

Turanism in Japan from Perspective of the Pan-Asiatic Journal, *Dai Ajia Shugi*

(1933-1942)

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日本に於けるツラニズム運動と『大亜細亜主義』月刊誌

(1933年-1942年)

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Abstract

This paper examines Turanism in Japan by analyzing the monthly journal, *Dai Ajia Shugi* from May 1933 to April 1942. Its aim is to discover the position of Turanism in Japanese expansion policy into the Asian Continent before World War II. Japan first became acquainted with this ideology when Hungarian Turanist Benedek Barathosi-Balogh came to Japan and gave lectures on Turanism. The first Turanic association in Japan was subsequently founded in 1921. In 1930s, a second Turanic organization was established and Turanism was expressed in Japanese society more than before. This was closely related to Japanese diplomatic developments at the time.

According to the journal, Turanism in Japan was associated with the “Land Advance Doctrine (the Northern Advance Policy)”, one of the Japanese state policies. But it was a minority ideology comparable to Japanese Islamism and anti-comminternism. Turanism was essentially used by a small number of people to cover the Japanese expansionism in North China, from Manchuria all the way west through Xinjiang. When Japan tired to solidify its policy on western colonies in Southeast Asia, Turanism lost its effectiveness, unlike in the first half of 1930s.

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Introduction

“Turan” is originally Persian. There are a lot of definitions about the meaning.¹ But it is generally acknowledged that it refers to the land of those who used to live in between Ural and Altay Mountains neighbouring to Persia and used to be non-Persian and nomadic in ancient times. Turanism is a romantic ideology to gather all Turan originated nations under one roof.²

The first emergence of Turanism as an organized movement was in Hungary in the first quarter of the 20th century. But actually its origins date back to the second half of the 19th century. Hungary felt isolated and lonely due to the Pan-slavism encouraged by Charist Russia and the threat of Habsburg Empire in Central Europe. Furthermore, Western European countries such as Britain and France did not support it in this chaotic situation. Thus, national consciousness, which strenghtened in the first half of the 19th century and was called “the Hungarian Reform Era”, started to focus on the co-operation with Turanian nations. Hungarian Turanism subsequently took an irredendist dimension due to the development of the economy.³

Turanism, which surfaced in Hungary, influenced Turkey, Finlandia and even Japan over ocean later on. Based on the recent research, it is possible to allege that Turanism reached its peak internationally in 1930s.⁴

Comparing to Hungary and Turkey, studies of Turan principles in Japan are very few, although there has been some recent research. Printed books on Turanic ideology before World War II, have merely been utilized as sources.⁵ There is currently no paper on the periodicals at the time. So this paper will fill this gap by analyzing monthly magazine, *Dai Ajia Shugi*.

It is a common knowledge that Japanese expansionist foreign policy in East and Southeast Asia, which lasted for almost 15 years, was called *Greater Asianism (or Pan-Asianism)*. There were many civil associations to foster Japan ideologically in this steep way during this period. Almost all of the so-called non-governmental societies

1 Reprinted edition by Yalçın Toker, Ziya Gökalp *Türkçülüğün Esasları (English title by the contributor: Principles of Turkism)*, Toker Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, p.33-34.

2 Translated by Şenol Durgun and Gonca Bayraktar, *İngiliz Gizli Servisi M15'e Göre Turanlılar ve Pan-Turanizm (Original English title: A Manual on the Turanians and Pan-Turanism)*, Yesevi Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1999, p.24-28.

3 Nizam Önen, *Turanlı Hareketler: Macaristan ve Türkiye (1910-1944) (English title by the contributor: Turanist Movements: Hungary and Turkey)*, T.C. Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Kamu Yönetimi ve Siyaset Bilimi Anabilim Dalı, doktora tezi (Published Ph.D. Thesis), Ankara, 2003, p.40-54, 81-90.

4 Ibid, p.237.

5 H. Can Erkin, “Toruko ni okeru Kokumin Kokka Koso”, edit. Kurushima Hiroshi and Cho Kyondaru, *Ajia no Kokumin Kokka Koso: Kindai he no Toki to Katto*, Aoki Shoten, Japan, March 2008, p.189-221.; Yuzo Nagata, “Toruko ni okeru Kotei Rekishigaku no Seiritsu”, edit. Itaro Terauchi, Kunio Yajima, Yuzo Nagata, Lee Sungsi, *Shokuminchishugi to Rekishigaku*, Tosui Shobo, Japan, 2004, p.105-233; Osamu Ieda, “Nihon ni okeru Tsuranizumu”, *Nihon to Too Shokoku no Bunka Koryu ni Kan suru Kisoteki Kenkyu -1981 Nen 9 Gatsu Kokusai Shinpojumu no Hokokushu-*, Nihon Too Kankei Kenkyukai, April 1982, p.207-209.

had periodicals to make propoganda both at home and lands outside, which Japan dominated. They all strove to contribute Pan-Asiatic ideology by putting forward new and promising ideas.

Among them, *Dai Ajia Kyokai* (*Pan-Asiatic Association*) has drawn our attention in terms of notable members, who played important roles in their fields such as politics, military, media, academic world etc. This illustrates that notions of *Dai Ajia Kyokai* were accepted by most of the parts of Japanese society. The association had published monthly periodical too.

Therefore the monthly journal, *Dai Ajia Shugi* (*Greater Asianism*) is used in this research as a main source, which had been published from May 1933 to April 1942. The subject of our paper is Turanism in Japan. Basically articles concerning Turanism in *Dai Ajia Shugi* are examined in this paper.

The goal is to reveal the position of Turanism in Japanese expansionist Pan-Asian policy from perspective of the monthly journal, *Dai Ajia Shugi*. Thus, it takes a different point of view to Japanese Turanism comparing to previous research. Since it was a monthly periodical, which was assumed to follow the intensive agenda of Japan at the time, it is also possible to see transitions in Japanese Turanism depending on state policy changes.

Borders of the *Greater Asianism* are still disputable. I hope that this paper also gives new ideas to readers about frontier of the Japanese advancing policy in Asian mainland. In other words, the analysis of Turanism in this journal will concern frontier in western land of the Greater Asia as much as possible. Prior to examining the relevant articles, it is helpful to provide some information about *Dai Ajia Kyokai* and *Dai Ajia Shugi*.

