

# THE IDEOLOGY OF POWER IN UNEQUAL TREATIES

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## أيدولوجيا السلطة في المعاهدات غير المتكافئة

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### المخلص:

تتناول هذه الورقة البحثية تحليل الخطاب النقدي لأيدولوجيا السلطة لمعاهدات السلام غير المتكافئة فهي تتقصى نظام الافكار الذي يعبر عن مصالح الدول المتسلطة بهدف اكتشاف استراتيجيات الخطاب الايدولوجي وطريقة توظيف الدول المتسلطة لهذه الاستراتيجيات ولتحقيق هذا الهدف تحلل الدراسة بعض من المعاهدات الثنائية والمتعددة الاطراف باستخدام النموذج التحليل الذي قدمه فيركلف (١٩٨٩) و فان دايك (٢٠٠٩). وقد تبين ان مصالح المساهمون في هذه المعاهدات تتضمن تقديم استراتيجيات الاتفاق والمنطقية لعقد تلك الاتفاقيات اضافة لاستراتيجية الافتراض المسبق والتي تستخدمها الدول المتسلطة لتفترض بان ماتريد تحقيقه شيء مسلم به، وعلى اية حال فان كل هذه الاستراتيجيات يتم اداؤها لأجل تدعيم السلطة.

### الكلمات

المفتاحية: ايدولوجيا، السلطة، تحليل الخطاب النقدي، المعاهدات غير المتكافئة، النموذج فيركلف (١٩٨٩) للتحليل، النموذج فان دايك (٢٠٠٦) للتحليل

### Abstract:

This paper is a critical discourse analysis of the ideology of power in unequal treaties of peace. It investigates the system of ideas which expresses the interests of the powerful states with the aim discovering the ideological strategies of discourse , and the way such strategies are utilized for their interests. For this end, the study analyzes some treaties(bilateral and multilateral) drawing upon an eclectic model adopted from Fairclough's (1989) and Van Dijk's (2006). It appears that treaty participants' interests involve presenting the strategies of consensus, and reasonable justifications for concluding such agreement, as well as presupposing what the powerful participants require to achieve as something taken for granted. However, all are practiced for the purpose of power sustaining .

Keywords: Ideology, , power, critical discourse analysis, unequal treaties, ideological strategies of discourse, Fairclough's (1989) model, Van Dijk's (2006)model.

### **1.Introduction**

Obviously, nations hold their common values and standards of conduct and capacity to act in the international arena for certain goals like conducting peace where there are dominated and dominating nations. To settle whatever sort of struggle, states resort to legitimate written text of treaties or agreements. Thus, an analysis of the ideology in the international treaties sheds light on discursive processes of power involved in making some perspectives as common sense and satisfying one's own interests. Hence, there is an urgent need to investigate that ideology. As such the study is guided by the following questions: 1)How is consensus strategy used? 2)How is the strategy of generalization made? 3)How is lexicalization strategy implemented? 4) How is reasonableness reflected? 5)How is presupposition used?

### **2.Critical Discourse Analysis**

For Wodak (2001:2)CDA can be defined as basically related to analyzing "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance,discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" as it is the problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach. Describing CDA, Weiss and Wodak (2003:12) show that such research does not follow one specific methodology.They (ibid) see CDA as a diverse research enterprise(multi-and inter-disciplinary)with a cluster of methodological approaches oriented to analyze a myriad data.

### **3. Ideology**

Historically,the term "ideology" was introduced by Karl Marx (Marx and Engels,1967:408) who handle the ideology of capitalist societies. Thus,they (ibid) think that "life is not determined by consciousness".

