Resolved: That the United States Federal Government Should Substantially Increase Its Public Health Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa

NATIONAL DEBATE TOPIC FOR HIGH SCHOOLS, 2007–2008
Pursuant to 44 United States Code, Section 1333

Compiled by the Congressional Research Service
Library of Congress

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44 U.S.C., SECTION 1333

CHAPTER 13--PARTICULAR REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS

Sec. 1333. National high school and college debate topics
(a) The Librarian of Congress shall prepare compilations of pertinent excerpts, bibliographical references, and other appropriate materials relating to:
   (1) the subject selected annually by the National University Extension Association as the national high school debate topic and
   (2) the subject selected annually by the American Speech Association as the national college debate topic.

In preparing the compilations the Librarian shall include materials which in his judgment are representative of, and give equal emphasis to, the opposing points of view on the respective topics.

(b) The compilations on the high school debate topics shall be printed as Senate documents and the compilations on the college debate topics shall be printed as House of Representative documents, the cost of which shall be charged to the congressional allotment for printing and binding. Additional copies may be printed in the quantities and distributed in the manner the Joint Committee on Printing directs.


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Foreword

The 2007-2008 high school debate topic is: “Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially increase its public health assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa.”

In compliance with 44 U.S.C., Section 1333, the Congressional Research Service (CRS) of the Library of Congress prepared this bibliography to assist high school debaters in researching the topic. This bibliography is intended to assist debaters in the identification of further references and resources on the topic. In selecting items and websites for this manual, CRS has sampled a wide spectrum of opinions reflected in the current literature on this issue. No preference for any policy is indicated by the selection or positioning of articles or websites cited, nor is CRS disapproval of any policy or article to be inferred from its omission.

Some of the U.S. government documents listed in this bibliography may be found in U.S. government depository libraries, which can be identified by local public or college libraries. The Library of Congress cannot distribute copies of these or other materials to debaters. This manual is also available on the GPO Access Home Page on the World Wide Web at http://www.access.gpo.gov.

The bibliography was prepared by Susan G. Chesser, Thomas Coipuram, Jr., and Kim Walker Klarman, Information Research Specialists in the Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Consulting Section of the Knowledge Services Group, CRS, under the direction of Lyle W. Minter, Head, Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Consulting Section, Knowledge Services Group, CRS.

Good luck to each debater in researching, preparing and presenting arguments on this year’s topic.

Daniel P. Mulhollan, Director
Congressional Research Service
NATIONAL DEBATE TOPIC FOR HIGH SCHOOLS, 2007-2008

RESOLVED: THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASE ITS PUBLIC HEALTH ASSISTANCE TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE 2007-2008 HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE TOPIC

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Knowledge Services Group
Congressional Research Service

May 2007
Introduction

The 2007-2008 high school debate topic is: “Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially increase its public health assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa.”

This selective bibliography is intended to assist debaters to identify resources and references on the debate topic. It lists citations to books, congressional publications, magazine and journal articles, and websites on the Internet. The manual is divided into six subtopics: general foreign aid, global health issues, foreign aid and health problems concerning Africa, U.S. agencies providing foreign aid funds and programs to Africa, international and private funding sources, and the current state of foreign aid.

Summary

The purpose of the debate manual is to provide students with a brief overview of information concerning the 2007-2008 high school debate topic “RESOLVED: THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASE ITS PUBLIC HEALTH ASSISTANCE TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.”

This bibliography includes citations to books, congressional publications, and magazine and journal articles. This compilation is not intended to supply complete coverage of the topic. Further research on the topic resources in general, as well as each suggested subtopic, can be done at high school, research, depository, and public libraries.

International organizations, U.S. Government agencies, private think tanks, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) provide information on topics related to international foreign aid and health problems on their websites. Debaters are encouraged to consult the internet as well as library resources for their research on this debate topic.
Foreign Aid – General Background Information


Examines what works in foreign aid, what does not work, what needs reassessing, and the goals that foreign aid should strive to achieve. Includes discussion of how aid money can be used to promote good governance and successful institutions.


