

UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE

Faculty of Political Sciences

Belgrade, August 2017

At the meeting of the Department of International Studies, held on 18 May 2017, the Master Thesis Defense Commission (hereby the Commission) for the candidate Igor Markovic was formed with the following members: Prof. dr Slobodan Samardžić, prof. dr Radmila Nakarada and prof. dr Nemanja Džuverović. The Council for the Second and Third Cycle of Studies has accepted the proposal made by the Department.

After reading the master thesis, the Commission is submitting the following report.

## **R E P O R T**

The master thesis of Igor Marković entitled "Brussels Agreement - a (delayed) peace accord" is comprised of 80 pages. Next to the Introduction and the Conclusion, the master thesis has four comprehensive chapters and the list of references.

In the introductory part, the author discusses the reasons for choosing the Brussels Agreement for the analysis in terms of its relation to peacebuilding process in Kosovo. Here he announces the way the research is going to be approached, stating that it will be based on an attempt to answer two of the following questions: the one being whether the Brussels Agreement bears characteristics of a peace accord, and the other whether the implementation of the Agreement has brought more peace to Kosovo citizens. Afterwards, the author explains the academic and scientific goals of the research.

In the first chapter (Peace agreements - definition and structure) the author gives an overview of the notion of peace agreements and analyzes their (usual) structure and content. He starts with a definition of peace accords that will be applied throughout the research, proposed by Arist von Hehn. Here, the author argues about the reasons for choosing the exact definition of peace accords which he utilized. After it, he lists different groups of peace accords and focuses on a particular group of peace accords which he chose to implement when analyzing the Brussels Agreement. He correlates the Agreement with a subgroup of peace accords designated as 'framework/substantive agreement'.

Afterwards, he focused on the typical structure of contemporary peace accords. Here the author used two theoretical frameworks regarding common structures of peace accords and examines their characteristics. The first framework was constructed by Ferdinand de Varennes and included a tripartite structure of typical peace accords. The second framework was created by Madhav and Joshi and consisted of 51 typical provisions present in contemporary peace accords. Based on these two, the author indicated that these frameworks are to be correlated with the Brussels Agreement through a comparative analysis of these frameworks and six grouped areas of the Agreement. In order to demonstrate the content of the Agreement itself, the author presents the whole document of the Brussels Agreement, followed by a discussion on how articles are to be grouped in six areas important to peacebuilding process in Kosovo.

In this chapter he also explained why some of the previously mentioned areas of the Agreement are going to be correlated with facts and events that are strictly related to this document but aren't part of it. The author also explains his standpoint on the issue of the unresolved status of Kosovo\* and then proposes the way post-conflict sides, which are part of the Brussels dialogue, are going to be (neutrally) designated in this research.

In the second chapter, the author gives an overview of relations between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo through the prism of history. By pointing out some of the most important historical events related to the history of Kosovo region, the author introduces the factual background that leads to animosity between Serbian and Albanian ethnic groups. After giving an overview of pre-20<sup>th</sup> century period, the author embarks upon an analysis of historical events of the of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that lead to Kosovo conflict, as well as giving a comprehensive overview of the conflict itself. He also examines the aftermath of the Kosovo war, in terms of consequences brought by Kumanovo Agreement and presence of international community in that region. Then the light was put on subsequent post-conflict dialogues between Belgrade and Prishtina that were aimed at resolving the final status of Kosovo were. The attention was put to different negotiation frameworks that preceded the Brussels talks, with a special overview of the latter. In this regard, he explained the timeline and development of negotiations within the Brussels dialogue framework. He made a distinction between technical dialogue and the political one, which started with the introduction of the Brussels Agreement. The author in this subchapter explores the act of confirmation of this document and overviews its symbolism.

Since the chapter "Brussels Agreement – implementation and its effects on peace in Kosovo" deals with implementation of six thematic dimensions of the Brussels Agreement, the author examines the notion of implementation when it comes to peace accords and connects it to the case of Kosovo. The analysis of the area, that is the Amnesty law, starts with a theoretical analysis and purpose of amnesty laws in general. The author also clarifies the reason for including this area in the analysis, given that this law wasn't explicitly mentioned in the Agreement. Being given a theoretical framework, the author explained historical and political circumstances that lead to the introduction of the Amnesty law within the Kosovo legal system. Afterwards, he evaluated the progress of its introduction, implementation and practical consequences brought by this law.

