

# Excessive pharmaceutical pricing and repercussions on paediatric health services

Dominik Vuletić\*

**Context:** Paediatric pharmaceuticals have a significant share in expensive drugs. Recent years have seen significant calls for intervention against high prices for pharmaceutical products. The prohibition of prices that are excessive as a form of abuse of dominance is considered as Competition law violation in the European Union Law and national legal orders of its Member States. Majority of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) member countries have similar prohibitions in their respective Competition laws with important exemption of United States (US) Antitrust Law, although there is some indication of change in US exactly in the area of pharmaceutical sector. Regulation of excessive prices also exists in Competition laws of all BRICS (Brazil, Russian Federation, India, China, and South Africa) countries. The problem of excessive prices in pharmaceuticals is one of the emerging themes in Competition law literature and case law development. This is the area where intellectual property rights, usually patent protection, collide with competition rules. Costs of research and development for such pharmaceuticals are often very high emphasizing the need for balance between colliding legitimate interests: access to health and research development.

**Aim:** To present regulatory and case law development of application of excessive prices as form of abuse of dominance in pharmaceutical sector with emphasis on paediatric health services.

**Data source:** OECD, PubMed, Google Scholar, Scopus.

**Conclusion:** Balance between competition rules on excessive prices as form of abuse of dominance and intellectual property rights in the area of expensive paediatric pharmaceuticals can be regarded as suboptimal. Thus, there is a need for further regulatory development and application of rules on excessive prices in that field.

**Keywords:** LEGAL ASPECTS; COURT DECISIONS; PEDIATRICS; DRUG AND NARCOTIC CONTROL

## INTRODUCTION

Recent years have seen significant calls for intervention against high prices for pharmaceutical products, and there have been a number of competition enforcement cases regarding exploitative excessive pricing in this sector (1). Excessive pharmaceutical pricing represents one of the most contentious issues in legal and political discourse and has recently gained renewed attention by courts, competition authorities and political forces on both sides of the Atlantic (2). The British Medical Journal dedicated a special issue in 2020 to achieving fair pricing (3). One study from 2020 demonstrated that global expenditure on pharmaceuticals in-

creased 56% between 2007 and 2017 (4). Paediatric pharmaceuticals have a significant share in expensive drugs including the most expensive drugs in world, as we will demonstrate further in this paper.

In the European Union Competition Law excessive pricing by dominant undertaking/undertakings or association of undertakings is considered to be a violation Article 102 of

---

\* University of Zagreb, Faculty of Economics and Business

### Correspondence to:

Ass. prof. Dominik Vuletić; Faculty of Economics;  
Trg J. F. Kennedyja 6, 10000 Zagreb; Croatia;  
E-mail: [dvuletic@efzg.hr](mailto:dvuletic@efzg.hr)

The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). Thus, abusive conduct of dominant undertaking that consist in directly or indirectly imposing unfair purchase or selling prices or other unfair trading conditions, as stipulated in TFEU (5), can emerge in a form of excessive prices. Similar provision is contained in Article 54 of the European Economic Area (EEA) Agreement (6). Member States of EU have harmonized their competition laws with EU Competition Law so regulation of excessive prices is the correspondent.

The European Court of Justice has in 1975 in *General Motors Continental NV v. Comm'n* (7) case introduced that this prohibition of unfair prices and trading conditions can relate to excessive prices. It held that dominant undertaking service price is unfair if it is excessive in relation to the economic value of the service provided. In far better known case that was adjudicated several years later - *United Brands* case (8) - the Court established approach for determination of excessive prices. In that case Commission held that *United Brands* (UBC), big producer and exporter of bananas, charged the price of bananas to its customers in Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands that are considerably higher, sometimes by as much as 100%, than the prices charged to customers in Ireland and therefore produce for it a substantial and excessive profit in relation to the economic value of the product supplied (6). Court held that excess in prices could be determined objectively if it were possible for it to be calculated by making a comparison between the selling price of the product in question and its cost of production, which would disclose the amount of the profit margin. The Court held that excess in price is therefore to be determined in answering the question whether the difference between the costs actually incurred and the price actually charged is excessive, and, if the answer to this question is in the affirmative, whether a price has been imposed which is either unfair in itself or when compared to competing products (8). Conclusion of the Court concluded that Commission did not succeeded to prove excess in prices. Failure on the Commission part to provide analysis of UBC cost structure analysis was paramount to such judicial decision (UBC was found to be in abuse of dominance in other aspects but excess in prices was not sufficiently proven).

