



An Evaluation of the Failure of the Hegemonic Stability Theory in Terms of International Security (Revelation of 725 Security Council Resolutions Belonging to Cold War Period)

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Abstract

This study aims to evaluate the success of the hegemonic stability theory within the framework of the Cold War era Security Council resolutions. In this direction, 725 resolutions of the Security Council between 1946 and 1991 have been examined and converted into numerical values in terms of content. It is seen that the decisions focused on a limited number of problems in the said period. The results show that the being of a single hegemonic power is not the main factor in providing stability. In addition, when looked at the post-Cold War period, it is possible to assert that the Security Council's burden has increased. It is seen that the problems increase and diversify in the unipolar world, and international terrorism comes to the fore as the main actor. Hegemonic stability theory has not been successful in terms of international security. For international security, it is necessary to seek stability in a pluralistic structure, not in a single hegemonic power, because it does not seem possible to achieve success by ignoring national interests and the ethnicity and culture on which these national interests are built. Although the bipolar order offers a relatively stable security environment, the high threat perception prevents countries from revealing their potential for development.

Keywords: *Hegemonic Stability Theory, International Security, Cold War Era, United Nations Security Council.*

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Uluslararası Güvenlik Açısından Hegemonik İstikrar Teorisinin Başarısızlığına İlişkin Bir Değerlendirme (Soğuk Savaş Dönemindeki 725 Güvenlik Konseyi Kararının Gösterdikleri)

Öz

Bu çalışma, hegemonik istikrar teorisinin başarısını Soğuk Savaş dönemi Güvenlik Konseyi kararları çerçevesinde değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda 1946 ile 1991 yılları arasında Güvenlik Konseyi'nin 725 kararı incelenmiş ve içerik olarak sayısal değerlere dönüştürülmüştür. Söz konusu dönemde kararların sınırlı sayıda sorun üzerine yoğunlaştığı görülmektedir. Ortaya çıkan sonuçlar, tek bir hegemonik gücün varlığının istikrar sağlamada ana unsur olmadığını göstermektedir. Ayrıca Soğuk Savaş sonrası döneme bakıldığında Güvenlik Konseyi'nin yükünün arttığını söylemek mümkündür. Tek kutuplu dünyada sorunların arttığı ve çeşitlendiği, uluslararası terörizmin ana aktör olarak ön plana çıktığı görülmektedir. Hegemonik istikrar teorisi uluslararası güvenlik açısından başarı gösterememiştir. Uluslararası güvenlik için istikrarı tek bir hegemonik güçte değil, çoğulcu bir yapıda aramak gerekmektedir çünkü ulusal çıkarlar ve bu ulusal çıkarların inşa edildiği etnisite ve kültür göz ardı edilerek başarı sağlamak mümkün gözükmemektedir. İki kutuplu düzen ise görece olarak daha istikrarlı bir güvenlik ortamı sunsa da yüksek tehdit algısı, ülkelerin gelişmeye yönelik potansiyellerini ortaya koymayı engellemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Hegemonik İstikrar Teorisi, Uluslararası Güvenlik, Soğuk Savaş Dönemi, Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi.*

1. Introduction

a. Problem and Literature Review

This study is handled with the concern of evaluating the explanatory power of the hegemonic stability theory from a security perspective. Although the theory of hegemonic stability was initially based on the concepts with reference to international political economy for international stability, it was later brought into the other disciplines such as international relations and is also currently included in textbooks within the scope of international relations.

In spite of explaining it with more detail in the conceptual framework section, it should be stated briefly at this stage that according to the hegemonic stability theory, a hegemonic power is needed for the stability of the international system. This is the starting point of the theory. Yet, it is not possible to say that there is a consensus in the literature on this issue including the success of hegemonic stability theory. In this regard, it is possible to classify the approaches to the theory of hegemonic stability in three main categories: Those who support and those who reject the explanatory power of the theory, and those who are wary of the success of the theory.

Yazid (2015) claims that the lack of vigorous hegemonic power in the international system gave rise to the political uncertainty and economic depression before World War II by concluding that after 1945, the preferable and strong situation in international politics and economy was created by the United States of America (USA) as a recent hegemonic power thanks to the role USA played, and by concluding that the international institution cannot be run well without powerful support of a hegemonic power. For him, USA was succeeded in this by making policies at regional level like the Marshall Plan (Yazid, 2015: 78).

Alvarez (2021) refers to the power of the theory of hegemonic stability at regional level in the example of Brazil and Venezuela by concluding that the decline in power of Brazil and Venezuelan as hegemonic countries helps to explain political turnarounds and changes in regional governance. In other words, Brazil and Venezuela were of importance for the creation of the Union of South American Nations and the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America respectively, but their decline in regionalist efforts has failed these organizations. The most important lesson from their decline is that it is important to put regional interests before national interests for regional hegemonic stability (Alvarez, 2021: 56-71). Hungerland (2018) argues that hegemonic stability theory correctly describes China's current rise and longing by claiming that the international regime theory will sustain correct in the short-to-medium term while the hegemonic stability theory will be proven correctly in the long term. Gilpin (2017: 96), on the other hand, claims that hegemonic power without liberal commitment to the market economy will most likely result in imperial systems or cause economic and political constraints on

smaller powers as in the Soviet Bloc. In other words, it is important to respect the values of economic liberalism to talk about hegemonic stability.

In a relatively earlier study, however, it is seen that the theory was rejected. In his study where Snidal (1985) criticizes the arguments of Kindleberger, one of important defender of the theory, Snidal rejects the basic assumption of this theory and concludes with empirical data that the collapsing hegemon will be replaced by collective action. For him, there is no justification that the decline in hegemonic power will cause the decadence of the economic order. Secondary forces will be willing to engage in collective action to avoid the collapse of the regime, provided they are motivated to do so because they take advantage of it and are powerful enough to have an effect on it. As such, a change in the strategic situation may even lead to higher levels of cooperation. Therefore, there is no need for any “leadership delay” to explain the failure of Kindleberger's prediction about the regime's collapse. This is essentially being made clear by the incentives of the major Western economic powers to maintain the stability of the existing economic order. There are of course hard bargains and frictions, but there is no reason for the regime to collapse or weaken significantly. Collective action picks up where hegemonic power ended (Snidal, 2018: 612).

A strong criticism can be also found in Keohane's writings. According to Keohane (1984), the collapse of hegemony does not make cooperation impossible. For Keohane, international regimes are not weak substitutes for world government, but tools that facilitate decentralized cooperation between selfish actors.

