



MESSAGE FROM SENATOR J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

on the occasion of the twentieth
anniversary of the Commission
for Educational Exchange between
the U.S.A. and Yugoslavia

PORUKA SENATORA DŽ. VILIJEMA FULBRAJTA

povodom dvadesete godišnjice
Komisije za razmenu u oblasti
prosvete između SFRJ i SAD

It is a genuine privilege to have this opportunity to bring the greetings of my countrymen to the people of Yugoslavia on this 20th anniversary of our cultural exchange program.

This anniversary revives my memory of the cordial reception given me when I came to Belgrade for the signing of the original Agreement with your Government on November 9th, 1964. Your people could not have been more hospitable in every respect. After the signing ceremonies in Belgrade, Ambassador Vladimir Popović escorted me in one of your government planes to visit Dubrovnik, that beautiful jewel of a city on the Adriatic. From there we went to Brioni to see President Tito's interesting and attractive residence, then to Ljubljana, Novi Sad and Zagreb. Later we visited President Tito at his mountain retreat, a thoroughly delightful experience. President Tito was truly a great leader and statesman of whom you are rightfully proud.

I am especially pleased that earlier this year your Government has reconfirmed your support for the exchange program, by sharing the cost of the program, which you have done since 1971. Both of us have formally recognized that this joint venture is of great importance to the people of our two countries. It is important not only to the participants as individuals, but it is also important for the creation over time of the conditions which are the essential elements of a peaceful world.

That your Government recognizes the importance of the Program is demonstrated by the gradual but steady increase in its support since the beginning of cost-sharing in 1971. That it is well administered and highly regarded is evidenced by the fact that there are 10 highly qualified applications for every award each year. For fiscal 1985 the budget proposes 110 grants — 56 to Yugoslavia and 54 to America. I think it would be a wise investment by both governments to increase the funds available so that all qualified applicants can receive an award. It is a good investment in the future.

In addition to the individual teaching and research grants, the Program supports multidisciplinary projects in the humanities and holds annual seminars to bring together scholars of different views to discuss common social and economic problems. The new writers exchange program begun in 1982 offers fine experiences to creative writers who can be very useful in promoting the mutual understanding of each country's culture.

As you may know this program is related to the worldwide exchange program authorized by legislation introduced in 1945 under which some 150,000 scholars from many countries have participated. Many of these grantees have become influential members of their respective communities in all fields of endeavor. I have no doubt that in addition to their contribution to the intellectual achievements of their people they will also help promote more rational international policies and restrain the traditional antagonisms which have afflicted so many people in recent years.

I realize that in view of the history of conflicts in this century, not to mention millennia before, that one may be considered a visionary to think that the age-old addiction to warfare can be eliminated or even diminished by international educational exchange. It may be that the human race is destined to self-destruction by atomic weapons, nevertheless, I believe it is useful to try this approach. It may be effective, it has never been tried, but if it is not successful, it will have many beneficial side effects in contrast to the arms race which has been tried often in the past and has rarely if ever succeeded in avoiding conflicts and which impoverished the people in either case.

People generally are suspicious and fearful of strangers whom they do not know, and whose customs and values are different from their own. The best way yet devised to overcome this fear of the stranger is to work together in joint ventures such as this exchange program. To work together for a common objective

gradually produces confidence in and understanding of each others intentions and purposes and thereby diminishes the antagonism which leads to conflict.

In the twentieth century the world has become united in the purely physical sense of economic and technological interdependence, while in psychological and spiritual terms the world remains divided into national communities which value their separate sovereignty over their common humanity and even their security. One of the purposes of international education, indeed of all education, is to help close the dangerous gap between the economic and technological interdependence of the peoples of the world and their psychological and spiritual alienation. Thus conceived, international education, which is often regarded as a plaything of harmless sentimentalists who hope to persuade the peoples of the world to feel more kindly about each other, is in reality a basic factor of international relations, quite as important as diplomacy and military power in its implications for war or peace.

It is not realistic to contemplate the shaping of a single world community in the near future. But it is realistic — and indeed essential — to do all that we can to temper the excesses of nationalism and national ideologies so as to build bonds of sympathy and understanding among nation. Our long-term objective must be the development of a sense of community in the world, a feeling of shared values and interests, a feeling that effective communication is possible, a feeling of trust and confidence in each other's purposes. In our efforts to achieve these goals much will depend upon the effects of such programs as the one which we celebrate here today.

International educational exchange programs can help us to break through some of the prevailing myths of international relations, of which the most dangerous is the belief that different political philosophies cannot survive together in the same world, that sooner or later one must prevail over all others.

Just as the medieval Christians could not bear the existence of heretical sects and alien religions, the extreme ideologues of our time have persuaded themselves that life is intolerable unless it is governed everywhere by uniform standards and values. This view is held as a kind of revealed truth, certainly not as an inference from history, which far from suggesting that there is anything "natural" about uniformity in political ideas, leads us to the conclusion that if there is any "law" of historical development, it is a law of infinite variety, especially in men's ideas about their own nature and relations with other men.

