

REVIEW

By

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on

the dissertation of Lyuben Georgiev Manolov on topic:

"Nationalism of the Bulgarian National Revival and Ensuring the Security of the Bulgarian Society Upon the Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire (1770s – 1880s)"

for admission to defence for the acquisition of the educational and scientific degree of "Doctor" in the professional field of 9.1. National Security

"Give Me a Laboratory and I Will Raise the World!" It is clear that this thought by the French scientific researcher, philosopher and sociologist Bruno Latour (born in 1947) is both abstract and applied.

I do share the thought by Bruno Latour, for I see it as a methodological landmark for every researcher having set himself the ambitious goal of being a creator. I underline its applied nature as far as it directs our attention towards the great Heuristic function of the way, in which every author of a research paper is able to organize the empirical material in order to formulate scientific truths – especially when it comes to researchers working with "their eyes turned to the past". In addition, in order to ground my first positive valuation of the dissertation of Lyuben Manolov dedicated to the Nationalism of the Bulgarian National Revival: The author is perfectly right as regards his main thesis that this is the very achievement of the Bulgarian society of the Bulgarian National Revival that accepted the social and governing function of being a guarantee for the security of the Bulgarian society upon the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire (1770s – 1880s). Hence, the title itself of the dissertation makes the historical role clear, and the topical significance of the scientific problems chosen for research.

The author of the dissertation has succeeded in building "his research laboratory" firstly by ensuring the complex of sufficient and reliable sources of historical information he needs – various by type and origin, by time and place, and has got acquainted with the publications related to the topic of the dissertation. In my opinion, this determines the successful systematic and structural analysis made by him of the Nationalism of the Bulgarian National Revival – the very first of this kind in our literature.

It wouldn't be too far-fetched to state that most generally the positive valuations the dissertation of Lyuben Manolov, as well as the contributions mentioned below, are present in each part of the paper. The research "Nationalism of the Bulgarian National Revival and Ensuring the Security of the Bulgarian Society Upon the Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire (1770s - 1880s)" has a volume of 402 standard pages. The paper content is structured into Introduction, three Chapters, Conclusion, and a List of the used information sources and scientific literature.

The Introduction is focused on the consecutive clarification of the topical field and the topicality of the matter, object and subject of the paper, with the set goal and tasks of the research, the work theses and hypotheses, the applied methodology upon analysis, the existing limitation within the scope of the research, the formed structure of the dissertation, the scientific and information basis of the paper. Thus, the author has laid the mandatory theoretical basis for his further and more specific research activity.

With his very good style of writing, well-grounded general conclusions and self-assessment, Lyuben Manolov takes us inside the meanders of specific scientific issues of his artistic laboratory in order to enlighten the Bulgarian Nationalism of the National Revival from its ideological and practical pragmatic point of view. Furthermore, also in order to enlighten for the very first time in our scientific literature the very topical issue of the Bulgarian national security being avoided up to that moment by researchers due to its large scale and internal complexity.

There is hardly anyone to deny the thesis of candidate for a Doctor's degree Manolov that "at the age of globalization and constantly changing modern world the problems of nations, national dignity and interests, and hence the future of the national states have a new meaning and topicality" (p. 4).

Let me reinforce the author's statement regarding the topicality of the topic of Nationalism by adding some personal observations. Even nowadays there is an ongoing sharp debate in some circles of the historical guild about whether the self-realized feeling of people from the European family for belonging to the respective nation, or the "global village" will destroy this feeling!?! The research by Lyuben Manolov gives its answer and I hope its publishing "throws down a gauntlet" on specialists in the other periods of the Bulgarian past, present and future in order for the outlined debate on this topic to continue. Furthermore, let me add to my general positive valuation of the provocative and Heuristic qualities of the paper that with his research Lyuben Manolov suggests that the topic is a wide field for application of the method of the historical prognostics.

It is once again in the very Introduction of the author of the dissertation where he shares (probably out of modesty) that the studied aspects are just a minor part of all issues of Nationalism, which refer to the problems connected with the permanent guarantee of the security of the Bulgarian society" (p. 5). And that self-limitation of Lyuben Manolov is completely understandable, for it is neither possible, nor necessary a small doctoral thesis to say it all "from A to Z" on the topic of Nationalism.

