

THOMAS P. MILLER

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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 regulatory barriers to choice and competition in health care, market-based alternatives to Affordable Care Act, health care litigation, the political economy of health care reform, information transparency, health care value measures, 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. .

Selected Accomplishments

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

Author of “When ObamaCare Fails: The Playbook for Market-Based Reform” (AEI, 2012)

Contributed book chapters to:

- “American Renewal,” AEI, 2022)
- “Localism in America, AEI, 2018)
- “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:

- “Are We Looking for Health Care Competition in All the Wrong Places?”
- “More Volume than Value in Health Quality Measures”
- “Doing Better, Still Feeling Worse,”
- “History of the Health Policy World, Part I,”
- “Will Macromedical Regulation Be Prudential?”
- “What Has Become of the Affordable Care Act?”
- “Infinity War at the Health Law Fight Club”
- “Why Nearly Everyone Hates Cost Sharing”
- “Back Up the Down Staircase in Affordable Care Interpretation and Administration”
- “The Concentration and Persistence of Health Care Spending”
- “A Better (but Modest) Case for High-Risk Pools”
- “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”
 “Why the Patient CARE Act Proposal Is ‘Going to Need a Bigger Boat’”
 “Obamacare’s Next Bout: More Legal Challenges”
 “Conservative Health Care Reform: A Reality Check”
 “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?”
 “Health Spending Projection Spin Cycle: Rinse and Repeat, or Reset?”
 “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?”
 “Health Exchanges: Different Political Railroad Tracks to the Same Station?”
 “Covering the Uninsured: Springing A Leak in the ‘Cost Shifting Hydraulic’”
 “What Do We Know about the Uninsured?”
 “Hitting the Snooze Button on Our Medicare Fiscal Alarm Clock”
 “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; litigation and regulation under the Affordable Care Act; information therapy for health care; the role of physician performance measurement; hospital price transparency, geographic variation in health spending; health care consolidation, choice, and competition; private health insurance markets; Obamacare implementation; ACA co-ops, the five (not so) easy pieces of health reform; choice and competition in health insurance regulation; state-based health policy reform; private health insurance exchanges, 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, AARP, Academy Health, Alliance for Health Policy, Alliance for Health Reform, America’s Health Insurance Plans, American Bar Association, American College of Physicians, American Health Lawyers Association, American Legislative Exchange Council, American Medicaid Pharmacy Administrators Association, American Orthopaedics Association, American Society of Health Economics, Aspen Institute, Association of Health Care Journalists, Association of Private Enterprise Education, Benjamin Rush Institute, Brookings Institution, Cato Institute, Congressional Institute, Credit Suisse, Employee Benefit Research Institute and Education and Research Foundation, ERISA Industry Forum, Federalist Society, Galen Institute, George Mason University, Georgetown Law Center, Georgia Chamber of Commerce, Health Affairs, Health Policy Institute of Ohio, Heritage Foundation, Hudson Institute, Manhattan Institute, Massachusetts Association of Health Plans, Medical University of South Carolina, Mercer, National Academy of Social Insurance, National Association of Attorneys General, National Association of Corporate Directors, National Association of Health Underwriters, National Association of Insurance Commissioners, National Center for Policy Analysis, National Committee for Quality Assurance, National Conference of State Legislatures, National Economists Club, National Health Policy Forum,

National Lieutenant Governors Association, New York Health Plan Association, Pioneer Institute's 2014 Hewitt health care lecture, Politico Pro, 18th and 24th Annual Princeton Conference, Republican Governors Association, Senate Republican Policy Committee, Society of Actuaries, Texas Medical Association, Thomas Jefferson Institute for Public Policy, Urban Institute, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington Policy Center, Winston Fellowship, and World Health Care Congress.

University speaking appearances include Baylor, Claremont McKenna, Columbia, Duke, Furman, George Mason, George Washington, Georgetown, Harvard, Illinois, NYU, Ohio State, Pennsylvania, Pepperdine, UCLA, Virginia, and Yale.

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 (six times), Mercatus Center (six times), Linacre Quarterly (two times), Milbank Quarterly.

Testified before House Energy and Commerce Committee (four times – on protecting the sick and chronically ill, impact of Texas v. United States litigation, ACA's cost-sharing reduction funding, and Medicare cost-sharing reform), House Judiciary Committee (twice – on Affordable Care Act's impact on consolidation and competition in health care, repeal of McCarran-Ferguson antitrust exemption for insurers), Joint Economic Committee (the uninsured), and House Education and the Workforce Committee (employer healthcare costs),

Made broadcast media appearances on PBS NewsHour, Fox News, Sean Hannity Show, The O'Reilly Factor, The Kelly File, 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 Lecturing Fellow (2019-Present) Duke Law School. Initiated and taught several seminars, "Shaping Law and Policy: Advocacy and the Affordable Care Act" and "Shaping Law and Policy: Tools and Trends of Health Care Advocacy." Fall 2019, Fall 2020, Fall 2021, Fall 2023.

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). Play-by-Play announcer for North Carolina 4-A High School championship football game (1981) and NCAA men's basketball first and second round tournament subregional in Charlotte (1981).

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 – State Bar of Georgia, National Academy of Social Insurance

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Published in Health Affairs (20 times); Wall Street Journal (11 times); Washington Post (6 times); USA Today (3 times); Los Angeles Times (3 times); New York Times (2 times); Reader's Digest (3 times); National Affairs (4 times); Cato Journal (2 times); Regulation (3 times); Reason (2 times); Law & Contemporary Problems; American Journal of Medicine; Journal of Law, Medicine, and Ethics; Ohio State Law Journal, University of Miami Business Law Review, American Banker; American Spectator; The American; National Review Online (17 times); American.com (9 times); Real Clear Markets (11 times), Forbes.com (3 times); Economics21 (12 times); Real Clear Policy (2 times); National Interest (2 times), The Hill (4 times); FoxNews.com; Health Care News (5 times); Washington Times (3 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; Miami Herald, Raleigh News & Observer, Sacramento Bee, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

“The Path Dependency of American Health Care,” Civitas Outlook, January 29, 2015.

<https://www.civitasinstitute.org/research/the-path-dependency-of-american-health-care>

“An Extra Round of Thanksgiving,” AEIdeas, December 2, 2024. <https://www.aei.org/health-care/an-extra-round-of-thanksgiving/>

“Whatever Did Not Kill Obamacare Made It Stronger: Part 2,” AEIdeas, October 29, 2024.

<https://www.aei.org/economics/whatever-did-not-kill-obamacare-made-it-stronger-part-2/>

“Whatever Did Not Kill Obamacare Made It Stronger: Part 1,” AEIdeas, October 28, 2024.

<https://www.aei.org/economics/whatever-did-not-kill-obamacare-made-it-stronger-part-1/>

“Are We Looking for Health Care Competition in All the Wrong Places?” American Enterprise Institute, October 13, 2024. <https://www.aei.org/multimedia/are-we-looking-for-health-care-competition-in-all-the-wrong-places/>

“Recalibrating the Administrative State Post-Chevron: Neither Clear nor Ambiguous: Part II,” AEIdeas, July 5, 2024. <https://www.aei.org/health-care/recalibrating-the-administrative-state-post-chevron-neither-clear-nor-ambiguous-part-ii/>

“Recalibrating the Administrative State, Post-Chevron: Neither Clear nor Ambiguous: Part I,” AEIdeas, July 05, 2024. <https://www.aei.org/health-care/recalibrating-the-administrative-state-post-chevron-neither-clear-nor-ambiguous-part-i/>

“The Health Policy Disrupter’s Dilemmas: Part III,” AEIdeas, June 18, 2024. <https://www.aei.org/health-care/the-health-policy-disrupters-dilemmas-part-iii/>

The Health Policy Disrupter’s Dilemmas: Part II,” AEIdeas, June 17, 2024. <https://www.aei.org/health-care/the-health-policy-disrupters-dilemmas/>

“The Health Policy Disrupter’s Dilemmas: Part I,” AEIdeas, June 13, 2024. <https://www.aei.org/health-care/the-health-policy-disrupters-dilemmas-part-i/>

“Rebalancing Chevron “Step Therapy” for the Administrative State: Part II,” AEIdeas, January 25, 2024, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/rebalancing-chevron-step-therapy-for-the-administrative-state-part-ii/>

“Rebalancing Chevron “Step Therapy” for the Administrative State: Part I,” AEIdeas, January 24, 2024, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/rebalancing-chevron-step-therapy-for-the-administrative-state-part-i/>

“More Volume than Value in Health Quality Measures,” Regulation, Winter 2023-2024, <https://www.cato.org/regulation/winter-2023-2024/more-volume-value-health-quality-measures>

“AEI’s Favorite Books of 2023,” AEIdeas, December 21, 2023 (my individual contribution to this annual collection focused on “We’ve Got You Covered,” by Amy Finkelstein and Liran Einav), <https://www.aei.org/economics/aeis-favorite-books-of-2023/>

“Pulling the Plug (Again?) on Short-Term, Limited-Duration Health Plans, Part II,” AEIdeas, October 4, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/pulling-the-plug-again-on-short-term-limited-duration-health-plans-part-ii/>

“Pulling the Plug (Again?) on Short-Term, Limited-Duration Health Plans, Part I,” AEIdeas, September 29, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/pulling-the-plug-again-on-short-term-limited-duration-health-plans-part-i/>

“Doing Better, Still Feeling Worse,” National Affairs, Fall 2023, <https://www.aei.org/articles/doing-better-still-feeling-worse/>

“Using ERISA as a Sword, Not a Shield: Part III,” AEIdeas, June 1, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/uncategorized/using-erisa-as-a-sword-not-a-shield-part-iii/>

“Using ERISA as a Sword, Not a Shield: Part II,” AEIdeas, May 31, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/using-erisa-as-a-transparency-sword-not-a-shield-part-ii/>

“Using ERISA as a Sword, Not a Shield: Part I,” AEIdeas, May 24, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/using-erisa-as-a-transparency-sword-not-a-shield/>

