



Carnegie Results

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Carnegie Results is a quarterly newsletter published by Carnegie Corporation of New York. It highlights Corporation-supported organizations and projects that have produced reports, results or information of special note.

Four Freedoms Fund

A Pioneering Foundation Partnership Advocates for Immigrants

A collaborative of major funders now in its fifth year is powering up grassroots immigrant groups in twenty-eight states. Grown from five member foundations to eight, they have found a new way to work as a team: sharing ideas, learning from one another, leveraging funding and forging dynamic strategies to engage immigrants and refugees in American civic life.

Although foundations aren't known for joining forces, in some circumstances partnership more than pays off. A good example is the Four Freedoms Fund, launched in 2003 to energize American democracy by actively supporting and engaging the country's newcomers. Its founding members, Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, Open Society Institute, the Mertz Gilmore Foundation and John S. and James L. Knight Foundation¹, national funders who had all been working individually on behalf of immi-

¹ The American Dream Fund (ADF) is a locally focused immigrant integration initiative of the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, a charter donor to the Public Interest Projects' Four Freedoms Fund. Knight created the ADF as a partner fund to focus specifically on its 26 grantmaking communities.

grants, took the unprecedented step of combining their funds and developing a joint strategy to support immigrant advocacy at the state and local level. “It was a way to be more responsive and strategic, and most importantly, to get more bang for the buck,” says Geri Mannion, Carnegie Corporation program director, U.S. Democracy and Special Opportunities Fund. “We had to respond quickly and efficiently in a challenging and constantly changing political environment, where the needs of the grantees were great and growing, which meant we had to come up with a way of doing things differently.”

In the summer of 2001, Carnegie Corporation had refocused its attention on immigrant issues in response to a period of rapid growth in the number of newcomers. “Immigrants are expected to account for one-third of population growth over the next fifty years,” Mannion wrote at the time, “and when their children are included, the proportion rises to two-thirds.” Noting the influx of Muslims and Buddhists and the shift of immigrants to new gateways such as North Carolina, Nebraska and Tennessee, she asked, “Will the United States become a nation that integrates these newcomers in all aspects of civic life, or a nation divided?” To find the answer, the Corporation’s Board of Trustees approved funding for a major study² of immigrant attitudes toward civic participation—a first step in a long-range plan to help bring immigrants into the

American mainstream. Nor was the Corporation alone in seeing the need for progress in this policy area. In early September 2001, President George W. Bush had been about to enter into an historic agreement with Mexico’s President Vicente Fox that served as “a signal of the Congress’ willingness to work with the Mexican Government to achieve our common goals, and to maintain fair immigration policies,” in the words of Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy. But 9/11 put an end to any such aspirations.

“Where there had been a great feeling of opportunity, there was now increasing anti-immigrant backlash,” Mannion recalls, “which impacted upon this new phase of grantmaking.” Two of Carnegie Corporation’s important grants (to the Washington D.C.-based Migration Policy Institute and National Immigration Forum) meant to deal with the challenges and opportunities of large-scale immigrant integration ended up being used to put out fires. In the wake of 9/11, the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), which spells out admissions criteria and exclusion rules for all foreign nationals who come permanently to the United States as immigrants, or temporarily as nonimmigrants, was broadened to deny entry to representatives of groups that endorse terrorism, prominent individuals who endorse terrorism, and (in certain circumstances) spouses and children of aliens who are removable on terrorism grounds. As immigrants bore the brunt of these heightened national security measures, efforts to integrate millions of legal immigrants and to assist in

² *Now That I’m Here: What America’s Immigrants have to Say about Life in the U.S. Today* by Steve Farkas, Ann Duffett and Jean Johnson with Leslie Moyer and Jackie Vine. www.publicagenda.org/specials/immigration/immigration.htm

the legalization of undocumented immigrants stalled. Everything had to be reframed in relationship to security.

Background checks and other administrative rules from the Office of Homeland Security—now in charge of Citizenship and Immigration Services—further delayed naturalization and visa applications and increased burdens on legal residents and their families. Those who were undocumented or in a mixed-family status (where the children may be citizens and either parent undocumented, for example) retreated further into the shadows.

