

**Conflict Prevention for Kosovo/a in an Era of ‘Illiberal Democracy’  
Contributions and Challenges in the Transatlantic Experience  
Discovering Education’s ‘Fourth Wave’\***

Colette Mazzucelli, MALD, PhD

Senior Research Fellow, EastWest Institute, New York  
Chair, Transatlantic Internet Seminar Kosovo/a (TISK2000), Sciences Po, Paris  
Berlin Prize Bosch Fellow, 2001, American Academy in Berlin & Aspen Institute Berlin  
Co-President, 1999-2000, Robert Bosch Foundation Alumni Association

**Conflict Prevention - A Working Definition**

As defined by Michael S. Lund, “Preventive diplomacy, or conflict prevention, consists of governmental or nongovernmental actions, policies and institutions that are taken deliberately to keep particular states or organized groups within them from threatening or using organized violence, armed force or related forms of coercion such as repression as the means to settle interstate or national political disputes, especially in situations where the existing means cannot peacefully manage the destabilizing effects of economic, social, political, and international change”.<sup>1</sup>

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which is likely to be characterized by the salience of ethnic conflict on the international agenda, conflict prevention could be required either as a means to counter the emergence of new conflicts or, more importantly, **in the aftermath of a conflict to avoid a relapse once violence has abated.**<sup>2</sup> This paper is concerned with prevention in the aftermath of armed conflict as this relates to on-going ethnic tensions and border violence in Kosovo/a.

In subsequent pages, the challenges to preventive diplomacy in Serbia in terms of the need to construct a viable state, on the one hand, and the weakness of civil society, on the other, are outlined. Given the actions and needs of the peoples in Kosovo/a, the situation there sheds light on the notion of ‘illiberal democracy’. A discussion of the role of peace education as an instrument of prevention for citizens in democracies follows. The relevance of education’s ‘fourth wave’ to the evolution of ‘constitutional liberalism’ is also explained. As we begin to discover the ‘fourth wave’, it is important to flesh out the concept of ‘educational diplomacy’ via prevention initiatives while bearing in mind the ethical responsibility of preventive diplomacy. In closing, the contributions and challenges offered to a transatlantic dialogue aimed at prevention in Kosovo/a via ‘fourth wave’ education in the liberal tradition are underscored. Specifically, the role of the information revolution in the second creation of **a Euro-Atlantic community that takes on more of a domestic character** is presented.

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<sup>1</sup> Michael S. Lund, “Early Warning and Preventive Diplomacy,” in *Managing Global Chaos*, Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela Aall, eds. (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1996), pp. 384-85.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 385.

## **Facing Challenges to Conflict Prevention in Kosovo/a**

The persistent outbreaks of violence in Kosovo/a, most recently in the border area with Serbia, point to a need for preventive measures and the difficulty inherent in their implementation. The weakness of the state in Serbia, and the corresponding need to build viable administrative, economic, legal and political structures, complicate efforts at prevention. The lack of any visible presence of Waltz's second image explains in large part society's inaudible 'voice' except for the cycles of revenge that consume Serbs and Albanians in turn. In Kosovo/a the international community faces a situation in which the right of an overwhelming majority to rule, to achieve a desired objective of independence, is in question. A democratic transformation led to a regime change in Serbia. Yet, the rule of the people in an atmosphere of general chaos and lawlessness renders the means to educate peoples there in a spirit of hope all the more critical to their evolution.

One constructive development in education as an instrument of conflict prevention is that the focus of peace education programs in Serbia is to educate for "positive peace" in Reardon's definition. Here the notion of positive peace tends to cluster around three sets of values: "communal and civic values, life-affirming values, and the value of the human person and positive human relationships".<sup>3</sup> Reardon's writings, and their application to peace education in Serbia, emphasize "citizenship, stewardship, and relationships".<sup>4</sup>

As institution building occurs in Serbia, through such conflict prevention measures as the European Union's Stability Pact, a critical challenge for prevention is to focus on the individual within the society and to construct a viable state that can be responsive to that person's most basic security needs. As institution building takes place, we must ask ourselves two fundamental questions in terms of the future of the peoples in the former Yugoslavia: What type of democracy is feasible for Serbia? What does a democratic Serbia mean for the future of Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo/a?

