LEONARD E. BURMAN

Center for Policy Research 426 Eggers Hall Syracuse University Syracuse, NY 13244-1020 Phone: (703) 216-5085 Email: leburman@syr.edu

Education Ph.D. in Economics, University of Minnesota, 1985 A.B. in Economics, Wesleyan University, 1975

Employment

2017-	Institute Fellow, The Urban Institute
2015-2017	Robert C. Pozen Director, Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center
2013-2015	Director, Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center (Urban Institute)
2013-	Professor of Public Administration and International Affairs and (since
	March 2014) Paul Volcker Professor of Behavioral Economics, Syracuse
	University.
2009-2013	Daniel Patrick Moynihan Professor, Syracuse University
2010	Visiting Professor, UCLA School of Law
2002-2009	Director, Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center (Urban Institute)
2008-2009	Institute Fellow, Urban Institute
2000-2008	Senior Fellow, Urban Institute
2000-2008	Visiting Professor, Georgetown University Public Policy Institute
2000-present	Fiscal Analysis Division Panel of Experts, International Monetary Fund
1998-2000	Deputy Assistant Secretary (Tax Analysis), U.S. Department of the
Treasury	
1997-1998	Senior Research Associate, Urban Institute
1988-1997	Senior Analyst, Tax Analysis Division, U.S. Congressional Budget Office
1985-1988	Financial Economist, Office of Tax Analysis, Department of Treasury
1983-1985	Instructor, Bates College, Lewiston, ME
1975-1978	Economist, Data Resources, Inc. (DRI), Lexington, MA
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,

Publications and Papers

"How Shifting from Traditional IRAs to Roth IRAs Affects Personal and Government Finances," Tax Policy Center, 2019, with William G. Gale and Aaron Krupkin.

[&]quot;Roth IRAs Versus Traditional IRAs: Implications for Individuals and Government," Tax Policy Center Policy Brief, 2019, with William G. Gale and Aaron Krupkin.

- "A Universal EITC: Sharing the Gains from Economic Growth, Encouraging Work, and Supporting Families," Tax Policy Center, 2019.
- "Safely Expanding Research Access to Administrative Tax Data: Creating a Synthetic Public Use File and a Validation Server," Tax Policy Center, 2018, with Alex Engler, Surachai Khitatrakun, James R. Nunns, Sarah Armstrong, John Iselin, Graham MacDonald, and Philip Stallworth.
- "The Effects of Estate and Inheritance Taxes on Entrepreneurship," Tax Policy Center, 2018, with Robert McClelland and Chenxi Lu.
- "Do Estate and Inheritance Taxes Affect Entrepreneurship?", Tax Policy Center Policy Brief, 2018, with Robert McClelland and Chenxi Lu.
- "Is U.S. Corporate Income Double-Taxed?", with Kimberly A. Clausing and Lydia Austin. *National Tax Journal*. 2017, 70 (3), 675–706.
- "Economic and Distributional Effects of Tax Expenditure Limits," with Eric Toder, Daniel Berger, and Jeffrey Rohaly, in Alan J. Auerbach and Kent Smetters, eds. *The Economics of Tax Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- "An Analysis of the House GOP Tax Plan," with James R. Nunns, Benjamin R. Page, Jeffrey Rohaly, and Joseph Rosenberg, *Columbia Journal of Tax Law*, 2017, 8:257-294.
- "The US Presidential Candidates and the Economy." *Intereconomics*, September/October 2016, 51 (5): 295-296.
- "Tax Compliance Costs and Business Formation," with John Iselin, Kauffman Foundation: New Entrepreneurial Growth Agenda, Section 7: Policy, February 2016. http://www.kauffman.org/neg/section-7#taxcompliancecostsandbusinessformation
- "An Analysis of Senator Bernie Sanders's Tax and Transfer Proposals," with Gordon Mermin and Frank Sammartino, May 9, 2016. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/sites/default/files/alfresco/publication-pdfs/2000786-an-analysis-of-senator-bernie-sanderss-tax-and-transfer-proposals.pdf
- "An Analysis of Senator Bernie Sanders's Tax Proposals," with Frank Sammartino, James R. Nunns, Jeffrey Rohaly and Joseph Rosenberg, March 4, 2016. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/sites/default/files/alfresco/publication-pdfs/2000639-an-analysis-of-senator-bernie-sanderss-tax-proposals.pdf
- "An Analysis of Hillary Clinton's Tax Proposals," with Richard C. Auxier, James R. Nunns, Jeffrey Rohaly, March 3, 2016.

http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/sites/default/files/alfresco/publication-pdfs/2000638-an-analysis-of-hillary-clintons-tax-proposals.pdf

"Financial Transaction Taxes in Theory and Practice," with William G. Gale, Sarah Gault, Bryan Kim, Jim Nunns, and Steven Rosenthal, *National Tax Journal*, March 2016, 69 (1), 171–216. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org//UploadedPDF/2000287-financial-transaction-taxes-in-theory-and-practice.pdf

"An Analysis of Ted Cruz's Tax Plan," with Joseph Rosenberg, James R. Nunns and Daniel Berger, February 16, 2016.

