EDITIED VOLUME:

1. ***Borders in international relations. Theoretical, normative and practical issues*. Sofia: Gutenberg Publishing House, 2022, 339 pp., ISBN 978-619-176-210-1, Reviewers: Prof. Mariya Stoycheva, PhD, Assoc. Prof. Plamen Ralchev, PhD; Editor: Prof. Maria Boykova Struble**

The edited volume presents the first substantive and thorough study of borders, being the fundamental measurement unit of global space. It offers a conceptual framework in a historical cartography of border research through the prism of seminal theories of international relations. The book outlines a comprehensive set of terminology and typologies through which it problematizes conventional categories related to borders and thus confronts the reader with ethical dilemmas about offshoring and outsourcing of sovereignty, separatism and irredentism, diaspora politics, nationalism and migrations, and cross-border cooperation. By applying the theoretical assumptions of international regimes theory, some practical issues are being probed in the context of two current crises – the refugee one and the pandemic one – with a special focus on the regulation of space via biopolitical, biometric, and immunopolitical boundaries.

STUDIES:

2. ***Bulgaria's bordering practices and discourse during the European Refugee Crisis (2015-2017)*. Sofia: 'St. Kliment Ohridski' University Press, 2018, 94 pp., ISBN: 978-954-07-4393-6**; **editor (visiting scholar programme mentor): Dr. Mathieu Tardis (IFRI)**

The study was initiated within the program "Mobility of young scholars" (MFA, France), during the author's sex-weeks' stay (June – July 2016) as a visiting fellow at the Centre of Migration and Citizenship at the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), Paris. It attempts to clear the fuzzy position of the Bulgarian government and society on migration and refugee issues in the abovementioned period as juxtaposed to the French one. The comparative study presents this political stance as oscillating between two extremes. The first extreme is about the securitization of the issue, which means the broadening of the security agenda with so far marginalized threats (e.g., radicalization and its links to migration as part of

the homeland security concept) and the insistence on emergency practical measures, which are to be taken. The other extreme is about the politicization of the same threats (that is, their desecuritization) within the populist discourse – which involves the silencing of human rights abuses, even their trivializing through everyday reductionist speech acts.

3. *Soft power in international relations and its role in the philosophy and praxis of EU security policy* – **In: Pantev, Pl. (Ed.).** *European Union security policy, based on soft power***:** *actual implications and manifestations, potential opportunities and contingencies***. Sofia: 'St. Kliment Ohridski' University Press, 2013, pp. 9-78, ISBN: 978-954-07-3433-0, volume editor-in-chief: Prof. Plamen Pantev**

The study is the first Bulgarian substantive research of European Union's soft power. In theoretical terms, the phenomenon is considered in the dynamic context of a loosely networked world and is defined as a set of potentialities to exert a transformative effect in line with the others' will, without resorting to either explicit or implicit coercion. Soft power is presented through its manifestations: persuasion by open deliberation; emulation by following best practices; setting standards of legitimacy. In practical terms, soft power is displaying its normative capabilities in the prescription of strategies of behavior for the international actors. The specific case studies are aimed at elucidating the nature and contents of soft power which consists, firstly, in the gravitational force of *acquis communautaire* and, secondly, in the remodeling capacity of the *conditionality policy* in the accession process of the EU. Special attention is also paid to EU 'civilian' power in the process of negotiation and consensus building as regards crises and conflicts in the Western Balkans.

4. *Public diplomacy – disguised or dismantled propaganda?* – **International Relations Journal, no. 3, 2013, pp. 73-92, ISSN (print): 0324-1092, editorial board**

The study immerses the academic reader in the context of the inevitable 'war of words' between propaganda and public diplomacy, by outlining the clear front line between the two categories with four demarcation criteria: functional subjects, circumstances of action, mode of interaction, and referent subjects. It attempts at dismantling the conspicuous self-image and the camouflaged images of the Other – in other words, the vague distinctions between authenticity and falsity in foreign policy image-making. The combined methodology of discourse analysis and comparative case study of Nordic and Balkan-Adriatic countries is

applied to argue and verify a few prescriptions for the effective employment of soft power through public diplomacy on behalf of Bulgaria as a small state.

