

# Politics and Global Health

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## The Need for a New, Resilient Architecture

Mitchell Warren

Executive Director

*30 April 2025*

*Oxford University, MSc in Translational Health Sciences,  
Global Health Module*

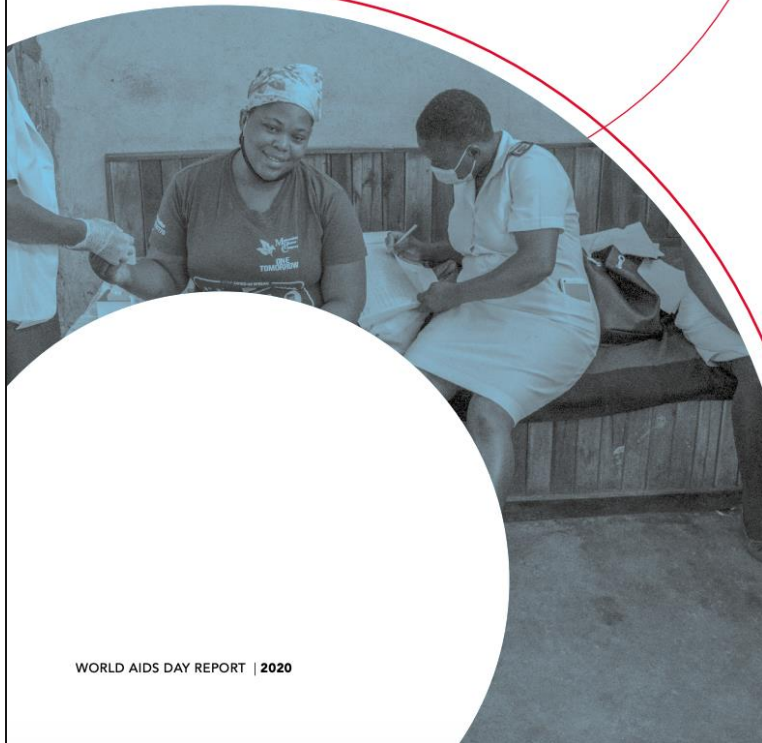
# Outline

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- What was – and could have been – in the HIV/AIDS response
- A – THE – golden opportunity to deliver on the promise
- A new sur-reality
- What could still be
- Now what

