



Turkish – German University
Institute for Social Sciences
Department of European and International Affairs

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF “WAR” IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Can ZENGİN

Master’s Thesis

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T.C.
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20'NCİ YÜZYILDA SAVAŞ KAVRAMI: DEVAMLILIK VEYA DEĞİŞİM ?

CAN ZENGİN

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Abstract

In this work, 20th century was seen as a basketball game in the light of causality concept and Chinese circle system's harmony. In order to answer the research question – Are there independent world wars and a cold war in 20th century or were these wars continuations of each other that were the components of a single history? – milestones in the timeline were considered as breaks or half-times that four main chapters contained the whole century. Categorization was likened as a basketball game that from the time of establishing alliances before World War I to the end of World War II as the first half, and Cold War era as the second half of the game. Additionally, each halves noted to have two chapters within the own periods. The first half is divided into two as 'Peak' (from establishing alliances to the end of World War I) and 'Aggression' (from the end of World War I until the end of World War II). Furthermore, the second half is also divided into two as 'Survivors' (from the end of World War II until the 70's energy crisis) and 'Triumph' (from 70's energy crisis until the end of Cold War).

Keywords: *Balance of power, Neorealism, War – Conflict –Violence – Peace, Periodization, Imperialism, WWI, Great Slump, WWII, Cold War, 1970's Energy Crisis, Globalization, Symmetric-Asymmetric War*

Özet

Bu çalışmada 20'nci yüzyıl, 'nedensellik ilkesi' ve Çinli düşünürlerin 'tarihsel döngü sistemi'nin harmonisi içinde basketbol maçını andıran bir mücadele şeklinde incelenmiştir. 20'nci yüzyılda gerçekleşen savaşlar birbirinden bağımsız nitelikte midir yoksa ortak neden ve sonuçlara bağlı olarak tek bir savaş karakteristiği mi göstermektedir? Sorusu araştırmanın temelini oluşturup, bu yüzyılın dönüm noktaları analiz edilerek dört periyot dahilinde incelenmiştir. Kategorilendirme, iki devre – dört periyottan oluşan basketbol maçı şeklinde düşünülüp, 1'nci Dünya Savaşı'ndan önceki blokların kurulmasından 2nci Dünya Savaşı'nın bitişine kadar olan dönem ilk devre, Soğuk Savaş dönemi ise ikinci devre olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Ayrıca, ilk devre içinde 1'nci Dünya Savaşı öncesi ve sonrası dönemler; ikinci devre içinde ise 1970'ler deki Enerji Krizleri öncesi ve sonrası dönemler de kendi içerisinde iki ayrı periyot halinde değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Güç dengesi, Neorealizm, Savaş- Çatışma- Vahşet- Barış, Periyotlandırma, Emperyalizm, 1'nci Dünya Savaşı, 1929 Ekonomik Buhranı, 2'nci Dünya Savaşı, Soğuk Savaş, 1970'ler Enerji Krizleri, Globalleşme, Simetrik-Asimetrik Savaş*

To my family,

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	: Anti-Ballistic Missiles
COMECON	: Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COMINFORM	: Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties
EC	: European Communities
ECSC	: European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	: European Economic Community
EU	: European Union
EURATOM	: European Atomic Energy Community
GATT	: General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade
GNP	: Gross National Product
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
OPEC	: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
POW	: Prisoner of war
SALT	: Strategic Arms Limitation Talk
UN	: United Nations
US	: United States
USA	: United States of America
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEU	: Western European Union
WHO	: World Health Organization
WP	: Warsaw Pact
WTO	: World Trade Organization
WWI	: First World War
WWII	: Second World War

1. Introduction

War is the inevitable term what is afraid by everyone throughout the history. Contrarily, in spite of humanity's fear and risks of facing with war, administrators couldn't avoid to wage it any time. Most of scholars or politicians tried and is trying to find out why we fight, why we can't live in peace, why we stop development, what has to be done or should we really live in peace?

In the previous century, civilization had observed the most destructive and deadliest conflict of all time that these questions came to peak. In early 20th century, First World War broke out and after four years of fighting, a relative peace period had started. In the middle of the century the Second World War continued for 6 years. Later on, war term was evolved and it maintained with the 'Balance of Terror' and 'Proxy wars'. In one hand, we had observed stable order in world politics among two sides, but on the other hand civil wars reached to the terminal level until 90's. Decolonization movement, globalization, nationalism, democracy, economic instability, integration (economic, social or political) were the key terms what people started to hear often, which made the process more complex to analyze.

20th century, "as it was observed throughout the history, is related to the philosophical concept of causality which is *causes* and *effects*. One concept which is related to this analyze can be considered as the Chinese way of thinking about historical events. As the example for explanation, the Chinese like to think of history progressing in 30-year cycles. They think of China 1.0 as the years of Mao Zedong, which lasted from 1949 to 1978, when China had a planned economy, a Leninist political system, and a foreign policy of spreading global revolution. China 2.0 was the China that began with Deng Xiaoping in 1978 and spanned a generation until the financial crisis of 2008. (...) Since the global financial meltdown of 2008, China has been facing a crisis of success as each of the three goals of Deng's era – affluence, stability, and power – is seen as the source of new problems. (...) China 3.0 will be defined by a quest for solutions to these three crises".¹

¹ European Council on Foreign Relations, China 3.0, Edited by Mark Leonard, London 2012.

In the light of the Chinese Periodization system, the research question “*Are there independent world wars and a cold war in 20th century or were these wars continuations of each other that were the components of a single history?*” was tried to be answered. During the analyses of this research question, document reviews was done retrospectively. After the examination of sources, findings were evaluated with Neorealist theory in order to design the theoretical framework. During the analysis, war-violence-conflict-peace terms were explained first. Later, the whole century was examined in distinguished chapters such as Imperialism age, the Peak (1870’s-1914), Aggression (1918-1939), Survivors (1945-1973), and Triumph (1979-1991). Finally, the work has been concluded with the relevance of differentiation and answering the research question.

1.1 Terminology

1.1.1 Definition of War

One thing has to be considered in the beginning is what makes war different than other terms such as violence or conflict. War is a term which is used by anyone easily to explain the use of every armed dispute or use of weapons; however it is a term which has to be clarified to avoid misunderstanding. “War should be understood as an *actual, intentional and widespread* armed conflict between political communities. (...) War is a phenomenon which occurs *only* between political communities, defined as those entities which either are states or intend to become states (in order to allow for civil war)”.²

Military theorist General Clausewitz, who is one of the leading figures in the literature, defined war in two definitions in his unfinished work ‘On War’. As an earlier definition, “each strives by physical force to compel the other to submit to his will: his first object is to throw his adversary, and thus to render him incapable of further resistance. *War therefore is an act of violence to compel our opponent*

² B. Orend, “War,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Society*, Fall 2008 edition 2009.

to fulfill our will".³ Later, Clausewitz used another definition in his revised work. After the explanation of the starting point of war at the end of political motives, he defines that "*war is not merely a political act, but also a real political instrument, a continuation of political commerce, a carrying out of the same by other means.* All beyond this which is strictly peculiar to war relates merely to the peculiar nature of the means which it uses."⁴

Michael Gelven, a researcher on the philosophy of war, states a comprehensive definition that "war is intrinsically vast, communal (or political) and violent. *It is an actual, widespread and deliberate armed conflict between political communities, motivated by a sharp disagreement over governance*".⁵ Beyond that more explicit explanation, stated by John Mueller, who is recognized by his idea of 'the banality of ethnic war' idea. Mueller argues that "an armed conflict is considered to be a war if at least 1,000 battle or battle-related deaths are inflicted in the indicated year".⁶ (He states that his definition of war has been used around 95 per cent of the literature.). Furthermore, Mueller defines war types in four categories as wars among developed countries, other international wars, colonial and imperial wars, and civil wars, and indicates the numbers of ongoing wars by years 1946-2008, as illustrated in Figure 1.

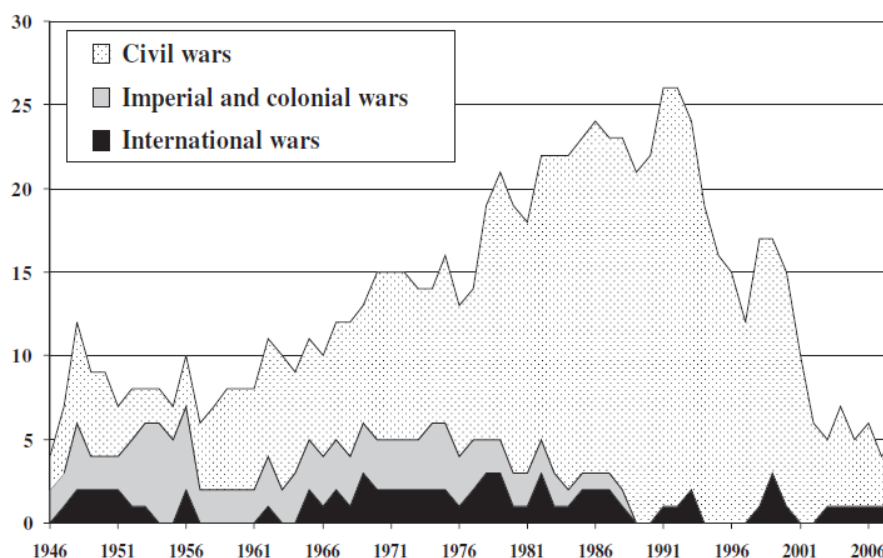
³ "The Clausewitz Homepage," [Online]. Available: <http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/OnWar1873/BK1ch01.html>. [Accessed 19 01 2015].

⁴ "The Clausewitz Homepage," [Online]. Available: <http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/OnWar1873/BK1ch01.html>. [Accessed 19 01 2015].

⁵ B. Orend, "War," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Society*, Fall 2008 edition 2009.

⁶ J. Mueller, "War Has Almost Ceased to Exist: An Assessment," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 124, no. 2, pp. 297-321, 2009, p:300

FIGURE 1
Number of Ongoing Wars by Year, 1946–2008



The data are for “wars,” violent armed conflicts that resulted in at least 1,000 military and civilian battle-related deaths in the year indicated.

Sources: www.pcr.uu.se/gpdatabase/search.php; Kristian Gleditsch, “A Revised List of Wars Between and Within Independent States, 1816–2002,” *International Interactions* 30 (2004): 231–262; plus additional correspondence with Gleditsch.

Figure 1 Numbers of ongoing wars by years, 1946–2008

Another empirical definition was proposed by Joel David Singer and Melvin Small in their book ‘The Wages of War, 1816–1965: A Statistical Handbook’. According to them, war is “an armed conflict between governments (in the case of international wars) or between a government and an at least somewhat organized domestic armed group (for civil wars) in which at least 1,000 people are killed each year as a direct consequence, or a fairly direct one (caught in the crossfire), of the fighting”.⁷ There is also an inclination among many scholars who observe the term experimentally that if the armed conflict causes lower than 1000 battle and battle-related deaths in a year, this has to be considered as an armed conflict instead of war.⁸

⁷ J. Mueller, “War Has Almost Ceased to Exist: An Assessment,” *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 124, no. 2, pp. 297–321, 2009, p:298

(*) The 1,000 battle-death threshold was proposed by J. David Singer and Melvin Small in their seminal *The Wages of War 1816–1965: A Statistical Handbook* (New York: Wiley, 1972). According to Singer, the 1,000 figure more or less fell out of the analysis when other aspects of what could be considered warfare were assembled, and the number seemed to them to be on the low side. Conversation with J. David Singer, San Diego, 24 March 2006

⁸ *Ibid.* P:298–299

(*) As, for example, in Nils Petter Gleditsch, Peter Wallenstein, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Stollenberg, and Håvard Strand, “Armed Conflict 1946–2001: A New Dataset,” *Journal of Peace Research* 35 (September 2002): 615–37; Lotta Harbom and Peter Wallenstein, “Armed Conflict and Its International Dimensions, 1946–2004,” *Journal of Peace Research* 42 (2005): 623–635.

