



Superforecasting Global Health Spending

25 March 2025

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GiveWell / Open Philanthropy**



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Q1: What will US Global Health Funding be in Fiscal Year (FY) 2026 as compared to FY 2024?

The median forecast is that US Global Health Funding in FY 2026 will be 65% that of FY 2024. In addition to the amount that will be funded, the Superforecasters were asked how much will be spent, where the median forecast is 80%.

Reasons why the outcome will be lower:

- Significant, targeted cuts to USAID programs, including an 83% reduction in programs and aggressive contract terminations, are likely to pull down overall funding.
- The current administration's "America First" policies, combined with fiscal pressures and ideological drivers, favor substantial reductions in foreign aid spending.
- Legal and budgetary maneuvers (such as reassignments and contract cancellations) and potential continuing resolutions may reinforce these cuts rather than offset them.
- Legal and procedural hurdles, along with a shaky Congressional majority on spending, could lead to lower appropriations.

Reasons why the outcome will be higher:

- Historical trends show that Congress often exceeds the administration's lower spending requests, thanks to long-standing legislative support for global health initiatives.
- Potential legal rulings or emergency public health crises could trigger supplemental funding, countering the initial cut proposals.
- Influential lobby groups, bipartisan backing, especially for programs like PEPFAR, and institutional inertia in government spending may help maintain or even boost funding levels.

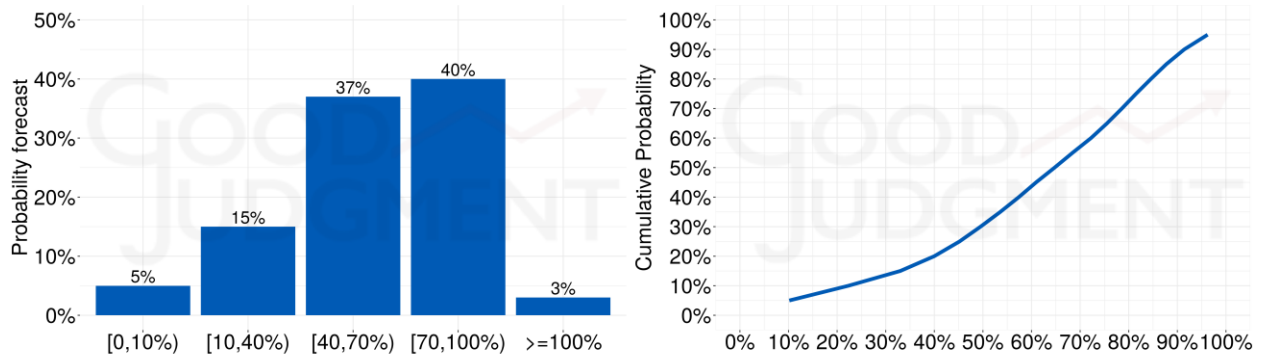
Superforecast answer options (summarized in bar chart below left)

< 10%	10–40%	40–70%	70–100%	> 100%
5%	15%	37%	40%	3%

Cumulative probability distribution with median in bold (summarized in line graph below right)

10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%
22.3	40	49.5	57.4	64.7	72.2	78.6	84.6	91.4

US Global Health Funding 2026 % vs 2024



Source: Good Judgment Inc

Base Rates

In recent years, even when proposals pointed to steep cuts, particularly those targeting USAID, the enacted appropriations tended to remain robust, often cushioning the planned reductions. Past funding levels have consistently hovered above \$12 billion, and there have been instances of funds being reallocated among agencies. Superforecasters note multiple instances in which proposed budget reductions were partially offset by legislative actions that restored cut funds or redirected them to other channels. They cite examples where the administrations' initial plans for deeper cuts were revised due to longstanding funding patterns and contractual obligations, with some critics noting that even significant proposed cancellations sometimes translate into less severe spending reductions once Congress gets involved. In the past, even as agencies underwent reorganization or program transfers, the overall funding often remained above a critical threshold, underscoring the institutional inertia built into the funding process.

Current Drivers

The current environment has been characterized by large-scale initiatives that challenge past patterns of funding, especially with the announced plan to cancel or transfer 83% of USAID programs. These moves have been driven by administration-led reviews, accompanied by legal challenges and contract terminations (some of them reversed) related to programs in HIV, tuberculosis, and other key health areas. Superforecasters note that reported cancellations and data updates on the scale of cuts sometimes include adjustments where larger grant amounts, such as those supporting infant nutrition or HIV treatment, may have already been paid out or were later reinstated. Complicating the picture, media reports and federal data not only fail to detail the percentage of programs affected but also explain that some savings might be overstated for a variety of reasons, including misunderstandings about how grant ceilings work versus actual disbursements. Meanwhile, recent reviews by efficiency units have led to transfers of funding responsibilities, suggesting that while programs may change agencies, the overall resource allocation might not decline as sharply as numerical cuts on paper would imply.

Future Risks

In a political environment with more than the usual volatility, unforeseen legal rulings or shifts in Congressional behavior might lead to either milder cuts or an unexpected rebound in overall spending. For instance, if subsequent court decisions find that certain funding cancellations or contract terminations violate existing legal obligations, it is possible that halted programs, especially those in areas like HIV, tuberculosis, and infant nutrition, could be restored, thereby reducing the severity of the funding decline. Superforecasters also consider the possibility of a public health emergency, such as a surge in tuberculosis cases or the onset of a new pandemic, which might compel Congress to authorize supplemental appropriations that boost the funding levels relative to the FY 2024 baseline. They note that historical trends indicate Congress's readiness to reverse deep cuts when critical services are at stake, and past instances serve as concrete examples where funding was partially reinstated despite initial cancellation orders. Additionally, Superforecasters highlight that if legislative forces in Congress consolidate behind efforts to maintain previously established funding levels or if political calculations shift due to upcoming elections, overall reductions could be less pronounced than current proposals suggest.

