

## IDEOLOGY IN UNEQUAL TREATIES: A SOCIAL ACTOR REPRESENTATIONS STUDY

**Abbas Diagan Darwish**

Islamic University College

Azhar Hussain Ubied /Faculty of Arts/University of Kufa/Iraq

---

**ABSTRACT:** *This paper is an analysis of the social actors in bilateral and multilateral unequal treaties investigating the system of ideas that expresses the interests of the powerful states engaged in the treaties in question. It tries to answer the following: how do the unequal treaties represent the social actors? Thus, the study aims at uncovering the ideological stance behind including or excluding treaties' participants. For this end, the study analyzes six treaties using Van Leeuwen's (1996:66) model .It has been found that social actors are represented in various ways and for various rationales. They are included to be assigned a responsibility, and to legitimate the stipulations agreed upon. They are excluded when the most significant part of the message is introduced instead, as being more important than its doers or to generalize the intended acts. In all cases, the ideological perspective involves satisfying the states' interests.*

**KEYWORDS:** Critical discourse analysis,Ideology, Power, American treaties.

---

### INTRODUCTION

So long, contradictions and conflicts characterize international politics. Part of better solutions for these troubles is concluding an international agreement to terminate conflicts yet, it is one of the global challenges to integrate the parties' interests in a concluded international treaty to be the best for international-peace solution. Obviously, nations hold their common values and standards of conduct as well as some capacity to act in the international arena in specific manners for certain goals. In times of war, the tumultuous situations represent one of the controversial cases and the fallacy of freedom still lives on, especially where there are dominated and dominating nations. Thus,in terms of unequal bilateral and multilateral treaties, the study tries to answer the following:

1- How do the unequal treaties represent the social actors (treaty parties)? There are two sub-questions:

- a) How are such actors included ?i.e. How are they activated/passivized/ personalized/ or impersonalized?
- b) How are those actors excluded? i.e., How are they suppressed/ backgrounded?

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Critical Discourse Analysis CDA**

Actually, CDA (Weiss and Wodak ,2003: 12) is a diverse research enterprise( multi- and inter-disciplinary)with a cluster of methodological approaches oriented to analyze a variety of sorts of data. Historically, it emerged from Critical Linguistics (CL) during the late 1970s by some of linguists and literary theorists (Kress & Hodges, 1979 cited in Bukhari and Xiaoyang , 2013:9). CDA approaches, then, varied. Recently, it refers to the critical linguistic approach of scholars

who uncover the text discursive unit as the cornerstone of communication testifying overt or covert relations of contradiction and struggle (Wodak, 2001a:2). Thus, CDA is not an evaluation of what is "right" or "wrong" rather it makes choices at each point in the research itself, clarifying other choices and justifying theoretically the discursive events interpretations (Wodak, 2001b:65). However, there are three main approaches for CDA: Critical Linguistics (CL) as denoted above; Social semiotics (assumes that texts, at the level of social action, reflect struggles and their uncertain results should be studied and referred to) (Hodge & Kress, 1988:12); Discourse-Historical Approach DHA which is a critical view on the way socio-historical conditions enables the reader to accept specific positions rather than others (O'Halloran, 2000: 20). Finally, the Socio-Cognitive Approach (Van Dijk, 1995:45) that considers discourse analysis as ideology analysis.

### **Ideology**

In fact, ideology defies a specific determined definition yet, there are some perspectives pointing to the notion. Thus, McLellan (1986:1) looks at ideology as "the most elusive concept in the whole of social science". Downs (1967:96) sees the notion as "a verbal image of the good society and of the chief means of constructing such a society". It can be viewed as the "abstract and false thought", where it is directly connected to the basic conservative use, while it is stated differently with the other part of knowledge of factual material circumstances and relations (Williams, 1976: 128–29). Whereas for Thompson (1990:37), "ideology, according to the epiphenomenal conception, is a system of ideas which expresses the interests of the dominant class but which represents relations in an illusory form". Van Dijk's (1995: 138) neutral view shows that one can easily determine ideologies as systems that are at the basis of the socio-political understandings of communities. As such, ideologies are considered as a mental framework that is interacted, reproduced, formed and negotiated through language (Jeffries, 2010a:5). Basically, ideologies have three stylized features: First, they are economizing tools by which individuals have a world view perspective in order to let the decision-making process be easy. Second, ideology is mixed with moral and ethical decisions about the justice of the world the individuals understand. Third, people's ideological views shift when their experiences are identical with the new ideology. Commonly, the account for ideological beliefs (Van Dijk, 2006a:116-7) is something complex and multidisciplinary yet, can be reflected as social and cognitive features that are in need to an integrated theory to explain (ibid:116). Necessarily, following some scholar's perspectives, the meaning of ideology in this paper, is that ideology points to ideas that legitimate dominant political power reflecting power interests (Eagleton, 1991:1; Žižek, 1994:6). Basically, the social function of such ideology, in representing social actors, is to sustain the group interests.

