1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036-2188 Telephone: 202/797-6128 Fax: 202/797-6181 E-Mail HAARON@BROOKINGS.EDU

### RESUME OF

# HENRY J. AARON

January 8, 2018

# **PERSONAL**

**Office:** The Brookings Institution

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW

Washington, D. C. 20036

Home: 2101 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Apt. 41

Washington, D. C. 20008-1756

**Phone:** 202-797-6128 **FAX:** 202-797-6181

**Born:** June 16, 1936

Married to Ruth Kotell Aaron

### **EDUCATION**

Ph.D. -- Economics, Harvard University, 1963

M.A. -- Russian Regional Studies, Harvard University, 1960

B.A. -- Political Science & Economics, UCLA, 1958, Phi Beta Kappa

### **ACTIVITIES**

Member, Social Security Advisory Board, 2014 to date; Chair, 2014-2017

Member and Vice-chair, DC Health Insurance Exchange, 2012 to date

Senior Fellow, Economic Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, May 1996-Present, 1978-Oct.1995, 1968-1977. Research on taxation, health care, and social security. (Director, Economic Studies Program, October 1990-April 1996).

Member, Board of Directors, Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, 1994 - Present.

<u>Chairman of the Board of Directors, National Academy of Social Insurance</u>, 1999 - 2005, <u>Vice President</u>, 1988-1996

Member, National Academy of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences, 1986 - Present. Chair, Committee on Medicare coverage of routine patient care in clinical trials, 1999

Member, Research Advisory Board, Stanford University Institute for Economic Policy Research, 1991 - Present.

#### OTHER EXPERIENCE

#### Government

Member, Panel of Economic Advisors, The Congressional Budget Office, 2009-2011

Member, Panel of Health Advisors, The Congressional Budget Office, 2011-12

Chair, Institute of Medicine, Committee on Routine Patient Care Costs in Clinical Trials for Medicare Beneficiaries, 2000.

Member, Taxation Advisory Board, Joint Committee on Taxation, 1996-1998

Co-chair, Consultants Panel, Statistics of Income Division, Internal Revenue Service, 1991 - 1998.

Member, Committee on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, 1983 - 1991.

Member, Urban Policy Working Group, Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979 - 1980.

<u>Chairman, Advisory Council on Social Security</u>, 1978 - 1979. The thirteen member Advisory Council is appointed every four years to advise Congress and the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services on the status of benefits and financing of social security and to recommend changes.

Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, January 1977 - December 1978. Headed office responsible to Secretary and Under Secretary for providing analysis of current policy issues, preparing legislative program, and maintaining and enforcing departmental planning calendar. Supervised staff planning and evaluation offices covering health, education, income security, and social services and employing 300 people. Administered \$50 million budget for research, evaluation, and personnel.

<u>Chairman, Panel on the Housing Allowance Experiments, Department of Housing and Urban Development,</u> 1975 - 1977. Chairman of external interdisciplinary panel to monitor the progress of the housing allowance experiments and to evaluate the research reports prepared by the principal contractors in order to assist HUD in determining how these reports should be used in the formulation of policy and the contractors in modifying research methods.

Member, Council of Economic Advisers, State of Maryland, January 1969 - 1975. Consultant to the Governor of Maryland on economic aspects of state tax, expenditure, and regulatory policies; Member, Commission to Study the State Tax System, 1969, 1970.

<u>Senior Staff Economist, the Council of Economic Advisers</u>, July 1966 to June 1967. Staff work in taxation, human resources, and income maintenance.

#### Academic and Other

Member, Visiting Committee, Harvard University Medical and Dental Schools, 2007 - 2015

Fellow, Bellagio Center, The Rockefeller Foundation, Mary 2004

Member, Board of Visitors, Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke University, 2002

<u>President elect, President,</u> Association for Public Policy and Management, November 1997-November 1998, November 1998-November 1999

Guggenheim Fellow, Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, September 1996- May 1997.

Member, Board of Directors, Georgetown University, 1995 - 1998. Member Committee on Medical Center Affairs and Academic Committee

<u>Director, Economic Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, October 1990-April 1996.</u> Administered economic studies program for fifteen senior fellows and support staff.

Member, Harvard University Graduate Society Council, 1988 - 1990.

Participant, American Assemblies of Columbia University, Harriman, New York, on tax reform in 1985 and on health policy in 1986.

Member, Visiting Committee, Department of Economics, Harvard University, 1985 - 1989.

<u>Faculty, Salzburg Seminar on American Studies</u> on Worldwide Crisis in Retirement Income Systems, Salzburg, June 1982.

<u>Distinguished Policy Fellow</u>, Graduate School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley, November 1981.

Member, Executive Committee, American Economic Association, 1978-1981; Vice President, 1990-91.

Faculty, Department of Economics, University of Maryland: Associate Professor, 1967-1974; Professor of Economics, September 1974-January 1977; 1979 - 1989

Visiting Professor of Economics, Harvard University, Fall 1974.

Instructor in Economics, Department of Economics and International Tax Program (School of Law), Harvard University, 1963 to 1966.

#### Other

Faculty for Cerner Corporation, program in health economics, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015

Chair, Rockefeller Foundation Committee to oversee project on economic insecurity, 2007-2008

Member, Board of Directors, American Tax Policy Institute, 2000 -2007

Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993 - present; Councilor, 1997 - 2000

Member, Behavioral Economics Roundtable, Russell Sage Foundation, 1998-2005

Member, Robert Wood Johnson Panel, National Advisory Committee, Scholars in Health Policy Research Program, January 1993 - Present.

Member, The RAND Corporation, Summer Institute on Reform of Health Care Financing, July 1992.

Member, Baseball Economic Study Committee, Major League Baseball, 1990 - 1992.

Member, Research Advisory Board, Committee for Economic Development, 1988 - 1991

Senior Associate, Policy Economics Group, Peat, Marwick, and Main, Washington, D. C., 1986 - 1988. Consultant on taxation and medical economics.

Trustee, Teachers' Insurance and Annuity Association of America, 1983 - 1987.

<u>Faculty, Retreats of House Committee on Ways and Means</u> on tax reform, September 1984 and September 1985; health care policy, March 1985; the impact of demographic, social, and economic trends on programs under the jurisdiction of the Committee, March 1987.

Member, Panel on Quality Control in Welfare Programs, National Academy of Sciences, 1986 - 1988. Panel to examine the current quality control system in food stamps, AFDC, and Medicaid and to recommend changes.