Select Superforecaster Quotes

- "The legal situation is unclear. I am wondering if there will be future rulings that go farther, i.e., that say that the Trump administration must pay out what Congress has mandated."
- "The probability that US Global Health Funding in Fiscal Year 2026 will be 100% or more of what it was in Fiscal Year 2024 seems quite remote, given the new administration's targeting of USAID. However, I still assign a small probability to it because Global Health Funding cuts might legally have to be approved by Congress and because there could be a global health emergency (perhaps a potential H5N1 pandemic) that results in emergency supplemental funding."
- "I was going to make the case for more than a token 1% in '100% or more' for increased US Global Health Funding due to a new pandemic or major public health crisis, but I am not convinced Trump wants to believe there is a correlation between health aid abroad and the cost of addressing health crises at home."
- "It would take a global health emergency like a pandemic or a major outbreak for the US to ramp up funding to address global threats. And even then, I'm not so sure."
- "It would take a global health emergency, like a pandemic or a major outbreak, for the US to ramp up funding to address global threats. Even then, the increase is far from certain."

Key Superforecaster Sources

- [Washington Post: USAID foreign funding suspension unlawful](#)
- [KFF: The Outlook for PEPFAR in 2025 and Beyond](#)
- [AP News: Trump, Musk, Rubio and USAID Draw Attention to Foreign Aid Spending](#)
- [The Hill: Trump administration cuts USAID](#)
- [Yahoo: Diseases Coming](#)
- [NBC News: Tuberculosis surge possible if USAID cuts follow Trump's WHO pullout plans](#)
- [WMUR: House Republicans unveil bill to avoid shutdown and they're daring Democrats to oppose it](#)
- [The New York Times: Doge Errors Funding Grants Claims](#)



- [KFF: 10 Things to Know About U.S. Funding for Global Health](#)
- [Reuters: U.S. Restores Some Aid, Humanitarian Groups Ask: 'Where is the Money?'](#)
- [Devex: Nearly 10,000 awards cut from USAID, State Department](#)
- [Bipartisan Policy Center: Congressional Spending Negotiations in 2025: Scenario Planning](#)

Q2: How much will the US government obligate in total foreign assistance in Fiscal Year (FY) 2026 as compared to FY 2024, according to ForeignAssistance.gov?

The median forecast is that the amount the US government will obligate in total foreign assistance in FY 2026 will be 66% that of FY 2024.

Reasons why the outcome will be lower:

- The near-cancellation of 83% of USAID programs signals a deliberate, deep cut in traditional foreign assistance funding.
- A shift in budget priorities under the current administration, especially given Republican legislative trends, points to fewer appropriations for nondefense programs.
- Legislative gridlock and a focus on domestic spending, alongside adjustments in funding channels, may restrict additional foreign assistance spending.
- The anticipated contraction in Ukraine aid, following anomalous spikes in recent years, reinforces an overall reduction in obligations.

Reasons why the outcome will be higher:

- Key programs like PEPFAR and support for strategic allies may be insulated from deep cuts due to bipartisan support and political necessity.
- Reallocation of remaining funds to other agencies like the State Department and exemptions for critical programs could help sustain higher overall spending.
- Congressional dynamics and the possibility of rebranding or reallocating funds may preserve or even boost certain aid categories despite USAID cuts.
- Unforeseen geopolitical developments, such as renewed conflict or a strategic pivot in Ukraine, could prompt additional spending despite the overall trend.

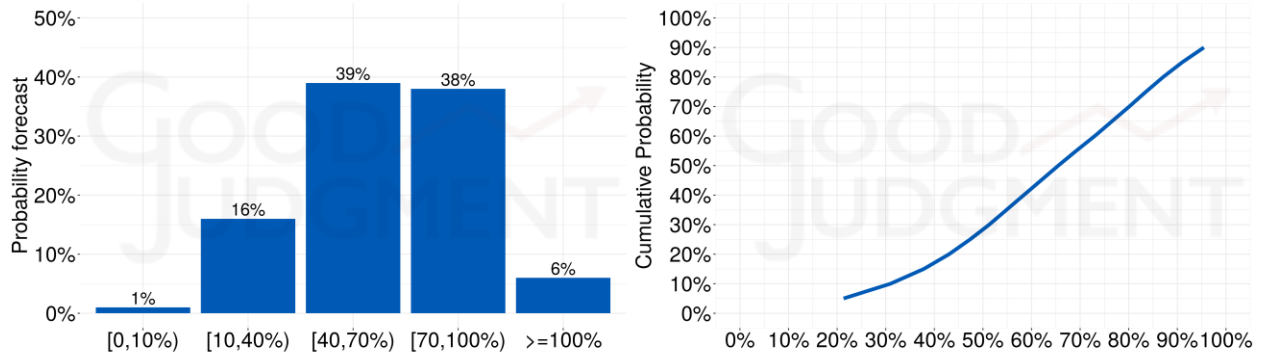
Superforecast answer options (summarized in bar chart below left)

< 10%	10–40%	40–70%	70–100%	> 100%
1%	16%	39%	38%	6%

Cumulative probability distribution with median in bold (summarized in line graph below right)

10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%
31.0	43.0	51.3	58.4	65.5	73.0	80.1	87.1	95.5

US Total Foreign Assistance 2026 % vs 2024



Source: Good Judgment Inc

Base Rates

Superforecasters note that in prior periods, particularly during Trump's first administration, foreign assistance obligations tended to fall within a relatively stable range despite periodic fluctuations, with totals generally hovering in the vicinity of \$48 billion to \$54 billion. The unusually high obligations seen in 2022 and 2023 were largely driven by extra-military commitments, making the partial data for FY 2024 an unreliable baseline for those peak years. Grounding their judgment in these historical figures, the Superforecasters argue that, even though the FY 2024 numbers may be revised upward when all data are finalized, the trend of modest cuts is consistent with past periods when similar funding decisions were made.

Current Drivers

Recent administrative actions indicate a sharp shift in spending priorities. Superforecasters cite such examples as the significant scaling back of programs under the "Peace and Security" umbrella and reductions in assistance to Ukraine, noting that these adjustments have already been observed in preliminary data. Legislative measures, including the implementation of continuing resolutions and temporary spending freezes pending broader budget negotiations, could further constrain obligations. While certain programs with longstanding bipartisan support, such as humanitarian and global health initiatives, might experience less pressure than others, the overall pattern indicates a systematic move toward reduced funding levels. The adjustments in agency management and funding reallocations signal a reorientation that is likely to persist into FY 2026.

