

# **STUART M. BUTLER**

## **PERSONAL**

Born 21 July, 1947, Shrewsbury, England.

American Citizen

Married with two children.

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## **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, since 2003

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:**

Board of Trustees, Mary's Center

Board of Trustees, Convergence Center for Policy Resolution

Editorial Board, *Health Affairs*

Advisory Board, Peterson Center on Healthcare

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

Policy Advisory Council, National Coalition for Cancer Survivorship

Policy Advisory Council, March of Dimes Foundation

### **Professional Memberships:**

National Academy of Social Insurance

AcademyHealth

### **Previous:**

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 (2001-2002)

Steering committee of National Academy of Social Insurance Project on Long Term Medicare Reform (1998-2000)

Commission member, US Department of Housing and Urban Development Advisory Commission on Regulatory Barriers to Affordable Housing (1990)

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

Hospitals and Schools as Hubs for Building Healthy Communities, with Carmen Diaz ((The Brookings Institution, Washings, 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)*

“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)

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

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

“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

“Three Ways to Move the Conversation on Public Health Forward,” *American Journal of Public Health*, February, 2016

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

“A Good Education Is Important to Achieving the American Dream,” with Lawrence Aber, *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*, 015; 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)

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” Backgrounder #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,” Backgrounder No. 1243 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., January 1999)

“How Tax Reforms Would Help Protect Patient Confidentiality,” with Carrie J. Gavora, Backgrounder 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, Backgrounder No. 1123 (The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., June 1997)

“Time Is Running Out For Medicare Reform,” Backgrounder 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), Backgrounder 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.

"A Tax Reform Strategy to Deal With the Uninsured," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, vol. 265, no. 19, 15 May 1991.

"The Bush Budget: Many Missed Opportunities," *The World & I*, vol. 6, no. 5, May 1991.

"Privatization for Public Purposes," in William T. Gormley, jr. (ed.) Privatization and Its Alternatives (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1991).

"The Conceptual Evolution of Enterprise Zones," in Roy E. Green (ed.) Enterprise Zones (Sage, Newbury Park, California, 1991).

"Assuring Affordable Health Care for All Americans," *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* vol. 1, no. 1, Summer 1990.

"Time For A National Health System?" Special Report no. 58 (Public Policy Education Fund, Grove City, Pennsylvania, 1990)

"Avoiding the Pitfalls of Privatizing Social Services", Heritage Lecture no. 261 (The Heritage Foundation, 1990)

"How Privatization Incentives Can Revive Inner-City Housing," *National Forum*" Spring 1990

"Assuring Affordable Health Care for All Americans", *American Family*, vol. 12, no. 11, November/December 1989

"Freeing Health Care," *National Review*, 22 December 1989

"The Real Lessons of the HUD Scandal," *The World & I*, December 1989

"Razing the Liberal Plantation: A Conservative War on Poverty", *National Review*, vol. 41, no. 21, 10 November 1989

"Assuring Affordable Health Care for All Americans", Heritage Lecture no. 218 (The Heritage Foundation, 1989)

"How to Design Effective Enterprise Zone Legislation", Heritage Lecture no. 215 (The Heritage Foundation, 1989)

"The Self-Help Revolution in Public Housing," Special Report no. 53 (Public Policy Education Fund, Grove City, Pennsylvania, 1989)

"How The White House Spurs Welfare Reform", Backgrounder no. 705 (The Heritage Foundation, 1989).

"Welfare," in Charles Heatherly and Burton Pines (editors), Mandate for Leadership III (Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C.,1989)

"The Challenge Awaiting George Bush," *Economic Affairs*, vol. 9, No. 3, February/March 1989.

"Understanding Homelessness in America", Special Report No. 48, (Public Policy Education Fund, Grove City, Pennsylvania, 1988).

"Cultural Conservatism and Welfare", *Restoration*, Vol. 1, Number 2, March-April 1988.

"Why Asset Sales Are Good Public Policy", Heritage Lecture no. 148 (The Heritage Foundation, 1988)

"Commentary on Privatization: Forms, Limits, and Relations to a Positive Theory of Government," *Marquette Law Review*, Vol. 71, No. 3, Spring 1988.

"Exporting Britain's Privatization Revolution", *French-American Commerce*, Winter; 1988.

"The Political Dynamics of The American Welfare State," in Limitations of the Welfare State (National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan, 1987)

"Changing the Political Dynamics of Government", in Steve H. Hanke, ed., Prospects for Privatization (Academy of Political Science, New York, 1987).

"The Policies of Privatization", in Joseph S. McNamara, ed., Champions of Freedom, volume 14, (Hillsdale College Press, Hillsdale Michigan, 1987).

"Urgently Needed: A Cure for Medicare", Special Report No. 38, (Public Policy Education Fund, Grove City, Pennsylvania, 1987).

"Power to the People: A Conservative Vision for Welfare", *Policy Review*, No. 40, (Spring 1987).

"Privatization: An Answer to the Sandinistas", Heritage Lecture No. 97, (The Heritage Foundation, 1987).

"Privatization: Lessons From British Success Stories", with Peter Young, International Briefing No. 15, (The Heritage Foundation, 1987).



"Making Catastrophic Health Care Affordable: A Nine Point Program", with Peter Ferrara, Background, No. 563, (The Heritage Foundation, 1987).

"Turning Privatization From a Concept Into a Program", *The Privatization Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Winter 1987.