# UNAIDS 2020 targets: Where we landed

**PREVAILING AGAINST PANDEMICS**  
BY PUTTING PEOPLE AT THE CENTRE



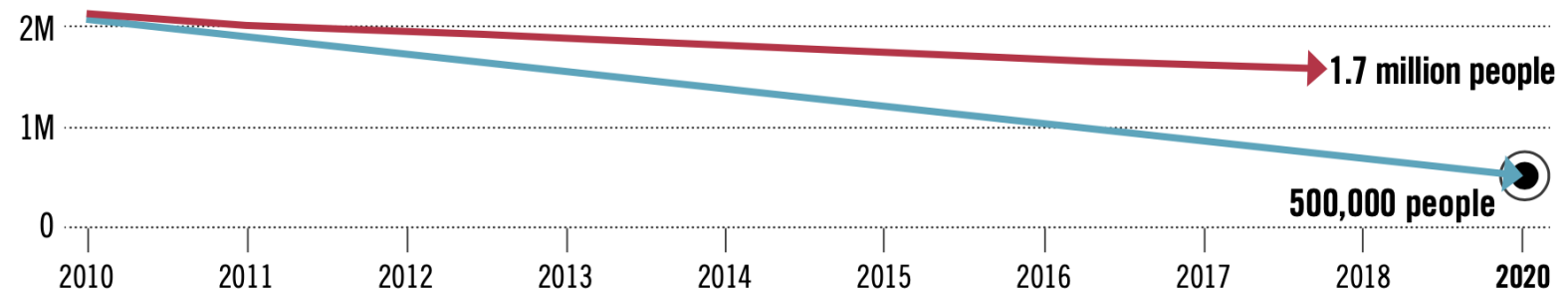
WORLD AIDS DAY REPORT | 2020

## What Model Assumed

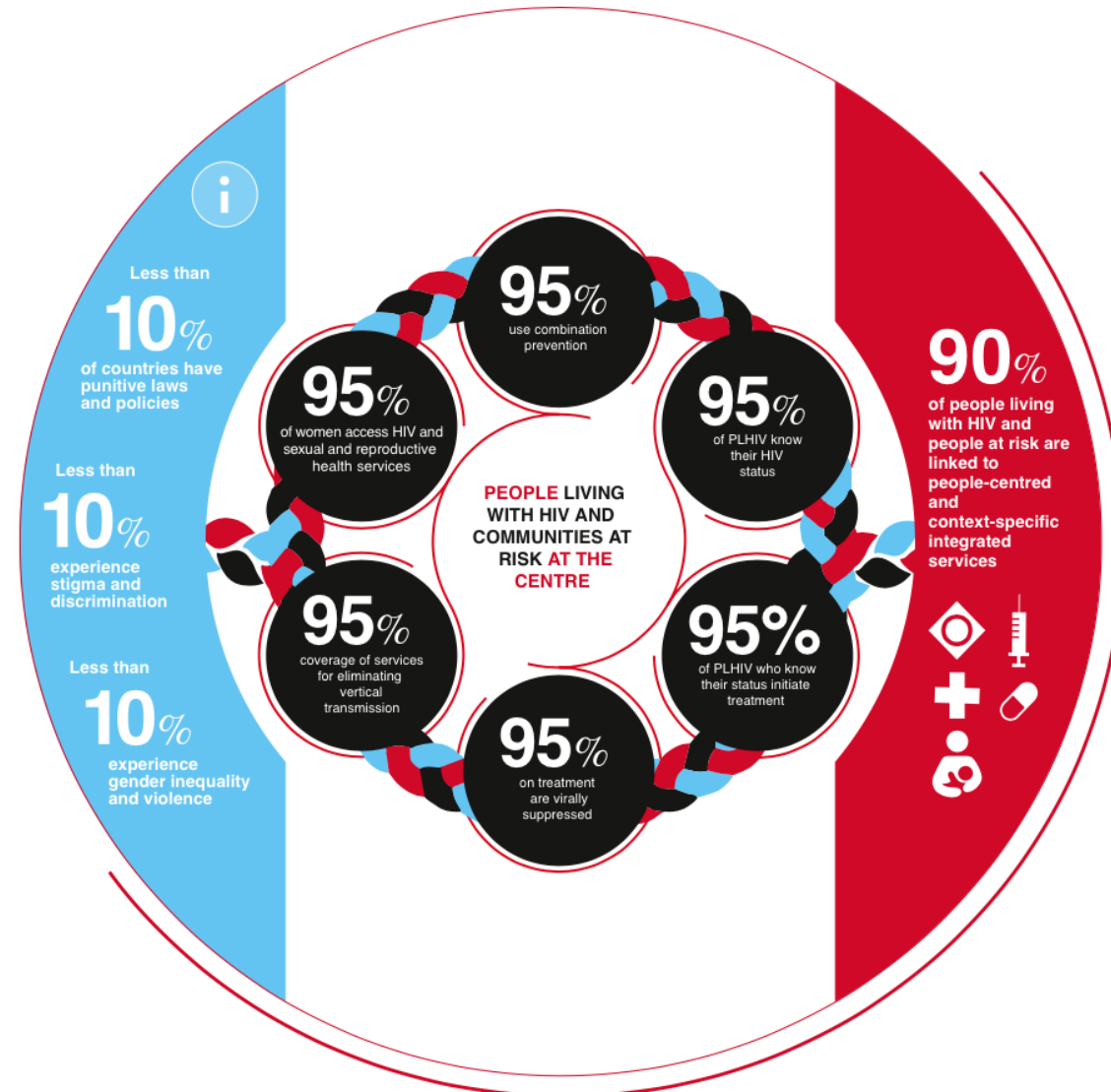
- 🎯 90% key population covered
- 🎯 90% of AGYW (key locations)
- 🎯 >6bn condoms (SSA) per year
- 🎯 3m PrEP
- 🎯 5m VMMC per year
- Funding (additional \$6.5bn per year)
- Testing, treatment, virologic suppression in PLHIV worldwide: 90-90-90