I. *Dai Ajia Kyokai* (Pan-Asiatic Association) and Monthly Journal, *Dai Ajia Shugi* (Greater Asianism)

1. *Dai Ajia Kyokai* (Pan-Asiatic Association)

Dai Ajia Kyokai was founded at the Tokyo Hall of Marunouchi Station on March 1, 1933. More than 120 historic figures from different fields attended at the inaugural ceremony. Among them Koki Hirota, Fumimaro Konoe, Iichiro Tokutomi (Tokutomi Soho), Yasaburo Shimonaka, Iwane Matsui, Takeo Kikuchi, Takeyo Nakatani, Kametaro Mitsukawa, Nobumasa Suetsugu are worth mentioning specifically.⁶

Dai Ajia Kyokai was actually the continuation of *Pan Ajia Gakkai* (*Academic Association for Greater Asia*). *Pan Ajia Gakkai* was a semi-academic association, which

6 Masataka Matsuura, "Kaisetsu Zasshi Dai Ajia Shugi to Dai Ajia Kyokai nitsuite: Dai Ajia Kyokai no Seiritu", reprinted edition: Kenichi Goto - Masataka Matsuura, *Dai Ajia Shugi Fukkokuhan*, Volume 1, Ryukei Shosha, Japan, September 2008, p.22.

was formed following the Manchurian Incident by some intellectuals, who also took part in the establishment of *Dai Ajia Kyokai*.⁷ Iwane Matsui who was judged as the person responsible for the Nanjing Massacre, also participated in the association in the course of time.

Pan Ajia Gakkai was replaced for *Dai Ajia Kyokai* on the suggestion of Matsui to enlarge the association with more participants from all of the fields. It was uttered that the idea to put the name, “Dai Ajia Kyokai” for a new society was the lieutenant colonel Teiichi Suzuki’s.⁸

The date when *Dai Ajia Kyokai* was established is very suggestive because it was the first anniversary of the Manchukuo Government, March 1, 1933. It also coincided with the month that Japan seceded from the League of Nations. *Dai Ajia Kyokai* was instituted in between these two historic dates.⁹ Thus, it can be deduced that *Dai Ajia Kyokai* was the first step done by Japan to gather all Asian nations under Tokyo centered society, which was alternative to the League of Nations. Besides both the content of talks¹⁰ at inaugural ceremony and the regulations¹¹ of *Dai Ajia Kyokai* were also focused on necessity of the Asian League of Nations.

Another detail which exists to support this thesis is that Iwane Matsui, who attended the disarmament conference in Geneva in 1932 as the Japanese envoy and left his post after being dissatisfied at the way the League of Nations worked, was the initiator of establishing *Dai Ajia Kyokai*.

Dai Ajia Kyokai opened branches in Taiwan, Korea, Philippines and the concessions of Japan in China¹² so that the people in those regions could be easily convinced about a potential Asian League of Nations and Pan-Asiatic notions. *Dai Ajia Kyokai*, like the other Pan-Asiatic organizations, was integrated into *Dai Nihon Koa Doumei* (*Alliance for the Rise of Greater Japan*) in the second half of 1941, which was a part of *Tai Sei Yoku Sankai* (*Imperial Rule Assistance Association*) and lost its independent status.¹³

7 Takeyo Nakatani, *Showa Doranki no Kaiso, Nakatani Takeyo Kaikoroku - Gekan*, Tairyukan, Japan, 1989, p.348-349.

8 Ibid, p.350-352.

9 Kenichi Goto, “Hajime ni Kaisetsu ni Kaete: Shouwa Senzenki Nihon to Dai Ajia Kyokai”, reprinted edition: Kenichi Goto-Masataka Matsuura, *Dai Ajia Shugi Fukkokuhan*, Volume 1, Ryukei Shosha, Japan, September 2008, p.1.

10 Takeyo Nakatani, *Showa Doranki no Kaiso, Nakatani Takeyo Kaikoroku*, Gekan, Tairyukan, Japan, 1989, p.362-372.

11 “Dai Ajia Kyokai Kiyaku”, *Dai Ajia Shugi, the inaugural issue, May 1933*, p.101-102.

12 Masataka Matsuura, “Kaisetsu Zasshi Dai Ajia Shugi to Dai Ajia Kyokai nitsuite: Dai Ajia Kyokai no Soshiki to Kosei”, reprinted edition: Kenichi Goto-Masataka Matsuura, *Dai Ajia Shugi Fukkokuhan*, Volume 1, Ryukei Shosha, Japan, September 2008, p.63.

13 Kenichi Goto, “Dai Ajia Kyokai to Tokyo Saiban Hihanron”, reprinted edition: Kenichi Goto-Masataka Matsuura, *Dai Ajia Shugi Fukkokuhan*, Volume 1, Ryukei Shosha, Japan, September 2008, p.13.

2. Monthly Journal, *Dai Ajia Shugi* (Greater Asianism)

As expressed previously, *Dai Ajia Shugi* was the monthly periodical of *Dai Ajia Kyokai*. It had continuously been published from May 1933 to April 1942. It totaled 108 issues for almost 9 years. Accordingly, it is possible to infer that *Dai Ajia Kyokai* did not have any financial problem in publishing the journal. It is also worth mentioning that although Japanese politics were in the turbulent process at that time, there was no censorship on the journal, which might mean that publication policy of *Dai Ajia Kyokai*, was in the parallel with both military and political authors' ideas.

The Asian framework discussed in *Dai Ajia Shugi* was larger than most of the Pan-Asiatic periodicals. Other Pan-Asiatic magazines were mostly focused on East Asia, namely Korea, Taiwan and East China. But the subjects in *Dai Ajia Shugi* were not only on East Asia but also India, Arab world, Central Asia and the Middle East. Thus, it might be said to be more international in terms of contents. It had very few articles on Korea and Taiwan owing to the fact that they were thought to be already under Japanese control completely.