### **Ideology and Power**

Gramsci, cited in Carnoy (1986: 34), considers power as ideology. Since ideology is consciousness and the control of that consciousness is an area of political struggle for the control of the forces that involves power. Van Dijk (2000:11) asserts the idea that ideology and power are highly interrelated by saying that "if there is one notion often related to ideology it is that of power." Thus, power and ideology are two notions that seem to be predominant in CDA work. It is ideology that justifies and or distributes political power, while political power specifies positions between users (Bertaud, 2012:2).

### **Treaties**

To highlight what a treaty means the United Nations Treaty Series (1980: 332) define it as "an international agreement" set between States in "written form" and abide by international law, whether concluded in one instrument or in more related tools whatever its particular formulation

Treaties are of three types (Treaty Handbook, 2006:30) bilateral, multilateral, and unilateral declaration (Antonio, 2001:127, Treaty Handbook, 2006:30) (the first two treaties are the subject of the study). Unequal treaties are treaties including a unilateral obligation, or treaties specially or effectively making one party in an unequal status i.e., subordinating it (Lissovskii, 1961 as cited in Finkelstein, 1979:454). To date back, those treaties and agreements, mainly but not exclusively, are set of treaties that China was forced to sign during the 19th and early 20th centuries (1842-1918), with various imperialist powers, such as Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States, Russia, and Japan (Dong (2005:10). Such treaties are considered as Peace treaties since they contain a manifold of legally-binding stipulations relating to the ending of war and the restoration of peace (Lesaffer, 2012 :6). Recently, all treaties with nonreciprocal rights or colonial's impositions are considered unequal ones.

### **Social Actors Representations**

Broadly, there is a number of categories in the way of representing social actors who may be either excluded or included. Van Leeuwen (2008:19) introduces the representation of social actors illustrating the ideological standpoint of different choices within this system with examples from discourse on immigration. He (ibid:28) writes "representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interest and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are included":

**Exclusion:** omitting social actors by :First, "suppression" i.e., passive agent deletion, non-finite clauses, process nouns employment, or by adjectives (Van Leeuwen, 1996:40). Second, "backgrounding" i.e., direct reference to the social actors is excluded though it is present elsewhere in the text (ibid).

**Inclusion** of social actors (van Leeuwen 1996:33). This encompasses:

**a) Activation:** showing social actors as the active (ibid).

**b) Passivation:** when actors are either "undergoing" the activity (subjected), or being "at the receiving end of it" (beneficialized) (ibid).

**c) Personalization:** means referring to them as human beings. There are two strategies. **First**, "determination" where actors are specified (Hart, 2014:34-5) by Nomination {(using proper nouns like Harris; Formalization (surname only); Semi-formalization (first and surname) or informalization (first name only)}; or, titulation : {either by honorification or affiliation}. **Second:** categorization i.e. mentioning actors' identities or functions (ibid:39). **Second**, "indetermination" i.e., leaving the identity of the actor(s) as indeterminate (ibid).

**d) Impersonalization:** Using abstract or concrete nouns giving impersonal authority for an action (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 47) using either genericization i.e., employing generic reference in referring to social actors i.e., by plural without or singular noun with or without definite article (Hart, 2014:34) or collectivization: a particular group of social actors collected together may be referred to by plural forms (ibid).

