

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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1st semester

CONTEMPORARY STATES AND THEIR POLITICAL DYNAMICS

As is appropriate for an introductory discipline taken at the beginning of a Law degree, our focus will be placed on both themes and concepts developed by contemporary Political Science – namely, ones related to the hybrid national and international conjunctures in which we find ourselves. The general focal theme is the one given in the title. As your aim is not to become political scientists, but rather jurists, I make no attempt to initiate you into the ‘professional mechanics’ of the subject-matters. This does not, however, signify I approach the topics with a lesser ambition: it does mean, however, that more than a mere introduction to methods and notions of Political Science, I shall endeavour to offer you a detailed take on some of the most important political issues around us in the light of the discipline. The point of application of my efforts are the modern States (whether democratic or not) and their many ongoing reconfigurations. The finality I pursue is easy to spell: to offer you a useful set of interpretations of a reality which is of the outmost interest for future jurists. I do so step by step. In every case, I introduce you to a variety of perspectives on the same themes.

Each session has a title, a summary and a bibliography. Sessions are also clustered into sets, which in turn ‘narratively’ follow each other. The aim is to make the student cognizant with much of the scope of what has been produced in the last few years that may be of interest to his or her understanding of both law and politics. I always try to do so by digging deep into basic political categories and concepts – and always dwelling into how these get tweaked by global processes of ever more robust interdependence. An interdisciplinary streak thus unavoidably permeates an effort such as this one. Understandably, particular care is taken with methodological and theoretical aspects of the discipline.

The Program is organized into four major sections, or rather, an Introduction and three sections (I call the latter Parts). As noted, these follow a sequence, which is both a narrative one and one of increasing conceptual complexity. The Introduction, as it is designed for future jurists, maps out concepts and crucial notions relevant in Political Science theory; it consists of

two subsets, linked to the chosen topic of the semester. The three following Parts include, in order, a series of analyses of some of the most important ‘live fronts’ of contemporary State political dynamics.

For each session there is a must-read bibliography. At the end, added a few more references which are optional. All texts listed are either available at the links provided below references, in the Library, or free for download at the sites indicated.

Students will present short written papers on one of the topics of the Program below. A final exam determines the minimal final classification obtained, which the quality of the paper presented may ameliorate.

Note that while the first six sessions of the Program are “magisterial lectures”, the latter ones include a small presentation of the theme by selected groups of students, followed by discussions around them. In terms of Faculty rules there is an obligatory final exam. Both for the exam and the short papers that will serve as the bases for discussions in the second part of the Program, evaluation will depend on clarity in the use of Political Science concepts used and discussed (40%), on knowledge of the examples treated (20%), and on the creativity displayed (40%).

INTRODUCTION

MODERN STATES AND THEIR ONGOING TRANSFORMATIONS

THE MOVING CIRCUMSCRIPTION OF OBJECTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE STUDIES (1)

Political Science and its objects and disciplinary borders: neighbourhoods, subsets, and contrasts. State and power. State, power and society. The various disciplinas which look at politics. Political Science and Law. Contemporary reformulations of the objects of Political Science: new political communities and frontiers.

Fukuyama, Francis (2011), *The Origins of Political Order*, Profile Books.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie (2004), *A New World Order*, Princeton University Press.

Strange, Susan (2000), “The declining authority of states”, in (eds.) D. Held e A. McGrew, *The Global Transformations Reader*: 148-156, Polity; original 1996, chapter 1, *The Retreat of the State. The diffusion of power in the world economy*, Cambridge University Press.

Held, David, et al. (1999), “The territorial state and global politics”, in D. Held, A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt, e D. Perraton, *Global Transformations. Politics, Economy and Culture*: 32-87, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Linklater, Andrew (1998), “The changing context of the modern State” e “Theorising the reconfiguration of political community”, in *The Transformation of Political Community*: 27-46, Polity, Cambridge.

Freitas do Amaral, Diogo (1998), *História das Ideias Políticas*, vol.1: 15-31, Almedina, Lisboa.