## What Was Implemented

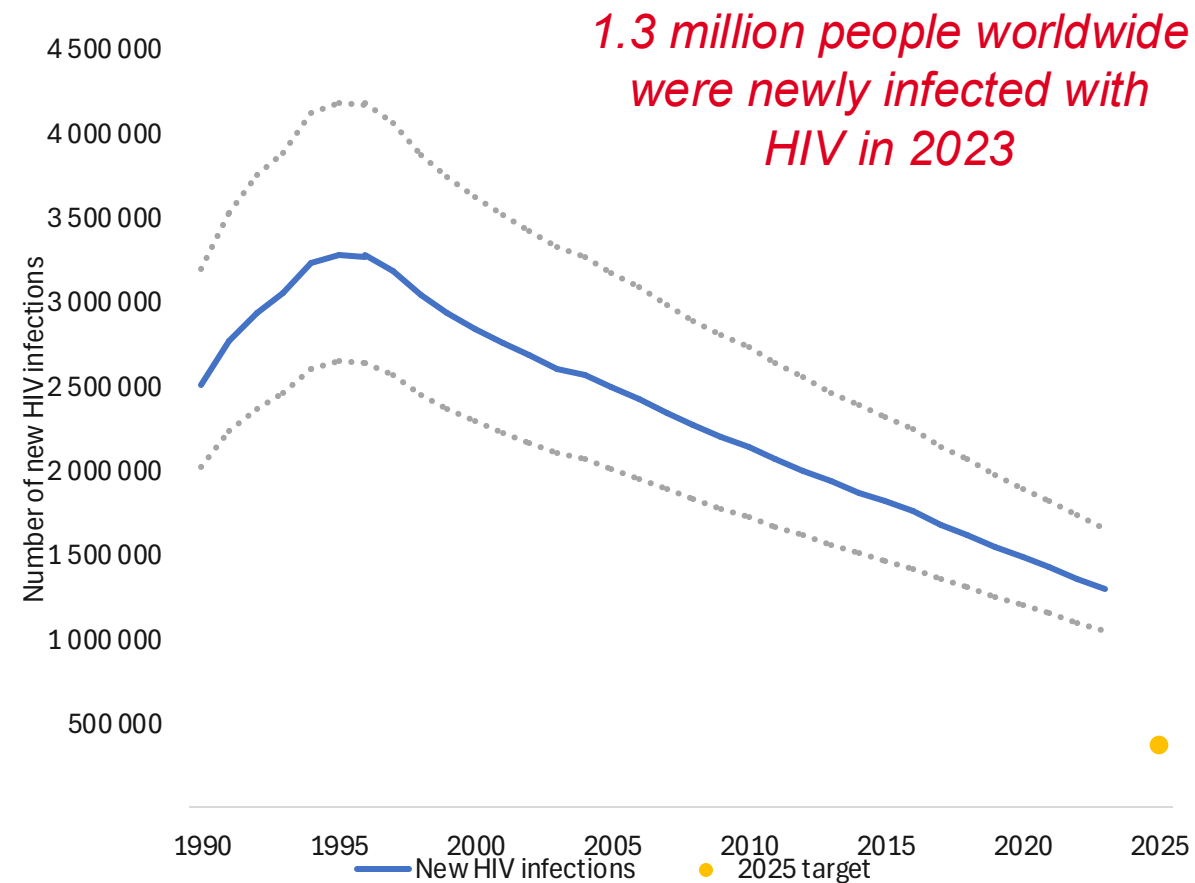
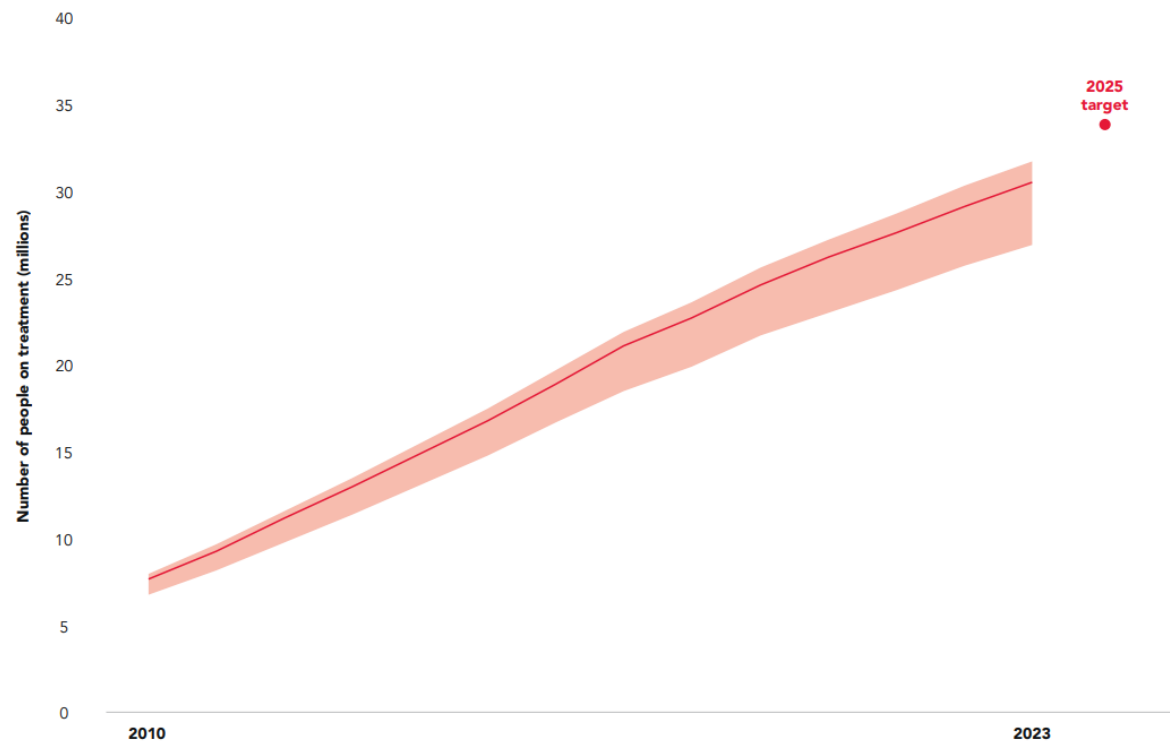
- 📊 47% for sex workers • 33% for gay men & other MSM • 32% for PWID\*
- 📊 34% of AGYW in key locations covered\*\*
- 📊 <3bn condoms (SSA)\*\*\* per year
- 📊 Approx 385,000 PrEP\*\*\*\*
- 📊 4.1m VMMC per year in 2018
- ✗ • Flat funding
- ✗ • Testing, treatment, virologic suppression in PLHIV worldwide: 79-78-86 with large disparities



