



जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
अंतरराष्ट्रीय अध्ययन संस्थान  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

## International Politics of Foreign Aid

Course:	MA PISM
Course No:	IS 476 N
Course Title:	<b>International Politics of Foreign Aid</b>
Course Type:	<b>Optional</b>
Semester:	<b>Monsoon</b>
Course Teacher & Contact Details:	<i>Name: Sandip Kumar Singh</i> <i>Room No.: #318, SIS-II</i> <i>Email: <a href="mailto:sandipksingh@jnu.ac.in">sandipksingh@jnu.ac.in</a></i> <i>Tel. No.: (O): 26704349</i>
Credits:	<b>4</b>
Contact Hours:	<b>4 hours/week</b>
Class Schedule & Room Number	
Tutorial (for difficulties & discussion)	<b>1 hour/week</b>

### Course Objectives

This course delves into the complex realm of international assistance or aid, examining its political aspects and its influence on global political dynamics. The course provides an in-depth analysis of the historical context and contemporary dynamics surrounding bilateral and multilateral development aid. It explores the underlying factors that drive foreign assistance, the intricate power dynamics at play, and the multifaceted nature of international development. By using a blend of theoretical frameworks, case studies, and empirical illustrations, students will get a complete comprehension of the world dynamics surrounding the politics of international assistance. Furthermore, after contextualising global politics and aid assistance within a historical framework, this course will examine various forms of aid, the ongoing debate surrounding the objectives of aid and the methods employed to achieve aid effectiveness, the process of project planning and

assessment, the increasing significance of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the aid sector today, and the future challenges associated with delivering aid effectively.

### **Learning Outcomes**

Upon the successful completion of this course, students will be able to:

- (i) critically examine the historical progression of foreign assistance and its shifting paradigms.
- (ii) evaluate the underlying political, economic, and strategic rationale behind the offering of foreign assistance.
- (iii) gain an understanding of the pivotal role played by international organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and donors within the context of foreign assistance.
- (iv) examine the correlation between foreign assistance and the dynamics of global politics.
- (v) examine critically the current concerns and challenges that exist within the realm of international assistance.
- (vi) develop the theoretical ability to make distinction among various types of aid assistance provided by different actors.
- (vii) be able to use critical and analytical tools to broaden his/her understanding of contemporary politics of aid and the debates around it.
- (viii) augment the intellectual capability to understand contemporary international politics of aid.
- (ix) be able to make clear and concise arguments in written assignments and oral class participation.
- (x) gain the necessary research skills in this subject.

### **Evaluation Methods**

- **Mid-Semester Evaluation (50%)** (Compulsory)
  - Book/Article Review or Term Paper (25%)
  - Mid-Semester Examination (25%)
- **End-Semester Evaluation (50%)** (Compulsory)

--End-Semester Examination

- *SIS Research Manual should be used as a guide for written assignments. Available at: [https://www.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/SIS\\_Research\\_Manual\\_0.pdf](https://www.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/SIS_Research_Manual_0.pdf)*
- *Students must maintain a high degree of academic integrity, which includes but is not limited to abstaining from copying and plagiarism. For details on plagiarism and research ethics, refer to SIS Research Manual.*

## **Course Content**

### **I. Concept of Foreign Aid (1-4 Weeks)**

The concept of foreign aid encompasses many forms of voluntary support that one nation provides to another, including gifts, grants, and loans. Foreign assistance is often seen by the general population as financial resources; however, it encompasses a broader spectrum of provisions including food, supplies, and other services such as humanitarian relief and military support.

- What is Foreign Aid in International Politics?
- Meaning, Definition and types of Foreign Aid
- Historical Evolution of Foreign Aid
- Theoretical Analyses of Aid in World Politics
- IR Theories and Aid: Realism, Neorealism, Liberalism, Neoliberalism and others

### **II. Politics Behind Foreign Aid (5-8 Weeks)**

- Politics of Foreign Aid
- Motivations behind Foreign Aid: Political, Economic or Humanitarian
- Donor interest's vs Recipient Needs
- Geopolitics and Foreign Aid
- Effectiveness, Conditionality and controversy in Aid
- Politics of Bilateral vs Multilateral Aid

### **III. Multilateral Donors of Foreign Aid (9-10 Weeks)**

- International organizations (UN, EU, World Bank and others)
- Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

### **IV. Traditional Bilateral Donors (11-12 Weeks)**

- USA
- UK
- Japan
- Other European Countries

### **V. Non-Traditional Bilateral Donors (13-14 Weeks)**

- India

- China
- Other New Donors: Brazil, Africa, Turkey, etc.
- New Donors in Africa

## **VI. Indian Aid: The Development Partnership (15-16 Weeks)**

- Historical Evolution of Indian Assistance
- Objectives and Conceptual Clarity: Partnership and Cooperation
- ITEC, South-South Cooperation
- India's Humanitarian Assistance Approach
- The Aid in a Violent Context: The Case of Afghanistan, Sri Lanka

### **Readings**

#### **Concepts of Foreign Aid (Week 1): Introduction**

Morgenthau, Hans (1962), "A Political Theory of Foreign Aid", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 56, No. 2, June, pp. 301-309.

