Foreign Aid: More Support than Thought

How Much Foreign Aid Does—and Should—the US Give?
Let’s Begin by Acknowledging There’s a Lot of Public Confusion

**Question:** Do you feel the amount the US spends on foreign aid is too much, too little, or about right?

- About right: 78%
- Too little: 4%
- Too much: 18%

**Source:** Survey by the Program on International Policy Attitudes, University of Maryland, January 12-15, 1995.

**Question:** Does this [the fact that you feel the US spends too much on foreign aid] mean you want to cut foreign aid?

- Yes: 87%
- No: 13%

**Question:** There is a debate about how much of the wealth that is produced by the American economy, also known as the US GNP (Gross National Product), should be given as humanitarian and economic aid to developing countries. For every $1,000 of GNP, how many dollars, if any, do you think the US should give?

- Median: $25

**Question:** What is your hunch about how many dollars the US does give (as humanitarian and economic aid to developing countries) for every $1,000 of GNP?

- Median: $100

**Question:** What if you heard that the US gives say a dollar and a half for every $1,000 of GNP (as humanitarian and economic aid to developing countries)? Would you feel that is too much, too little, or about right?

- Too little: 20%
- About right: 47%
- Too much: 18%
- Don’t know/refused: 10%

**Source:** Survey by the Program on International Policy Attitudes, University of Maryland, June 21-27, 1996.

**Question:** What do you think would be appropriate percentage of the federal budget to go to foreign aid, if any?

- Mean: 8%

**Question:** Just based on what you know, please tell me your hunch about what percentage of the federal budget goes to foreign aid. You can answer in fractions of percentage points as well as whole percentage points.

- Mean: 18%

**Question:** Now imagine that you found out that the US spends 1% of the federal budget on foreign aid. Would you feel that this is too little, too much, or about right?

- Way too little: 34%
- A bit too much: 18%
- About right: 47%

**Source:** Survey by the Program on International Policy Attitudes, University of Maryland, January 12-15, 1995.

12 THE PUBLIC PERSPECTIVE, AUGUST/SEPTEMBER 1997
After World War II, the Marshall Plan was quickly endorsed by the US public, and support continued.

**Question:** [Asked of those who had heard of or read the Marshall Plan (49%)] What is your opinion of the Marshall Plan?

- **No opinion:** 22%
- **Disapprove:** 21%
- **Approve:** 57%

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 4-9, 1947.

**Question:** [Asked of those who had heard of or read the Marshall Plan (68%)] What is your opinion of the Marshall Plan?

- **Don't know/No answer:** 3%
- **Disapprove:** 11%
- **Approve:** 51%
- **Qualified Answers:** 19%

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, October 3-8, 1947.

**Question:** [Asked of those who had heard of or read the Marshall Plan (79%)] What is your opinion of the Marshall Plan?

- **Don't know/No answer:** 22%
- **Disapprove:** 19%
- **Approve:** 47%

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, January 2-7, 1948.

**Question:** Do you approve or disapprove of continuing to send economic aid to western Europe under the Marshall Plan?

- **Approve:** 66%
- **Disapprove:** 24%
- **Don't know:** 10%

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, April 1949.

**Question:** Do you approve or disapprove of continuing to send economic aid to Asia under the Marshall Plan?

- **Approve:** 63%
- **Disapprove:** 31%
- **Don't know:** 6%

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, November 1951.

**Question:** ...Our program of Marshall Plan aid was supposed to get the countries of western Europe in good economic condition by 1952. Is it your impression that these countries are already in good condition and don't need our help now, or that they will need our help only until 1952, or will they still need our help after that time?

- **Don't need our help now:** 14%
- **Will need help until 1952:** 27%
- **Will need our help after that time:** 42%

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, November 1950.

**Question:** You may remember that under the Marshall Plan we sent aid to the non-communist countries in Europe. Do you now think it would be a good idea or a poor idea to send such aid to non-communist countries in Asia?

- **Poor idea:** 27%
- **Good idea:** 56%
- **No opinion:** 17%

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 14-19, 1955.

**Question:** Here's a list of international events that the US has been involved in recent history. For each, please tell me whether you think it was a proud moment in American history, a dark moment, or neither...The Marshall Plan of aid to Europe?

- **Not sure:** 23%
- **Proud moment:** 56%
- **Dark moment:** 6%
- **Neither:** 15%

**Source:** Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, December 6-14, 1974.
Americans Moved Remarkably Fast to Back Aiding the Rebuilding of Germany

**Question:** Should we remove from Germany all heavy industries which make such things as steel, automobiles, ships and the like?

