

O P I N I O N

By: Professor Bogdana Todorova, Section "Social Theories, Strategies and Forecasts", IPS-BAS,
Specialty: Philosophy

For: Dissertation for the award of the Doctorate degree in 2.3 (Philosophy) (Philosophy of
Politics)

Author of the dissertation: Ani Dimitrova Dimitrova

Subject: "INSTITUTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA 1992 -
2017"

Grounds for submitting the opinion: participation in the composition of the scientific jury for the
defense of the dissertation work in accordance with Order No. ПД 09-221 / 17.03.2020 of the
Director of the IFS – BAS

1. General characteristics of the dissertation presented

1.1 Overall specifications

The dissertation consists of an introduction, five chapters, a conclusion and a bibliography of 367 pages, including a reference for contributions, as well as interviews conducted personally by the doctoral student with the presidents of the Republic of Bulgaria during the study period. Major developments, transcripts, literature on the subject have been thoroughly and carefully studied and a great deal of work has been produced to evaluate the documents. The wealth of sources in the bibliography is one of the distinguishing features of the proposed work. The work includes logically well-structured introduction and argumentative body. The style and language used make a good impression, as they are accurate, clear and at the required academic level. There is a lack of a good balance in the volume of each individual chapter, especially the fifth one. Abundant usage of factual terms within the text.

1.2 Relevance and significance of the topic

The proposed topic has the potential to research and evaluate the development of the Presidential Institution in Bulgaria. Today's political situation has confirmed the urgency of the problem and the need for debate, philosophical analysis and above all a vision for the development of this institution. The work traces the historical development of the institution of the head of state under the various forms of government in the modern state as well as the changes he undergoes within the Third Bulgarian State, the role and place of the head of state in the system of separation of state power, the powers and activities of the President in the state and public sphere and the perspectives of the presidential institution in Bulgaria and others.

Several research approaches have been cleverly combined in order to define the philosophy of the institution of the President in the government and the public organization of the Republic of Bulgaria. The doctoral student deserves admiralty, given the fact it is not her area of expertise, for successful presentation of both the philosophical(with references to political and philosophical concepts such as "power", "separation of powers") and the legal matter the study. Main contribution lays in outlining the development of the head of state institute in modern history of Bulgaria more specifically of the President of the Republic. The scientific and applied aspect of the work can be use in other developments for the work of the Head of State, in particular the Presidential Institution?

1.3 Assessment of the structure and elements within the thesis

The author's main thesis was presented at the beginning of the research and is confirmed by the analysis made in the dissertation: in the present stage of the functioning of the Institute the President has envisaged sufficient powers embedded in the texts of the Constitution, and based on his personality largely depends their full implementation. The idea behind the balancing role of the president in relation to the institutions of the legislative, executive and judicial branches is well presented, limiting the powers of the president to autonomous ones and to such exercising jointly with other institutions. Main processes and events related to the development of the object of analysis are correctly presented. The world practice is compared with the Bulgarian institution of

the head of state, the Bulgarian historical tradition, the Bulgarian constitutional framework of the institute and the actual functioning of the institution.

Chapter Two is an extremely well-structured overview of the Head of State Institute from the time of the Third Bulgarian State, highlighting the evolution of the Institute and the factors that have influenced it. The conclusions drawn are completely relevant to the main observed issue.

Chapter three makes a specific attempt to present basic philosophical concepts related to power, outlining the facts of the relationship between the authorities in Bulgaria and analyzing the current constitutional framework of presidential power in the context of the so-called "neutral power".

Chapter four traces the practical implementation of the constitution-pledged by the authorities and perhaps the profiles, visions and personal reflections on the institution of individual presidents , based on interviews conducted by the author. Chapter five, because of its small volume, can be integrated into chapter four, outlining prospects and possible scenarios for future research. The conclusion summarizes the chapters and the issues discussed within them.

2. Evaluation of scientific and applied contributions

The study, in addition to a detailed description of the powers and activities of the presidential institution, is characterized by several scientific contributions, including:

- a comprehensive historical overview of the development of the Head of State Institute from the creation of the Third Bulgarian State to the present;
- a complete author's study of the philosophy of the President Institute in the Bulgarian state-legal tradition is presented, from the point of view of the philosophy of authorities;
- the decisions, which are included in the state-legal framework of the Third Bulgarian State, are reviewed, both for the sole and the collective body, which functions as Head of the State.
- the balancing role of the President in the political life and that of the institutions of the legislative, executive and judiciary systems are outlined

3. Evaluation of dissertation publications

Two independent **publications** were presented, covering the required number of points according to the minimum national requirements. They are related to the main topic of the dissertation, reflecting the research skills of the author and her achievements and contributions.

4. Evaluation of the abstract

The abstract consists of 40 pages and adequately conveys the structure and essence of the dissertation.

5. Personal impressions of the applicant

I am left with great impressions from the candidate, since her nomination as a PhD candidate in the section, as she is extremely diligent, organized, ambitious and able to defend and back up her ideas. She successfully managed to prepare and execute her finished work within the expected time frame.

6. Critical notes, recommendations and questions

Optimize the structure of work in order to achieve more balanced volume between chapters. My question would be: What is the relation between the constitutionally based philosophy of power and the "advisory power" of the head of state? Does such power create space for new institutionalism and behavior?

The work is the result of independent research presented by the author and there is no plagiarism. There is no conflict of interest with the author.

7. Conclusion

There is a comprehensive, in-depth and innovative research on a very up to date topic. The dissertation work meets the requirements of the ZRASRB and the Rules for its implementation. The dissertation provides me with reasonable cause to evaluate with positive assessment Ani Dimitrova and to propose to the distinguished scientific jury to award her educational and scientific degree with "Doctor" in professional field 2.3 "Philosophy" (Philosophy of Politics).

04/27/2020, Sofia

Signature:

(Prof. Bogdana Todorova)