Pankaj, Ashok Kumar (2005), "Revisiting Foreign Aid Theories", *International Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 02, April, pp. 103-121.

#### **I. Foreign Aid (Weeks 2-4)**

- **Essential Readings**

#### **Week 2**

Hattori, Tomohisa (2001), "Reconceptualizing Foreign Aid", *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 633-660.

Dudley, Leonard M (1979), "Foreign Aid and the Theory of Alliances", *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 61, No. 04, November, pp. 564-71.

#### **Week 3**

Pye, Lucian (1962), "The Political Impulses and Fantasies behind Foreign Aid", *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 27, No. 02, January, pp. 8-27.

Packenham, Robert A. (1966), "Foreign Aid and the National Interest", *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 214-221.

#### **Week 4**

Bandyopadhyay, Subhayu and Vermann, E. Katarina (2013), “Donor Motives for Foreign Aid”, *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review*, Vol. 95, No. 04, July/August, pp. 327-36.

Nath, Shyam and Sobhee, Sanjeev K (2007), “Aid Motivation and Donor Behavior”, *American Review of Political Economy*, Vol. 5, No. 01, pp. 1-13.

• **Additional Readings**

Kunz, Diane B. (1997), “The Marshall Plan Reconsidered: A Complex of Motives”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 03, pp. 162-170.

Galbraith, John Kenneth (1961), “A Positive Approach to Economic Aid”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 39, No. 03, April, pp. 444-577.

Chenery, Hollis B. and Strout, Alan M., (1966), “Foreign Assistance and Economic Development”, *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 56, No. 04, September, pp. 679-733.

Friedman, M. (1957), “Foreign Economic Aid: Means and Objectives”, *Yale Review*, Vol. 47, No. 04, pp. 500-516.

Garvey, Gerald (1966), “Foreign Aid Theory: Where do we go from here?”, *World Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 04, pp. 735-748.

Gülseven, Yahya (2020), “Reconsidering Development Aid: A Systemic Analysis,” *World Review of Political Economy*, Vol. 11, No. 02, Summer, pp. 232-255.

Arjaan de Haan (2009), “The Evolution in Thinking about Aid and International Development” (Chapter ). In *How the Aid Industry Works: An Introduction to International Development* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press), pp. 63-89.

**II. Politics Behind Foreign Aid (Weeks 5-8)**

• **Essential Readings**

**Week 5**

Alesina, Alberto and Dollar, David (2000), “Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?”, *Journal of Economic Growth*, Vol. 05, No. 01, pp. 33-63.

Wood, Terence and Hoy, Christopher (2022), “Helping Us or Helping Them? What Makes Foreign Aid Popular with Donor Publics?”, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 70, No. 02, January, pp. 567-586.

## **Week 6**

Lumsdaine, David Halloran (1993), "Why Was There Any Foreign Aid at All?" (Chapter 2). In *Moral Vision in International Politics: The Foreign Aid Regime, 1949-89* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), pp. 30-70.

Woods, Ngaire (2005), "The shifting politics of foreign aid", *International Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 02, March, pp. 393-409.

## **Week 7**

Kuziemko, Ilyana and Werker, Eric (2006), "How Much is a Seat on the Security Council Worth?: Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 114, No. 05, pp. 905-930.

Dreher, Axel, Sturm, Jan-Egbert and Vreeland, James Raymond (2008), "Development Aid and International Politics: Does Membership on the UN Security Council Influence World Bank Decisions?" *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol. 88, No. 01, January, pp. 1-18.

## **Week 8**

Park, Jong-Dae (2019), "Assessing the Role of Foreign Aid, Donors and Recipients (Chapter 3)". In *Re-Inventing Africa's Development Linking Africa to the Korean Development Model*, (Gwerbestrass, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 37-62.

Younas, Javed (2008), "Motivation for Bilateral Aid Allocation: Altruism or Trade Benefits," *European Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 24, No. 03, September, pp. 661-74.

### **• Additional Readings**

Chong, Alberto and Gradstein, Mark (2008), "What Determines Foreign Aid? The Donors' Perspectives", *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol. 87, No. 01, August, pp. 1-13.

