

"eEurope in Action? Kosovo, ESDP, and the Establishment of an Internet Pedagogy"*

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“...the key question is whether the Balkans matter enough to justify...risks and costs. My answer is simple: They do matter that much, because European stability remains a basic American national security interest which did not end with the end of the cold war. When confronted by the criminal elements still threatening the Balkan region, which is located well within NATO’s area of responsibility, the only choice, in my view, is between early involvement at a low cost or heavier involvement later.”¹ - Richard Holbrooke

Introduction. In its document, eEurope, the European Commission presents “a political initiative to ensure that the European Union fully benefits for generations to come from the changes the Information Society is bringing”.² There are three points in the eEurope document about bringing European youth into the Digital Age, Fast Internet for researchers and students and Government online that this paper addresses in the context of educational efforts to create an Internet pedagogy for conflict prevention.

This paper argues that the conflict in Kosovo/a highlights the need for such a pedagogy that may serve as an indication to citizens of the potential for democratic transparency within the evolving European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP). The case study presented here is a unique example of a transnational Internet seminar about Kosovo/a taught by a team of ‘fourth wave’ educators³ and involving numerous practitioners. The fall 2000 seminar is part of an evolving series known as the transatlantic Internet seminar Kosovo/a and Southeastern Europe (TISKSE), <http://www.rboston.com/bosch>⁴; it is taught as an online curricular offering with credit granted to students at the Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris (ScPo) and the Center for Applied Policy Research (CAP)/University of Munich. The participants in TISK2000 originate from 12 countries on the European continent. In 5-7 years, they will most likely be future decision-makers in their respective countries. As a group, the European participants share a common frame of reference with American and Costa Rican counterparts in TISKSE. This reference point is a unique educational experience using new communications technology that is cost-effective and inclusive. Our intention is to educate these students via direct contact with peoples in Kosovo/a and the region. As

¹ Richard Holbrooke, “Risking a New War in the Balkans,” *The New York Times Online*, April 8, 2001, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/04/08/opinion/08HOLB.html>

² <http://www.w3.org/WAI/References/eEurope>

³ 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. Colette Mazzucelli, “Conflict Prevention for Kosovo/a in an Era of ‘Illiberal Democracy’ Contributions and Challenges in the Transatlantic Experience Discovering Education’s ‘Fourth Wave’” in Evangelische Akademie, *The Renewal of the Transatlantic Partnership The Responsibility of the EU and the USA for Stability, Security and Peace in the World Conference Papers*, Loccum, March 9-11, 2001, <http://www.loccum.de>

⁴ The TISKSE series is made possible through on-going financial support from the Robert Bosch Foundation in Stuttgart, Germany as well as in-kind contributions from all of the partners in the transatlantic Internet seminar Kosovo/a.

Internet pedagogues, we aim to encourage pro-active policy thinking with a practical vision geared toward strategic initiatives in the Balkans bridging the Atlantic. There are implications of increased worldwide access to the Internet for the dimensions of transparency, legitimacy and an emerging sense of allegiance on the part of citizens in the evolving European polity. This is true within the member states as well as in the candidate countries. This paper argues that these implications may be explored in more detail through interactive, multi-national student participation in Internet public policy seminars on a regular basis. The content of these seminars is readily available online and may be disseminated widely to increase popular awareness about ESDP and its accent on preventive diplomacy within a transatlantic, NATO and global context.

In the pages that follow, several points related to TISK2000 and its implementation are developed in more depth. These points explain the rationale for creating the Internet seminar and its intended evolution in the years ahead. In order to understand the Balkans, it is necessary to explore why the state and civil society in Serbia are weak and the ways in which this reality engenders conflict. ESDP is evolving with an emphasis in the area of preventive action. This evolution has implications for NATO's transition and the ways in which the continents may act together either to prevent conflict in third countries or assist in post-conflict peace building. In the domestic arena of each NATO member, citizens must understand the economic, diplomatic and military policies of their governments in order to be able to voice popular support, or the lack thereof, in an informed manner. In this context, the emergence of an Internet pedagogy for prevention rests on a triad democracy-technology-diplomacy. The evolving technological applications in education are grounded in an ethical engagement in global issues that the TISKSE series illustrates. The nexus between national and international dynamics illustrates that states are tenacious and increasingly transnational in the globalization era. In my view, citizens within liberal democracies have an educational duty to learn across borders about prevention, resolution, management and peace keeping as a result of direct contact with those in conflict areas. This contact supposes a much broader access to new communications technology, particularly the Internet, than presently exists; access, in this sense, is a basic right that should be posited according to the principle of "freedom from exclusion".⁵ As an educational initiative with a transatlantic focus and a global outreach, TISK2000 is a pioneering example of eEurope in action at the popular level. As the

⁵ There are seven freedoms defined in the *Human Development Report 2000*: freedom from discrimination; freedom from fear; freedom of speech; freedom from want; freedom to develop and realize one's human potential; freedom from injustice and violations of the rule of law; and freedom for decent work – without exploitation. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

ESDP evolves within NATO to establish the peaceful integration of the Balkans into the Western community, the series' emphasis is on personal transformation and constructive group interactions as an instrument of preventive diplomacy. Ultimately, effective Internet pedagogy creates a balance of real and virtual communities in transnational policy seminars. It fosters an increased awareness across and beyond borders of the decisive influence that people may exert in prevention efforts initiated in the context of a liberal framework that defines the global information society. Since ours is a pioneering endeavor, there are, of course, obstacles to encounter, limits to recognize and challenges to address in our efforts. The limits to Internet pedagogy in the context of eEurope are therefore explored prior to the paper's conclusion.

Background. The crises in the Balkans over the past decade, and the Kosovo conflict in particular, taught European governments three fundamental lessons that are likely to influence the establishment of a common European Security and Defense Policy for decades to come. The first lesson is that it is necessary, as Rudolf Scharping argues, to identify the underlying causes of crises "even earlier" and to adopt a preventive approach.⁶ The second lesson is that the new risks in the 21st century, including transnational crime and drug-trafficking amidst open borders, scarcity of vital human resources, ecological disasters, cyber-terrorism and disease epidemics that threaten continental populations, make us rethink the notion of security.⁷ The third lesson is that the air campaign in Kosovo drove home to European governments the urgent need to address major shortfalls in defense capabilities that would allow the European Union (EU) to develop an ESDP in the vision of St. Malo, Washington, Cologne and Helsinki.⁸

Three challenges may be identified as the Europeans establish an ESDP over time within the NATO context. The initial challenge, explained succinctly by Jonathan Davidson, is "how to provide for the interests of NATO members that are not part of the EU 15 or the wider EU in the future".⁹ A second challenge is fostering a

⁶ Rudolf Scharping, "Germany, Kosovo and the Alliance" in *The Legacy of Kosovo: German Politics and Policies in the Balkans*, Wolfgang-Uwe Friedrich, ed. German Issues 22 (Washington, DC: American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, 2000), p. 39. AICGS is the DC partner site for the TISKSE series, <http://www.aicgs.org>

⁷ Christopher Coker, "Introductory Paper" for the 21st Century Trust conference *Rethinking Security for the Twenty First Century*, Merton College, Oxford, 23-31 March 2001, <http://www.21stcenturytrust.org/>

⁸ NATO Fact Sheets, *Strengthening European Security and Defence Capabilities*, <http://www.nato.int/docu/facts/2000/dev-esdi.htm>

⁹ Nathalie Roth, "The New European Security and Defense Policy" (Panel Summary) for *The Future of Europe: Conference of the European Union Centers*, February 9 and 10, 2000, The German House, New York City, <http://eucenters.org/esdp.htm>

commitment to the significant investment that is needed to enable NATO to respond to a wide range of new threats to the Euro-Atlantic community. This investment would be along the lines of the Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI) adopted at the Washington Summit in 1999 to make NATO's forces, in the words of former Secretary of Defense Cohen, "more effective, mobile and survivable".¹⁰ The third challenge involves an understanding of the essential link between public opinion and decision-making in public policy, particularly in the United States. On the one hand, it is necessary for American elites to grasp that, although European governments desire a stronger voice within NATO, Michael Brenner rightly explains that ESDP is "a function of how the Europeans view each other". In other words, ESDP "stems from the strengthening feeling of collective responsibility for the wider Europe, and the wish of the Europeans to become more autonomous and less dependent on the US".¹¹ On the other hand, Europeans increasingly understand that, in the prevention field, the American public must be knowledgeable about policy decisions in order to lend their critical support to the political leadership. Cohen points out that it is incumbent on political leaders "not to be led by public opinion but to shape it".¹² Bruce Jentleson notes that in terms of Kosovo and Bosnia "misconceptions among the US public would likely not have allowed early prevention".¹³

The gap in understanding about the urgency of prevention in the Balkans between leaders and citizens calls for initiatives at the popular level that speak to issues of legitimacy, transparency and allegiance. In the next section, we shall define prevention and explain the reasons why Internet pedagogy is emerging as a transnational instrument in this field.

