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dimensional, and the struggles and ways individual indigenous women and men coped with the rough waves of imperial racialization were not straightforward. Rather than highlighting Yayutz as an extraordinary indigenous woman, this project draws attention to the branches of experience of northern Tayal women who lived in the same period, and to the historical and social conditions that affected their individual and collective experiences. In doing so, it illuminates the plurality of borders in their lives, and also asks what made (and makes) Yayutz prominent.

How to decipher the biases within the documents remaining is a fundamental issue common to all historical research, but it is an even more serious issue for research seeking to write the historical experiences of people who did not leave their own records. In this paper, we use various materials which have not been fully explored, including textual materials, photographs, and maps, to illuminate the specific space in which Yayutz lived, and also extend our gaze further to the people who lived around her.

By viewing the empire through this indigenous women's' journey, I believe that we can deepen our perceptions of the complexities both of indigenous people's modernity and Japanese empire building.

## Rethinking Russia's Dual Citizenship Policy in the 1990s

## Nagashima Totu

In the 1990s, Russia pursued the facilitation of dual citizenship with other former Soviet countries. This policy enabled ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking populations living outside of Russia to acquire Russian citizenship as well as the citizenship of their present country of residence. Although Russia tried to conclude bilateral treaties on dual citizenship, most former Soviet countries rejected this proposal, fearing that Russian citizens in their countries would be an instrument for Russian meddling in their internal affairs. At the time, Russia's dual citizenship policy attracted scholarly attention, being construed as an opportunistic and self-righteous policy that Russia pursued after the disintegration of the USSR.

Recent academic research on citizenship policy, however, shows that many countries have been more tolerant toward dual citizenship since the 1990s. This tendency became salient in Europe in the early 1990s. In 1992, the European Parliament began studying dual citizenship issues by establishing the Committee of Experts on Multiple Nationality. The European Convention on Nationality that

concluded in 1997 required signatories to allow dual citizenship under certain conditions. According to an academic study, the percentage of countries in Europe and the Americas that accepted dual citizenship dramatically increased from one-third in 1990 to four-fifths in 2010. Considering these global trends in citizenship policy, we need to reassess Russia's dual citizenship policy in the 1990s not only in the context of the former Soviet space but also in comparison with the citizenship policies of other countries.

This article reexamines Russia's dual citizenship policy in the 1990s and emphasizes the following points.

First, given the variations in citizenship policies of different countries, Russia's dual citizenship policy was not unique. In 1991, Russia established its first citizenship law, which accepted dual citizenship only with those countries that had concluded a bilateral treaty on dual citizenship with Russia. Most former Soviet countries, however, displayed a negative attitude toward such treaties. This led Russia to amend the law in 1993, allowing applicants to acquire Russian citizenship without renouncing their former citizenship. In other words, this amendment enabled the Russian government to confer Russian citizenship on the citizens of other countries without concluding bilateral treaties. Compared with the citizenship policies of other countries, we argue that both elements of Russia's citizenship policy, that is, the citizenship law in 1991 and its amendment in 1993, can be found in other countries' policies and are not unique to Russia.

Second, the Russian government itself was divided in its approach to dual citizenship. The presidential administration, the main advocate of dual citizenship policy, was well aware of the trends of dual citizenship policy in Europe and referred to them when trying to persuade the former Soviet countries to conclude bilateral treaties on dual citizenship. However, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized the negative attitude of former Soviet countries toward dual citizenship and considered it impossible to conclude the treaties. The concerns of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs led to the 1993 amendment of the citizenship law, which enabled the Russian government to grant dual citizenship unilaterally. This schism between the presidential administration and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs remained even after the amendment of the citizenship law.

Third, although Russia's attempts to conclude treaties on dual citizenship failed, the amendment of the law in 1993 resulted in a number of dual citizens in post-Soviet space. Only Turkmenistan and Tajikistan concluded bilateral treaties on dual citizenship with Russia, but Russia unilaterally granted dual citizenship to citizens of other countries. As a result, a large number of former Soviet citizens acquired Russian citizenship without renouncing the citizenship of their country of residence and became dual citizens.