Linguistically handled, Lakoff (1996: 37)considers ideology as a conceptual system of a certain sort. In his explanation of ideologies, North (1981:49) states that ideology means a cluster of beliefs about the world, some of them are beliefs about the morality of political actions and the existing institutional structure of a society(ibid). For McLellan(1986:1) ideology is shown to be "the most elusive concept in the whole of social science".Whereas for Thompson(1990:37), ideology "is a system of ideas which expresses the interests of the dominant class but which represents relations in an illusory form". North(1981:49) mentions three stylized features of ideologies: First, ideology is an economizing means by which individuals possess a world view perspective so as to simplify the decision-making process. Second, ideology is mixed with moral and ethical decisions about the justice of

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the world the individual understand. Third, people change their ideological views when their experiences are identical with their ideology. Globally, ideologies affect political life in various ways (Heywood, 2007:2-4): First, ideologies provide a special perspective for understanding the universe (viewing the world only as they expect it to be). Thus, political ideologies have aims that stir political practices. Second, politicians differ in balancing between pragmatic and ideological considerations as well as different stages of their career. Third, ideologies politically contribute in shaping the nature of political systems being related to certain values or principles. Fourth, political ideologies provide social groups, or communities, with united beliefs and values (Therborn, 1980:57).

### **4. Power**

Power, to quote Fowler(1985:61) is "the ability of people and institutions to control the behaviour and material lives of others". Van Dijk (2001: 96) confirms that CD analysts stands with those who are dominated as opposed the dominant to enable the former get insights about the opinions of the latter that might be taken seriously. Fowler(1985:61) considers this as entailing an asymmetrical relation, thus, people talk about power by referring to relationships between, for instance, doctors and patients, a government and the citizens, and so on (ibid). Gramsci, as Carnoy(1986:34) puts it, considers power as ideology. Giddens (1983:19) writes: "the concept of ideology should be reformulated in relation to a theory of power and domination". Thus to study it is to ensure people's obedience by controlling them (Lukes, 1974:31). For Van Dijk (1993:250) social power means privilege of having the access to valued resources like wealth, social position or status that makes such power legitimate (Fairclough, 1989:41) is the "opacity" of discourse that can sub-consciously create power legitimation. Notwithstanding, the pivotal point in the current proposal to deal with the topic is to consider power concept in international system, as a relational system that carries specific categories of commitments and obligations, voluntarily or prescriptive, specifically assumed by a written treaty. Power is the capacity to assure the self-interests by presenting binding obligations that the less powerful states agree on. Necessarily, the meaning of ideology endorsed by this study, following some scholar's perspectives, is that ideology refers to system of ideas that reflect power interests (Žižek, 1994:6).

### **5. Treaties**

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A treaty can be defined 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 (United Nations Treaty Series, 1980: 332). Treaties are of three sorts: Bilateral Treaties, multilateral Treaties: and unilateral Declarations (Treaty Handbook, 2006:30).

### 6. Data Analysis

**Contextual Factors:** Following Van Dijk (2002:108) context involves: a) Global contexts : all the treaties involve the political context where the powerful state (s) dominates the scene and imposes on the less powerful for self-interests keeping, b) 2-Local context : the total **domain** is politics, and the whole **action** making an international agreement which will be legally binding. **Participants** are the states and governments. The **goals of** the treaties in question is to end wars or hostilities. Participants' **cognition** occurs through the subtle management of knowledge and beliefs, etc. (Van Dijk (1989:50).

**The model of the study:** an eclectic model that embraces Fairclough's (1989:27) procedure and eight of Van Dijk's (2006, 2009) Ideological Categories of discourse namely consensus, generalization, lexicalization, reasonableness, and presupposition) See figure (1) below.  
**1. Consensus: Extract (1)** Bilateral Treaty of Nanking (1842) Article 4. participants: China and Britain.

The Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of Six Millions of Dollars as the value of Opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March 1839, as a Ransom for the lives of Her Britannic Majesty's Superintendent and Subjects, who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese High Officers.