### **The Era of 'Illiberal Democracy'**

The unabated violence in Kosovo/a, and the desire for revenge there, present us with an imperative to consider not only the steps to democracy, defined as "the rule of the people", but the steps to "constitutional liberalism" distinguished by such freedoms as separation of powers and the protection of basic liberties of speech, assembly, religion and property. Here Fareed Zakaria's analysis of "the rise of illiberal democracy" is of particular relevance.<sup>5</sup> The distinction between liberal and illiberal democracy is made by Zakaria in reference to the thinking of Immanuel Kant, the original proponent of democratic peace. Democracy, in Kant's eyes, was tyrannical akin to the unchecked sway and rule of the mob. Republicanism, in his eyes, was on much more solid ground,

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<sup>3</sup> Betty Reardon, *Comprehensive Peace Education: Educating for Global Responsibility* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988), pp. 29-37 as cited in Ruzica Rosandic, *Grappling with Peace Education in Serbia*, Peaceworks No. 33 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2000), pp. 31-32.

<sup>4</sup> Rosandic, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* (November-December 1997): 22-43.

with its foundation in checks and balances, protection of individual rights, rule of law, and some representation in government, albeit far short of universal suffrage.<sup>6</sup>

In the absence of this basis in constitutional liberalism, the advent of democracy may lead to fervor and to a rally of the masses behind a national cause.<sup>7</sup> The Albanians in Kosovo/a could never identify with the cause espoused by the Milosevic regime. This is one reason why confrontation became an attractive alternative to the non-violent resistance practiced by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, head of the Democratic League of Kosovo/a, the province's main ethnic Albanian party since 1989.

In what is now a de facto international protectorate, the pressing dilemma is how to educate for positive peace, as a means to prevent continued violence of Albanians against Serbs in cycles of revenge and of fear. Education as a tool in peacemaking and peacebuilding has resonance beyond Track Two approaches in which the involvement of the citizen is noteworthy because of the variety, scope and depth of the individual's activities. Here multi-track diplomacy, as practiced and explained in the on-going work and writings of Ambassador John McDonald<sup>8</sup> and more immediately in Kosovo/a in the EducWeb project using the Internet to facilitate school twinning projects across the Atlantic by Mr. Armand Burguet<sup>9</sup> are particularly relevant. It is peace education programs that seek to "develop the individual and, above all, seek to understand individual needs and to encourage self-expression, self-esteem, self-confidence and personal accountability"<sup>10</sup> that may offer the peoples of Kosovo/a and Serbia a way to understand and live with their differences in an atmosphere in which constitutional liberalism may take root.

### **Peace Education as an Instrument of Prevention for Citizens**

As we think about peace education as an instrument of prevention, it is helpful to return to Waltz's "first image" because of its emphasis on human nature, fundamentally pessimistic in the realist tradition and essentially optimistic in the liberal perspective in international relations. The liberal dimension emphasizes a shift away from the sovereign state as the principal actor in global politics. Here our concern and the focus of our energies is on "identity-based groups, such as nations, indigenous peoples, women, and ethnicities" and on the individual as the central actor.<sup>11</sup>

While preventive diplomacy initiatives like the Stability Pact must also be concerned with institution building, education programs place the individual citizen, and the traumas he or she has experienced, at the heart of prevention in post-conflict situations. The approach here is a holistic one with roots in social psychology. Peace education efforts

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 37.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 38.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. Louise Diamond and Ambassador John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy*, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1996, pp. 1-10.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.educweb.com>

<sup>10</sup> Rosandic, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Michael N. Barnett, "Bringing in the New World Order," *World Politics* Volume 49, Number 4 (July 1997): 538.

are hopeful about the capacity of human nature to evolve and pragmatic in the content focus of their programs that may enable participants to learn from the tragedy of conflict. In addition to the work highlighted previously to help the individual develop, there is also work that develops “constructive understanding and assertive relationships with others”.<sup>12</sup> An appreciation of individual and group differences and social responsibility form a basis on which to build and identify approaches to resolve conflict constructively, to develop feelings of empathy and to establish partnerships.

Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott identifies the nexus between peace education and the future of the peoples in Serbia when he wrote: “...The ultimate status of Kosovo is a question for the future. If the people who live there are ever going to settle for some form of self-governing autonomy short of total independence, it will only be if Serbia itself changes profoundly. It will only be if Serbia frees itself from the tyranny and barbarism personified by (President Slobodan) Milosevic. It will only be if the people of Serbia foster the conditions in which they and the people of Kosovo can, once again, live with each other – not in the context of the old Yugoslavia but in the context of a new Europe.”<sup>13</sup>

As Kosovo/a and Serbia rebuild, the accent is placed on fulfilling the most basic security needs in an atmosphere of disorder, lawlessness and violence. As Armand Burguet points out, young people want a reason to believe in the present. Hope for the future is a precious commodity. The older generations are most rooted in the traumas of the past. In this environment, it is the human interactions that can make a difference in the lives of the peoples in the region. Yet, there is also a larger responsibility in preventive diplomacy for citizens outside the region but within the transatlantic and global communities. This responsibility is not only to learn first-hand about the realities of the situation in Serbia, but to engage actively in the processes of peacebuilding and reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia. It is on behalf of this citizens’ communitarian engagement in conflict prevention that fourth wave education may find its initial expression and its evolving relevance.

### **Discovering and Riding Education’s Fourth Wave**

As defined by Dr. Terrence R. Redding, the key component of fourth wave education is ‘interactive’ and the tremendous possibilities of growing a knowledge pool without any one person being in control. The apparent random growth of crystals, but each with predictable structure as long as the conditions remain right for crystal formation, is an example. This is not a fourth wave that is Internet dependent. In fact, as Dr. Redding argues, the Internet may well be a legacy concept at some point this century. His concern with binding the fourth wave concept to the Internet is that the label “Internet” may in itself be limiting. Redding identifies fourth wave learners as those who move beyond normal structures of learning to control the extended time associated with not only the acquisition of knowledge but also the creation of knowledge. As they extend paradigms

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<sup>12</sup> Rosandic, p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> Strobe Talbott, “The Balkan Question and the European Answer”, The Aspen Institute, Aspen, Colorado, August 24, 1999, <http://www.useu.be/ISSUES/balkan0826.html>

of understanding, fourth wave learners are literally creating knowledge as they gain understanding of emerging constructs, structures, concepts and information.

As Redding writes, “The Information Age, while an identifiable point in time (wave, as in a moving point, in a continuum) will give birth to the Knowledge Age and a rebirth of Taylorism (the elitist notion that the educated will make decisions for the uneducated - directing the industrial might of the Industrial Age nations and enterprises). The Knowledge Age (which will constitute a fourth wave) will make a clear distinction between those who understand the power of knowledge and those who think power lies in the transmission and holding of information. Third wave educators are embracing the information age and using it to foster access to learning. Those trapped in the industrial age, those worried about making education too easy - will argue against the use of technology and confuse the two terms - information and knowledge. (An example is thinking that answers to test questions represent knowledge, and not just information). Fourth wave educators - like Bensusan, Boston and Mazzucelli are busy using the Internet to disseminate knowledge. They actively seek ways to open access to the widest number of participants with minimum barriers to learning”.<sup>14</sup>