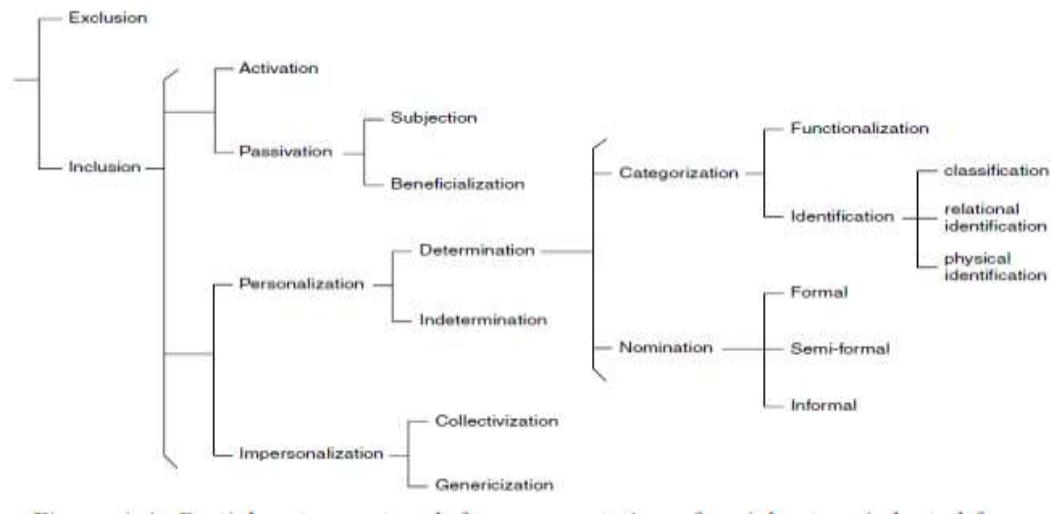


Figure (1) The Model of the Study: Representation of Social Actors (after Van Leeuwn, 1996:66).

## METHODOLOGY

**The model:** Van Leeuwn's (1996:66) model of social actor representation is followed in this study (See figure 1 above). It mainly depends upon including or excluding social actors depending on the view that what is included or excluded in a text may be politically or socially significant in that these may serve text producers' interests and purposes.

**Data Collection and Procedure:** The data are collected from United Nations Treaty Collection of peace. The sample is obtained from resources mentioned in appendix 1, some treaties are taken from United Nation Publications and already prepared by the Treaty Section of the Office of Legal Affairs in United Nations, for the matter of reliability and authentication. This is due to the fact that, under Article ;102, the United Nations' members are obliged to register, all treaties and international agreements concluded after the issuance of Charter of the United Nations and its coming into force. Thus, registering is the Members of the United Nations' responsibility (Treaty Handbook, 2006:45) in addition to some treaties gained from websites. The procedure involves conducting a qualitative analysis by presenting illustrative examples representing those actors involved in the process of concluding a treaty.

## Data Analysis

Clearly, it is essential to start with showing the context of the treaties in question. In analyzing treaties, like many genres, context is a crucial part. First of all, participants are not individuals rather the states and governments engaged in concluding a treaty. The setting comprises the place and time of a treaty (will be shown each extract to be analyzed). The occasion is conducting an agreement. The Key comprises a serious tone of stipulation. The Channel in treaties is writing the conditions so as they will be legally binding. The ends refer to both outcomes, and goals (the

nation's targets inherent in concluding a treaty). Norms involved are the socio-culturally acceptable conventions relevant to the treaties.

**Inclusion: Example 1.** Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) article 2. between China and Japan  
China cedes to Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty the following territories, together with all fortifications, arsenals, and public property thereon:—

(a) The southern portion of the province of Fêngtien within the following boundaries:

Obviously, the extract shows the two parties China and Japan. As for China, it is activated as being the one responsible for ceding due to the idea of assigning it the liability of accepting and performing the act. Japan is also mentioned directly as the one receiving what is ceded. For a treaty act to be legally binding, it has to be written and directly including parties. As such, the ideological standpoint reflects the way Japan tries to legitimate their own interests of having the lands ceded to it by China.

**Example 2.** Multilateral Treaty of Versailles (1919) article 31 between USA, British Empire, France, Italy And Japan, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, The Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Czecho-Slovakia, and Uruguay, of the one part; and Germany, of the other

Germany, consents to the abrogation of the said Treaties and undertakes immediately to recognize and to observe whatever conventions may be entered into by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, by any of them, in concert with the Governments of Belgium and of the Netherlands, to replace the said Treaties of 1839.

Clearly, this example represents the way the social actors are activated in the multilateral treaties. First of all Germany is mentioned directly to accept the treaties abrogation. It has also to "recognize and observe" any agreement of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. Those powers are collectivized as being the highest commanding authorities and the powerful parties. Mentioning both sides assigns them the responsibility and legitimates the interests of the treaty sides. The ideological perspective behind that is to commit the parties to the denoted act as it becomes by the virtue of the treaty legally binding. This is part of the states' interests in getting allies solidarity to sustain self-power and preserving self-interests.

