

Pharmaceuticals, Market Exclusivities and Abuse of Dominance:
The Evolution of Excessive Pricing Doctrine

Prof. Frederick M. Abbott

Florida State University College of Law

How much is too much? Excessive Pharmaceutical Prices in European Competition Law & Regulation

CeBIL, Copenhagen University

November 6, 2019

### Three Inter-Related Topics

- 1. Unexplained Excessive Price Increases: confronting resistance in the "easy case"
  - CMA v. Flynn/Pfizer -- The Competition Appeal Tribunal rewrite of United Brands and abuse of the British public
- 2. Excessive pricing and the Pharma originators
  - Identifying the costs of R&D and repudiating the black box mythology
- 3. Recent trends in excessive pricing control legislation and legal doctrine
  - The U.S. Congress and reasonable pricing; the Federal Trade Commission begins to turn

### Pursuing Low-Hanging Fruit

- Competition authorities have shown willingness to pursue excessive pricing actions against generic producers with market dominant positions substantially raising prices in the absence of changed economic circumstances (e.g., demonstrated increases in production costs)
- Prevalence of generic products enjoying "effective monopolies" is growing trend imposing substantial costs on consumers and public health systems
- Issues arising from determining risk-adjusted R&D costs do not arise, nor is there a material threat to future R&D streams
- The meaningful threat in the hands of generic producers is withdrawal from the market
  - Governments must consider alternative means for producing necessary generics to counter this threat, including by subsidizing alternative private entrants or establishing national or international production capabilities

## Paradigm generics excessive pricing case

- CMA v. Pfizer and Flynn
  - See Frederick M. Abbott, The UK Competition Appeal Tribunal's Misguided Reprieve for Pfizer's Excessive Pricing Abuse, IIC -International Review of Intellectual Property and Competition Law, Vol. 49, No. 7 (2018), IIC (2018) 49:845-853
- UK Competition and Markets Authority (CMA) renders enforcement determination against Pfizer and Flynn for excessive pricing of antiepilepsy drug (phenytoin sodium capsules)
- Through manipulation of National Health Service (NHS) drug cost reimbursement system, Pfizer effectively removes generic drug from price control system
  - transfers nominal ownership of registration to intermediary (Flynn) – "debranding"
  - -- and together increase price by more than 2000%
- Pfizer executives expressly discuss public perception regarding "fleecing" of NHS, and engage Flynn to defend against anticipated backlash

### Competition authority finds excess

- CMA determines Pfizer and Flynn maintain dominant position on market, and post-debranding price is excessive
  - Uses cost-plus benchmark for assessing level of price increase
  - Excessive prices "unfair in themselves" because lacking any objective justification
  - Pfizer and Flynn supply exactly same product from exactly same German factory
  - UK prices substantially higher than elsewhere in Europe (unfair in comparison to competing products – second approach unnecessary here, but for sake of completeness)
- Competition Appeal Tribunal (CAT) affirms finding of dominant position

## Competition authority meets jurisprudential resistance

- CAT rejects excessive pricing finding on grounds that CMA did not sufficiently explore alternative avenues for determining excessive price and unfairness, notwithstanding that CMA closely adhered to jurisprudence of Court of Justice of European Union (CJEU) from United Brands and subsequent
- CAT relies on opinion of Advocate General Wahl in recent Latvian Copyright excessive pricing case that went beyond CJEU jurisprudence by advocating multiple analytic approaches as "sanity check", citing US Supreme Court Justice Scalia on virtues of selfcorrecting markets
- CJEU did NOT use the AG's multiple approach in Latvian Copyright decision which appeared to relax requirements for finding of excessive pricing
  - Refusing to establish minimum threshold for cross-country comparison price differences demonstrating excess
- CMA pursuing appeal British courts moving very slowly
- Brexit and the role of CJEU jurisprudence

