

**“Educational Diplomacy” via the Internet
A Transatlantic Citizens’ Dialogue for Kosovo/a**

*Bosch Public Policy Seminar
22 March 2001, 18.00-20.00, The American Academy in Berlin*

Berlin: Colette Mazzucelli, Armand Burguet, Wim van Meurs, Mark Carlson and Bosch Public Policy Seminar participants;

Houston: Roger Boston, Rockwell Chair Instructor and Creativity Consultant, Houston Community College System;

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San Jose: Jose Brenes Andre, Professor, University of Costa Rica, and former President, Fulbright Association of Costa Rica

Introduction

In the words of his biographer, Theodor Heuss, Robert Bosch was motivated by “his sense of social responsibility...to donate immense sums of money to the public welfare on a scale unparalleled in Germany, for decades on end.”¹ It is with a sense of humility that we present to you this evening one of the initiatives in social responsibility and international understanding made possible by the legacy and the vision of Robert Bosch. In this context, it is lovely to see here this evening a number of alumni of The Robert Bosch Foundation Fellowship Program for Future American Leaders, the heart of the Bosch Foundation’s efforts in the area of German (European)-American relations. The Bosch Fellowship brought me to Germany for the first time to work in 1992-93. At the time, I was assigned to the *Auswaertiges Amt* to assist with the tasks related to the ratification of the Treaty on European Union (“Maastricht”) in the Bundesrat and the Bundestag. The Foundation’s funding of four Public Policy Fellowships at The American Academy in Berlin once again demonstrates its commitment to foster understanding among peoples in our interdependent environment.

In a world marked by accelerating change, as Thomas Friedman writes, everyone is connected but nobody is in charge.² If we are to contribute to peace in our world during this century, one may ask that transatlantic relations not be concerned exclusively with the difficulties of burden sharing, the evolution of NATO or recipes to digest the alphabet soup of international organizations. Or, simply put, let’s stop navel gazing.

At a security conference in the Evangelische Akademie Loccum, 50 km west of Hannover, we addressed the theme “The Renewal of the Transatlantic Partnership” earlier this month. Our dialogue emphasized those *responsibilities* that Europe and the United States share and the *opportunities* the two continents may create together to prevent conflict in areas beyond the transatlantic community.

Our program this evening speaks to our engagement in this issue as educators and citizens. It is about an initiative in *educational diplomacy for prevention*. Our focus is on Kosovo/a in the wider Balkans’ context and the ways in which the Internet may be placed at the service of education. Our work and our passion is to facilitate *learning across continents*. Over time we aim to establish a citizens’ dialogue about one of the most salient issues in relations between our continents over the past decade.

Why is this endeavor one to which so many talented people commit their energies and their time? As former Ambassador Jonathan Dean explained in Loccum, global action to prevent war is possible in this century given the resources and knowledge we possess, <http://www.globalactionpw.org>

The transatlantic Internet seminar Kosovo/a (TISK2000) is one curricular offering in an evolving series. Here the use of state-of-the-art technologies that are cost-effective, inclusive and pedagogically sound serve our goal to teach, learn and engage in prevention efforts as a multicultural audience of students and practitioners.

¹ Theodor Heuss, *Robert Bosch: Leben und Leistung* (Tuebingen, 1946).

² Thomas L. Friedman, “Left Behind as the Globalization Train Speeds UP,” *International Herald Tribune*, February 3, 1999, p. 6.

Let's be clear from the outset. The creation of the TISK series is grounded in a knowledge of the realities in the Balkans and is evolving in a pragmatic, flexible and goal-oriented manner. In this way, we strive to establish a dialogue as a basis for transformation, reconstruction, mediation and, ultimately, if possible, reconciliation over time.

As explained by Michael Lund, in the 21st 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.**³

Educational diplomacy is defined by former Secretary Riley to underline the importance of international education in the policy context. It highlights an important area of cooperation. 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.

The present situation in Kosovo/a explains our concern to look at security in more than its military dimension. American Academy Bosch Policy Alumna Julianne Smith explains that three ideas have formed the basis for post WW II German diplomacy: multilateralism, integration and transatlantic partnership. Foreign minister Joschka Fischer, in a speech last September in Berlin, refers to multilateralism as a "task" of German foreign policy.⁴ As Christopher Coker explains, our objective is to understand the implications of globalization, a process in which the Internet is an integral component, for security. We aim to do this in terms of transnationalism and those forces to which sovereign nation states are increasingly compelled to respond.⁵

In practice, our educational initiatives lead us to ask whether we are in fact witnessing, as the French sociologist Bertrand Badie argues, not only the changing influence of the state, but also profoundly altered international relations in "a world without sovereignty".⁶

We are particularly appreciative that The American Academy in Berlin chose to host this program because its founding in the last decade of the 20th century symbolized a commitment to an enduring cultural and intellectual relationship between our two countries and our two continents. 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 as 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.⁷ While this is true in the United States, in my view, we would do well to inquire, through the use of concrete initiatives, as to its practical relevance in Europe and other parts of the world.

