These uncertain times have been difficult for all of us — especially for our partners around the world. As the COVID-19 pandemic continues, we are seeing everywhere how this crisis exacerbates existing inequities around the world, often reinforced by violence. To date, 469,000 people have died of COVID-19 around the world; a total that fails to capture the disproportionate death of Black, Indigenous and People of Color. Meanwhile, state and non-state actors are brazenly using this crisis as pretext for power grabs and repression.

We have seen time and time again the important role that social movements and community organizing play in addressing root causes and mitigating emergencies. For decades, social movements have been picking up the slack where governments and their policies have failed to provide for their citizens. This crisis is no exception. **That’s why we are in the process of making over $500,000 in emergency grants to our partners and grantees.**

Here is just a sampling of the life-saving projects the fund has supported so far:

- Providing psychosocial support, preventative health education materials and outreach to Black communities in Brazil (Quilombola), Haiti, Honduras (Garifuna), and West Africa.
- Supporting quarantine efforts in Indigenous autonomous communities in Mexico;
- Funding COVID-19 emergency rooms for Palestinians living under Israeli occupation in the West Bank, keeping Palestinian community clinics open for acute and chronic patients who need care for other illnesses, and providing food distribution to quarantined families;
- Developing safety measures related to food delivery from small-scale farmers and communal kitchens in Puerto Rico so they can continue to feed the community during this crisis;
- Launching a global campaign to "Stay Home but Not Silent" to make sure that lockdowns don’t lead to more crackdowns. We cannot defend our lives unless we defend democracy.

**We are preparing ourselves for the long road of recovery ahead** — to fundamentally change the health, social and economic systems responsible for injustice. By supporting our partners during this pandemic, you are showing that mutual aid and solidarity extends beyond our borders, to our global social justice family.

**Together, we can build a new normal rooted in justice, solidarity, and love.**
OUR SHARED STRUGGLE,
OUR COMMON FATE

“If you have come here to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together.”

— Aboriginal activists’ group, Queensland, 1970s

This often quoted statement from Aboriginal activists in Australia is especially striking when applied to philanthropy. It is in this spirit, recognizing that we are not trying to “help” but rather share a common struggle and fate with social movements, that Grassroots International developed the framework we are calling "Solidarity Philanthropy." In fact, solidarity philanthropy drives the overarching strategy in our Strategic Plan for the next five years.

Solidarity Philanthropy is about meaningfully connecting donors and activists with movement organizations, decolonizing philanthropy and advancing transformative partnerships with movements for collective liberation.

In the following pages, you will see examples of the impact of Solidarity Philanthropy around the world, as our courageous partners resist relentless repression, envision a world based on justice and equity, and build sustainable alternatives.

In 2019, we led delegations to Brazil and Puerto Rico and organized a Donor-Activists Engagement Group on Land and Territory. We have strengthened advocacy and funding for grassroots climate solutions in the US and the Global South, and deepened our work on grassroots feminisms, healing and wellbeing, and human rights defense of partners and activists.

We are inspired by both our new supporters and long-time donor partners, and grateful that you choose Grassroots International as your go-to place to put your global justice values to work and as your bridge to fierce and resilient social movements.

In solidarity,

Chung-Wha Hong, Executive Director

Maria Aguiar, Board Chair
In the face of a global crisis, we steadfastly stand with global movements for social justice. Our grantmaking always supports deep transformations in unjust systems by advancing social movements. Through these movements, our partners create resilient, self-managed and just communities and societies that have more strength to protect themselves and recover from human-made or natural disasters. When unjust social systems fail, the answer is not to prop them up, but to build a better world.

Grassroots International’s support for powerful and effective global movements was stronger in 2019 than at any other time in our history. In 2019, Grassroots International’s grantmaking:

- Provided $3.1 million in 186 grants to progressive organizations in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, Palestine, India and the USA.
- Funded 13 environmental and social justice organizations building power and a Just Transition in Puerto Rico from the Building Equity and Alignment for Impact (BEAI) Fund.
- Deepened our Strengthening Grassroots Feminist Movement Collaborative, a global collaboration to support feminist organizations in countries dominated by right-wing governments, including the US.
- Co-organized a donor-activist delegation to Brazil and a Learning Immersion in Puerto Rico to strengthen internationalism.