Takeyo Nakatani was assumed to be the major figure to prepare the journal and print it.¹⁴ According to the information of Yasaburo Shimonaka, one of the leading figures in the association, *Dai Ajia Shugi* was only distributed to its members who numbered around 2000, which means that it had a circulation of around 2000 in a month.¹⁵

Apart from Japanese contributors, foreigners wrote articles to *Dai Ajia Shugi* as well. In particular, the Indian revolutionist Rash Behari Bose¹⁶, who was against the existence of the British Empire in India and immigrated to Japan, contributed a lot about Indian independence movement.

The region most written about in *Dai Ajia Shugi* was China. Specifically the number of writings on Manchuria were more than anywhere else. Inner Mongolia was another mostly contributed topic. Apart from them, there were articles about Muslim populated countries such as North-western China, India, Russia, Turkey, Iran, Egypt and Middle Eastern countries.

There existed a section called "West Asia (西亜細亞)" which was allocated to the news and information about Iran, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Egypt. Similarly "Indian Section" was available too. As understandable from the title, news and recent developments concerning India were given. There was also "Southeast Asia (東南亜細亞)" section from

¹⁴ Ibid, p.2.

¹⁵ Masataka Matsuura, "Kaisetsu Zasshi Dai Ajia Shugi to Dai Ajia Kyokai nitsuite: Dai Ajia Kyokai no Kozo to Tokushitsu", reprinted edition: Kenichi Goto-Masataka Matsuura, *Dai Ajia Shugi Fukkokuhan*, Volume 1, Ryukei Shosha, Japan, September 2008, p.33.

¹⁶ See about R. B. Bose's activities in Japan. Takeshi Nakajima, *Nakamuraya no Bosu-Indo Dokuritsu Undo to Kindai Nihon no Ajia Shugi-*, Hakusuisha, Japan, April 2005.

November 1933 through January 1942. Articles about Southeast Asian countries increased in number especially after Japan focused on the western colonies in Southeast Asia more than ever.

A similar kind of increase in number could be seen in the articles about Muslim populated countries as well. There was a visible increase in the number of relevant articles in *Dai Ajia Shugi* in the second half of 1930s, when Japan had tried to solidify its relations with Islamic countries. There was also a press section in most of the issues of the journal which quoted articles and news about Asian problems from assorted periodicals all over the world, especially from the western press. As mentioned previously, the last issue of *Dai Ajia Shugi* was in April 1942. But there was no notification to the readers concerning discontinuation of the journal. Therefore it can be inferred that the journal was put an end without being planned.

II. Introduction of Turanism into Japan

It is accepted that Turanism was introduced into Japan by Hungarian Turanist, Benedek Barathosi-Balogh,¹⁷ who was an active member of Hungarian Turan Society. Profesor Benedek had visited Japan twice, in 1914¹⁸ and 1921. While he was in Japan, he gave lectures on Turanism. During his staying in Japan, Juichiro Imaoka¹⁹ assisted

17 Profesor Benedek was also specialist on Tungus people, one of the Turanic sub-ethnic groups, who lived in Middle and East Siberia. See information about the profesor. Nizam Önen, *Turanlı Hareketler: Macaristan ve Türkiye (1910-1944)* (English title by the contributor: *Turanist Movements: Hungary and Turkey*), T.C. Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Kamu Yönetimi ve Siyaset Bilimi Anabilim Dalı, doktora tezi (Published Ph.D. Thesis), Ankara, 2003, p.393.

18 This was the first opportunity for Juichiro Imaoka to learn Turan and Turanism. Profesor Benedek came to Sakhalin and Hokkaido for a field work on Ainu, Gilyaki and Orok. Then passed to Tokyo and gave lecture there. See. Chieko Osugi, "Hangari ni okeru Nihongo Kyoikushi Gaikan", *Kokusai Kaihatsu Kenkyu Foramu* 23, 2003.3 (March 2003), p.179.

19 He was born in Matsue City of Shimane Prefecture in 1888. graduated from Department of German Language at Tokyo School of Foreign Studies (the forerunner of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies today). He went to Hungary at the beginning of 1920s, studied at Budapest University and came back Japan at the outset of 1930s. See. Bunji Obunai, "Senkanki ni okeru Nihon=Too no Bunka Koryu -Yoshitada Umeda Shi to Juichiro Imaoka Shi wo Megutte-", *Nihon to Too Shokoku no Bunka Koryu ni Kan suru Kisoteki Kenkyu -1981 Nen 9 Gatsu Kokusai Shinpojiumu no Hokokushu-*, Nihon Too Kankei Kenkyukai, April 1982, p.229-231. He worked for Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan as a temporary employee following his coming back to Japan in the early 1930s. He was affiliated to East European Section. There are two sources to confirm his affiliation to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. One of them is the article that he contributed to the inaugural issue of *Dai Ajia Shugi*. See. "Tsuran shugi yori Mitaru Manmo", inaugural issue, May 1933, p. 21. The other one is archival document at the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records. See. <http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/Servlet>, reference code: B04012424900 and also reference code: B04012425000, p.9. During his affiliation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he played an important role in the establishment of *Society for Islamic Culture* (イスラム文化協会) in 1937, which was non-governmental and he was also counselor of the same society. See. Fujio Komura, *Nihon Isuramu Shi*, Nihon Isuramu Yuko Renmei, Tokyo, April 1988, p.399-400.

In accordance with the journal *Japanese-Hungarian Culture* (日洪文化), published from September 1941 to June 1944 by *Japanese-Hungarian Culture Association* (日洪文化協会), Imaoka was also executive director in the association and also seemed to be the only person responsible for both editing and printing of the periodical. See. *Nikko Bunka* at the library of Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, University of Tokyo.

him. Imaoka was thought to have helped the profesor especially in German translation of his lectures.²⁰ Based on the relation with Profesor Benedek and his encouragement, Imaoka took an initiating role in establishing the first-ever Turanic organization in Japan. It was in Tokyo in 1921. Not just Japanese but also different Turanian people attended at the inaugural ceremony. Imaoka told it in *Dai Ajia Shugi* as following:²¹

“We established “The Union of Turanian Nations”²² with Hungarians, Bashkirs, Tatars, Finns, Turkish, Machurians and Koreans etc. in Tokyo twelve or thirteen years ago. This was the first Turanic society in Japan. But it couldn’t have repercussions as much as we expected. Because Marxism was very common all over the world then and struggle for a race or a nation was criticized unkindly.”