Member, Economic Advisory Board, National Savings and Loan League, 1980 - 1982. Panel advises president's commission on economic prospects of particular relevance to the savings and loan industry.

Member, Panel on Statistics for Family Assistance and Related Programs, National Academy of Sciences, 1981. Panel to investigate the adequacy of existing data and the costs or savings from possible changes in the collection of such data.

Member, Health Policy Advisory Committee, Health Policy Program, University of California, San Francisco, School of Medicine, 1979 - 1980.

Member of the Board of Directors of the Council for Applied Social Research, 1978 - 1980.

Participant, Workshops on Education in a Changing Society, Aspen Institute, 1975, 1976.

Assistant to Robert A. Wallace, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, June to September 1961.

# **Journals**

Journal of Health Economics, Member of the Editorial Board, 1982 - 2006 Journal of Public Economics, Associate editor, 1988 - 1998

Journal of Economic Perspectives, Associate editor, 1987-1997; member, Advisory Board, 1997 - present

#### **INVITED LECTURES**

AIR Research Planning Conference, 2015

Health Insurance Executives Summit, 2015

National Press Foundation, 2014

University of Chicago, April 2013

University of Georgia, April 2013

AMA, January 2013

Conference of Catholic Bishops, November 2012

Children's Hospital Association, October 2012, September 2016

Atlantic Information Services, October 2012

Institute for International Research, March 2012

Rockford Illinois Chamber of Commerce, November 2011

Phi Beta Kappa, June 2011

Princeton University, May 2011, November 2012

GAO, May 2011

University of Missouri, May 2011, April 2012, March 2013

Colby College, April 2011

Health Reform Conference, March 2011

AHIP, March 2011, September 2012

National Congress on Health Reform, January 2011

Child Health Care, May 2010, June 2010

National Blood Foundation, April 2010

Atlantic Magazine, April 2010, April 2012

World Health Congress, April 2010

AARP, Board of Directors, February 2010

National Association of State Comprehensive Health Insurance Plans, September 2009

University of Southern California, Andrus Lecture, March 2009

American Farm Bureau, March 2009

Medicare "Summit," Feburary 2009

American Health Information Management Association, November 2008

Health Affairs Conference, Campaign 2008, October 2008

University of Cincinnati, Kautz Lecture, October 2008

Cover the Uninsured, Michigan, October 2008

East Carolina University, October 2008

White House Writers Group, Orlando, September 2008

Retirement Research Consortium, August 2008

Harvard Medical School Policy Program Anniversary, April 2007

Academy Health, February 2008

Blue Cross/Blue Shield, Michigan, November 2007

Holland Lecture, Omaha, November 2007

Grinnell College, October 2007

University of California, Irvine, May 2007

Princeton University, November 2006

AARP, November 2006

Gustavus Adolphus College, October 2006

Georgetown University, April 2006

University of Pennsylvania, November 2005

Watson Wyatt, November 2005

University of Michigan, September 2005

IBM, April 2005

Association of American Medical Colleges, March 2005

National Governors Association, March 2005

House Democrats "Retreat," February 2005

National Academy of Social Insurance, January 2005

Institute of Medicine, October 2004

Washington University in St. Louis, October 2004

George Gund Foundation, September 2004

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, September 2004

Virginia Governor's Conference, June 2004

Joint Distribution Committee, New York, May 2004

Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research "Summit," February 2004

Women's National Democratic Club, December 2003

Newsweek, December 2003

Pfizer Corporation, October 2003

International Association of Employee Benefit Plans, May 2003

Economic Club of Hampton Roads, December 2002

Urban League, Los Angeles, July 2002

AARP, Lecture, Washington DC, June, 2002

American Federation of Teachers, April 2002

Dorothy Rice Symposium (Inaugurating the Dorothy Pechman Rice Center for Health Economics, University of California, San Francisco, 2002

Society of Government Economists, Distinguished Lecture on Economics in Government, January 1994.

Wake Forest Bowman Grey Medical Center, 1992.

Commencement Address, Institute for Public Policy, The University of Michigan, 1992.

Arnold Gurin Memorial Lecture, Brandeis University, 1992.

Washington Hospital Center, 1991

Donald W. Gilbert Memorial Lecture, University of Rochester, 1990.

# **CONSULTANCIES**

Association of American Railroads (on freight transportation policy)

Union Pacific Railroad (on railraod retirement policy)

Steptoe and Johnson (on railroad retirement policy)

American Council on Life Insurance (on taxation of life insurance company income)

The Territory of Saipan (on tax policy with Oliver Oldman)

Abt Associates Inc. (on housing allowance experiments, property tax relief for the aged, property taxation, and measurement of in-kind income)

The Urban Institute

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (workshops on research on government expenditures and on income distribution)

The RAND Corporation (on housing allowances)

Resource Management Corporation (on poverty, manpower training and income maintenance)

Department of the Treasury (on tax expenditures and value added taxation)

<u>Planning Research Corporation</u> (on country budgeting for U. S. overseas operations)

Council of Economic Advisers

Agency for International Development (on impact of government expenditures on income distribution)

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (on social indicators)

<u>Department of Housing and Urban Development</u> (on property taxation, housing policy, and urban policy)

Various law firms (expert witness)

### **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books**

Using Taxes To Reform Health Insurance: Pitfalls and Promises, edited with Leonard E. Burman, Brookings, 2008

Reforming Medicare: Options, Tradeoffs, Opportunities, Brookings/Century Foundation, 2008 (with Jeanne Lambrew)

Taxing Capital Income, edited with Leonard E. Burman and C. Eugene Steuerle, Urban Institute, 2007

Can We Say No: The Challenge of Rationing Health Care (with Melissa Cox and William B. Schwartz), Brookings 2006

Coping With Methusaleh: The Impact of Molecular Biology on Medicine and Society, (co-edited with William S. Schwartz), Brookings, 2004

The Future of Academic Medical Centers, editor, Brookings 2001

Setting National Priorities: The Year 2000 and Beyond, edited with Robert D. Reischauer, Brookings, 1999

Behavioral Aspects of Retirement Policy, editor, Brookings and Russell Sage Foundation, 1999

Should Social Security be Abolished? (with John B. Shoven, edited by Benjamin M. Friedman), MIT Press, 1999

Countdown to Reform: The Great Social Security Debate (with Robert Reischauer), Twentieth Century Fund, 1998; Second edition, 2001.