“Health Quality Measurement, Part IV: Seeking First-Class Upgrades with Other People’s Money,” AEIdeas, May 04, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/health-quality-measurement-part-iv-seeking-first-class-upgrades-with-other-peoples-money/>

“Health Quality Measurement, Part III: Musings on Macro Assumptions and Micro Corrections,” AEIdeas, May 03, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/health-quality-measurement-part-iii-musings-on-macro-assumptions-and-micro-corrections/>

“Health Quality Measurement: Part II: Valuing Lives at a Premium or a Discount?” AEIdeas, May 2, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/health-quality-measurement-part-ii-valuing-lives-at-a-premium-or-a-discount/>

“Health Quality Measurement, Part I: Few Hits, More Errors, Mostly Balks,” AEIdeas, May 1, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/health-quality-measurement-part-i-few-hits-more-errors-mostly-balks/>

“Asking Better Questions to Get Better Answers about Cost Sharing, Part IV,” AEIdeas, February 3, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/asking-better-questions-for-better-answers-about-cost-sharing-part-iv/>

“Asking Better Questions to Get Better Answers about Cost Sharing, Part III,” AEIdeas, February 2, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/asking-better-questions-for-better-answers-about-cost-sharing-part-iii/>

“Asking Better Questions to Get Better Answers about Cost Sharing, Part II,” AEIdeas, January 31, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/asking-better-questions-to-get-better-answers-about-cost-sharing-part-ii/>

“Asking Better Questions to Get Better Answers about Cost Sharing, Part I,” AEIdeas, January 27, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/asking-better-questions-to-get-better-answers-about-cost-sharing-part-i/>

“A History of the Health Policy World, Part I,” Transcript (along with original slides and video) of speech to Prosperity Caucus originally delivered on July 21, 2021. Published July 21, 2022. <https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Prosperity-Caucus-July-22-Edited-Transcript-with-PPT-Slides-insert-locations.pdf?x91208>

“Sticky Rules for Medicare Enrollment, Part III: Back in the Briar Patch,” AEIdeas, November 21, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/sticky-rules-for-medicare-enrollment-part-iii-back-in-the-briar-patch/>

“A Path to Better Health Beyond Medicaid,” chapter in *American Renewal*, November 17, 2022, <https://www.americanrenewalbook.com/a-path-to-better-health-beyond-medicaid/>

“Sticky Rules for Medicare Enrollment, Part II,” AEIdeas, November 17, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/sticky-rules-for-medicare-enrollment-part-ii/>

“Sticky Rules for Medicare Enrollment, Part I,” AEIdeas, November 16, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/sticky-rules-for-medicare-enrollment-part-i/>

“A Tale of Two Legal Tangles, Part III: Looking for the Next Way Out, Part III,” AEIdeas, September 27, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/a-tale-of-two-legal-tangles-part-iii-looking-for-the-next-way-out/>

“A Tale of Two Legal Tangles, Part II: No Exit or Just More Narrow Escape Routes?” AEIdeas, September 23, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/a-tale-of-two-legal-tangles-part-ii-no-exit-or-just-more-narrow-escape-routes/>

“A Tale of Two Legal Tangles, Part I: Why It’s Hard to Keep Every ACA Exit Door Locked,” AEIdeas, September 22, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/a-tale-of-two-legal-tangles-part-i-why-its-hard-to-keep-every-aca-exit-door-locked/>

“Budgetary Projections: Here Today, Forgotten Tomorrow, Part II,” AEIdeas, July 22, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/budgetary-projections-here-today-forgotten-tomorrow-part-ii/>

“Budgetary Projections: Here Today, Forgotten Tomorrow, Part I,” AEIdeas, July 19, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/budgetary-projections-here-today-forgotten-tomorrow/>

“Health Savings Accounts and Health Care Costs: While You Were Sleeping, Part II,” AEIdeas, June 16, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/health-savings-accounts-and-health-care-costs-while-you-were-sleeping-part-ii/>

“Health Savings Accounts and Health Care Costs: While You Were Sleeping: Part I,” AEIdeas, June 14, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/health-savings-accounts-and-health-care-costs-while-you-were-sleeping/>

“The Family Glitch, Part II: Will a Reconstructive Gift Keep on Giving?” AEIdeas, June 3, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/the-family-glitch-part-ii-will-a-reconstructive-gift-keep-on-giving/>

“The Family Glitch, Part I: Will a Reconstructive Gift Keep on Giving?” AEIdeas, June 2, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/the-family-glitch-part-i-will-a-reconstructive-gift-keep-on-giving/>

“Will the Coverage Buck Ever Stop Somewhere Else? Part II: More Simulations in the Employer Insurance Multiverse,” AEIdeas, May 25, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/will-the-coverage-buck-ever-stop-somewhere-else-part-ii-more-simulations-in-the-employer-insurance-multiverse/>

“Will the Coverage Buck Ever Stop Somewhere Else? Part I,” AEIdeas, May 23, 2022, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/will-the-coverage-buck-ever-stop-somewhere-else-part-i/>

“Will Macromedical Regulation Be Prudential?” Ohio State Law Journal 82 (5). January 2022.

https://moritzlaw.osu.edu/sites/default/files/2022-02/14.%20Miller_v82-5_803-13.pdf

“Employer-Sponsored Insurance, Part II: If You Can’t Be with the Coverage You Love, Love the One You’re With,” AEIdeas, December 14, 2021, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/employer-sponsored-insurance-part-ii-if-you-cant-be-with-the-coverage-you-love-love-the-one-youre-with/>

“Employer-sponsored Insurance, Part I: You Say You Want a Health Care Revolution? Not Yet in Our Workplaces!” AEIdeas, December 13, 2021, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/health-policy/employer-sponsored-insurance-part-i-you-say-you-want-a-health-care-revolution-not-yet-in-our-workplaces/>

“What Has Become of the Affordable Care Act?” National Affairs, Fall 2021, <https://www.aei.org/articles/what-has-become-of-the-affordable-care-act/>

“Infinity War at the Health Law Fight Club: Administering and Interpreting the Affordable Care Act,” AEI Report, August 1, 2021, <https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Infinity-War-at-the-Health-Law-Fight-Club.pdf?x91208>

“Heading Back Down the ACA Legal Memories Hole,” AEIdeas.org, June 22, 2021. <https://www.aei.org/health-care/heading-back-down-the-aca-legal-memories-hole/>

“Why Nearly Everyone Hates Cost Sharing (Even Though There’s Less in the Health Care Forest than in the Employer-Plan Trees),” AEI Report, March 8, 2021.

“Back Up the Down Staircase in Affordable Care interpretation and Administration: Multiple Rounds at Legal Fight Club,” AEI Working Paper, Also first presented at Duke Law School weekly working paper lunch, February 17, 2021.

“The ACA Returns to the Supreme Court,” AEIdeas, November 10, 2020, <https://www.aei.org/economics/the-aca-returns-to-the-supreme-court/>

“Can This ACA Lawsuit Be ‘Saved’?” AEIdeas, November 9, 2020, <https://www.aei.org/economics/can-this-aca-lawsuit-be-saved/>

“Standing on Thin Ice for ACA Opponents at Supreme Court,” AEIdeas, November 9, 2020, <https://www.aei.org/economics/standing-on-thin-ice-for-aca-opponents-at-supreme-court/>

“How Will the New Supreme Court Vacancy Affect the Affordable Care Act’s Future?” AEIdeas, September 22, 2020, <https://www.aei.org/health-care/how-will-the-new-supreme-court-vacancy-affect-the-affordable-care-acts-future/>

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“Portability – A Trojan Pony,” CEI UpDate, January 31, 1996.

“Medicare Monet,” CEI UpDate, October 1, 1995.

“Principles of Privatization of Social Security,” CEI UpDate, August 1, 1995.

“Report of the Task Force on Social Security,” chapter author and editor of study published by Citizens Against Government Waste, August 1994.

“Nickles-Stearns Is Not the Market Choice for Health Care Reform,” Cato Institute, June 1994.
<https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/nickles-stearns-not-market-choice-health-care-reform>

“A Citizen's Guide to Banking Reform,” monograph published by Citizens Against Government Waste, December 1992.

“There’s Nothing under S&L Shells: Bush Plan May Sound Ambitious, but Numbers Don’t Add Up,” Los Angeles Times, with Melanie Tammen, February 13, 1989. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1989-02-13-me-1455-story.html>

SELECTED TESTIMONY

House Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Health, Texas v. US: The Republican Lawsuit and Its Impacts on Americans with Pre-Existing Conditions,” February 6, 2019. <https://www.aei.org/publication/testimony-texas-v-u-s-the-republican-lawsuit-and-its-impacts-on-americans-with-pre-existing-conditions/>

House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Regulatory Reform, Commercial and Antitrust Law, Competitive Health Insurance Reform Act of 2017, February 16, 2017. <http://www.aei.org/publication/testimony-competitive-health-insurance-reform-act-of-2017/>

House Committee on Ways and Means, Subcommittee on Oversight, Examining the Effectiveness of the Individual Mandate under the Affordable Care Act, January 24, 2017. <https://www.aei.org/publication/testimony-examining-the-effectiveness-of-the-individual-mandate-under-the-affordable-care-act/>

House Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, The ACA’s Cost Sharing Reduction Program: Ramifications of the Administration’s Decision on the Source of Funding for the CSR Program, July 8, 2015. <http://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Miller-Testimony-Post-1.pdf> and <https://energycommerce.house.gov/hearings-and-votes/hearings/aca-s-cost-sharing-reduction-program-ramifications-administration-s>

House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Regulatory Reform, Commercial and Antitrust Law, The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, Consolidation, and the Consequent Impact on Competition in Healthcare, September 19, 2013.

House Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Health, A 21st Century Medicare: Bipartisan Proposals to Redesign the Program’s Outdated Benefit Structure, June 26, 2013.

House Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Health, Protecting America’s Sick and Chronically Ill, April 3, 2013.

