Committee on Energy and Commerce

U.S. House of Representatives
Witness Disclosure Requirement - "Truth in Testimony"
Required by House Rule XI, Clause 2(g)(5)

1.	Your Name: Thomas P. Miller
2.	Your Title: Resident Fellow
3.	The Entity(ies) You are Representing: American Enterprise Institute
4.	
5.	Please list any Federal grants or contracts, or contracts or payments originating with a foreign government, that you or the entity(ies) you represent have received on or after January 1, 2013. Only grants, contracts, or payments related to the subject matter of the hearing must be listed.
6.	Please attach your curriculum vitae to your completed disclosure form.
Sig	nature:

THOMAS P. MILLER



EDUCATION

J.D.. Duke Law School 1975

Duke Law Journal Editorial Board, Womble Scholar, Research Assistant to Professor Betsy Levin.

B.A., New York University, Cum Laude 1972

University College Phi Beta Kappa, Major - Political Science, Minor - Economics & Mathematics.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Resident Fellow (2006-Present) – **American Enterprise Institute**, Washington, D.C. Areas of research include information transparency, regulation of health insurance, health care value measures, market-based alternatives to Affordable Care Act, consumer-directed health care, Medicare and Medicaid reform, health care cost growth, uncompensated care, the medically uninsurable, health industry competition, and disparities in health outcomes. Director of AEI's "Beyond Repeal and Replace" project.

Selected Accomplishments

Co-author of "Why ObamaCare Is Wrong for America" (HarperCollins, 2011).

Contributed book chapters to:

- "The Economics of Medicaid" (Mercatus Center, 2014)
- "The Great Experiment" (Pioneer Institute, 2012)
- "Debates on U.S. Health Care Reform" (Sage Publications, 2012)
- "A Time for Governing" (Encounter Books, 2012).

Published health policy studies and articles including:

- "The Cognitive Dissonance of Tax Treatment of Health Care,"
- "Entrepreneurship and Economic Dynamism: Marginal Returns from Health Policy Thus Far,"\
- "5 Questions Every Presidential Candidate Should Answer on Health Care
- "Improving Health and Health Care: An Agenda for Reform"
- "Obamacare Co-Ops: Cause Celebre or Costly Conundrum?"
- "A Contingency Plan for King v. Burwell and Related Cases"
- "Unfair Coercion, or Greater Deference? Two New Sides of King v. Burwell"
- "Assessing the Universal Exchange Plan"
- "Repeal, Replace, or Revise? The Choices Ahead for Obamacare Critics"
- "Conservative Health Care Reform: A Reality Check"
- "When ObamaCare Fails: The Playbook for Market-Based Reform"
- "The Individual Mandate: Ineffective, Overreaching, Unsustainable, Unconstitutional, and Unnecessary"
- "Daring to Be Cautious? Bigger Steps Needed for Medicare Cost-Sharing Reform"
- "Looking for Better Health in All the Wrong Places: The Road to Equality Hits a Dead End"
- "Thirteen Questions that Need to Be Answered if Ryan-Wyden Is Going to Work"
- "Diagnosing the Real Reasons for Reduced Health Care Spending"
- "Will Health Care's Long Boom Go Bust?"
- "The Defined Contribution Route to Health Care Choice and Competition"
- "How to Cover Pre-existing Conditions"

- "Health Reform: Only A Cease-fire in a Partisan Hundred Years' War"
- "How Can We Make More Progress in Measuring Physicians' Performance to Improve the Value of Care?"
- "Obamacare's Next Bout: More Legal Challenges"
- "Covering the Uninsured: Springing A Leak in the 'Cost Shifting Hydraulic'"
- "What Do We Know about the Uninsured?"
- "Making a Difference in Differences for Health Inequalities at the Individual Level"
- "Measuring Distributive Injustice on a Different Scale"
- "An Information Prescription for Health Care's Cognitive-Disorder Problems,"

Organized conferences and forums, commissioning and coordinating papers and presentations by academic scholars and health industry experts on various health policy issues, such as health insurance and health outcomes, aging and future health spending, information therapy for health care, the role of physician performance measurement, geographic variation in health spending, health care consolidation and competition, private health insurance markets, Obamacare implementation, the five (not so) easy pieces of health reform, choice and competition in health insurance regulation, state-based health policy reform, and retail markets for health services.