HISTORICAL MODELS OF BOTH FORMATION AND STRUCTURING OF POWER, THE STATE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND NATIONAL FEELINGS (2)

From Empire to the Respublica Christiana to the Peace of Westphalia as a kernel to a structural change in international order. The creation of modern international society and the international state system. The historical roles of economics and power in the processes of European state formation. Decolonization and the export of the European model. Europe and the rest of the world: thinkability of nationalist feelings.

Fukuyama, Francis (2014), *Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Hansen, Birthe (2002), “Globalization and European State Formation 1900-2000”, *Cooperation and Conflict. Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 37 (3): 303-321, Copenhagen.

Skinner, Quentin (1997), “The State” in Goodin, Rober & Pettit, Philip, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: an anthology*, Oxford: Blackwel, pp.3-27.

Tilly, Charles (1992), “Lineages of the national state”, “Six salient questions”, chapter5 and last section of chapter 6, *Coercion, Capital, and*

European States, AD 990-1992: 127-161 and 187-192, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Anderson, Benedict (1991), *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, Verso, London e New York.

Sabine, George H (1950), *A History of Political Theory*, New York: Henry Holt and Company.

STATES, ‘NATION-STATES’, AND THEIR COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD (3)

Modern and post-modern states face globalization. The export and persistence of a model. The end of the Cold War and the direct and indirect challenges that spells for contemporary states. State-power transformations: limits and scopes. The news formats of power. The future of the classical “Westphalian” model. The insufficiency of traditional formulae and the emerge of new political forms with globalization.

Malesevic, Sinisa (2018), “ Do national identities exist?”, Social Space Journal, in socialspace.eu, also doenloadable at academia.edu

Kaplan, Robert D., (2010), *Monsoon. The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power*, Random House, New York.

Marques Guedes, Armando (2002), “O funcionamento do Estado em época de globalização: o transbordo e as cascatas do poder”, *Nação e Defesa* 101, 2ª série: 99-137, Instituto de Defesa Nacional, Lisboa.

Wolf, Martin (2001), “Will the nation-state survive globalization?”, *Foreign Affairs* 80, 1: 178-191, New York.

Mann, Michael (1999, original 1997), “Has globalization ended the rise and rise of the nation-state?”, in (ed.) T. V. Paul e J. A Hall, *International Order and the Future of World Politics: 237-262*, Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, Anthony (1999), *Runaway World. How globalisation is reshaping our lives*, Profile Books, London.

WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF NEW COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES ON POLITICS? (4)

New communication technologies (NCTs) and democracy. The utopian view. The dystopian view. Do NCTs bring about democracy? The Egyptian 2011 revolution and Facebook, twitter, and Google. Mobile telephones SMSs and the Moldovan, Iranian, and Filipino uprisings. WikiLeaks. Is there really an ongoing Internet Revolution? The limits of these recent models.

Snyder, Timothy (2018), “Cyberfascism”; downloadabke at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gAObqEu_tbg

Veilleux-Lepage, Yannick (2015), “Paradigmatic Shifts in Jihadism in Cyberspace”, draft, ECPR, retrieved in *academia.edu*, Aug 24, chrome-extension://mloajfmjckfjbeeofcdaecbelnbliden/http://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/38556788/Retweeting_the_Caliphate_draft_ECPR_Aug_24.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAJ56TQJRTWSMTNPEA&Expires=1441718284&Signature=F9DPVAw7Khk56Z8IH4v%2BYLOBheM%3D

Lino Santos and Armando Marques Guedes (2015), “Breves reflexões sobre o poder e o ciberespaço”, *Revista de Direito e Segurança*, 6, pp.189-209, Lisboa.

El-Khalili, Sara (2013), “Social media as a government propaganda tool in post-revolutionary Egypt” *First Monday*, vol 18, no 3, March <http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/rt/prINTERfriendly/4620/3423>^[1]_{SEP}[doi: 10.5210/fm.v18i3.4620](https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v18i3.4620)

Benkler, Yochai (2011), “A Free Irresponsible Press. Wikileaks and the Battle Over the Soul of the Networked Fourth Estate”, CRCL Working Paper Feb. 8, Harvard Law School (google it, by title).