Future Risks

Specific unexpected developments, such as renewed support for Ukraine in response to changing circumstances or adjustments triggered by shifts in legislative negotiations, could moderate the anticipated cuts. If emergency measures or targeted policy changes are implemented, certain key components of foreign assistance might experience less severe reductions. Additionally, revisions to the partial data for FY 2024, including the postponed inclusion of military assistance figures, could alter the baseline, thereby affecting the relative percentage change. Superforecasters also point to internal debates over funding priorities among agencies like the Department of Defense (DoD) and the State Department (DoS), as well as potential interventions by corporate and private-sector actors with stakes

in multi-million-dollar contracts. While the prevailing view leans toward significant cuts, scenarios in which obligations remain higher cannot be entirely ruled out.

Select Superforecaster Quotes

- "As with the question of Global Health Funding, I'll make the simplifying assumption that 83% of USAID programs being cut equates to an 83% reduction in spending. It's possible that the USAID cuts will be ruled unlawful or that Congress maintains or increases the level of total foreign assistance, but it seems more likely that assistance will be at least 70% than that it will be less than 40%, because assistance to Ukraine could in fact ramp up if the US tries to pressure Russia to come to the negotiating table."
- "Kiel data shows total military aid to Ukraine in 2024 above \$46 billion, and I expect Ukrainian military aid to be drastically curtailed, but if Russia manages to fall out of favor with Trump, the US could double down on support."
- "Going to go with a baseline of \$65 billion starting off as it seems that FY 2024 is still only partially reported. Ukraine is hard to account for given so many variables, including the minerals deal and whether Trump will be willing to give additional aid in return for peace."
- "After watching the House action on the continuing resolution and the debates on the floor, it appears that the objective is to keep kicking the can down the road until the next fiscal year, which adds uncertainty to whether the intended obligations will actually be realized."

Key Superforecaster Sources

- [The Washington Post: USAID foreign funding suspension unlawful](#)
- [IfW Kiel: Ukraine Support Tracker](#)
- [France24: 83% Of USAID Programs To Be Scrapped](#)
- [Foreign Assistance: https://www.foreignassistance.gov/](https://www.foreignassistance.gov/)
- [Devex: Nearly 10,000 awards cut from USAID, State Department](#)
- [NPR: House Republicans' Spending Bill Could Lead To Government Shutdown, Trump Comments](#)

Q3: What will US PEPFAR/HIV funding be in Fiscal Year (FY) 2026 as compared to FY 2024?

The median forecast is that US PEPFAR/HIV funding in FY 2026 will be 67% that of FY 2024. In addition to the amount that will be funded, the Superforecasters were asked how much will be spent, where the median forecast is 83%.

Reasons why the outcome will be lower:

- Heightened political and ideological pressures—especially regarding abortion and LGBTQ+ issues—may drive aggressive budget cuts.
- Administrative disruptions such as 90-day freezes, stop-work orders, and short-term reauthorizations can create significant uncertainty over sustained funding.
- In terms of short-term reauthorizations, the switch from traditional multi-year to one-year extensions increases the risk of reduced appropriations in FY 2026.
- Shifts in congressional priorities and Republican tendency to reduce foreign aid may result in deeper-than-expected cuts.
- In terms of operational disruptions and administrative shifts, staffing cuts and frozen funds at USAID may impede smooth funding flows, driving overall levels down.

Reasons why the outcome will be higher:

- Longstanding bipartisan support and the program's history as a successful Bush-era initiative may help preserve its funding levels.
- Influential lobby groups, including in pharmaceutical and agricultural sectors, are likely to advocate for maintaining robust funding.
- Efforts to demonstrate PEPFAR's effectiveness and the existence of reauthorization mechanisms could lead to only modest, symbolic cuts rather than sharp reductions.
- Potential policy reversals and remedial actions, e.g., if political negotiations or emergency waivers are extended, may result in funding levels closer to past benchmarks.

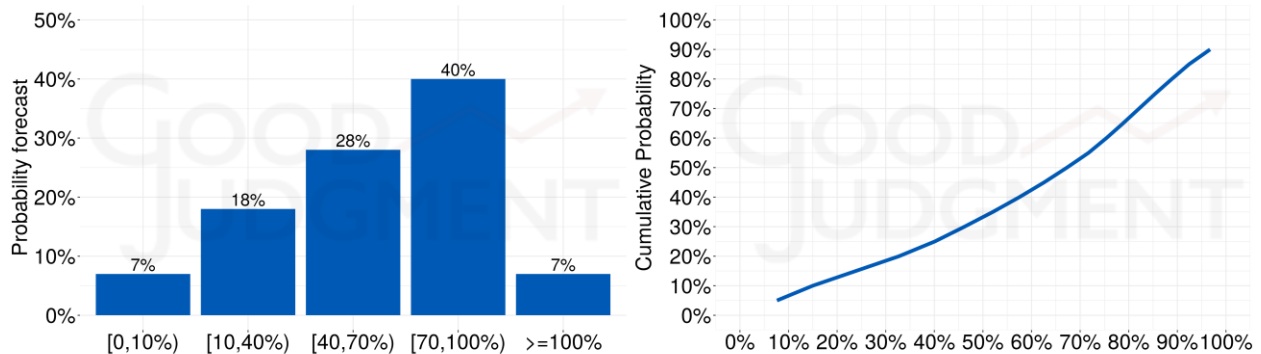
Superforecast answer options (summarized in bar chart below left)

< 10%	10–40%	40–70%	70–100%	> 100%
7%	18%	28%	40%	7%

Cumulative probability distribution with median in bold (summarized in line graph below right)

10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%
15.0	32.8	46.2	57.5	67.3	75.4	82.1	88.9	96.7

US PEPFAR/HIV Funding 2026 % vs 2024



Source: Good Judgment Inc

Base Rates

PEPFAR funding has historically benefited from steady bipartisan support, with funding levels remaining relatively stable even as the program evolved. Despite periodic political pressures and reauthorization adjustments, in the past, PEPFAR has maintained a reliable base. PEPFAR's roots as a Bush-era initiative set a strong historical precedent, with funding levels that have withstood shifts in political sentiment. Past administrations, recognizing its importance in curbing the HIV/AIDS epidemic both domestically and abroad, often provided multi-year authorizations that created a stable funding base, a trend that many Superforecasters believe played a key role in the program's durability.