 $\frac{http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/sites/default/files/alfresco/publication-pdfs/2000612-an-analysis-of-ted-cruzs-tax-plan.pdf}{}$

"An Analysis of Donald Trump's Tax Plan," with Jim Nunns, Jeff Rohaly, and Joseph Rosenberg. Tax Policy Center. 2015. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org//UploadedPDF/2000560-an-analysis-of-donald-trumps-tax-plan.pdf

"An Analysis of Governor Bush's Tax Plan," with William G. Gale, John Iselin, Jim Nunns, Jeff Rohaly, Joseph Rosenberg, and Roberton Williams. Tax Policy Center. 2015. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org//UploadedPDF/2000547-analysis-of-bush-tax-plan.pdf

"Financial Transaction Taxes: An Overview," with William G. Gale, Sarah Gault, Bryan Kim, Jim Nunns, and Steven Rosenthal, Tax Policy Center, Policy Brief. 2015. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org//UploadedPDF/2000587-financial-transaction-taxes.pdf

"Tax Refunds and Affordable Care Act Reconciliation," with Gordon Mermin and Elena Ramirez. Tax Policy Center. 2015. http://taxpolicycenter.org/UploadedPDF/2000164-tax-refunds-and-affordable-care-act-reconciliation.pdf

"Distributional Effects of the President's New Tax Proposals," with Ngan Phung. Tax Policy Center. 2015. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org//UploadedPDF/2000089-distributional-effects-of-the-presidents-new-tax-proposals.pdf

"Economic, Policy and Budgetary Aspects of Tax Expenditures," with Marvin Phaup, in Lovise Bauger, ed., *The Use of Tax Expenditures in Times of Fiscal Consolidation*, Brussels: European Commission, 2014.

"Older Taxpayers' Responses to Taxation of Social Security Benefits," *IRS Research Bulletin*, with Norma B. Coe, Liu Tian, and Kevin K. Pierce, 2014, 2-16.

"The Effects of the Taxation of Social Security Benefits on Older Workers' Income and Claiming Decisions," *National Tax Journal*, with Norma B. Coe, Kevin Pierce, and Liu Tian, June 2014, 67(2):459–486,

"The Tax Reform That Just Won't Die (and Shouldn't)" *Milken Institute Review* (Cover Story), Second Quarter 2014, 17-23.

"Pathways to Tax Reform Revisited," Public Finance Review, November 2013, 41(6):755-790.

"Taxes and Inequality," Tax Law Review, Summer 2013, 66(4):563-592.

"Effects of Public Policies on the Disposition of Pre-Retirement Lump-Sum Distributions: Rational and Behavioral Influences," with Norma B. Coe, Michael Dworsky, and William G. Gale, *National Tax Journal*, December 2012, 65(4), 863–888.

"Could Reducing Tax Expenditures Tame the Federal Debt?" with Marvin M. Phaup, *Key Findings Brief*, Scholars Strategy Network, October 2012.

"The Perverse Public and Private Finances of Long-Term Care," in Nancy Folbre and Douglas Wolf, editors, *Universal Coverage of Long Term Care in the U.S.: Can we get There from Here?*, Russell Sage Foundation, September 2012, 216-234.

"Tax Expenditures, the Size and Efficiency of Government, and Implications for Budget Reform," with Marvin Phaup, in Jeffrey Brown, ed., *Tax Policy and the Economy, Volume 26*, 2012, 93-124.

"Tax expenditures: The big government behind the curtain," *VoxEU*, November 17, 2011, with Marvin Phaup. http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/7287

"The Henry Review Recommendations to Reform the Taxation of Capital Gains in Australia: A Preliminary Assessment," in Chris Evans and Richard Krever, eds., *Australia's Future Tax System: A Post-Henry Review* (Sydney: Thomson Reuters), 2010, with David I. White.

"Catastrophic Budget Failure," *National Tax Journal*, September 2010, 63 (3), 561–584, with Jeffrey Rohaly, Joseph Rosenberg, and Katherine C. Lim.

"Countdown to Catastrophe," *Milken Institute Review* (Cover story), Second Quarter, 2010. 16-25.