# UNAIDS 2020 targets: Where we landed

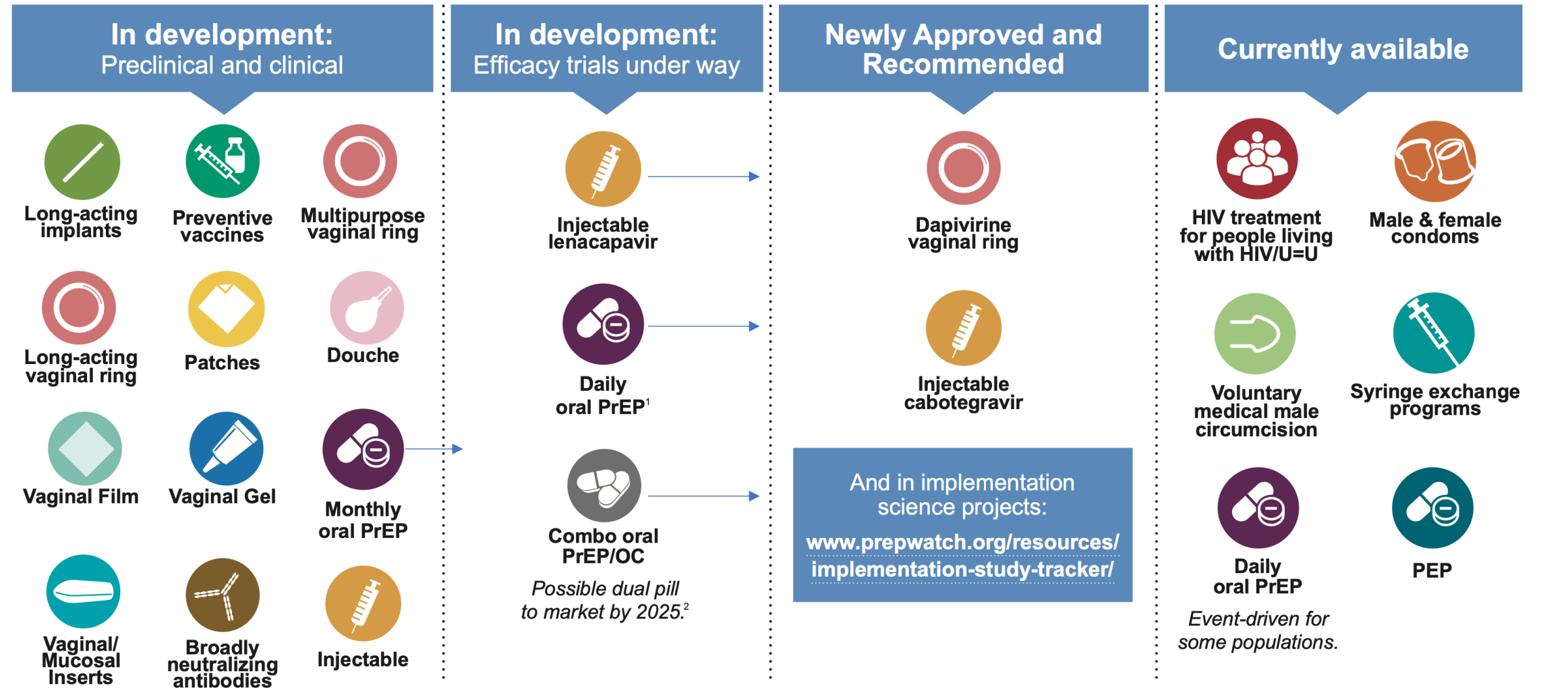


# UNAIDS 2020 targets: Where we landed



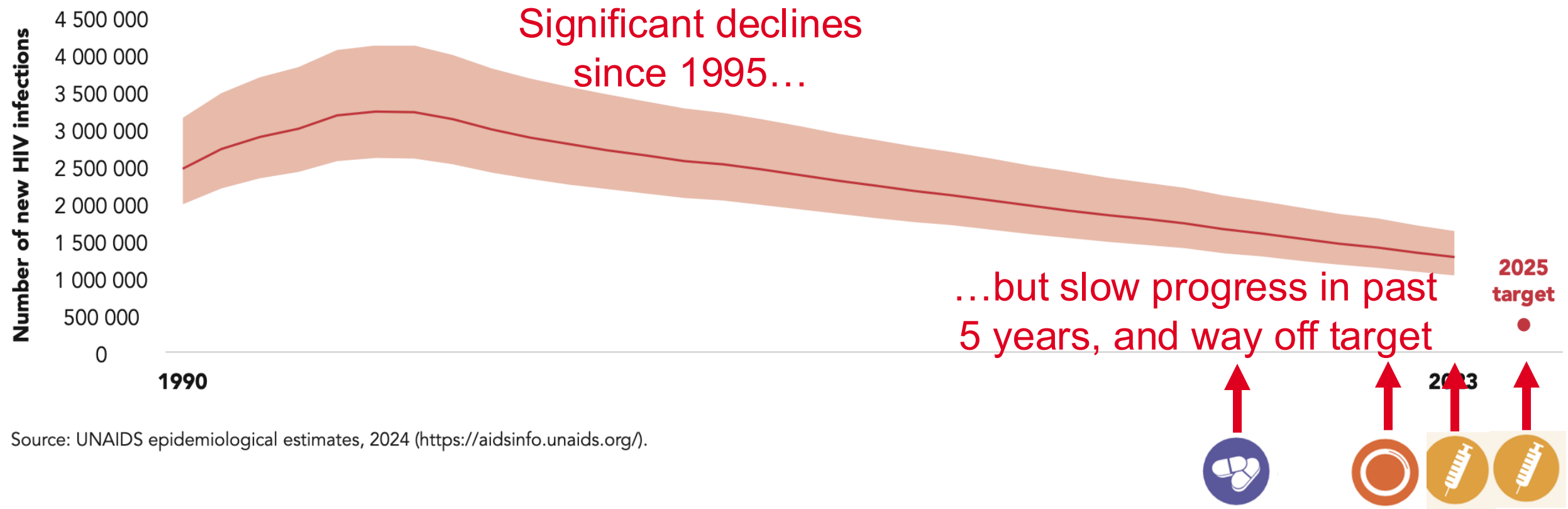
Source: UNAIDS 2024 Report

# Overview of Biomedical Prevention Pipeline



# Tracking against UNAIDS 2025 targets

**Figure 0.1** Number of new HIV infections, global, 1990–2023, and 2025 target



Source: UNAIDS epidemiological estimates, 2024 (<https://aidsinfo.unaids.org/>).



# The Time Is Now

*The NEW ENGLAND JOURNAL of MEDICINE*

Twice-Yearly Lenacapavir or Daily F/TAF  
for HIV Prevention in Cisgender Women

Twice-Yearly Lenacapavir for HIV Prevention  
in Men and Gender-Diverse Persons

**The Real PURPOSE of PrEP — Effectiveness, Not Efficacy**

Rochelle P. Walensky, M.D., M.P.H., and Lindsey R. Baden, M.D.

**Long-Acting HIV Medicines and the Pandemic  
Inequality Cycle — Rethinking Access**

Winnie Byanyima, M.Sc., Linda-Gail Bekker, M.B., Ch.B., Ph.D., and Matthew M. Kavanagh, Ph.D.

**Gilead under fire over HIV drug licensing**

New licensing agreements for production of a generic version of HIV drug lenacapavir have been heavily criticised by activists who say they are too restrictive. Ed Holt reports.

**NEJM**  
**Journal Watch**

DECEMBER 8TH, 2024

**Who's Going to Get Lenacapavir for HIV Prevention?**

Paul E. Sax, MD



# The End of the World As We Know It

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How It Started



# AVAC v. US Department of State; GHC v. Trump

## How It Started

New lawsuit challenges US foreign aid funding freeze

Judge orders Trump administration to restore funds for foreign aid programs

## Then...

USAID contracts and grants still being terminated despite court order

*Judge Gives Trump Administration Deadline to Release Foreign Aid*

## Constitutional Crisis...

Nearly 10,000 awards cut from USAID, State Department

Chief Justice Allows U.S. to Continue Freeze on Foreign Aid Payments

U.S.A.I.D. Memos Detail Human Costs of Cuts to Foreign Aid

**“Lift the Freeze”: HIV/AIDS Advocates Win Supreme Court Victory in Fight over Trump Foreign Aid Cuts**

Trump administration ordered to pay select USAID partners by Monday

## The Process Continues...

USAID ‘Officially’ Gutted, but Administration Overstepped Constitutional Power, Judge Rules

**Judge orders Trump to pay USAID partners, rejects ‘unbounded’ power**

The order prohibits the government from “unlawfully impounding congressionally appropriated foreign aid funds.”

Full timeline & links to documents at <https://avac.org/avac-vs-dept-of-state/>

# AVAC v. US Department of State; GHC v. Trump

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## Now What?

