

On Select Pan-Nationalist Movements

Chuanyi Ma^{1†}, Churan Shi^{2†}, Chen Zeng^{3*†}

¹*Moonshot Academy, Beijing, China*

²*The Stony Brook School, Stony Brook, USA*

³*Hangzhou Entel Foreign Language School, Hangzhou, China*

**Corresponding Author. Email: zengchen336@outlook.com*

†These authors contributed equally to this work and should be considered as co-first author.

Abstract: Pan-nationalism was considerably focal in the 19th century and early 20th century. On the edge of modern nations' formation and countries' reunification, politicians tried to investigate the margins of their nations. So, Pan-nationalism was developed to unify people with the same identity but had different cultures; most of the Pan-nationalism then translated to expansionism. The essay will discuss three different Pan-nationalism ideologies: Pan-Germanism, Pan-Asianism, and Pan-Arabism/Pan-Islamism. These ideologies were in separate civilization zones; the essay will use the methods of comparative studies, compare the features these ideologies have, and try to find the similarities between these Pan-nationalism ideologies. The essay will also compare the development path of these ideologies in order to find the ingenuity of how these ideologies went to expansionism way or failed. It could be argued that this will benefit nowadays human civilization. Nowadays, both in the West and East, the power of populism and Neo-fascism has grown. As the research on how Pan-nationalism leads to expansionism, humans may find more points to deal with the extreme world.

Keywords: Pan-Asiansim, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Arabism, Pan-Islamism, World War II

1. Introduction

In the 19th and 20th centuries, pan-nationalism could be considered an important ideology. Pan-Germanism originated in the March Revolution of 1848 and subsequently played an important role in the expansionism of the German Empire and Nazi Germany. It likewise contributed to the decline of the Habsburg monarchy and attempts to unify German-speaking peoples. In the East, Pan-Asianism, derived from traditional Confucianism, has similarly contributed to the unification of Asian peoples – be that in the form of Japan's imperialist expansion or initiatives to unite against imperialism. Meanwhile, pan-Arabism and its successor, pan-Islamism, sought to unite Arabic and Islamic peoples under one flag. As such, we explore similarities and differences in their use of pan-nationalism and what we can learn from the shift from pan-nationalism to expansionist conflicts and wars. We will discuss the components of pan-Germanism, pan-Asianism, pan-Arabism, and pan-Islamism separately in that order, and from these elements, we will compare the similarities between these doctrines and analyze why they both ultimately fell to violence.

2. Pan-Germanism

Before discussing pan-Germanism, it is necessary to define the concept itself. Julie Thorpe defines pan-Germanism as “both the particular or unique aspects of Austrian German identity..., and the universal sense of all Germans belonging in a larger community united by culture and ethnicity.”[1] Based on her definition, we define pan-Germanism as the nationalist movement to unite Germanic and, in some cases, German-speaking peoples under one nation-state. In addition, due to constraints on the length of this essay, we will limit the discussion of pan-Germanism to between 1848 and the Second World War, with focus on the earlier stages of this period.

The ideology that would become pan-Germanism first took root in the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848, when German democratic revolutionaries sought to supplant the non-national monarchical states system, a result of the Napoleonic Wars, with a unitary Pan-German republic.[2] While a loose German Confederation was already created by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, pan-Germanism “emerged as a liberal platform for reforming the Confederate states on the basis of the constitutional freedoms of education, private property and civic equality.”[3] Nevertheless, the ideology conflicted with itself at the Parliament: most German liberals preferred a *kleindeutsche Lösung* - “lesser Germany solution” - that would exclude Austria from the planned German state, while Austrian liberals proposed a *großdeutsche Lösung* - “greater Germany solution” - that would incorporate the ethnic German parts of Austria, as well as other countries, into a Greater German Empire led by the Habsburgs in Vienna.[3] However, the Austrian Empire in 1848 was multi-ethnic, with a considerably large Slavic population; the fact that “[a] German nationalism articulated against aristocratic cosmopolitans was answered by Slavic patriots clamoring for autonomy” did not help their case.[4] A few months later, on November 27, the new Chief Minister in Vienna announced that the Habsburg monarchy “would remain a unitary and indivisible political entity”, “exploding” the *großdeutsche Lösung* and shifting the consensus of the Parliament the other way.[5] Nevertheless, while eventually the *kleindeutsche Lösung* was chosen, we can have a glimpse of what pan-Germanism would evolve into in the *großdeutsche* mentality: Historian Andrew G. Whiteside referred to it as “ethnocentrism”, the subordination of non-Germans to Germans in a German state.[6] Germany was eventually unified in 1871, following the *kleindeutsche Lösung*, though German Austrians felt that they had been wrongfully excluded from the German nation-state.[7] We will explore the Austrian side of pan-Germanism later. The movement would again manifest itself in the beginning of WWI as the *Septemberprogramm* (September program), a list of war goals for the German Empire; the list includes Belgium becoming a vassal state, the annexation of Luxembourg, and the expansion of the German colonial empire, among others.[8] Historian Fritz Fischer would later interpret the *Septemberprogramm* as based on the expansionist *Lebensraum* (living space) philosophy, though this has been controversial.[9] The Munich Agreement also has elements of pan-Germanism, including the previous Carlsbad Programme, a series of demands for autonomy for Germans in the Sudetenland,[10] though this, and even more so the *Lebensraum* philosophy, could be seen as equal parts expansionist and pan-Germanistic, if not more so the former than the latter: instead of uniting all the German peoples under one flag, the *Lebensraum* philosophy seeks to expand said flag to Central and Eastern Europe and have German colonists inhabit these lands.[11] To that end, most of the non-German populations of said lands are to be removed permanently, be it through mass deportation, extermination, enslavement, or some other manner.[12]