"Taxing Capital Gains in Australia: Assessment and Recommendations," in Chris Evans and Richard Krever, eds., *Australian Business Tax Reform in Retrospect and Prospect* (Sydney: Thomson Reuters). 2010.

"A Blueprint for Tax Reform and Health Reform," Virginia Tax Review, 2009, 28:287-323.

"Tax Subsidies for Private Health Insurance: Who Benefits and at what Cost?" Policy Brief Number 3, Robert Wood Johnson Synthesis Project, July 2009. With Surachai Khitatrakun and Sarah Goodell. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/UploadedPDF/1001297 tax subsidies.pdf

"Tax Proposals in the 2010 Budget," Tax Policy Center, March 16, 2009. With Rosanne Altshuler, Howard Gleckman, Dan Halperin, and Roberton Williams. http://www.urban.org//UploadedPDF/411849 2010 budget.pdf

"How Big are Total Individual Tax Expenditures and Who Benefits From Them?" *Tax Policy Center Discussion Paper* Number 31, with Eric Toder and Christopher Geissler, December 2008.

"Back from the Grave: Revenue and Distributional Effects of Reforming the Federal Estate Tax," Tax Policy Center, with Katherine Lim and Jeffrey Rohaly. October 20, 2008. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/UploadedPDF/411777_back_grave.pdf

"An Analysis of the 2008 Presidential Candidates' Tax Plans," Tax Policy Center, with Surachai Khitatrakun, Jeff Rohaly, Robert Williams, and Eric Toder, July 23, 2008, updated and expanded August 14, 2008, and September 12, 2008. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/UploadedPDF/411749 updated candidates.pdf

"How Big Are Total Individual Income Tax Expenditures, and Who Benefits from Them?," *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings*, with Christopher Geissler and Eric J. Toder, May 2008.

"Revenue and Distributional Effects of the Thompson Tax Plan," *Tax Notes*, with Greg Leiserson and Jeff Rohaly, January 14, 2008.

"The Alternative Minimum Tax: Assault on the Middle Class," *Milken Review* (Cover Story), Fourth Quarter 2007, 12-23.

"The AMT: What's Wrong and How to Fix It," *National Tax Journal*, with Bill Gale, Greg Leiserson, and Jeff Rohaly, September 2007.

"The President's Proposed Standard Deduction for Health Insurance: Evaluation and Recommendations," *National Tax Journal*, with Jason Furman, Greg Leiserson, and Roberton C. Williams Jr., September 2007.

"A Proposal to Finance Long-Term Care Services through Medicare with an Income Tax Surcharge," Georgetown University Long-Term Care Financing Project, with Rich Johnson, June 22, 2007. http://ltc.georgetown.edu/forum/8burmanjohnson061107.pdf

- "A Simple, Progressive Replacement for the AMT," *Tax Notes*, with Greg Leiserson, May 23, 2007.
- "Eligibility for the Child Tax Credit by Age of Child," Tax Policy Center, with Laura Wheaton, May 22, 2007.
- "Two-Thirds of Tax Units Pay More Payroll Tax Than Income Tax," *Tax Notes*, with Greg Leiserson, April 9, 2007.
- "The President's Proposed Standard Deduction for Health Insurance: An Evaluation," *Tax Notes*, with Jason Furman, Greg Leiserson, and Roberton Williams, March 2007.
- "The President's Health Insurance Proposal A First Look," Tax Policy Center, with Jason Furman and Bob Williams, January 23, 2007.
- "Options to Fix the AMT," Tax Policy Center, with Bill Gale, Greg Leiserson, and Jeff Rohaly, January 19, 2007.
- "AMT Coverage by State, 2004," Tax Notes, with Carol Rosenberg, December 14, 2006.
- "The Individual Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT): 11 Key Facts and Projections" with Julianna Koch and Greg Leiserson, December 1, 2006.
- "The Tax Reform Act of 2010," Tax Notes, October 23, 2006.
- "State-Level Estate and Inheritance Taxes" *Tax Notes*, with Sonya Hoo, August 28, 2006.
- "Distributional Effects of Defined Contribution Plans and Individual Retirement Arrangements," with William Gale, Matthew Hall, and Peter Orszag, in Dimitri B. Papadimitrious ed., *The Distribution Effects of Government Spending and Taxation*, New York: Macmillan, 2006.
- "Contrary to President's Claim, Large Majority of Americans Ultimately Are Likely to Lose From Tax Reconciliation Bill," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, with Aviva Aron-Dine and Isaac Shapiro, June 5, 2006
- "Roth Conversions as Revenue Raisers: Smoke and Mirrors," *Tax Notes*, May 11, 2006.
- "AMT Preference Items, 2002," Tax Notes, with Troy Kravitz, March 13, 2006.
- "New Healthcare Tax Proposals: Costly and Counterproductive," Tax Notes, February 13, 2006.

