

MAREK REWIZORSKI

AGORA INTERESÓW G20 I WYŁANIANIE SIĘ GLOBALNEGO ZARZĄDZANIA
[THE AGORA OF INTERESTS. G20 AND THE EMERGENCE
OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE]

DIFIN, WARSZAWA 2014, PP. 362

The author of the reviewed monograph, Marek Rewizorski, Ph.D., is a political scientist and a lawyer, and thus has the necessary knowledge and preparation for scholarly research on the problems of the modern world and its order, as well as international phenomena and processes and their various aspects. I know his other numerous scholarly publications and I can definitely say that he is a matter-of-fact and conscientious researcher, and he is always an author of valuable works, worthy of high scores. It is exactly the same in the case of the treatise under review, which in terms of content and workshop does not raise any objections.

The reviewed dissertation is the result of several years of research the author conducted under a grant of the National Science Centre on 'The G20 and the institutional triangle in the system of global governance'. It concerns the issues which are difficult in terms of content, and yet important both in theoretical and utilitarian terms; contemporary issues, which are *in statu nascendi*, and not much described in social sciences. The author undertook to explore difficult issues, and at the same time complex and controversial. Namely, he examines the place and role of the group of 20 richest players in the world (G20), as a collective actor on the global scene in the processes of global governance. Already in the introduction of the reviewed work the author rightly notes that it is an important 'forum between states and non-state actors in global governance' (p. 9) and exerts a significant impact on the development of globalization, the acceleration of which took place at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries.

As the author points out later, the main goal of the reviewed book is ‘the analysis of the functioning of the G20 at the level of Heads of State (G20 Leaders) as a relatively new, existing since 2008, club of international cooperation, which is also a systemic centre of a global network of connections’ (p. 10). At the same the author focuses his attention not only on showing the genesis of the G20, its evolution and legal basis, structure, mission, principles of operation and objectives, but he also tries to answer many questions concerning international reality and ways of controlling and managing it. Among other things, he tries to explain the essence of global governance and to show its multifaceted (political, economic, social, cultural) context and dimension, referring to various paradigms and theoretical approaches. Furthermore, the author attempts to answer questions about the future of the world (new international order) and its foundations, with particular emphasis on the role of the group of G20 in its construction and functioning. In the reviewed treatise the author also devoted much attention to the search for answers to questions concerning the methods and means necessary to attain the objectives pursued by the G20 and its future.

The reviewed work consists of the introduction, three main parts, divided into multiple chapters and subchapters, conclusions, bibliography and lists of tables, figures and case studies. And thus, the first part, entitled “Globalne zarządzanie w perspektywie konceptualnej i teoretycznej” [‘Global governance in the conceptual and theoretical perspective’] consists of four extensive chapters. It has a general-theoretical nature and is an interesting introduction to the further analysis. The author presents here the essence of contemporary globalization and on the basis of it analyzes the processes of global governance, its conditions, participants and importance for the evolution of the international system which heads in the direction of the multipolar and multicultural world. Of particular interest is here – in my opinion – the fourth chapter, entitled “Globalne zarządzanie” w perspektywie teoretycznej” [‘Global governance in the theoretical perspective’], where Mark Rewizorski analyzes global management in the perspectives of liberalism, constructivism and transnational historical materialism.

The second part, entitled “G20 jako aktor globalnego zarządzania” [‘G20 as an actor in global governance’] consists of only two but very extensive chapters. As the title suggests, it is devoted to the genesis of this group of countries and entities belonging to it, such as the European Union and its role in global governance. It is worth reminding here that the members of the G20 are highly developed, democratic Western countries led by the United States and the so-called emerging powers led by China and the already mentioned

European Union. This part of the reviewed work is its substantive core and concerns its basic, adopted by the author hypothesis, according to which the G20 Leaders', which was established in 2008 as an important centre of economic cooperation on the global scale, and although today it operates quite effectively internationally, it is still it is not a central structure for other key players in global governance led by the United Nations.

Marek Rewizorski in the reviewed book, following many outstanding researchers of contemporary international relations, such as, among others, Andrew Cooper, John Kirton and Paul Martin, is of the opinion that the G20 is one of the main, but not the most important structure of global governance. In this part of the reviewed work, the second chapter, entitled "G20 w perspektywie konceptualnej i teoretycznej" ['G20 in the conceptual and theoretical perspective'] is particularly difficult, yet valuable. The author's theoretical reflections and conclusions about the G20 and its role in global governance, contained in this chapter, considerably fill the gap on this issue in the current Polish and foreign literature.

In the third part of the reviewed work, entitled "G20 w praktyce. Przebieg i rezultaty szczytów na poziomie przywódców państw (2008–2010)" ['G20 in practice. The course and the results of summits at the level of Heads of State (2008–2010)'], consisting of five chapters, Mark Rewizorski examines the rationale and effects of the successive first five summits of leaders of the G20 in Washington, London, Pittsburgh, Toronto and Seoul in the years 2008–2010, that is from the creation of this specific institutions in 2008 to the summit in 2010 in Seoul, dedicated to the fight against the global financial and economic crisis. They were, as the author carefully describes their course, devoted to the search for methods and ways to effectively combat such global problems as unemployment, international terrorism, climate change and other threats to the environment of man, energy and raw material crisis and demographic problems. The author shows here that in the years 2008–2010 the G20 strengthened and even became a centre of global governance, and also a kind of an agora where national interests of individual countries clash and compromises on matters of importance for the whole world are reached.

I would also like to draw attention to the synthetic, yet substantial conclusion of the reviewed work, in which the author summarizes the results of his research, emphasizing in conclusion that: 'The research presented in this work confirms the hypothesis according to which the G20 at the level of Heads of State in the years 2008–2010 became a centre of economic cooperation on the global scale, it works more and more efficiently and goes beyond the role of an "anti-crisis committee". Playing the role of one of

the most important centres of the global network structure, being a forum for dialogue between states and non-state actors in global governance, it coordinates and sometimes moderates the functioning of international institutions led by the G8, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. It is difficult to argue that at the present stage of development the G20 is a structure superior to the United Nations and the system created by this organization. (...) It cannot be excluded that further activism of the G20 (e.g. in the field of international security and preventing climate change) will be regarded by the UN as a challenge to the supremacy of the United Nations system, due to which the latter organization will seek “allies” among small and medium countries outside the Gx system’ (p. 352).

The reviewed work was prepared on the basis of a broad source database, which is evidenced by the extensive bibliography consisting of 24 pages. Apart from the literature on the subject, the author used a number of published documents, including documents concerning the subsequent G20 summits, and press releases and websites on this subject.

As I have written, the reviewed book fills a gap in the literature on the subject, especially when it comes to political science and law studies on the subject. Its originality and scholarly values are determined by the adopted methodology and the interpretation of the results obtained by the author in the course of his empirical research. The comparative approach and the use of many other test methods, among others, systemic, institutional and legal ones, the historical content analysis and the decision analysis allowed the author to objectively diagnose the international reality and show the participation of the G20 in its management.

In conclusion, I believe that the reviewed work should reach not only specialists, but also the political elite in the country and abroad, as well as students, postgraduate students and journalists, because we still have too little knowledge about the problems which the author analyzes on the pages of the reviewed work, which, all in all, I rate very highly in every regard. It represents a significant contribution to the development of social sciences, especially political sciences.

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