To start with the grammar, it can be seen that the text thematizes "the Emperor of China". The mood is indicative in "agrees to pay" and modality is epistemic showing the factuality of the condition. Hence,

obviously the treaty involves the discourse strategy of consensus on a stipulation. Essentially, the payment of a ransom of Six Millions of Dollars is less likely to be accepted. For the powerful side, Britain, presenting the perspective in a form of agreement seems to be avowed, confirmed and unavoidable. Supposedly, the sum was a ransom for the lives of those who were imprisoned or "threatened with death by the Chinese High Officers". The way the matter is agreed upon made and the act is justified to gain the required sum of money are intentionally done to ensure that the less powerful will abide by it. Stating the involved

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ideology, it can be shown that, it is part of the powerful states' interests to let such matters be declared as agreed upon in direct expressions. Thus, as long as the sum is directly mentioned in this written agreement, the indemnity becomes lawfully legitimate.

**Extract(2)** :Multilateral Treaty of Berlin(1887)article27. Participants: Great Britain, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey.

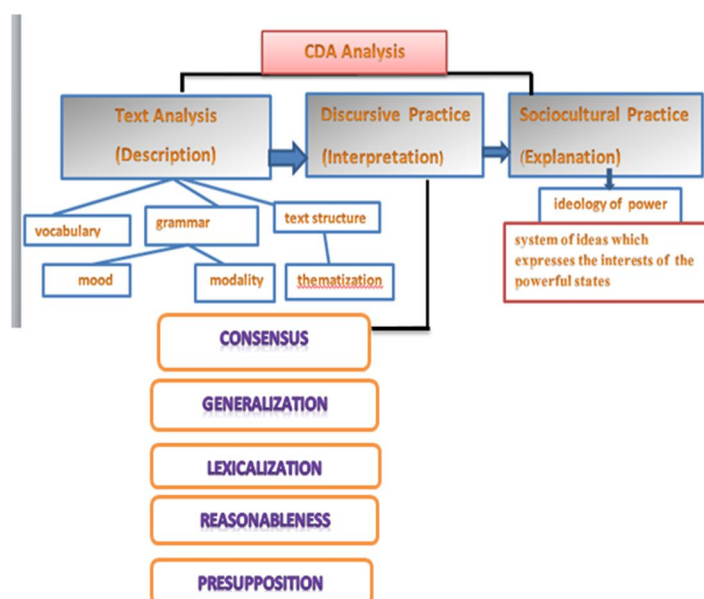


Figure (1)The Eclectic Model of the Study

The high contracting parties are agreed on the following conditions:In Montenegro the difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights and admission to public employments, functions, and honours, or the exercise of the various professions and industries in any locality whatsoever.

Starting with ,and thematizing "the high contracting parties", the text assigns and commits them to the legal liability.The verb phrase "are agreed on" points to the indicative mood and epistemic modality ,while in the second clause it is imperative with an deontic modality to denote the obligatory prohibition of the exclusion .In a matter of concession high contracting parties present their own conditions .The text employs the

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expression "are agreed" instead of "have agreed" denoting that there is a sense of agreement among all the parties holding the same view or opinion on something. Variations in religious attitudes of religious doctrines and perspectives shall not be considered as a pretext to exclude any person from his civil or political rights or from being admitted to employments, or whatever work he applies to. Aware of the religious variations, the contracting powers try to be sensitive about others' social and religious perspectives. This liberal ideology stems from the intellectual desire to be seen fair just and liberal which are all part of Self positive representation.

### **2.Generalization:Extract(3)**Bilateral Anglo-Irish treaty(1921)article 15.

Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institutions of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

Clearly, "the Parliament of the Irish Free State" and "the Parliament of Northern Ireland" are to be talked about so as to be responsible for the following condition. The verb phrase "shall make" shows the imperative mood and deontic modality. To generalize what is prohibited the word "any" is repeatedly used with what is prohibited. Additionally, words like "directly or indirectly", and verbs like "endow", "prohibit", "restrict", "give any preference", "impose", and "affect prejudicially" all help achieve the purpose of prohibiting the denied actions. The treaty text presents obligation that it is prohibited for the parties to issue a law that directly or implicitly imposes, prevents or restricts the practices of any religion or impose them in public schools.