Commissioned and edited studies by both outside scholars and AEI researchers on such topics as health insurance market competition, state health insurance regulations, health insurance reform, the value of private health plans, hospital industry structure, health information technology implementation, medical malpractice reform, defined contribution financing of health care, the Bush administration's health tax reform proposal, HSAs and bad debt, income inequality and health, and health spending forecasts.

Speaking appearances and presentations at forums sponsored by American Enterprise Institute, Academy Health, America's Health Insurance Plans, Alliance for Health Reform, American Bar Association, American College of Physicians, American Health Lawyers Association, American Orthopaedics Association, American Society of Health Economics, Aspen Institute, ERISA Industry Forum, Federalist Society, Georgetown Law Center, Heritage Foundation, Health Affairs, National Academy of Social Insurance, Medical University of South Carolina, Mercer, National Center for Policy Analysis, National Conference of State Legislatures, National Economists Club, National Committee for Quality Assurance, National Health Policy Forum, National Lieutenant Governors Association, Pioneer Institute's 2014 Hewitt health care lecture, Politico Pro, 18th Annual Princeton Conference, Republican Governors Public Policy Committee, Senate Republican Policy Committee, Texas Medical Association, Urban Institute, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington Policy Center, and World Health Care Congress..

Appointed to 3-year term on National Advisory Council for the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality (2007-2009).

Health policy advisor and surrogate speaker for John McCain 2008 presidential campaign (2007-2008).

Peer reviewer for Health Affairs policy journal (five times), Milbank Quarterly, Mercatus Center (six times).

Testified before House Energy and Commerce Committee (twice – on protecting the sick and chronically ill, and on Medicare cost-sharing reform), House Judiciary Committee (Affordable Care Act's impact on consolidation and competition in health care), Joint Economic Committee (the uninsured), and House Education and the Workforce Committee (employer healthcare costs),

Made broadcast media appearances on PBS NewsHour, Fox News, The O'Reilly Factor, The Kelly File, Sean Hannity Show, CNBC, C-SPAN, Bloomberg TV, WSJ Live – Opinion Journal, Nightly Business Report, Fox Business, MSNBC, The Doctors, Hearst Television, BBC-TV, BBC-Radio, National Public Radio, Minnesota Public Radio, Oregon Public Radio, Wisconsin Public Radio, Southern California Public Radio, Diane Rehm Show, Bloomberg News Radio, Sirius Radio, Red Eye Radio, World News Radio, and Inside E Street.

Senior Health Economist (2003-2006) – Joint Economic Committee, Majority Staff, U.S. Senate,

Washington, D.C. Organized six hearings from 2004 to 2006 on such issues as consumer-directed health care, consumer health information tools, concierge care, net burden of health services regulation, health status of the elderly, and choice and competition in health insurance. Drafted two social security reform bills and managed their actuarial scoring by the Social Security Administration's chief actuary and the Congressional Budget Office in 2005. Managed introduction of "Sustainable Solvency First for Social Security Act of 2006" (S. 2427) in March 2006.

Selected Accomplishments

Published JEC studies include "How the Tax Exclusion Shaped Today's Private Health Insurance Market," "Medical Spending Growth and the Level of Insurance Spending," and "The Complex Challenge of the Uninsured."

Speaking appearances at forums sponsored by American Enterprise Institute, Alliance for Health Reform, American Legislative Exchange Council, Cato Institute, Commonwealth Foundation, Council for Affordable Health Insurance, Heritage Foundation, New American Foundation, Senate Republican Task Force on Health Care Costs and the Uninsured, and the Social Security Administration's Retirement Research Consortium.

Participated in expert meeting on National Long-Term Care Survey, working group for Medicaid Fiscal Integrity Project, and Technical Expert Panel for Phase II Cost of Health Services Regulation Study. Peer reviewer for Health Affairs policy journal (three times).