Defining Prevention and Establishing the Rationale for Internet Pedagogy. This paper refers to Michael S. Lund's definition of prevention whereby "...preventive diplomacy...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...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".¹⁴ The 21st

¹⁰ DoD News Briefing, *Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen, Press Conference at NATO Headquarters*, Brussels, Belgium, December 5, 2000, http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec2000/t12062000_t205nato.html

¹¹ <http://eucenters.org/esdp.htm>

¹² http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec2000/t12062000_t205nato.html

¹³ <http://eucenters.org/esdp.htm>

¹⁴ 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.

century is likely to be characterized by the salience of ethnic conflict on the international agenda. Therefore, 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.¹⁵

Given Lund's definition and the persistence of ethnic conflict, it is critical to move away from a focus centered on the structure of the international system back into the state,¹⁶ to identify and address underlying internal tensions as we work to establish preventive measures. Persistent outbreaks of violence in Kosovo/a, including those in the border area with Serbia, outbreaks of fighting in Macedonia as the country grapples with a rising Albanian population,¹⁷ new challenges from the Bosnian Croats in Bosnia and the move toward independence in Montenegro each point to the need for educational initiatives that provide direct contact to peoples in the region. This contact is necessary, on the one hand, to understand the perceptions the different ethnic groups have of threats in their territories. On the other, it is vital as an element of general cultural and historical knowledge of the Balkans, which is traditionally a region that Americans and Europeans understand and experience less. This knowledge could foster a greater popular awareness of the overall weakness of the state in Serbia, and the corresponding need to build viable administrative, economic, legal and political structures, that 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, may only be resolved in light of Belgrade's understanding with its sister republic of Montenegro. No consideration of troop withdrawal is possible in Kosovo/a without an agreement between Serbs and Albanians; on-going American public support for these troop deployments depends on a bi-partisan policy that can be effectively communicated to an informed electorate. By some accounts, the KFOR presence in Kosovo/a has resulted in an integrated command-field experience that has proved invaluable for a NATO taking on more peace keeping functions as it adapts to an increased profile for the European Union in defense.¹⁸ This evolution within NATO, as well as a popular knowledge

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 385.

¹⁶ Pierre Hassner, *La violence et la paix De la bombe atomique au nettoyage ethnique* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2000), p. 25.

¹⁷ Matthias Rueb, "A Tiny Nation Grapples With a Big Threat," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, (English Edition), April 19, 2001, p. 8.

¹⁸ Jim Hoagland, "Stone by Stone, NATO Builds a New Kosovo," *International Herald Tribune*, April 19, 2001, p. 7.

of its importance in transatlantic relations, is essential as the Union's institutions identify a strategy for prevention as a pillar of ESDP. This strategy, however, is defined in the midst of a communications revolution that the Union can ill-afford to ignore in its external relations. This is precisely because the common foreign and security policy defined at Maastricht is subject to persistent criticisms: a relative lack of transparency; a democratic deficit in terms of its legitimacy; and a need for a more effective communication strategy with citizens in the member states to foster their allegiance to the emerging role of the Union as an "international actor".¹⁹ The rationale for an Internet pedagogy as a means to create popular awareness of ESDP rests on a foundation established by the global communications revolution in which the triad democracy-technology-diplomacy plays an increasingly significant role. It is the ESDP's prevention strategy and its focus on the Balkans in the context of the aforementioned triad that we now analyze.

ESDP: Communicating Prevention to People via a Technology Linchpin? A Communication from the Commission on Conflict Prevention dated April 4, 2001 opens with the following statement: "The ever-growing list of causes of conflicts calls for international cooperation and multilateral action of a new order".²⁰ In its paper, the Commission focuses on the projection of stability via support for regional integration and "building trade links". Prevention is distinguished between "long-term prevention ("projecting stability") and short-term prevention ("reacting quickly to nascent conflicts")" and also examines how to improve coordination and cooperation in preventive efforts at the international level.²¹

Structural stability is a concept advanced by the Commission in the mid-1990s in which the characteristics of "sustainable economic development, democracy and respect for human rights, viable political structures and healthy environmental and social conditions (along) with a capacity to manage change without resort to conflict" are prevalent. In the Commission's approach, all these elements "need to be addressed in an integrated way". In the Balkans, the Commission has accentuated an integrated strategy of long-term prevention, the Stabilization and Association process, established through "reconstruction and consolidation". The ultimate aim in this case is to bring the countries in the region closer to the European integration process by which sectoral policies are implemented

¹⁹ Reinhardt Rummel, ed., with the assistance of Colette Mazzucelli, *The Evolution of an International Actor: Western Europe's New Assertiveness* (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1990).

²⁰ European Commission, *Communication from the Commission on Conflict Prevention*, COM (2001) 211 final Brussels, 0011.04.2001, http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cfsp/news/com2001_211_en.pdf

²¹ Ibid. This section relies on the Commission's final document that is quoted throughout to emphasize various points.

via interactions among the Union's institutions and with the member states. The integrated approach has the added-value of the utilizing the practical experience and institutional memory the European Commission has acquired over time in fostering regional stability.

However, critical in this context are Country Strategy Papers that are meant to assess potential conflict situations using "appropriate potential conflict indicators". Such indicators may include an assessment of the balance between political and economic forces, the control of the security infrastructure, the ethnic composition of the government in ethnically-divided countries, the degree of female representation in decision-making institutions and the potential extent of environmental resource degradation. The Conflict Prevention Network (CPN), a network of academic institutions, NGOs and independent experts active in the field of prevention, is responsible to develop a model of these indicators for the Commission's review in 2001.

For those countries in which the analysis of indicators underlines "conflict risk factors", the overall programmes of the Community will make measures in conflict prevention an integral part of sectoral policy objectives "in fields such as transport, rural development, energy, environment, health, research or education". In 2001 the Commission also aims to issue a "Conflict Prevention Handbook" to identify in a practical manner projects with prevention measures and based on existing work in the ACP context.

In the Balkans, the development of conflict impact assessment tools, as the Commission envisages, should occur not only in exclusive cooperation with the Union's member states. It may also take place gradually including select NGOs involved in preventive education initiatives building real and virtual communities that link Europe, America and third countries with the region via new communications technology. The systematic exchange of information suggested in the final document among Commission, Council Policy Unit and Member State desk officers based on the former Electronic Bulletin Board network likewise may benefit from NGO expertise acquired through hands-on learning in tandem with groups in the region. Here educational initiatives that include and inform an emerging civil society would be implemented in a practical way. There is a pragmatic vision to peace education programs like that in Serbia that aims to educate for "positive peace" in Reardon's definition. 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”.²² Reardon’s writings, and their application to peace education in Serbia, emphasize “citizenship, stewardship, and relationships”.²³ These concepts are at the core of a European Community that we acknowledge today as the most far-reaching and constructive experiment in peace and integration through law given the historical alternative of antagonistic rivalries rooted in the balance of power.

It is precisely because the Balkans are confronted with the weight of history, in a political culture where the strong man is predominant, rivalries are the norm and the potential for “illiberal democracy”²⁴ is considerable, that steps in regional integration must emphasize more than economic restructuring and institution-building. In this context, unprecedented educational initiatives are a means to communicate prevention to people in a century that is called to meet the challenges of the first truly world society in history.²⁵ In this society, imagination and innovation are at a premium as democracy must also be defined in terms of an increasing array of direct social interactions across borders. These interactions have cultural, economic, legal and political implications of a transnational nature, a phenomenon to which nation-states and international institutions must adapt.

During the Balkan conflicts, communications technology played a significant, albeit limited, role. The use of email, mobile phones and satellite, as well as an on-going Internet presence in particular cases, established a means to contact the world. This is no different during a period in which prevention is an instrument of peace building. A question to consider is how technology may be used as a linchpin to facilitate civic engagement among peoples in different ethnic groups as democratic structures are built within the region and relationships are established with third countries beyond its borders.

eEurope in Action via Internet pedagogy: Defining Technology as a Constructive Option between Democracies and “Corridor Diplomacy”. In this section, let us assess some of the findings in eEurope and in the Communication from the Commission on Conflict Prevention in terms of the triad democracy-technology-

²² 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.

²³ Rosandic, p. 32.

²⁴ The distinction between liberal and illiberal democracy is made by Fareed 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, 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. Fareed Zakaria, “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs* (November-December 1997): 37.

