

20. Yüzyılın Uluslararası Tarihi

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1. Bölüm

Büyük Devletlerin Rekabeti ve Dünya Savaşı, 1900-17

Giriş

19. yüzyılda Avrupalılar yakın geçmişte kıtayı altüst eden çalkantıların tehdidini hâlâ hissetmekle birlikte, görece bir barış dönemi yaşadılar. 1789 Devrimi'nden sonra Fransa'da ideolojik savaş potansiyeli müthiş bir patlama yapmıştı ve sanki bunun hiç sonu gelmeyecekti. 1804'ten sonra ise Napolyon bu potansiyeli zapturapt altına alıp, **Büyük Devletlerin** bağımsızlığını ve güvenliğini yok etmek ve Fransa'yı kıta Avrupası'nın efendisi yapmak için kullandı. Napolyon'un bir savaş dâhisi olduğu tartışma götürmez ancak sonunda hem askerî hem siyasi yönden kendi sınırlarını aştı ve bundan sonra savaş meydanlarında üstünlük Britanya, Avusturya, Prusya ve Rusya'ya geçti. 1814–1815 yılında gerçekleşen Viyana Kongresi'nde, uluslararası siyasetin Büyük Devletler tarafından yönetilmesi ve onların da bencil çıkar arayışlarını frenlemesi temelinde kalıcı bir barış kuruldu. Bu yönetim mükemmel değildi, çünkü millî düşmanlıklar ve bencillikler hemen buhar olup uçmadı ve savaş, bir siyaset aracı olarak yerini korumaya devam etti. Genel barış 1853–1856'da Kırım Savaşı ile sonra da 1859 ve 1871 yıllarında İtalyan Birliği ve Alman Birliği'nin kurulması için yapılan üç savaşla bozuldu. Bununla birlikte Büyük Devletler arasındaki bu çatışmalar kapsamı bakımından sınırlıydı, sınırlı amaçlar için savaşılmış ve bir kez amaca ulaşıldıktan sonra yeniden eski düzen kurulabilmişti. 1815–1854 arası hüküm süren “uzun” barıştan sonra, 1871–1914 barış dönemi geldi.

Bunun sonucunda, yüzyıl kapanırken Avrupa dünyaya egemen oldu. Elbette burada daha başka temel etkenler de önemli bir rolü vardı: Nüfus büyüklüğü, makine gücü, muazzam bir örgütlülük düzeyi ve ileri teknoloji farkıyla Avrupa,

Büyük Devletler
Geleneksel olarak askeri ve ekonomik güçlerini kullanarak uluslararası düzeni yönetebilme kapasitesine ve ortak sorumluluğuna sahip olan devletler.

rakipleri karşısında büyük bir üstünlüğe sahipti. Ne var ki, evin içinde istikrar sağlanması, bir başka gelişmenin de yolunu açtı – “yeni emperyalizm” denen olgunun itici güçleri sayılan buharlı makineler, makineli tüfekler ve yönetim becerileri, dış dünyada üstünlüğe çevrildi. 1880’ler ve 1890’larda bu itici güçler yalnızca “Afrika’nın Kapışılması”nı başlatmakla kalmadı, İran, Güneydoğu Asya ve Pasifik’e doğru genişlemek isteyen sömürge imparatorlukları arasındaki rekabeti de başlattı. Avrupa’nın ticari, entelektüel ve kültürel etkisi geniş bir coğrafyaya yayıldı. Bu yıpratıcı baskı altında Avrupalı-olmayan son büyük imparatorluklar, Qing Çin’i ve Osmanlı Türkiyesi, Avrupa onları parçalamayı planlarken çöktü. Afganistan ve Siyam [Tayland] ise kısmen bağımsız kaldı çünkü Rusya İmparatorluğu ile Britanya arasında ve Britanya İmparatorluğu’nun nüfuz alanıyla Fransa İmparatorluğu’nun nüfuz alanı arasında elverişli bir tampon bölge oluşturuyorlardı. Japonya, modernleşme hamlesini başarıyla tamamladığı için Avrupa’nın boyunduruğuna girmekten kurtuldu: Japonya 1868’de, malî, askerî ve sanayi alanlarda modern Batı yöntemlerini bünyesine alarak yarı-Avrupalılaştırmış bir ülke olmuştu. Buna rağmen kontrol tam anlamıyla Avrupa Büyük Devletlerinin elinde bulunuyordu. Japonya 1894–95 yıllarında Çin’i yendiğinde Avrupalılar Japonları dizginlemek üzere müdahale ettiler, ancak Çin’e ait bazı mal ve mülkleri geri vermek yerine bunlara kendileri el koydular.