Director, Health Policy Studies (2000-2003) – **Cato Institute,** Washington, DC. Focused on restoring individual, choice, control, and responsibility to the U.S. health care system. Areas of research included consumer-driven alternatives to conventional employer-sponsored health insurance, Medicare reform, deregulation of private health insurance, and health privacy regulation.

Selected Accomplishments

Organized and hosted Cato conference "Making A Federal Case out of Health Care: Five Years of HIPAA" (July 31, 2001). Guest editor, *Cato Journal* 22, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2002).

Published 34 articles and studies, including: "Competitive Markets for Individual Health Insurance" (Health Affairs), "Improving Access to Care without Comprehensive Health Insurance Coverage" (Economic and Social Research Institute), "A Regulatory Bypass Operation" (Cato Journal), and "Genetic Privacy" (AEI-Brookings Joint Center for Regulatory Studies).

Commissioned and edited Cato studies on medical savings accounts, pharmaceutical industry issues, smallpox and bioterrorism, health services regulatory burden, HIPAA and health care fraud, HIPAA's small-group access laws, HIPAA privacy, and defined contribution health plans, as well as Cato book, "Medicare's Midlife Crisis."

Organized 20 Cato policy forums, hosting 14 as moderator and participating as a speaker at 9.

Testified before House Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution (genetic privacy), House Small Business Subcommittee on Tax, Finance, and Exports (MSAs, FSAs, and tax credits), House Government Reform Subcommittee on Human Rights and Wellness (Medicare prescription drug safety net), Federal Trade Commission (mandated benefits) and House Financial Services Committee (terrorism insurance).

Made broadcast media appearances on CNN, Fox News Channel, MSNBC, National Public Radio, Diane Rehm Show, and McLaughlin One-on-One. Print media citations included Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, USA Today, Los Angeles Times, National Journal, Forbes, Financial Times, and Business Week. Appeared as regular panelist for health issues on "Doc in the House," WMAL-AM, Washington (2001-2003).

Director, Economic Policy Studies Program (1993-2000) & **Senior Policy Analyst** (1986-1992) – **Competitive Enterprise Institute**, Washington, DC. Specialized in issues of entitlement reform, health care regulation, financial services regulation, and insurance regulation. Also primary analyst at various times for issues involving antitrust, privacy, trade, and fiscal policy.

Selected Accomplishments

Organized and hosted CEI conferences "Rethinking Insurance Regulation 1998" (April 1998), "Rethinking Antitrust Regulation" (June 1997), and "Rethinking Insurance Regulation" (March 1996). Organized CEI conference "The Future of Financial Privacy: Private Choices vs. Political Rules," (December 1999).

Authored policy analyses and studies published on such issues as health care reform (19 publications), social security reform (8 publications), and banking reform (5 publications).

Made broadcast media appearances to discuss public policy issues on C-SPAN, CBS Evening News, CNN, CNBC, CNNfn, Fox News Channel, National Empowerment Television, and Technopolitics.

Founded and directed Shadow Insurance Regulation Committee (1999-2000). Recruited five leading academic experts on insurance issues to periodically discuss regulatory policy and issue topical statements. Framed topics for review, provided background research, ran meetings, edited statements, and promoted media coverage of Committee activities.

Designed and supervised development of Social Security reform web page for CEI web site, including a sophisticated interactive retirement benefits calculator. Calculator featured monthly asset performance data, five separate asset classes, and ten model portfolios. Web page consistently received the most "hits" of any location on CEI web site. Calculator highlighted in Reader's Digest cover story on Social Security reform.

Designed and edited annual Competitive Enterprise Index (1986-1994). Most requested publication in history of CEI. Provided the most comprehensive analysis available of annual congressional voting on economic policy issues, featuring seven separate subindexes. Highlighted regularly in Almanac of American Politics. Material used to develop three Wall Street Journal op eds and an article for American Spectator.

Editor of Washington Antitrust Report (1986-1989). Wrote and edited quarterly review of regulatory, congressional, and academic developments in antitrust regulation.

Journalist, Washington, D.C., 1982-1986

Various journalistic activities involving broadcast and print media.

Selected Accomplishments

Consulting "Issues" Producer for Oliver Productions -- "The McLaughlin Group" and "John McLaughlin One on One" television programs (1986).

