

Curriculum Vitae
January 1, 2019

JOSEPH WHITE

Professor of Political Science
Luxenberg Family Professor of Public Policy
Professor, Population and Quantitative Health Science
Director, Center for Policy Studies
Case Western Reserve University

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Education:

Ph.D. - University of California, Berkeley, California (1989)
M.A. - University of California, Berkeley, California (1982)
A.B. - University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois (1976)

Theses:

Ph.D. - Appropriations, Congress, and American Governance
Advisors: Aaron Wildavsky, Todd LaPorte, Arnold Meltsner
M.A. - Crosscutting Objectives in Federal Assistance Programs: Implementation and Implications

Teaching Fields:

American and comparative health care policy and politics; policy-making processes; bureaucracy; comparative public policy; American politics, Congress, budgeting, interest group politics.

Research Fields:

Health care policy and politics both in U.S. and abroad; federal budgeting policy and politics; aging and affordability of Social Security and related programs; Congress; economics and public policy.

Professional Experience:

Professor of Political Science and Director, Center for Policy Studies, Case Western Reserve University. July 1, 2000 – present. Chair, Department of Political Science, July 1, 2003 – June 30, 2015. Secondary appointment in Population and Quantitative Health Sciences.

Visiting Scholar, Erasmus School of Health Policy and Management, Rotterdam, Netherlands. March 1 – May 15, 2018.

Visiting Professor, Sciences-Po Lyon, Lyon, France. January-February 2018.

Visiting Professor with the Chair in the Economics and Management of Health Services, Conservatoire National des Arts et Metiers, Paris. 2010-11 academic year

John G. Winant Visiting Professor of American Government, Rothermere American Institute, and Supernumerary Fellow of Balliol College. University of Oxford. Michaelmas Term (Oct-Dec) 2010

Associate Professor of Health Systems Management, Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, August 1998 – June, 2000 (Interim co-director, Institute for Health Services Research, Sept 1999 – June 2000)

Washington Scholar, Department of Government, Johns Hopkins University, Spring, 1998

Benedict Distinguished Visiting Professor of Political Science, Carleton College, Fall Term 1997

Project Director, The Twentieth Century Fund, "The Attack on Entitlements for the Elderly," July 1996--1999

Visiting Fellow, Governmental Studies Program, The Brookings Institution July 1996 -- Sept 1997

Senior Fellow, Governmental Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, July 1995 - June 1996

Research Associate, Governmental Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, March 1989 - June 1995

Adjunct Professor, Johns Hopkins University Washington Program, January 1996 - May 1996

Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University: Graduate Program in Public Policy, August - December 1995, January - May 1994; Department of Government, January - May 1991

Senior Research Analyst, Governmental Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, September 1988 - February 1989

Teaching Assistant, University of California at Berkeley, Fall 1981, Winter 1982, Winter 1983, Fall 1983

Publications:

Books:

False Alarm: Why the Greatest Threat to Social Security and Medicare is the Campaign to "Save" Them (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001; paperback with new afterword 2003)

Competing Solutions: American Health Care Proposals and International Experience (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1995)

The Deficit and the Public Interest: The Search for Responsible Budgeting in the 1980s with Aaron Wildavsky. (Berkeley and New York: University of California Press and the Russell Sage Foundation, 1989; paperback with new postscript 1991)

Edited Books:

Coedited with Monique Jerome-Forget and Joshua M. Wiener, *Health Care Reform Through Internal Markets: Experience and Proposals* (Montreal and Washington, IRPP and Brookings, 1995)

Coedited with Naomi Caiden, *Budgeting, Policy, Politics: An Appreciation of Aaron Wildavsky* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1995)

Articles and Book Chapters:

"Drawing Lessons From Canada's Experience With Single-Payer Health Insurance." *JAMA Internal Medicine* 178 (9) Sept. 2018: 1255-1257.

"Long-term budgeting: A cautionary tale from U.S. experience. *OECD Journal on Budgeting* Vol. 2017 No. 3 August, 2018: 129-178.

"Hypotheses and Hope: Policy Analysis and Cost Controls (or Not) in the Affordable Care Act." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 43(3) June 2018: 455-482.

"The Tax Exclusion for Employer-Sponsored Insurance Is Not Regressive – But What Is It?" *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 42(4), August 2017: 697-708

"From an illusion to confusion: Comments on the concept of "unsustainable" health care spending." In *Politiques de Santé: Idées, Innovations et Illusions*. Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean de Kervasdoué, (Paris: Ed. Economica, 2015) pp. 43-53.

