Analysing the impact of trade and investment agreements on pharmaceutical policy and access to medicines: provisions, pathways, methods and challenges

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Overview

- Provisions in contemporary trade agreements with implications for pharmaceutical policy and access to medicines
- Pathways through which trade agreements can affect pharmaceutical policy and access to medicines
- Methods for analysing impact
- Methodological challenges
- Concluding points and recommendations

Contemporary trade agreements with wide-ranging implications for pharmaceuticals – examples

- Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP)
 - 12 countries
 - Concluded but not in force US withdrew Jan 2017
- Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP or TPP-11)
 - Incorporates majority of TPP rules; certain provisions suspended
 - Comes into force 30 Dec 2018 for first 6 countries to ratify
- Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA)
 - EU and Canada
 - Provisionally entered into force Sept 2017
- United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA)
 - Negotiations completed 30 Sept 2018

Pathways through which trade agreements can affect pharmaceutical policy and access to medicines

- 1. Intellectual property protection
- 2. Investment protection
- Procedural requirements for pharmaceutical pricing and reimbursement programs
- 4. Restrictions on regulation of pharmaceutical marketing
- 5. Regulatory requirements for assessment of safety and efficacy
- 6. Reduction/elimination of tariffs on pharmaceuticals
- 7. Disciplines applying to government procurement of pharmaceuticals
- Disciplines applying to state-owned enterprises and designated monopolies

| Type of provision | TPP | CPTPP (TPP-11) | СЕТА | USMCA |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| TRIPS-Plus intellectual | Chapter 18 | Chapter 18 (some | Chapter 20 | Chapter 20 |
| property provisions | | provisions suspended) | | |
| Investment protection – ISDS, | Chapter 9 | • | Chapter 8 | Annex 14-D (only |
| IP covered in definition of | | 9, slightly narrowed scope | | between Mexico |
| investment | | | | and US, scaled back) |
| Procedural requirements for | Annex 26-A, Art 3 | Suspended by CPTPP | - | Chapter 29, Section |
| pharmaceutical pricing and | | Article 2 | | B, Art 29.12 |
| reimbursement programs | | | | |
| Restrictions on regulation of | Annex 26-A, Art 4 | Incorporates TPP Annex | - | Art 29.13 |
| pharmaceutical marketing | | 26-A, Art 4 | | |
| Regulatory requirements for | Annex 8-C | Incorporates TPP Annex 8- | - | Annex 12-F |
| assessment of safety and | | С | | |
| efficacy | | | | |
| Compliance with standards for | - | - | Protocol on the mutual | - |
| pharmaceutical manufacturing | | | recognition of the compliance | |
| practices | | | and enforcement programme | |
| Reduction/elimination of | Eliminates tariffs | Eliminates tariffs on some | - | Eliminates tariffs on |
| tariffs on pharmaceuticals | on some | medicines | | some medicines |
| | medicines | | | |
| Disciplines applying to | Chapter 15 | Incorporates TPP Chapter | Chapter 19 | Chapter 13 |
| government procurement | | 15 with minor changes | | |
| Disciplines applying to state- | Chapter 17 | Incorporates TPP Chapter | Chapter 18 | Chapter 22 |
| owned enterprises | | 17 | | |

1. Intellectual property protection - provisions

- Patents for new uses/methods/processes
- Patent term adjustments
- Data protection for new pharmaceutical products
- Additional data protection for new indications/formulations/methods of administration or for combination products
- Biologics special longer period of data/market protection
- Patent linkage
- Trade secrets protection
- TRIPS-Plus enforcement

| Provision | TPP Ch. 18 | CPTPP (TPP-11) | CETA Ch. 20 | USMCA Ch. 20 |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Patents for new | Art 18.37 | Suspended by CPTPP | - | Art 20.F.1 |
| uses/methods/processes | | Article 2 | | para 2 |
| Patent term adjustments for | Art 18.46 | Suspended by CPTPP | Article 20.27 | Art 20.F.9 |
| delays in granting patents | | Article 2 | (2-5 years based on period from | |
| Patent term adjustments for | Art 18.48 | Suspended by CPTPP | patent application filing to | Art 20.F.11 |
| delays in marketing approval | | Article 2 | marketing approval) | |
| process | | | | |
| Data/market protection for | Art 18.50 | Suspended by CPTPP | Art 20.29 (6 years data protection | Art 20.F.13 para 1 |
| new pharmaceutical products | para 1 – at least 5 years | Article 2 | + 2 years market protection) | |
| Data/ market protection – | Art 18.50 | Suspended by CPTPP | - | Art 20.F.13 para 2 |
| additional 3 years for new | para 2 | Article 2 | | (not required for parties |
| indications/ formulations | | | | providing at least 8 years |
| /methods of administration or | | | | of protection) |
| 5 years for combination | | | | |
| products | | | | |
| Longer period of data and/or | Art 18.51 – at least 8 | Suspended by CPTPP | - | Art 20.F.14 – 10 years |
| market protection for biologics | years or least 5 years + | Article 2 | | effective market protection |
| | other measures | | | |
| Patent linkage | Art 18.53 | Incorporates TPP Art 18.53 | N/A, (Art 20.28 - right for originator manufacturers to | Art 20.F.16 |
| | | | appeal decisions under Notice of | |
| | | | Compliance linkage regulations) | |
| Trade secrets protection | Art 18.78 | Incorporates TPP Art | - | Art 20.1 |
| | | 18.78 | | |
| TRIPS-Plus enforcement | Section I, incl. Art 18.76 | Section I, including Art | Article 20.43 | Section J, including |