## Public Health and (non-) Self-Correcting Markets

- Early US Supreme Court jurisprudence under Sherman Act focused on consumer protection
- Transition to Chicago School approach in 1980s emphasized selfcorrecting nature of markets and removal of producer restraints
- In general, producer-restraint focus continues to permeate discourse among competition authorities, courts and academia
- Markets characterized by legislative grants of exclusive rights and other regulatory barriers (e.g., extended approval processes) are not "self-correcting"
- Competition law enforcement may not be "first best" solution to high pharmaceutical prices, but may be "best available" solution

## Excessive Pricing: Core Doctrine

- Frederick M. Abbott, Excessive Pharmaceutical Prices and Competition Law: Doctrinal Development to Protect Public Health, UC Irvine Law Review, Volume 6, Issue 3, pp. 281-320, Dec. 2016
  - Legislative and jurisprudential treatment
  - Methodology for construction of "reasonable price" through determination of cost basis including riskadjusted R&D costs

Abuse of market power manifest by injury to welfare of individual consumers and/or purchasing groups

Patents and market exclusivity provide basis for dominance within therapeutic class (down to individual drug)

Consumer with life-threatening disease does not have freedom of choice - demand is inelastic

# Determining What Is "Excessive": Methodologies

#### Establishing "reasonable price"

- Cost plus profit, adjusted for risk
  - Preferred approach
- Reference pricing: see, e.g., current U.S. legislative proposals
- Bargaining between monopoly supplier and monopsony purchaser
- Cost based on corporate assessments of acquisition targets
- Cost based on reporting of R&D and related expenditures to tax authorities
- Cost based on Securities and Exchange Commission reporting
- More subjective alternatives
  - Health Technology Assessment
  - Dutch Competition economist proposal of QALYgovernment expenditure maximum (Canoy and Tichem, "Lower drug prices can improve innovation", ACM Working Paper 2018)



## Calculating Cost



Not a black box

Manufacturing costs generally known

Certain costs should be excluded: opportunity cost of capital, executive salaries above reasonable limits, tax incentives

Originator companies maintain carefully monitored budgets and internal capital allocations

R&D departments are not given "blank checks"

Originators typically subdivide R&D efforts among disease targets and/or therapeutic types: related costs are identifiable

Costs of developing successful new therapeutic product should reasonably take into account failures reasonably proximate to the approved product

Capital markets and originator companies constantly place values on R&D streams both to establish share price on public exchange and/or price of acquisition target

The "mystery" of R&D costs is deliberately maintained

## Adjusting for risk

- Drug development risk varies in relation to unknowns
- Basic research
  - Government (e.g., NIH) funds basic research seeking to reduce unknowns and concomitant risk factors
  - Taxpayer-funded R&D costs should not be included within the calculation of reasonable price
- Low risk R&D: Most new pharmaceutical products are follow-on; different formulations, routes of administration, dosages, patient populations, etc., where cause of condition, mechanism of therapeutic action and toxicity profile is generally known
  - Favored by industry because of predictability in respect to future streams of income
  - Risk factors should be limited taking into account overall project costs

## Adjusting for risk

- High risk R&D: Development of novel therapy based on identifying biological cause of disease and/or novel mechanism of treatment typically involves greater risk
  - Assumed there will be failures in project development and execution
  - Originators reduce risk by pursuing multiple targets (disease and mechanism of action)
  - Originators reduce risk by identifying and acquiring promising third-party portfolios
- Level of risk varies depends on structure of investigating institutions (e.g., single or multi-focus)
  - Multi-focus institutions typically subdivide budget among research units

## Recent Data Sources

- United States Government Accountability Office (GAO), Drug Industry: Profits, Research and Development Spending, and Merger and Acquisition Deals, GAO-18-40, November 2017
  - The number of approvals for drugs FDA considered novel drugs increased from 20 in 2005 to 45 in 2015 but declined to 22 approvals in 2016, according to FDA data and reports (see fig. 14). Novel drugs accounted for between 8 and 18 percent of all drug approvals each year and averaged 13 percent over the period. The remaining majority of drug approvals each year included those not considered novel because they had chemical substances that were previously approved by FDA or were modifications to existing drugs.
- DNDi, 15 Years of Needs-Driven Innovation for Access: Key lessons, challenges, and opportunities for the future (2019)
  - Adjusting these figures for average attrition costs per phase of development, DNDi estimates it can develop and register: new treatments that combine or repurpose existing drugs for €4-32 million; and a new chemical entity for €60-190 million.