Heinrich, Tobias (2013), "When is Foreign Aid Selfish, When is it Selfless?", *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 75, No. 02, pp. 422-435.

Lin, Teh-chang (2000), "The Donor Versus the Recipient Approach: A Theoretical Exploration Of Aid Distribution Patterns In Taipei And Beijing", *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 24, No. 02, pp. 153-171.

Hattori, Tomohisa (2003), "The Moral Politics of Foreign Aid", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 02, April, pp. 229-247.

## **III. Multilateral Donors of Foreign Aid (Weeks 9-10)**

• **Essential Readings**

**Week 9**

Cammack, Paul (2004), “What the World Bank Means by Poverty Reduction, and Why it Matters”, *New Political Economy*, Vol. 09, No. 02, June, pp. 189-211.

Reith, Sally (2010), “Money, Power, And Donor-Ngo Partnerships”, *Development in Practice*, Vol. 20, No. 03, May, pp. 446-55.

**Week 10**

Büthe, Tim, Major, Solomon and Souza, André de Mello e (2012), “The Politics of Private Foreign Aid: Humanitarian Principles, Economic Development Objectives, and Organizational Interests in NGO Private Aid Allocation”, *International Organization*, Vol. 66, No. 04, pp. 571-607.

Chowdhury, Abdur and Garonna, Paolo (2007), “Effective Foreign Aid, Economic Integration and Subsidiary: Lessons from Europe”, *Discussion Paper Series No. 2007.2*, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, Switzerland.

URL:[https://epublications.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1540&context=econ\\_fac#:~:text=The%20secret%20of%20success%20has,learn%20from%20the%20European%20experience](https://epublications.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1540&context=econ_fac#:~:text=The%20secret%20of%20success%20has,learn%20from%20the%20European%20experience).

• **Additional Readings**

Boone, P. (1996), “Politics and the Effectiveness of Foreign Aid”, *European Economic Review*, Vol. 40, No. 02, pp. 289–329.

Montinola, Gabriella R. (2010), “When Does Aid Conditionality Work?”, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 45, pp. 358-382.

Hyden, G., Mukandala, R. (1999), “Studying Foreign Aid Organizations: Theory and Concepts (Chapter 2)”. In Hyden Goran, Mukandala Rwekaza (eds.) *Agencies in Foreign Aid*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 8-30.

Berthélemy, Jean-Claude (2006), “Bilateral Donors’ Interests vs. Recipients’ Development Motives in Aid Allocation: Do All Donors Behave the Same?”, *Review of Development Economics*, Vol.10, No. 02, pp. 179-194.

**IV. Traditional Bilateral Donors (Weeks 11-12)**

**Week 11**

Lancaster, Carol (2008), “The Changing Landscape of U.S. Foreign Aid (Chapter 2)”. In *George Bush’s Foreign Aid: Transformation or Chaos?*, (Washington DC: Center for Global Development), pp. 10-47.

Milner, Helen V. and Tingley, Dustin (2013), “The Choice for Multilateralism: Foreign Aid and American Foreign Policy”, *The Review of International Organizations*, Vol. 08, No. 03, pp. 313-341.

## **Week 12**

Natsios, Andrew S. (2020), “Foreign Aid in an Era of Great Power Competition”, *PRISM*, Vol. 08, No. 04, pp. 100-119.

Watson, Iain (2015), “Geopolitics and Asian Donors: China, Japan and South Korea in Africa” (Chapter 3). In *Foreign Aid and Emerging Powers Asian Perspectives on Official Development Assistance*, (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 103-151.

Bearce, D. H. and Tirone, D. C. (2010), “Foreign Aid Effectiveness and the Strategic Goals of Donor Governments”, *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 72, No. 03, pp. 837-851.

## **IV. Non-Traditional Bilateral Donors (Weeks 13-14)**

### **• Essential Readings**

## **Week 13**

Fuchs, Andreas and Vadlamannati, Krishna Chaitanya (2013), “The Needy Donor: An Empirical Analysis of India’s Aid Motives”, *World Development*, Vol. 44, April, pp. 110-128.

Agrawal, Subhash (2007), “Emerging Donors in International Development Assistance: The India Case”, *Partnership and Business Development Division*, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10625/57511>

## **Week 14**

Dreher, Axel and Fuchs, Andreas (2015), “Rogue aid? An empirical analysis of China's aid allocation”, *The Canadian Journal of Economics*, Vol. 48, No. 03, August, pp. 988-1023.

