

THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

FOUR FREEDOMS AWARDS

2002



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
CONTENTS

FOREWORD by <i>Cornelis A. van Minnen</i>	7
WELCOMING REMARKS by <i>Willem T. van Gelder</i>	9
RESPONSE ON BEHALF OF THE FRANKLIN AND ELEANOR ROOSEVELT INSTITUTE by <i>Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.</i>	11
THE FOUR FREEDOMS SPEECH by <i>President Franklin D. Roosevelt</i>	13
"WE HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR BUT FEAR ITSELF ..." by <i>William J. vanden Heuvel</i>	15
AWARD OF THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT FREEDOM OF SPEECH MEDAL TO RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY	19
THOMAS A. DINE'S SPEECH ON BEHALF OF RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FREE- DOM OF SPEECH MEDAL	21
AWARD OF THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT FREEDOM OF WORSHIP MEDAL TO NASR H. ABU ZAYD	25
NASR H. ABU ZAYD'S SPEECH IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FREEDOM OF WORSHIP MEDAL	27
AWARD OF THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT FREEDOM FROM WANT MEDAL TO GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND	29
GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND'S SPEECH IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FREEDOM FROM WANT MEDAL	31

AWARD OF THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT FREEDOM FROM FEAR MEDAL TO ERNESTO ZEDILLO PONCE DE LÉON	35
ERNESTO ZEDILLO PONCE DE LÉON'S SPEECH IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FREEDOM FROM FEAR MEDAL	37
AWARD OF THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT FOUR FREEDOMS MEDAL TO NELSON MANDELA	39
NELSON MANDELA'S SPEECH IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS MEDAL	41
REMARKS ON BEHALF OF THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY BY ELIZABETH ROOSEVELT JOHNSTON, GREAT-GRAND-DAUGHTER OF FRANKLIN AND ELEANOR ROOSEVELT	45
THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT FOUR FREEDOMS AWARDS LAUREATES 1982-2002	46
A WORD ABOUT THE ROOSEVELT STUDY CENTER	48

FOREWORD

by *Cornelis A. van Minnen*
Executive Director, Roosevelt Study Center

 n June 8, 2002, the Four Freedoms Awards were presented for the eleventh time in a row in Middelburg's Abbey to citizens of the world who have committed their lives to the fundamental principles as expressed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his State of the Union Address in 1941: Freedom of Speech and Expression, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Want, and Freedom from Fear.

This year's ceremony was attended by some eight hundred guests from many countries, including Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands, the Prince of Orange and Princess Máxima. The 2002 laureates were Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, scholar of Islamic Studies Nasr H. Abu Zayd, Director General of the World Health Organization Gro Harlem Brundtland, former President of Mexico Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, and Nelson Mandela.

In their speeches the laureates made it clear that Roosevelt's simply formulated Four Freedoms still serve as an inspiration in the struggle for a better world. As Nelson Mandela declared, in this era of globalization the fight against poverty and deprivation should be on top of the political agenda, since in his opinion globalization was till now too much "a weapon for the strong and mighty." Also Gro Harlem Brundtland in her speech described the fight against poverty as "the central global cause." Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León expressed his concern about the dangers of today's protectionist decisions by the world's major trading partners, which in his view could have dramatic consequences for the least-developed countries. Like Mandela, the former president of Mexico referred to Franklin Roosevelt's belief in internationalism and the importance of the United Nations and criticized the unilateralism of single nations and groups of nations in their attempt to dictate international conduct and affairs.

In addition to their criticism, the laureates also expressed their hope for a better world. Quoting Margaret Mead, Gro Harlem Brundtland said, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has." And in her remarks on behalf of the Roosevelt family at the end of the ceremony, the great-granddaughter of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, Elizabeth Roosevelt Johnston, reminded the audience of Eleanor Roosevelt's observation that it is in "the small places close to home where freedom, where human rights, must begin."

With that message of hope it is my pleasure to present in this twentieth volume of the Roosevelt Study Center Publications series the speeches delivered at the 2002 Four Freedoms Awards ceremony.

WELCOMING REMARKS

*by Willem T. van Gelder,
Queen's Commissioner in the Province of Zeeland*

I n my capacity of Queen's Commissioner in the Province of Zeeland, it is once again a great honor as well as a pleasure to welcome all of you in this Abbey for the presentation of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Awards. It is with sadness, however, that we learned of the passing away last week of my predecessor, Dr. Cornelis Boertien. He had been looking forward to attending this ceremony, a biennial event in Zeeland since 1982 which was so close to his heart. We will remember him with gratitude as one of the Founding Fathers of the Four Freedoms Awards and of the Roosevelt Study Center.


Your Majesty, Your Royal Highnesses, we deeply appreciate your willingness to share this ceremony with us. It reminds us of the special bond between your family and Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt. This close relationship was not only expressed by regular visits of Princess Juliana to Hyde Park and the White House during World War II, but also by the fact that President Roosevelt was the proud godfather of Princess Margriet. Her Royal Highness Princess Juliana was the first Four Freedoms Awards laureate in Middelburg in 1982 and for a great number of years she enthusiastically attended these ceremonies in the capital of the Province of Zeeland. I think I speak on behalf of all the guests in this church when I say to you that we miss Princess Juliana's presence very much. And, of course, also Prince Claus is in our thoughts.

In the dark days of the Great Depression and of World War II, President Roosevelt never lost hope for and confidence in democracy as opposed to the rise and threatening power of fascism and totalitarianism. Especially through his famous, informal and informative radio speeches, known as the fireside chats, he was able to be a source of inspiration and hope for people in the United States and all over the world. In his domestic policies he held the vision, as expressed during his second inaugural address in 1937, that "the test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much, it is whether we provide enough for those who have little." And in his foreign policy he saw the necessity and fought for the creation of a United Nations Organization as an instrument to hopefully help avoid a world at war in the future. As he had said during his 1936 election campaign, "I have seen war, ... I have seen the agony of mothers and wives. I hate war."

This year we celebrate in Middelburg's Abbey for the eleventh time in a row the vitality of Franklin Roosevelt's Four Freedoms which the president had expressed for the first time back in 1941 and which were included in 1948 in the Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The history of the last sixty years has taught us clearly that Roosevelt's simply formulated Four Freedoms are still as relevant today as they were in the dark days of World War II. To this day, human rights are still being violated in every part of the world, including ours, where since 1989 we are struggling to create a more unified Europe. We therefore need the example, again and again, of those who undaunted by setbacks, again and again keep fighting for a better world. The laureates we honor today, like the laureates of the previous years, remind us of our common responsibility to join them in that fight so that in time Franklin Roosevelt's vision of a world based on the Four Freedoms may come closer to reality.

RESPONSE ON BEHALF OF THE FRANKLIN AND ELEANOR ROOSEVELT INSTITUTE

by Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Chair Emeritus

 n behalf of the American delegation, I wish once again to thank our Dutch friends for their abundant and joyous hospitality. Once again you have opened your hearts to the memory of a Dutch family who left Zeeland three centuries ago to venture into the New World—a world in which three of their descendants, Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt, played so creative and crucial a role. I would add a special word of thanks to Willem T. van Gelder, the Queen's Commissioner, for his generous and unstinted partnership in the Roosevelt cause.