The U.S. has traditionally “paid more attention to how people get here (immigration policies) than to how they get along once they are here (immigrant policies),” according to Mannion. While even the old gateways are ill-equipped to handle the new influx, nontraditional receiving states are especially lacking in resources for integrating newcomers. “Negative attitudes from native-born citizens, particularly since September 11, 2001, further complicated the process of integration,” she adds, “meaning local and state governments and nonprofits face significant challenges as they try to build an infrastructure for immigrant integration and advancement.”

Merging Missions

Carnegie Corporation and other foundations working at the national level found they were hard pressed to serve the immigrant community whose most dire needs called for local action.

Seeking effective new strategies to get needed money down to grassroots groups they couldn't reach, representatives of several large foundations got together to think through better ways to facilitate funding and move immigrant civic engagement and integration forward. This initial meeting was organized by Michele Lord, an attorney with years of experience working on immigrant issues, who was consulting with the Ford Foundation. Observing how small immigrant organizations regularly banded together to be more efficient and effective, she suggested starting a parallel funding collaborative on a national level. The idea was one that resonated with Carnegie Corporation, whose president, Vartan Gregorian, was a longstanding proponent of strategic foundation partnerships.

“We're strongest when funders who share the same goals combine forces,” says Taryn Higashi, deputy director of the Ford Foundation's Human Rights Division. “A problem of this scope can't be solved alone. It lends itself to a collective approach, which allows us to compensate for each others' blind spots. The same is true for grassroots groups,” she adds. “Social change doesn't happen because of one group's success; it takes changing public opinion and systemic problem solving.”

The Four Freedoms Fund was started with grants totaling \$2.8 million (\$1 million from Carnegie Corporation). “There were two existing streams of funding, one from Carnegie Corporation supporting civic participation and one from Ford supporting human rights. They needed

to merge: Simply put, we know people won't participate in public life if they're afraid," Lord explains. Representatives of all five founding donors became members of the Board and, agreeing that the work should be integrated, they pushed forward a holistic strategy encompassing civic engagement and civil rights. The name Four Freedoms Fund was suggested by Craig McGarvey (a consultant and former program officer of the James Irvine Foundation) who had seen the Norman Rockwell paintings based on FDR's "Four Freedoms" speech on exhibit in Atlanta and been inspired.

According to Higashi, the shift of newcomers to non-historical gateways meant the immigrant policy field needed to be much stronger, with powerful local voices driving the debate. This meant building up infrastructure where it had never existed before. "National now means North Carolina and all over the country," she explains. Focusing on new immigrant-receiving states and regions, such as the Midwest, the South and Northwest, the Fund's mission was dedicated to growing the capacity of state-based groups to:

- Advocate for local and state-based policies supporting immigrant integration, including

social, political and economic integration;

- Communicate to the public and policymakers the economic, political and social contributions of immigrants;
- Connect state-based immigrant integration groups with those working on similar federal integration policies (and vice versa) and
- Encourage civic integration of immigrants including access to naturalization services, English-language programs, civic education and, for those eligible, voter registration and voting.

The Four Freedoms Fund works by pooling large grants *from* individual foundations and making smaller grants *to* state and local immigrant advocacy organizations for strategic planning, board development, fundraising, policy analysis, organizing and media training. While it takes no positions on specific bills or provisions, the Fund is considered a crucial "link-tank" connecting groups at the local and regional level with national groups in Washington, D.C. Given the limited staffing of most national foundations, an intermediary such as the Four Freedoms Fund simplifies the process of making a large number of grants directly to grassroots groups,

while encouraging funder collaboration for strategic grantmaking. In fall 2007, for example, fourteen regional organizations from coast to coast received grants of between \$40,000 and

Four Freedoms

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...everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear...anywhere in the world.

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Message to Congress, January 6, 1941

\$75,000—a lineup most major foundations would find difficult to manage. “Although awarding a single grant that will be regranted in many small pieces does involve relinquishing some control,” Mannion says, “for a national foundation like the Corporation, making grants through a funding collaborative minimizes the fundraising burden for the grant seekers and at the same time allows the foundation to reach small groups and to affect a larger number of states. This saves the Corporation and its grantees time and money.”