**Movement Building:
67 Grants, $1,400,611**

**Haitian movements organize against chaos**

In the face of government corruption and social chaos, Grassroots International partner PAPDA (the Haitian Platform to Advocate Alternative Development) played a key role in convening more than 100 peasant, student, union and civil organizations in August, including several other Grassroots partners. The assembly created a united demand for a three-year interim government. Their plan also lays out a coordinated national program to rebuild Haiti’s food system and economy for the benefit of the Haitian people and not for corrupt officials and foreign exploiters.
La Vía Campesina Launches global rural rights defense together with other organizations

Grassroots International’s global partner La Vía Campesina has organized a coalition of international organizations, including Grassroots International, in response to the increasing criminalization and repression of rural movements worldwide. The initial planning group identified three strategies:

• Mapping assassinations, disappearances and other repression against rural movements and activists.
• Assessing the strength of human rights defense systems to share successful practices and identify gaps.
• Conducting emergency responses to human rights violations, including international campaigns and legal defense networks.

Sustainable Livelihoods:
33 grants, $551,440

African women lead on food policy

Women farmers are under constant pressure from international agribusinesses and their influence on national policies. Now, women farmers in West Africa have resisted and grown powerful through We Are the Solution (WAS), a seven-nation coalition of peasant organizations for women. With grassroots training, national radio programs and effective advocacy, WAS leaders have made women-led farming and agroecology serious alternatives for national policy. Senegal has, for the first time, included agroecology in its national farm and food plan.

Human Rights Defense:
20 grants, $251,952

Quilombola win land rights victory in Brazil

The communal rights of rural Indigenous and Afro-descended communities in Brazil form a frontline defense against corporate efforts to exploit and destroy forests, river valleys and other natural resources. Those rights have been under direct attack from the right wing Bolsonaro government. Grassroots International partners for legal defense have supported the Afro-Brazilian Quilombola people in their 14-year legal battle over land rights. Last year, the Quilombola won an historic court case confirming their land rights under the national constitution.

Grassroots Feminism:
48 grants, $772,427

Women “resist to live, march to transform”

For 20 years, Grassroots International’s partner the World March of Women has developed a global network of women’s movements around the themes of the common good, peace, opposing violence against women and women’s economic autonomy. Every five years, the World March’s massive International Actions unite women from Africa, Asia, the Americas, the Middle East and Europe to resist war and patriarchy and transform the world.
Healing and Wellbeing:  
2 grants, $21,000  
Gazans organize family mental health care  
Military conflict in Gaza is particularly hard on children. Grassroots International supported mental health training to 143 young parents and specialized mental health interventions for 50 children through our partner, the Gaza Community Mental Health Program. People everywhere need healing rooted in local knowledge and culture to counter the negative mental and spiritual impacts of violence, economic hardship and environmental destruction.

Learning Exchanges:  
6 grants, $34,000  
Anti-dam movements meet in Panama  
People from anti-dam movements in 14 countries gathered at the first continental encounter of the Movement of People Affected by Dams in Latin America (MAR) last September in Panama. The first day, dedicated to the women of MAR, was so powerful that the women called for a three-day session at future meetings. Grassroots International and other US grassroots movements attended as guests and were invited to become full members. This important international alliance was founded by our Brazilian partner Movement of People Affected by Dams and includes our partner Council of Popular and Indigenous Organizations of Honduras.

Rapid/Urgent Response:  
10 grants, $83,825  
Brazilian partner leads response to deadly dam burst  
On January 25, 2019, three dams holding back a massive reservoir of toxic mining waste collapsed in Brumadinho, Brazil. In an instant, a huge volume of poisonous mud swept away a miner’s cafeteria, busy restaurants and once-verdant forests, killing at least 300 people. This disaster never should have happened. Vale, the company which owned the dams, was also responsible for a 2015 dam collapse that left 600 homeless and polluted the water supply of 250,000 people. Grassroots International provided an immediate grant of $20,000 to support an emergency response by our partner, the Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAB). Now MAB is leading the campaign to hold Vale responsible and secure maximum compensation for the victims.
Activists advocate for global justice

We have a special responsibility to advocate for US policies that help rather than harm. Here are some of the solidarity campaigns we joined in 2019:

**Protect Palestinian farmers:** We asked the US Ambassador to Israel to protect farmers from Israel’s settler expansion program. 1,143 people took action.

