

Conceptual and Historical Foundations of Foreign Aid

Daniel Markovits¹, Austin Strange², Dustin Tingley³

Abstract: Foreign aid is a policy instrument of limited budgetary scope that nonetheless generates highly contentious debate. Yet while the contemporary scholarly literature almost exclusively considers aid in the post-World War II era, we argue that also considering aid in earlier periods of history helps to better understand the broader politics of foreign aid. Neglect of deeper foreign aid history specifically produces three misconceptions: that foreign aid is a uniquely modern policy instrument, that foreign aid is relatively homogenous in donor intent, and that foreign aid's scope is primarily focused on the contemporary humanitarian interventions upon which the bulk of scholarly analysis is centered. These oversights disincentivize more robust debates about the efficacy of foreign aid from the perspective of donors, which are often limited to simply asking whether donors pursue national interests. We attempt to decompose donor interests by offering a typology that links foreign aid with the international political status quo. We assess this framework through a sampling of historical instances of foreign aid. Specifically, we document historical examples of foreign aid pre-Marshall Plan and define and sub-categorize them in terms of donor intent. We discuss how the relative salience of different types of donor intent has evolved throughout history, which helps explain and contextualize the current state of debate about foreign aid in the scholarly and policy communities.

¹ BA Candidate, Lafayette College

² Ph.D. Candidate, Government Department, Harvard University

³ Professor of Government, Harvard University

1) Introduction

“Of the seeming and real innovations which the modern age has introduced into the practice of foreign policy, none has proven more baffling to both understanding and action than foreign aid.” --Hans Morgenthau, 1962

Morgenthau (1962)’s treatment of foreign aid as a new phenomenon in international relations, while written over 50 years ago, reflects the persistent absence of historical context in contemporary academic and policy debates about aid. The Marshall Plan put in place by the U.S. following World War II is typically perceived as the birthplace of foreign aid as an instrument of foreign policy. In particular, the field of development economics, arguably the largest and most influential area of contemporary foreign aid research, tends to neglect pre-20th century foreign aid as an important subject of mainstream inquiry (Edwards 2015).⁴

Empirically, however, the historical roots of foreign aid predate the Marshall plan by centuries, even millennia. Pre- and early modern history contain innumerable examples of how decision makers from diverse political systems and geographic regions employed foreign aid as a political tool in world politics. Indeed, for much of pre-modern and early modern political history, foreign aid was regularly deployed as an important foreign policy tool, and one that was often employed with as little regard for humanitarian impact as any military action. Historically, foreign aid allocation has often been closely linked to the status quo in international politics. As we will describe in detail, European and non-European powers deployed foreign aid to restore, maintain or revise the geopolitical status quo throughout different periods of history prior to the 20th century. We provide example cases across a wide range of time periods and regions to demonstrate these donor objectives. Specifically, we document cases of status quo restoration in Greek city states and post-Westphalian Europe. We describe various instances of status quo maintenance in China, Rome, and elsewhere. Aid to upset the status quo cases include French and British aid to America during the revolutionary period as well as World War I-Germany. To demonstrate how our simple typology of donor interests stretches across different time periods to the current day, we provide modern analogs for each of these categories.

Do omitted cases of foreign aid in history matter for contemporary research on the subject? Our answer is yes. Specifically, in this paper we attempt to show how accounting for historical cases

⁴ There are notable exceptions. For instance, scholars have suggested that contemporary foreign aid has its origins in 19th century outward assistance policies pursued by the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US), and that while premodern antecedents of aid existed, these were typically elite transfers rather than donor attempts to benefit recipient societies at large (Hjertholm and White 2000). Others emphasize the colonial origins of foreign aid, such as the UK’s 1929 Colonial Development Act, which set a precedent for European governments funding development projects in their colonies (Eyben 2014). Some consider pre-Marshall Plan U.S. foreign aid in their analysis but remain focused on how to deliver aid more effectively (Picard and Buss 2009). As others point out, Post-War beliefs about development and how to engage with the developing world were socially constructed ideas contingent on specific experiences prior and during that period, in particular those conditioned on the American liberal experience (Packenham 1973). In general, however, most see the period immediately after World War II as a “convenient starting point” for the history of foreign aid (Easterly 2002).

can enrich our understanding of the broad palette of strategic donor interests that have motivated aid provision in world history. This is an important point because, in addition to circumscribing the study of aid to 20th-century cases, extant research on foreign aid theoretically and empirically often discounts the interests of donors. Donor self-interest, while widely accepted as an important explanatory factor in aid allocation, is poorly conceptualized relative to other outcomes in the international development literature such as growth, conflict, and other recipient-side outcomes. We argue that these trends in the literature are likely related, and that a greater appreciation for pre-contemporary foreign aid in international politics can improve our understanding of how donors deploy aid flows to pursue a variety of strategic objectives in international politics. Our analysis also helps shed light on where the current state of foreign aid stands relative to other historical periods. Only since World War II has foreign aid allocation and research on aid evolved into a humanitarian exercise focused on development and the interests of aid-recipients.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. First we document how mainstream foreign aid research neglects historical cases and donor interests. We provide a broad definition of foreign aid that facilitates linking contemporary and historical cases for our analysis, and introduce a theory of donor intent that connects aid allocation with the international political status quo. This produces a simple typology of three categories of donor intent: status quo restoration, status quo maintenance, and status quo disruption. Next, we survey historical and contemporary cases of aid allocation that fall into each of the three categories to demonstrate how our theory of donor intent is generalizable to historical and modern aid. Finally, we explain how the salience of each of these types of aid has evolved throughout history. We discuss the limitations of our study and suggest ways to further enrich contemporary aid debates using historical cases.

2) Literature

While Morgenthau (1962)'s seminal article ignores the historical roots of this foreign policy tool, it posits that nearly all aid is political. Since then, the foreign aid literature as a whole has increasingly moved away from donor interests. Researchers have long noted an "intellectual vacuum" of donor motivations in the aid literature (Schneider, Hook and Taylor 1998). On the one hand, researchers almost universally perceive donor interests as crucial to understanding the post-World War II foreign aid regime.⁵ For example, scholars have provided abundant empirical evidence that donor strategic interests drive foreign aid allocation (Alesina and Dollar 2000; Kuziemko and Werker 2006; Dreher et al. 2009).⁶ The end of the Cold War has often been perceived as an important discontinuity for aid donor motivations. Meernik, Krueger and Poe (1998) find that security-driven objectives have become less prominent in post-Cold War U.S. foreign aid allocation, which has shifted more heavily towards domestic ideological goals such as democracy promotion. Dunning (2004) suggests that aid conditionality imposed by

⁵ Though some scholars argue that the role of moral norms among donors has been underappreciated (Lumsdaine 1993)

⁶ Across diverse donors, concessional types of aid such as official development assistance (ODA) are typically found to be more directly linked to foreign policy interests, such as voting alignment between countries, than less concessional forms of development finance (Alesina and Dollar 2000; Dreher et al. Forthcoming).

pro-democracy Western donors became more credible after the Cold War.⁷ Another “cutpoint” for the evolution of donor aid motivations in contemporary history is the War on Terror beginning in 2001.⁸ One analysis finds that U.S. aid allocation since 2001 has focused less on recipient economic or humanitarian need and more on a specific type of national security interest: anti-terrorism (Fleck and Kilby 2010) (Milner and Tingley 2013) (Milner and Tingley 2015).⁹ However, while donor self-interest is almost universally recognized as an important factor for aid allocation, the specific donor motivations driving aid flows are under-conceptualized.

