development of a world society or cosmopolitan society on the basis of the court's universal values. He offers Barry Buzan's (2003) *From International to World Society?* as a framework for thinking about the ICC because "it exposes some of the key tensions between a society of states and world society, including the role of collective enforcement" (p. 83). Roach applies Isaiah Berlin's theory of value pluralism and David Held's cosmopolitanism to discuss the tension between the ICC's universal morality and the autonomy of national communities in an innovative way. He concludes that the ICC constitutes a weak form of cosmopolitanism with the potential to move global politics in a more cosmopolitan direction. He adds that the ICC faces the challenge of maintaining discursive legitimacy in a new global cosmopolitan society; otherwise it risks becoming the rigidly legalistic enforcer of a new repressive form of global governance (p. 94). This last concern vastly overstates the risk of growth in the ICC's power. The court was deliberately designed in a way that makes it dependent on cooperation from states, and so if at any point it loses broad consensual support, it may well be ineffective, but certainly would be unable to impose its will through coercion. Roach spends the bulk of his time on development of the normative theory, with a fairly limited discussion of its application to the ICC. His analysis of the cosmopolitan potential of the ICC is certain to frame subsequent discussion on this point if the court continues to grow in strength and authority.

The final chapters focus on particular challenges the ICC faces in reconciling its effort to ensure a universal end to impunity with national politics and legal cultural autonomy. Chapter 6 reviews the aggressive resistance of the court's authority by the United States, Chapter 7 addresses the tension between *Shariah* law and international criminal law, and Chapter 8 examines the potential for cooperation between the ICC and the UN Security Council. Each of these chapters concludes with innovative and interesting but also somewhat radical proposals for gradual accommodation between the ICC and its opponents. In the end, this book raises more questions than it answers for political scientists who want to understand the potential role of the court in world politics. It does offer a clear conceptual framework for analyzing the political role of the ICC as an institution. Future researchers will thus want to build on this work.

Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages. By Saskia Sassen. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. 502p. $35.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S1537592707071423

— Joachim K. Rennstich, *Fordham University*

The globalization literature has now reached a level of maturity that allows one to distinguish between different schools of thought. Whereas the first two stages broadly dealt with the process at large (its development and manifestation), the latest generation of scholarship seems mostly concerned with its current and future governance. Saskia Sassen's latest contribution to this dialogue is similar to Andrew Drainville's recent volume (*Contesting Globalization,* 2004) for which she wrote the introduction. Both defend the need to situate the globalization discourse in concrete locations to gain a fuller understanding of it. More specifically, in *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages,* Sassen presents an extensively developed criticism of the globalization literature. Sassen argues that both critics and proponents of the globalization concept in its latest iteration miss crucial developments of the transformative processes captured by the term "globalization" in their focus on established actors and institutional forms. She argues for the need to situate globalization more concretely and broadly, in terms of both space and place (i.e., *territory*), and for the establishment of new organizing logics, which manifest themselves in new combinations of *authority* and *rights.* Even though Sassen builds on her previous scholarship, this is a novel work—and a most welcome and important contribution to this field, as she not only points out the shortcomings of existing approaches, but provides a well-theorized proposition on how to remedy them.

Sassen is mostly concerned with the failure of existing theoretical approaches to globalization to escape what she terms the "endogeneity trap" (aiming to understand globalization by confining its study to the characteristics of globalization, i.e., global processes and institutions), arguing instead for an approach that focuses on neither the Y (globalization) nor the X (global process and institutions). Instead, albeit never explicitly, Sassen argues for an evolutionary approach to the study of globalization, explaining globalization through the complex and dynamic organizing logic that binds its core elements. Evolutionary models are characterized by a focus on change, dynamics, and selection. Change in this view is constant and yet never linear in its unfolding; its pace, intensity, and impact are shaped by the environment in which it unfolds. Such change processes affect the development of environments that in turn produce "feedback effects." The human political, social, and economic world constitutes such an environment of dynamic change and feedback effects. According to Sassen, this allows the opening of "possibility space" where potential options for change become possible.

Grasping this process requires us to "historicize both the national and the global as constructed conditions" (p. 4)—a difficult and complex task, as Sassen admits. Rather than focusing on the complex wholes—the national and the global—she instead proposes to disaggregate each of them into their foundational components, namely the establishment of territory, authority, and rights, therefore separating these processes from their "particular historical

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encasements" (p. 5). By studying the organizing logic driving the specific combination of these interdependent components, she hopes to better understand the formation of both the "national" and the "global," and the "tipping points" that precipitate "particular assemblage(s) of specific institutionalizations of territory, authority, and rights" (p. 404).