"What Are Budgeting's Purposes? Comments on OECD's Principles of Budgetary Governance." *OECD Journal on Budgeting* 14(3), October 2015: 131-148.

"Jimmy Carter's and James Miller's Revenge: The Reasons and the Consequences for Presidential and Congressional Power of Measures to Ban Congressional 'Earmarks.'" *Case Western Reserve Law Review* 65 (4) Summer 2015: 1175-1199.

"The Challenge of Budgeting for Health Care Programmes." *OECD Journal on Budgeting*. 14 (1), December 2014: 73-107. A version is also included as Chapter 2 in OECD, *Fiscal Sustainability of Health Care Systems: Bridging Health and Finance Perspectives* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2015) pp. 45-78.

"American Health Care in International Perspective." Chapter 23 in James A Morone and Dan Ehlke eds., *Health Politics and Policy 5th ed.* Florence, KY: Cengage Learning, 2014. 366-384. Substantially updated from chapter in 4th edition, listed below.

"Budget-Makers and Health Care Systems." *Health Policy* 112(3), October 2013, 163-71.

"Cost Control After the ACA." *Public Administration Review* 73 (S1) 524-533 Sept/Oct 2013

"Presidents, Congress, and Budget Decisions." Chapter 9 in James A. Thurber ed., *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations 5th ed.* Lanham, MD : Rowman & Littlefield, 2013

"The 2010 U.S. Health Care Reform : Approaching and Avoiding How Other Countries Finance Health Care." *Health Economics, Policy and Law* 8(3) : 289-315. July, 2013 (Online 2012)

"Réformes, licornes, et zombies : Quelques réflexions sur les idées en politique de santé." In Jean de Kervasdoué ed., *Carnet de Santé de la France* 2012. Paris : Economica

"Obama et la réforme de l'assurance maladie. " In Olivier Richomme and Vincent Michelot eds., *Le bilan d'Obama*. Paris: Presses de Sciences-Pô, 2012

“Playing the Wrong PART: The Program Assessment Rating Tool and the Functions of the President’s Budget.” *Public Administration Review* 72(1), January 2012, 112-120.

“Prices, Volume, and the Perverse Effects of the Variations Crusade.” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 36(4) August 2011, pp. 775-790.

“Medicare and the Federal Budget: Misdiagnosed Problems, Inadequate Solutions.” Coauthored with Theodore R. Marmor and Jonathan Oberlander. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 30(4) Fall 2011, pp. 928-34. Point-Counterpoint with Joseph Antos, so also includes response to Antos, pp. 942-44.

“Muddling Through the Muddled Middle.” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* Special Issue on Health Care Reform 36 (3) June 2011, pp. 443-448.

“From Ambition to Desperation on the Budget.” In James A. Thurber ed., *Obama in Office: The First Two Years*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2011.

“My Health Policy Nightmare.” *Health Matrix* 21 (2), 2010, 423-436.

“Cost of Healthcare in Western Countries.” In David A. Warrell, Timothy M. Cox, and John D. Firth eds., *Oxford Textbook of Medicine* 5th edition. Vol. 1, 112-116. (entirely new text compared to 4th ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

“National Case Studies and Cross-National Learning: U.S. Health Care, 1993-2006.” *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* 12: 1/2 2010, 115-139.

"Paying for Performance in Primary Medical Care: Learning about and Learning from ‘Success’ and ‘Failure’ in England and California." With Ruth McDonald (lead author) and Theodore R. Marmor. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 34:5, 2009, 747-776.

“Public Attitudes Toward Health Care Spending Aren’t The Problem: Prices Are.” With Jonathan Oberlander. *Health Affairs* 28:5, 2009, 1285-1293.

“Systemwide Cost Control – The Missing Link in Health Care Reform.” With Jonathan Oberlander. *New England Journal of Medicine* 361, Sept 17, 2009; 1131-1133

“Gap and Parallel Insurance in Health Care Systems With Mandatory Contributions to a Single Funding Pool for Core Medical and Hospital Benefits for All Citizens in Any Given Geographic Area.” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 34:4, 2009, 543-83.