²⁵ Robert H. Jackson, “The Evolution of International Society” in *The Globalization of World Politics*, John Baylis and Steve Smith, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 45.

diplomacy. In the eEurope document, there is an emphasis on placing all schools online in 2002 to foster learning how to master the Internet, using new resources to learn and acquire new skills and acquiring capabilities like collaborative working, intercultural communication and problem-solving. The targets to achieve these aims are ambitious. Our experience with TISK2000 at Sciences Po reveals the limits to Internet access and use that most students there confront. Likewise the target of fast Internet for researchers and students is one in which a focused effort would be necessary for students at Sciences Po to derive the maximum benefit from the TISKSE series over time. In particular, close public-private partnerships between the education sector and computer and telecommunications firms would be helpful as eEducation and eResearch become integral dimensions in the landscape of higher learning in the member states. The eEurope targets set in government online could help students in the Internet seminar locate official sources about the evolution of the ESDP post-Kosovo/a provided there is a demonstrated willingness to make information about decisions taken in the CFSP context public knowledge.

In the Communication from the Commission on Conflict Prevention, we learn that in its support for democracy, the rule of law and civil society, the Commission finances various regional programmes including CARDS with the Balkans countries. Since 1994, the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) has offered financial support on a “thematic and world-wide basis” to NGOs and international organizations working in these fields, with 100m Euros disbursed in 2000.²⁶ Yet, in the Commission’s final document as well as in news articles written by international administrators in the region, direct references to communications technology’s potential linchpin role as a preventive tool are absent. There are two reasons why this is significant in the present context. The first has to do with calls by officials like Wolfgang Petritsch for transatlantic support on behalf of an on-going engagement in the Balkans. He argues against those proponents of a new Congress of Berlin by making reference to the fact that the “wisdom of dividing everything up and going home” would be, in today’s situation, “a gross injustice to the millions of ordinary citizens, not only in Bosnia but across southeastern Europe, who want nothing to do with a nationalism that leaves them poor, frightened and isolated”.²⁷ Petritsch describes “a slow but perceptible lessening of fear in Bosnia and Herzegovina and increasing focus among ordinary citizens on issues that really matter: jobs, a decent education for one’s kids, a state that can do

²⁶ http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cfsp/news/com2001_211_en.pdf

²⁷ Wolfgang Petritsch, “Balkan Progress is Real, So Don’t Walk Away Now,” *International Herald Tribune*, March 26, 2001, p. 8.

business with the outside world". In his experience, "careful international engagement" allows people "to forge their own futures" and affords moderates confidence "to rebuild their country in the face of extremist and criminal threats". Why, therefore, should the transatlantic community, elites and citizens alike, take the risk of making Balkans engagement an open question, instead of a determined statement? Experience teaches us that public awareness is critical to support for diplomatic objectives. Here technology must be put to use creatively to establish channels of communication to sustain international engagement in the Balkans.

The second reason has to do with the implementation of one of the key existing preventive efforts in the region, the Stability Pact. It is generally acknowledged that the tragedy of division and strife in the Balkans speaks to the need for us to take our commitment beyond traditional approaches to security, diplomacy and sovereignty. Ethnic conflict calls into question the allegiance of the soldier, the diplomat and the citizen to the state in that region. Starkey, Boyer and Wilkenfeld underline that there is good reason to believe that democratization of the diplomatic arena will continue at a rapid pace. Technology, they argue, will have a prominent role. The on-going dynamic of connecting people around the world to one another will have far-reaching implications for the diplomatic agenda as well as the negotiation process.²⁸ Undoubtedly, this is true in the United States. In my view, we would do well to inquire, through fourth wave educational initiatives that are salient to a transnational security agenda, as to its practical relevance in Europe and other parts of the world.

This is another reason why Internet pedagogy must place the triad, democracy-technology-diplomacy, at the heart of a transatlantic dialogue for prevention. An article about violence in the Balkans written by Bodo Hombach, the Special Co-ordinator of the Stability Pact, is included with this paper because it is illustrative in its omission of the technological element and the role it may play as a linchpin in preventive action.²⁹ In his Foreword to a timely report about the Stability Pact, President Martti Ahtisaari, Co-Chairman of the EastWest Institute, argues that the challenge for the Special Co-ordinator's Office is "to make use of its high profile and distinctive role to drive a concrete agenda to advance in key issue areas the broader vision of democratization, regional integration and

²⁸ Brigid Starkey, Mark A. Boyer and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *Negotiating a Complex World* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999), p. 127.

²⁹ Bodo Hombach, "Violence in the Balkans Demands Swifter Response by NATO," *International Herald Tribune*, March 13, 2001, p. 8.

Europeanization that is at the heart of the Pact”.³⁰ President Ahtisaari also underlines that the study “proposes significantly more support for institution building to strengthen the capacity of states in the region to fight trans-border crime, while holding out the concrete promise of easier access to the European Union for their citizens”. In each area highlighted, communications technology has a role to play in a transnational context, particularly since trans-border criminals are notorious for the speed at which they are able to operate. In order to counter their activities, an even more rapid, anticipatory planning strategy would be required. In addition, projects that could offer younger persons still living in the region the chance to learn in real time with colleagues across Europe and in the United States would be an initial way to foster increased mobility for citizens through an ERASMUS programme for the 21st century. Here the real and virtual community-building that could occur in higher education would be a step ahead in time, with a “multiplier effect” in preventive efforts as peoples in the region are integrated into a networked society.

It is, however, Ahtisaari’s call for “a genuine public debate on how additional resources can actually create sustainable democracies and lasting security”³¹ that leads us to consider the triad in its most fundamental dimension. This is because a popular “Great Debate” about an issue of critical importance in European diplomacy would have to occur across Europe and, in light of the implications for transatlantic relations, include North America. In the present era, this would necessitate a civic participation that is far more direct and extensive as well as an inclusiveness to sustain allegiance. These elements frame a debate that would be essentially different from the initial one in the late 1940s.

We experienced the results of diplomacy divorced from democracy a decade ago when the decisions made in corridors failed to inspire citizens in a founding member state of the European Union. France’s very narrow approval of the Treaty on European Union, coming in the aftermath of a Danish popular rejection of the Treaty,³² provided the initial impetus to open the debate about European integration. In the security field, calls for increased public scrutiny have gone largely unheeded. Our assessment of how eEurope in action may utilize Internet pedagogy as a preventive tool must be made in full cognizance of the relatively closed world of diplomatic conferences and the

³⁰ European Stability Initiative, *Democracy, Security and the Future of the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe, A Political Framework*, by the EastWest Institute in partnership with the European Stability Initiative, Berlin, 4 April 2001, <http://www.esiweb.org>

³¹ Ibid

³² Colette Mazzucelli, *France and Germany at Maastricht Politics and Negotiations to Create the European Union* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999, second edition paperback), pp. 207-41.

reticence of negotiators to reveal their hand as talks evolve to popular debate. A third factor is the extent of access to the Internet in our area in question. Although still limited at present, this access is likely to multiply exponentially worldwide over the next ten years. Projections cite that by 2010, 3 billion people, or half the world's population, will be Net-connected.³³ By 2025 the global population is expected to rise to 8.5 billion. Alan Dupont, who spoke recently at a 21st Century Trust conference in Merton College, Oxford, explained that about 97 percent of the increase in global population over the next 100 years is expected to occur in the developing world with 2/3 of that growth expected in cities.

Clearly this evolution suggests an immediate demand for infrastructure. In a more fundamental sense, its implications for our common future are evident in terms of the need for broader notions of security, pro-active, strategic thinking and education across borders that speaks to the reduced time frame for action states now face. As national officials increasingly address global questions³⁴ intersecting with their daily frame of reference, communications technology has an essential role to play. In this context, the use or misuse of communications tools could impact decisively on relations among or, more importantly, within states in the years to come. In light of this evolution, it is time to analyze the nature of Internet pedagogy, the possible ways it could bring about greater popular awareness of an evolving European Security and Defense Policy in the Balkans and its potential contributions to preventive diplomacy.

TISK2000 in Practice. Establishing an Internet Pedagogy across Continents. The transatlantic Internet seminar Kosovo/a 2000 (<http://www.rboston.com/bosch>), a 14-week distance learning initiative, is transatlantic in origin and increasingly global in outreach. At the heart of the TISKSE series are the partners who cooperate together to make it a real and virtual community of citizens and students, teachers and practitioners who "meet" each week. In the meeting place we create to learn about and for Kosovo/a, we use the latest communications technology and the seminar's innovatively designed web site. A highlight of the 2000 seminar during Session III on 3 November was a presentation by General Klaus Reinhardt who shared his experiences with us as KFOR commander in Pristina. Although the audio feed was problematic during the session, the General's

³³ Brian Knowlton, "Europe Will be a Very Strong Influence," *International Herald Tribune*, March 24, 2001, <http://www.iht.com/articles/14491.html>

³⁴ National administrations are responding to policy challenges in a changed world environment. In the case of the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin, its former United Nations Division addresses "global questions". This is also the Division's new name - Globale Fragen (GF). Interview, Dirk Rotenberg, Auswaertiges Amt, 20 March 2001.

