

Número 2 - Julio/Diciembre 2016

REVISTA

Europa del Este Unida

ISSN 0719-7284

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Indización

Revista Europa del Este Unida, se encuentra indizada en:



Información enviada a Latindex para su evaluación e indización.



221 B
WEB SCIENCES

ISSN 0719-7284 – Publicación Semestral / Número 2 / Julio – Diciembre 2016 pp. 09-16

NATIONALISM IN EUROPE: MAIN TYPOLOGIES AND CONTEMPORARY MANIFESTATIONS

EL NACIONALISMO EN EUROPA: PRINCIPALES TIPOLOGÍAS Y MANIFESTACIONES CONTEMPORÁNEAS

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Fecha de Recepción: 24 de octubre de 2016 – **Fecha de Aceptación:** 09 de noviembre de 2016

Abstract

Nationalism can be defined as the most widespread modern political ideology. It has been the subject of research and debate for decades, but regarding it as a phenomenon, there can be a different sense. Furthermore, its meaning has a different emotional charge. Historically, there have been various manifestations of nationalism caused by a number of purposes - in some cases, it can help build a unified state, while in other cases it may appear as a factor of disintegration of large state formations. These manifestations are determined depending on the so called starting points - specific situation, age, political situation, etc.

Contemporary nationalism manifesting nowadays in Europe, is mainly associated with the European integration deepening processes and the effects of the globalization. Extreme forms of nationalism, manifestations of which have been increasing in recent years, create peculiar barriers for the processes of enlargement and integration, as well as the successful implementation of European policies. Understanding nationalism has a central role in clarifying many social conflicts with dominant place in contemporary daily round.

Keywords

Nation – Nationalism – Manifestation – European Union – Integration

Resumen

El nacionalismo se puede definir como una ideología política moderna y difundida a través del mundo. Ha sido objeto de investigación y debates durante décadas, pero al considerarlo como un fenómeno, puede haber un sentido diferente. Además, su significado tiene una carga emocional diferente. Históricamente, ha habido varias manifestaciones de nacionalismo, causadas por una serie de propósitos, desde ayudar a construir un estado unificado hasta aparecer como un factor de desintegración de grandes formaciones estatales. Estas manifestaciones se determinan en función de los denominados puntos de partida, tales como la situación específica dentro de sus territorios, edad, situación política, etc.

El nacionalismo contemporáneo que se manifiesta hoy en día en Europa se asocia principalmente con los procesos de profundización de la integración europea y los efectos de la globalización. Las formas extremas de nacionalismo, cuyas manifestaciones han ido en aumento en los últimos años, crean barreras peculiares para los procesos de ampliación e integración, así como para el éxito de la aplicación de las políticas europeas. Comprender el nacionalismo tiene un papel central en la aclaración de muchos conflictos sociales con lugar dominante en la ronda diaria contemporánea.

Palabras Claves

Nación – Nacionalismo – Manifestación – Unión Europea – Integración

Nationalism can be defined as the most widespread modern political ideology. It has been the subject of research and debate for decades, but regarding it as a phenomenon, there can be a different sense. Furthermore, its meaning has a different emotional charge. Historically, there have been various manifestations of nationalism caused by a number of purposes - in some cases, it can help build a unified state, while in other cases it may appear as a factor of disintegration of large state formations. These manifestations are determined depending on the so called starting points - specific situation, age, political situation, etc.¹

What makes nationalism a topical issue is associated with the fact that it declares itself “in favor of” “pure” nations in the world, which is defined as extremely rare, given today's reality that reveals the existence of minority groups worldwide. These minority groups create dynamism in the political process and are a prerequisite for possible tensions. The power of nationalism primarily stems from its ability to create a sense of identity. In a world filled with doubt, insecurity, division and lack of ideologies which are likely to create significance in the lives of individuals, nationalism has become a powerful force. Nationalism is defined as a substitute for integration factors under the conditions of a disintegration of society. When community fails, the nation appears as a fundamental guarantee. General culture, land, origin myth, the will for constructing a common future, language are the main elements that favor the emergence of a common self-consciousness.