2. As to processing of payments to foreign assistance funding recipients for work completed prior to February 13, 2025: As of yesterday, the total number of such payments by Defendants to Plaintiffs processed since March 26, 2025 was 43, and the total number of such payments by Defendants to non-Plaintiffs processed since March 26, 2025 was 2,601. In sum, Defendants have therefore processed 2,644 payments between March 27 and April 2, which

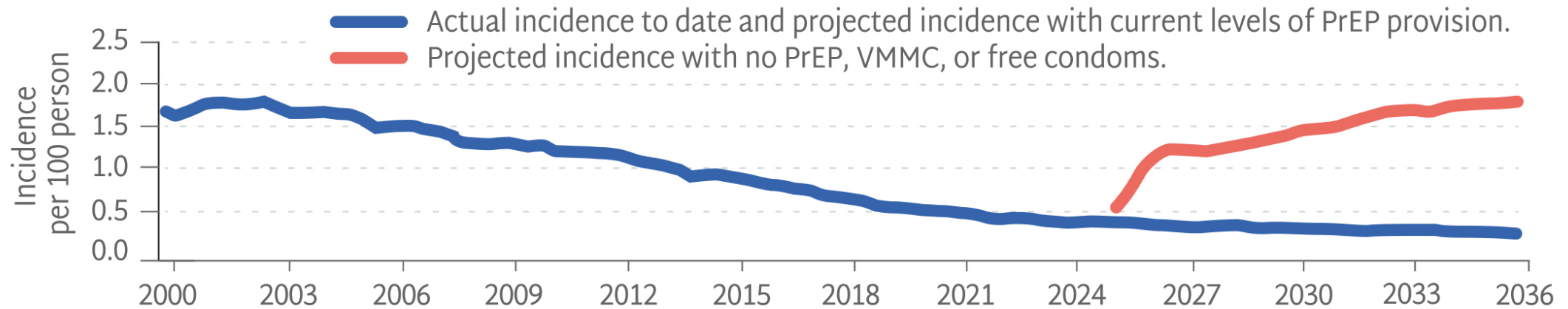
### **DEFENDANTS' NOTICE OF APPEAL**

All Defendants hereby appeal to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit from the Memorandum Opinion and Order (No. 25-cv-400, Doc. 60; No. 25-cv-402, Doc. 60) issued on March 10, 2025, and from all orders antecedent to such order and opinion and thus incorporated therein.

