

Pan-Asianism and a Comparative Study on the differences with Pan-Turkism

Assistant Professor Doctor Soner AKIN^{1*}

¹ Political Science and Public Administration Department, Hatay Mustafa Kemal University, Hatay, Turkey

*Corresponding author: sakin@mku.edu.tr

*Speaker: sakin77@gmail.com

Presentation/Paper Type: Oral / Full Paper

Abstract –Pan-Turkism was derived from the 1880s as a kind of nationalism. It was created with the ideal of union in the regions where Turks live in cultural and political sense. In addition to its emergence as a response to the Pan-Slavism and Pan-Iranian movements, it has a distinct place among the Asian nationalist movements. As a matter of fact, it has been enriched with liberal ideology. In today's world where colonialism and anti-imperialist views are taken into consideration, Asianism and pan-asianism have evolved. Comparing both currents with the comparative method in today's and historical process will be an important study. The Asian-based trend followed a different course with the emergence of Asian values over western values. During the Cold War periods, both currents will follow a different course of development and the reflections in the world will be the main section analysis.

Keywords –Pan-Asianism, Pan-Turkism, Asia-centrism, Traditional Asianism, Irredentism, Great Asianism

I. INTRODUCTION

Above all, in Japan, where the Pan-Asian movement started to make a big impact after the First World War, many intellectuals were working on this issue and pressuring the state to ensure this alliance. For them, the liberation of the Song could only be possible through the alliance of the Asian states, as this could give a life to all of Asia, as it would be a great interest in Japan. Today, this proposal is discussed again in new security cooperation strategies and economic integration. A similar understanding in the 19th century was also motivated for Turkism and a tool for the redefinition of a nation. The idea of comparing pan-Turkism and pan-Asianism will help us to analyze the power of trends.

II. METHOD OF THE STUDY

Unionism movements are always very important in determining the future of world nations. For this reason, discussing the etymology and making historical comparisons and making comparisons will contribute to the development of theories.

A. Discussion on National Movements and Unionism

From a Chinese perspective, Japanese Asianism was interpreted as a rationalized ideology for Japanese military aggression and political absorption. In 1917, Li Dazhao argued for the liberation of Asian nations and the greater Asian unity. In 1924, Sun Yat-sen stated that the West was hegemonic and that the East was Confucius and that it was arguing for full independence by resisting colonialism through Great Asianism that is about creating a united form for all Asian countries. Pan-Asianism is an ideology that supports the unity of the

peoples of Asia. Various theories and movements of Pan-Asianism have been proposed especially in East, South and Southeast Asia. Motivation of the movement is a belief that resistance to Western imperialism and colonialism and herein Asian values must give priority to European values as well. During the Cold War, because the countries in the region aligned with one or the other of the superpowers, the movement became less powerful [1]

The 19th century opened the door to a great transformation for Asia. Western states, after the exploitation of the regions in the Americas and Africa continents from the beginning of the 19th century to erect the eyes of the Far East has prepared the end of the power that dominated the region for centuries. The Far Eastern people who first met the Western merchants and missionaries faced Western technology and sanctions. Although the word for annexation was often used to express Japanese movements, the Koreans were not citizens who had common rights with the Japanese and did not have the right to represent their policies or to take part in the administration. In addition to the assimilation policy, the Korean Peninsula was considered a raw material and market area for the Japanese economy with its dense population. The occupation word in this study was chosen because the Japanese imposed treaties to Koreans by using weapons and force and dominated the Korean Peninsula [2]

However, for the sake of historical integrity, it is useful to briefly describe the waves of ethnic nationalism dating back to the second half of the 20th century: from the standpoint of ethnic nationalism, it is possible to speak of the wave of three ethnic nationalisms. First, at the end of the 19th century, the Turkish Ottoman Empire, the Russian Empire and Austria were named as the period of developed and classical ethnic

self-determination based in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the Middle East towards the Hungarian Empire. The second wave of ethnic nationalism emerged in the colonies of Asia and Africa in the Western world before and after the Second World War. This wave resulted in the collapse of colonial empires in Africa and Asia and the establishment of national states. The third wave of ethnic nationalism has emerged as black Hispanic and black nationalisms in the Catalan, Basque, Breton, Scotland, Gal, Flemish, Canada, Quebec, USA in the 1960s.

B. Etymology of Pan-Nationalism and Turkism with Asianism

The leading names of the ruling party in the 19th century II. From the period of Abdul Hamid II, they found themselves in the thought of a Pan Turanism because of the indoctrination of Germany.

