

Slavic-Eurasian Research Center 2025 Winter International Symposium

Great Power Competition and the Survival of Small and Middle Powers: Perspectives from Eurasia and Beyond

Date: December 4–5, 2025

Venue: Room 403, Slavic-Eurasian Research Center (SRC), Hokkaido University

Format: Hybrid (on site and online via Zoom webinar)

Day 1 (December 4)

Session 1

“Great Power Competition: Theory and Current Situation”

Speakers:

Hanna Samir Kassab is an Associate Professor of Political Science and Security Studies at East Carolina University. He teaches courses in national security, foreign policy and global politics. His most recent books *Post-Colonial Realism: Cultural Conflicts, Cuisine*, and the *Changing International System and Post-Cold War Predictions: Politicism in Practice* are published by Routledge. His journal articles include “Mackinder’s Heartland Thesis and the Belt and Road Initiative: Russia’s Growing Dependence on China in the Aftermath of the Ukraine War” in *AUSTRAL: Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations* and “Prestige, Humiliation and Saving Face: National Identity and Great Power Politics” in *Contemporary Military Challenges*.

Naoko Eto is a professor in the Department of Political Science at Gakushuin University and a senior fellow (Group Head, China) at the Institute of Geoeconomics. She is a member of several government committees, including the Expert Committee on Industrial and Technological Infrastructure Strengthening for Economic Security at the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), and the Customs and Foreign Exchange Council at the Ministry of Finance (MOF). Her primary research interests include contemporary Chinese politics and Japan-China relations. Prior to her current position, she held the role of associate senior research fellow at the Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization (IDE-JETRO). She holds an M.A. in international policy studies from Stanford University and a Ph.D. in political science from Keio University, which she obtained in 2013. She has held visiting fellowships at the School of International Studies, Peking University (2004–2005) and the East Asian Institute, Singapore National University (2019–2020), and has served as a

visiting senior fellow at the Mercator Institute for China Studies (2025.03-04).

Seiko Mimaki, Ph.D., is Professor at Graduate School of Global Studies, Doshisha University. She specializes in US diplomatic history and International Relations. She received her BA, MA, and Ph.D. from the University of Tokyo, and was a visiting fellow at Harvard University (2013–14), Johns Hopkins University (2014–15), Assistant Professor at Kansai Gaidai University (2015–17), Associate Professor at Takasaki City University of Economics (2017–22), Associate Professor at Doshisha University (2022-2025). Her publications include “Law Against Empire, or Law for Empire? – American Imagination and the International Legal Order in the Twentieth Century,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* (2021); *International Society in the Early Twentieth Century Asia-Pacific* (Routledge, co-authored, 2020); and “*Fragile Stability*” as a Political Background of October 7 (Springer, co-authored, 2025). She is an occasional contributor to the Asahi Shimbun and Yahoo! Japan News.

Discussant:

Hirotaka Watanabe, Ph.D., is Professor at Teikyo University and Professor Emeritus at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. He was Professor and Director of the Institute of International Relations at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Visiting Professor at the École des Hautes Études (Paris), the École Normale Supérieure de Lyon, the Institut d'Études Politiques de Bordeaux, and George Washington University. He was also President of the Franco-Japanese Association of Political Science, President of the Global Governance Association, Director of the International Commission on Historical Studies (CISH/ICHS), Minister for Public Diplomacy at the Japanese Embassy in France (2008-2010). His research interests include European international relations, French politics and diplomacy, European diplomatic history, and the US-European alliance. His publications, written in Japanese, include *France in the Age of Mitterrand* (Ashi Shobo, 1991, winner of the Shibusawa-Claudel Prize), *Cooperation and Conflict in the US-European Alliance* (Yuhikaku, 2008, runner-up for the Yoshino Sakuzo Prize), *Charles de Gaulle* (Keio University Press, 2013), and *Contemporary France* (Iwanami Shoten, 2015). His recent book is *Le Pen and the Age of Far-Right Populism: The Two Faces of "Janus"* (Hakusuisha, 2025, in Japanese).