**b) Passivation: Example 3.** Bilateral treaty of the Bogue (1843) article 3, between Britain and China.

All penalties enforced or confiscations made under the III clause of the said General Regulations of Trade shall belong, and be appropriated, to the Public Service of the Government of China.

In this text "all penalties enforced or confiscations made" are presented as the subject of the clause involving inanimate agent without mentioning the real animate agents responsible for that. However, such penalties and confiscations, found in the general regulations of trade, are said to be for the benefit and under the disposal of China. The ideological standpoint embraces showing the trade to be regulated by China being the one to have the right of trade disposal. In fact, China, having the trade to be done on its port, legally has this right yet, it is depicted as if it is granted to it. It is part of satisfying self-interests to show others as benefiting from the agreed-upon act to get them accept the treaty.

**Example 4.** Multilateral treaty of the Peace of Bucharest (1918) article 10 between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey on the one hand and Roumania on the other hand.



Immediately after the signature of the peace treaty, these fluvial forces, on the basis of a special agreement, will be put at the disposal of the agencies charged with the river police. The naval technical Commission of the Black Sea is given the right to dispose of the maritime forces; a Roumanian naval officer is to be appointed to this Commission in order to establish the liaison.

The text initiates the time of act by saying "immediately after the signature of the peace treaty" which means as soon as the treaty is ratified. The maritime forces have been put at the department of naval "technical Commission of the Black Sea" with which "a Romanian naval officer" will be the coordinator. Evidently, the political structure of the states involved discloses that Bulgaria the defeated is the less powerful while Romania is the powerful side. One of the powerful states' policies is to control or put at their disposal Others' crucial military forces so that the less powerful will be left powerless and subjected. The naval forces are subjected to the agency control (a third party which is neither the powerful nor the less powerful to appear impartial). Thus, the state's right of disposal in those forces are obliterated. Yet, the appointment of Romanian officer as the source of liaison can be questioned here. Sustaining one's power is done by making Others' crucial forces under control.

**c) Personalization: Example 5.** Bilateral Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) preamble, between Britain and China.

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Count ITO Hirobumi, Junii, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Paullownia, Minister President of State; and Viscount MUTSU Munemitsu, Junii, First Class of the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

In this extract, the plenipotentiaries (the social actors) of the powerful Japan are mentioned first. The highest authority, the emperor, is determined in by titulation using honorification "His Majesty" written in capital letters. As for plenipotentiaries, nomination by Semi-formalization is used like "ITO Hirobumi, Junii", yet actors are not categorized by identities, but by functions like "Count", and "Minister President of State". This is purposefully done to oblige the actors bear their responsibilities and to legitimate actions. The totally absent strategy is indetermination since leaving the identity of the actor(s) as indeterminate is not acceptable due to the fact that it is major part of legitimating the treaty to directly mention the involved parties. Evidentially, then, to legitimize the stipulations, all treaty parties have to be mentioned in the preamble. This satisfies the interests of avoiding lack of authenticity and assigning the parties the required responsibility.

**Example 6.** Multilateral Treaty of Versailles (1919) preamble between allied and associated powers of the one part; and Germany, of the other (for participants see example 2).

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA, by:

The Right Honourable David LLOYD GEORGE, M.P., First Lord of His Treasury and Prime Minister;

The Right Honourable Andrew BONAR LAW, M.P., His Lord Privy Seal;

The Right Honourable Viscount MILNER, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., His Secretary of State for the Colonies;

The Right Honourable Arthur James BALFOUR, a.M., M.P., His Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

The Right Honourable George Nicoll BARNES, M.P., Minister without portfolio;

In this example, the treaty preamble involves the names of the plenipotentiaries appointed by the king of the UK. Expressly, to start with, "the Right Honourable David Lloyd George M.P., First Lord Of His Treasury And Prime Minister" includes the full name, occupation (i.e., they are determined and categorized by their function), preceded by honorification. As such, the text encompasses the strategy of personalization. The same applies for all other names. The treaty parties' ideological perspective embraces showing the names and the functions of those social actors so as to fulfill the requirements of the legally binding international treaty.