Intriguingly, there was a notable anti-imperialist - or, perhaps more appropriately, anti-imperial - aspect to pan-Germanism. Take, for example, the unification of Germany; as shown above, during the time of the German Confederation, the Austrian Empire was seen as an obstacle to pan-German unity: it was a multi-ethnic empire, which Germans had to share with Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and various other Slavic peoples. Liberal leader Johann Nepomuk Berger wrote that “[t]he Germans in

Austria should strive not for political hegemony, but for cultural hegemony among the peoples of Austria.” [13] The Austrian liberals’ proposal of a Greater German Empire led by Austria does not help either.

Additionally, during the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Emperor Franz Joseph “had a deep distrust of any kind of German nationalism in his empire,”[14] though German Austrians did not hold the same opinion as the Emperor, and neither do Austrian Jews: Theodor Herzl, father of modern political Zionism, became “more Viennese than the Danube” himself after his arrival in Vienna in 1878; and the Jews, in spite of the Nazi Final Solution that would come later, have for years been counted as German, as Yiddish was treated as a German dialect.[15] Perhaps more bizarrely, many apostate Jews would join the ranks of the anti-Semites - not necessarily solely out of contempt for Judaism, but more so to renounce their Jewish ancestry, as a considerable number of Viennese Jews have long forgone Judaism for baptism, to the point that many had actually forgotten that their families were Jewish.[16]

In that we can also see how significant a role Austria plays in the pan-Germanic movement. Intriguingly, while the multi-ethnic and Catholic Austrian Empire was, as shown above, seen as an obstacle to pan-Germanism, the movement was very much alive in Austria, in coincidence with the rise of Slavic nationalism quoted above. The Habsburgs, who were the rulers of Austria, did only the bare minimum to acknowledge the force of nationalism in the state such that they could preserve control and the status of Austria as a great power,[17] but that did not stop German nationalism from influencing even the youngest Austrians.[18] Austrian German nationalism would intensify leading up to WWII, as seen in the assassination of Jewish journalist Hugo Bettauer: the assassin, Otto Rothstock, was an ethnic Czech not well-versed in German, but he accused Bettauer of “scorning everything German”, and deemed the assassination “warning shot to waken up ... the German nation to carry the struggle on, brutally and ruthlessly”.[19] Perhaps one of the most prominent examples of Austrian pan-Germanism, especially pre-WWII, would be the *Anschluss*, the annexation of Austria into Nazi Germany in 1938 which Austrian pan-Germans “planned to announce their desire for ... with black-red-gold flags, the greater German colors of 1848”.[20] Such an annexation was banned by the Treaty of Versailles in 1918, but Hitler claims “to have annexed Austria to the German Reich *not in violation of the law, but as a restorer of the law*”[21] - presumably intending to portray the *Anschluss* as lawful and justified.

As mentioned before, there is also a religious aspect to pan-Germanism. Many German states had already been united in Protestantism in various religious wars of the 16th and 17th centuries - the Second Schmalkaldic War and the Thirty Years' War are two iconic examples. This was in jarring conflict with the Austrian Empire, whose official religion was Catholicism; furthermore, the Austrian multi-ethnicity was dominated by “the identity of the majority-German/Austrian Catholic”, [22] which discouraged the Frankfurt Parliament from incorporating the empire into the proposed German state. Nevertheless, the Catholic Austro-Hungarian Empire, too, saw an “Away from Rome” movement which strongly opposed Catholicism in favor of Protestantism; according to Anonymous from Brünn, even Adolf Hitler “revered Luther: ‘He said Martin Luther did a great service to the German people, not only because he gave it a new language, but mainly because he led away from Rome, back to a genuine Germandom.’”[23] The middle-class German nationalists initially distanced themselves from the *Anschluss* for fear of another *Kulturkampf* against Catholics; [24] the cult of personality surrounding Hitler was considered a sort of political religion; [25] and Nazism sought to replace religious allegiances with a single-minded, obedient “national community”, [26] whose worship of the state could be seen as a religion in its own right.