Morozov, Evgeny (2011), *The Net Delusion. The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*, Public Affairs, New York.

Yardi, Sarita and danah boyd (2010), “Tweeting from the Town Square. Measuring Geographic Local Networks”, (google it, by title).

Shirky, Clay (2009), *Here Comes Everybody. The Power of Organizing Without Organizations*, Allen Lane, Penguin Books.

Zittrain, Jonathan (2008), *The Future of the Internet and How to Stop It*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London.

Sunstein, Cass (2007), *Republic.com 2.0*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

Part 1

MODERN STATES, POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND REGIMES, POWER AND LEGITIMATION

THE UNDERPININGS OF POLITICAL INDIVIDUALISM (5)

Locke and the growth of a Theory of Property. Liberty and Autonomy, the Negative Liberty of Isaiah Berlin. The classical liberalism of Friederich Hayek. John Rawls and the liberal theory. Liberals and libertarians – the timely contention with Robert Nozick.

Berlin, Isaiah (1998), “Two Concepts of Freedom” [“Dois Conceitos de Liberdade” in “A Busca do Ideal”, Lisboa, Bizâncio].

Gray, John (1995), *Liberalism*, University of Minnesota Press, [trad. Portuguesa. *O Liberalismo*, Lisboa: Estampa].

Nozick, Robert (1974), *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, New York, Basic Books.

Rawls, John (1971), “Justice as Fairness”, chapter in “A Theory of Justice”, Harvard University Press.

Hayek, Friederich August von (1960), *The Constitution of Liberty*, Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press.

COMUNITARISMS AND MODERN STATES (6)

The claim of a primacy of political community over the “liberal abstraction”. Charles Taylor and the critique of “atomism”. The need for virtue in Alasdair MacIntyre. Michael Sandel and the “unencumbered self” of liberal theory. Spheres of justice in Michael Walzer. Self- and auto-referential communitarisms: the problem of Human Nature.

Sandel, Michael (2012), *What Money Can't buy: The Moral Limits of Markets*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York.

Walzer, Michael (2007), *Thinking Politically*, Yale University Press.

Kymlica, Will (2002), *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mulhall, S., and **Swift**, A. (1996), *Liberals and Communitarians*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2nd edition.

THE NEW *LOCCI* OF POWER AND DEMOCRATIC STATES: THE EUROPEAN EXAMPLE (7)

Reductions in the role of states with the process of European integration: na atypical example? Francisco Lucas Pires and the “overflow of power”. Internal and external conjunctures and the revisions of sovereignty. The emergence of a federal model? A theoretical reflexion and a set of proposals.

Marques Guedes, Armando e **Francisco Pereira Coutinho** (2007), “O Processo de Integração Europeia e a Constituição Portuguesa”, *Nação e Defesa*, 115: 83-112, Instituto de Defesa Nacional.

Lucas Pires, Francisco (1997), *Introdução ao Direito Constitucional Europeu*, Almedina, Coimbra.

STATES IN AFRICA, THE THIRD WAVE OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS AND ‘QUASI- DEMOCRATIC STATES’ (8)

Post-colonial African states: historical and political specificities. Processes of “political transition”, the “third wave”, and previous regimes: patterns and causal nexuses. Internal mechanisms and external systemic pressures. Contemporary processes of African democratization. The privatization of the state. The role of non-governmental organizations.

Young, Crawford (2012), *The Postcolonial State in Africa*, University of Wisconsin Press, downloadable here: <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/21856>

Marques Guedes, Armando (2007), “The State and ‘Traditional Authorities’ in Angola. Mapping issues”, in *State and Traditional Law in Angola and Mozambique*: 15-67, with Maria José Lopes, Leiden University and Almedina, Lisboa and Leiden (downloadable at academia.edu Armando Marques Guedes)

_____ (2005), *Sociedade Civil e Estado em Angola. O Estado e a Sociedade Civil sobreviverão um ao outro?* Almedina, Coimbra.