## Supra-baseline "Excess"

- After determining cost must establish what constitutes a price "excessive" in relation to it
- Establishing an acceptable norm of profitability can be accomplished by comparison with others in the same industry, or with others in other industries
- Difficulty with comparing other Pharma originators is that historical pricing practices may reflect excess
- Abbott article illustrates methodology for calculating reasonable price based on expectation of sales over time, leaving choice of multiplier in determining excess
- In recent cases where the medical community and public have been "shocked" by pricing practices, may not be difficult to determine that prices are excessive, but establishing reasonable price plus profit may be necessary for remedial purposes

### Remedial Measures

- Civil and criminal competition prosecution are alternatives
- Private civil actions an important potential means of enforcement (in the United States including triple damages)
- Civil remedies may be based on consent agreement (and judicial order or decree), or judicial/jury determination and order, including:
  - Reduction of price to reasonable level
  - Payment of monetary damages, with potential for reimbursement to payors
  - Judicial or administrative monitoring of price, with opportunity for seeking adjustment based on changed circumstances
  - Anti-circumvention controls
- Criminal penalties may include fines and/or imprisonment

## Addressing Hesitancy



- Assumption underlying hesitancy to address excessive originator pricing is that enforcement will curtail investment in R&D and ultimately reduce potential for innovation
- This assumption is not based on historical precedent or economic analysis of effects of limiting "excessive pricing" in regulated pharmaceutical markets, but on postulate that pharmaceutical industry is dependent on ability to capture substantially greater than "normal" returns. It is an untested hypothesis
- Originators have strenuously resisted public examination of R&D costs, even under threat within high-stakes litigation. Why? Difficult to see how such information could benefit competitors
- Developing robust approaches by competition authorities will take practice in addressing cost accounting and other issues. Until this is tried, viability remains an issue

6/29/2019

AbbVie Strikes Deal to Acquire Allergan for About \$63 Billion - WSJ

This copy is for your personal, non-commercial use only. To order presentation-ready copies for distribution to your colleagues, clients or customers visit https://www.djreprints.com.

https://www.wsj.com/articles/abbvie-nears-deal-to-buy-allergan-for-more-than-60-billion-11561458504

#### BUSINESS

### AbbVie Strikes Deal to Acquire Allergan for About \$63 Billion

Drugmakers agree to one of the biggest mergers in the health sector this year



Allergan CEO Brent Saunders on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange in 2016. As of Monday's close, Botox maker Allergan has a market capitalization of \$42.47 billion, PHOTO: BRENDAN MCDERMID/REUTERS

By Cara Lombardo, Jonathan D. Rockoff and Dana Cimilluca
Updated June 25, 2019 8:41 pm ET

AbbVie Inc. ABBV 3.89% a greed to buy Allergan AGN 0.86% PLC for about \$63 billion in a bet by the two drugmakers that a combination will deliver new sources of growth that they have struggled to find on their own.

The takeover is worth about \$188 a share in cash and stock, the companies said. The price

# Medicines Pricing and R&D

### Medicines Pricing and R&D

6/29/2019

Humira's Best-Selling Drug Formula: Start at a High Price. Go Higher. - The New York Times

#### The New Hork Times

#### Humira's Best-Selling Drug Formula: Start at a High Price. Go Higher.

By Danny Hakim

Jan. 6, 2018

Humira is the best-selling prescription drug in the world. You may have seen the commercials.