Addresses both Randall Tobias’ dual role as U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator and Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the concerns voiced by health activists that his plan to integrate aid with security goals will threaten USAID’s humanitarian priorities.


Recent changes in the Bush Administration’s stance toward Africa suggest that American political views about foreign aid may be changing.


Discusses the effectiveness of government spending and foreign aid. Explores the use of fiscal policy to achieve policy goals and the effects of fiscal policy on economic activity and social outcomes.


Through five case studies, this book considers the reasons why countries give foreign aid and examines the goals they hope to achieve through providing assistance. Also explores the impact of political institutions and organizations on foreign aid.


Available online at: [http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/igje/0307/igje/ijge0307.pdf].

Available online at: [http://www.brookings.edu/comm/events/20050516.pdf].


Reveals details on efficacy of controlling communicable diseases, as well as statistics on life expectancy rates and disease burdens per capita.


Provides a detailed overview of U.S. foreign assistance programs as viewed by DAC members. Because of the size of its economy, its ability to influence global action and its presence within the international donor community, the U.S. is the leader in international development cooperation.


Describes the food crisis in Africa, which has been created by a combination of problems, including the impact of AIDS. Suggested solutions include increased assistance and improved governance.


Analyzes why some recipient countries have developed very little over the years after receiving significant amounts of aid. Considers different types of foreign assistance, including health aid.


Examines the new approach of giving aid only to countries that have implemented policies and institutions capable of promoting growth and reducing poverty.

Global Health Issues – General Background Information


Created to dramatically increase resources to fight three of the world’s most devastating diseases – AIDS, tuberculosis (TB) and malaria. Committed $7.1 billion in 136 countries to support aggressive interventions against all three diseases to date. Includes detailed information on funding, as well as reports and statistics on AIDS, TB, and malaria.

Global Health Education Consortium.

———. Global Health Online: Annotated List of International Health-Related Websites
Available online at: [http://www.globalhealth-ec.org/GHEC/Resources/GHonline.htm].

———. Global Health Bibliography Available online at:
[http://www.globalhealth-ec.org/GHEC/Resources/GHbiblio_resources.htm].

Provides links to organizations and publications that discuss global health issues and concerns. Bibliography contains an extensive list of citations by category with brief annotations. Information contributed by faculty and students.

Available online at: [http://www.globalhealth.harvard.edu].

Promotes training new leaders to tackle challenges of future global health issues, seeds research projects that explore crucial areas of interest to the global health community, and engages Harvard students and faculty with global health experts and organizations sponsoring existing health projects around the world.


Reports on the latest developments in the global AIDS epidemic. With maps and regional summaries, the 2006 edition provides the most recent estimates of the epidemic’s scope and human toll and explores new trends in its evolution.

Examines serious threats to health, methods of evaluating those threats, and individuals and organizations involved in addressing them. Role played by health and non-health organizations are analyzed along with the influence of their political aims.


Available online at: [http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/2841/].

Presents case studies of successful public health programs in developing areas of the world, including sub-Saharan Africa. Discussion covers defining success, analyzing effective international efforts, and examining large-scale health programs that result in improved health.


Available online at: [http://www.fpif.org/pdf/vol7/07ifaids.pdf].

Explores the idea that expensive, but essential, medicines are not reaching the people in greatest need in developing countries because of current trade practices and intellectual property licenses.

**Foreign Aid and Health Problems Concerning Africa – General Background Information**


Examines why the citizens of African nations grow poorer, hungrier and sicker while, at the same time, foreign aid continues to flow into Africa.


Available online at: [http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/13029/].

Discusses the effectiveness of the billions of dollars flowing into developing countries
to confront HIV/AIDS by tracking three major funders: PEPFAR, the Global Fund, and the World Bank's Multi-Country AIDS Program. The analysis is focused on the global level, but it provides brief country case studies to help understand some of the implications of these large inflows of funding for HIV/AIDS at the country level.