Public Interest Projects, a nonprofit organization of which Michele Lord is executive director, serves as the conduit for the Fund (along with a number of other collaborative funds) providing professional staffing, technical assistance and oversight of the many grants. “In contrast to a national foundation, the collaborative is nimble,” she points out, “so it can turn on a dime.” It can deliver the precise amounts of money needed quickly to solve a crisis, where a large foundation might have to wait for the next quarterly board meeting to get funding approval, and it might be too late.

“Four Freedoms Fund grantees and partners have shown great flexibility and resilience in the face of a rapidly changing social and political climate,” the Fund’s program officer Naomi Abraham writes, “especially given the volatility of immigration policy, growing anti-immigrant attitudes and ordinances at the local and state level and the recent failure of federal-level immigration reform.” The ongoing importance of allocating the Fund’s resources in a way that

bolsters the priorities of grantee and partner organizations cannot be overstated, according to Abraham, and she cites several examples to prove the point:

- In recognition of the unique political opportunity the 2007 debate on immigration reform presented for immigrant and refugee communities, the Fund invested over \$2,700,000 in additional funding to existing and new grantees;
- In 2006, the Fund quickly moved more than \$100,000 in discretionary funds to national partner organizations for pro-immigrant mobilizations in Washington D.C.;
- The Fund also plays a critical convening role, providing opportunities for grantees to address topical issues with a cohort of local, regional and national organizations. Often, these are the only opportunities groups have to co-strategize face-to-face on critical matters such as how to respond to the recent, and growing, backlash against immigrant communities.

The Fund is both responsive to the field’s time-sensitive needs and committed to longer-term efforts to fully integrate immigrants into all aspects of American society, Lord explains. The donors are very disciplined and committed to seeing ahead, taking risks and creating diverse relationships with grantees. “It’s a great group with a unique chemistry,” she says, “and a huge amount of trust and faith exists between staff and donors. The Four Freedoms Fund helps everyone find a way in, and our continual

assessment of the work helps inform the grant-making.” As a bonus, new or less experienced funders are given the rare opportunity to learn together, which one younger member likened to a Ph.D. class in philanthropy.

Grantees of the Fund are primarily goal-oriented state or local groups with a history of accomplishments such as organizing immigrants to take leadership positions and speak on their own behalf, or turning local mobilization into lasting change through civic participation. A number of groups have a history of working with under-represented constituencies such as Arabs, Muslims and South Asians. Grantees are encouraged to protect civil liberties and human rights by addressing detentions, deportations and due process and to connect immigrants with native-born potential allies and address the tensions between them. They are also urged to play a role in national strategy and advocacy formation and to target selected geographic areas that have large and/or growing immigrant populations.

Evidence of Success

Is the Fund’s strategy working so far? To find out, the Touchstone Center for Collaborative Inquiry launched a study to monitor and evaluate accomplishments of the Fund’s grassroots advocacy groups. This evaluation, begun in 2005 and wrapping up in 2010, will measure the Fund’s impact from the individual to the national level, assessing how immigrants become more civil-

ly engaged through involvement with grantees, the capacity of grantee organizations to affect social change and sustain their work as well as the capacity of regional or national networks to amplify local work and aggregate impact. The results (which will be disseminated at intervals during the study) aim to promote peer learning among grantees and funders, to assess success and failure, and to provide opportunities to make necessary mid-course corrections in strategy and tactics.

Midpoint analysis indicates collaboration and networking as the field’s greatest overall strengths, while fundraising remains its greatest challenge. Communications capacity continues to be underdeveloped, and sustaining coalitions puts a strain on organizations with limited resources. Over 40 percent of the grantees claimed success in protecting immigrant rights and facilitating citizenship status, and they cited accomplishments in youth organizing, voter registration and leadership development. The following grantee success stories provide convincing evidence that an impressive level of achievement is indeed possible, even under challenging circumstances:

The Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR), a 20-year-old membership organization, is a strong and critical player in the local and national debate on immigrant rights. Past successes have included

implementing the Illinois Executive Order for Immigrant Integration³, the first in the nation; registering nearly 80,000 new citizen voters and assisting over 10,000 immigrants to become citizens. ICIRR has expanded its reach and focus over the years and, through its 100-member ethnically diverse organizations, representing Latinos, Irish, Polish, Ukrainians, and Arab/Muslim populations and others, has become more entrenched in immigrant communities of Chicago and surrounding suburban areas. In 2007, ICIRR instituted the Democracy Fellows Program for immigrant youth, who are trained and tasked to carry out a large-scale nonpartisan voter engagement campaign. The initial nineteen fellows registered nearly 16,500 new citizen voters.