In addition to being under-conceptualized, donor interests have been heavily discounted in contemporary aid research in favor of recipient-side outcomes. Debates about whether aid “works” typically pivot on whether recipients are benefitting from foreign aid. Donor interests are often barely considered or assumed to be in line with humanitarian or developmental goals. Overwhelmingly, the most well known and oft-cited publications on foreign aid have tended to discuss the extent to which aid benefits recipient societies (Boone 1996; Alesina and Weder 1999; Easterly 2003; Moyo 2009). We examined aggregate trends in publications on foreign aid in Google Scholar and found a significant trend among the most cited articles towards analyzing the effectiveness of aid from the viewpoint of the recipient rather than the intentions and goals of donor states. This narrowly focused approach to foreign aid misrepresents the role of aid as a foreign policy tool for donor states. Further, we found that the most frequently cited papers tended to assume donor intentions based upon public signals, leading to a disproportionate focus on humanitarian assistance.

In addition to focusing on a narrow range of aid, foreign aid scholarship has tended to accept as a given the oft-expressed theory that foreign aid originated as an instrument of state policy in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. Specifically, the most frequently cited foreign aid articles have failed to address historical foreign aid in their abstracts. This lack of historical focus, as well as the paucity of donor focused scholarship is illustrated in the table 1.

Citation	Citations	Significant Discussion of Broader Donor Motivations	Pre-1945 Aid Discussed	Non-Humanitarian/Development Aid Discussed	Categories Addressed
Boone, P. (1996)	1776	No	No	No	0

⁷ Without U.S.-U.S.S.R. great power rivalry overshadowing aid allocation, donors could more credibly focus on democracy promotion, making it less likely that aid would create moral hazard where dictators simply use aid to control their societies. An important qualification of this research agenda is that use of different econometric models by scholars have produced significantly different findings on what factors are most important for explaining donor motivations (Lai 2003).

⁸ Analysts pondered whether fighting terrorism would realign the foreign policies of Western countries, including overseas development programs, towards a more security-centric orientation (Buzan 2006).

⁹ Even controlling for periods when U.S. leadership was Republican, which is typically associated with smaller foreign aid budgets, American foreign aid increased significantly at the onset of the War on Terror, but disproportionately for higher income recipients. Other related work includes contributions to Milner and Tingley 2013 and Milner and Tingley 2015.

Alesina, A., & Dollar, D. (2000)	2787	Yes	No	No	1
Alesina, A., & Weder, B. (1999)	1171	No	No	No	0
Easterly, W. (2003).	1083	No	No	No	0
Svensson, J. (2000).	819	No	No	No	0
Riddell, R. C. (2009).	996	No	No	Yes	1
Papanek, G. F. (1973)	549	No	No	Yes	1
Dalgaard, C. J., Hansen, H., & Tarp, F. (2004)	837	No	No	No	0
Bräutigam, D. A., & Knack, S. (2004)	818	No	No	No	0
McKinnon, R. I. (1964)	630	No	No	No	0
Morgenthau, H. (1962)	570	Yes	No	Yes	2
Knack, S. (2004)	549	No	No	No	0
Schraeder, P. J., Hook, S. W., & Taylor, B. (1998)	587	Yes	No	Yes	2
Kuziemko, I., & Werker, E. (2006)	552	Yes	No	Yes	2
Feyzioglu, T., Swaroop, V., & Zhu, M. (1998)	526	No	No	Yes	1
Tavares, J. (2003)	351	No	No	No	0
Svensson, J. (2000)	466	No	No	No	0
Pack, H., & Pack, J. R. (1993)	357	No	No	No	0
Easterly, W. (2002)	513	No	No	No	0
Dollar, D., & Levin, V. (2006)	373	No	No	No	0
Woods, N. (2005)	230	Yes	No	Yes	2
Pack, H., & Pack, J. R. (1990)	241	No	No	No	0

Easterly, W., & Pfutze, T. (2008)	413	No	No	No	0
Raffer, K., & Singer, H. W. (1996)	199	Yes	No	No	1
Dudley, L., & Montmarquette, C. (1976)	295	No	No	No	0
Meernik, J., Krueger, E. L., & Poe, S. C. (1998)	334	Yes	No	Yes	0
Cingranelli, D. L., & Pasquarello, T. E. (1985)	308	Yes	No	No	1
Bhagwati, J., & Eckaus, R. S. (1970)	48	No	No	No	0
Pallage, S., & Robe, M. A. (2001)	270	No	No	No	0
Radelet, S. (2006)	257	Yes	No	No	1
Remmer, K. L. (2004)	263	No	No	No	0
Goldsmith, A. A. (2001)	246	No	No	No	0
Noël, A., & Thérien, J. P. (1995)	259	Yes	No	No	1
Swaroop, V., & Devarajan, S. (1998)	180	No	No	No	0
Milner & Tingley (2010)	156	Yes	No	Yes	6

Table 1: This table was assembled by analysing the most cited papers in Google Scholar by the keyword “foreign aid.” The abstract of each paper was then read to check for significant discussion of non-assumed donor motivations, pre-1945 foreign aid and aid intended for a purpose other than humanitarian assistance or development. If the abstract was vague or unclear the paper itself was analysed for the presence of these topics.

3) An Historical and Categorical Analysis of Foreign Aid

Why History?

In contrast to what the existing scholarly record suggests, foreign aid has long served as a vital and multi-purpose tool of statecraft throughout the world. Historically, foreign aid allocation has often been closely linked to the status quo in international politics. As we will describe in detail, European powers deployed foreign aid to restore, maintain or revise the geopolitical status quo throughout the early modern era. Similarly, official government aid was an important policy tool of imperial Chinese regimes as early as the Zhou Dynasty (1100-221 B.C.) to impact the status quo both within and beyond the empire. Indeed, for much of pre-modern and early modern political history, foreign aid was regularly deployed as an important foreign policy tool, and one that was often employed with as little regard for humanitarian impact as any military action. Only since World War II has foreign aid allocation and research on aid evolved into a humanitarian exercise focused on development and the interests of aid-recipients.

