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EDUCATION

M.A., Public Policy Studies, Duke University (1987)

B.A., Government, University of Notre Dame (1985)

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT

Ethics and Public Policy Center

Senior Fellow

2013 to present

Fellow

2006 to 2013

Conduct research and provide public commentary on a wide range of policy and economic issues, with a focus on health-care and entitlement reform, U.S. fiscal policy, and global population aging.

American Enterprise Institute

Visiting Fellow

2012 to Present

Developing the detailed plans necessary to replace the health care law that passed in 2010 with a reform approach that emphasizes markets, consumer choice, federalism, limited government, and budgetary control.

Civic Enterprises, LLC

Principal and Director of Health Policy Consulting

2006 to Present

Provide health policy consulting services to a wide variety of not-for-profit and profit clients. Work includes production of white papers and peer-reviewed analyses examining the public policy implications and options associated with various aspects of improved treatment approaches for chronic and other diseases.

BOARDS

Health Affairs

Member, Editorial Board 2012 to Present

National Institute for Health Care Management

Member, Advisory Board 2011 to Present

PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget

Associate Director for Human Resource Programs 2001 to 2004

Managed a staff of approximately 80 career employees with responsibility for health, Social Security, and welfare programs. Worked closely on a daily basis with the top leadership of OMB, senior White House officials, the top leadership in the agencies, members of Congress and their staff, and the press. Lead responsibility with OMB for all aspects of Medicare policy and payment issues, as well as development and implementation of the administration's Medicaid reform proposal and proposals to cover the uninsured.

U.S. Senate Budget Committee

Senior Policy Analyst 1990 to 2000

Lead analyst for major federal entitlement programs: Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid; also responsible for private health system issues, discretionary health programs, retirement policy, and overall budget policy for entitlement programs. Developed policy options and political strategies for the Chairman (Senator Domenici) and Staff Director on all matters within these issue areas. Active staff role in major budget and legislative debates since 1990, including: the 1990 and 1993 deficit reduction acts, the health care reform debate of 1993-93, the Republican budget proposals in 1995 and 1996, and the Balanced Budget and Taxpayer Relief Acts in 1997.

U.S. House Committee on Ways and Means

Professional Staff Member, Subcommittee on Health 1995

Prepared initial concept draft of large-scale Medicare reform plan. Organized Medicare hearings on reform, quality assurance, and the End-Stage Renal Disease program.

Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget

Budget Examiner

1987 to 1990

Staff analyst for major Federal retirement and disability programs, including Social Security, Supplemental Security Income, and Railroad Retirement. Developed options for the President's budget, including the Social Security Administration's multi-billion dollar administrative budget. Analyzed and assessed actuarial projections for budgetary implications.

OTHER EMPLOYMENT

Wexler and Walker Public Policy Associates

Managing Director

2004 to 2006

Provided strategic counsel and policy research and analysis to clients with significant interaction with the federal government, and advocated selected client priorities with Congress. Projects included: development of a model for estimating the federal budgetary impact of long-term care partnership insurance legislation; providing advice to a major pharmaceutical manufacturer regarding implementation of the Medicare prescription drug legislation; providing reimbursement consulting advice to a biotech company introducing a new Medicare-covered product; and advocating before selected Congressional offices on behalf of a scientific association.

Catholic Health Association

Government Liaison Officer

1995

Developed policy position and proposal to extend tax-exempt status to not-for-profit Catholic managed care arrangements and to allow provider-based health plans to enter into Medicare HMO contracts. Developed alternative balanced budget plan consistent with interests of association members. Served as liaison with the Catholic hospital chief financial officers group, providing Federal affairs updates.

CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

“The Status of the Medicare Advantage Program,” House Ways and Means Health Subcommittee, September 21, 2012

“Identifying Opportunities for Health Delivery System Reform: Lessons from the Front Line,” Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee, May 16, 2012 ([video](#))

“Putting Health Care Spending on a Sustainable Path,” Senate Budget Committee, February 29, 2012 ([video](#))

“The Medicare Trigger,” Subcommittee on Health Care, District of Columbia, and National Archives, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, July 12, 2011 ([video](#))

“Fulfilling the Mission of Health and Retirement Security,” House Budget Committee, March 17, 2011 ([video](#))

“The Fiscal Consequences of the New Health Care Law,” House Budget Committee, January 26, 2011 ([video](#))

“Perspectives on Long-Term Deficits,” House Budget Committee, January 21, 2010 ([video](#))

BOOK AND BOOK CHAPTERS

“A Federal-State Framework for Market-Based Reform,” in The Great Experiment: The States, The Fed, and Your Healthcare, Pioneer Institute, 2012

Why ObamaCare Is Wrong for America, co-authored with Grace-Marie Turner, Thomas Miller, and Robert Moffit, Broadside Books, March 2011

LONGER PAPERS AND ARTICLES

“Assuring a Future for Long-Term Care Services and Supports in Texas,” with Andrew Croshaw, Michael Deily, and Laura Summers, Texas Public Policy Foundation, December 2012 ([link](#))

“Constructing an Alternative to Obamacare: Key Details for a Practical Replacement Program,” Health Policy Outlook No. 6, American Enterprise Institute, December 2012 ([link](#))

“Economic Model of a Birth Cohort Screening Program for Hepatitis C Virus,” with L. McGarry, V. Pawar, H. Parekh, J. Rubin, G. Davis, Z. Younossi, M. O’Grady, and M. Weinstein, Hepatology, May 2012 ([link](#))

“How to Replace Obamacare,” with Robert E. Moffit, National Affairs, Spring 2012 ([link](#))

“Premium Support: A Primer,” The Brookings Institution, December 2011 ([link](#))

“The Case for Competition in Medicare,” The Heritage Foundation, Background #2605, September 12, 2011 ([link](#))

“Priorities for a New Congress,” National Affairs, Winter 2011 ([link](#))

“The Demographics of Social Security: Why Entitlement Reform Needs a Fertility Boost,” The Family in America, Winter 2011 ([link](#))

“The Defined Contribution Route to Health Care Choice and Competition,” with Tom Miller, American Enterprise Institute, December 2010 ([link](#))

“Reductions in Medicare Advantage Payments: The Impact on Seniors by Region,” with Robert A. Book, Ph.D., Backgrounder #2464, The Heritage Foundation, September 14, 2010 ([link](#))

“How to Cover Pre-Existing Conditions,” with Tom Miller, National Affairs, Summer 2010 ([link](#))

“Why the Obama Health Plan Is *Not* Entitlement Reform,” for the Galen Institute Entitlement Reform Project, July 2010 ([link](#))

“The New Middle Class Contract,” National Affairs, Fall 2009 ([link](#))

“Using Clinical Information to Project Federal Health Care Spending,” with Elbert S. Huang, Anirban Basu, Michael J. O’Grady, Health Affairs (web exclusive), September 1, 2009 ([link](#))

“Health Care with a Conscience,” The New Atlantis, Fall 2008 ([link](#))

“Health Care 2008: A Political Primer,” The New Atlantis, Spring 2008 ([link](#))

“Improving Congressional Spending Habits,” Hudson Institute, May 2007 ([link](#))

“What’s Ailing Health Care?,” The New Atlantis, Spring 2007 ([link](#))

“Global Aging and the Sustainability of Public Pension Systems: An Assessment of Reform Efforts in Twelve Developed Countries,” Global Aging Initiative, Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 2007 ([link](#))

“Restraining Federal Domestic Spending,” The Brookings Institution, January 2007 ([link](#))

“Building Automatic Solvency Into U.S. Social Security: Insights from Sweden and Germany,” The Brookings Institution, *Policy Brief #151*, March 2006 ([link](#))

SELECTED SHORT ARTICLES AND OPINION

“The Budget Battles Ahead: A debt-limit showdown is a dead-end for the GOP,” National Review Online, January 7, 2013

“Medicare Reform After the Election,” economics21.org, December 13, 2012

“The GOP’s Payroll Tax Opportunity,” with Yuval Levin, The Weekly Standard, December 10, 2012

