

# **STUART M. BUTLER**

## **PERSONAL**

American Citizen, British Citizen

Married with two children.

Address (w) The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington D.C. 20036

## **ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS**

Ph.D. (American Economic History), University of St. Andrews, 1978.

M.A. (Economics and History), University of St. Andrews, 1971.

B.Sc. (Physics and Mathematics), University of St. Andrews, Scotland, 1968.

## **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

Senior Fellow in Economic Studies, the Brookings Institution, Washington D.C., since 2014

Visiting Fellow, Convergence Center for Policy Resolution, Washington D.C., since 2014

Senior Advisor on health care policy, Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington D.C., since 2014-2015

Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University Graduate School, 2003-2013

Distinguished Fellow and Director, Center for Policy Innovation, The Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C., 2011-2014

Vice-President, Domestic and Economic Policy Studies, The Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C., 1992 - 2010

Fellow, Institute of Politics, Harvard University (2002)

Director of Domestic Policy Studies, The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1982 - 1992.

Fellow, The National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, Washington, D.C., 1982.

Policy Analyst, The Heritage Foundation, 1979-1982.

Co-founder, The Adam Smith Institute, London, England, 1977-1979.

Instructor in Economics, Hillsdale College, Michigan, 1975-1977.

Lecturer, Swinton College, Yorkshire, England, 1974-1975.

## **AFFILIATIONS AND EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES**

### **Current:**

Member, Board of Trustees, Mary's Center (Federally Qualified Health Center)

Board of Trustees, Convergence Center for Policy Resolution (and paid consultant)

Editorial Board, *Health Affairs*

Advisory Board, Peterson Center on Healthcare (paid consultant)

Policy Advisory Council, National Coalition for Cancer Survivorship

Policy Advisory Council, March of Dimes Foundation

Received consulting fees from UnitedHealth, 2021-2022

### **Professional Memberships:**

National Academy of Social Insurance

AcademyHealth

### **Previous:**

Advisory Group for the National Academy of Medicine's Culture of Health Program

Advisory Board, Kaiser Permanente Institute for Health Policy

Board on Health Care Services, National Academy of Medicine

Panel of Health Care Advisers, Congressional Budget Office

Co-Chair, District of Columbia School Superintendent's Blue Ribbon Panel on Transforming the Senior High Schools

Steering committee of National Academy of Social Insurance Project on Long Term Medicare Reform

Commission member, US Department of Housing and Urban Development Advisory Commission on Regulatory Barriers to Affordable Housing

**PUBLICATIONS**  
***(Books and Monographs)***

Budgeting to Promote Social Objectives—a Primer on Braiding and Blending, with Timothy Higashi and Marcella Cabello (The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC., 2020)

Housing as a Hub for Health, Community Services, and Upward Mobility, with Marcela Cabello (The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C., 2018)

Hospitals and Schools as Hubs for Building Healthy Communities, with Carmen Diaz (The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 2016)

Saving the American Dream: The Heritage Plan to Fix the Debt, Cut Spending and Restore Prosperity, ed. with Alison Fraser and William Beach (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2011)

Pathways to Economic Mobility: Key Indicators, with William Beach and Paul Winfree (The Pew Charitable Trust, Washington DC 2008)

Taking Back Our Fiscal Future, with Alison Acosta Fraser et. al., (The Heritage Foundation/Brookings Institution, March 2008)

Evolving Beyond Traditional Employer-Sponsored Health Insurance (The Brookings Institution Hamilton Project, Washington, DC 2007)

From Tragedy to Triumph: Principled Solutions for Rebuilding Shattered Lives and Communities, ed. With Edwin Meese and Kim R. Holmes (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2005)

Issues 2006, ed. with Kim R. Holmes (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2006)

Mandate for Leadership, 2005, ed. With Larry M. Wortzel (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2005)

Issues 2002, ed. with Kim R. Holmes (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2002)

Priorities for the President, ed. with Kim R. Holmes (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2001)

Issues 2000, ed. with Kim R. Holmes (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2000)

Expanding Health Insurance Through Tax Reform (The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 1999, Menlo Park, CA), Kaiser Project on Incremental Health Reform, October 1999

Agenda '99, ed. with Kim R. Holmes (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1998)

Issues 98, ed. with Kim R. Holmes, (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. 1998)

Medicare, ed. with Robert D. Reischauer and Judith R. Lave (National Academy of Social Insurance, Washington, D.C., 1998)

Mandate for Leadership IV, ed. with Kim R. Holmes, (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1997)

Issues 96, ed. with Kim R. Holmes, (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. 1996)

The New Member's Guide to the Issues, ed. with Kim R. Holmes, (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. 1994)

Agenda for Empowerment: Readings in American Government and the Policy Process, ed., (The Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C., 1990)

A National Health System for America, ed. with Edmund F Haislmaier, (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1989)

Out of the Poverty Trap, with Anna Kondratas, (Free Press, New York, 1987).

