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И СОЦИАЛЬНОЕ ВРЕМЯ:
ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИОННЫЕ МОДЕЛИ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ
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БРЮССЕЛЬСКОЕ СОГЛАШЕНИЕ ПО КОСОВО И МЕТОХИИ - ДЕСЯТИЛЕТИЕ ПРОДОЛЖИТЕЛЬНОСТИ (НЕСУЩЕСТВОВАНИЯ)

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***Аннотация.** Брюссельское соглашение, первое соглашение о принципах, регулирующих нормализацию отношений между Белградом и Приштиной, было подписано в Брюсселе 19 апреля 2013 года, после шести месяцев и десяти раундов переговоров. Соглашение подписали тогдашние премьер-министры Республики Сербия и самопровозглашенного Косово, Ивица Дачич и Хашим Тачи, при посредничестве Верховного представителя ЕС по иностранным делам и политике безопасности Кэтрин Эштон. Если посмотреть на это событие 10 лет спустя, можно заметить, что Брюссельское соглашение не было рассчитано на долгосрочное существование, а послужило пробным шаром для разрушения государственности европейской страны, на примере Косово и Метохии, с целью создания нового прототипа, основанного на старых ошибках, с более оптимальными характеристиками и стало окончательно обязывающим. Сегодня можно говорить о десятилетнем формальном «отсутствии» исторически значимого соглашения.*

***Ключевые слова:** Брюссельское соглашение, Республика Сербия, Косово и Метохия, сербы, албанцы, нормализация отношений.*

BRUSSELS AGREEMENT FOR KOSOVO AND METOHIA - DETERMINED DECADE OF DURATION (NON-EXISTENCE)

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Abstract. *The Brussels Agreement, the first agreement on principles governing the normalization of relations between Belgrade and Pristina, was signed in Brussels on April 19, 2013, after six months of negotiations and ten rounds of talks. The agreement was signed by the then Prime Ministers of the Republic of Serbia and the self-proclaimed Kosovo, Ivica Dačić and Hashim Thaci, with the mediation of the EU High Representative for Foreign Policy and Security, Catherine Ashton. Viewed from the distance of a decade, the Brussels Agreement was not intended to last, but served as a trial balloon for the destruction of the statehood of a European country, on the example of Kosovo and Metohija, with the aim of creating a new, more optimal performance, finally binding one based on the errors of the prototype. Today we can talk about his decade-long formal "absence" of a historically significant agreement.*

Keywords: *Brussels Agreement, Republic of Serbia, Kosovo and Metohija, Serbs, Albanians, normalization of relations.*

Introduction. The first formal agreement on the principles governing the normalization of relations between Belgrade and Pristina is the so-called Brussels Agreement. As a proposal for an agreement, its aspiration was aimed at "normalizing relations" between the two governments - the Republic of Serbia and the self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo [7]. The Brussels Agreement, agreed and concluded on April 19, 2013, in Brussels, under the auspices of the European Union [3], less than a decade later lost all significance and relevance in the development of mutual relations between the conflicting parties. Today, ten years later, the Brussels Agreement is dressed in new clothes, and the facts, circumstances and actors that led to its adoption are deformed under the burden of a decade, fading and changing their essence.

The leaders of the negotiations and the signatories of the Brussels Agreement were the then Prime Ministers of the Republic of Serbia - Ivica Dačić and the self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo - Hashim Thaci. The entire process, the result of which is the signed Brussels Agreement, was conducted with the mediation of the high representative of the European

Union - Catherine Ashton. The essence of this document is reflected in the fact that the Government of Serbia does not recognize the Republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state [9], as a lost part of its territory, and the Brussels Agreement had the task of establishing the first steps in the normalization of relations between the Government of the Republic of Serbia and the Government of the unilaterally declared Republic of Kosovo .

Review of the content of the Brussels Agreement

The Brussels Agreement is composed of a total of fifteen points [7], of which the first 6 refer to the establishment and functioning of the Union of Serbian Municipalities, which today, ten years after the signing of the Brussels Agreement, has not been formed. The idea of founding the Union of Serbian Municipalities arose from a conflict of interests, on the one hand Pristina's desire to annul Serbian institutions, and on the other hand the desire of Belgrade and the Serbs in the north to preserve them. The compromise solution brought by the agreement was to "redress" them in its form, which would still be subordinated within the Kosovo administrative system. A broad sphere of competence of the Union of Serbian Municipalities was agreed upon, but many details were left to be worked out later; both sides accepted the idea of constructive ambiguity.

