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## Language

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Barnes, andrew, [Extricating the State: The Move to Competitive Capture in Post-Communist Bulgaria](#) [1], Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 59, no. 1, 2007, pp. 71-95

Barnes notes that, although academic analysis initially stressed the need to end extensive state control of the economy in post-Communist states, there was now increasing recognition that private economic interests can capture the state and prevent full-scale political reform. While no single economic group can control the political institutions, competing groups can struggle to gain leverage for their own economic benefit.

Bunce, Valerie J. ; McFaul, Michael ; Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn, [Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World](#) [2], ed. [Bunce, Valerie J.](#) [3], [McFaul, Michael](#) [4], [Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn](#) [5], New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 360

Examines waves of change in 11 former communist nations, from 1989-1992, and the electoral defeat of authoritarian rulers from 1996 to 2005 in Bulgaria, Slovakia, Serbia, Georgia and Ukraine. This volume looks in particular at issues of transmission and the role of transnational and international actors, with a particular focus on the role of the EU. The final section discusses the conundrum posed by political developments in Russia, and also Belarus and Kyrgyzstan. Individual chapters are also cited under particular countries.

Castle, Ben, [The Global Movement against Fracking : Lessons from Bulgaria, the UK and New York State](#) [6], The Democracy Center, Climate Campaign Profiles, 2012, pp. -12

Daimov, E., [The Awakening: A Chronicle of the Bulgarian Uprising of January-February 1997](#) [7], ed. [Daimov, E.](#) [8], Sofia, Democracy Network Program: Centre of Social Practices NBU, 1998, pp. 127

Notes that Bulgaria maintained a stable Soviet-style system until the collapse of the Soviet Union, but has made a surprisingly effective transition to parliamentary government and a market economy.

Dainov, Evgenii, [How to Dismantle a Democracy: The Case of Bulgaria](#) [9], OpenDemocracy, 2020

Dainov analyzes Borissov's style of government, noting that democracy can be destroyed not only by far right ideologues, but also by non-ideological 'macho males' like Borissov.

Della Porta, Donatella, [Social Movements in Times of Austerity: Bringing Capitalism Back into Protest Analysis](#) [10], Cambridge, Polity and Wiley, 2015, pp. 216

Analyzes movements since 2008 (Iceland) challenging corruption and inequality and situating them within the crisis of neoliberalism. Covers Spain, Greece and Portugal anti-austerity movements, but also Peru, Brazil, Russia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Ukraine.

Dimitrov, Martin, [How a Flag Planted on a Beach Led to a Bulgarian Uprising](#) [11], 2020

Bulgarian reporter Martin Dimitrov explains the events which sparked the 2020 mass protests in Bulgaria against the Borissov government and corrupt political system.

Dimitrov, Vesselin, [Bulgaria: The Uneven Transition](#) [12], London, Routledge, 2001, pp. 132



Charts transition to multiparty democracy and a market economy from 1989, with a focus on party coalitions and alignments.

Drezov, Kyril, [A Neighbour in Turmoil: Two Waves of Popular Protest in 2013 Bulgaria](#) [13], ed. Gokay, Bulent [14], Xypolia, Ilia [15], In Gokay; Xypolia, [Reflections on Taksim – Gezi Park Protests in Turkey](#) [16] (H.1.c.ii. [Journal Articles and Substantial Assessments](#) [17]), Keele European Research Centre, Southeast Europe Series, Keele University, pp. 52-57

Ganev, Venelin, [Explaining Eastern Europe: "Soft Decisionism" in Bulgaria](#) [18], Journal of Democracy, Vol. 29, no. 3, 2018, pp. 91-103

The author discusses 'patterns of democratic backsliding' in Eastern Europe, but concentrates primarily on 'constitutional retrogression' in Bulgaria. The article argues that the declining political influence of the middle class has undermined respect for the rule of law, so enabling 'oligarchic networks' to capture key parts of the judiciary, and undermining media independence. Ganev describes Borissov's personalistic form of governing, suggesting this can be conceptualised as 'soft decisionism'.

Ganev, Venelin I., [Bulgaria's Symphony of Hope](#) [19], Journal of Democracy, Vol. 8, no. 4 (October), 1997, pp. 125-139

Gokay, Bulent ; Xypolia, Ilia, [Reflections on Taksim – Gezi Park Protests in Turkey](#) [16], Keele European Research Centre, Southeast Europe Series, Keele University, 2013, pp. 80

Includes a range of brief essays on the Taksim protests, but also includes Immanuel Wallerstein on 'Turkey: Dilemma of the Kurds', and chapters making comparisons with Mexico 1968 and with Brazil, plus an analysis of 'Two Waves of Popular Protest in 2013 Bulgaria'.

Gurov, Boris ; Zankina, Emilia, [Populism and the Construction of Political Charisma: Post-Transition Politics in Bulgaria](#) [20], Problems of Post-Communism, Vol. 60, no. 1 (Jan/Feb), 2013, pp. 3-17

Article published just before protests erupted in February.