Chin, Gregory T. and Frolic, B. Michael (2007), “Emerging Donors in International Development Assistance: The China Case”, December, IDRC, Ottawa, Canada.  
URL: <https://idrc-crdd.ca/en/research-in-action/emerging-donors-study>



### **Additional Readings:**

Sato, Jin, Shiga, Hiroaki, Kobayashi, Takaaki and Kondoh, Hisahiro (2010), “How do “Emerging” Donors Differ from “Traditional” Donors? An Institutional Analysis of Foreign Aid in Cambodia”, *JICA-RI Working Paper 2*, March, JICA Research Institute. URL: [https://www.jica.go.jp/Resource/jica-ri/publication/workingpaper/jrft3q00000022dd-att/JICA-RI\\_WP\\_No.2\\_2010.pdf](https://www.jica.go.jp/Resource/jica-ri/publication/workingpaper/jrft3q00000022dd-att/JICA-RI_WP_No.2_2010.pdf)

Woods, Ngaire (2008), “Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Development Assistance”, *International Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 06, November, pp. 1205-1221.

Kragelund, Peter (2008), “The Return of Non-DAC Donors to Africa: New Prospects for African Development?”, *Development Policy Review*, Vol. 26, No. 5, pp. 555-584.

### **V. Indian Aid: The Development Partnership (Weeks 15-16)**

#### **Week 15**

Mohanty, Saroj Kumar (2019), “Shaping Indian Development Cooperation: India’s Mission Approach in a Theoretical Framework (Chapter 1)”. In Chaturvedi, Sachin and Mulakala, Anthea (eds), *India’s Approach to Development Cooperation* (New York, Routledge), pp. 1-13.

Chaturvedi, Sachin (2012), “India’s Development Partnership: Key Policy Shifts and Institutional Evolution”, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 557-577.

#### **Week 16**

Chaturvedi, S.; Chenoy, A.; Chopra, D.; Joshi, A. and Lagdhyan, K.H. (2014), “Indian Development Cooperation: the State of the Debate”, *IDS Evidence Report 95*, Brighton: IDS.

Arora, Kashyap (2011), “An Indian Approach to International Development Cooperation: Towards A ‘White Paper’ On Policy”, *Jindal Journal of Public Policy*, Vol. 03, No. 01, pp. 227-270.

Sridharan, E. (2014), “The Emerging Foreign Assistance Policies of India And China: India as a Development Partner”, *IDRC Report*, University of Pennsylvania Institute for the Advanced Study of India, pp. 1-70.

#### **• Additional Readings**

Chaturvedi, Sachin (2012), “India and development cooperation: expressing Southern solidarity”, in Sachin Chaturvedi, Thomas Fues and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos (eds.), *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers* (London: Zed Books), pp. 169-189.

Dutt, Srikant (1980), "Indian Aid to Co-Developing Countries", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 15, No. 05, pp. 672-678.

Chanana, Dweepa (2009), "India as an Emerging Donor", *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol: XLIV, No. 12, pp. 11-14.

Katti, Vijaya, Chahoud, Tatjana and Kaushik, Atul (2009), "India's Development Cooperation—Opportunities and Challenges for International Development Cooperation", *Briefing Paper No. 3*, German Development Institute (DIE), Bonn, Germany.

URL: <https://www.idos-research.de/en/briefing-paper/article/indias-development-cooperation-opportunities-and-challenges-for-international-development-cooperation/#:~:text=According%20to%20available%20data%20India's,increased%20investment%20in%20regional%20infrastructure>

Cohen, Michael A. (2013), "Giving to Developing Countries: Controversies and Paradoxes of International Aid", *Social Research*, Vol. 80, No. 2, Summer, pp. 591-606.

Uvin, Peter (1992), "Regime, Surplus, and Self-Interest: The International Politics of Food Aid", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 03, September, pp. 293-312.

Meier, Claudia, and Murthy, C.S.R. (2011), "India's Growing Involvement in Humanitarian Assistance", *GPPI Research Paper No. 13*, Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin, Germany, pp. 6-49.

Mullen, Rani D. (2017), "India in Afghanistan: Understanding Development Assistance by Emerging Donors to Conflict-Affected Countries", Stimson, August.

URL: [https://www.stimson.org/wp-content/files/file-attachments/India%20in%20Afghanistan%20Understanding%20Development%20Assistance%20by%20Emerging%20Donors%20to%20Conflict-Affected%20Countries\\_0.pdf](https://www.stimson.org/wp-content/files/file-attachments/India%20in%20Afghanistan%20Understanding%20Development%20Assistance%20by%20Emerging%20Donors%20to%20Conflict-Affected%20Countries_0.pdf)

Therien, Jean-Philippe (2002), "Debating foreign aid: right versus left", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 03, pp. 449-466.