# Why the Germany and Much of the European Union is Losing its Pharmaceutical Industry

March 18, 2003 John E. Calfee, Ph.D. American Enterprise Institute

### The Paradox of the German Pharmaceutical Industry

- German firms essentially invented the pharmaceutical industry during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
  That is when Bayer discovered aspirin and Merck became a dominant force.
- German firms lost ground during the Nazi era of the 1930s, World War II, and reconstruction of the 1940s.
- But German firms still had talent, energy, and tradition.
  The German pharmaceutical industry recovered after
  World War II. In 1982, Hoechst was the largest
  pharmaceutical manufacturer in the world.

- The German pharmaceutical industry today is a small player in the world market.
  - Bayer, Boehringer Ingelheim, and Schering AG, rank 17th, 18th, and 19th in worldwide sales.
- This is the paradox: Germany should be a world leader in pharmaceuticals, but it is a small player.

### The European Pharmaceutical Industry

Germany is not alone.

 The European pharmaceutical industry used to known as the "world's medicine chest."

- But it has been declining relative to the U.S.
  - In 1988, American manufacturers accounted for 19 of the 50 best-selling drugs worldwide.
  - By 1998, American manufacturers sold 33 of the top 50 drugs.
  - In 2001, American firms sold 8 of the top 10 drugs worldwide, and another drug is from a joint venture between Takeda (Japan) and Abbott (U.S.).
  - Six of the 10 largest firms are American; none are German, although the French firm Aventis (which includes Hoechst) ranks number 6.

#### **Top 11 Worldwide Pharma Firms**

|                      |        | Sales        | R&D          |
|----------------------|--------|--------------|--------------|
|                      | Nation | (US\$ bill.) | (US\$ bill.) |
| Pfizer               | USA    | 26           | 5            |
| GlaxoSmithKline      | UK     | 25           | 4            |
| Merck                | USA    | 21           | 2            |
| AstraZeneca          | UK     | 16           | 3            |
| Bristol-Myers Squibb | USA    | 16           | 2            |
| Aventis              | FRA    | 15           | 3            |
| Johnson & Johnson    | USA    | 15           | 1            |
| Novartis             | Switz. | 15           | 2            |
| Pharmacia            | USA    | 12           | 2            |
| Lilly                | USA    | 12           | 2            |
| Wyeth                | USA    | 12           | 2            |
|                      |        |              |              |

- European firms are moving much of their research and operations to the U.S.
  - Glaxo Smith-Kline moved its operational headquarters to the U.S. in 2000.
  - Novartis moved its research headquarters to Cambridge, Massachusetts.
  - Schering AG moved its therapeutics division to the U.S.
  - Organon relocated from the Netherlands to New Jersey

- -Europe is falling behind in research expenditures:
  - •In 1990, European pharmaceutical firms outspent American firms in research and development by 8 billion Euros to 5 billion Euros.
  - •In 2000, U.S. firms outspent European firms by 24 billion Euros to 17 billion Euros.
  - •German firms spent only 3 billion Euros on research and development in 1999, even though the German economy is nearly one-fourth as large as the U.S. economy.
  - •European biotech firms raised \$US 7 billion in 2000
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### Now Look at the German Automobile Industry

- German automobile industry also went through ups and downs in the 20th century
- The German automobile industry recovered strongly after World War II.
- Production tripled between 1957 and 1967
- Production increased from 3.5 million to 5 million between 1980 and 1992

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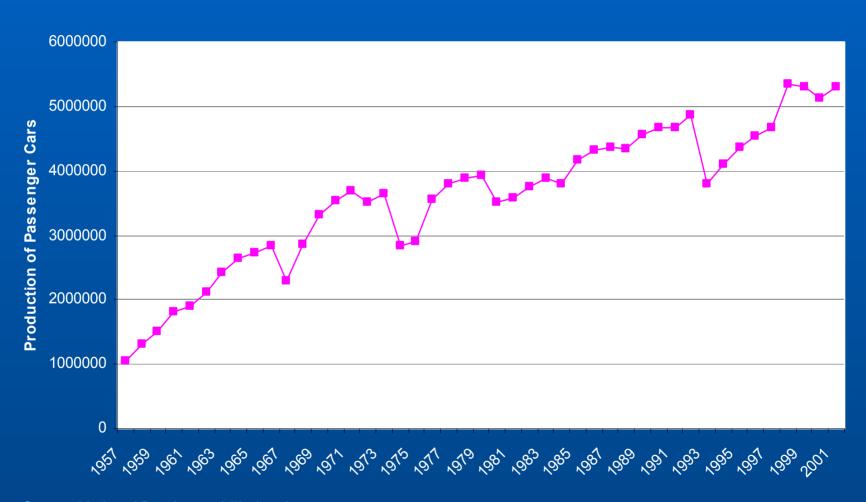
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 Production is now greater than it has ever been