In *Bodson v. Pompes Funèbres* case (9) from 1988 the Court of Justice held that the excess in price can be determined by comparing what the dominant undertaking had charged in other markets in which it is subject to more intense competition (6). Method of comparison with other markets was further elaborated a year later in *Tournier* case (10), in which the Court required objective justification for price difference from the similar/comparable markets. In some cases, the Court held that prices exceeding the competitive bench-

mark in other markets between 25% to 40% were excessive, while other decisions concerned larger differences. In more recent case law, the Court in *AKKA/LAA* case from 2017 (11) held that there is no minimal threshold in price difference, it only required difference is significant and persistent. After the judgment in *United Brands* case two-limb test is frequently used in the assessment of the excess in price.

Particular problem are markets that are naturally monopolistic. Good example for this is Commission decision in *Port of Helsingborg* case from 2004 (12). In that case Commission held that there is no sufficient evidence to conclude that the port charges have no reasonable relation to the economic value of the services provided by the port to the ferry-operators. The problem of the assessment by using comparative markets method in this kind of situation is locational monopoly. Port of Helsingborg is located in the southwest of Sweden, at the narrowest point of Øresund between Sweden and Denmark. Thus, there is literally no sufficiently comparable market or ferry route in whole of the EU method (6). Similarly, naturally monopolistic markets frequently occur in markets of pharmaceutical products.

Specific expanding area of case-law in EU Competition law is exactly in the field of pharmaceuticals. Leading case here is the Commission decision in *Aspen* case from 2020 (13). Case relates to excessive pricing of six cancer medicines in the European Economic Area (excepting Italy which adjudicated the matter in national proceedings also revoking excessive prices as abuse of dominance) by Aspen, an international pharmaceutical company headquartered in South Africa. The patent protection for the aforementioned medicines expired more than 50 years ago. Aspen imposed price increases by threatening to de-list or to withdraw the medicines. After having imposed the increased prices, often by several hundred percent, Aspen maintained the high prices (with profit margins over 80% and higher). Aspen also did not carry out any research and development or add any improvements or enhancements to commercialisation or distribution. Medicines in question did not have generic substitutes in Europe so the dependency of patients and health systems on Aspen's products made demand highly inelastic and customers vulnerable to exploitation. Case ended with Aspen commitment to reduce net prices for each of the medicines in all of the EEA Member States where price levels might raise concerns. The price reduction would be on average around 73% for the medicines across the EEA. The reduced net prices would apply for a period of 10 years.

Regulation of excessive pricing exists in all of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development Member countries except US, Canada, Mexico, Australia and New Zealand (14). US Antitrust Law under the influence of the Chicago School of Economics is still lead by the idea of self-

correcting markets that is estranged to excessive pricing as a concept. However, such practices can sometimes be categorised under general provisions of Sherman Act that addresses monopolization and attempts to monopolize not relating to excessive pricing. Furthermore, such views on excessive prices have been questioned from doctrinal point of view (15). Signs of possible acceptance in US Antitrust Law can be detected exactly in the area of pharmaceutical pricing practices (6). Example from US case law is *In re Nexium (esomeprazole)* case from 2014 that involves pay-for-delay agreements of AstraZeneca and their impact on competition and consumer prices (16). Regulation of excessive prices exists in competition laws of all BRICS countries (6).