“Why ObamaCare Is Still No Sure Thing: The majority of state governors are Republicans, and they have the power to disarm the health care law,” with Yuval Levin, The Wall Street Journal, November 19, 2012 ([link](#))

“The Turnaround Washington Needs: Governor Romney’s most important mission, if he wins,” economics21.org, November 2, 2012

“A Fantasy-Based Case for Obamacare: In the *New York Times*, J.D. Kleinke distorts reality to fit his narrative,” National Review Online, October 1, 2012

“The Candidates’ Positions on Medicare Advantage,” The Hill, September 28, 2012

“Curing the Pre-Existing Conditions of ObamaCare,” with Tom Miller, American.com, September 10, 2012

“More Mediscare,” with Yuval Levin, The Weekly Standard, August 20, 2012

“The Mandate After the Court: Roberts’ decision may end up killing Obamacare after all,” with Yuval Levin, National Review Online, July 16, 2012

“It’s Obama’s Economy: And there’s no escaping that fact,” National Review Online, June 6, 2012

“Catholic Social Teaching and the Ryan Budget,” with Rev. Thomas V. Berg, The Public Discourse, May 11, 2012

“Exposing the Medicare Double Count,” with Charles Blahous, The Wall Street Journal, May 2, 2012 ([link](#))

“The President’s Incoherent Economic ‘Philosophy’: Whatever he’s for, apparently it’s not a free-market economy,” National Review Online, April 23, 2012

“The President’s Plan: Higher Taxes, Deep Defense Cuts, and the Entitlement Status Quo,” economics21.org, February 14, 2012

“The Top Five Flawed Arguments Against Premium Support,” The Heritage Foundation, Backgrounder #2648, February 7, 2012

“The Medicare Debate: Is the program the solution, or the problem?,” National Review Online, December 27, 2011

“A Look Back at 2011: Congress and White House Edition,” economics21.org, December 22, 2011

“Supercommittee, Super Confusion: The GOP is in danger of losing its way on budget and taxes – again,” National Review Online, November 18, 2011

“Delay Health Law’s Implementation,” with Douglas Holtz-Eakin, Politico, November 8, 2011

“CLASS Dismissed,” The Weekly Standard, October 31, 2011

“The Reconciliation Option: The way forward for repealing and replacing Obamacare becomes clearer,” National Review Online, October 18, 2011

“Don’t Forget Obamacare,” The Weekly Standard, September 26, 2011

“Unhealthy Debt: Real health care reform is the only way out of our budget woes,” with Yuval Levin, The Weekly Standard, August 8, 2011

“Budget Danger Ahead,” National Review Online, July 7, 2011

“On Political Expediency and Health Care Reform,” Kaiser Health News, June 12, 2011

“The Central Front: Why health care is the essential issue for 2012,” with Yuval Levin, The Weekly Standard, April 4, 2011

“Repeal Is Perfect Present for ObamaCare Birthday,” with Newt Gingrich and John Goodman, Investor’s Business Daily, March 23, 2011

“Medicare Recipients Will Suffer Under Health-Care Law,” Columbus Dispatch, March 18, 2011

“Health Care Repeal Won’t Add to the Deficit,” with Douglas Holtz-Eakin and Joseph Antos, The Wall Street Journal (Online Extra), January 18, 2011 ([link](#))

“Budget War: Strategy and Tactics for the New House Majority,” National Review, January 24, 2011

“A New ‘Definition’ of Health Care Reform,” with Tom Miller, Kaiser Health News, January 14, 2011