3. Pan-Asianism

At the time when the Germans tried to unify their fragmented nation. Pan-Asianism, which could be defined as an umbrella concept that encompasses various ideologies advocating solidarity among a group of Asian nations against the perceived threat of Western hegemony.[27] Most definitions of Pan-Asianism focus on the presumed common heritage and destiny of the Asian people vis-à-vis Western civilization. As a statement of Asian self-determination and self-affirmation, it criticizes negative and Orientalist portrayals of Asia rejects Euro-American imperialism in Asia and calls for the liberation of Asia from Western imperialist powers.[28]

From the culture side that Pan-Asianist may build a unique Asian identity. The Pan-Asianism could be linked with religious, like Confucianism and Buddhism. Also based on the common elements in the Asian culture.

Some pan-Asians look for Asian unity at the level of Asian culture, Okakura Kakuzo (Okakura Tenshin was Okakura Kakuzo's pen name), a leading Japanese scholar and art critic, spent his life exploring Pan-Asianism in culture. After visiting an Indian cave, he concluded that the Buddhist sculptures in the cave were the same as those in Japan and China, and thus he believed that Indian art had a unifying core with Chinese and Japanese culture.[29] In his book *The Ideals of the East*, he appealed that "Asian was one", also believed that Asian traditions should not be discarded by Asian countries.[30] He emphasized the similarities of Asian culture and wanted people to unite.[31]

Besides the sameness of the Asian civilization, Confucianism and the Chinese culture which it represented also affected the Pan-Asianism. Most of the first few countries in which Pan-Asianism emerged were influenced by Confucianism, and Pan-Asianism has strong Confucian overtones.[32] The basic Pan-Asianism idea was based on a Confucianism idea of "*Zun Wang Rang Yi*", which means attacking those barbarians and honored the King[33]. This idea was more important in Shogunate Japan than in China, as the loyalism samurais used this word to attack the Shogunate government, because they seized the power of the emperor and submitted to foreigners. "*Zun Wang*" means putted power back to Emperor, and "*Rang Yi*" means attacked the Europeans (In Japanese, the words was *Sonnō-jōi*). [34] These ideas affected the most of the Japanese Pan-Asianism (also some of the Chinese). For example, early Pan-Asianism movement wanted to drive the Europeans out of their countries.

In addition to xenophobic ideas, the Confucian ideology of dominance and nationality strongly influenced Pan-Asianism. Japan's Pan-Asianism philosophy also included a strong desire to replace China as the "central state" of the Oriental society, so that the Emperor of Japan would become the "common lord of the world" who would "take orders from heaven and control all beings", just as the Celestial emperors had done in the past.[35] From Okawa Shumei's Pan-Asianism idea we could found the similarities, like he believed that Japan should be the only country to represent Asia in a duel with the West. "*Wangdao* (the Way of the King)" was another idea that affected the Pan-Asianism in the Confucianism. "*Wangdao*" was developed by Mencius, whose words were recorded in his follower's book.[36] Basically he asks rulers to use morality to rule their people, not hegemony.[37] The founding father of Republic of China, Sun-yet Sen described his own Pan-Asianism idea using the "*Wangdao*" idea. His speech in Kobe, Japan on November 28, 1924, believed that the Asian nations believed in "Wangdao", not "*Badao*" used by the Western countries, in which "*Badao*" means the rule used by hegemony.[38] He used this speech to express that the oppressed and weak Asian nations should be united and liberated.[39] The similarities of "*Wangdao*" idea could also be found in Rabindranath Tagore's speeches. He said that the spirit of conflict and conquest is at the heart of the Western nation, not the spirit of co-operation in Eastern societies.[40] Those two ideas could believe praised the Eastern culture, which formed a different civilization identification compared to the Western. But Tagore's words are more connected with Buddhism, because it also

teaches the cooperations between people. For those similar idea from two different religious, it may find the unity of the Asia.