Economic Effects of Fundamental Tax Reform, Brookings, 1996 (coeditor with William G. Gale and coauthor of Chapter 1, "Introduction").

The Problem that Won't Go Away: Reforming U. S. Health Care Financing, Brookings, 1996 (editor and author of summary chapter); summary chapter reprinted in The Future U.S. Healthcare System: Who Will Care for the Poor and Uninsured?, edited by Stuart H. Altman, Uwe E. Reinhardt, and Alexandra E. Shields, Waltham, 1998

Values and Public Policy, Brookings, 1994 (coedited with Thomas Mann and Timothy Taylor)

Setting Domestic Priorities: What Can Government Do?, Brookings, 1992, (coeditor, and author of chapter "Health Care Financing").

Serious and Unstable Condition: Financing America's Health Care, Brookings, 1991.

Setting National Priorities: Policy for the Nineties, Brookings, 1990, (editor, and author of chapter "A Prescription for Health Care.")

Social Security and the Budget, University Press of America, 1990, (editor, and author of two chapters, "Social Security and the Budget: An Overview" and "Costs of the Aging Population: Real and Imagined Burdens.")

Can America Afford to Grow Old?, Brookings, 1988 (coauthored with Barry Bosworth and Gary Burtless)

The Comparable Worth Controversy, Brookings, 1986 (coauthored with Cameran Lougy)

Economic Choices 1987, Brookings, 1986 (coauthored with Harvey Galper, Joseph Pechman, George Perry, Alice Rivlin, and Charles Schultze)

Assessing Tax Reform, Brookings, 1985 (coauthored with Harvey Galper)

Retirement and Economic Behavior, Brookings, 1984 (coedited with Gary Burtless)

The Painful Prescription: Rationing Hospital Care, Brookings, 1984 (coauthored with William B. Schwartz), awarded the Policy Studies Organization Outstanding Book Award for the best book on public policy studies in 1984, and received the Honorable Mention Award from the American College of Health Care Executives

The Peculiar Problem of Taxing Life Insurance Companies, Brookings, 1983

Economic Effects of Social Security, Brookings, 1982

The Value Added Tax: Lessons from Europe, Brookings, 1981 (edited); and translated by Konnichisha Ltd., into Japanese, 1986); [also, <u>VAT: Experiences of Some European Countries</u>, Kluwer, 1982]

How Taxes Affect Economic Behavior, Brookings, 1981 (edited with Joseph Pechman)

The Economics of Taxation, Brookings 1980 (edited with Michael Boskin).

On Social Welfare, Abt Associates Inc., 1980.

Politics and the Professors: The Great Society in Transition, Brookings, 1978.

*Inflation and the Income Tax*, Brookings, 1976, (editor, an author of one chapter).

The New View of Property Taxation, Brookings, 1975.

Why is Welfare So Hard to Reform?, Brookings, 1973.

Shelter and Subsidies: Who Benefits from Federal Housing Policies?, Brookings, 1972, Chapter IV reprinted in Donald J. Reeb and James T. Kird, Jr., Housing the Poor, Prager, 1973.

Social Security: Perspectives for Reform, Brookings, 1968 (with Joseph A. Pechman and Michael K. Taussig).

Urban Finance and Economic Development: A Case Study of Mexico City, with Oliver Oldman, Richard Bird, and Stephan Kass, Harvard University Press, 1967.

# Other Published Research

"The Transformation of Medicare, 2015-2030," Forum for Health Economics and Policy, vol. 18, no 2, November 2015 (with Robert Reischauer) http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/fhep.ahead-of-print/fhep-2015-0043/fhep-2015-0043.xml

"The Economics and Politics of Long-term Budget Projections," Hutchins Center on Fiscal & Monetary Policy at Brookings, Working Paper #8, December 15, 2014

"The Fiscal Challenges of Population Aging: The Contrasting Cases of the United States and Japan," *Public Policy Review*, vol. 10, no. 2, August 2014, pp. 277-299

- "Potential Effects of the Affordable Care Act on Income Inequality," 27 January 2014
- "A Review: *The Elgar Guide to Tax Systems*, edited by Emilio Albi and Jorge Martinez-Vazquez," *The National Tax Journal*, vol. 66, no. 2 (June 2013), pp. 499-504
- "Systemic Reform of Health Care Delivery and Payment," in *The Economists' Voice 2.0: The Financial Crisis, Health Reform, and More, Aaron S. Edlin and Joseph E. Stiglitz*, editors, Columbia, 2012
- "Social Security Reconsidered," National Tax Journal, vol. 64, no. 2, pt. 1, June 2011, pp. 385-414.
- "How to Think About the U.S. Budget Challenge," Journal of Public Policy and Management, 2010
- "To Find the Answer, One Must Know the Question: Health Economics and Public Policy," in *Incentives and Choice in Health Care* (edited by Frank A. Sloan and Herschel Kasper), MIT Press, 2008, pp. 21-50.
- "A Federalist Approach to Health Reform: The Worst Way, Except for All the Others," (with Stuart M. Butler), *Health Affairs*, May/June 2008, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 725-735.
- "Health Care Rationing: Inevitable but Impossible," *Georgetown Law Journal*, Vol. 96, no. 2 (January 2008), pp. 539-558.
- "Budget Crisis, Entitlement Crisis, or Health Care Financing Problem—Which Is It?" *Health Affairs*, vol. 26, no. 6, November/December 2007, pp. 1622-16-33.
- "It's Health Care, Stupid! Why Control of Health Care Spending is Vital for Long-Term Fiscal Stability," in *Wanting It All: The Challenge of Reforming the U.S. Health Care System,* edited by Jane Sneddon Little, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, 2007
- "Meeting the Dilemma of Health Care Access: Extending Insurance Coverage While Controlling Costs," in *Opportunity 08: Independent Ideas For America's Next President*, Michael E. O'Hanlon, editor, Brookings, 2007, pp. 276-287
- "Meeting the Challenge of Health Care Quality: Achieve Reforms in Medicare, Quality, and Malpractice," in *Opportunity 08: Independent Ideas For America's Next President*, Michael E. O'Hanlon, editor, Brookings, 2007, pp. 288-302
- "Medium-term Strategies for Long-term Goals," in *Tackling Japan's Fiscal Challenges: Strategies to Cope with High Public Debt and Population Aging*, edited by Keimei Kaizuka and Anne O. Krueger, International Monetery Fund, 2006, pp. 79-104