While these developments were taking place in the political field during the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period, there was also a very dynamic period in the intellectual field. The movements of Islamism, Turkism, Westernism, Ottomanism, Professionalism and Socialism produced ideas for the liberation and development of the country in various political, social-cultural and economic fields. Turanism is the political view defending the unity of all Ural-Altaic tribes. First, the Hungarians, Finns, Estons and the Finns tribes within Russia together with the Tungus, Mongols and Turks came together as a gathering of [3]. He stated that there was no tribe of tribes that included the Finns. In the days before the 1905 Revolution in Russia, it was proposed by the Azeri and Tatar intellectuals. After the declaration of constitutional monarchy in Turkey has found a wide echo. Turan views led by Ziya Gökalp in the Committee of Union and Progress have been dominant. Devastated Ottoman Commander Enver Pasha was killed in 1918-1922 while trying to revive the idea of Turanism in Russia, which was in turmoil [4]

Turan, the first name of the Iranian national epic is mentioned in the book of Shehnameh. Professor Mathias Alexander Castren is the founder and pioneer of the Turanism movement. There are many important works. Castren has studied language and folklore by being influenced by the national consciousness awakened in his country. Castren defended the Turanism ideology and pioneered the study of Ural-Altaic languages. Castren, years of research in Siberia. He contributed to the comparative study of Ural-Altaic languages. Most importantly, Finnish was from this language family. And based on this belief, he concluded that the Finns came from Central Asia, not a small and abstracted nation, but a part of a broad society like the Hungarians, the Turks and the Mongols. He explained these thoughts in 1849. Castren, an exuberant nationalist, also embraced Castren after the Finnish nationalists. And so Finnish studies in Finland are of great importance. Castren's works and views on the real homeland of Finns and his ties to Turan are still being adopted in Finland. Although there are Turancist associations in Finland today, Turanism has not become a political party. Turanism is the political view defending the unity of all Ural-Altaic tribes. It first emerged as the idea of bringing together the Tungus, Mongols and Turks together with the Finns, the Hungarians, the Estons and the Finnish-Ugor tribes within Russia. Today, there are three countries where there is an influence on associations and Party level. Turkey, Hungary, Azerbaijan.[5]

C. Turkish History for Pan-Turkism

The interest began in the 1890s in Turkey for Turks living in foreign countries. The Turkish translation of French historian Léon Cahun's started an introduction to Asian History: Turkish and Mongols by Necip Asım was one of the turning points of the Turkish movement. *Turan's* concept, which did not have any special meaning in Turkish before, became widespread due to Cahun's work. In 1904, Yusuf Akçura published an effective booklet entitled *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, which advocated Turkism against the movements of Ottomanism and Islamism. In 1908, the Turkish Association was established in Istanbul with the aim of işt learning and teaching the past, present and the status of all the peoples known as Turkish erne. The founders of the association were Yusuf Akçura, Necip Asım Yazıksız, Velet Çelebi İzbudak, Rıza Tevfik Bölükbaşı and Agop Boyacıyan, a professor at Istanbul University. Founded in Istanbul in 1911, the Turkish Dormitory Society also directly proposed political views on Central Asian Turks in addition to cultural studies [6]

These were the Russian immigrants such as Yusuf Akçura, Ahmet Ağaoğlu and Hüseyinzade Ali Turan, the founders of the society led by Mehmet Emin Yurdakul. Having the names as Turkish Ocağı, Türkçü and Turancı, founded on March 15, 1912, they became the main focus of the movement. This organization between 1912 and 1930, Turkey's most influential political / ideological considerations served as the centre. Among the founders of Türk Ocağı, in addition to those mentioned above, there were intellectuals such as Zeki Velidi Togan, Reşit Galip, Ferit Tek, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, Halide Edip Adıvar and Adnan Adıvar. From 1913 on, the Turkish Hearth, and generally Turanian thought, gained full political support from the Union and Progress. Ziya Gökalp, who was the "official" ideologue of the Union and Progress movement, was the main spokesman of Turan thought. In addition to Ziya Gökalp, the storyteller Ömer Seyfettin Turan contributed to the popularization of the idea. Mehmet Emin Yurdakul's poems compiled in 1918 under the title of Turana Doğru, Halide Edip's Yeni Turan novel, Ömer Seyfettin's The Turan State in Tomorrow, his book on primary school reading by Fuad Köprülü's as *Turan*, and the idea of *Turan* in the years 1913-1918. Munis Tekinalp, the writer of the propaganda risk that Turks can win in this battle, was published at the beginning of World War I by the İttihat and Terakki administration in various languages, arguing that the main target of the war was to save Turan [7].