Moderator:

Michitaka Hattori is Professor at the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center of Hokkaido University (since 2022). He is engaged in research on the economy and political processes in post-Soviet countries. His countries of interest are Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. His main research topics include economic geography, industrial policy, foreign trade, regional development, and international economic integration in these countries. His publications include *Wonderland Belarus: Far Away from*

Nationalism (2004, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, in Japanese); *Introducing the Russian Far East & Siberia in 70 Chapters* (2017, co-edited with Atsushi Yoshida, Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, in Japanese); *Introducing Belarus in 50 Chapters* (2017, co-edited with Go Koshino, Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, in Japanese); and *Introducing Ukraine in 65 Chapters* (2018, co-edited with Yoshinari Harada, Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, in Japanese).

For further details, see: <http://hattorimichitaka.g1.xrea.com> <https://www.hattorimichitaka.net>

Session 2

“The Agency and Strategies of Middle and Small Powers”

Speakers:

Kei Koga is Associate Professor/Head of Division at the Public Policy and Global Affairs Programme, School of Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University (NTU). Concurrently, he is a Nonresident Fellow at The National Bureau of Asia Research (NBR), the United States, and a member of RIPS Research Committee, the Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS), Japan. His research focuses on International Security, International/Regional Institutions (particularly ASEAN), and East Asian/Indo-Pacific security. Previously, he was Japan Scholar at the Wilson Center in 2022; visiting fellow at Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in 2017; a Japan-U.S. Partnership Fellow at the Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS), Tokyo, in 2012-2014; and Postdoctoral Fellow in the International Studies Program, The Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, in 2012-2013. He received his Ph.D. in International Relations at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. His recent publication includes *Japan's Grand Strategy: A Liminal Power in an Uncertain World* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming in 2026, with Saori Katada) and *Tactical Hedging as Coalition-Building Signal: The Evolution of Quad and AUKUS in the Indo-Pacific* (British Journal of Politics and International Relations, 2025).

Miras Zhiyenbayev is an Advisor to the Chairman of the Board for International Affairs and Initiatives at Maqsut Narikbayev University (MNU) in Astana, Kazakhstan. His work analyses the agency of middle powers in shaping international norms and navigating great-power competition. He is the author of *Widening the Scope: How Middle Powers Are Changing Liberal Institutionalism* (KazISS, 2023) and co-editor of *Kazakhstan 2023: Trends of Today and Outlines of Tomorrow* (KazISS, 2023 and 2024). Zhiyenbayev is a regular columnist for *The Astana Times*, and his research and commentary have appeared in a number of publications such as *The National Interest*, *The Atlanticist*, *Global Asia*, among others. He has written a set of articles for many leading publications for FPCI, GCSP, Elcano Royal Institute, RUSI, CIDOB and CHACR. Prior to his current position, he

was Senior Fellow and founding Head of the Foreign Policy and International Studies Programme at the MNU's Maqsut Narikbayev Institute for Networking and Development (MIND), which is the first university-based think-tank in the region. From 2022 to 2024, he served as a Leading Expert at the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies, the nation's pre-eminent think-tank, which operates under the auspices of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Tomohiko Uyama is Professor at the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center at Hokkaido University. His areas of expertise include Central Eurasian history, post-Soviet politics, and comparative imperialism. He is currently leading a project on the contemporary history of great power nationalism. He has edited numerous books, including *Comparing Modern Empires: Imperial Rule and Decolonization in the Changing World Order* (Sapporo, 2018), and *Asiatic Russia: Imperial Power in Regional and International Contexts* (London, 2012). His articles include "Between Essentialism and Multiple Identities: Central Asia as Part of the East, South and the World," *The Russian Sociological Review*, 22, no. 1 (2023, in Russian); "Unmasking Imperial History: Emotional Empire, Violent Politics of Difference, and Independence Movements under the Name of Autonomy," *Ab Imperio*, 2022, no. 1; "Why in Central Asia, Why in 1916? The Revolt as an Interface of the Russian Colonial Crisis and the World War," in *The Central Asian Revolt of 1916* (Manchester, 2020). In 2022, he was awarded the Dostyq Order of the Republic of Kazakhstan for his contributions to Kazakh history research.