On the other hand, Walter (1996) asserts that the theory of hegemonic stability alone is not enough although the theory points to a direct relationship between the dramatic success of post-1945 international economic regimes and the US claim to leadership after 1945. In explaining stability, it is necessary to take into account the other two approaches that support this theory. These other theories are alliance leadership and ideational consensus approaches. Because the relationship between the USA and Western Europe cannot be ignored in ensuring stability, and these two other approaches have a contribution in providing stability. So deciding which among these three factors (hegemonic stability theory, alliance leadership and ideational consensus) is superior is unlikely possible.

b. The Purpose, Importance and Assumptions of the Study

The purpose in this study is to evaluate the success or the failure of the hegemonic stability theory in explaining the steadiness in the international relations through the decisions taken by the Security Council during the Cold War period. In other words, it will be perused whether the decisions arrived at by the Security Council in this bipolar period coincide with the stability argument of the hegemonic stability theory.

Thanks to the current literature review, no study has been found that evaluates the theory of hegemonic stability within the framework of the Security Council resolutions. In this sense, it is possible to say that the study will contribute to the literature. However, more importantly, it reveals the questionable feature of the theory in terms of international security.

The level of analysis is based on the global and interstate level. Therefore, it may be possible to reach different results at different levels of analysis (individual or state level).

c. Limits

This study is bottomed on the 725 resolutions of the Security Council between 1946 and 1991 (Cold War Period). The reason for choosing the Cold War Period is related to the purpose of the study. Hence, the effects of having two hegemonic powers instead of a single hegemonic power will be evaluated. In this sense, the entire universe is within the scope of the study in terms of the period examined. The distribution of decisions by years is as follows. 15 resolutions for 1946, 22 resolutions for 1947, 29 resolutions for 1948, 12 resolutions for 1949, 11 resolutions for 1950, 7 resolutions for 1951, 2 resolutions for 1952, 5 resolutions for 1953, 2 resolutions for 1954, 5 resolutions for 1955, 11 resolutions for 1956, 5 resolutions for 1957, 5 resolutions for 1958, 1 resolution for 1959, 28 resolutions for 1960, 10 resolutions for 1961, 7 resolutions for 1962, 8 resolutions for 1963, 14 resolutions for 1964, 20 resolutions for 1965, 13 resolutions for 1966, 12 resolutions for 1967, 18 resolutions for 1968, 13 resolutions for 1969, 16 resolutions for 1970, 16 resolutions for 1971, 17 resolutions for 1972, 20 resolutions for 1973, 22 resolutions for 1974, 18 resolutions for 1975, 18 resolutions for 1976, 20 resolutions for 1977, 21 resolutions for 1978, 18 resolutions for 1979, 23 resolutions for 1980,

15 resolutions for 1981, 29 resolutions for 1982, 17 resolutions for 1983, 14 resolutions for 1984, 21 resolutions for 1985, 13 resolutions for 1986, 13 resolutions for 1987, 20 resolutions for 1988, 20 resolutions for 1989, 37 resolutions for 1990, and 42 resolutions for 1991.

The other limit of the study is that the study is limited to the hegemonic stability theory. The results obtained in the study are classified within the framework of the country and the territory or geography, albeit in a limited number.

2. Conceptual Framework

It is the hegemonic stability theory developed by Charles Kindleberger who claims that there must be a stabilizer, a single stabilizer for the world economy to be stabilized. The hegemon is the representative of the non-existent world government. (Aliber and Kindleberger, 2015: 406). The theory combines realism/neorealism and liberalism/neoliberalism by claiming that international economic openness and steady occur when there is one dominant power (Özçelik, 2005: 93; Webb and Krashner, 1989). The hegemonic stability theory argues that the existence of a strong state in the international economic system brings stability to the system, and thanks to this stability, a suitable environment is prepared for other countries to develop strategies for economic growth and development. Having the necessary capacity to be a hegemon state requires a strong economy, a leading role in technology development, and political and military power to be used when necessary. According to this approach, for a state to become a hegemonic state in the international system, the following three conditions must somehow come together:

- To have the ability to impose rules that have the power to impose sanctions on the international system,
- Desiring to be hegemon in the international system,
- Committed to a system that will also benefit other major actors within the system (Demir, 2018a: 43).¹

3. Method

a. The Model of the Research

The used research model is the scanning model, which describes an existing situation, as it exists. The data obtained via the scanning have been classified so that

the diversity of the problems has been seen. In brief, this model is suitable for this article's purpose.

b. Universe and Sample

The universe of the research consists of 725 Security Council resolutions that are the subject of this research.

c. Data Collection Tools

The main source is the official documents based on the decisions shared with the public on the website of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

d. Data Collection

Data are based on first-hand sources. Documentary scanning forms the data collection technique.

e. Data Analysis

The analysis of the data is based on the evaluation of these data by converting the findings into statistics for describing and interpreting. In this sense, a mixed method has been used in data analysis, including both qualitative and quantitative methods.

4. Findings and Comment

Between 1946 and 1991, the Security Council had 725 resolutions. Figure 1 shows the distribution of these decisions by years.