This paper argues that the potential of fourth wave education is in its impact on the individual and on his or her way of thinking about, experiencing, participating in and contributing to the emerging liberal order in world affairs. In relation to the development of the individual, the influence of the fourth wave may also be felt in the ways in which the individual is brought into a community of other persons who shape and share the reality that their collective learning experience creates. Here it is just as important to learn from realism’s insights about man’s individual quest for power and the enduring dominance of the state as to acknowledge the limits inherent in the realist perspective. In an age in which the nature of the state and the notion of sovereignty are changing in response to global interdependence, federations are breaking up because people no longer identify with the states in which they live. Education and diplomacy meet at a point where prevention, like charity, begins at home. In the global classroom, with its cognitive learning beyond borders and its social networking across continents, home takes on as much a communitarian perspective as a national character. Prevention, in this context, is intrinsically tied to an innate desire to learn about the other by experiencing his or her reality. This is because the reality of conflict and the need for prevention are brought into a learning environment that must integrate and organize practitioners’ experiences, virtual resources and concepts in books into a comprehensive whole.

In our experience with the transatlantic Internet seminar Kosovo/a for Sciences Po, Paris, the Center for Applied Policy Research in Munich and the University of Costa Rica, there is a need for guest lecturers physically present in the Paris classroom because the students are taught by their professor who is located in New York or, on occasion, in Washington, DC. On average she is in Paris once every six weeks. The global classroom takes on an asynchronous character via a threaded discussion on Nice Net about issues raised in the seminar like the future status of Kosovo/a, the role of the US in the Balkans and the

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<sup>14</sup> <http://www.landfield.com/faqs/education/distance-ed-faq/part3/>

ICTY.<sup>15</sup> Information about seminar proceedings is circulated via eGroups in an inclusive manner by inviting those citizens who are interested in the content of the Internet seminar to join the list serv to receive a daily digest of exchanges about our topics. The requirements to integrate practitioners, to engage citizens in an inclusive manner regardless of geographical locations or time zones and to include students of diverse nationalities and intercultural experiences in the class enhance the communitarian nature of the seminar and point to its possibilities as an initiative in educational diplomacy.

### **Educational Diplomacy and Its Potential in the Field of Prevention**

In remarks at La Maison Française on April 19, 2000, Secretary of Education Riley underlined the importance of international education in the policy context by highlighting an important area of cooperation. In his words, this is "the power of educational diplomacy." Riley's reference to ethnic conflicts, including violence in Kosovo/a, established a critical link between education and tolerance in the civil society dialogue and an American foreign policy for the 21st century. In this context, the Secretary touched on the need for a definition of the United States' national interest in transatlantic and world affairs in terms of the American democratic tradition and the evolving nature of collective security.

This paper incorporates Secretary Riley's ideas with a caveat: the American democratic tradition evolved in the United States because of specific historical, cultural and geographic conditions which are not easily adapted to other countries. Clearly the importance of ideas in American foreign policy, its attachment to a Wilsonian liberal tradition and the tensions inherent in its willingness at times to embrace balance of power politics point to the on-going realist-liberal dialectic in its diplomatic policy. In its relations with other countries of the world, educational diplomacy may serve the American interest in preventive diplomacy when its focus is turned to nurturing constitutional liberalism where illiberal democracy easily may flourish and when its initiatives indicate an openness to the relevance of social-democratic traditions in countries rebuilding after conflict.

### **The Ethical Responsibility of Education's Fourth Wave in Preventive Diplomacy**

This paper does not advocate replacing the traditional classroom with "Internet pedagogy". In the global classroom, as we relate in on-going dialogue, we establish a different kind of connection than that of the traditional interaction with the humaneness of its face-to-face encounters. We experience a forum that encourages us to get to know one another initially through audio, email and on-screen exchanges by which we may send photos, text and voice messages. This is no substitute for in-person meetings; yet, in the present environment, the Internet and travel give people the impression of living globally even though their actual knowledge of the world may be superficial, dated or, at

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.nicenet.org>

worst, incorrect.<sup>16</sup> Ours is not a choice, as Tom Friedman suggests, between email exchanges and PTA meetings.<sup>17</sup> Each is a viable way to community building, but the present world and its problems require innovative, people-oriented solutions beyond borders. Our duty as citizens is to address these problems and suggest solutions that work in this context. A transatlantic policy dialogue via the Internet is an acknowledgement that global learning is part of the core curriculum, not an optional elective.