Privatization: A Strategy for Taming the Federal Budget, ed. with Stephen Moore, (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. 1987).

The Privatization Option: A Strategy to Shrink the Size of Government, ed., (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. 1985).

Privatizing Federal Spending (Universe Books, New York, 1985). Japanese language version published by Oriental Economist, Tokyo, 1986.

Mandate for Leadership II, ed. with Michael Sanera and W. Bruce Weinrod, (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. 1984).

Enterprise Zones: Greenlining the Inner Cities (Universe Books, New York, 1981); British edition, Heinemann, London, 1982; German translation published 1981.

Philanthropy in America (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1980).

More Effective than Bombing: Government Intervention in the Housing Market (Adam Smith Institute, London, England, 1979).

The American Telephone System - A Blueprint for Denationalization (Aims for Freedom, London, England, 1979).

The British National Health Service in Theory and Practice, with Eamonn Butler, (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1974).

***(Reports, Journal Articles and Book Chapters)***

“Optimizing Investment in Houyaing as a Social Determinant of Health,” *JAMA Health Forum* 2022;3(9)

“Could Health Plan Co-Opetition Boost Action on Social Determinants?” with Len M. Nichols, *American Journal of Public Health*, 2022:112(9)

“The Challenging Future of Long-term Care for Older Adults,” *JAMA Health Forum* 2022;3(5)

Building Connective Tissue for Effective Housing-Health Initiative, with Marcella Maguire (The Brookings Institution, 2022)

5 Building Blocks to Help Achieve Greater Health Equity, with Nehath Sheriff (The Brookings Institution, 2022)

“Need for Long-Term Strategies to Address Children’s Mental Health Underscored by COVID-19 Era,” *JAMA Health Forum*, 2022;3(2)

“The Challenge of Addressing the Health Care Needs of Afghan Evacuees,” with Nehath Sheriff, (The Brookings Institution, 2021)

“What is the Outlook for Addressing Social Determinants of Health?” *JAMA Health Forum* 2021;2 (9)

“The Middle Ground for Fixing Long-Term Care Costs: the WISH Act,” with Marc C. Cohen, *Health Affairs Forefront*, August 2021

How the American Rescue Plan Act will help Cities Replace Police with Trained Crisis Teams for Mental Health Emergencies, with Nehath Sheriff (The Brookings Institution, 2021)

“How the Health System Overlooks Young Adults with Chronic Conditions,” *JAMA Health Forum* 2021; 2 (9)

“Time to Rethink Nursing Homes,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, vol 325, no. 14, April 2021

The COVID-19 Experience Shows Government Budgeting Can Become More Nimble, with Timothy Higashi (The Brookings Institution, 2021)

How the LINC to Address Social Needs Act Can Improve Coordination of Health Care and Social Services, with Nehath Sheriff (The Brookings Institution, 2021)

Some Good News on Bipartisanship: The Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress, with Timothy Higashi (The Brookings Institution, 2021)

How Poor Communication Exacerbates Health Inequities – and What to Do About It, with Nehath Sheriff, (The Brookings Institution, 2021)

(editor) “Rethinking Care for Older Adults,” (Convergence Center for Policy Resolution, 2020)

“Achieving an Equitable National Health System for America,” *Blueprints for American Renewal & Prosperity*. (The Brookings Institution, 2020)

Innovative Solutions to Address the Mental Health Crisis: Shifting Away from Police as First Responders, with Nehath Sheriff. (The Brookings Institution, 2020)

“Four COVID-19 Lessons for Achieving Health Equity,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2020; 324(22):2245-2246

How Budget Flexibility Tools Help Address Social Determinants of Health, with Timothy Higashi and Nehath Sheriff, (The Brookings Institution, 2020)

Toolkit for Engaging Millennials with The National Debate, with Timothy Higashi. Layla Zaidine, and Joe Greaney (The Brookings Institution, 2020)