This is one of the reasons why our program this evening places the triad, democracy-technology-diplomacy, at the heart of a transatlantic dialogue for prevention. The IHT article written by Bodo Hombach, included in the handouts, is illustrative in its omission of the technological element and the role it may play as a linchpin in preventive action.

³ 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), p. 385.

⁴ <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/de/infoservice/download/pdf/reden/2000/r000904a.pdf>

⁵ Christopher Coker, "Rethinking Security for the Twenty First Century", Introductory Paper for the 21st Century Trust conference at Merton College, Oxford, 23-31 March 2001, London, November 2000.

⁶ Bertrand Badie, *Un monde sans souverainete* (Paris: Fayard, 1999).

⁷ Brigid Starkey, Mark A. Boyer and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *Negotiating a Complex World* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999), p. 127.

As educators and as engaged citizens, we are going to explore together the potential offered by the tools of the communications revolution. Our long-term goal is as straightforward as it is fundamental: to create an Internet pedagogy with a transnational resonance. This pedagogy is grounded in an ethical engagement for prevention in areas already torn by intra-state conflict.

In our endeavor, we acknowledge that the Internet is a relative concept. By 2050 the Internet we presently discover in its myriad incarnations may evolve into a profoundly different shared experience.

Tonight's presentation features the use of CU-SeeMe PRO, <http://cuseemeworld.com/>, a multi-point audio and video tool that brings together numerous sites for real time text and verbal exchanges, via server capabilities at the Houston Community College System (HCCS). The handout shows a number of us during initial tests last week. **Roger may tell us more about this new tool and its use there.**

The remainder of our presentation this evening is divided into 3 parts –

- I. Transatlantic Internet Seminar Kosovo/a (TISK2000) – an idea from the heart with a human focus: partners, structure, implementation (Mazzucelli/Boston with comments Cutter/Brenes);
- II. EducWeb – teaching the youth via school twinning: the application of Internet learning to Kosovo/a (Burguet)
- III. Transatlantic Views on Policy Options in Kosovo/a: Insights into Different Institutional Set-Ups/Mind-Frames on the Same Issues (Meurs)

I. TISK2000

Partners: The transatlantic Internet seminar Kosovo/a (TISK2000), <http://www.rboston.com/bosch>, is a 14-week distance learning initiative that is transatlantic in origin and increasingly global in outreach.

At the heart of TISK2000 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 technologies and the seminar's innovatively designed web site. The handouts provided are printed directly from the TISK2000 site. These materials include reference to Session III in our 2000 series during which General Klaus Reinhardt shared his experiences with us as KFOR commander in Pristina. Some of the General's Power Point Slides are also provided to illustrate the visual advantages of Power Point. Particularly for those students whose native tongue is not English, visual tools are a very important part of our evolving pedagogy.

TISK2000 was taught as a team effort for students at Sciences Po, Paris and the University of Munich in association with the Center for Applied Policy Research (CAP). Of relevance to our efforts is the fact that Sciences Po is one of seven **Rotary Foundation Centers in International Studies for Peace and Conflict Resolution** worldwide. This network of Centers, which expects to begin classes in 2002, seeks to use new technologies in its curricular offerings. Students at the University of Costa Rica also participate as auditors each year. After experiencing some technical difficulties, the Monterey Institute for International Studies (MIIS) in California is also considering the option to re-join the TISK series.

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.

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 may explain more about the evolving nature of the conflict prevention program at Carnegie and its interest in the “collaborative opportunities offered by information technologies”.**

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.

Structure: TISK2000's structure is meant to demonstrate the advantages and necessities of Internet teaching in an inclusive, personalized and sensitive manner. Its specific features include:

1. working with 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 TISK2000 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 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, otherwise known as the Internet's blackboard; and FIRETALK, <http://www.firetalk.com>, an audio tool connecting multiple sites.

To date we have 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. The next step is to apply the technology as a communications bridge to Pristina.

In terms of the challenges we face to integrate sites into our weekly sessions, Jose could tell us more about his experience with his students participating in TISK2000 from Costa Rica.

In this context, we are grateful to Mark Carlson, Director, New Media, at the Musee Guimet in Paris, for his assistance with the keyboard chat, allowing us to pose questions in written form that all our sites may respond to at different points in the program this evening.