In the light of defining war, principals and retrospective characteristics also has to be considered. Clausewitz explains the elements of war in three categories - paradoxical trinity: reason, chance and passion - that reason primarily matters the government, chance matters the commander and his army, passion matters the people. He writes:

*“As a total phenomenon its dominant tendencies always make war a paradoxical trinity - composed of primordial violence, hatred, and enmity, which are to be regarded as a blind natural force; of the play of chance and probability within which the creative spirit is free to roam; and of its element of subordination, as an instrument of policy, which makes it subject to reason alone”.*⁹

Along with Clausewitz’s definition and explanation of war’s characteristics, many questions can be asked to understand the limits of ‘our will’ that are to be fulfilled. To what extent political entity/ies could compel the other one/ones? What rights do political communities have to declare war? When has the war to be ended? One may answer while others do in another way. This debate has been in the agenda throughout the history that Just War Theory is based on the traditions, ethics and moral justification of war. Among philosophers; Aristotle’s addition for determining the purpose of war and peace, Cicero’s essay ‘De Officiis’ can be seen as the first guideline to the improvement of the theory in the ancient world. Specifically, in Book I, Cicero explains what the honorable is to reach ideals of public manner. His work inspired many thinkers, such as Augustine, Aquinas, Grotius, Suarez, Vattel, Vitoria, Walzerto, who made contributions to the development of the theory and the evolution of law of war later.

Just War Theory can be categorized in three main dimensions, “*jus ad bellum*, which concerns the justice of resorting to war in the first place; *jus in bello*, which concerns the justice of conduct within war, after it has begun; and *jus post bellum*, which concerns the justice of peace agreements and the termination phase of war”.

¹⁰ Each categories define further rules of main notions such as; *jus ad bellum* defines just cause, right intention, proper authority and public declaration, last

⁹“The-Clausewitz-Homepage,” [Online]. Available: <http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/Bassford/Trinity/TrinityTeachingNote.htm>. [Accessed 19 01 2015].

¹⁰B. Orend, “War,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Society*, Fall 2008 edition 2009.

resort, probability of success and proportionality; *jus in bello* explains obey all international laws on weapons prohibition, discrimination and non-combatant immunity, proportionality, benevolent quarantine for prisoners of war (POWs), no means (*Mala in Se*) and no reprisals; *jus post bellum* determines proportionality and publicity, rights vindication, discrimination, punishment, compensation and rehabilitation.¹¹

Since the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648, the Westphalian system of law had been used in the political arena that sovereign states are considered as main actors in relations. War or any use of power was constructed between states by the system. In regard with terminology, “classical war is international war, a war between different states, like the two World Wars. But just as frequent is war within a state between rival groups or communities, like the American Civil War”.¹² Since that time until the mid-twentieth century classical war system based on international wars had maintained its primary role, yet the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928) bounded the just of the declaration of war to self-defense of political entities that rights were restrained. After destructive two world wars, changes in the international environment caused to the replacement of internal-civil wars with international-states wars that legal structure of the system turned out to be more germane.

Although states remain the main actor in the international environment, existence and importance of other actors are certain in the 21st century and, the end of the Cold War era raised the attention on moral matters, ethical issues and humanitarian interventions. “Certain political pressure groups, like terrorist organizations, might also be considered ‘political communities,’ in that they are associations of people with a political purpose and, indeed, many of them aspire to statehood or to influence the development of statehood in certain lands”.¹³ Once and for all, “the 9/11 attacks were the death knell of the Westphalian/Kellogg-

¹¹ B. Orend, “War,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Society*, Fall 2008 edition 2009.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid

Briand system, demonstrating the salience and capability of non-state actors. Clearly the state-centric legal framework was no longer adequate".¹⁴

Even though system has changed theoretically and practically with some events, the possibility of war between states still remains. According to Dr. Thomas Mahnken, who served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense in U.S. between 2006 and 2009, war's character has obviously changed while its requisite nature sustained. As a definition, he says "War remains an act of violence to impose one's will on an adversary".¹⁵ But, for its nature he explains that "Precision and discrimination are now expected. The use of unmanned systems is routine. Organizations other than states wage war. The outcomes are less predictable. War takes place in new domains like space and cyberspace".¹⁶

Additionally, some other significant characteristics have been changed in the last century. "The industrialization of warfare from the mid-nineteenth century onwards greatly enhanced the destructive and violent nature of war, and wars increasingly mobilized entire populations and economies".¹⁷ Conditional changes in the social character of war have been seen that European Union's (process since the establishment of ECSC, EEC and EURATOM) effect and Japanese belief after World War II, which is called 'Debellicization', led to it. Also, a common awareness about the objection of using force in society has been created, which political leaders can't deny and have to convert their considerations that circumstances created passive wars more important. In related to demographics, citizens are not eager to suffer from losing their children in another war, while parents' shift in the developed world is having generally one child or two children rather than more as in the past. "The importance of this transformation in the conduct of war cannot be underestimated, and it has led some analysts to suggest

¹⁴ Steven Metz, Phillip Cuccia, "Defining War for the 21st Century," in *2010 SSI Annual Strategy Conference Report*, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, February 2011, p:29.

¹⁵ Ibid. p:36

¹⁶ Ibid. p:36

¹⁷ I. Roxborough, "Clausewitz and the Sociology of War," *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 45, no. 4, pp. 619-636, December, 1994, p:628

that the industrialization of war has greatly reduced the relevance of Clausewitz for contemporary social thought”.¹⁸

1.1.2 Definition of Violence

In addition to the term of war, generation of power could be seen in different ways either. Violence is another term which has to be clarified to understand the complexity of 20th century's history. Although there were two world wars and a long 'Cold' war era which was a specific one unlike others, in different times and places use of power over other entities had been observed. Thus, nuances between key terms have to be clarified. According to the World Health Organization's definition, violence is “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation”.¹⁹

Along with the definition of violence, it can be noticed that it is clearly broad. Similarities with war definition make the problem that either war includes violence, or war is a sub-category of violence. In WHO's '*World report on violence and health*', main and sub-categories of violence is defined that initially it has three main categories; self-directed violence, interpersonal violence and collective violence.

¹⁸ I. Roxborough, “Clausewitz and the Sociology of War,” *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 45, no. 4, pp. 619-636, December, 1994, p:628

(*) Giddens says that with the industrialization of war, it 'could no longer be held to the limited engagements, restricted by the political motives underlying them, that Clausewitz had in mind. The era of "total war" negates just this supposition, as well as others with which Clausewitz characterized the nature of warfare' (198.5: 330). This hardly does justice to Clausewitz, who was frequently concerned with the almost unlimited warfare of the Napoleonic period and the tendency towards absolute war.

¹⁹ Etienne G. Krug, Linda L. Dahlberg, James A. Mercy, Anthony B. Zwi and Rafael Lozano, “World report on violence and health,” World Health Organization, Geneva, 2002, p:5

Collective Violence		
<i>Economical</i>	<i>Political</i>	<i>Social</i>
<p>includes attacks by larger groups motivated by economic gain. i.e. attacks carried out with the purpose of disrupting economic activity, denying access to essential services, or creating economic division and fragmentation.</p>	<p>includes war and related violent conflicts, state violence and similar acts carried out by larger groups</p>	<p>committed to advance a particular social agenda. i.e. crimes of hate committed by organized groups, terrorist acts and mob violence</p>

Table 1 – Types of Collective Violence and explanations of each. ²⁰

In order to understand what exactly collective violence is, we see that the report defines collective violence as “the instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group – whether this group is transitory or has a more permanent identity – against another group or set of individuals, in order to achieve political, economic or social objectives”. ²¹ (Other categories are not mentioned due to its relativity to the topic) Moreover, collective violence is subcategorized into three that economic, political and social violence are explained above in the table. Therefore, it can be understood that violence contains war terms in itself that political violence is a broad term for explaining use of force which includes *war* and related *violent conflicts*.

1.1.3 Definition of Conflict

Another type of use of power between parties can be categorized as ‘conflict’ as the third. Conflict is a widespread word in daily life such as many people can name it in social life for problems. Related to the topic, the situation derives from the generality of the meaning. Conflict is a process that political communities

²⁰ Etienne G. Krug, Linda L. Dahlberg, James A. Mercy, Anthony B. Zwi and Rafael Lozano, “World report on violence and health,” World Health Organization, Geneva, 2002, p:6

²¹ Ibid, p:215

have to confront with it permanently because of the anarchic structure of the environment.

Conflict can be understood ideally in neo-realist thinking that 'Balance of Powers' phenomenon explains the characteristics of it. As Kenneth Waltz, who is the founder of Neo-Realism, states that "Balance-of-power politics prevail wherever two, and only two requirements are met: that the order be anarchic and that it be populated by units wishing to survive".²² Thus, every state has to experience and counter conflicts in this framework that politic relations based on conflict processes. Each political entity - can be named as states, international organizations, individuals, communities etc. - has different interest, ideas and wills that any organized system can't solve disagreements between parties by pleasing each at the same time. On that point, existence of conflicts are inevitable in the international arena.

Another definition made by Joseph Rummel, who is a contributor to Democratic Peace Theory, is that "conflict is a balancing of powers among interests, capabilities, and wills. It is a mutual adjusting of what people want, can get, and are willing to pursue. Conflict behavior, whether hostile actions, violence, or war, is then a means and manifestation of this process".²³ He also describes conflict as a perpetual act of moving back and forth in a field of confrontation, albeit his ideas rooted in idealist traditions. Rummel states that "Conflict is a balancing of vectors of powers, of capabilities to produce effects. It is a clash of powers. But note. Conflict is not a balance, an equilibrium, of powers. It is not a stable resultant. Conflict is the pushing and pulling, the giving and taking, the process of finding the balance between powers".²⁴

Along with two different traditions' definition, it is possible to harmonize some points of both. Before launching a definition, basics of the phenomenon has to be considered. Initially; a disagreement, different parties, perceived threat and

²² K. N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, University of California, Berkeley: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979. p:121

²³ R. J. Rummel, *Understanding Conflict and War: The Just Peace*, Beverly Hills, California: SAGE Publications (Volume:5), 1981.

²⁴ R.J.Rummel, *Understanding Conflict and War: The Conflict Helix v. 2*, Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications (Volume:2), 1976.

collision in needs, interests or concerns builds the aspects of conflict. Therefore it could be said that conflict is a dispute process, collision of powers, equilibrium of disagreement and result of unstable circumstances.

While Rummel accepts that balance of power is neither a conflict nor indicates results, conflict has to be considered as a process which occurs from balance of power. During the dispute, situation can be arisen to another level that if the level of use of force or power generation results with injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation can be clarified as *violence*. Furthermore; if the results of violence – independent from statistical variables of war – emerged by political objectives, then it can be named more specifically in conceptual level such as *war*.

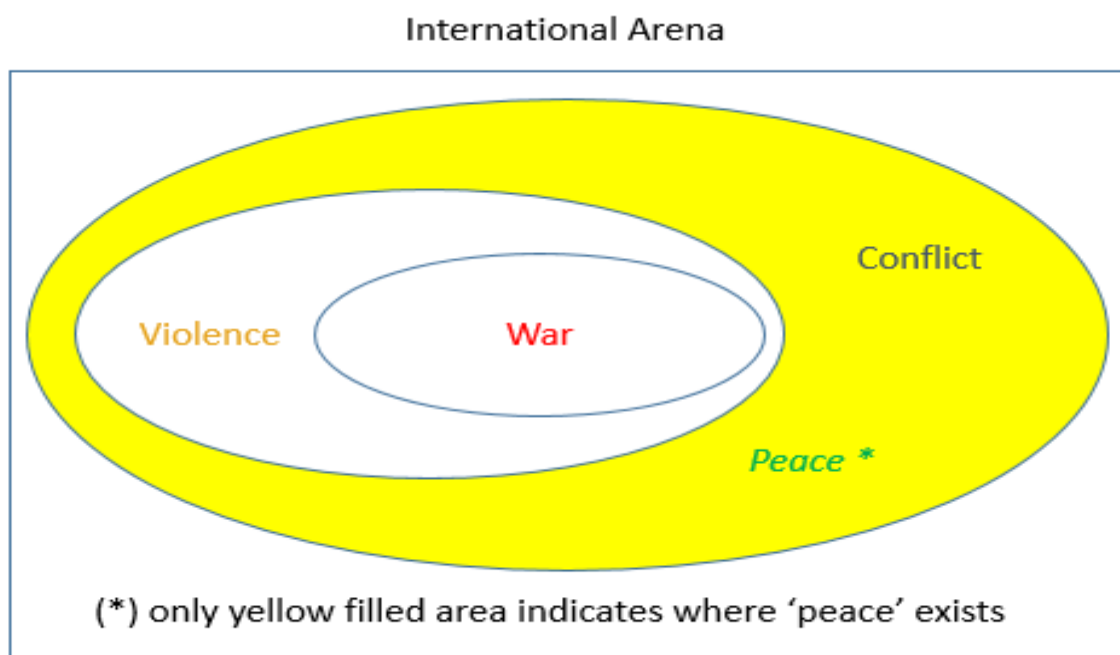


Table 2 – Indication of International Arena, differences of war, violence, conflict and peace

Unlike the common belief of ‘peace’ term which is considered as the opposition of ‘war’; along the lines of all definitions, peace has to be considered as the time out of violence. Then, sophisticated conditions of the 20th century can be understood more easily that definitions are the most important facts of the retrospective analysis. These findings are illustrated above by Table 2 – Indication of International Arena, differences of war, violence, conflict and peace and below by Table 3 – Levels of Relations in International Arena.