- "Towards a More Consistent Distributional Analysis," *National Tax Association Proceedings of the 98th Annual Conference*, with Jane Gravelle and Jeff Rohaly, 2005.
- "The Tax Reform Proposals: Some Good Ideas, but Show me the Money," *Economists' Voice*, with William G. Gale, December 22, 2005.
- "A Preliminary Evaluation of the Tax Reform Panel's Report," *Tax Notes*, with William G. Gale, December 5, 2005.
- "The Bank Debit Tax In Colombia," with María Angelica Arbeláez and Sandra Zuluaga, in Richard M. Bird, James M. Poterba and Joel Slemrod, eds., *Fiscal Reform in Colombia*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005.
- "Low-Income Housing Credit," with Alastair McFarlane, in Joseph J. Cordes, Robert D. Ebel, and Jane G. Gravelle, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Taxation and Tax Policy, 2nd edition*, Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press, 2005.
- "Capital Gains Tax Rates, Stock Markets, and Growth," *Tax Notes*, with Troy Kravitz, November 7, 2005.
- "Who Gets the Child Tax Credit?", Tax Notes, with Laura Wheaton, October 17, 2005.
- "Suppose they took the AM out of the AMT?" Tax Policy Center Discussion Paper No. 25, with David Weiner, August 2005.
- "The Distributional Consequences of Federal Assistance for Higher Education: The Intersection of Tax and Spending Programs," Tax Policy Center Discussion Paper No. 26, with Elaine Maag, Peter Orszag, Jeffrey Rohaly, and John O'Hare, August 2005.
- "Tax Subsidies to Help Low-Income Families Pay for Child Care," Tax Policy Center Issues and Options Brief No. 14, with Elaine Maag and Jeffrey Rohaly, June 2005.
- "Tax Subsidies to Help Low-Income Families Pay for Child Care," Tax Policy Center Discussion Paper No. 23, with Elaine Maag and Jeffrey Rohaly, June 2005.
- "Tax Credits for Health Insurance," Tax Policy Center Issues and Options Brief No. 11, with Jonathan Gruber, June 2005.
- "Tax Credits for Health Insurance," Tax Policy Center Discussion Paper No. 19, with Jonathan Gruber, June 2005.
- "AMT Coverage by State, 2003," Tax Notes, with Troy Kravitz, April 11, 2005.

"Options to Reform the Estate Tax," Tax Policy Center Issues and Options Brief Number 10, with William G. Gale and Jeff Rohaly, March 2005. (Reprinted in *Tax Notes*, April 18, 2005)

Review of *Wealth and Our Commonwealth: Why America Should Tax Accumulated Fortunes*, by William H. Gates, Sr., and Chuck Collins. *Journal of Economic Literature*, March 2005.

"Deductibility of State and Local Taxes," *Tax Notes*, with Kim Rueben, January 17, 2005.

"Suppose they took the AM out of the AMT?" National Tax Association Proceedings of the 97th Annual Conference, with David Weiner, 2004.

"The Distribution of the Estate Tax and Reform Options," *National Tax Association Proceedings* of the 97th Annual Conference, with William G. Gale and Jeff Rohaly, 2004.

"Lower-Income Households Spend Largest Share of Income," with Troy Kravitz, *Tax Notes*, November 8, 2004.

"Distributional Effects of Defined Contribution Plans and Individual Retirement Arrangements," with William G. Gale, Matthew Hall, and Peter R. Orszag, *National Tax Journal*, September 2004.

"The Individual Alternative Minimum Tax: A Data Update," with William G. Gale, Matthew Hall, Jeff Rohaly, and Mohammed Adeel Saleem, www.taxpolicycenter.org, August 31, 2004.

"Most Households' Medical Expenses Exceed HSA Deductibles," with Linda J. Blumberg, *Tax Notes*, August 16, 2004.

"Senator Kerry's Tax Proposals," with Jeffrey Rohaly, www.taxpolicycenter.org, July 23, 2004.

"Al Explains," NTA-TIA Proceedings of the 96th Annual Conference, 2004.

"Distributional Effects of Defined Contribution Plans and Individual Retirement Arrangements," with William G. Gale, Matthew Hall, and Peter R. Orszag. Tax Policy Center Discussion Paper No. 16, June 2004.

"An Analysis of the 2004 House Tax Cuts," *Tax Notes*, June 28, 2004.