### PATENT PROTECTION EXPIRED VS PATENT PROTECTED PHARMACEUTICALS

Majority of developing case law in various jurisdictions relating to excessive prices of pharmaceuticals concerns situation where patent protection, as most common intellectual property right, expired. This was the situation in EU *Aspen* case, as we have seen from the introduction (as well in the Italian national proceedings in the same case). Described regulatory emphasis on pharmaceuticals where patent protection expired has been clearly demonstrated in one study from 2023 (17). Usual preferred remedy for excess in prices of such pharmaceuticals (where patent protection expired) would be in lowering the barriers for entry on the relevant market for substitutes product/products. Especially preferred by the medical drug regulators are generic medicines. However, this is not always possible, as we have seen in the *Aspen* case - simply there were no substitute generics available at that time in Europe. Among crucial contributing factors for the existence of entry barriers, along with the costs of research and development, is time. Reason for time as limiting factor is that pharmaceuticals standardly, whether original or generic, both in the EU and globally, may only be placed on particular relevant market after they have obtained a marketing authorisation. A marketing authorisation can be obtained through national authorisation or through a centralised procedure in EU, before the European Medicines Agency. Irrespective of the procedure, obtaining a marketing authorisation even for generic medicines is a resource-intensive and long process that, in principle, can take between 12 and 18 months for generic medicines and even longer for originator medicines. Competition Law regulators (either national regulators or DG Competition of the European Commission) can step-in in such situations when surge in prices occurs and are there are no available market substitutes with application of excessive prices as abuse of dominance.

Regulatory application of excessive prices as a form of abuse of dominance in patent protected pharmaceuticals is

much less frequent, practically non-existent. Standard doctrinal explanation for this state is the intrinsic collision between intellectual property rights, that are exclusive in nature (patent protection in particular), and Competition law that promotes competition and non-exclusivity. However, there has been a very substantial application of Competition law on patent protection rights in other area outside excessive prices, including for example rules on agreements between undertakings and merger control. Real reason for rarity of application of excessive process as form of abuse of dominance in patent protected pharmaceuticals is reluctance on the part of regulators to initiate such proceedings. Excessive prices are viewed as controversial (not accepted in some jurisdictions like US) part of Competition law. Furthermore, excessive prices are considered as exploitative abuse and not as exclusionary abuse and thus not an enforcement priority. This reasons influenced on the small number of cases in which excessive pricing was determined within the EU Competition Law in general (18).

### CASE STUDY IN PEADIATRICS: EXCESSIVE PRICES AND SPINRAZA®

Despite the rarity there is no legal reasoning that would exclude application of the legal institute of excessive prices (in jurisdiction where they are stipulated) on the patent protected pharmaceuticals. Recorded lack of Competition law enforcement in patent protected pharmaceuticals is therefore suboptimal. Good example for that is exactly in the area of paediatric pharmaceuticals in the case of Spinraza®.

Spinraza® (nusinersen) is a medication used in treating spinal muscular atrophy (SMA) associated with a mutation in the SMN1 gene. Since the condition it treats is so rare Spinraza® entered in the realm of pharmaceuticals unofficially named 'orphan drugs'. Biogen, multinational biotechnology company, since 2015 holds patent rights on Spinraza®. Spinraza's® pricing is largely a 'black box' because of confidentiality clauses in pricing agreements with health authorities or insurers (19). Following their own investigations, the civil society groups estimate that the drug has a price of €210,000–280,000 per year per patient in Italy and of €529,800 per patient in the first year and €264,900 per year per patient thereafter in Belgium (17). The worldwide annual revenue for the product was around US\$2 billion through 2018–2021. If 11,000 patients receive the medicine in one year, this puts the average worldwide price per patient per year at US\$181,818 (17). Biogen says it bases its pricing on 'clinical benefit' and the 'prices of other orphan drugs' (19). However, consumer protection associations and civil society groups object in Italy and Belgium that Biogen invested US\$648 million in the development of the medi-

TABLE 1. The list of the most expensive pharmaceuticals in the United States for paediatric use (source: [www.drugs.com](http://www.drugs.com), April 1, 2024)