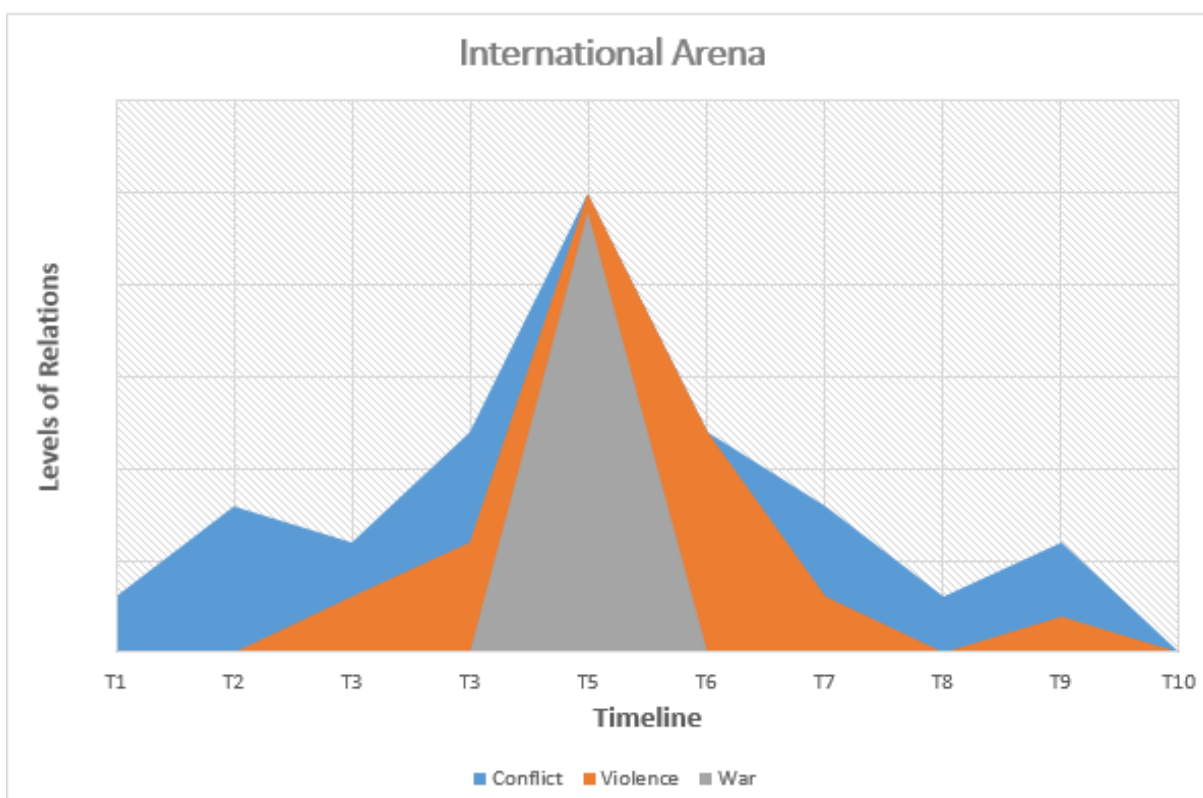


Table 3 – Levels of Relations in International Arena

1.1.4 Definition of Periodization

A Man takes lesson from the past...

What a fairy tale thing! Gave a few moral in five thousand years?

"History" means "iteration" as they described;

Had received no warning, whether replication would? ²⁵

One who examines the history always faces with continuity in relations of events. As it translated above from the author of the Turkish national anthem's work, *Safahat – Mehmet Akif Ersoy*, history repeats itself in periods. So, if the timeline has similarities and differences concerning the society, there can be chapters in order to understand what have been done right or wrong? “*Periodization* is the process or study of categorizing the past into discrete, quantified named blocks of time in order to make the study and analysis of history easier to facilitate. The result is descriptive abstractions that provide convenient terms for periods of time with relatively stable characteristics. However, determining the precise beginning and ending to any "period" is often arbitrary”. ²⁶

Though periodization of history is a significant challenge, it gives advantages while difficulties occur. “Gurevich emphasizes that ‘the human thought cannot avoid dividing the historical process into definite periods’ There is no doubt that periodization is a rather effective method of data ordering and analysis, but it deals with exceptionally complex types of processual, developmental and temporal phenomena and thus, it simplifies historical reality”.²⁷ Although there is simplification in history by looking at milestones and key events in process which shapes relations and masses information of societies, the philosophical concept of

²⁵M. Akif Ersoy (edited by Hece Yayıncılık), *Safahat*, Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2009, (original copy 1933). p: 477, translated by the author of the thesis.

Geçmişten adam hisse kaparmış...

Ne masal şey! Beş bin senelik kıssa, yarım hisse mi verdi?

"Tarih"i "tekerrür" diye ta'rif ediyorlar;

Hiç ibret alınsaydı, tekerrür mü ederdi?

²⁶ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Periodization>

²⁷Leonid E. Grinin, *Production Revolutions and Periodization of History: A Comparative and Theoretic-mathematical Approach Social Evolution & History*, Vol. 6 No. 2, September 2007 75–120 , 2007, ‘Uchitel’ Publishing House

causality makes periodization more perceptible. By this regard, time can be used as a parameter in order to understand retrospective advancement via using mathematics even for social scientists. As Chinese use the history progressing in periods, “many historical processes may be represented as regular cyclical rhythms of the functioning of economic, social and other human structures”.²⁸

On the other hand, there are disadvantages of categorization in a complex structure that effectiveness of periodization could be reduced by misunderstanding of history in readers mind while author meant differently. Diversity in scholars’ way of thinking could influence the objectivity. Moreover, “to what extent is it possible to identify periods that are both meaningful and coherent across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions? What criteria or principles might help historians to sort out patterns of continuity and change and to distinguish such periods? ”²⁹

In global level, it is impossible to analyze that relations of each human societies reflect the same. For almost five previous centuries, superiority of Western world / Europeans has been observed that their attempts or moves have been influencing also other regions of the world. By rising interdependence and interactions among different communities in globalization era, periodization is becoming more practical to apply in global scale. Inter-regional trade, easy exchange of goods and services, human transfer, contagious diseases, technological development, imperial attempts, migration, early slave trades, free market economy etc. make contributions to share the common past and future in world history. Like a group of scholars, Bentley believes that “by focusing on processes of cross-cultural interaction, historians might more readily identify patterns of continuity and change that reflect the experiences of many peoples rather than impose on all a periodization derived from the experiences of a privileged few”.³⁰ Then, effects of unfavorable circumstances can be decreased to some extent and periodization could be advantageous.

²⁸ Jerry H. Bentley, *Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History*, *The American Historical Review* Vol. 101, No. 3 (Jun., 1996), pp. 749-770, Published by: Oxford University Press

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

Scrutinizing the history is one of the crucial points. “Scholars assert that history constitutes a seamless garment, but they cannot render the past intelligible until they subdivide it into manageable and coherent units of time”.³¹ For a long time, reading history in an algorithm has been used, such as Grinin’s theory: Hunter-Gatherer, Craft-Agrarian, Industrial, Information-Scientific or Marxist theory of historical materialism: Primitive communism, Slave society, Feudalism, Capitalism, Socialism or list of time periods: ancient history, middle ages, early modern period and modern history etc.

As it was mentioned above in Chinese thirty years cycle system, global history also is based on a similar periodization. If one will look at what were crucial events to distinguish one from another in the late nineteenth century, events in each epoch are generally results of previous ones. In order to compare periods of 20th century, it has to be taken into account that history repeats itself in one way or another. For instance, in economic terms “because of the resources made available by imperialism, the world’s economy grew significantly and became much more interconnected in the decades before **World War I**, making the many imperial powers rich and prosperous”.³² In light with this pattern, a more specialized version of periodization which contains 20th century’s history is used. It is going to be originated from previous ones, and described in four chapters that each epoch obtains around 25-30 years.

In the meantime, economic periodization of 20th century by Prof. Michael Bordo was used as a ground for economic issues which also influence politics and social life in order to distinguish chapters. As he identifies, 20th century has four main periods such as Gold Standard Era (1880–1913), The Interwar Years (1919–1939), Bretton Woods Period (1945–1971), and Recent Period (1973–1997).³³ After he clarifies the definition of a crisis, he argues differences and similarities between periods in four manners; namely banking crisis, twin crisis, currency crisis, and all crises. There are several findings from his work. First, ‘Gold

³¹W. A. Green, “Periodization in European and World History,” *Journal of World History*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 13-53, 01 April 1992.

³² Christopher, A.J. (1985). “Patterns of British Overseas Investment in Land”. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. New Series 10 (4): 452–466.)

³³ Franklin Allen and Douglas Gale, ‘Understanding Financial Crises’, Oxford University Press, New York, 2007, p: 10-14

Standard Era' was one of the benign era without globalization oriented crises; second, 'The Interwar Years' was the worst part because of the Great Slumps effect; third, 'Bretton Woods Period' was the most successful era that policy makers took lessons from the previous events; and fourth, 'Recent period' was nearly bad as interwar years but nevertheless there were more nations in this period which were vulnerable to global crises.

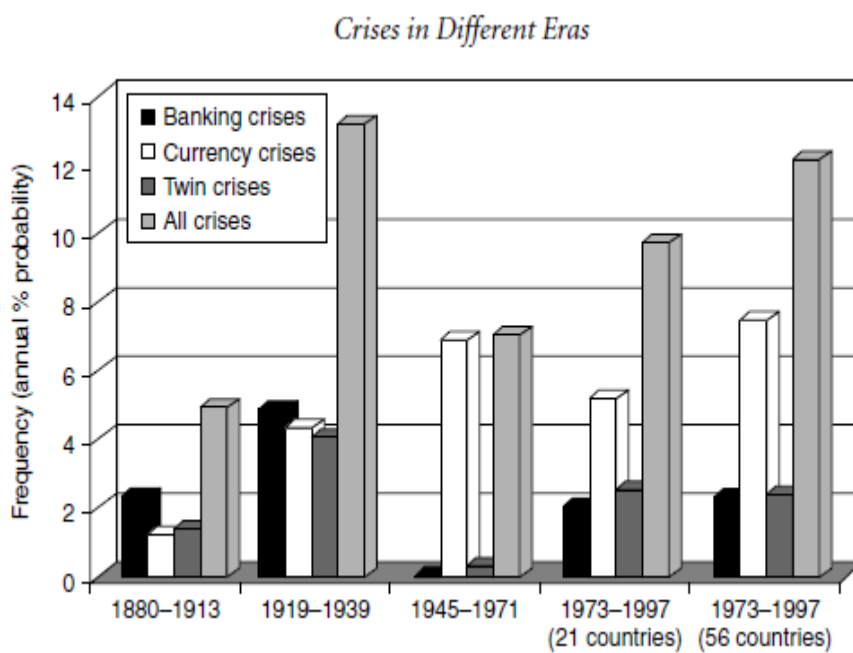


Figure 2 Crisis in different eras according to Michael Bordo.