1. Intellectual property protection - pathways

- Delayed market entry of generics and biosimilars
- Prices/costs remain high for longer periods impact on government expenditure and/or out of pocket costs
- Potential for reduced access where pharmaceutical coverage is not universal or where extra costs cannot be absorbed
- Limited empirical evidence
 - Large number of commentaries and legal/policy analyses exploring how the mechanisms work to cause delays
 - Handful of quantitative studies demonstrating/predicting impact: delay in generic competition, increases in price/expenditure, contraction of generic medicines industries, reduced access for patients

2. Investor-state dispute settlement (TPP, TPP-11, CETA)

- Allows foreign investors to sue governments if they perceive their investments are harmed by a change in policy or law
- Investments include intangibles such as intellectual property
- Average cost of defending a case: \$8 million USD
- Awards often hundreds of millions
- Small number of cases involving pharmaceutical companies to date
 - E.g. Eli Lilly claim against Canada for \$500 million CAD after patents on 2 drugs revoked
- Chilling effect on health policy
 - E.g. Colombia dissuaded from issuing a compulsory license for imatinib (Glivec) after Novartis filed a notice of dispute in 2016

Baker, B.K. & Geddes, K. (2017) The incredible shrinking victory: Eli Lilly v. Canada, success, judicial reversal, and continuing threats from pharmaceutical ISDS. *Northeastern Public Law and Theory Faculty Research Paper Series No.* 296.

3. Pharmaceutical pricing and reimbursement (TPP, USMCA)

- Industry-favourable procedural requirements for listing medicines on national formularies & setting prices for reimbursement
 - Requirements to disclose information (e.g. rules used to assess applications)
 - Timeframes for considering applications
 - Review process for negative listing decisions
 - Obligation to consult with other parties if requested in writing
- Consequences for New Zealand (if implemented)
 - New timeframes for decision making; new review process
 - NZ \$4.5 million in initial costs; \$2.2 million per year ongoing costs
- Procedural requirements suspended in TPP-11; reappeared in USMCA

4. Restrictions on regulation of pharmaceutical marketing (TPP, TPP-11, USMCA)

"As is permitted to be disseminated under the Party's laws, regulations and procedures, each Party shall permit a pharmaceutical product manufacturer to disseminate to health professionals and consumers through the manufacturer's website registered in the territory of the Party, and on other websites registered in the territory of the Party linked to that site, truthful and not misleading information regarding its pharmaceutical products that are approved for marketing in the Party's territory..."

(TPP Annex 26-A, Art 4)

5. Regulatory requirements for assessment of safety and efficacy (TPP, TPP-11, USMCA)

- Harmonisation and streamlining of regulations for marketing approval processes
- Opportunity for "persons from another Party" to be involved in developing technical regulations and standards
- Prescribes criteria that can be used to make marketing approval decisions (safety, efficacy, quality)
- Marketing approval processes must be administered in a "timely, reasonable, objective, transparent, and impartial manner"
- Requirements for pharmaceutical inspections

6. Reduction/elimination of tariffs on medicines (TPP, TPP-11, USMCA)

- Trade agreements may reduce the cost of medicines if tariffs on medicines are reduced or removed
- Few countries still have tariffs on medicines
- These can be removed unilaterally
- ? Effects on domestic generic pharmaceutical sector

7. Government procurement (TPP, TPP-11, CETA, USMCA)

- Purpose: to ensure governments do not discriminate against foreign suppliers when purchasing goods and services (ie. favour local firms)
- Pharmaceutical purchasing by central/sub-central governments and hospitals opened to foreign competition
- Subsidies or other preferential arrangements would need to be removed
- May affect viability of domestic generic medicines industry

8. State-owned enterprises and designated monopolies (TPP, TPP-11, CETA, USMCA)

- TPP/USMCA: State-owned pharmaceutical companies cannot be given advantages that discriminate against foreign investors (and must not discriminate against foreign goods/services in the purchase or sale of goods and services)
 - E.g. subsidies/assistance from governments may need to be eliminated if it affects the interests of another Party
- Under some agreements, state-owned pharmaceutical companies may be exposed to investor-state disputes
- Potential implications for viability of generic medicines industries in some countries

Methods

- Quantitative studies
 - Single country / comparative
 - Cross-sectional / longitudinal
- Qualitative studies
 - Policy analyses
 - Legal analysis
 - Interview studies
- Health and human rights impact assessments
 - Generally ex ante
 - Often integrate/synthesise evidence from a range of sources

Methodological challenges

- Establishing causality, e.g.
 - Legislation/administrative changes can be introduced in order to meet multiple objectives
 - Ambiguities in the legal text of trade agreements may give rise to different outcomes in different contexts;
- Data and design issues, e.g.
 - Obtaining data
 - Choosing the right assumptions
- Generalisability of methods and findings
 - Country contexts are very different
 - Complexities in trade agreement texts every text is different

Concluding points

- Expanding array of provisions in trade and investment agreements with implications for pharmaceutical policy and access to medicines – both IP and non-IP
- Range of methods available for research, but limited empirical research to date, particularly for newer provisions and pathways
- Formidable challenges: establishing causality, data and design issues, generalisability of methods and findings
- Recommendations:
 - Inter-disciplinary research;
 - Triangulating different methods using quantitative measures along with qualitative methods to understand the context;
 - Careful consideration of timing and study design;
 - Choosing appropriate data types and outcome measures.

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