The first part of the book focuses on the foundational shifts, whereby the national was constructed through a repositioning of particular medieval capabilities. Sassen then proceeds to examine a similar foundational shift currently underway, centered on the disassembling of the national and the emergence of new assemblages associated with global digital technologies and relations. Sassen's core contribution is precisely her disaggregation of "the glue that for a long time held possibly different normative orders together under the somewhat unitary dynamics of nations." Not to be confused with a vision of globalization as a mere "denationalization" process, Sassen's approach allows for the identification of globalization as a "proliferation of specialized assemblages" with a tendency toward a remixing of constitutive rules—the shifts of the private-public division, the microtransformations of the relationship of citizen to the state and the "multiplication of partial systems, each with a small set of sharply distinctive constitutive rules, amounting to a type of simple system" (p. 422). Though not exactly mirroring the medieval world of overlapping domains of authority, territory, and rights, this newly emerging system sheds the overarching "Westphalian" logic for a new one that allows for multiple sets of borderlines (both within as well as across existing national ones), coexisting normative orders that shake up established meanings of private and public, as well as coexisting and parallel establishments of rights (and wrongs).

Territory, Authority, Rights is a call to arms for an innovative and evolutionary approach to the study of globalization. The strong emphasis Sassen puts on questions of epistemology makes it therefore somewhat surprising that she does not draw more explicitly on the existing literature in this field or even mark her work explicitly as belonging to it. We are presented with evolutionary models of a variety of creations, selection mechanisms, and path-dependencies, the establishment of systems through duplication of certain organizational arrangements (forming capabilities), yet nowhere does the author place her own approach explicitly in this literature.

Although they are slowly emerging as an analytical tool in political science, evolutionary approaches are well-established in many other sciences (especially economics). This might explain both Sassen's excitement about the possibilities of such an approach and its explanatory power, as well as her reluctance to place her work in this category before an audience largely unfamiliar with evolutionary approaches outside biology and regrettably prone to associating social scientific evolutionary studies with "social Darwinism."

The problem of such a stealthy evolutionary approach becomes apparent when she invokes the concept of complex systems, largely ignoring the existing literature in this field. This limits her analysis of the dynamics of such systems, the core focus of what her model aims to explain. Yet, compared to the task Sassen takes on in this book, these are minor quibbles from a more than sympathetic reviewer thankful for such a well-crafted and rich analysis. *Territory, Authority, Rights* is endowed with a theoretical depth all too often lacking in existing approaches seemingly stuck in the endogenous trap Sassen so eloquently evades.

Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power. By Randall L. Schweller. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. 200p. $29.95.
DOI: 10.1017/S1537592707071435

— Evan Resnick, *Yeshiva University*

In this insightful and elegantly written book, Randall Schweller examines the phenomenon of underbalancing, which he defines as situations in which "threatened countries have failed to recognize a clear and present danger, or, more typically, have simply not reacted to it or, more typically still, have responded in paltry and imprudent ways" (p. 1). The study is motivated by the failure of many states throughout history to act in accordance with the cardinal prediction of structural realist theory that states will tend to balance against rising powers that threaten their survival, through the acquisition of arms and/or allies. Schweller argues that domestic political factors account for this discrepancy, enhancing or diminishing the ability and/or willingness of states to mobilize their national resources in response to systemic dangers.

Specifically, Schweller identifies four variables that shape the balancing behavior of a given state. These are elite consensus, elite cohesion, government/regime vulnerability, and social cohesion. The first two variables affect a state's willingness to balance, while the latter two affect its ability to mobilize the national resources necessary to balance. In short, he hypothesizes that a state will be more susceptible to underbalancing if its political elites are divided about the source and urgency of the threat, its political leadership is fragmented by internal fissures, its government is politically weak and highly vulnerable to electoral or violent deposition, and its society is rent by deep social divisions. By contrast, a state that possesses a united and cohesive political elite, a politically secure regime, and an integrated society will be more likely to balance threats effectively. Schweller adds that if such favorable conditions obtain in the absence of an external threat, the result will not be defensive balancing behavior but, rather, opportunistic expansionism.

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