Rural Social Movements in Latin America: Alternative Visions for Sustainable Livelihoods

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Introduction

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There is little question but that the rural social movements are currently among the most dynamic social movements in the Americas. Whether in Seattle, Cancun or Mar del Plata--cities now immortalized because of the large protests which took place there either against the World Trade Organization (WTO) or the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA)--Latin American rural social movements have been among those in the lead in denouncing the exclusionary character of neoliberal globalization. Such may seem surprising given that the vast majority of Latin American peoples are now classified as urban, whether living in large metropolitan areas or small towns. The authors in this volume argue that the current dynamism of the rural social movements is in large measure related to the unprecedented assault on natural resources--land, forests, water, and minerals--unleashed by the neoliberal model of development, the repercussions of which have been particularly acute for those whose livelihoods depend upon them.

Since the 1980s new national-level rural organizations have emerged throughout the region representing sectors previously excluded from the main peasant organizations and rural unions of the past, such as the indigenous, landless, environmental, and rural women's movements. In addition, many new movements have arisen in opposition to large-scale development projects, such as dam construction or mining. In the 1990s many of these have

contributed to building transnational associations and networks at the sub-regional, hemispheric, and global levels. As a result, the rural social movements in Latin America have emerged as among the best organized as well as the most fervent critics of the neoliberal model of development in the region.

The main transnational organizations are the Latin American Confederation of Peasant Organizations (CLOC, Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo), and La Vía Campesina, the international association that brings together organizations of small and medium farmers, agricultural workers, rural women and indigenous peoples from four continents. More than 88 peasant organizations from 25 countries currently belong to CLOC. La Via Campesina's last congress in 2004 was attended by representatives of 143 organizations from 76 countries in the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The birth of these transnational organizations is related to events surrounding 1992, the Quincentenary of the discovery of the Americas. In 1989 at the First Latin American Meeting of Peasant and Indigenous Organizations in Bogota, Colombia, the Quincentenary was renamed the "500 Years of Indigenous and Popular Resistance" campaign. Subsequent meetings--known as *Encuentros Continentales*--took place in Guatemala in 1991 and Managua in 1992. The latter was the largest hemispheric meeting of peasant and rural workers to date, with 668 delegates from 26 countries in attendance, and resulted in the decision to construct a continental movement--the Indigenous, Black, Popular and Peasant Continental Movement (Movimiento Continental Indígena, Negro, Popular y Campesino)--as well as a regional organization with the specific goal of confronting neoliberalism

through joint actions throughout the Americas (CLOC 1997). The founding Congress of CLOC was held in Lima in 1994.

At the same time, peasant organizations throughout Central America had been meeting to form national coalitions and a sub-regional organization to represent their interests before the Central American peace and regional integration process. The founding congress of the Association of Central American Peasant Organizations for Cooperation and Development (ASOCODE, Asociación Centroamericana de Organizaciones Campesinas para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo) was held in Managua in December 1991 (Edelman 1998). Throughout the 1990s ASOCODE played an important role in building both CLOC and La Vía Campesina.

The origins of La Via Campesina can be traced to this same period. In 1992 representatives of peasant and farmer organizations from Central America, North America and Europe attended the second congress of the Nicaraguan National Association of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG, Union Nacional de Agricultores y Ganaderos) in Managua as observers. Discussions there led to the call for the first congress of La Vía Campesina in Mons, Belgium in 1993 where it was officially constituted as a global organization. The majority, but not all of the organizations in CLOC also belong to La Vía Campesina. La Vía Campesina also includes a number of organizations from the English-speaking Caribbean that are not members of CLOC, as well as farmer organizations from the United States and Canada.

What unites most of the members of CLOC and La Vía Campesina is i) their critique of neoliberal policies in agriculture in all of its dimensions, but specifically, for being anti-

peasant; ii) their commitment to developing an alternative development project around the pillars of integral agrarian reform, sustainable development and food sovereignty; and iii) their commitment to social justice, including ethnic, racial and gender equity. CLOC and La Vía Campesina have taken a leading role in the World Social Forums that have been held annually since 2001, and in the protests held in conjunction with the meetings of the WTO and hemispheric-level summit meetings building towards the FTAA.