Generic name	Brand name	Diagnosis
Atidarsagene autotemcel	Lenmeldy® (Libmeldy®)	Metachromatic leukodystrophy
Delandistrogene moxeparovec-rokl	Elevidys®	Duchenne Muscular Dystrophy
Elivaldogene autotemcel or eli-cel	Skysona®	Cerebral Adrenoleukodystrophy
Betibeglogene autotemcel or beti-cel	Zyteglo®	Beta-thalassemia
Onasemnogene abeparovec-xioi	Zolgensma®	Spinal Muscular Atrophy
Metreleptin	Myalept®	Lipodystrophy/Leptin deficiency
Naxitamab-gqgk	Danyelza®	Neuroblastoma
Lonafarnib	Zokinvy®	Progeria and Progeroid Laminopathies

cine (20). If this is correct, then (based on the aforementioned average worldwide price per patient per year) Biogen would have recouped its direct R&D costs after treating 3,564 patients in one year (17).

It should be noted that generics to Spinraza® have been developed so application of excessive prices is not only applicable remedy to deal with high prices of this pharmaceuticals. Biogen has faced scrutiny and investigation regarding the pricing of Spinraza®. Main reason is of course its high cost, which in some patients was up to \$750,000 for the first year and around \$375,000 for subsequent years. However, formal publicly available proceedings against Biogen for excessive prices of Spinraza® have not yet been publicized in any of the major jurisdictions (consumer protection associations have reported Biogen to Competition authorities in Italy and Belgium). If any national competition authority or DG Competition initiate proceedings usual steps in application of Competition law will be applied: determination of relevant market and assessment whether Biogen is in the position of dominance on that market prior to the determination of possible price excess in Spinraza®.

## REPERCUSSIONS IN PAEDIATRIC HEALTH CARE SERVICES

Eight out of ten pharmaceuticals listed as the most expensive in the US in April 2024 have indication for use in paediatric population – Table 1 represents a list of most expensive pharmaceuticals for paediatric use. Similar situation is in the EU (with addition of exagamglogene autotemcel). Interestingly, only four pharmaceuticals from the list can be found in the pharmaceuticals base in Croatia in 2024. Moreover, only two (Zolgensma®, Myalept®), are included in the medication list by the Croatian Health Insurance Fund (HZZO).

The most expensive medicine in the world currently is also a 'orphan drug' - atidarsagene autotemcel produced by Orchard Pharmaceuticals, approved in US in March 2024 under the name Lenmeldy® (branded as Libmeldy® in Europe) with price per treatment exceeding four million US dollars. Its' ef-

ficacy in preventing disease symptoms or stabilizing progression was proven also in the clinical setting (21), however, the cost, as with many orphan drugs, raises concerns.

High prices of pharmaceuticals contribute to unequal healthcare accessibility worldwide. Variety of prices within and between the companies and generic drugs that are not necessarily cheaper are some of the reasons many countries, especially low-income, still face great challenges providing care for children with cancer (22). Even greater discrepancies in access to medicines and more unmet needs face paediatric patients with rare diseases as orphan drug developments are concentrated in only few therapeutic areas, as also shown in the Table 1 (23). The excessive cost has profound implications not only for oncology patients and children with metabolic diseases, but across the paediatric healthcare services, especially for children with neurological disorders, but also, for, example, for patients treated by the paediatric nephrology teams (24, 25). High price of previously described Spiranza influenced late broadening of indications of the drug in Croatia on the medication list of the Croatian Health Insurance Fund in 2019 after public outcry and treatments of patients abroad.

Stringer and more activist (by the Competition regulators) application of rules on excessive prices as form of abuse of dominance, especially in patent protected pharmaceuticals (in jurisdictions where they are applicable), could therefore be one of the effective tools in combating such inequality and access to health as fundamental right.