2. The Long Game

2.1 Imperialism Age

Throughout the history, humanity has been trying to find a perfect system to govern itself. Since the Neolithic revolution, different types of systems have been established. But, needs of society, power relations, superiority to others have influenced these systems immensely. As one of these systems, imperialism and empires are at the center of the debate in late centuries, although there were other empires before. In the late 1870's, the word "imperialism" was introduced into the English language with the current meaning by dissidents of British prime minister Disraeli because of his supposedly flamboyant and offensive imperial politics. In another sense, Imperialism defines Western dominance in 19th and 20th centuries over other regions in politics and economy. Although imperialist practices have existed for thousands of years, the term "Age of Imperialism" generally refers to the activities of European powers from the early 18th century through to the middle of the 20th century, for example, the "The Great Game" in Persian lands, the "Scramble for Africa" and the "Open Door Policy" in China.³⁴

Final meaning of the term has not been concluded for decades. It complicatedly describes the policies of European colonial domination, or of the United States' role in 20th century, or of any nominally irredentist or expansionist authority with the aim of total aggressiveness. It is an ideology and continuum that target on conquest over enlargement instead of simply political dominance. Despite having arguments about the meaning of the term, definition in "*The Dictionary of Human Geography*" could be the most precise one. Broadly, imperialism is "an unequal human and territorial relationship, usually in the form of an empire, based on ideas of superiority and practices of dominance, and involving the extension of authority and control of one state or people over another".³⁵ In other words, "the meaning of imperialism is to create an empire, by conquering the other state's

³⁴ The United States and its Territories: 1870–1925 The Age of Imperialism". University of Michigan

³⁵ Derek Gregory, *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, (UK, Blackwell Publishing, 2009)

lands and therefore increasing its own dominance”.³⁶ However, it is also described as a loose or soft political and economic domination of powerful states’ over weaker ones, instead of absolute control. Furthermore, in connection with political explanations, hypothetical economic connotations by Marxist V. Lenin and Liberal J. Hobson made an addition to the meaning. For instance, Lenin noted that “imperialism was the highest form of capitalism, claiming that imperialism developed after colonialism, and was distinguished from colonialism by monopoly capitalism”.³⁷

In respect to imperialism, another term also has to be clarified which is colonialism. Due to their relevance and close meanings, people often use them for each other to describe. As a description, it can be said that “colonialism is when the imperial nation begins a conquest over an area and then eventually is able to rule over the areas the previous nation had controlled”.³⁸ Although, both terms show and describe the superiority and effect of one to another, presumably colonialism is a sort of a subset of imperialism, which is not strictly equal to imperialism (for example, political focus of imperialism which is not an element of Colonialism). Besides, “colonialism is seen to be the architect deciding how to start dominating areas and then imperialism can be seen as creating the idea behind conquest cooperating with colonialism”.³⁹ In this regard, Robert J. C. Young’s assumption about paradoxical relations among could be a good explanation that imperialism is the general notion while colonialism is the exercise of it. European colonialism could be a good example, for that main focus was on economic development by reaching resources of other countries (practice) while there was also political domination (concept) in connection with it.

When one has a look at contemporary relations, it is obvious that there are still effects of the imperial/colonial rule. In order to understand global powers’ intention in each part of the history – great powers of Europe in late 19th and early

³⁶ Painter, Joe & Jeffrey, Alex “Political Geography (2nd Edition). London, GBR: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009. Chapter 8 Imperialism and Post-Colonialism, pgs. 179- 185

³⁷ Gallaher, Carolyn; Dahlman, Carl T.; Gilmartin, Mary; Mountz, Alison; Shirlow, Peter (2009). *Key Concepts in Political Geography*, London: SAGE. p. 392.

³⁸ Painter, Joe & Jeffrey, Alex “Political Geography (2nd Edition). London, GBR: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009. Chapter 8 Imperialism and Post-Colonialism, pgs. 174- 176

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 171-174

20th centuries, USA and USSR in Cold War time etc. – character of the power and system has to be analyzed. ‘Even if a particular empire does not have a ‘global reach’ as we would define it today, empires by their nature still tend to contribute to processes of globalization because of the way that imperial power tends to generate counter-power at its edge-lands and send out reverberations far beyond the territories of their immediate control’.⁴⁰ Thus, globalization of 20th and 21st century is described by some scholars as the modern form of both imperialism and colonialism. Although colonies don’t exist anymore, some countries still have an ace in the hole because of economic interdependence of modern relations.

2.2 The Peak (1870’s-1914)

In order to understand what made 20th century different than the previous ones, one has to consider the key points of the structure. In the late part of the nineteenth and very beginning of the twentieth centuries, political arena – The Concert of Europe system after Vienna Congress in 1815 – was shifting by the latest change in strength of great powers, such as Germany, Italy, Ottoman Empire in one hand, United States of America and Japan on the another hand. This equilibrium of powers provided almost a century without a major war among great powers. Certainly, there were imperial rivalry and aggression among them, but these conflicts neither resulted in a ‘total war’ nor happened in contiguous regions of them. The only war which was fought by more than two great powers (Russia on one side and Britain-France alliance on the other side) during that time is the Crimean War (1854-1856). “Between 1871 and 1914 there had been no wars in Europe at all in which the armies of major powers crossed any hostile frontier, although in the Far East Japan fought, and beat, Russia in 1904-5, thus hastening the Russian revolution”.⁴¹ Hitherto the time of World War I, citizens of any country hadn’t observed a total or a world war in meanings of transportation, warfare, technology, duration etc. but with the Great War, *all major powers* found themselves in action.

⁴⁰ James, Paul; Nairn, Tom (2006). *Globalization and Violence, Vol. 1: Globalizing Empires, Old and New*. London: Sage Publications. p. xxiv.

⁴¹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes 1914-1991*, London 1995, p. 23

In this regard, perhaps one might say that the Great War was a European War rather than a global war. This is not a wrong way of thinking if one accepts the European great powers as well as the global great powers retrospectively. Except of few countries in Europe - Spain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland, Norway and Switzerland - all European countries were belligerents of the war. But, on the other hand, due to effects of imperialism, that European War has to be noted as a global war. People from all around the world, such as Canadians and Newfoundland people from North America, Chinese labour forces in western territories and Indians in Europe from Asia, New Zealanders and Australians in Gallipoli from Oceania, many African colonial troops against Germans in Africa, German navy in Atlantic Ocean participated to the Great War and it could be enough to understand it as a world war for first time.

2.2.1 Technology of the time

Whether it was a European war or it was a global scale war, features of the Great War and ongoing ones distinguish it from previous wars. For instance, wars fought by great powers ⁴² before were resulted rather rapid (weeks or months) unlike the characteristics of war in twentieth century (4 years of each World Wars, Cold War which resulted around the half of a century, long international conflicts and violence out of conventional wars). Besides, “military technology of the time included important innovations in weaponry, grenades, poison gas, and artillery, along with essentially new weapons such as the submarine, warplane and tank”.⁴³ Thus, numbers in mass killing from opponents and numbers of mass transportation of own soldiers and weapons were increased which was the gift of revolution in technology. Imperial age were at the peak of its progress and were about to give birth to mass destruction age. Both in regional and global scale, the wars were significantly immense than the former ones. If one has a look at the list of wars by death toll, it is obvious that (estimated numbers) World War I – 17 million, Russian Civil War – 7 million, World War II - 60 million casualties are the result of new technology and growing enmity in age of massacre, while the

⁴² There are exceptions. However, these were not a single war that Thirty Years’ War was a series of war, The Hundred Years’ War was a series of conflicts etc.

⁴³ Tucker, Spencer C. (1998) *The Great War: 1914-18*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; p. 11

major war of 'Post-Napoleonic' era in 1870-71 between Prussia and France resulted with 150,000 deaths.

In the light of technological development, chemical warfare was much more advanced and improved rather than the previous ones and had more pathetic results. According to Russell, except the victims who died in Hitler's gas chambers, there were around 90,000 deaths in World War I and 350,000 deaths in World War II because of poison gas. And, these numbers are just estimated numbers and actual result might be worse than what people think. All of these resulted with losses of generations in Britain – 25 per cent of Oxford and Cambridge students, France – lost 20 per cent men of military age, Ottoman Empire – around 65/75 per cent of soldiers only in Gallipoli Campaign and many others. These all dramatic results of the Great War and the period after it made people consider the senses of war, conflict, violence and peace and compare it as a milestone in the process.

2.2.2 Reasons behind the War

In order to differentiate the first half of the twentieth century either from the previous one or from the second half of it, reasons of waging this war under the conditions of 1910's also has to be taken into account. Until that time, wars had been waged mostly because of religious issues, ideological differences, border disputes, expansionism and in order to prevent own politics from the one who would like to destroy the balance. However, "in 1914 ideology was certainly not what divided the belligerents, except insofar as the war had to be fought on both sides by mobilizing public opinion, i.e. by claiming some profound challenge to accepted national values, such as Russian barbarism against German culture, French and British democracy against German absolutism, or the like".⁴⁴

In related to politics of nineteenth century which was under the dominance of relative peace, waging war was still a normal attitude unless there is a solution in international diplomacy. Perception and behavior of states were in line of

⁴⁴ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes 1914-1991*, London 1995, p. 29

Clausewitz's definition of war that *war is not merely a political act, but also a real political instrument, a continuation of political commerce, a carrying out of the same by other means*'.⁴⁵ Although there were rivalries among major powers, "no government in the 1900's pursued aims which, like Hitler's in the 1930s, only war or the constant menace of war could have achieved".⁴⁶ In general, complex structure of the circumstances caused to raise the tension for all sides. "The problem of discovering the origins of the First World War is therefore not one of discovering 'the aggressor'".⁴⁷ The problem started with the incredible rise in the shifted balance and reached to the peak in advancement of industrialization.

2.2.3 Cracks in Balance

Unification of Germany in 1871 was the most prominent figure of the series of events that it could be named as a trigger of the collapse of the balance of power since 1815. Certainly, French, Russian and British governments were confused in relations to each other after Germany started to take part in the imperial race. The German Chancellor Bismarck's role in international politics shouldn't be forgotten that his policy played a crucial preserving role from late nineteenth century until World War I. On the other hand, one may assume that his policy lead to deeper confrontation and establishing alliances in the period. Forming the League of the Three Emperors among German Empire, Austria-Hungarian Empire and Russian Empire with Bismarck's initiative in 1873 were seeds of shifts in balance of power. Certain thing shouldn't be forgotten in problem was "a system of power-blocs only became a danger to peace when the opposed alliances were welded into permanence, but especially when the disputes between them turned into unmanageable confrontations".⁴⁸

Early cracks started when the conflicted zone, Balkans under the Ottoman rule, had become unsatisfactory. Because of rising tensions due to nationalistic movements and uprisings against the Ottoman Empire in Balkans, Russia and

⁴⁵"The Clausewitz Homepage," [Online]. Available: <http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/OnWar1873/BK1ch01.html>. [Accessed 19 01 2015].

⁴⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, First Vintage Books Edition, New York, 1989, p. 311

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 312

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 312

Austria-Hungary confronted. Thus, the League of Three Emperors' had to disintegrate, and it was the early news of a total disaster. After Russian withdrawal from the League, Dual Alliance and later on Triple Alliance with Italy in 1882 created the one side that Russian attitude towards Austria-Hungary and French policy against Germany gathered them into another alliance in 1894. But, under these circumstances two country's decisions marked a significant change in the period. First, Britain was a key player by choosing Triple Entente that German improvement on a global scale was a great danger for her in one hand, and the Great Game with Russian Empire finished on the other. Second, Germany was the other key nation that Bismarck's era of close relations with Russian Empire ended with the exclusion of Russia from the German financial market in 1887 and continuity of alliance with Austria-Hungary over Balkans while also Germany considered the neutrality of Britain at the time. In general, line-ups for upcoming war was not totally certain – such as Italy –, yet aforementioned relations ended the previous era while opening 'the peak' chapter by establishing the alliances.

If one considers the formation of alliances, surprisingly could understand the diplomatic relations and international environment of the era. Balance had been established without common interests or enmity that there is not a link between German-French rivalry over disputed territories and Russian-Austria/Hungarian influence opposition over Balkans. British-German naval competition was not a significant interest of the Ottoman Empire while she was on the Crimean War against Russia with the help of France and Britain. European great powers had been trying to re-establish balance of power since ages and problems were standing on individual conflicts which tangled one to another. Although, German-French dispute was an important origin for the World War I and also later years' diplomacy, one of the most significant reasons and decisive steps for new balance of alliances was British participation to the anti-German camp.

Alongside German emergence in the political arena, Britain was still the key player in the game that including herself no one had considered to participate in Entente Powers. Britain had been the biggest rival of France since 18th century because of continental domination and imperialistic influence race over other territories, opponent of Tsarist Russia for 'the Eastern Question' (Balkans and

Mediterranean region) and ‘the Great Game’ (Central Asia) while she had not been confronted a disagreement with Prussia/German Empire yet. Specifically, “A permanent alliance with any continental power seemed incompatible with the maintenance of that balance of power which was the chief objective of British foreign policy. An alliance with France could be regarded as improbable, one with Russia almost unthinkable”.⁴⁹

However, British diplomats had foreseen the major changes in balance which can be categorized into four. First, competition among great powers was not just in Europe recently that new areas had been ruled by them and it accelerated the conflict into the global level. Colonization shifted the conflict territorially that 90% of Africa was under European control in 1895 while it was only 10% of the continent in 1875. It also was the reason of short term peace in Europe which was happened in America before. American, African, Asian lands were included in the game and pitch was larger than previous chapters. Second, new actors and old tired ones diversified the stability. American expansionism over Pacific in the late period of the Monroe Doctrine, Japanese rise which could compete with US in the Pacific and Russia over Manchuria, Ottoman disintegration which holds many significant regions under her control, German advancement after unification were read by Brits and also other parties as different from previous chapters in order to change the course of action. Previous equilibrium of European powers was in benefit of Britain while she had been the most powerful one with her navy, economy and diplomacy. Third, economic competition had been shifting its popular route from Britain to other areas by the effect of globalism. In the times of world market society, local consumer good production increased and new giant entrepôt ports deindustrialized the old heartland. Major competing national industries confronted excessively and economic rivalry spilled over to the politics either. Therefore, British single dominance has been changed in the last years of the nineteenth century that the crucial figure chose her side in Triple Entente against Germany by these mainstreams.