This book brings together analysis and discussion of organizations and rural social movements which are part of CLOC and La Vía Campesina and those that belong to neither organization. The book grew out of a conference on the alternative visions of development of the rural social movements held at the University of Florida in February 2006.[1] Participating in the conference were rural social movement leaders from Bolivia, Brazil, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru and the United States, in addition to academics and scholar activists from Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Mexico and the US. A highlight of the conference was learning about the alternative visions that unite the rural social movements as well as the points of disagreement and tension between them. Another was exploring the impact of hemispheric connections and linkages--specifically, international migration, the fair trade movement and the Internet revolution--on the viability and strengthening of Latin American rural social movements. This volume is unusual in that it brings together the analysis of researchers of social movements with the voices of the leadership of many of these organizations.

The first section of this book focuses on the role of CLOC and La Vía Campesina in globalizing the struggle of the rural social movements and their visions of an alternative

rural world. The next section considers a common demand of many of the organizations which constitute these transnational movements--land and territory--and the continuing need for agrarian reform. The main organizations analyzed here include the Landless Rural Workers Movement of Brazil (MST, Movimemto dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra) and the Landless Movement of Bolivia (MST, Movimiento Sin Tierra), in addition to the movements of indigenous and Afro-descendents in Colombia which have organized around the demand for territorial rights.

The third section turns to other struggles for sustainable rural livelihoods and social justice and includes analyses of the National Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAB, Movimemto de Atingidos por Barragens) of Brazil; the National Confederation of Communities Affected by Mining of Peru (CONACAMI-Peru, Confederación Nacional de Comunidades Afectadas por la Minería); the Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives of Rural Women Producers of Nicaragua (FEMUPROCAN, Federación Agropecuaria de Cooperativas de Mujeres Productoras del Campo de Nicaragua); and the National Federation of Bolivian Peasant Women 'Bartolina Sisa' (FNMCB-BS, Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas de Bolivia 'Bartolina Sisa'). It also considers two of the environmental movements in the Amazon, that of the rubber tappers and of the Amazonian colonists, as well as an incipient movement focusing on the protection of biodiversity and indigenous culture in Mexico affiliated with the Plural National Indigenous Assembly for Autonomy (ANIPA, Asamblea Plural Nacional Indígena por la Autonomía).

The fourth section focuses on different hemispheric and global connections: the impact and challenges of the Internet revolution for rural organizing; the implications of

international migration on the viability of rural social movements, and the role of binational rural organizations; and the contribution and challenges of the Fair Trade movement emanating in the US and Europe in expanding the options for peasant farming and rural organizing.

Shared Struggles, Different Struggles

The organizations that are part of CLOC and La Vía Campesina and those that are not share a number of commonalities besides being primarily rural-based movements. Their organizations represent the voices of those traditionally excluded from social, economic and political power. They are all dedicated to the pursuit of social justice through non-violent means. By organizing around concrete demands, they are seeking recognition of their basic human and social rights. They are all concerned with the defense of rural livelihoods and increasingly, with the development of sustainable livelihoods--ones that respect nature and traditional knowledge and are ecologically and environmentally sustainable. But they have followed different paths in molding their alternative visions of sustainable livelihoods.

Agrarian reform is among the central demands of most of the organizations that are part of CLOC and La Vía Campesina. Reflecting the continuing high concentration of land in Latin America and the lack of opportunities in the cities, the pursuit of agrarian reform gained a new saliency at the end of the twentieth century, fueled by the demands of the landless rather than the hacienda tenants of previous decades. As Peter Rosset argues in chapter 2, the vision of integral agrarian reform being demanded today draws upon the lessons of the past (the incomplete and unsatisfactory results of previous land reform efforts) and is substantially broader, encompassing policy framework to make family farming and

cooperatives sustainable.

Many of the social movements whose organizations are not part of CLOC or La Vía Campesina were formed around specific assaults on their livelihoods, such as deforestation in the Amazon or the construction of large-scale dams and mining projects in Brazil and Peru. Composed primarily of small farmers, they initially organized to defend a way of life. Their demands soon broadened from the defense of the natural resources upon which they rely, to seeking sustainable livelihoods that would improve living standards while being ecologically and environmentally sustainable.