"Longer life-spans: boon or burden," Daedalus, Winter, 2006, pp. 9-19

"Health," in *Restoring Fiscal Sanity, 2005: Meeting the Long-Run Challenge*, edited by Alice M. Rivlin and Isabel Sawhill, Brookings 2005, pp. 73-98 (with Jack Meyer)

"Our Best Anti-Poverty Program," The American Prospect, February 2005

"The Impact of an Aging Population," (with Peter Orszag) and "Meeting the Revenue Challenge," (with William G. Gale and Peter R. Orszag) in Restoring Fiscal Sanity: How to Balance the Budget" edited by Alice M. Rivlin and Isabel Sawhill, Brookings 2004, pp. 93-110, 111-126

"Uncertainty and Pension Policy," (with Benjamin Harris) in *The Economics of Social Security in Iapan*, edited by Toshiaki Tachibanaki, Edward Elgar, 2004, pp. 43-74.

"The Truth About Social Security and Medicare: An Interview with Henry Aaron," *Challenge*, May-June 2004, pp. 27-41.

"How Federalism Could Spur Bipartisan Action on the Uninsured," *Health Affairs Web Exclusive*, 31 March 2004, W4-168

"HSAs—The 'Sleeper' in the Medicare Bill," Tax Notes, 23 February 2004, 1025-1030

"The Costs of Health Care Administration in the United States and Canada—Questionable Answers to a Questionable Question," *New England Journal of Medicine*, Volume 349:801-803 August 21, 2003"

"Should Public Policy Seek to Control the Growth of Health Care Spending?" *Health Affairs*, January 2003, Web Exclusive, pp. W3-28–3-36.

"Budget Estimates: What We Know, What We Can't Know, and Why It Matters," in *Policies for an Aging Society*, edited by Stuart H. Altman and David I. Shachtman, Johns Hopkins Press, 2002, pp. 63-80

"Will The Welfare State Survive into the 21st Century?" *The Economic Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 2, August 2001, pp. 178-193

"Governor Bush's Individual Account Proposal: Implications for Retirement Benefits," (with Alan S. Blinder, Alicia H. Munnell, and Peter R. Orszag) Century Foundation Issue Brief No. 11, April 2000

"Chinese Social Security Reform: Personal Security and Economic Development," in *Social Security Reform in China*, Economic Science Press, Beijing, 1999; and *Social Security Reform: Options for China*, World Scientific Publishing Company, 2000.

"Medicare Choice: Good, Bad, or It all Depends," in *Medicare Reform: Issues and Answers*, edited by Andrew J. Rettenmaier and Thomas R. Saving, University of Chicago Press, 1999, pp. 37-64

"The Phony Issue of Double Counting," Tax Notes, February 1, 1999, vol. 82, No. 5

"Competition in the Financing and Delivery of Health Care: Why, When, and How?" in *Government and Health Systems: Implications of Differing Involvements*, edited by David Chinitz and Joshua Cohen, Wiley, 1998, pp. 35-50

"Social Insurance Works: Fix it, Don't Scrap it," *The Public Manager*, Summer 1997, vol. 26, no. 2.

"Privatizing Social Security: A Bad Idea Whose Tme Will Never Come," *The Brookings Review*, Summer 1997.

"Fundamental Tax Reform: Miracle or Mirage?" (with William G. Gale) and "Preparing for the Baby Boomers' Retirement" (with Barry P. Bosworth) chapters in *Setting National Priorities: Budget Choices for the Next Century*, edited by Robert D. Reischauer, Brookings 1997.

"The Medicare Reform Debate: What Is the Next Step?" Health Affairs, Winter 1995 (with Robert D. Reischauer).

"Small Steps: Health Care Reform is Still Possible," The Brookings Review, Spring 1995.

"Health Care Reform: The Clash of Goals, Facts, and Ideology," in *Individual and Social Responsibility: Child Care, Education, Medical Care, and Long-Term Care in America*, edited by Victor Fuchs (NBER), 1997

"Brookings Economists Share Views on Republican Initiatives: Testimony of Henry J. Aaron Before Joint Session of the House and Senate Budget Committees," *Tax Notes*, January 23, 1995.

"Thinking Straight About Medical Costs," Health Affairs, Winter 1994.

"Tax Issues in Health Care Reform," National Tax Journal, vol. XLVII, no. 2, June, 1994.

"Economic Issues in Reform of Health Care Financing," in *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity: Microeconomics*, 1994, Brookings (with Barry P. Bosworth).

"Economy Watch: The Balanced Budget Blunder," The Brookings Review, Spring 1994.

"Issues Every Plan to Reform Health Care Financing Must Confront," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Summer 1994, vol. 8, no. 3.

"Health Care Reform and U.S. Competitiveness," May 1994, Competitiveness Policy Council (with Barry P. Bosworth).

"Distinguished Lecture on Economics in Government: Public Policy, Values, and Consciousness," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Spring 1994, vol. 8, no. 2.

"Sowing the Seeds of Reform in 1994," Health Affairs, Spring (I) 1994.

"Paying for Health Care," Domestic Affairs-2, Winter 1993/94.

"Budget Limits and Managed Competition: Allies Not Antagonists," *Health Affairs*, Fall, 1993; and in Debating Health Care Reform: A Primer for Health Affairs, 1993

"Managed Competition: Little Cost Containment without Budget Limits," *Health Affairs, Supplement*, 1993 (with William B. Schwartz).

"Health Care Cost Limits and Medical Research," paper prepared for Dana Farber Cancer Institute of Harvard Medical Center, March 1993 (with William B. Schwartz).

"Employer Mandates: The Only Practicable Option," presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Academy of Social Insurance, January 1993.

"Equity in the Finance and Delivery of Health Care," *Journal of Health Economics*, December 1992.

"The Economics and Politics of Pensions: Evaluating the Choices," in *Private Pensions and Public Policy*, OECD, 1992.

"Commentary" in Who Benefits from the Nonprofit Sector? edited by Charles T. Clotfelter, University of Chicago Press, 1992.

"Reassessing the Role for Wealth Transfer Taxes," *National Tax Journal*, vol XLV, no. 2, June, 1992 (with Alicia H. Munnell) [reprinted in *Federal Wealth Transfer Tax Anthology*, edited Paul L. Caron, et al., Cincinnati, 1998].