Anthony Smith defines nationalism as a nation's ideology, not states' ideology, interested primarily in the nation and the description of the world of nationalist ideology, and the included in its recommendations for collective actions apply only to the nation and its members. He denies the possession of an independent state of the nation as a mandatory and universal condition.²

According to modernist views nationalism creates national identity. Ernest Gellner argues that Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist. However, it really needs some preliminary signs of divergence to use even when, as mentioned, they are purely negative. In the same strain, Elie Kedourie argued that the mere nationalism is an “invented doctrine”: “nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century”. How should we understand this “inventing”? And how does nationalism invent or create nations “where they do not exist”? The stronger and lasting the pre-ethnic identity is, the more likely it is to serve as a basis for the emergence of the nation; pre-modern ethnic identities form a baseline in trying to explain why and how nations appear, at least in Europe. The same applies to nationalism according to Anthony Smith. It really helps create nations, many of which appear or claim to be “new”. As an ideology and language nationalism is relatively new, it appears on the political scene in the late 19th century³. Nations, however, as well as nationalisms are not “more invented” than other types of cultural or social organization or ideology.⁴ From a historical perspective, nationalism is a phenomenon of modern times. The American Revolution and the French Revolution can certainly be considered as the first powerful manifestations of nationalism. After penetrating into new countries in Latin America, it reached Central Europe in the early 19th century and thence to the middle of the century, and in Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

¹ Александров, Е. Речник на международните отношения. Тракия-М, 2001 с.266.

² Смит, А. Националната идентичност. Издателско ателие Аб, София 2000, с. 103.

³ Пак там, с.99.

⁴ Пак там, с.100.

Attempts to define the essence of nationalism could not lead to complete exhaustiveness on the topic. It is difficult to describe a process that proceeds actively at the moment, as we see the manifestation of the contemporary nationalism in Europe. It existed in previous historical periods, and today it continues to manifest itself and develop on the basis of contemporary realities and circumstances. The ideology of nationalism does not have universal principles and there is no common approach regarding nationalism to display in the field of politics, but it is a fact that it has the ability to influence and mobilize large groups of people and this often becomes a tool in clear or obscure, hidden motives. In individual nation states in Europe, there are similar but differing to a greater or lesser extent from each other nationalists' programs that depend on the specific situation.

Like a chameleon, nationalism accepts the colors of the surrounding environment.⁵ It is in this sense that nationalism is described as an ideologically empty bottle that is durable and shaped, but there is no specific content.⁶ Extremely important specifics of nationalism are that it has no clearly established structure and system of principles for action and very often it is characterized with psychological and emotional attitude. The widespread content and description of nationalism, and the diversity in its typology is the result of aspirations and practice of political actors within the frameworks of its use, and very often even misuse as a result of the desire to acquire political power, status, benefits, etc.

The categories of nationalism are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as in many nationalist movements, and there can be combined in varying degrees individual elements of the nationalist ideology. Also, however, they must be distinguished because they have no common policy approach. What is more, there are no universal principles of this ideology. Without any claim to completeness, there can be identified some of the main typologies of nationalism.

In general, researchers speak of two types of nationalism and national identity that are named in different ways: civic and ethnic, political and cultural, revolutionary and tribalistic, liberal and integral, rational association and organic and mystical, civic and territorial and ethnic and genealogical or simply patriotism and nationalism, but group names are not limited to the latter ones. Civic nationalism implies an open society, at least theoretically based on a social contract that people of every race or ethnicity are able to ratify and thus be citizens. Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, is excluding - membership in the nation is limited to those who share certain primordial ethnic or cultural characteristics. At the beginning of the 19th century, scientists say that nationalism and the efforts of European societies to build national identities are mostly of civic type.⁷

Different types of nationalism can be defined, depending on the mode of manifestation, such as:

- protective nationalism - typical of nations under a foreign yoke or domination at risk of losing their identity. (An example of this is the national liberation movement of the Bulgarian people during the Turkish rule, etc.);

⁵ Смит, А. Националната идентичност. Издателско ателие Аб, София 2000, с.110.

⁶ Попов, Н. Идеологическите сблъсъци. Университетско издателство "Неофит Рилски", Благоевград 2011, стр. 64.

⁷ Хънтингтън, С. Кой сме ние?: Предизвикателствата пред националната идентичност на Америка. Обсидиан, 2005, с.50.

- aggressive nationalism that is characteristic of the dominant nations that want to join and assimilate other nations and peoples. (Example: the aspirations of Napoleon Bonaparte to impose domination of France in Europe / 1796-1813/; policy of Adolf Hitler.)⁸

Montserrat Gibernau distinguishes two types of nationalism that are mutually contradictory and are mainly distinguished in terms of different levels of access to power and resources that they possess, namely: nationalism, affirming the legitimacy of the nation state and nationalism of minorities, which undermines the legitimacy and contributes to the transformation of the nation state.⁹

Ernest Gellner distinguishes three types of nationalisms. The first one is defined as a “classic Habsburg” and is associated with the creation of the nations of supranational empires, as is the case with nationalist demands in Central European and Balkan states. The second type describes the creation of a national state of ethnic groups that already belong to the same “great culture”. Such is the example of Germany and Italy. The third type represents the diasporic nationalisms.¹⁰

Generally speaking, nationalism can be characterized in a positive sense as: moderate, modern, constructive, reasonable, integrating, unifying, progressive, even “enlightened” and so on, but in a negative sense as: destructive, disintegrating, radical, immoderate, insistent, threatening, sharp, extreme, etc. It is worth paying particular attention to the extreme nationalism, because of the specificity of its manifestations. Often it is associated with extremism because of its rare extreme views and manifestations and it causes internal and interstate conflicts. There is also the so called xenophobic nationalism, i.e. there is no distinction between xenophobia and nationalism, as well as chauvinistic and separatist nationalism.