"The Effects of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 On Retirement Savings and Income Security: Final Report," with William G. Gale and Matthew Hall, prepared for AARP Public Policy Institute, May 24, 2004.

"Taxable Social Security Benefits," with Mohammed Adeel Saleem, *Tax Notes*, May 10, 2004. "Senator Kerry's Tax Proposals," www.taxpolicycenter.org, April 9, 2004.

- "Key Thoughts on RSAs and LSAs," with Bill Gale and Peter Orszag, <u>www.taxpolicycenter.org</u>, February 4, 2004.
- "AMT Relief in the FY2005 Budget: A Bandaid for a Hemorrhage," with Bill Gale, Matt Hall, and Adeel Saleem, www.taxpolicycenter.org, February 4, 2004.
- "Key Thoughts on the Alternative Minimum Tax," with Bill Gale, Jeff Rohaly, and Matt Hall, www.taxpolicycenter.org, January 21, 2004.
- "Preferential Capital Gains Tax Rates," with Deborah Kobes, *Tax Notes*, January 19, 2004.
- "Income Tax Statistics for Sample Families, 2003," with Mohammed Adeel Saleem, *Tax Notes*, January 19, 2004.
- "Pensions, Health Insurance, and Tax Incentives," with Richard W. Johnson and Deborah I. Kobes, Tax Policy Center Discussion Paper No. 14, January 2004.
- "HSAs Won't Cure Medicare's Ills," with Linda Blumberg, <u>www.taxpolicycenter.org</u>, November 21, 2003.
- "Digging the Medicare Hole Deeper," www.taxpolicycenter.org, November 20, 2003.
- "Composition of Income Reported on Income Tax Returns," with Deborah Kobes, *Tax Notes*, November 10, 2003.
- "Options to Finance the Additional War Costs," with Jeff Rohaly, <u>www.taxpolicycenter.org</u>, September 29, 2003.
- "Hidden Taxes and Subsidies," with Adeel Saleem, *Tax Notes*, September 15, 2003.
- "Is the Tax Expenditure Concept Still Relevant?" National Tax Journal, September 2003.
- "Taxing Capital Gains in New Zealand," with David White, New Zealand Journal of Taxation Law and Policy, September 2003.
- "My Weekend with Nick and Adam," *Milken Institute Review*, Third Quarter, 2003, with Joel Slemrod.
- "Income Tax Brackets Since 1985," with Deborah Kobes, Tax Notes, July 28, 2003.
- "The AMT: Projections and Problems," with Bill Gale and Jeff Rohaly, *Tax Notes*, July 7, 2003.

"17 Percent of Families Have Stock Dividends," with David L Gunther, Tax Notes, May 26, 2003.

"Tax Incentives for Health Insurance," with Cori E. Uccello, Laura Wheaton, and Deborah Kobes, Tax Policy Center Discussion Paper No. 12, May 2003.

"Thinking through the Tax Options, with William G. Gale and Peter Orszag, *Tax Notes*, May 13, 2003.

"Tax Subsidies for Private Health Insurance: Who Currently Benefits and What are the Implications for New Policies," with Cori E. Uccello, Laura Wheaton, Deborah Kobes, and Claudia Williams, *Policy Primer No. 1* (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation), May 2003.

"Policy Watch: The Expanding Reach of the Individual Alternative Minimum Tax," with William G. Gale and Jeffrey Rohaly, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Spring 2003.

"EITC Reaches More Eligible Families than TANF, Food Stamps," with Deborah Kobes, *Tax Notes*, March 17, 2003.

"The Administration's New Tax-Free Saving Proposals: A Preliminary Analysis," with William G. Gale and Peter Orszag, *Tax Notes*, March 3, 2003.

"Taxing Capital Income Once," Tax Notes, February 3, 2003.

"Harnessing the AMT," with William G. Gale and Jeffrey Rohaly, *Personal Finance*, October 9, 2002.

"The Individual AMT: Problems and Potential Solutions," with William G. Gale, Jeffrey Rohaly, and Benjamin H. Harris, *National Tax Journal*, vol. 55, no. 3, September 2002. (Also published as Tax Policy Center Discussion Paper No. 5, September 2002.)

"The AMT: Out of Control," with William G. Gale, Jeffrey Rohaly, and Benjamin H. Harris, *Tax Policy Issues and Options*, No. 5, September 2003.

"The Effect of the 2001 Tax Cut on Low- and Middle-Income Families and Children," with Elaine Maag and Jeff Rohaly, Tax Policy Center Discussion Paper, No. 1, May 2003.

"EGTRRA: Which Provisions Spell the Most Relief," with Elaine Maag and Jeff Rohaly, *Tax Policy Issues and Options*, No. 3, June 2002.