If there is any lesson to be learned from history it is that the doctrines and the causes that arouse men to passion and violence are transitory, that more often than not they fade into irrelevance and obsolescence with the erosion of time and circumstance. In the seventeenth century the catholics and protestants of Europe were absolutely certain that they could not co-exist and they fell upon each other in a savage thirty years war, driven by the fanaticism of vengeful self-righteousness. Both sides fought for "total victory" and only when Europe was decimated and exhausted did they settle for a stalemate peace. In the centuries that followed the passions of religious strife eroded imperceptibly away and were forgotten as nations became caught up with new doctrines and new causes.

We must learn to conduct international relations with patience, tolerance, openness of mind, and, most of all, with a sense of history. These are qualities of educated men. The cultivation of these qualities is the ultimate challenge in international education and the reason for agreements such as the one which we celebrate here today.

I am grateful to have been given this opportunity to speak to you and I congratulate you and your Government of Yugoslavia for the support you have given this successful program.

Iskreno sam počastvovan što mogu da prenesem pozdrave mojih sunarodnika narodima Jugoslavije povodom dvadesete godišnjice našeg programa kulturne razmene.

Ova godišnjica oživljava mi sećanje na srdačan prijem prilikom dolaska u Beograd na potpisivanje prvobitnog Sporazuma s vašom Vladom, 9. novembra 1964. godine. Vaši ljudi su u svakom pogledu bili veoma gostoljubivi. Posle svečanog potpisivanja u Beogradu, ambasador Vladimir Popović otpratio me je u jednom od vaših državnih aviona u posetu Dubrovniku, tom divnom dragulju na Jadranu. Odande smo otputovali na Brione i videli zanimljivu i lepu rezidenciju predsednika Tita, a zatim smo otišli u Ljubljano, Novi Sad i Zagreb. Posle toga pose-tili smo Tita u njegovoj planinskoj kući, što je predstavljalo pravo uživanje. Predsednik Tito je zaista bio veliki vođa i državnik i vi se njim s pravom ponosite.

Posebno mi je drago što je vaša vlada, početkom godine ponovo potvrdila svoju podršku ovom programu razmene, finansijskim učešćem koje je započeto još 1971. godine. Naše dve vlade su zvanično stale na stanovište da je ovaj zajednički poduhvat od velikog značaja za narode obeju zemalja, ne samo za učesnike, kao pojedince, već je značajan i za postepeno stvaranje uslova koji su osnovni činioci svetskog mira.

U postepenom, ali stalnom, povećavanju učešća, od 1971. godine, kada je uvedeno, vaša vlada potvrđuje značaj ovog programa. O tome da se program dobro sprovodi i visoko cenim svedoči činjenica da na svaku izdatu stipendiju godišnje dolazi deset odličnih kandidata. Za 1985. godinu budžet predviđa 110 stipendija — 56 za Jugoslaviju i 54 za Ameriku. Mislim da bi obe vlade napravile mudru investiciju kada bi povećale raspoloživa sredstva i na taj način obezbedile stipendije za sve valjane kandidate. To je dobra investicija za budućnost.

Pored pojedinačnih stipendija za predavače i istraživače, program uključuje podršku multidisciplinarnim projektima i održavanje godišnjih seminara i naučnih konferencija koje okupljaju naučnike različitih pogleda u razmeni iskustava o zajedničkim društvenim i ekonomskim problemima. Novi program razmene književnika započeo 1982. godine pruža izuzetne mogućnosti piscima da unaprede međusobno razumevanje kultura naših zemalja.

Kao što verovatno znate, ovaj program je deo svetskog programa razmene, ustanovljenog posebnim zakonom 1945. godine, u kojem je učestvovalo oko 150.000 akademskih građana iz mnogih zemalja sveta. Veliki broj tih stipendista nalazi se sada na uticajnim položajima u svojoj zemlji u gotovo svim oblastima ljudske delatnosti. Ne sumnjam da će oni, pored doprinosa intelektualnom stvaralaštvu svog naroda, doprineti i unapređivanju razložnije međunarodne politike, i zauzeti tradicionalne netrpeljivosti koje u poslednje vreme pogadaju sve više ljudi.

Imajući u vidu istorijat sukoba u ovom veku, da ne pominjem prethodne milenijume, vizionarom se smatra onaj ko misli da vekovna sklonost ka ratovanju može da se ukloni ili samo umanjati međunarodnom prosvetnom razmenom. Možda je ljudski rod osuđen na samouništenje atomskim oružjem, ali ja, ipak, verujem da vredi pokušati s ovakvim pristupom. Moglo bi da uspe, još niko nije probao, ali i ako ne uspe imaće mnogo korisnih usputnih uticaja, nasuprot trci za naoružanjem, koju su do sada mnogo puta koristili u iste svrhe, ali koja skoro nikad nije uspevala da otkloni sukob, iako je redovno dovodila do siromaštva.