STATES, TERRORISM AND THE GENERAL CHALLENGES OF AND NON-STATE ACTORS IN GENERAL (9)

The impact of terrorism in security and defense policies. The many-headed hydra: the complexity of the machinery of terrorism and the hurdles facing a global assault. Coalitions as germs of new forms of globalized governance?

Blum, Gabriella (2017), “Prizeless Wars, Invisible Conflicts: the modern goals of armed conflict”, *Arizona State Law Journal*, no. 49. Download here: <https://poseidon01.ssrn.com/delivery.php?ID=360003072099003007065010126096001030020038002020063091107104069123119092105024064096041107021103057003062064093119006123108125062047011062068116073070116085092019005040011085091021083123112026123117010127021115118125083098122083096029097065127093087&EXT=pdf>

Marques Guedes, Armando (2009), “O Tempo e as Ressonâncias: os Estados Modernos, o Anarquismo, o Anarco-Sindicalismo e Jihadismo”, *Geopolítica* 3: 51-99, Centro Português de Geopolítica, Lisboa.

Cronin, Audrey K. (2002), “Behind the curve. Globalization and international terrorism”, *International Security* 27 (3): 30-58, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Carter, Ashton B. (2001), “The architecture of government in the face of terrorism”, *International Security* 26 (3): 5-23, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Part 2

SYSTEMIC PRESSURES ON CONTEMPORARY STATES: A RECASTING OF THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ORDERS INDUCED BY GROWING EXTERNAL TIES

SOME OF THE LINES OF CHANGE IN INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL JURAL ORDERS OF CONTEMPORARY STATES (10)

National legal orders and the mechanics of ongoing changes; difficulties faced and the various limitations to which they are subjected. A first approach: preliminary takes on the set of national legal systems and the international one.

Marques Guedes, Armando (2012), “*Here be Dragons. Novos Conceitos de Segurança e o Mundo contemporâneo*”, *O Poder e o Estado*: 5-36, with Luís Elias, ISCPSI and Almedina, Coimbra.

(ed.) **Marques Guedes**, Armando (2007), *O Semi-Presidencialismo e o Controlo da Constitucionalidade na África Lusófona*, número especial da *Negócios Estrangeiros* 11.4, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisboa.

Escarameia, Paula (2003), “Que Direito Internacional Público temos nos nossos dias?”, em *O Direito Internacional Público nos Princípios do Século XXI*: 11-55, Almedina, Combra.

Goldstein, Judith, **Kahler**, Miles, **Keohane**, Robert e Anne-Marie **Slaughter** (2000), “Introduction: legalization and world politics”, *International Organization* 54 (83): 85-399, MIT Press.

Held, David (2000), “International Law”, in (eds.) D. Held e A. McGrew, *The Global Transformations Reader*: 167-172, Polity; original 1995, capítulo 5, *Democracy and the Global Order: from the modern state to cosmopolitan governance*, Polity e Stanford University Press.

Schauer, F. (2000), “The politics and incentives of legal transplantation”, in (eds.) J. S. Nye e J. D. Donahue, *Governance in a Globalizing World*: 253-271, Brookings Institution Press.

Delmas-Marty, Mireille (1999), “A mundialização do Direito: probabilidades e risco”, *Studia Iuridica* 41, *Colloquia* 3: 131-145, *Boletim da Faculdade de Direito*, Universidade de Coimbra.

STATES AND THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, NOWADAYS (11)

The end of medievalism and the progressive settling of the concept of sovereignty. What is the historical role of the Peace of Westphalia: a recent discussion. The impact of evolving political ideas or “organized hypocrisy”? The changing faces of state sovereignty.