Are these historical cases, many of which occurred before the emergence of the Westphalian states system, important for contemporary understandings of foreign aid? Our answer is yes. In this article, we argue that scholarly and policy discourse on aid has been largely ahistorical and, as a result, relatively a-strategic from the perspective of donor interests. Accounting for historical uses of foreign aid can help shed light on nuanced donor objectives rooted in international politics. The “development turn” in the study of foreign aid since World War II has disincentivized theoretical and empirical exploration of the effectiveness of foreign aid as a foreign policy tool. On the one hand, emphasis on recipient development makes it difficult to explain the utility of foreign aid to publics and other important audiences. On the other hand, the current literature on foreign aid is ill-equipped to answer some of the most pressing research questions on the future of foreign aid, such as how the United States and other “status quo” donors should respond to the rise of new donors throughout the developing world. Moreover, failure to acknowledge the historical record of foreign aid skews current aid rhetoric in unhelpful ways. For example, scholars and pundits increasingly argue that the emergence of “new donors” such as China, Russia and other non-Western countries is challenging a status quo of relatively altruistic, humanitarian aid giving. We demonstrate that the current perceptions of the post-War aid system is far from historically representative, and that aid has been used for centuries for impacting the geopolitical status quo. By bringing a wide sampling of historical cases into mainstream discussions about foreign aid, we can sharpen our understanding of donor interests and strategies in deploying foreign aid that have been consistent across diverse regimes and historical periods.

Within the United States the public discourse surrounding foreign aid reflects a degree of convoluted and inaccuracy that is absent in the discussion of any comparable policy instrument. For example, the existence and study of armed struggle has long been studied with extensive

focus on historical events (i.e., pre 1960's). This comparatively well-rounded study has occurred largely because wars are often viewed in a historical and situational context. In this paper we endeavor to put the study of foreign aid on similarly historical grounds by analyzing and categorizing historical foreign aid via cross-temporal comparisons that equate contemporary aid to its antecedents in the distant past.

Categories of Aid

We adopt an expansive view of foreign aid: any and all resources transferred from one nation to another on concessional terms with a view towards accomplishing a foreign policy objective of the aid-granting power. This is a broad definition but one that is generally consistent with those employed by the US foreign policy establishment (Nowells and Tarnoff, 2004). However, such a definition does not comport with the exclusively humanitarian view of aid that is prevalent in recent aid scholarship. Excluding military aid from the definition of foreign aid is problematic due to at least two reasons. (a) it assumes a humanitarian motivation for aid where historical evidence is, at best, mixed, (Alesina and Dollar, 2000), and (b) it ignores the inherent interconvertibility (at least in the long-run) of foreign aid; financial support ostensibly intended to facilitate economic prosperity can easily be diverted towards the purchase of military material and yet is included in some definitions. In the context of past aid, establishing a definition that is sufficiently broad to allow for sub-categorization and to avoid omitting historic examples is the first step towards assessing the full body of aid-related data.

Within the broader category of total foreign aid it is helpful to create several sub-categories that are based on considering the intent of a donor. Analyzing intention can provide insight into foreign aid's broader purpose, one of the most controversial areas of policy analysis. Broadly, the intentions of aid-granting powers can be described as falling into one of three categories: those that attempt to restore a previously destabilized geopolitical status quo, those that attempt to maintain such a status quo, and those that attempt to upset it.¹⁰

Each of the following sections will address a specific aid sub-category by providing historical examples and modern equivalents. This evidence serves to address hitherto under-explored areas of aid scholarship by illuminating pre-Marshall plan aid, addressing non-development aid and discussing the broader strategic motivations of donors. For each subcategory we will also draw subset specific conclusions regarding the evolution of aid and the manner in which such changes have obscured historical aid antecedents.

Applying Aid Categories through History

Aid to Restore the Status Quo

The simplest, oldest and most commonly recognized form of foreign aid is aid intended to restore a geopolitical status quo that has been temporarily destabilized by a natural disaster or a

¹⁰ Alternatively one could classify aid based on method (i.e., the precise instrument that is used). Classifying based upon method is certainly simpler, as it is readily apparent whether a nation has provided aid in the form of military advisors or through financial assistance.

sudden, unexpected political event. We refer to this type of aid as SQR (status quo restoring). Unlike wars, trade disputes, or even revolutions, - earthquakes, cyclones, and tsunamis often occur absent warning. An earthquake can decimate a city, destroy a trading network, or literally fracture a political power base. In modern times, major state actors are rarely so severely affected by natural disasters; they have the infrastructures (and surplus supplies of food and other necessities) to withstand significant disaster-induced damage. However, this was not always the case. In the past natural disasters had substantial geo-political consequences due to the fragility of the societies of the time. In the aftermath of such calamities, surrounding nations are often faced with a precipitous decline in the political power of a neighboring state, a circumstance which that state's allies frequently seek to redress. The existence of a stimulus is vital to the definition of this form of aid; given that SQR is primarily a re-active foreign policy tool. Much of what we consider "humanitarian aid" also falls under this category. We also address the manner in which modern status quo maintaining aid has evolved from its ancient antecedents.

Ancient Greece has provided several clear examples of SQR aid. We discuss aid rendered to Sparta following a catastrophic earthquake in 464 B.C. At the time Sparta was a member of The Delian league, an alliance of Greek city states that cooperated on matters of trade and self-defense. In 464 BC an earthquake, of such magnitude that it was labelled by the historian Plutarch as the greatest yet recorded, struck Sparta. It inflicted serious damage upon the city-state's social order, military capabilities and political strength. The earthquake also provided an opening for several subject peoples, to launch an open revolt against Spartan rule. In response, various members of the Delian league acted swiftly to provide aid with a view towards maintain Sparta as a stable, powerful state. This aid took the form of a relief expedition (containing relief supplies and technical experts to assist in the physical rebuilding of destroyed infrastructure) dispatched to aid the Spartan army in its efforts to suppress the Helot revolt (Warner, 101). The parallels to modern foreign aid do not end with the physical aid itself. Also similar was the reluctance of the aid-receiving nation to accept foreign assistance for fears of creeping foreign control; a modern phenomenon comprehensively studied by Travis Nelson in his paper "Rejecting the Gift Horse" (Nelson, 2010).