On behalf too of the American delegation, I want to offer our collective felicitations to the Prince of Orange and Princess Máxima and to send our best wishes for their boundless happiness. And the American delegation shares the grief, the profound sorrow over the death of a man whose sympathy and resourcefulness were so vital in the establishment of the Four Freedoms Awards and the Roosevelt Study Center—our dear and cherished friend, the former Queen's Commissioner for Zeeland, Cornelis Boertien.

As one of the Founding Fathers of the Roosevelt Study Center, I take great pleasure in noting that in the short span of sixteen years after its opening in 1986, the Center has developed into one of the most important places in Europe for the study of U.S. history and culture. Its archival collections on U.S. twentieth-century history are unique. The Center, affiliated as it is with the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences and collaborating in research programs and academic conferences with several universities, has really been put on the map. And I am pleased to know that the Center's director, Cornelis A. van Minnen, now also serves as the first professor of American history at the University of Ghent, Belgium, thereby extending the activities of the Roosevelt Study Center to that neighboring country.

I do not think that, in the twenty years since the first Four Freedoms ceremony in this place, the Four Freedoms have ever been under such intense, such fierce, assault. The attack is directed especially against three of those Freedoms—Freedoms of Speech and of Worship and Freedom from Fear. Freedom from Want is a perennial challenge, and the failure to meet that challenge may well help create the audience that joins the assault on the other Freedoms.

The enemy of the three Freedoms under attack is fanaticism. The twentieth

century was the century of secular fanaticism, the fanaticism of the totalitarian creeds. That century witnessed the victory of liberal democracy over rightwing and leftwing fanaticisms—fascism perishing with a bang, communism with a whimper. Secular fanaticism having been defeated, the twenty-first century promises to be the century of religious fanaticism. There is little more dangerous than these people who believe that they are executing the will of the Almighty. I like the definition of a religious fanatic by the Irish-American wit Mr. Dooley. A fanatic, Mr. Dooley said, is a man who does what the Lord would do—if He only knew the facts in the case.

Such deluded people are responsible for most of the killing taking place around the world today. In claiming knowledge of the divine will, they are also committing what Hawthorne called the Unpardonable Sin—the sin of self-pride, of egotism, of arrogance. In doing so, they deny the Christian tradition, which emphasizes the unfathomable distance between the Almighty and erring mortals. As Abraham Lincoln said in rejecting the claims of easy human access to the divine will, “The Almighty has his own purposes.”

The religious fanatics of our day are out to eradicate Freedoms of Speech and of Worship and Freedom from Fear. Our Four Freedoms laureates of today’s ceremony, like their predecessors, are intrepid men and women who defy fanaticism in the cause of freedom. Let us follow their noble example in the confidence that, as the Four Freedoms vanquished secular fanaticism in the last century, they will vanquish religious fanaticism in the frenzied years to come. Let us hold the banner of the Four Freedoms high as we move into the enigmatic future.

**PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S
"FOUR FREEDOMS SPEECH"
OF JANUARY 6, 1941**

To the Congress of the United States:

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression, everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants, everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor, anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb. To that new order we oppose the greater conception, the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in change, in a perpetual peaceful revolution, a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions, without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose. To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

“WE HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR BUT FEAR ITSELF ...”

*by William J. vanden Heuvel
Co-Chair of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute*

Freedom of Speech and Expression
Freedom of Worship
Freedom from Want
Freedom from Fear

For ourselves, for our nations, for our world. Those are the reasons why we fought the most terrible war in human history—to secure those freedoms for our children and generations to come, to make possible for them the well-ordered society that only democracy can assure, a community established by the consent of the governed, where the rule of law prevails, where freedom means respect for each other, and where fairness and decency and tolerance are the cherished values, where government protects the powerless while encouraging everyone to nourish the spirit and substance of their talents.

Winston Churchill described Franklin Roosevelt as the greatest man he had ever known. President Roosevelt's life, Churchill said, “must be regarded as one of the commanding events in human destiny.” Franklin Roosevelt was the voice of the people of the United States during the most difficult crises of the century. He led America out of the despair of the Great Depression. He led us to victory in the Great War. Four times he was elected president of the United States. He was a man of incomparable personal courage. At the age of thirty-nine, he was stricken with infantile paralysis. He would never walk or stand again unassisted. We know the pain of his struggle—learning to move again, to stand, to rely upon the physical support of others—never giving into despair, to self-pity, to discouragement. Just twelve years after he was stricken, he was elected president of a country itself paralyzed by the most fearful economic depression of its history. He lifted America from its knees and led us to our fateful rendezvous with history. We recall the majesty of that triumph as we meet here today.

Franklin Roosevelt transformed our government into an active instrument of social justice. He made America the arsenal of democracy. He was commander-in-chief of the greatest military force in history. He crafted the victorious alliance that won the most terrible war in human history. He was the

father of the nuclear age. The United Nations, the commitment to collective security, the determination to end colonialism, the opportunity of peace and prosperity for all people—that was the blueprint for the world he intended for us.

In recent months, both the United States and the Netherlands have suffered tragic events. The integrity of Dutch democracy was assaulted in a most brutal, mindless way. Americans who have lost great leaders to those who try to murder democracy's fundamental meaning understand your sadness and your anger. But the Netherlands which has done so much for so many, which has given sanctuary to the oppressed over the course of centuries, which has resisted tyrants time and time again—the Netherlands—as FDR would say—“will endure as it has endured,” finding courage and determination in the extraordinary strength and resilience of its people.

For Americans, the shattering events of 11 September 2001 remind us that forces of destruction that we hardly understand are loose upon the world. Our scientific achievements have a haunting echo as we confront the possibility that those who would destroy us may well have access to weapons of mass destruction that we invented. It is a dangerous time, but there are certainties we must reaffirm. The first is that we must not be afraid. Fear is the enemy that can undermine our strength. “We have nothing to fear but fear itself . . .” said Franklin Roosevelt to a frightened nation as he began his presidency. Whatever the threat to democracy today, it is clearly far less than what the world faced as World War II began. The voices of despair then declared that democracy was finished. The Nazi armies were the most formidable military force ever assembled but they were conquered by people with courage, led by fearless leaders who renewed the strength of their nations in the framework of freedom.

The second certainty that President Roosevelt understood and fought so hard to establish is that no nation—no nation—can stand alone in such a struggle, that the response to such threats must be universal, that leadership must listen so as to hear what both our allies and our enemies are saying. We must give a decent respect to the opinions of mankind—and in the unity forged in crisis we must find the energy, the momentum, the decency, and the love for one another that will enlarge the horizons of human hope and advance the prospects for peace and social justice.

Today we congratulate the citizens of Europe as they carry forward the momentous work of their Union. It can be the most significant success of this new century. We must say again and again, with the strength of our nations and the voice of peoples everywhere that the Four Freedoms and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are the basis of a world attainable in our own

time and generation—and we must not falter in our determination to attain such a world.

It is not worldly power and grandeur that causes us to remember Franklin Roosevelt on this day. It is the cause of human freedom and social justice to which he gave so much of his life. It is with that memory that we gather to honor distinguished citizens of the world whose lives and achievements have sustained our hope that our cherished freedoms will endure.

It is my privilege and honor to bestow the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Four Freedoms Medals.