House Committee on Education and the Workforce, Subcommittee on Health, The Pressures of Rising Costs on Employer-Provided Health Care, March 10, 2011.

Joint Economic Committee, Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage, September 10, 2009.

House Government Reform Committee, Subcommittee on Human Rights and Wellness. Medicare Prescription Drug Safety Net, September 24, 2003.

Federal Trade Commission and Department of Justice Hearing on Health Care and Competition Law and Policy. Mandated Benefits, June 25, 2003.

House Small Business Committee, Subcommittee on Tax, Finance, and Exports, Uninsured and Use of Medical Savings Accounts, Flexible Spending Accounts, and Tax Credits, May 8, 2003.

House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Genetic Information and Privacy, September 12, 2002.

Wisconsin Assembly Committee on Health. Rising Health Care Costs, August 13, 2002.

House Committee on Financial Services, Terrorism Insurance Roundtable, October 31, 2001.

House Committee on Banking and Financial Services, Homeowners' Insurance Availability Act, July 30, 1999
House Ways & Means Committee, Subcommittee on Social Security, Future of Social Security, October 4, 1994.
https://cei.org/regulatory_comments/written-statement-of-tom-miller-before-the-social-security-subcommittee/

SELECTED SPEECHES & FORUMS

“Let’s Make a Deal: Could Cashing Out by Individuals Expand Coverage Options and Improve Health Outcomes?” AEI forum featuring David Hyman of Georgetown University School of Law, Peter Nelson of the Center for the American Experiment, and Others May 30, 2024.
<https://www.aei.org/events/lets-make-a-new-deal-could-cashing-out-of-medicaid-and-medicare-coverage-lower-health-care-costs-and-improve-its-quality/>

“Chasing the Ghosts of the Affordable Care Act,” AEI forum featuring Gabe Scheffler of U. Miami Law School, Chip Kahn, Federation of American Hospital Systems, Brian Blase of Paragon Health Institute, and John McDonough of Harvard School of Public Health. March 1, 2024. <https://www.aei.org/events/chasing-the-ghosts-of-the-affordable-care-act/>

“Introduction to the Contradictions of Health Competition Policy,” Opening remarks at AEI forum “Are We Looking for Health Care Competition in All the Wrong Places,” featuring Anthony LoSasso and Barak Richman; along with my later presentation, “States of Competition,” October 11, 2023, <https://www.aei.org/events/are-we-looking-for-health-care-competition-in-all-the-wrong-places/>

“Explainer Episode 51—Beyond Medicaid? Potential Paths Forward to Better Healthcare,” Federalist Society, March 2023, <https://www.aei.org/multimedia/explainer-episode-51-beyond-medicaid-potential-paths-forward-to-better-healthcare/>

“Merck Lawsuit Challenging Inflation Reduction Act Price Negotiations,” Washington Analysis client briefing, June 8, 2023.

“Individualizing the Market: Subsidies & Regulation +/-?” Opening remarks at “Individualizing the Health Insurance Market through Subsidies and Regulation – More or Less?” AEI webinar, featuring Peter Nelson, Barak Richman, David Anderson, Stan Dorn, and Seth Chandler, October 8, 2021, <https://www.aei.org/events/individualizing-the-health-insurance-market-through-subsidies-and-regulation-more-or-less/>

“The History of the Health Policy World, Part I,” Prosperity Caucus, July 22, 2021, <https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Prosperity-Caucus-July-22-Edited-Transcript-with-PPT-Slides-insert-locations.pdf?x91208>

“Will Macromedical Regulation Be Prudential?” Ohio State Law Journal symposium, June 11, 2021

“Thought Leader Discussion: Health and the Economy,” Alliance for Health Policy, April 7, 2021

“Back Up the Down Staircase in Affordable Care Act Interpretation and Administration,” Duke Law School Faculty workshop presentation, February 18, 2021.

“Zombieland: Double Tap.” Opening remarks at “Pricing and Financing of Pharmaceutical Research: Paying Twice, Paying Too Much, or Paying Differently?” AEI webinar featuring David Hyman, Charles Silver, Rebecca Wolitz, Amy Kapczynski Christopher Homan, and Peter Arno, December 15, 2020, <https://www.aei.org/events/pricing-and-financing-of-pharmaceutical-research-paying-twice-paying-too-much-or-paying-differently/>

“The Future of Health Care: Single Payer and Its Alternatives,” University of Louisville, McConnell Center. February 18, 2020. <https://www.aei.org/multimedia/discussing-the-future-of-health-care-miller-at-the-university-of-louisvilles-mcconnell-center/>

“In Search of ... Alternatives to Individual Mandate,” Presentation at forum If We Cannot Live with the Individual Mandate, Can We Cover Enough Lives without It? featuring Wendy Netter Epstein, Anthony LoSasso, Christopher Robertson, and Shari Westerfield, September 19, 2019, <https://www.aei.org/events/if-we-cannot-live-with-the-individual-mandate-can-we-cover-enough-lives-without-it/>

“New Insurance Models and the Independent Payment Advisory Board,” Aspen Institute’s Health Stewardship Project symposium on Next Steps in Health Reform, July 11, 2011. <https://www.aei.org/research-products/speech/new-insurance-models-and-the-independent-payment-advisory-board/>

“Airing Grievances with ObamaCare,” National Press Club, March 24, 2011 (aired later in April 2011 on C-Span 2’s BookTV). <https://www.aei.org/research-products/speech/airing-grievances-with-obamacare/>

“Politics of Health Reform,” Health Affairs Moving Forward on Health Reform conference, June 8, 2010. <https://www.aei.org/research-products/speech/health-reforms-late-term-delivery-struggling-with-political-birth-defects/>

“The Debate,” Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies, Grand Valley Summit on Health Care Reform, Grand Rapids, Michigan, January 28, 2010. <https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Miller-Hauenstein-Health-Care-Reform-Summit.pdf?x85095>

“Health Care Reform on the Hill: Where We’ve Been and Where We’re Going,” Blue Skies and Brickwork Summit, September 23, 2009. <https://www.aei.org/research-products/speech/health-care-reform-on-the-hill-where-weve-been-and-where-were-going/>

“An Individual Mandate for Health Insurance? We Could Do that, but It Would Be Wrong,” Georgetown Law Center, April 27, 2009. <https://www.aei.org/research-products/speech/an-individual-mandate-for-health-insurance/>

“Information Therapy for U.S. Health Care’s Cognitive Disorder Problems,” Heritage Foundation forum on Transparency in Health Care. October 3, 2006. <https://www.aei.org/research-products/speech/transparency-in-health-care/>

“Sense and Severability: If One Part of the Affordable Care Act Is Ruled Unconstitutional, What Is the Proper Remedy or Resolution?” featuring John Harrison, David Gans, Josh Blackman, Ilya Somin, James Blumstein, and Ted Frank, Also moderated both panel sessions, February 15, 2019, <https://www.aei.org/events/sense-and-severability-if-one-part-of-the-affordable-care-act-is-ruled-unconstitutional-what-is-the-proper-remedy-or-resolution/>

We the People with Jeffrey Rosen' podcast, Constitutional Law Center, “The Future of the Affordable Care Act,” Debated Texas v US case with Abbe Gluck of Yale Law School., April 4, 2019, <https://www.aei.org/multimedia/the-future-of-the-affordable-care-act/>

“Health Care that Matters: Real Choices for Real Competition,” featuring HHS Sec. Alex Azar, White House NEC health policy adviser Brian Blasé, Regina Herzlinger, Mark Hall, Barak Richman, Scott Harrington, Jeff Goldsmith, December 4, 2018, <https://www.aei.org/events/health-care-that-matters-real-choices-for-real-competition/>

“Covering the Pre-Existing Condition of U.S. Health Policy: This Might Hurt a Bit,” Duke University AEI Executive Council, November 27, 2018.

“Information Therapy for U.S. Health Care’s Cognitive-Disorder Problems,” 15th Annual Symposium of the Journal of Law, Economics, & Policy, George Mason University, November 16, 2018, <https://www.aei.org/multimedia/health-care-transparency-price-and-quality/>

“Health Policy – A View from Washington,” New York Health Plan Association 2018 Annual Conference, November 15, 2018.

“The Future (and Past Imperfect) of Healthcare Reform,” Academy Health, Health Policy Orientation, October 22, 2018.

“(De)stabilizing the ACA’s Individual Market: A View from the States,” The Brookings Institution, July 13, 2018, <https://www.aei.org/multimedia/destabilizing-the-acas-individual-market-a-view-from-the-states/>

“Whiplash: The Affordable Care Act’s Twisted Path through Implementation, Litigation, and Reinterpretation,” featuring Seth Chandler, Chris Condeluci, Timothy Jost, Joel Ario, July 9, 2018, <https://www.aei.org/events/whiplash-the-affordable-care-acts-twisted-path-through-implementation-litigation-and-reinterpretation/>

“Are We Spending on the Right Things?” Alliance for Health Policy conference on Opportunities for Progress: Health Care Costs in America, May 24, 2018.

“Medicaid Expansion: Boom or Bust?” at Yale Law School forum, Is Medicaid Retrenchment Under Trump Legal?: Work Requirements & More, March 29, 2018.

“The Future (and Past Imperfect) of Health Care Reform,” AEI Executive Council at Furman University, March 15, 2018.

“Healthcare Cost Control: What Is the Path Forward?” The Health Industry Forum, March 14, 2018.

“The Evolution of Health Care Policy in the United States,” VITALS: Annual UCLA Anderson School of Management and Healthcare Business Association Healthcare Conference, February 24, 2018.

“The Future (and Past Imperfect) of Healthcare Reform,” Claremont McKenna College Athenaeum Lecture, February 22, 2018.

“The Future (and Past Imperfect) of Healthcare Reform,” AEI Executive Council at Pepperdine University, February 21, 2018.

“Virginia and Medicaid Expansion: Boom or Bust?” Thomas Jefferson Institute for Public Policy Medicaid Conference, Richmond, Virginia, February 8, 2018.