Ne yazık ki bir yüzyılın bir sonrakine bıraktığı miras çok uzun ömürlü olmadı. 1815–1954 ve 1871–1914 barışı, 19. yüzyılın en göze çarpan özellikleri ise, iki dünya savaşı ve Soğuk Savaş da 20. yüzyılın lekeleridir. O sırada, yani tam da modernleşme süreci Avrupalılara daha önce örneği görülmemiş düzeyde bir **topyekûn savaş** yapma imkânı sağladığında, Avrupa devletlerarası şiddeti kontrol etme kapasitesini yitirdi. Ölüm makinesi olarak anılan 1914–1918 savaşı bunun bir sonucuydu. İki savaş arasında Avrupa sistemi ağır adımlarla ve yalpalayarak ilerlerlerken Amerika kendisini **tecrit** etmekle, Rusya ise devrimle meşguldü. Hitler’in başlattığı savaş, en sonunda Avrupa sistemine ve bununla birlikte Avrupa’nın dünya liderliğine son verdi. Sovyetler Birliği ve ABD savaştan süper güç olarak çıktı. Aralarındaki ideolojik, stratejik, ekonomik rekabet Orta Avrupa’da başladı ama büyük bir hızla yayılarak devrimci Çin’i ve yeni bağımsızlık kazanan Afrika, Asya, Ortadoğu ülkelerini kendine çekti. Almanya sorunu, çeşitli aralıklarla barışı zedelemeye devam etti ama küresel Soğuk Savaş’ın sadece bir cephesi olarak kaldı. 1989 yılına kadar, Almanya da, bir bütün olarak Avrupa kıtası gibi, iki düşman koalisyon arasında bölünmüştü. Avrupa yine “uzun” bir barış dönemi yaşadı ama bu kez koşulları belirleyen kendisi değildi. Avrupalılar ancak SSCB çöktükten sonra siyasal manzaraya, dünya savaşlarının çizdiği sınırlardan bağımsız olarak yeniden şekil vermeye başladılar.