“The United States: Risks for Americans and Lessons for Abroad.” In Theodore R. Marmor, Richard Freeman, and Kieke G. H. Okma eds., *Comparative Studies and the*

Politics of Modern Medical Care. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

“Primary Care and Health Reform: Concepts, Confusions and Clarifications.” With Theodore R. Marmor. In Theodore R. Marmor, Richard Freeman, and Kieke G. H. Okma eds., *Comparative Studies and the Politics of Modern Medical Care.*

“The President’s Budget vs. Congressional Budgeting: Institutionalizing the Adversarial Presidency?” In James A. Thurber ed., *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations 4th ed.* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009)

“Capacity and Authority: Comments on Governing Doctors and Health Care.” *Health Economics, Policy and Law* (2009) 4: 367-382

“The Obama Administration’s Options for Health Care Cost Control: Hope vs. Reality.” With Theodore R. Marmor and Jonathan Oberlander. *Annals of Internal Medicine* 150, No. 7 (7 April 2009). Also <http://www.annals.org/cgi/content/full/0000605-200904070-00114v1>. Republished in Theodore R. Marmor and Claus Wendt eds., *Reforming Health Care Systems* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, March 2011)

“What Not to Ask of Budget Processes: Lessons from George W. Bush’s Years.” *Public Administration Review* (69:2) March/April 2009, pp 224-232.

“Time to Retire the Normal Retirement Age?” In Randall Eberts and Richard A. Hobbie eds., *Older and Out of Work: Jobs and Social Insurance for a Changing Economy.* (Kalamazoo, MI: The Upjohn Institute, 2008), pp. 183-204.

“Policy and Politics: A Commentary on the Conference on Social Insurance for Health Care: Economic, Legal, and Political Considerations.” In Colleen Flood, Mark Stabile, and Carolyn Tuohy eds. *Exploring Social Insurance: Can a Dose of Europe Cure Canadian Health Care Finance?* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008), pp. 233 – 249.

“American Health Care in International Perspective.” In James A. Morone, Theodor J. Litman, and Leonard S. Robins ed., *Health Politics and Policy 4th ed.* (Florence, KY: Cengage Learning, 2008) pp. 416-30.

“Markets and Medical Care: The United States, 1993-2005.” *The Milbank Quarterly* 85:3 (September, 2007): 395-448

“Protecting Medicare: The Best Defense is a Good Offense.” *Journal of Health Policy, Politics, and Law* 32:2 (April, 2007): 221-246

“Compared to Other Countries: How Exceptional Are the Health and Income Security

Arrangements of the United States?" *Generations* 29:1 (Spring 2005) . Reprinted in Charlene Harrington and Carroll Estes with Brooke Hollister eds., *Health Policy: Crisis and Reform in the U.S. Health Care Delivery System 5th ed.* (2007) Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett.

"Making Connections to the Appropriations Process" in Paul S. Herrnson, Ronald G. Shaiko and Clyde Wilcox eds., *The Interest Group Connection: Electioneering, Lobbying, and Policymaking 2nd. ed.* (CQ Press, 2004)

"(How) is Aging a Health Policy Problem?" *Yale Journal of Health Policy, Law and Ethics*, 4:1 (Winter 2004)

"The Social Security and Medicare Debate Three Years After the 2000 Election," *Public Policy & Aging Report* 13:4 (November 2003)

"Three Meanings of Capacity: Why the Federal Government is Most Likely to Lead on Health Insurance Access Issues". *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 28:2-3 (April - June 2003). Republished in Theodore R. Marmor and Claus Wendt eds., *Reforming Health Care Systems* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, March 2011)

"The Cost of Health Care in Western Countries," in David A. Warrell, Timothy M. Cox, and John D. Firth eds., *Oxford Textbook of Medicine, 4th ed.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

"Budget Estimates: The Entitlement Crisis Never Existed" in Stuart H. Altman and David I. Shactman eds., *Policies for an Aging Society* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002)

"National Health Care/Insurance Systems," in Neil J. Smelser ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences 4th ed. Vol. 15* (Elsevier, 2001)

"Budget" in Joel Krieger ed., *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World 2nd ed.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001)

"Introduction" in Aaron Wildavsky, *Budgeting and Governing* Brendon Swedlow ed., (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2001).

"Looking in the Wrong Place: Why Chile Provides No Evidence for Social Security Privatization," *Public Budgeting & Finance* 20:4 (Winter, 2000)

"Budgeting for Social Security, Or: When Are Savings Really Savings?" *Public Budgeting & Finance* 20:3 (Fall, 2000)

"Choice, Trust, and Two Models of Quality" *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* (24:5) special issue on "The Managed Care Backlash," October 1999

"Targets and Systems of Health Care Cost Control" *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* (24:4) August 1999

"Uses and Abuses of Long-Term Medicare Cost Estimates," *Health Affairs* (18:1) January/February 1999

"Budgeting for Entitlements," Chapter 27 in Roy T. Meyers, ed., *The Handbook of Government Budgeting* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1999)

"Entitlement Budgeting vs. Bureau Budgeting," *Public Administration Review* (58:6) November/December 1998. Reprinted as chapter 25 in Irene S. Rubin ed., *Public Budgeting: Policy, Process, and Politics* (New York, M.E. Sharpe, 2008).