“Reconnecting Health Care Policy with Economics: Finding and Fixing Distortive Incentives,” January 4, 2018. Featuring Charles Phelps, Mark Hall, and Mark Pauly, January 4, 2018, <https://www.aei.org/events/reconnecting-health-care-policy-with-economics-finding-and-fixing-distortive-incentives/>

“Forum on Health Care Policy with Zeke Emanuel and Tom Miller,” Evening Public Conversation & Book Signing EVENT: Hosted by AEI Executive Council at Penn, Penn Government & Politics Association, Public Policy Initiative Student Group, Wharton Undergraduate Health Care Club, December 7, 2017.

“Health Care Policy and Politics,” Kaiser Foundation Media Fellows briefing, Kaiser Family Foundation, Including reporters from NPR, AP, KHN, HuffPost, Dallas Morning News, Des Moines Register, Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Arizona Daily Star, Columbus Dispatch, The Tennessean, Arkansas Democrats-Gazette, Portland Press-Herald, and Nevada Independent, November 14, 2017.

“U.S. Health Reform: Where We Are and What’s Next,” Academy Health, Health Policy Orientation conference, October 23, 2017.

“Can Technology and Delivery Model Innovation Lead to Meaningful Reductions in Healthcare Spending?” Health Industry Forum, October 18, 2017

“Health Policy – A View from Washington,” 2017 Massachusetts Association of Health Plans Annual Conference, October 13, 2017.

“The Staggered Path of Healthcare Reform,” 2017 Executive Council Fall Leadership Conference, October 7, 2017.

“Unbundling and Rebundling Health Benefits: Innovative Rethinking of Health Care Delivery and Competition,” Featuring Arnold Milstein, Bill Sage, and Kevin Schulman, September 29, 2017.

<https://www.aei.org/events/unbundling-and-rebundling-health-benefits-innovative-rethinking-of-health-care-delivery-and-competition/>

“The Path of Healthcare Reform: Redundant, Shallow, Deceptive, Incomplete (But Still Necessary),” New York University, September 21, 2017.

Fifth Annual Health Insurance Exchanges conference, University of Pennsylvania, September 15, 2017.

“Unbundling the Benefit for Better Health: A Broader Role for Health Savings Accounts,” July 6, 2017. Featuring Lauren Roth, Roy Ramthun, and Jinqi Ye, July 6, 2017.

<https://www.aei.org/events/unbundling-the-benefit-for-better-health-a-broader-role-for-health-savings-accounts/>

“Skid Marks Trail the Senate Republicans’ BCRA Draft Bill,” Gen Next Executive Delegation, June 29, 2017.

“Repairing, Replacing, or Resuscitating the ACA Insurance Market: Why Do It?” 24th Annual Princeton conference on Implications of the Election for the Health Care System, May 24, 2017.

<http://www.aei.org/publication/repairing-replacing-or-resuscitating-the-aca-insurance-market-why-do-it/>

“The Future of Health Policy Reform,” Association of Health Care Journalists, May 22, 2017.

“Physician-Owned Hospitals – Review of the Research Literature,” Capitol Hill briefing, organized by McGuire Woods (w/ Sen. Barrasso and other speakers), May 16, 2017

“The Future of Health Care Reform,” Presidential Initiative Summit of the National Association of Attorneys General, April 27, 2017. <http://www.aei.org/publication/the-future-of-health-policy-is-more-past-life-regressions/>

“The Future of Health Care Reform: Past-Life Regressions,” AEI Academic Programs 2017 East Coast Policy Summit, Harvard University, April 8, 2017.

“The Future of Health Insurance: Stabilizing the Individual Insurance Market,” Alliance for Health Reform, April 7, 2017. <http://www.aei.org/publication/the-future-of-health-insurance-stabilizing-the-individual-insurance-market/> also on C-SPAN

“American Health Care Act: Its Fate and Fallout,” Gen Next, March 24, 2017.

“The Future of Health Care: Repeal and Replace,” Brookings Institution Executive Education program, March 10, 2017.

“Medicaid Reform 2017,” Bass Connections, March 10, 2017.

“Coverage in an Evolving Market: The Future of Health Insurance,” Alliance for Health Reform, February 22, 2017.

“What Happens When What ‘Everyone’ Thinks Will or Can’t Happen ... Happens Differently,” Presentation for AARP National Policy Council, January 13, 2017.

“ACA Repeal & Beyond: Boundless Rhetoric, Bounded Reality,” presentation at AEI conference “What’s Next for Health Care?” December 16, 2016. <https://www.aei.org/events/whats-next-for-health-care/>

“Obamacare’s Administrative Law Space: Navigating the Next Frontier,” Featuring Josh Blackman, Joel Ario, Daniel Hemel, Daniel Meron, & Adam White, December 12, 2016. <http://www.aei.org/events/obamacares-administrative-law-space-navigating-the-next-frontier/>

Health policy panel speaker at Employee Benefit Research Institute and Education and Research Fund forum, “Retirement and Health Policy in 2017 and Beyond,” December 15, 2016.

“ACA Politics,” Society of American Business Editors and Writers, December 2, 2016. Audience of 15 business reporters, including ones from AP, PBS News Hour, Dow Jones MarketWatch, Slate, CNN Money.

“Health Policy Implications of the New Administration and Congress,” MACRA and Population Health Colloquium, December 1, 2016. <http://www.populationhealthcolloquiumspecialedition.com/>

“A Balancing Act: The Intersection of Industry and Policy,” Duke MBA Health Care Conference 2016, Durham, NC, November 9, 2016. <http://www.fuquahealthcareconference.com/>

Panel speaker, “2016 Washington Perspectives – Drug Pricing: Exploring Potential Antitrust, Congressional and Executive Actions,” Credit Suisse, NYC, NY, October 28, 2016.

“Getting up to Speed on Health Policy & Election 2016,” Health Policy Institute of Ohio conference on “Politics, Perceptions, and the Presidential Election: What’s Next for Health Policy,” Columbus, OH, October 26, 2016. <http://www.healthpolicyohio.org/politics-perceptions-and-the-presidential-election-whats-next-for-health-policy/>

“Getting up to Speed on Health Policy & Election 2016: Stall Velocity vs. Escape Velocity?” Academy Health’s Health Policy Orientation conference, October 24, 2016.

“The Impact of the Presidential Election on U.S. Health Care: Health Care under President Trump,” AIS Webinar, October 5, 2016.

“The Redirection of Reinsurance Tax Dollars under the Affordable Care Act,” Media briefing, July 1, 2016. <http://www.aei.org/publication/the-redirection-of-reinsurance-tax-dollars-under-the-affordable-care-act/>

“Election 2016 & Health Policy: Working on Mysteries, Without [M]any Clues,” presentation at annual meeting of American Medicaid Pharmacy Administrators Association, June 28, 2016.

“Obama Administration’s Diversion of Reinsurance Tax Dollars,” presentation before Repeal Coalition, June 8, 2016.

“Iowa Co-Op Lawsuit to Restore Creditors’ Assets,” presentation before Repeal Coalition, May 11, 2016.

“Election 2016 & Health Policy,” presentation at annual meeting of American College of Physicians, May 5, 2016

“Voices of the Campaign: A Pulse-Check on What May Change Post-Election,” Keynote Address, 13th Annual World Health Care Congress, April 10, 2016.

“How to Achieve Sustainable Medicaid Reform,” presentation at Benjamin Rush Institute’s Annual Leadership Conference, March 31, 2016.

<https://www.aei.org/press/tom-miller-explains-how-to-achieve-sustainable-medicaid-reform/>

“Getting Beyond Employer-Sponsored Health Insurance: Some Fitful Starts,” featuring Mark Hall, Chris Condeluci, Tevi Troy, and Peter Nelson, March 31, 2016. <https://www.aei.org/events/getting-beyond-employer-sponsored-health-insurance-some-fitful-starts/>

“ACA in the Courts: What Is Left, & What Is Right?” Presentation at annual Capitol Conference of National Association of Health Underwriters, February 24, 2016.

“Improving Health and Health Care,” presentation to Farragut Square Group, January 27, 2016

“Get Me Hospital Price Transparency – STAT?” opening presentation at AEI forum, “Better Hospital Price Transparency: A Conversation with Florida Governor Rick Scott,” Featuring Gov. Rick Scott (luncheon address), David Hyman, and Ben Ippolito, January 28, 2016,

<https://www.aei.org/events/better-hospital-price-transparency-a-conversation-with-florida-governor-rick-scott/>

“Improving Health and Health Care? We’ve Tried Everything Else,” presentation at AEI conference

“Improving Health and Health Care: An Agenda for Reform,” December 9, 2015.

“Beyond Makers and Takers: Retargeting Entitlement Reform,” Presentation to Templeton Foundation, December 7, 2015. <http://www.aei.org/publication/beyond-makers-and-takers-retargeting-entitlement-reform/>

“How Defensive Are Physicians about Medical Liability?” Opening presentation at AEI forum on “Rethinking the Storyline for Defensive Medicine and Medical Liability: Causes, Effects, and Remedies,” also featuring David Hyman, Anupam Jena, and Michael Morrissey, December 2, 2015.

“Will Bigger Healthcare Be Better, or Just Cost More? Consolidation & Competition under the Affordable Care Act,” Credit Suisse Healthcare Symposium, December 1, 2015.

“Pop Go the Co-Ops,” Opening presentation at AEI forum “Pop Go the Co-Ops? How Will New Obamacare Plans Play the Next Round of Survivor?” also featuring Scott Harrington, Grace-Marie Turner, and Deep Banerjee, October 22, 2015

“Pop Go the Co-Ops (condensed game),” Senate Republican Policy Committee, October 22, 2015.

“The ‘Market’ for ACA Alternatives,” Healthcare Freedom Summit, October 10, 2015.

“Obamacare, after King v. Burwell,” Senate Republican Policy Committee, July 9, 2015.