Power Point Slides, available on the TISK2000 web site, illustrate the visual advantages of the medium. Particularly for those students whose native tongue is not English, which is in fact the majority of our students, visual tools are a very important part of our evolving pedagogy.

Since the fall 2000 seminar was taught as a team effort for students at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris and the University of Munich/CAP, it is relevant to our efforts that ScPo is one of seven Rotary Foundation Centers for International Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution worldwide. This network of Centers, http://www.rotary.org/foundation/educational/amb_scho/centers/index.html, which expects to begin classes in 2002, seeks to use communications technology in its curricular offerings. Students at the University of Costa Rica also participate as auditors in TISKSE each year.

In addition to its academic partners, TISK2000 involved non-profit organizations and think tanks to enhance the interactive and hands-on nature of its engagement. EastWest Institute in New York, the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, John Hopkins University, in Washington, DC and the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs in New York were all active partners hosting weekly seminar sessions and suggesting guest speakers with field experience in Kosovo/a and the Balkans.

For example, in the 2000 series, the Carnegie Council hosted two sessions in January 2001 inviting persons from the United Nations, universities and other interested organizations to seminar sessions about NATO's Role in Intra-State/Out-of-Area Conflicts on the 5th and Preventive Diplomacy on the 12th. Ana Cutter, the program officer at the Council indicated an early interest in the "collaborative opportunities offered by information technologies".³⁵ The link between academic institutions and think tanks is one essential feature that characterizes our seminar. This feature highlights our focus on bridging concepts and practice to inform citizens outside the Balkans about the situation on the ground there by bringing them into direct contact with peoples in the region.

TISK2000's structure is meant to demonstrate the advantages and necessities of Internet teaching in an inclusive, personalized and sensitive manner. Its specific features are emphasized by the interactive tools we use, the technological infrastructure and support of the Houston Community College System (HCCS) and the design of

³⁵ <http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/about/pr05.html>

the web site. Here the work accomplished by Roger Boston, Rockwell Chair Instructor and Creativity Consultant, Houston Community College System, is essential.

Our work emphasizes products that operate effectively at modem speeds which is necessary to be able to include our friends in Kosovo/a in our weekly proceedings. The Internet tools used in the 2000 series to date are: POTS or Plain Old Telephone System; Real Player, <http://www.realplayer.com>, an audio and video tool that streams voice and images to multiple sites, as the image of General Reinhardt on the site illustrates; Microsoft's NetMeeting, <http://www.microsoft.com>, a point-to-point audio and video tool connecting two sites with keyboard chat and access to the whiteboard, which is otherwise known as the Internet's blackboard; and FIRETALK, <http://www.firetalk.com>, an audio tool connecting multiple sites.

In our on-going efforts, we established a link to Kosovo/a via email and our list serv which includes members from the region. We also established Internet audio connections to Kosovars living outside the region. In a program originating from the American Academy in Berlin, on 22 March, we utilized a second chat room at the Educ Web site, <http://www.educweb.com>, to establish a communications bridge to Pristina as we linked 7 other sites across the Atlantic using CU-SeeMe PRO, a cost-effective PC video conference tool. Clearly we face technological challenges to integrate sites into our weekly sessions. Here Jose Brenes Andre provides us with valuable feedback relying on his experience with the group of students participating from Costa Rica.

The structure of the 2000 seminar also features additional tools that allow us to enlarge the regular class of 26 students in Paris, including 11 nationalities, and 12 German students in Munich. Thus, we also invite auditors in San Jose and Monterey as well as citizens in different parts of the world to participate, thereby enhancing the global dimension of our efforts. These tools also permit the TISKSE series to forge links to existing transatlantic networks like the Robert Bosch Foundation Alumni Association (RBFAA), <http://www.boschalumni.org>, and to learn from the knowledge its members possess in preventive diplomacy.

One of these tools is the Nice Net forum, <http://www.nicenet.org>. Nice Net is an Internet classroom that allows those with a user name (Colette Grace) and a password (PZ6Z27X27) to sign in and participate in a number of on-going discussions about various conference topics like educational initiatives in Kosovo/a. Our experience with this tool is that it could be more integrated into the teaching during the weekly sessions. It could also be used more systematically in the periods between semesters when students and other participants in the TISKSE series may initiate conference topics and contribute their comments.

A second tool is TISK2000@yahoogroups.com which is the email address for the seminar's list serv. This list presently includes over 315 persons on 6 continents. It may be joined via the web or email at <http://www.educweb.com>. The list serv is used to disseminate information about the seminar in a digest form, i.e., one email containing several messages.

As we utilize the technology as a communications vehicle to develop an Internet pedagogy, students are at the center of the teaching. It is crucial for us as Internet educators that our students develop personally as they contribute to a group dynamic. As we think about education as an instrument of prevention, it is helpful to return to Waltz's "first image" in *Man, the State and War* 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 actor³⁶.

Another feature of TISK2000 includes established links for our students to provide direct contact with people in Kosovo/a taking into account that while preventive diplomacy initiatives in the Balkans, like the Stability Pact, must also be concerned with institution building, education programs place the person, and the traumas he or she has experienced, at the heart of prevention in post-conflict situations. This approach is holistic with roots in social psychology. Peace education efforts are hopeful about the capacity of human nature to evolve and pragmatic in the content focus of their programs that help participants to learn from the tragedy of conflict. In addition to the work to help individuals evolve, there are also efforts that develop "constructive understanding and assertive relationships with others".³⁷ 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.

In sum TISK2000, through its inclusion of people and materials from governmental and non-governmental organizations in Kosovo/a and in conjunction with Internet initiatives like EducWeb, creates a learning experience that is integrative, engaging 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

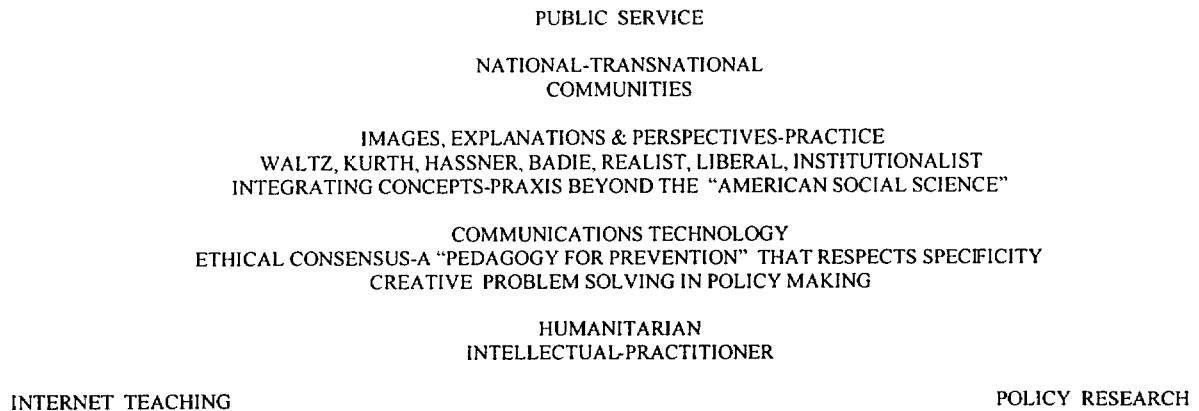
³⁶ Michael N. Barnett, "Bringing in the New World Order," *World Politics* Volume 49, Number 4 (July 1997): 538.

³⁷ Rosandic, p. 32.

that nonetheless offers a framework to define those global responsibilities with which national interests increasingly intersect.³⁸ The audience for the series comprises citizens who understand the world because of their practical experience and learning across continents. Its challenge for the minds of the Internet generation interested in prevention 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.

Our aim is to understand the reality of the situation in the Balkans as it is, but also to realize the potential of education for the peoples there as it could be. This realization, accomplished via Internet communication with citizens in other parts of the world, is what we define as the use of “educational diplomacy” to establish a citizens’ dialogue for Kosovo/a. Our Internet series illustrates that the liberal response has yet to play out in the Balkans. What remains an open question of relevance to an evolving ESDP is the extent to which, in a globalized environment, an increasing number of networks across borders, often intersecting with individual initiatives, have the potential over time to level the hierarchical structure that defines the realist paradigm.

As educational diplomacy via the Internet becomes a constant on the international landscape, the TISKSE series also addresses in practical and innovative ways the possible evolution and redefinition of approaches to conflict prevention during the 21st century. This evolution may be conceived in the following way to illustrate the support Internet teaching and policy research may lend to public service in the cause of peace.



³⁸ Joel H. Rosenthal, “An Ethical Approach to International Politics”, *Perspectives* 1 (New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 1993), p. 3.