Because of Humira, a woman with rheumatoid arthritis can wash her puppy in the bathtub, another with colitis can stroll happily through a fair packed with food vendors, while a third suffering from psoriasis can go to the gym without hiding her neck.

But they probably wouldn't all look so relieved if they saw the bill. The price of Humira, an anti-inflammatory drug dispensed in an injectable pen, has risen from about \$19,000 a year in 2012, to more than \$38,000 today, per patient, after rebates, according to SSR Health, a research firm. That's an increase of 100 percent.

Pharma bosses probably miss Martin Shkreli, the reigning villain of the industry. If you'll recall, Mr. Shkreli, as chief executive of Turing Pharmaceuticals, acquired Daraprim, a drug used to fight infections in AIDS patients, and then raised the price overnight to \$750 a pill from \$13.50. He also trolled critics and spent \$2 million on a one-of-a-kind Wu Tang Clan album, before his conviction on three securities fraud charges last year.

For a time, Mr. Shkreli's antics, along with the soaring price of EpiPens, sold by Mylan, deflected attention from the rest of the industry. A more typical play for drug companies — the Humira play — is to start at a high price and keep raising it ever higher, but incrementally.

"What they have done with Humira is just as unfair, just as morally wrong, but they did it over five years," said Ben Wakana, a former Obama administration spokesman who became executive director of Patients for Affordable Drugs, an advocacy group, because his younger brother couldn't afford Humira without the financial support of their parents.

"People are skipping doses, people are rationing, people are going into bankruptcy because of this drug," he said in an interview, arguing that Humira is both more expensive per dose and has a far higher volume than Daraprim.

## Gaps and Challenges

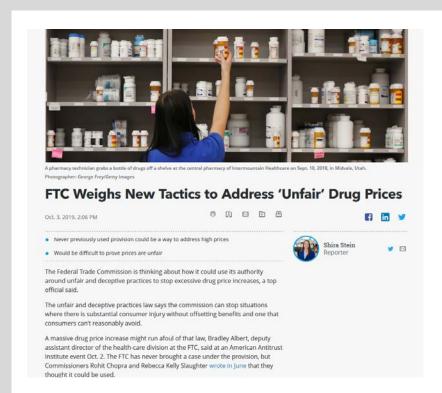


- Investigative authority: powers to compel document production and testimony
- Transparency: see ILA Global Health Law Committee Report (2018) and UN Sec'y General's High Level Panel Report
  - Price trade secrecy and patent/exclusivity system issues
  - World Health Assembly Resolution
- Financial resources
- Caution regarding international negotiations

Let International Competition Negotiations Sleep a While Longer: Focus on Tools and Capacity

IIC - International Review of Intellectual Property and Competition Law, March 2018, Volume 49, Issue 3, pp 259–266, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/s40319-018-0683-5">https://doi.org/10.1007/s40319-018-0683-5</a>

### FTC Report: Excessive Pricing as a Cause of Action under Section 5 FTC Act







#### STATEMENT OF ISSIONERS ROHIT CHOPRA AND

RESECCA KELLY SLAUGHTER

Today, in response to a respond from Congress, the Commission is insuiting a report about its authority is address. "were considerable," price increases for eff-system plantacecentral design and price increases are "irressecuted," increases the confidence of the product. The report does not fully outlined the control of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they control to price increase are "irressecuted," unevisible, and not due to increase disturbuting costs of the product. The report does not fully outlined the control of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they often the product to pricing practice under those specific construtance," we so write separately to precise practice under these specific construtance, to see out the specific precise in the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section of Section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the section 3 of the IPTC Act as they are the IPTC Act as they are the IPTC Act as they are the IPTC Act as the IPTC Act as they are the IPTC Act as the IPTC Act as they are the IPTC