Contemporary nationalism manifesting nowadays in Europe, is mainly associated with the European integration deepening processes and the effects of the globalization. Extreme forms of nationalism, manifestations of which have been increasing in recent years, create peculiar barriers for the processes of enlargement and integration, as well as the successful implementation of European policies.

Integration deepening within the European Union and the successful development and implementation of the EU policies, is essential for the creation of a European identity and culture. That is why nationalist parties in some of the European countries make for provoking European identity crises, which have destabilizing consequences for the societies and countries. This is notably tangible on the background of today’s reality which includes migration flows and refugees, seeking their place in Europe. As a new type of alliance of countries, possessing qualitatively different from other international organizations characteristics, the European Union could not develop its integration and implement effective policies for the development of the societies when there are in evidence national, ethnic or religious conflicts within its borders.

⁸ Попова, М. Терминологичен речник по обществено-политически науки. Наука и изкуство, София 2012, с.303.

⁹ Guibernau, M. Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century. Polity, 1996, p.140.

¹⁰ Шнапер, Д. Общността на гражданите върху модерната идея за нация. ЕОН 2000, с.172.

If the time of national and state conflicts in Europe is regarded to be over, so the ethnic and religious ones, that we stress in the era of globalization, turned out to be no easier to overcome. It is this kind of clashes currently creating tendencies of increasing tension, misgivings and fear like never before, urging nations in the European Union on opposing each other once again. Within the European Union it already has a “clash of civilizations” which Samuel Huntington envisaged. Though it is not clearly stated, but tendencies of nationalistic manifestations are characterized by opposition to the current public order of cooperation in favor of a public order guided by division and isolation.

The issue with social disparities in Europe and across the world is extremely topical. The societies’ division grows bigger – there are very rich and very poor people, there are East and West, local people and immigrants, people whose attitude of mind and way of life radically differ from the ones of other people, and all of this is a prerequisite for threatening the existing public relations. These kinds of contrasts are typical for the whole world, where it exists different standards of living, social status, opportunities. These are facts that actually give a partial explanation of some of the events, which are a normal consequence of an abnormal status quo.

The basic principles of modern liberal democracy, so important for the functioning of the European Union and a characteristic feature of the member states, have been gained over the centuries after the fall of the Western Roman Empire. They are essential for the functioning of the European Union and determine world’s development directions. The principles of the liberal democracy, which democracy according to Francis Fukuyama’s book “The end of History and the Last Man” is the final stage of social development, comprises tolerance and pluralism–political, cultural as well as religious. Considering the comprehension concept of Samuel Huntington about what a civilization is, so liberal democracy is civilizational tolerant.

Today, this creates challenges for the European sociality and determines the clash between European tolerance and other civilizations in regard to migration flows in Europe, which in turn creates conditions for the resurgence of extreme forms of nationalism in Europe.

The principles of liberal democracy have been clearly expressed in the Treaty of Lisbon which entered into force in 2009 where it has been stated that the European Union is based on the values respecting human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respecting the human rights, including those of persons belonging to minority groups. These values are common to the Member States the characteristics of which are pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between sexes.¹¹

Unlike the conventional expectations, modern manifestations of nationalism exist in Central Europe too and the respective events affect on relationships in the region, creating tensions between the countries in Central Europe. Populism in Europe addressing to the European citizens focuses on national, linguistic and territorial identities, thus making nationalism a serious challenge for the European Union, using the sensitivity of the nations on this matter. Each one of the principles of modern liberal democracy has been criticized but the latest events related to the European Union, the migration flow and manifestations

¹¹ Договор от Лисабон за изменение на Договора за Европейския съюз и на Договора за създаване на Европейската общност, https://www.ecb.europa.eu/ecb/legal/pdf/bg_lisbon_treaty.pdf

of nationalist parties, are provoking one of them – pluralism and the tolerance deriving from it, particularly the religious one. The religious norms along with moral and legal ones regulate the public relations. In this sense, the norms of the major monotheistic religious – Christianity, Islam and Judaism are inconsistent because of the secularism in certain societies, especially in Europe and particularly in the European Union.