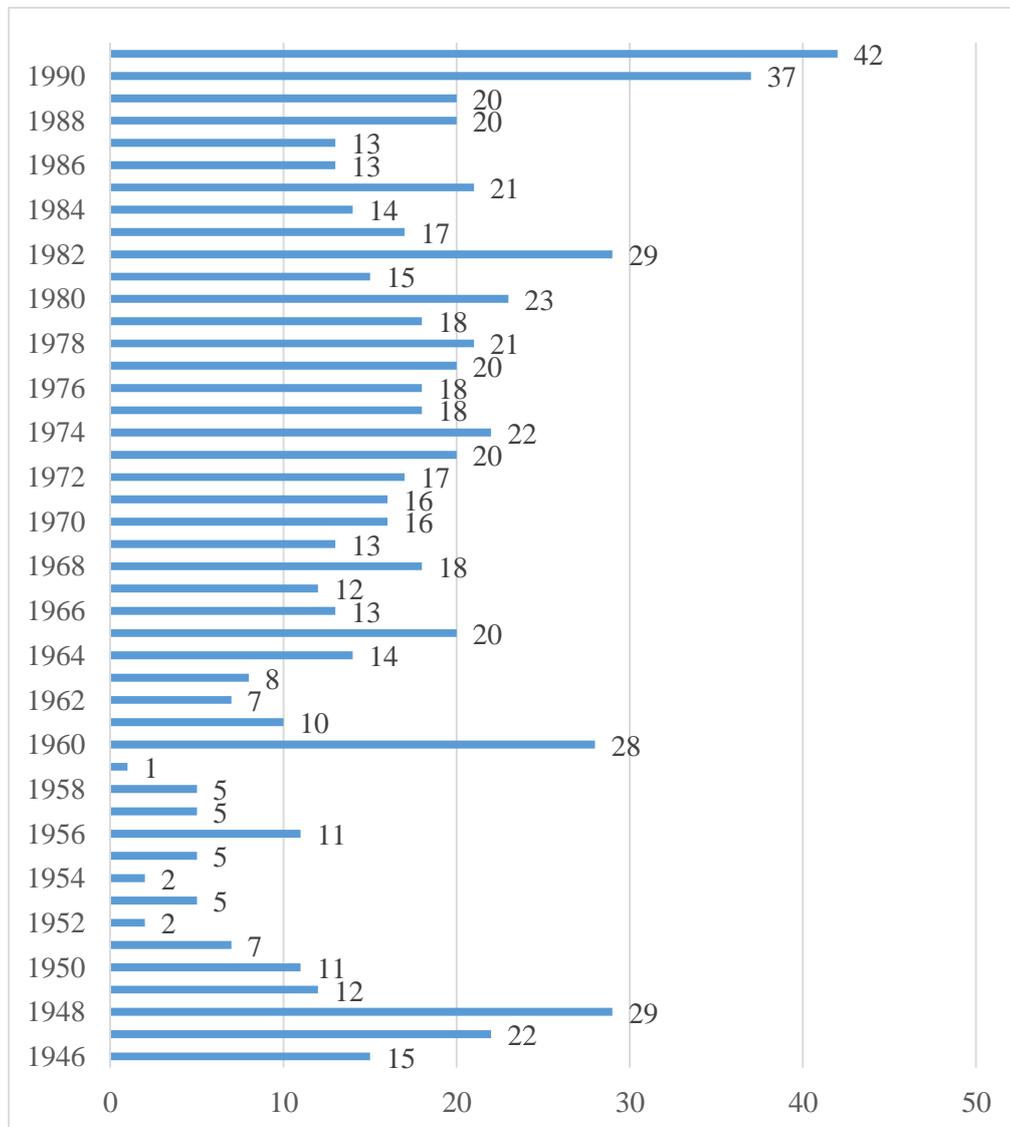


Figure 1. Distribution of Security Council Resolutions by Years
(Between 1946-1991)

The subject of these decisions is on the conflicts by the countries in particular or territories specified in the following lines: Afghanistan-Pakistan, Angola, Bahrain, Benin, Cambodia, Central America, Chad, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, East Timor, Egypt-France-United Kingdom, Egypt-Israel, El

Salvador, Falkland Islands, Free Territory of Trieste, Greece-Türkiye, Greek Question, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras-Nicaragua, Hungary, India-Pakistan, Indonesian Problem, Iran, Iran-Iraq, Iranian Problem, Iran-USA, Iraq, Iraq-Israel, Iraq-Kuwait, Israel-Lebanon, Israel-Syrian Arab Republic, Israel-Tunisia, Korea Republic, Laos, Latin America, Lebanon, Middle East, Namibia, Nicaragua-USA, Palestine, Portuguese, Relations between Great Powers, Senegal, Seychelles, Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Spanish, Taiwan, Territories Occupied by Israel, The Corfu Channel Incidents, The Transfer of Adolf Eichmann, Thematic, Trusteeship of Strategic Areas, Tunisia, West Africa, Western Sahara, Yemen and Zambia.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of Security Council Resolutions by country or territory between 1946 and 1991. The issue unclassified means regulations about United Nations Organization including the acceptance of new members to the United Nations, armament, procedure, International Court of Justice, international control on atomic energy etc. From a thematic point of view, the prominent elements in this period are the Cyprus issue, the Iran-Iraq conflict, the Indonesian problem, the India-Pakistan conflict, *the Arab-Israeli conflict*, *the Lebanon and Palestine issue (in short, the Middle East issue)*, and South Africa. It is possible to say that Cyprus and the Middle East issue has become chronic among these problems.

The contents of the identified problems are as follows. While the problems are listed in alphabetical order from bottom to top in the table, they are listed here by taking into account the date encountered in the Security Council year by year.

- Iranian question: The abdication of Soviet troops from Iran.
- Spanish question: Franco regime endangering international peace and security.
- Greek question: Border violations between Greece and Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.
- Unclassified: Issues such as armaments, recruit to the United Nations, procedure related the institutions of United Nations, International Court of Justice, international control for atomic energy, expenses, reviewing the United Nations Charter, appointment of Secretary General, Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons for safeguard non-nuclear-weapon states, hijacking, the place of

Security Council meetings, Chinese language in Security Council, security and international peace as thematic issues, Arabic language in Security Council, hostage-taking, and explosives.

- Free Territory of Trieste: Peace Treaty between Italy and Yugoslavia Socialist Federal Republic relating to the creation and government of the Free Territory of Trieste.

- The Corfu Channel incidents: A conflict between the United Kingdom and Albania that resulted when two British ships were damaged by mines in the Strait of Corfu on 22 October 1946, resulting in the loss of life and property of their crews.

- Trusteeship of strategic areas: The United States of America is designated as the administrative authority of the Pacific Islands region, which consists of islands formerly mandated by Japan, pursuant to Article 22 of the League of Nations Convention.

- Indonesian problem: Ongoing clashes between the Republic of Indonesia and the armed forces of the Netherlands.

- India-Pakistan question: The strife for the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

- Palestine question: A truce between Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

- Korea Republic: North Korea's armed attack against the Republic of Korea.

- Taiwan: The declaration about the armed occupation of the island of Taiwan (Formosa) by the People's Republic of China.

- Guatemala question: Inviting representatives of Nicaragua, Guatemala and Honduras to compromise to end any action that may cause bloodshed.

- Egypt-France-United Kingdom: Suez question.

- Hungary situation: A dire situation created by the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the Hungarian people's efforts to defend their rights.

- Lebanon: Interference of the United Arab Republic against the internal affairs of Lebanon.