One of the major differences between the social movements linked to CLOC and La Vía Campesina and many of the others is with respect to the scope of their demands. For CLOC and La Vía Campesina it is the model of development that is at issue, specifically neoliberal globalization. In their view there are two competing models of social and economic development: an industrial model of agriculture being fostered by neoliberalism, and a peasant model. Their primary struggle is against the "globalized, neoliberal, corporate-driven model where agriculture is seen exclusively as a profit making venture and productive resources are increasingly concentrated into the hands of agro-industry" (Desmarais 2002: 99). Having led to their impoverishment as well as the degradation of the environment, this model threatens the peasantry and rural communities with extinction. The alternative project of these organizations is to build a "more humane rural world" where agriculture is farmer-driven and based on peasant production that is economically viable and ecologically sustainable.

For CLOC and La Vía Campesina an integral agrarian reform is just one component of a broader change in national development policy, one that encompasses food sovereignty. Food

sovereignty is the right of a country to produce its own food on its own territory and brings together three elements: food as a basic human need (and not just a tradable commodity, as in the neoliberal model); food production as a basic right and obligation of the peasantry; and that it is not just food security (ie., adequate food supplies) that is at issue but how foodstuffs are produced and by and for whom (Vía Campesina 1996). As Annette Desmarais explains in chapter 1, La Vía Campesina has globalized this broad alternative vision by articulating a peasant identity and becoming a major player at international forums in defense of family farming.

Many of the other rural social movements began as one-issue movements, although it is most useful to locate them at different points on a continuum in the advocacy of social change. The anti-dam movement in Brazil and the anti-mining movement in Peru, for example, grew out of local movements organized around either the demand for compensation for damages suffered, or to block further developments that compromise their livelihoods. As Carlos Vainer shows in chapter 8, and social movement leader Miguel Palacin in chapter 9, as these movements became national in scope they began to confront national energy, mining and environmental policies.

In the case of the Brazilian anti-dam movement, part of the process of consolidating itself as a national movement was by developing alliances with other national social movements, such as the MST and other organizations which carry the banner of the Brazilian "Popular Project," a decidedly anti-neoliberal coalition; it also joined CLOC and La Vía Campesina. The Peruvian anti-mining movement, in contrast, is most closely aligned with the indigenous movement, with the president of CONACAMI , Miguel Palacín, concurrently serving as the president of the Permanent Conference of Indigenous Peoples of Peru (COPPIP, Conferencia Permanente de

Pueblos Indígenas del Perú).

In large measure the indigenous movements in Latin America have evolved out of the peasant movements of past decades, particularly in Mexico, Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia, but at different paces. As Alvaro Velasco shows in chapter 7, in Colombia both the indigenous and Afro-Colombian movements were products of the 1980s and in many ways reached their zenith just as other national indigenous movements were gaining strength. The adoption of ILO Convention 169 in 1989 with its emphasis on the right to self-determination, autonomy, and recognition of indigenous territories played a major role in boosting indigenous organizations throughout the continent as did the series of events around 1992 mentioned earlier. There is little question but that the indigenous movement become both a continental movement in its own right in the 1990s, while simultaneously playing an important role in the formation of the hemispheric rural social movement built around the construction of CLOC.

Even though some of the most active organizations within CLOC are primarily indigenous, such as the National Indigenous and Peasant Coordinator (CONIC, Coordinadora Nacional Indígena y Campesina) in Guatemala and the Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia (CSUTCB, Confederación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia), sustaining the participation of indigenous organizations has been a major challenge. Participation in CLOC congresses has fluctuated widely with indigenous organizations being among those less likely to participate actively and consistently.[2] Various factors explain this: on the one hand, the intensity of national-level struggles for indigenous rights, particularly in Mexico, Ecuador and Bolivia, that absorbed the energies of indigenous organizations from the 1990s on; and on the other, the fear among these that participation in alliances with hemispheric

popular movements with a strong mestizo base, such as CLOC, would dilute their demands.