Investigative Reporter for syndicated columnist Donald Lambro (1985). Focused on federally funded biomedical research activities.

Free Lance Writer published by Wall Street Journal, Reader's Digest, and Reason (1982-1985).

OTHER SIGNIFICANT HISTORY

Writer/Producer of "Focus," a twenty-minute daily current affairs program at Voice of America (1983-1984). Prepared shows covering topics involving foreign policy, defense policy, and domestic politics.

Sports Director -- WSOC-AM&FM, Charlotte, N.C. (1979-1981). Nightly Sports Talk Show Host, Play-by-Play Sportscaster for Davidson College basketball and Charlotte high school football and basketball, Sports News Anchor. UPI National Broadcast Award - Outstanding Sports Coverage 1981. Selected as lead announcer for 1980 Shrine Bowl (annual NC-SC High School all-star football game).

News Director -- WANS-AM&FM, Anderson, S.C. (1978-79). Play-by-Play sportscaster for Anderson College basketball, Westside High School football, and American Legion baseball.

Hosted "The Sports Corner" -- WGST-AM, Atlanta, Ga. (1978-79). Co-founded a "fan-hosted" weekly sports talk show. Top rated in its time slot for key demographic (Males, 25-49).

Assistant News Director -- WRGA-AM, Rome, Ga. (1977-78).

Attorney -- Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy, Atlanta, Ga. (1975-1977). Trial litigation, appellate argument, depositions, legal research and brief writing. Involved areas of personal injury, insurance defense, criminal defense, medical malpractice, and copyright (1975-1977). Lead attorney in lawsuit challenging State of Georgia's proposed Medicaid regulations (1975-1976).

Member – Academy Health, National Academy of Social Insurance, State Bar of Georgia

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Published in Health Affairs; Wall Street Journal; Washington Post; USA Today; Los Angeles Times; New York Times, Reader's Digest;, National Affairs; Cato Journal; Reason; Law & Contemporary Problems; American Journal of Medicine; Journal of Law, Medicine, and Ethics; University of Miami Business Law Review, Regulation; American Banker; American Spectator; The American; National Review Online; American.com; Real Clear Markets, Forbes.com, e21, Real Clear Policy, The Hill, FoxNews.com; Health Care News; Washington Times; The Weekly Standard, Insight; Consumers Research; The World & I; Baltimore Evening Sun; Cleveland Plain Dealer, Deseret News, Hartford Courant, Kansas City Star, Las Vegas Sun, Los Angeles Daily News; Raleigh News & Observer, Sacramento Bee, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

"The Cognitive Dissonance of Tax Treatment of Health Care," AEI, June 22, 2016.

"Cognitive Dissonance on Health Care Reform," AEIdeas.org, June 22, 2016.

"Law Tops Politics for Obamacare, at Least in One Court on One Day," AEIdeas.org, May 13, 2016.

"Entrepreneurship and Economic Dynamism: Marginal Returns from Health Policy Thus Far," Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, March 22, 2016.

"Trump's Health Policy Karaoke," e21, March 4, 2016.

"Obama's Small Business Bust," US News & World Report, March 3, 2016.

"The 'Blurred Lines' of Trump's Health Plan (He Knows You Want It)," e21, March 1, 2016.

"5 Questions Every Presidential Candidate Should Answer on Health Care," AEIdeas.org, February 2, 2016.

"Question Hour (make that "Minute") for Republican Candidates on Health Policy," AEIdeas.org, January 20, 2016.