Through its inclusion of people and materials from governmental and non-governmental organizations involved in Kosovo/a, and in conjunction with other Internet initiatives like EducWeb, the transatlantic Internet seminar Kosovo/a integrates engaged partners, multi-cultural content and technological innovation. Its emphasis is on a liberalist orientation that is integral to a global society still lacking in “coherence, cohesiveness and consensus”, but that nonetheless offers a framework to define those global responsibilities with which national interests increasingly intersect.<sup>18</sup> Its audience comprises citizens who understand the world because of their practical experience and learning across continents. Its challenge for the minds of the Internet generation is dual requiring us to achieve: a balance in our attentiveness across time periods, to learn from the past, realize the present and see the future; and a synthesis in our understanding of economic trends, political relationships and cultural differences. The liberalist response has yet to play out in Kosovo/a. Yet, in a globalized environment, an exponentially increasing number of networks across borders have the potential over time to level the hierarchical structure of the pyramid that has long defined the realist paradigm.

At the close of the last century, American leaders and citizens were making an adjustment to globalization, expressing a preference for multilateralism and coming to the realization that economic strength is a more important indicator of influence in world affairs than military prowess. Social problems dominated leaders and citizens national concerns with education cited most often by leaders and most prominently by citizens.<sup>19</sup> The significance of globalization to the national interest retains bi-partisan support in Congress. This suggests that the role of technology in the strategic priorities set at all levels of education in the United States is likely to be a prominent one.<sup>20</sup> At this juncture the transatlantic community is presented with a historic opportunity to define their dialogue on Kosovo/a, and a whole host of issues related to conflict prevention and peacebuilding, in a way that brings the world of policy into an unprecedented type of

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<sup>16</sup> William Pfaff, “The Future of the United States as a Great Power,” *Fifteenth Annual Morgenthau Memorial Lecture on Ethics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 1996).

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree Understanding Globalization* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000), p. 473.

<sup>18</sup> Joel H. Rosenthal, “An Ethical Approach to International Politics”, *Perspectives 1* (New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 1993), 3.

<sup>19</sup> John E. Rielly, ed., *American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy 1999* (Chicago: Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1999), pp. 4 & 7.

<sup>20</sup> Of interest in this context is the Report of the Web-Based Education Commission to the President and Congress of the United States, *The Power of the Internet for Learning Moving from Promise to Practice*, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 2000), <http://www.webcommission.org>

learning across continents. This opportunity defines in some measure for citizens the ethical responsibility of education's fourth wave in preventive diplomacy.

### **Contributions and Challenges in the Transatlantic Experience**

Early in the 1990s, Elizabeth Pond wrote of the impact of interdependence on the notion of "community" and underscored the need for a "second creation" in transatlantic relations:

"Surely the time has now come to drop the old arguments about pulling back from a Europe that is our own flesh and blood. We, like the Germans, are already postnational. In this interdependent world of potential nuclear annihilation, global warming and instant communication, our policy differences with German and other European allies can no longer be understood as old-fashioned clashes of national interests. They have become instead virtually domestic debates. The Euro-Atlantic community is already a reality. It awaits only a second creation worthy of the first."<sup>21</sup>

For Europeans, the experience of globalization is one viewed not only in the realms of economics and technology, but in terms of cultures and their historical differences, as the steps taken in integration already illustrate. As Americans and Europeans come to terms with enduring cycles of conflict in attempts to break their hold, each side confronts the lessons of the other's experience. The past that Kosovo/a embodies represents a reality that older generations of Europeans across the Continent know only too well, but that Americans of any generation are unlikely to encounter. The historical experience of the United States was one based on an understanding of Europe as "elsewhere."<sup>22</sup> It is an immigrants' experience that turned its back on the past and looked toward the future as a way to escape the present and its hardship. The immigrants on-going narrative is told in this era by the waves to US shores throughout the 1990s. It is a story that has transformed the American society into one that is not only more heterogeneous, but inherently more global. The fact that the nation's largest mosque may be found in northwest Ohio, that Iowa seeks immigrants to shore up its labor or that New York City's Queens borough is home to more nationalities than the United Nations makes the point.