"Tax Policy," in Jeffrey Frankel and Peter Orszag, editors, *American Economic Policy in the 1990s*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002.

"The Estate Tax is Down But Not Out," with William G. Gale, *Tax Policy Issues and Options*, no. 2, December 2001. (Reprinted in *Tax Notes*, February 25, 2002.)

"First, Do No Harm: Designing Tax Incentives for Health Insurance," with Amelia Gruber, *National Tax Journal*, September 2001, 473-493.

"The Taxation of Retirement Saving: Choosing Between Front-Loaded and Back-Loaded Options," with William Gale and David Weiner, *National Tax Journal*, September 2001, 689-702.

"South Africa: Taxing Capital Gains," with Mick Keen and Russell Krelove, International Monetary Fund, May 2001.

Comment on James Poterba and Scott Weisbenner, "The Distributional Burden of Taxing Estates and Unrealized Gains at the Time of Death," in Bill Gale, Jim Hines, and Joel Slemrod, eds., *Rethinking Estate and Gift Taxation*, Brookings Institution Press, 2001.

"A Golden Opportunity to Simplify the Tax System," with William G. Gale, Brookings Institution *Policy Brief*, April 2001.

"Treasury's New Distribution Presentation," *Tax Notes*, March 26, 2001.

"Capital Gains Taxation and Tax Avoidance: New Evidence From Panel Data," with Alan Auerbach and Jonathan Siegel, in Joel Slemrod, ed., *Does Atlas Shrug?: The Economic Consequences of Taxing the Rich*, Russell Sage Foundation and Harvard University Press, 2000.

"Measuring Permanent Responses to Capital Gains Tax Changes in Panel Data," with William C. Randolph, in Alan Auerbach, ed., *Public Finance (Worth Series in Outstanding Contributions)*, New York: Worth Publishers, 2000.

"Low-Income Housing Credit," in Joseph J. Cordes, Robert Ebel, and Jane Gravelle, eds., *Encyclopedia of Taxation and Tax Policy*, Urban Institute Press, 1999.

"Surplus Tax Policy?" *National Tax Journal*, September 1999. (Also reprinted in the *NTA Forum*.)

"Lump-Sum Distributions from Pension Plans: Recent Evidence and Issues for Policy and Research," with Norma B. Coe and William G. Gale, *National Tax Journal*, September 1999.

"What Happens When you Show Them the Money? (Lump-Sum Distributions and Retirement Security) Part I" with Norma B. Coe, report for the Pension Welfare Benefits Administration, June 1998.

"Six Tax Laws Later: How Individuals' Marginal Federal Income Tax Rates Changed Between 1980 and 1995," with William G. Gale and David Weiner, *National Tax Journal*, September 1998.

"Big, Big Postcard," Tax Notes, October 6, 1997.

"Capital Gains and the People Who Realize Them," with Peter Ricoy, *National Tax Journal*, September 1997.

"Estate Taxation and the Angel of Death Loophole," Tax Notes, August 4, 1997.

Review of Martin Feldstein and James Poterba, ed., *Empirical Foundations of Household Taxation*, National Bureau of Economic Research, *National Tax Journal*, June 1997.

"Perspectives on the Ownership of Capital Assets and the Realization of Capital Gains," with Peter Ricoy, *CBO Paper*, Congressional Budget Office, May 1997.

"How Capital Gains Taxes Distort Homeowners' Decisions," with Sally Wallace and David Weiner, NTA-TIA Proceedings of the 89th Annual Conference, 1996.

"The High-Deductible/MSA Option Under Medicare: Exploring the Implications of the Balanced Budget Act of 1995," with Linda Bilheimer, Frank Sammartino, and Larry Ozanne, *CBO Memorandum*, Congressional Budget Office, March 1996.

"Measuring Permanent Responses to Capital Gains Tax Changes in Panel Data," with William C. Randolph, *American Economic Review*, September 1994.

"Tax Caps on Employment-Based Health Insurance," with Roberton Williams, *National Tax Journal*, September 1994.

"Measuring Permanent Responses to Capital Gains Tax Changes in Panel Data," with William C. Randolph, *OTA PAPER*, U.S. Treasury, August 1994.

The Tax Treatment of Employment-Based Health Insurance, Congressional Budget Office, March 1994.

"Tax Reform and Realizations of Capital Gains in 1986," with Kimberly A. Clausing and John O'Hare, *National Tax Journal*, March 1994.

"Indexing Vs. Exclusion of Capital Gains: Effects on Income Distribution and Economic Efficiency," with Eric J. Toder, *NTA-TIA Proceedings of the 85th Annual Conference*, 1992.