- "Improving Health and Health Care: An Agenda for Reform," Health Affairs Blog, with Joseph Antos, James Capretta, Lanhee Chen, Scott Gottlieb, Yuval Levin, Ramesh Ponnuru, Avik Roy, Gail Wilensky, and David Wilson, December 9, 2015.
- "Improving Health and Health Care: An Agenda for Reform," with James Capretta, Joseph Antos, Lanhee Chen, Scott Gottlieb, Yuval Levin, Ramesh Ponnuru, Avik Roy, Gail Wilensky, and David Wilson, December 2015.
- "Unclaimed Policy Baggage in the Bush Plan," AEIdeas.org, October 16, 2015.
- "Untying the Tax Knots of the Bush Health Plan, AEIdeas.org, October 16, 2015.
- "An Early Lead in the Health Wonk Primary," AEIdeas.org, October 15, 2015.
- "How Health Policy Keeps Running in Circles," Inside Sources, October 13, 2015.
- "Rubio's Health Care Plan: Getting Beyond the Op-Ed," AEIdeas.org, August 21, 2015.
- "The Walker Health Plan: Filling in the Holes and Making Next-Stage Adjustments," AEIdeas.org, August 21, 2015.
- "Walker's First Pitch Against Obamacare: A High Hard One," AEIdeas.org, August 18, 2015.
- "Medicare Beyond Age 50: Lessons for the Future," AEIdeas.org, July 30, 2015.
- "Medciare at 50: Did It Solve the Right Problems Without Creating New Ones?" AEIdeas.org, July 30, 2015.
- "How the Next President Should Respond to King v. Burwell," Real Clear Markets, July 2, 2015.
- "Why Critics of Obamacare Haven't Lost...Yet," National Interest, June 30, 2015.
- "The Law and Rule(s) of King: Final Edition," AEIdeas.org, June 26, 2015.
- "Time for a New Anti-Obamacare Strategy: Containment," AEIdeasorg, June 25, 2015.
- "Is the Obamacare Fight Over: 17 Health Care Wonks Weigh In," Politico Magazine, June 25, 2015
- "Obamacare Co-Ops: Cause Célèbre or Costly Conundrum?" with Grace-Marie Turner, AEI and Galen Institute, June 25, 2015.
- "Another Obamacare Dream Goes Bust," with Grace-Marie Turner, Wall Street Journal, June 24, 2015.
- "<u>A Market-Based Contingency Plan for King v. Burwell</u>," Health Affairs Blog, with Joseph Antos, James Capretta, Lanhee Chen, Yuval Levin, Ramesh Ponnuru, Gail Wilensky, and David Wilson, June 15, 2015.
- "<u>A Contingency Plan for King v. Burwell and Related Cases</u>," AEI Economic Perspectives, with Joseph Antos, James Capretta, Lanhee Chen, Yuval Levin, Ramesh Ponnuru, Avik Roy, Gail Wilensky, and David Wilson, June 15, 2015.
- "Unfair Coercion, or Greater Deference? Two New Sides of King v. Burwell," University of Miami Business Law Review, April 15, 2015.
- "Rubio's Health Plan Is a Fresh Breeze," e21, March 27, 2015.
- "Courtside Notes from King v. Burwell," AEIdeas.org, March 4, 2015.
- "A Post-King Bridge to Somewhere Better," e21, March 2, 2015.

- "Retracing the Legislative History Behind King v Burwell," AEIdeas.org, February 26, 2015.
- "What Happens to the ACA If the Petitioners in King v. Burwell Win at the Supreme Court?" with Grace-Marie Turner, Forbes.com, February 12, 2015.
- "Assessing the Universal Exchange Plan," AEI Health Policy Perspective, February 2, 2015.
- "Repeal, Replace, or Revise? The Choices Ahead for Obamacare Critics," American.com, December 23, 2014.
- "An Emerging Consensus: Medicare Advantage Is Working and Can Deliver Meaningful Reform," with James Capretta, Health Affairs Blog, November 6, 2014.
- "As the Courts Turn: The Continuing Legal Perils of Obamacare," AEIdeas.org, September 30, 2014.
- "Health Insurance Alone Won't Improve Health Outcomes," Real Clear Markets, September 3, 2014.
- "Kill the Tax Exclusion for Health Care: The Employer Exclusion Turned 60 This Week It's Time to Replace It with a Single Discount for All," National Review Online, August 19, 2014.
- "'Just Win, Baby:' The Politics of Obamacare," e21, August 13, 2014.
- "Beyond the Courthouse Countdown for Federal Health Exchanges," e21, July 14, 2014.
- "Corporations Are Persons, Too, My Friend (at Least under RFRA)," AEIdeas.org, June 30, 2014.
- "Employer Plan Sponsors: Running Harder, to Stay in Place," e21, June 27, 2014.
- "What's Become of the 'Great Society' after 50 Years? An AEIdeas symposium," AEIdeas.org, May 22, 2014.
- "Debate over How to Replace Obamacare Comes to a Fork in the Tax Code," Real Clear Markets, May 7, 2014.
- "There's No Quick Fix for the Affordable Care Act," McClatchy News Service, April 27, 2014.
- "How to Achieve Sustainable Medicaid Reform," chapter in "The Economics of Medicaid: Assessing the Costs and Consequences," Mercatus Center, April 8, 2014.
- "The Individual Mandate Goes Poof," with Abby McCloskey, The Wall Street Journal, March 26, 2014.
- "Halbig v. Sebelius: Courtside Notes," AEIdeas.org, March 26, 2014.
- "Why the Patient CARE Act Proposal Isn't Ready to Replace Obamacare," American.com, March 21, 2014.
- "Why the Patient CARE Act Proposal Is 'Going to Need a Bigger Boat'," AEI Health Policy Outlook, March 10, 2014.
- "Obamacare, One; Rule of Law, Zero," e21, January 16, 2014.
- "The End of Obamacare: Just the Beginning of Better Health Care," e21, December 12, 2013.
- "The Next ObamaCare Mirage," with Abby McCloskey, The Wall Street Journal, November 26, 2013.
- "The Monthly Obamacare Apology Address: Making It Up as It Limps Along," AEIdeas.org, November 15, 2013.
- "The ACA's Mission Creep," National Review Online, November 12, 2013.