⁴⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, First Vintage Books Edition, New York, 1989, p. 314

2.2.4 Capitalism's impact and the result

Finally, the process which capitalism brings to many lives was at the final phase of explosion that structure was more complex than ever. National interests and confrontation on imperial expansionism dangerously overlapped with powerful corporations' limitless ambitions. This novel pattern was one of the distinguished figures of the period in world politics from previous and following ones. Capitalist progress' impact was the supreme impact that governors were pushed to the face with going to war among their conflicts and was seen indispensable. In historians' perspective, the period after 1870:

“The shift from monopoly to competition was probably the most important single factor in setting the mood for European industrial and commercial enterprise. Economic growth was also economic struggle - struggle that served to separate the strong from the weak, to discourage some and toughen others, to favour the new, hungry nations at the expense of the old. Optimism about a future of indefinite progress gave way to uncertainty and a sense of agony, in the classical meaning of the word. All of which strengthened and was in turn strengthened by sharpening political rivalries, the two forms of competition merging”.⁵⁰

During the time all great powers had demanded the stability and balance in their relations, however there was no hesitation to wage war to a weaker one. Separation of colonies and influence regions were not the mere solution to the problem at the end of the nineteenth century. However, it even led to forming alliances between old antagonists interestingly. Besides, latest German ambition which shifted the equation by Wilhelm II was significantly aggressive in period, although Bismarck's policies were more carefully designed in confrontations. However, the end was unavoidable with all mentioned reasons that all powers were at 'the peak' of their unproportioned strengths.

2.3 Aggression (1918-1939)

If one considers about the 20th century's history, inter-war years might be one of the most interesting years as other phases. Economic ruins and desolate system of

⁵⁰ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, First Vintage Books Edition, New York, 1989, p 316-317

international politics made people more and more thrusting that the period can be named with 'aggression'. Since the balance of power of the 19th century had shifted by World War I, a new balance was established with fear, offense and conflict of ideologies. No one would believe that patriotism would have increased to an extremist level and balance would shift to ideological war and aggression at that time. However, the consequences of World War I and the circumstances of humanity in the period made it easy that Nazi Germany, specifically the ideology of National Socialism, became the common fear of western and eastern civilizations at the same time.

After World War I, none of the winning side belligerents were powerful as before that they were aware of their weaknesses and another possible war's results. A status quo was formed in 1919 in international politics, however, all countries knew that the new balance was unstable and had to be shifted. Most logical attempt in order to adjust balance could have been the integration of Germany into the system by conceding again after the Great War. Nevertheless, German side's new ideology after social trauma allowed Hitler at power that policy had to end with disaster. Indeed, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's 'Appeasement policy' towards Nazi Germany was a way to stabilize equilibrium and keep peace, yet it was the last and prominent factor of failure because of unlimited and irrational enthusiasm of National Socialist ideology.

Furthermore, wars had been maintaining at the end of conflicts in interwar years such as Turkish and Indian Independence Wars, Spanish Civil War, Nazi German invasion of Czechoslovakia, Italian conquest of Albania, Italian-Abyssinian War that the period shows the hybrid character of the birth of organic nation-states after the imperial era and the revive of aggressor states after World War I that another major war was unavoidable in new ideological confrontation. Antagonism was the basic element in the period that unexpected events also occurred and helped to increase it. Especially dominant figures of previous decades, specifically Britain was faced with difficulties in order to maintain her position in international politics that three unexpected events for British diplomats in first half of 20th century had been observed such as National Socialism in Germany which influenced many lives, Turkish Independence War which blocked the British

future plans and weaken her, and the Great Slump which affected all states economies’.

2.3.1. Role of Versailles Peace Treaty

Reasons behind choosing authoritarianism by Germany can be understood by looking at the previous chapters’ final events. Peace treaties to end the war formally could be the decisive element to analyze the situation. Namely, Versailles Treaty between Allies and Germany is the most significant fact to read the period comprehensively. Because the treaty itself was a ‘disaster solution of the disaster war’ that no one gained anything yet each country lost more in the long run. Still, some people of 2010’s are suffering because of the remedies of the Versailles Treaty that it was not the proper answer to the needs of the time. By the conditions of the peace treaty, Axis powers of World War II became vulnerable and revisionist while Allies tried to keep status quo.

In this sense three levels of analysis can be said to differentiate the inter-war years from the previous one, and to understand how the new equation was formulated. Three elements of analysis - social, politic and economic – are interlinked to each other that show the new balance of power in that era’s world politics. First element can be named as social factors of the time that people of defeated countries of World War I were much more sensitive about their independence, territories and basic human needs. As it happens after all wars that people of that time were frightened about their future and suspicious about their finance, jobs, clothing, shelter, farms etc. Interestingly, if one have a look at the major belligerents of lost sides of World War I, it can be said that Turkey’s independence war unlike there was not an invasion in Germany was showing the difference between two countries’ following years. Although both countries had suffered in post-war years because of harsh conditions, Turkey’s negligence to the peace treaty and maintenance to the independence war with a democratic leader made the country’s following years. On the other hand, conditions of Versailles Treaty had challenged the German economic, politic and social life that social trauma led the country becoming more aggressive although there wasn’t invasion from winning side. There were ceded territories which were agriculturally rich and

containing minerals where many Germans live. And, that was also another reason of indigence of German population which led them to suffer and hatred to Allies.

As a second element of investigation, economic terms of the treaty were another issue to understand the devastating conditions. Allies demanded reparations for all costs of the war from Central powers and Germany was sentenced to pay the highest amount that compensation required to pay by Germans was around £ 6600 million. Compensation covers two thirds of military pensions that both Germans and Allies were annoyed about payment. Reparation commission was established in order to evaluate further costs and these numbers demanded by Allies were extremely exaggerated. The equivalent of 20,000,000,000 gold marks was impossible to pay by neither Germany nor any belligerents in those circumstances. Not only Germany blamed to pay these reparations, but also she was required to pay for needs of French, British and Belgian economies such as animal, machinery, equipment, coal etc.

The importance of the treaty in economic terms felt immediately by all countries and the world was no longer the same and Germany was affected from this change the most. Direct effects of the reparations resulted with massive inflation and extreme poverty in the country. German Mark slumped against the American Dollar from 14 to 99 marks in 8 months. Millions of people were suffered because of starvation that audience got angry at Allies.

For the third and last element of importance of Versailles Treaty, one can explain it in political terms. According to the article 231 of the treaty, Germany was blamed to take “the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies”.⁵¹ Disarmament of Germany, ceding control of %10 territories, costly reparations reduced the Germany’s impact on international politics that Allies wanted to achieve for decades. However, there was a missing point in that all costs blamed to Germany made people more

⁵¹ Treaty of Versailles, 28 June 1919 ,Article 231

aggressive that polarization among people and dissatisfaction about the governance became more visible. German public opinion after the Versailles Treaty was ‘defeated twice – one in the battlefield and then betrayed at home’. “The Germans found themselves in a humiliating and harsh treaty, but had not seen the utter defeat of their troops, so they were easily led into believing that ‘The Jews’ and other people inside Germany had been responsible for the failure in the war”.⁵²

2.3.2. Hitler’s effect on period

In line of these three inter-linked facts, one can assume that the dangerous era was the result of previous chapters’ events and specifically so-called peace treaties played a crucial role to open and shape the inter-war years. Although political game was continuing in the international arena, it had changed from imperial conflict to the conflict of ideologies by effects of World War I. Germany was accused to the guilty state of the war, Austria-Hungarian Empire and Ottoman Empire and Russian Empire (was at the winning side in earlier times of war, withdrew by October Revolution and became Soviet Union in 1917) were dissolved, Except Soviet Russia, dissolution of empires closed a chapter in history and led to these emerged small countries into the international arena by making them conflicted pieces. Balkans, Middle East, North Africa, Eastern Asia, Caucasus and Central and Eastern Europe were unstable and portioned to smaller states. One reason why Hitler had achieved his advancement in Nazi Germany was that there was not any country around German territories after Austria-Hungarian Empire’s disintegration which could have threaten or stop him.

In this respect, there is no doubt that one man’s name will not be forgotten in history of the World. Adolf Hitler, who ruled Nazi Germany for 12 years under National Socialism, was the key actor of international politics of the time that his ideas reached to and influenced millions. Germany was less powerful with remained lands, decreased army, weak economy, social deterioration and poverty, yet willing to oppose the harsh and humiliated provisions of Versailles Treaty. Germany’s social, economic and politic conditions were ready to be allowed to

⁵² Dakin Sloss, The Treaty of Versailles: The 200 Page Compromise That Altered The World Forever, p 32.

any leader who can rescue them from the weakness, and Hitler arose to take the lead with his three main concepts: First, defying the provisions of Versailles Treaty over Germany; second, Lebensraum (living space) ideology and gathering all German population in one land; third, anti-Semitism/anti-communism policies which many people believed that Jews and others were responsible for the failure in the World War I. Furthermore, Hitler tried to reinvigorate the Roman spirit in Germany by attempting to gain Britain and Russian Eurasia which Napoleon experimented and failed to achieve this arduous task before him.

2.3.3 Failure of Higher Authority

If one considers the rise of extreme movement in Germany which had world-wide influence, it is obvious that role of international balance of power were one of the reason behind it. "League of Nations" was an insufficient higher authority with extremely inter-governmental and nation based interest structure. Germany was not included in the game, yet winning side of the Great War was willing to keep her out of power. American attitude on higher authority was the key element of future of the league that neither Britain nor France could have manage to keep balance in Europe anymore without Americans anymore. However, American refusal to joining the league left them alone to deal with German rise in European politics in 1930's.

On the other side Russia was a frozen giant in interwar years that none of major powers were demanding Russians inclusion to the equation by herself or by German alliance against them. Since the October Revolution, western democracies perceived the threat of Russian demand over lost territories in Eastern Europe. At the time, Western powers' best solution was a German-Soviet war which would weaken both sides; while Russians thought the same for opposite side such as Western powers-German war. Although Soviets were on the side of Anti-fascist camp during World War II, Stalin-Ribbentorp pact of 1939 were the result of division in states, failure of League of Nations in international politics and effects of secret treaties of the time. Because, neither major powers nor other states wanted to confront with Germany alone yet their alliance of uniting all countries against aggressors was a failure of weak efforts.

Along with the establishment of a higher authority in the international arena to keep peace, homogeneous nation-state notion was the popular model in the international arena in 1920's. Empires of the previous era were closed that novel small states emergence caused also another failure of the League of Nations. By dissolution of empires, many smaller and weaker nations were borned that it was a new conflict among them and major powers.

The League was relatively successful to solve problems among smaller states in 1920's, however, finding solutions to conflicts of more powerful states of 1930's such as Germany, Italy or Japan became problematic. It was challenging to stop ambitions of these countries without existence of United States that small successor states of former empires around Germany and Italy turned into vulnerable targets. In addition to Germany, Bulgaria and Italy had territorial revisionist and irredentist foreign policies in the period because of their loss by World War I. At the same time, one another element which converted Germany, Japan and Italy to aggressor states was the financial crisis of 1930's. Gaining more territories with sources was the equivalence of prosperity and higher standards for these countries that World peace was pushed into the background.

2.3.4 Devastated Economic Structure

Another new circumstance in interwar years different than others was a change in society that old World empires, specifically European Great Powers of 19th century were ruined after World War I, bourgeois class of former century was collapsed and liberation movement in colonies came into prominence. While political breakdown was happening in these countries, there was also economic depression that accelerated the crisis. Financial boom after the Great War ended in 1920 and poverty replaced it. Main problem came about the globalization of international trade at the time that it had stopped and integration of World economy stagnated because of state's self-sufficient tendency. Even mass migration rate decreased dramatically that international flow slowed down. One must say that crisis globalization in the time distinguished the types of conjuncture. In the previous era, the World economy was growing by industrial

revolution advancement and integration of all economies to global one, waves and frequency of crises were mostly sudden and short-lived periods. However, capitalist fluctuations in interwar period were more risky on the system and threatened the stabled framework.