5. ***The European Union: the hard power – soft power nexus and the ambitions for "effective multilateralism" – In: Pantev, Pl. (ed.) et al.: Power poles in international relations and the polarity issue in the 21ˢᵗ century.*** **Sofia: 'St. Kliment Ohridski' University Press, 2014, pp. 181-210, ISBN: 978-954-07-3676-1, editor-in-chief: Prof. Plamen Pantev**

The study sets the context of order in international relations, which is diffuse in its essence and which lacks the regulatory power of one center alone, since unipolarity is impossible to be sustained in today's complex configuration of global issues. It is argued that the European Union is a power center due to the fact that it is the focus of ardent discussions *eo ipso*. Moreover, in view of its *sui generis* nature, this unorthodox international actor incorporates both state-centric (intergovernmental), and suprastate (institutional) characteristics, thus provoking divergent effects. The research is concentrated on the debt crisis in the integrative community, which urges the latter to beg for support from other established power poles. The study attempts to measure quantitavely the decline in the EU soft power status, one tentative conclusion of which analysis is the undeniable fall in its attraction as an example to follow because of the tension, indecision and inconsistency between member states about possible exit strategies. Another tentative conclusion is about *acquis diplomatique* – although the indices about multilateral and transatlantic cooperation remain high, the overall performance of the EU soft power is low because of insufficient accomplishments in the promotion of human rights and in the mediation of frozen ethnic conflicts.

6. ***State, territory and borders through the prism of political realism***. **– Sofia University Yearbook, Faculty of Law, 2019, volume 86, pp. 512–50, ISSN: 0081-1866, editorial board, reviewer: Prof. Plamen Pantev**

The study makes an overview of the 250 years' shift in the classical geopolitical thought, the way space is framed within this paradigm and the impact on the state and its essential elements: sovereignty, territory and borders. Several stages of the development of the scholarly research, which are actually involved in a more or less open dialogue with one another, are explored through an approach, called historical cartography. The conceptual

framework relates to International Relations theory, and more specifically – political Realism, as defined in Hans Morgenthau's six postulates. The structure of the argumentation sets out at the more primitive and deterministic perceptions of state territory as a living organism, fighting for survival, goes through the drive for domination and the expansionist aspirations for large spaces, and arrives at the final destination – extreme political dogmas for a hegemonic world order. The conclusions attempt at finding some rationality in this evolution and at clarifying the reasons why sometimes revolutionary turns do happen.

7. ***The comprehensive European cooperation (détente) process through the prism of the evolution of three security paradigms*. - In: *Liber Amicorum* in honour of Assoc. Prof. Juliya Zaharieva. Sofia: 'St. Kliment Ohridksi' University Press, 2020, pp. 691–716. ISBN: 978-954-07-5051-4, editors: Assoc. Prof. Stanislav Kostov et al.**

The current study presents the evolution of three security paradigms as applied to the process of cooperation and comprehensive security in Europe. During the first stage of the Cold war (nuclear deterrence) the East-West interactions are put into the conceptual framework of strategic studies. Since the mid- and end 1960-s peace researchers have argued that the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe constitutes a collective solution for the European nations, based on the idea of positive peace, that is, the nexus between security and development problems. In the wake of post-1989 democratic transformations, social constructivists proposed a theoretical approach that allows for integrative thinking through the discourse of security communities. The dynamics so far has nevertheless been linear and the author, drawing upon specific case studies of OSCE activities, problematizes its efficiency. The contribution of Bulgaria is also referred to.

8. ***Transformations in Bulgaria's foreign policy role after 1989 – conceptual, normative and practical issues. – In: Changes in the Bulgarian legal system through the prism of international relations theory, international law and European Union law (1989 – 2019). An edited volume in honor of Prof. Yordanka Zidarova,* Sofia: 'St. Kliment Ohridksi' University Press, 2021, pp. 395-426, ISBN: 978-954-07-5234-1, editors: Assoc. Prof. Vasil Pandov et al.**

The study outlines the conceptual framework of research on foreign policy roles in the light of evolutionary learning theory. It refers to social constructivism and exploits categories such as identification and alter-casting. The author argues that Bulgaria's post-1989 foreign policy path is staggering between a role-taker and a role-maker. The case study is based on a discursive analysis of documents and researchers' findings. It infers that a transformation of Bulgaria's foreign policy role has taken place in terms of Europeanization, but there is promise in casting it as a leading actor in regional stabilization and a supporting one in global sustainable development.