The area of elections, the creation of local municipalities and reform of the judicial system is analyzed by the author through the study of their importance for democratic and judicial institutions and processes of peacebuilding in Kosovo. By dividing democratic and judicial dimensions of this area, the author separately analyzes progress made in the implementation of the Brussels Agreement in these two dimensions. He compared and commented on different viewpoint in regards to the progress made in these areas. Consequently, he made an overall overview of the changes brought by implementation of these areas in the post-Agreement Kosovo.

In the subchapter dedicated to the Association/Community of Serb majority municipalities, the author examines the notion and theoretical and practical basis of ethnic autonomy in general. Then, he connects it to the case of proposed autonomy for Serbs in Kosovo, defined by the Agreement. He discusses the importance of the creation of such an entity within Kosovo region, from both the perspective of Serbian community and its importance for peacebuilding process. Then he evaluates barriers that disenabled the creation of the proposed autonomy and analyzes the reason behind such state of affairs.

The integration and unification of security structures were analyzed by the author through the evaluation of the progress regarding the integration of security staff formerly employed by Belgrade into the Kosovo security structures. By discussing the role of stable security structures within a post-conflict environment in general, he then examines this fact in the case of Kosovo. After evaluating the progress made in the process of security integration, he argued about

perspectives of stability in this conflict ridden area after changes brought by the Brussels Agreement.

Apart from analyzing progress on the implementation of agreed terms for changes in energy and telecommunication sectors, the author studied economic changes that took part in the post-conflict period in Kosovo. In the subchapter dedicated to the improvement of economic (and social) conditions, he examined the relationship between economic parameters and the peacebuilding process in Kosovo. More concretely, he compared progress made in economy and changes prompted by the Brussels negotiation process, with a focus on their interconnectedness. The author also gave a special attention to the evolvement of transformations made in the areas of energy and telecommunications.

Finally, the author examined the integration of Kosovo into regional and international frameworks, as defined by the Brussels Agreement. Before dealing with the process of admittance of Kosovo into the international community, the author explained the importance of being part of such a community. Afterwards, he dealt with obstacles and progress made on the Kosovo's path of admittance towards regional and international organizations, with an overview of consequences brought by these steps.

In the fourth chapter the author reviews outcomes of the research relying upon results made in previous chapters. The author summarized these results with an overview of every of six dimensions, as well the document as a whole. He correlated theoretical framework with the practical results and drew conclusions based on this relation. After this, the author argues in this chapter whether the Brussels Agreement has brought more peace for Kosovo citizens and has it had a visible impact on peacebuilding process. By explaining the nature of this relation, the author suggests his standpoint in regards to the interaction of the Brussels Agreement (and the Brussels dialogue) and the peacebuilding process in Kosovo.

In the conclusion, the author presents and summarizes findings reached during the research by giving an overview of the results. He also presents the practical outcomes of the research and argues about its consequences.

Finally, the Commission is convinced that the candidate Igor Marković has shown a deep understanding of the role peace agreements have in resolving violent and protracted conflicts in the contemporary world, as well as the importance formal and informal criteria have in contributing to the successes or failures of modern peace agreements. Also, the Commission

is convinced that the candidate possesses comprehensive knowledge on the history of conflicts in FR Yugoslavia and Serbia, and the most recent developments in Kosovo, reflected mainly through so called Brussels Dialogue. The Commission also asserts that in his thesis, the candidate has offered the novel approach to the above-mentioned dialogue (and subsequent Agreement), providing a fresh perspective on nature and the purpose the Agreement has for political, economic, social and everyday relations in Kosovo. Based on this, the Commission concludes that the master thesis "Brussels Agreement - a (delayed) peace accord" by Igor Marković fulfils all the formal criteria for the public defence.

The Commission:

Prof. dr Slobodan Samardžić,

Prof. dr Radmila Nakarada,

Prof. dr Nemanja Džuverović