Congress is rightly concerned about excellular gives increases on effection days, Se or ve-for deades, the Commission has challenged a number of flagge an interpective precision in the pharmaceutical industry that result in high drug prices. The Commission should consider very selection of the ball on this work by a dead-rosing energing and ovelogy greaction that there consumes. Well-ton the contract of the instead, the tables are too high to very on the agency's standard approach. The Commission needs to consider the full feath of its stantary and another; such excellent

The Commission's report to Congress repeats an off-stated perspective regarding the dangers of interforing with market pricing mechanisms. While this view is appropriate in many instances, the unique characteristics of the pharmaceutical market can make the application of typical market pricing mechanisms unreliable. Early harriers and the existence of consumers who have where to term because their lives depend on a particular drug are just a few of the complexities

The conventional windom is that America's high drug prices are necessary to fuel innovation and attract entry for life-saving therapies. This is highly questionable, particularly when it comes to high priced off-pattent drugs that invite, but do not receive, competition from therapeutic alternatives. Even for new drugs, studies have shown that, since the mid-1990s, about 83 to 90

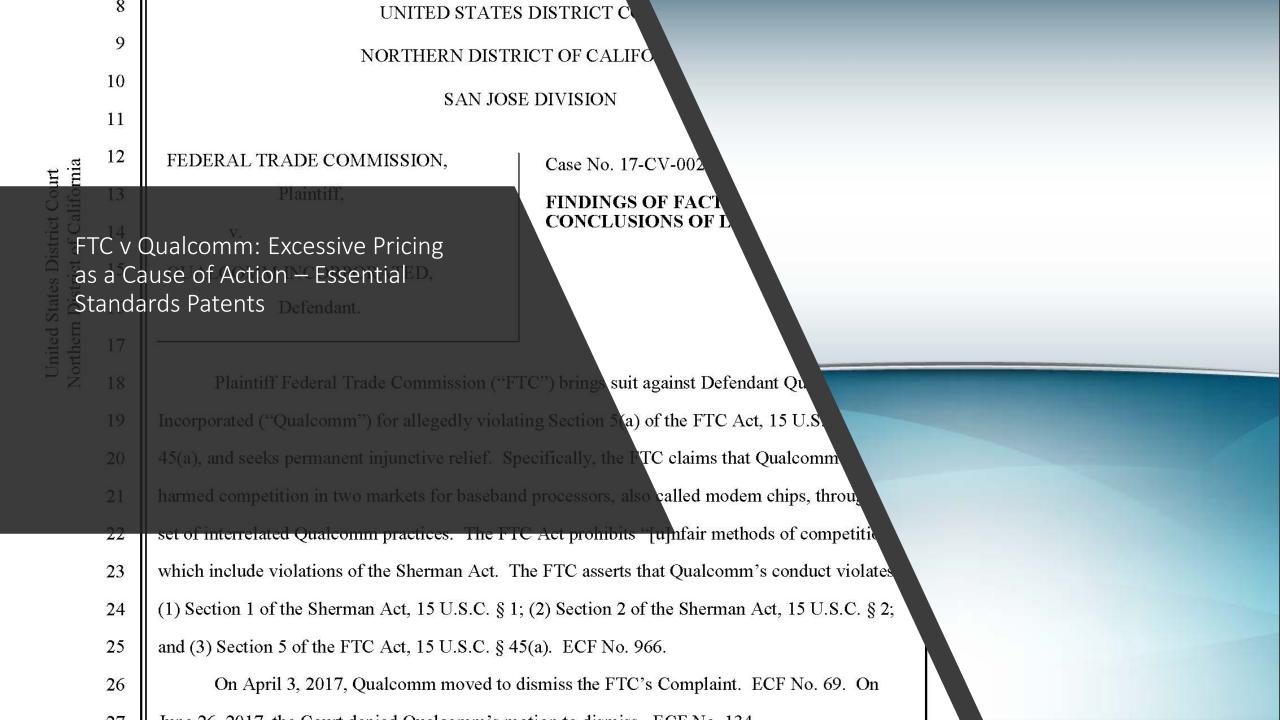
<sup>9</sup> We do not contend that Section 5 is a general price-senting statute. Instead, we confine our remarks regarding the access of Section 5 to the content section of in the Committee's retained.