As seen above, the first Turanic organization didn’t get enough attention in public, although there were a lot of participants from different countries. Juichiro Imaoka subsequently left Japan to study Turan and Turanism in Hungary for almost 10 years. Essentially he was planning to travel all Turan originated countries and research Turanism in them. But he was not able to attain it owing to the political situation that the world was in:²³

“As I had desired to study on the relation between social class and race (nation) struggles, I left Japan to head towards the East Coast of Pacific Ocean on April 17, 1922. First of all, I caught a glimpse of negro-problem in America and then crossed to Atlantic Ocean. I kept on my travel and disembarked in Germany. There was still the ruins of war on this side of the world. I later went to Central Europe and finally arrived at Turkey through Balkan Peninsula. Basically I was planning to go further eastwards. Because I also wanted to see the social conditions of the Turanian people, Turanism and national movements in Anatolia, Southern Russia and Central Asia and to get connected with the people living there. But unfortunately I had to turn back to Hungary due to the Turkish-Greek War under way and waited for a good chance to see those regions.”

Imaoka played an active role to introduce Japanese culture to Hungarians and to strenghten the mutual relationships between Japan and Hungary. Imaoka was said to have attended in the conferences organized by Hungarian Turan Society, taught Japanese at language school of the same society, and published papers on Japan and Japanese in assorted magazines. On why he felt to be this active in Hungary, Imaoka

20 Juichiro Imaoka, “Tsuran Minzokuken”, Ryuginsha, Japan, 1942, p.5.

21 Juichiro Imaoka, “Tsuran shugi yori Mitaru Manmo”, *Dai Ajia Shugi*, inaugural issue, May 1933, p.21.

22 Original name in Japanese was “ツラン民族同盟 (Tsuran Minzoku Domei)”.

23 Ibid, p.21.

said:²⁴

“When The United States put immigration ban on Japan in 1924, there appeared a lot of discussion in European press. The impression regarding Japanese immigrants in Europe that they were a kind of people, who were yellow race, lived in a poor life standard, gave a lot of birth and aggressive. Thus they were thought to be not pleasant enough to get in the “brilliant white society”. There was a hidden notion that white man had a sense of superiority to Japanese people. No matter where you went in European society, they talked about American ban on Japanese immigration, namely Japanese-American diplomatic relation. But on the other hand, they were curious about how Japanese people thought too. Because how Caucasians thought was literally based on the white man’s information, especially Anglo-Saxonist data. As a matter of fact, all international means of communication were monopolized by the British Empire and America. This reality stimulated me to introduce the sense of Japanese justice to them. So I tried to overcome the lack of knowledge about Japan in Europe by contributing to different magazines, newspapers etc., lecturing in conferences and teaching Japanese at schools. To introduce Japanese society, I believed that I should start from the psychology and the mentality of Japanese. The most effective method to follow was to put forward the differences between Japanese and western people in terms of culture and emotions. I can utter that I have gained good results through my effort in Europe via Hungary.”

Imaoka went back Japan in the early 1930s. He can be anticipated to have wanted to turn Turanism for the benefit of Japanese diplomacy, which was getting more active in Asia, especially following the Manchurian Incident. Right after he got back his country, another Turanic organization was established in 1932. Like the previous one, the last Turanic association was created in Tokyo as well.

In accordance with constitution of the association in March 1932, there existed 1 chairman, 6 members of the board of directors, 1 secretary general and few members of advisory board. The 4th article of the constitution stated that *The association plans to publish a periodical.*²⁵ But as far as I have searched, there appears to have been no journal published. It was most probably just a project envisaged by the association, but not able to be put in practice.

There were other people, who got involved in Turanism apart from Juichiro

²⁴ Ibid, p.21-22.

²⁵ Shigetsugu Nozoe, *Nihon Minzoku Shido Genri toshite no Pan-Tsuranizumu*, Tsuran Kyokai, Japan, 1932.

Imaoka. Their common point was to have connections either to Manchuria or Mongolia at the time. They were Shigetsugu Nozoe, his brother Kintaro Nozoe and Shikazo Kitagawa.

Consequently Japan got acquainted with Turanism late, comparing to the other countries of Turan origin. Turanism was brought into Japan by Hungarian Turanists. Actually this was closely related to Japanese diplomacy. That is to say, Hungarian Turanists started to consider Japan important more than ever after World War I. Because Japan seized the chance to expand its sphere of influence in Asia during the war and also gained the recognition as a great power in post-war peace conferences.²⁶

On the other hand, Hungary initialed the Trianon Treaty following World War I and lost 1/3 of its territories and a great number of its population. This strengthened the sense of isolation in Central Europe among Hungarians more than before and also caused them to portray western European countries as an “Unreliable West”.²⁷

Shortly, Japanese emergence, as a one of the great powers in international politics by the close of the war, drew Hungarian Turanists’ attention. A recent dissertation about Turanism points out that Hungarian Turanists saw Japan as the leader of Turanian people in east because of the reason given above.²⁸

III. Turanism in Monthly Journal, *Dai Ajia Shugi*

1. Turanism as a policy justification for Japanese expansionism into Manchuria and Mongolia

It is well known that there were two state policies (国策), alternative to one another, in Japan before World War II. One of them was to advance in land, called “Tairiku Shugi” (大陸主義)²⁹ and the other one was to advance on sea, called “Kaiyo Shugi” (海洋主義)³⁰. The former was to expand Japanese sphere of influence in Asian land, especially China. Basically it can be said that this process started from the late 19th century, strengthened from the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and then kept on expanding into Inner Mongolia.³¹

Articles about Turanism in *Dai Ajia Shugi* were closely related to the policy of “Tairiku Shugi”. The first relevant article in the journal was on Manchuria and

26 Kondo Shinichi, “-Taisho Jidai, Dai Ni Sho Dai Ichi Ji Sekai Taisen to Nicchu Kankei-” *Kindai Nihon Senso Shi, Dai Ni Hen* (Volume 2), Japan, Dodaikeizaikonwakai, 1995, p.143-155; Shin, Kawashina-Ryuji, *Hattori, Higashi Ajia Kokusai Seijishi*, Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, Japan, 2007, p.104-110.