Tackling the Legacy of Persistent Urban Inequality and Concentrated Poverty, with Jonathan Grabinsky (The Brookings Institution, 2020)

“Medicare Advantage for All, Perhaps?” *Journal of the American Medical Association*. 2020; 324(13): 1275-1276

“After COVID-19: Thinking Differently About Running the Health Care System,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*. 2020; 323(24):2450-2451

“New Budgeting Tools Will Help Foster Social Determinants of Health,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*. 2020; 323(3):207-208

How the TRUST Act Would Help Buttress Key Programs, with Timothy Higashi (The Brookings Institution, 2020)

Why Are Millennials Unfazed by the National Debt? (The Brookings Institution, 2019)

“Federalism as an Antidote to Polarization Over Health Care Policy,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*. 2019; 322(12):1131-1132

How Private Sector Tools Can Enhance Governmental Cooperation (The Brookings Institution, 2019)

“How an Expanded Vision of Managed Care Organizations Could Tackle Inequities.” *Journal of the American Medical Association*. 2019; 321(21):2063-2064



Getting Congress to Confront Our Growing Fiscal Problem (The Brookings Institution, 2019)

“Will State Waivers Save, Reform, or Sabotage Obamacare?” *Journal of the American Medical Association*. 2019; 321(5):441-442

How Can We Take Partisanship Out of the Budget Process? The Lessons from this Independent Committee Can Help, with Timothy Higashi (The Brookings Institution, 2018)

“Housing as a Step to Better Health,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*. 2018;320(1):21–22

“Don’t Let Budget Cuts Wreck Medicare Reform,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*. 2018; 319(10):970-971

“Redesigning the Budget Process,” with Timothy Higashi, (The Brookings Institution, 2018)

An Antidote to the “Wrong Pockets” Problem? with Marcela Cabello (The Brookings Institution, 2018)

“How ‘Wrong Pockets’ Hurt Health, *JAMA Forum*, August 2018

It Takes a Village to Raise a Child. Here’s How Housing Authorities Can Help, with Marcela Cabello (The Brookings Institution, 2018)

“Housing has a Step to Better Health,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2018;320(1):21-22

Three Reasons to be Optimistic About Budget Process Reform, with Timothy because she (The Brookings Institution, 2018)

“Don’t Let Budget Cuts Wreck Medicare Reform,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, vol. 319, no. 10, March 2018

Republicans Will Need to Work With Democrats to Pass Tax Reform (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

Nurses as Intermediaries in the Promotion of Community Health, with Carmen Diaz, (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

“Re-Balancing Medical and Social Spending to Promote Health: Increasing State Flexibility to Improve Health Through Housing,” with Dayna Mathew and Marcela Cabello, (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

Elements of a Compromise on State Innovation Waivers, with Jason Levitis (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

Why Congress Must Not Let the Debt Limit Crisis Go to Waste (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

Want States to Have Health Reform Flexibility? The ACA Already Does That, with Jason Levitis (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

How Public Libraries Help Build Healthy Communities, with Marcela Cabello (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

“Why Replacing the ACA Has Republicans in a Tizzy,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2017; 317(15):1514-1515

Replacing the Affordable Care Act (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

Re-balancing Medical and Social Spending to Promote Health: Increasing State Flexibility to Improve Health Through Housing, with Dayna Bowen and Marcela Cabello (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

“Could Caucuses Help Rebuild Bipartisanship on Capitol Hill?” with Mathew Sommerfeld, (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

“A Long-Term Budget for Entitlements and Required Revenues,” with Maya MacGuineas, (The Brookings Institution, 2017)

“Building Blocks for Addressing Social Determinants of Health,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2017;318(19):1855-1856

“State Flexibility for Medicaid: How Much?” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2017;318(5):413-414

“Why Replacing the ACA Has Republicans in Such a Tizzy.” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2017; 317(15):1514-1515

“Repeal and Replace Obamacare: What Could It Mean?” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2017; 317(3):244-245

“Moving to the Next Phase of Health Care Reform,” *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*, 2016, Vol. 44, Issue 4

“Why Repealing the ACA Before Replacing it Won’t Work, and What Might,” with Alice Rivlin and Loren Adler (The Brookings Institution, 2016)

“The Future of the Affordable Care Act: Reassessment and Revision,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2016, 316(5):495-497