Ljudi su uglavnom puni straha i podozrenja prema strancima koje ne poznaju i čiji su običaji i vrednovanja različiti od njihovih sopstvenih. Najbolji način do sada smišljen da se prevaziđe ovaj strah od stranaca jeste rad na zajedničkim poduhvatima kao što je ovaj program razmene. Raditi zajedno, ka zajedničkim ciljevima postepeno rađa uzajamno razumevanje i poverenje u namere i stremljenja i tako smanjuje netrpeljivost koja vodi sukobu.

U dvadesetom veku svet je postao ujedinjen u čisto fizičkom smislu ekonomske i tehnološke međuzavisnosti, dok u psihološkom i duhovnom pogledu on ostaje podeljen u nacionalne zajednice čija je veća briga sopstveni suverenitet nego zajednički problemi čovečanstva, pa čak i veća od brige za sopstvenu bezbednost. Jedan od ciljeva međunarodnog obrazovanja, u stvari obrazovanja u celini, jeste da pomogne u premošćivanju opasnog jaza između ekonomske i tehnološke međuzavisnosti svih naroda sveta i njihove psihološke i duhovne otuđenosti. Ovakvo zamišljeno, međunarodno obrazovanje, na koje inače često gledaju kao na igračku bezazlenih sentimentalista koji nastoje da ubede narode sveta da se uzajamno vole, u stvari predstavlja osnovni faktor međunarodnih odnosa ništa manje značajan od diplomatije ili vojne moći u svom uticaju na rat ili mir.

Nije realno verovati da će se u bliskoj budućnosti stvoriti jedinstvena svetska zajednica. Ali jeste realno, i u svakom pogledu bitno, da učinimo sve što možemo da se ublaži preterani nacionalizam i nacionalistička ideologija, da bi se izgradio zalag razumevanja među narodima. Naš dugoročni cilj mora da bude razvijanje osećanja zajedništva u svetu, osećanja zajedničkih vrednosti i interesa, mogućnosti pravog komuniciranja i osećanja vere i poverenja u ciljeve drugih. U našim nastojanjima da postignemo ovaj cilj, mnogo će zavisiti od delovanja programa kao što je ovaj čiju godišnjicu upravo obeležavamo.

Programi međunarodne prosvetne razmene pomažu nam da razbijemo neka postojeća ubeđenja u vezi s međunarodnim odnosima, od kojih je najopasnije verovanje da različite političke filosofije ne mogu opstati zajedno u istom svetu, da pre ili kasnije jedna mora prevagnuti nad ostalima.

Kao što srednjevekovni hrišćani nisu mogli da podnesu postojanje jeretičkih sekta i tuđih religija, ekstremno orijentisani ideolozi našeg vremena sami sebe su ubedili da je život nepodnošljiv ukoliko nije svuda rukovođen jednoobraznim merilima i vrednostima. Ovakvo stanovište smatra se nekom vrstom otkrovenja, ne nečim što je proisteklo iz istorije, koja, daleko od toga da tvrdi da ima ičeg »prirodnog« u istovetnosti političkih ideja, navodi nas na zaključak da, ukoliko postoji ikakav »zakon« istorijskog razvoja, onda je to zakon beskrajne raznolikosti, posebno u ljudskom razmišljanju o sopstvenoj prirodi i odnosima s drugim ljudima.

Ako nas istorija uči nečemu, onda nas uči da su dotkrine i razlozi koji podstiču ljude na žestinu i nasilje prolazni, da najčešće postaju nebitni i padaju u zaborav s prolaskom vremena i izmenom prilika. U sedamnaestom veku katolici i protestanti u Evropi bili su sasvim ubeđeni da ne mogu da žive zajedno i borili su se jedni protiv drugih u divljačkom tridesetogodišnjem ratu, vođeni fanatizmom osvetoljubive pravičnosti. Obe strane su se borile za »potpunu pobjedu« i tek kada je Evropa bila desetkovana i iscrpljena oni su sklopili prinudno primirje. Tokom narednih vekova žestina verskih sukoba postepeno je nestajala kako su se narodi predavali novim doktrinama i novim ciljevima.

Moramo da naučimo da se u međunarodnim odnosima ophodimo sa strpljenjem, tolerantnošću, otvorenog duha i iznad svega, s osećanjem za istoriju. Ovo su osobine obrazovanih ljudi. Negovanje ovih osobina jeste izazov međunarodnom prosvjećivanju i svrha postojanja sporazuma kao što je ovaj koji sada obeležavamo

Zahvaljujem se na prilici koja mi je pružena da vas pozdravim i čestitam vama i vladi SFRJ na podršci koju ste pružali ovom uspešnom programu.

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