Snyder, Timothy (2018), “The European Union”, in <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nziEATOj5Yk>

Pop, Adrian (2013), “The Independence of Kosovo in the light of the Regional Security complex theory”, *European Journal of Science and Theology*, vol. 9, suppl. 2, pp. 105-114, downloadable at https://www.academia.edu/3717480/The_Independence_of_Kosovo_in_the_Light_of_the_Regional_Security_Complex_Theory

Marques Guedes, Armando (2011), “A estratégia política de reconstrução e a normatividade *post bellum* emergente. O caso da participação portuguesa no ISAF, Afeganistão, 2002-2011”, *Conflictos Armados, Gestión Posconflicto y Reconstrucción*: 477-515, *Studia Iuridica*, Santiago de Compostela, España.

Chertoff, Michael (2009), “The responsibility to contain. Protecting sovereignty under international law”, *Foreign Affairs*, 88, 1: 130-148.

Moreira, Adriano (2007), *A Comunidade Internacional em Mudança*, Almedina, Coimbra, com uma longa apresentação de Armando Marques Guedes.

Krasner, Steven (2000), “Compromising Westphalia” em (eds.) D. Held e A. McGrew, *The Global Transformations Reader*: 124-136, Polity; original 1995, “Compromising Westphalia”, *International Security*, Harvard e MIT University Press.

STATES, NATIONAL JURISDICTIONS: THE EVENTUAL EMERGENCE OF A ‘UNIVERSAL JURISDICTION’? (12)

The erasure of bipolarity and the rapid generalized growth of a liberal model of state responsibility, and its regressions. The attempts at replanting a universal jurisdiction, the persistence of traditional models and the reaction of some democratic and non-democratic states. The controversial position of the current north-american Administration, among others.

Sarkin, Jeremy (2012), “Enhancing the legitimacy, status, and role of the International Criminal Court globally by using transitional justice and restorative justice strategies”, *Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Rights Law*, vol. 6.1, pp. 83-102, downloadable by clicking on the link here:

<https://poseidon01.ssrn.com/delivery.php?ID=772029127089023098118086013100106029127088006054089053094028100111098127030095067027041060048030012023098001122067082072006073033006063021080093088071024114126065051046015096087107106121070000107092078102105091011025091095024000026064100027099123020&EXT=pdf>

Marques Guedes, Armando (2011), “A estratégia política de reconstrução e a normatividade *post bellum* emergente. O caso da participação portuguesa no ISAF, Afeganistão, 2002-2011”, *Conflictos Armados, Gestión Posconflicto y Reconstrucción*: 477-515, *Studia Iuridica*, Santiago de Compostela, España.

Kissinger, Henry (2001), “The pitfalls of universal jurisdiction”, *Foreign Affairs* 80 (4): 86-96, New York.

Richardson, B. (2001), “America’s interest in an international court”, *The New York Times*, downloadable via Google..

Escarameia, Paula (2001), “Quando o mundo das soberanias se transforma no mundo das pessoas: o estatuto do Tribunal Penal Internacional e as Constituições nacionais”, *Themis* 3: 143-183, FDUNL, Lisboa.

Forsythe, David (2000), “International criminal courts”, *Human Rights and International Relations*: 84-110, Cambridge University Press.

Part 3

DEMOCRACY AND THE REINVENTION OF POLITICS?

WHAT ARE 'RIGHT' AND 'LEFT' IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL DISCOURSES AND ORDER? (13)

Right and Left – is this still a useful distinction? A dynamic set of concepts. The continental perspective. The British take. North-American exceptionalism and its communitarian presuppositions: a liberal tradition. Norberto Bobbio and the sociological structure of the phenomenon. The structural place of religion.