- Yes: 50%
- No: 42%
- No opinion: 9%

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, October 19-24, 1945

**Question:** In Germany we are trying to feed the people about three-quarters as much as in the liberated countries like France. This means that the health of many Germans, including children, will suffer this winter. Do you think we should give them some more food or not?

- Should: 44%
- Should, qualified (vol.): 15%
- Should not: 35%

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, December 1945

**Question:** [Asked of those who originally thought we should give the Germans more food or who volunteered a qualified response (59%)]...Suppose it meant that the people in liberated countries like France would get somewhat less food than they would otherwise have. Do you think we should give some more to the Germans or not?

- Should: 40%
- Should, qualified (vol.): 6%
- Should not: 46%

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, December 1946

**Question:** Would you like to see our government help Germany get her peacetime industry going again?

- Yes: 76%
- No: 16%
- Depends (vol.): 9%

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, December 1946

**Question:** Should the United States do everything we can to make Germany a good friend of ours?

- Yes: 86%
- No: 14%

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, May 14-17, 1947

**Question:** Do you approve or disapprove of our government helping to build up German industry?

- Approve: 68%
- Disapprove: 32%

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, June 1948

**Question:** Four years have gone by since the end of the war in Europe. From your impressions, based on what you have read or heard, would you say that Germany, on the whole, has or has not been punished enough for its part in World War II?

- Has been: 53%
- Has not been: 29%
- No opinion: 18%

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 2-7, 1949
Similarly, Support for Punishing Post-War Japan Was Light, While Willingness to Aid It Grew Rapidly

**Question:** Would you be willing to continue to put up with present shortages of butter, sugar, meat, and other rationed food products in order to give food to people who need it in Japan?

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, August 24-29, 1945.

**Question:** Would you like to see our government help Japan get her peacetime industry going again?

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, December 1946.

**Question:** What about Japan? Would you say that Japan, on the whole, has or has not been punished enough for its part in World War II?

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 22-28, 1949.

**Question:** Do you favor or oppose giving economic aid to Japan?

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, November 1954.

**Question:** Do you approve or disapprove of our government helping to build up Japanese industry?

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, June 1948.

**Question:** Is it your impression that Japan still needs economic aid from the United States, or can they get along well enough without any more help from us?

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, November 1954.

**Question:** Do you think we ought to give Japan the same opportunity to sell her goods in this country that we give to other nations?

**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, March 12-22, 1955.
Even on Foreign Aid To Russia in the Nineties, the Public is Less Opposed Than Ambivalent—And It Makes a Host of Distinctions

Would you favor or oppose increasing financial aid to Russia for each of the following purposes...?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3/29-31/93 Gallup/CNN/USA Today) To provide food and other humanitarian aid</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10/1-6/93 Louis Harris &amp; Associates) To keep democracy alive in Russia</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3/29-31/93 Gallup/CNN/USA Today) To clean up the environment</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3/28-31/93 CBS News/NYT) To help Russia avoid a civil war</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9/23/93 Yankelovich Partners for Time/CNN) To help Russia develop a market economy</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>43%</td>
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<tr>
<td>(6/21-24/93 CBS News/NYT) To help Russia reform its economy</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10/6-7/93 CBS News) To help promote democracy in Russia</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3/29-31/93 Gallup/CNN/USA Today) To set up private businesses</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3/28-31/93 CBS News/NYT) To help Russia reform its economy</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10/18-19/93 CBS News) To help promote democracy in Russia</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3/28-31/93 CBS News/NYT) To help Boris Yeltsin continue in power</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Question wording varies as follows: [The Gallup Organization for CNN/USA Today] Would you favor or oppose increasing financial aid to Russia for each of the following purposes...?; [Louis Harris & Associates] Do you think the United States government, along with other countries, should be willing to help Russia with financial aid to keep democracy alive in Russia or not?; [CBS News/NYT] Would you favor or oppose the United States giving economic aid to Russia in order to help Russia...?; [Yankelovich Partners for Time/CNN] Do you think the US and other industrial nations should provide long-term assistance to Russia to help it develop a market economy?; [CBS News] In order to help promote democracy in Russia, do you think the United States should or should not give financial aid to Russia?
Putting Our Money Where Our Mouths Are:  
US Defense Spending,  
World War II To Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Current dollars (in billions of dollars)</th>
<th>Constant (1995) dollars</th>
<th>Defense spending (as percent of GDP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>81.6</td>
<td>690.6</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>229.3</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>247.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>244.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>320.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>86.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>272.3</td>
<td>272.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997 (est.)</td>
<td>267.2</td>
<td>252.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total defense spending, 1946-1997, in current year dollars
$6.3 trillion