The New York Immigration Coalition (NYIC) is an umbrella policy and advocacy organization founded in 1987 that comprises approximately 150 organizations working with New York City area immigrants and refugees. Accomplishments of NYIC have included registering over 230,000 new citizen voters since 1998; winning over \$9 million in city funding for immigrant services and coordinating the most comprehensive response in the nation to the Department of Homeland Security's Special Call-in Registration Program. NYIC also orchestrated a successful legislative campaign around language access, which resulted in a significant increase of translation and interpretation services

³ The "Illinois New Americans Immigrant Policy" Executive Order for Illinois State Government was enacted in 2005 to help the state's growing immigrant population through research, policy change and advocacy.

at welfare and Medicaid centers throughout New York City, leading Mayor Bloomberg to issue Executive Order 41, the most far-reaching policy in the nation protecting the confidentiality of immigration status information.

The National Korean American Service & Education Consortium (NAKASEC) is a national consortium of three Korean American community-based organizations in Los Angeles, New York City and Chicago, with national staff in Los Angeles. All have been extremely active and visible in educating and mobilizing large numbers of Korean Americans to advocate for fair and comprehensive immigration reforms at the federal and local levels, and to become more civically engaged. In 2007 NAKASEC focused its advocacy work on building its base and engaging its existing constituents in understanding the policies being considered at the federal level, and coordinated nonpartisan voter engagement activities in the three cities. NAKASEC reaches out not only to Korean Americans but to the broader Asian American community as well. In summer 2007, NAKASEC also co-developed the "Dreams Across America" communication campaign—a nationwide journey via train designed to educate the public, through personal stories of immigrants, about the need for just and humane immigration policies in the United States.

Families for Freedom (FfF) is a New York-based multi-ethnic defense network by and for immigrants facing and fighting deportation. Members are immigrant prisoners (detainees), former immigrant prisoners and their loved

ones or individuals at risk of deportation. Through a community organizing model, FfF works with individuals affected by deportation to repeal harsh laws, advocate on behalf of detained individuals and build power in local immigrant communities. Organizers have successfully conducted two Consulate Roundtables to educate consulates and urge them to play a proactive role in their nationals' deportation cases, and have orchestrated local and national mobilizations. In 2007, FfF focused its efforts on getting foreign governments to better protect the rights of their nationals—an important and potentially effective strategy, since deportation requires two state actors.

The Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition (TIRRC), a statewide pro-immigrant coalition with over 50 member organizations, reflects the wide spectrum of Tennessee's immigrant population—from Kurdish refugees to Somalians to Latinos. TIRRC's multi-pronged approach consists of base-building, grassroots policy change, defense of civil liberties/civil rights and public awareness building. Accomplishments in 2007 include co-hosting the Southeast Regional Immigrant Rights Conference in Atlanta and successfully campaigning against numerous local anti-immigrant bills, as well as coordinating a 15,000-person immigration mobilization in Nashville—the largest march since the civil rights era. TIRRC also continued to build on its Welcoming Tennessee Initiative (WTI), a cornerstone for its public education and ally-building work.

The Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition acts as a key liaison between community-based organizations and government agencies at federal and state levels throughout New England. Major accomplishments over the past year include: nonpartisan candidate education, voter education, and Get Out the Vote campaigns that gave rise to a true immigrant voting constituency in Massachusetts; leading a local and national humanitarian response to the March 6, 2007, immigration raid in New Bedford where 361 workers were removed from the community and from their families (an effort that yielded over \$175,000 in contributions and extensive media coverage, and drew visits by Governor Deval Patrick, Senator Edward Kennedy, Senator John Kerry, Congressman Barney Frank and Congressman Bill Delahunt); established New American Action Committees in five cities outside of Boston with growing immigrant populations; convened the 2007 Immigrants' Day at the State House, "Interfaith Summit for Immigrant Justice," which drew over 1,200 people, with representation from Christian, Muslim, Jewish and Buddhist communities; and conducted over 100 Detention and Deportation and Know Your Rights trainings in response to increased U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids.