"The Capital Gains Tax Cut: Economic Panacea or Just Plain Snake Oil?" *The Brookings Review*, Summer 1992.

"Choosing from the Health Care Menu," The Journal of American Health Policy, November/December 1991.

"Silver Threads: Pension and Health Policy for an Aging Society," Fulfilling America's Promise edited by Joseph A. Pechman, 1992.

"The Worst Health Care Reform Plan...Except for All the Others," *Challenge*, November/December 1991.

"Looking Backward: 2001-1991: The History of the Health Care Financing and Reform Act of 1998," *The Brookings Review*, Summer 1991.

"Must We Ration Health Care?," Best's Review, vol. 91, no. 9, January 1991, pp. 37-41 (with William B. Schwartz).

"Lessons for Tax Reform," in *Do Taxes Matter: The Impact of the Tax Reform Act of 1986*, edited by Joel Slemrod, MIT Press 1990.

"Rationing Health Care: The Choice Before Us," *Science*, vol. 247, no. 4941, June 26, 1989, pp. 418-422 (with William B. Schwartz); reprinted in *Readings, Issues and Problems in Public Finance*, edited by Eleanor Brown and Robert L. Moore, Irwin, 1992.

"Alternate Roads to Consumption Taxation--Administration Versus Tax Structure," Heidelberg Congress on Taxing Consumption, 1989.

"Politics and the Professors Revisited," Richard T. Ely Lecture, *The American Economic Review*, vol. 79, no. 2, May 1989.

"What is the Appropriate Size of the Social Security Trust Fund Reserves?" in *Conference Proceedings Social Security Trust Funds: Issues for the 1990s and Beyond*, (AARP), February 23, 1989.

"Lessons from the United Kingdom," in Rationing of Medical Care for the Critically Ill," *Brookings Dialogues on Public Policy*, edited by M. Srosberg, I. Fein, and J. Carroll, The Brookings Institution, 1989.

"Tax Increases: Choosing Among Four Broad Options," *The Brookings Review*, Winter 1988/89.

"How Social Security Affects the Deficit," *The Brookings Review*, Winter 1988/89, (with Barry P. Bosworth and Gary Burtless).

"Some Observations on Taxation and International Economic Transactions," *Tax Policy and Economy*, (L'Ordinamento Tributario, A Cura di Antonio Pistone, Atti Del Convegno di Caserta), 1988, paper presented to the Caserta Conference on Tax Policy, June 11-13, 1987, Caserta, Italy.

"The Value-Added Tax: Sorting Through the Practical and Political Problems," *The Brookings* Review, vol. 6, no. 3, Summer 1988, (reprinted as "The Political Economy of a Value-Added Tax in the United States" in *Tax Notes*, vol. 38, no. 10, March 7, 1988, pp. llll-1116.

"Richer Means Harder to Tax," in Herbert Stein, editor, Tax Policy in the Twenty-First Century, John Wiley & Sons, 1988.

"The Painful Prescription: Rationing Medical Care," in Eleanor Brown, editor, Readings, Issues, and Questions in Public Finance, 1988 (with William B. Schwartz).

"Taxation, Finance and Housing Policy; The Experience of the United States," 1987 (Japanese publication), paper prepared for the International Conference on Finance and Tax in Housing, Tokyo, Japan, October 20-21, 1987.

"The Impossible Dream Comes True: the New Tax Reform Act," *The Brookings Review*, vol. 5, no. 1, Winter 1987.

Review of "United States Taxes and Tax Policy" by David G. Davies for *The Journal of Economic Literature*, Summer 1987.

"Questioning the Cost of Biomedical Research," Health Affairs, Summer 1986, pp. 96-99.

"When Is a Burden Not a Burden? The Elderly in America," *The Brookings Review*, vol. 4, no. 3, Summer 1986.

"Six Welfare Questions Still Searching for Answers," in Marshall Kaplan and Peggy Cuciti, editors, *The Great Society and Its Legacy*, Duke University Press, 1986; and in The Brookings Review, vol. 3, no. 1, Fall 1984.

"Comment (on papers by David Mundell and Ernest Stromsdorfer), in *Social Experimentation*, edited by Jerry A. Hausman and David A. Wise, University of Chicago Press, 1985, pp. 272- 277.

"Health Care Costs: The Social Tradeoffs," *Issues in Science and Technology*, Winter 1985, pp. 39-46 (with William B. Schwartz).

"How to Make the President's Good Tax Reform Plan Even Better," *The Brookings Review*, vol. 3, no. 4, Summer 1985.

"Some Further Thoughts on the Recapture of Excess Depreciation," *Tax Notes*, July 15, 1985, vol. 28, no. 3, Section 1, pp. 315-20.

"Hospital Cost Control: A Bitter Pill to Swallow," *Harvard Business Review*, March-April, 1985, vol. 64, no. 2, pp. 160-67 (with William B. Schwartz), "Honorable Mention" award from The American College of Health Care Executives for 1985.

"Tax Reform: The Long and Short Runs of It," *The Economic Outlook for 1985*, The University of Michigan, November 1984, pp. 371-87 (with Harvey Galper).

"Commentary: Prospective Payment: The Next Big Policy Disappointment?," *Health Affairs*, vol. 3, no. 3, Fall 1984.

"Social Welfare in Australia" in Richard E. Caves and Lawrence B. Krause, editors, *The Australian Economy: A View from the North*, Brookings, 1984.

"A Tax on Consumption, Bequests, and Gifts, and Other Strategies for Reform," in *Options for Tax Reform*, Brookings, 1984 (with Harvey Galper).

"Reforming the Tax System," in Alice Rivlin, editor, *Economic Choices: 1984*, Brookings 1984 (with Harvey Galper).

"Rationing Hospital Care: Lessons for Britain," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, vol. 310, no. 1, January 5, 1984 (with William B. Schwartz).

"The Choices Ahead" in Joseph A. Pechman, editor, Setting National Priorities: The 1984 Budget, Brookings, 1983.

"Cutting Back the Welfare State" in *Social Policy Evaluation: An Economic Perspective*, Academic Press, 1983 and in *Comparative Tax Studies: Essays in Honor of Richard Goode*, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1983.

"Orange Light for the Competitive Model," Journal of Health Economics, vol. 2, 1983

A Report: Taxation of Life Insurance Companies, American Council of Life Insurance, 1982.