And let me here make an important specification: The very fact that Lyuben Manolov has brought the topic of Nationalism as a permanent guarantee for the security of the Bulgarian society of the National Revival as a separate subject of research means that this is a founding part of the great topic of the Bulgarian Nationalism in general – problems that may be also studied in the future by other authors.

In fact, the author of the dissertation confirms that statement motivated by his own belief "that the very being of our modern society is characterized with the actual existence of a number of specific issues connected with the presence and future of the Bulgarian national identity" (p. 5). And the author of the dissertation seeks and gives an answer to an important part of those issues.

As regards all answers, it may be stated that they are Heuristic in their nature as far as they reveal the character of the Bulgarian Nationalism of the Bulgarian National Revival and prove"... the border between the enlightened, self-defensive and constructive nationalism of a people living under the conditions of a foreign assimilation political power, and the aggressive chauvinistic giantization of the "national superiorities" amidst nations that inhabit their own free states" (p. 5), also clarify "the dilemma: to what extent the plans for achieving national freedom on the road to the nation-wide armed uprising cooperate for achieving the ultimate goal of the early defensive Bulgarian Nationalism – the occurrence of the Third Bulgarian State" (p. 15).

Furthermore, I'd like to specially underline that by using the systematic and structural analysis of the process of the Bulgarian National Revival the author of the dissertation has fully covered and studied his topic. As a result, he has managed to clarify,... the nucleus, evolution, different displays and culmination achievements of that new, modern political thinking and actions of the Bulgarian elite, which gives grounds for building the idea of the nature and role of the enlightened, self-defensive and constructive Bulgarian nationalism" (p. 16/). For the first time in the Bulgarian historical and politico-logical literature it is in the paper where it is reasonably established "... that the early self-defensive Bulgarian Nationalism should be considered as gradually forming, new, independent and overall system of positive thoughts, feelings, emotions and style of political behavior, which occur naturally - not randomly but during the formation of the nation in the second half of the XVIII century. Its main purpose in the political process is the efficient practical defence - mostly of the Bulgarian spiritual and ethnic space, from foreign encroachments. No claims whatsoever as regards any domination over other peoples and foreign territories. Even upon developing projects for independent self-governing or the building of an independent Bulgarian state system" (p. 16).

It is evident that the artistic laboratory of the author of the dissertation is sufficiently "furnished" with an information resource in order to be possible to have well-grounded decisions of the set research tasks. The scientific grounds that determine the enlightenment of the early Bulgarian nationalism become clear as the most important, independent, self-defensive and peak ideological achievement of the Bulgarian political thought in the epoch of the Bulgarian National Revival; as a fundamental factor – historically necessary for the first actual union and quick development of the restored national state.

As regards the successfully resolved task, it is also Heuristic the role of the scientifically applied research methodology. It is that methodology that adds to the professional skills of the author of the dissertation when it comes to working with information – something that has "rescued" the paper from the frequent "naked" facts, the elementary description of the empirical material, of the revealed facts, without, however, making new, professional conclusions on the topic. Lyuben Manolov follows up the specifics connected with the evolution of the process connected with the formation and displays the of the Nationalism of the Bulgarian National Revival. However, this is done not on the means of expression of the historical retelling, but on the grounds of the thorough analysis and extraction of the "invisible truths" contained in the historical "building materials". For these are important in order to outline the new achievements of the national responsible political thinking.

With the applied methodology – which is interdisciplinary in its essence, the politico-logical explanation of the problems in the epoch of the Bulgarian National

Revival is made professionally and comprehensively; it is logically deduced from the contradictory nature of the complex and dynamic historical process - in its system and as a factor for national security in particular.

Logically, the author's presentation contained in Chapter One of the dissertation is followed by the analysis of the problem connected with the appearance of Nationalism and its turning into an engine for the development of societies in the XIX century. The main scientific dimensions in the analysis made by the author of the dissertation are the formation of modern nations and the specific characteristics, and the historical role of the national political thinking; clarifications of the theoretical and methodological aspects of Nationalism as political ideology are the inherent main concepts and definitions; Heuristic meaning is given to the contemporary classification made and the type specifics of the phenomenon, together with clarification of the methods of research used in science for the purpose of studying the problems; the author of the dissertation also directs his scientific attention towards the national liberation movements and the aggressive nationalistic doctrines of the Balkans that have impacted the Bulgarian destiny - Greece, Serbia, and the Ottoman Empire.