Discussant:

Mie Oba is a professor at Kanagawa University. She obtained her M.A and Ph.D. at the University of Tokyo. Her major is International Relations, especially is focusing on Asian regionalisms empirically and theoretically. She was associate professor and professor at the Tokyo University of Science (2001-2020), and an Academic Associate, US-Japan Relationship Program at Harvard University (2006-2007). She has written a lot of articles and books, including "Japan and RCEP," in Fusanori Iwasaki, Keita Oikawa and Shujiro Urada eds., *Political Economy of East Asian Integration*, Routledge (2025), "Towards an equal partnership," *East Asia Forum*, Vol.15, No.3, 2023, "Japan's Quest for an Autonomous Role in East Asian Regionalism," Lam, Peng Er and Purnendra Jain, eds., *Japan's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: Continuity and Change*, Lexington Books/ Rowman& Littlefield, 2020, *Jusoteki-Chiiki toshiteno Ajia: Tairitsu to Kyozone no Kozu (Asia as a Multi-layered Region: Co-existence in Conflicts)*, Yuhikaku (2014), *Ajia Taiheiyō Chiiki Keisei heno Dotei: Kyōkai-Kokka Nichi-Go no Aidentiti Mosaku to Chiiki-Shugi (The Invention of the Asia Pacific Region: A History of Regionalism and Search for Identity by Japan and Australia as Liminal Nations)*, Minerva Shobo (2004). She was the Chairperson, Expert Panel for the 50th Year of ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation (until 2023.2).

Moderator:

Mirlan Bektursunov is a specially appointed assistant professor at the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, Hokkaido University, and National Institutes for the Humanities. He completed his PhD thesis in 2022 where he explored interactions between the Soviet regime's state and institution-building policies and nomadic Kyrgyz society, titled "Building of 'Nomadic Socialism': State and Society in the Making of Soviet Kyrgyzstan." His works, published in Japanese, English, and Russian, include, among other things, "Two parts—one whole? Kazakh–Kyrgyz relations in the making of Soviet Kyrgyzstan, 1917–24," *Central Asian Survey*, 42/1 (2023): 109–126, "Making of Soviet Kyrgyzstan: Rise and Development of Kyrgyz Political Elites' Nationalism in the Early Soviet Period," *Surabu Kenkyu*, no. 66 (2019): 25–53 (in Japanese), "The Rise of the 'Lineage Proletariat': The Soviet State's Class Policy and Kyrgyz Lineage Society in the 1920s," *Ab Imperio*, no. 1, 2024, 97-125. Currently, he is working on his first monograph, which is based on his doctoral thesis. The monograph will broadly focus on the convergence and evolution of traditional institutions among Central Asia's nomads under the institutional impositions of the Russian imperial and Soviet regimes.

Session 3

"Structural and Qualitative Changes in International Relations"

Speakers:

Ayşe Zarakol is Professor of International Relations at the University of Cambridge, where she is also a Politics Fellow affiliated with Emmanuel College. The main themes of Zarakol's research are East-West relations and social hierarchies in world politics, problems of modernity and sovereignty, rising and declining powers, history and future of international order. She is the author of *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (Cambridge UP, 2011) and *Before the West: The Rise and Fall of Eastern World Orders* (Cambridge UP, 2022), and the editor of *Hierarchies in World Politics* (Cambridge UP, 2017). *Before the West* has won six awards, including the SSHA and ISA annual best book prizes. In 2023, Zarakol was awarded the 8th Rahmi M. Koç Medal of Science in Turkey (and the first one in International Relations). In 2024, she was elected to fellowship in the British Academy and the Academia Europea. Also in 2024, she received an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Copenhagen. At the moment, Zarakol is overseeing an international research collaboration on Global Disorder funded by a British Academy Knowledge Frontiers Grant. She is also one of the two Associate Editors of International Organization. Her next book, *Ozymandias*, is a world history of strongmen, aimed at a general audience. This book is under contract with William Collins (UK) and Grove Atlantic (US).

Selbi Durdıyeva is a Visiting Scholar at Nottingham Law School and Teaching Fellow at the College

of Law, Anthropology and Politics, SOAS, University of London. Selbi obtained her PhD in Law at the Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster. She is a former Alliance for Historical Dialogue and Accountability (AHDA) Fellow, the Institute for the Study of Human Rights, Columbia University and Nizami Ganjavi Centre Visiting Fellow, Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Oxford. She held postdoctoral positions at the ‘Postcolonial Hierarchies in Peace and Conflict’ project, University of Marburg, Germany, and a Research Assistantship at Nottingham Law School. Her research interests lie in decoloniality, transitional justice, human rights and humanitarian law, and socio-legal approaches. She authored a monograph, *The Role of Civil Society in Transitional Justice: The Case of Russia*, published by Routledge (2024) and several other peer-reviewed publications.