D. Comparative Analysis with Pan Asianism and other Asian Nationalist Movements

Asia for the way thought a generic name of or exercise is there. It was developed as a strategy to counteract Asian invasion of Western powers that became active in the latter half of the 19th century.

It was claimed with the aim of eliminating the threat of Western powers and aiming at solidarity with Asia, in Japan until the middle of the Meiji era was called by the name of " Kowa " which is exclusively represented by the Kowa society . The content differs depending on the thought and position of the debate such as opening civilization, cooperation, federal, new order building, etc. There is no definite definition. Contents of claims change as international situation changes [8].

Originally referring to the cooperative orientation between Japan and China (China) Korea starting with promises of

Okubo Toshin and Lee Hong-ho, after going through the Ganghwa Island case, the Imjin accident, and the Beijing political change over Korea under the sealed system. In the Nissin war that occurred, Asianism split into the main theory and non-war theory, external hardness to the Qing and the government and domestic newspapers also became the mainstream, and the definition of Asianism after the Sino-Japanese War was completely opposite to the peace cooperative route (Kowa theory) [9].

The definition of Asianism since the Russo-Japanese War has evolved into the idea of supporting the revolutionary forces of Asia on the premise of Japan's superiority in East Asia obtained by victory over the Russian Empire, and eventually, through Japan-China war, Japan "was East Asia new order" (Asia-Monroe doctrine or the large Asia principle), during the war initial day Showa study Group "due to Toa Kyodotai theory as a" policy of, Imperial rule Assistance Association of Koa headquarters and large Nipponkoa alliance control by, It will lead to the concept of "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere". By the defeat of Japan in 1945, modern Asianism was deemed to have ended [10].

The "ASEAN +3" being born in the trend of international regional integration after the Cold War and the East Asia Community, concept sponsored by Asian countries in the Asian Cooperation Dialogue and the "Asian Community" Initiative and the original The CJK, the Three Country Cooperation Secretariat, which is close to "equal partnership between Japan, China and Korea" is often referred to in connection with Asianism before and during the war (especially the theory of the East Asia cooperation) [11].

In 2008, Japanese economist Watanabe Lifu published the book "New Deafism" in the spring and Autumn Period of Literature and Art (new dispelling theory), opposed the East Asian Community, and called on Japan to establish a "marine state alliance" to cope with the rise of the "Continental State." On September 21, 2012, Watanabe, then president of Takushoku University, said that Yukio Hatoyama had published a paper referring to the idea of building an EU model of the East Asian Community. However, there is no common social concept in East Asia. The political systems of East Asian countries are different and even there is no common security guarantee. At the same time, East Asia is composed of countries with significantly different development stages. If the concept of the East Asian Community is imposed, it will inevitably make it easier for the powerful countries to control the weak countries [12].

"Great Asiaticism" is a product of Japan's era of imperialism and an aggression theory that guides Japan's policy or means of arranging power in Asia, especially between China and the West. The Japanese militaristic forces used the guise of "Xingya", "liberating Asia" and "preserving the support" to concoct "Great Asiaticism", essentially in order to confuse the people of Asian countries and implement the aggression plan more conceitedly. To this day, the Japanese right-wing forces still hold on to the historical lie that has long been debunked, and they are completely deceiving themselves [13].

After the outbreak of the First World War, with the changes in the world situation, "Great Asiaticism" continued to evolve and evolve, and its nature of aggression was more explicit. Xiaosi Qianji is the main advocate of the theory of Asia Minor. He has been a member of the House of Representatives since 1908 and is an active figure in Japanese politics. In November 1916, Xiaoji Qianji wrote "The Theory of Great Asianism"