"Health Care Reform: What is the Problem?" in Theodore R. Marmor and Philip R. De Jong eds., *Ageing, Social Security and Affordability* (Aldershot UK, Brookfield USA: Ashgate, 1998)

"Making 'Common Sense' of Federal Budgeting" *Public Administration Review* (58:2) March/April 1998. Reprinted as chapter 1 in Irene S. Rubin ed., *Public Budgeting: Policy, Process, and Politics* (New York, M.E. Sharpe, 2008).

"Eine amerikanische Sicht der Gesundheitsreform in Deutschland" *RWI-Mitteilungen*, Jahrgang 48 (1997)

"Which 'Managed Care' for Medicare?" *Health Affairs* (16:5) September/October 1997.

"Health Care Reform the International Way," *Issues in Science and Technology* (12:1) Fall, 1995

"Budgeting and Health Policymaking" in Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein, eds., *Intensive Care: How Congress Shapes Health Care Policy* (Brookings: 1995)

"The Horses and the Jumps: Comments on the Health Care Reform Steeplechase," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* (20:2) Summer, 1995

"Appropriations" and "Senate Appropriations Committee" in Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller, eds. *The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995)

"The Relation Between Universal Health Insurance and Cost Control" *New England Journal of Medicine* (332:11) March 16, 1995 (with Mark A. Goldberg and Theodore R. Marmor)

"Managing Health Care Costs in the United States," in Jerome-Forget, White, and Wiener, *Health Care Reform Through Internal Markets*

"Budget Blues" in forum on national health care reform, *PS: Political Science and Politics* (27:2) June, 1994

"Managing the Right Premium" in forum on the Clinton reform plan, *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* (19:1) Spring, 1994

"(Almost) Nothing New Under the Sun: Why the Work of Budgeting Remains Incremental" *Public Budgeting & Finance* (14:1) Spring, 1994. (also in Caiden and White, *Budgeting, Policy, Politics: An Appreciation of Aaron Wildavsky*)

"Paying the Right Price: What the United States Can Learn from Health Care Abroad," *Brookings Review* (12:2) Spring 1994

"An International Perspective on Health Care Cost Control" *Domestic Affairs* (2) Winter 1993-94

"Markets, Budgets, and Health Care Cost Control" *Health Affairs* (12:3) Fall, 1993

"Market Choices: Europe's Healthcare Dilemmas" *The Health Service Journal* (8 April, 1993)

"Decision Making in the Appropriations Subcommittees on Defense and Foreign Operations," in Randall B. Ripley and James M. Lindsay, eds., *Congress Resurgent: Foreign and Defense Policy on Capitol Hill* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993)

"Presidential Power and the Budget" in Thomas D. Lynch, ed. *Federal Budget and Financial Management Reform* Greenwood Press, Westport, CT 1991

"The Two-Faced Profession" *Public Budgeting and Finance* (10:3) Autumn, 1990

"How to Fix the Deficit--Really" (with Aaron Wildavsky) in *The Public Interest*, No. 94, Winter, 1989.

"Public Authority and the Public Interest: What the 1980s Budget Battles Tell Us about the American State" (with Aaron Wildavsky), *Journal of Theoretical Politics* (1:1) January, 1989.

"The Continuing Resolution: A Crazy Way to Govern?" *The Brookings Review*, (6:3) Summer 1988.

"What Budgeting Cannot Do: Lessons of Reagan's and Other Years" in Irene Rubin, ed., *New Directions in Budget Theory* State University of New York Press, Albany, 1988.

Edited/Coordinated articles:

(with Theodore R. Marmor): The Health Care Study Group, "Understanding the Choices in Health Care Reform" *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* (19:3) Fall, 1994

"Working With Aaron Wildavsky: Edited Transcription of a Round Table in Remembrance of Aaron Wildavsky," in Caiden and White, eds., *Budgeting, Policy, Politics*

Working Papers and Project Reports

"Long-Term Budgeting." Working Paper No. 8 in *New Ideas for Federal Budgeting*, working papers for the National Budgeting Roundtable. October, 2016. George Mason University Centers on the Public Service, Schar School of Policy and Government. At <http://www.budgetingroundtable.com/>

"A Critical Review of the Hsiao and Vermont Health Care Financing Reports and a Summary of the OECD Literature on Administrative Costs Across OECD Health Care Systems." Memorandum prepared for The Hastings Center, August 5, 2013.