Education as a tool to redefine prevention, as well as in peace making and peace building, 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 by Ambassador John McDonald,³⁹ and more immediately in Kosovo/a in the EducWeb project are particularly relevant. Our goal is to develop an Internet series that aims to "develop the individual and, above all, seek to understand individual needs and to encourage (the) self-expression, self-esteem, self-confidence and personal accountability,"⁴⁰ 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.

Our experience to date with the TISKSE series as an evolving instrument of prevention reveals a number of opportunities in the linkages among public service, Internet teaching and policy research. There are also some inherent tensions in the relations between the importance of the transformation of the individual, which the liberal perspective highlights, and the need to develop communities in their national and transnational dimensions. A challenge the seminar highlights in pedagogy is that of retaining inclusiveness as we strive to offer each participant the fullest learning experience. In our citizens' dialogue, this experience comes about as a result of the unique, personal, creative contributions within transnational communities that are made, as well as the motivation these contributions may inspire and interject among students, policy makers, academics and people in Kosovo/a, the Balkans, the transatlantic area and beyond.

Implications for ESDP and Preventive Diplomacy in the Balkans. There are several potential contributions that Internet pedagogy could make to an ESDP that emphasizes its responsibilities in conflict prevention. One of the most significant is that of educating citizens across borders about the need for preventive action and its applications to different regional areas, not only within Europe, but around the globe. As a way to increase transparency and accentuate legitimacy, initiatives that educators make in Internet pedagogy should be shared with officials in the European institutions responsible for external relations, particularly those with portfolios including issues of democratization. Over time this type of pedagogy, with its mix of real and online learning, may be a significant factor in promoting a European allegiance alongside that of national allegiance, particularly for the

³⁹ Dr. Louise Diamond and Ambassador John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy* (Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1996), pp. 1-10.

⁴⁰ Rosandic, p. 32.

younger generations. Through their working knowledge of European policies, like ESDP, acquired through interactive cross-cultural dialogue and debate, a feeling of European identity may be fostered as already documented by students at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in the 2000 seminar.

In addition to this new sense of allegiance, Internet pedagogy also may illustrate in practice an innovative dimension to prevention as we learn directly by “bringing the Balkans in” to the networked society of the 21st century. In post conflict peace building, access to Internet, email and other communications to the outside world is a basic need that helps to rebuild a society that seeks “voice” both in its relation with the state and with other social actors in a transnational context. Moreover, the innovative dimension in the virtual classroom may address, in part, concerns that the communications aspect of globalization poses a threat to native cultures. This is especially important in the European context. As Michael R. Nelson argues, globalization “is far more likely to strengthen and promote cultural identity by enabling a larger, more dispersed community to experience the richness of a particular culture”.⁴¹ In the TISKSE series, we are careful to include readings in at least three languages: English, French and German. Spanish is at times spoken in class to improve communication with our Costa Rican friends. As we continue the series, it would be advantageous to include a third Union member state on the geographical periphery, like Portugal, to increase diversity and broaden legitimacy via inclusion.

For an ESDP that is finding a voice within the NATO context, education efforts across the Atlantic are useful to help the American public understand more about “A People’s Europe” in which ERASMUS, European citizenship and cohesion each played a role in the post-Maastricht era. The Treaty on European Union is the starting point for CFSP and the acknowledgement of the need for more efforts in European defense. Transnational educational initiatives that facilitate mobility work hand-in-hand with the Maastricht treaty articles on citizenship and cohesion to work toward a democratic Europe. Here Internet pedagogy has a potential anchor role to play. This is because of the opportunities this kind of learning affords students across Europe to remain part of online networks in which they participate early in their careers. By definition, Internet pedagogy and transnational polity building are mutually re-enforcing. In our case, the former allows students in the real and virtual class to grasp the details of

⁴¹ Michael R. Nelson, “Sovereignty in the Networked World” in *The Emerging Internet Annual Review of the Institute for Information Studies 1998* A Joint Program of Nortel and The Aspen Institute (Queenstown, MD: Institute for Information Studies, 1998), p. 10.

ESDP and its focus on prevention. In this context, one could argue that, in order to see the larger picture of Europe's role in the world, it is imperative to know the details of its policy making.

In terms of the implications of Internet pedagogy for preventive diplomacy in the Balkans, one must understand that a democratic transformation led to a regime change in Serbia. Yet, the rule of the masses 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. The fact that the security threat is likely to come from within states in the years ahead makes our efforts to create initiatives in cooperation with regions in the post-conflict phase that much more imperative. There is, on the one hand, the need to prevent tensions from rising to the point of violence. On the other, transnational crime, disease epidemics, scarcity of vital resources, ecological disasters and other newer security threats may complicate preventive efforts. This necessitates education for prevention that may address these challenges with foresight, pro-active strategic thinking and access to the most updated information. We must bear this in mind not only when thinking about potential partners in Internet pedagogy, but also when assessing the obstacles at present to the realization of this type of learning. It is to this subject that we now turn.

eEurope in Action and Limits to Internet Pedagogy. In any pioneering endeavor, there are always obstacles to encounter, limits to recognize and challenges to address. In our assessment of the limits to Internet pedagogy in the context of eEurope, we may discern three outstanding factors that play a role at present: technological infrastructure disparities; challenges of transnational democracy; and an academic-public policy gap.

The major limitation in our endeavor to create an Internet seminar was the fact that we could not establish connections directly to Pristina until well into the semester. Therefore, we had to rely on the extensive experience and knowledge of guest speakers like General Klaus Reinhardt, Ambassador Christian Pauls, Professor Jacques Rupnik and former Hungarian foreign minister Geza Jeszenszky in the region. Our initial contacts to Kosovars living outside the region occurred via the FIRETALK audio room and then expanded to include a number of Kosovars from the region in the TISK2000 list serv. During the 22 March program we were able to connect directly to Pristina via a real time chat room and save the chat content for use in future seminars. In this program, Armand Burguet presented his slide images from Kosovo/a via Internet and spoke extensively about his experiences with the peoples and local leaders there. Our highest priority for the next seminar in the series is to include Pristina, Belgrade and Sarajevo in our weekly sessions using a mix of chat room, audio and, if possible, video connections.

The challenge to connect to the Balkans suggests to us that we must continue to work with tools that are operative at modern speeds, which are both cost effective and inclusive. This is a democratic approach to our pedagogy. Yet, the limits in the infrastructure that currently exist also lead to a call for “freedom from exclusion” as a basic right to address what the United Nations defines as a challenge for the 21st century: “to deepen and enrich fragile democracies”.⁴² In this context, freedom from exclusion translates into making sure that less advantaged countries receive a fair share of the benefits of globalization, particularly in terms of broad-based access in the communications hardware, technology and trade areas. Here the Balkans may be more well off than most African countries⁴³, but if we consider the relationship among access, state-building capacity and constitutional democratic development, it is evident that a substantial increase in infrastructure is crucial in a national and transnational context.

Let us emphasize this last point in the context of a second regional area of significance to ESDP in its prevention focus, the Caucasus. During a recent conference addressing the “frozen conflict” of Nagorno-Karabakh, one predominant concern was the real possibility that the societies in Armenia and Azerbaijan might reject a negotiated outcome that could bring a resolution to the conflict. This resolution would take place after a long cease-fire during which stagnating economic conditions and the deprivation and death among hundreds of thousands of people living in tents within refugee camps has led to an untenable status quo situation. The situation of the peoples in the region is “driving” the peace process, in the words of Ambassador Carey Cavanaugh, who underlined that the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan have been in direct dialogue for two years to find a solution.⁴⁴

Our discussions during the conference revealed a consensus that academics have a role within civil society as educators to create a bridge between the state and the masses. Jonathan Cohen explained that civil society need not exist in opposition to the state; instead it may help people realize their dreams as individuals. Here, as Dennis Sammut emphasized, academics have a constructive role to play proposing alternatives to the status quo. As they propose new ideas to influence the negotiation process for peace in the Caucasus, academics’ role linking the state

⁴² UNDP, *Human Development Report 2000*, p. 71.

⁴³ Thomas Friedman, “Protesting for Whom?”, *The New York Times Online*, April 24, 2001, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/04/24/opinion/24FRIE.html>

⁴⁴ Ambassador Carey Cavanaugh, “The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: International Diplomacy”, *Stability and Peace in the Caucasus: The Case of Nagorno-Karabakh*, Evangelische Akademie, Loccum, International Workshop, May 2-4, 2001.

and the masses could help foster a realistic assessment of societies' needs . Dr. Wilhelm Höynck, former Secretary General of the OSCE, made a series of closing remarks to underline a "multitude of dilemmas". One dilemma is the need to protect the secrecy of negotiations yet share negotiation positions with publics to prepare for an acceptance of the outcome. His observation that it is important to work on several tracks is a fundamental one; as negotiators come closer to an agreement, the tracks should also approach one another. If as Dr. Höynck believes, "change and progress take place first in people's minds",⁴⁵ then in the Balkans as in the Caucuses freedom from exclusion could be a foundation on which to build to emphasize that people really matter in a world of states.