“SCOTUS on King v. Burwell: Upon Further Review, the Call Should Not Stand,” Federalist Society, Madison, Wisconsin Lawyers Chapter, July 6, 2015.

<http://www.wiseeye.org/Programming/VideoArchive/SegmentDetail.aspx?segid=12735>

“Aftermath of SCOTUS Decision in King v. Burwell,” PoliticoPro Health Care Briefing, July 1, 2015.

<http://www.politico.com/multimedia/video/2015/07/full-pro-health-care-briefing-with-drew-altman-joel-ario-sheila-burke-thomas-miller.html>

“Health Policy Reform after King v. Burwell,” Health Care Solutions Council, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, July 1, 2015.

“King v. Burwell: This Is Not the End,” American Health Lawyers Association, June 29, 2015.

“King v. Burwell: The Beginning of the Endgame,” House Republican LDCD Retreat, Congressional Institute, June 19, 2015.

“Post-King Policy Paths,” Farragut Square Group, May 27, 2015

“What Directors Need to Know about Health Policy and Their Corporation,” National Association of Corporate Directors, Denver, April 22, 2015.

“Is This Time Really Any Different?” Brookings Institution Hill event discussing impact of a variety of value-based care delivery models on improving patient outcomes, March 16, 2015.

“If the King Petitioners Win: The Day(s) After,” AHIP Health Insurance Exchanges Forum, March 13, 2015.

“What King v. Burwell Means for State Policymakers,” Republican State Leadership Conference, March 6, 2015.

Media briefing conference call, post-King v. Burwell oral argument, March 5, 2015.

“Don’t Snatch Defeat from the Jaws of Victory,” CPAC Obamacare panel hosted by the Competitive Enterprise Institute, February 27, 2015.

“The Bottom Line in Addressing a King Case Ruling,” Repeal Coalition, February 24, 2015.

“King v. Burwell, etc. in a Nutshell,” opening presentation; and “If the King Petitioners Win: Politics and Consequences,” closing presentation; at AEI forum on “Friends and Foes of King v. Burwell: Several More Interesting Legal and Policy Arguments,” also organized forum featuring Tom Christina, Abbe Gluck, and Ramesh Ponnuru, February 23, 2015.

“King v. Burwell Effects and Options for States,” State Policy Leaders conference call, February 19, 2015.

“If the King Petitioners Win: Politics and Consequences,” Association of Healthcare Journalists, February 18, 2015.

“Health Policy in the State of the Union,” Republican Senate Conference staff, January 16, 2015.

“Health Policy in the New Congress: Could Be Worse, Will Get Better,” Senate Boot Camp, January 16, 2015.

“ACA Exchange Litigation: Future Consequences & Options If King Wins,” Briefing of general counsel for state governors, Republican Governors Association Public Policy Committee, December 3, 2014.

“Obamacare after the November Elections: Irreversible, Chronically Ill, or Near Death?” Speech at Baylor University, November 25, 2014.

“ACA Exchange Litigation: Future Consequences & Options,” NAIC Health Care Reform Regulatory Alternatives Working Group, November 17, 2014.

“ApoCALypse NOT!” Presentation at CATO Institute conference “*Pruitt, Halbig, King & Indiana: Is ObamaCare Once Again Headed to the Supreme Court?*” October 30, 2014. <http://www.aei.org/press/challenges-affordable-care-act-miller-c-span3/>

“Rerouting a Runaway Train: Wrong Way on a One-Way Track,” Keynote address at Health Law symposium “Addressing the Future of Healthcare” in Bristol, VA, September 22, 2014.

“Briefing on Halbig and King Court Rulings,” State Leaders conference call, July 24, 2014.
<http://www.aei.org/multimedia/tom-miller-briefs-state-health-policy-leaders-on-health-insurance-under-aca/>

“How We Won,” Remarks at Competitive Enterprise Institute’s victory celebration, July 24, 2014.

“Closing the Gaps in Health Outcomes,” Opening presentation at AEI forum on “Closing the Gaps in Health Outcomes: Alternative Paths Forward,” also featuring Barak Richman, Gabriella Conti, Frances Campbell, and Harold Freeman, July 21, 2014.

http://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/-07miller_171642189836.pdf

“Court Challenges to Federal Exchange Subsidies,” Galen Institute, Heritage Foundation, and American Enterprise Institute Health Policy 101 Series, “ObamaCare in Court: Subsidies and Religious Freedom,” July 14, 2014

“Conjugating Obamacare: The Past Wasn’t Perfect, The Present Isn’t Simple, The Future Isn’t Progressive (But It Will Be Tense),” [Annual Hewitt Health Care Lecture](#), Boston, May 6, 2014.

“Affordable Care Act and Its Impact on Health Care Innovation,” presentation to visiting delegation of civil servants from the Netherlands (also featuring Keith Fontenot of Brookings Institution), April 29, 2014.

“Is the Medicaid Expansion Balloon Half Inflated, Half Deflated, or Just Full of Hot Air?” Presentation at symposium on Expanding Medicaid: A Cross-State Comparative Analysis, at Catholic University of America, Columbus School of Law, April 10, 2014.

“Federal Court Litigation Involving Tax Credits in Federal-Administered Health Exchanges,” Presentation at AEI/Galen Institute/Heritage Foundation Hill Policy Series, April 7, 2014.

“Fresh Ideas and a New Vision for Health Reform,” Remarks at panel at National Press Club, February 27, 2014.

“How a Bad Law Becomes a Good Lawsuit,” Presentation at Competitive Enterprise legal briefing forum on history behind litigation challenging validity of IRS rule authorizing tax credits in federal insurance exchanges under Affordable Care Act, New York, January 30, 2014.

“[Obamacare’s First Trimester: Barely Viable, Crippled by Congenital Defects, Life Expectancy -- Nasty, Brutish, & Short](#),” Presentation at AEI forum “Obamacare 2014: Another Unhappy New Year,” also featuring Joe Antos, Jim Capretta, and Ramesh Ponnuru, January 8, 2014.

“[Obamacare’s Chronic Conditions: Pathologies, Prescriptions, Predictions](#),” Presentation at AEI forum “Health Reform: Who Is Helped? Who Is Hurt? Where Are We Headed?” also featuring Ron Pollack, Gail Wilensky, and Joe Antos, November 22, 2013.

“From Groundhog Day to World War Z to Apocalypse ‘Not Right’ Now: A Better Path to Sustainable Health Policy Reform,” Washington Policy Center Solutions Summit, November 12, 2013 (Pasco, WA) and November 13, 2013 (Bellevue, WA).

“[Obamacare Exchanges: Not Dead Yet \(Claim to Be Getting Better, Feeling Fine, Thinking about Going for a Walk\)](#),” Presentation at AEI Forum “Obamacare, Month One: Monitoring the Vital Signs,” also featuring Scott Gottlieb and Joe Antos, November 4, 2013.

Presentation at AEI forum, “From Multiple Choice to One Size Fits All? Obamacare and the Future of Competition in Health Care” also featuring David Hyman and Elizabeth Teisberg, October 23, 2013.

“State-Level Burdens on Insurers under Obamacare,” AHIP State Issues conference. October 18, 2013.

“Why the ACA Has Fallen and It Can’t Get Up; We Need a Market-Based Intervention,” Winston Fellowship annual conference. October 3, 2013.

“Conservative Health Policy: A Reality Check,” Presentation at AEI forum, “Conservative Health Reform Alternatives to Obamacare: Is the Glass Half Full, Half Empty, or Running Dry?” also featuring Jay Khosla and Paul Edattel, September 26, 2013.

<http://www.aei.org/events/2013/09/26/conservative-health-reform-alternatives-to-obamacare-is-the-glass-half-full-half-empty-or-running-dry/>

“Congress: The Broken Branch,” Liberty Fund and Cato Institute invitational roundtable discussion conference, August 15-16, 2013.

“Powering Up the ACA Exchange Grid,” Alliance for Health Reform webinar on “‘Rate Shock’ or Not?” August 13, 2013.

“Better Medicare Cost Sharing AND Protecting Low-Income Beneficiaries (BUT...),” National Health Policy Forum on Restructuring Medicare Cost Sharing, August 2, 2013.

“Court Challenges to Obamacare,” State Leaders Call, July 24, 2013.

“Payment Reform: Addressing the Budget Deficit and What This Means for Medicare,” The World Congress 9th Annual Leadership Summit on Medicare, panel moderator, July 16, 2013.

“Health Entitlement Incentives: Improving the Signal to Noise Ratio,” Association of Private Enterprise Education annual conference, April 15, 2013.

“When ObamaCare Fails, How Will Market-Based Health Reform Succeed?” University of St. Thomas, MBA Health Care, Health Policy Seminar, April 7, 2013.

“Medicare’s Structural Flaws,” Medicare Boot Camp for Hill staffers, The Heritage Foundation, March 25, 2013.

“Will Bigger Healthcare Be Better, or Just Cost More?” Presentation at AEI forum, “Big Health: Consolidation and Competition under the Affordable Care Act,” also featuring Martin Gaynor, Barak Richman, and Robert Murray, March 1, 2013

“Implementation of the Affordable Care Act,” American Burn Association’s leadership meeting, February 13, 2013.

“State-Based Health Policy Reform under the Affordable Care Act: A Choice or an Echo?” Presentation at AEI forum “Market-Based Reform in the Age of Obamacare: Lessons from Utah Governor Gary Herbert,” featuring Gov. Herbert, February 6, 2013.

“What to Do When Obamacare Fails,” Capitol Hill staff briefing, part of a series of health policy events jointly sponsored by AEI, Heritage Foundation, and Galen Institute. February 4, 2013.

“The Promise of Premium Support: Innovation in Health-Care Delivery,” Heritage Foundation forum, January 29, 2013.

“The Affordable Care Act: The Divided State of a Suspicious Union,” AEI’s State of the Union policy series, January 29, 2013.

“Market Consolidation: How Will This Impact the Future of Medicare Advantage,” The National Forum on the Business of Medicare Advantage, January 28, 2013.