Full timeline & links to documents at <https://avac.org/avac-vs-dept-of-state/>

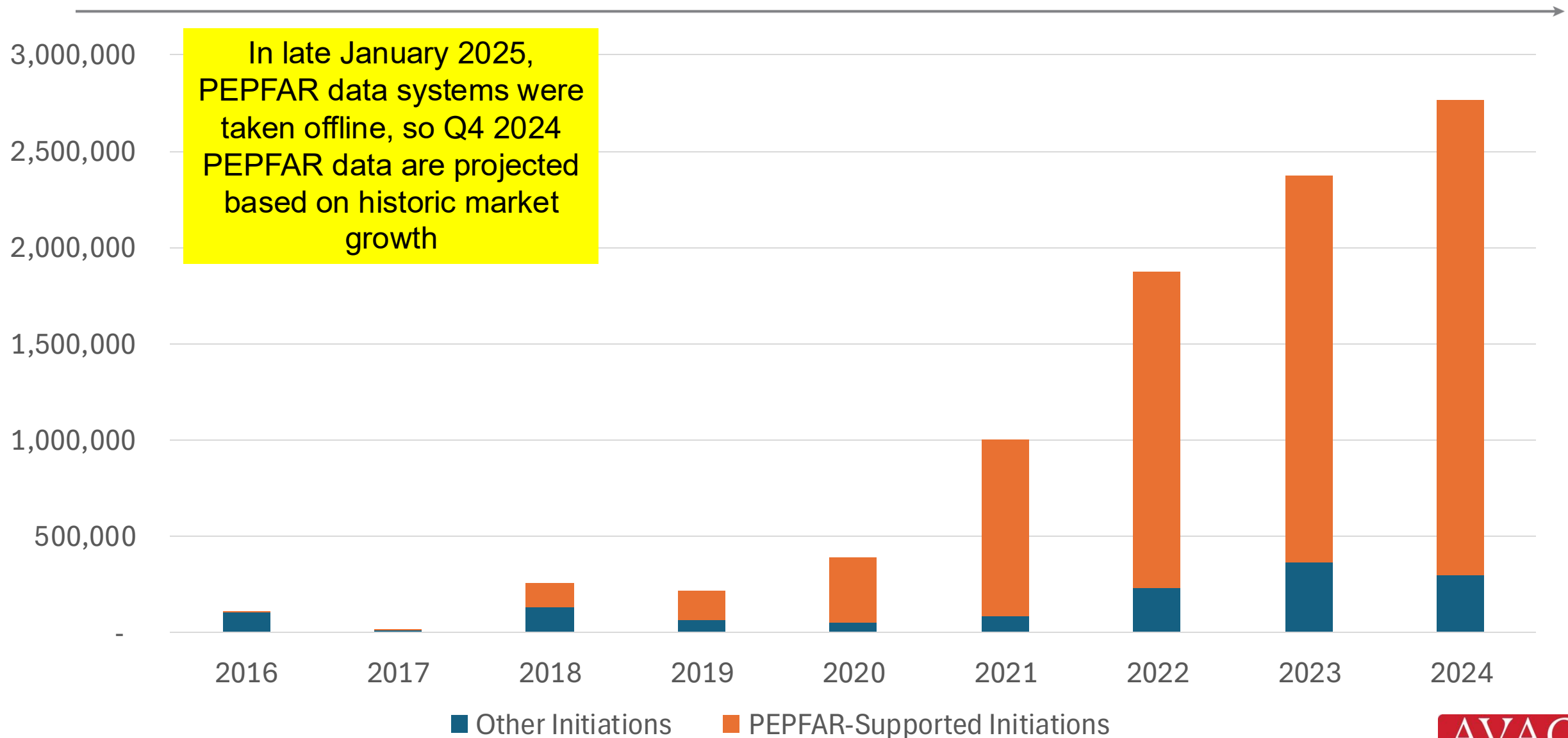
# A World Without HIV Prevention

## HIV incidence, age 15-49



[HIV Synthesis model](#), developed by the HIV Modelling Consortium

# PrEP Initiations to 2024



# Tracking Impact in Real Time

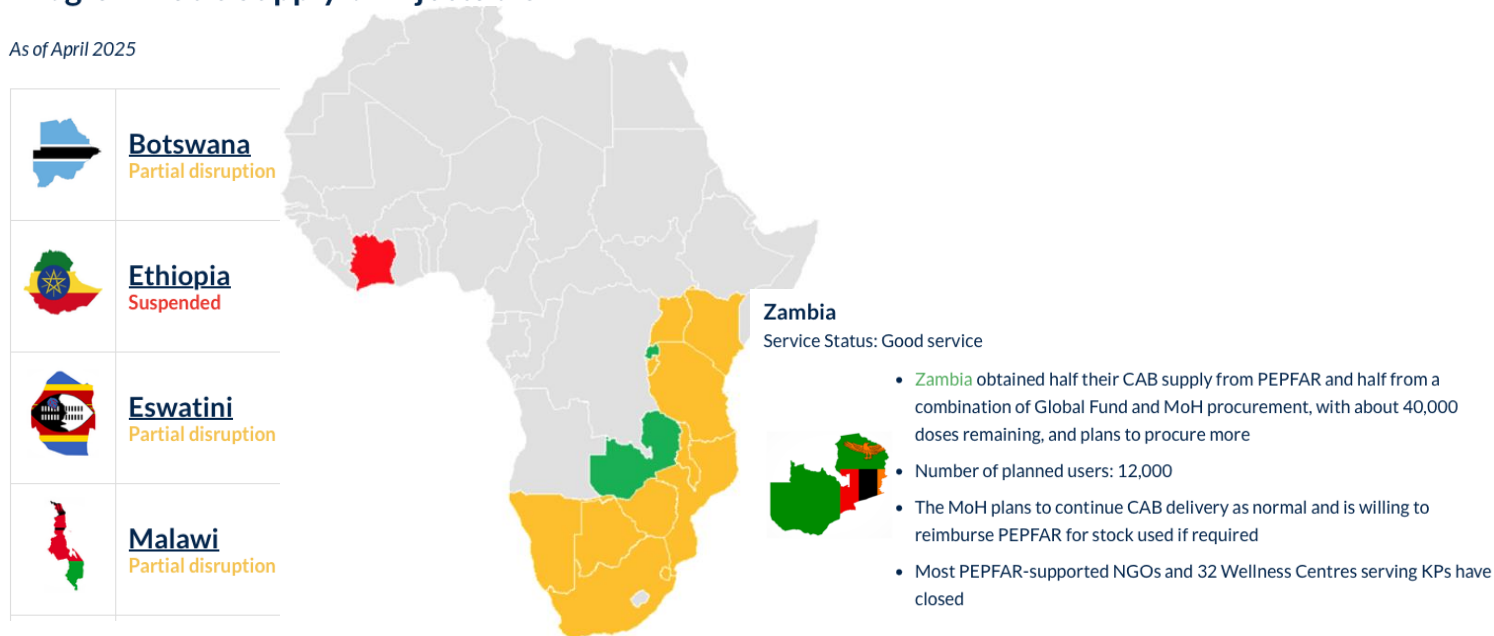
<https://www.prepwatch.org/pepfar-stop-work/>

## Impact of the Stop-Work Order on PrEP

The impact of PEPFAR stop-work orders on HIV prevention outcomes is expected to be severe. This section of PrEPWatch ([with downloadable slides](#)) shares the impact of these orders, including widespread disruptions across the HIV prevention continuum—including halted PrEP services, stalled product introductions (with PEPFAR’s CAB rollout paused), terminated research studies, and significant reductions in healthcare workforce.

