

**Statement by Michael A. Carrier
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to Senate Judiciary Committee

on “Intellectual Property and the Price of Prescription Drugs: Balancing Innovation and Competition”

I. Introduction

- A. Drug prices too high
 - 1. Brand drug companies abuse system by delaying generic entry
 - 2. Brands withhold samples, pay generics not to enter, and exploit citizen petitions, product hopping, and patent thickets
- B. This conduct cannot be justified by patents or innovation
- C. Congress can address these abuses

II. My Background

- A. I have studied pharmaceutical antitrust law as co-author of leading IP/antitrust treatise; author of more than 115 articles (60 on pharmaceutical antitrust law); author of “amicus” briefs on behalf of hundreds of professors; and one frequently cited in media (1500+ times) and courts (including Supreme Court)

III. Sample Denials

- A. Generics need samples to reach market but brands have denied them
 - 1. FDA has received more than 170 inquiries from generics unable to obtain samples; costs \$5+ billion/year
 - 2. FDA powerless: its “generics are safe” letters ineffective; agency not examine competition issues
 - 3. Sample denials violate legislative provision that brands not use Risk Evaluation and Mitigation Strategies (REMS) to “block or delay” generics
- B. Brands have abused Single Shared REMS program, applicable when brand, generic each have REMS
 - 1. Have slow-walked negotiations, sometimes for years (*e.g.*, Suboxone, Xyrem)
 - a) FDA acts “after substantial delay” and “ha[s] to try and try and try and try, and then finally . . . declare defeat and . . . go ahead and let the generics have their own system.”¹
- C. There’s also concern outside the REMS setting; *e.g.*, Martin Shkreli’s 5000%-price-hiked Daraprim
 - 1. 62 years after approval and for no apparent reason, Turing restricted distribution system; official “would block [generic] purchase” and company “do[es] [its] best to avoid generic competition.”²
- D. Antitrust law uncertain – even if should be violation for conduct making no economic sense, courts could accept brands’ arguments based on safety, product liability, and lack of duty to deal with rivals
- E. CREATES Act offers simple fix, allowing targeted lawsuits and deterrent remedy

IV. Pay-for-Delay Settlements

- A. Brands have colluded with generics, paying them to delay entering the market
- B. Legislation provides that generic receiving “anything of value” for delayed entry is presumptively illegal
- C. Standard makes clear that pay-for-delay settlements anticompetitive and helps FTC prove cases in court
- D. Legislation addresses judicial errors relating to payment, “scope of patent,” and risk aversion. *E.g.*:
 - 1. *AbbVie*: Brand provided generic with drug at price “well below what is customary” but court (despite recognizing deal’s “large value”) concluded it “was not a reverse payment.”³
 - 2. *AbbVie* and Administrative Law Judge in *Impax*: Assumed entry before patent expiration procompetitive (despite Supreme Court’s overturning of scope-of-patent test).⁴
 - 3. *Wellbutrin*: Relied on risk aversion defense (rejected by Supreme Court) to dismiss argument that size of payment reflects patent weakness.⁵

¹ See Michael A. Carrier, *Sharing, Samples, and Generics: An Antitrust Framework*, 103 CORNELL LAW REVIEW 1, 41-47 (2017).

² See Michael A. Carrier, Nicole L. Levidow, & Aaron S. Kesselheim, *Using Antitrust Law to Challenge Turing’s Daraprim Price Increase*, 31 BERKELEY TECHNOLOGY LAW JOURNAL 1379, 1400 (2017).

³ *FTC v. AbbVie Inc.*, 107 F. Supp. 3d 428, 436 (E.D. Pa. 2015).

⁴ *In the Matter of Impax Labs., Inc.*, Dkt. No. 9373, at 144, 146 (FTC ALJ Chappell May 18, 2018).

⁵ *In re Wellbutrin XL Antitrust Litig. Indirect Purchaser Class*, 868 F.3d 132, 165 (3d Cir. 2017).

V. Citizen Petitions

- A. Meant to raise legitimate concerns, but really used to delay generic entry, with my empirical study showing that FDA denies 92% of “505(q)” petitions (against pending generic), 98% of late-filed petitions.⁶
- B. Concerning examples: Shire ViroPharma’s 46 filings, Teva’s multiple Copaxone petitions, Bayer’s Mirena petition 1 day before patent expiration, Mylan’s delayed filing of petition on EpiPen alternative.⁷
- C. From 2011 to 2015, 118 petitioners filed 505(q) petitions: 108 brand firms, 4 generic firms, 4 law firms or consultants, *only 2* public interest groups, and *0* individuals
- D. Legislation helpful in giving FTC authority to bring Section 5 claim (and obtain strong penalties) against sham petitions

VI. Product Hopping

- A. Brands have switched drugs so generics can’t be substituted and migrated patients before generic entry
 - 1. Examples: capsule to tablet, different dosage, single- and dual-scored tablet
- B. Each switch slows generic: must reformulate, face patent litigation (& 30-month stay), can’t be substituted
- C. Antitrust liability appropriate for conduct that makes no sense other than harming generic
 - 1. For example, why would brand voluntarily pull *\$1.5 billion* drug off market?⁸
 - 2. And why would brand disparage *own* product?⁹

VII. Patent Thickets

- A. Biologic manufacturers have obtained more than 100 patents on single product to extend protection
 - 1. Many of the patents are related and extend protection beyond main patent & 12-year exclusivity
- B. *E.g.*: AbbVie’s 130+ Humira patents, including 53 obtained in 2015/16, just before main patent expired
 - 1. AbbVie has settled with all biosimilars except one, delaying U.S. entry until 2023 (while biosimilars have already entered in Europe)
 - 2. From 2013 to 2016, AbbVie raised price 68%

VIII. Conclusion

- A. Anticompetitive behavior costs consumers billions in unnecessary payments and untold suffering when patients go without food or rent, split pills in half, or don’t take needed medicines
- B. Legislation on samples, settlements, citizen petitions, product hopping, and patent thickets would make patients’ lives better without affecting innovation

⁶ See Michael A. Carrier & Carl J. Minniti III, *Citizen Petitions: Long, Late-Filed, and At-Last Denied*, 66 AMERICAN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 305 (2016).

⁷ See Carrier & Minniti, *Citizen Petitions*, at 344-47; Michael A. Carrier & Carl J. Minniti III, *The Untold EpiPen Story: How Mylan Hiked Prices by Blocking Rivals*, 102 CORNELL LAW REVIEW ONLINE 53, 64-66 (2017).

⁸ *New York ex rel. Schneiderman v. Actavis PLC (Namenda)*, 787 F.3d 638, 647 (2d Cir. 2015).

⁹ *In re Suboxone Antitrust Litigation*, 64 F. Supp. 3d 665 (E.D. Pa. 2014).