As a corollary to the right of freedom from exclusion, there is a corresponding duty beyond borders in the education field. This duty relates to the need for prevention in the face of intra-state conflicts and the fundamental problems of transnational democracy within Europe. In a thought-provoking and influential monograph, in which he defines the post-modern state in Europe, Robert Cooper identifies the fundamental elements that distinguish member states in an evolving Union from most others in the world today: a breaking down of the distinction between domestic and foreign affairs; mutual interference in (traditional) domestic affairs and mutual surveillance; the rejection of force to resolve inter-state disputes; the growing irrelevance of borders; and security based on transparency, mutual openness, interdependence and mutual vulnerability.⁴⁶ Cooper also underlines an essential difficulty for the post-modern state. As he explains, it "is that democracy and democratic institutions are firmly wedded to the territorial state". Although, as Cooper writes, "...Economy, law-making and defence may be increasingly embedded in international frameworks, and the borders of territory may be less important...identity and democratic institutions remain primarily national".⁴⁷

This analysis is significant for our understanding of the tensions that exist in a world in which the basic unit of allegiance is the state. Civil conflict reminds us not only of how tentative at times that allegiance can be, but also of a strategic need to be concerned about what happens beyond our physical and spiritual borders. In Europe the impact of globalization is an experience shared by states that are post-modern. The evolution of ESDP makes the point; the member states need to define a conception of security in common while bearing in mind their diverse and

⁴⁵ Ambassador (retired) Dr. Wilhelm Höynck, "Political Outlook and Closing Discussion", *Stability and Peace in the Caucuses: The Case of Nagorno-Karabakh*, Evangelische Akademie, Loccum, International Workshop, May 2-4, 2001.

⁴⁶ Robert Cooper, *The post-modern state and the world order* (London: DEMOS, 1996), p. 22.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 23.

at times competing interests. In order to reconcile unity with diversity, there must be a human and institutional capacity to be “adept at sorting information and at integrating various pressures without being submerged by them”.⁴⁸ One may argue that this capacity is developed to a deeper extent via education that is not set in a purely national dimension and that must reach beyond physical borders to acknowledge the relative nature of territorial politics in the world today. However, the reality is that the extent to which national educational systems may be willing or able to adapt to promote transnational education that also includes a virtual dimension remains limited at present. Despite the targets defined in eEurope, the challenges we face to establish the TISKSE series at Sciences Po and to forge links between Sciences Po with CAP/Munich, partner sites in the United States and a third potential European partner are considerable. This fact, coupled with the need to develop this type of education with a sensitivity to the tenets of diverse cultures and civilizations, interjects an element of modest pragmatism into our efforts. As we acknowledge the limits to Internet pedagogy, we remain innovative. Our challenge as fourth wave educators is that we strive to work with a transnational society that is evolving in disequilibrium with states that adapt more slowly to the changes taking place in either a regional context or the global environment. In this sense, our pedagogical initiatives are more in line with the ideas of informal cosmopolitans like Rosenau who are satisfied with a “thinner” notion of participatory democracy, the “main function of which is preventive—namely, to check excesses of power”.⁴⁹

A third challenge to Internet pedagogy has more to do with a gap identified in international education about Europe in the United States. This gap relates to the “movement in the academy away from the debate of public policy”. The emphasis here is on the development of broader theoretical frameworks with less focus in substantive country-specific or regional knowledge.⁵⁰ Since Internet pedagogy is by definition concerned with the public policy debate, its educators establish working relationships between academic institutions and think tanks. Here there must be a willingness on both sides to work together to find a common language. In Europe where the existence of think tanks is less extensive, and the scholarly debate strongly theoretical, the relevance of Internet pedagogy may be called into question. Nonetheless, one may argue that this is no reason to abandon the endeavor to establish an

⁴⁸ Jean-Marie Guehenno, “The Impact of Globalisation on Strategy” *Survival* (40) 4 (Winter 1998-99): 13.

⁴⁹ *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*, Deniele Archibugi, David Held and Martin Koehler, eds. Reviewed by Pablo De Greiff in *Ethics & International Affairs* 14 (2000): 160.

⁵⁰ Talya Shrank, “The European Union and International Education in the United States” (Panel Summary) for *The Future of Europe: Conference of the European Union Centers*, February 9 and 10, 2000, The German House, New York City, <http://eucenters.org/education.htm>

approach to teaching that allows for a maximum interaction between the world of ideas and the world of policy making. The founding of the original European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) owes a great deal to this philosophy in that, as Monnet believed, thought cannot be separated from action.

Conclusion. This paper argues that an Internet pedagogy for prevention is a necessity in the 21st century. Europe, because of its post-modern transition, is developing policies like ESDP, that require transparency, legitimacy and the allegiance of its citizens. The evolution of ESDP within NATO affirms the transatlantic link although the Bush administration's commitment to the Balkans leaves some Europeans concerned.⁵¹ One of the American officials most energetically involved in the region during the past decade candidly admits his view that the United States needs to be more engaged in the Balkans to exercise a leadership role.⁵²

Our aim in Internet pedagogy is to develop innovative seminars that afford opportunities for the academic and policy worlds to work together creating options to choose from in preventive measures. We utilize cost-effective communications tools that are inclusive to bring the Balkans in to the networked society. The TISKSE series accomplishes this in a policy field, education, that has personal resonance for its peoples. We acknowledge the limits of technological infrastructure disparities, the challenges of transnational democracy and the academic-public policy gap that converge to complicate the evolution of an Internet pedagogy. However, the changes that are the result of the communications revolution ensure that the world of states will not remain static.

The challenge of the present is to learn from the past as we comprehend those possibilities the future offers. In our interdependent world, multilateral institutions play a role, but peace building efforts in Kosovo/a demonstrate that popular allegiance to these institutions, based on the capacity of people to internalize their *raison d'etre*, is limited at best. The Balkans' conflicts illustrate that there is a pressing need to develop a transnational dimension to education in which personal transformation is at the center of learning. This is an element of prevention that ESDP could utilize as peoples in conflict areas seek closer ties to integration. The dynamics of this education occur across and beyond borders thereby contributing to the development of an emerging networked world society.

⁵¹ Tanya Domi, "US Thinking on Bosnia Unnerves Europeans," *IWPR's Balkan Crisis Report*, No. 241, April 27, 2001, info@iwpr.net

⁵²The American Academy in Berlin, *A Discussion on Transatlantic Relations and Current Political Affairs with Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke*, Moderated by Roger Cohen, Berlin, May 6, 2001.

eEurope in action is as much a state of mind of the persons involved in its creation as it is a reality to experience. Our initiative to establish a pedagogy for prevention shows us that in learning about and for Kosovo/a, the resonance of the post-modern order is striking even though a “community of fate” remains a distant, but visible, objective.

Violence in the Balkans Demands Swifter Reponse by NATO

BRUSSELS — Growing militant activity by ethnic Albanian guerrillas along the Macedonian and Yugoslav borders poses a potentially serious threat to regional stability in southeastern Europe. However, we should put fears of a new Balkan war in their proper perspective.

There have been several positive developments recently. So far, the governments in Yugoslavia and in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have reacted with restraint. Regional solidarity against terrorism has been unprecedented. The international communi-

ty, by means of co-operation between the new Yugoslav government, the United Nations, NATO, the European Union and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, has engaged in action to reduce tensions in southern Serbia. Something similar is now happening in the case of Macedonia, whose territorial integrity and national sovereignty is being violated by ethnic Albanian militants.

Macedonia has been a positive example of interethnic co-existence in the region. It achieved its independence with-

By Bodo Hombach

out warfare, the only republic of the former Yugoslavia to do so. Its ethnic Albanians, who make up about 30 percent of the population, have been loyal to Macedonian statehood. The stability in Macedonia is also due to the wise decision of the Slav elite in the country, which has shared power with the parties of the Albanian minority. Extremists should not be allowed to endanger this political model for southeastern Europe.

The means are available, and must increasingly be used, to isolate those in the Balkans who

still prefer to pursue their objectives by violence. Albanian political leaders in Tirana, Pristina, and Skopje have impressively denounced terrorist acts. All those who have any influence on the extremists must also now take effective practical action to prevent violent activities. Otherwise there is a real danger of a backlash against international reconstruction efforts in Kosovo, and of increasing donor fatigue; public opinion in Europe and the United States may hold those of Albanian ethnicity collectively responsible for all acts of violence occurring in the region.