Economic slowdown of the world, even in USA which was the most prosperous country of the time, disappearance of private savings, economic reliance on foreign loans (German economy), and staggering unemployment rate made countries vulnerable in the crisis. Unemployment was the crucial element of change in society that “even in the boom years of the 1920s (1924-29) it averaged between 10 and 12 per cent in Britain, Germany and Sweden, and no less than 17-18 per cent in Denmark and Norway. Only the USA, with average unemployment of about 4 per cent, was an economy really under full steam”.⁵³ More dramatic scenario of the period was becoming worse that “at the worst period of the Slump (1932-33) 22-23 per cent of the British and Belgian labour force, 24 per cent of the Swedish, 27 per cent of the US, 29 per cent of the Austrian, 31 per cent of the Norwegian, 32 per cent of the Danish and no less than 44 per cent of the German workers were out of jobs”.⁵⁴

Economic problems of the time were hardly problematic for all countries that affected the social life and politics extremely. Even though many people dedicates 1929's ‘Black Tuesday’ as crash of stock market in America; if one considers economic conditions in global scale and effects of the crisis, it truly deserves to be named as ‘The Great Slump’. Period which maintained around ten years after the first wave caused unemployment of almost 50 million workers, 42% fall in total production in the World and 65% reduction of World trade. If one scrutinizes all previous worldwide crises, it can be seen that 7% reduction of World trade was the maximum of all times before. Then, significance of the depression could be understandable for everyone that protectionist system in economic terms during interwar years was abandoned after World War II. Traumatic effects on middle and lower class was stunning and it made people voluntary for extreme political

⁵³ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes 1914-1991*, London 1995, p. 90

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 92-93

movements, specifically fascism for Germany which had '0' value of her money in 1923.

Interestingly, the USSR's situation in the period was an alternate understanding for the upcoming war and following years that there was neither high unemployment nor financial difficulties as other countries suffered. While liberal western states were trying to cope with the crisis Soviet plans on economy fostered the industrialization and production. "The only Western state which succeeded in eliminating unemployment was Nazi Germany between 1933 and 1938"⁵⁵ by investing in heavy industry and rearmament of the country.

The Great Slump made an impact on security perception in national markets, renaissance of state protectionism, and social security of new welfare states that economic liberalism was demolished for around fifty years. One of the main reasons of American influence in post-war politics and economy was lessons from the crisis that USA had not played a dominant role in interwar years. Moreover, not only the short term economies and politics got affected by the Great Slump, but also the long term politics and social life changed in the period that hegemony in international balance shifted to three ways, namely Marxism, Capitalism and Fascism which influenced the next cycle of World history.

2.4 Survivors (1945-1973)

2.4.1 Overview

If one analyzes the post-war years, he/she would confront with a new type of era including politics, social life and economy. People who lived the second half of twentieth century witnessed a unique sample of war that conditions of the time occurred it. While the type of war was peculiar, international politics of the period in broad sense had similar characteristics with some periods in past. It could be defined that world history have seen three times bi-polar power relations; first was between Britain and France in 18th century, second one was establishing alliances before World War I and third one was Cold War period between USA and USSR.

⁵⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes 1914-1991*, London 1995, p. 93

‘The peak’ part of late 19th and early 20th century was similar to the second half of 17th century balance of power that one can liken the War of League of Augsburg (1688-1697) and later War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) against rising France as the interwar years of Nazi Germany. Moreover, the grudge match of 18th century between Britain and France can be compared to Cold War while actors were different in comparison due to destruction of war and exhaustion of even winning sides. Then, understanding the division of periods and repetition of history would be easier.

After World War II, one of the most brutal and bloody war in history, it was impossible to anticipate that suffering of humanity could be alleviated because of the economic situations of countries while many people were expecting to have so. Germany, which is known to be the most powerful country at that time, Italy and Japan were defeated, yet England and France were far beyond their old power even if they were in the winning side. Just two countries manage to end this war with great benefits. One of them was USA which was far away from the battlefield, and the other one was Soviet Union which settled down the places of Germany left behind while beating them back after 1943. These two super powers became the owners of the new world. The time which proceeds with ‘proxy wars’ between victorious belligerents (USA and Soviet Union, additionally other countries behind them) of World War 2, is called Cold War. This duration continued for almost half a century, and it has created a new two-pole international political structure with different ideologies. The Cold War period which is often called ‘from Yalta Conference (1945) to Malta Conference (1989)’ was another half of the international game with ‘Survivor’ players.

Since George Orwell used the term first time in his essay and Bernard Baruch coined the term into the literature after the WWII, “the Cold War was based on a Western belief, absurd in retrospect but natural enough in the aftermath of the Second World War, that the Age of Catastrophe was by no means at an end; that the future of world capitalism and liberal society was far from assured”.⁵⁶ It was the continuation of imperial struggle in another meaning, while super powers

⁵⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes 1914-1991*, London 1995, p. 230

hesitated to wage 'hot war' between their hostilities because of nuclear threat. The period was controversial in politics, and "neither superpower would actually want to press the nuclear button tempted both sides into using nuclear gesticulation for purposes of negotiation or (in the USA) for domestic politics, confident that the other did not want war either".⁵⁷ Power and diplomacy was essential patterns of the time that paradox of these terms kept relations in that level which fortunately couldn't cause a disaster.

2.4.2 Origins and Demands of Superpowers

Origins of the post-war years could be an effective way of examining those years from Spanish civil war to end of Second World War was the starting point of new period. Although Eric Hobsbawm mentions that Spanish Civil War was not a phase of Second World War with no global consequences because of not having a Fascist leader, General Franco, he also believes that it was a miniature version of transnational European War. In line of his thoughts, one could understand the evolution of Cold War years by evaluating the World War II. Basically, three main concepts had confronted in group of two sides in the Second World War that Marxist and Capitalist ideas had alliance while Fascism challenged both. If one thinks about the American exclusion from the World War II and considers the probable situation of the time, it certainly would be a prediction and nothing more. But, one must say that plans of post-war years was done by Americans and agreed with Soviets about particular issues that Fascist ideology's one of the mistakes could be named as not having a particular vision for post-war years.

Unless there was a German attack to the USSR and Japanese attack to the USA, Americans might not have involved to the Second World War. However, American elites of the time believed that US had to plan her future in global arena that two things were in crucial importance. First, how to prevent the world from another Hitler that could not put in danger again; and the second was lessons of the Great Slump that Americans have to pioneer the economy in post-war years. On the other hand, Soviet Union was a country which was sympathized by other countries since the Spanish Civil War that the European Communist Movement

⁵⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes 1914-1991*, London 1995 p. 229

attained to the top. Moreover, the rest of the world was demanding independence against imperialist/colonialists. Alliance of both giants against fascism was the key of defeating her and opening a new chapter. In particular, conferences before the Second World War, namely Atlantic, Casablanca, Washington and Quebec, were held to determine issues of war. However conferences during the World War II, namely Moscow, Tehran, Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta and Percentages Agreement, were held to establish the framework of the next period after the war.

Undoubtedly, one of the main problems in superpowers' disagreement was originated by results of Second World War. The reason of why Eastern Europe is under Soviet influence can be explained easily by specifying that Soviet Union settled the places which are withdrawn by Germany during the war and after the war Soviet Union didn't leave that places. The establishment of communist governments in Eastern European countries took place without any delay, and these countries had to live under Soviet influence for nearly a half century. Establishing local communist party regimes was achieved systematically from 1945 to 1948 and Soviet Union's Eastern Europe hegemony started. To ensure that they have the economic co-operation, COMECON was established and promoted trade among member countries as well as other countries. In addition, in order to get a political co-operation COMINFORM was established, and by the help of it socialist countries strengthened their ties, and used the benefit of managing all centralized international communist movements. Besides, Soviet threat to the security of the Western world was a hysteria which always influenced domestic politics. Americans believed that "if America itself was not safe, then there could be no withdrawal from the responsibilities - and rewards - of world leadership, as after the First World War".⁵⁸ Thus, Soviet influence in Europe was seen as a probable domino effect that it was the major issue of the time.

It can be said that both superpowers had demands for post-war years on behalf of their ambitions. One factor of atomic bombing of two Japanese cities could be understood as the American strength in military while it shows the power in politics either. US wanted to show that the country is the strongest one after the

⁵⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes 1914-1991*, London 1995, p. 235

new order or post-war years while the USSR had showed her strength via German defeat and keeping the territories which she gained. On the other hand Americans also considered other terms rather than only military power that self-determination, free international trade and acceptance of higher authority were in her agenda. Moreover, Great Britain had changed her government after World War II, and with economic depression the country withstood by American aid. Policy of retrenchment had to be established and Middle East authority was ceded to the US. European great powers of former periods were not powerful enough, though they were considering about their future. However, “the premise of all policy makers was American economic pre-eminence”⁵⁹ for all estimations and considerations about post-war years. World was divided into two influence areas and it was the new balance which is different than before as Germany was the micro-sample of the framework.

2.4.3 Meaning of Cold War and Periodization

In line of previous events, beginning of Cold War era could be understood better that there were connections and differences. One might notice that ideology was the main element of both era's (1919-1939 and 1945-1991) and confrontation of ideologies continued with survivors of Second World War. Although, ideologies were in a dangerous opposition, “the peculiarity of the Cold War was that, speaking objectively, no imminent danger of world war existed”.⁶⁰ New pattern in the Cold War was the relevance of theory and practice of the war term that distinguish the phase from former ones. ‘Ideological confrontation’ was the mainstream, yet none of them was encouraged to wage as it was the one reason of WWII. “Proxy wars” were the novel warfare type of the time instead of conventional ones. Furthermore, both sides based their policies on ‘security’ in homeland and influence areas, and changed the characteristics of battleground. Because of the permanent conflict in economics and politics, another meaning to the battlefield has been added. While ideological issues were the main concern of Soviet Russians, Americans paid attention to military, economy and diplomacy

⁵⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes 1914-1991*, London 1995, p.240

⁶⁰ Ibid p. 226

together which was the initiative of their 'Containment Policy' to Soviet expansionism.

By all means, if there would be a perceived threat in three dimensions, reaction must be in same aspects. In Cold War time, superpowers menaced each other in political, ideological and economic features that security established in militarily, sociologic and economic terms in response. Therefore, situation can be considered unconventional that combatants of this new type of war were more abstract. Specifically, NATO/WEU organizations were the military/politic; ECSC/EEC/EURATOM institutions were economic; Liberalism/Capitalism were the ideological /social concepts of the Western bloc while WP/COMINFORM were the military/politic; COMECON was economic; and Communism/Socialism were ideological /social concepts of the Eastern bloc in the divided world.

Although bi-polar system had dominated the world for almost a half century, periodization of history could be seen in Cold War years either that one can categorize the period into two. "In effect, the world situation became reasonably stable soon after the war and remained so until the middle 1970s, when the international system and its component units entered another period of lengthy political and economic crisis".⁶¹ Therefore, Post-war years mainly can be divided as 'survivors' (1945-1973) and 'triumph' (1973-1991) chapters that each chapters have different characteristics under long Cold War years as British historian Eric Hobsbawm shaped the Cold War years in two periods, 'Golden Age' from the end of Second World War till the early 1970's and 'The Landslide' starting from 1973 till the collapse of the USSR in 1991. On the other hand, another British historian Tony Judd mainly characterized the second half of the 20th century in four chapters as 'Post War' (1945-1953), 'Prosperity and its discontents' (1953-1971), Recession (1971-1989) and 'After the Fall' (1991 onwards), yet turning point is 1970's crises which basically distinguish the era into two in his book. (Postwar - History of Europe since 1945).

⁶¹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes 1914-1991*, London 1995, p. 228.

2.4.4 Circumstances within Blocs

In order to perceive the intended meaning of chapters in Cold War era, understanding the incidents within blocs would be another way of examining. If one has a closer look to the Western bloc who prevailed the war, it would be easier to deduce about the whole picture. Since European nations were ruined with the WWII and were highly vulnerable to any powerful country, some had chosen the path of the Western bloc and some were forced to be in the Eastern bloc. Consequently, evolution of European Union can be considered as protectionism of devastated Europe in global context that US was the volunteer of it in order to stop expansionism of Soviets. Stabilizing Europe with more secure Western allies was critical, and economic advancement provided by aids in order to rescue them from Soviet threat which Americans did not execute after WWI. Besides, organization's importance raised that belonging to one side and preventing nations from other superpowers established by communities/unions such as NATO, EC or protecting all nations' rights by a higher authority of UN umbrella. Then, one can assume that European integration history could be a sample to examine global context by showing similar characteristics.