Explores the effects foreign aid has on the recipient country’s skilled worker labor market, macroeconomic variables, and incentives for domestic revenue generation. Suggests that aid damages the development of a recipient country’s middle class – a sector of the population that the author believes is critical for a country to overcome the poverty trap.


Explains how President Bush’s $15 billion AIDS relief plan, combined with cheap medicine and treatment, might give 30 million Africans a chance to fight the disease.


Presents a video series that captures a day-long meeting of public and private interests involved in the African health care system:

- Session 1: Future Public Health Trends and Issues
- Session 2: Opportunities and Challenges
- Session 3: Roles of the Public and Private Sectors


Discusses the positive impact aid can have on improving the institutions and policies of a country to eventually improve the lives of the population. Argues that recipients can derive benefits from aid programs, rather than just becoming aid-dependent.


Available online at: [www.cgdev.org/files/12285_file_Aid_to_Africa.pdf](http://www.cgdev.org/files/12285_file_Aid_to_Africa.pdf).

Discusses whether foreign aid will change with the newly-elected Democratic Congress and the Republican-led White House.


Promotes the creation of a national health organization that mobilizes highly skilled health care professionals and other experts to help combat HIV/AIDS in hard-hit African, Caribbean, and South East Asian countries.

Provides a detailed history of the work supported by the International Health Policy Program (IHPP) and gives insight into the evolution of African health policy over a 12 year period from 1988 to 2000. Also includes recent findings.


Available online at: [www.cgdev.org/files/2870_file_Accounting_for_Aid25.pdf].

Analyzes actual increases in U.S. foreign aid to sub-Saharan Africa versus claims by the Bush administration.


Available online at: [http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/rice20050627.pdf].


Siegle, Joseph. *Democratic Divergence in Africa: Lessons and Implications for Aid.* Africa Beyond Aid Workshop, April 3-4, 2006, Potsdam, Germany. 15 p.

Available online at: [http://www.thebrethurstfoundation.org/files/Africa_Beyond_Aid/African_Democracy_and_AidSiegle.doc].


Available online at: [http://www.cfr.org/publication.html?id=5633].

Explores views of some economists who say that Western trade and farming policies are preventing poor countries, particularly in Africa, from climbing out of poverty.


Available online at: [http://www.economist.com/world/displaystory.cfm?story_id=4127278].
U.S. Department of State. *U.S. Aid to Africa.*

Available online at: [http://usinfo.state.gov/af/africa/aid_to_africa.html].

Provides current articles on U.S. government programs in African countries.


Reveals that more than 3.5 million children across sub-Saharan Africa have lost both parents to AIDS, and more than 13 million have lost at least one.


Argues that despite increased foreign aid and improved treatments, AIDS is expected to devastate the African continent over the coming decade.


Available online at: [http://bmj.bmjournals.com/cgi/content/full/325/7357/176].
US Agencies Providing Foreign Aid Funds and Programs to Africa

**Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) at** [http://www.cdc.gov](http://www.cdc.gov).

CDC Foundation. Global health program information available online at:


Lists and describes global health programs in which CDC, along with its international partners, is involved.

**CDC – AIDS Program**

*The HHS/CDC Global AIDS Program in the Southern Africa Region.* Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Available online at: [http://www.cdc.gov/nchstp/od/GAP/countries/southern_africa.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/nchstp/od/GAP/countries/southern_africa.htm).

**CDC – Measles Program**


Available online at: [http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm5509a8.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm5509a8.htm).

**CDC – Budget information, Funding by Functional Area.**

Available online at: [http://www.cdc.gov/fmo/PDFs/FY07FundFunctAreaTable.pdf](http://www.cdc.gov/fmo/PDFs/FY07FundFunctAreaTable.pdf).

**Department of Defense (DoD) at** [http://www.defenseinlink.mil](http://www.defenseinlink.mil).

U.S. Department of Defense Global Emerging Infectious Surveillance and Response System (DoD-GEIS)


Established in response to Presidential Decision Directive NSTC-7, June 1996. DoD-GEIS’s mission is to increase DoD’s focus on prevention of infectious diseases and to create a centralized coordination and communications hub to help organize DoD resources and to link American and international efforts.