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- Laos question: To appoint a subcommittee consisting of Japan, Tunisia, Argentina and Italy, and instruct that subcommittee to review the statements made in the Security Council on Laos.
 - South Africa question: Complaints of twenty-nine member states regarding the situation regarding the killing of peaceful demonstrators against discrimination in the Union of South Africa.
 - Relations between Great Powers: The lack of consensus among the great powers needed for peace and international security.
 - Adolf Eichmann's transfer: On the complaint that the transfer of Adolf Eichmann to the territory of Israel constituted a violation of the sovereignty of the Argentine Republic.
 - Congo question: Call for the Belgian Government to draw back its troops from the territory of the Republic of the Congo.
 - Dominican Republic problem: The report of the Secretary General of the Organization of American States. This report concerns the Final Act of the Sixth Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics.
 - Cuba's complaint: The situation being between the United States of America and Cuba.
 - Angola question: The worry and strong responses to repressive measures along the continent of Africa and in other sections of the world by calling upon the Portuguese authorities to immediately abandon repressive measures in Angola.
 - Tunisia problem: Ensuring an urgent ceasefire and turning back all armed forces to their original locations in Tunisia.
 - Senegal's complaint: Territorial violations against Senegal by Portuguese military forces.
 - Yemen problem: External origin of the situation in Yemen with reference to the United Arab Republic and the Governments of Saudi Arabia.

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- Portuguese problem: The situation in Africa disturbing security and peace due to territory under Portuguese rule. Immediate recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence in areas under Portuguese rule.
 - Cyprus problem: The situation disturbing security and international peace in Cyprus.
 - Cambodia's complaint: The incidents happened on Cambodian territory and the being case on the Cambodian-Viet-Nameese frontier.
 - Southern Rhodesia problem: Condemning unilateral declaration of racist minority in Southern Rhodesia for independence and demanding United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to establish democratic infrastructure for Southern Rhodesia for attaining independence.
 - Middle East: Arab-Israeli War.
 - West Africa problem: Ending South Africa's authority over South West Africa.
 - Namibia's situation: Ending South Africa's authority over South West Namibia.
 - Zambia's complaint: The serious condition against Lote village in the Katete District of the Eastern Province of Zambia bordering the Territory of Mozambique that was incurred by the Portuguese bombing.
 - Guinea's complaint: The wide detriment of Guinean villages because of the Portuguese shelling, the Portuguese violation against the Republic of Guinea.
 - Bahrain question: The wish of Bahrain people thanks to Iran government to gain the recognition of their identity in a fully independent and sovereign State versus United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
 - Latin America's situation: The presence and utilization of compulsive measures affecting the independent practice of lasting sovereignty over the native resources of the countries in Latin American.
 - Egypt-Israel problem: Cease fire between Egypt and Israel.

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- Israel-Lebanon problem: Condemning Israel's breaking against Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
 - Iran-Iraq problem: Iran-Iraq tension and eventual war.
 - Israel-Syrian Arab Republic problem: Welcoming the agreement on the withdrawal between Israeli and Syrian Forces.
 - Western Sahara problem: Calling upon Morocco to withdraw all the participants in the march from the Western Sahara territory.
 - East Timor problem: With the Indonesian Government withdrawing all its forces from the territory without delay, the Portuguese Government fully cooperating with the United Nations to enable the people of East Timor to freely exercise their right of self-determination.
 - Greece-Türkiye situation: It is about cooperation with the United Nations on the Cyprus problem.
 - Benin issue: Condemning the use of international mercenaries to destabilize Benin.
 - Territories Occupied by Israel: Inviting Israel to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council and accepting Israel's policy and practices of establishing settlements in Palestine and other Arab lands occupied since 1967 as unlawful.
 - Iran-USA issue: It is about keeping United States Embassy personnel in Tehran that could have serious consequences for international peace and security.
 - Iraq-Israel issue: Condemning the Israeli air strike on Iraq's nuclear facilities on 7 June 1981 and urging Israel to immediately place its nuclear facilities under the protection of the International Atomic Energy Agency, as the Iraqi government did.
 - Seychelles complaint: Condemning the mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles and the subsequent hijacking conducted from South Africa.

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- Falkland Islands problem: Call for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Governments of Argentina to avoid from the usage or menace of force in the region of the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas), and demand for an urgent retreat of all Argentine powers from the Falkland Islands.
 - Chad issue: On the decision to establish a peacekeeping force for the maintenance of peace and security in Chad, in agreement with the Organization of African Unity and the Government of the Republic of Chad.
 - Honduras-Nicaragua: The prevailing situation in Nicaragua and, accordingly, the danger of a military conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua, which could exacerbate the current critical situation in Central America.
 - Iran problem: Iranian attacks on merchant ships bound for Kuwait and Saudi Arabian ports.
 - Nicaragua-USA problem: Respect Nicaragua's right to develop international relations in its own interests, without outside interference.
 - Israel-Tunisia problem: Condemnation of the Israeli act regarding armed assault on Tunisian territory.
 - Afghanistan-Pakistan issue: Arrangement for the temporary dispatch of military personnel from current United Nations operations to Afghanistan and Pakistan to assist in a good offices mission.
 - Central America: On the desire to resolve their conflicts peacefully without outside interference in Central America.
 - Iraq-Kuwait problem: Upon the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq.
 - Iraq issue: Denouncing the oppression of the Iraqi civilian population in many parts of Iraq, including the Kurdish populated areas.
 - El Salvador issue: The Geneva Agreement concluded between the Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional and the Government of El Salvador in 1990 because of the increasing violence climate in El Salvador, which heavily affected the civilian population.

- Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: It is related to the conflicts that caused heavy loss of life and property in Yugoslavia and its consequences in the countries of the region, especially in the border regions of neighboring countries.