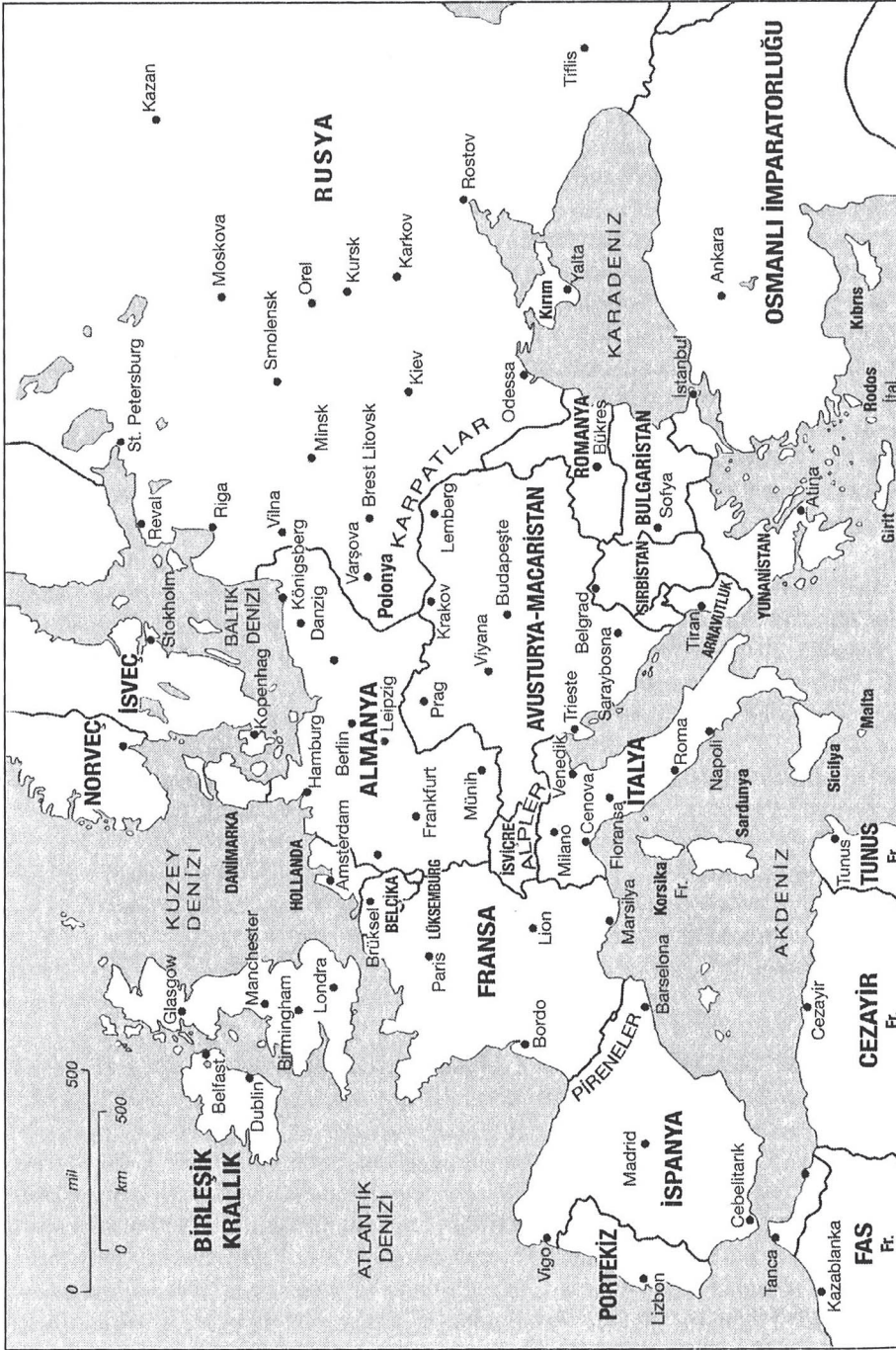
Avrupa uluslararası siyaset çağının neden sona erdiğini anlamak, 19. yüzyıl devletler sisteminin 20. yüzyılın ilk on beş yılında neden çöktüğünü anlamak demektir. Ancak bu soruya cevap vermeden önce Büyük Devletler arasındaki ilişkilerin tarihini anlamak için bazı terim ve kavramları ele almak yararlı olacaktır.

Topyekûn savaş:

Hem ekonominin hem de toplumun top yekun seferber edilmesi de dahil olmak üzere tüm kaynakların devlet tarafından kullanılması suretiyle yürütülen savaş.

Tecrit

Bir ülkeyi dış karışıklık veya sorumluluklardan kaçınarak dış dünyadan uzak tutma politikası veya öğretisi. Savaş arası dönemde ABD’de popüler bir eğilim olmuştur.