"Options for the Tax Treatment of Employment-Based Health Insurance," with Jack Rodgers, NTA-TIA Proceedings of the 85th Annual Conference, 1992.

"Tax Preferences and Employment-Based Health Insurance," with Jack Rodgers, *National Tax Journal*, September 1992.

"The Cost-Effectiveness of the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Compared With Housing Vouchers," *CBO Staff Memorandum*, Congressional Budget Office, April 1992 (reprinted in *Tax Notes*, July 27, 1992).

"Theoretical Determinants of Aggregate Capital Gains Realizations," mimeo, July 1991.

Capital Gains Taxes in the Short Run, Congressional Budget Office, August 1991.

"The Economics of Interest Allocation," NTA-TIA Proceedings of the 83rd Annual Conference, 1991.

"IRAs and National Savings," with Joseph Cordes and Larry Ozanne, *National Tax Journal*, September 1990.

"The Effects of Lower Capital Gains Taxes on Economic Growth," with Joseph Cordes, Kim Kowalewski, and Larry Ozanne, *CBO Paper*, Congressional Budget Office, August 1990.

Indexing Capital Gains, with Larry Ozanne, Congressional Budget Office, August 1990.

"Why Capital Gains Tax Cuts (Probably) Don't Pay for Themselves," Tax Notes, April 2, 1990.

"The IRA Proposal Contained in S. 1682: Effects on Long-Term Revenues and on Incentives for Saving," with Joseph Cordes and Larry Ozanne, CBO Staff Memorandum, November 2, 1989.

"The IRA Plus Proposal Contained in S. 1771: Effects on Long-Term Revenues and on Incentives for Saving," with Joseph Cordes and Larry Ozanne, CBO Staff Memorandum, October 25, 1989.

"Estimation and Interpretation of Capital Gains Realization Behavior: Evidence From Panel Data," with Gerald E. Auten and William C. Randolph, *National Tax Journal*, September 1989.

"Estimation and Interpretation of Capital Gains Realization Behavior: Evidence From Panel Data," with Gerald E. Auten and William C. Randolph. *OTA Paper*, U.S. Treasury, May 1989.

A Report to Congress on Certain Employee Benefits Not Subject to Federal Income Tax, with B.K. Atrostic, U.S. Treasury, 1988.

"The Use and Abuse of Rental Project Models," with Tom Neubig and Gordon Wilson, in Fullerton, Don, ed., *Compendium of Tax Research*, U.S. Treasury, 1987.

A Dynamic Model of Housing Demand with Transaction Costs, University of Minnesota Doctoral Dissertation, 1985.

"An Econometric Model of Farmers' Demand for Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) Loans," with Michael Golden, *Southern Journal of Agricultural Economics*, December 1979.

Testimony

"Policies to Support the Middle Class" before the Senate Committee on Finance, March 13, 2014.

"Tax Reform and the Tax Treatment of Capital Gains," before a joint session of the House Committee on Ways and Means and the Senate Committee on Finance, September 20, 2012.

"Tax Reform to Encourage Growth, Reduce the Deficit, and Promote Fairness," Senate Budget Committee, March 1, 2012.

"Tax Reform Options: Marginal Rates on High-Income Taxpayers, Capital Gains, and Dividends," Senate Finance Committee, September 14, 2011.

"The Future of Individual Tax Rates: Effects on Economic Growth and Distribution," Senate Finance Committee, July 14, 2010.

"Taxes and the Budget," Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, House Ways and Means Committee, March 23, 2010.

"Financing Health Care Reform," Senate Committee on Finance, May 12, 2009.

"A Blueprint for Tax Reform and Health Reform," Senate Committee on Finance, May 13, 2008.

"Tax Code and Health Insurance Coverage," House Committee on the Budget, October 18, 2007.

"Tax Fairness, the 2001-2006 Tax Cuts, and the AMT," House Committee on Ways and Means, September 6, 2007.

"The Individual Alternative Minimum Tax," Senate Committee on Finance, June 27, 2007.

"The Individual Alternative Minimum Tax," Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, House Ways and Means Committee, March 7, 2007.

"Fairness in Tax Policy," Subcommittee on Financial Services and General Government, House Appropriations Committee, March 5, 2007.

"Dynamic Analysis and Scoring," House Committee on the Budget, September 13, 2006.

"Taking a Checkup on the Nation's Health Care Tax Policy: a Prognosis," Senate Committee on Finance, March 8, 2006.

"Transforming the Tax Code: An Examination of the President's Tax Reform Panel Recommendations," before the Subcommittees on Tax, Finance, and Exports, and Rural Enterprises, Agriculture, and Technology, House Committee on Small Business," February 1, 2006.