In particular, I'd like to note the classification – one of the main methods of each research - of Nationalism in this specific case. Cognitive meaning is given to the decomposed dominant types of nationalism with their characteristic signs. These are preconditioned by the specifics of the conditions connected with the occurrence of Nationalism, of the social and historical and political processed in Europe in the XIX and XX centuries, from the access to power and education; the impact of the factor "culture" and the general civilization level of peoples; the understandings of the nature of the nation; the objectives and regions, where nationalism is displayed in practice; the historical development of its bearers in the separate communities and according to the political ideologies, which dominate amidst the leading parties:

- I. the so-called right nationalism with subtypes; Conservative type of Nationalism; National-socialistic Nationalism
- II. the so-called left Nationalism differentiated as socialistic (and social-democratic in particular) Nationalism and Communism (Marxism) Nationalism

Next comes the clarification made by the author of the dissertation that "the deduced distinction of left and right Nationalism (as well as of their varieties) is based on one basic criterion - "the attitude towards the problem of equality between people" (pp. 56-60). I've made a longer interpretation of the classification developed in the dissertation due to my conviction that the objectively applied methodology, including the method of classification, are the best attestation for the objectivity of the research (not only in Chapter One, but also in the following Chapters of the dissertation).

Chapter Two of the paper is called "Formation of the Bulgarian National Political thinking and development of the project for autonomous self-governing and complete political freedom". The research field is "outlined" by the scientifically enlightened problems connected with the genesis of the social and ideological basis of the Early Bulgarian Nationalism; the enrichment of the national political culture and the development of the theory of the essence and role of the "nation" as the basis for the displays of the educational and self-defensive Bulgarian Nationalism; the building of new public self-governing organizations according to the rules of the direct democratic procedure before the Liberation; the legal national political fight within the borders of the Ottoman Empire and the gaining of the independence of the Bulgarian Exarchy in 1870; the achievements of the Bulgarian national political thought for the government differentiation on the road to political autonomy and the organized national-liberation revolution.

The proper realization of the elements, which are included in this peculiar genealogy, revealing the "ancestors" and the fields of display of the Bulgarian Nationalism of the Bulgarian National Revival, is one of the most significant contributions of the dissertation. Due to their Heuristic nature, these are the objective basis for the continuation of the analyses on subsequent periods of our history.

As regards the specified ancestorship, Lyuben Manolov gives a representative explanation. According to him "Nationalism is the product of the New Time – the epoch, where borders were formed and commodity-monetary capitalistic relations were established. This is also the basis, on which the completely new social power was formed - Bourgeoisie" (p. 107).

As stated in genealogy – it is the quality generic roots that give birth to quality generic "fruits" - the national political culture of the Bulgarians is enriched; nationality gradually but with ease grows into a nation; a scientific theory is built about the role of the nation as the basis of the enlightenment and self-defensive Bulgarian Nationalism. Thus "... the most important new ethnic political term, which characterized the Bulgarians during the National Bulgarian Revival, enters the Bulgarian political vocabulary - "N A T I O N", being the merit of Bishop Sofroniy Vrachanski (p. 159).

One of the «fruits» from the presence of the self-defensive Bulgarian national responsible political thinking is the appearance and approbation of those figures of the Bulgarian National Revival who cooperated for the political liberation of the Bulgarian nation, and then left their trace in the history of their leadership wisdom, mostly as the builders of the Third Bulgarian State. There is also a very accurate and thorough research of the process connected with the gaining of the independence of the Bulgarian Exarchy in 1870. **For in fact, this is the very first actual victory of Bulgarian Nationalism of the National Revival back in the borders of the Ottoman Empire.**

Chapter Three is dedicated to **the evolution of the self-defensive Bulgarian Nationalism on the eve and after the Liberation of Bulgaria (1876-1885).** From a wide and varied historical and politico-logical plant with an interdisciplinary methodology, the author of the dissertation analyzes and proves that "the development of the self-defensive Bulgarian Nationalism from the origination of this phenomenon in the public life in the second half of the XVIII century until the beginning of the 1870s is generally developed within its own and original ideological frameworks of values. There is realization of the nature of the social and political transition made, which helped the Bulgarian nationality to grow into a "nation"" (p. 305), without "borrowing" any foreign, hostile ideas or ideas of annexionism from the arsenal of the party and government Serbian or Greek Nationalism in the XIX century.