- “A Bipartisan Budget Will Require Bipartisan Health Care,” [Kaiser Health News](#), December 20, 2010
- “Resetting the ‘Obamacare’ Baseline,” with Douglas Holtz-Eakin, [Politico](#), December 16, 2010
- “How to Fix Medicare: A New Vision for a Better Program,” with Robert Moffit, Ph.D., The Heritage Foundation, Backgrounder #2500, December 13, 2010
- “The Importance of Ryan-Rivlin,” [e21](#), November 24, 2010
- “Anatomy of a Hostile Government Takeover: Obamacare at Six Months,” [National Review Online](#), September 28, 2010
- “Limited Government in the 21st Century,” [e21](#), September 22, 2010
- “Debunking Medicare Myths,” [Kaiser Health News](#), September 2, 2010
- “Think Health Reform Will Cut Costs? Think Again,” [USA Today](#), August 11, 2010
- “Plugging the Leaks in High-Risk Pools,” with Tom Miller, [American.com](#), July 1, 2010
- “The Independent Payment Advisory Board and Health Care Price Controls,” [Kaiser Health News](#), May 6, 2010
- “Can Massachusetts’ Experiment Tell Us What’s Next?,” [Kaiser Health News](#), April 8, 2010
- “The Long War: Republicans can repeal Obamacare – if they start counterattacking now,” [National Review](#), April 19, 2010
- “The Summit of Folly,” [The Weekly Standard](#), March 1, 2010
- “A Roadmap to Better Health Care: Government ‘engineering’ is no match for a functioning marketplace,” [National Review Online](#), February 22, 2010
- “What the Health-Care Debate Is Really All About,” [Public Discourse](#), January 19, 2010
- “An Entitlement Certain to Grow In Spite of ‘Firewalls’,” [Kaiser Health News](#), January 7, 2009
- “Obamacare: It’s Even Worse Than You Think,” with Yuval Levin, [The Weekly Standard](#), August 3, 2009
- “Prescription: A politically salable approach to market-based reforms,” [National Review](#), May 25, 2009

“Stop ObamaCare: The Democrats’ plan would displace tens of millions of happily insured Americans and exacerbate the worst elements of the current system,” with Yuval Levin, The Weekly Standard, May 18, 2009

“A State-Based Initiative: Countering Obamacare in Louisiana and elsewhere,” National Review Online, December 9, 2008

“Healthcare with a Conscience,” First Things Online, November 18, 2008

“The Train Wreck Ahead: Medicare is rolling to disaster, and there is no easy way to fix it,” The Weekly Standard, June 16, 2008

“A Bush Success (not that he gets credit): The Medicare drug benefit is working better than predicted,” The Weekly Standard, April 28, 2008

“The Swedish Solution: A Social Security reform made in Scandinavia?” The Weekly Standard, March 17, 2008

“The Clipboard of the Future: Why Health Care Records Are So Low-Tech,” The New Atlantis, Winter 2008

“The Political Economy of State-Based Pensions: A Focus on Innovative Reforms,” European Papers on the New Welfare, No. 8, September 2007, p. 8-16

International Perspectives on Social Security Reform (commentary on the Canadian pension reform), Urban Institute Press, August 2007

“Global Ageing and Innovative Public Pension Reforms,” Pensions International, May 2007

“Gunnar Myrdal Was Right: Social Security’s fertility problem,” The Weekly Standard, May 7, 2007

“To Be Continued: The Democratic Congress’ inadvertent budget reform,” The Weekly Standard, February 26, 2007

SELECTED PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS

“Medicaid Reform,” Texas Public Policy Foundation Annual Policy Orientation for State Legislators, Austin, TX, January 10, 2013

“Impact and Challenges of Medicare,” Economic Disruption in Healthcare Symposium, Foster School of Business, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, October 26, 2012

“What the Health Care Debate Is Really All About,” Amherst College, October 23, 2012

“Potential Policy and Political Alternatives for the Future of Health Reform and Entitlements,” Federation of American Hospitals Meeting, Nashville, TN, October 16, 2012

“The Constitution and Federal Entitlements,” Rhodes College, Memphis, TN, September 17, 2012

“Real-Time Response to the Court’s Health Care Ruling,” American Enterprise Institute, June 28, 2012 ([video](#))

“The Part D Experience: What Are the Lessons for Broader Medicare Reform,” Kaiser Family Foundation, June 6, 2012 ([video](#))

“The Future of Medicare: A Reality Check,” American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, April 24, 2012 ([video](#))