AWARD OF THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT FREEDOM OF SPEECH MEDAL TO RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY

Freedom of Speech and Expression—everywhere in the world.” With these words, Franklin Delano Roosevelt described the cornerstone for all other freedoms in the struggle to secure democracy and social justice.

On this eighth day of June 2002, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Freedom of Speech Medal is awarded to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, founded in the depth of the Cold War, these institutions for more than fifty years have sustained democracy, challenged totalitarianism, given hope to the oppressed, and courage to the forces of freedom.

Radio Free Europe started with a thirty-minute broadcast from West Germany to Czechoslovakia on 4 July 1950. It employed displaced and exiled Eastern Europeans as journalists, working in their native languages, to transmit uncensored information to their homelands. Radio Liberty was then organized, targeting the Soviet Union. The “Radios,” as they were often called, merged in 1976, having set a standard of credibility that their enemies could never diminish.

The “Radios” had a simple mission—to tell the truth. Dictators fear many things but nothing is more dangerous to their rule than access to information for those they oppress. The broadcasters’ only weapon was free speech, but what a powerful weapon that is in confronting the deceit and darkness that tyrants impose. But if the message becomes suspect, if its objectivity can be seriously questioned, then such efforts become counter-productive. The “Radios” never diluted their mission by that mistake. They told what was happening. They opened doors to knowledge, to commentary, to opinions, to cultural worlds otherwise closed.

Of course the reaction of the Communist governments was fierce and belligerent. From Moscow, Warsaw, Bucharest, Prague, Budapest came extraordinary efforts to jam the broadcasts, to destroy the infrastructure of the “Radios,” to infiltrate staff, to frustrate in every possible way attempts to gather and disseminate information. The employees of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were subjected to repeated threats to their lives and the safety of their families. Let the names of these men and women be inscribed on the

The Freedom of Speech Medal was presented to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's President, Thomas A. Dine, by Erik Hazelhoff Roelfzema, “Soldaat van Oranje,” and Schuyler G. Chapin, former New York City Commissioner for Cultural Affairs.

Honor Roll of Freedom, noting their courage and determination to return democracy to their homelands.

The Hungarian freedom fighters and the voice of Imre Nagy, the workers' uprising in East Berlin, the brave, painful moments of the Prague "Spring," the heroic leadership of Lech Walesa organizing the strikes of the shipyard workers of Gdansk, the sublime courage of Andrei Sakarov—their stories are part of an epic history recorded and transmitted by the "Radios." Let freedom ring, said Martin Luther King to an America struggling to release itself from the bondage of Apartheid. Let freedom ring said the "Radios," and the liberation of Eastern Europe came to pass, in no small part because of the dedicated work of the thousands of international citizens who have been the heart and spirit of its enterprise.

And the "Radios" work continues with millions of new listeners who hear their message today in twenty-five countries from the Persian Gulf to the Pacific Ocean. Their audiences will continue to listen because the commitment of the "Radios" has not changed, a commitment to journalistic integrity, accuracy, objectivity and tolerance for the conflicting diversities of mankind. Vaclav Havel once said that the best way to fight regimes built on lies was "to live in truth." The "Radios" have done that. They have been the trumpet of liberty, serving democracy by broadcasting truth, thereby strengthening Franklin Delano Roosevelt's profound belief that Freedom of Speech and Expression is the basic assurance of all of freedom's possibilities.

**THOMAS A. DINE'S SPEECH
ON BEHALF OF
RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY
IN ACCEPTANCE OF
THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH MEDAL**

Thank you for this wonderful, deeply meaningful award. It is a great, great honor to receive the Roosevelt Institute's 2002 Freedom of Speech Medal. No name better animates and exemplifies the work of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and its daily commitment to freedom and democracy than Franklin Roosevelt.

As president of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, I accept this award not only on behalf of the organization as it exists today, but also on behalf of its achievements during the Cold War and its importance as a fighting force in promoting freedom and democracy in the future, applying the highest journalistic standards of accuracy, balance, and objectivity. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty has been battling for the cause of free speech and expression for over fifty years. My colleagues and I will continue to fight as long as this most fundamental of freedoms is being controlled or suppressed in the countries to which we actively communicate via radio, internet, and television.

Heading an entity called "Radio Free Europe," I am often asked, "But isn't Europe free?" It is true that the collapse of communism and of the Soviet Union has brought freedom to many parts of Europe that had been deprived of it for too long. Sadly, on the continent, however, suppression of speech, press, and assembly remains very much the rule.

In Russia, for example, the Kremlin seems increasingly determined to control as much of the media as possible. Most recently, the government has coercively placed under its control several prominent independent media outlets, from television to radio to print, cloaking these power grabs as business transactions. More ominously, over the course of the last two years in Russia, thirty-six journalists have been killed or have disappeared.

The president of Ukraine is no friend of this first freedom. He is a likely suspect in the death of at least two reporters who dared criticize his administration for corruption and criminality. He is certainly responsible for a culture of fear that pervades the Ukrainian media environment.

The nation of Belarus is now under the thumb of the dictator Alexander Lukashenka, a man who openly expresses admiration for Stalin. Lukashenka ceaselessly harasses the press; deaths and disappearances of journalists have taken place in Belarus as well.

And a final contemporary example of the dismal condition of freedom of expression inside today's Europe exists in the Balkans, where Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia are still not out from under the intimidation and controlling state grip of the Milosevic era.

In response to the specific challenges we face in this young century, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty has expanded the scope of its broadcasting to include a vast area that has become the focal point of the most difficult, but perhaps the most thrilling, battle for free speech: areas populated by Muslims in Southeast Europe, Russia, the northern and southern Caucasus, and Central and Southwest Asia.

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 highlighted for all of us the importance of the Muslim world in today's geopolitical landscape. Accordingly, a majority of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's current thirty-three languages are targeted to peoples that practice Islam. Our broadcasts now include Albanian and Bosnian to the former Yugoslavia, Tatar and Bashkir to Russia's Volga River region, Crimean Tatar to Ukraine, Avar, Chechen, and Circassian to Russia's North Caucasus, Azeri to Azerbaijan in the Transcaucasus, the languages of Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Tajik, and Uzbek to Central Asia, Farsi to Iran, Arabic to Iraq, and now Dari and Pashtu to Afghanistan.

I am particularly proud of the latter two. Dari and Pashtu are in response to the Afghan crisis; we are now broadcasting 10½ hours a day to Afghanistan. Just as importantly, we have also established a program to train Afghan journalists in Kabul and Prague to help ensure that the new Afghanistan is graced in the future with a robust free press practicing the highest of professional standards.

In closing, it is a particular honor, both for me personally and for the organization I represent, to receive this award from an organization that bears the Roosevelt name. As President, Franklin Roosevelt instilled human rights in our collective consciousness and injected human rights into the center of our foreign policies. So did Eleanor Roosevelt through her tireless work helping to create the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is no coincidence that a 1950's photograph of the former First Lady of the United States sitting in front of a Radio Liberty microphone adorns my office wall in Prague.

And it is Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that is Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's motto, indeed all of United States international broadcasting. It is a simple, but compelling and timeless pronouncement—"Everyone has the right ... to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." This motto appears

on our stationery, in all of our literature, on a prominent hallway plaque. It symbolizes everything we strive to achieve.