"Cutting Health Care Spending: What Is The Cost of an Excise Tax That Keeps People From Going To The Doctor?" With Timothy S. Jost. Health care reform discussion paper, posted on the Campaign for America's Future website, January 13, 2010 at <http://www.ourfuture.org/jost-white>

"Cost Control and Health Care Reform: The Case for All-Payer Regulation." Health care reform discussion paper, posted to the Campaign for America's Future website, May 2009, at <http://www.ourfuture.org/files/JWhiteAllPayerCostControl.pdf>

"Implementing Health Care Reform with All-Payer Regulation, Private Insurers, and a Voluntary Public Insurance Plan." Health care reform discussion paper, posted to the Campaign for America's Future website, May 2009, at <http://www.ourfuture.org/files/JWhiteAllPayerImplementing.pdf>

“Summary of the Discussion.” In Chapter 3, “Increasing Public Expenditures on Health Care,” of *Reforming Health Social Security: Proceedings of an International Seminar*. Human Development Sector Unit, East Asia and the Pacific Region, The World Bank, Working Paper Series No. 2005-4 (June 2005), pp. 135-146.

“Understanding Medicare Long-Term Cost Estimates,” Century Foundation White Paper, November 1999

"A Comparative Study of Health Care Policy in the United States and Canada: What Policymakers in Latin America Might and Might Not Learn From Their Neighbors to the North" United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean Serie Financiamiento del Desarrollo, No. 52, 1997.

"Medical Savings Accounts: Fact Versus Fiction" (Brookings Occasional Paper: June, 1995)

Book Reviews:

Review Articles:

“Politics and (Health) Administration.” Review of Henry J. Aaron and William B. Schwartz, with Melissa Cox, *Can We Say No?*; Jonathan Engel, *Poor Peoples’ Medicine: Medicaid and American Charity Care since 1965*; Peter J. Neumann, *Using Cost-Effectiveness Analysis to Improve Health Care: Opportunities and Barriers*; and Jill Quadagno, *One Nation Uninsured: Why the U.S. Has No National Health Insurance*. *Public Administration Review*, Jan/Feb 2007, pp. 175-179.

"Learning From Outliers." Review of John Creighton Campbell and Naoki Ikegami, *The Art of Balance in Health Policy: Maintaining Japan's Low-Cost, Egalitarian System* and Donald W. Light, *Effective Commissioning: Lessons from Purchasing in American Managed Care*, in *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 25:4 (August 2000)

Review Article (seven healthcare policy books) *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* (12:3) Summer 1993

"Much Ado About Everything: Making Sense Out of Federal Budgeting" review article, *Public Administration Review* (45:5), September/October 1985.

Other Book Reviews:

Andrew Koppelman, *The Tough Luck Constitution and the Assault on Health Care Reform*. In *Political Studies Quarterly* 129(2), Summer 2014.

Theodore R. Marmor and Rudolf Klein, *Politics, Health, and Health Care: Selected Essays*. In *Health Affairs* 32(10), October 2013, p. 1852.

Marc A. Rodwin. *Conflicts of Interest and the Future of Medicine*. In *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 37(1), February 2012, pp. 149-54.

Ezekiel J. Emanuel. *Healthcare Guaranteed: a Simple, Secure Solution for America*. In *The American Journal of Bioethics* (8:12), December 2008, pp. 67-68.

Tom Daschle, with Scott S. Greenberger and Jeanne M. Lambrew. *Critical: What We Can Do About the Health Care Crisis*. In *Journal of Clinical Investigation* (118:9), September 2008, p. 2991.

Timothy Stolfus Jost. *Health Care at Risk: A Critique of the Consumer-Driven Movement*. In *Perspectives on Politics* (6:3), June 2008, pp. 608-09.

David Mechanic, Lynn B. Rogut, David C. Colby and James R. Knickman, ed. *Policy Challenges in Modern Health Care*. In *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* (31:4) August 2006, pp. 848-859.