Available online at:
U.S. Department of Defense HIV/AIDS Prevention Program (DHAPP)  

Formed in 1999 when the United States joined the International Partnership Against  
HIV/AIDS in Africa (IPAA) to combat the HIV pandemic and stop the spread of the AIDS  
virus. Its mission is to reduce the incidence of HIV/AIDS among uniformed personnel in  
selected African nations and beyond. Its objectives are to assist in developing and  
implementing military-specific HIV prevention programs and to integrate with other  
programs sponsored by the U.S., non-governmental organizations, and the United Nations.

Foreign Policy Agenda, November 2004. 31 p.  
Available online at: [http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itsps/1104/ijpe/ijpe1104.pdf].

Drifmeyer, Jeff and Craig Llewellyn. “Toward More Effective Humanitarian Assistance.”  

Joyner, Bo. “Helping Hands: International Health Specialist Program Opens Doors for Medical  

The U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) at  
[http://www.pepfar.com].

Relief (PEPFAR) Fiscal Year 2006: Operational Plan” U.S. Department of State: April  
2006 update. 185 p.  

Challenges for Allocating Prevention Funding Under the President’s Emergency Plan for  

U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. The Power of Partnerships: Third Annual  
Available online at: [http://www.pepfar.gov/press/c21604.htm].

**U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) at [http://www.usaid.gov/].**

**USAID in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Available online at: [http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/].

Explores programs in reconstruction, humanitarian aid and food assistance. Click on “Country & Regional Programs” and the name of a specific country to explore a country’s profile, annual report, links to recent publications, and budget justifications for assistance. Country profiles outline specific interventions for HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, and care.

**USAID Health and Family Planning for Sub-Saharan Africa**


Provides links to USAID resources for its Mother and Child HIV Prevention Initiative; Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria; Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief; The Synergy Project; and Data Online for Population, Health and Nutrition (DOLPHIN).

**USAID Budget**


Presents the USAID annual budget request (including links to reports from 2001 to the current 2008 budget request) and provides rationale on both a regional and country levels as to the specific need for health programs and assistance.

International and Private Funding Sources and Materials


Available online at: [http://www.brookings.edu/views/op-ed/brainard/20060906.htm].

The Carter Center Health Programs
Available online at: [http://www.cartercenter.org/health/index.html].
Discusses the Carter Center’s successful implementation of several public healthcare initiatives in a number of African countries.

Reveals that U.S. private sector donations to international causes are nearly four times the amount spent by the U.S. government on development assistance.

Available online at:
Created by British Prime Minister Tony Blair in 2004, who brought together a group of 17 people, including political leaders, public servants, and private sector representatives to form a Commission for Africa. Its task was to define challenges facing Africa and provide clear recommendations on how to support changes needed to reduce poverty. Includes a section on how to revive Africa’s health services, the health worker crisis, and the high cost and shortage of medicines and vaccines.

The Group of Eight (G8) at [http://www.g8.gc.ca/menu-en.asp].

Composed of the world’s largest industrialized democracies, the G8 has focused on increasing assistance to Africa since the late 1990s in order to meet the goals of the Millennium Declaration by 2015. Following are links to progress reports and updates.

Available online at: [http://www.fco.gov.uk/Files/kfile/PostG8_Gleneagles_Africa,0.pdf].

Available online at:
[http://www.fco.gov.uk/Files/kfile/PostG8_Gleneagles_AfricaProgressReport,0.pdf].

Available online at: [http://en.g8russia.ru/docs/13.html].

G8/2007 Heiligendamm.
Available online at: [http://www.g-8.de/Webs/G8/EN/Homepage/home.html].
Check this site after the meeting takes place in June 2007.

Available online at:
[http://www.gatesfoundation.org/GlobalHealth/Pri_Diseases/OtherInfectiousDiseases/Announcements/Announcement-060914.htm].

