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Kidney Shortage Inspires A Radical Idea: Organ Sales

As Waiting List Grows, Some Seek to Lift Ban; Exploiting the Poor?

By **LAURA MECKLER**
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Amid a severe kidney-donor shortage, an idea long considered anathema in the medical community is gaining new currency: payments for people willing to give up a kidney.

THE ECONOMISTS' VIEW

Some economists also are urging the adoption of market-based innovations to increase supply.



The University of Buffalo's **Julio Elias**, left, argues that, distasteful or not, monetary incentives are the most efficient way to boost the number of organs available for transplant.

But Harvard University's **Alvin Roth**, right, says cultural mores preclude such a system.



The two debate, in [Econ One on One](#).

YOUR VIEW: JOIN THE DISCUSSION


Should the U.S. allow people to sell their kidneys? [Vote](#), and share your thoughts in [an online forum](#).

One of the most outspoken voices on the topic isn't a free-market libertarian, but a prominent transplant surgeon named Arthur Matas.

Dr. Matas, 59 years old, is a Canadian-born physician best known for his research at the University of Minnesota. Lately, he's been traveling the country trying to make the case that barring kidney sales is tantamount to sentencing some patients to death.

"There's one clear argument for sales," Dr. Matas told a gathering of surgeons earlier this year. The practice, currently illegal in the U.S., "would increase the supply of kidneys, save lives and improve the quality of life for those with end-stage renal disease."

The doctor supports a regulated market only for kidneys, since live donors can give one up and survive without excessive health risks. (Transplants of other organs, such as livers and lungs, pose greater

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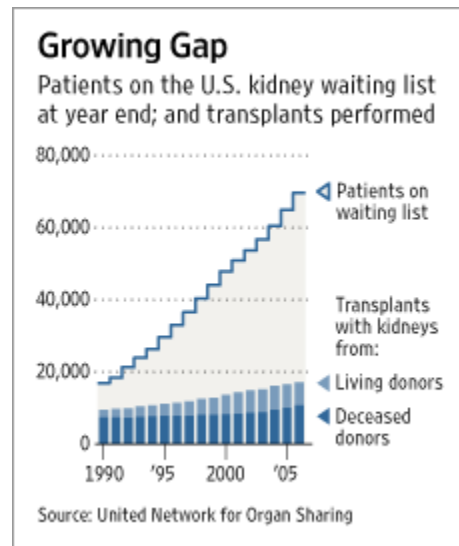
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complications to a living donor.) And Dr. Matas doesn't rule out financial incentives for the families of deceased donors.

Among his opponents on the issue is a friend and colleague, Francis Delmonico. A Harvard University professor who has played a central role in shaping national transplant policy, the 62-year-old physician has several objections to organ sales. He fears such a system would attract the poor, vulnerable and unhealthy, and that altruistic donations might wither away.

"Payments eventually result in the exploitation of the individual," says Dr. Delmonico, who also worries about encouraging black-market sales both here and in developing countries. "It's the poor person who sells."

The two men, and their different perspectives, represent one of many intensifying battles in medicine -- a field where ethics and efficacy sometimes collide. At the core of the kidney-sale debate are complex issues surrounding transplantation. Given the imbalance of supply and demand, physicians and policy makers are forced to ration what's available while considering more radical ideas for obtaining organs.



The federal ban on organ sales dates back to 1983, when Virginia physician Dr. H. Barry Jacobs proposed buying kidneys -- mostly from the indigent -- and selling them to whomever could afford to buy. His plan was met with widespread outrage. In Congress, then-Rep. Al Gore (D., Tenn.) introduced legislation banning the sale of organs. The bill became law in 1984.

Since then, the gap between demand for which data are available, there were kidney transplant and about 7,000 deceased donors. The gap has grown more than fivefold -- an increase fueled partly by higher rates of dialysis. The number of living donors has only inched up. Some of the gap is made up by living donors, but about 4,400 people died on the waiting list.

The issues for and against sales have been debated in many medical forums. Transplantation consider whether the U.S. should experiment with some sort of

Appearing at a January meeting of the American Society of Transplant Surgeons, Dr. Matas shared his thoughts on the issue. Afterwards, the audience was asked to take sides. A majority indicated they would support a trial to determine the viability of a

At an August conference in New York, Marian A. O'Rourke, a nurse and founder of the Transplant Coordinators Organization, listened to Dr. Matas. She, too, found

"Every time I hear this talk, it makes me think a little bit more about it and my reaction against it," she told him after his presentation.

"You need to hear the talk a few more times," Dr. Matas quipped back.

Kidney sales are common in some developing countries, including Pakistan and India, where they are often against the law. Iran is the only country with a government-sanctioned market. In these places are often exploited. Much of the fees go to unscrupulous brokers who ensure donors are healthy enough to withstand surgery.

At the moment, there appears to be little, if any, political support so far for changing U.S. law. Still, Dr. Matas and his growing ranks of allies hope that public discourse and research might eventually lead to a change in policy.

Under the current system, patients who need a kidney transplant are put on a waiting list for kidneys from deceased donors, which are handed out based on medical need, geography, waiting time and various medical factors. Waits vary across the country, and easily top five or six years in many areas. Those who have a willing, living donor can bypass the list altogether and get transplants right away. But the donors must give their kidneys freely and attest that no one is paying them to do so.

