these, it offers thought-provoking interpretations that challenge existing literatures. However, the lack of an overarching theoretical and conceptual framework to organize the book's inquiry, and the lack of any concentrated regional focus with regard to countries of the South, contribute to the book reading more like a set of studies held together by a shared theme rather than functioning as structured case analyses. These lead the book to eventually offer a broad set of general historical observations, more so than advance any specific theoretical or historical argument about East-South relations or Cold War international political economy. Nonetheless, this criticism should not be seen as detracting from the value of the important historical work Trecker has accomplished in this book, whose contributions will be of relevance to global and regional historians, and scholars of globalization and international political economy.

Sara Lorenzini: Global Development. A Cold War History. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019, 296 pp.

Reviewed by
Bence Kocsev, Budapest

Sara Lorenzini's monograph is a quite recent work bringing valuable new perspectives into the promising corpus of research that has been flourishing in the last years on the broader topic of international development and its global history.[1] Delving into the many sources becoming available in the research field, these studies provide insightful narratives and open up new avenues of research and commentary for the historiography of development. One of the important yields of these studies is that they look beyond American perspectives and consider initiatives coming from different actors to be decisive in the evolution of the international development regime of the Cold War while investigating the complex connections and interactions that these actors produced.

Against this background, the volume under review adopts an innovative approach that seeks to tease out a more a more critical analysis from the contexts within which these policies unfolded in the second half of the twentieth century. Impressive in its scope and depth, Lorenzini's book certainly deserves a prominent place in this discourse. Joining a growing body of research, the book shows that the Cold War was a far more comprehensive conflict that went far beyond military and diplomatic conflicts and clashes, taking on many other facets, including a fierce economic and social rivalry. From this viewpoint, as David Engerman suggests, development politics is essentially the result of the interaction of national and international power struggles.[2]

When analysing the forty years of Cold War development, the book speaks to so many points that it is impossible to summarize its main messages within the limits of this review, and it is much less possible to comment on them with the prominence they deserve. For these reasons, I will just highlight a few selective ones.

In Lorenzini's convincing analysis, international development serves as a cen-

tral condition of the Cold War. By using development as an operationalization framework, the book provides a sweeping overview of the complex histories of the post-World War II period and thereby – as reflected in its title – offers a rather new reading of the history of the Cold War. In the author's narrative, international development initiatives and policy objectives not only contributed to "bloc consolidation and solidarity" (and were thus powerful tools used within the superpower rivalry), but also rather were reflective of and substantially shaped the structures of the Cold War. Accordingly, development was not just a byproduct but rather a conditio sine qua non of Cold War politics and thus is one of the most useful prisms through which this period can be examined.

In temporal terms, the book covers the four decades of Cold War development, from the dissolution of the empires starting in the late 1940s to the rise of the Washington Consensus during the "lost decade" of the 1980s. The book shows the specific evolution of these policies, which peaked in the 1950s and 1960s and started to decrease from the 1970s onwards once the many illusions about the effectiveness of development projects gradually started to wane. Notably, the book pays particular attention to the often neglected decade of the 1970s by demonstrating that this period "offered an array of radical alternatives" (p. 107). Such an inclusion helps to better understand why this decade was decisive in the transformation of the world order and how the failure of these alternatives led eventually to the strong revival of (neoliberal) capitalism, with obvious ramifications for the fate of both the post-colonial world as well as the socialist bloc.

In addition, the author devotes an entire chapter to nuance our understanding of this decade by showing how development policies and the increasingly growing discontent with the prospects of growth were entangled with and exacerbated by broader issues like environmentalism and human rights. This is one of the most innovative chapters in the book, which discusses historical considerations that are particularly useful nowadays too, as environmental debates are central to current international development policies. Perspectives from post-colonial contexts – and how they influenced and cross-fertilized both capitalist and socialist theories and policies – deserved more elaboration, however.

Nonetheless, international development is certainly not a Cold War phenomenon, though it indeed acquired a special significance and role during this period. Therefore, to set the stage Lorenzini traces the foundations of international development back to approaches and experiences that were mostly entangled with imperialistic aspirations and colonial reforms (technopolitical and other welfare projects) within the wider context of the white man's supremacy and racial politics. Development then became the zeitgeist of the interwar years throughout the non-colonial world, with notable manifestations like the Tennessee Valley Authority projects within the framework of the New Deal and the many experiences of totalitarian regimes from Germany to Italy to the Soviet Union.

Following mainstream periodization, Lorenzini sees the Cold War context as the essential political setting for and understands Harry S. Truman's inaugural speech (which he gave to commence his second presidential term on 20 January 1949) as

the beginning of the age of development. The famous fourth point of the speech – calling for the "improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas" – introduced a new tool for furthering the Cold War competition, thereby leading to the inclusion of the development issue into global politics. In the following decades, development became one of the major preoccupations of political and scientific circles. When discussing the study of underdeveloped areas, one might have a feeling that this subchapter could have been expanded to include more about this topic. While Lorenzini states that an "emerging epistemic community came to exist around the issue of development" (p. 29), she only discusses these efforts in a very limited way.