The political structure shows Britain to be the powerful state yet, Irish government is less so. The view of presenting oneself as against any sort of discrimination against children's right to attend a school. The only presented exception is when necessity arises "for public utility purposes". This is to show positive self-representation, and return the treaty gains acceptability. Consequently, self-interests are achieved.

**Extract(4)**Multilateral treaty of Lausanne(1923)article 27  
participants: Britain,France, Italy,Japan, Greece, Roumania The Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and Turkey.

No power or jurisdiction in political, legislative or administrative matters shall be exercised outside Turkish territory by the Turkish Government or authorities, for any reason whatsoever, over the nationals of a territory placed under the sovereignty or protectorate of the other Powers signatory of the present Treaty, or over the nationals of a territory detached from Turkey.

The treaty act begins with thematizing the phrase "no power or jurisdiction in political, legislative or administrative matters" prohibiting the Turkish government, the less powerful, to exercise sort of power, or legislation outside its boundaries. The verbal phrase "shall be exercised" shows the imperative mood and the deontic modality of the obligatory act. To generalize the idea, the act is prohibited "for any reason whatsoever" to be done concerning the citizens of the belonging to the current treaty parties or lands separated from Turkey itself. To satisfy their own interests, the powerful states' (the allied powers) perspective involves confining Turkey's power extension, limiting its authority and keeping the powerful state nationals and other nationals out of its power.

**3.Lexicalization:Extract(5)** Bilateral Treaty of Peking, article1,  
participants: China and Britain.

A breach of friendly relations having been occasioned by the act of the garrison of Taku, which obstructed Her Britannic Majesty's Representative when on his way to Peking for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the treaty of peace concluded at Tien-tsin in the month of June, 1858, His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of China,expresses his deep regret at the misunderstanding so occasioned.

In this text a pretext is given and called "a breach " which makes it like rules infringement. It is related to obstructing the way of the British representative to conclude a treaty.Then , "the emperor of China" is thematized as being responsible for showing " his deep regret" at that trouble that is called "misunderstanding". The discourse strategy of lexicalization using "a breach ", "obstructed" "deep regret", "misunderstanding" is employed so as to achieve self-interests of getting the other side's apology and preventing similar future action.

**Extract(6)**Multilateral treaty of Brest-Litovsk(1918)article.6,  
participants: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and Russia.

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Finland and the Aaland Islands will immediately be cleared of Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard, and the Finnish ports of the Russian fleet and of the Russian naval forces. So long as the ice prevents the transfer of warships into Russian ports, only limited forces will remain on board the warships. Russia is to put an end to all agitation or propaganda against the Government or the public institutions of Finland.

Obviously, "Finland and the Aaland Islands" are thematized to be talked about. The verb phrase "will immediately be cleared of" denotes the indicative mood and epistemic modality to show the scheduled action to be one of the treaty conditions. Russia is thematized in what follows to be responsible for ceasing all annoyance and the "propaganda"(i.e., considered as fake, false and unreal news or information) against Finland whether in terms of the Government or its institutions. Retreating is described as being "cleared" of it. This suggests that they are portrayed like unrequired unwanted objects, hence, only limited forces remain. Additionally, Russia is to terminate "all agitation"(which means various sorts of annoyance) and "propaganda" (which suggests all the false information or ideas declared on public) against the authorities, the people or the "institutions of Finland". These lexical items are of negative meaning. Such ideologically loaded lexemes point to negative representation of Others as being unwanted forces, agitation source and propaganda formulator. The ultimate interest of the powerful states encompasses limiting forces(hence backing their own power) as well as preventing and negative information publically declared against them.

**4.Reasonableness: Extract(7)**Bilateral Treaty of Lahore(1846) article 4, participants: Britain and India.

The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the war, in addition to the cession of territory described in Article 3, payment of one and half crore of Rupees, and the Lahore Government being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment, the Maharajah cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of Rupees, all his forts, territories, rights and interests in the hill countries, which are situated between the Rivers Beas and Indus, including the Provinces of Cashmere and Hazarah.