“Consensus Plans Emerge to Tackle Long-term Care Costs,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2016; 315(14):1441-1442

“Third Places” as Community Builders, with Carmen Diaz (The Brookings Institution, 2016)

“Using Intermediaries to Improve Health” *JAMA Forum*, June 2016

The Promise of Integrated Data Systems for Social Policy Reform, with Jonathan Grabinsky (The Brookings Institution, 2016)

Building a More Data-Literate City, with Jonathan Grabinsky (The Brookings Institution, 2016)

“A Good Education Is Important to Achieving the American Dream,” with Lawrence Aber, in *Opportunity, Responsibility, and Security* (The Brookings Institution and the American Enterprise Institute, 2015)

“Can Hospitals Help Create Healthy Neighborhoods?” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2015; 314(23):2494-2495

Intermediaries in Integrated Approaches to Health and Economic Mobility, with Prabhjot Singh (The Brookings Institution, 2015)

“Medicaid at 50: Time for a Major Overhaul.” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2015; 314(4):326-327

Hospitals as Hubs to Create Health Communities: Lessons from Washington Adventist Hospital (The Brookings Institution, 2015)

“Coming Together on Long-term Care,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2015; 314(7):659-660

Schools as Community Hubs: Integrating Support Services to Drive Educational Outcomes, with Michael Horn and Julia Freeland (The Brookings Institution, 2015)

Using Schools and Clinics as Hubs to Create Healthy Communities: The Example of Briya/Mary’s Center, with Jonathan Grabinsky and Domatilla Masi (The Brookings Institution, 2015)

Taking Culture Seriously (The Brookings Institution, 2015)

“Strengthening the Affordable Care Act: The Need for Strategic Building Blocks,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 2015;314(4):335-336

“States Are the Key to Both Strengthening and Replacing the Affordable Care Act,” *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2015; 313(2):123-123

“Tottering Ivory Towers,” *American Interest*, September/October 2014

“Enlisting States as Partners in Health Care Cost Savings,” with David Kendall and Len Nichols, Center for Health Policy Research and Ethics (George Mason University, February 12, 2014)

“Can Government Replicate Success?” *National Affairs*, No. 19, Spring 2014

“Boosting Economic Mobility Through Prize-Linked Saving,” with David John and Sean Rust, Center for Policy Innovation Discussion Paper (The Heritage Foundation, May, 2013)

“Opportunity Conservatism,” with Mathew Spalding, *National Review*, May 6, 2013

“Can the American Dream Be Saved?” *National Affairs*, No. 14, Winter 2013

“Saving the American Dream: The Fiscal Cliff and Beyond,” with Alison Fraser and William Beach, Background (The Heritage Foundation, December 2012)

“Fixing Health Care Calls for Evolution, Not Intelligent Design,” *The American Interest*, September, 2012

“Accreditation: Removing the Barrier to Higher Education Reform,” with Lindsey Burke, Background (The Heritage Foundation, September 2012)

“How Arms Controllers Would Reach a Budget Agreement,” Center for Policy Innovation Discussion Paper (The Heritage Foundation, August, 2012)

“Assessing the President’s Proposals on Higher Education Reform,” WebMemo (The Heritage Foundation, February 2012)

“The Coming Higher-Ed Revolution,” *National Affairs*, No. 10, Winter 2012

“How to Think About Medicare Reform,” Center for Policy Innovation Lecture (The Heritage Foundation, November 2011)

“If Health Spending Controls Fail, What Are the Options?” Center for Policy Innovation Lecture (The Heritage Foundation, May 2011)

“Should the Disadvantaged Be Spared from the Budget Axe?” Center for Policy Innovation Lecture #1 (The Heritage Foundation, March 2011)

“The Wyden-Brown Bill – Short on State Flexibility” *The New England Journal of Medicine*, January 2011

“Concerns Presented by the New Health Legislation,” *The Cancer Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 6, November/December 2010

“Why the Health Reform Wars Have Only Just Begun” Lecture #1158 (The Heritage Foundation, July 2010)

“Risking Big Changes with Small Reforms” *New England Journal of Medicine*, February 2010

“Conrad-Gregg Commission Bill is Wrong Approach to Fiscal Crisis” Background #2360 (The Heritage Foundation, January 2010)

“The Legislative Trigger and the Public Health Care Option” WebMemo #2700 (The Heritage Foundation, November 2009)