**Impersonalization : Example 7.** Bilateral Treaty of Nanking (1842) article 2. Britain and China. His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees that British Subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their Mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint at the Cities and Towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochow-fu, Ningpo, and Shanghai.

Primarily, treaty parties are the highest authorities in treaty-involved states yet, all their people will be affected by the treaty conditions. In bilateral treaties the two states are mentioned directly with their own plenipotentiaries, but the subjects are collectivized. The extract above shows the condition that China consents to allow all British subjects reside for their own trade without being annoyed. However, the discourse strategy of collectivization is apparent in referring to "British subjects, with their families and establishments" so as not to exclude anyone including their families and establishments. Thus, the idea of keeping own interests is expressly found in having those people live peacefully carrying on their own trade there. It is a major part of one's interests to ensure safety and peaceful residence in addition to conduct trade with all advantages.

**Example 8.** Multilateral Treaty of Trianon (1920) preamble between USA, British Empire, France, Italy And Japan, Belgium, China, Cuba, Greece, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, The Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, and Czecho-Slovakia, on one part and Hungary, of the other THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY and JAPAN,

These Powers being described in the present Treaty as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, BELGIUM, CHINA, CUBA, GREECE, NICARAGUA, PANAMA, POLAND, PORTUGAL, ROUMANIA, THE SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE, SIAM, and CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, These Powers constituting with the Principal Powers mentioned above the Allied and Associated Powers, of the one part; And HUNGARY, of the other part;

In this multilateral treaty, the parties are referred to, in addition to the state's name, by the strategy of collectivization. Obviously, after mentioning the involved states, the first group is called "Principal Allied and Associated Powers", and the second as "the Allied and Associated Powers". These powers are collectivized and thus, impersonalized to show that they are treaty parties rather than persons engaged in an agreement and to perpetuate political stereotypes. This contributes to assigning the responsibility to various sides and serves their own interests as being a united power. This ideological view is clear throughout calling themselves "powers".

**Exclusion : Example 9.** Bilateral treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) article 10. (See example 9).

All offensive military operations shall cease upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. Expressly, this provision involves excluding social actors. Thus, it starts with the noun "all offensive military operations" as a subject for the clause instead of mentioning agents responsible for doing that. This treaty act lacks denoting any treaty side so as to generalize the point of ceasing

all military operations on all those parties .Actually, it is stipulated to be done immediately after the treaty ratification upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. The ideological standpoint of excluding actors is done since both sides were making military operations i.e.,the most significant part of the message is the military operations rather than their doers yet, China ,the defeated, will agree to avoid more bloodshed and this serves the interests of Britain which exploits that to keep subjects away from war.

**Example 10.** Multilateral Treaty of Versailles(1919)article 39(see example2).

The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia which Belgium will have to bear on account of the territories ceded to her shall be fixed in conformity with Articles 254 and 256 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

This provision the social actors(Belgium) responsible for regulating "financial liabilities " are excluded by being backgrounded . The amount of money is required for the lands ceded to it by both Germany and of Prussia. For though it will be responsible to pay them , they are regulated according to the Articles 254 and 256 of this present Treaty . The responsibility of assigning them will be for all the parties of the treaty . The ideological view is to find the way that best serves the self- interests , as such, neither to whom the lands ceded nor their receiver will determines the amount. It is the treaty provision that legally binds all the parties that decides it.Thus, assigning the task to a third party will appear to be neutral and more acceptable .This satisfies the interests of the treaty parties to accept the stipulation .This satisfies the interests of the treaty parties to accept the stipulation.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

In unequal treaties whether bilateral or multilateral, social actors ,i.e., states, governments, presidents or plenipotentiaries are represented in various ways and for various rationales. Social actors are to be represented by the strategy of inclusion so as to be assigned the responsibility of the stipulated conditions. Regarding the bilateral treaties, in the preambles ,the two involved states, kings ,emperors or presidents are mentioned as treaty parties to legitimate the stipulations agreed upon. Those actors are mentioned using honorification.Then, the plenipotentiaries are mentioned using semi-formalization strategy joined with functionalization, and some honorification .As regard collectiviz-ation, in bilateral treaties, the two states are mentioned directly with their own plenipotentiaries ,but the subjects are collectivized so as to impersonalize them and all of them are to be involved. In some cases,social actors are excluded due to the fact that the most significant part of the message is the actions rather than their doers (the two parties in the bilateral treaties). In multilateral treaties, this significance is made universal and global to maximize the benefits and to gain more acceptability. It can also be done by assigning a task for a party not included in the treaty to be neutral and more acceptable .This satisfies the interests of the treaty parties to accept the stipulation.