As many historians accept the cruciality of 1970's crises in European history, German historian Prof. Marhold notices the effects of internal and external factors of the process. He defines two external factors, first one is decadence of the Bretton Woods system (international monetary system of the time) and second one is oil crisis of 1973, as 'shocks' to the European integration. Moreover, he also states that "-The Seventies- is a purely numerical label, and it would really come as a surprise if human history were to neatly fit within such a scheme – if history could actually be divided into decades".⁶² Thus, thirty glorious years of Western world from 1945 till the 1970's crises and attempts to find solutions after crises could be defined parallel to the global history which was welfare of survivors and dissolution process of Soviet Union from early 1980's. Then, struggles in 1970's could be defined as 'notional wars' of the economic struggle of time in Cold War concept. Similar to other chapters of history, there was also

⁶² Hartmut Marhold, How to Tell the History of European Integration in the 1970s, *L'Europe En Formation* 2009/3 (353-354)

prosperity before the crises period and devastation after that 1970's can be named 'the wartime of ideologies/economies among and within themselves'. And, understanding the last chapter of long 20th century could be mainly based on answers to the economic struggle by superpowers.

At the other side of the world, USSR was in a similar position as it happened in US, 'security dilemma' made a huge impact on Soviet policies. Armament race either in conventional weapons or space race or nuclear weapons costed more than expected. The centralized economy and repression made the country more robust in terms of politics and economy since the end of the WWII. "Despite restricted East-West trade, heavier burdens of defense and investment, and a lower average starting point, Soviet consumers also experienced gains comparable with those of Western Europeans".⁶³ However, background of Soviet economy never showed the trend of catching Western ones, and the country had enjoyed a period of post-war booming almost for three decades, but temporary spurt inevitably showed consequences starting from 1970's. "In this perspective, the "resilience" of the postwar Soviet economy is explained by the size of the backlog of unrealized growth potential arising from preceding disasters".⁶⁴ Besides, Western world lived the similar period in the world that the time until 'Nixon shock' and collapse of Bretton-Woods system and 1970's crises finalized the Survivors delighted years. Therefore, 'era of stagnation' was unavoidable which put Soviets into recession in economic, political and social life together since late 1960's till the new policies were introduced by Gorbachev. World had to overcome with economic struggle since that time and new period had begun with new policies.

2.5 Triumph (1979-1991)

Last chapter of the 20th century was one of the most interesting parts of the history that humanity observed the end of a new type of war while another chapter has begun. One of the superpowers was incapable of keeping herself in power and disintegration led the world from bi-polarity to unipolarity. In order to understand circumstances of last decades in Cold War, it would be useful to analyze incidents

⁶³ Mark Harrison, *The Soviet Union after 1945: Economic Recovery and Political Repression*, version April 14, 2010, p. 2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid* p. 9.

since 1960's and policies of both superpowers comparatively which led one of them to collapse.

2.5.1 Background of the period

Bolsheviks had risen up since 1917 Revolution in politics and their ideology created a new type of governance instead of Tsarist Russia. Although revolutions and internal conflicts within the country, Soviet Union was still one of the main powers of the politics and right after the Nazi Germany's defeat during the 2nd World War accelerated her growth. Thus, Soviet settlement in Eastern Europe after 2nd World War instead of German occupation made fear of Communist expansionism in Western world.

After the death of Stalin, Soviet foreign policy had changed in a doctrinal basis, and in this process independence movements in Eastern European countries were both the result of this change and the cause. When Khrushchev came to power, the destruction process of idol Stalin had begun, and these symptoms are considered as softening. Although such a partial softening could be mentioned, dissatisfaction of the members of the Warsaw Pact had increased over the years, and especially, while Brezhnev was in power, it reached to high levels because of his rigid policy.

Nevertheless, since 1960's, Détente era has been seen in superpowers relations. Besides, there were some attempts to end the confrontation, such as SALT and ABM agreements. However, hopes and expectations did not live long. Cold War period was extended due to its particular character and there has been a huge gap between American growing impact on politics and decreasing advancement on economics. Its reflections started with refusal of dollar convertibility in 1971 that American control over international payment system and its stability ended.

On the other hand, Soviet regime started to weaken by losing her competition ability that neither in economically nor technologically the system was behind the Western world 1960's onwards. The main reason what weakened Socialism was the advanced character of capitalism by reducing its economic power which already had deficiencies. Because of using emerging sources of the world market

such as petroleum, credits etc. and involving to capitalism instead of reforming the own system, Soviet leaders dug their own graves in 1970's. It can be named as one significant difference in new period that Soviet Union chose this way, although her economy succeeded in dealing with the Great Slump and strengthened later by excluding herself from the capitalist system of the time. Thus, the country became more vulnerable to capitalist crises that hit by all crises after 1970's.

All these events had led public who were unavailable to get what they want in economic terms to riot, then 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika' policies under the rule of Gorbachev were not enough to save the integrity of the Soviet Union, but rather accelerated dissolution. After the rebellion in 1989, President Mikhail Gorbachev resigned in 25 December 1991, and an era had come to an end with the collapse of Soviet Union, one of the most powerful countries of the 20th century. It is not possible to state that the only reason of the failure of the socialist system was political, economic or militarily. Behind the collapse psychological, ideological, economic and social causes are hidden, and the constraints about faith, freedom, morality, motivation, human needs acted as a catalyst for change in human mind.

2.5.2 Second Cold War

Early 1970's was a turning point in global history that energy crises divided the period into two halves in most of historians' eyes. If one considers crossroads of 20th century, 1970's energy crisis would be precise example of division in Cold War, as WWI was a turning point from empire age to interwar years and WWII was another one from interwar years to Cold War. Mr. Jimmy Carter, the 39th president of USA, defined energy crises as 'Moral equivalent of War' in his speech in 1977, and he stated that "with the exception of preventing war, this is the greatest challenge our country will face during our lifetimes. The energy crisis has not yet overwhelmed us, but it will if we do not act quickly".⁶⁵ Thereafter, President Ronald Reagan's in western world and specifically British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's policies in Neo-liberal perspective could be estimated as the recovery period of the shock. In line of these notion events of the

⁶⁵ Online, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/primary-resources/carter-energy/>, Last access: 13.07.2015

new phase – so called, Second Cold War – can be analyzed in three dimensions which are economic, ideological/social and political.

2.5.2.1 Economic factors

If one considers about the economic struggle during the Cold War era, Soviet Union's failure in comparison with USA would be the most prominent pattern to analyze. Even if Soviet system was established on the wrong basis, it was working well in the beginning when compared with the Tsarist period. In general, "recession partly arose from the need to reallocate resources in order to correct the distortions inherited from the era of central planning: an over-large military sector; over-industrialization and underdevelopment of the service sector; inefficient trade flows between the former Soviet republics and between the USSR and COMECON countries; and the excessively large size and poor specialization of industrial enterprises and farms".⁶⁶

In economic terms both blocs were highly dependent on natural resources and it was a shock when OPEC countries raised the price of oil in early 1970's. The oil crisis which started in 1973 weakened American economy and hegemony at the same time. On the other side, USSR had found new sources of oil and natural gas that optimistic scenarios were written about her economy.

However, the USSR's unstoppable growth was in danger since 1970's crises as it happened in USA. Both sides had needed a solution to internal economic problems while demanding the defeat of other bloc externally. In this ideological conflict, American side re-organized her structure in economic terms that neo-liberalist policy was the new element of the war. Starting from Carter administration and especially under Ronald Reagan who is well-known with 'Reaganomics' Neo-liberal policies, American economy accelerated her grow and stagnations' effect has been overcome. On the other side, Eastern bloc couldn't

⁶⁶ V. Popov, "Where do we Stand a Decade After the Collapse of the USSR? (p:6-8)," WIDER angle, 2001.

response to the crisis with a new policy until mid-1980 and Gorbachev's policies catalyzed the disintegration rather than answering the problem.

As an example, Western bloc established plans on other countries and by the help of investments and business dealings their dependence had increased. These effects also weakened Soviets before the collapse. Especially strikes in Poland in the 80s took place as a result of these economic constraints and initiatives of agents. Rebellion began because of the economic problems. Then both the Pope and Walesa adopted capitalism and later on it increasingly affected the social and political life. Additionally, revolutions in 1989 were not against current international rules, and defending the new regime, on the contrary it contained the information about the adaptation of the current regime. Thus, liberal integration was made, and capitalism won the war against communism.

In the 80s, by the effect of arms race Soviet Union tried to respond to the "Star Wars" project of United States, yet they had hard times to keep up the great progress. The reason of this could be one of the most important depletion of communism in the USSR. Since the Cuban Missile crisis occurred, Soviet elites decided to increase the capacity gradually that, "a totally disproportionate share of Soviet GNP (clearly over 15 percent, by some estimates a lot more) was allocated for the arms race-in an economy whose total product was a good deal less than that of the U.S".⁶⁷ Hence, Soviet national income growth decreased to 2-3 per cents (1985-1987) from 7-10 per cents (1950-1960) in Cold War period.⁶⁸

On the other hand, powerful NATO was one of the main reasons of collapse of USSR that WP's armament race was far beyond of her economic capacity. Although, détente years had been observed, USA and USSR's expenditure on military was high and circumstances weakened Soviets more. Since Gorbachev was in administration, he foresaw the danger and tried to implement new policies

⁶⁷A. Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR," *Post-Soviet affairs*, pp. 294, 1992.

⁶⁸Based on Table I of Harrison, M. (1993) "Soviet Economic Growth since 1928: The Alternative Statistics of G. I. Khanin" *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (1993), pp. 146

to strengthen the economy in last years of Cold War. Difficulties forced Soviet administrators to implement policies of Perestroika and Glasnost and this caused destruction to be accelerated. Although Gorbachev seems to everyone that his policies were the milestone for disintegration, “the Gorbachev reforms of 1985-91 failed not because they were gradual, but because the state’s institutional capacity weakened, undermining its ability to control the transition process.”⁶⁹ However, massive corruption within country did not allow to control over the society via these policies that, “the corruption presupposed a loosening of controls, permitting a wanton violation of law to take place in the interstices. It also implied and fostered a new measure of cynicism about the "radiant heights" of communist morality”.⁷⁰

Besides, “as Karl Marx foresaw in the middle of the nineteenth century, the expansion of capitalism has led to an increase in both conflict and cooperation on a global scale”.⁷¹ In Cold War era, reaching cheap energy sources and technological advancement gave the opportunity to ‘super powers’ for a huge scale of military power (navy, nuclear technology, inter-continental missiles), transportation and deployment, transmission etc. In one hand, United States achieved to put this advance also in daily life of citizens that global communication, consumption, integration and entertainment were provided by television and computers more rapidly. But on the other side, “after many years of imposed isolation, Soviet specialists were allowed to travel abroad, correspond with professional colleagues, read foreign journals and magazines. Tourists began to visit other countries; we saw Soviet exchange scholars and students in the U.S. wandering through supermarkets and reading books that had been forbidden back home”.⁷² In the end, “the global market revolution of the late twentieth century which did much to end the Cold War, would have been impossible without these advances”.⁷³

⁶⁹V. Popov, “Where do we Stand a Decade After the Collapse of the USSR? (p:6-8),” WIDER angle, 2001.

⁷⁰A. Dallin, “Causes of the Collapse of the USSR,” *Post-Soviet affairs*, pp. 285-286, 1992.

⁷¹O. A. Westad, “The Cold War and the international history of the twentieth century,” *The Cambridge History of the Cold War Volume 1: Origins*, pp:18, 2010.

⁷²A. Dallin, “Causes of the Collapse of the USSR,” *Post-Soviet affairs*, pp. 279-302, 1992.

⁷³O. A. Westad, “The Cold War and the international history of the twentieth century,” *The Cambridge History of the Cold War Volume 1: Origins*, pp: 12, 2010.

2.5.2.2 Ideological factors

After the death of Stalin, Khrushchev's new type of governance which includes anti-Stalinist movement blurred many people's mind "who were slated to become the regime's next generation of leaders, experienced an unadvertised but far-reaching crisis of identity and self-doubt".⁷⁴ Later on, Brezhnev's era which maintained until independence movements in 80's exponentially increased Soviet citizens doubts and faith about Trotsky's 'World Socialism'. "Wherever the faithful looked, the traditional prophecies had failed to come through: world revolution had not occurred, crime had not vanished; nationalism and religion had not disappeared with the passing of capitalism, as had been predicted."⁷⁵

In sociological/ideological terms, revolutions of 1970's spread out to many countries in Africa, in Asia and in even America continent had sympathized to Soviet regime although there were cracks within the union. As a result, American fear over more confident Soviet authority raised and these traumas made Americans more aggressive in following years. Local wars and nuclear armament increased that one can name the period as "Second Cold War". New policies had to be launched by western side that Reagan administration's popular rhetoric, "war on evil empire", was the policy in order to shift the balance of power. Western Blocs' attempts gradually became successful because of the distorted structure of the Eastern bloc. As one branch of the policy, economic cooperation spilled over to other areas that European integration tried to be accelerated by invisible boarders in Western Europe. In order to strengthen the solidarity in their peoples, EC removed the obstacles and the Schengen Acquis allowed the free movement of goods and services.