The more than two thousand worldwide staffers of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty are eternally grateful for receiving one of this year's Four Freedom Awards. I promise the Roosevelt Institute and this distinguished audience that we shall energetically continue our mission of promoting freedom and democracy today—in order to expand freedom and democracy tomorrow.

**AWARD OF THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
FREEDOM OF WORSHIP MEDAL TO
NASR H. ABU ZAYD**

Freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.”

On this eighth day of June 2002, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Freedom of Worship Medal is awarded to Nasr H. Abu Zayd, who holds the prestigious Cleveringa Chair at Leiden University as a defender of freedom of thought and conscience. Like Leiden Professor Cleveringa, who in 1940 spoke out against the dismissal of all Jewish professors by the Nazis, you—as a professor of Islamic Studies—have attacked both the Islamists who advocate intolerance for those within the Muslim diaspora who do not accept their views, and those in the West who in their ignorance and cultural arrogance equate Islam with terrorism. At great personal cost, you have spoken the truth eloquently and forcefully, a champion of intellectual freedom for professor and pupil, cleric and layman. Through it all you have remained firm in your commitment to the principle that “man is alive only when his intellect is activated.”

For this courageous, if lonely, position you were exiled from Egypt by a civil court in 1995. The court pronounced you a heretic and apostate, declaring that you were no longer entitled to be married to your dear wife, Dr. Ibtihal Ynnus. Now living in the Netherlands, a land that in the seventeenth century was a refuge for religious exiles from England on their way to the New World, and that continues to embody the humanist spirit of free inquiry of the great Erasmus of Rotterdam, you are in the right place to speak to the world.

A hermeneutic scholar of the Qur’an, who understands with clarity the evolution, since the seventh century, of the major interpretations of Islamic scripture, you have embraced the rational dimension of an enlightened tradition in Islam as well as the mystical tradition. Critical of those militant anti-secularists—in America we call them Fundamentalists—who justify their righteousness and aggressive actions in the name of God, you both locate and affirm the spirit of tolerance, of nonviolence, and indeed of equality among both men and women in the Qur’an.

The Freedom of Worship Medal was presented to Nasr H. Abu Zayd by Wim Stokhof, Executive Director of Leiden University's International Institute for Asian Studies and the Rev. F. Forrester Church, Minister of The Unitarian Church of All Souls, New York City.

Growing up a peasant boy in Quhafa, a village in the Nile Delta, you had memorized the Qur'an by the age of eight, but diverted from your love of such study by your father, you went on to become a technician, an interlude which allowed you to become intimately acquainted with the Muslim Brothers before returning to your Qur'anic studies. While fascinated by the Muslim Brothers' commitments you came to distrust the merger in their ideology of Islam and the state, a recent development in Islamic history, and one which you regard as leading inexorably toward totalitarian dictatorship, the worst kind of despotism because it presumes to exercise authority on earth in the name of a higher authority. A serious scholar of Islam and of Arabic, you studied in Philadelphia and Osaka, as well as in Cairo. While in Japan, you wrote *The Concept of the Text*, interpreting the Qur'an in its historical context, a major if fundamentally controversial approach in the eye of the fundamentalist Islamists.

At the dawn of our new century, when religious intolerance looms as the most dangerous source of conflict—indeed of terrorism—among human beings, your courageous independence of thought, devotion to Islam, clarity of vision, and keen understanding of western European philosophy and religion, including modernism, as well as your Erasmian belief in humanity, makes your voice indispensable in the cross-cultural conversations so desperately needed to foster mutual respect and understanding. May this Freedom of Worship Medal, cast in the spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt, give you renewed strength to persevere in your quest for true enlightenment among and between men and women of all religious faiths and classes, and an expanded audience for your wise teaching.

NASR H. ABU ZAYD'S SPEECH IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FREEDOM OF WORSHIP MEDAL

It is a great honor to receive the Freedom of Worship Medal this year. This great honor implies a great responsibility. The history of Islam, as the last of the Abramic religions, has made it very possible to acknowledge and respect all previous religions and to establish "freedom of faith and freedom of worship" as an essential component of the faith. Even the traditional concept, identifying non-Muslims as the "protected people," reflects the existence of a sphere of freedom within the framework of the traditional Islamic thought.

Reality, however, does not always reflect the ideal. Hence comes the responsibility of the intellectuals, the writers and the scholars in all cultures. The Four Freedoms—Freedom of Speech and Expression, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Want, and Freedom from Fear—are meant for every human being everywhere in the world. Unfortunately, the dream of Franklin Delano Roosevelt has not yet become reality. Our world of the third millennium is still a world of fear, want, oppression and injustice. Destruction of houses of worship by religious fanatics, military intrusion to alters by politicians, genocide of others because they belong to another faith, etc. are still worldwide phenomena. This makes the receiving of this great honor a very heavy responsibility.

As a Muslim and a scholar of Islamic Studies, the first Muslim to receive such an honorary award, I feel obliged to explicate what I think the double message implied in awarding me the Freedom of Worship Medal. The message is to address both the Western world and the Muslim world as such. Islam is not a static, non-dynamic, or fixed set of rules. It is not a violent terrorist religion by nature. Any religion could be misused, politicized and manipulated to serve certain ideology. The Qur'an, the holy book of Muslim, is silent; it does not speak by itself but people speak it out. As the Word of God to man, its understanding and interpretation reflect the human dimension of religion. It is then unacceptable to ascribe to Islam whatever problems Muslims might have in their socio-historical existence.

Let me take this extremely exceptional occasion to greet the great man of our time, Mr. Nelson Mandela, the man who suffered the utmost of human suffering for about thirty years to bring peace and equality in his country. More than that, when he triumphed he did not follow the public emotional reaction of revenge; he insisted on propagating forgiveness and peacefully

healing the wounds of the past. He also willingly stepped down his political office to fight in another front, the front of human need all over the world.

Dear Mr. Mandela, I hope the lessons you taught the world will not be forgotten. It is also a great honor to me to have my name mentioned alongside your great name.

AWARD OF THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT FREEDOM FROM WANT MEDAL TO GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND

Freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.”

On this eighth day of June 2002, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Freedom from Want Medal is awarded to Gro Harlem Brundtland, who has tenaciously worked to realize the basic human rights of health, opportunity, and dignity for the world’s sick and poor.

From earliest childhood, you were surrounded by politics, medicine, and internationalism. Your father, a respected doctor and national cabinet minister, inspired you to pursue a career in medicine, and early on engaged you with the world of politics. At the tender age of seven, you enrolled in the children’s division of the Labor Party that you would one day lead.

As a young mother just out of medical school you studied at the prestigious Harvard School of Public Health, where the vital connections between public health, politics, and the environment began to coalesce in your thinking. Returning to your beloved Norway, you took posts at the Norwegian Ministry of Health and the Oslo Board of Health where you championed the well-being of women and children.

In 1974, you became Minister of the Environment and three years later head of the Labor Party. For twenty years you led the Labor Party, for more than a decade as Prime Minister—not only the youngest in Norway’s history, but more importantly, as the first woman to hold the post. You so dominated Norwegian politics during this period that Norwegian children in the early 1990s asked their parents, “is it possible for a man to become Prime Minister?”