Bobbio, Norberto (2016), *Left and Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction*, John Wiley & Sons (there is a Portuguese translation)

Sartwell, Crispin (2014), “The Left-Right Political Spectrum Is Bogus”, *The Atlantic*, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/06/the-left-right-political-spectrum-is-bogus/373139/>

Espada, João Carlos, **Plattner**, Marc e **Wolfson**, Adam (2007), *Direita e Esquerda? Divisões Ideológicas no Século XXI*, Lisboa, Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

STATES AND THEIR EFFORTS FOR THE REINVENTION OF A MODERN POLITICAL DEMOCRACY (14)

The power of protest movements. Systemic institutional pressures for change and the new sociopolitical movements. “Liberal internationalism”, “radical communitarism”, and “democratic cosmopolitanism” as strategies which drive for a “domestication” of global transformation processes. Is there (mostly now with the financial crisis) a novel form of global governance arising?

Abromeit, John, Bridget M. Chesterton, Gary Marotta, and York Norman (2016), “Introduction “, *Transformations of Populism in Europe and the Americas: History and modern tendencies*, Bloomsbury Academic, https://www.academia.edu/30156771/Introduction_to_Transformations_of_Populism_in_Europe_and_the_Americas_History_and_Recent_Tendencies

(eds.) **Castells**, M., (2004), *The Network Society: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA, extractos [há tradução portuguesa].

Cooley, Alexander e **Ron**, James (2002), “The NGO scramble. Organizational insecurity and the political economy of international action”, *International Security* 27 (1): 5-39, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

McGrew, Anthony, (2000), “Democracy beyond borders?”, em (eds.) D. Held e A. McGrew, *The Global Transformations Reader*: 405-420, Polity; original 1997, “Democracy beyond borders? Globalization and the reconstruction of democratic theory and politics”, capítulo 10, (ed.) A. McGrew, *The transformation of Democracy? Globalization and territorial democracy*, Polity, Cambridge.

Held, David (2000), “Regulating globalization? The reinvention of politics”, em (eds.) D. Held e A. McGrew, *The Global Transformations Reader*: 420-431, Polity; original 1997, Stockholm.

Tarrow, Sidney (1998), “Transnational contention” e “The future of social movements”, *Power in Movement. Social movements and contentious politics*: 176-196 e 196-210, Cambridge University Press.

“POST-MODERN” STATES: RECONSTRUCTING DEMOCRACY BY MEANS OF A NEW SOCIAL CONTRACT? A VIEW FROM THE POLITICAL ‘LEFT’ (15)

Democracy and post-modernity. New domains, novel issues and new responses to old political problems. Political reason and globalization: inequalities and the concentration of power. The new forms of power exercise. New figures for old problems? Utopia and liberation: the limits of a polemical interpretation.

Sousa Santos, Boaventura (1998), *Reinventar a Democracia*, Gradiva e Fundação Mário Soares, Lisboa.

STATES, ‘NATION-STATES’, REGIONS, UNIONS, AND EMPIRES. ARE GLOBAL AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION TRENDS UNRAVELLING OR ARE THEY RECASTING THEMSELVES? (16)

How do States and nations connect? And how does this link to regional and global forms of suprastadual integration which appear to be in regression? Deglobalization and deregionalisation seem to be on the rise. Are they? Are “imperial” formats on the rise again, or States will survive?

Malesevic, Sinisa (2017), “Empires and nation-states: beyond the dichotomy”, https://www.academia.edu/31856401/Empires_and_Nation-States_Beyond_the_Dichotomy

Laruelle, Marlene (2017), “Is nationalism a force for change in Russia?”, *Daedalus. The Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, pp.89-100, New York (download it from [academia.edu](https://www.academia.edu) Marlene Laruelle).

Farber, Davis W. (2016), “American Conservatism”, lecture given at Universität Göttingen (Germany) lecture to be watched on YouTube, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HB0Hdq8qc3E>

Snyder, Timothy (2014), “Nations, Empires, Unions: European Integration and Disintegration Since 1914”, (a lecture on to be found in YouTube) at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=32_cqhaSJLs

Gerasimov, Ilya, Sergey **Glebov**, et allia (2009), “”Empire: the effect of ‘defamiliarization’”, in (eds.) Gerasimov, S. Glebov et allia, *Empire Speaks Out. Languages of rationalization and self-deception in the Russian Empire*, pp. 3-32, Brill, Leiden and Boston..