"Creating the Incentives to Build A Coalition of Support for Privatization," in Randy T. Simmons and John Baden, Privatization and Public Policy (Political Economy Research Center, Bozeman, Montana, 1986)

"Free Market Entrepreneurship: A Matter of Political Realism", in E. Gondolf, I. Marcus and J. Dougherty (edit.), The Global Economy: Divergent Perspectives on Economic Change (Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado; 1986).

"How Reagan Can Put Privatization Back on Track", Background, No. 550, (The Heritage Foundation, 1986).

"Privatizing Bulk Mail", *Management*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1986)

"Will Privatization Solve the Deficit Crisis?", *World*, May/June 1986

"Privatizing Government Services", *Economic Impact*, No. 55 (1986)

"Decreased Governmental Involvement in Planning", *Urban Resources*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (1986)

"Learning to Love Gramm-Rudman," with Burton Pines, *National Review*, 25 April 1986.

"Privatizing Federal Services: A Primer", Background No. 488, (The Heritage Foundation, 1986).

"Beyond Welfarism", with Anna Kondratas, *The Journal of the Institute for Socioeconomic Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (1986)

"For Serious Action on Privatization", *The Journal of the Institute for Socioeconomic Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1985).

"Privatization: A Strategy to Cut the Budget", *The Cato Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1985).

"How Public Housing Tenants Can Become Homeowners", *Current Municipal Problems*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Fall 1985.

"Free Zones in the Inner City", in Richard Bingham and John Blair, Urban Economic Development, Volume 27, (Sage, Beverly Hills, California, 1984).

"An Investment Strategy to Undermine Apartheid in South Africa", Background, No. 427, (The Heritage Foundation, 1985), reprinted, *Legislative Policy*, Summer 1985.

"Privatizing Federal Spending", Special Report, No. 30, (Public Policy Education Fund, Grove City, Pennsylvania, 1985).

"Privatization: The Antidote to Budget Cutting Failures", *USA Today* (Journal), Vol. 113, No. 2470 (1984); reprinted in Richard H. Fink and Jack C. High, ed., A Nation in Debt (University Publications of America, Frederick, Maryland, 1987).

"Public Housing: From Tenants to Homeowners", Background, No. 359, (The Heritage Foundation, 1984).

"The Roots of New Federalism", *Cornell Executive*, Vol. 9, No. 2, (Spring 1983).

"How Guam Can Become America's Hong Kong", Asian Studies Center Background, No. 6, (The Heritage Foundation, 1983).

"Achieving Social Security Reform: A 'Leninist' Strategy", (with Peter Germanis), *The Cato Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (Fall 1983). Reprinted in Peter Ferrara (ed.) Social Security: Prospects for Real Reform, (Cato Institute, Washington, D.C. 1985).

"Privatization: A Strategy for Cutting Federal Spending", Background, No. 310, (The Heritage Foundation, 1983).

"Enterprise Zones: Time to Act", Issue Bulletin, No. 100, (The Heritage Foundation, 1983).

"The Enterprise Zone as a Political Animal", *The Cato Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (Fall 1982).

"Grassroots Partnerships: New Alliances for Inner City Renewal", *Economic Development Commentary*, Vol. vi, No. iv, (1982).

"Why Thatcheromics Isn't Reaganomics", *Nation's Business*, (February 1982).

"'Voluntarism' Unraveling the Myths", Occasional Papers, No. v, (Institute for Educational Affairs, New York, 1982).

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“Laying the Groundwork for Universal Health Care Coverage,” The Special Committee on Aging, US Senate, March 10, 2003

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“Health Care Tax Credits and the Uninsured,” The House Committee on Ways and Means, February 13, 2002

“A Health Tax Credit to Assist the Uninsured,” The House Committee on Ways and Means,” June 16, 1999

“Restructuring Medicare for the Next Century,” The Senate Committee on Finance, May 27, 1999

“Thinking about Health Care Quality,” The Subcommittee on Public Health and Safety, Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, February 11, 1998

“Preparing HCFA for the Next Century,” The Subcommittee on Health, House Committee on Ways and Means, January 29, 1998

“The FEHBP as a Model for Reforming Medicare,” The Senate Committee on Finance, May 21, 1997

The House Subcommittee on Social Security, House Committee on Ways and Means, April 10, 1997

“The American Community Renewal Act,” House Committee on Small Business, March 12, 1997

“Medicare Reform,” The Subcommittee on Health Care, Senate Committee on Finance, March 6, 1997

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“Restructuring Medicare,” House Committee on Commerce, Subcommittee on Health and Environment, July 18, 1995

“How to Reform Medicare,” House Committee on Ways and Means, Subcommittee on Health, May 24, 1995

“Restoring Solvency to the Medicare Program,” Senate Committee on Finance, May 16, 1995

“Medicare Part B Reform,” Health Subcommittee, House Committee on Ways and Means, February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1995

“Achieving Health Care Coverage for All Americans,” Senate Committee on Finance, March 15, 1994

## **OTHER**

Frequent witness at congressional hearings on domestic policy issues.

Included in The Health Care 500: A Complete Guide to the Most Influential Health Policy Makers in the United States (Washington D.C.: Faulkner and Gray)

In 1999 was cited by *National Journal* as one of the “dozen key players” in the debate over how to deal with the uninsured. Also included in *National Journal's* list of the 150 individuals, outside government, who had most influence on the federal government in the 1980s.

Awarded the George Washington Honor Medal for work on urban policy, and the Valley Forge Honor Certificate for work on privatization.

Traveled extensively in North America and Europe. Other professional travel includes Russia, Estonia, Taiwan, Japan, People’s Republic of China, Hong Kong, Latin America, and South Africa.

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