Current Drivers

In a notable departure from past practice, earlier reauthorizations typically covered longer periods than the current one-year extension, and the current administration's recent moves signal a more conflicted approach to the program. The issuing of waivers to keep parts of PEPFAR operating during funding halts have added layers of uncertainty. The recent waiver, for instance, suggests a willingness among some Republicans to preserve key elements of the program even as others push for deeper cuts. Superforecasters add, however, that several termination notices were issued to major initiatives, such as the cancellation affecting the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation, which serves as an indicator that even popular programs can face rollback. While certain Republican voices have publicly praised PEPFAR for its achievements in global HIV prevention, these measures suggest that the current momentum is geared toward modest but persistent funding reductions.

Future Risks

If political pressure escalates, particularly from critics of abortion- and LGBTQ-linked funding, cuts could go deeper than currently anticipated. Conversely, Superforecasters note that influential business interests and lobbying from American companies, including farmers and pharmaceutical manufacturers that benefit from associated global health initiatives, could mobilize support for a funding rebound. There have been instances where voices in Congress and among industry lobby groups have reminded

lawmakers of the economic benefits that flow through these programs. This could potentially cushion the impact of proposed cuts. PEPFAR's success, especially in preventing mother-to-child HIV transmission, might sway the outcome closer to a scenario where the funding reduction remains modest or the funding even increases if support intensifies.

Select Superforecaster Quotes

- "USAID program transfers announced by Rubio make me wonder if these cuts may be deeper and longer than many of us would expect given past bipartisan support for such programs."
- "Political pressure brought by the businesses affected by the DOGE cuts may influence congressional Republicans to reconsider these cuts. Also, given that the PEPFAR program was a singular Bush administration achievement, it seems likely that Republicans in the end will continue to vote for funding, though probably at a reduced level."
- "PEPFAR has already received a congressional blow—it only received an extension for one year to March 25, rather than the customary five-year extension. I think PEPFAR will get extremely severe cuts, nearly to the point of non-existence."
- "Secretary of State Marco Rubio granted PEPFAR a waiver to continue providing some services, but its long-term future remains uncertain, as does the inclusion of preventative measures. If the program's successes can be clearly demonstrated, there's still a path for continued US support."

Key Superforecaster Sources

- [Vox: Donald Trump, Elon Musk, and the Future of PEPFAR](#)
- [The Global Fund: https://www.theglobalfund.org/en/results/](https://www.theglobalfund.org/en/results/)
- [HIV.gov: Ending the HIV Epidemic: Overview](#)
- [KFF: The Outlook for PEPFAR in 2025 and Beyond](#)
- [UNAIDS: https://www.unaids.org/en/topic/PEPFAR_impact](https://www.unaids.org/en/topic/PEPFAR_impact)
- [PEPFAR: https://pepfarreport.org](https://pepfarreport.org)
- [Yahoo News: PEPFAR Funding Problems Persist Despite Looming Shutdown Temporarily Averted](#)
- [National Review: Please, Yes, Clean Up Our Foreign Aid — but Save PEPFAR](#)

Q4: What will US malaria funding be in Fiscal Year (FY) 2026 as compared to FY 2024?

The median forecast is that US malaria funding in FY 2026 will be 56% that of FY 2024. In addition to the amount that will be funded, the Superforecasters were asked how much will be spent, where the median forecast is 80%.

Reasons why the outcome will be lower:

- Past USAID contract cancellations, along with a pattern of aggressive cuts, have set a precedent for reduced funding levels.
- Ongoing fiscal and political pressures—including Congressional debates over tax cuts and budget deficits—are likely to promote further cuts in foreign aid, with malaria funding viewed as non-essential due to its limited domestic impact.
- The minimal sense of domestic urgency surrounding malaria, combined with low public salience in the US, gives political leaders little incentive to boost funding.
- Recent trends in reallocating or scaling back global health aid suggest that even partial reversals may not fully restore previous funding levels.

Reasons why the outcome will be higher:

- Court rulings or executive actions could potentially reverse some of the contract terminations and reopen funding paths that had been previously closed.
- Changing political dynamics and lobbying from business and global health advocates may prompt Congressional pushback and lead to moderated cuts or even funding increases.
- Strategic reallocation of resources through alternative agencies (e.g., DoS or DoD) may preserve the current level of malaria funding or partially offset the reductions.

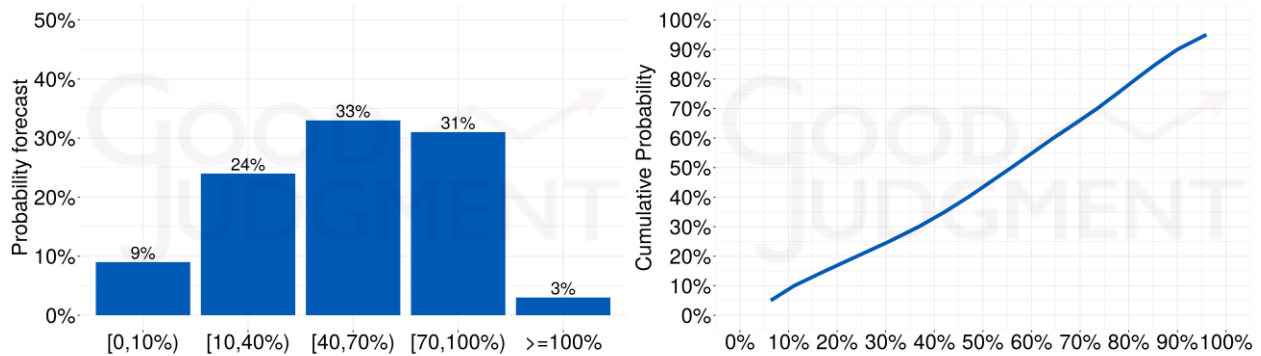
Superforecast answer options (summarized in bar chart below left)