27 Nizam Önen, *Turançı Hareketler: Macaristan ve Türkiye (1910-1944)* (English title by contributor: *Turanist Movements: Hungary and Turkey*), T.C. Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Kamu Yönetimi ve Siyaset Bilimi Anabilim Dalı, doktora tezi (Published Ph.D. Thesis), Ankara, 2003, p.164-169.

28 Ibid, p.281-283.

29 Also known as “The Northern Advance Policy (北進論)”.

30 Also known as “The Southern Advance Policy (南進論)”.

31 Kazunobu Kanokogi, “Nihon Kokusaku to Moko Mondai”, *Dai Ajia Shugi*, October 1936, p.2-8.

Mongolia. The most interesting detail in the contribution was that China was not included in Turanian nations, in spite of the fact that it was a Turanian country from the Hungarian Turanists' point of view. So I think that the exclusion of China just could be explained by the on-going conflict between two countries. This also refers that the definition of Turanism depended on the country.³²

“Manchurian people are completely different in race from Han-Chinese (漢族). They are closer to us Japanese. This is what the modern science has verified. Then what kind of race are Manchurians and Mongolians? In terms of studies of comparative language, folks and archeology, they belong to Ural-Altai, namely Turanic race. Turanian nations sit astride a very huge area: the east-side consists of Japan, Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia; the west-side involves Turkey and Hungary and finally the north-side is made up of Finland and Estonia. We Japanese people, are brothers of these nations in blood.”

The Japanese maneuvers in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia were justified in the same article as following.³³

“Since Manchuria and Mongolia are Turanian nations, we Japanese are the legitimate successors of their countries. Thus our expanding policy towards these two territories is nothing other than going back our native land. In other words, that was the cradle of our ancestors. Han-Chinese (漢民族) just stole them. Basically the legitimate territory of Han-Chinese was supposed to only be limited to westwards and southwards of the Great Wall. The common saying, “Manchuria and Mongolia are originally not Chinese”, is based on racial and ethnic studies. Therefore Han-Chinese don't have the right to inherit our Turan lands.

If Manchurians and Mongolians are not capable enough of governing the territories, then Japan as a brother nation in blood should lead them so that they can rule and develop themselves. As Japan is the pillar of Turanian nations, it was assumed to be both elder-brother and the leader. In sum, Japan naturally should guide both Manchuria and Mongolia, who are younger brothers.”

China played the villain's role in Japanese Turanism in the first half of 1930s. But Han-Chinese were not the only people portrayed villainously. It is possible to see the same kind of approach against white people led by Anglo-Saxons too. Anglo-Saxon nations, who monopolized the economy of the whole world and also had very strong in-

32 Juichiro Imaoka, “Tsuran shugi yori Mitaru Manmo”, *Dai Ajia Shugi*, inaugural issue, May 1933, p.20.

33 Ibid, p.23-24.

fluence in Asia, were the biggest threat to Japan. Because Japan tried to make a new order in Asia under its leadership, following the withdrawal from the League of Nations.³⁴ To give a concrete example regarding with anti-western approach, here down is the quotation from one of the articles:³⁵

“Here I will narrate the Turan allegory concerning exactly what Turanian nations came from. The Great God of Sun, namely God of the sky, created the earth and then son of the sun descended to the ground and lived his life by hunting. One day he met a maiden and got married to her at last. Descendant of them prospered more and more and finally became the yellow race who were the posterity of the sun. On the other hand, the descendant of the moon peeped at the blissful life of the yellow race, who were the posterity of the sun, and descended to the earth. He got married to a maiden too, like the son of the sun did. The descendant of the moon propagated and eventually made the white race, who were the posterity of the moon.

The sun is the core of truth, goodness and beauty. It also melts the coldness of the winter, makes flowers bloom and bears the fruit. Shortly all beauty and goodness come from the sun. That is why the son of the sun is good-natured and kind. On the other hand, the moon appears at cold and ghastly nights. So the son of the moon is cruel, suspicious and considers the other races as enemy. He also oppresses and exploits them. Today nations of yellow race, who are also called Turanian people, derive from the son of the sun.

Accordingly once casting a glance at the history of Turanian people, it is obvious that they were all oppressed and pushed away by white man for several hundred years. White people reigned over the most of the regions of Turanian people and caused them to serve for themselves by the colonial policy, which was an artifice peculiar to the whites. This merciless policy was in other words, the principle of the slavery. They aimed to make all people their slaves, except for those who were from the son of the moon, namely whites.”

The definition of where Turanian nations evolved from was very unique to Japan. Actually each Turanian country such as Hungary, Turkey has its own mythologic fable. But it is different from the one narated above.³⁶ It is common knowledge

34 Juichiro Imaoka, “Tsuran no Reimei: Ajia no Runesansu”, *Da Ajia Shugi*, June 1933, p.98-103.

35 Juichiro Imaoka, “Tsuran Minzoku to Tsuran Undo”, *Da Ajia Shugi*, January 1934, p.57.

36 See for the fable concerning the origin of the Turkic people, which is common in both Turkic countries and China. Translated by Şenol Durgun and Gonca Bayraktar, *İngiliz Gizli Servisi M15'e GöreTuranlılar ve Pan-Turanizm (Original English title: A Manual on the Turanians and Pan-Turanism)*”, Yesevi Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1999, p.181-182.

that the sun is state symbol of Japan for centuries. Based on this truth, One might conclude that Japanese Turanists made such a definition above.

Similarly the content of Turanism is malleable not just according to the country, but also even the situation of the same country at different periods. In the first half of 1930s, Turanism was a means for Japan to justify its control of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.³⁷ But once Japanese army got military victories in Inner Mongolia consecutively, then the sphere of the policy expanded towards Outer Mongolia under Russian influence and Xinjiang.