“Bipartisan Entitlement Commission Needed to Control Spending and Debt” WebMemo #2698 (The Heritage Foundation, November 2009)

“How to Design a Tax Cap in Health Care Reform” WebMemo #2517 (The Heritage Foundation, July 2009)

“Senate Finance “MedPAC” Health Proposal Needs Savings Guarantee” WebMemo #2507 (The Heritage Foundation, June 2009)

“Why the Kennedy Health Bill Would Wreck Bipartisan Reform,” with Robert Moffit, *Human Events*, June 2009

“Mutual Obligation and the American Social Contract” Lecture #1107 (The Heritage Foundation, January 2009)

“Time to End the TARP Bailout Program” WebMemo #2174 (The Heritage Foundation, December 2008)

“Permanent Tax Relief – Not Tax “Holidays” – Stimulates Economic Growth” WebMemo #2152 (The Heritage Foundation, December 2008)

“Ensuring Access to Affordable Health Insurance: A Memo to President-elect Obama,” with Nina Owcharenko Special Report #27 (The Heritage Foundation, December 2008)

“The Baucus Health Reform Plan: A Starting Point for Serious Discussion” WebMemo #2132 (The Heritage Foundation, November 2008)

“Action on Financial Rescue Plan Urgently Needed” with Edwin Meese III, WebMemo #2094 (The Heritage Foundation, October 2008)

“The Bailout Package: Vital and Acceptable” with Edwin Meese III, WebMemo #2091 (The Heritage Foundation, September 2008)

“What Should Be Done About the Financial Markets?” with Alison Acosta Fraser, James Gattuso, WebMemo #2070 (The Heritage Foundation, September 2008)

“CBO’s Warning on Raising Taxes to Pay for Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security,” Backgrounder #2153 (The Heritage Foundation, June 2008)

“CBO’s Warning on Raising Taxes to Pay for Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security,” Backgrounder # 2153 (The Heritage Foundation, June 2008)

“A Federalist Approach to Health Reform: The Worst Way, Except For All The Others,” with Henry J. Aaron, *Health Affairs*, vol 27, no. 1, May/June 2008

“Rethinking Social Insurance,” with Maya MacGuineas, White Paper on Federal Budget (The Heritage Foundation, February 2008)

“SCHIP Plus a Tax Credit: A Compromise Health Insurance Plan for Kids,” with Nina Owcharenko, WebMemo #1652 (The Heritage Foundation, October 2007)

“SCHIP: Crafting a Better Compromise to Cover Kids,” with Nina Owcharenko, WebMemo #1635 (The Heritage Foundation, September 2007)

“Restoring the American Social Contract” Lecture #1039 (The Heritage Foundation, August 2007)

“Beware of Taxation of Private Equity Partnerships” WebMemo #1571 (The Heritage Foundation, July 2007)

“Twelve Principles to Guide U.S. Energy Policy,” with Kim R. Holmes, Backgrounder #2046 (The Heritage Foundation, June 2007)

“Building Public Support for Slowing the Growth of Health Care Spending,” in Alice M Rivlin and Joseph R Antos, Restoring Fiscal Sanity 2007: The Health Spending Challenge (The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, 2007)

“What is Really Happening to Government Revenues: Long-Run Forecasts Show Sharp Rise in Tax Burden,” with Daniel J. Mitchell, Backgrounder #1957 (The Heritage Foundation, June 2006)

“Learning to Optimize,” *Harvard International Review*, vol. 27, No. 2, Summer 2005

“American Values and Social Justice: Why Medicare Today Is in Conflict with Our Social Values,” *Generations*, vol. 29, No. 1, Spring 2005

“Reducing Uninsurance by Reforming Health Insurance in the Small-Business Sector,” Backgrounder #1769 (The Heritage Foundation, June 2004)

“How Federalism Could Spur Bipartisan Action On The Uninsured,” with Henry J. Aaron, *Health Affairs Web Exclusive*, 2004

“A New Policy Framework for Health Care Markets,” Commentary on Nichols L. M, Ginsburg P. B., Berenson R. A, Christianson J, and Hurley, R. E, ”Are Market Forces Strong Enough to Deliver Efficient Health Care Systems? Confidence is waning,” *Health Affairs*, vol. 23, No. 2, March-April 2004

“Is Prayer Good for Your Health? A Critique of the Scientific Research,” with Harold G. Koenig, Christina Puchalski, Cynthia Cohen, and Richard Sloan, Heritage Lecture #816 (The Heritage Foundation, December 2003)

