

ARIE M. KACOWICZ. *The Impact of Norms in International Society: The Latin American Experience, 1881-2001*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005. xiv, 228. \$20.00. Paperback.

In this analysis of security norms in Latin America, Arie M. Kacowicz considers eleven case studies beginning chronologically with the Misiones arbitration (Argentina-Brazil, 1858-1898) and the Tacna-Arica settlement (Chile-Peru, 1883-1929) and finishing with the Argentina-Brazil nuclear cooperation agreement (post-1979) and the Contadora/Esquipulas accord (Central American states, post-1984). This is an outstanding reference tool for each case discussed, with a consistent analytical organization for each set of problems. For the Tacna-Arica dispute, for example, Kacowicz explains the history and the legal background, the problem of a normative framework, and moral questions of guilt, justice and solidarity. For each case study he reflects on the relevance of normative considerations in ethics. Chapters are broken down into a theoretical analysis of how norms have impacted on the quality of life in international society, the evolution and application of norms in Latin America and recent security-related norms. No previous work has better organized and intelligently explained disparate international norms and instruments. For example, the author presents three key factors to document the widespread use of arbitration in Latin America. These are the traditionally successful application of formal legal procedures to resolve territorial disputes, the historical tendency of states with equivalent military capabilities to submit territorial disputes to arbitration and the use of arbitration as a way of bypassing hesitant or obstructionist national congresses.

Kacowicz has effectively applied a methodology that contemplates international societies beyond the norms themselves. However, this achievement raises three questions. First, the book posits a Latin American success story -- norms that have maintained international peace in the 20th century. But is it reasonable to contemplate such norms outside the context of longstanding internal warfare in Latin America, as does this volume? In light of the violence wrought by state terror and warfare in Central America, for example, it seems arbitrary to make no connection between peace along international borders and the peace that Guatemalans could not find in the 30 years before 1990. This is particularly so when one considers that internal warfare in this and other cases is so closely tied to a variety of diplomatic, social, and political problems at an international level. A related problem is the author's juxtaposition of 20th century Latin American international peace as "success" with 19th century "disorder" in the region; this latter model of disorder has now been discredited in the historical literatures of several nations (see for example, Jeremy Adelman, *Republic of Capital* [Stanford, 1999]).

A second question relates to how broadly international norms should be interpreted. Can norms adopted in the late 1980s and 1990s, for example, be understood outside a context of neo-liberal reform and related U.S. influences? The question of Brazilian-Argentine nuclear accords is an example of how, by not considering a variety of political and economic factors, the author restricts the parameters by which a regime of security norms might be understood. The book reflects on the “tangible possibility” (p. 146) of a nuclear arms race between the two nations. This in itself is a politicized position that contradicts the longstanding insistence of both governments that no nuclear weapons were ever produced and that those who raised the specter of “tangible possibility” inherently undermined peaceful South American nuclear programs. Beyond the politically charged nature of this historical claim and counter-claim, there is simply no evidence that either country ever built nuclear weapons or even tried to do so. In addition, the Brazil-Argentina nuclear accords are not adequately tied here to the important contexts of both nations’ growing economic and strategic ties with the United States after 1987. In Argentina’s case, the related dismantling of a multi-million dollar nuclear sector that had generated millions of dollars in export earnings during the 1980s underlines the links between security norms and political economies that are not developed in this book. For Argentina, the Brazil-Argentina nuclear accords are tied directly to neo-liberal economic policies and a strategic and military rapprochement with the United States.

A third question is also related to context. The author writes that the “core of Latin American international society has been its common values, norms and institutions” (p.70). If this is so, then “Latin American international society” does not include *cocaleros* from Chapare, *cumbia villera* fans from La Matanza, or *chavistas* from Petare among millions of others who have dramatically and sometimes violently rejected the values, norms and institutions promoted by their respective nation states. Throughout the book, there is little consideration of class hierarchies and their impact on security norms. For example, is it possible as Kacowicz maintains that norms have not been the primary basis for a persistent international peace in Latin America? Where social tensions in Africa over the past eighty years may have been manifest in many international conflicts, equivalent societal breakdowns in Latin America have manifested themselves in internal warfare, rather than international conflict, for reasons that have little to do with high diplomacy successes or failures.

Despite the manner in which Kacowicz limits his analysis of norms, this is the best available synthesis of this topic -- a comprehensive, lucid, and concise study. But in addition, Arie M. Kacowicz posits a compelling new analysis. International peace and security norms represent more than the sum of their parts. Such norms are in and of themselves “an independent and dynamic

factor" (p.4) that impacts upon the quality of international society. This book reasons strongly that there is an international society, that security/peace norms are expressed through social practices and institutions and that these norms help shape foreign and domestic policies.

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PAULA ALONSO, ED., *Construcciones impresas: Panfletos, diarios y revistas en la formación de los estados nacionales en América Latina, 1820-1920* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003)

This collection brings together thirteen papers presented during an eponymous symposium held at the Universidad de San Andrés in Buenos Aires May, 2002. Unlike the symposium, which included studies on the United States, the volume restricts itself to Latin America.

In the introduction, Paula Alonso stresses the importance of the press as a forum of public discussion in 19th century Latin America. Unlike our present-day media—massive, financed by sales and commercial advertisements and ideally committed to convey information impartially—19th century newspapers had limited circulation and life spans, were founded as mouthpieces rather than commercial enterprises and valued advocacy (the fiercer the better, it seemed) over detachment. Thus—Alonso reminds us—it is appropriate to study the 19th century press in its own right and context rather than as a precursor of subsequent journalism. This historically specific rather than teleological approach has promoted a renewed interest in the topic under the heading of the “new history of the press.” An additional contributory factor has been the renewed popularity of the works of Jürgen Habermas on the public sphere and of Benedict Anderson on the role of “print capitalism” in the formation of “imagined [national] communities.”

The collection includes a number of fine articles. Alonso herself examines two partisan newspapers in order to call into question the interpretation of the Argentine Revolution of 1890 as purely the result of tension between the PAN and the opposition. Instead she reveals ideological fissures within the party which were crystallized by the contrast between the moralist vision of progress during Roca’s presidency and the “economist” version of Juárez Celman’s government. Pablo Piccato explores the role of the *jurados de imprenta*, local juries with anonymous membership, which appeared with Mexican independence and lasted until 1882, in balancing the tensions between journalistic freedom and the protection of private honor. Eduardo Posada Carbó discovers a more