Starting with a lengthy description of the reasons behind the demand of compensation, the text presents the Maharajah as the theme to be responsible for ceding the lands. The verb phrase "cedes to" shows the

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indicative mood and epistemic modality. Hence, due to the lack of ability to pay the British demand as the "indemnification for the expenses of the war", the Maharajah gives up the Honourable Company to Britain forever, with "all his forts, territories, rights and interests in the hill countries" as a compensation of the war. The discourse strategy of reasonableness embraces what allegedly rationalizes and justifies the status quo as being natural, and fair. Thus, the matter is called "indemnification". As such, and since, the powerful state (the British Government) demanded, the less powerful (the Lahore State) has no option but to accept. Hence, rationalizing by providing reasonableness provides a good chance to seize to serve the interests and get the other side fulfill the other party's demands, even if so precious. Thus, the benefit will be exclusively for the powerful side.

**Extract(8)** Multilateral Treaty of Strait(1841)preamble. participants: The British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania, Russia, The Serb-Croat-Slovene State and Turkey.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY, JAPAN, BULGARIA, GREECE, ROUMANIA, RUSSIA, the SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE and TURKEY, being desirous of ensuring in the Straits freedom of transit and navigation between the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea for all nations, ...And considering that the maintenance of that freedom is necessary to the general peace and the commerce of the world,

Have decided to conclude a Convention to this effect, and have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries.

The phrases "every English vessel" and "the Superintendent of Customs" are thematized. The mood in the first clause is imperative and modality deontic showing an obligatory act, while in the second is indicative and the modality is epistemic showing future action. In an attempt to get the view rationalized, the discourse strategy of reasonableness appears. States involved are shown to be willing to assure and maintain freedom which is essential for the world peace and commerce. In terms of ideological views of the powerful state, it can be shown that the preplanned action of being strategically reasonable involves this presentation for it serves their interests. Regulations in treaties carry the ideology that presupposes a commitment to rationality as a sort of estimation or evaluation. The benefit is shown for all nations to gain acceptance.

**5.Presupposition: Example(9)** Bilateral treaty of Peking( 1860) article 6. participants: China and [U K](#), [French Empire](#), and [Russian Empire](#)

With a view to the maintenance of law and order in and about the harbor of Hong Kong, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to code to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and to her heirs and successors, to have and to hold as a dependency of Her Majesty's colony of Hong Kong, that portion of the township of Cowloon, in the province of Kwang-Tung .

The " the Emperor of China " is thematized. The mood is indicative and modality epistemic.. Thus, "the Emperor of China" who is thematized as being the one responsible for such an agreement accepts ratifying a code not only to the Queen , but also to "her heirs and successors", and not only to possess, but also to "hold" and in a form of "a dependency of Her Majesty's colony of Hong Kong". The strategy of presupposing is apparent in words like to code that presupposes writing it as a law or order, i.e., it will be legitimately legal as being part of law. Furthermore, the text refers to the land as a " portion" minimizing it. The ideological perspective denotes giving the powerful state (the UK) more privileges by allows it to have the other party's (the less powerful state) land something that is unjust whatever form it takes .The ideology standpoint is to have more power over extended places around the area in question to support the existing dominance by extending its range.

**Extract(10)** Multilateral Treaty of Versailles(1919)article 13 participants: Allied and Associated Powers, of the one part; and Germany.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

In this text , "disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty" is presented as a theme, that is saliently significant to talk about. Any opposition or conflict in the treaty interpretation is made similar to infringing international law. The mood in "are declared to be" is indicative and modality is epistemic .However, that opposition or conflict in the treaty interpretation is considered an infringement that is liable "to arbitration". In fact, this serves the interests of the powerful states as to make the treaty stipulations legally binding and prevent any breach .