Two years after the outbreak of the Kosovo conflict, the political will to develop an efficient culture of prevention is progressively establishing itself. But conflict prevention tools still need to be further developed. A trio of instruments is needed. Two already exist.

On the one hand, there is the military instrument of massive coercion, which the North Atlantic Treaty Organization rightly used in reaction to the events in Kosovo. On the other, an innovative tool for long-term prevention has been developed — the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe, which addresses the root causes of conflicts through institution building, democratic and economic

development and enhancement of security.

Despite this, there is sometimes insufficient ability to take robust preventive action as soon as a low-level, violent conflict looms. A third tool is needed: a flexible spectrum of measures, limited in scope and time, combining political, military and economic elements.

Negotiations must be backed up, when necessary, by timely and demonstrative military presence. For example, it would have been better had NATO reacted faster and shown stronger presence around the trouble spots in southern Serbia and Macedonia; the alliance is well capable of this, but the systems and the will need to be put in place.

Now and in the future it must be made clear to everybody in southeastern Europe that violence as a means of pursuing objectives will not succeed. To achieve this, a convincing combination of medium- to long-term stabilization, and shorter-term conflict prevention, with an effective military component, is required.

The writer, a former cabinet minister in the German government, is special co-ordinator of the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

TISK2000
A view from Costa Rica
José Brenes André
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Greetings Ladies and Gentlemen,

Some years ago, Dr. Mazzucelli and I participated together in the Auditorium of the Technical University at Budapest, during a videoconference commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Fulbright Scholarship Program.

For the last 2 years, we have been seated virtually site to site during the TISK project. Without belittling my visit to Budapest, nor my being given the honor to give the closing remarks while Mrs. Fulbright chaired the session, I feel the TISK experience has had a more lasting impact on me.

The lines that follow convey a sense of why I believe this to be so.

The TISK experience has several components that are difficult to find elsewhere:

- a- Immediate relevance. The topic of study is unfortunately still in the news: suffering, shots, ethnic rivalry, hard held historical frictions. Displacement of military forces, with economical, social and personal impact on both sides is bound to last for quite some time.
- b- Direct impact outside academia. Instead of news commentary in the papers, or books which quickly become obsolete given the rapid pace of events, the possibility to listen to people directly guiding the course of events, i.e., NATO generals, persons responsible in KFOR, German negotiators, primary school authorities and last, but not least, students in Europe and America who may sooner rather than later have a say in this area in the departments they may work in, gives the dialogue a more personal and realistic tone.
- c- Possibility to exchange opinions between young students. If we are working in the line of preventive diplomacy, my feeling is that work has to start at home: there are prejudices in Europe about how we live in America (NOT the USA), and similarly the other way around. Is it not time to start working on ironing out such a difference of perception?
- d- Last, but not least, there is the use of the latest technology for a good deed. INTERNET is a word in everyone's conversation. Unfortunately, quite a few persons equate it with E-mail and/or senseless chat, and/or expensive video conferences available in big companies or for rich people.

All of the above points were illustrated by the small group of students who participated with me here. Some of their ideas, which may be of interest to you at this point, follow:

- a- I have seen this type of conferences on TV news, but never expected I was going to be part of one so soon, explained one.

- b- How could it be that French students may overlook such evident points, explained another young student who has never been abroad.
- c- It sounds as if they are also here, in this room, was a regular expression of most of them when we were able to make FIRETALK work.
- d- The course program is well thought, unfortunately, we have no access to some of the books listed in the bibliography, for our library does not update its collection frequently, said one of the professors I am trying to involve in the seminar.
- e- Why do the students talk about Kosovo with such an academic tone, so detached, asked a student who has been more in touch with poor people in the Americas and felt nearer to the battered Kosovar people.
- f- Wish every course in Political Science would be this dynamic, so demanding and appealing as this is. Guess this is everyone's opinion.
- g- I feel such despair. Did not get any response from any of the European students, although I was told of one of the students wishing to have a more frequent rapport outside the regular seminar sessions.

The last expression leads me to the technical and administrative part of the Costa Rican side, which is entirely my own view, not reflective of any official statement either from my institution or from my government.

On the technical side, I would like to share with you that we used my own PC (132 M RAM, 400 Mhz, Windows 98 platform), located in my lab and hooked to the University of Costa Rica (UCR) network. The network is being updated rather quickly to get the most out of its 512 kb/s downlink node. Software, as well as hardware (sound card and video camera) provided by UCR.

During the 1999 seminar 2 PCs were used (the other with 133 Mhz, 32 M RAM, Windows 95 platform) located in my office; in an effort to get better audio and more comfortable settings for the 5 students and me, we could split into 2 groups of 3 each.

The sound was awful, text chat and the documents sent in advance carried all the weight. Terrence Reddings' chat room served its purpose rather well because it was always up and was rather fast despite our low bandwidth.

For the 2000 series, we only used the PC at the lab. FIRETALK deceived us into thinking we had a virus, whereas in reality the only problem was it was taking quite a lot of time to hookup. The use of a parallel network gave us a clue that our UCR network was not behaving as supposed to, and FIRETALK was re-installed after several trials to download it. Things went smoothly from then on.

Although sound was perfect, we missed some of the PowerPoint presentations that were not available previous to the presentation. Several sessions were taped directly from the speakers with wonderful quality.

On the administrative side, things were a bit more uphill. For 1999 some 5 students (sophomore, junior and senior levels represented) were enrolled, with the idea to assess which level would be more appropriate. Bad sound discouraged some of them in the midst of the exercise.

This past year I enrolled another 5 students, but the initial FIRETALK problems made it difficult to keep them. Here again, the students were enrolled on a voluntary basis like auditors.

Three facts that had a very strong adverse impact on Costa Rican participation were: the seminar started at 6:00 am Costa Rica time whereas the buildings are officially opened at 6:50 am; our regular fall term runs from beginning of August to mid-December with January and February normally used for summer vacation, enrollment for the new year, exams, and the like; and third, the students were attending on a voluntary basis so their regular courses got in the way.

Last, but not least, for the future series I am presently making contacts with the Dean of Graduate Studies in Social Work, who teaches a course with emphasis on Human Rights to explore the possibility of including TISK as part of the regular course. I am also initiating contacts with the Vice-President of Costa Rica because she was an International Judge in Kosovo during the Human Right trials there. My guess is that she may be interested in including people in Law and help us acquire some support to improve our participation.

I was purposely sketchy to give you an idea of how I see the TISK exercise. As we say at home: it is while walking the path that the real work is gaged.

I would like to express my thanks to Colette for taking me into account and to you for reading these remarks.

Das globale Studierzimmer

Das Internet als Werkzeug für neue Wege in der Konfliktforschung

„Houston, can you hear me?“ – das ist kein Hilferuf einer taumelnden Raumstation an das Kontrollzentrum der amerikanischen Weltraumbehörde, sondern es ist die Frage an das Rechenzentrum der Universität, das an diesem Donnerstagabend die Verbindung zwischen Berlin, San José, New York und dem Rest der Welt sicherstellt. Gerufen hat die Politikwissenschaftlerin Colette Mazzucelli, die in der American Academy am Wannsee ein einzigartiges Projekt vorstellt.

Seit zwei Jahren leitet sie ein transatlantisches Seminar zur Konfliktforschung im Kosovo, das ohne die physische Präsenz der Teilnehmer und Dozenten stattfindet. Stattdessen kommunizieren die Studenten aus Europa, den USA und Lateinamerika über das Internet miteinander. Erstmals können Teilnehmer aus verschiedenen Kulturkreisen miteinander ohne großen technischen Aufwand virtuell zusammenkommen und ihre Sicht der Dinge darlegen. So sind in dem Transatlantischen Internetseminar Kosovo (TISK2000) Studenten aus New York, Paris, San José und München eingeschrieben. Regelmäßig klinken sich zudem Gesprächspartner aus Kosovo in die online-Diskussionen ein, die die akademische Auseinandersetzung mit authentischen und aktuellen Berichten über die Lage im Kosovo bereichern.

Colette Mazzucelli sieht darin einen Ansatz, Konflikte frühzeitig zu erkennen und „präventiv tätig werden zu können“. Da das Internet eine breite Öffentlichkeit zu erreichen vermag, könne sich dadurch auch öffentlicher Druck auf die Politik und Diplomatie ergeben. Vor allem in den USA „ist die Politik sehr sensibel gegenüber der öffentlichen Meinung“, sagt Colette Mazzucelli. Zuvor jedoch müsse eine „informierte Öffentlichkeit“ hergestellt werden. Solche Internet-Seminare, wo die Teilnehmer direkt in Kontakt treten können, sich hören und sehen können, vermögen dies nach der Meinung von Colette Mazzucelli zu leisten.