ARTICLES in edited volumes and journals, research papers

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9. *The dichotomous essence of the international agreement in view of international negotiations theory*. **– Norm Journal, no. 10, 2012, pp. 29-44, ISSN (print): 1314-5126, editorial board**

The article outlines a postmodernist reconceptualization of the essence of the international agreement and its relation to international negotiations. It is namely this relation between the two categories that gives an insight of their interactive nature, which contains not only the familiar regulatory identity, but also a constitutive one. In theoretical terms, the analysis focuses on the new normative approaches, which pose some ethical issues about the appropriateness and the legitimacy of the postpositivist regulation of international relations. The perspective of the article is set in two plains. In the 'close-up' plain, it is about the dichotomous essence of international norms in the course of international negotiations, during which they actually reflect the ongoing processes of social learning among the interlocutors. In the 'faraway' plain, it is about the past experience from negotiations that have led to the conclusion of an international agreement (the Helsinki Act, 1975) – an embodiment of soft law and the drawn lessons about the borderline essence of the process and the outcome from the renegotiation of international norms.

10. *The bounds of the use of force in the ambivalent term 'international intervention'.* – Contemporary Law Journal, no. 2, 2013, pp. 74-90, ISSN (print): 0861-1815, editorial board

The article outlines the polemic around the controversial phenomenon 'international intervention' as regards its deep theoretical basis and broad practical implications. First, international intervention incites academic debates as to the substantiality of state's essential component of power – sovereignty, and the social construction of territoriality. Next, from a normative perspective, it allows for a differentiation between hard power as a coercive order of binding rules and soft power as political credibility and persuasion. Moreover, international intervention imposes certain restrictions on regimes committing human rights violations (the case studies of Mali and Libya) by trying to restore justice through the limited use of force. Finally, confines to international intervention come in the form of either justification of its legality or argumentation of its legitimacy such as the Syrian quagmire of internal violence and external reluctance to assume responsibility suggests.

11. *The Broader Implications of Soft Power in International Relations: Seminar Diplomacy.* - In: "Fulbright International Summer Institute – 2012. Ph.D. Students' Forum: Dialogues in the Field of International Relations, Security, Human Rights and EU Studies" (Editor-in-chief: Kostadin Grozev; Reviewed and compiled by Mira Kaneva). University Research Complex for the Humanities 'Alma Mater', 'St. Kliment Ohridski' University Press, Sofia, 2013, pp. 74-87, ISBN: 978-954-07-3583-2

The article in edited volume argues that the adhesion in the interconnected world is far from what is a uniformed fabric – rather, it is a kind of tapestry with manifold, multicolored, and multifaceted threads interwoven in it. One of these motley patterns is expert knowledge, which is employed as an enhanced soft power tool. Having outlined the theoretical basics of soft power, the paper goes further by testing certain assumptions about the 'social networking' capacities of knowledge. In view of the field research of National Model United Nations seminar diplomacy, it is held that even amateur epistemic communities, such as student simulations of global conferences, may compensate for the eroded soft power potential of global governance.

12. Community of insecurities. **Research paper from the Annual conference of the Bulgarian European Studies Association – In: EU after 2020: in pursuit of identity, sustainability and growth, pp. 216-227, ISBN: 978-619-90953-0-0, editors and reviewers: Prof. Dimitar Hadzhinikolov et al.**

The paper argues that the European Union security is a reflection of its identity – the focus of this identity on a distinct community image increases the feeling of security, even in the mundane sense of self-confidence. Following the Lisbon Treaty of 2009, which was ripe with expectations to consolidate the *spillover*, the European Union has eventually been involved in two types of processes that mess with its struggle to affirm itself as a main actor on the global arena. The first type of processes are more of an objective nature and are termed as "diffusion of insecurities". They encompass all those global security threats which cannot be contained within the boundaries of nation-states (the so-called transborder threats), for example: terrorism, extremism, cyber activities, transnational organized crime, mass disorganized movement of people. The second type of processes are of a subjective nature and concern the social transformations resulting from transition. The most visible recent case of bad governance of security threats is populism and its impact on the "shaking the foundations" of the European project.