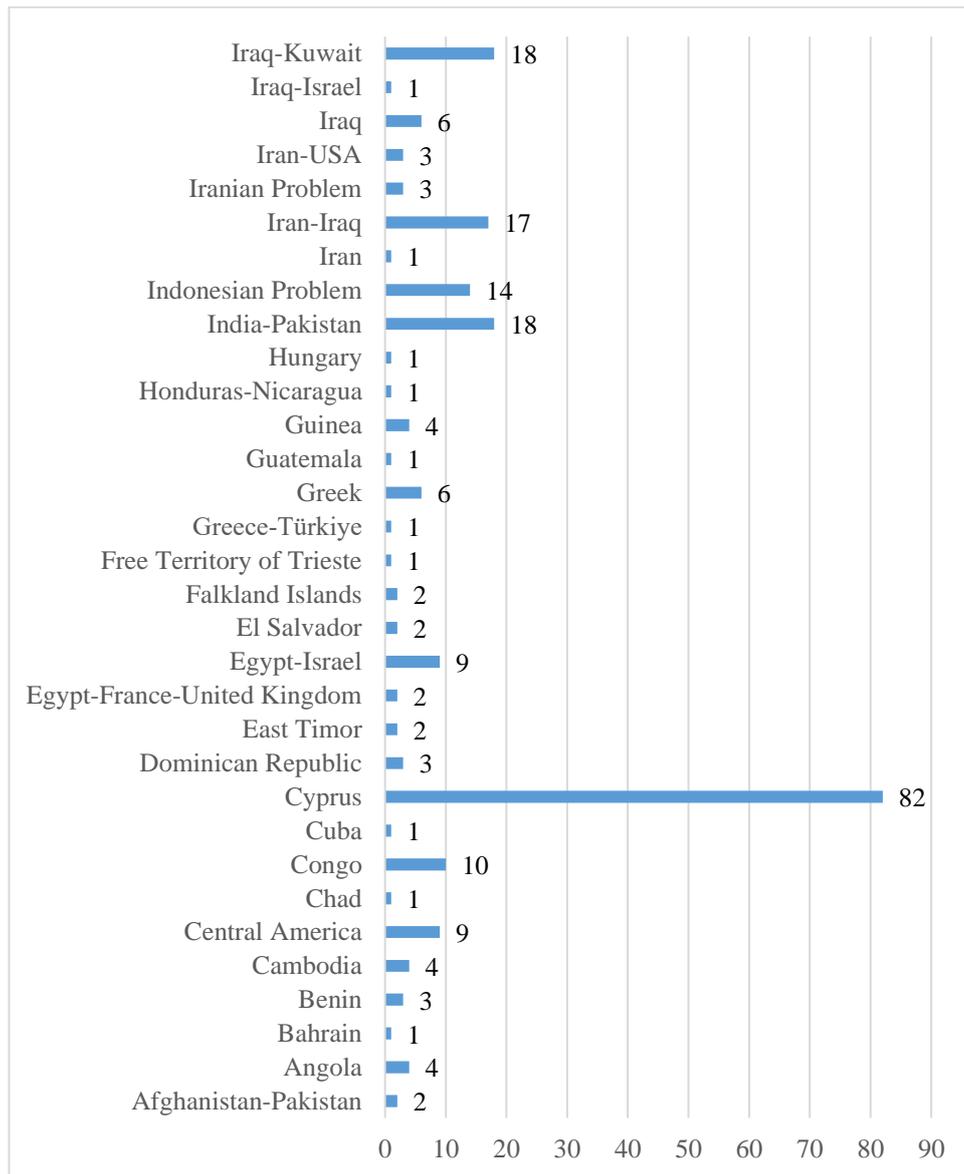


Figure 2. Security Council Resolutions' Distribution by Country or Territory
(Between 1946-1991)

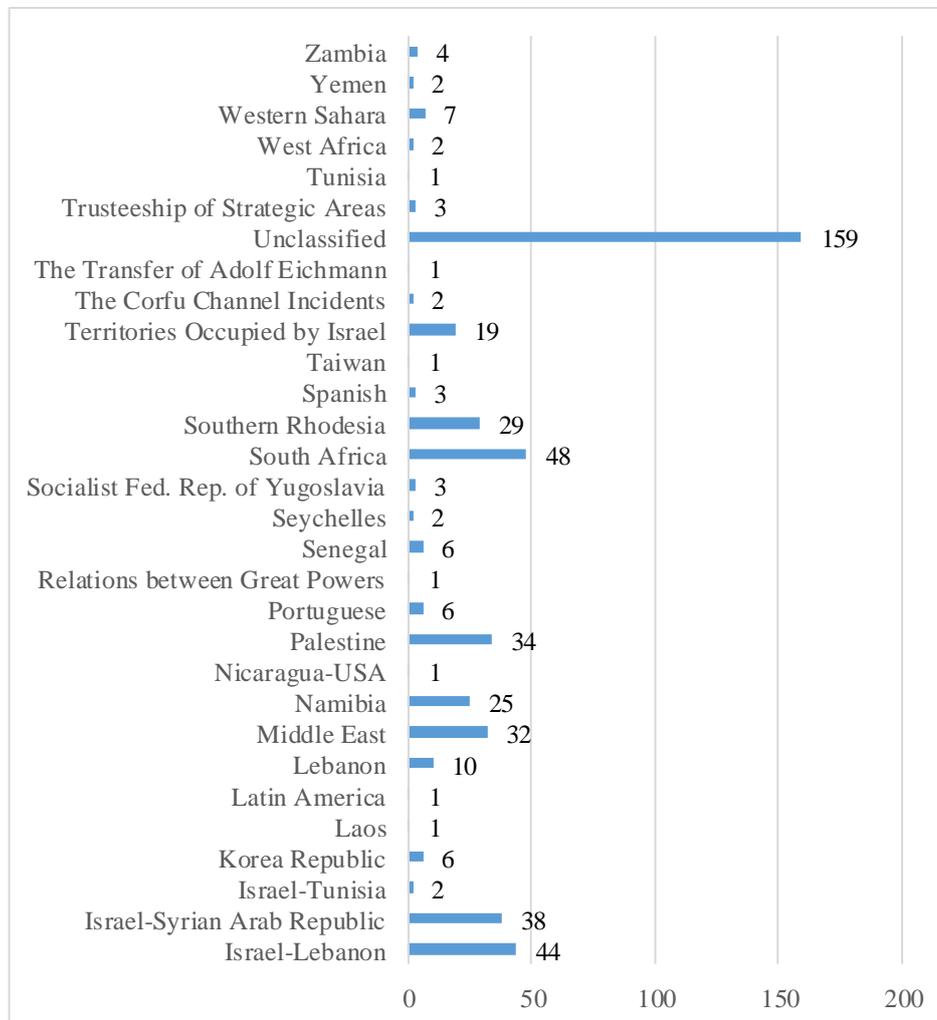


Figure 2 (continued). Security Council Resolutions' Distribution by Country or Territory (Between 1946-1991)

5. Conclusion, Discussion and Suggestions

Even without making a comparison with the post-Cold War era, considering only the Cold War Period, the power of the hegemonic stability theory is still questionable when considering, for example, the Cyprus issue between Türkiye and Greece. The hegemonic power of the USA in that period could not prevent the conflict between the two countries (Türkiye and Greece) within the North Atlantic