That these complex interplays of aid and politics occurred among the Greek city-states was no coincidence; their economic and military co-dependence led to frequent instances of proffered foreign aid; and complex politics surrounding its acceptance. One of the principal origins of Spartan aid was the city-state of Athens. Sparta, while allied to Athens, maintained a dramatically different, and profoundly less democratic, social order and worldview; there were resultingly substantial fears among the Spartan ruling class that the acceptance of Athenian aid would lead to the erosion of Spartan cultural and political independence. As in modern times internal fear of foreign "meddling" or some similar complaint, have led to myriad refusals of proffered foreign aid. This instance represents our earliest documented and verifiable example of status-quo restoring foreign aid.

In 1755 the Portuguese capital of Lisbon was devastated by an earthquake that is estimated to have approached a 9 on the moment magnitude scale. The damage to the city itself and to the Portuguese economy was instantaneous and catastrophic. The international response was equally forceful. Portugal played a vital role in the European balance of power and the earthquake's immense destruction created a temporary "revolution" in European geopolitics. As a result,

several nations, including the main imperial rivals of the time, Britain and France, sent aid to the stricken Portuguese nation. This aid included the provision of advisors, both architectural and political, and of re-building supplies and direct financial assistance (Araújo, 2005).¹¹ That this aid came from both sides of a fierce political and religious conflict demonstrates how pivotal a strong Portugal was in avoiding all-out conflict. SQR aid to Portugal also seems to have been highly successful. While the exact causes of such an outcome are of course multifaceted, Portugal experienced an economic renewal in the aftermath of the 1755 earthquake. This phenomenon was explored in depth by Alvaro Pereira in his 2009 article: the Opportunity of a Disaster. In this, as in future cases, efforts to restore the often precarious European balance of power led to myriad examples of SQR aid.

In previous millennia, natural disasters decimated political power structures and altered the balance of power. For example, the 1755 Lisbon earthquake is estimated to have led to an initial decrease in Portuguese GDP of between 32 and 48% (Pereira, 2009). However, in today's world the profusion of surplus resources and economic prosperity has and will continue to limit the geo-political utility of SQR aid, as sudden events no longer have the broader geo-political impact they once did. One result of this phenomenon is that SQR aid has become increasingly divorced from direct national interest. It is difficult to argue that American aid to Haiti (in the aftermath of the devastating 2010 earthquake) or Japanese and Australian aid to Indonesia (in the wake of the 2004 Tsunami) significantly advanced the national interest in the manner of past SQR aid. While functionally parallel, the geo-political relevance of SQR aid has evolved away from natural disasters.

The modern analog that best demonstrates this historical evolution is the international assistance received by Indonesia following the deadly 2003 tsunami, created by an earthquake in the Indian Ocean, which killed 230,000 people and prompted a massive international response. The United States was one of the largest state contributors, providing almost USD \$1 billion in financial assistance and also employed naval assets in search and rescue operations (Hyndman 2011). These actions combined with offers of technical and medical assistance in what was known as "Operation Unified Assistance" an action that ultimately involved more than 12,000 US military personnel. Critical to the historical context of this aid was Indonesia's relatively insignificant place on the world stage. Not even a reliable ally of the United States, it is unlikely that US foreign policy depended in any way on a strong, stable Indonesia. However, US aid did effect a dramatic improvement in Indonesian's views of the United States (Tomorrow 2006). The SQR aid of ancient times was an often grievously expensive effort to restore balances of power and saved nations from ruin; today's version accomplishes the far more subtle but still significant task of shifting public opinion and potentially expanding spheres of influence through primarily humanitarian interventions.

Aid to Maintain the Status Quo

While some categories of foreign aid tend to respond to or stimulate geopolitical confrontation; others are explicitly designed to maintain a status quo. This category of aid, which

¹¹ An interesting path for future exploration would be to consider how much was aid in the Greek/Portugal cases about making sure elites stayed in power versus making sure damaged societies prospered to remain valuable strategic/economic partners.

we call “Status-quo maintaining” (SQM) is by far the narrowest of the three posited in this paper. Specifically, SQM aid refers to aid designed to avoid systemic shocks and maintain a status quo acceptable to the donor state. SQM aid also tends to be subtler than other forms of aid and to possess greater longevity as a policy instrument. Correspondingly, historical SQM aid has been the province of empires or states with stable bureaucracies capable of long-term planning and coordination.

Perhaps the longest running historical example of SQM aid can be found in the long-term relationship between the Chinese Empire and its so-called “subsidiary” or “tributary” states; a system which reached its height from the 14th to the 19th century but persisted in some form (the exact scope of which is a topic of contention) for over a millennium. These surrounding states, including Japan, Korea and Vietnam sent “tributary” missions to the reigning Chinese Emperor that facilitated trade and cultural exchange. These missions were reciprocated as Chinese envoys travelled to neighboring states. These missions allowed for the exchange of goods and for a Sino-centric worldview centered around Confucianism to permeate surrounding states. The Chinese government also made use of its considerable cultural influence to work towards maintaining stable regimes in neighboring states while seldom resorting to outright military intervention (Kang 2010). The success of the tributary system was such that scholars have suggested its renewal in the modern era as the conclusion of China’s economic resurgence (Jacques 2009). While many of the commercial and diplomatic activities under the tributary system were not aid transfers, the exchange of aid was nonetheless often a part of the system.

One of the earliest large scale adopters of this technique was the Roman Republic. Perhaps the most famous instance of this was Roman support for King Herod’s Kingdom of Judea. The major state enemies of Rome traditionally emanated from the east (including in later years Parthia, Sasanian Persia, etc.) and Judea formed a useful buffer, protecting Roman territory from potential incursions. However, Herod was besieged both by internal religious factions, specifically the Pharisees and the Sadducees, (Jacobson, 24, 2001) and by external military threats, a situation parallel to the circumstances of modern US client rulers in the same region. Further, the fractured religious and social fabric of Herod’s territory made direct conquest difficult (as Rome would discover after the last member of the Herodian dynasty died and Roman troops were forced to fill the resulting power vacuum). As a result, the Roman Republic provided direct military assistance, advisors and financial assistance to Herod. Members of Herod’s family were also educated in Rome. On a cultural level, Greek scholars and artists played a role in Hellenizing Judea. These factors combined to turn Herodian Judaea into a territory more culturally in line with Rome and one that played a vital role in keeping the eastern border of Rome “remarkably free from military strife.” (Fowler, 259).

Over a thousand years after the collapse of Rome, SQM aid was once again employed by a major European power. In the closing stages of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), the French government furnished 1,000,000 livres to Sweden in order to bolster Sweden with a view towards maintaining it as an anti-Hapsburg bulwark in Northern Europe (Gardiner, 128, 184). This aid is especially notable in that the aid-granting state was Catholic France (whose foreign policy was controlled by a Catholic ecclesiastic, Cardinal Richelieu) to Protestant Sweden during a war whose direct cause was political conflict between competing theological visions of Christianity. Like many modern examples of foreign aid, Richelieu’s aid to Sweden was in part

motivated by France's fiscal insolvency; foreign aid to was simply a more efficient expenditure of limited resources than all-out war.