Hallberg, Delia ; Ossewaarde, Ringo, [Protest and Recognition in the Bulgarian Summer 2013 Movement](#) [21], In in Thomas Davies, Holly Eva Ryan and Alejandro Milciades Pena (eds), Protest, Social Movements, and Global Democracy since 2011: New Perspectives - Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Emerald Books, pp. 85-106

Against the background of the world-wide protests of 2011, the authors discuss the Bulgarian movement in early 2013 and its stronger manifestation during the summer. They aim to draw out aspects of the prolonged protests that are unique to Bulgaria, arguing they represent a 'distinctive struggle for cultural recognition' with links to the earlier 19th century National Awakening movement when Bulgaria was part of the Ottoman Empire.

Ivancheva, Mariya, [The Bulgarian Winter of Protests](#) [22], OpenDemocracy, 2013

Article explaining the economic, social and political context of the protests that forced Boyko Borissov to resign at the end of February 2013, and the immediate repercussions. Ivancheva is highly critical of 'monopolies in the hands of private companies' within a context of no state regulation, and notes problems in electoral law making it hard for smaller parties to contest elections.

Junes, Tom, [Students Take Bulgaria's Protests to the Next Level. Can They Break the Political Stalemate?](#) [23], Transit. Europäische Revue, no. 44, 2013



Useful and well referenced analysis of student phase of protests, in context of earlier student protests in 1997 and wider national demonstrations in 2013.

Lipkis, Sarah, [2013: The Year of Bulgarian Protest](#) [24], World Policy Journal Blog, 2013, pp. -2

Nikolov, Nikolay ; Kurzydowski, Dessislava Hristova ; Merkova, Sonya ; Simeonova, Tanya, [Bulgaria: lost in transition](#) [25], OpenDemocracy.net, 2013

Stresses that Bulgaria's corrupt and incompetent governments are result of the nature of the 1989 transition, the opportunities created then for members of the security services to seize economic, social and political power, and lack of public debate about the past.

Nikolova, Madlen, [Anti-Corruption Protests Show the Hollowness of Bulgaria's Democracy](#) [26], Jacobin Magazine, 2020

This article provides an analysis of the socio-economic and political framework within which the movement of 2020 erupted, noting that both the right and the left in Bulgarian politics were accused of corruption, which indicated the 'lack of real political alternatives'. It also notes that issues such as high unemployment, low wages and failing health system are scarcely raised in parliament, even by the Bulgarian Socialist Party. Concludes by pointing to parallels with the 2013 protests.

Petrova, Tsveta, [A Postcommunist Transition in Two Acts: The 1996-7 Antigovernment Struggle in Bulgaria as a Bridge between the 1989-92 and 1996-2007 Democratization Waves in Eastern Europe](#) [27], In Bunce; McFaul; Stoner-Weiss, [Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World](#) [2] (D. II.1. Comparative Assessments [28]), New York, Cambridge University Press, pp. 107-133

A clear summary of developments from 1989-1997, that also lays emphasis on the role of popular mobilization and protests.

Price, Lada, [Media Corruption and Issues of Journalistic and Institutional Integrity in Post-Communist Countries: The Case of Bulgaria](#) [29], Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 52, no. 1, 2019, pp. 71-79

Drawing on in-depth interviews with 35 Bulgarian journalists, the author argues that the media in Bulgaria - far from exposing corruption as a free media should - has itself become increasingly 'an instrument to promote and defend private vested interests' and is itself corrupted.

Randle, Michael, [People Power: The Building of a New European Home](#) [30], Stroud, Hawthorne Press, 1991, pp. 224

Chapter 1 discusses the context of the revolutions, ch. 2 the build up of protest (including in Bulgaria) and the role of international pressures. Part II comprises interviews with key participants in 1989, both about the revolutions and future possibilities. Includes interviews on Romania and Slovenia.

Spirova, Maria, [The Bulgarian Socialist Party: The Long Road to Europe](#) [31], Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 41, no. 4, 2008, pp. 481-495

Examines how the BSP changed from a Marxist party in the 1980s, arguing that it only altered significantly after being defeated in the 1997 elections, when it began to adopt new economic and foreign policies which made accession to the EU possible. The author also discusses the role of socialist parties in Western Europe in promoting this change.



Vassileva, Radosveta, [Europe's Blind Spot: The Movement Against Corruption in Bulgaria](#) [32], Green European Journal, 2020

Vassileva, an activist and legal scholar, responds to questions from the *Green European Journal* explaining the origins and causes of the protests that broke out in July 2020, including the nature of corruption and the role of the prosecutor's office.

See also:

Vassileva, Radosveta, 'Bulgaria: 100 Days of Protest', *New Eastern Europe*, 28 October 2020.

<https://neweasterneurope.eu/2020/10/28/bulgaria-100-days-of-protests/> [33]

Provides a brief commentary explaining how the Prosecutor raided the President's office with the aim of impeaching him (i.e. tried to 'orchestrate a coup') and so precipitated over a 100 days of protest. The author also comments on the role of the EU Parliament (unlike other EU institutions) in passing a resolution very critical of Borissov.

Vassileva, Radosveta, [Europe's Blind Spot: The Movement Against Corruption in Bulgaria](#) [34], Green European Journal, 2020

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Ward, Philip, [Bulgarian Voices: Letting the People Speak](#) [35], Cambridge, Oleander Press, 1992, pp. 330

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