“Saving Private Health Insurance: Can’t Live with It; Can’t Live without It,” Institute for Human Studies and Mercatus Center Regulatory Seminar, January 26, 2013.

“Banter #80: Health Care Exchanges,” AEI Podcast, December 12, 2012.

“State Options re ACA Health Exchanges,” Presentation on Oklahoma lawsuit at State Leaders conference call, sponsored by State Policy Network, Galen Institute, and Institute for Policy Innovation, December 10, 2012.

“After the Court & Election Decisions: What’s Next for Health Care?” Presentation at webinar “From the White House to Community Clinics: What’s Next for Healthcare Reform?” The California Endowment Health Journalism Fellowships, USC Annenberg School of Journalism, November 8, 2012.

<http://www.reportingonhealth.org/content/webinar-white-house-community-clinics-what-happens-next-healthcare-reform>

“Are We Measuring What Matters?” Presentation at NCQA State of Health Care Quality press briefing, October 30, 2012.

“After the Court & Election Decisions, What’s Next for Health Care?” Speech at Texas Medical Association Fall conference, Austin, TX, October 20, 2012.

“How the 2012 Election Will Reshape Health Reform Law and Regulation: Three Scenarios,” Panel remarks at AIS Health Business Roundtables conference, October 5, 2012.

“How Can the States Right a Federal Wrong? Health Care Cost & Quality – Post-ACA,” Georgia Chamber of Commerce 2012 Health Care Forum, Atlanta, September 25, 2012.

“After the Supreme Court Decision, What’s Next for ObamaCare?” Speech at California Republican Party Leadership conference, San Diego, September 15, 2012.

“After the SCOTUS Decision & Before the 2012 Elections: What Happened? What’s Next?” Panel moderator, The World Congress 8th Annual Leadership Summit on Medicare, July 24, 2012.

“Beyond ‘Repeal & Replace,’” Presentation at The World Congress 8th Annual Leadership Summit on Medicare, July 24, 2012.

“After the Supreme Court Decision: What Happened? What’s Next,” Presentation at 2012 Republican Leadership Campaign Committee, Minneapolis, MN, July 12, 2012.

“The Medicaid Reform Dilemma: What Should States Do Next?” Moderator of AEI forum featuring Pennsylvania Secretary Gary Alexander, Rep. Bill Cassidy, Professor James Blumstein, and Christie Herrera, July 11, 2012.

“After the Supreme Court Decision: What Happened? What’s Next?” Presentation at AEI conference “The Affordable Care Act: What Should Congress Do Next?” Also featuring Sen. Orin Hatch, Nina Owcharenko, and Dean Clancy, July 9, 2012.

“The Supreme Court Decision, the Individual Mandate, and What’s Ahead for Health Policy in 2012,” Speech at American Orthopaedic Association annual meeting, June 29, 2012

“Real-Time Response to the Court’s Health Care Ruling,” Moderator of two panels featuring Karlyn Bowman, James Capretta, Tom Christina, and Tevi Troy, June 28, 2012

“After ObamaCare: A Safe, Effective, and Sustainable Cure,” Presentation at Hill Libertarians Policy lunch, June 22, 2012

“Impact of the 2012 Elections on Health Care,” American College of Physicians annual meeting (New Orleans), April 20, 2012.

“The 2012 Election: A Fork in the Road for Health Care,” World Health Care Congress 2012, April 18, 2012.

“The Supreme Court Ruling on the Health Law,” Association of Private Enterprise Education annual conference, April 3, 2012. <http://www.aei.org/media/health/tom-miller-world-health-care-congress/>

“The Role of Health Reform in the 2012 Political Debate,” Association of Private Enterprise Education annual conference, April 2, 2012.

“The Day After the Supreme Court Ruling: Health Reform Solutions,” Congressional Health Care Caucus, January 31, 2012.

“Health Policy Vision for the 2012 State of the Union,” AEI Hill Briefing, January 25, 2012.

“Saving Private Health Insurance? Can’t Live with It; Can’t Live without It,” Capitol Hill staff briefing on private insurance, third in a series of health policy events jointly sponsored by AEI, Heritage Foundation, and Galen Institute, November 14, 2011

“Working with Government on Multiple Policy Fronts,” Grantmakers in Health & National Health Policy Forum, re budgetary decisions and tradeoffs for federal and state policymakers and effects on health and health care, November 3, 2011.

“What Healthcare Reform Should Look Like? A Coordinated Care Vision,” Republican Governors Public Policy Committee Healthcare Policy Summit, October 25, 2011.

Remarks on “Why ObamaCare Is Wrong for America,” Book party sponsored by Barbour, Griffin, Rogers, October 12, 2011.

“Will ObamaCare be More or Less Appealing before the Supreme Court”? featuring Gregory Katsas, James Blumstein, Eric Claeys, Orin Kerr, and Thomas Miller, September 15, 2011 (also made presentation – “The Law & Economics (& Politics) of the Individual Mandate”).

“From Harry & Louise to Thelma & Louise to ...? ‘There’s Got to Be a Better Way,’” David A. Winston Symposium, September 8, 2011.

“New Insurance Models and the Independent Payment Advisory Board,” Aspen Institute’s Health Stewardship Project symposium on Next Steps in Health Reform, July 11, 2011.

“ACA Implementation: We’re Definitely Lost, but Are We Making Good Time?” Healthcare Payments and Policy Conference, June 29, 2011.

“Navigational Warning for Health Reform Collisions Ahead: Slow Down, Shift Gears, Turn the Wheel,” 18th Annual Princeton Conference, Session IV, “Should We Put the Brakes on Health Reform: Impending Challenges and Alternative Designs,” May 24, 2011. <http://council.brandeis.edu/conferences/princeton2011.html>

“Why ObamaCare Is Wrong for America,” Manhattan Institute book forum, April 20, 2011.

“The Affordable Care Act & Young Adults: Beneficiaries, Victims, or Bystanders?” Association of Private Enterprise Education Annual Conference April 12, 2011

“Why ObamaCare Is Wrong for America,” AEI Book Forum on the Hill, featuring Grace-Marie Turner, James Capretta, Robert Moffit, and Thomas Miller, March 29, 2011 (also made presentation – “Four Steps to Better Health: Read (& Buy) this Book, Reveal that Law, Fix What’s Broken, Let Us Choose What Works.”)

“PPACA Climate Change for State Exchanges: Certain to Remain Uncertain,” National Lieutenant Governors Association, March 25, 2011

“Airing Grievances with ObamaCare,” National Press Club, March 24, 2011 (aired later in April 2011 on C-Span 2’s BookTV).

“What the FEHBP and Medicare Part D Can Tell Us about Health Exchanges,” Manhattan Institute, March 18, 2011

“ObamaCare at Year One: The Real March Madness,” moderator at Capitol Hill forum featuring Sen. Coburn, Rep. Price, Rep. Burgess, Rep. King, and Rep. Bachmann, March 14, 2011.

“Market-Friendly Health Insurance Exchanges & Other State Alternatives,” National Congress on Health Insurance Reform, January 19, 2011

“Value-Based Repeal & Replace,” presentation at “Repeal and Replace: Ten Necessary Changes to the Health Care Law” Capitol Hill forum (also broadcast on C-Span), January 18, 2011.

“Integration, Concentration, and Competition in the Provider Marketplace,” Academy Health Research Insights meeting, December 10, 2010.

“Navigational Assistance for the Defined Contribution Reform Roadmap,” AEI Conference, December 8, 2010.

“Beyond ‘Repeal and Replace’: Ideas for Real Health Reform,” AEI Conference, December 8, 2010.

“IPAB – Wanted, Dead or Alive?” Aspen Institute 2010 Health Policy Symposium, November 15, 2010.

“Beyond ‘Repeal & Replace’: Health Care Advice to the New Congress,” Hudson Institute, November 5, 2010.

“A Different Path for State Insurance Exchanges,” State Policy Network, October 20, 2010.

“Will Health Care Ever Graduate from Reform School,” Susi Silber Distinguished Lecture Series, October 9, 2010.

“Health Care and Job Creation,” National Journal Prescription for Growth forum, September 16, 2010.

“Plugging the Leaks in High-Risk Pools,” AEI and National Affairs Hill Briefing, July 19, 2010.

“Replacing ObamaCare with Real Health Reform,” AEI and National Affairs Hill Briefing, July 19, 2010.

“Health Reform: An Initial Checkup,” AEI Conference, June 15, 2010.

“Politics of Health Reform,” Health Affairs Moving Forward on Health Reform conference, June 8, 2010.

“Tax Treatment of Health Care,” Association of Private Enterprise Education annual conference, April 13, 2010.

“Reform the Reform: A More Virtuous Cycle,” Association of Private Enterprise Education annual conference, April 12, 2010

“Health Reform & Individual Insurance: Magic without Markets?” AEI Book Forum, featuring Mark Pauly, April 1, 2010.

“Health Care Reform: A Debate among the Policy Experts,” American Constitution Society & Federalist Society, Columbia Law School chapters, New York City, February 11, 2010.

“The Debate,” Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies, Grand Valley Summit on Health Care Reform, Grand Rapids, Michigan, January 28, 2010.

AEI Politics Watch, Session I, January 14, 2010.

“A Mitigated Disaster: The Triumph & Tragedy of Health Politics,” Prince William County Chamber of Commerce, “What Will Health Care Reform Mean for You?” Forum, January 13, 2010.

“State Constitutional Protections & National Health Reform: When One Size Doesn’t Fit All,” National Conference of State Legislatures webinar, December 3, 2009.

“Information Therapy for U.S. Health Care’s Cognitive-Disorder Problems,” AEI Conference, December 2, 2009.

“Health Reform 2009: Still Lost, But Making Good Time?” Fairfax Chamber of Commerce & Thomas Jefferson Institute for Public Policy Conference, November 19, 2009.

“Looking for Better Health in All the Wrong Places: The Road to “Equality” Hits a Dead End,” 16th Annual Thomas A. Pitts Lectureship in Medical Ethics, “The Graying of America: Challenges and Controversies,” at the Medical University of South Carolina, Charleston, SC, October 30, 2009.