The first point of the agreement states that there will be an Association/Union of municipalities where Serbs form the majority population in Kosovo. Membership will be open to any other municipality provided members agree. As stipulated in the Agreement, this Unionn/Association will be established based on the Statute, and it can be dissolved only based on the decision of the participating municipalities. Legal guarantees will be provided by applicable law and constitutional law, including the two-thirds majority rule. The structures of the Association/Union will be established on the same basis as the existing Statute of the Association of Kosovo Municipalities, for example president, vice president, Assembly, Council. In accordance with the competencies assigned by the European Charter on Local Self-Government and Kosovo law, the participating municipalities will have the right to cooperate in the collective exercise of power through the Union/Association.

The remaining points are related to the obligations of integrating Serbs into the Kosovo judiciary and police, reaching an agreement on telecommunications and energy, and holding local elections in the north. The penultimate, 14th point underlines the agreement that no party will

block or encourage others to block the other party's progress on its path to the European Union.

The seventh point of the Brussels Agreement refers to the Kosovo Police. The agreement states that there will be a single police force in Kosovo called the Kosovo Police, that all the police in the north of Kosovo will be integrated into the framework of the Kosovo Police, and that salaries will be paid only by the Kosovo Police. Members of other Serbian security structures will be offered positions in equivalent Kosovo structures. The agreement stipulates that there will be a regional police commander for four municipalities in the north where Serbs make up the majority population - northern Mitrovica, Zvečan, Zubin Potok and Leposavić. The commander of this region will be a Kosovo Serb who will be appointed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs from a list submitted by four mayors on behalf of the Union/Association. The composition of the Kosovo Police in the north should reflect the ethnic composition of the population of these four municipalities. There will be another regional police commander for the municipalities of South Mitrovica, Srbica and Vučitrn. The regional commander of the four northern municipalities will cooperate with other regional commanders, as stipulated in the agreement.

The tenth point of the Agreement states that judicial authorities will be integrated and will function within the legal system of Kosovo. The agreement stipulated that the Court of Appeal in Pristina would form a panel with a majority of Kosovo Serb judges, which would be responsible for all municipalities where Serbs are the majority population. The Division of the Court of Appeal, consisting of administrative staff and judges, will have a permanent office in North Mitrovica (District Court in Mitrovica).

In the Brussels Agreement, the two parties agreed to hold municipal elections in the northern municipalities in 2013, with the mediation of the OSCE, in accordance with Kosovo law and international standards. The agreement stipulated that a plan for the implementation of the agreement be developed within seven days of signing, as well as that the principle of transparent financing be observed.

The Brussels agreement also provided for the two sides to intensify negotiations on energy and telecommunications and to conclude them by June 15, 2013.

In the penultimate, point 14, it is stated that it was agreed that no party will block, or encourage others to block, the other party's progress on the way to the EU.

The last point specifies that the two parties, with the help of the EU, will establish an Implementation Committee. In the Brussels Agreement,

Serbia and Resolution 1244 are not mentioned anywhere, nor are the ties of the Serbs in Kosovo and Serbia mentioned anywhere.

Implementation of the Brussels Agreement in practice

For both the Serbian and Kosovo public, the Brussels negotiations were treated under the slogan "about us without us". The Brussels process, in practice, has led to the situation that when people's faith in dialogue is undermined, dialogue ceases to work. Therefore, there was a clear mistrust in the politically directed and played process from its beginning. The establishment of a binational state took place. With the creation of the Union of Serbian Municipalities, governance and administration in Kosovo became dual, leaving many unclear points regarding the implementation and validity of legal systems. This circumstance contributed to the end of Serbia's ability to interfere and influence the internal politics of Kosovo, while as a compensation came the simultaneous latent benefit of some effects on everyday life in Kosovo. For the majority of the inhabitants of Kosovo, normalization had significance only in the highest political echelons, and all the changes that were expected as a consequence of the Brussels Agreement failed to penetrate the local level.

The assessment of the international community was that with the Brussels Agreement, Serbia and Kosovo took a deep step forward in the normalization of relations by reaching a consensus on the proposal with the mediation of the EU. However, as always, the devil is in the details. Without a clear plan for how the agreement would be implemented, the Brussels Agreement was administratively registered as stillborn ten years later.