In 1983 you established and chaired the U.N. World Commission on Environment and Development. The final report of the “Brundtland Commission” introduced the landmark concept of “sustainable development,” which balances the developmental needs of the present and the future on the fulcrum of environmental responsibility. This idea, now an international buzzword, speaks to the best of your talents, bringing together seemingly disparate ideas.

The Freedom from Want Medal was presented to Gro Harlem Brundtland by Laurens Jan Brinkhorst, Minister of Agriculture, Nature Management and Fisheries, and Christopher Breiseth, President of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute.

In 1998, you were elected Director General of the World Health Organization, where one of your first tasks was to significantly restructure the organization. Under your guidance, the World Health Organization launched effective new programs to combat the traditional adversaries of T.B. and malaria; moved ever closer to eradicating leprosy and polio; and spearheaded important new initiatives in mental health, tobacco, and alcohol abuse—areas previously absent from the world health agenda. You have been a leader in the worldwide struggle against AIDS, insisting that the pharmaceutical giants must lower their prices for the poorest and most needy regions of the world. You understand the critical link between economic development and health, and in January 2000 launched the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health to remind world leaders, as FDR did more than six decades ago, that poverty is the handmaiden of disease and despair.

While the doctor cares for the human body, the public servant tends to the social body. In the world health context neither can ignore the ministrations of the other. Your leadership, commitment, enthusiasm, and creative thinking have brilliantly encompassed both fields. For half a century, as a politician, environmentalist, world leader, and above all as a doctor, you have worked tirelessly toward securing the basic human right to Freedom from Want. Your life has been a gleaming beacon of hope to the poor, the dispossessed, and especially to women the world over. By pushing the limits of the possible with the tools of the practical, you have improved the lives of countless millions and for this, and in the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt, we honor and thank you.

GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND'S SPEECH IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FREEDOM FROM WANT MEDAL

It is a great honor for me to be able to receive this award today. I am particularly privileged to receive this award in the presence of the Her Majesty the Queen and the other members of the Royal Family—a family which is so closely associated with the cause of the protection of nature and sustainable development.

Throughout my life, I have had the privilege to serve people who have elected me to carry out a program a mandate or a mission. As a young Minister of the Environment, as Prime Minister of my country, as Chair of the World Commission on Environment and Development or as Director General of the World Health Organization—in all of these functions, my objective has been to take forward a notion which, to me, encapsulates the very purpose of sustainable development: human opportunity. Opportunity for each individual to realize his and her full potential, free of discrimination, free of hunger and disease and fully enjoying fundamental human rights. Opportunity for communities to forge a true sense of belonging and solidarity. Opportunity for the nations of the world to build common security for today's generations and those to come. And opportunity for the world to chart a course of sustainable development—a vision in which we aim at leaving future generations with at least the same opportunities that we have enjoyed.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, more than most, personifies this notion that the individual can make a difference. His work, together with that of Eleanor Roosevelt, is a testament to our triumph of will and creativity over the shackles of determinism and fatalism. Against the odds, this couple helped shape the world over a crucial decade. In doing so, they infused it with a humanism which to this day influences the way we think about our responsibilities for each other and especially for those who are worse off. As we all know, President Roosevelt suffered from polio, a debilitating disease which marked him throughout his life—although he never let it stop him. But polio can also stand as an illustration of what determined action and committed partnership can achieve. Today, we are on course to eliminate polio world-wide. By 2005, we should be able to rid the world of this disease for ever. That is indeed an achievement in the spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In this first decade of a new century, I believe that the fight against poverty is the central global cause. Our human opportunity must be used to create a world where we all can live with dignity. We must do this without undermin-

ing future generations' ability to do the same. Some would disagree, saying the main global priority must be security, stability and peace. I see no contradiction between the two. As world leaders are struggling to chart a course towards a more stable, secure and peaceful world, they need to fully realize the importance of reducing poverty, suffering and inequity. A world in which only a privileged few have access to the fruits of the technological revolution is a world which will become ever more insecure. In the past, desperate conditions on another continent might cynically be written out of one's memory. The process of globalization has already made such an option impossible.

Moreover, it is now very clear that improving health plays a central role in the work to jump-start development where there now is none, to accelerate it where the process is slow and to reduce inequalities where they are too large. Poor people will only be able to prosper, and emerge from poverty, if they enjoy better health. Health has to be at the heart of our struggle for sustainable development. This is the message I will bring to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg later this year.

We must act now. If we wait another decade, our task will have become overwhelming. HIV/AIDS will have engulfed China, India, large parts of the states that make up the former Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe—dwarfing the scale of the current epidemic in Africa. Many medicines may have lost their potency due to growing drug-resistant strains. Tobacco-use will have spread to large populations in the developing world, causing suffering, early death and economic burdens these nations cannot afford. Other lifestyle-determined diseases will have added another large stone to the burden of disease for these countries. The effects of global warming, pollution and losses in bio-diversity may have increased the number of natural disasters, changed our climate, raised the level of the oceans and increased the level of disease.

But we have the knowledge to turn this development around. The world's children are key to the healthy future of our planet and its people. I therefore announce today a major new initiative of the World Health Organization to make the environments in which the world's children live healthier—and thus safer. This initiative, which will be called Safer and Healthier Futures for Children, will address the main threats in the environment to children's health. The World Health Organization will work with all who are concerned with the well-being of children, and who share a commitments to health equity and sustained development.

I am confident we will succeed in our work to create a planet where future generations can thrive in peace and dignity. We have the resources, if we determine to use them right. We have the ability to achieve the unachievable. As the anthropologist Margaret Mead once said: "Never doubt that a small

group of thoughtful citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."

I thank you again for honoring me with this award and, in doing so, giving me the opportunity to restate my belief in our ability to achieve results for a better world.

AWARD OF THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT FREEDOM FROM FEAR MEDAL TO ERNESTO ZEDILLO PONCE DE LEÓN

Freedom from Fear.” When he addressed the Congress in 1941, President Roosevelt was seeking to structure a world where the rule of law prevailed and where peace with justice was the right and responsibility of everyone—everywhere in the world.

On this eighth day of June in the year 2002, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Freedom from Fear Medal is awarded to Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, a President of Mexico who led a peaceful revolution that has strengthened democracy and brought prosperity and respect for human rights to the people of his country.

Your creative brilliance in government was a prelude to your mastery of the political process. Mexico has always had an honored place in the family of nations, respected for both its cultural heritage and its successful rejection of foreign domination of its national interests. You represented a new generation of leadership, understanding democracy’s need of openness and integrity in both its economic and political structures. You earned a reputation as an international economist bringing you respect and power which extended to organizing the national budget and creating a development plan for Mexico.

Restoring confidence and creating opportunity became the hallmarks of your public service. Those talents were crucial to your role as Secretary of Public Education. You reached out to the poor, knowing that the possibilities of their lives depended upon the opportunities of their schools. In decentralizing the educational system, you established standards that brought reform, new energy and renewed commitment to excellence in the public school system from which you had graduated.

Mexican democracy was in trouble as the 1994 presidential elections approached. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) had been in power for an uninterrupted three generations. It had led Mexico from an agricultural backwater to being a modern industrialized state. Its control was so complete that an incumbent president was empowered to designate his successor. Corruption and stagnation caused public unrest which the designation of a

The Freedom from Fear Medal was presented to Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León by H. Johannes Witteveen, Laureate of the Freedom from Want Award 1982, Former Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Chair Emeritus of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute.

presidential candidate with a vision of a democratic future that you shared. You were chosen to direct the campaign because you brought a sense of integrity to the commitment for reform. But unrest turned to violence turned to assassination—and you were left alone on the stage of history, yourself the successor candidate, not because of ambition but because of character. The largest voter turnout in Mexican history gave you a decisive victory—and an unprecedented challenge.