- "Another Federal Exchange Lawsuit Gets a "Speed Pass" to Final Court Ruling on the Merits," AEIdeas.org, November 1, 2013.
- "Federal District Court in D.C. Denies Injunctive Relief to Plaintiffs: No Big Deal (So Far)," National Review Online, October 23, 2013.
- "Why the Challenge to Federal Exchanges Moved Ahead in D.C. Court Today," National Review Online, October 23, 2013.
- "A First Swing at the Bat in the Battle against Obamacare's Federal Subsidies," National Review Online, October 22, 2013.
- "Obamacare's Next Bout: More Legal Challenges," American.com, October 21, 2013.
- "Full-Time Hyperbole?" AEIdeas.org, October 17, 2013.
- "Try Making Them an Offer They Will Be Too Embarrassed to Refuse," AEIdeas.org, October 15, 2013.
- "Checking up on the 'Faux' Fact Checkers," Real Clear Markets, October 9, 2013.
- "Conservative Health Care Reform: A Reality Check," National Affairs, Autumn 2013 (lead article).
- "Split Decision in Oklahoma Exchange Case: On to the Next Round," AEIdeas.org, August 14, 2013.
- "When It Comes to Health Care, IRS Should Be IRX," McClatchy-Tribune News Service, (in 48 McClatchy publications, including Las Vegas Sun, Raleigh News & Observer, Arizona (Tucson) Daily Star, Salt Lake City Sunday Deseret News, Fresno Bee), July 19, 2013.
- "Mend It, Don't Amend It," AEIdeas.org, July 5, 2013.
- "Daunting Challenges Loom as ACA Exchange Deadline Nears," Law360, June 7, 2013.
- "Diagnosing the Real Reasons for Reduced Health Care Spending," Real Clear Markets, June 5, 2013.
- "A Hidden Tax in Obamacare: The Healthcare Law's \$2500 Annual Cap on Flexible Spending Accounts Will Amount to a Tax on Older and Sicker Americans," Los Angeles Times, May 31, 2013.
- "Having Barely Survived Near-Death Experiences, Obamacare Faces Another Legal Challenge," Forbes.com, May 8, 2013.
- "Do I Look Fat in This Insurance Plan?" Real Clear Markets, April 4, 2013.
- "Daring to Be Cautious? Bigger Steps Needed for Medicare Cost-Sharing Reform," AEI, March 28, 2013.
- "Bumpy Ride Ahead for Insurance Markets," The Hill, February 13, 2013.
- "Governors Should Let U.S. Build Its Flawed System and then Duck Consumers' Flack," McClatchy Newspapers, February 7, 2013.
- "Obamacare's Pressure Points," National Review Online, February 4, 2013.
- "Hyping the Individual Mandate's Penalties," AEIdeas.org, January 31, 2013.
- "U.S. National Health Care Spending Continues Trend of Slow Growth," with Catherine Griffin, AEIdeas.org, January 9, 2013.