## CONCLUSION

The main conclusion of this paper is that balance between competition rules on excessive prices as form of abuse of dominance and intellectual property rights in the area of expensive patent protected paediatric pharmaceuticals can be regarded as suboptimal and there is a need for further regulatory development and activism on the side competition regulators. Even in those jurisdictions that do not have excessive prices, like US, possible regulatory change if it is to

come it will be most likely in the area pharmaceutical sector. Specially influenced is paediatric health care since majority of most expensive pharmaceuticals have indication for use in paediatric population. Stringer and more activist application of excessive prices as form of abuse of dominance can be an effective tool in combating inequality of healthcare accessibility and access to health as fundamental human right.

### Abbreviations:

OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development  
 US – United States of America  
 BRICS – Brazil, Russian Federation, India, China, and South Africa  
 TFEU – Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union  
 EEA – European Economic Area  
 UBC – United Brands  
 EU – European Union  
 SMA – Spinal muscular atrophy

### REFERENCES

1. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development OECD. Excessive Prices in Pharmaceutical Markets [Internet]. 2018 [cited 2024 May 28]. Available from: <http://www.oecd.org/daf/competition/excessive-pricing-in-pharmaceuticals.htm>
2. Kianzad B, Minssen T. How Much Is Too Much? Defining the Metes and Bounds of Excessive Pricing in the Pharmaceutical Sector. *European Pharmaceutical Law Review*. 2018;2(3): 133 – 148
3. Achieving Fair Pricing of Medicines - Special Collection of the BMJ: *British Medical Journal*. 2020;368.
4. Morgan, S. Pricing of pharmaceuticals is becoming a major challenge for health systems. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*. 2020;368, 1–4.
5. Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Consolidated version 2016) OJ C 202, 7.6.2016.
6. Vuletić, D. Excessive Pricing in the European Union Competition Law and Comparative Context: Towards Stronger Regulation or Abandonment? *Book of Proceedings 113th International Scientific Conference on Economic and Social Development*. 2024;755-772.
7. Case 26-75 General Motors Continental NV v Commission of the European Communities, ECLI:EU:C:1975:150
8. Case 27/76 United Brands Company and United Brands Continentaal BV v Commission of the European Communities, ECLI:EU:C:1978:22
9. Case 30/87 Corinne Bodson v SA Pompes funèbres des régions libérées. ECLI:EU:C:1988:2210
10. Case 395/87 Ministère public v Jean-Louis Tournier, ECLI:EU:C:1989:319
11. Case C-177/16 Autortiesību un komunikāciju konsultāciju aģentūra / Latvijas Autoru apvienība v Konkurences padome, ECLI:EU:C:2017:689
12. Commission Decision Case COMP/A.36.568/D3 – Scandlines Sverige AB v Port of Helsingborg
13. Commission Decision Case AT. 40394 ASPEN dt
14. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development OECD. Excessive Prices Internet]. 2011 [cited 2024 May 28]. Available from: online: <https://www.oecd.org/competition/abuse/49604207.pdf>
15. Ezrachi A, Gilo, D. Are Excessive Prices Really Self-Correcting? *Journal of Competition Law and Economics*. 2008
16. In re Nexium (Esomeprazole) Antitrust Litigation, 968 F. Supp. 2d 367 (D. Mass. 2013).
17. Veraldi JD. Excessive Pricing in Pharmaceuticals under Article 102 TFEU. *European Journal of Risk Regulation*. 2023;1-21.
18. Butorac Malnar V, Pecotić Kaufman J, Petrović S, Akšamović, D, Liszt, M. Competition and State Aid Law [Pravo tržišnog natjecanja i državnih potpora]. University of Zagreb, Law Faculty. 2021.
19. Simoens S, Huys I. Market access of Spinraza (Nusinersen) for spinal muscular atrophy: intellectual property rights, pricing, value and coverage considerations. *Gene Ther*. 2017 Sep;24(9):539-541.
20. Altroconsumo. Spinraza unfairly priced. Italian and Belgian antitrust authorities urged to investigate on drug. [Internet] 2019 [cited 2024 May 28]. <https://www.altroconsumo.it/organizzazione/international/press-releases/2019/spinraza-unfairly-priced-italian-and-belgian-antitrust-authorities-urged-to-investigate>
21. Messina M, Gissen P. Atidarsagene autotemcel for metachromatic leukodystrophy. *Drugs Today (Barc)*. 2023;59(2):63-70. doi:10.1358/dot.2023.59.2.346191
22. Martei YM, Iwamoto K, Barr RD, Wiernkowski JT, Robertson J. Shortages and price variability of essential cytotoxic medicines for treating children with cancers. *BMJ Glob Health*. 2020;5(11):e003282. doi:10.1136/bmjgh-2020-003282
23. Rodriguez-Monguiro R, Spargo T, Seoane-Vazquez E. Ethical imperatives of timely access to orphan drugs: is possible to reconcile economic incentives and patients' health needs?. *Orphanet J Rare Dis*. 2017;12(1):1.
24. Chen G, Sharif B, Gerber B, et al. Epidemiology, healthcare resource utilization and healthcare costs for spinal muscular atrophy in Alberta, Canada. *J Med Econ*. 2021;24(sup1):51-59.
25. Karpman D, Höglund P. Orphan drug policies and use in pediatric nephrology. *Pediatr Nephrol*. 2017;32(1):1-6. doi:10.1007/s00467-016-3520-4