“What Can We – and Should We – Expect from the Administration & Congress in Expanding Healthcare Coverage: Part II.” American Bar Association 7th Annual Washington Health Care Summit, October 27, 2009.

“It Only Seemed Like A Good Idea at the Time,” Southern Law Network forum, October 24, 2009.

“Fixing Private Health Insurance: Protection against High Risk Redefinition” AEI Conference, October 21, 2009.

“More Facts & Fables: Private Health Insurance Markets.” AEI Conference, October 21, 2009.

“Health Reform 2009: We’re Lost, but We’re Making Good Time,” Pacific Northwest Employee Benefits Conference, Portland, Oregon, October 14, 2009.

“The Risk/Reward Calculus Ahead for Health Savings Accounts,” Annual Healthfinder.com Conference, October 13, 2009.

“Health Care Reform on the Hill: Where We’ve Been and Where We’re Going,” Blue Skies and Brickwork Summit, September 23, 2009.

“AEI Health Care Reform Conference Call,” Edited Transcript, July 22, 2009.

“Competitive Bidding: Looking for Medicare’s Market Prices in Politically Incorrect Places?” World Health Care Congress 5th Annual Leadership Summit on Medicare, July 13, 2009

“Patient-Centered Care versus Political Medicine,” AEI Forum featuring Rep. Tom Price and Donald Palmisano, M.D., June 26, 2009.

“The Five (not so) Easy Pieces of Health Reform and The Last Detail(s),” AEI Conference, June 4, 2009.

“A One-Way Road to Over Regulation & Reduced Choice: National Health Insurance Exchanges,” Consensus Group Capitol Hill Briefing on “Challenges in the Health Reform Debate: Policy Proposals by President Obama and Congressional Leaders,” June 1, 2009.

“Information Therapy for U.S. Health Care’s Cognitive-Disorder Problems,” Marketing & Public Policy Conference on The Role of Quality Information in Healthcare Markets, May 29, 2009.

“An Individual Mandate for Health Insurance? We Could Do that, but It Would Be Wrong,” Georgetown Law Center, April 27, 2009.

“Parsing the Uninsured Numbers: Duck & Cover, or Solve the Real Problems?” AEI on the Hill Health Briefing, “Uncle Sam, M.D.: How to Think about Health Care Reform,” April 21, 2009.

Speaker at annual Urban Institute Budget Roundtable, March 4, 2009.

“The State of Health Policy: Obama 2009 & the Mysterious Beyond,” AEI forum on The 2009 State of the Union: Change and Continuity, January 13, 2009.

“State Trials and Errors: Do We Need a Bigger Boat, or Different Navigation Tools?” American Economic Association annual meeting, San Francisco, January 4, 2009.

“Is Past Political Performance A Guarantee of Disappointing Future Results?” AEI book forum on Health Reform – Guaranteed? December 8, 2008.

“The (Temporary) Ascendancy of Politics over Markets,” Consumer Health World Summit – Leadership Forum, December 7, 2008

“Childhood Obesity,” Southern California Leadership Panel, Los Angeles, November 14, 2008.

“Health Policy for 2009 & the Mysterious Beyond,” U.S. Oncology pharmacy & therapeutics committee, post-election health policy assessment, November 8, 2008.

“Health Care in the Next Administration,” Brigham & Women’s Hospital/Harvard Medical School Bioethics Rounds, Boston, October 28, 2008.

“It Might Take A Licking, But Keeps on Ticking: Consumer-Driven Health Care,” Impact of the November Elections, National Consumer Driven Healthcare Summit, October 21, 2008.

“The Presidential Candidates: A Comparison of Their Health Care Platforms,” Society of Actuaries annual meeting, October 21, 2008.

“Medicare Home Implementation in the Next Administration,” Patient Centered Primary Care Collaborative 2d annual summit – “Healthy Momentum: The Patient-Centered Medical Home,” October 17, 2008

“Health Care Reform: 2009 and Beyond,” George Washington University Residency Fellowship in Health Policy, October 14, 2008.

“Health Policy for 2009 and the Mysterious Beyond,” Alliance Health Plans Broker Summit, Urbana, Illinois, October 10, 2008.

“National Health Care Reform: We Get the Policy Debate We Deserve,” University of Illinois Law School, October 10, 2008.

“Healthcare under a McCain or Obama Administration,” Campaign & Elections’ Politics magazine health care roundtable, October 8, 2008.

“The Health Care Politics of Presidential Election Campaigns,” Greenwall Fellowship Program in Bioethics and Health Policy, Johns Hopkins Berman Institute of Bioethics, September 29, 2008.

“Still Passing the Buck While Paying More Bucks?” AHIP Medicaid conference, September 24, 2008.

“Comparative Efficacy – Has the Time Come?” Atlas Venture Life Sciences retreat, St. Tropez, September 22, 2008.

“Presidential Agenda’s Impact on Consumers: Coverage or Affordability,” Consumer Health & Wellness conference, September 16, 2008.

“Federalism & Health Policy: ‘We Are All Federalists Now ... At Least Some of the Time’,” AEI conference on The Future of Federalism, September 12, 2008.

“Geographic Monopolies versus Choice & Competition in Health Insurance Regulation: Starting A Market-Driven Race to the Top,” AEI conference on An Interstate Commerce Route to A National Market for Health Insurance, July 31, 2008

“Beyond More Health Insurance Coverage, Toward Better Health Outcomes,” AEI conference, featuring James Heckman, Barak Richman, Robert Kaestner, David Wennberg, Michael McGinnis, Louise Russell, Tomas Philipson, Richard Frank, and Edward Hill, July 23, 2008.

“How Will the Presidential Candidates Fix Social Security and Medicare?” National Academy of Social Insurance Summer Intern Academy, July 17, 2008.

“Tax Treatment of Health Care: Matching Objectives & Instruments,” Senate Republican Policy Committee, July 14, 2008.

“Woulda, Coulda, Shoulda: Health Policy for 2009 & The Mysterious Beyond,” Meet the Health Policy Makers conference, July 11, 2008.

“There Must Be A Pony in Here, Somewhere,” The Candidates’ Perspectives on Health Care Reform, American Health Lawyers Association annual meeting, San Francisco, June 30, 2008.

“Aging and Future Health Care Spending: Red Herrings, Time to Death, and Insurance Choices,” AEI forum, featuring Peter Zweifel, James Lubitz, Louise Sheiner, and Phil Ellis, June 27, 2009.

“National Health Care Reform: Curb Your Enthusiasm,” American Society of Health Economics biannual meeting, June 25, 2008.

“Assessing the Burr-Coburn Health Reform Bill,” AEI on the Hill Forum on Responsible Health Reform: Competition, Innovation, and Individual Control, June 19, 2008.

“Health Policies of the Presidential Candidates,” International Housewares Association Government Affairs Committee annual meeting, June 17, 2008.

“What Should Our Next President Do about Health Care Costs?” AARP Solutions Forum, June 13, 2008.

“Health Care Reform: Are We Still Lost, but Making Good Time?” ERISA Industry Committee forum, June 11, 2008.

“2008 ALEC Legislative Leaders Health Care Forum,” American Legislative Exchange Council, Missoula, Montana, June 7, 2008.

“Presidential Candidates on Health Policy,” MPM Capital’s Annual Health Care Leaders Summit and Retreat, Bachelor Gulch, Colorado, June 6, 2008.

“Overhauling the Health Care System—2008 Presidential Plans: A Discussion with Presidential Health Policy Advisors,” Women in Government Relations, May 19, 2008.

“Reforming the Health Care System: Positions of the Leading Presidential Candidates,” American College of Physicians, May 16, 2008.

“Presidential Candidates’ Responses to the Aspen Health Stewardship Project Questionnaire,” Aspen Institute Hill briefing, May 14, 2008.

“Presidential Candidates on Health Information Technology Policy,” Collaborative Communications Summit, May 5, 2008.

“Health Care 2008,” Young Republican National Federation, May 2, 2008.

“Hitting the Snooze Button on Our Medicare Fiscal Alarm Clock,” Medicare Drifting Towards Disaster forum, April 29, 2008.

“The Presidential Health Care Agenda,” Keynote panel, World Health Care Congress, April 21, 2008.

“Which Way for Health Reform,” Association of Health Care Journalists, March 28, 2008.

GU Votes 08 Healthcare forum, Georgetown University, February 19, 2008.

“Are We Still Lost, but Making Good Time?” Mercer forum on The Changing Landscape of Healthcare, February 13, 2008.

“Presidential Candidates Health Care Reform Proposals,” Academy Health National Health Policy conference, February 4, 2008.

“National Health Reform: Curb Your Enthusiasm,” Union League Club of Chicago forum on “Primary Health Care,” January 28, 2008.

“National Health Reform: Curb Your Enthusiasm,” National Congress on the Un and Underinsured, December 9, 2007.

“Health Care Costs: Trends, Causes, Truth & Consequences,” AEI forum on The Long-Term Outlook for Health Care Spending, November 27, 2007.

“Delivering Better Value in U.S. Health Care: The Role of Physician Performance Measurement,” AEI Conference, featuring HHS Secretary Mike Leavitt, Elliot Fisher, Arnold Milstein, Robert Krughoff, Earl Steinberg, Donald Casey, and Steven Pearson, November 5, 2007.

“Universal Coverage: Curb Your Enthusiasm,” Alliance for Health Reform briefing on State Coverage Initiatives, October 26, 2007.

“Making A Market for Healthier Americans,” George Washington University, October 17, 2007.

“What We Think We Know, That Isn’t So,” National Economists Club, September 27, 2007.

“Turbo-Charging Consumer-Driven Health Plans with Tax Reform: Cost and Coverage Effects,” American Enterprise Institute Forum, featuring Roger Feldman, Steve Parente, Gary Claxton, Anthony Lo Sasso, and Phil Ellis, September 20, 2007.