Language should be another focus of the Pan-Asianism movement. In the early Pan-Asianist Association, Toshitora Sone's Raising Asia Society (*Kōa kai*), then translated to the name of the Asian Association (*Ajia Kyōkai*). In the *Foundation Manifesto of the Kōa-kai*, it talked that the European countries because they know each other's languages.[41] And then the *Koa-Kai* decided to use Chinese as the official language of the Asia. The then later Pan-Asianist Association, *East Asia Tongwen Association*, in its name, "*Tongwen*" means the same language, which aims to unite the Asian language, especially in East Asia. The *Tongwen Association* build language schools in Eastern Asian cities, teach people to understand each language.[42] Worth mention is that Okawa Shumei also open language schools in Tokyo, and helped Japanese understood other Asian countries language.[43]

Compared to the unifying culture, most Pan-Asianisms emphasize the notion of opposition to the West or the West as imperialism, a form of anti-imperialism. Historian Stephen Howe argues that anti-imperialism is committed to the equality of European and non-European peoples and cultures, as with the right of individual nations to self-determination, and attempts to eradicate home-grown colonialism utilizing national and international alliances.[44] In the development of Pan-Asianism, many of the main Pan-Asianist thinkers had ideas related to anti-imperialism, reflecting the similarities between Pan-Asianism and anti-imperialism.

Historian Naoki Sayama believed that "Asia" was previously a European concept. Still, with the European countries' oppression, the "Asia" concept has spread in the North of the Eurasia Continent, and let the Asians realize themselves as a unity.[45] The primary phase of Pan-Asianism has been described as the Asian College policy. Which was advanced by Shogunate Admiral Katsu Kaishu in around 1863.[46] He believed that the Asian countries at that time were weak and short-sighted, and Japan should use its influence on lobbying Asian countries to join a Union.[47] He hoped that the three countries of China, Korea and Japan should unite against European aggression.[48] At that time, this be seen as a anti-imperialism idea, due to these three countries threatened by the invasion.

From this basic idea, arguably that early Pan-Asianism was Anti-Colonialism, as that time in 1863, China was during the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851-1864) rebellion. Before that, the British took Hong Kong in the Treaty of Nanking.[49] And also that time, the shogunate government realized the threat from Anglo-Satsuma War.[50]

For other Asian Countries, the anti-Imperialism in Pan-Asianism was more common. The Pan-Asiatic League was created in Japan in 1917, with the involvement of Okawa Shumei and his Indian revolutionary friends Rash Behari Bose and H. L. Gupta. This union was to disseminate of Pan-Asianism in the Asian-wide and help the Asian Countries understand each other.[51] They helped the Indian Revolutionists opposed the British. This event could be seen as a rosy vision of Asian co-operation against colonizers. According to a secret memorandum of the Criminal Intelligence Department of colonial India, an Indian revolutionist, C. K. Chakravarty, set up an offshoot of the Pan-Asiatic League in the United States to promote plots against British India.[52] The memorandum also states that Chakravarty planned to have the Chinese government buy weapons in large quantities in the United States and ship them to India. This event can be considered as a pan-Asian anti-imperialist practice, where an Indian revolutionary used an organization set up by the Japanese in the hope of gaining access to the practice of overthrowing British India through the Chinese government. It is difficult to argue the authenticity of this event because the plan was not actually implemented. But whether true or false, the creation of Pan-Asianism made European colonizers feel a danger in Asia.

Pan-Asianism been used as the legitimate of the Japanese Expansionism. Previously, the Pan-Asianism wasn't the Japan's priority. But when the U.S congress passed the *Johnson Reed Act*, which

restrict Asians without U.S citizenship to immigrant America.[53] Japanese reaction as been humiliated. As the Japanese politician Yusuke Tsurumi noted, while he believed that the law was there to protect American civilization, the question for the Japanese came down to whether to pursue the footsteps of the West or to return to the realm of Eastern civilization.[54] This event finally put Japan back to the Pan-Asianism Road as Japan was not being treated on an equal footing with the Western powers.[55] Japan soon incorporated Pan-Asianism into its official diplomacy and moved towards ultra-nationalism.[56]

Some Fascists developed their ideas from the Pan-Asianism. Kita Ikki, his political program was for creating socialist Japan through a fascistic oriented “socialism from above”, [57] to strengthen Japan and enable it to liberate Asia from Western imperialism.[58] His book said that in the war between East and West, China should be strong so it can fight with Russia and Japan has the responsibility to take over southeast Asia.[59] His idea inspired his successor Okawa Shumei, who believed that Japan was the country which had the fate to unite the Eastern countries to fight with the Western countries. He predicted that there was a fight between East and West and there will be a fight between America and Japan.[60] Okawa did not view Asia as a single entity, meaning his theory implied that only the strongest Asian country could fight with the West, which legitimized the Japanese expansion.[61]