One of the most reluctant to build alliances with other rural social movements has been the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE, Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador), one of the strongest indigenous organizations in the region.[3] Since its inception CONAIE has focused its energies, alternatively, on confrontation with and participation within the Ecuadorian state, and has been a major force in constructing the continental indigenous movement. Shortly after the 1989 First Latin American Meeting of Peasant and Indigenous Organizations in Bogota that conceived the "500 Years of Indigenous and Popular Resistance" campaign, it convoked a meeting in Quito in July 1990 attended by representatives from 120 indigenous nations. The Declaration of Quito that ensued, while recognizing the shared aspects of the struggle against "the dominant system of oppression" with other popular movements, also made clear that the priority of the continental indigenous movement must be to strengthen its own organizations in pursuit of the right to autonomy and self-determination (SAIIC 1990: 21).

As Guillermo Delgado (1994:82) reflects, in the major attempts in Latin America "to mix class/popular-oriented movements with ethnic/gendered ones, there have been more failures that successes." In the meetings leading up to the formation of CLOC (in Guatemala in 1991 and Managua in 1992), a number of indigenous leaders walked out finding that there was no room for those primarily concerned with issues of indigenous identity, autonomy and self-determination. A particular bone of contention in this period was whether the *populares* were simply including indigenous organizations in the call for unity to capitalize on the 500 years of resistance campaign. Indigenous organizations subsequently attempted to form their own

hemispheric organization in March 1992, the Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations and Nations of the Continent (CONIC, Coordinadora de Organizaciones y Naciones Indígenas del Continente) (Hale 1994), although it would take almost another decade for such an organization to be consolidated.

In Mexico the national indigenous movement began to form around the Mexican 500 Years of Indigenous, Black and Popular Resistance Council, linked to the events of 1992. Throughout the 1990s indigenous organizations were part of an intense movement to construct a common indigenous proposal for autonomy, organized as the Plural National Indigenous Assembly for Autonomy (ANIPA), a movement that developed separately from but was also galvanized by the Zapatista movement (EZLN, Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional) in southern Mexico. Between 1995 and 1998 ANIPA held seven national assemblies to develop its legislative proposal on autonomy, one based on a three-tiered system of autonomy at the regional, municipal and community levels, a proposal that still has not been taken seriously by the Mexican government (Ruiz Hernández 2000).

As Cecilio Solís Librado, an ANIPA leader, explains in chapter 11, over time the organization has become increasingly focused on constructing local-level development alternatives. He describes ANIPA's initiative to take advantage of the growth of tourism and the appreciation of biodiversity to develop alternative livelihoods for indigenous communities and to do so in such a way that fosters indigenous cultural identity. This approach contrasts markedly with CLOC and La Vía Campesina's goal of changing the model of development.

Yet at the same time many of the propositions of the continental indigenous movement, organized now as the Continental Coordination of Indigenous Nationalities and Peoples of Abya

Yala (Coordinadora Continental de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas del Abya Yala), are currently very similar to those of CLOC and La Vía Campesina. For example, in the Declaration of Iximche that resulted from the III Continental Summit in Guatemala in April 2007,[4] neoliberal globalization was denounced in no uncertain terms, including free trade agreements. Moreover, while the demands for the right to indigenous autonomy, self-determination and indigenous territory figure most prominently, it is also apparent that the continental indigenous movement has incorporated as its own the demand for food sovereignty. Also stressed in the declaration was the need for alliances with other social movements in the struggle against neoliberalism and oppression (Declaración 2007).

Another challenge facing CLOC in building a truly unified hemispheric rural movement is the incorporation of the autonomous national rural women's organizations. The origin of many of the latter is found in the women's secretariats or commissions that were formed during the 1980s within the peasant organizations and rural unions. Given the difficulties that peasant women found in having their needs and demands recognized, many of these went on to form their own autonomous organizations in the 1990s (Deere and León 2001). The chapters by peasant leader Martha Valle on Nicaragua's FEMUPROCAN (12), GeorgeAnn Potter with peasant leader Leonilda Zurita on the 'Bartolina Sisas' of Bolivia (13), , and by Lynn Stephens on the Mexican Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations (FIOB) (16), all tell the story of why rural women found it necessary to form their own autonomous organizations. The 'Bartolina Sisas' have gone on to take a leadership role within CLOC and La Vía Campesina, and according to Potter and Zurita, are even more strongly identified with the goals of these organizations than its mixed-sex counterpart organization, the CSUTCB.[5] FEMUPROCAN and

other strong autonomous rural women's organizations, such as the National Association of Peasant and Indigenous Women of Colombia (ANMUCIC, Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas e Indígenas de Colombia), in contrast, are not members. In the case of FEMUPROCAN it has concentrated its efforts on building alliances with other women's organizations at the national and sub-regional level.[6]