< 10%	10–40%	40–70%	70–100%	> 100%
9%	24%	33%	31%	3%

Cumulative probability distribution with median in bold (summarized in line graph below right)

10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%
11.2	24.1	36.8	47.0	55.9	64.5	73.5	81.5	90.0

US Malaria Funding 2026 % vs 2024



Source: Good Judgment Inc

Base Rates

Over the past 15 years, malaria funding has consistently represented a modest but important portion of US global health spending, with FY 2024 levels amounting to roughly 9–10% of overall allocations. Past administrations have faced similar debates over whether to maintain existing funding levels or introduce cuts. Historical data, e.g., baseline levels such as those seen in fiscal years like 2018, and previous funding patterns suggest a general tendency toward modest reductions during periods of political and budgetary realignment, providing a key context for the current assessment. Completely defunding long-standing health programs is highly unusual. Although malaria programs have been targeted for cuts given their relatively low domestic political profile, the tangible effects seen from prior cycles underscore that while deep cuts are announced, actual reductions tend to be less extreme once legal, administrative, and budgetary pressures come into play.

Current Drivers

The US administration has announced substantial contract terminations in this area. Some of these decisions are currently being challenged in court and have even seen partial reversals. While such contract terminations signal a sharp move toward lower funding, court rulings and subsequent administrative reversals have partially offset those actions: Certain contracts, such as those from REACH Malaria, saw reversal notices within 30 days. If legislative safeguards or judicial interventions fully reverse recent cancellations, funding could potentially recover to levels north of 70% of FY 2024 funding. Superforecasters in their analysis also factor in reports of staff furloughs and realignments from USAID, along with discussions around shifting the program's focus, which they believe will collectively contribute to a significant, though not as yet catastrophic, funding drop.

Future Risks

If legal challenges or administrative delays prevent the timely restoration of terminated contracts, funding could fall substantially to 10% or less of its previous level as critics argue that programs with minimal domestic impact might be entirely defunded. In contrast, if a full budget is not passed, the

status quo could result in funding closer to or even exceeding current levels, especially if judicial rulings force the restoration of some contracts.

Select Superforecaster Quotes

- "I think if they get the chance, they'll cut it to below 10%. It's likely that the current US government will argue that responsibility for malaria eradication should fall on the affected countries rather than the American taxpayer."
- "Others have already posted that Trump's USAID cuts would impact US Malaria Funding. But there are legal battles making their way through court, and although some of these may be resolved this year, what I think we need to focus on is the new budget."
- "Existing programs and contractors working on malaria initiatives received letters reversing the termination of their contracts, underscoring that even when deep cuts are proposed, reversals have sometimes mitigated the impact."
- "Court cases might delay some of the funding cuts, but in practical terms, most of the programs are already crippled and likely won't be fully restored."

Key Superforecaster Sources

- [Malaria No More: Malaria No More Statement on the Administration's Termination of USAID Malaria Programs](#)
- [Reuters: Some Malaria, TB Programme Cuts Reversed by US, Sources Say](#)
- [Beat Malaria: Senate Foreign Operations Bill Sustains Strong Investments in Malaria Programs but More Funding is Needed as Malaria Fight Reaches Critical Crossroads](#)
- [GiveWell: How Much Does It Cost to Save a Life?](#)
- [Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health: Malaria's Comeback in the US](#)
- [CDC: Malaria - About Malaria](#)
- [MSN: Some Malaria, TB Programme Cuts Reversed by US, Sources Say](#)
- [Washington Post: USAID foreign funding suspension unlawful](#)
- [Johns Hopkins University: Malaria's Comeback in the US](#)

Q5: How much funding will be contributed to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (Global Fund) in its 2026-2028 replenishment cycle?

The median forecast is that funding contributed to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (Global Fund) in its 2026-2028 replenishment cycle will be \$15 billion.

Reasons why the outcome will be lower:

- Historical trends show most past replenishment cycles fell short of high targets, with six out of seven cycles below \$12 billion.
- Major donors like the US and UK have recently underperformed relative to their pledges amid budget cuts and shifting priorities, reducing overall contributions.
- Increased defense spending in Europe and domestic fiscal constraints suggest less available funds for international aid.
- Although private donors may increase contributions, they typically cannot completely make up for shortfalls from large government donors.

Reasons why the outcome will be higher:

- Private donors and philanthropic organizations, if mobilized, could provide substantial additional contributions beyond governmental pledges.
- Late-cycle catch-up contributions have occurred in the past, where pledges eventually translate into higher actual funding amounts.
- Potential shifts in political leadership or renewed commitment to global health could reverse current trends and boost funding levels.
- A shift in political sentiment or a new Congress could reverse current aid cut trends and boost funding.
- A renewed or worsening global health crisis might galvanize donor commitments, leading to contributions closer to or even above previous high benchmarks.

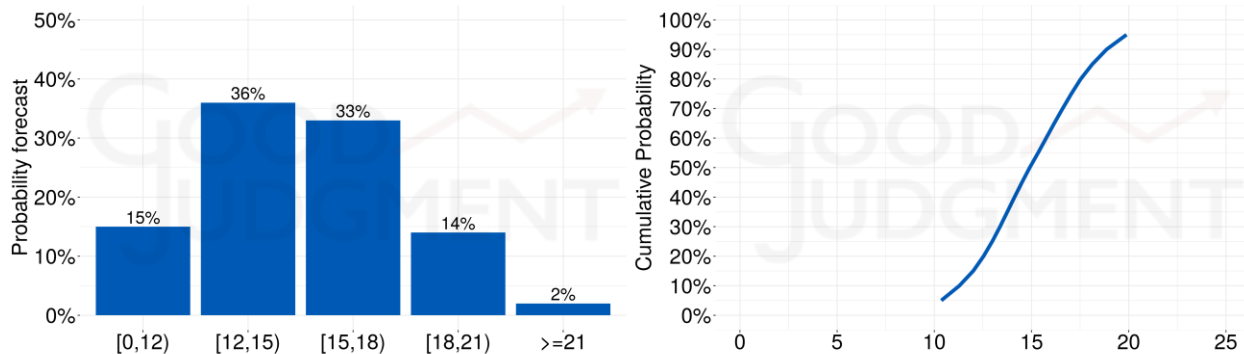
Superforecast answer options, in US\$billions (summarized in bar chart below left)