In addition, the topic of knowledge production does not appear (at least not in a systematic way) elsewhere in the book. Although scholars quickly responded to the new demands for knowledge, particularly in economics – with academic efforts on development issues increasing on both sides of the Iron Curtain and giving rise to new and versatile research agendas – the book contains very little about the significance of these attempts. To be fair, Lorenzini puts a spotlight on some of the most important theoreticians (like Tinbergen, Myrdal, Rostow, Hirschmann, Rosenstein-Rodan, Prebisch, and Lewis, to name a few), which undoubtedly helps to understand the intellectual atmosphere of the period under scrutiny. However, it is a bit regrettable that she only tangentially further mentions important scholars and pays less attention to the many topics that emerged within these scientific communities in the 1960s and 1970s.

By understanding international development as a decisive factor in determining the dynamics of the (economic) Cold War, the book nuances our knowledge on this era in a number of ways. Analysing the complex "galaxy of actors" (p. 172), as well as the goals, means, dimensions, and structures of development, the book focuses on three main issues. First, as was already mentioned, it argues that the Cold War was fundamental in influencing and molding development policies and vice versa. Second, despite global claims, development policies were carried out in national frameworks and designed to serve national interests both on the donor and the recipient side. Third, the idea that universal development methods and standards could be established and these could be globally applied turned out to be rather illusory.

To prove these statements, the book singles out and features a number of key actors who had established different projects of development and had their own networks, institutions, and even specific histories. Lorenzini brings together a huge range of experience and knowledge to showcase the "multiple, often incompatible modernities" (p. 107) that were prevailing during the Cold War and to introduce the many protagonists of her narrative. It is particularly interesting how the author juxtaposes their projects and institutionalization with each other to add context and subtlety to the "political, intellectual and economic history of the twentieth century through the lens of development" (p. 3).

Analysing the dynamics of international development policies, the author leads us through the rich diversity of concepts and the variety of approaches and shows how they adapted themselves to chang-

ing historical circumstances. On this level, she tells the well-known story about the rise and fall of development. However, her interpretation offers some new and unique insights. While emphasizing the "plural history" (p. 170) – that is to say, the multiplicity and co-presence of various development approaches and ways of world-making – the author especially takes into account valuable perspectives from European capitalist and socialist countries' development policies, which have (until recently) been ignored by historians.

In this context, it is particularly interesting how the author looks beyond the activities of the Cold War superpowers and examines the intervention of allies on both sides of the Iron Curtain into development efforts for winning the hearts and minds around the world. She clearly demonstrates that both the non-Soviet members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) had their own priorities and ambitions and that their diverging interests sometimes led to friction within these integration approaches. Focusing on the socialist perspective, Lorenzini shows how the commonly shared anti-imperialist solidarity (often but not always intertwined with socialist sentiments) was molded into various forms of cooperation between the East and the South after Khrushchev's Thaw and thus how the two worlds became increasingly entangled in the collective attempt to create alternative modernities to the capitalist ones.

Of great value is the author's assessment of the EEC, which "rarely shows up in economic histories of the Cold War" although the EEC promoted a "third way of development" (p. 7). Framing their approach as something essentially "complementary with nonalignment" (pp. 147–48), as well as with initiatives like the Lomé Convention, which was hailed as a new framework for cooperation between the developed and developing countries, and the Euro-Arab Dialogue, the EEC appeared on the scene as a new actor in the field of development, particularly at a time when the major players, the United States and the Soviet Union, started to lose their appeal as development partners.

Notably, she conceptualizes development, on the one hand, as a meaningful tool for these "junior allies" to achieve certain foreign policy goals and, on the other hand, as a means to distance themselves from the power centres of the Cold War – thereby joining the discussion on the monolithicity of these blocs. From this vantage point, it is also not surprising that while – on the surface – these development policies were ideologically loaded and supposed to serve global and hegemonic agendas, in reality they ended up assisting national goals, which often led to internal tension within both of the blocs. A deeper dive into post-socialist archives other than the ones concerned with the former German Democratic Republic would have likely yielded even more insights, but it is hard to fault any researcher for not being able to master these languages.

In broadening her analysis by bringing in more perspectives and viewpoints, the author further includes other actors, like international organizations (especially United Nations agencies) and China, both of which promoted alternative ideas and provided influential frameworks for development vis-á-vis the ones formulated by the superpowers and traditional European

donors. Regarding the latter actor, the description of China's growing influence – on Julius Nyerere's Tanzania as a case study – is a particularly valuable part of the book as it shows how Beijing's emphasis on self-reliance and its unconditional development cooperation that demanded fewer resources and produced quicker results found sympathetic ears among postcolonial nations.