In a 1938 manifesto written in English, Tatsu Kawai linked the expansion of Japanese imperialism not only to its national security, but also to the liberation of the other peoples of Asia from the cultural, spiritual and political corruption of the West. In this sense, he argued, Japan's expansion was for the sake of peace in East Asia.[62] Tatsu Kawai was a high-rank Japanese diplomat, who used be the Consul-General of Japan in Shanghai, and became the Director of the Information Bureau and official spokesman for the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo.[63] He was an ardent expansionist. His aim to publish the book could reflect the opinions of those expansionists in the Imperial government. This is also an informal defense of Japanese expansionism to the Europeans, also showed their ambitions. Additionally as Sir Robert Craigie, British Ambassador to Japan, noted that during Tatsu Kawai tenure as official spokesman, he was openly hostile to our attitude towards Japan's actions in China on many occasions.[64]

The later Japanese government's movement also proved that Pan-Asianism have been used by the Imperial government. The Japanese Kono Cabinet successfully made the war with China as a holy war to reshape international relations in East Asia.[65] In 1940, Ryutaro Nagai, the Minister of Communications, described Japan's war of aggression against China as a noble endeavors to establish peace in East Asia by destroying the nationalist regime that advocated anti-Japanese and anti-Pan-Asianism.[66] This means that Japan used the Pan-Asianism's idea of advocating solidarity in Asian nations against the threat of West that covered up their expansion. Japan defined the countries and forces against their expansion as the countries who against the Pan-Asianism, it carries the same meaning of the cooperate with western hegemony. In the Pan-Asianism, the ideology had emphasized the antagonism between Western hegemony and Eastern antagonism.

4. Pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism

The mid-20th century also saw the emergence of pan-Arabism. Ideological revolutions and historical events have significantly influenced the formation of nation and religious consciousness in Arab countries. This has especially been influenced by the development and transformations of Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism. While these two organizations do share the same objectives, which is the opposition to Western influence and unity, they perceive the notion of identity from slightly different perspectives, which ultimately leads to their different ways of dealing with the social and political processes.[67]

Pan-Arabism seeks to bring Arab nations together through a common language, culture and or history.[68] That indeed is a strong movement. This secular outlook was the priority of Arab unity to incorporate the large Christian population that was in the region as opposed to Islamic unity. The founder of the Ba'th Party, Michel 'Aflaq, and many other distinguished Syrians and Lebanese, mostly viewed Islam as a part of Arab heritage as opposed to a distinct religion, thereby stressing the importance of Arabism in terms of culture and history.

In the case of Pan-Arabism, the secular aspect was most evident in the administration of Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, between 1956 and 1970. As for Pan-Arabism, Nasser was an ardent advocate of the theory and at the same time envisaged unification of Arab governments under one national entity. Well, his care contributed to the emergence of the United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1958. This political union between Egypt and Syria was to be followed by a process of Arab unity on a broader scale. However, internal political, economic and social issues that demonstrated the challenges of attempting to implement the Pan-Arabist ideologies led to the collapse of the United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1961.

Instead of perceiving Islam as an elementary part of the Arab people's identity, just like it was done by other Middle Eastern leaders, Nasser tried to integrate Islam into the Arab society. This strategy was useful because it sought to encourage inclusiveness, particularly for non-Muslims; however, it resulted in tensions between the civil and religious components of the Arab identity.[69] The failure of the Arab forces to control the six-day war of the year 1967 even further worsened these tensions; this led to a crisis within Arab nationalism and compelled various intellectuals and political leaders to look for an alternative other than secular nationalism.

In contrast to Pan-Arabism, which sought to unite all Arabs in a single state, Pan-Islamism sought to unite all Muslims across the world under the Islamic brotherhood regardless of the state or the nationality of the people.[70] Following the Iranian revolution of 1979, this movement picked up great speed and expansion that focused on the beauty and desirability of Islam as an entire package for political and social organization. It is possible that the supposed weaknesses in secular nationalism have been the conditions that allowed pan-Islamism to emerge. In this case, it offered a different perspective of togetherness that was grounded on Islamic orientation.

It was thus possible for pan-Islamism to capitalize on an advantage, in the form of a religious identity which was firmly grafted upon the Arab people; The religion of Islam was presented as a solution to the problems arising from the West's colonialism and modernity. Due to the fact that Pan-Islamism focused on the idea of Islamic unity that did not require national or ethnic affiliation, it was more appealing. This is quite unlike Pan-Arabism which constantly operated in defiance of public religious sentiments. The source in the last phrase proves that this transition from a secular to a religious framework led to a massive turning over of the intellectual topography of the Arab world.