Maria Mälksoo is Professor of International Relations at the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen. She is the Principal Investigator of the European Research Council’s Consolidator Grant RITUAL DETERRENCE (2022-2027) and an Associate Editor of *Review of International Studies* (CUP). Her research foci are in critical security studies and memory politics, with a focus on eastern Europe. She is the author of *The Politics of Becoming European: A Study of Polish and Baltic Post-Cold War Security Imaginaries* (Routledge, 2010); a co-author of *Remembering Katyn* (Polity, 2012); the editor of the JIRD Special Issue “Uses of ‘the East’ in International Studies: provincializing IR from Central and Eastern Europe” (2022), the *Handbook on the Politics of Memory* (Edward Elgar, 2023) and the forthcoming Global Studies Quarterly Special Forum *Ritual Action in World Politics*. Most recently, she has published a co-edited book *The Politics of Memory Laws: Russia, Ukraine and Beyond* (Hart Bloomsbury 2025). Her articles are available at <https://researchprofiles.ku.dk/en/persons/maria-m%C3%A4lksoo/publications/>

Discussant:

Yuichi Hosoya, Ph.D., is Professor of international politics at Keio University, Tokyo, and Director of Keio Center for Strategy. Professor Hosoya is also the Director of Research at the Asia-Pacific Initiative (API), Tokyo. He was a member of Prime Minister’s Advisory Panel on Reconstruction of the Legal Basis for Security (2013-14), and Prime Minister’s Advisory Panel on National Security and Defense Capabilities (2013). Professor Hosoya studied international politics at Rikkyo (BA), Birmingham (MIS), and Keio (Ph.D.). He was a visiting professor and Japan Chair (2009–2010) at Sciences-Po in Paris (Institut d’Études Politiques), a visiting fellow (Fulbright Fellow, 2008–2009) at Princeton University and Visiting Fellow at Downing College, the University of Cambridge (2021–2022). His research interests include the postwar international history, British diplomatic history, Japanese foreign and security policy. His recent publications include *Security Politics: Legislation for a New Security Environment* (Tokyo: JPIC, 2019); *History, Memory & Politics in Postwar Japan* (Co-editor, Lynne Rienner: Boulder, 2020); *Modern Japan’s Place in the World* (Co-editor; Springer,

2023); and *The Transformation of the Liberal International Order: Evolutions and Limitations* (Co-editor; Springer, 2023). His comments often appear at major international and Japanese media.

Moderator:

Akihiro Iwashita is Professor at the Slavic Eurasian Research Center, Hokkaido University. His research covers the Sino-Russian borderlands and the Japan-Russia "Northern Territories" issue. He has authored and edited several books and numerous articles, including *Geo-Politics in Northeast Asia* (London: Routledge, 2023), *Japan's Border Issues: Pitfalls and Prospects* (London: Routledge, 2017), *Introduction to Border Studies: Territory, Sovereignty and Ideology* (Tokyo: Chuko Shinsha, 2016, in Japanese), and *Japanese Northern Territorial Issues: Neither Four nor Zero, nor Two* (Tokyo: Chuokoron shinsha, 2005, in Japanese). His edited volumes include *Border Tourism* (Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2017, in Japanese) and *Phobia for Territory: Debunking Myths of Border Nationalism* (Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2014, in Japanese).

Day 2 (December 5)

Session 4

“Conflicting Strategies of Great and Middle Powers before and during World War II”

Speakers:

Fumio Kumamoto is Professor at Komazawa University. His areas of expertise include Japanese diplomatic history, particularly during the interwar period between Japan and China. He has recently received substantial funding (KAKEN-HI: 科研費) from the Japanese Ministry of Education for a team research project that he is leading, “Clarifying the causes and process of the disintegration of the peaceful international order through an analysis of the impact of the Manchurian Incident”. He has published several single-authored books: *The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere of Foreign Ministry Bureaucrats*, Shincho-sensho, (Tokyo, 2025, in Japanese), *Shidehara Kijuro*, Chuko-Shinsho, (Tokyo, in Japanese, 2021), *Reading Diplomatic Documents of Modern Japan*, Minerva-shobo, (Kyoto, 2020, in Japanese), *Japanese Cultural Diplomatic Policy toward China in Interwar Period*, Yoshikawa Kobunkan, (Tokyo, 2013, in Japanese). He has also co-edited a book titled *Documents on the Administrative System of Public Records in Modern Japan*, Iwata-shoin, (Tokyo, 2009, in Japanese). His articles include “The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Interwar Period: The Significance of the Establishment of the Asian Affairs Bureau and Its Diplomacy towards China,” *Komazawa Shigaku*, vol. 83, pp. 91-114 (Tokyo, 2014, in English); “The Organizational Reform of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Its Diplomacy toward China in Interwar Period: The Significance of the Establishment of the Asian Affairs Bureau”, *International Relations*, vol. 168, pp.1-15 (Tokyo, 2021, in Japanese). In 2025, he was awarded the Kashiwama Junzo Award for his above book, *The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere of Foreign Ministry Bureaucrats*.