2. Furthest West Frontier: Islamic Government of North-Western China, Centered in Xinjiang

Japan was assumed to plan a Greater Mongolia following its control of most of Inner Mongolia. So Outer Mongolia was thought to be the next step to attain it. Especially from 1935 to the outset of World War II in Europe, there was a general opinion that Japan would annex Outer Mongolia to its sphere of influence. In that case, Soviet Union seemed the biggest menace.³⁸ There was also another development in Japanese diplomacy at the same time that Japan and Germany signed the anti-commintern pact directly against international communism, but indirectly against Russia. As a result, the villain's role in Turanism changed from Anglo-Saxon nations to Russia.³⁹

“Turanism is also practical for anti-commintern ideology. We should co-operate with Turanian people residing from Manchuria all the way west through North-western China, centered Xinjiang. This should be by self-determination and for Turan Alliance. If achieved, then it would be a break water between Asian culture and materialist Bolshevizm. This is the only way to preserve the culture peculiar to Asia.”

As seen above, Turanism was seen one of the most effective means against communism, which threated Far East and managed to infiltrate into China to some extent:⁴⁰

“I received a letter from one of the Hungarian Turanists few years ago, just later than the Manchurian Incident. In a part of the letter, it was written as following: “to break the castle of bolshevizm, which was the

37 Juichiro Imaoka, “Manmo no Shido Genri: Tsuranizumu”, *Dai Ajia Shugi*, January 1936, p.29-36.

38 Muharrem Feyzi Togay, Büyük Moğolistan Tasavvuru (English title by the contributor: “Greater Mongolia Idea”), *Turkish Daily Newspaper “Cumhuriyet”*, September 1th, 1933, p.2.

Also see. Kazuhiko Tanaka, “Nomonhan Senso -Mongoru to Manshukoku-“, Iwanami Shinsho, Japan, June 2009.

39 Juichiro Imaoka, “Kokusaku no Hoko to Tsuranizumu”, *Dai Ajia Shugi*, March 1936, p.7-8.

40 Juichiro Imaoka, “Wa ga Tairiku Seisaku no Kikan”, *Dai Ajia Shugi*, January 1939, p.9.

enemy of culture of mankind, there were two powers: One was Germanism in west and the other one was Sumerism, namely Imperial Japan in east.” I myself added Turanism to them, which was just in between. If these three ideologies collaborate one another very closely, then it is possible to annihilate Russia. Honestly neither Japan nor Germany could destroy such a huge country on its own. That is to say, Turanism should be utilized to make a separatist rebellion domestically among the minorities of the Soviet Union. Sumerism (Japan) and Germanism (Germany) should attack from outside afterwards. Then Bolshevism can easily be subjugated.”

The above expressions are borrowed from an article contributed by Juichiro Imaoka. Because Imaoka was the figure in the center of Japanese Turanism⁴¹, I extrapolate them as the basic notions of Turanism in Japan.

Significance of the Xinjiang was obviously emphasized for the Greater Asia in the articles, especially after 1935. Because Xinjiang was regarded to be the frontier post in the west for both the Japan-Manchuria-China Economic Bloc in near future and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere later on.⁴² In one of the relevant contributions, historical background of the territory was explained as following:⁴³

“It is tacit understanding that the most crucial part of a body is heart. Same kind of thing is conceivable for a state or union as well. Then What is the heart of the Greater Asia? It is Xinjiang. As commonly said, to get the control of Xinjiang is to rule all Asia. Xinjiang is the key of Asia. Since Xinjiang is abundant in natural resources, it is also said to be the pearl of China. Xinjiang was not only the gateway in transportation between east and west, but also the key position for the ethnic migration. It is known to have been the passage for Budism to transmit to east and for Marco Polo’s orient travel. It had also played a substantial role in terms of the culture exchange between west and east, which was called a kind of imperial road. Chinese famous silk had been carried to Rome Empire and the culture of Greek Rome had been conveyed to east via this region. So it was a very strategic place between west and east.”

At the continuation of the same article was as following:

41 As a result of research on Japanese Turanism, I myself have seen that Imaoka was the person who wrote about this ideology in Japan more than anyone and also most-closely got in touch with Hungarian Turanists. Furthermore the previous paper on Japanese Turan ideology defined him in the same way as well. See. Yuzo Nagata, “Toruko ni okeru Kotei Rekishigaku no Seiritsu”, p.182-183 and also H. Can Erkin, “Toruko ni okeru Kokumin Kokka Koso”, p.197-199.

42 See another contribution in *Dai Ajia Shugi* to refer that Xinjiang was regarded to be the frontier in the west by Japan. Tadahiko Chuma, “*Shinkyō no Judaisei nitsuite*”, *Dai Ajia Shugi*, February 1934, p.47.

43 Juichiro Imaoka, “Tsuran • Bokyo • Kaikyosen wo Kakuho Seyo”, *Dai Ajia Shugi*, January 1938, p.32.

“Japan is accepted as the leader of Asia. If Japan really want to be the leader in practice, it has to reign the heart of Asia, the center of the Greater Asia as soon as possible, which plays a key role in terms of the fate of all Asia. I have been saying for a few years that Japan should follow up the route for its development, which is to traverse Inner Mongolia and bound to Xinjiang. I call it as Turan-Anticommintern-Islam triple line. To keep this line under control is also to carry out three state policies of Japan simultaneously, which are Turanism, anti-comminternism and Islamism. Accordingly, Xinjiang is so essential as a strategic position.

Xinjiang preserves its significance in terms of policies against the Soviet Union, China and the British Empire too. To wit, Japan can restrain China from the rear and can hit the Soviet Union from both Siberia, weakest point in east and Central Asia. Also against the British Empire, Xinjiang is very important to check India from the rear, which is the heart of British Empire, and to paralyze the defence of Singapore naval base, which is called the furthest of the impregnable fortress of the British-India. The independence of Xinjiang is also foreseen to arouse the same feelings among Asian minorities, who are both Muslim and Turanian people, against the European powers. So it would be a very big peril to both the Soviet Union and the British Empire. Shortly it is possible to hit three birds (Russia, Britain and China) with one stone (Turan-Anticommintern-Islam triple line).”