Confronting a crippling economic depression, you secured massive foreign aid and initiated an extraordinary period of growth. In your term, all foreign loans were repaid, thirty-two bilateral trade agreements were concluded, and Mexico became the only country to have a free trade partnership with both the United States and the European Union.

You abandoned your country's traditional paternalistic style of governing by opening up the electoral process, letting the people choose their candidates in primary elections. The independence of the legislative and judicial branches was given real meaning. Local and state governments were strengthened. You dedicated yourself to fighting poverty and you began drawing and impoverished native people into your nation's mainstream through negotiation rather than military confrontation. Fairness and respect for the opinions of others marked your governance. No one was above the law you said—and you meant it. You promised free and fair elections—and you meant it.

The constitution prevented your seeking another term. On election night, in the millennium year, the seventy-one years of PRI's uninterrupted power came to an end in the voting booth. You spoke to the nation, officially recognizing the election result and set about to effect an orderly, cooperative, stable transition of power. Because of your efforts, the Mexican people can be confident that their voice will be heard and respected by those they have chosen to govern the nation. Free from fear, they are free to strive, to hope, to fulfill their lives.

There are some who compare your accomplishments to the New Deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He would be pleased by the comparison because Mexico was a country for which he had a special affection. In his name, we thank you for your confidence in democracy.

ERNESTO ZEDILLO PONCE DE LEÓN'S SPEECH IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FREEDOM FROM FEAR MEDAL

I would like, at the very beginning, to pay tribute to the memory of a great man, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and of a great woman, Eleanor Roosevelt. My long-time admiration for the Roosevelt couple makes me feel deeply grateful and moved, as I humbly accept this Freedom from Fear Medal. My reason to be humbled today is even greater for having Gro Brundtland and Nelson Mandela as fellow recipients, to whom I also pay sincere tribute.

If the cause for conferring this distinction upon me has to do with Mexico's achievement of full democracy, then I must repeat here what I have said many times to my fellow country men and women: the fact that Mexico now lives in full democracy is not to the credit of any single individual, group, or political party; not even to the credit of a single generation, but rather it is the result of the struggles of many Mexican men and women over many years.

Indeed, it was both my duty and my privilege to serve my country alongside many others in the pursuit of a last stretch of political reforms, which were crowned by the achievement of unquestionable democratic normality in Mexico. Consequently, this award is not just mine. I must willingly and proudly share it with lots of Mexican men and women. On behalf of all of them, I thank the Roosevelt Institute for this high honor.

This solemn ceremony gives me a unique occasion to insist—albeit briefly—on the validity of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's legacy for a host of issues that are of critical importance today for the world's peace, stability, and prosperity. Allow me to mention just two of these issues.

The first is protectionism in international trade. A few months ago, in Doha, Qatar, the international community committed itself to a new round of trade liberalization as a powerful means to foster economic progress throughout the world, and in particular to support the least-developed countries. Sadly, protectionist decisions have since been made by some of the world's major trading partners. These decisions severely impair the prospects of carrying out the Doha agreements on time (early 2005). We now face the risk of a sequence of retaliatory trade actions that would have severe consequences for the international economy, and especially for living standards in its weakest member countries.

Today's leaders should not forget that in the 1930s President Roosevelt fought and succeeded—though perhaps too late—in getting the U.S.

Congress to repeal the infamous Smoot-Hawley tariff. This law had triggered a worldwide chain reaction of protectionist measures, which caused not only great impoverishment, but great political antagonism among the powers of the time. The richest countries can still call a stop to today's newly-born trade battles. The consequences could be dramatic if their leaders were to ignore the lessons of the Roosevelt era.

Equally important is for them to get some inspiration from President Roosevelt's belief in internationalism and from his outright rejection of unilateral, isolationist, and interventionist actions. Within the context of his time, he preached and practiced a sincere adherence to the good principles of consultation, cooperation, and mutual respect with allies and neighboring nations.

A remarkable example of Roosevelt's consistency with these principles was provided by the Good Neighbor policy that he designed and applied assiduously towards the Latin American countries. He once said that the Good Neighbor policy "can never be merely unilateral ... it is bilateral and multi-lateral...." And in every case he was faithful to this commitment—even when put to one of its biggest tests by the Mexican government's rightful expropriation of the oil industry in 1938. In dealing with that thorny issue, and certainly against huge domestic and external pressures, President Roosevelt opted for a course of dialog, moderation, understanding, and respect, which soon proved to be the right way to a satisfactory solution.

Not surprisingly, to this day President Roosevelt is seen in my country with great admiration and affection, and the Mexican people never forget that he was the first American President to make an official visit to a non-border Mexican city.

For good reason, throughout my mandate as President of Mexico I insisted with my fellow citizens that our country's development should not be limited to material progress, but should be more amply understood and pursued to guarantee the enjoyment by all men and women of every essential freedom. I frequently spoke of the freedoms to be educated, to have enough food, to have access to health services, to work, to carry out economic exchanges, to speak one's mind without fear, to take part in public affairs and decisions, and to enjoy full civil and political rights. I repeatedly submitted to my people that enhancing these freedoms was both the chief goal and the principal instrument of our national development.

Of course, there was no originality in these ideas. So it is with great pride that I stand here today to acknowledge having read—as a young man—Franklin Delano Roosevelt's speech of 6 January 1941, and to attest to its continuing influence on me for the rest of my life.

AWARD OF THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT FOUR FREEDOMS MEDAL TO NELSON MANDELA

On 6 January 1941, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed the Congress of the United States. He called for renewed commitment to democracy and a moral order, which would allow free nations to work together for peace and social justice. “We look forward,” he said, “to a world founded upon four essential freedoms”—Freedom of Speech and Expression, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Want, Freedom from Fear.

On this eighth day of June 2002, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Four Freedoms Medal is awarded to Nelson Mandela, the father of his nation, whose singular courage shattered the walls of Apartheid, whose vision gives hope to the oppressed everywhere, whose long walk to freedom has liberated humanity to seek a better world.

You were always the leader. Nurtured in its responsibilities by your family and the culture of your Transkei community, you came to Johannesburg to study law, encountering for the first time the daily humiliations of urban life in a segregated society. The African National Congress (ANC) became your instrument of confrontation. The protest against the laws of Apartheid exploded in 1960 in Sharpsville where the security forces murdered not only countless Africans but also the possibilities of peaceful change. The ANC was outlawed. You went underground to lead the resistance. Arrested and charged with high treason against the state, the courtroom became your battlefield and your words the charter of the struggle. “During my lifetime,” you said, “I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.” As the world watched, your oppressors could not kill you. The court ordered a sentence of life imprisonment without parole.

And so began twenty-seven years of imprisonment. Your cell on Robbins Island is now a monument to freedom, but none of us can forget the torment of those years—hard labor in stone quarries, all communication among pris-

The Four Freedoms Medal was presented to Nelson Mandela by Wim Kok, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, and Elizabeth Roosevelt Johnston, Great-granddaughter of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt.

oners forbidden, the enforced silence, the pace of life measured only by sirens and harsh commands, the constant effort to rob you of your dignity, to destroy your spirit.