Americans' reluctance to look to the past for the roots of the new era's troubles is one obstacle to a transatlantic dialogue; the weight of history on Europeans' ability to respond to challenges the future presents is yet another. A technological bridge that spans the Continents requires creative imagination to construct, substantial human resources to sustain and a mutual commitment to use. Yet, it is a virtue borne of necessity, the mother of invention. As this bridge widens, a broad spectrum of technology initiatives taken by leaders and citizens in concert is likely. This development has the potential to encourage the type of communication that fosters a genuine multilateralism that stands in sharp contrast to "unilateralism with allies."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Pond, *Beyond the Wall* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1993), p. 269.

<sup>22</sup> David Fromkin, *In the Time of the Americans* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), p. 24.

<sup>23</sup> Tony Smith, "Morality and the Use of Force in a Unipolar World: The Wilsonian Moment?" *Ethics and International Affairs* 14 (2000): 22.

In this era of transition, Europe and America are most certain to encounter difficulties across the Atlantic. One common goal that may unite the continents is the need to guide transformation to a new era of global politics. In terms of prevention in Kosovo/a, institution building and development not only of infrastructure, but, more importantly, of human resources are imperative. As Werner Weidenfeld explains: "...Development cannot be imposed from above. Therefore, strengthening civil society and ensuring popular participation in the different processes in each phase of development are of decisive importance. A key variable of underdevelopment is the dearth of differentiation in society, politics and economics. Without constant improvement of the human capital, development cannot be consolidated and sustained."<sup>24</sup>

Historically NATO was designed to keep the Americans in Europe,<sup>25</sup> but the American presence in the Europe of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has already defined itself more extensively in its military actions than at any other time in the past. In light of the Kosovo/a experience, issues of crisis management and peace keeping, outside the tradition scope of activities for a defensive alliance, are raised. NATO's evolving role in these operations is being determined as the European Rapid Defence Force develops in response to United States' attitudes about its European engagements.

The American presence in Europe and the European identity are at times viewed traditionally in the NATO context. A second creation worthy of the first would be to consider each in a communitarian manner nurtured by an information revolution that puts individuals first. In order to build a modern state and a democratic society in Serbia, education and access to information are critical. Freedom of information and checks on power are important core components for the consolidation of constitutional liberalism.<sup>26</sup> Initiatives in conflict prevention by the transatlantic community in Serbia will have to address with local actors problems of consensus-building, networking and the uses of technology over time. This emphasis on preventive diplomacy in education's fourth wave for Kosovo/a and the former Yugoslavia could pull America and Europe out of an inward looking dynamic toward the trends which integration and globalization intrinsically create. The emphasis on prevention, however, places citizens at the center with people, not institutions, at the heart of the transformation. As the Euro-Atlantic community discovers the fourth wave, this is at once the challenge and the contribution of the liberal perspective.

\*Sections of this paper are taken from Mazzucelli, *Enduring Cycles Understanding Conflict in Kosovo/a: EU-US Approaches to Crisis and the Emerging Transatlantic Internet Policy Dialogue*, unpublished paper. The content was the basis for a presentation at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs for Session XII, TISK2000, 12 January 2001, which the Council's Conflict Prevention Program graciously hosted.

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<sup>24</sup> Werner Weidenfeld, "Farewell to Metternich," *Internationale Politik* Transatlantic Edition (1/2000): 78.

<sup>25</sup> The United States Mission to the European Union, "The United States, Germany and the Idea of Europe" An Address by Strobe Talbott, Deputy Secretary of State, The American Academy in Berlin, March 20, 1998.

<sup>26</sup> Weidenfeld, p. 80.