Besides, another possible explanation of misbelieve could be told about awareness of Soviet regime's failure. Shift in society was in high numbers that census data records indicate the urbanization during Soviet period; urban share has been

⁷⁴A. Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR," *Post-Soviet affairs*, p. 286, 1992.

⁷⁵ *Ibid* p. 287

ultimately increasing to 73 per cent of the population in 1989 from 17 per cent of the population in 1926. “Particularly rapid growth was recorded during the industrialization-push era (1926–70). The continued growth in urban population through the war period is noteworthy: despite the enormous destruction that took place, the shift to a more urban wartime economy (and continued militarization thereafter) more than offset the decline in population caused by the conflict and destruction.”⁷⁶ Moreover, because of urbanization, school enrollment, exchanging scholars etc. “the number of “*specialists*” – the so-called intelligentsia-grew from some 2 million before World War II to over 30 million in the 1980s, of whom more than half had specialized training or higher education”.⁷⁷ By rising numbers of the specialists and awakened citizens, Soviet Union could not be sufficient to hold and share same ideology and beliefs as she did in previous times of her generations. One can estimate that these numbers showed the different lifestyle and beliefs of Soviet citizens from previous period that in last years of the era consciousness and trend were in path of Western oriented.

In addition, people of these countries had been deprived of their freedom, and they couldn’t attain spiritual satisfaction because their beliefs and worship were restricted. Besides, government didn’t make an effort to meet the requests were given. In this regard, The Helsinki Final Act played a crucial role in consciousness of society, (Section “*Co-operation in Humanitarian and Other Fields*, more commonly referred to as “*Basket III*”⁷⁸) that it accelerated the dissolution process. Moreover, Helsinki Act in 1975 was a reaction to anxious years of Cold War era that terms of the act could be named as the peak of détente.

In order to differentiate the chapter from the previous one, independence movements can also be a turning point for understanding. Passion for independence of Eastern European countries in the end came true, and it should have taken into account the events happened in this process as a matter of

⁷⁶Charles Becker, S Joshua Mendelsohn And Kseniya Benderskaya, “Russian urbanization in the Soviet and post-Soviet eras,” *International Institute for Environment and Development*, vol. 9, pp: 5, 2012.

⁷⁷A. Dallin, “Causes of the Collapse of the USSR,” *Post-Soviet affairs*, pp. 290, 1992.

⁷⁸J. J. Paust, “Transnational Freedom Of Speech: Legal Aspects Of The Helsinki Final Act,” *Law and contemporary problems*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 54, 1982.

humanity. In this respect, collapse of the Soviet Union didn't happen only because of the war between states and occurred within a very short period of time. Globalization's impact had highly been seen in the process that significant changes at society maintained to effect. There were no political entities or organizations who led the opposition, and this event took place substantially without bloodshed and pioneered the growing importance of NGO's in following decades.

Finally, Gorbachev's *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* policies have been highly debated that "he fostered *Glasnost*, an end to censorship, an end to widespread political repression, and an end to the official monopoly on rewriting the past."⁷⁹ However, the policy led people think about ethnic identity, nationalist movements, mother language and culture issue more excessively that consciousness raised and disintegration accelerated. Also democratization movements were very important for the future of Union and some years of uprising against the administration, Eastern European countries gained their independence, furthermore they were accepted to the European Union by the year of 2004, and they have been included in the integration in Europe in post-Cold War phase.

2.5.2.3 Political factors

Second, Vietnam War resulted as a failure for American audience that since war became a disaster for America, domestic politics were divided into two camps by youth movement. Besides, USA was isolated in global politics within her allies and none of Western European countries sent their troops to Vietnam even symbolically. Situation became worse in following years when Yom-Kippur War was held between Egypt and Israel that except of Portugal, any ally let US air forces to use their bases in order to help Israel.

In this regard, coercive power of Soviet Union had created a negative impact on both communist countries and other socialist countries, through the half century

⁷⁹A. Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR," *Post-Soviet affairs*, 1992, p. 298.

victorious countries couldn't come to rest in peace, and perturbation had begun. Thus, "in his years a vital link in the chain of destabilization, delegitimation, and disintegration that led from the superpower status of the 1970s to the new, shrunken, confused, and impoverished Russian Federation of the 1990s".⁸⁰ Global politics change its path from the effects of two opposite ideas to a new balance with an uncertain-side. The ideology of left-wing was considered unsuccessful, trend shifted to the right-wing and capitalism, revisionist policies had been strengthened rather than the Marxist-Leninist policies.

As the military units of superpowers, WP and NATO's impact should not be forgotten. While Warsaw Pact basically showed the character of conventional military organization, NATO's changing structure has to be analyzed. Examining NATO's structure and concepts would be a remarkable example in order to understand the connection between the last era of the Cold War and the time after it. Organization of Western alliance was born as a response to Soviet threat started with Berlin Blockade and come to peak by Czechoslovak coup. Although it was created to ensure an intergovernmental military alliance, it has changed its structure during its existence. Interestingly, for many, it was still a military organization when France withdrew her military support from NATO and remained in the alliance.

Moreover, since the first day until the collapse of Soviet Union, people would only see NATO as a military organization, yet it became clear with the victory of West that there are other functions of the organization, namely military, economic and socio-cultural functions. Containment and Middle East policy toward Soviet Union threat had evolved to cooperation with former eastern bloc countries. Furthermore, though NATO had not conducted a military operation during Cold War, the organization took part in military interventions after the collapse of USSR such as Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya etc. This new concept, from

⁸⁰ A. Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR," Book chapter in *Politics in Russia: A Reader*, edited by J. Ostrow, p:130

defensive notion against Warsaw Pact to reaching beyond member territories can be explained by changing characteristics of international structure.

2.5.3 What has changed with Cold War?

In considering the bigger picture, international scene has been changed with the beginning of Cold War, in five manners. In the end of World War II some of the rivalries and conflicts disappeared due to the vanishing empires. It also effected the relations between colonial empires and their dependent territories. In addition, all great powers except two fell out of favor in the international politics, yet their relations were no longer autonomous. For instance, one can consider the relations between France and (West) Germany. After 1947, they made peace, and even they didn't want to end the conflicts between them, they hold the peace because of the common membership of US camp and the power of US over Western Europe. Normally, after wars, winners try to make plans because of the probability of losers' recovery ideas, but it was not the case at that time since West Germany and Japan were allies of US. USSR was afraid of the NATO missiles in German lands, not the German armed forces, although they publicly declare the German danger, it was just for propaganda.

Second, the Cold War froze the international situation, and in doing so made essentially unstable and temporary situations stable. The most obvious example was Germany. During 46 years in Germany, She remained divided into four sections: Federal Republic in west, Democratic Republic and Poland in the middle, and the east as part of USSR. Of course, this does not mean that war never happened; on the contrary not a single year had passed in the absence of an armed conflict. But these conflicts had always been kept under control between the two superpowers.

Third, Cold War caused the new world to be filled with full of weapons. That was the result of past 46 years with arms race, and competition of gaining friends by distributing weapons, and major conflicts with "low intensity". Of course it was

indisputable that developed countries except two superpowers contributed to this result by observing the weapon industry as a profitable market. There was a great famine in Afghanistan and in Somalia, but those places are also the best places for weapons, mines, ammunitions, and military transport opportunities. That's why by the end of the Cold War, things that held the international system stable suddenly disappeared, and rest of the conflicts, partial collapse composed the new world.

One further explanation based on changes by the Cold War can be defined in characteristics of war as the fourth one. Contrary to the classic wars among European Great Powers since 17th century, world had met with a new concept of small-scale war with high-tech weapons with "proxy-wars" and nuclear threat decreased the levels of tension while it contained high danger. Besides, "the State had drawn the boundaries, distinguishing between internal and external affairs, friend and foe, war and peace, military and police, loyalty and treachery, and so on".⁸¹ Along with Soviets weakening in international politics and change in balance of power, patterns of warfare started to shift from symmetrical threat (state vs. state) to asymmetrical warfare (state vs. non-state) that time of the attack, features and identification of the opponent became unpredictable. Besides, types of the terrorist organizations had changed from ethnic based to the more complex structure in process and these terrorist groups gained conventional weapons which scattered uncontrolled by the collapse of the USSR. It is one of the signs for new generation wars that massive firepower and enormous military power wouldn't be used. As German political scientist Munkler expects, "they will tend to go on smoldering with no clear beginning or end, while the dividing line between the warring parties on the one hand and international organized crime on the other will become more and more blurred".⁸²

Finally, the last major difference of the end of Cold War can be named as the establishment of "New World Order" which was introduced in 1990's. The novel concept explains the shift from a bipolar system to a unipolar one by American

⁸¹ H.Munkler, The Wars of the 21st Century, International Review of the Red Cross, 31.03.2003, Volume 85, No. 849, , p:20

⁸² Ibid, p:21

newfound role in international politics as the survivor superpower. In Cold War time, both superpowers did not intend to intervene to any conflict of other side and Third World countries that conflicts were mostly frozen because of nuclear fear. However, by the collapse of Eastern Bloc, distribution of power in global arena was dominated by Western side, specifically USA that in realists' perspective New World Order started in 1989 by Eastern European countries decline of USSR. After the Gulf War, "like Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points or Franklin Roosevelt's four freedoms, George Bush's grand rhetoric expressed the larger goals important for public support when a liberal democratic state goes to war".⁸³ But, in bigger picture the concept includes a multi-dimensional structure. "The New World Order was meant to represent a new phase in the global political economy in which world authority rested in one place, and for the time, that place was to be the United States".⁸⁴ Since the early times of the new period, continuity in expansion and regional integrations has been seen that foundation of European Union instead of European Communities, agreement on free trade in North America (NAFTA) and establishment of WTO which is the successor of GATT. Because of globalization's impact, growing economic interdependence, nationalistic movements in micro scale while there has been an increased regional integrity, fundamental radicalism which was at its peak by 9/11 Terrorist Attacks, mass transportation and communication made significant effects in order to notice the difference from previous chapters.

⁸³ Online, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1992-03-01/what-new-world-order> , last access: 12.07.2015

⁸⁴ Online, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/forging-a-new-world-order-under-a-one-world-government/14712> , last Access: 12.07.2015

3. Conclusion

War is a phenomenon which people afraid of it in one hand and do not hesitate to wage on the other hand. Since the early times of humanity, there always have been conflicts among people. Sometimes for basic needs, sometimes for absolute power struggle has been survived and demands were delivered. However, there is a time in history which will never be forgotten, namely the 20th century.

In that era, humankind reached its peak in order to gain power that extreme behaviors had been observed by rulers of communities. Becoming more prosperous, losing all hopes, demolished economies, cruelty, golden years, new concepts, total wars, superpowers etc. had observed at the same time in this century. Thus, it can be named as the most prominent era of all times.

The author of this work tried to analyze the relevance of major events in line of dividing the whole period into chapters. Because, repetition in historical events can be seen in any time of history that understanding the causality concept would make easier to analyze. In this regard, relations between wars in the 20th century were chosen as the research question. And, Chinese circle system to read history was selected as a ground for periodization. Furthermore, Michael Bordo's economic division of 20th century was used as another base to put in a structure.

In the beginning, terminology was explained, ambiguities were clarified. After understanding definitions of war, violence, conflict, peace, and periodization; 20th century history was tried to be categorized in a framework. First, in line of causes and effects principle 20th century history was divided into two; from imperialism era till the end of WWII and Cold War period. In this division, Cold War's unique character with types of war and bipolar balance system were main differences from the first half of the century which was observed conventional wars and multipolar balance system.

Moreover, each halves were also distinguished into two chapters. In first half, WWI was chosen as the milestone for division that road to Great War was named as "Peak" and interwar years were named as "Aggression". Although two chapters

were evaluated in same half with continuation of major powers' competition; ideological effect, changing character of international balance and evolving feature of state were observed as basic novelties. In second part, 1970's energy crises were chosen the turning point for division that post war years were named as "Survivors" and road to dissolution of USSR was named as "Triumph". Also, these two chapters were evaluated in the same half of Cold War Era; however, post war's golden years to economic struggle, high nuclear threat to détente years, coercive impacts to independence movements and Neorealist solution to the crises were main differences.

Finally, today's international system is no longer same with 1990's. After USSR's disintegration, world has stepped into a new era which is completely different than the previous century. High technology, internet, globalization, changing character of wars, and growing economic interdependence made significant impacts on daily life. According to the author, collapse of Eastern Bloc was not the end of history as Fukuyama noticed; but it was the opening of a new chapter. And, "the Long Game" of 20th century should have been considered as a basketball game which contains four chapters in two halves, ironically abbreviated as PAST in timeline.

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