Alliance (North Atlantic Treaty Organization- NATO). In other words, the fact that the USA was a hegemonic power in that period could not be solved the problems between the allies. In fact, the reaction of Greece in the Cyprus issue was to leave the military wing of NATO because of the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation carried out by Türkiye.² Moreover, while Greece was [and is] a NATO member in the process leading up to the Cyprus Peace Operation, Greece's extension Cyprus (Greek Cyprus) took part [and takes part] in the Non-Aligned Movement and followed a policy close to the Soviets (Erdoğan, 2018: 214-217). So hegemonic stability theory is problematic even if it is defined for relations within a certain alliance such as NATO, Warsaw Pact, and Non-Aligned Movement. Another example is that although it is a NATO member, the only country that directly supported Serbia in the Bosnian War was Greece. Therefore, the fact that the USA is the hegemonic power in the alliance did not prevent Greece, which acted with religious concerns, from moving against the alliance (Erdoğan and Akçiçek, 2019: 45). However, this example can also be interpreted as a conflict between organizational interests and national interests because, on the other hand, the consensus in NATO's intervention in the Kosovo War (Çapar, 2006: 105) can also be interpreted as a striking example of hegemonic stabilization provided by USA. Yet, as will be seen below, the failure of the approach is even more obvious when interpreted outside of a particular alliance relationship- The Warsaw Pact and, in this sense, the hegemonic power Russia have already failed. In other words, statistics in a wider context offer more uncontroversial results.

Compared to the Cold War period, it is understood that the resolutions of Security Council after the Cold War period are more and more diverse. The burden of the Security Council, in other words, has increased in the unipolar period. Figure 3 shows the distribution of Security Council Resolutions by country or territory between 1992 and 2021. The data do not show that there is hegemonic stability in a unipolar world. On the contrary, new problems have come to the fore in the unipolar world.

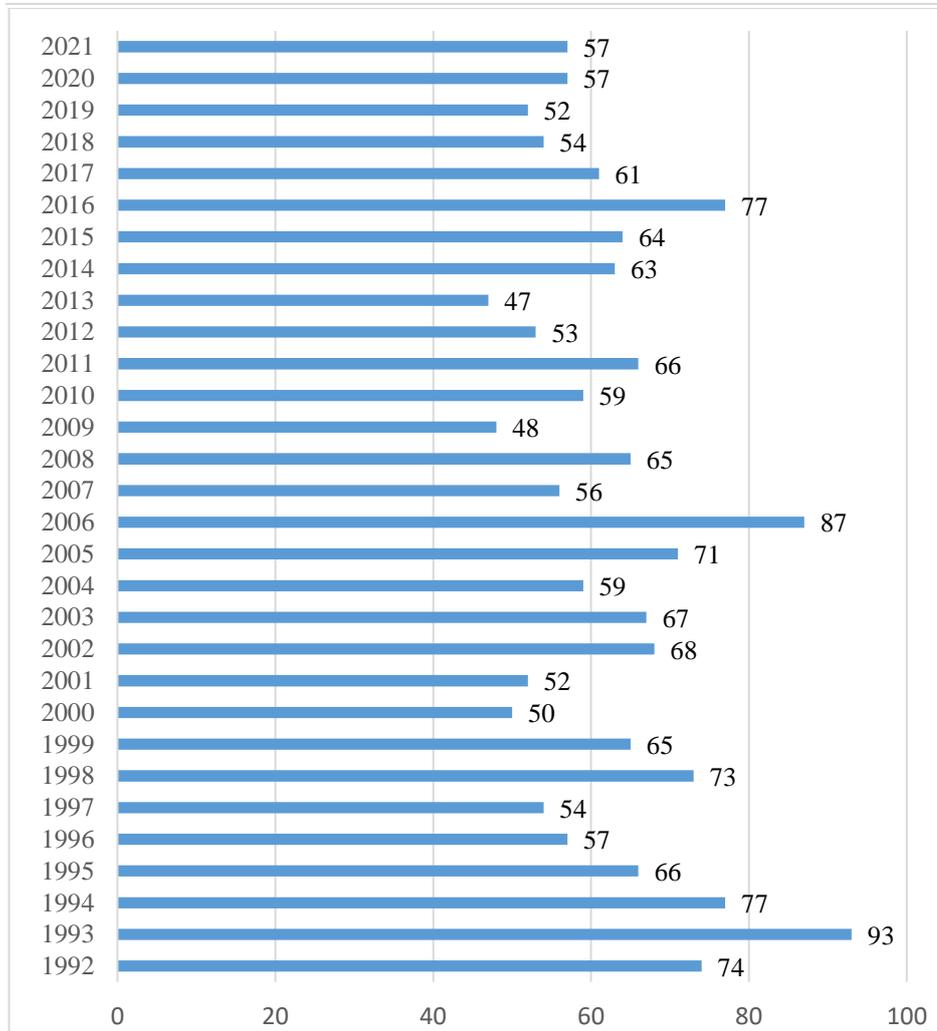


Figure 3. Security Council Resolutions' Distribution by Years
(Between 1992-2021)

Although some of these decisions are not directly related to security, between 1946 and 1991 (inclusive of 1991), an average of about 15 decisions were made per year, compared to an average of about 63 per year between 1992 and 2021 (inclusive of 2021).³ This also shows that the problems are multiplying and diversifying. Terrorism and national and regional instability are at the forefront of these diversifying and increasing problems. Therefore, it is not possible to say that the post-Cold War period provided a safer environment as per the Cold War period.

In other words, the existence of more than one hegemonic power has created a more stable environment in terms of security. According to Balaam and Dillman (2018: 43), in the post-Cold War Period, the reason for the rising in traditional security-related problems, that is, the increase in state-level rebellions and conventional wars between states, especially in developing countries, is political economy.

Moreover, it is seen that the situation is not more encouraging when the security parameter is taken into account other than traditional military security, in other words, when the components of the security parameter are diversified. During the Cold War Period -in the bipolar period, while the states were mainly busy with the security of their own lands and war (Balaam and Dillman, 2018: 45), the problems diversified in the post-Cold War Period and other factors such as the economy and the environment have been counted in the scope of security studies. In that sense, the behavior of nation states reveals results that vary according to the number of hegemonic countries in the system. According to Demir (2018b: 19), the definition of security has changed, and it has begun to shift from being exposed to political interference to being subjected to economic pressure. In a similar and more comprehensive way, Dent (2007: 209) expresses the situation as follows: There is switch from military superpowers to economic superpowers, from geo-politics to geo-economics and from politico-ideological competition to economic competition.⁴

On the other hand, the post-Cold War Period has created a ground for countries to reveal their positive and negative abilities. As the negative ability shows itself in the phenomenon of violence and terrorism, the positive ability shows itself in the phenomenon of progress, growth and development. This ground is basically shaped within the framework of the debate whether globalization is good or bad because the most important feature of the post-Cold War Period is globalization. Naturally, the course of these discussions will change direction according to the gains from globalization.