“Time to Rethink the Disastrous Medicare Legislation,” with Robert Moffit, WebMemo #370 (The Heritage Foundation, November 2003)

“Cost Control in the Medicare Bill Needs Premium Support, Not a “Trigger,” with Robert Moffit and Brian Riedl, Backgrounder No. 1704 (The Heritage Foundation, November 2003)

“Commentary” [on Jack Hadley, “Sicker and Poorer – The Consequences of Being Uninsured”], *Medical Care Research and Review*, vol. 60, July 2003

“The Crucial Elements of an Acceptable Drug Bill,” Backgrounder No. 1667, (The Heritage Foundation, July 2003)

“Achieving Progress on Medicare,” Backgrounder No. 1627 (The Heritage Foundation, February 2003)

“Right Diagnosis, Wrong Prescription,” Commentary on Steffie Woolhandler and David Himmelstein, “Paying for National Health Insurance--and Not Getting It,” *Health Affairs*, vol. 21, no. 4, July/August 2002

“Social Values and Medicare Reform”, in The Ethics of Medicare Reform, Berman Bioethics Institute, Johns Hopkins University, 2002

“Time for Bipartisan Action to Help Families Without Health Insurance,” Backgrounder No. 1528 (The Heritage Foundation, March 2002)

“Private Sector Incentives and Ethical Health Care,” in Marion Danis, and Carolyn Clancy, and Larry R. Churchill (editors), Ethical Dimensions of Health Policy (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2002)

“Solving the Health Insurance Problem for Working Americans,” with Grace-Marie Arnett, in Priorities for the President, ed. with Kim R. Holmes (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2001)

“Reforming the Tax Treatment of Health Care to Achieve Universal Coverage” in Elliot K. Wicks (editor), Covering America: Real Remedies for the Uninsured, (Washington, DC: Economic and Social Research Institute, 2001)

“How Health Tax Credits for Families Would Supplement Employment-Based Coverage,” Backgrounder no. 1420 (The Heritage Foundation, March 2001)

“Why the Bush Tax Cuts Are No Threat to Philanthropy,” Backgrounder No. 1417, (The Heritage Foundation, March 2001)

(Debate with Theodore Marmor) “Individual Responsibility versus Shared Responsibility,” in Sheila Burke, Eric Kingson and Uwe Reinhardt, Social Security and Medicare (National Academy of Social Insurance, Washington, D.C., 2000)

“Individual Responsibility Models To Reach Social Goals,” unpublished paper (Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC, March 2000)

“Expanding Access And Choice For Health Care Consumers Through Tax Reform,” with David B. Kendall, *Health Affairs*, vol. 18, no. 6 (November/December 1999)

“Why Congress Should Consider Alternatives to Raising the Minimum Wage,” with Angela Antonelli, Executive Memorandum No. 627 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., September 1999)

“Ending the Double Taxation of College Savings,” Backgrounder no. 1301 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., June 1999)

“Last Chance for Washington to Show Good Faith on the Budget,” Backgrounder No. 1297 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., June 1999)

“Reorganizing the Medicare System to Ensure a Better Program for Seniors,” Backgrounder No. 1294 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., June 1999)

“Why the Archer–Shaw Proposal Is Not the Way to Reform Social Security,” with David C. John, Executive Memorandum No. 594 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., May 1999)

“The Folly of an Education Spending Race,” Backgrounder No. 1258 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., February 1999)

“Principles for a Bipartisan Reform of Medicare,” Backgrounder No. 1247 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., January 1999)



“Principles to Guide Reform of Health Care for Working Families,” Background No. 1243 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., January 1999)

“How Tax Reforms Would Help Protect Patient Confidentiality,” with Carrie J. Gavora, Background No. 1242 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., January 1999)

“The Contract and Medicare Reform,” in Robert D. Reischauer, Stuart M. Butler and Judith R. Lave (eds.) Medicare (National Academy of Social Insurance, Washington, D.C., 1998)

“Another Chance to Help Families Afford College,” Executive Memorandum No. 539 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., July 1998)

“Social Security,” with William W. Beach, Daniel J. Mitchell, and Gareth G. Davis, in Stuart M. Butler and Kim R. Holmes (eds.) Issues 98 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. 1998)

“Perspective: Medicare Price Controls: The Wrong Prescription,” Health Affairs, vol. 17, no. 1 (January/February 1998)