So-called *républiques sœurs* were established by revolutionary France in the late 18th/ early 19th centuries. These states, which espoused similar principles and ideologies to those of republican and imperial France, were provided significant status quo maintaining aid by the French state. When the French Republic and later Empire won a series of decisive military victories in the late 1790s/early 1800s, it gained military control over territories it was not even remotely prepared to administer. As a result, the French state established a series of "sister republics" among local sympathizers who at least nominally shared France's supposedly Republican ideals. These states were provided with ideological and technical support, as well as financial assistance (though they were also taxed by the French government). While such aid is not on the surface comparable to modern aid it is functionally equivalent to US aid to Iraq following the United States' invasion and occupation of that country; i.e. the employment of foreign aid to buttress puppet regimes in newly acquired territory.

Status-quo maintaining aid has evolved little over past two millennia. The basic mechanism of providing resources and support to nations that are favorably inclined towards the donor nation has continued. Several other aspects of SQM aid have remained constant, including the tendency to employ aid to support internally unpopular or unstable regimes (see US aid to former Egyptian President Mubarak, Chinese aid to North Korea etc.). One long-term lesson of SQM aid is that it often functions as rearguard mechanisms when superpowers are unwilling or unable to directly intervene in bordering trouble spots. One consequence of the global reach of recent powerful states is that the scope of SQM aid has been extended to a far-ranging policy instrument.

One of the clearest contemporary examples of SQM aid is assistance rendered from the People's Republic of China (PRC) to the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea (DPRK). Despite the DPRK regime's erratic, dangerous and murderous behavior, its continued existence serves a vital purpose in the PRC's geo-political strategy. If the DPRK state were to collapse it would produce two byproducts that would threaten the current status quo of an ascendant China. Firstly, it would create a flow of potentially millions of starving, unemployed refugees who would flood across China's border putting a serious strain on the Chinese economy (The Economist, 2015). Secondly, the collapse of the DPRK would create a power vacuum in the Korean peninsula which would likely be filled by South Korea and the United States, both nations that are potential rivals of China in the region. As a result, China provides enough humanitarian aid to keep the regime relatively stable (which essentially means enough to feed and supply the military) and "effectively finances" the DPRK's massive trade deficit (Nanto, 2009). This pattern—the support, through SQM aid, of a friendly regime in a turbulent region—can be found again and again throughout history.

The modern example that best embodies the evolution (or lack thereof) of SQM aid while highlighting historical parallels is US aid to Israel. Beyond the obvious co-location of the two, this aid bears a striking resemblance to Roman aid to Herodian Judea. In each case a hegemon with global reach provided assistance to a small, religiously isolated regime in the Middle East with a view towards blocking the advance of powerful enemies in the region. US assistance to

Israel has averaged USD \$3 Billion for the past half century, or 20% of total US aid over that time frame. While this aid initially had significant economic components, it is now almost exclusively composed of military assistance; including technological plans, materiel and weapons systems. Perhaps the most publically cited specific example of such aid is US assistance in designing the Iron Dome short range missile defense system, a project towards which the United States government has contributed more than USD \$200 million pursuant to the United States–Israel Missile Defense Cooperation and Support Act (H.R. 5327) of 2011. The United States has also funded Israeli defense and technology companies. The goal of such assistance is to buttress Israel’s position as a US proxy in the region and to enable it to defend itself from the many hostile actors it counts among its neighbors.

Aid to Upset the Status Quo

Foreign aid is often seen as a non-disruptive and pacific policy instrument; however, such a view fails to encompass the full scope of historical aid. Foreign aid can be employed in a deliberately provocative and destabilizing manner. We call this aid “status-quo upsetting” or SQU. The primary form of SQU aid is the provision of weaponry or military material that is targeted for employment in an aggressive military action; this stand in sharp contrast to military SQM aid which is generally intended to serve as a deterrent. This is yet another example of the failings of method-based aid classification. SQU aid differs primarily from other aid types in that it is generally seen as fundamentally destabilizing.

In 1776, the 13 American colonies began a War of Independence that would conclude with the creation of the United States of America. This war is known for its somewhat convoluted political motivations and impact on world history; however, it also marks an aggressive and highly effective example of SQU aid. France provided substantial aid to the American colonies during (and immediately preceding) the American war of independence against the British Empire. French government officials offered financial support for colonists seeking to purchase arms, directly shipped various articles of military materiel past the Royal Navy and into the rebellious colonies, and dispatched military advisors to train the initially amateurish and undisciplined colonial army (the most illustrious of these being Gilbert Du Motier, the Marquis de Lafayette) (Van Tyne, 21). The precise causes of the eventual American victory are complex (and also include the direct deployment of French military personnel) but French assistance, whether it was decisive or not, functionally resembled modern foreign aid. It employed economic assistance and subtler forms of military assistance (advisors and armaments) to supplement more traditional military involvement. Further, the formal treaty between France and the incipient American States, signed in 1778, had a stated purpose of ensuring the “liberty, sovereignty and independence absolute and unlimited of said United States” (Hill, 17). This language is eerily similar to that used to justify US aid to anti-communist insurgents in any number of developing nations. Of any past example of foreign aid, French SQU aid to the American colonies most closely resembles its modern successors in both its stated purpose and its structure. France aided an insurgency hostile to its main geopolitical foe, a circumstance which is perhaps the most common pattern of SQU aid. Not 50 years later, the French target of 1700s SQU aid would itself employ the tactic of furnishing subversive aid to weaken a powerful adversary.

Britain, previously a victim of aggressive, status quo-undermining aid, repeatedly employed the same strategy throughout the late 18th and 19th centuries. There is evidence of British employment of minimal financial SQM and SQR aid as early as the 14th century (CPH, 1931). However, by the time of the Napoleonic conflicts in the late 18th century the British state had dramatically expanded the scope and complexity of its financial aid mechanisms. By the middle stages of the 1790s Great Britain actively and repeatedly employed subsidies as a form of SQU aid intended to undermine the French revolutionary (and later imperial) states. In fact, from 1794-1796, £2,500,000 were granted to Frederick William, II, the King of Prussia, in order to facilitate Prussian aggression against France. Almost 20 years later, during the closing stages of the Napoleonic War Britain continued to employ SQU aid to accomplish its political and military objectives. In March of 1814, Britain concluded treaties with Prussia, Russia and Austria in which it promised to “furnish a Subsidy of £5,000,000” to those powers to facilitate the “salutary purpose of putting an end to the misfortunes of Europe.” British financial foreign aid over the last four years of the Napoleonic War (including the 100 days campaign) totaled somewhere between 30,000,000 and 50,000,000 pounds, an amount approximately equivalent to 50% of annual public spending (in constant pounds) at the beginning of the conflict (Mitchell, 1971). These aid mechanisms were so successful that British financing became known as “the Golden Cavalry of St. George.” (Calomiris and Haber, 99).