Actually, the data show that stability should not be sought in a single hegemonic power, but in a pluralistic structure. Because it does not seem possible to achieve success by ignoring national interests and the ethnicity and culture⁵ on which these national interests are built.⁶

Notes

1. See also Kindleberger, C.P. (1981). Dominance and Leadership in the international economy: Exploitation, public goods, and free rides. *International Studies Quarterly*, 25(2), 242-254.
2. On the other hand, during the Cold War period, 83 decisions were taken regarding Cyprus between 1960 and 1991. In these resolutions, the Security Council essentially defends the unity of the Island and condemns foreign interventions on the Island. In particular, the situation created by Türkiye with the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation was [and is] not accepted. For details, see United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Cyprus from 1960 to 1991 at <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-0>.
3. The number of resolutions between 1946 and 1991- including 1991- is 725. The number of resolutions from 1992 to 2021 is 1892, inclusive of 2021. See for details (<https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-0>).
4. In fact, even Dent's conclusion remains incomplete, at least by 2022 because it is possible to say that international security as a field of study has a wide content as time goes by, and if the subjects are securitized, everything can be included in this field of study, which there is the possibility of securitization of any element with the acceptance of the political will. For the changing security concept and security-related fields of study, for example, see Yenal (2020).
5. While globalization creates cultural imperialism on the one hand, it creates cultural pluralism on the other. In this sense, continuing to strive to recreate an American Dream remains a socially constructed narrative (Gül, 2021: 34) compared to the potential of cultural pluralism. In other words, global mixing and hybridization is as important as westernization and privileged western culture and cannot be ignored (Demir, 2018c: 67).
6. Even limiting the hegemonic stability theory to certain set of alliances, as mentioned above does not change the result either. The Cyprus example was given above in this context. However, the example is not limited to that. In a similar way, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a hegemonic power of Warsaw Pact could not be successful in its own alliance as well. In this sense, Russia, as an unsuccessful hegemonic power, could not provide hegemonic stability over the pact. Even China,

which is interpreted by Hungerland (2018) as a potential candidate for hegemonic stability theory, needs to consider these phenomena (national interests, the ethnicity, culture and similar issues).

Genişletilmiş Özet

Giriş

Bu çalışma, hegemonik istikrar teorisinin açıklama gücünü güvenlik perspektifinden değerlendirme kaygısıyla ele alınmıştır. Hegemonik istikrar teorisi, önceleri uluslararası istikrar için uluslararası ekonomi politik referanslı kavramlara dayandırılmış olsa da, daha sonra uluslararası ilişkiler gibi diğer disiplinlere de taşınmış ve günümüzde uluslararası ilişkiler kapsamında ders kitaplarında da yer alan uzlaşma temelli yaklaşımlardan biridir.

Hegemonik istikrar teorisine göre uluslararası sistemin istikrarı için hegemonik bir güce ihtiyaç vardır. Bu teorisin başlangıç noktasıdır. Ancak hegemonik istikrar teorisine ilişkin olarak literatürde bir fikir birliğinin olduğunu söylemek mümkün değildir. Hegemonik istikrar teorisinin uluslararası düzeyde istikrar sağlama kabiliyetine ilişkin olarak mevcut yaklaşımları üç ana kategoride sınıflandırmak mümkündür. Bunlar;

1. Teorisin açıklayıcı gücünü destekleyenler,
2. Teorisin açıklayıcı gücünü reddedenler yani teoriyi başarısız bulanlar,
3. Teorisin başarısına bir takım ilave parametreler çerçevesinde müspet yaklaşanlar.

Hegemonik istikrar teorisi, güçlü bir devletin varlığının uluslararası ekonomik sisteme istikrar (denge) getirdiğini ve bu denge aracılığıyla öteki ülkelerin ekonomik büyüme ve kalkınma stratejileri geliştirebildiğini savunur. Hegemon devlet olmak için gerekli kapasiteye sahip olmak, güçlü bir ekonomiyi, teknoloji geliştirmede öncü rolü ve gerektiğinde kullanılacak siyasi ve askerî gücü gerektirmektedir. Bu yaklaşıma göre bir devletin uluslararası sistemde hegemonik bir devlet olabilmesi için şu üç koşulun bir şekilde bir araya gelmesi gerekir:

1. Uluslararası sisteme yaptırım uygulama gücüne sahip kuralları uygulama kabiliyetine sahip olmak,

2. Uluslararası sistemde hegemon olmayı arzulamak,
3. Sistem içindeki diğer büyük aktörlere de fayda sağlayacak bir sisteme bağlılık göstermek (Demir, 2018a: 43).

Çalışmanın amacı, soğuk savaş döneminde Güvenlik Konseyi'nin aldığı kararlar üzerinden hegemonik istikrar teorisinin uluslararası ilişkilerdeki istikrarı açıklamadaki başarısını veya başarısızlığını değerlendirmektir. Diğer bir deyişle, Güvenlik Konseyi'nin bu iki kutuplu dönemde aldığı kararların hegemonik istikrar teorisinin istikrar argümanı ile örtüşüp örtüşmediği incelenmektedir.

Çalışmanın amacı çerçevesinde Güvenlik Konseyi'nin 1946-1991 yılları arasında aldığı 725 karar incelenmiştir. Bu anlamda incelenen dönem itibariyle tüm evren çalışmanın kapsamındadır. Kararların yıllara göre dağılımı şu şekildedir: 1946 için 15, 1947 için 22, 1948 için 29, 1949 için 12, 1950 için 11, 1951 için 7, 1952 için 2, 1953 için 5, 1954 için 2, 1955 için 5, 1956 için 11, 1957 için 5, 1958 için 5, 1959 için 1, 1960 için 28, 1961 için 10, 1962 için 7, 1963 için 8, 1964 için 14, 1965 için 20, 1966 için 13, 1967 için 12, 1968 için 18, 1969 için 13, 1970 için 16, 1971 için 16, 1972 için 17, 1973 için 20, 1974 için 22, 1975 için 18, 1976 için 18, 1977 için 20, 1978 için 21, 1979 için 18, 1980 için 23, 1981 için 15, 1982 için 29, 1983 için 17, 1984 için 14, 1985 için 21, 1986 için 13, 1987 için 13, 1988 için 20, 1989 için 20, 1990 için 37 ve 1991 için 42.