But the nobility of your character was a force your captors could not overcome. You challenged each and every humiliation, and step by deliberate step, you imposed your will on those whose mission was to torment you. You taught your fellow prisoners, your warders, and each and all of us that if a man maintained his dignity—and insisted on it—that no force of hate could destroy its shield.

Your courage became a legend for the children of a new generation. As rebellion gripped the country, your oppressors understood that you alone represented the possibility of a political settlement. The most famous prisoner in the world was escorted in greatest secrecy to the State President's office to start negotiating not only his own release but also his nation's transition to democracy. In February 1990, the ban on the ANC was lifted and you were released from prison.

Your patience, wisdom, and above all the moral integrity you brought to the struggle against Apartheid had triumphed. You set out to unify a divided people. You were elected President of the Republic of South Africa. You taught that truth and reconciliation can lead us away from ancient wars, from the anguish of brutal history.

The world has given you adulation and every prize, but having walked the road of sacrifice, none of that deludes you. Let those who would lead their nations, reflect in your shadow the meaning of your moral strength, the power of your simple dignity.

The Four Freedoms are the promise and hope of civilization. In the name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt who proclaimed them, we honor what you have done to advance them. You are Mandela—the friends and foes alike of democracy know the power of that name. We rejoice that the love and graciousness of a great woman have enriched your life—we salute her on this day. Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt stand with you, Nelson and Gracha Mandela—and a new century begins with your courage our strength, with your victory the validation of freedom for each of us.

NELSON MANDELA'S SPEECH IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS MEDAL

To join such an illustrious list of former recipients of the Roosevelt Freedoms Awards is in itself an honor that elevates us to a station we would not have ascribed to ourselves. To be found worthy of an award honoring the memory of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt and associating one with the principles for which they stood and lived, humbles us. We tried in our simple way to lead our life in a manner that may make a difference to those of others; we humbly accept your award as a vindication of the better efforts of that life.

Conditions in the world make it as urgent and important as ever to emphasize, defend and promote those values that the Roosevelts embodied in their lives and work: the enduring pillars of democracy, the centrality of human rights and the value of multilateralism. One would have wished that our world in the beginning of the twenty-first century were one where the Four Freedoms to which President Franklin Delano Roosevelt pointed as democratic essentials were universally realized and celebrated. Instead, all over the world we find those freedoms wanting or under threat, and subsequently conditions in which human beings suffer severely.

It may be instructive to remind ourselves of those freedoms which President Roosevelt proclaimed as being essential for democracy to flourish: Freedom of Speech and Expression, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Want, and Freedom from Fear. There is at times a tendency to view civil liberties as distinct from socio-economic rights. They are sometimes postulated as the more abstract part of democracy and as of less immediate relevance to the masses of people who are poor and in want. There can be no more forceful refutation of that false distinction than the manner in which President Roosevelt formulated the generic freedoms of democracy.

All over our globe we find large masses of the population subject to the most abject forms of poverty and deprivation: hunger, lack of adequate shelter, illiteracy and ignorance, and the ravages of preventable diseases. The scientific, technological and industrial progress humankind has made over the last century, outstripping the cumulative results of all that went before, is mocked by this gross inequality in the world. We have the capacity to feed, clothe, shelter, educate, and medically treat the population of the planet. Communications technology has brought us so close together that we can no longer claim ignorance of the want and suffering of anyone else anywhere in the world.

In too many parts of the world war and violent conflict still cruelly disrupt the lives of ordinary citizens—women, men, children, the disabled and the aged, wishing to pursue lives of basic decency and dignity. Instability, dislocation, insecurity and fear are the lot of too many of us to claim that we live in a world that has seen the ideals of democracy and freedom realized. The people of our own continent, Africa, have suffered enormously and for long under the scourge of such wars and conflicts, and in spite of the progress we have made towards the peaceful resolution of disputes large parts of the continent are still in the grips of war and rebellion. That such violent and bloodshedding conflicts have over the last decade played themselves out in parts of Europe was a chilling reminder of how universal the inclination to destruction is. And the current apparent rise of an intolerant and xenophobic right wing in Western Europe does not send encouraging signs about us having entrenched the Freedom from Fear in the world.

Freedom of Worship, in its most profound sense of respect for and tolerance of differences and the active ability and wish to co-exist, has assumed a relevance and topicality of some urgency in our current world. One has to commend the efforts by world leaders—in the Western countries, the developing world and the Arab and Muslim countries—to avoid the aftermath of 11 September becoming divisive primarily along religious lines. The challenge to overcome and eradicate religious intolerance and polarization, however, remains strongly before us in the modern world. One may venture to say that together with poverty and its attendant forms of social deprivation, the rise of religious intolerance, polarization and conflict represent the major threats to peace, stability and freedom in our world.

We have to recommit ourselves as a global community to the freedom of every person, group, persuasion, or approach to express itself freely and unfettered within the agreed conventions of civility and respect for the rights of others. Our differences are our strength as a species and as a world community. The reach of globalization is not in order to render us all alike or subject to the values and definitions of any single dominant mode. The so-called global village offers us the opportunity to share in the wealth of our diversity, while recognizing and celebrating our common humanity.

But let us be under no illusions. Up to now globalization favors the rich and the mighty and does not address one of the most devastating assaults on human dignity, poverty. For a human being in a world of wealth that is over blunt, to wake up not knowing when he or she will get his or her first meal, whether he will have a decent accommodation, whether he will be able to feed his wife and children, being unable to sleep comfortable at night because of the high level of crime, syndicates that are dominating the entire world—all

that needs to be addressed and globalization has not started at all to address these questions. We cannot avoid globalization, just as we cannot avoid winter. Few people will say: "I do not recognize winter, and therefore I am not going to buy warm clothing." We are all forced to do so. So globalization is a good process, but let us make no illusions. As long as it has not started to address the problems of the poor of the developing world, globalization is a weapon for the strong and mighty.

We need to strengthen multilateralism as the way in which we relate to one another as nations and groups of nations in this shrinking globalized world. Our world body, the United Nations to whose establishment and workings the Roosevelts contributed so much in their different ways, must be supported as the leading agency in dealing with all matters of international concern. We cannot allow, for our common well-being, that the unilateral interests of single nations or groups of nations dictate international conduct and affairs.

There are countries which are well-known to all of us, who think they can ignore other countries and avoid the United Nations because they fear either the veto or that their ideas will not be carried out by humanity. The message those countries are sending to the world is that if you have a program to carry out and you are not certain that the United Nations will adopt it, you must act unilaterally. The message they are sending is one of international chaos. Unless they say: "We are superpowers, you have no right to follow our example. What we do, you may not repeat." That is a very dangerous message and good men and women should stand up and oppose that. We can be grateful to them, what they are doing for the poor, but we do not have to keep quiet when they do something which can bring about international chaos.