The conclusion made by Lyuben Manolov is essential, namely that during the specified period of the Liberation "in the evolution of the self-defensive Bulgarian Nationalism there is also a quality transition: its ideologists and most prominent representatives pass from the development and propaganda of ideas woven into political projects, towards practical actions for their transformation into reality, of the then free Bulgarian nation within the borders of its newly freed state. Thus, the new ideological trend occurred and developed with own powers within the structure of the Bulgarian nation, makes the most significant evolution our national political process has even known" (p. 306).

The built professional skills, his polytological scientific attitude and applied interdisciplinary methodology are notable in each part of the dissertation, including in the thorough and summarizing conclusion. It is there that scientific conclusions have been logically made, which are naturally expected to be present in the end of every dissertation paper. The above has its impact on the reader from a positive point of view and the reader naturally accepts the presented analysis and summaries as objective and reliable, as an objective self-valuation of Lyuben Manolov as regards the achieved contributions.

I'd like to pay special attention in the Review towards the impressive lists of "Documentary Prime Sources of the Epoch", "Scientific Literature in the Cyrillic Alphabet" and "Papers in Foreign Languages", for they prove the rich scientific and information, and source knowledge of the author of the dissertation, before

sitting down to write his contributive scientific paper having the qualities of dissertation.

Upon approaching the final of my Review, I'd like to explicitly underline that I do accept the specified scientific contributions in the auto-paper as completely grounded.

Firstly, finally Lyuben Manolov has managed to clarify in the Bulgarian historical and political literature and to give an answer to the main question: who, when and on what occasion has put into practice the new political term of "nation" in order to characterize the Bulgarian ethnic picture in the XIX century.

Secondly, on the basis of the comparative analysis there has been also the important scientific contribution made that the Bulgarian self-defensive, Nationalism of the National Revival is a truly constructive and positive phenomenon. For its authors just summarize some new attitudes and aspirations, /some dreams and a dream/ of the then enslaved Bulgarian nation under the rule of the Sultan, to see them within the borders of their own free state. Therefore, this phenomenon has nothing to do with the aggressive Nationalism of the Serbian and Greek Bourgeoisie being developed by the governments of the ruling bourgeois parties in Belgrade and in Athens.

Thirdly, I do accept as scientific contributions the conclusions made by the author and his profound explanation of the reasons, because of which the texts of the Tarnovo Constitution do not contain the term "Bulgarian nation", but instead contain terms as the people, the population, the citizens, etc.

Fourthly, I also do accept as contributions the formulations made by the author of the dissertation connected with the ideological national heritage of Vasil Levski and the way, in which the institutions of the Third Bulgarian State have been built, in order for us to see the Bulgarian Nationalism from the Bulgarian National Revival as now being the direct builder of the free system of the Bulgarian state.

It is to be properly noted that the set of documents of the defence thus presented corresponds to the requirements of the Law on awarding the educational and scientific degree of "Doctor". As regards the auto-paper, in particular, I approach it with the presumption of the degree of psychological complexity required for one to self-assess himself, in order for me to confirm that the self-assessment made of the personal contributions of the author of the dissertation is humble but objective and reliable. Furthermore, I'd add another material contribution – it is here for the first time that the interdisciplinary methodology is applied upon researching the Bulgarian Nationalism - Genesis and Development, which integrates the methods of history, political science, social psychology, historical linguistics. The contribution nature of the paper gives me grounds to also recommend its promulgation.

The significant scientific value of the dissertation by Lyuben Georgiev Manolov on topic " Nationalism of the Bulgarian National Revival and Ensuring the Security of the Bulgarian Society Upon the Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire (1770s – 1880s)" gives me grounds to express my utmost, summarizing, positive valuation of the completed scientific and research activity. Here we have a paper that contains all serious contributions as scientific grounds in order to award the author with the degree of "Doctor". In view of the above, I'd like also to urge the honorable members of the scientific jury to vote for the awarding of the educational and scientific degree of "Doctor" to the candidate for a doctor's degree Lyuben Georgiev Manolov, in professional field 9.1. National Security. I will personally vote "Yes" for awarding the scientific degree.

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