“Vulnerable Populations: Beyond Insurance,” Health Affairs briefing, September 11, 2007.

“Markets for Medicare,” National Academy of Social Insurance, August 3, 2007.

“Can We Get It for You Retail? Moving Beyond Wholesale Markets for Health-Care Services,” American Enterprise Institute Forum, featuring Gary Ahlquist, Paul London, Jay Silverstein, and Mark Smith, July 25, 2007.

“Reforming Health Care – What Are the Choices?” Hill Staff Briefing regarding The Healthy Americans Act sponsored by Senators Wyden and Bennett, June 12, 2007.

“State Trials and Errors: Activity Isn’t Accomplishment,” AIDS Institute conference on Universal Health Care Access, June 8, 2007.

“Robin Hood, Robber Baron, or Rubik’s Cube? How Fair Is the Distribution of Benefits in the U.S. Health-Care System?” American Enterprise Institute conference, featuring Clark Havighurst, Barak Richman, Alain Enthoven, and David Hyman, May 31, 2007.

“Pooling in Shallow Water? R & R in Individual Insurance Markets,” American Enterprise Institute forum, May 11, 2007.

“Costs, Coverage, & Contrarian Comments,” Leadership Health Care delegation conference, March 8, 2007.

“Health Care Costs: Trends, Causes, Consequences,” HS Dent Adviser’s Network conference, March 6, 2007.

“Tax Treatment of Health Care: Are We Shifting, or Grinding, Gears?” AEI conference, February 26, 2007.

“Tax Treatment of Health Care: Can We Shift Gears?” Heritage Foundation Hill Briefing, February 23, 2007.

“Is the Massachusetts Health Plan America’s Next Top Model?” AEI forum featuring Mark Pauly, John Holahan, John McLaughry, and Holly Benson, January 11, 2007

“Health Care Policy Choices: From Inside the Beltway to the Mysterious Beyond,” Health Care Systems lecture, The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, November 30, 2006.

“Emerging Issues for 2007,” PhRMA Alliance Development Section annual meeting, November 8, 2006.

“Scoring the Plays in U.S. Health Care: Upon Further Review, Less & More than Meets the Eye,” Alliance for Health Reform briefing on America’s Health System Scorecard, October 11, 2006

“Information Therapy for U.S. Health Care’s Cognitive Disorder Problems,” Heritage Foundation forum on Transparency in Health Care. October 3, 2006.

“Tax Treatment of Health Care,” American Risk and Insurance Association annual meeting, August 7, 2006.

“Sustainable Solvency for Social Security,” Social Security Administration Retirement Research Consortium conference, August 11, 2005.

“HSAs and Health Policy,” The Commonwealth Fund forum, June 30, 2005.

“Improving Health Outcomes and Health Services Value,” Heritage Foundation forum, June 29, 2005.

“Do Health Accounts Promote Better Spending?” American Enterprise Institute forum, June 29, 2005.

“Increasing Access to Affordable Health Insurance: Voluntary Pooling,” Council for Affordable Health Insurance briefing, May 3, 2005.

“Geographic Monopolies vs. Choice and Competition in Health Insurance Regulation,” Cato Institute forum, March 1, 2005.

“Improving Health Care: Direct-to-Consumer Competition,” American Enterprise Institute forum, November 8, 2004.

“Consumer-Driven Health: On the Road, with Speed Limits,” Alliance for Health Reform forum, July 9, 2004.

“Improving Access to Care without Comprehensive Health Insurance: Lower the Costs versus Raise the Subsidies,” New America Foundation forum, February 24, 2004.

“Tax Treatment of Health Insurance,” Senate Republican Task Force on Health Care Costs and the Uninsured, staff briefing, December 11, 2003.

“Consumer-Driven Care: Taking Off the Training Wheels for All-Terrain Vehicles,” American Legislative Exchange Council Health Care Costs Academy conference, November 15, 2003.

“Health Care Choices: Consumer Empowerment through Competitive Markets vs. the Coerced Compassion of Centralized Commands,” Medical Society of Johnson & Wyandotte Counties forum, Shawnee Mission, Kansas, September 30, 2003.

“Smallpox and Bioterrorism: The Threat, the Risks, and Why the Vaccination Plan Is Stalled,” Cato Hill Briefing featuring William Bicknell and Kenneth Bloem, September 17, 2003.

“Federal and State Health Policy: Plus Ça Change, C’est Le Meme Chose? Ordering Off the Menu,” Atlas Foundation/State Policy Network Health Care Summit, September 11, 2003.

“Medicare Reform in the House-Senate Conference: No Way Out? Or Finding another Way?” Cato Hill Briefing featuring Rep. Paul Ryan and Tom Miller, July 22, 2003.

“We Could Fix Things If Only We Concentrated on A Few Fundamentals,” National Student Leadership conference, July 9, 2003.

“More Medicare Drug Benefits ± Medicare Reform?” Cato Hill Briefing featuring John Goodman, Michael O’Grady, and Tom Miller, June 20, 2003.

“Demonizing Drugmakers? The Political Assault on the Pharmaceutical Industry,” Cato Policy Forum featuring Doug Bandow, Scott Gottlieb, Dan Mendelson, and Michie Hunt, June 18, 2003.

“Looking to the Future of the Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit,” Drug Access for Medicare Beneficiaries conference, May 21, 2003.

“Improving Access to Care Without Comprehensive Health Insurance,” Alliance for Health Reform forum, May 19, 2003.

“Will Medicare Ever Graduate from Reform School?” Cato Hill Briefing, April 25, 2003.

“A New & Improved Health Policy Agenda for 2003,” Fourth Annual National Colloquium on African American Health, March 16, 2003.

“Market-Driven Health Care: Reform & Innovation,” Young Health Care Leaders conference, March 7, 2003.

“Facing Up to Health Care Cost and Coverage Problems for Small Employers,” Small Business Congress forum, February 28, 2003.

“We Could Fix Things If Only We Concentrated on a Few Fundamentals,” Knight Center for Specialized Journalism conference on Paying for Health Care, February 21, 2003.

“A New and Improved Health Policy Agenda for 2003,” Cato Hill Briefing featuring Tom Miller and Jeff Lemieux, January 9, 2003.

Wye River Group on Healthcare. “Public Policy Leadership: Shared Values, Principles and Vision,” Roundtable Discussion at Wye River Aspen Institute, December 5-6, 2002.

“Protecting Health Care Consumers Against Higher Premiums Based on Changes in Health Status: Is There A Market-Based Solution?” Cato Policy Forum featuring Mark Pauly, Brad Herring, Keith Crocker, John Moran, Rick Curtis, and Tom Miller, November 1, 2002.

“Individual Health Insurance: Fact, Opinion and Policy,” Center for Studying Health System Change conference, October 23, 2002.

“What Never Works, What Can Work, and the Work Ahead,” Employer Health Care Coalition conference, Seattle/Tacoma, October 15, 2002.

“Will New IRS Tax Rules Put Health Care Consumers in the Driver’s Seat?” Cato Policy Forum featuring Rep. Jim DeMint, Paul Fronstin, Charles Klippel, Doug Kronenberg, and Michael Showalter, July 10, 2002.

“Will More Health Insurance Improve Health Outcomes?” Cato Policy Forum featuring John Mirowsky, Theodore Pincus, and Tom Miller, June 19, 2002.

“Bioterrorism and Smallpox: Ring Containment, Mass Vaccination, or Individual Choice,” Cato Policy Forum featuring Charles Pena, William Bicknell, Jonathan Tucker, and Richard Levinson, June 4, 2002.

“The Genetic Future Is Now: Redesigning Humans versus Regulating Science,” Cato Policy Forum featuring Gregory Stock and Francis Fukuyama, March 15, 2002.

“Medicare’s Midlife Crisis,” Cato Hill Forum featuring Sue Blevins and Tom Miller, February 20, 2002.

“Treatment Plans for Medicare±Choice: Experimental Surgery, Life Support, or DNR?” Cato Policy Forum featuring Bruce Fried, Robert Berenson, John McManus, and Tom Miller, January 23, 2002.

“Oxymorons: The Myth of a U.S. Health Care System,” Cato Book Forum featuring J.D. Kleinke, Paul Ginsburg, and Veronique de Rugy, December 5, 2001.

“Access to ‘Free’ Health Care: Restructuring the Safety Net,” Cato Policy Forum featuring Bradley Herring, Randall Bovbjerg, David Hyman, and Richard Carlson, November 29, 2001.

“Medicare’s Midlife Crisis,” Cato Book Forum featuring Sue Blevins, Daniel “Stormy” Johnson, Joseph Antos, and Thomas Saving, November 8, 2001.

“Less Health Insurance and Better Health Care: Two-Tiered Health Benefits Models,” Cato Policy Forum featuring Lawrence Mirel, Kenneth Linde, and Helen Darling, November 2, 2001.

“The Politics of Managed Care: Second Opinions, New Options,” Cato Policy Forum featuring Haavi Morreim, David Hyman, and Richard Smith, April 17, 2001.

“The New Medicare Privacy Regulations: Will They Protect Our Most Personal Information?” Cato Policy Forum featuring Sue Blevins, Ronald Weich, and Tom Miller, February 15, 2001.

“The Future of Employer-Sponsored Health Care: Defined Contributions versus Defined Benefits,” Cato Policy Forum featuring Gary Ahlquist, William Custer, and Gerry Smedinghoff, December 8, 2000.

“Getting Beyond the Managed Care Backlash,” presented at Competitive Enterprise Institute conference Rethinking Insurance Regulation 1998, April 13, 1998.

“Removing Individual Health Risk from Health Insurance? Incremental Regulation versus Market Choices,” presented at Competitive Enterprise Institute conference Rethinking Insurance Regulation, March 8, 1996.

“Take a Free Market Approach, and Call Me in the Morning,” presented at Washington Institute for Policy Studies conference in Seattle, February 27, 1994.

“What about Real Free Market Insurance,” presented at Medical Action Committee for Education conference in Philadelphia, November 7, 1993.