### Programmatic Supply of Injectable PrEP

As of April 2025



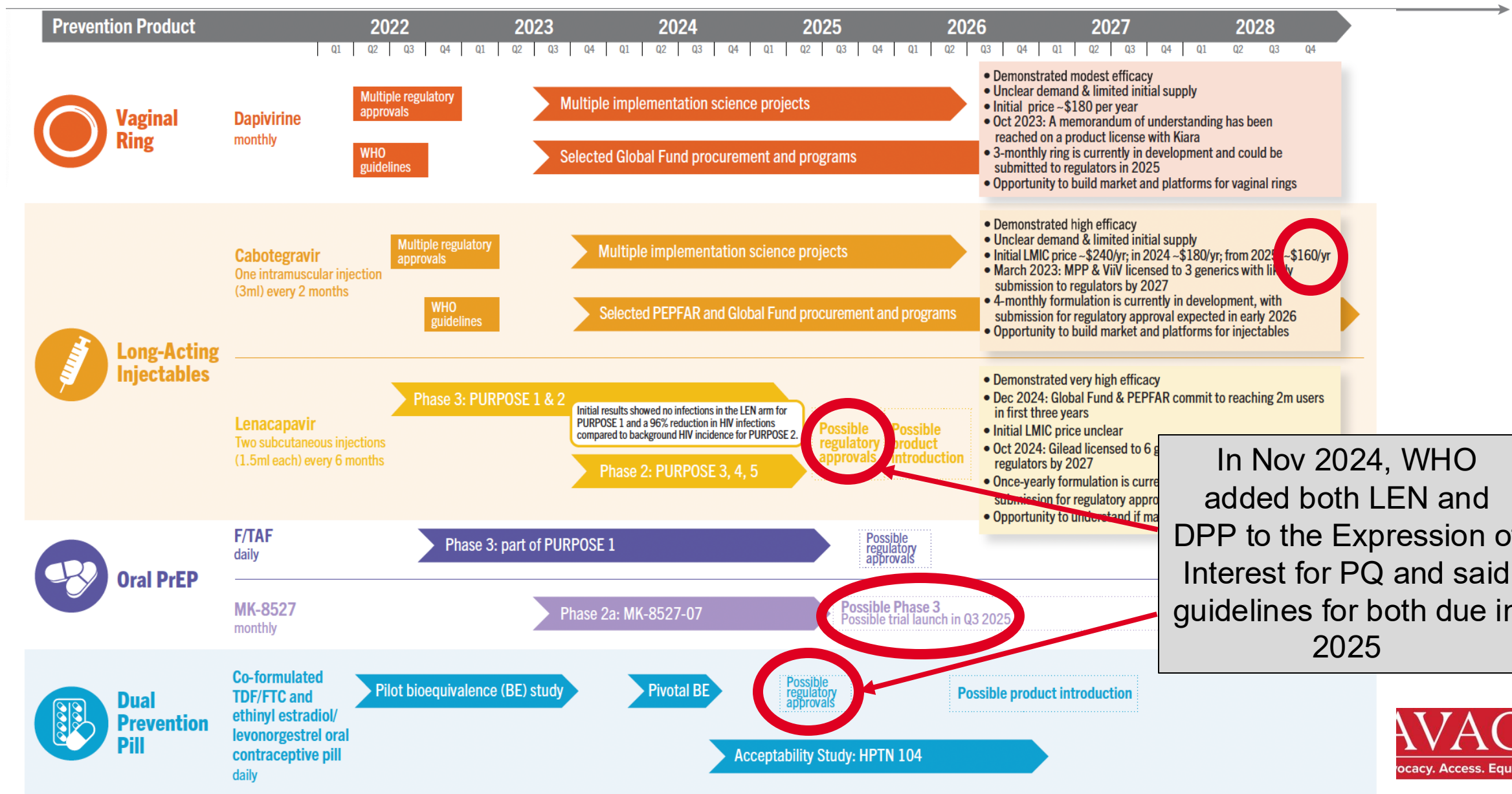
### Key Impact Areas

As of April 2025

II	<b>PrEP Delivery Service Disruptions:</b> While some countries have <b>suspended</b> PrEP services almost completely; others have <b>reduced</b> ; and some still have <b>good service</b> . See below for map.
✗	<b>Product Introduction Stalled:</b> PEPFAR’s goal had been to initiate 100,000 users across ten African countries on CAB by end of 2025. By Oct 2024 end, they had initiated 5,000 users across four countries, and in Jan 2025, procurement for 2025 was paused.
🔬	<b>Research Studies Suspended:</b> Projects studying CAB and DVR serving over 11,000 participants have been terminated, and other projects were temporarily suspended.
👤	<b>Healthcare Workers Forced to Pause Work:</b> Initially, in Kenya, 17% of total nurses (22,000) and 12,000 ancillary staff stopped work; while in Zambia and Malawi numbers rose to 20% (17,000) and 43% (4,500) of nurses, respectively; Malawi has since used domestic funding to hire 6,000 healthcare workers, and 50% of healthcare staff have returned to work in Kenya.
🔑	<b>Key Populations Struggle with Access:</b> Many delivery sites catering to KPs have closed, and governments fear blacklisting from future US government funding if they engage in KP-supportive work.
🔧	<b>System-level Impacts are Being Felt:</b> This includes the cessation of health system strengthening projects in Kenya, shuttering of health MIS systems in Malawi, and disruption to the development of long-acting PrEP guidelines in Uganda.
💡	<b>Key Mitigation Strategies:</b> Most countries are seeking alternative funding sources (Global Fund, government financing) and integrating service delivery (comprehensive care clinics and key population services) into public health systems.