During the First World War Germany provided military SQU aid to the abortive Irish Easter Rebellion. Long a disaffected British territory, Ireland was ripe for rebellion in the early 20th century. Prominent Irish rebels saw the outbreak of the First World War as an excellent opportunity to instigate an open conflict with Britain. Seeking a means to open a second front against British interest, Germany saw Irish discontent as a prime opportunity. On the 24th of August, 1914 the German Ambassador to the United States met with representatives of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and its American counterpart, Clan Na Gael. There, and at further meetings with German officials both in neutral nations and within Germany itself, plans were made for the provision of “arms and munitions” to Irish republican forces. While many of these war materials were intercepted in route by British forces after the war started, as late as 1913 German weapons were arriving un-impeded in Ireland (Sloan, 2013). Further, German propaganda attempted to stir up anti-British sentiment in Ireland. These efforts culminated in the ultimately unsuccessful Easter Rising of 1916.. However, German SQU aid succeeded in that it turned a significant portion of British territory into “a theatre for political warfare.”

The pre-eminent contemporary example of SQU aid has occurred in the past half-decade as one prong of aggressive Russian expansionism. Under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, Russia has become a global pioneer in de-stabilizing aid. The Russian government or its subsidiaries have provided funding, materiel and technical support to a host of pro-Russian political parties, states and insurgencies on a truly global scale. In France, a bank linked to the Russian government has provided in excess of \$10 million to the anti-Atlanticist, Russophilic National Front. In the Ukraine, anti-government rebels have been provided with military hardware (including a surface to air missile that shot down a Dutch civilian airliner), technical expertise and funding. These actions have the common goal of expanding Russian influence in the former Soviet sphere of influence and weakening anti-Russian alliances. In a geo-political climate where open aggression

would be far more likely to provoke retaliation or intervention, de-stabilizing aid allows potentially revisionist states to accomplish their objectives by subtlety and subversion.

Status-quo upsetting aid differs from our other aid categories in that it is a fundamentally aggressive policy instrument. Further, it is one that may increase in potency in the years to come. The last two hundred years has seen dramatic innovations in two areas. Firstly, materials of geopolitically relevant military utility, ranging from plans for bombsights to fissile material have become miniaturized and easily transportable. Secondly, the continued progress of globalization has dramatically increased the avenues by which SQU aid can be delivered. French aid to the US colonies had to be smuggled past a British blockade on a month-long shipborne journey across an ocean. Today, military material can shipped through legitimate trade channels, or, in the form of technical information, be transmitted seamlessly through electronic channels. This new reality is reflected in policy making. When, earlier this year, the United States Department of Defense released its new budget priorities for the coming year, it identified countering de-stabilizing aid as a vital national security objective.

4) Conclusion

We have attempted to demonstrate how beginning to account for the long history of foreign aid can contribute to our contemporary understanding of aid donor motivations. One might dismiss the historical examples provided above as incompatible with contemporary forms of foreign aid. Or they might simply suggest that these cases occurred in distinct historical and geographic settings and thus are of limited value for understanding contemporary aid. However, our objective in this paper has not been to suggest that historical and modern foreign aid are similar in specific form. We set out to demonstrate that looking a wide, representative set of pre-20th century foreign aid cases can enrich our understanding of different kinds of donor intent. Our framework of aid provision motivations centered around donor objectives relative to the political status quo is arguably a useful starting point. This framework also helps historically contextualize the current state of foreign aid provision which, relative to earlier periods, is highly development-oriented and institutionalized.

While focused on cases hundreds or thousands of years removed from the present day, our research has implications for the theory and practice of contemporary foreign aid. Misconceptions among publics and even leaders that aid is primarily useful for humanitarian intervention, and less effective for other foreign policy objectives, have dramatically distorted the foreign aid debate. This has allowed aid detractors to argue the contemporary American aid is characterized by a unique level of humanitarian naivety. While the historical record is unable to decisively attribute intentions to past aid, it clarifies the decidedly non-unique nature of modern aid. Foreign aid may well be ineffective or poorly distributed but it certainly isn't new. These issues are important; after all, the western nations that drive foreign aid spending are democratic societies where foreign aid is often viewed skeptically. Recent policy documents on the subject reference public education as an overriding objective of the US foreign aid program (Lancaster 2005).

Consider the incumbent president of the United States, who has proposed to cut the Department of State's foreign aid budget by nearly 30% in future years, or the American public more generally, which is consistently skeptical of the use of foreign aid and often grossly overestimates America's aid budget. Would certain leaders and publics be as skeptical about the merits of foreign aid as a policy tool if researchers or practitioners had stronger empirical or theoretical grasp of the wide range of objectives for which aid has been deployed? We are not suggesting that the humanitarian, development motivations of foreign aid are not important; they obviously are. But policymakers and publics would arguably be better positioned to make use of this longstanding policy instrument if it was not stigmatized in certain societies. For example, a full accounting of historical aid might help provide a new lens through which to better situate and assess de-stabilizing Russian aid. These questions are far from uniquely academic – Foreign aid can change the world, but only if enough decision makers and citizens understand why and how it works, and how it can be turned against US interests.

References

Alesina, Alberto, and Beatrice Weder. Do corrupt governments receive less foreign aid?. No. w7108. National bureau of economic research, 1999.

Araújo, Ana Cristina (2005). O Terramoto de 1755. Lisboa e a Europa. Lisboa: CTT.

Ashton, R. H. J. (1986). Rhodian bronze coinage and the earthquake of 229-226 BC. *The Numismatic Chronicle* (1966-), 1-17.

Bapat, Navin A. "Transnational terrorism, US military aid, and the incentive to misrepresent." *Journal of Peace Research* 48.3 (2011): 303-318.

Barua, P. P. (2011), Maritime Trade, Seapower, and the Anglo-Mysore Wars, 1767–1799 . *Historian*, 73: 22–40. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6563.2010.00284.x, 32

Bauer, P., & Yamey, B. (1982). Foreign Aid: what is at stake?. *The Third World*, 115-35.

Bermeo, Sarah Blodgett. "Aid Is Not Oil: Donor Utility, Heterogeneous Aid, and the Aid-Democratization Relationship." *International Organization* 70.01 (2016): 1-32.