published by the Tokyo Baowen Museum. "The Theory of Great Asia" is a masterpiece of "Great Asiaticism." The book declares that "the so-called Asiaticism is aimed at countering the power of Europa with the influence of Asia. The independent peoples of the yellow race must cooperate with each other, improve their respective viability through continuous construction, and realize new ones with their own efforts. Civilization has benefited the history of human civilization." According to the conclusions of the First World War, the author believes that "Peace is a modern fantasy" and that war is inevitable. And war is the contest of strength, and the survival of the country depends on strength. Japan lacks resources and must strengthen its relations with China. This is the basis of "Asianism." "Japan is the inheritor of Asian civilization." In the case of the powers of the powers to divide China, China will not do anything in all respects, so it is necessary for Japan to "guide" to solve the problem. "Japan's establishment of a foothold on the mainland is not to invade the territories of the Zhina, but to consolidate its national defense, while conducive to the preservation of Zhina, in order to guarantee permanent peace in East Asia." Half of the book is devoted to "Asian Asia." The reform of the doctrine of the doctrine and the branch." It is believed that Japan should carry out political and military transformation, economic transformation and social transformation of China; and China must accept Japan's comprehensive "carrying" in politics, economy, military, culture and language, and finally complete the "unification of Zhina and Japan". Until China is completely transformed into a vassal state of Japan [14].

Japanese traditional right-wing groups and representatives have been flaunted by "Great Asiaticism." The first right-wing group in Japan, Xuanyang Society, is considered to be "a powerful group that first advertised and implemented 'Great Asiaticism'." Head Mountain is full, as the right-wing political leader and arms dealer in the early 20th century in Japan, and the founder of the ultra-nationalist secret group Black Dragon Club, and also the advocate of "Great Asiaticism." [8].

As the main body of the survival and development of Japanese fascists, the military forces are the important promoters of "Asian Asiaticism". Many military dignitaries are proud of advocating "Great Asiaticism." After the September 18th Incident, Japan established the Pan-Asian Association. On March 1st, 1933, the Association established the "Asian Asia Association" for the mother. Matsui Shigen served as the president. Members include Guardian Wenyu, Hirota Hiroshi, Defu Sufeng, Matsuoka Yosuke, Suzuki Ichi, and the last letter. The strengths of the land and navy, the foreign ministry, the academic circles, and the speech circles, such as Fang Zeqian and Xiao Minmin. They founded "Asian Asia" and flaunted "the determination to unite and liberate in Asia." These people, as advocates of "Great Asiaticism," have also become important figures in Japan's later war of aggression [15].

In summary, "Asian Asiaticism" is one of the mainstream ideologies and guiding ideology of Japan's war of aggression. Although the Japanese government has not explicitly stated that "Asian Asia" should be implemented in the official documents, it is not the embodiment of this theory from the "Continental Policy" to the later "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Circle." Moreover, when Japan is suppressed by the West or loses its favor with Europe and the United States, it often borrows "Asian Asiaticism" and, in the name of "Xingya" and "liberation of Asia", puts a "moral" high on its

own aggression against its Asian neighbors. Cap, attempting to legalize aggression. As the Japanese historian Inoue Kiyoshi pointed out in the book *The Formation of Japanese Imperialism: "Great Asiaticism"* "No matter how fierce the voice against the white imperialism, it is only Japanese imperialism and the European and American empire. The manifestation of contradictions is neither the liberation of Asia nor the opposition to imperialism [16].

Contrary to Asianism, the idea of the Turanism, which was a kind of romantic nationalism, was born in Finland in the first half of the nineteenth century, in the Finnish nationalist phenophile and Finnish movement. Pioneer is the Finnish nationalist linguist, Matthias Alexander Castrén, who proclaimed the racial unity and the coming grandeur of Ural-Altai peoples. He came to the conclusion that the Finns from Central Asia and not just a tiny, isolated people, but part of a larger community to which peoples belong, such as the Hungarians, the Turks, the Mongols, and so on. Turanism or Pan-Turanism spread from here to the peoples of Finnish-speaking Finns, including Hungary and Turkey. Between the two world wars he received political support in several countries, such as Turkey, Japan and Hungary [17].

According to some beliefs, the dissemination of the various religions of Turanism has negatively influenced the image and ideas of Europe before the First World War on Hungary and the Hungarian people. In some cases, Turanism also contributed to the formulation of the Trianon peace treaty - of course, in addition to the more determinant of the main economic geopolitical interests - giving racist, but successful, "arguments" to the Romanian and Czech and Slovak politicians of the time trying to believe in the political shaping Western public opinion that the "alien" yellow mongoloid multinationals of Turan, who are completely different from the people of Europe, oppress the more talented, cultured, "white" and "European" Slavic and Romanian ethnic groups living in their territories. There is also a widespread misconception today that Turan peoples would be Mongolians, including the Hungarians [18]

III. RESULTS

These theories had a tremendous impact on the origin of peoples and languages, including the origin of the Asiatic, Turkic and even Korean and Hungarian people and language. Both the origins of the origins of the Hungarians and the languages of the Hungarians can be derived from the origins of Turkic origin and Finno-Ugric origin. The study of Asian peoples and languages was largely helped by the reports and scientific work of early travellers (for example, the work of Swedish Philip Johan von Strahlenberg, *Das Nord und und Illic von Thematic und Asia*, which translated the scholars' attention to the Finnish-Hungarian relationship, however, the research of these languages was hampered by the almost complete lack of language memories. Except for a few exceptions, these languages lacked literacy, and even the existing Uyghur, Mongolian and Turkish written memories were almost completely unknown and inaccessible to European researchers [19].