“The Future of Medicare and Medicaid,” a debate with Dr. Don Berwick, Pioneer Institute, April 5, 2012 ([video](#))

“What’s the Best Way to Provide Americans Affordable, High-Quality Healthcare?,” Debate with Donald H. Taylor, Jr, Associate Professor of Public Policy, Duke University, March 14, 2012 ([video](#))

“Perspectives on Near and Long-Term Health Care Policy Issues,” National Policy Forum, America’s Health Insurance Plans, Washington, DC, March 7, 2012

“Deficits, Debt, and Health Care: The On-Going Debate Over Health Care Reform,” North Carolina Hospital Association, Raleigh, NC, February 16, 2012

“Controlling Medicare Costs: Is Premium Support the Answer,” The Brookings Institution, December 16, 2011 ([video](#))

“Why Health Care Changed the Debt/Deficit Debate,” Virginia Hospital and Healthcare Association Annual Meeting, Hot Springs, VA, November 10, 2011

“Deficits, Debt, and Health Care: What Budgetary Pressures Could Mean for Provider Payments,” The Paul Merage School of Business, University of California at Irvine, Irvine, CA, November 4, 2011 ([video](#))

“How Should Washington Control Medicare Spending?” The Heritage Foundation, May 19, 2011 ([video](#))

“Beyond ‘Repeal and Replace’,” American Enterprise Institute, December 8, 2010 ([video](#))

“Understanding the Policy and Politics of Health Care Reform,” Ball State University, Muncie, IN, November 30, 2010

“Policy Changes for the New Congress,” American Enterprise Institute and National Review Institute, November 22, 2010 ([video](#))

“Turning Up the Heat on Medicare,” American Enterprise Institute, September 15, 2010 ([video](#))

“Will Health Reform ‘Bend the Cost Curve’ Up or Down?,” Global Aging Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies, July 21, 2010

“Replacing Obamacare with Real Health Care Reform,” American Enterprise Institute and *National Affairs*, July 19, 2010

“Why the Obama Health Plan Is *Not* Entitlement Reform,” The Galen Institute, July 15, 2010 ([video](#))

“What Now? The Future of Healthcare Policy and Its Long-Term Impact on the Budget,” Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, D.C., April 26, 2010

“Are the Current Health Reform Bills Fair?,” American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., December 4, 2009 ([video](#))

“Health Reform Then and Now: What Do We Need to Know?,” American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., September 11, 2009 ([video](#))

“The Five (Not So) Easy Pieces of Health Reform,” American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., June 4, 2009 ([video](#))

“Medicare Under Pressure: The 2009 Medicare Trustees’ Report,” American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., May 12, 2009 ([video](#))

“The Future of Medicare Advantage,” The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., September 10, 2008 ([video](#))

“The Political Economy of State-Based Pension Reforms,” Conference on *The New Welfare: The Counter-Ageing Society*, Sponsored by the Geneva Association, Macros Research, and the Risk Institute, Turin, Italy, October 8, 2007

“Sovereign Funds for Pensions and Aging: Political Economy Considerations,” Sovereign Funds Roundtable, European Institute, London, May 8, 2007

“The 2004 Campaign: Assessing the Merits and Costs of the Candidates’ Domestic Agendas,” The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., June 23, 2004

SELECTED CONSULTING PUBLICATIONS

“Assessing the Economics of Obesity and Obesity Interventions,” with Michael J. O’Grady, Ph.D., March 2012

“A Window of Opportunity: Changing the Hepatitis C Virus Screening and Treatment Paradigm While There Is Still Time,” with Michael J. O’Grady, Ph.D., February 2012

“Health-Care Cost Projections for Diabetes and Other Chronic Conditions: The Current Context and Potential Enhancements,” May 2009 (Partnership to Fight Chronic Disease)

“The Use of Epidemiological Modeling for Projecting Diabetes Incidence and Spending Under Alternative Policies,” with Michael J. O’Grady, Ph.D., Elbert Huang, M.D., M.P.H., and Anirban Basu, Ph.D., August 2008