Marek Kornat is Professor at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences. Historian, doctor degree (the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, 2000), habilitation degree in the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (2005) and Professor since 2015. Employed at the Law Faculty of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw (since 2008) and in Polish Academy of Sciences. The main objects of his research areas are: (1) Polish foreign policy, international politics in the interwar era (1918-1939), (2) Sovietology; (3) international relations in twentieth centuries. The author of several books on international affairs and Polish foreign policy, especially in German: *Polen zwischen Hitler und Stalin. Studien zur polnischen Außenpolitik in der Zwischenkriegszeit* (2012) and in English: *Poland and the Origins of the Second World War. A Study in Diplomatic History (1938-1939)* (2021).

Tomoyuki Hanada is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Military History, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) in Tokyo. He was a Visiting Fellow of the Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow from 2015 to 2016. His major is the Russian Diplomatic and Security History. He is particularly studying the Stalin's Far Eastern strategy, the Nomonhan Incident in 1939, the Soviet entry into the war against Japan in August 1945, and the Soviet leaders' perceptions of Japan. He wrote some articles, including "The Soviet Far Eastern Strategy and International Order," *2020 NIDS International Forum on War History: Proceedings*, February (2022); "The Soviet Military Leadership's Perceptions of Japan during World War II," *Security & Strategy*, Volume 1, January (2021); "The Soviet Military Offensive in Manchuria and the Collapse of Japanese Empire in August 1945," *Senshi Kenkyu Nenpo* [NIDS Military History Studies Annual], No. 22 (2019); "The Nomonhan Incident and the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact," *Fifteen Lectures on Showa Japan*, Japan Publishing Industry Foundation for Culture (2016).

Discussant:

Nobuo Tajima is Professor Emeritus at Seijo University in Tokyo. His research areas include the history of National Socialism, the history of intelligence, and German-East Asian relations. He is currently studying the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany (BRD), the German Democratic Republic (DDR) and East Asia during the Cold War. His major publications include: *National Socialist Foreign Policy and 'Manchukuo'* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1992; *Nazi Germany and Republican China, 1933–1937* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 2013; *German Foreign Policy and East Asia, 1989–1945* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 2024. He has edited the following books: *Japan and Germany: Two Latecomers to the World Stage, 1890–1945* (three volumes, co-edited with Akira Kudo and Erich Pauer, published in English), Folkestone, 2009; *The Sino-Japanese War in International Relations* (co-edited with Shigeo Nishimura and Noriyuki Ishijima, published in Japanese), Tokyo, 2011; *A History of Japanese-German Relations after the Second World War* (co-edited with Akira Kudo, published in Japanese, Tokyo, 2014); *Mutual Perceptions and Images in Japanese-German Relations, 1860–2010* (co-edited with Akira Kudo and Sven Saaler, published in English), Leiden, 2017.

Moderator:

David Wolff is Professor of Eurasian History at the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center of Hokkaido University and a former director of the Cold War International History Project in Washington, DC. He is author of *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898-1914* (Stanford, 1999), (Kodansha, 2010) as well as coeditor of the two-volume *World War Zero: A Global History of the Russo-Japanese War* (2005; 2008), *Russia's Great War and Revolution in the Far East* (2018) and *Sugihara Chiune and the Soviet Union* (2022). He is currently working on a shorter history of Sino-Russian relations under contract to Cambridge University Press.