**Defend Palestinian children:** We supported the US legislation to end US funding for Israeli military occupation abuses and to provide justice for detained children. 761 people took action.

**End attacks in Honduras:** The Black Fraternal Organization of Honduras asked us to contact US officials to demand a stop to violence against the Garifuna Indigenous people. 847 people took action.

**Block eviction of peasant school in Brazil:** We joined the Landless Workers Movement’s plea to prevent the closure of the Paulo Freire Training Center in northwest Brazil, a beacon and leader in agroecology training for the region and for the whole of Brazil. 881 people took action.

**Advocate against polluter benefits in California:** We asked California residents to comment on their state’s Air Resources Board’s plan to approve a tropical forest carbon offset allowance for global polluters.
Over the next five years, Grassroots International will more widely share and promote our model of long-term partnerships and deep engagement between US funders and social movements around the world. This commitment has two sides. First, we organize with other funders and foundations to combine our resources, knowledge and networks to direct more funding and solidarity to global grassroots movements. And, we invest in education and dialogue among donors and international activists. Our goal is to empower donors as activists and allies in global movements for social justice.

**Collaborations**

**Seminar articulates global diversity of feminisms**

As part of our Strengthening Grassroots Feminist Movement Collaborative, in partnership with Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, Indigenous Environmental Network, and the World March of Women, Grassroots International co-organized an international 3-day seminar in June 2019 in São Paulo, Brazil, on grassroots feminisms, feminist economy in the face of neoliberalism, and developing a new political articulation on the 4th wave of feminism.

**CLIMA Fund issues Climate Solutions report**

The CLIMA Fund helps major US funders make effective investments in women, farmers and Indigenous People fighting climate change with scalable, socially just solutions. This year, in addition to raising over $1 million to support global climate action, the CLIMA Fund published *Soil to Sky: Climate Solutions That Work*, that shows how investments in grassroots strategies create tangible, effective solutions to the challenges of climate change.

**BEAI Fund expands grantmaking to groups in Puerto Rico**

The Building Equity and Alignment for Impact Fund (BEAI Fund) brings together grassroots organizing groups, greens and foundations to support the US environmental justice movement. In 2019, the BEAI Fund made $250,000 grants to 13 environmental and social justice organizations building grassroots power and a Just Recovery in Puerto Rico.

**The Martin-Baró Fund Initiative for Wellbeing and Human Rights**

The Martin-Baró Fund was created to honor Ignacio Martín-Baró, a Jesuit priest and social psychologist, who was murdered by right-wing government paramilitaries in San Salvador in 1989. In November 2019, Grassroots International was honored to join with and carry forward the mission of the Martín-Baró Fund in establishing a new initiative to advance human rights, mental health and community-engaged wellbeing: The Martin-Baró Initiative for Wellbeing and Human Rights.

**Donor-Activist Engagement Group**

Donors and activists explore solidarity philanthropy

For six months, 12 US donors and activists from different class and racial backgrounds met in person and online to explore what solidarity with the world’s frontline land defenders would really look like. They learned about the powerful grassroots movements leading creative resistance to massive land grabs and deforestation linked to corporate agriculture and megaprojects such as mining and...
Delegations & Learning Immersions

Donor solidarity boosts landless workers in Brazil

In April a Grassroots International delegation visited settlement communities of the Landless Workers Movement (MST) our partner organization in Brazil. The visitors found women in leadership, community-controlled schools, worker cooperatives and settlement self-government in areas once dominated by the landed oligarchy—living proof that a better future is being created in this very moment.

Grassroots International’s delegation was right on time, with a message of unfailing solidarity with people’s movements in Brazil and determination to globalize their struggles.