< 12	12–15	15–18	18–21	> 21
15%	36%	33%	14%	2%

Cumulative probability distribution with median in bold (summarized in line graph below right)

10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%
11.3	12.5	13.4	14.1	14.9	15.8	16.6	17.5	18.9

Global Fund 2026-2028 Replenishment Cycle (\$ Billion)



Source: Good Judgment Inc

Base Rates

Past replenishment cycles have tended to follow a modest upward trend. Before the Covid period, there was an increase of roughly \$0.5 billion per cycle, reaching a pre-Covid figure of nearly \$11.5 billion that then spiked during the pandemic to \$17.7 billion. Discounting the Covid spike, while targets have occasionally been approached or slightly exceeded, the base rate often reflects more modest outcomes.

Current Drivers

The United States, which typically contributes around 35% of the total, is now signaling a reduction in support. Meanwhile, the United Kingdom is expected to trim its aid by about 40% of its usual share, roughly equivalent to a 9% reduction in overall support. Superforecasters are also considering reports from sources like KFF and note that several other traditional contributors—such as France, Germany, Canada, and the Nordic countries—as well as major private funders historically have sometimes exceeded their pledge levels. Emerging issues, like recent TB outbreaks in the US, may prompt some of these donors to reassess their contributions.

Future Risks

Deeper-than-expected cuts from the US and the UK, as well as other European countries, might push the total contributions lower. Conversely, Superforecasters consider the scenario in which other traditional donors enhance their commitments or policy adjustments counterbalance the current cutbacks; in this case, funding is expected to hold near the status quo.

Select Superforecaster Quotes

- "With the US and the UK cutting back on international aid spending, and other countries in Europe looking to increase their defence budgets, it seems exceedingly unlikely that \$21 billion or more funding will be contributed in the 2026-2028 cycle."
- "Meanwhile, the EU will likely be pinched given commitments to increased military spending. But private donors count, and it's entirely possible that, if the US pulls back on aid, this fund will

benefit from individuals and nations stepping into the breach—especially if we see AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria begin to spike in 2025-2028."

- "As with other international aid programs, the coming years will be tough. With the post-Covid spending surge fading, we could see a sharp drop in available funds."
- "By that time, the US could have a very different Congress—not to mention international elections in other countries or Europe repositioning to boost its defense budgets."
- "With both the US and UK pulling back on such commitments, the question remains: will other nations step up or will this spur further cuts from key donors?"
- "During the first Trump administration, Congress appropriated more for foreign assistance every year than the administration requested. That may happen again. There is already pushback from some congressional Republicans against the DOGE cuts. By 2026, Republicans (who will be facing an election) may have a change of heart about the political advisability of making draconian cuts. Still, some cuts are likely."
- "By the end of 2028, the US could have a very different Congress, not to mention international elections in other countries, which could significantly affect funding levels."

Key Superforecaster Sources

- [Reuters: Global health funds push for more private money, fearing government retreat](#)
- [The Global Fund: https://www.theglobalfund.org/en/government/](https://www.theglobalfund.org/en/government/)
- [KFF: The U.S. & The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria](#)
- [Chatham House: First USAID Closes, Then UK Cuts Aid: What Western Retreat from Foreign Aid Could Mean](#)
- [The Guardian: Keir Starmer to carry out 'largest cut' to UK overseas aid in history](#)
- [The Global Fund: Global Fund Partnership Launches Investment Case for Eighth Replenishment](#)
- [Center for Global Development: The Future of U.S. Foreign Assistance: How Low Can They Go?](#)

Q6: How much funding will be contributed to the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) in its 2026-2030 replenishment cycle?

The median forecast is that funding contributed to the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) in its 2026-2030 replenishment cycle will be \$11 billion.

Reasons why the outcome will be lower:

- Major government donors, notably the US and UK, are signaling significant cutbacks amid domestic budget constraints and shifts toward defense spending.
- Historical funding cycles in normal years have been lower than the inflated Covid-19 levels, suggesting a reversion to pre-pandemic baselines around \$6–9 billion.
- Economic pressures, donor fatigue, and the risk of a global economic downturn could further limit both governmental and philanthropic contributions.
- Domestic budget reprioritizations and aid skepticism may further restrict promised funds.

Reasons why the outcome will be higher:

- GAVI's own replenishment ask of around \$11.8 billion serves as an anchoring target, and many donors (including private philanthropies or countries like Norway) have the capacity to step in even if key contributors cut back.
- The potential for a new public health emergency or pandemic could reignite urgency among donors, prompting higher pledges than anticipated.
- Increased commitments from countries less affected by budget cuts and a possible policy shift in the US after its mid-term election in 2026 could help boost overall funding levels.
- A change in leadership or improved international cooperation might boost donor willingness to fund GAVI.

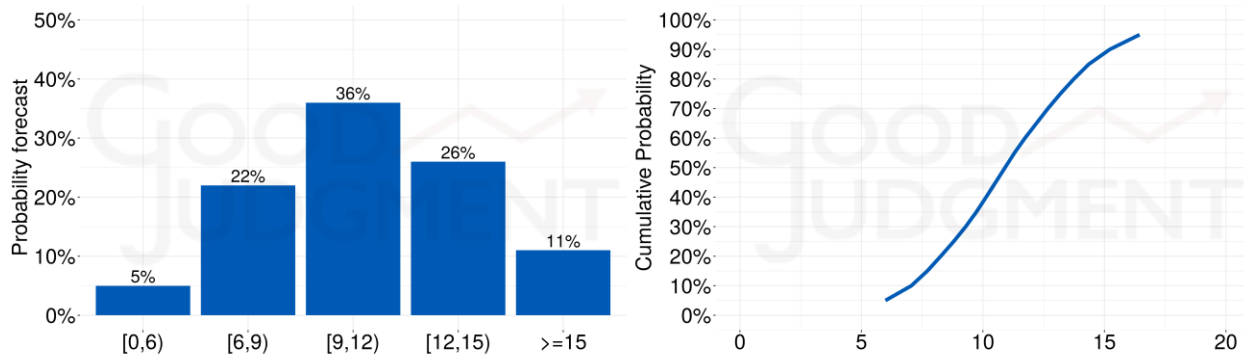
Superforecast Superforecast answer options, in US\$billions (summarized in bar chart below left)