„Here is Houston“ – die Verbindung, eine Ton und Videoverbindung über das Internet, steht. Auf die Leinwand im Vortragsaal der American Academy wird das Bild des Computermonitors projiziert, der in mehrere Fenster unterteilt ist. In drei Fenstern sieht man die etwas abgehackten bewegten Bilder, die die Web-Cams in Houston, New York und in der American Academy aufnehmen. Vor der Kamera in Houston sitzt – ein Mikrofon um den Kopf ge-

schnallt – Roger Boston vom Houston Community College System und in New York die Politologin Ane Cutter vom „Conflict Prevention Program“ des Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs. Hinter ihr sitzen einige Studenten, schemenhaft erkennt man ein Bücherregal und einen Kamin. Über einen Audio-Kanal können sich alle miteinander unterhalten, auch José Bregen Andre von der Universität Costa Rica ist zu hören. Er kann nicht in die Videokonferenz zugeschaltet werden, da für einen vierten Videokanal die Bandbreite dieser Internetverbindung (noch) nicht ausreicht. Die Tonqualität macht die große geographische Entfernung zwischen den Teilnehmern und die geringe Übertragungsrate des Internet deutlich: Aus den Lautsprechern schallt es arg blechern und die Gespräche zwischen den Kontinenten erinnern an die frühen Telefonate zwischen Astronauten und der Bodenstation.

Dennoch reicht diese einfache, über das Internet laufende Verbindung aus, um sich zu verständigen. Außenstehenden ist es zudem jederzeit möglich, über einen Chat-Room Textnachrichten an die Teilnehmer der Videokonferenz zu übermitteln. An diesem Abend etwa melden sich auch Gäste aus Prishtina und Mazedonien. Sie überbringen keine guten Nachrichten, berichten von leergefegten Straßen in Tetovo und einer unheimlichen Spannung.

So einfach, wie sich Augenzeugen und Betroffene aus allen Teilen der Welt in diese Diskussion einschalten können, so einfach ist es auch, Gastdozenten in das Seminar einzuschalten. Im November letzten Jahres war etwa der deutsche General und Kommandant der Kfor-Truppen, Klaus Reinhardt, via Internet dem Seminar zugeschaltet. Die Video-Verbindung sowie der Austausch von Karten und Anschauungsmaterial erfolgte vollständig über das Internet.

Experten und unmittelbar von einem Konflikt betroffene Menschen sind so nur einen „Maus-Klick“ entfernt. Für den Politikwissenschaftler Wim van Meurs vom Centrum für angewandte Politikwissenschaften (CAP) der Universität München ist das der größte Nutzen für die Studenten. Seit Beginn des Internet-Seminars über den Kosovo-Konflikt ist das CAP darin eingebunden. Zu Beginn des Seminars vor knapp zwei Jahren meldeten sich 26 Studenten; für das nächste Internet-Seminar haben sich schon 250 Interessierte angemeldet.

JENS POTTHARST

Wie man online einen Krieg verhindert

Ein deutsch-französisch-amerikanisches Projekt will das Internet als Instrument der Diplomatie einsetzen

VON ULRIKE HEITMÜLLER

Immer freitags, wenn in New York, Houston und Costa Rica der Morgen graut und über Berlin, München und Paris die Abenddämmerung niedersinkt, versucht eine Gruppe von Studenten, die Welt zu verändern. Dann sitzen sie mit WebCam und Mikrofon vor ihren Rechnern, loggen sich unter www.rhoston.com/bosch ein zum globalen Gedankenaustausch über den Kosovo-Konflikt. Von Amerika und Europa aus lauschen sie Gastrednern, Politikern, privaten Investoren, und schon bald sollen auch die Betroffenen selbst mitreden können. Aus Pristina etwa, wo es bereits ein paar Internet-Cafés gibt.

Denn das globale Treffen im Netz will viel mehr sein als eine virtuelle Hochschul-Veranstaltung. Mit ihrem „Transatlantischen Internet-Seminar Kosovo/a“ (TISK 2000) wollen Colette Mazzucelli und Wim van Meurs ein Mittel schaffen, das weitere Konflikte künftig verhindern und Vorbild für eine neue Art der internationalen Diplomatie werden könnte. Studenten beider Seiten spielen dabei eine wichtige Rolle.

In den Krisenregionen stellt der akademische Nachwuchs zwar nur einen kleinen Teil der Bevölkerung, aber einen mit viel Einfluss: „Eine Studentengruppe hatte die Bevölkerung beim Sturz von Milosevic mobilisiert, andererseits sind Studenten auch oft Grundlage nationalistischer Bewegungen“, sagt van Meurs. Der wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter am Centrum für angewandte Politikforschung der Universität München



Mit Studenten-Gruppen wie diesen protestierenden Albanern in Pristina will das Projekt TISK 2000 per Internet Kontakt aufnehmen. FOTO: AP/GHIRDA.

(www.cap.uni-muenchen.de) ist dort verantwortlich für den Projektbereich Südosteuropa.

„Haben Sie in Ihrem Studium Auslandskontakte gehabt?“ fragt Colette Mazzucelli provozierend die Initiatorin des TISK 2000. Und antwortet selber: „Man hat beim Studium keine direkten Verbindungen zu den Leuten in den Krisengebieten.“ Deshalb will sie ihre Studierenden in direkten Kontakt mit Menschen im

Kosovo bringen, und zwar „mit einem ganzheitlichen Ansatz, der in der Sozialpsychologie begründet ist“, wie die Politik-Stipendiatin der Bosch-Stiftung sagt. Gerade westliche Studenten bräuchten diese Kontakte – denn auch aus ihnen würden schließlich Entscheidungsträger, die, um ihr Handwerk gut zu machen, verstehen müssten, was in den Krisenregionen geschieht.

Zu den Sitzungen kommen inzwi-

schen hochkarätige Fachleute. „Auch deshalb, weil wir Studenten in Übersee vorweisen können“, sagt Wim van Meurs. So sprach KFOR-Kommandeur Klaus Reinhardt über „Gefahr und Rolle des Militärs in Konfliktsituationen.“ Es stellen aber auch ganz andere Redner ihre Projekte vor, Bürger, die sich oft ehrenamtlich engagieren. Zum Beispiel Armand Burguet. Der Belgier hatte vor einigen Jahren ein paar Kosovo-Flüchtlinge kennen gelernt und daraufhin beschlossen, dem Land zu

KFOR-General als Gastredner

helfen. Der ehemalige IBM-Consultant hat Jahre lang in den Bereichen Technologie und Ausbildung gearbeitet. Er nutzte sein Wissen und entwickelte eine Website, www.educweb.com, mit der Schulen im Kosovo unterstützt werden.

Diese Mischung von Politikern und Privatleuten macht einen Reiz des Seminars aus. Und ist pädagogisch erwünscht: „Ein Online-Seminar kann sehr locker hin- und herschalten zwischen Bürgerinitiativen und der härteren Politikwissenschaft, wo es um Entscheidungsprozesse geht“, sagt van Meurs.

Solche Seminare lassen sich über das Internet relativ einfach realisieren, auch wenn die Technik in den Krisengebieten nicht immer weit fortgeschritten ist. Bei einem ersten Test, an dem Studenten aus dem Kosovo zugeschaltet waren, ging es den

Teilnehmern dort weniger um politisch brisante Fragen als darum, ob man eigentlich am anderen Ende der Welt auch gut zu verstehen sei.

„Man braucht keine Konferenzanlage für 50 000 Mark, sondern bloß einen normalen Rechner mit WebCam“, sagt Seminarleiter van Meurs. Das ist selbst für eine Universität im Balkan erschwinglich. Im Gespräch sind derzeit Belgrad und Sarajevo. Zum Institut für internationale Beziehungen an der Universität Belgrad bestehen schon gute Kontakte.

„Diplomatische Initiativen brauchen öffentliche Unterstützung“, wirbt Mazzucelli für ihr Projekt. „Wenn eine Regierung sich nicht erklären kann, dann bekommt sie diese Unterstützung nicht.“ Internet bringt Öffentlichkeit, ohne Zweifel – doch

wieviel? Sie räumt ein, dass nur fünf Prozent der Menschen online gehen können, „aber in zehn Jahren haben vielleicht schon 50 Prozent der Weltbevölkerung Internet-Anschluss. Das wird sich meiner Meinung nach multiplizieren.“

So könnten Internet-Cafés so etwas wie die Zentralen der Völkerverständigung werden: „Wichtig ist eine direkte Verbindung zwischen den Leuten, die in einem Konflikt sind und den Personen in Westeuropäischen Ländern oder Staaten.“ Politische Sicherheit entstehe durch persönliche Sicherheit, und „darum brauchen die Leute im Balkan Kontakte“. Das Internet könnte das Medium werden, mit dem Menschen in Krisengebieten die Welt über ihre Situation informieren.