"Consumption Revenue, Structural, and Equity Effects," with Eugene Steuerle in *Tax Notes*, vol. 15, no. 7, May 17, 1982, pp. 523-30.

"Nondefense Programs," in Joseph A. Pechman, editor, Setting National Priorities: The 1983 Budget, Brookings, 1982.

"Welfare Reform: What Kind and When?" in *Income Support--Conceptual and Policy Issues*, Peter G. Brown, Conrad Johnson, Paul Vernier, (eds.), Rowman and Littlefield, 1981.

"The Economic Implications of the President's Proposed Spending Reductions," in *Tax Notes*, vol. 13, no. 4, July 27, 1981, pp. 195-99.

"Economic Aspects of the Role of Government in Health Care," in *Health, Economics, and Health Economics*, J. Van der Gaag and M. Perlman (eds), North-Holland Publishing Co., 1981.

"Policy Implications of the Housing Allowance Experiments," in *Do Housing Allowances Work?* Anthony Downs and Katharine Bradbury (eds), Brookings, 1981.

"The Domestic Budget," in Setting National Priorities--The 1980 Budget, Joseph A. Pechman, editor, Brookings, 1979.

"The Use of Income Maintenance Experiment findings in Public Policy 1977-78," *Proceedings of Industrial Relations Research Association Series*, 1978 (with John Todd).

"Inflation and the Income Tax," American Economic Review, May 1976.

"Demographic Effects on the Equity of Social Security Benefits," in *The Economics of Public Services*, Martin Feldstein, editor, 1976.

"Alternative Ways to Increase Work Effort under Income Maintenance Systems," *Integrating Income Maintenance Programs*, (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1975), pp. 161-88.

"A New View of Property Tax Incidence," *American Economic Review*, May 1974. [Reprinted in *The Distribution of Tax Burdens*, edited by Don Fulerton and Gilbert E.Metcalf, 2002]

"A Mixed Strategy for Housing Policy: Comments on H.R. 10036 and H.R. 10688," Statement before Subcommittee on Housing of the Committee on Banking and Currency, October 16, 1973.

"What Do Circuit Breaker Laws Accomplish?" in *Property Tax Reform*, George Peterson, ed., The Urban Institute, 1973.

"Review of 'The Politics of a Guaranteed Income' by Daniel P. Moynihan," *Yale Law Journal*, July 1973.

"Property Taxation: Reform and Relief, Comments on S. 1255," Statement before Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, May 2, 1973.

"Financing Welfare Reform and Income Distribution," in Welfare: A National Policy, papers presented at a Conference at UCLA, September 29, 1972, Institute of Industrial Relations, UCLA, 1973.

"Federal Housing Subsidies: History, Problems, and Alternatives," Statement before Joint Economic Committee, December 5, 1972; Brookings Institution Reprint No. 261.

"Federal Housing Subsidies," Compendium of Papers on the Economics of Federal Subsidy Programs (Joint Economic Committee, October 1972).

"Tax Changes and the Composition of Fixed Investment: An Aggregative Simulation," Review of Economics and Statistics (November 1972, with Frank S. Russek, Jr., and Neil Singer); Brookings Institution Reprint No. 257.

"Tax Reform and the Composition of Investment," *National Tax Journal*, March 1972 with Frank S. Russek, Jr. and Neil M. Singer; Brookings Reprint No. 228.

"The Honest Citizen's Guide to Revenue Sharing," Proceedings of the Sixty-Fourth Annual Conference of the National Tax Association, 1971, reprinted in *Tax Review*, October 1971, vol. XXXII, No. 10, reprinted in Harold Hochman (ed.), *The Urban Economy*, Norton, 1975.

"Inefficiency of Transfers in Kind: The Case of Housing Assistance," Western Economic Journal, June 1971 (with George M. von Furstenberg); Brookings Institution Reprint No. 210.

"Income Taxes and Housing," *American Economic Review*, December 1970; Brookings Institution Reprint No. 193.

"Inventory of Tax Incentives: Federal," in Tax Institute of America, *Tax Incentives*, (Lexington, Mass.; D.C. Health and Company, 1971), pp. 39-49; Brookings Institution Reprint No. 201.

"Local Public Expenditures and Migration Effect," Western Economic Journal, December 1969.

"Public Goods and Income Distribution," *Econometrica*, November 1970 (with Martin C. McGuire); Brookings Institution Reprint No. 202.

"What is a Comprehensive Tax Base Anyway?" *National Tax Journal*, December 1969.

"Tax Exemptions--The Artful Dodge," Trans-action, March 1968.

"Efficiency and Equity in the Optimal Supply of a Public Good," Review of Economics and Statistics, February 1969 (with Martin C. McGuire); Brookings Institution Reprint No. 154.

"Income Transfers for the Poor: A Quick Tour," Monthly Labor Review, March 1969.

The Differential Price Effects of a Value Added Tax," *National Tax Journal*, June 1968; Brookings Reprint No. 150.

"The Foundations of the 'War on Poverty' Reexamined," *American Economic Review*, December 1967.

"Some Observations of Property Tax Valuation and the Significance of Full Value Assessment," in *Proceedings of the Sixth Conference of the Committee of Taxation Resources and Economic Development*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, July 7, 1967, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

"The Objectives of Social Security," in *Old Age Income Assurance, Part III, Public Programs, A Compendium of Papers on Problems and Policy Issues in Public and Private Pension Systems*, Subcommittee to the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy of the Joint Economic Committee, 90th Congress, lst Session 1967); Brookings Institution Reprint No. 144 (with Joseph A. Pechman and Michael L. Taussig).

"The Structuralist-Monetarist Controversy: A Note on Evidence," *Journal of Development Studies*, January 1967.

"The Social Insurance Paradox," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, August 1966; reprinted in *Old Age Income Assurance*; reprinted in *Foundations of Pension Finance*, edited by Zvi Bodie and E. Philip Davis

"Social Security: Equities and Inequities under United States Social Security," and "International Comparison," in *The Economics of Income Maintenance* (Otto Eckstein, editor), Brookings Institution, December 1966.

"Rent Controls and Urban Development: A Case Study of Mexico City," *Social and Economic Studies*, December 1966.

"Rate Progressivity and the Direct Taxation of Personal Income," TAXES--The Tax Magazine, July 1966.

"Kaldor's Proposal for Limited Accelerated Depreciation: A Note," *Indian Economic Journal*, July-September 1965.