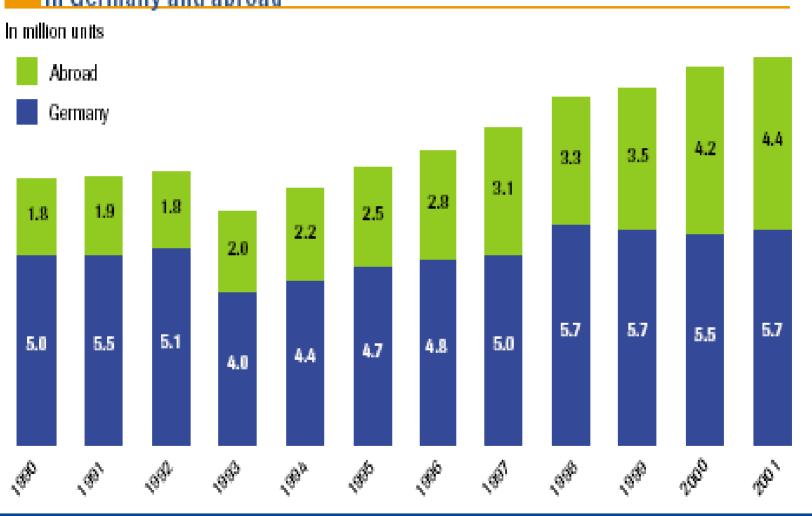
• Almost half of that production is sold abroad.

### Domestic Production of Passenger Cars in Germany - 1957-2001



Source: Verband Der Automobilindustrie

#### Automotive production of German manufacturers in Germany and abroad



### Germany remains an important competitor around the world.

- Germany is not falling behind the U.S.: Daimler took control of Chrysler
- The automobile industry faced great technological challenges:
  - Computerization automobile engines and other parts
  - Robotics in manufacturing
  - Safety features: airbags, antilock brakes, etc.
  - New materials
- The industry adapted to these changes, and remained a leader
- The government did not have to facilitate these changes

### Why Did Pharmaceuticals Fail Where Automobiles Succeeded?

– Why have Daimler and VW succeeded in world markets while the largest German pharmaceutical firm ranks 17th in worldwide sales?

## Like automobiles, the pharmaceutical industry faced great technological challenges

- The application of advances in molecular biology required the reorganization of pharmaceutical research
- The application of computers and information technology to drug development
- The need for many new creative scientists

- Greater academic-industry collaboration including licensing agreements
- Larger, faster clinical trials
- Large amounts of capital for risky investments
- Startup biotechnology firms

In all these areas, German pharma fell behind (and so did Europe) -- but automobiles did not

—Why the difference?

#### Market Freedom

The pharmaceutical market is not as competitive as the automobile market

- Pharmaceutical marketing is tightly restricted in Germany and Europe
- Generic drug entry is slow
- Buyers do not compete vigorously to get better and cheaper new drugs
- No consumer sovereignty -- patients have little information about new drugs

#### The Economics of New Product Development in Automobiles and Pharmaceuticals

- Both are financially risky
- Both involve long timelines, large investments
- Both are subject to competition from other well-established firms
- Both are subject to the preferences of consumers (and doctors)

#### But look at the profit potential

- Automobiles: If new product development is successful, there are no artificial constraints on pricing or profit, which are determined by competition and consumer preferences.
- Pharmaceuticals: If new product development is successful, the developer must confront severe uncertainties over pricing and profits.

#### Reuters Health, Dec. 17, 2002

#### "German Health Minister Outlines New Controversial Healthcare Savings Package"

"... drug manufacturers must pay a rebate of 6% into the public health insurance system on the price all drugs that are not already regulated by a fixed price scheme."

#### Pharmafocus, November 04, 2002

### Parallel trade: is pharma fighting a losing battle?

"Meanwhile, in Europe's biggest pharmaceuticle market, Germany, there is more bad news for the industry. Newly introduced laws oblige pharmacists to ensure 10% of drugs they dispense are parallel imports, contributing to a doubling of the parallel imports market there in the last 12 months."

#### What Is the E.U. Doing to Help?

- Task forces, benchmarking committees,
  government reports, industry reports, think tank
  reports, plans for public-private partnerships
- Reforms in university education system (very slow)
- But: Little if any improvement in pricing and reimbursement policies