Modern nationalism was born in England and France, together with the absolute monarchy and a strongly centralized state and with its centralized bureaucracy. In Wales, the Law of Unification of England, 1536, made the English official administrative language. In France, the Villers-cotterêts Order, issued in 1539, unified the administration in a language,

formalizing the French version of the French language around Paris, displacing the use of other languages, thus speaking a large number of okcitans with great cultural values in the south of France. This is a good indication of the transformation of the concept of political and cultural nation, the emphasis on the value and role of language (mother tongue, national language, state language). The example of the British and French was followed by more or less delay as a model for all European states. At the same time, the Christian reformation led to the collapse of the seemingly Christian unity of Europe and further strengthened the importance of national languages by changing the language of life [20].

IV. DISCUSSION

Pan Islamism as the idea of bringing Muslims of Russia together in a common cultural and political movement found supporters of Tatar and Azerbaijani intellectuals trained in Tsarist Russia since the early years of the 20th century. This movement was called Pan-Turkism by analogy with the Panslavism movement, which defended the unity of all Slavs. Crimean Ismail Gaspıralı was the leader of the cultural awakening movement of the Russian Turks. İsmail Bey's Tercüman newspaper tried to create a common written language for all Russian Turks. This language will form the backbone of Turkey Turkish, but would also occur in the history of Turkish dialects. During the Russian Revolution of 1905, Gasprinski, Hüseyinzade Ali (Turan) from Azerbaijan, Yusuf Akçura from Kazan Tatars and Zeki Velidi (Togan) from the Bashkirites gathered the Congress of All Muslims in Nizhny Novgorod (15-28 August 1905). Other famous names of the Congress were the Azerbaijani Ahmet Ağaoğlu, the Sadri Maksudi of Kazan (Arsal) and the Kazak Mustafa Çokayef (Çokay). After the failure of the revolutionary movement in 1906, many of them fled outside Russia. Most of the media freedom in Turkey that occurred after the 1908 Revolution came to Turkey took part in the movement of Union and Progress. Ummahanism or Pan-Islamism was first proposed by Islamic leaders in the nineteenth century, and the idea of unifying all the countries where the Muslim population is high. During the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, it was seen as a thought of salvation against the attacks of Europe. The Ummah do not accept anyone who is a Muslim and who is a member of the Prophet Muhammad of Islam. They reject concepts like nationalism. Especially in the second Abdulhamid II in the hands of political forces that try to practice on the basis of the caliphate in Turkey. Religious delegations to China have sent as representatives of the caliphate. He used this as his bluff against the western states.[21]

V. CONCLUSION

Nationalism and irredentism (or expansionist nationalism) is a word of Italian origin and the idea of the unification of the state and the people outside the borders of any state, even though it is a combination of language, religion, lineage and culture. However, there is a negative meaning dimension in terms of origin. In the etymology dictionary, this concept is stated as "the politics of expansion by reason of the citizens of foreign countries". It is generally used in this sense in the political field. It is understood that a state is a policy of annexation of the territories of its inhabitants who live close to its border. The Turkish Language Association, as an alternative to this concept, proposes a word in the form of