Discusses economic impact and challenges of an increased flow of foreign aid to Africa. Provides ideas for how to absorb and manage monetary surges while maintaining and expanding the vision of a project.


Available online at:


Offers an analysis of the reasons behind Africa’s escalating impoverishment and the divide between the political elites and the large peasant population.

Merck & Co., Inc.

Described as a “global research-driven pharmaceutical company,” Merck has launched several initiatives to provide medicines to African countries.

Merck Vaccine Network-Africa
Available online at:
[http://www.merck.com/cr/enabling_access/developing_world/vaccines/home.html].

Merck Medical Outreach Program
Available online at:
[http://www.merck.com/cr/enabling_access/developing_world/mnop/home.html].

Merck MECTIZAN Donation Program
Available online at:
[http://www.merck.com/cr/enabling_access/developing_world/mectizan/home.html].


Reviews the strategies and efforts in fighting HIV/AIDS in the 15 countries identified by the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). Primary to this initiative is the need for trained healthcare workers. Looks at the efforts in mobilizing U.S. health personnel in fighting HIV/AIDS in the world’s poorer countries.

Available online at: [http://www.oecd.org/document/17/0,2340,en_2649_33721_38341265_1_1_1_1,00.html].


In recent years, several OECD countries have been paying increasing attention to the contribution that private actors can make to development co-operation. To help advance this thinking, the Government of Spain made a special grant to the Development Co-operation Directorate (DCD) to fund a study of the role of philanthropic foundations in development efforts. The study consists of a policy-oriented analysis of past and present foundation activities in development and includes four commissioned annexes that give detailed background information and data on current projects.


Reveals the amount of aid donor country governments are giving and its distribution. How much goes to the poorest countries? How much goes to multilateral organizations like the United Nations? Which sectors get the most aid - economic infrastructure or social programs?

The Partnership for Quality Medical Donations
Available online at: [http://www.pqmd.org/].

Presents how PQMD member organizations provide medical products to under-served populations around the world.

Pfizer Inc. Global Health Fellows

Discusses Pfizer’s program of sponsoring employees who are willing to volunteer for up to six months to work in programs that focus on health needs of people around the world.


Current State of Foreign Aid and Issues Regarding Health Problems in Africa


Discusses how South Africa changed its stance on providing drugs to combat AIDS by offering them to infected people through its health system.


Uncovers reasons why the World Health Organization’s Roll Back Malaria (RBM) campaign has failed.


Available online at: [http://www.cato.org/pubs/edb/edb2.html].


Available online at:

[http://www.aei.org/docLib/20061212_BateUSAID_Health_Challenge.pdf].


“HIV/AIDS Monitor: Tracking Aid Effectiveness.” Center for Global Development. Available online at: [http://www.cgdev.org/section/initiatives/active/hivmonitor] Provides monitoring and analysis of foreign aid money that is flowing into countries to fight HIV/AIDS. Looks at how money is allocated and addresses issues concerning the effectiveness of foreign aid and assistance.


Michelo, Nomusa. “Shortage of Health Staff Hurdle to Reaching MDGs, Says DR Lee.” All Africa, April 7, 2006.


Discusses and compares the main points about foreign aid effectiveness for both Africa and the OECD partners. African countries are concerned with progress towards the Millennium Development Goals, political and economic governance, and strengthened national and regional capacities. On the OECD partners’ side, concerns include the volume and pattern of Official Development Assistance flows, aid effectiveness, capacity building, and policy coherence.


Presents results of a workshop in Mali that took place in March 2006 concerning the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness: Implications and Implementation. This workshop, the second in a series of regional workshops, brought together representatives
from Central, North, and West African countries and their partner donor institutions.


Available online at: [http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/32/60/35051857.pdf].

Members of the OECD’s Development Assistance Committee (DAC) give almost $70 billion in foreign aid annually. Based on the organizational structures and practices of 22 of the world’s main donor countries, this publication looks at managing this aid for the best results.


