

MEDICINE UNDER CAPITALISM

David Tait

Medicine Under Capitalism, by Vincento Navarro, New York: Prodist, 1976. 230 pages, \$14.95.

Navarro's *Medicine Under Capitalism* is a valuable contribution to the Marxist analysis of social policy. The author sets out to show that medical systems in capitalist society have very little to do with human needs, but a great deal to do with the requirements of capital. The specific forms and distribution of health care services will reflect, he believes, not the real health problems of a community, but its underlying class relationships. This formulation represents an important starting point for examining the development of social services within capitalist societies. Rather than trying to explain developments in health services in terms of the visionary ideals of the virtuous or the underhand activities of the vicious, this approach suggests that illness is related to something more objective — control over production.

In their drive to extract as much surplus value from the workers' labour, capitalists fragment the labour force and expose them to unnecessary dangers, both in the workplace and at home. The overwhelming majority of illness is a consequence of these class relationships, and health standards can only be significantly improved when these relationships themselves are transformed. But in the meantime, the working class tries to get better conditions for itself, and the nature of the health care provided depends on the particular stage of the class struggle. That is the outline of the argument, and he develops it in a series of essays which focus on particular problems or regions.

He begins by considering the state of health services in Latin America, arguing that the type of medicine practiced there results from a combination of, on the one hand, economic and cultural dependency on the U.S., and, on the other, the powerful position of the local bourgeoisie. Latin American medicine, he says, is generally based upon the high-technology, individual-oriented, hospital-centered model of the advanced capitalist world, and foreign aid is geared towards reinforcing this model. Consequently investment goes into expensive teaching hospitals and the latest technological gadgets, rather than programmes to improve public health.

From the point of view of the local bourgeoisie, this means that their luxury consumption of expensive medical treatment is given priority over the more serious needs of the vast majority of the population. The health needs of rural areas, where most of the wealth is produced, are neglected. To put this in money terms, Navarro suggests (citing de Ahumada) that every dollar spent on maintaining hospitals rather than providing safe drinking water and adequate food, costs 100 lives.

From the point of view of the metropolitan country, investing in Latin American medicine is a cheap way of producing doctors for the home market. For example, in 1971 there was a net inflow of 5,756 doctors from the developing countries into the U.S. (excluding residents, fellows and exchange visitors), equivalent to half of the yearly output of the U.S.'s 120 medical schools. During the 1960s, the inflow from Latin America alone represented an annual average saving of some \$400 million to the U.S., compared to the total U.S. medical 'aid' to Latin America of only \$20 million per annum.

These arguments seem to have some merit, but they are not altogether consistent with his own theoretical perspective. Throughout the book he is eager to display his Marxist orthodoxy by locating the source of inequality in differential access to the means of production. Here he argues that cities are better served by medical facilities than the countryside because city dwellers have more purchasing power. He is careful to show that some consumers have more power than others, and that this is related to their position in production. Nevertheless it is in their capacity as consumers that they exercise power over the allocation of medical resources. "Resources," he says, "are distributed according to consuming, not producing power." (p.23)

However he provides a possible solution to the problem when he deals with the development of social security for government employees. He shows that it is important for the state to have a reliable bureaucracy, one committed to the established social and political order. Therefore the state must try to link their interests to those of the class whose affairs they manage, and one way of doing this is to establish special advantages and privileges for civil servants. From a broader perspective this can be seen as an attempt to secure the political stability within which capitalist accumulation can proceed. If Navarro had extended this analysis for different classes and "factions" within both the town and the countryside, he could have avoided any retreat into consumer sovereignty.

Another problem with the essay is the way he rather uncritically accepts the "dependency theory" perspective, particularly as developed by Andre Gunder Frank. In itself, this is not an unreasonable position to defend, and it certainly allows Navarro to provide a coherent account of the relationships between metropolitan and peripheral economies.

Medicine Under Capitalism

Michael Rajnik



Medicine Under Capitalism:

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