In the larger context of China's current alternative globalizing efforts, the historical insights offered by this book are paramount to understanding the country's current role and policies in Africa and more generally in the Global South. It is a further merit of the book that it examines the agency of the recipient countries and gives space to the voices of the Global South, though this could have been expanded as crucial actors and important moments are mentioned only vaguely. To the delight of the current reviewer, the discussion on the so-called New International Economic Order (NIEO), however, received its well-deserved place in the author's narrative.

Throughout the book, Lorenzini maintains a realist approach, showing that development strategies were implemented inside national frameworks and aimed at suiting national self-interests and that they were closely tied to the security concerns of the Cold War great powers, who continually sought to push the development agenda to align with their foreign policy interests. According to the author, development policies intensified and fuelled global competition rather than weakened it and exacerbated problems rather than resolved them. Even international organizations, which "defined development in homogeneous and universal terms" (p. 170) and which were supposed to foster global solutions, failed to obtain such results because their initiatives often fell short due to the anarchic nature of the international arena. The NIEO, for instance, met resistance from both the majority of the capitalist and socialist countries, which remained reluctant to cooperate with the post-colonial countries by sticking to their own narratives of world-making.

Even though after the end of the Cold War the era of development was doctrinally declared as passé by stating that it would be replaced by the epoch of globalization, which would solve all the problems the previous decades were unable to successfully tackle, this prophecy turned out to be false and the field of development studies has recently been undergoing a renewal, together with the historical accounts dealing with the phenomenon.[3] This reignited interest – often within the context of globalization debate – aims to explore and establish a new paradigm of global development. Looking beyond the Cold War, the author makes a few interesting comments on how the "institutions, concepts, and discourse around foreign aid" (p. 172) survived. Readers, however, might want to learn more about how these legacies have been cropping up until today.

The book is a comprehensive and eminent effort, which the history of development certainly deserved. Writing the global history of development is, however, both a risky and courageous undertaking, as the author should carefully steer between the Scylla of providing broad thematic insights and the Charybdis of readability. Lorenzini solves this admirably by skillfully weaving together and expanding the author's earlier studies on the Cold War

while also offering a new framework for the conceptualization of these efforts.
Its scope and depth, the compelling archival evidence, the many footnotes, and the extensive bibliography make the volume a very valuable contribution to the field. The book is well written, with a structure that is logically organized and an argumentation that is easy to follow. Reiterating the opinions of many earlier reviewers, Global Development is a thorough and accessible account of a very complex and important topic. It is an essential reading that deserves a wide (both scholarly and general) readership and that should be on the shelves of everyone interested in the topic of international development specifically and of the Cold War more generally. Regarding the format of the book, there is perhaps one little annoyance: it is not very clear why only three illustrations were included in the book and what might be the rationale behind the selection. In my view, it would have been a better idea to either choose multiple images for each of the chapters or completely omit them.

Notes
1 See, e.g., D. C. Engerman, The Price of Aid: The Economic Cold War in India, Cambridge, MA 2018; C. R. Unger, International Development: A Postwar History, London 2018; S. J. Macekura/E. Manela (eds.), The Development Century: A Global History, Cambridge 2018; A. C. Offner, Sorting out the Mixed Economy: The Rise and Fall of Welfare and Development States in the Americas, Princeton 2019.
2 D. C. Engerman, Development Politics and the Cold War, in: Diplomatic History 41 (2017) 1, p. 19.
3 About the end of development prophecy, see W. Sachs, Introduction, in: ibid. (ed.), The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power. London 1992, p. 1.

Elijah Nyaga Munyi / David Mwambari / Aleksi Ylönen (eds.): Beyond History. African Agency in Development, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution, New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020, 243 pp.

Reviewed by
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Here is an interesting contribution to the burgeoning literature on African agency – although the topic itself, of course, is anything but new (think of the debates in the late 1960s on how independent African states made their imprint in the UN General Assembly or the British Commonwealth), the more recent debate only started a few years ago with a collection on African Agency in International Politics, edited by William Brown and Sophie Harman.[1] In their edited volume *Beyond History. African Agency in Development, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution*, Elijah Nyaga Munyi, David Mwambari and Aleksi Ylönen offer a refreshing assemblage of thirteen chapters which look at "state agency" and "non-state agency" of African actors in global affairs – thereby also trying to go beyond the state-centric perspective which thus far has dominated the debate. This has to be read against recent important contributions to the debate, including Paul Bischoff's *African Foreign Policies: Selecting Signifiers to Explain Agency*, Abiodun Aloa's *A New Narrative for Africa: Voice and Agency* or Katharina P. Coleman and Thomas Kwasi Tieku's *African Actors*