Berolzheimer, J. (1953). The Impact of US Foreign Aid Since the Marshall Plan on Western Europe's Gross National Product and Government Finances. *FinanzArchiv/Public Finance Analysis*, (H. 1), 114-140.

Bilham, (1994) The 1737 Calcutta Earthquake and Cyclone Evaluated, *Bull. Seism. Soc. Amer.*

Boone, Peter. "Politics and the effectiveness of foreign aid." *European economic review* 40, no. 2 (1996): 289-329.

Bozeman, Adda Bruemmer (1994). *Politics and Culture in International History: From the Ancient Near East to the Opening of the Modern Age*. Transaction Publishers. p. 108.

Brown, T. S. (1964). Polybius' account of Antiochus III. *The Phoenix*, 124-136.

Buzan, Barry. "Will the 'global war on terrorism' be the new Cold War?." *International affairs* 82.6 (2006): 1101-1118.

[C. P. H.. \(1931\). War Loans versus Subsidies: A Note on Great Britain's Advances to Her Continental Allies during the Napoleonic Wars. *Foreign Affairs*, 9\(4\), 683–685. <http://doi.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/10.2307/20030397>](http://doi.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/10.2307/20030397)

Calomiris, C. W., & Haber, S. H. (2014). *Fragile by Design: The Political Origins of Banking Crises and Scarce Credit: The Political Origins of Banking Crises and Scarce Credit*. Princeton University Press.

Carpenter, T. G. (1986). *US Aid to Anti-Communist Rebels: The "Reagan Doctrine" and Its Pitfalls*. Cato Institute Policy Analysis, 74.

Chancey, M. (2006). The making of the anglo-hyderabad alliance, 1788–1823. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 29(2), 181-214.

Chiang, M. H. (2014). The US Aid and Taiwan's Post-War Economic Development, 1951-1965. *african and asian studies*, 13(1-2), 100-120.

Cohen, Shaye. "Roman Domination: The Jewish Revolt and the Destruction of the Second Temple," in *Ancient Israel*, ed. Hershel Shanks. (Biblical Archaeology Society, 1999), p. 270.

Collins, J. B. (1995). *The state in early modern France*. Cambridge University Press.

Deaton, A. (2013). *The great escape: health, wealth, and the origins of inequality*. Princeton University Press.

Doyle, W. (2001). *The French Revolution: a very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.

Dreher A, Sturm JE, Vreeland JR. Development aid and international politics: Does membership on the UN Security Council influence World Bank decisions?. *Journal of Development Economics*. 2009 Jan 31;88(1):1-8.

Dreher, A., Fuchs, A., Parks, B., Strange, A.M. and Tierney, M.J., Forthcoming. *Apples and Dragon Fruits: The Determinants of Aid and Other Forms of State Financing from China to Africa*. *International Studies Quarterly*.

Dube, Oeindrila, and Suresh Naidu. *Bases, Bullets and Ballots: the Effect of US*

Military Aid on Political Conflict in Colombia. No. w20213. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2014.

Dunning, Thad. "Conditioning the effects of aid: Cold War politics, donor credibility, and democracy in Africa." *International Organization* (2004): 409-423.

Easterly, William. "Can foreign aid buy growth?." *The journal of economic perspectives* 17, no. 3 (2003): 23-48.

Easterly, William. "The cartel of good intentions: the problem of bureaucracy in foreign aid." *The Journal of Policy Reform* 5.4 (2002): 223-250.

Edwards, Sebastian. "Economic Development and the Effectiveness of Foreign Aid: A Historical Perspective." *Kyklos* 68, no. 3 (2015): 277-316.

Eyben, Rosalind. *International aid and the making of a better world: reflexive practice*. Routledge, 2014.

Feyzioglu, Tarhan, Vinaya Swaroop, and Min Zhu. "A panel data analysis of the fungibility of foreign aid." *The World Bank Economic Review* 12.1 (1998): 29-58.

Fleck, Robert K., and Christopher Kilby. "Changing aid regimes? US foreign aid from the Cold War to the War on Terror." *Journal of Development Economics* 91.2 (2010): 185-197.

Fournier, A. (1903). *Napoleon the First: A Biography*. H. Holt.

Fowler, H. T. (1920). *Great Leaders of Hebrew History: From Manasseh to John the Baptist*. Macmillan.

French, A. (1955). *The Spartan Earthquake. Greece and Rome (Second Series)*, 2(03), 108-118.

Gardiner, S. R. (1898). *The thirty years' war, 1618-1648* Charles Scribner's Sons.

Gillett, A. (2003). *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West*, 411–533 (Vol. 55). Cambridge University Press.

Götz, N. (2014). *The Good Plumpuddings' Belief: British Voluntary Aid to Sweden During the Napoleonic Wars*. *International History Review*.

Griffin, K. B., & Enos, J. L. (1970). *Foreign assistance: objectives and consequences. Economic development and cultural change*, 313-327.

Herman, A. (2008). *Gandhi & Churchill: the epic rivalry that destroyed an empire and forged our age*. Bantam.

Hill, C. E. (1922). *Leading American Treaties (Vol. 4)*. Macmillan.

Hjertholm, P., & White, H. 2000. *Foreign aid in historical perspective: Background and trends*. In Finn Tarp (Ed.), *Foreign aid and development: lessons learnt* (pp. 80–102).

Berlin: Springer.

Hook, Steven W. (1995) *National Interest and Foreign Aid*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Hook, Steven W., and Guang Zhang. "Japan's aid policy since the cold war: Rhetoric and reality." *Asian Survey* 38.11 (1998): 1051-1066.

Hornblower, S. (2005). *A Commentary on Thucydides: Books IV-V*. 24. Oxford University Press.

Hyndman, J. (2011). *Dual disasters: humanitarian aid after the 2004 tsunami*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.

Jacques, M. (2009). *When China rules the world: The end of the western world and the birth of a new global order*. Penguin.

Jacobson, D. M. (2001). Three roman client kings: Herod of Judaea, Archelaus of Cappadocia and Juba of Mauretania. *Palestine exploration quarterly*, 133(JANJUN), 22-38.

Johnson, R. H. (1988). Misguided morality: Ethics and the Reagan doctrine. *Political Science Quarterly*, 509-529.

Kahn, M. E. (2005). The death toll from natural disasters: the role of income, geography, and institutions. *Review of economics and statistics*, 87(2), 271-284.

Kang, D. C. O. (2010). *East Asia before the West: Five centuries of trade and tribute*. Columbia University Press.

Kaushik Roy, *War, Culture and Society in Early Modern South Asia, 1740-1849*, (Routledge, 2011), 77.