David G. Smith, *Entitlement Politics: Medicare and Medicaid, 1995-2001*. In *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, (29:3) June 2004

Paul Light, *Government's Greatest Achievements: From Civil Rights to Homeland Security*. In *Congress & the Presidency* 30:1 (Spring, 2003)

Eric A. Feldman and Ronald Bayer eds., *Blood Feuds: AIDS, Blood, and the Politics of Medical Disaster*. In *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 27:1 (February, 2002)

Andre Blais and Stephane Dion eds., *The Budget- Maximizing Bureaucrat: Appraisals and Evidence*. In *Public Administration Review* (54:1) Jan/Feb 1994

Daniel P. Franklin, *Making Ends Meet: Congressional Budgeting in the Age of Deficits*. In *Political Science Quarterly* 108 (3) Fall 1993.

D. Roderick Kiewiet and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Congressional Parties and the Appropriations Process*. In *Political Science Quarterly* 107 (1) Spring 1992.

Lawrence Seidman, *Saving for America's Future: Parables and Policies*. In *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol, 516, July 1991.

Allen Schick, ed., *Crisis in the Budget Process*. In *Public Budgeting and Finance* (6:3) Autumn, 1986.

Robert W. Hartman, *Pay and Pensions for Federal Workers*. In *Public Administration Review* (44:2) March/April 1984.

Testimony to Hearings of Committees of the U.S. Congress

The Budget Resolution: Content, Timeliness, and Enforcement. Hearing Before the Joint Select Committee on Budget and Appropriation Process Reform, 115th Congress Second Session, May 24, 2018.

Expedited Rescission Authority for the President. Hearing Before the Legislation and National Security Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, U.S. House of Representatives. 103rd Congress, First Session, March 10, 1993. Washington, DC: U.S. GPO. ISBN 0-16-041284-6

Budget Process: Testimony of Hon. Anthony Beilenson and a Panel of Experts. Hearing Before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. 103rd Congress First Session, March 23, 1993. Washington, DC: U.S. GPO. ISBN 0-16-040671-4

Experience of Foreign Nations in Controlling Health Care Costs. Hearing Before the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate. 103rd Congress First Session, October 13, 1993. Washington, DC: U.S. GPO. ISBN 0-16-044694-5

Federal Budget Process Reform. Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Government Management, Information and Technology, Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, U.S. House of Representatives. 104th Congress Second Session, March 27, 1996. Washington, DC: U.S. GPO. ISBN 0-16-055245-1

(Selected Commentaries -- Hard Copy in Academic or Semi-Academic Journals):

"The Cadillac Tax and the Affordable Care Act." Letter to the Editor, *New England Journal of Medicine* 375(2). July 14, 2016, p. 195.

"Is organizational complexity the way to improve medical care? Unscientific reflections from going to the doctor in Cleveland and Paris." *Journal of Health Services Research and Policy* 20(2), April 2015, pp. 126-128.

"'Bending the Cost Curve' and the Politics of Cost Control". *Journal of Health Services Research and Policy* 16(4), October 2011, pp. 195-196.

"Polsby and Wildavsky." *The Forum* (2007) 5:1, Article 16.
<http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol5/iss1/art16>

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"Budget Endgame" *The Brookings Review*, Fall, 1995 p.50.

"Small Business Versus Doctors," *The Brookings Review*, Summer, 1994, p. 48.

"Health Reform Here and Abroad," *The Brookings Review*, Summer, 1993, p. 47.

"Pretzel Logic" (with Aaron Wildavsky) *The Brookings Review*, (8:2) Spring 1990.

(Selected Op-Eds or Commentaries -- Hard Copy in Magazines or Newspapers):

"Protecting Medicare: The Best Defense is a Good Offense". *Democratic Left* Summer 2005, pp. 6-7.

"Bush, Taft and the details of faith," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 24, 2001.

"Florida Should Vote Again," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, November 30, 2000.

"No Radical Reform for Medicare," *Newsday*, April 1 1999, p. A53.

"Tax Breaks For Healthy People" *The Washington Post*, May 26, 1996, p. A19.

"The Line-item Veto: Too much power for President" *New York Daily News*, April 2, 1996, p.31.

"Let 50 Flowers Bloom," *The New York Times* September 28, 1994, p. A21.

"Guest Observer: Before the Big Vote, House Should Hold Real Health Debate," *Roll Call* July 11, 1994, p. 5.

"Guest Observer: Put Reconciliation On a Fast Track, But Not Health Care," *Roll Call* March 4, 1993, p. 3.

"Who Will Take 'Tough Medicine'?", *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1993, p. A11.

"Deficit Dilemma: Is the cure worse than the disease?" *The Atlanta Constitution* June 14, 1992 p. G1.