Harita 1.1: 1914'te Avrupa
Kaynak: Rich'ten sonra (1992)

Büyük Devletler, Güç Siyaseti ve Devletler Sistemi

20. yüzyıl başladığında, yalnızca beş devlet, Büyük Güç statüsünü tartışma götürmez biçimde kazanmıştı: Britanya, Fransa, Almanya, Avusturya-Macaristan ve Rusya. Almanya'nın (o sırada Prusya) iktidar alanını önemli ölçüde genişletirken Avusturya'nın (1867'den sonra Avusturya-Macaristan) aynı hızla küçülmüş olmasına karşın, 1815'in devlet adamları bu düzenlemeyi kabul edebilirlerdi. En kaba tanımıyla söylersek “Büyük Güç” terimi savaş kapasitesi daha yüksek olan ülkeler için kullanılıyordu. Diplomatlar ve strateji uzmanlarının yaptığı hesaplarda tek geçerli para birimi gücü: Nüfusun ve toprağın büyüklüğü, maliyenin gücü ve sanayi çıktısı.

Bu ölçekte bakıldığında beş devlet de aynı büyüklükte değildi, çok kesin karşılaştırmalar yapmak da bazı sorunlar yaratacaktır. Rusya nüfus yönünden ötekilerden kat kat büyüktü ama buna karşılık Britanya, Fransa ve Almanya'nın okuryazar kentli nüfusu büyüktü. Makine üretimi ve karmaşık silahlar çağında bu eğitilmiş işçi ve asker havuzu sayısal üstünlüğü az çok dengeleyebiliyordu. Yine de zorunlu hizmet temelinde kitlesel ölçekte asker toplanmasına bağımlı olan orduların hâlâ sayısal üstünlüğe ihtiyacı vardı. 1900 yılına gelindiğinde Rusya yılda 335.000, Almanya 280.000, Fransa 250.000, Avusturya-Macaristan 103.000 ve İtalya 100.000 askeri silâh altına çağırıyordu. Fransa'da düşük doğum oranı yüzünden, askerî planlamaları yapanlar Almanya'nın nüfusunun büyümesini büyük bir tedirginlikle izliyorlardı (bkz. Tablo 1.1). Avusturya-Macaristan'ın ise başka bir sorunu vardı: Nüfusun en hızlı arttığı yerler imparatorluğun en geri bölgelerindeydi. Fransa ve Britanya yedek asker temini için imparatorluğun imkânlarından yararlanabilirdi ancak dönemin anlayışına göre, hızlı seferberlik ve savaş açmada kararlılık çok önemli olduğundan, sömürgelerden toplanan askerleri eğitmeye zaman kalmıyordu. Çok uzaklara yayılan deniz imparatorluğu Britanya, donanmasına güveniyor ve asker toplamıyordu. Britanya ile boy ölçüşecek durumda olmamakla birlikte bütün Büyük Devletler 1914 yılından önce modern savaş donanmaları oluşturdular. Bunun bir nedeni gerçek tehditlere karşı korunmaksa, bir başka nedeni de birinci sınıf devletlerarasında olduğunu göstermenin simgesi sayılabilecek böyle bir donanmaya sahip olmaktı. Büyük Devletlerin orduları, büyük bir insan gücü havuzu ve yüksek bir doğum oranı gerektiriyordu. Savaş gemileri, modern sahra silahları ve demir yolları da ağır sanayiye gerekli kılıyordu. Britanya ve Fransa Büyük Güç statülerine uygun düşen miktarlarda kömür ve çelik üretiyorlardı. Öte yandan Almanya ve 1914'e gelindiğinde Rusya, her iki üründe de onları geride bırakmaya başlamıştı bile. Berlin'in baş müttefiki Avusturya-Macaristan sanayi üretiminde yalnızca İtalya'yı geçmişti. 1861'de yani birleşmeyi izleyen yıllarda İtalya da kendini Büyük Güç statüsünü elde etmek için mücadele veren bir devlet olarak görüyordu. Ancak, nüfusu düşüşe geçmiş olan Fransa'yla arayı kapatmaya hızla yaklaşmış olsa da, okuryazarlık düzeyi, güvenli kömür yatakları, demir yolları ve üretim kapasitesi, bu unvanı özgüvenle taşımasına yetmiyordu.

