Dariusz Grzybek, *Rosnąca współzależność. Geneza rządzenia światowego*, Instytut Spraw Publicznych UJ, Kraków 2019, pp. 135

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In face of the growing antagonisms between the leading global powers and the increasingly clear polarization of the global system, the idealism seems to be losing popularity among international relations researchers. The lack of consensus on the important issues of the modern world, the paralysis of the United Nations caused by the particular interests of the permanent members of the Security Council, and destabilization of the key geopolitical regions negatively affect the likelihood of creating a unified global government in the coming years.

Dariusz Grzybek, in his book *Rosnąca współzależność. Geneza rządzenia światowego* [Growing Interdependence: The Genesis of Global Governance], undertakes the difficult task of analyzing the possibility of creating supranational power structures in the contemporary global or-

der, which would transform the international community into a hierarchical superstate. However, the author successfully avoids the trap of “wishful thinking” and the selective approach towards objective premises and presents his concept not as a description of the actual state of the international system nor its inevitable destiny, but as the most pragmatic path for its participants. Assuming their rationality, Grzybek conducts analysis on the ground of capitalistic logic and arguments for the unification of the international society as the most profitable outcome.

The author in his book approaches the problem with an institutional and systemic methods. A significant part of the work is also devoted to historical analysis, serving both as an expansion and presentation of individual aspects of his hypothesis. The book is divided into an introduction, four chapters, and a conclusion. This structure is logical and based on the topical order. The first chapter presents the theoretical de-

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terminants of the author's concept, which are based on the three major processes of the 21st century: the growth of international trade, democratization, and the warfare disappearance. The second chapter presents the history of two waves of globalization distinguished by the author: in the nineteenth and the twenty-first centuries. The third and fourth chapters serve as a presentation of contemporary international organizations – global and local, respectively, which, in author's opinion, are of particular importance for the emerging supranational management structure.

Grzybek presents an interesting take on the issue of creating a world government. It can be defined as a pragmatic approach based on an idealistic paradigm. The concept in an original way predicts the regionalization of the world at the level of united continents, which in turn would be coordinated by universal organizations, primarily the UN. The author also analyzes – based on the logic of capitalism – weaknesses of this scenario and points to its main economic and political issues that might interrupt the process. According to the author, it is economics and profit and loss, not ideas and values, that constitute the main causative factor for the formation of a world government. He does not underestimate the impact of the growing popularity of the ideas of democracy or human rights, however, also in their case, he points to their pragmatic dimension. Such an approach allows Grzybek to avoid dogmatism, which often characterize works related to axiological issues.

The image of the globalization itself, as presented by the author, is also worth attention. As mentioned, Grzybek distinguishes its two phases, which, he argues, are in fact the same process based on the rational action of participants focused on maximizing profits. The era of world wars which separated both phases is, in the author's opinion, its contradiction: an era based on ideology and emotions, instead of calculation. Such an approach is a very interesting, though not devoid of controversy, way to present the global convergence of values and the creation of grid of international bonds. Grzybek's portrayal of the process has therefore much wider perspective than its contemporary image, which is almost exclusively based on the Benjamin Barber's work.

The book, however, does not avoid issues that raise some reservations. First of all, the concept of Grzybek is based on quite controversial foundations. While two of the three processes (democratization and development of trade ties) do not raise any major objections to their actual existence, it is difficult to agree with the author on the disappearance of wars in the 21st century. In his opinion, as a result of both the creation of a network of international trade ties and the transfer of the decision-making center from an individual to a democratic collective, armed conflicts between sovereign states ceased to take place in the 21st century. As an example of the last armed conflict, he points to the Iraqi war of 2003, which, in the face of the failure of the stabilization mission, discouraged states from engaging

in military operations among themselves. Conflicts that occurred after the Operation Iraqi Freedom are classified by the author only as internal conflicts and civil wars. This approach seems to be too far-reaching in its interpretation. Both in terms of power rivalry and securing the particular interests of states, armed conflicts are still a major instrument of foreign policy. Despite their smaller scale and greater propensity to use proxy and hybrid warfare, armed conflicts are still an integral part of international anarchy. Moreover, they seem to be a manifestation and not the cause of divergent interests of the participants of the international system, which speaks in favor of the still dominant role of the traditional statehood.

One may also have some reservations about the presented vision of continental reunification. Even in the case of a stable and wealthy region such as Europe, the plurality of national interests, cultural di-

vergences and diversity in approach to global issues is so strong that continent's actual unification still seems quite distant and undecided. A similar scenario is almost completely impossible to implement in regions such as Africa or Asia, due to the vast majority of disintegrating factors (such as strong, sometimes even violent rivalry between its major powers) over integrating ones. Such a disturbance in the process of forming a world government could consequently lead to a certain double-track in the international system integration, which, in a sense, contradicts the author's concept.

Grzybek's work brings valuable input to the international relations study. His approach shows a model of possible, but not decisive path for the modern global community. It also brings innovative concept to idealism, which does not contradict its fundamentals, but offers different explanation of its principles.