"Some Comments on Tax Burden Indices," National Tax Journal, September 1965.

"Assessment Sales Ratios Under the Boston Property Tax," with Oliver Oldman, *National Tax Journal*, March 1965.

# **Popular Articles**

"Obamacare Is Here To Stay, So Let's Fix It," Real Clear Markets, 12 June 2014

"Here to Stay—Beyond the Rough Launch of the ACA," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 12 June 2014 vo. 370, no. 24, pp. 2257-2259

"The Legal Challeges to Obamacare Are Absurd," Real Clear Markets, 1 April 2014

"States Engaging in Fiscal Madness," National Journal Opinion, 18 March 2014

"Why Now Is Not the Time for Medicare Premium Support," (with Austin Frakt), *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 25 January 2012

"Triumph and Tribulation: How Progressives Might Approach Changes to Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security," *American Prospect*, 24 January 2014.

"The Parlous Prospects of Obamacare," BlogPost, 11 December 2013

"Now's Not the Time for Liberals to Say "I Told You So" About Obamacare," (with Harold Pollack), *The New Republic*, 28 November 2013

"Obamacare Policy Jiu-Jitsu," BlogPost, 14 November 2013

"Sizing Up the Obama Administration's Defense of the Health Reform Law," *The National Journal*, 9 January 2012

"The Super Committee: Less Important Than Meets The Eye," *Health Affiars Blog*, 19 November 2011

"It's Taxes, Stupid!" Kaiser Health News, 12 October 2011

"The Central Question for Health Policy in Deficit Reduction," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 12 October 2011

"Medicare Reform: Rhetoric versus Substance," The Brookings Institution, 11 October 2011

"Census Numbers Indicate the Safety Net is Working," Health Affairs Blog, 15 September 2011

- "IPAB Repeal Not Warranted," Politico, 15 July 2011
- "How the GOP Turned Tax Reform into a New Way to "Starve the Beast," *The New Republic*, 8 July 2011
  - "A Tale of Two Deficits" The New Republic, 11 June 2011
- "The Independent Payment Advisory Board —Congress's 'Good Deed" The New England Journal of Medicine, 11 May 2011
- "Wisconsin Rep. Paul Ryan's Roadmap to Nowhere: Budget Plan Will Not Reduce Our Deficit," New York Daily News, 10 April 2011
- "The Problems with "Premium Support" Medicare Reform Plans," *Brookings Up-front Blog*, 7 April 2011
- "How <u>Not</u> to Reform Medicare," New England Journal of Medicine, vol. 364(17), 28 April, 2011, 1588-15-90
- "Systemic Reform of Health Care Delivery and Payment," The Economists' Voice: Vol. 7: Issue. 5, Article 5. DOI: 10.2202/1553-3832.1823 Available at: http://www.bepress.com/ev/vol7/iss5/art5 December 2010
  - "All or Nothing = Nothing," The New York Times, 4 December 2010
  - "Put the Bowles-Simpson Plan on Ice," The Fiscal Times, 3 December 2010
  - "A Deficit-Reduction Plan Rife With Problems," The Fiscal Times, 12 November 2010
- "The Midterm Elections High Stakes for Health Policy," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 8 September 2010
  - "First, Do No Fiscal Harm," The Fiscal Times, 3 September 2010
- "Social Security: A Consensus Based on Confusion—Part I" and "Social Security: A Consensus Based on Confusion (Part II)," *The Fiscal Times*, 19-20 July 2010
- "The Sustainable Growth Rate for Physician Payment An Indispensable Abomination," New England Journal of Medicine, posted 9 July 2010, published 29 July 2010
- "The War Isn't Over," New England Journal of Medicine, posted 24 March, 2010, published 8 April 2010, pp. 1259-1261 (with Robert D. Reischauer)

"Health Care Reform in Perspective," New England Journal of Medicine, vol. 361, e30, no. 16, by Arnold Epstein, Henry J. Aaron, Katherine Baicker, Jacob Hacker, and Mark Pauly

- "Is Health Care Spending Excessive? If so, What Can We Do About It?" *Health Affairs*, 28, no. 5 (September/October 2009, pp. 1260-1275
- "Why Paying for Health Reform is Difficult and Essential: Numbers and Rules," New England Journal of Medicine, vol. 361, no. 10 (3 September 2009), pp. 1-3.
- "The Pitfalls of Overreaching in Health Reform," *Health Affairs*, 28, no. 2 (2009), w184-w187, (published on line 16 January 2009: 10:1377/hlthaff.28.2.w184)
- "Waste: We Know You are Out There," New England Journal of Medicine, vol. 359, no. 18 (30 October 2008), pp. 1865-1867.
  - "Social Security: Getting the Facts Right," The Fiscal Times, 28 March 2010
- "The Health Care War Isn't Over," (with Robert D. Reischauer), The New England Journal of Medicine, 24 March 2010
  - "Health Reform Essentials," Politico, 25 February 2010
  - "Paying for Health Care Not Fun, But Worth the Cost," The Fiscal Times, 25 February 2010
- "Forging Ahead Embracing the "Reconciliation" Option for Reform," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 10 February 2010
  - "A Budget Commission: Form Not Substance," The Fiscal Times, 2 February 2010
  - "Health Reform: The Need To Move Forward," Health Affairs, 1 February 2010
  - "Health Reform: The Way Forward, The National Journal, 28 January 2010
- "Cricket, Rugby and U.S. Health Reform: Three Sports, in Increasing Order of Violence," United Kingdom Health Economics Study Group, 7 January 2010
- "Health Reform Legislation Would Accomplish More Than Critics Admit," *The Washington Post*, 18 December 2009
- "Fix Baucus' Health Reform Rx: Three Big Changes Democrats Must Make for the Bill to Work" The New York Daily News, 13 October 2009
- "Bend the Revenue Curve: Health Reform Alone Won't End Deficits, (with Isabel Sawhill), The Washington Post, 13 October 2009
  - "Grading the Baucus Health Plan," The New York Times, 16 September 2009