We hope that the relative ease with which we may use this video conference tool encourages present and future AAB Fellows to avail themselves of the possibilities it offers in their respective disciplines during their stay at the Academy. To continue with the structure of TISK2000, it features:

2. adding tools that allow us to enlarge the regular class of 26 students in Paris, including 11 nationalities, and 12 German students in Munich to invite auditors in San Jose and Monterey as well as citizens in different parts of the world. We thereby enhance the global dimension of our efforts. These tools also permit TISK2000 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 our area of interest. These tools are

first, the Nice Net forum, <http://www.nicenet.org>, 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 as the pages in the handout illustrate. Our experience with this tool is that it could be more integrated into the teaching during the weekly sessions as well as used more systematically in the periods between semesters when students and other participants in the TISK series may initiate conference topics and contribute their comments; and

second, TISK2000@yahoogroups.com, the email address for the seminar's list serv, to which a number of you are subscribed, and which now contains over 250 persons on 5 continents. This list serv, which may be joined via the web or email at <http://www.educweb.com>, is used to disseminate information about the seminar on a daily basis in a digest form, i.e., one email containing several messages;

3. using the technology as a communications vehicle that allows us to develop an Internet pedagogy over time in which the students are at the center of the teaching and develop individually 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* (Columbia, 1959) 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 actor⁸;

4. linking students in our seminar directly 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.

The 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”.⁹

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.

5. creating through its inclusion of people and materials from governmental and non-governmental organizations in Kosovo/a, and in conjunction with Internet initiatives like EducWeb, a learning experience that is integrative, engaging partners, multi-cultural content and technological innovation.

Implementation: TISK2000’s 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.¹⁰ 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 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 mean by the use of educational diplomacy to establish a citizens’ dialogue for Kosovo/a.

Our Internet seminar illustrates that the liberal response has yet to play out in the Balkans. What remains an open question 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.

II. In the 1999 and 2000 TISK series, Armand Burguet presented an individual educational initiative he organized for Kosovo/a known as EducWeb, <http://www.educweb.com> Like most of those invited to speak in the weekly sessions, Armand brings to us his experience in Kosovo/a and his practical sense of the situation there. It is my pleasure to turn the program over to Armand for his presentation of EducWeb.

III. As the Munich partner in the seminar series, Dr. Wim van Meurs contributes his analysis of the on-going developments in Kosovo/a and the Balkans in the context of European integration and transatlantic relations. He will continue our presentation with some remarks about transatlantic views on policy options in Kosovo/a and insights into different institutional set-ups/mind-frames about the same issues.

⁸ Michael N. Barnett, “Bringing in the New World Order,” *World Politics* Volume 49, Number 4 (July 1997): 538.

⁹ Ruzica Rosandic, *Grappling with Peace Education in Serbia*, Peaceworks No. 33 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2000), p. 32.

¹⁰ Joel H. Rosenthal, “An Ethical Approach to International Politics”, *Perspectives* 1 (New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 1993), p. 3.

Conclusion

In its evolution, the TISK series is meant to illustrate the ways in which technology may serve as a linchpin between democracy and diplomacy. As educational diplomacy via the Internet becomes a constant on the international landscape, the TISK series also addresses in practical and innovative initiatives the possible evolution and redefinition of approaches to conflict prevention during this century.

PUBLIC SERVICE

NATIONAL-TRANSNATIONAL
COMMUNITIES

IMAGES, EXPLANATIONS & PERSPECTIVES-PRACTICE
WALTZ, KURTH, HASSNER, BADIE, REALIST, LIBERAL, INSTITUTIONALIST
INTEGRATING CONCEPTS-PRAXIS BEYOND THE "AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE"

COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGIES
ETHICAL CONSENSUS-A "PEDAGOGY FOR PREVENTION" THAT RESPECTS SPECIFICITY
CREATIVE PROBLEM SOLVING IN POLICY MAKING

HUMANITARIAN
INTELLECTUAL-PRACTITIONER

INTERNET TEACHING

POLICY RESEARCH

The spreading violence in Macedonia and the desire for revenge that exists in Kosovo/a present us with an imperative. We must 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.¹¹

In the absence of a basis in constitutional liberalism, the advent of democracy may lead to fervor and to a rally of the masses behind a national cause. 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 by Ambassador John McDonald,¹² and more immediately in Kosovo/a in the EducWeb project are particularly relevant.

We strive to develop a TISK 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"¹³ 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 TISK 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 TISK2000 highlights in pedagogy is that of retaining inclusivity 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. Thank you.

¹¹ Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* (November-December 1997): 22-43.

¹² Dr. Louise Diamond and Ambassador John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy*, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1996, pp. 1-10.

¹³ Rosandic, p. 32.