"salvation". It is a term derived from the 19th century Italian movement for national unification. In this context, Trente, which has cultural and ethnic ties with Italy but is outside the physical control of the new Italian state, points to Dalmatia, Trieste and Fiume. Therefore, these regions were expected to "recapture" or "be saved" for the emerging national community. The term general political discourse passed in the 20th century. Mayall considers irredentism as a revisionism of the idea of national self-determination. Undoubtedly, sometimes, in a deteriorating sense, it is widely used to characterize policies that try to change the prevailing status quo in a particular region in line with nationalist or ethnic criteria. Irredentism is especially possible in cases where the state-based border regions are trying to impose an external control on a system that has been divided or divided by an ethnic group. Then "irredentia" becomes "lost lands". As a result, irredentism constitutes a potential or potential conflict between international actors [22]. Examples are abundant in the contemporary macro political system. According to this, while the Argentines claim the rights of the Falklands, the Spaniards' claims on Gibraltar represent the anti-colonialism of irredentism. Ethnic irredentism can be exemplified by the demands of the Somali, Ethiopian, and Kenyan peoples of Somalia to be brought together in Great Somalia, or by Greek-Cypriots in Greece during the new independence period, with allegations of enosis or unity [23]. Since the start of the EU accession process for the Cold War's expiry and in particular Turkey, nationalists who have no other choice but to liberalized environment refuge to each other as a result of making the cooperation and collaboration of the national left and the conservative right, the movement of the left have gained a dimension anti-Western from anti-imperialism as an indisputable it is real.

REFERENCES

- [1] Y.Iida. "Fleeing the West, making Asia home: transpositions of otherness in Japanese Pan-Asianism, 1905–1930." *Alternatives* 22.3 (1997): 409-432.
- [2] S. Saaler, , and C. WA Szpilman, eds. *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History, 1920–Present*. Vol. 2. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011.
- [3] R. Wixman. *The peoples of the USSR: an ethnographic handbook*. ME Sharpe, 1988.
- [4] M.B. Olcott. "The Basmachi or Freeman's revolt in Turkestan 1918–24." *Soviet Studies* 33.3 (1981): 352-369.
- [5] M.Bağdagül, "Finlandiya Türkologları ve Finlandiya'da Türkoloji Çalışmaları Bibliyografyası." *Türklük Bilimi Araştırmaları*32.32 (2012): 221-245.
- [6] C.Okay. "The journal Türk Derneği and Hungarian studies of Turcology in the pre-World War I period." *Acta Orientalia* 60.3 (2007): 303-311.
- [7] Ü.Kurt and D. Gurpinar. "The Young Turk Historical Imagination in the Pursuit of Mythical Turkishness and its Lost Grandeur (1911–1914)." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43.4 (2016): 560-574.
- [8] S.Saaler, "The Kokuryūkai (Black Dragon Society) and the rise of nationalism, Pan-Asianism, and militarism in Japan, 1901–1925." *International Journal of Asian Studies* 11.2 (2014): 125-160.
- [9] M.Asada, et al. *Russia and Its Northeast Asian Neighbors: China, Japan, and Korea, 1858–1945*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- [10] E.P. Wilkinson, "Japanese Studies of Chinese History." *Late Imperial China* 2.10 (1973): 29.
- [11] H. Soesastro, "An ASEAN Economic Community and ASEAN+ 3: How do they fit together?." (2003).
- [12] T. Takahashi, "Japanese neo-conservatism: coping with China and North Korea." *Security Challenges* 6.3 (2010): 21-40.
- [13] CC. Wang, "The Pan-Asiatic Doctrine of Japan." *Foreign Affairs* 13.1 (1934): 59-67.
- [14] W. Sun. *The Chinese National Character: From Nationhood to Individuality: From Nationhood to Individuality*. Routledge, 2016.
- [15] S. Saaler, and J.V. Koschmann, J. V. (Eds.). *Pan-Asianism in modern Japanese history: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*. Routledge. (2007).
- [16] P.Duara, *The global and regional in China's nation-formation*. Routledge, 2008.
- [17] T.L.Stoddard. "Pan-Turanism." *American Political Science Review* 11.1 (1917): 12-23.
- [18] I.Romsics, *Dismantling of Historic Hungary: The Peace Treaty of Trianon, 1920*. No. 3. *East European Monographs*, 2002.
- [19] A.R. Manaster and P. Sidwell. "The truth about Strahlenberg's classification of the languages of Northeastern Eurasia." *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 87 (1997): 139-160.
- [20] P.Martel, "Langue d'oc, French and the Construction of a State in France." *Language, Nation and State: Identity Politics in a Multilingual Age*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2004. 63-77.
- [21] J.Landau, M. *The politics of Pan-Islam: ideology and organization*. Oxford University Press, 1994.
- [22] D.Yagcioglu. "Irredentism: An Inevitable Tendency of Ethnic Nationalism." Regime to access: http://www.academia.edu/1029408/Irredentism_An_Inevitable_Tendency_of_Ethnic_Nationalism (1996).
- [23] C.D.Kaufmann, "When all else fails: Ethnic population transfers and partitions in the twentieth century." *International security* 23.2 (1998): 120-156.