Although progress was made in these fields, the main backbone of the struggle, and what turned out to be one of the main obstacles in the relations between Belgrade and Pristina, was the formation of the Union of Municipalities with a Serbian majority. The international community's justification for the lack of progress of this kind was in the slogan: for this agreement to succeed, there needs to be a sincere commitment to the implementation of each of its provisions, including the article related to the Union of Serbian Municipalities. The fact is that if only one element mentioned in the agreement is missing and is omitted in the implementation (especially if 6 out of 15 points are devoted to that element), then the agreement is basically meaningless.

The agreement on paper was not translated into practice, so contrary to the process of formation of the Union of Serbian Municipalities, the integration of the Serb-majority north into the Kosovo judiciary and police

took place. The turnover came in November 2022, when Serbs left all political institutions and stopped participating and working in judicial and police bodies in the north of Kosovo.

Additional complication comes from the oral acceptance of the Ohrid Agreement, when Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić and Kosovo Prime Minister Aljbin Kurti reached an oral agreement on the implementation annex of the Agreement on the Path to Normalization of Relations, which calls into question the validity and cancels in a certain way the Brussels Agreement by annulling the provisions defined by it and returning the process of "normalization" to the restarted decade zero.

The Brussels Agreement a decade later

Analysts believe that the Brussels Agreement was not fully implemented because the signatories selectively undertook obligations in accordance with their unilateral interests, while the international community was either passive or absent in the implementation of the signed agreements. In fact, both sides are victims of the EU's inability to solve European problems.

A clear plan for implementation is what is missing when it comes to the Brussels Agreement; it should have actually been the imperative. Instead it was a dead letter on paper.

Where the Brussels Agreement stopped, it must be extended, today ten years later through some plagiarism of Brussels II (Ohrid). On the one hand, Kosovo will have to unequivocally accept to start the process of establishing the Union of Serbian Municipalities, a point that was strongly reiterated in the guidelines of the European Council, as a binding legal obligation, without which there will be no agreement. Gabriel Escobar, Special Envoy for the Western Balkans stated that from the perspective of the USA, the establishment of the Union of Serbian Municipalities is legally binding within the framework of the agreement reached 10 years ago between Serbia, Kosovo and the EU. *"We see it as an obligation, because we supported the process and one political party cannot unilaterally withdraw from it. Therefore, we will look for ways to make that idea come true"* [8].

Conclusion. From the moment of its adoption, the Brussels Agreement was promoted as Serbia's greatest political and diplomatic achievement related to Kosovo after 1999 and Resolution 1244. A little more than 10 years ago, the historic Brussels Agreement was signed, which was intended to mark the beginning of the coexistence of the two peoples in Kosovo and

Metohija and the normalization of relations between Belgrade and Pristina. As a result of six months of negotiations and ten rounds of talks, 15 points were drawn up, six of which refer to the Union of Serbian Municipalities as a basic condition for Belgrade to achieve progress in further dialogue and normalization.

As the European Union, which created and initiated the agreement, signed the Brussels Agreement, apart from the representatives of Serbia and Kosovo, a part of the cake of responsibility must be attributed to it, as well as to the entire international community and to all those who supported the dialogue process because they they were obliged to exert the necessary pressure on Pristina for the Union of Serbian Municipalities to be formed, as a pillar of dialogue. It is a precedent of international politics, as the only agreement behind which the European Union stands, therefore both in writing and in signature, which is half fulfilled, half is not, and it enters the balance sheet of Europe's efficiency, which is not in favor of its playing God. The Brussels agreement shows that the European Union has in fact had no real credibility for the role it has been playing all this time¹.

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¹ The subject text is part of the research for the needs of the candidate's doctoral studies. The text contains a ten-year retrospective of the adoption of the Brussels Agreement, through the prism of looking at all the signatories: Belgrade, Pristina and representatives of the EU (International Community).

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ГРАМОТНОСТЬ В ЭПОХУ ЦИФРОВЫХ МЕДИА И ИСКУССТВЕННОГО ИНТЕЛЛЕКТА

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Аннотация. В статье представлена концепция и показана важность грамотности в современную, медиатизированную, цифровую эпоху и ее эволюция от концепции медиаграмотности к цифровой и ИИ грамотности в ходе развития цифровых медиа и

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