Tablo 1. 1. 1890–1913 yıllarında Büyük Devletlerin Toplam nüfusları (milyon)

	1890	1900	1910	1913
Rusya	116.8	135.6	159.3	175.1
ABD	62.6	75.9	91.9	97.3
Almanya	49.2	56.0	64.5	66.9
Avusturya- Macaristan	42.6	46.7	50.8	52.1
Japonya	39.9	43.8	49.1	51.3
Fransa	38.3	38.9	39.5	39.7
Britanya	37.4	41.1	44.9	45.6
İtalya	30.0	32.2	34.4	35.1

Kaynak: Kennedy'den uyarlanmıştır (1988, s. 255)

Silah satın almak, asker eğitmek ve demiryolu inşası için gelir yaratma yeteneği de gücün bir başka göstergesiydi. 1914 yılından önce yapılan savunma harcamalarına bakarsak, her beş Büyük Gücün de silahlanma yarışına girecek malî güce sahip oldukları görülüyor. Mutlak silahlanma harcamaları anlamında Almanya ve Rusya ötekilerin hepsini geride bırakmıştı. Britanya ve Fransa hemen arkadan geliyor ve arayı kapatıyordu. Avusturya-Macaristan, İtalya'nın önündeydi ama büyük aktörlere yetişemedi.

Britanya'nın savaş gemileri için yaptığı harcama diğer devletleri çok geride bırakmıştı ama karada Rusya, Almanya ve Fransa'nın (“üçüncü bir yoksul ülke”) üstün olması hiç şaşırtıcı değildi. Başka önemli farklılıklar da vardı. Kişi başı geliri (hâlâ mutlak anlamda bir dev olan) Rusya'dan daha yüksek olan Britanya, Fransa ve Almanya, millî servetlerinin eskiye göre daha büyük bir bölümünü savunma için harcıyorlardı, İtalya onlarla aynı yükü taşıyamadığı için gerideydi. Fransa, Almanya kadar çok harcamadıysa da, St. Petersburg'a gönderdiği malî yardım, 1905 yılından sonra Rusya'nın ekonomik ve askerî kalkınmasının hızlanmasında dikkate değer bir rol oynadı. Almanya'nın 1914'ten önceki muazzam çelik üretimine ve tartışılmaz zenginliğine rağmen, gariptir ki, Alman hükümeti, devletin malî ve siyasi yapısının savunma için ayırdığı fonu son sınırına kadar harcamıştı.

Ne var ki, Büyük Devletler statüsünün *resmen* tanınması kararı yalnızca istatistiksel tahminler yapılarak verilmiyordu – asıl önemli olan diplomasinin çekirdek grubunda yer almaktı, özellikle de genel barış antlaşmaları ve topraklarda yapılan ayarlamalarla ilgili sözleşmelerin yazılma sürecine dâhil olmaktı. Normal olarak, uluslararası ilişkilerde Büyük Devletlerin haklarını görmezden gelmek mümkün değildi oysa küçük devletlerin haklarının gürültüye gitmesi ve Büyük Devletler tarafından yönetilmesi sıradan ve olağan bir uygulamaydı. Tıpkı herhangi bir kulübün kuralları gibi diplomatik davranış biçimleri de, sosyal hiyerarşiyi, başka bir deyişle “alt-üst sistemini” yansıtıyordu. Büyük Devletlerin devlet başkanları ve dışişleri bakanları, konferanslarda değil kararların verildiği kongrelerde (sonuncusu 1878 yılında Berlin'de) buluşuyorlardı ve genellikle büyükelçilerin görev yerlerini bakanlar değil yalnızca onlar tayin ediyordu. Bununla birlikte diplomasi pratiği de bu ayrımlardaki belirsizliği kaldırabiliyordu. Katı üyelik kıstaslarını yerine getiremeyenler arasından birileri de Büyük Devletler kulübüne davet edilebilirdi. İtalya

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