Who's at the Table

The Four Freedoms Fund's grantmaking budget is determined by donor contributions every year. As its scope has broadened, the list of funders

has expanded as well, and now also includes the Evelyn and Walter Haas Jr. Fund, Joyce Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, California Endowment, Akonadi Foundation and the Horace Hagedorn Foundation, a family foundation located in Port Washington (Long Island), New York. The Hagedorn case is unique because this local nonprofit can now play a national role through its association with the Four Freedoms Fund. “Immigration problems on Long Island have very deep roots,” executive director Darren Sandow says. “We’re located in the oldest suburb in the U.S., and there’s a lot of community tension with concerns about day laborers, overcrowded housing and other hot potatoes. While we’re worried about the broken federal system, which is the main cause of our problems, a small private foundation can’t really expect to have national impact.”

Brought into the Four Freedoms Fund by Taryn Higashi, Sandow was surprised to find himself received as an equal. “People listened,” he says, “and appreciated having a local voice at the table. I was even invited to join the fund’s advisory board, which I’ve done—and that has helped bring resources back to Long Island. We’ve co-hosted a major conference with the county executive, for instance, and launched a massive civic engagement project called “Long Island Wins” (www.longislandwins.com) including commercials on the local cable network, which ended up running during *Lou Dobbs Tonight*.”

Sandow believes his foundation has benefited

significantly from its association with the “biggest, smartest foundations in the country.” At the same time, he’s aware that there are advantages to being small. “Sometimes big foundations have restrictions,” he notes, “whereas we can turn around money quickly; we can come in where they can’t. That’s why it’s a real partnership, and we can make a serious contribution.” Being part of the Fund also lets the Hagedorn Foundation fly beneath the radar, as Sandow puts it. “If we openly went national, we could never handle all the requests,” he explains. “But since all our giving goes through the Fund, we can have a national voice.”

At the other end of the spectrum, the newest donor to join the Four Freedoms Fund⁴ is the country’s largest private foundation, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, giving a \$2 million planning grant over two years, with an option to renew. “For us, the Four Freedoms Fund is an incomparable on-the-ground information source,” explains Greg Ratliff, senior program officer for Special Initiatives, U.S. Program. The Gates Foundation’s leaders are seeking an effective entry point into understanding immigrant issues as one of many critical types of transitions that may be funded. They recognize that Four Freedoms offers not just a way to fund, but a way to learn, Ratliff says. He’s deeply concerned about the way immigration seems to be mimicking other wedge issues, such as abortion, in becoming a hot-button topic and he appreciates

⁴ In December 2007, two additional donors joined the Four Freedoms Fund: The Western Union Foundation and the J.M. Kaplan Fund.

the collaborative's ability to "create a safe space for dialog." Information gleaned from the Fund has already shaped the perspective on the field that Ratliff presents to his foundation's decision makers. "Immigration is not a stand-alone issue," he has learned, "it cuts across all other programs: education, health care, even libraries. It needs to be integrated throughout our work."

Since 2003, the Fund's major funding partners have increased their support of the immigrant rights field in general, both through their individual grantmaking and through the Four Freedoms Fund collaborative, for a five-year total of approximately \$80 million. Of that amount to date, 14 national and local funders have contributed a total of \$23 million to the Four Freedoms Fund. Those funds include grants in hand for multiple-year commitments through 2009; contributions cover direct grants, evaluation, communications and management/administrative costs. It should be noted that administrative and management costs are relatively low at approximately 15 percent. The Fund accepts grant proposals by invitation only, two times a year (spring and fall). Grants are generally made for a one-year period and a priority has been given to past grantees that continue to fit the Fund's guidelines and emphasis. Organizations approved for funding must meet stringent requirements and sign an agreement that outlines the terms and conditions of the grant. The Fund also requires grantees to submit written reports detailing their progress, expenditures and compliance, and the Fund's staff members are diligent in their ongoing field work with grantees.

During its first three years of operation, the Fund targeted four regions—Southern California, New York, Chicago/Detroit and Florida—selected primarily for their large immigrant populations, degree of immigrant backlash and the level of community organizations using innovative organizing. In recent years, grantmaking has expanded to other regions, including Arizona, the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Tennessee, Oregon, and Washington. This expansion has resulted in the identification of anchor organizations around the country that play key roles in local and national reform efforts, a main feature of the Fund's grantmaking that allows for building support for its activities nationwide.