Paralleling the debates among indigenous organizations with regard to the importance of autonomy, much debated among rural women is the best manner to pursue a gender agenda and press feminist demands, within or outside the mixed-sex organizations and whether at the national or hemispheric level. The rural women's organizations that belong to CLOC and La Vía Campesina can take credit for some advances with respect to gender equality within these organizations. For example, most documents of CLOC and La Vía Campesina are now written in gender neutral language, specifying that the protagonists are peasant men and women. This is no small accomplishment, since it represents a shift from the language of exclusion to one of inclusion, and one that helps to overcome the traditional invisibility of women. Also, gender analysis is increasingly being integrated into all themes (*análisis transversal*), which is a major step forward, for it recognizes that unequal gender relations are not just a problem of women, but of the whole society and is embedded in every political, social, economic, and ideological issue. Finally, these transnational organizations now have the goal of attaining 50 percent female participation in their leadership. The Coordinating Committee of La Vía Campesina began implementing this provision in 1999 by requiring that each world region be represented by one man and one woman. Since then this requirement has been adopted by some of the participating organizations in CLOC, such as the Brazilian MST, as discussed in the chapter by MST leaders

Daniel Correa and Andréia Borges Ferreira.

The incorporation of gender concerns into the practice and substantive propositions of CLOC and La Vía Campesina (such as for women's land rights) is partly due to the development of the autonomous, national rural women's organizations in 1990s--one that is no longer afraid to identify with feminism. This has opened up space for a gender discourse within the mixed-sex rural movements, in part, because the autonomous rural women's and the mixed-sex movements are often competing for membership, encouraging the mixed-sex organizations to become much more accommodating to women and their demands. At the same time, the incorporation of gender issues by CLOC and other mixed-sex organizations has not been simply instrumental, but rather is also tied to the deliberations over what the alternative project is to consist of. This vision of the alternative society is necessarily built around the principles of equality, social justice and full citizenship and has begun to produce the understanding that a transformation of gender relations is a pre-condition.[7]

Finally, in reviewing the participation of indigenous and autonomous rural women's organizations within CLOC and La Vía Campesina, one also needs to ask whether CLOC's initial proposal to construct a broad based "Indigenous, Black, Popular and Peasant Movement" is compatible with its growing focus on building an anti-systemic movement. In other words, in challenging neoliberal globalization, CLOC and La Vía Campesina have become increasingly anti-capitalist, with sharper ideological criteria, perhaps losing some of their base among indigenous as well as small and medium farmer organizations.

Achievements of the Rural Social Movements

The rural social movements can take credit for a number of achievements over the past

two decades. Collectively, they deserve much of the credit for the heightened public consciousness in contemporary Latin America regarding a broad range of issues, from environmental degradation and the importance of conserving biodiversity, to recognition of indigenous rights and those of Afro-descendents, to the continuing need to address land redistribution. As CLOC leader Juan Tiney argues in chapter 3, CLOC and La Vía Campesina are partially responsible for the lack of conclusion of the FTAA in addition to raising awareness of the unequal terms of neoliberal globalization embodied in the rules of the WTO.[8] While no Latin American government has yet adopted food sovereignty as national policy, disenchantment with free trade agreements is widespread as seen in the platforms of many recently elected governments that are part of the recent 'pink tide' as well as in the platform of opposition candidates who lost by slim margins in Mexico and Costa Rica.