Session 5

“Russian Neo-Imperialism and the Reactions It Evokes”

Speakers:

Alicja Curanović is Professor at the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Warsaw, she holds a PhD in political science. Her main research interests include Russian foreign policy, the role of religion in international relations, identity and status, and political messianism. She has conducted research at, among others, Harvard University, Columbia University, Stanford University, NYU, the University of Helsinki, the Russian State University for the Humanities, and MGIMO. Her articles have appeared in journals such as *International Relations*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *The Russian Review*, *Politics and Religion*, *Nationalities Papers*, and *Religion, State and Society*. Her most recent monograph is *The Sense of Mission in Russian Foreign Policy: Destined for Greatness!* (Routledge, 2021).

Hiromi Komori is Professor of Waseda University. She specializes in modern history of Estonia and her recent research interests include the relationship between Estonia and Russia during the Perestroika era, historical perception and politics in post-socialist countries. She is the author of *Politics and Historical Perception of Estonia* (2009, in Japanese); "A Border Town and Migration: The Case of Narva and Russian Speakers in Estonia," in Stefan Berger and Nobuya Hashimoto eds., *Borders in East and West: Transnational and Comparative Perspectives*, Berghahn: New York, Oxford (2022, co-author: Nobuya Hashimoto)

Mitsuharu Akao, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor at the National Museum of Ethnology. His fields of research are Area Studies (the former Soviet Union, especially Ukraine and Russia), Jewish history and culture in Eastern Europe and Russia. His works include *Challenges of Ukrainian Culture: Beyond Turbulent Times* (ed., in Japanese), Genki-Shobo, 2025; "Еврейский вопрос" как русский: Общественное движение русских писателей в защиту евреев в последние десятилетия царской России, in *Beyond the Empire: Images of Russia in the Eurasian Cultural Context*, 21st Century COE Program Slavic Eurasian Studies, 2008; "A New Phase in Jewish-Ukrainian Relations? Problems and Perspectives in the Ethno-Politics over the Hasidic Pilgrimage to Uman," *East European Jewish Affairs*, 37(2), pp.137-155; "Hasidic Pilgrimage to Uman, Past and Present: The Ambiguous Centrality of a Jewish Sacred Place in Ukraine," *Jews & Slavs*, 11, pp.121-151.

Discussant:

Yoko Hirose, Ph.D., is Professor at the Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University, and Deputy Director of Keio University Global Research Institute (KGRI). She graduated with a Bachelor of Arts

degree from the Faculty of Policy Management at Keio University before earning a master's degree from the Graduate Schools for Law and Politics at the University of Tokyo, where she also pursued doctoral studies. She later received her Ph.D. in Media and Governance from Keio University. Professor Hirose specializes in international politics and regional studies, with a particular focus on the former Soviet Union. Since 2008, she has served on numerous government committees, including as an advisor to Japan's National Security Secretariat (NSS) from 2018 to 2020. She has also served as an advisor to multiple foreign governments. In recognition of her outstanding academic contributions, she was awarded the Keio University Prize in 2023. She is the author of *Crossroads of Caucasian International Relations* (2008, Shueisha Shinsho), which received the 25th Special Prize for Asia-Pacific Studies from the Asian Affairs Research Council of Japan, as well as numerous other books. Her recent works include *Unrecognized States and the World without Hegemony* (2014, NHK Books) and *Hybrid Warfare: Russia's New National Strategy* (2021, Kodansha Shinsho).

Moderator:

Yoko Aoshima is a professor at the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, Hokkaido University. Her recent research interests concern Russia's western borderlands at the turn of the twentieth century. In recent years, in response to the war in Ukraine, she has published essays on historical and historiographical overviews in Japanese. She is the editor of *Entangled Interactions between Religion and National Consciousness in Central and Eastern Europe* (Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2020) and co-editor (with Darius Staliūnas) of *The Tsar, the Empire, and the Nation: Dilemmas of Nationalization in Russia's Western Borderlands, 1905-1915* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2021).

Session 6

“India and Turkey Seek Great Power Status”

Speakers:

Kazuya Nakamizo is a Professor at the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University, Japan. He specialises in South Asian socio-political research, with an emphasis on the relationship between poverty, violent conflict, and democracy. His publications include: *Violence and Democracy: The Collapse of One-Party Dominant Rule in India*, Kyoto and Victoria: Kyoto University Press and Trans Pacific Press, 2020; ‘From Silent to Authoritarian Revolution Modi, Hindu Rashtra and the Paradox of Indian Democracy’, *The Journal of Indian and Asian Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2024; ‘Vigilantism and the Making of “New India”: Changing Strategies in Hindutva's Repertoire of Violence, in Chanwahn Kim and Misu Kim (eds), *Great Transition in India: Issues and Debates*, Singapore: World Scientific, pp. 7-32; ‘The Politics of Obedience: The BJP System and the 2020 Bihar State Assembly Election’, *Asian Studies*, vol. 67, no. 2, 2021; ‘Dismantling Democracy: The 2019

Indian General Election and the Formation of the “BJP System””, *Asian Studies*, vol. 66, no. 2, 2020. He was awarded the 2013 The Japan Consortium for Area Studies Award for Research Project and 2012 Asia-Pacific Award Special Prize.