#### Federal Trade Commission Report on Standalone Section 5 to Address High Pharmaceutical Drug and Biologic Prices

Congress directed the Federal Trade Commission ("FTC") to report to the House and Congress directed the Yorker Termination (FTFC) to report to the House and bank depreprision Committees (Committees) on the use of the FTCs standards undured) that depression Committees (Committees) on the use of the FTCs standards undured) Sepecifically, the Committee registed that the FTC, in committees with the U.S. Food and for applications (FTbC). Committee registed that the FTC, is committee with the U.S. Food and competition in 15 U.S.C. 45(s) and in the FTC, standards Section 3 authority with regard to principle of the Committee register of the U.S. Food and the U.S. Food and competition in 15 U.S.C. 45(s) and in the FTC, standards Section 3 authority with regard to principle of the U.S.C. 45(s) and in the FTC, standards Section 3 authority with regard to principle of the U.S.C. 45(s) and in the FTC, standards Section 3 authority with regard to principle of the U.S.C. 45(s) and the U.S.C. 45

Section 5 gives the Commission authority to address both "unfair or deceptive acts or Section 3 gives the Commission authority to address both "surface or deceptive acts or practices" ("LDAN") and "rather actionship of competition" (allowing the directions for import of the the Commission" authority occur until are nichods of competition until and [4 50]s, seen method of competition until [4 50]s, seen method of competition until [4 50]s, seen method of competition with a LDAN ("Appl.) Commission with the test of the held, interpret focuses on the FTC"s ability to use its authorist authority over until methods of competition to address surreconsisted due gravior interacts. Although the FTC has no related out the position for address surreconsisted due gravior interacts. Although the FTC has no related out the position for address surreconsisted product continue at 10 MTA. In data, it has not childregal an adequatify duchsed price increase.

Part I of this Report provides an overview of the scope of the FTC's untherity under Scott of SqL to address staff in articles of competition and the actus to existing antitude monophila replays business practice that have competition for decade, the FTCs had devoted substantial networks to anticorreportive practices in the pharmacontoid multicut, which act to approach further than the practice of the pharmacontoid multicut, which act to the present further than the provide of the present provides of the present further than the present further than the present of the present staff of the present of the present of the present of the conditions of interest to the Constitutes of the present of the conditions of interest to the Constitutes of the present of the conditions of interest to the Constitutes of the present of the conditions of interest to the Constitutes of interest to the Constitute of the Constitute of interest to the Constitute of interes



SEC. 4. NATIONAL ACADEMY OF MEDICIN TERMINING A REASONABLE Bill Introduced: We PAID Act: US Sen's Van Höllen & Scott Act, the Second 7 to enter into a contract with oming to market. Directs National Academy of Sciences to (b) Report.—Any contract between the Sec develop reasonable price methodology ed to in 6 quirement that the Academy submit a report on the re 7 sults of the study described in subsection (a) to the See for patented drugs 8 retary, the Drug Affordability and Access Committee, and under which the Acade 10 SEC. 5. DRUG AFFORDABILITY AND ACCESS COMMITTEE 12 be established a nonprofit corporation to be known as the 13 Drug Affordability and Access Committee (referred to it 14 this section as the "Committee"), which is neither an 10 (1) how best 15 agency nor establishment of the United States Govern-16 ment. The Committee shall be headed by an Executive Di-(b) Purpose.—The purpose of the Committee is to a drug's manufact 19 determine a reasonable manufacturer list price and retail 20 price for each applicable drug. (1) In general.—The Committee shall have Board of Directors, which shall be compose develop at least 1 determ eficio and appointed members in 13 reasonableness of a drug's manufacturer

and retail price taking into consideration—

116TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION S.