- "Beyond Defeat or Defiance: Redefining State-Based Health Reform under Obamacare," American.com, December 27, 2012.
- "The Post-Obamacare Playbook for Market-Based Health Care Reform," RealClearPolicy,com, Edited interview with Joseph Lawler, December 14, 2012.
- "When ObamaCare Fails: The Playbook for Market-Based Reform," AEI, December 2012.
- "Making Effective Connections: With or Without Health Benefits Exchanges," AEI, November 16, 2012.
- "State Decisions on Health Exchanges: Early Indicators for Obamacare's Post-Election Health," AEIdeas.org, November 13, 2012 (also posted at Human Events.org).
- "Six Picks for Post-Election Health Policy," RealClearMarkets.com, November 7, 2012
- "Obamacare's Heavy Toll on Middle Class Americans," with Jim Capretta, e21, October 19, 2012.
- "How Romney Can Make Health Care an Asset in Wednesday's Debate," AEIdeas.org, October 2, 2012.
- "A Conservative Case for ObamaCare?" National Review Online, October 1, 2012.
- "Government-Friendly Vouchers for Providers?" AEIdeas.org, October 1, 2012.
- "At Issue: Should the Affordable Care Act Be Repealed?" CQ Researcher, September 21, 2012.
- "Curing the Pre-existing Conditions of ObamaCare," with James Capretta, The American, September 10, 2012.
- "Individual Mandate," Chapter in *Debates on U.S. Health Care* book, Sage, September 2012.
- "The Closer One Looks at Obamacare, the More It Looks Like Medicaid," with Scott Gottlieb, Forbes.com, August 20, 2012.
- "A Diagnosis at Odds with a Treatment Plan," Health Affairs, August 2012.
- "The Controversial, Contradictory, and Complex Ruling on Obamacare," The Blaze, June 29, 2012.
- "The Health Care Law Fight Isn't Over," Los Angeles Times, June 29, 2012.
- "Severability for Obamacare: The First Cut Is the Deepest," AEIdeas.org, June 22, 2012.
- "Dueling Forces in Today's Health Care Markets," Real Clear Markets, June 6, 2012
- "Why the (Un)Affordable Care Act Should Be Repealed and Replaced," with Grace-Marie Turner and James Capretta, American Journal of Medicine, May 2012.
- "Entitlement Reform for the Highly Educated," AEIdeas.org, May 22, 2012.
- "Health Care: Real Reform, Not Phony Federalism," Real Clear Policy, May 9, 2012.
- "Looking for Better Health in All the Wrong Places: The Road to Equality Hits a Dead End," Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics, Spring 2012.
- "Going over the Constitutional Speed Limit? Or Is Timing Everything on the Regulatory Radar Gun? (Part III)," Enterprise Blog, April 3, 2012.

- "The Individual Mandate: Going over the Limit? Or Is Timing Everything? (Part II)," Enterprise Blog, April 2, 2012.
- "Obamacare's Individual Mandate: Going over the Limit? Or Is Timing Everything? (Part I)," Enterprise Blog, April 2, 2012.
- "Myths about Healthcare Myths," Enterprise Blog, March 28, 2012.
- "Obamacare Goes to Court, Part III: We Won't Have the Anti-Injunction Act to Kick Around in This Case Anymore," Enterprise Blog, March 27, 2012.
- "Obamacare Goes to Court, Part II: Are We Talking about a Penalty or a Tax?" Enterprise Blog, March 26, 2012.
- "Obamacare Goes to Court, Part I: Can We Even Consider This Case?" Enterprise Blog, March 26, 2012.
- "ObamaCare: Up for Grabs at the Supreme Court," Human Events, March 26, 2012.
- "The Individual Mandate: Ineffective, Overreaching, Unsustainable, Unconstitutional, and Unnecessary," AEI Online, March 23, 2012.
- "Life after ObamaCare," Part of 'Can Obamacare Be Undone?' National Review Online Symposium, March 23, 2012.
- "The Great Experiment," Pioneer Institute, March 2012. Four separate chapters.