— Tarso Ramos

Funders learn about Just Recovery

US donors and organizers joined a Grassroots International delegation to learn from Puerto Rican movements engaged in a Just Recovery from Hurricane Maria and Just Transformation to a sustainable future. Following the visit, Grassroots International and Movement Generation’s Justice and Ecology project co-wrote a report addressed to foundations, philanthropists and investor who are serious about effective responses to climate change and related humanitarian crises.
We cannot work for social justice in the world through grantmaking alone. We must also confront US government policies and the practices of US-based corporations that create and promote injustice everywhere.

**Harvard hides its portfolio of pilfered lands**

Harvard University secretly partnered with one of Brazil’s most violent and notorious land grabbing organizations to acquire 740,000 acres of the Cerrado, one of earth’s most bio-diverse regions. The small-hold farmers, Indigenous People and Afro-Brazilian Quilombola people of the Cerrado have been pushed off the land with violence and fraud.

Harvard’s role in these land grabs and many more around the world, was revealed by researchers at GRAIN, an international organization, and Rede Social, a Grassroots International partner. Their work has launched a global campaign to stop land grabs supported by the investment policies of massive pension funds and college endowments.
“It’s exciting to bring new streams of money to critical issues. But it’s not easy to give money away,” says Shalini Nataraj, Vice President for Programs at the ING Foundation. It’s her job to develop a coherent and impactful global giving approach for a young foundation often excluded from global conversations due to its location in Taiwan.

Working from the Bay Area, Shalini searches the world for causes and organizations that fulfill the ING Foundation’s core commitment to global human rights. Grassroots International was one of the first organizations Shalini recommended to the grants committee.

Shalini was looking for a bottom-up approach. “How do you make human rights real to people in a community and then link them to larger movements, to be part of a solidarity that includes funders? We are all in it together.”

In most cases, her grants committee has many questions about the impact of proposed grants, but the decision to support Grassroots International came quite easily.

“They bring a strong, value-based approach to their work and are able to find impactful partners on the ground who create systemic change. Through Grassroots, we were able to support human rights defense organizations from Brazil to Mesoamerica.”

“For lasting human rights change, you must work with community organizations.”

— Shalini Nataraj, the ING Foundation
Leticia Alanis left her life as a nun in Mexico to move to New York City in the 1990s. "I felt I was called to impact more people than I could as a nun."

She soon discovered that many immigrants in New York lived little better than they had in the places they had left. She began an immigrant rights organization. Four years ago, she became an ordained Lutheran minister and now serves a largely immigrant congregation at Todos los Santos Church in Brooklyn.

"There is so much connection between the struggle of my congregants and those of people in their home countries. You see one story and it seems so much like the story of everyone: corrupt governments, human rights trampled, livelihoods denied."

Grassroots International is a cause Leticia is glad to support as a donor. "In Mexico, I visited the Mixe people. To see that Grassroots International is defending their rights is so meaningful to me. Even in my small role as a minister in Queens, I can have an impact on good people in Mexico who love the land, who serve and yet are being denied a livelihood."

"Grassroots International empowers people on the ground, really helping them raise their voices and organize themselves to create different conditions."

— Leticia Alanis, Lutheran minister
And we are excited about the work to come. Here are a few ways you can continue to build our powerful movement in 2020 and beyond:

**As a donor**
- Join our Seeds of Change monthly donor program
- Donate stock
- Give a gift in someone’s honor or memory
- Host a house party or other fundraiser

Donations are tax deductible and secure. Grassroots International earned the Better Business Bureau’s coveted Seal of Approval, the seal of excellence from Independent Charities of America, and rated 4 stars on Charity Navigator.

**As a Legacy Circle member**
Grassroots International and our partners are in the struggle for the long haul — to create a more just and sustainable world, and to build global movements for social change.

By including Grassroots in your will, retirement plan or insurance policy, you help support the grantmaking and advocacy efforts that infuse life into global activism for land, water and food rights.

**As an advocate**
https://grassrootsonline.org/get-involved/follow-us-email-list/

Become an activist for food sovereignty, climate justice, and the human rights to land and water. Join the Grassroots International online activist network. Sign up to join our email list and follow us on social media to get the latest news and learn how to connect with our partners.

**As a volunteer**
We need volunteers to assist our Development and Communications Department. It’s a great way to get an insider’s view of how we work and to be part of our team. To find out more, contact info@grassrootsonline.org, or call 617.524.1400.