To change from Pan-Arabism to Pan-Islamism, many ideological compromises and shifts had to be made. Formerly devoted to the ideology of secular nationalism, Arab intelligentsia and politicians gradually introduced the motifs of Islamic orientations into their concept of Arab unity and struggle. This was developed after they supported secular nationalism. At the same time, an Islamist perspective, which was more comprehensive called wasatiyya emerged. On this basis, moderation and interaction with other ideological formations, including Marxists and secular nationalists, were welcomed.

The Ottoman Empire which was a dominant empire in the past influencing the Arab empire has been a major factor that led to the development of pan-Arabist doctrine. The Arab Empire existed in the period of the brightest Islamic civilization, and it was enough to provide an interesting plot for both of these movements.[71] Thus, where for the Pan-Islamists this history was a model of Islamic unity that might be revived in the present, for the Pan-Arabists this was a matter of cultural pride. Both sides regarded this past as one of the potential sources of inspiration. While Turkish kings

claimed it later, the Ottoman kingdom was a diversified Islamic kingdom with many nationalities and religions and thus was a model of Pan-Islamic cooperation.

There was a clear anti-western sentiment, however, which propelled both Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism as two movements seeking to challenge the domination of the West in the Arab world. However, there were disparities in their strategies; thus, their triumphs and limitations were unpredictable. Thus, despite the fact that pan-Arabism encompassed non-Muslims, it was sometimes hard to reconcile the secular approach to the more encompassing Islamic sensibility of the Arab people. Formed in 1945 as a declaration of the Pan-Arab intention, the Arab League was However, political rivalry and no unified stance on vital issues and issues like Palestine and Western relations posed big challenges. This was a big challenge.

On the other hand, Pan-Islamism offered a more harmonious and with stronger spiritual connotation context of the vision of resistance and unity. Thus, due to the political and religious offer of the Pan-Islamist movement, it was able to mobilize a wider range of the population in the Arab and Islamic countries. Such ideological change is in tune with the general change in the intellectual and political climate where Christian identity is even more crucial for cohesion and resistance to the effects of westernization.[72]

From Pan-Arabism to Pan-Islamism explains how the Arab identity evolved due to internal conflict as well as external forces. The strictures of Pan-Arabism particularly in military and political domains forced a reconsideration of the concept. However, the goals of Pan-Arabism were to establish a secular, cultural and linguistic entity and such objectives were not achieved. Replacing the above as a more realistic solution was pan-Islamism since it gave a religious legitimate basis closer to the identity of the Arab people.

All in all, these movements depict the endless struggle the Arab nations are involved in to determine their identity in the twenty-first century. Regardless of one's perspective, either religious or nationalist, identity search and the struggle against external control remain the main political and social trends in the region.

Hence, this comprehensive study helps to demystify the relationship between the national and the religious in the Arab context. It also helps in understanding how leadership decisions, changes in thought processes, and history have defined the prospects of Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism.

5. Conclusion

As demonstrated above, pan-Germanism, pan-Asianism, and pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism are similar in two primary points. Firstly, all had a distinctive religious side to them: the German states of the mid-19th century were united in Protestantism, and Nazi Germany pushed for worship of the state; pan-Asianists based their movement on Confucianism, which is often regarded as a religion; and pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism are primarily based on the eponymous religion. Secondly, all were to varying degrees anti-foreigner – xenophobic, even: the Nazi *Generalplan Ost* stipulated that most Central and Eastern Europeans must be permanently removed for sufficient *Lebensraum* for Germans; pan-Asianism has a core tenet in *Zunwang Rangyi*, which literally translates to “Revere the King, Expel the Barbarians”; and pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism, as mentioned above, had a clear anti-western sentiment. With these similarities, we believe there are lessons to be learned from these pan-nationalist movements: with a resurgence of right-wing nationalism in Europe and populism in Asia, and the ongoing conflicts in the Middle East, the world would do well to look back upon these movements, such that we could avoid the slippery slope that leads to the likes of the Third Reich, Japanese Empire, and Islamic State.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by Professor Peter Bergamin of Oxford University.

Chen Zeng, Chuanyi Ma and Churan Shi contributed equally to this work and should be considered co-first authors.

