dönmez
Adı: Samet
Bölümü: Uluslararası İlişkiler

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF THE US MISSILE DEFENSE STRATEGY IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

TEZİN TÜRÜ: Yüksek Lisans ■ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ■
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

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