M. Hakan Yavuz is a political science professor at the University of Utah. His current projects focus on transnational Islamic networks in Central Asia and Turkey, the role of Islam in state-building and nationalism, ethnic cleansing and genocide, and ethno-religious conflict management. Yavuz received his early education in Ankara, Turkey, and graduated with a B.A. from Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, Ankara. He earned his M.A. from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, spent a semester at the Hebrew University in Israel (1990), and completed his Ph.D. in political science at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1998. M. Hakan Yavuz has published several books: *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (Oxford University Press, 2003); *Muslim Democracy and Secularism in Turkey* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); *Nostalgia for the Empire: The Politics of Neo-Ottomanism* (Oxford University Press, 2020); *Erdogan: The Making of an Autocrat* (Edinburgh University Press, 2022); and *The Torn Republic: Turkey's Search for Civilizational Identity* (Oxford University Press, 2026, in press). Yavuz has received numerous fellowships, including the MacArthur Fellowship, the University of California Fellowship, the Tanner Humanities Center Fellowship, and the ANU Social Science Fellowship in 2025. Yavuz has received Superior Research and Teaching Awards from the University of Utah. He has conducted extensive fieldwork in Turkey, Bosnia, Azerbaijan, the Fergana Valley, and Uzbekistan to study the relationship between Islam and modernity, secularism and religion, and the transformation of state identity. He has authored over 60 articles on Islam, nationalism, the Kurdish question, and modern Turkish politics. He is an editorial board member of the *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* and *The Middle East Critique*.

Fumiko Sawae is Professor at Faculty of Global Studies, Sophia University, Tokyo. She completed her Ph.D. dissertation on the evolution of the Milli Görüş movement and its affiliated political parties up to the early period of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), focusing on their contentious interactions with the Kemalist tutelary regime in Turkey (Doctor of Sociology, Hitotsubashi University). Since then, her primary academic interests have encompassed state-religion relations, secularism, Islamism, and minority rights in modern Turkey. Her research interests also encompass the issue of Western-centrism within non-Western countries and the global normative sphere, with particular emphasis on its implications for Islamophobia and "South-South relations." Her publications in English include the following: Sawae, F. (2020). Populism and the Politics of Belonging in Erdoğan's Turkey. *Middle East Critique*, 29(3), 259-273; Sawae, F. (2022). The Failure of Islamism as a Postcolonial Challenger?: The Implications of S. Sayyid's Argument for the Turkish Case. *SIAS Working Paper Series*, 38, 61-97; Sawae, F. (2017). The Condition of the Post-Kemalist Public Sphere

in Turkey. *Sophia Journal of Asian, African, and Middle Eastern Studies*, (35), 181-201.

Discussant:

Chiharu Takenaka is Former Professor of International Politics and Asian Politics at Graduate School and College of Law and Politics, Rikkyo University (2008-2022). She served as President for the Japan Association for Asian Studies in 2013-2015 and the Peace Studies Association of Japan in 2020-2021. Currently, she teaches several courses at Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, Faculty of Global Studies, Sophia University, Rikkyo Second Stage College, and others. She is Associate Member of Science Council of Japan, Trustee of The Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute, Board Member of NHK Foundation, and Chair of the Academic Prize Selection Committee for Fukuoka Prize. Her writings cover the fields of International Politics, South Asian Studies, and Gender Studies, including *Why are there always Fights in the World? To Untie the Chain of Violence* (Tokyo, 2004, in Japanese and Korean), *The Bandit History of India: Empire, the State and Outlaws* (Tokyo, 2010, in Japanese), awarded the Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize in 2011, and *Gandhi, a Man Spinning Peace* (Tokyo, 2018, in Japanese). She translated earlier works of Subaltern Studies and published *Subaltern History: Deconstructing Indian History* (Tokyo, 1998, in Japanese).

Moderator:

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