References

- [1] Julie Thorpe, *Pan-Germanism and the Austrofascist State, 1933–38* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), 7.
- [2] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1981), chap. 3, <http://singlelogin.re/book/2166144/0b6f96/findesiecle-vienna-politics-and-culture.html>.
- [3] Thorpe, *Pan-Germanism*, 17–18.
- [4] Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, chap. 3.
- [5] Christopher Clark, *Revolutionary Spring: Fighting for a New World, 1848–1849* (Penguin Books, 2024), 649.
- [6] Andrew Gladding Whiteside, “The Germans as an Integrative Force in Imperial Austria”, *Austrian History Yearbook* 3, 1 (1967), 173–74, cited in Thorpe, *Pan-Germanism*, 18.
- [7] Kurt Bauer, *Nationalsozialismus: Ursprünge, Anfänge, Aufstieg und Fall* (Böhlau, 2008), 41.
- [8] “The September Memorandum”, *German History in Documents and Images*, accessed August 7, 2024, https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=980.
- [9] Fritz Fischer, *Germany’s Aims in the First World War* (W. W. Norton, 1967), 98–103.
- [10] Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, *Nazism 1919–1945 Volume 3: Foreign Policy, War and Racial Extermination* (Devon: University of Exeter Press).
- [11] Jeremy Noakes, “Hitler and ‘Lebensraum’ in the East,” *BBC*, accessed August 7, 2024, https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/hitler_lebensraum_01.shtml.
- [12] Noakes, “Hitler and ‘Lebensraum’”.
- [13] Johann Nepomuk Berger, *Zür Lösung der oesterreichischen Verfassungsfrage* (Vienna, 1861), 19, cited in Schorske, *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna*, chap. 3.
- [14] Brigitte Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna: a dictator’s apprenticeship*, trans. Thomas Thornton (Oxford University Press, 1999), 95.
- [15] Allan Janik and Stephen Toulman, *Wittgenstein’s Vienna* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 58–59.
- [16] Janik and Toulman, *Wittgenstein’s Vienna*, 59.
- [17] Solomon Wank, “Some Reflections on the Habsburg Empire and Its Legacy in the Nationalities Questions”, *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997), 140.
- [18] Thorpe, J. (2015). *Pan-germanism after empire: austrian "germandom" at home and abroad*.
- [19] Murray G. Hall, *Der Fall Bettauer* (Vienna, 1978), 117, cited in John, “‘We Do Not Even Possess Our Selves’”, 54.
- [20] Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 95.
- [21] Hamann, B. (1999). *Hitler’s Vienna: A Dictator’s Apprenticeship*. Oxford University Press., 111–112.
- [22] Michael John, “‘We Do Not Even Possess Our Selves’: On Identity and Ethnicity in Austria, 1880–1937,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 30: 17–64.
- [23] Anonymous, “Mein Freund Hitler” (*My friend Hitler*), *Moravsky ilustrovaný zpravodaj* no. 40 (1935), pp. 10 ff., cited in Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 250.
- [24] Berg, Matthew P. (2012). *Pan-germanism and the austrofascist state, 1933–38*. central european history: cambridge university press / uk, 45(4), 785–787.
- [25] Hans Maier, *Totalitarianism and Political Religions*, trans. Jodi Bruhn (Routledge, 2004), 153.
- [26] Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 173–74.
- [27] Stearns, Peter N. 2008. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern World: [1750 to the Present]*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 996
- [28] Immanuel Ness, Zak Cope, and Saër Maty Bâ. *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism*. (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. 2016) ,2164–2174
- [29] Emiko Shimizu, *Okakura Tenshin and the Japan Art Institute in Goura* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2013), 51–58
- [30] Kakuzō Okakura, *The Ideals of the East, with Special Reference to the Art of Japan*. (London: Forgotten Books. 2018), chapter 2–15
- [31] Togawa Masahiko, “Tenshin Okakura’s visit to Bodh Gaya in British India: from his interaction with Swamy Vivekanda and Rabindranath Tagore”, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 92, 181–205