Essentially Turanism overlapped with Islam⁴⁴ and anti-commintern policies of Japan from the second half of 1930s. Xinjiang occupied very strategic position in Japanese diplomacy, the Greater Asianism. Besides if Japan managed to ascend the Muslim-Turanian people in North-western China, specifically Xinjiang, then both Indian-Muslims under British influence and Muslim-Turanian minorities in Central Asia under the Soviet Russian authority would be motivated for independence, which would be promising phenomenon for the *Greater Asianism*.

In particular, the Japanese-Chinese War, which broke out in 1937, weakened the influence of Chiang-Kaishek national government in North-western China and brought about an opportunity for the non-Han-Chinese, namely Muslim-Turanian people to riot

⁴⁴ See concerning Japanese Islam policy prior to World War II. Fujio Komura, *Nihon Isuramushi*, Nihon Isuramu Yuko Renmei, Japan, 1988; edited by Tsutomu Sakamoto, “*Nicchu Senso to Isuramu -Manmo Ajia Chiiki ni okeru Tochi • Kaiju Seisaku-*”, Keio Gijuku Daigaku Higashi Ajia Kenkyusho Soshu, Japan, 2008; and El-Mostafa Rezrazi, “Pan-Asianism and the Japanese Islam: Hatano Uho. From the Espionage to Pan-Islamist Activity”, *Annals of the Japan Association for Middle Eastern Studies*, No.12 (1997), p.89-112.

against the central administration. This was on the other hand, a chance for Japan, who was maneuvering to advance towards further west in Asian mainland.⁴⁵

“Muslims have been living in China for nearly 3 thousands years. The Muslims in China can be divided into three groups. One is those who are Han-Chinese Muslims and called “KaiKai (回々)”. The other one is Dungan who are originally Turkic people, but chinified and called Han-Chinese Muslims (漢回). The last one is turban-wrapped people (纏回) who are originally Turkic and live in Southern-Xinjiang. Among them, Dungan people, who live in Ningxia, Gansu, Qinghai, Xinjiang and turban-wrapped people in Southern-Xinjiang are the most nationalistic. Accordingly they are innately against the Soviet Union and Han-Chinese in terms of religion, race and even politics. Actually this is the common point with Japan. Finally anti-Han-Chinese Muslims have been fighting for founding Independent Islam Government of the North-western China.”

There was another reason for Japan to keep North-western region of China under control, which was the Soviet aid to Chiang Kaishek’s national government. Japanese army flung back the Chinese national army and reached through the South-China. But it still couldn’t break down the resistance of Chiang Kaishek. Army authors thought that Soviet assistance via North-western China route to Chinese soldiers played a vital role in this hold out. Thus dominance of the “Chiang Aid Route” was indispensable.⁴⁶

“There are two external ways of material support to Chiang Kaishek. One is conducted by British and French via French Indo-China and the other one is conducted by the Soviet Union via Central Asia and Xinjiang. The latter is called the “communist route (red aid route)”. The former by seaport in the south should be left to our fleet, which is unrivaled and elite.

The Soviet aid is not only munitions, but it is also an ideological toxin, called communism, which gets into East Asia. Actually this is exactly what the Soviet Union is planning about East Asian region, namely to communize it. The latter aid way should be controlled as soon as possible to guarantee the long-term strategy for both the nation and East Asia. To answer what should be done then, I believe that the Turan-Anticommintern-Islam triple line should be completed as swiftly as possible, like I mentioned previously.

45 Juichiro Imaoka, “Wa ga Tairiku Seisaku no Kikan”, *Dai Ajia Shugi*, January 1939, p.8.

46 Ibid, p.5.

Here is my suggestion that the North-western Self-Governing Islam State be established following Manchukuo Empire and Mongolia-Xinjiang Self Governing State. Thus comes out an East Asian Anti-commintern Federation, which would be the enclosure of the Greater East Asia Community conceived by Japan. By this way, it is also possible to make direct contact with both Central and Western Asian Muslims. So-called North-western Self-Governing Islam State, centered in Xinjiang, is assumed to be the shortest and best territory to tie Far East and Middle East and also Japan and Muslim regions. It would also be the least resistant barrier to break through and advance to further west.”

In sum, Japan aimed at establishing an autonomous government under its influence in North-western China. It would enable not only to hinder communism from infiltrating into East Asia, but also allowed Japan to have close relations with Muslims in Central and Western Asia for the future.

CONCLUSION

Relevant articles in *Dai Ajia Shugi* were mainly written by Juichiro Imaoka. It is very natural that he contributed nearly all of the Turanic writings as a central figure in Japanese Turanism. However although there were notable people in the editorial staff of the journal such as Iwane Matsui, Ichiro Tokutomi (Tokutomi Soho), Yasaburo Shimonaka, Takeyo Nakatani etc, who were some of the policy-makers of Japan at that time and also decided the publishing-policy of the journal, none of them discussed Turanism or even used the term in their contributions. This refers that Turanism was not a common ideology, in other words not advocated by the majority of people in Japan from perspective of *Dai Ajia Shugi*.

However, considering Turanism was a political ideology, it was in parallel with the diplomatic developments. Two phenomena from aspect of *Dai Ajia Shugi* are given here as example. Firstly the contents of the related contributions can be divided into two parts: before World War II broke out in Europe in 1939 and afterwards. It is a common knowledge that when the European powers embarked on a quarrel with each other, Japan was hankering for their colonies in Southeast Asia. Accordingly, the policy of "Land Advance" was suspended. Consequently the contents of the writings concerning Turan and Turanism in *Dai Ajia Shugi* was altered too. Before this development, it could be easily seen that the related articles included irredendist ideas, especially towards Inner and Outer Mongolia and Xinjiang. But later than the war, they were written in more scientific way. They were about the sub-ethnicities of Turan in different territories all over the world.

The other phenomenon was the object of othering in Turanism. To give a concrete example, the Anglo Saxon race played the villain's role in the first half of 1930s. It was assumed to be natural. Because that was the time that Japan had just seceded from the League of Nations and an aversion towards West, specifically Anglo-Saxons, rised. But it was replaced by the Soviet Union later than the anti-commintern pact in 1936.