The migration flows headed to Europe and in particular to the European Union, radically change the internal political process into the member states and in the Alliance as a whole. This is a challenge not only for the existing public peace in the European Union, but also for the liberal democratic model of society. Tolerance is a fundamental value, but in relation to it, reciprocity is needed; it should be a two-way model, as the freedom ends where another person's freedom begins. International public law lies on that, but different civilizations and their geographical movements calls these principles into question. It is a fact however, that the reality reveals to us the inevitability of the coexistence between different view of life, philosophies, cultures and religions. Member states of the European Union, now more than anything committed with the globalized world, will have to think about the inevitable mutual future.

Tendencies in nationalistic manifestations are distinguished through opposition to the current public order of cooperation in favor of a social order led by division and isolation. The nationalistic rhetoric often criticize the ideal of liberal democracy, manifested in the dialogue with other cultures, religions, races, ideas. Many now speculate about the failure of the diversity model in Europe. According to others however, the European Union must continue to support the variety for the 28th member states which share distinct cultures and languages. Likely, this is why European leaders continue to support this development approach and a model.

All of this creates challenges for the political elites of the countries professing these kinds of values. Protection of liberal values is not an easy alternative since multitudinous migrant wave is bringing economic consequences as well, but there it is also the pressure from the nationalist and anti-immigrant parties across Europe. For the most part, these parties exert pressure on the idealistic European values, such as tolerance. Current migration-refugee crisis reveals how the nationalist flow threatens the EU's role as a carrier of pluralism, integration of minority community policies and cooperation.

The “National Front” in France, led by Marine Le Pen, the Hungarian “Fidesz” party¹², headed by Prime Minister Victor Orban, the “UK Independence Party” and the catching on popularity “PEGIDA”¹³ in Germany, are only a part of the influential political formations with nationalistic character.

These parties take acutely their stand against the pro-immigration politics of the European leaders for tackling the refugee crisis. Generalized, their attitudes are qualified with xenophobia – in particular islamophobia, authoritarian tendencies and desire for ethnic grounds mass propaganda involvement, as well as taking strict precautions against legal and illegal immigration. Their standpoint reveals the disruption between the European leaders' policies and the contradictory sentiments of the majority of the European sociality.

¹² The Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Alliance.

¹³ Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West.

The migration flow in Europe undoubtedly is a major problematic issue for European elites who disregard other such issues as the Greek crisis which was until recently the agenda of the European sociality. The disagreement on measures for tackling the problem is further creating controversies concerning the principles of the European Union of political cooperation and free movement of goods, services, capitals and people. In order to move to the country they want to go, migrants pass through other countries in Europe intervening the basis of successful European project –the principles of open borders. It raises the question about how popular among the society would become the nationalistic formations views and would they be able to threaten the political status quo in particular countries, thus growing and spreading to a bigger level for the whole union. There already exist speculations about the risk of “returning the control over national borders” and this statement even unfulfilled by itself would probably lead to serious consequences.

The sentiment that Europe belongs to the Europeans will spread faster now with the rise of the nationalist inclinations and the aggravation of the migration and refugee crisis, heightening the anti-immigration sentiments which occurs even in Germany – the most pro-immigrant-oriented country in Europe. As Europeans, renouncing tolerance and freedom – basic human characteristics, it means we give up on ourselves. Just like those who we stand against on, we begin dividing the world of “us” and “them”, even working us up against those who are still expressing their tolerance. To give someone your help, to express empathy and tolerance, it is a Christian virtue and Europe is associated with Christian religion. Perhaps, it is the humane Europe in the era of globalization that is so attractive for a big part of the migrants. A large part of the Europeans are now facing the dilemma of choosing between freedom and security, of being “open” or “closed” to the world. On the other hand, being an intercessor of tolerance, diversity, intercultural dialogue, lenity and understanding could be defined as the highest form of societies’ “evolution”.

Political elites have a duty to manage the problem being more actively engaged in mainly dealing with the conflicts, fount of the migration crisis. Societies need determination and a civil position for countering the rising intolerance, extremism, fanaticism and our European destabilizing. For overcoming the crisis effects, it needs to get clear what is that we neglect when we show our tolerance.

A lot about nationalism could be said, but nevertheless, it might still be misunderstood, unriddled, undefined because it does not exist a universal theory of nation and nationalism. Nationalism might raise as much questions and provokes just as many problems as it might solve. Many would determine that the strength of nationalism lies precisely in its ambiguity. Understanding nationalism has a central role in clarifying many social conflicts with dominant place in contemporary daily round.

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https://www.ecb.europa.eu/ecb/legal/pdf/bg_lisbon_treaty.pdf

Para Citar este Artículo:

Popova, Rumyana. Nationalism in Europe: Main typologies and contemporary manifestations. Rev. Europa del Este Unida. Num. 2. Julio-Diciembre (2016), ISSN 0719-7284, pp. 09-16.

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