Bulgular

1946 ve 1991 yılları arasında Güvenlik Konseyi'nin 725 kararı vardır. Tematik açıdan bu dönemde öne çıkan unsurlar Kıbrıs sorunu, İran-İrak çatışması, Endonezya sorunu, Hindistan-Pakistan çatışması, Arap-İsrail çatışması ile Lübnan ve Filistin meselesi (kısaca Orta Doğu sorunu) ile Güney Afrika konusudur. Bu sorunlar arasında Kıbrıs ve Ortadoğu sorununun kronikleştiğini söylemek mümkündür.

Sonuç

Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönem ile bir karşılaştırmaya geçmeden dahi sadece Soğuk Savaş dönem dikkate alındığında hegemonik istikrar teorisinin gücü, örneğin Türkiye ve Yunanistan arasındaki Kıbrıs meselesi dikkate alındığında bile sorgulanabilecek niteliktedir. ABD'nin söz konusu dönemde hegemonik güç olması Kuzey Atlantik İttifakı (Kuzey Atlantik Antlaşması Örgütü-NATO) içerisinde yer

alan iki ülke (Türkiye ve Yunanistan) arasındaki ihtilafı engelleyememiştir. Yani söz konusu dönemde ABD'nin hegemonik bir güç olması, müttefikler arasındaki sorunların çözülmesini dahi sağlamamıştır. Hatta Kıbrıs meselesinde Yunanistan'ın tepkisi, Türkiye'nin gerçekleştirdiği 1974 Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı sonucu, NATO'nun askerî kanadından çıkmak olmuştur. Üstelik Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtına giden süreçte Yunanistan NATO üyesi iken, Yunanistan'ın uzantısı Kıbrıs (Kıbrıs Rum Kesimi) Bağlantısızlar Hareketi içerisinde yer almış ve Sovyetlere yakın bir politika izlemiştir (Erdoğan, 2018: 214-217). Yani hegemonik istikrar teorisi, belirli bir ittifak (NATO, Varşova Paktı, Bağlantısızlar Hareketi gibi) içindeki ilişkiler için tanımlansa bile sorunludur. Diğer bir örnek ise NATO üyesi olmasına rağmen Bosna Savaşında Sırbistan'a doğrudan destek veren tek ülkenin Yunanistan olmasıdır. Haliyle ABD'nin ittifak içerisinde hegemonik güç olması dini kaygılarla hareket eden Yunanistan'ın (Erdoğan ve Akçiçek, 2019: 45) ittifaka aykırı hareket etmesine engel olmamıştır. Ancak bu örnek, örgütsel çıkarlar ile ulusal çıkarlar arasında bir çatışma olarak da yorumlanabilir, çünkü diğer yandan NATO'nun Kosova Savaşı'na müdahalesindeki uzlaşısı (Çapar, 2006:105), ABD tarafından sağlanan hegemonik istikrarın çarpıcı bir örneği olarak da yorumlanabilir. Ancak aşağıda görüleceği gibi, belirli bir ittifak ilişkisinin dışında yorumlandığında-Varşova Paktı ve bu anlamda hegemonik güç Rusya zaten başarısız olmuştur, yaklaşımın başarısızlığı daha da açıktır. Başka bir ifadeyle, daha geniş bir bağlamdaki istatistikler daha tartışmasız sonuçlar sunmaktadır.

Soğuk Savaş dönemi ile karşılaştırıldığında, Soğuk Savaş dönemi sonrasında Güvenlik Konseyi kararlarının giderek daha çeşitli olduğu görülmektedir. Yani tek kutuplu dönemde Güvenlik Konseyi'nin yükü artmıştır. Alınan kararların bir kısmı doğrudan güvenlik ile ilgili olmamakla birlikte 1946 ile 1991 arasında (1991 dâhil) yılda yaklaşık olarak ortalama 15 karar alınmış, buna karşılık 1992 ile 2021 arasında (2021 dâhil) yılda yaklaşık olarak ortalama 63 karar alınmıştır. Bu aynı zamanda sorunların çoğaldığını ve çeşitlendiğini göstermektedir. Bu çeşitlenen ve artan sorunların başında terörizm ile ulusal ve bölgesel istikrarsızlık gelmektedir. Dolayısıyla Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemin Soğuk Savaş dönemine göre daha güvenli bir ortam sağladığını söylemek mümkün değildir. Diğer bir deyişle, birden fazla hegemonik gücün varlığı güvenlik açısından daha istikrarlı bir ortam oluşturmuştur. Soğuk Savaş döneminde -iki kutuplu dönemde- devletler ağırlıklı olarak kendi topraklarının ve savaşlarının güvenliği ile meşgulken (Balaam ve Dillman, 2018, s.

45), Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde sorunlar çeşitlenmiş, ekonomi ve çevre gibi diğer faktörler güvenlik çalışmaları kapsamına alınmıştır. Bu anlamda ulus devletlerin davranışları sistemdeki hegemonik ülke sayısına göre değişen sonuçlar ortaya çıkarmaktadır, keza Demir'e (2018b: 19) göre güvenliğin tanımı değişmiş ve siyasi müdahaleye maruz kalmaktan ekonomik baskıya maruz kalmaya doğru kaymaya başlamıştır.

Öte yandan, Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönem, ülkelerin olumlu ve olumsuz yeteneklerini ortaya koymalarına zemin hazırlamıştır. Negatif yetenek kendisini şiddet ve terör olgusunda gösterirken pozitif yetenek de ilerleme, büyüme ve gelişme olgusunda kendini göstermektedir. Bu zeminin temelde küreselleşmenin iyi mi kötü mü tartışması çerçevesinde şekillendiğini söylemek mümkündür çünkü Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemin en önemli özelliği küreselleşmedir. Doğal olarak bu tartışmaların seyri de küreselleşmenin kazanımlarına göre yön değiştirecektir.

Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemdeki gelişmeler ve mevcut veriler, istikrarın tek bir hegemonik güçte değil, çoğulcu bir yapıda aranması gerektiğini göstermektedir. Çünkü ulusal çıkarları ve bu ulusal çıkarların üzerine inşa edildiği etnisiteyi ve kültürü görmezden gelerek başarıya ulaşmak mümkün görünmemektedir.

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