As Peter Rosset notes in chapter 2, one of the major achievements of the rural social movements is that agrarian reform is now back on the agenda of a number of Latin American governments. Partly as a result of the Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform launched by La Via Campesina and FIAN in 1999, and partly due to a reconsideration of the need for land redistribution among international organizations such as the World Bank, contending models of land reform are now being implemented throughout the region.[9] Thus far, the agrarian reform that most bears the stamp of its protagonist is that of Brazil. As Miguel Carter argues in chapter 4, the MST was largely responsible for the pace of the Brazilian agrarian reform under the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and he provides a detailed analysis of why it was so successful in impacting state policy. Chapter 5 by MST leaders Daniel Correa and Andréia Borges, on the other hand, considers why the pace of the agrarian reform has slowed down under

the government of Ignacio Lula da Silva and emphasizes the challenges facing the landless movement, including that of consolidating the agrarian reform settlements. Nonetheless, under the Lula government the MST has played a much more influential role than in the past in shaping policy towards the agrarian reform settlements with respect to credit, technical assistance and educational policy (Deere and Medeiros 2006).

The relative success of the MST in getting land into the hands of the landless has inspired the creation of organizations of the landless throughout the region, such as the landless movement in Bolivia which has adopted the same name, MST-Bolivia. Silvestre Saisari, a leader of the MST in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, describes in chapter 6 the arduous struggle of the landless to make various Bolivian governments comply with their own agrarian reform legislation and, particularly, to guarantee the basic human rights of those struggling to effect agrarian reform. He also lays out the vision of agrarian reform its members aspire to, one inspired by the principles of La Vía Campesina, but with its own twists, such as the emphasis on communal enterprises. This chapter, written shortly after the election of Evo Morales as president, preceded Morales' legislative initiatives to jump start the agrarian reform, and may be seen as a platform from which to evaluate what the MST-Bolivia is able to accomplish under his presidency.

The environmental movements in Brazil, particularly those rooted in the Amazon, have perhaps been even more successful than the MST in having their demands incorporated as state policy. Mary Allegretti and Marianne Schmink describe the development of the rubber tappers movement and that of Amazon colonists in chapter 10, and how they have been successful in having their proposals for the creation of extractive reserves and a program based on the

payment for environmental services, respectively, adopted as alternative development models in the Amazon. Their insightful analysis illustrates some of the contractions that arise when social movements subsequently become dependent on government action and state resources. They warn that new vulnerabilities are generated which may undermine the sustainability of the social movements themselves.

In the broad scope of things, the indigenous movement in Latin America has probably accomplished more with respect to its demands over the past three decades than any other rural social movements, at least in the Andes. Indigenous territories with varying degrees of autonomy have now been recognized in Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia, and these Andean countries are now constitutionally pluriethnic or plurinational states. The mobilization of Colombian ethnic minorities in the 1980s, for example, resulted in approximately one-fifth of Colombian national territory being set aside as either Indigenous Reserves or Afro-Colombian territories. Part of their success was their ability to link together the issues of biodiversity and cultural diversity, gaining the support of environmentalists and others in the process--an example being followed by other indigenous movements. According to Alvaro Velasco, however, achieving constitutional recognition is one thing; attaining relative autonomy in governance is quite another. He considers the very real obstacles--such as Civil War and neoliberal state policies--which have attenuated these achievements.

At another level of analysis, one of the main achievements of the rural social movements has been the broadening of democracy in at least two senses: by virtue of their organizations, these movements have achieved a voice and level of participation in the public sphere unheard of in the past. And in various countries of the region political parties have come to power with

either the support of the rural social movements or which are constituted by them. Miguel Carter, in his analysis of the MST in chapter 4, makes a very strong case on how the MST, as the motor force behind the broader struggle for social justice in Brazil, has strengthened civil society and acted as a force for the reduction of inequality and the protection of human rights. The impact of the Brazilian rural social movements as a whole, through their Popular Project for Brazil, may well turn out to be of more lasting duration and historical significance than simply the election of Lula to the presidency. As noted by Daniel Correa and Andréia Borges Ferreira, the latter has been a source of disillusionment.