Dr. Matas envisions a plan where donors would be able to sell their kidneys regardless of motivation. A set price, he says, could be established by the government and paid by the recipient's insurance, typically Medicare. The kidney would go to whoever is at the top of the waiting list, rich or poor. Patients would be psychologically screened to make sure they are suitable donors. Afterwards, they would see what impact the kidney sale had on their life and overall health.

"It's a concept that takes a little while to sink in," Dr. Matas acknowledges. "It's not right."

While ethical questions loom -- especially those about exploiting the poor -- they are often written off as taboo.

His logic: The poor might be the most likely to sell a kidney. But if it is safe and in a sense of compassion or obligation, why should giving up a kidney be banned?

Some medical ethicists are coming around. These include Arthur Caplan, a bioethicist in Pennsylvania who once debated this issue with Dr. Matas. He had been in desperate and trying circumstances," and that wealthy types would find a way to get a kidney faster.

Now, he says, "I've started to think [a trial is] at least worth a look."

The idea still faces plenty of opposition. Last year, for instance, the Institute of Medicine, the National Academies of Science, explicitly rejected payments of any kind. They cited



Francis Delmonico

The National Kidney Foundation was so strongly against it that a Washington think tank sought to host a panel discussion. The foundation was unwavering in its long-established opposition to any such payments. Its aversion to any scheme of buying and selling organs was written in its bylaws.

Dr. Delmonico, meanwhile, has worked to maintain a substantial weight. Until last June, he was president of the National Kidney Foundation. Under direction of the federal government, the network of transplant centers. Dr. Delmonico now serves as medical director of the National Kidney Foundation World Health Organization.

Despite their differences over organ sales, Drs. Matas and Delmonico have been kidney-transplant surgeons since the late-1970s, when the field was another. Dr. Matas's wife sent gifts when Dr. Delmonico's grandchildren were born. Dr. Delmonico's recommendations for the best Italian food in Boston's North End when Dr. Matas was a resident.

Dr. Delmonico has used his influence to help kill efforts on the kidney-selling front, including the American Medical Association and the United Network for Organ Sharing. He has also studied the impact of payments to families that donate a loved one's organs after death.

Dissent was strong, including from Dr. Delmonico, who testified before Congress in 2005. "The sale of bodies or body parts would undermine the fundamental principles of medicine," he told the Energy and Commerce Committee. The bill went nowhere.

The federal government has since established a program to reimburse living donors for travel and meals. Today, more than a dozen states offer a tax deduction of up to \$2,000. But outright sales have remained a largely unpopular subject.

In some ways, Dr. Matas is an unlikely change agent. He is best known for his use of cyclosporine, an important post-transplant medication used to prevent rejection.

Completing his residency at the University of Minnesota in 1979, he gravitated toward the excitement that coursed through the developing field. Researchers were working to improve shaky success rates, which saw only about half of transplant recipients survive a year.

"The opportunity to do clinical research to try and improve that was phenomenal. I didn't set out to become a crusader."

He didn't think much about organ sales, going along with the orthodoxy in the face of a rising demand for transplants -- and a shortage of kidneys -- began to take its toll. Describing the wait-list process to patients was particularly rough. "I used to tell them four or five years. Right now in Minnesota, I'm telling them six years."

This was on his mind in 2002, when he traveled to Miami and heard a talk at University College London. She posited that none of the arguments against further examine his own beliefs.

His first step was to ask whether kidney sales would be financially viable. I

In February 2004, he and a colleague published a paper calculating that the and compensate a donor and still break even. The reason: Medicare pays for Transplant recipients no longer need the costly procedure, which translates

His paper suggested that compensation to donors include health and life insurance. Initially, he called the people who would sell their kidneys "vendors

"A significant payment could be made to the vendors without increasing the paper, published in the American Journal of Transplantation, concluded.

In the same issue, Dr. Delmonico and another colleague sought to choke off that found some kidney sellers in India suffered postoperation health problems didn't necessarily improve after the operation. They said sales could alter the pressured to approve donors because money was on the line.

The debate in the medical literature was on. A few months later, Dr. Matas rebutting Dr. Delmonico's main points. The poor are more likely to be selling them take on other dangerous jobs. And if the body is so sacred, why does it

In late 2004, Dr. Matas, writing in the same publication, offered a full-fledged regulated U.S. market could counter unregulated ones in other countries.

Dr. Matas was elected president of the American Society of Transplant Surgeons with Dr. Delmonico. At the New York transplant conference this summer, I abroad would be inevitable here, too: young people forced by their poverty-bidding for the best organs.

"The person is not left better off, but they're left with one less kidney."

Dr. Delmonico, who opened the conference as keynote speaker, had left by day. Despite several years of sparring at conferences and in journals, the passage - until this fall.

Two months ago, they found themselves at the same conference in Minneapolis at the Hyatt Regency. For more than an hour, they talked about their differences agreed that the U.S. should eliminate disincentives to kidney donation (such that all donors should be properly monitored after surgery).

But they couldn't bridge the divide on sales. Dr. Delmonico is convinced that the door to sales is allowed to open at all. "[Dr. Matas says] 'You regulate it

"We're just friends," says Dr. Matas, "who have agreed to disagree."

Write to Laura Meckler at laura.meckler@wsj.com

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