< 6	6–9	9–12	12–15	> 15
5%	22%	36%	26%	11%

Cumulative probability distribution with median in bold (summarized in line graph below right)

10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%
7.1	8.3	9.3	10.1	10.9	11.7	12.7	13.7	15.2

Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization 2026-2028 Replenishment Cycle (\$ Billion)



Source: Good Judgment Inc

Base Rates

Superforecasters point to prior replenishment periods in which GAVI's funding has grown despite shifts in donor landscapes: Even when major donors trimmed their allocations, the overall funding level was maintained by a broader mix of contributors stepping in, including Norway and other European countries as well as leading philanthropic organizations. During the 2016-2020 period, GAVI secured roughly \$7.5 billion, a figure that was then markedly increased during the 2021-2025 cycle largely because of additional contributions for Covid-19 initiatives. With that emergency over and the extra funding for programs such as COVAX no longer in play, while donor commitments are expected to grow compared to the pre-pandemic period, the baseline has been effectively reset.

Current Drivers

The US government, which has historically contributed roughly 12% of GAVI's funding, now faces internal pressures that may lead to a reduction in its support; yet, this shortfall could be offset by increased contributions from the European community and major philanthropic organizations. Furthermore, Superforecasters note that the postponement of the replenishment summit to June 2025 in Brussels not only extends the negotiation period but also provides more opportunities for donor countries to reassess their budgets.

Future Risks

If cuts from key donors such as the US or the UK turn out to be deeper or more sustained than anticipated, other sources might not fully compensate for those reductions. For example, some Superforecasters argue that a total withdrawal by both the US and the UK could bring the funding to below \$12 billion. While in the past, cuts by some countries have been offset by other countries and organizations, the current environment—with domestic budget pressures and competing priorities—could lead to insufficient offsets and possible delays. Another risk is that private sources such as major foundations may choose to shift their focus toward other global health or development issues.

Select Superforecaster Quotes

- "I think there's a decent chance (30%) that they get significantly less than they are asking for (due to aid cuts in the US and the UK, and defence spending pressures in the UK and other European countries), with funding heading back to roughly 2016-2020 levels at \$6-9 billion."
- "Unknowns are whether there will be a new pandemic or public health emergency of international concern (PHEIC) that can be treated with vaccines."
- "Perhaps philanthropic contributions could pick up some of the slack if countries cut back."
- "A significantly lower funding outcome for GAVI in the 2026-2030 replenishment cycle seems increasingly plausible, given mounting pressures on donor governments and philanthropic sources."
- "A significantly lower funding outcome for GAVI in the 6 billion, but less than \$9 billion range seems increasingly plausible, given mounting pressures on donor governments and philanthropic sources. While GAVI has historically managed to meet its funding targets, the geopolitical and economic landscape over the next five years is materially different from previous cycles, heightening the risk of a shortfall."

Key Superforecaster Sources

- [GAVI: Gavi's Phase 4 \(2016-2020\) Strategy](#)
- [World Bank: GAVI Replenishment Exceeds Target for 2021-2025 Period](#)
- [Gavi: https://www.gavi.org/investing-gavi/funding/current-period-2021-2025](https://www.gavi.org/investing-gavi/funding/current-period-2021-2025)
- [Devex: Gavi's core programming not impacted by US foreign aid freeze](#)
- [The Guardian: Dismay as UK Poised to Cut Funding for Global Vaccination Group Gavi](#)
- [Project 2025: http://www.project2025.org/policy/](http://www.project2025.org/policy/)
- [One: ONE Applauds 5-Year US Pledge to Gavi](#)
- [KFF: The U.S. Government & Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance](#)
- [GAVI: https://www.gavi.org/investing-gavi/funding/donor-profiles](https://www.gavi.org/investing-gavi/funding/donor-profiles)

Resolution Criteria

Q1: What will US Global Health Funding be in Fiscal Year (FY) 2026 as compared to FY 2024?

Budget cut efforts by the "Department of Government Efficiency" and Congress are heavily targeting US foreign aid (<https://apnews.com/article/trump-usaid-aid-cut-doge-musk-dbaf0e89d72938caabee8251f7dfb4a7>, <https://www.newsnationnow.com/politics/doge-subcommittee-foreign-aid/>, <https://doge.gov/>). The Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF) tracks US government spending on, among other things, spending on international health care programs (<https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/issue-brief/10-things-to-know-about-u-s-funding-for-global-health/>, see Figures 5 & 6, which have download options). The outcome will be determined using data as reported by KFF when first available for the whole of FY 2026 (<https://www.kff.org/interactive/u-s-global-health-budget-tracker/>, click "Data Table" on the left side of the page. As of the launch of this question, the US had a total of \$12.37196 billion in global health funding in FY 2024. The US fiscal year runs from 1 October through 30 September, so FY 2026 runs from 1 October 2025 through 30 September 2026.

Q2: How much will the US government obligate in total foreign assistance in Fiscal Year (FY) 2026 as compared to FY 2024, according to ForeignAssistance.gov?

Budget cut efforts by the "Department of Government Efficiency" and Congress are heavily targeting US foreign aid (<https://apnews.com/article/trump-usaid-aid-cut-doge-musk-dbaf0e89d72938caabee8251f7dfb4a7>, <https://www.newsnationnow.com/politics/doge-subcommittee-foreign-aid/>, <https://doge.gov/>). The outcome will be determined using data as reported by ForeignAssistance.gov when first available for the whole of FY 2026. As of the launch of this question, the US obligated \$38,734,878,135 for foreign assistance in FY 2024. Exact data may be downloaded (<https://www.foreignassistance.gov/data>, download the data under "USG Sector Summary" and sum the "current_amount" figures for the pertinent year when the "Transaction Type Name" column is set to "Obligations"). You may view rounded figures on the dashboard at foreignassistance.gov (set "Fiscal Year" as appropriate, "Funding Phase" to "Obligations," "Sector" to "US"). The US fiscal year runs from 1 October through 30 September, so FY 2026 runs from 1 October 2025 through 30 September 2026.