13. *The Rule of Law from the English School Perspective. Cases of the Shifting Boundaries of Exclusion and Inclusion in Contemporary International Society*. **In: Belov, M. (ed.). Rule of Law at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century. Eleven International Publishing. The Hague, 2018, pp. 161-172, ISBN: 978-94-6236-858-3; double-blind peer-reviewed; editor-in-chief: Assoc. Prof. Martin Belov**

The paper takes the vantage point of the English school as a major international relations theory and acknowledges the importance of law and morality besides the institutionalized role of the balance of power in international politics. Rule of law nowadays proves to be one of the founding principles that maintain order in international society. The question of its universality presupposes the inclusion of compliant states and the expansion of a community based on democracy, legitimacy, transparency and accountability, checks and balances, constitutional review, respect for human rights. Thus specific ethical (rule-of-law based) boundaries are drawn in accordance with EU normative power of principles, standards and values, both in the Union's internal and external affairs: (1) between the EU and several

Central European states that diverge from basic rule-of-law principles and are therefore prone to moral exclusionary practices; (2) between the EU and some Western Balkans countries whose efforts to meet accession criteria are faltering; (3) between the EU and ex-Soviet states that oscillate back from the EU perspective due to the complex ties with other powerful states.

14. Contemporary challenges to sovereignty in Europe – definitions and distinctions of territoriality and identity. – In: Law and boundaries. Sofia: 'St. Kliment Ohridski' University Press, Sofia, 2018, pp. 297–306, ISBN: 978-954-07-4543-5; editors: Prof. Daniel Valchev et al.

Ever perpetuating crises in the European Union have precipitated the challenges to sovereignty. Being neither a monolithic, nor a static concept, sovereignty emerges as a specific boundary term for the role of the state and the rule of law. Recent developments, such as the Catalan referendum for independence, have delegitimized sovereignty's dual function – that of the demarcation of the territory where supreme authority is exercised, and, that of the safeguarding of common identity.

15. *Human security – reformulating the European Union's global strategic thinking and course of action.* **- In: Fileva, P. Et al. (ed.) The European development policy – challenges and opportunities. Sofia: Bulgarian Platform for International Development, 2018, pp. 44–54, ISBN 978-619-7484-04-5 pdf, editor-in-chief: Prof. Petranka Fileva**

The article argues that human security is an indispensable component of the new strategic discourse and practices of the European Union. To this end, it outlines, first of all, the evolution in the European Union's security conceptual paradigm, and its enlarging and deepening with several aspects of human security. Moreover, it elucidates the parameters of the changing security environment as far as irregular migration flows have been impacting on it in recent years. Next, it correlates human security to UN Sustainable Development Goals. Finally, it evaluates the opportunities not only for a common identification of the problems but also for interactive solutions in a shared institutional framework, bearing resemblance to an international regime.

16. *The Western Balkans at the end of the 2010s – beyond the security dilemma? -* **Institute for Security and International Studies (ISIS), Research Study 20. September 2019. ISBN: 978- 954-9533-35-4 (pdf online and print), pp. 1–18; editor-in-chief: Prof. Plamen Pantev**

The paper attempts a disambiguation of several key assumptions about the Western Balkans so that it advances the argument that the Western Balkans region is inevitably on its way out of the shoals not least due to the European and Atlantic perspective for its future as offered by the European Union and NATO. It tackles three highly contentious statements: first, it refutes the proposition that the Western Balkans are entrapped in a specific ethnic security dilemma that offers no exit; second, it contends that at the moment the region is caught in a vicious circle of hard security threats (territorial conflicts) and soft security threats (radicalization, populism, corruption and organized crime); third, it holds a moderate optimistic view that the region is likely to be involved in a process of socialization within a vaster security community. The course of reasoning follows the case study of Serbia's political and social development in the last decade; the theoretical framework is influenced by the security dilemma debate in International Relations literature.