The existence of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the work that it does and these awards that it confers are testimonies to the on-going struggles by men and women all over the globe to indeed make of our world the better place it can be. All of humanity should be the active beneficiaries of the freedoms of which President Roosevelt spoke and the rights that Mrs. Roosevelt worked so tirelessly to have contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We thank you for honoring us for work we could only have done with the cooperation of millions of comrades and compatriots, and with the support of the international community and our world body. You inspire us to continue to give of the best that we are capable of. We are inspired by the words of Shakespeare who said: "Cowards die many times before their deaths, the valiant never taste of death but once." Of all the wonders I yet have seen, it seems most strange that man should fear saying that death, a necessary end, will come when it will come. One of the blessings of this world, notwith-

standing the numerous conflicts that face us, is that we have had good men and women who are worthy candidates to immortality. During the last days we will all gather and say: "Here lies a person who has done his duty to his country and people." They are worthy candidates to immortality. We may dig a hole and cover it, but their memory will go right down in history in almost every country. That is what we must try to be. The most fervent desire of every human being is that when his last day comes, those who remain behind will say: "Here lies a person who has done his or her duty to country and to people." I am sure many of you have put confidence in that dream. And that is what makes us hopeful in spite of all the problems that face us.

**REMARKS ON BEHALF OF THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY
BY ELIZABETH ROOSEVELT JOHNSTON,
GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER OF
FRANKLIN AND ELEANOR ROOSEVELT**

It is my great pleasure and honor to bring you greetings from the Roosevelt family. As we have heard several times today, in 1941 my great-grandfather gave a speech to the U.S. Congress in which he shared his vision of a world where every person enjoyed four basic freedoms and was guaranteed those rights. His words in 1941 were a challenge to the American people then, and it remains a challenge to each of us now to make his words, his vision a reality. My great-grandmother helped to carry his vision and his challenge to the world, to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and other achievements. Exceptional people, like our laureates today, have worked to see this vision carried forward around the world.

However, leaders, like my great-grandparents and today's laureates, cannot and should not be asked to do this alone. Just as necessary as their publicly and deservedly recognized leadership, is the private work that each of us can do every day to realize my great-grandfather's vision. On Tuesday night, my mother, my sister, and I learned that a very dear friend had unexpectedly suffered a heart attack. This friend was a great admirer of my great-grandfather. He had a framed copy of the Four Freedoms speech on the wall of his office, but his admiration for my great-grandfather was best shown through this life. He was a social worker, who every day got up and worked to ensure that children whose parents could not care for them, nevertheless grew up free from fear and from want, and free to worship and speak their minds. In a very quiet way, he practiced my great-grandfather's quest for freedom every day.

My challenge, our challenge today is to each day live our lives in a pursuit of a world my great-grandfather envisioned and to protect and further that vision in, as my great-grandmother said, the small places close to home where freedom, where human rights, must begin.

**THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
FOUR FREEDOMS AWARDS LAUREATES
IN MIDDELBURG 1982-2002**

1982

Four Freedoms Award:	H.R.H. Princess Juliana of the Netherlands
Freedom of Speech Award:	Max van der Stoep
Freedom of Worship Award:	Willem A. Visser 't Hooft
Freedom from Want Award:	H. Johannes Witteveen
Freedom from Fear Award:	J. Herman van Roijen

1984

Four Freedoms Award:	Harold Macmillan
Freedom of Speech Award:	Amnesty International
Freedom of Worship Award:	Werner Leich & Christiaan F. Beyers Naudé
Freedom from Want Award:	Liv Ullmann
Freedom from Fear Award:	Brian Urquhart
Eleanor Roosevelt Centennial Award:	Simone Veil

1986

Four Freedoms Award:	Alessandro Pertini
Freedom of Speech Award:	El País
Freedom of Worship Award:	Bernardus Cardinal Alfrink
Freedom from Want Award:	Bradford Morse
Freedom from Fear Award:	Olof Palme (posthumously)

1988

Four Freedoms Award:	Helmut Schmidt
Freedom of Speech Award:	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf
Freedom of Worship Award:	Teddy Kollek
Freedom from Want Award:	Halfdan T. Mahler
Freedom from Fear Award:	Armand Hammer

1990

Four Freedoms Award:	Václav Havel & Jacques Delors
Freedom of Worship Award:	László Tökés
Freedom from Want Award:	Jonkheer Emile van Lennep
Freedom from Fear Award:	Simon Wiesenthal

1992

Four Freedoms Award:	Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
Freedom of Speech Award:	Mstislav Rostropovich
Freedom of Worship Award:	Terry Waite
Freedom from Want Award:	Jan Tinbergen
Freedom from Fear Award:	The Rt. Hon. The Lord Carrington

1994

Four Freedoms Award:	His Holiness The Dalai Lama
Freedom of Speech Award:	Marion Gräfin Dönhoff
Freedom of Worship Award:	Gerhart M. Riegner
Freedom from Want Award:	Sadako Ogata
Freedom from Fear Award:	Zdravko Grebo

1995

(in Utrecht)

Four Freedoms Award:	Ruud Lubbers
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1996

Four Freedoms Award:	His Majesty The King of Spain
Freedom of Speech Award:	John Hume
Freedom of Worship Award:	The Right Reverend Lord Runcie
Freedom from Want Award:	Artsen zonder Grenzen
Freedom from Fear Award:	Shimon Peres

1998

Four Freedoms Award:	Mary Robinson
Freedom of Speech Award:	CNN
Freedom of Worship Award:	The Most Reverend Desmond Tutu
Freedom from Want Award:	Stéphane Hessel
Freedom from Fear Award:	Free the Children

2000

Four Freedoms Award:	Martti Ahtisaari
Freedom of Speech Award:	Bronislaw Geremek
Freedom of Worship Award:	Dame Cicely Saunders
Freedom from Want Award:	Monkombu S. Swaminathan
Freedom from Fear Award:	Louise Arbour

2002

Four Freedoms Award:	Nelson Mandela
Freedom of Speech Award:	Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
Freedom of Worship Award:	Nasr H. Abu Zayd
Freedom from Want Award:	Gro Harlem Brundtland
Freedom from Fear Award:	Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León

A WORD ABOUT THE ROOSEVELT STUDY CENTER

The Roosevelt Study Center is a research, documentation and conference center on twentieth-century American history. It is dedicated to the memory of three famous Americans: President Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945) and Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962), who trace their roots to the Dutch province of Zeeland from where their common ancestor left for the New World in the mid-seventeenth century.

The Roosevelt Study Center is affiliated with the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences and a founding member of the American Studies Network, a cooperation of the twenty foremost American Studies Centers in Europe. The Center also cooperates with the Theodore Roosevelt Association and the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute in New York.

The Roosevelt Study Center offers European students and advanced scholars of American history:

- a research library with collections of historical documents and books on modern U.S. history not available anywhere else in Europe;
- conference rooms with audio-visual facilities;
- an annual prize for Dutch M.A. theses on American history;
- a grants-in-aid program for European researchers;
- a program of exhibitions, international conferences and seminars on American history, U.S.-European relations, and the contemporary meaning of the Four Freedoms;
- a publication series;
- an annual newsletter;
- a permanent exhibition on the life and times of Theodore, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt as well as on the biennial presentation in Middelburg of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Awards to international figures.

For more information please contact the Roosevelt Study Center, Abdij 9, P.O. Box 6001, 4330 LA Middelburg, the Netherlands tel. (31)118-631.590, fax (31)118-631.593, e-mail rsc@zeeland.nl, or visit our website: www.roosevelt.nl