- [32] Ethan Mark, "Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism, and Borders", *Social Science Japan Journal*, Volume 11, Issue 1, Summer 2008, 136–140
- [33] Naoki, *Japan's early Asianism*, pp 56
- [34] Jansen, Marius B. and Gilbert Rozman, eds. *Japan in Transition: from Tokugawa to Meiji*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press.1986)
- [35] Kai Guan, "Oriental Legend of Ethnic Politics: Confucian Nationalism and Chinese National Identity", *Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities*, vol.31,no.2, March 2009
- [36] Wan, Lihua, and Xu Lan. *Mengzi:Gongsun Xiu Shang* .(Beijing: Zhonghua Shu Ju.2019)
- [37] Guo Qiyong, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, (Beijing:Higher Education Press,2006)
- [38] Prasenjit Duara, "Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China, 1900-1945"(The American Historical Review , Vol. 102, No. 4 , Oct. 1997),1030-1051
- [39] Sun Yetsen, *Great Asianism*(1924), unknown people translated edition in 1941
- [40] Tagore, Rabindranath, *Nationalism* (San Francisco,CA:The Book Club of California,1917), 33
- [41] Park, S. M. . (2006). *The making of a cultural icon for the japanese empire: choe seung-hui's u.s. dance tours and "new asian culture" in the 1930s and 1940s. positions east asia cultures critique*, 14(3), 32
- [42] Zhai Xin, *The Principle for China Policies of Non-governmental Organizations in Modern Japan--Centering the "China Preservation" by the East Asia Common Culture Association*, *Journal of Shanghai University(Social Sciences)*,(2006).13(2)
- [43] Aydin, *Japan's Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order*,1-33
- [44] Levy, Carl, Matthew S Adams, and Springerlink, *The Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism*. (Springer International Publishing, 2019), 151
- [45] Sayama Naoki, *Japan's early Asianism*.trans.Wen Zhang, (Peking:Peking University Press, 2017), 3
- [46] Banghe Sheng, "Japanese Asianism at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries", *History Research*(March,2000), 125-128
- [47] Masanaga Katsube, Sannosuke Matsumoto, Isajiro Oguchi, *The Complete Works of Katsukaishu* (Tokyo: Kusanagi Shobo, 1972), 18
- [48] Rei Matsuura, *Meiji Kaishu and Asia* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten,1987),102-103
- [49] Satoshi Hirano, *The Qing Empire and Chinese Confusion: How Modern East Asia Deals with the Legacies of the Inner Asian Empires*.trans.Qishen Lin, (Taipei:BaQi Culture), 379-397
- [50] Ezo Izumi, *Warship Mechanism Encyclopedia - Japan's Battleships* (Tokyo:Grand Prix Publishing,2001)
- [51] Letter from General Commanding Officer, Straits Settlements to the Governor of Straits Settlements, 12 June 1917, India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/P&J/12/157, CRSS 11213.
- [52] *The Pan-Asiatic Movement Memorandum*, supra note 40 at 1
- [53] Office Of The Historian. "The Immigration Act of 1924 (the Johnson-Reed Act)." *History.state.gov*. 2019. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>.
- [54] Yusuke Tsurumi, *Present Day Japan* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1926) , 103.
- [55] Masamichi Royama, *Foreign Policy of Japan: 1914–1939* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973) , 36
- [56] Miwa Kimitada, "Pan-Asianism in Modern Japan: Nationalism, Regionalism and Universalism" in Sven Saaler and Victor Koschan, eds., *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History* (London: Routledge, 2007) , 22.
- [57] Ikki Kita, *An Outline Plan for the Reorganization of Japan*. (Tokyo: CHUOKORON-SHINSHA INC.2014),14
- [58] Wilson, George Macklin, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883–1937*. Harvard East Asian Series. Vol. 37. (Cambridge:Harvard University Press.1969)
- [59] Kita Ikki, *The history of Chinese Revolution* (Tokyo:Sage Study,1921), 35
- [60] Cemil Aydin, "Japan's Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order, 1931-1945", *The Asian Pacific Journal: Japan focus*.6(3) ,1-33
- [61] Liu Feng, "Two Types of Expansionist Ideology in Modern Japan--- Centered on the ideological theory of Okawa Shumei", *World History*.2017(06),90-95
- [62] Tatsu Kawai, *The Goal of Japanese Expansion* (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1938) ,15
- [63] "Foreign Affairs Archives Q&A: Showa pre-war period". Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan
- [64] Sir Robert Craigie, U.K. Ambassador to Japan, to Mr A. Eden, U.K. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 21 January 1941
- [65] Roger H. Brown, "Holy War for the Reconstruction of Asia, 1937" in Sven Saaler, and Christopher W A Szpilman, *Pan-Asianism. Vol. 2: A Documentary History*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.2011)
- [66] "Declaration of a New Order in East Asia, 1938" in Sven Saaler, and Christopher W A Szpilman, *Pan-Asianism. Vol. 2: A Documentary History*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.2011)
- [67] Renée Worringner, "Cemil Aydin, the Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41, no. 2 (2009): 329-31.

- [68] Michaelle L. Browsers, "Political Ideology in the Arab World: Accommodation and Transformation," *Review of Middle East Studies* 44, no. 1 (2010): 71-72.
- [69] John M. Hobson, "The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought, Cemil Aydin," *Ethics & International Affairs* 22, no. 3 (2008): 333-35.
- [70] Michael Sterner, "Focus on US Policy: From the Eisenhower Doctrine to the War in Iraq," *The Middle East Journal* 58, no. 4 (2004): 661.
- [71] Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- [72] Love, Erik. "Confronting Islamophobia in the United States: Framing Civil Rights Activism Among.