"A Myth to Stem the Panic" (for Scripps-Howard News Service) *The San Francisco*

Examiner (and many others) May 14, 1992.

"How Big Ben Tolls for George Bush" *The Washington Post* March 22, 1992 p. C2. "Why Congress Should Push a National Health Plan" *The Washington Post* September 15, 1991 p. C3.

(Selected Op-Eds – Cyberspace for Academic Sources)

Health Affairs Blog:

"Reform The 'Cadillac Tax' To Target Rich Benefits, Not High Costs." *Health Affairs Blog*, March 16, 2016. <http://healthaffairs.org/blog/2016/03/16/reform-the-cadillac-tax-to-target-rich-benefits-not-high-costs/>

"The Mixed (De)Merits of 'Bending the Cost Curve.'" *Health Affairs Blog*, June 17, 2011. <http://healthaffairs.org/blog/2011/06/17/the-mixed-demerits-of-bending-the-cost-curve/>

"Cadillacs or Ambulances? The Senate Tax on 'Excessive' Benefits." With Timothy S. Jost. *Health Affairs Blog* December 3, 2009 <http://healthaffairs.org/blog/2009/12/03/cadillacs-or-ambulances-the-senate-tax-on-excessive-benefits/>

"Dangerous Confusion on Medicare Cost Control." *Health Affairs Blog*, June 5, 2009 <http://healthaffairs.org/blog/2009/06/05/dangerous-confusion-on-medicare-cost-control/#more-1255>

Other

"Unnecessary Nudges and Necessary Deceptions." With Theodore R. Marmor. *Behavioural Public Policy* blog, April 15, 2018. At <https://bppblog.com/2018/04/15/unnecessary-nudges-and-necessary-deceptions/>

"How Did We Get Here? The Roots of Deficit Brinksmanship." Policy brief for Scholars Strategy Network (February 2013). http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/sites/default/files/ssn_basic_facts_white_on_deficit_brinksmanship.pdf

"The Limited Ethics of Rationing: A Response to Dan Brock." *Health Care Cost Monitor, A Hastings Center Blog*, Posted July 24, 2009. <http://www.thehastingscenter.org/HealthCareCostMonitor/Default.aspx?id=3770&blogid=87870>

"Competition and Health Care Costs." *Health Care Cost Monitor, A Hastings Center Blog*. Posted May 28, 2009. <http://www.thehastingscenter.org/HealthCareCostMonitor/Default.aspx?id=3486&blogid=87870>

(Selected Op-Eds – Cyberspace More General Media)

In *The Fiscal Times*: (I did not choose the titles!)

Five Observations About the Debt Deal. August 1, 2011.

<http://www.thefiscaltimes.com/Blogs/Capital-Exchange/2011/08/01/Capital-Exchange-Five-Observations-About-the-Debt-Deal.aspx#page1>

Three Reasons Default is Possible. June 13, 2011.

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"Is Social Security Bankrupt?" three-part dialogue with Pete DuPont in *Slate*, January/February 1997.

Selected Academic Conference Papers and Presentations

Note: this list includes only formal presentations of my own academic work. It does not include participation on roundtables, or at academic conferences as a chair or discussant. Nor does it include invited talks to groups of scholars or practitioners except in the context of a larger conference, talks and public lectures to organizations, or campus events including guest lectures. Papers are listed only if they include some material that is not included in related papers listed above as publications.

“Conflict in U.S. Health Care Policy: The Big and Bigger Stories.” Presentation to OECD health policy staff and guests, Directorate of Employment, Labour, and Social Affairs. Paris, April 5, 2018.

“Health Policy Failures in the United States: What Is Normal and What Is ‘Exceptional’?” Presentation at London School of Economics, London, UK, February 28, 2018.

“What Are the Most Unforgivable Problems in the U.S. Health Care System?” Presentation at Rutgers University Institute for Health, Health Care Policy, and Aging Research. New Brunswick, NJ. October 12, 2017

"Performance Information, Transparency, and Accountability in the Health Sector: Experience in the United States (and a bit beyond)." Presentation to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 5th DELSA GOV meeting on Sustainability of Health Systems, Paris, February 5, 2016.

"Smart Governance of the Budget?" Presentation at Seoul National University / Lehman College of CUNY conference on "Smart Governance Around the World." New York, January 31, 2016.