We are honored to have you with us on this journey of solidarity.
Institutional Supporters

November 2018 - October 2019

Grassroots International is deeply grateful for the generosity of the funders, as well as those who wish to remain anonymous, who contributed $250 or more. Their commitment, along with individual donors, nourishes global movements for a more just and sustainable world. Thank you!

Grassroots International Staff

Yulissa Arce Mendez (outgoing)
Solidarity Program Officer for the BEAI Fund

Katherine Asuncion
Project Manager for Donor Engagement

Milourdès Augustin
Solidarity Program Officer for Haiti and West Africa

Shannon Duncan Bodwell (outgoing)
Donor and Online Communications Coordinator

Malkah B. Feldman
Strategic Philanthropy Manager

Jovanna Garcia Soto
Solidarity Program Officer for Latin America

Claire Gilbert (outgoing)
Solidarity Program Officer for the Middle East

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Executive Director

Trina Jackson
BEAI Fund Director

Jonathan Leaning
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Sara Mersha
Director of Grantmaking and Advocacy

Opal Mita
Administrative Coordinator

Orson Moon
Director of Administration and Finance

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Ayman Nijim
Solidarity Program Officer for the Middle East

Mina Remy
Director of Philanthropic Partnerships

Carol Schachet
Director of Planning and Special Initiatives

Diana Villa
Grants Administrator and Solidarity Program Officer

Sam Yoon
Administrative and Executive Associate

Ivan Yung
Finance Coordinator

2019 Volunteers

Muriel Statement
Ben Negrovic
Shanjah Lindsey
Gabriela Thompson
Vitoria Fonseca
Rocco Sanabria
Amber Aumda
Christopher LaCreta
Rachel Wyon
Robert Warren

Sha Grogan-Brown
Grassroots Global Justice Alliance

Sam Jacobs
Works in Progress Fund

Mijo Lee, Secretary
Mijo Consulting / Philanthropic Advisor

M. Brinton Lykes
Center for Human Rights and International Justice at Boston College

Kathy Mulvey
Corporate Accountability Campaigner and Advocate

Amelita Pascual Spear (outgoing)
Mercy Housing California

Ninaj Raoul
Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees

Diala Shamas
Center for Constitutional Rights

Meredith Smith, Treasurer (former)
Streamlined Accounting Strategies LLC

Wenda Tai (outgoing)
Capacity Building Specialist

Sam Vinal
Filmmaker & Radical Imagination Family Foundation

Chung-Wha Hong (Ex-officio)
Executive Director

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORTERS

November 2018 - October 2019

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GRASSROOTS INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Members who served on the Board of Directors during all or our part of the 2019 Fiscal Year include:

Maria Aguiar, President and Chair
Solidarity and Movement Organizer

Nidal Al-Azraq
1for3.org

Leticia Alcantar, President and Chair (outgoing)
Philanthropic Advisor

Janet Axelrod
Wealth Matters / Wealth and Philanthropic Advisor

Kailia Barnett, Treasurer
Barr Foundation

Sha Grogan-Brown
Grassroots Global Justice Alliance

Sam Jacobs
Works in Progress Fund

Mijo Lee, Secretary
Mijo Consulting / Philanthropic Advisor

M. Brinton Lykes
Center for Human Rights and International Justice at Boston College

Kathy Mulvey
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Wenda Tai (outgoing)
Capacity Building Specialist

Sam Vinal
Filmmaker & Radical Imagination Family Foundation

Chung-Wha Hong (Ex-officio)
Executive Director
During the 2019 Fiscal Year, Grassroots International deepened solidarity funding to crucial frontline movements, delivering $3.1 M in direct support. This support enabled long-term movement building, just responses to natural and manmade disasters, learning exchanges and the protection of movements from right-wing attacks.

Grassroots’ ability to sustain and nurture its programs depends on the generosity and commitment of its supporters. Strong continuity in support allowed Grassroots to maintain a high proportion of spending on grants, education, and program activities. With the dynamic participation of its funding partners, Grassroots will remain an outspoken advocate for the human rights to land, water and food.