Q3: What will US PEPFAR/HIV funding be in Fiscal Year (FY) 2026 as compared to FY 2024?

Budget cut efforts by the "Department of Government Efficiency" and Congress are heavily targeting US foreign aid (<https://apnews.com/article/trump-usaid-aid-cut-doge-musk-dbaf0e89d72938caabee8251f7dfb4a7>, <https://www.newsnationnow.com/politics/doge-subcommittee-foreign-aid/>, https://www.cbs19news.com/lawmakers-debate-doge-cuts-to-foreign-aid-shuttering-of-usaid/article_ce267095-bd68-54bb-9002-b6bec45a80da.html, <https://doge.gov/>). The Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF) tracks US government spending on, among other things, international health care programs (<https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/issue-brief/10-things-to-know-about-u-s-funding-for-global-health/>, see Figures 5 & 6, which have download options, <https://www.hiv.gov/federal-response/pepfar-global-aids/pepfar>). The outcome will be determined using data as reported by KFF when first available for the whole of FY 2026 (<https://www.kff.org/interactive/u-s-global-health-budget-tracker/>, click "Data Table" on the left side of the page, see "HIV/AIDS"). As of the launch of this

question, the US had a total of \$5.44135 billion in PEPFAR/HIV funding in FY 2024. The US fiscal year runs from 1 October through 30 September, so FY 2026 runs from 1 October 2025 through 30 September 2026.

Q4: What will US malaria funding be in Fiscal Year (FY) 2026 as compared to FY 2024?

Budget cut efforts by the "Department of Government Efficiency" and Congress are heavily targeting US foreign aid (<https://apnews.com/article/trump-usaid-aid-cut-doge-musk-dbaf0e89d72938caabee8251f7dfb4a7>, <https://www.newsnationnow.com/politics/doge-subcommittee-foreign-aid/>, https://www.cbs19news.com/lawmakers-debate-doge-cuts-to-foreign-aid-shuttering-of-usaid/article_ce267095-bd68-54bb-9002-b6bec45a80da.html, <https://doge.gov/>). The Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF) tracks US government spending on, among other things, spending on international health care programs (<https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/issue-brief/10-things-to-know-about-u-s-funding-for-global-health/>, see Figures 5 & 6, which have download options). The outcome will be determined using data as reported by KFF when first available for the whole of FY 2026 (<https://www.kff.org/interactive/u-s-global-health-budget-tracker/>, click "Data Table" on the left side of the page, see "Malaria"). As of the launch of this question, the US had a total of \$1.05669 billion in malaria funding in FY 2024. The US fiscal year runs from 1 October through 30 September, so FY 2026 runs from 1 October 2025 through 30 September 2026.

Q5: How much funding will be contributed to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (Global Fund) in its 2026-2028 replenishment cycle?

The Global Fund is "a worldwide partnership to defeat HIV, tuberculosis (TB) and malaria and ensure a healthier, safer and more equitable future for all" (<https://www.theglobalfund.org/en/about-the-global-fund/>). Global Fund's next allocation period for its eighth replenishment cycle is 2026-2028, which is intended to fund work for 2027-2029, and with a goal of raising \$18 billion (<https://www.theglobalfund.org/en/replenishment>, <https://www.theglobalfund.org/en/investment-case/>). As of the launch of this question, the amount contributed for 2023-25 was \$8,088,138,667 (this may increase after the question is launched), and contributions for 2020-22 totaled \$17,659,977,965 (<https://data.theglobalfund.org/>, see "Pledges & Contributions" chart and hover your cursor over the columns for data).

Q6: How much funding will be contributed to the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) in its 2026-2030 replenishment cycle?

GAVI is "an international organisation – a global Vaccine Alliance, bringing together public and private sectors with the shared goal of saving lives and protecting people's health by increasing equitable and sustainable use of vaccines" (<https://www.gavi.org/our-alliance>, <https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/fact-sheet/the-u-s-government-gavi-the-vaccine-alliance/>). In 2024, GAVI stated that it will need "\$9 billion in additional resources" for 2026-2030 (<https://www.gavi.org/sites/default/files/investing/funding/resource-mobilisation/Gavi-Investment-Opportunity-2026-2030.pdf>). As of 30 June 2024, GAVI reported a total of \$21.432 billion in donor contributions for 2021-2025 (<https://www.gavi.org/investing-gavi/funding/current-period-2021-2025>,



<https://www.gavi.org/investing-gavi/funding/donor-profiles/annual-contributions-and-proceeds>, click "Annual Contributions and Proceeds 30 June 2024" to download an xlsx file and see "TOTAL PLEDGED" at row 141). Pledges to CEPI are immaterial (<https://cepi.net/>).

Methodology

The data for this report was generated by Good Judgment Inc's certified Superforecasters from around the world. Their forecasting accuracy placed them in the top 1-2% of the more than 100,000 forecasters who took part in the US Government research project or on the public forecasting platform Good Judgment Open. These Superforecasters are a diverse group, with professions ranging from finance to intelligence, management to medicine, psychology to archaeology. Most have one or more graduate degrees, and a third have doctorates. Roughly half of the Superforecasters live outside of the United States and most speak two or more languages. The Superforecasters are not required to agree with each other on their forecasts or their reasoning. This report, therefore, is an effort to describe the main lines of thinking of a disparate group of forecasting experts.

For this project, the Superforecasters began with their initial individual forecasts and comments shared on a closed proprietary platform. They then engaged in a robust exchange of views on the drivers of their current forecasts, risks that would cause them to revisit their forecasts, and key sources.

This report was prepared with the assistance of ChatGPT through a series of specialized prompts generated by Good Judgment's data science team. The report was then reviewed and refined by human editors.

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