Kerry, John (2015) Budget hearing for the department of state: House Appropriations Committee on Foreign Operations, United States House of Representatives, 2015th

Kuziemko, Ilyana, and Eric Werker. "How much is a seat on the Security Council worth? Foreign aid and bribery at the United Nations." *Journal of political economy* 114, no. 5 (2006): 905-930.

Lai, Brian. "Examining the goals of US foreign assistance in the Post-Cold War period, 1991-96." *Journal of Peace Research* 40.1 (2003): 103-128.

[Lancaster, C. \(2000\). Transforming foreign aid: United States assistance in the 21st century. Peterson Institute.
http://www.piie.com/publications/chapters_preview/321/1iie2911.pdf](http://www.piie.com/publications/chapters_preview/321/1iie2911.pdf)

Lancaster, C., & Van Dusen, A. (2005). *Organizing US foreign aid: Confronting the challenges of the twenty-first century*. Brookings Institution Press.

Levinson, M. H. (2009). Benjamin Franklin: A Time-Binder Extraordinaire. ETC: A Review of General Semantics, 269-277.

Liska, George (1960) The New Statecraft: Foreign Aid in American Foreign Policy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[Lopez, J. \(2013\). Josephus' "jewish war" and the causes of the jewish revolt: Re-examining inevitability \(Order No. 1527140\). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. \(1650621551\). Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/1650621551?accountid=11311](http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/1650621551?accountid=11311)

Lumsdaine, David Halloran. Moral vision in international politics: the foreign aid regime, 1949-1989. Princeton University Press, 1993.

Mann, M. (1984). The autonomous power of the state: its origins, mechanisms and results. European journal of sociology, 25(02), 185-213.

McArthur, S. (2011). A Conservative Estimate of Total US Aid To Israel: More Than \$123 Billion. The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, 30(8), 22.

McCaffrey, J. (2008, April 14). Exclusive: The last Nizam of Hyderabad was so rich he had a £50m diamond paperweight.. Retrieved August 18, 2015.

McKinlay, R. D., and A. Mughan (1984) Aid and Arms to the Third World: An Analysis of the Distribution and Import of US Official Transfer. New York: St. Martin's.

McKinlay, R. D., and R. Little (1977) 'A Foreign Policy Model of US Bilateral Aid Allocation', World Politics 30: 62

Meernik, James, Eric L. Krueger, and Steven C. Poe. "Testing models of US foreign policy: Foreign aid during and after the Cold War." The journal of Politics 60.1 (1998): 63-85.

Milner, Helen V., and Dustin H. Tingley. "The political economy of US foreign aid: American legislators and the domestic politics of aid." *Economics & Politics* 22.2 (2010): 200-232.

Milner, H. V., & Tingley, D. H. (Eds.). (2013). *Geopolitics of Foreign Aid*. Edward Elgar.

Milner, H. V., & Tingley, D. (2015). *Sailing the water's edge: The domestic politics of American foreign policy*. Princeton University Press.

Mitchell, B. R. (1971). Abstract of British historical statistics. CUP Archive.

Morgenthau, Hans (1962) 'A Political Theory of Foreign Aid', American Political Science Review 301-309

Morgenthau, Hans. 1962. A Political Theory of Foreign Aid. American Political Science

Review, 56(02): 301-309.

Moyo, Dambisa. *Dead aid: Why aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa*. Macmillan, 2009.

Nanto, D. K., & Chanlett-Avery, E. (2009, June). North Korea: Economic leverage and policy analysis. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS WASHINGTON DC CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE.

Nelson, T. (2010). Rejecting the gift horse: international politics of disaster aid refusal. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 10(3), 379-402.

Ndulo, M., & Walle, N. V. (Eds.). (2014). *Problems, promises, and paradoxes of aid: Africa's experience*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Packenham, Robert A. *Liberal America and the third world: Political development ideas in foreign aid and social science*. Princeton University Press, 2015.

Pereira, A. S. (2009). The opportunity of a disaster: the economic impact of the 1755 Lisbon earthquake. *The Journal of Economic History*, 69(02), 466-499.

Picard, Louis A., and Terry F. Buss. *A fragile balance: re-examining the history of foreign aid, security, and diplomacy*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2009.

Radu, M; Arnold, A. (1990) *The New Insurgencies: Anticommunist Guerrillas in the Third World*. Transaction Publishers.

Schraeder, Peter J., Steven W. Hook, and Bruce Taylor. "Clarifying the foreign aid puzzle: A comparison of American, Japanese, French, and Swedish aid flows." *World Politics* 50.02 (1998): 294-323.

Schroeder, P. W. (1987). The collapse of the Second Coalition. *The Journal of Modern History*, 244-290.

Schroeder, P. W. (1987). The collapse of the Second Coalition. *The Journal of Modern History*, 244-290.

Sherwig, John M. *Guineas and gunpowder: British foreign aid in the wars with France, 1793-1815*. Books on Demand, 1969.

Sloan, G. (2013). The British State and the Irish Rebellion of 1916: An Intelligence Failure or a Failure of Response?. *Intelligence and National Security*, 28(4), 453-494.

Smith, B., & Harari, D. (2014). *Ukraine, Crimea and Russia*. Research Paper, 14, 16.

Subsidies in Roman Imperial Defence; C. D. Gordon; *Phoenix* Vol. 3, No. 2 (Autumn, 1949) , pp. 60-69 Published by: Classical Association of Canada - Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1086897>

Sun, Y. (2014). *China's Aid to Africa: Monster or Messiah?*. Brookings East Asia

Commentary, 75.

Tierney MJ, Nielson DL, Hawkins DG, Roberts JT, Findley MG, Powers RM, Parks B, Wilson SE, Hicks RL. More dollars than sense: Refining our knowledge of development finance using AidData. *World Development*. 2011 Nov 30;39(11):1891-906.

Tomorrow, T. F. (2006). One Year Later: Humanitarian Relief Sustains Change in Muslim Public Opinion. Washington DC, [http://www. terrorfreetomorrow. org/upimagestft/INDONESIA](http://www.terrorfreetomorrow.org/upimagestft/INDONESIA), 202006.

Van Tyne, C. H. (1925). French Aid before the Alliance of 1778. *The American Historical Review*, 31(1), 20-40.

Warner, Rex (trans.) (1954). Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War. Penguin Classics 101-102

Watson, R. (1985) "Waging War by Proxy." *Newsweek*. 1462 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2015/09/07.

Wilson, P. H. (2009). *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy*. Harvard University Press.

Wood, R. E. (1986). *From Marshall Plan to debt crisis: Foreign aid and development choices in the world economy* (Vol. 15). Univ of California Press.

周永生 [Zhou Yongsheng]. *经济外交 [Economic Statecraft]*. 中国青年出版社 [China Youth Press], 2004.