Available online at: [http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/10497/].


Explores the traditional methods of assisting poor countries and concludes that donor countries must develop a new kind of partnership with recipient nations.


Available online at: [http://www.cfr.org/publication/12077/].

Presents an online discussion between two economists who examine the misuse of aid and explore ideas about how it could be more effectively spent.


Available online at: [http://www.theshortrun.com/studies/drugpatents.pdf].


Discusses how infectious diseases continue to take a grave toll on the population and economy of sub-Saharan Africa despite the availability of effective therapies in developed nations, and that the global community has not adequately helped African governments meet these health challenges. Presents case that increases in annual donor contributions by approximately 10- to 20-fold could result in millions of lives saved, helping Africa escape the cycle of disease and impoverishment.
Expresses the concerns of some experts that the race to save Africa from AIDS has put Western science at odds with Western ethics.

Discusses British Prime Minister Tony Blair’s role in pushing his fellow leaders to double development aid to Africa. Blair wants rich nations to increase total contributions to African development by $25 billion a year. The United States has pushed for aid to be tied to specific needs and wants strong accountability standards.

Reports that some African health officials think that combating AIDS with abstinence-only tactics is naive at best, and very dangerous at worst.


Available online at: [http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs302/en/print.html].

Current Legislation Proposed in the 110th Congress. Available online at: [http://thomas.loc.gov].


Full title: To amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to assist countries in sub-Saharan Africa in the effort to achieve internationally recognized goals in the treatment and prevention of HIV/AIDS and other major diseases and the reduction of maternal and child mortality by improving human health care capacity and improving retention of medical health professionals in sub-Saharan Africa, and for other purposes. Access the full text of this bill, track its progress, access references in the Congressional Record, and find links to hearings through the Library of Congress’ legislative information website, Thomas. Use this site to search for other legislation that may have been proposed in the current session of Congress or in past sessions.
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AIDS Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Africa: Identifying the Best Practices for Care, Treatment and Prevention, Hearing, April 17, 2002. 552-070-28439-7 7.50

Amending the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to Authorize Assistance to Prevent, Treat and Monitor HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa and Other Developing Countries; Markup, June 27, 2001. 552-070-27241-1 6.50

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**Global Threat of Drug-Resistant TB: A Call to Action for World TB Day, Briefing and Hearing, March 21, 2007.**
ID 1.8.F 45

**Guide to the Care of Women with HIV, 2005.**
BOOK. 2005. This guide addresses the health care needs unique to women with HIV. It targets clinicians who provide primary care to women as well as those seeking an understanding of how to take care of women with HIV/AIDS. This guide includes tables, figures, color plates, resources, references, and indices. Its 2005 edition includes new chapters on international issues and nutrition. Edge indexed. 636 p.; ill. 0-0-16-07261-1-5

**Hearing on Trade with Sub-Saharan Africa, and H.R. 4103, the "AGOA Acceleration Act of 2004", Hearing, April 29, 2004.**

**International Disability and Victims of Warfare and Civil Strife Assistance Act of 2003; Various Simple and Concurrent Resolutions; Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act of 2003, Markup, June 12, 2003.**
Y 4-IN 8/16.D 63/4

**Making Safe Blood Available in Africa, Hearing and Briefing, June 27, 2008.**

**Malaria and Tuberculosis in Africa, Hearing, September 14, 2004.**
Y 4-IN 8/16.M 292

**Medical Outreach: An Instrument of U.S. Diplomacy, Hearing, May 16, 2006.**

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**Report on Trade Mission to Sub-Saharan Africa, January 2003.**

**Social Security Programs Throughout the World: Africa, 2003**
Biennial publication. Highlights the principal features of social security systems in Africa. 2003: 145 p.; ill. 0-16-067961-3

**Solutions to the Problem of Health Care Transmission of HIV/AIDS in Africa, Hearing, July 31, 2003.**
Resolved: That the United States Federal Government Should Substantially Increase Its Public Health Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa

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Compiled by the Congressional Research Service
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