The Case for Competition, Choice, and a Healthy Federalism.

Confronting Pre-Existing Condition Problems (Real and Imagined)

Choice and Competition in Health Care.

Taking Medicaid off Steroids.

- "Repeal to Replace: Starting This Year," National Journal, February 6, 2012.
- "Replacing the 'Other' Payroll Tax," Real Clear Markets, January 11, 2012.
- "Thirteen Questions that Need to Be Answered If Wyden-Ryan Is Going to Work," Enterprise Blog, December 19, 2011.
- "Ryan-Wyden: Building a More Sustainable Foundation for Medicare Reform," Enterprise Blog, December 19, 2011.
- "The Ryan-Wyden Plan for Medicare Reform: Necessary, not Sufficient, but a Better Restart," Enterprise Blog, December 16, 2011.
- "Handicapping ObamaCare's Day in Court," American.com, November 21, 2011.
- "Firing Warning Shots with Blank Bullets," Enterprise Blog, November 21, 2011.
- "ObamaCare's Legal Opponents Fail to Score in Federal Appeals Court," Enterprise Blog, November 8, 2011.
- "Dead Laws Tell No More Lies, but May Reveal Larger Truths," Health Reform Report, October 24, 2011.
- "After CLASS: What to Do Next about ObamaCare," Enterprise Blog, October 15, 2011.
- "Let's Bury the CLASS Act Cadaver (after a Full Autopsy)," Enterprise Blog, October 15, 2011.
- "Unessential Politics = No Net Benefits," National Journal, October 12, 2011.

- "Will Health Care's Long Boom Go Bust?" Real Clear Markets, August 17, 2011.
- "Health Spending Projection Spin Cycle: Rinse and Repeat, or Reset?" Health Affairs, August 11, 2011.
- "Response to John Goodman and Thomas Saving on Medicare's Efficiency," Health Affairs Blog, August 10, 2011.
- "Ballot Initiative Would Repeal RomneyCare's Individual Mandate," National Review Online, August 5, 2011.
- "How the Debt Tussle Can Help Move Toward a Flat Tax," American.com, July 12, 2011.
- "PolitiFudge: Reliable Sources Start Advocacy," Enterprise Blog, July 29, 2011.
- "Ballots, Not Judges, Will Decide This," Wall Street Journal, July 11, 2011.
- "Race to the Exits, before the Taxpayer Subsidy Doors Close," Enterprise Blog, June 6, 2011.
- "Taking the Individual Mandate off Life Support," Weekly Standard, May 13, 2011.
- "One Year In, Americans Want a Divorce from ObamaCare," Real Clear Markets, March 23, 2011.
- "Getting Health Care Right: Putting Patients First," with James Capretta, Grace-Marie Turner, and Robert Moffit, National Review Online, March 22, 2011.
- "Wrong, Baby, Wrong: How to Undo the Obamacare Disaster and Do Health-Care Reform Right," National Review Online, March 22, 2011.
- "Does Health Care Reform Help U.S. Business?" Council on Foreign Relations Expert Roundup, February 10, 2011.
- "It's Okay to Spike the Football, but Get Ready for the Next Kickoff in Higher Courts," National Review Online, February 2, 2011.
- "'Hoist with His Own Petard,' The Individual Mandate Blows Up ObamaCare," Enterprise Blog, February 2, 2011.
- "New Scrutiny for Insurance Mandates After Repeal Vote," Kaiser Health News, January 19, 2011.
- "A New 'Definition' for Health Care Reform," with James Capretta, Kaiser Health News, January 14, 2011.
- "The Defined Contribution Route to Health Care Choice and Competition," with James Capretta, AEI, December 2010.
- "Debunking Richard Cohen: How Does the U.S. Health-Care System Stack Up?" National Review Online, November 15, 2010.
- "Post-Election Predictions for ObamaCare," Medical Progress Today.com, November 11, 2010.
- "Beyond Repeal and Replace: What Republicans Need to Do about ObamaCare," Forbes.com, November 3, 2010.
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