## SAŽETAK

# Prekomjerno visoke cijene lijekova i njihov utjecaj na pružanje zdravstvenih usluga u pedijatriji

Dominik Vuletić

**Kontekst:** Pedijatrijski lijekovi imaju značajan udio u skupim lijekovima. Posljednjih godina zabilježeni su značajni zahtjevi za intervencijom prema visokim cijenama farmakoloških proizvoda. Zabrana prekomjerno visokih cijena kao oblika zlouporabe vladajućeg položaja smatra se kršenjem prava tržišnog natjecanja u pravu Europske unije i nacionalnim pravnim porecima njezinih država članica. Većina zemalja članica Organizacije za ekonomsku suradnju i razvoj (OECD) ima slične zabrane u svojim propisima o tržišnom natjecanju uz važan izuzetak Sjedinjenih Američkih Država (SAD), iako i tamo postoje neke naznake promjena upravo u području farmaceutskog sektora. Regulacija prekomjerno visokih cijena kao povrede prava tržišnog natjecanja također postoji u propisima svih država članica BRICS-a (Brazil, Ruska Federacija, Kina, Indija, Južna Afrika). Problem prekomjerno visokih cijena u farmaceutskom sektoru jedna je od razvijajućih tema u literaturi prava tržišnog natjecanja i razvoju sudske prakse. Ovo je područje u kojem se pravo intelektualnog vlasništva, tipično patentna zaštita, sukobljava s pravilima tržišnog natjecanja. Troškovi istraživanja i razvoja takvih lijekova često su vrlo visoki, naglašavajući potrebu za ravnotežom između sukobljenih legitimnih interesa: pristupa zdravlju i razvoja istraživanja.

**Cilj:** Predstaviti razvoj zakonodavstva i sudske prakse u primjeni pravnog instituta prekomjerno visokih cijena kao oblika zlouporabe vladajućeg položaja u farmaceutskom sektoru s naglaskom na pedijatrijske zdravstvene usluge.

**Izvor podataka:** OECD, PubMed, Google Scholar, Scopus

**Zaključak:** Ravnoteža između pravila tržišnog natjecanja o prekomjerno visokim cijenama kao obliku zlouporabe vladajućeg položaja i prava intelektualnog vlasništva u području skupih pedijatrijskih lijekova može se smatrati sub-optimalnom. Stoga postoji potreba za daljnjim regulatornim razvojem i primjenom instituta prekomjerno visokih cijena u tom području.

**Ključne riječi:** PRAVNI ASPEKTI; SUDSKE ODLUKE; PEDIJARIJA; KONTROLA LIJEKOVA I NARKOTIKA