Statement of Support, Revenues and Expenses
For the year ending October 31, 2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Without Donor Restrictions</th>
<th>With Donor Restrictions</th>
<th>FY 2019 Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undesignated</td>
<td>Board-designated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Support and Revenues**

- Institutional grants and contributions
  - Undesignated: $1,362,270
  - Board-designated: -
- Individual contributions
  - Undesignated: $873,427
  - Board-designated: 129,563
- Donated professional services
  - Undesignated: 6,800
  - Board-designated: -
- Special events
  - Undesignated: 6,712
  - Board-designated: -
- Investment and other income
  - Undesignated: 137,694
  - Board-designated: 134,897

**Expenses**

- Program Services
  - Grants
    - Undesignated: $3,105,174
    - Board-designated: $3,105,174
  - Humanitarian/social justice program
    - Undesignated: 794,372
    - Board-designated: 794,372
  - Education
    - Undesignated: 249,476
    - Board-designated: 249,476

**Balance Sheet**
As of October 31, 2019

**Assets**

- Cash and cash equivalents
  - Undesignated: $1,260,175
  - Board-designated: 5,498,816
- Grants and pledges receivable
  - Undesignated: 1,002,990
- Certificate of deposit
  - Undesignated: 2,867,237
- Investments - securities
  - Undesignated: 52,332
- Fixed and other assets, net
  - Undesignated: $2,152,041

**Liabilities**

- Grants Payable
  - Undesignated: 833,715
- Accounts payable and accrued expenses
  - Undesignated: 178,404

**Net Assets**

- Without donor restrictions
  - Undesignated: $955,127
  - Board-designated: 1,220,738
- With donor restrictions
  - Undesignated: 3,212,378
  - Board-designated: -

Net Assets, beginning of year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Without Donor Restrictions</th>
<th>With Donor Restrictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undesignated</td>
<td>Board-designated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$326,189</td>
<td>1,170,738</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Net Assets, end of year**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Without Donor Restrictions</th>
<th>With Donor Restrictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undesignated</td>
<td>Board-designated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$965,127</td>
<td>1,220,738</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Expenses**

- Management & General
  - Undesignated: 95,500
  - Board-designated: 1,220,738
  - With donor restrictions: 3,212,378
- Fundraising
  - Undesignated: -
  - Board-designated: -

**Support and Revenues**

- Institutional grants and contributions 81.9%
- Individual contributions 14.9%
- Donated professional services 0.1%
- Special events 0.1%
- Investment and other income 3.0%
- Programs & Education 78.9%
WHO WE ARE

Established in 1983, Grassroots International is a global grantmaking and social action organization that partners with social movements in the Global South and progressive funders in the US. We partner, fund, and work in solidarity with movements and organizations around the world in order to nurture sustainable and equitable relationships between people, with the earth and all its living systems.

We envision a world in which a universal commitment to the health and wellbeing of the earth and all its peoples, fueled by successful global movements for social, economic, and ecological justice, has transformed production practices, consumption patterns, and economic and social relations to ones based on sustainability, equity, and dignity.

Our mission is to connect people in the US with global movements that defend land, territory, water, food, seeds and the earth. Together we address the root causes of injustice and oppression, and build alternatives that nurture human rights, ecological justice, and liberation. We do this through grantmaking, social action, and philanthropic leadership.

Theory of Change: We believe that social, economic and ecological justice requires deep transformation in systems, structures and culture. Social movements are necessary to create this kind of transformation. Social movements are made up of people organized collectively with leadership from frontline impacted communities, who analyze the root causes of injustice, develop a vision for solutions that address these root causes, and take bold actions to make these visions a reality. Solidarity with and between movements is necessary to achieve this vision. Based on this belief, we focus on funding social movements.

We accompany social movements through long-term partnerships that are based on: shared vision and values, reciprocity, trust, transparency, movement autonomy, and walking together for the long haul.

We work to make our own organizational practices consistent with social justice values.

We form partnerships with our funders to decolonize philanthropy, promote funder activism, and move financial resources toward social movements.

We take social action. We participate in alliances with the grassroots organizing sector, take positions on issues, collaborate on campaigns, and support the growth of internationalism in the US.