The hope of the Bolivian social movement leaders writing in this volume is that the presidency of Evo Morales turn out to be different from that of Lula's. They perhaps have even more at stake, since Morales' party, the Movement toward Socialism (MAS, Movimiento al Socialismo) is itself a coalition of social movements rather than a traditional political party. The rural women's organizations analyzed by GeorgeAnn Potter and Leonida Zurita are among its main constituents. They are already worried about gender issues taking a back seat to more pressing issues in the face of the acute class and ethnic struggle that has been unleashed by Morales' election. Expectations, however, continue to run high that he will be able to respond to the aspirations of the rural social movements, such as a genuine agrarian reform, as noted in the chapter by Silvestre Saisari.

Alternative Globalizations and North-South Relations

Whether examining the effects of globalization on rural societies, or the cross-border organizational responses and alternatives, a transnational perspective infuses this volume. The chapters in the final section examine movements that explicitly cross North-South boundaries.

These demonstrate some of the ways that the North-South dynamic goes beyond northern imposition of neoliberalism on a resistant South. Robinson describes the spread of Internet communication technologies from the North to the South, Fox and Stephen are concerned with people who move from Mexico to the United States, while Conroy considers the movement of agricultural products from South to North. Each chapter elucidates the effects of movement across borders on broader social movements.

It is well recognized that the rapid spread of Internet communications technologies have vastly increased the ability of social movements to mobilize on a national, hemispheric and global scale. A growing literature, for example, explores the role of the Internet in formatting a sense of cultural identity among indigenous groups as well as their ability to learn from each other's struggles and accomplishments (Becker and Delgado 1998; Monasterios 2003). Scott Robinson argues in chapter 14 that social movement actors must both improve their use of such technologies where available, and increase their pressure on elites for digital inclusion of the sectors they represent. Robinson emphasizes that, even where some level of Internet communications technology competence has been achieved by social movements, adoption is usually limited to basic email and web consultation, with more complex and powerful manifestations of digital technology generally ignored. Robinson explains that the resources for improving this Internet communications and other digital capability for social movements have been dispersed among local info-development enthusiasts, foreign NGOs and corporations, and national government programs, none of whom necessarily support or even understand the goals of social movements. An interesting question is whether the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA)[10] will extend involvement in electronic alternative media beyond TeleSur,

and systematically offer upgrading of skills and/or equipment to social movement organizations around the Americas.

Although the scope of Robinson's essay is hemispheric, he writes from Mexico, and several examples from that country appear in his analysis. If this constitutes a bias it is probably an appropriate one, since Mexico and the United States represent the most massive and abrupt encounter between North and South in the Americas. Both Jonathan Fox and Lynn Stephen examine the migration of people between Mexico and the US. Indeed, both authors include a particular organization, the Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations (FIOB), among their case studies to help answer a key question: is out-migration necessarily *instead of* collective action, or can it lead to new forms of collective action? Fox, in chapter 15, takes a broader sample, examining hometown associations and other migrant-led membership organizations as instances of a "migrant civil society," and their positive links to organizing in their countries of origin. In chapter 16, Stephen zeros in on the experiences of two women's organizations, one also indigenous, and both with presence in Mexico and the western United States. Again, the protagonists are largely economic refugees from rural, southern, post-NAFTA Mexico. She describes how the transborder experience itself has provided these immigrants with a "bifocal vision"; a heightened ability to focus simultaneously on life in their US surroundings and their places of origin in Mexico. Stephen, like Fox, concludes that exit can lead to voice, both as migrants and immigrants.

The case studies selected to demonstrate the ability of migrants to engage in collective action in their countries of origin, and to retain or enhance their voice could be interpreted as "the exceptions that prove the rule" of exit negating voice. Yet that would obscure an important

point: even if exit generally tends to diminish voice, local collective action, and pressure for positive change, it does not always and inevitably do so. These authors' examples demonstrate immigrant communities maintaining and even enhancing voice, in spite of ongoing and seemingly inevitable exit, with potentially positive implications for the nurturing and growth of Latin American rural social movements.