To establish a process by which reasonable drug prices may be determined, and for other purposes.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Van Hollen (for himself and Mr. Scott of Florida) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on

#### **A BILL**

To establish a process by which reasonable drug prices may be determined, and for other purposes.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- "Lis Act may be cited as the "We Protect American
  "Act" or the "We PAID Act"

ablenes

ail pr

## Speaker of the House Pelosi Bill: Elijah J. Cummings Lower Drug Costs Now Act of 2019

116TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

#### H. R. 3

To establish a fair price negotiation program, protect the Medicare program from excessive price increases, and establish an out-of-pocket maximum for Medicare part D enrollees, and for other purposes.

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### September 19, 2019

Mr. Pallone (for himself, Mr. Neal, and Mr. Scott of Virginia) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committees on Ways and Means, and Education and Labor, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

#### A BILL

- To establish a fair price negotiation program, protect the Medicare program from excessive price increases, and establish an out-of-pocket maximum for Medicare part D enrollees, and for other purposes.
- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE: TABLE OF CONTENTS.
- 4 (a) In General.—This Act may be cited as the
- 5 "Lower Drug Costs Now Act of 2019".

9 "SEC. 9816. FAIR PRICE DRUG NEGOTIATION PROGRAM

10 AND APPLICATION OF MAXIMUM FAIR

11 PRICES.

12 "(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a group health

13 plan that is treated under section 1197 of the Social Secu
14 rity Act as having in effect an agreement with the Sec
15 retary under the Fair Price Drug Negotiation Program

Opens Federal Government price negotiations with producers and establishes maximum prices based in international reference basket

## Sen. Elizabeth Warren: Bill for US Government to Manufacture Drugs

115TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

S.

To amend the Public Health Service Act to establish an Office of Drug Manufacturing.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Ms. Warren introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on

#### A BILL

To amend the Public Health Service Act to establish an Office of Drug Manufacturing.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "Affordable Drug Man-
- 5 ufacturing Act of 2018".
- 6 SEC. 2. PUBLIC MANUFACTURING OF PHARMACEUTICALS.
- 7 Part A of title III of the Public Health Service Act
- 8 (42 U.S.C. 241 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end
- 9 the following:

12 the applicable drug.

13 "(d) Insulin.—Not later than 1 year after the date

14 of enactment of this section, the Secretary shall begin the

15 public manufacturing of insulin meeting the definition of

16 applicable drug and in accordance with this section.

17 "(e) Applicable Drug.—In this section, the term

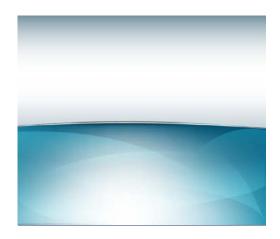
Federal Government will manufacture selected generic drugs, expressly including insulin 6 "(7) Manufacturing levels.—Not later 7 than 1 year after the date of enactment of this sec-8 tion, the Office shall manufacture, or enter into con-9 tracts with entities for the manufacture, of not less 10 than 15 applicable drugs. Not later than 3 years 11 after such date of enactment, the Office shall manu-12 facture, or enter into contracts with entities for the 13 manufacture, of not less than 25 applicable drugs.

## UNDP



A guidebook for low- and middle-income countries





#### -UNISUR / Fiocruz / UNDP Consultation on Competition and Access to Health 7

s by Frederick M. Abbott at:

Access to Health Technologies, Patents and Prices:

Capacity Strengthening Consultation on the Use of Competition Law to

Promote Affordable Access

5-7 December 2017

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil





Health Technologies, Patents
feet: Capacity-building
classification on the Use of
competition tax to Promote
Understand Access to Health Technologies, Patents
and Prices: Capacity-building
Consultation on the Use of
Competition tax to Promote
Affordable Access
Aff

### Additional Information



 Various sets of workshop presentations on using competition law to promote access to medicines, including causes of action generally available under competition law, mechanisms for securing evidence, case law and remedial measures are available at:

http://frederickabbott.com/recent\_presentations