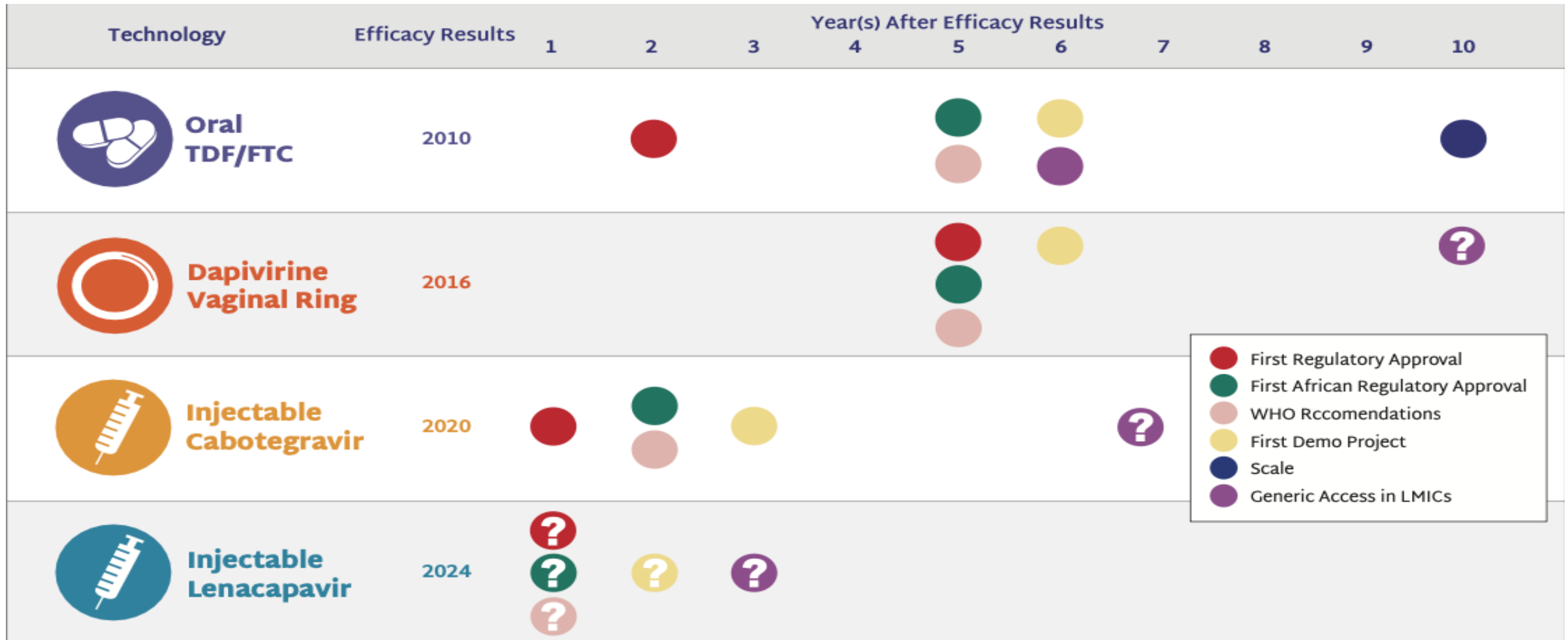
# Updated Pipeline



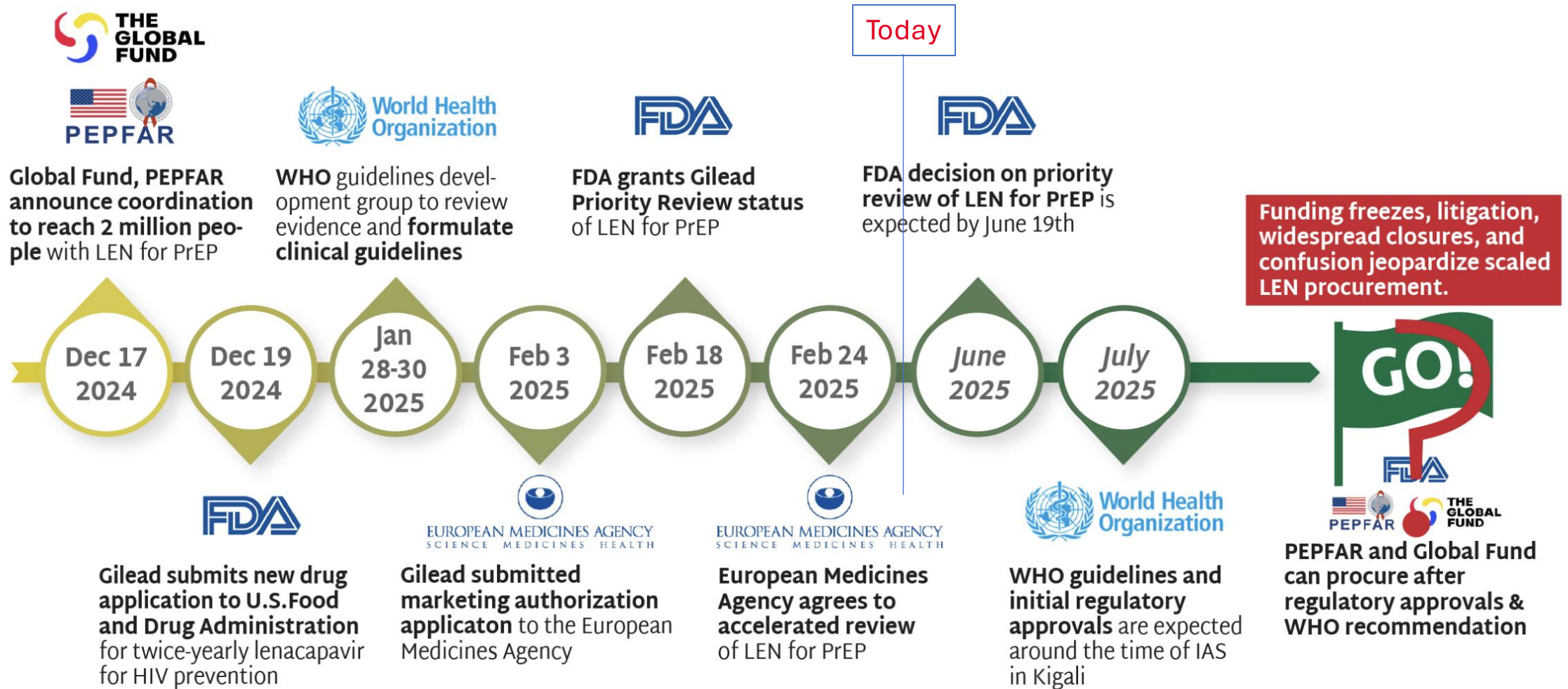


# Moving a Product to the “Real World”

Can We Go Faster with LEN?



# Our Best Shot at Prevention – But Now What?



# The Way(s) Forward

- We are not going back to 19 January 2025...



"SIX WEEKS ON THE JOB! HAS IT BEEN THAT LONG ALREADY?"

# The Way(s) Forward

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- ...must build for the future



“We are in the middle of a massive earthquake. When buildings fall, we can’t just build back what we had before. We need a whole new global health funding architecture, but we won’t be able to build it fast enough to avoid significant harm.”

<https://www.science.org/content/article/trump-has-blown-massive-hole-global-health-funding-and-no-one-can-fill-it>

# The Way(s) Forward

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Some guiding principles (and/or random thoughts)

- Prioritize, Prioritize, Prioritize – like we’ve never prioritized before
- Don’t miss out on innovation
- Think health systems – not disease- or product-specific
- Think differently
- And collaborate differently – in new ways and with different stakeholders
- Re-define sustainability – and make sure it is not just about money
- Local ownership & leadership



# The Way(s) Forward

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- ...must build for the future

**The New York Times**

## ***Trump Administration Dialing Back Support for H.I.V. Prevention***

The move follows cuts to prevention and treatment efforts worldwide with the shuttering of U.S.A.I.D.

“We’ve got to snap out of any paralysis or any disbelief or shock, and we’ve really got to look at what needs to be built in the future. “One of the biggest tragedies in all of this would be if we let this narrative be written entirely by people who don’t understand science or health care or research or foreign assistance,”

<https://www.nytimes.com/2025/03/19/health/cdc-hiv-prevention-treatment.html>

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