While existing grantees are given priority, the Fund's portfolio is continuously reevaluated and not every grantee is invited to reapply. The staff seeks ongoing feedback on existing grantees as well as potential new groups within the current geographic focus. New grant applicants are considered based on recommendations from funders, other colleagues in the field, conversations with national immigrant rights organizations and through the staff's knowledge of local and regional groups playing key roles in national efforts. Willingness and ability to link with allied organizations is a requirement for receiving funds.

Over this same period, the Fund has learned and evolved, according to Geri Mannion, and it now has multiple ways to support the infrastructure of the national field—which encompasses the

same groups who in 2006 acted as the backbone of the largest peaceful demonstrations for social change in U.S. history. During the 2007 federal debate on comprehensive immigration reform, the movement endured many challenges, but unity among the grantees endured because the groups comprising the national infrastructure had more resources to work together as well as Fund-provided opportunities to meet in private and work out potential conflicts.

Fifty organizations working in 28 states today receive grants from the Four Freedoms Fund. Many of the smaller or local organizations rely on statewide or regional “anchor” coalitions for leadership and training. The Fund’s Capacity Building Initiative, a special contribution of \$4 million over three years from the Ford Foundation, is strengthening these anchor coalitions and ensuring their effectiveness over the long haul. Halfway through the initiative, there is a demonstrable increase in organizational capacity in terms of fundraising, financial health, data systems, and staffing. The Fund’s Strategic Communications Initiative has also made a major impact at the end of its first year, providing training, research, coordination and funding to over 75 local organizations. As a paradigm that has grown beyond its original mission, the Fund has proven the effectiveness of:

- An “anchor strategy” of supporting strong groups and coalitions in many states that add up to a coordinated national network;
- Donor collaboration at a high and sustained level, encompassing both collaborative and

individual grants;

- Ability to leverage more overall support for immigrants’ rights and integration;
- Trust and cooperation among funders and grantees that drives a vital partnership for social change;
- Usefulness of strategic research to align field and funding priorities;
- Utilization of capacity building and strategic communications support to equip and strengthen a national infrastructure to address escalating, hostile anti-immigrant attacks at the national, state and local levels and
- Continuing opportunities to pursue workable, feasible solutions to the need for immigration reform.

What’s Next for the Fund?

Four Freedoms Fund grantees clearly have their work cut out for them in influencing policymakers to take steps toward reform and in persuading the public to support the acceptance of immigrants and to pass policies that will ensure their rights are protected. Early in 2007, when Comprehensive Immigration Reform legislation looked likely to succeed, public opinion seemed to support a path to citizenship even for undocumented immigrants if proper procedures were followed and fines paid. President Bush had been clear about wanting to make the bill his signature domestic legislation. But with today’s increasing polarization around immigrants and

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the dearth of national leadership willing to speak out on their behalf, the Four Freedoms Fund believes it will be important to challenge anti-immigrant ordinances and to communicate the value and contribution of immigrants to the American economy and culture—only then will the country's twelve million undocumented (commonly called “illegal”) immigrants be able to emerge from the shadows. All the funders are behind this strategy, convinced that only with increased support will the approximately 12 million legal residents get the help needed to naturalize and become active citizens.

Guided by a keen understanding of these challenges, the Fund is building on the strategic grantmaking it has developed to date, bringing in new donors and/or leveraging other funders' grantmaking at the local or regional level. Going forward, the Fund will continue to support a coordinated national infrastructure of organizations working to defend the rights of immigrants and to promote immigrants' full integration into American society, particularly through civic participation. As Geri Mannion says, “just as the immigrants of the last century—the Irish, Italian, East European and Chinese—have contributed to the economic, political and cultural health and wealth of the nation, also in the wake of anti-immigrant backlash, Carnegie Corporation and other Four Freedoms Fund donors will help the new immigrants of the 21st century make sure that Franklin Delano Roosevelt's words ring as true for this new wave of immigrants as they did for the last wave. Not only is this in the best interests of immigrants but, as we have learned from the past, it is also in the best interests of our nation.”

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