Fair Trade as described by Michael Conroy in chapter 17 is fundamentally a North-South transnational movement. However, the Fair Trade movement is largely inspired by, and controlled from the North, and requires adherence by participating farmers in the South to externally developed rules. Fair Trade is therefore not itself a Latin American rural movement, although it works with, provides support to, and may even require the existence of rural social movements, for its relevance and success. Thus, the organized small farmer families who receive benefits from the Fair Trade movement are largely distinct from the Fair Trade movement itself, although Conroy describes some cases of increased organization by Fair Trade producers, creating linkages to social movements such as the Brazilian MST and hence CLOC. Still, the Fair Trade movement plays a role similar to sympathetic foreign NGOs, whose financial and technical support is often appreciated, but who are ultimately held at arm's length by their social movement beneficiaries.

A particular strength of Conroy's chapter is his explanation of the range of approaches that exist (not always harmoniously) within the diverse Fair Trade movement. Yet in spite of differences within the Fair Trade movement and between the Fair Trade movement and the rural social movements, there remains considerable potential for expanded collaboration. Fair Trade could, for example, be of particular benefit to nations implementing or deepening agrarian

reform, and that have successfully promoted small-farmer cooperatives. More broadly, the Fair Trade movement, with its widespread network of student, church member and responsible consumer advocates, could provide fertile ground in the US and Europe for understanding and support for Latin American rural social movements. For the moment, however, Conroy shows how, as a movement in Europe and the US, Fair Trade is currently struggling to navigate a course among extremely divisive issues both on the producing and consuming sides of their business.

It is certainly to be hoped that the experience gained by several decades of fair trading will someday inform government trade policies, although regarding North-South trade, that seems a distant possibility. Once again, it is the ALBA, a South-South initiative supported by CLOC and La Via Campesina (Harris and Azzi 2006), which arguably provides the most widespread fair trade benefits today, and seems to offer the most promise for the immediate future. Over the past few years, agreements within the ALBA framework have provided petroleum products "at fair prices" to several Caribbean countries, and even to US low income communities (Bossi 2005; Padgett, 2006). If the recent electoral success of Latin American presidential candidates sympathetic to the rural social movements continues, the overwhelming importance of the North-South transnational links may substantially diminish, as the goals and ideals of these dynamic rural social movements are projected to the national and continental scale.

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[2] From the 84 organizations participating at CLOC’s First Congress in Lima in 1994, the number dropped to only 37 at the Third Congress in Mexico in 2001, before returning to 88 organizations at the Fourth Congress in Guatemala City in 2005 (CLOC 1994, 1997, 1998, and 2001; and see chapter 3, this volume).

[3] CONAIE was formed through the 1986 fusion of the two main peasant and indigenous organizations in Ecuador, ECUARUNARI, the Confederation of Indian Organizations of the Ecuadorian Andes, representing the peasant federations of the sierra, and CONFENIAE, the Confederation of Indian Organizations of the Ecuadorian Amazon.

[4] Previous summits were held in Teotihuacan, Mexico, in 2000, hosted by ANIPA, and in Quito, Ecuador in 2004, hosted by CONAIE.

[5] Other autonomous national rural women’s organizations that participate actively in CLOC and La Vía Campesina and that have been in the leadership of these movements are the Articulação Nacional de Mulheres Trabalhadoras Rurais (ANMTR) of Brazil, the Confederación Nacional de Mujeres del Campo (CONAMUCA) of the Dominican Republic, and Asociación Nacional de

Mujeres Rurales e Indígenas (ANAMURI) of Chile. See the CLOC website: http://movimientos.org/cloc.

[6] On the alliances of rural women's organizations in Central America, see Fundación Arias (1998).

[7] Another factor that has facilitated the adoption of a gender perspective within CLOC has been the very interaction between CLOC and La Vía Campesina. The strong presence of European farmer organizations in the latter, from countries were the gender equality discourse was more advanced than in Latin America, certainly had an impact on the evolution of attitudes and concerns within CLOC.

[8] On the broader role of social movements in the debate over free trade see Korzeniewicz and Smith (2001).

[9] For an overview of the debate see the essays in Rosset, Paatel and Courville (2006), and on on-going initiatives, the chapters in that volume on Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, Cuba and Venezuela. On the Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform also see Vía Campesina (n.d.).

[10] ALBA is an emerging Latin American and Caribbean integration initiative led by Venezuelan Hugo Chávez based on social development goals shared by key Latin American rural social movements and CLOC (Bossi 2005; Harris and Azzi 2006).