## CONCLUSIONS

Obviously, language is the reflection of covert and overt ideological beliefs shown in social actors representation , and actors in unequal treaties are not an exception. The ideological aspects that are encoded within the language of unequal treaties are mainly resulted from the actors' encoding of reality for exploitations and self-interests perspectives. In unequal treaties whether bilateral or multilateral, social actors ,i.e., states, governments, presidents or plenipotentiaries are represented



in various ways and for various rationales. In all cases, it is part of satisfying the interests of those involved.

## References

- Antonio, Cassese(2001) *International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bertaud, A. (2012) "Ideology and Power: Impact on the Shape of Cities in China and Vietnam" in *Arquitetura.Eurbanismo*.vo.5. pp-1-15.
- Bukhari, N. and Xiaoyang,W.(2013)"Critical Discourse Analysis and Educational Research" . *IOSR Journal of Research & Method in Education*.vo. 3, issue 1 (Sep. -Oct. 2013),PP 09-17. [www.iosrjournals.org](http://www.iosrjournals.org) .
- Carnoy, M.(1986) *The State and Political Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Downs, A. (1967) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper.
- Eagleton, T. (1991) *Ideology: An Introduction*, London: Verso.
- Hart, C. (2014) *Discourse, Grammar and Ideology :Functional and Cognitive Perspectives*. London : Bloomsbury Academic.
- Hodge, R. and Kress, G. (1988)*Social Semiotics*. Cambridge: Polity Press .
- Jeffries,L.(2010)*Critical Stylistics. The Power of English Basingstoke*: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lesaffer, R. C. H. (2012). "Peace Treaties and the Formation of International Law" in B. Fassbender, & A. Peeters(Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of International Law* . Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- McLellan D.(1986)*Ideology*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.
- O'Halloran, K. (2000)*Mystifying Discourse: A Critique of Current Assumptions and an Alternative Framework for Analysis*, Doctoral thesis , Institute of Education, University of London.
- Thompson, J B (1990) *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Treaty Handbook(2006)*The Treaty Section of the Office of Legal Affairs United Nations* :United Nations Publications.
- United Nations Treaty Series (1980) *Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties* Vol. 1155,1-18232.
- Van Dijk, T .(1995) "Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis". In x C. Schaffner, and A. Wenden, and.(ed.) *Language and Peace in Press*. London : Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T.(2000)*Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. (2006a) "Ideology and Discourse Analysis" *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Universitat Pompeu FabraRoutledge Taylor & Francis Vo.11no.2, pp-115-140.
- (2006b)"Politics, Ideology, and Discourse". In R. Wodak (Ed.).*Elsevier Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics: Volume on Politics and Language*.
- Van Leeuwen T.(2005) *Introducing Social Semiotics*. NewYork: Routledge.
- Weiss, G. and R. Wodak(Ed.)(2003)*Critical Discourse Analysis Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Williams, R. (1976) *Keywords*. London: Croom Helm.
- Wodak, R.(2001a)"What CDA is about :A Summary of its History, Important Concepts and its Developments" in Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer's (ed.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Wodak,R. (2001b) "The Discourse Historical Approach" in Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer's (Eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Žižek, S. (1994) "Introduction :The Spectra of Ideology" in Slavoj Žižek, (Ed.)*Mapping Ideology* .Verso: London .

**Appendix1:Treaties , Dates and States Involved**

<b>Treaty and date</b>	<b>States involved</b>
<b>Nanking1842</b>	<b>Britain, and China</b>
<b>Bogue 1843</b>	<b>Britain and China</b>
<b>Shimonoseki 1895</b>	<b>the Emperor of Japan and the Emperor of China</b>
<b>Treaty of Versailles1919</b>	<b>The USA, The British Empire, France, Italy And Japan,Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala,Haiti, The Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State,Siam, Czecho-Slovakia, and Uruguay,of the one part; and Germany,of the other .</b>
<b>Trianon1920</b>	<b>The USA, The British Empire, France, Italy And Japan,Belgium, China, Cuba, Greece, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, The Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, and Czecho-Slovakia, on one part and Hungary,of the other .</b>
<b>The Peace of Bucharest 1918</b>	<b>Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey on the one hand and Roumania on the other hand,</b>