## **7.Ideology in Bilateral and Multilateral Treaties**

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To show how the frequencies of ideology strategies are employed in both bilateral and multilateral treaties, table(1)presents them with the percentages. Clearly, there are some differences in the employment. Thus, the frequencies of social actor representations strategy, which occupies 15.7 % of all the strategies, is 20 in the bilateral treaties, and 25 multilateral ones. As for consensus, it has the percentage of 19.5 which is the highest among strategies employed. In bilateral treaties, the frequency is 20 yet, in the multilateral ones, it is 36. This shows that the latter employs this strategy more than the former. For the generalization strategy the percentage is 9.4, where the frequency in the bilateral treaties is 10, and in multilateral ones 19.

No.	Strategy	Frequencies			%
		Bilateral treaties	Multilateral treaties	total	
1	actor representation	20	25	45	15.7
2	consensus	20	36	56	19.5
3	generalization	10	17	27	9.4
4	lexicalization	14	20	34	11.8
5	reasonableness	22	24	46	16.0
6	polarization	20	14	34	11.8
7	presupposition	24	20	44	15.8
total		286			100%

**Table (1) Frequencies and percentages of Ideological Strategies**

Concerning lexicalization the percentage is 11.8, and the frequency of which in the bilateral treaties is 14, and 20 in the multilateral ones. As regards the strategy of reasonableness, the percentage of its employment is 16.0, which is the second highest one among all strategies. The frequencies are 22, 24 in bilateral and multilateral treaties respectively. As far as polarization is concerned, the percentage is 11.8, and the frequencies are 20, 14 in bilateral and multilateral treaties respectively. Finally, presuppositions appear to have the percentage 15.8, with the frequency of 24 for the bilateral treaties and 44 for the multilateral ones. Evidently, the most employed strategy in the multilateral treaties is consensus and the least employed one is polarization that bilateral. In the bilateral treaties, the most employed strategy is presupposition and the least employed one is generalization.

### 8. Finding and Discussions

Depending on data analysis, it has been found that the most employed strategies are consensus, reasonableness and presupposition. This is due to the fact that those treaty participants are engaged in a treaty and it is

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part of their interests to let this treaty be in the form of a written agreement so that it will be legally binding. It has to involve reasonable justifications for concluding such agreement, and presupposing what the powerful participants require as something taken for granted.

Evidently, the ideology of the participants in the unequal treaties that involves keeping the parties' interests, is presenting as consensus. This shows the desire of the treaty participants -to set their own interests in a form of a consensus so that, even if one party is reluctant to conclude the agreement, all the parties are shown as accepting all the involved articles. Reasonableness in presenting what is agreed upon in the treaties is a safe way for keeping interests, and essential to let the treaty be widely accepted agenda.

### 9. Conclusions

Language is the outcome of implied ideological beliefs in power stereotypes. The ideological aspects that are encoded within the language of unequal treaties of peace mainly result from the encoding the reality from exploitations and self-interests perspectives. Such ideologies reflect the superiority of powerful states over the less powerful ones. Furthermore, the nonreciprocal rights and inequality perpetuated in the ideas of the powerful states are practiced for the purpose of power sustaining. As such the unequal peace treaties involve strategies that make all concerning this political aim possible.

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### Appendix: Treaties ,dates and states involved.

Treaty title and date	States involved
Nanking(1842)	the Great Britain and Ireland, and the Emperor of China
Versailles(1919)	between Allied and Associated Powers, of the one part; and Germany,
Brest-Litovsk(1918)	Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, for the one part, and Russia, on the other.
Peking2(1860)	China and Britain
Lausanne (1923)	Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Roumania The Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and Turkey.
Berlin(1887)	Britain, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey.
Lahore(1846)	Britain and India
Treaty of Strai (1841)	The British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania, Russia, The Serb-Croat-Slovene State and Turkey
Anglo-Irish (1921)	England and Ireland