- "Obama's Speech: Reviving Health Reform," Health Affairs, 10 September 2009
- "There Is a Better Way for Health Care Reform." (Review of *Chaos and Organization in Health Care*, by Thomas Lee and James Mongan), *Health Affairs*, 9 September 2009
- "There is No Entitlement Crisis; There Is a Health Care Funding Crisis," *The AARP Bulletin*, 1 September 2009
- "Why Paying for Health Care Reform Is Difficult and Essential: Numbers and Rules," New England Journal of Medicine, 5 August 2009
  - "Health Reform: The Reality Show," Kaiser Health News, June 18, 2009
  - "Health Care Entitlements and The Federal Budget" Comments to the Youth Entitlement Summit, June 15, 2009
  - "Health Care Reform: Beware of Interest Groups Bearing Gifts," Huffington Post, May 12, 2009
  - "U.S. Health Care Reform: The Art of the Possible," The New Republic Online, May 9, 2009
  - "Obama's Health Care Overhaul Begins," The Guardian, March 5, 2009
  - "There Is No Entitlement Crisis," Brookings Blog, February 23, 2009
  - "Memo to President Obama: Ensure that Health Reform Succeeds," Real Clear Politics, February 4, 2009
  - "A Vision for the U.S. Pension System at 100," The Fiscal High Road, January 29, 2009
  - "Debating the Deficit," *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 11 June 2004 [review of *The Coming Generational Storm* by Laurence J. Kotlikoff and Scott Burns]
  - "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly," The Washington Spectator, 15 January 2004
  - "The Grand Delusion," Century Issures, 15 October 2003
  - "Template for Health Care Coverage," The Washington Post, November 25, 2002
  - "Aaron Critiques Bush Tax Cut Proposal," Tax Notes, 12 March 2001, pp. 1558-62.
  - "Bush's Shaky Retirement Plan," (with Alan Blinder), The Washington Post, August 24, 2000
  - "Reforming Social Security without Watering It Down," TLAA-CREF Investment Forum, June 2000

"Don't Let Good News Stop Benefit Reforms," Los Angeles Times, April 24, 2000

"The Great Pretenders," The Washington Post, November 8, 1999

"To the Market," (with Robert D. Reischauer), The Washington Post, February 23, 1999

"Clinton's Got a Wise Plan for the Surplus," Newsday, February 2, 1999

"Budget—The Big Picture," Science, vol. 281, no. 5375, July 17, 1998

"Tune It Up, Don't Trade It In: The Future of Social Security," *The Washington Post, Outlook*, April 19, 1998 (with Robert Reischauer)

"A Look at Death and Taxes," The Washington Post, May 4, 1997.

"Is a Crisis Really Coming?: Two Experts Face Off Over the Future of Social Security and Medicare," *Newsweek*, December 9, 1996.

"The Myths of the Social Security Crisis: Behind the Privatization Push," *The Washington Post*, July 21, 1996.

"Newest Public Utility? Health Care" Newsday, January 25, 1996.

"An Ounce of Prevention as Costly as the Cure," *The Washington Post*, November 16, 1995 (with William B. Schwartz).

"Better Care, Yes. Cheaper, No Way," The New York Times, February 18, 1995.

"Baseball Ain't Broke," The Washington Post, August 9, 1994.

"There's No Free Lunch on Health-Care Reform," USA Today, June 7, 1994.

"Beware the Unattached Male," The Washington Post, February 16, 1994

"Social Security: It Is Affordable," *The Washington Post*, February 15, 1994 (with Robert Ball).

"Jim Cooper's Pointless Plan," The New York Times, February 13, 1994.

"The Myth of Means-Testing," The Washington Post, November 14, 1993 (with Robert Ball).

"At Last, a Solid Plan. Now, To Make It Work." The New York Times, September 22, 1993.

"What's The Rush on Health Care?" The New York Times, November 14, 1992

"The Right to Health Care Has Limits," The Wall Street Journal, September 17, 1993.

"Give the Family a Break," The New York Times, July 13, 1991.

"Why States, Cities are in Such a Sorry State," The Boston Globe, June 23, 1991.

"The Achilles Heel of Health Care Rationing," *The New York Times*, July 9, 1990, (with William B. Schwartz).

"If U.S. is unequal, Don't Blame the Payroll Tax," Wall Street Journal, February 14, 1990.

"Moynihan's Right, but...," The New York Times, January 18, 1990 (with Charles L. Schultze).

"Reviving IRAs Would Drain the Treasury," Newsday, November 24, 1989.

"But Deficits Really Do Matter," The Boston Globe, January 29, 1989 (with Gary Burtless).

"A Tough Choice on Health Care Costs," *The New York Times*, April 6, 1988 (with William B. Schwartz).

"Bite the Deficit, Not Social Security," *The Washington Post*, December 16, 1987 (with Robert Reischauer).

"Social Security: The Baby Boomers Need Those Reserves," *The Washington Post*, September 5, 1987.

"Social Security Lives," U.S. News and World Report, April 14, 1986, p. 77.

"Which Tax-Exempts to Exempt," The New York Times, April 2, 1986.

"How a V.A.T. Would Hurt Our Exports," The New York Times, March 23, 1986.

"Reagan's Tax Reform Shouldn't Be Sold as What It Isn't," *The Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1985 (with Harvey Galper).

"How to Tell If Reagan Is In Tax Wonderland," *The Washington Post: Outlook*, May 26, 1985 (with Harvey Galper).

"Rx for Disaster: A Surcharge on Imports," *The New York Times*, May 26, 1985 (with Robert Lawrence).

"How to Tell If Taxes Really Are Being Reformed," *The Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 1985 (with Harvey Galper).

"Tax Income When It Is Disposed Of," U.S. News and World Report, December 10, 1984. "The Painful Prescription," Enterprise, June/July 1984, (with William B. Schwartz).

"Big Deficit Creates Chance for Tax Reform," Los Angeles Times, June 26, 1984, Part II.

"Severe Medical Choices," The New York Times, March 11, 1984 (with William B. Schwartz).

"Tis the Season for Tax Folly," The Washington Post, December 18, 1982.

"The Social Security Solution," The Washington Post, December 12, 1982.

"Social Security Can Be Saved," Challenge, November/December 1981.

"Salvaging Social Security," The Washington Star, June 28, 1981.

"Budget Cuts," in *Public Interest Report, Journal of the Federation of American Scientist* (FAS), June 1981, vol. 34, no. 6, pp. 9-10.

"A Debate on Social Security," Across the Board, July 1980.

"Advisory Report on Social Security," in *Challenge*, March/April 1980, reprinted in *Economic Impact*, Number 32, 1980, as "Rejuvenating U.S. Social Security."

"Reforming Welfare," The New York Times, December 12, 1977.

"Soak the Poor," The New Republic, September 4, 1965.