17. *Citizenship without borders? Contemporary obstacles to the right of free movement pursuant to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.* **- In: Academic Forum 'Human rights – 70 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Sofia: 'St. Kliment Ohridski' University Press, Sofia, 2019, pp. 126–135. ISBN: 978-954-07-4779-8; editors: Assist. Prof. Dilyan Nachev et al.**

This paper outlines the mapping of political space through the clash between universalism and relativism of human rights, whose conceptual and empirical centrepiece hereto is the right of free movement and residence. It argues that the effectiveness of the global regime of human rights depends on its implementation in national legislation. The paper draws on the liberal arguments in favour of open borders (moral duty and economic reciprocity), and Realist counter-arguments (welfare chauvinism, nativism and security). The European and US refugee cases show how this debate can be partially reconciled in democratic states's right to self-determination of the migration regime.

18. *Critical lines for the state of exception in times of crisis – 'sovereign power and bare life' (Giorgio Agamben revisited).* **– In: Academic seminars "Legal sanctions" „Санкциите в правото". Sofia: 'St. Kliment Ohridski' University Press, Sofia, 2019, pp. 197–209. ISBN: 978-954-07-4831-3; editors: Assoc. Prof. Simeon Groysman et al.**

The article discusses the ambiguous effects of the state of exception – different coercive and/or restrictive measures as regards refugees and migrants, all of which are a sui generis personification of biopolitics. The research has its starting point in the conceptualization of exception that constructs the criminalization of migration as 'nomos'; next, it focuses on the biometrical control of illegality in the form of undocumented or irregular migration (the so called 'biopolitical tattoo') and the bare life in camps and detention centres, and, finally, it finds its destination in the review of two case studies of the paradoxes of solidarity.

19. *Revolution and Devolution in Contemporary European Territoriality: Political Orders and Moral Borders in Exit-ing.* **- In: Belov, M. (ed.). Territorial Politics and Secession. Constitutional and International Law Dimensions. (Federalism and Internal Conflicts Series. Palgrave Macmillan (Springer Nature Switzerland AG), 2021, pp. 59-77, ISBN: 978-3-030-64401-7; double-blind peer-reviewed; editor-in-chief: Assoc. Prof. Martin Belov**

This research paper focuses on devolutionary processes such as deepening autonomy and enlarging transfer of power to different levels. Though till recently viewed as a deviation, devolution in territoriality constitutes a new normality in the networks of interdependence that sustain European integration, with the latest example of Brexit. The study seeks for the practical and moral 'red lines' to devolution in the European context. It finds them in the extremist nationalistic rhetoric about regaining control and the defense of sovereignty. These speech acts stir insecurity for they rely heavily on calls for emergency and mobilization against enemies. The author argues that the revolutionizing ambitions about the reconfiguration of the European territorial and legal unity are futile because, practically speaking, they confront simple hackneyed solutions with the social complexity. From an ethical viewpoint, they advance the moral geography of othering and exclusion – something completely incompatible with the European values of solidarity.

20. *Religion as a global regulative factor – between the ethics of evil and humanitarianism.* **– In: Academic seminars "Law and religion". Sofia: 'St. Kliment Ohridksi' University Press, 2021, pp. 731-744, ISBN: 978-954-07-5133-7; editors: Prof. Yanaki Stoilov et al.**

The normative nature of religion has been rationalized in international relations theory as an intervening variable, along with the affective factor (emotions) and the cognitive factor (perceptions). This study examines the ambivalent essence of religion as a regulative factor in global affairs. We maintain, on the one hand, the liberal secularization myth; on the other hand, we don't abstain from the religious renaissance assumption. In the former case, religion plays the role of a connecting thread, for example between parties in a conflict; in the latter case, it is a dividing line across societies because of its presumably dominant position of institutionalized beliefs in the divine.

21. Some ethical dilemmas about the boundaries of sovereignty – tax offshoring and military outsourcing. – Contemporary Law Journal, no. 1, 2022, pp. 19 – 31, ISSN (print): 0861-1815; editorial board

The aim of this study is to present in a consecutive and comparative manner two cases of deterritorialization of state sovereignty as one of the controversial tendencies within the post-Westphalian world order. The first case concerns the so-called tax havens which prove to be an epitome of offshore sovereignty and which are, at the same time, paradox-ridden as regards their dichotomous nature of marginality and centrality in global economics. The second case is related to the outsourcing of the use of force by private military companies (the contemporary mercenaries), which allows us to identify four ethical dilemmas about openness, the differentiation in functions, accountability before the 'stakeholders', and international legal responsibility. Both cases are illustrated with concise examples.