"The Challenge of Budgeting for Health Care Programs." Presented to the 35th annual meeting of OECD Senior Budget Officials, Berlin, Germany, June 12-13, 2014. (earlier version presented at 3rd Meeting of OECD Joint Network on Fiscal Sustainability of Health Systems, Paris, April 24-25, 2014)

"The Purposes and Processes of Pork-Barrel Politics." Presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 30, 2013.

"The Budget-Maker's Perspective on Health Care Systems." Presented to the semi-annual meeting of the European Health Policy Group, London U.K., Sept 20-21, 2012

"The Absence of Cost Control in the ACA: Why, and Why It Matters." Presented to the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12, 2012.

"Ends and Means in Budgeting for Health Care." Presented to the Inaugural Meeting of the Senior Budget Officers Network on Health Expenditure, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Paris, 21-22 November, 2011.

"Social Security, its Trust Funds, and the Federal Budget Deficit." Presented to the 23rd annual meeting of the Association for Budgeting and Financial Management, Washington, DC, October 14, 2011

"What Is a Responsible Federal Budget?" Presentation at plenary roundtable of the 23rd annual meeting of the Association for Budgeting and Financial Management, Washington, DC, October 14, 2011

"Health Care Reform and Health Care Cost Control in the United States," and "The Politics of Ideas and the Politics of Representation: Elites, Expertise, Public Opinion and Health Policy." Both delivered at Conference on "The Politics of Ideas and the Politics of Representation: The Case of Health Policy in Rich Democracies." Rothermere American Institute, Oxford University, November 11-12, 2010.

"The Politics of Belief and U.S. Health Care Reform." Inaugural Lecture as John G. Winant Visiting Professor, Rothermere American Institute, Oxford University, October 27, 2010.

"A Policy-Maker's Guide to Health Care Cost Control." Presented to the Spring meeting of the European Health Policy Group, Paris, IRDES, April 29-30, 2010.

“Executive Dominance, Shared Competence, or Just the President’s Interests: What Should We Expect from the President’s Budget?” Presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30, 2008.

“Markets and Medical Care: What Should We Have Learned About Cost Control?” Presented to the Annual Research Meeting of Academy Health, Orlando, FL, June 3, 2007.

“Compared to What? Exploring the Politics of Health Services Research.” Presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA, September 1, 2006.

“Social Security Privatization and the ‘New Politics of Public Policy.’” Presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC September 3, 2005.

"Health Care at the End of Life: How Much of a Problem, How Clear a Lense, What Kind of Politics?" Prepared for the ninth Four-Country Conference on Health Policy, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, July 16-18, 2004.

“Three Meanings of Capacity: What the Federal Government Can Change.” Presented to the Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law Conference on “Who Shall Lead? Continuity and Change in the Future of Health Care.” Los Angeles, CA April 19-20, 2002.

“Long-Term Budget Outlooks and Long-Term Budgeting.” Presented to the 13th Annual Conference of the Association for Budgeting and Financial Management, Washington D.C., January 17, 2002

“Is Aging Relevant?” Plenary address for 4-Country Conference on Aging and Health Policy, Gananoque, Ontario, July 12-14, 2001

“Social Insurance Commitments as a Long-Term Challenge to the Federal Budget and Through it the Economy of the United States: What Can or Should Be Done?” Presented to the International Symposium on The Long-Term Budget Challenge of the G-7 Nations, Robert Schuman Center of Advanced Studies, Florence, Italy, March 15-17, 2001

"Saving' Medicare – From What?" presented to the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, September 3-6, 1998.

"Why Social Security Should Not be Viewed as a Budget Problem," presented to the 1996 Annual Meeting of the Association for Budgeting and Financial Management, Washington, D.C., October 10 1996.

Plenary address at Managed Care Leadership Summit on International Health Care Trends, Mexico City, September 9, 1996

"When Should Health Care be Included in Government Budgets? A Comparative Perspective." Presented at the 1994 Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management. Chicago, Illinois, October 27-29, 1994.

"Order Within Disorder: The Informal and Formal Structures of Federal Budgeting." Presented at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Boston, Massachusetts.

"Gender Differences in Political Efficacy, Issue Positions, and Voting Preference." Presented at the 1982 Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Denver, CO.

Grants/Support

The Century Foundation, for "The Attack on Entitlements for the Elderly." \$85,000. 1996
Note: My studies of the appropriations process at Brookings received support from two other foundations, but that was institutional rather than personal fundraising.

Awards

2014 Association for Budgeting and Financial Management Aaron B. Wildavsky Award for Lifetime Achievement in the field of budgeting and financial management

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