“Federal Health Care Cost Estimating: A Look at Current Practice and the Implications for Assessing Chronic Disease Prevention Protocols,” with Michael J. O’Grady, Ph.D. and Elbert Huang, M.D., M.P.H., June 2008

“Long-Term Care Insurance Partnerships: New Choices for Consumers -- Potential Savings for Federal and State Government,” Center for Policy and Research, America’s Health Insurance Plans, January 2007

SELECTED MEDIA APPEARANCES

Television:

“Washington Journal,” C-SPAN, December 11, 2012 ([video](#))

“Squawk Box,” CNBC, June 28, 2012 ([video](#))

Fox Business News, June 26, 2012 ([video](#))

“Special Report with Bret Baier,” Fox News, April 30, 2012 (on employers dropping coverage) ([video](#))

“Special Report with Brett Baier” (debate over health care waivers), January 28, 2011 ([video](#))

Bloomberg Television, December 13, 2010 ([video](#))

“PBS NewsHour,” November 4, 2010 ([video](#))

“Special Report with Bret Baier,” Fox News, February 3, 2010 ([video](#))

“Special Report with Bret Baier,” Fox News, January 5, 2010 ([video](#))

“The Kudlow Report,” CNBC, October 9, 2009 ([video](#))

“Money for Breakfast,” Fox Business News, September 3, 2009 ([video](#))

“The World Over,” EWTN Television, June 12, 2009 ([audio](#))

Video:

“Beyond Obamacare: 6 Principles for Market-Based Reform,” American Enterprise Institute, June 2012 ([video](#))

“Delivering Better Value to Patients,” American Journal of Managed Care (AJMCTv), June 6, 2012 ([video](#))

“Digital Interview,” PhRMA Annual Meeting, April 13, 2012 ([video](#))
With Jennifer Rubin, Pajamas TV (on the health-care bills under consideration in Congress), July 17, 2009 ([video](#))

“Off the Page,” NRO TV (On the importance of building a functioning marketplace in health-care), June 26, 2009 ([video](#))

“Off the Page,” NRO TV (On the role Medicare plays in system-wide cost escalation), June 25, 2009 ([video](#))

Radio:

“To the Point,” KCRW/National Public Radio, January 2, 2013 ([audio](#))

“Federal News Radio,” WTOP 1500 AM, Washington, DC, December 19, 2012 ([audio](#))

“The Brian Lehrer Show,” (Guest Host Mike Pesca), WNYC, New York, NY, December 4, 2012 ([audio](#))

“To the Point,” KCRW/National Public Radio, November 14, 2012 ([audio](#))

“The Brian Lehrer Show, WNYC, New York, NY, September 24, 2012 ([audio](#))

“The Brian Lehrer Show,” WNYC, New York, NY, July 13, 2012 ([audio](#))

“The Fred Thompson Show,” Westwood One Radio, October 15, 2009 ([audio](#))

“Patterns in Bush’s Approach to the Federal Budget,” Interview with Don Gonyea, National Public Radio, February 6, 2007 ([audio](#))

Podcasts:

“Health Care After the Election,” Manhattan Institute (interviewed by Paul Howard), November 20, 2012 ([audio](#))

“Coffee and Markets,” April 12, 2012 ([audio](#))

“The Status of Health Care Policy,” Manhattan Institute (interviewed by Paul Howard), March 29, 2012 ([audio](#))

“The Broken Promises of Obamacare,” an interview with the Manhattan Institute’s Paul Howard, June 25, 2010 ([audio](#))

“The Debate Over Health Care,” Manhattan Institute (interviewed by Paul Howard), August 17, 2009 ([audio](#))

TEACHING AND SEMINARS

“Fiscal Policy and the American Economy,” Tikvah Fund Seminar, New York, NY, November 5-9, 2012. Five day seminar for early career and recent graduates on the primary fiscal and economic challenges facing the United States.

“Managing Entitlements with an Aging Population,” Duke University, Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Spring Semester 2006. Half-semester seminar for graduate students enrolled in the master’s degree program, focused on global aging and its implications for fiscal policy and state pension systems and reforms.