“Why Strong Social Institutions Are Needed to Survive Economic Growth,” Heritage Lecture No. 603 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., October 1997)

“Congress's Own Health Plan As A Model For Medicare Reform,” with Robert L. Moffit, Background No. 1123 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., June 1997)

“Time Is Running Out For Medicare Reform,” Background No. 1112 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., April 1997)

“Taking The Anxiety Out Of Paying For College: A Bond Market For Higher Education,” with John S. Barry, Background No. 1101 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., January 1997)

“Solving the Problem of Middle-Class Entitlements,” with John S. Barry, in Stuart M. Butler and Kim R. Holmes, ed., Mandate for Leadership IV (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. 1997)

“Health Care,” in Robert E. Freer, Jr., ed., Finding Our Roots, Facing Our Future, (Madison Books, Maryland, 1997)

“Giving Seniors the Same Health Plan Congress Has,” Executive Memorandum No. 487 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., June 1997)

“A Consumer’s Checklist for Social Security Reform Plans,” F.Y.I No. 141 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., April 1997)

“Two Options for Helping Uninsured Children,” Executive Memorandum No. 475 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., April 1997)

“Urgent Action Needed on Medicare,” F.Y.I. No. 110 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., June 1996)

“Why Combining ‘Kidsave’ with a Child Tax Credit Makes Good Sense,” Executive Memorandum No. 444 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., February 1996)

“Practical Principles,” in Peter L. Berger and Richard John Neuhaus, To Empower People (AEI Press, Washington D.C., 1996)

“The Conservative Agenda,” in Henry J. Aaron, ed., The Problem That Won’t Go Away (The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1996)

“The FEHBP as a Model for a New Medicare Program,” with Robert E. Moffit, *Health Affairs*, vol. 14, no. 4 (Winter 1995)

“The Conservative Agenda for Incremental Reform,” *Health Affairs*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Spring 1995)

“Patient Approach,” *National Review*, March 6, 1995.

“Health Care,” with Peter Warren, in Peter J. Ferrara, ed. Issues 94, (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1994).

"Empowering Families in the Health Care Marketplace," *National Minority Politics*, June 1994.

"Reforming Health Insurance: Analyzing Objections to the Nickles-Stearns Bill," Issue Bulletin no. 193 (The Heritage Foundation, June 1994).

"How the Clinton and Nickles-Stearns Health Bills Would Affect American Workers," Issue Bulletin no. 188 (The Heritage Foundation, April 1994).

"Economics of Health Care Reform," *The American Journal of Surgery*, vol. 167, no. 2, February 1994.

"The Consumer Choice Health Security Act," (with Edmund Haislmaier) Issue Bulletin no. 186 (The Heritage Foundation, December 1993).

"Have It Your Way: What The Heritage Foundation Plan Means For You," *Policy Review*, Fall 1993.

"The Fatal Attraction of Price Controls," in Robert B. Helms (Editor), Health Policy Reform (Washington D.C.: AEI Press, 1993).

"Why Employer-Provided Insurance Is Bad For Your Health," *Audacity* vol. 2, no. 1, Fall 1993.

"Using Consumer Choice To Create A National Health Care System," *Journal of Health and Human Resources Administration*, vol. 16, no. 1, Summer 1993.

"A Policymaker's Guide to the Health care Crisis, Part II," Talking Points (The Heritage Foundation, February 1992).

"A Policymaker's Guide to the Health care Crisis, Part I," Talking Points (The Heritage Foundation, February 1992).

"Containing Health Costs in a Consumer-based Model," *Health Care Financing Review* 1991 Annual Supplement, March 1992.

"Central Europe's Mass-Production Privatization," Heritage Lecture no. 352 (The Heritage Foundation, November 1991).

"Guidelines for State Welfare Reform," Heritage Lecture no. 346 (The Heritage Foundation, November 1991).

"Reducing the Tax Burden on the Embattled American Family," (with Robert Rector), Background no. 845 (The Heritage Foundation, August 1991).

"Why 'Play or Pay' National Health Care is Doomed to Fail," Heritage Lecture no. 329 (The Heritage Foundation, June 1991)

"The High Cost of Health," *The GAO Journal*, no. 13, Summer/Fall, 1991.

"Creating a National Health Care System: A Free Market Strategy," *Compensation & Benefits Management*, Vol. 7, no. 1, Summer 1991.

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