There existed another remarkable detail that China was not accepted as a Turanian nation, in spite of the fact that it was a Turanic country in accordance with Hungarian Turanists. On the other hand this is also the proof that the definition of Turanism depends on the country in terms of the control of its usage as a construct.

Turanism in Japan overlapped with Islam and anti-commintern policies in the second half of 1930s and Xinjiang was the territory that these three policies converged. In reality, Japan aimed at advancing from Mongolia all the way west through Xinjiang to keep the whole North China under control. Xinjiang, in particular, was regarded to be the furthest frontier in the west.

It is easily seen that Importance of Xinjiang for Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity

Sphere was emphasized more than anywhere in the relevant writings of the journal from the second half of 1930s. Because by establishing a self-governing state in there, both the infiltration of capitalism from West and communism from the Soviet Union into East Asia would be hindered. Besides, connections with Muslim countries in West Asia would be made easier.

Although Japan made Chiang-Kaishek and his army retreat to the inner parts of China, it couldn't break down the resistance or knock down it. Outside aid was thought to be the reason for it. So, Japan was also planning to control North-western China to cut the "Red Aid Route", through which the Soviet Union military supplies were carried.

In sum, it is inferred that Turanism was a propaganda vehicle, adopted by a small number of people in Japan in pre-war period and during the war, which was used against Manchuria, Mongolia and Xinjiang, whose inhabitants were originally Turan originated. In accordance with Japanese Turanic notion, these regions stated above were where ancestors of Japanese people today used to live in ancient times and trying to get the control of the aforementioned territories was nothing than to go back native lands. So Turanism was basically the minority ideological means in Japan to cover the expansionist policy in North China by establishing historically corroborative argument.

Chronology of Articles Concerning Turanism in *Dai Ajia Shugi*

- 1-) Juichiro Imaoka, *"Tsuran Shugi yori Mitaru Manmo", Sokango, April 1933, p.10-18.
 - *"Tsuran no Reimei -Ajia no Runesansu-", June 1933, p.98-103.
 - *"Tsuran Minzoku to Tsuran Undo", January 1934, p.57-60.
 - *"Tsuran Undo to Fin-Ugoru Minzoku", March 1934, p.51-59.
 - *"Manmo no Shido Genri -Tsuranizumu-(I)", January 1936, p.29-36.
 - *"Kokusaku no Hoko to Tsuranizumu", March 1936, p.6-11.
 - *"Tsuran Minzoku Danketsu Seyo -Toyoteki Nogyo Bunmei Yogo no tameni-", August 1936, p.42-48.
 - *"Tsuran Minzoku to Sono Bunka -Minzoku no Kaiho wa Bunkashi no Kaitei yori-", September 1936, p.22-29.
 - *"Kitashi Jumin wa Hatashite Kanjinshu Nariya", October 1937, p.32-36.
 - *"Nisshi Jihen to Hangari Tsuran Domei no Sengen", November 1937, 49-51.
 - *"Tsuran-Bokyo-Kaikyosen Kakuho Seyo", January 1938, p.27-34.
 - *"Wa ga Tairiku Seisaku no Kikan", January 1939, p.5-11.
 - *"Kokasu no Minzoku Mondai to Tsuranizumu", May 1939, p.35-38.

- *“Eikoku no Tsuran Undokan”, August 1939, p.35-42.
- *“Oshu ni okeru Tsuran Minzoku”, September 1939, p.28-33.
- *“Tsuran Minzoku no Bunmei to Shukyo”, October 1939, p.30-34.
- *“Tsuran Minzoku no Chi no Kenkyu to Minzoku Jikaku no Mondai”, November 1939, p.25-29.
- *“Hangari Bunka no Seikaku -Attira no Dozo Kensetsu Keikaku to Teriki Shusho no Ajia Shiso-”, December 1939, p.26-30.
- *“Finzoku nitsuite”, January 1940, p.40-49.
- *“Higashi Finzoku nitsuite”, February 1940, p.14-21.
- *“Rappurando to Rappuzoku nitsuite”, March 1940, p.16-21.
- *“Higashi Ugoruzoku nitsuite”, April 1940, p.30-37.
- *“Toruko Minzoku Gaikan”, May 1940, p.34-41.
- *“Shiberia • Torukozoku”, June 1940, p.30-37.
- *“Shiberia • Torukozoku (Shozen)”, July 1940, p.30-36.
- *“Higashi Torukisutan • Torukozoku”, August 1940, p.20-25.
- *“Higashi Torukisutan • Torukozoku (Shozen)”, September 1940, p.18-24.
- *“Minzoku Hosaku ni kan suru Kosatsu”, October 1940, p.26-30.
- *“Nishi Torukisutan • Torukozoku”, November 1940, p.24-31.
- *“Nishi Torukisutan • Torukozoku (Shozen)”, December 1940, p.20-28.
- *“Voruga • Torukozoku”, January 1941, p.34-42.
- *“Kokkai Torukozoku”, February 1941, p.24-31.
- *“Iran • Torukozoku”, March 1941, p.22-28.
- *“Osuman • Torukozoku”, April 1941, p.34-41.
- *“Samoedo Minzoku”, May 1941, p.20-26.
- *“Oa wo Tsuranuku Tsuran wa hitotsu ya -Tsuran Minzoku no Bunkateki Rekishiteki Shimei-”, October 1941, p.12-15.
- *“Tsuran Hitotsu ya”, December 1941, p.17.

- 2-) Honkyokai Chosabu (Research Department of the Association), “Chuo Ajia no Genjo”, November 1933, p.86-87.
- 3-) Togami Komanosuke, “Shinkyō to Sumeru Minzoku nitsuite”, April 1934, p.54-60.
- 4-) Go Minoru, “Nihon Minzoku no Kigen to Fin Ugoru go nitsuite”, May 1934, p.45-54.
- 5-) Go Minoru, “Nihon Minzoku no Kigen to Fin Ugoru go nitsuite II”, July 1934, p.58-62.
- 6-) Kokoku Tsuran Domei no Messeji, “Dai Ajia Kensetsu no Michi”, August 1939, p.42-45.
- 7-) “Kokoku Tsuran Domei yori Oseieishi he no Messeji”, April 1940, p.26.