"The Impact of Tax Reform on Low- and Middle-Income Households," House Committee on Ways and Means, June 8, 2005.

"The Expanding Reach of the Individual Alternative Minimum Tax," Senate Subcommittee on Taxation and IRS Oversight of the Committee on Finance, May 23, 2005.

"The Individual Alternative Minimum Tax," President's Advisory Panel on Federal Tax Reform," March 3, 2005.

"Tax Evasion, IRS Priorities, and EITC Precertification," House Committee on Ways and Means, July 17, 2003.

"Tax Evasion, IRS Priorities, and the EITC," House Committee on the Budget, July 9, 2003.

"Return-Free Filing," Subcommittee on Treasury and General Government of the Senate Appropriations Committee, April 13, 2000.

"Work Opportunity Tax Credit," Subcommittee on Oversight of the Ways and Means Committee, July 1, 1999.

"Impact of Tax Law on Land Use, Conservation, and Preservation," Subcommittee on Oversight of the Ways and Means Committee, September 30, 1999.

"Estate Taxation and Small Businesses," Subcommittee on Taxation, Finance, and Exports of the House Committee on Small Business, June 12, 1997.

Books

Taxes in America: What Everyone Needs to Know, with Joel Slemrod, Oxford University Press, 2012. (Second edition: February 2020.)

Using Tax Breaks to Reform Health Insurance: Pitfalls and Promises, with Henry J. Aaron (coeditor), Brookings Institution Press, 2008.

Taxing Capital Income, with Henry J. Aaron, and C. Eugene Steuerle (coeditors), Urban Institute Press, 2007.

The Labyrinth of Capital Gains Tax Policy: A Guide for the Perplexed, Brookings Institution Press, 1999.

Op eds and Selected Commentaries

Leonard E. Burman and Joel B. Slemrod, "Closing Loopholes Isn't Enough," *New York Times*, December 28, 2012.

Leonard E. Burman and Joel Slemrod, "Changing the Cost-Benefit Calculus on Taxes," *Boston Globe*, December 28, 2012.

Len Burman, "What's worse than going over the fiscal cliff? Not addressing what got us here," *Syracuse Post-Standard*, December 9, 2012.

"The Buffett Rule: Right Goal, Wrong Tool," New York Times, April 16, 2012.

"Tax Day May Get Less Taxing, if Debt-Cutters Have Their Way," *Syracuse Post-Standard*, April 17, 2011.

"Will Dems fall for temporary tax cut gambit (again)?" cnnmoney.com, December 8, 2010.

"Debating an Extension of the Bush Tax Cuts," Washington Post Topic A blog, August 1, 2010.

"The Myth of Income Tax Freeloading," forbes.com, April 15, 2010.

"Health Mandate: It's Just a Tax Break in Disguise," cnnmoney.com, April 14, 2010.

"Let's Freeze more than Chump Change," Washington Post, February 2, 2010.

"We Need to Ban the Evil Santas," Washington Times, January 18, 2010.

"Personal Savings Need a Boost," Washington Times, November 10, 2009.

- "Pyrrhic victory on health reform?" Washington Times, September 1, 2009.
- "Catastrophic Budget Failure," Washington Times, July 14, 2009.
- "Give up a Benefit, Gain Jobs," Washington Post, July 10, 2009.
- "Different Way to Pay for Health Reform," Washington Times, May 28, 2009.
- "Gas Tax Cut is no Holiday," New York Times, Times Topics blog, with Eric Toder, May 24, 2008.
- "Gas Price Solutions," Nightly Business Report (PBS), May 8, 2008.
- "Make the Tax Cuts Work," New York Times, January 23, 2008.
- "Bush Stimulus May Have Only Modest Effect," *Wall Street Journal*, Real-Time Economics blog, with Jeffrey Rohaly, January 10, 2008.
- "SCHIP: Is Increasing The Tobacco Tax To Expand Coverage A Good Idea?", *Health Affairs* blog, with Kim Rueben and Jenny Kenney, August 21, 2007.
- "End the Break on Capital Gains," Washington Post, July 30, 2007.
- "REFORM: 5 Steps To Improve The President's Plan," *Health Affairs* blog, with Jason Furman, Greg Leiserson, and Bob Williams, February 23, 2007.
- "If You Think Taxes Are a Pain Now...", Los Angeles Times, April 15, 2005.
- "Give the 'Lucky Duckies' a Helping Hand, Too," Newsday, June 6, 2003.
- "Congress Morphs an 'Itty-Bitty' Tax Cut Into a Budget Buster," with Peter Orszag, *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 2003.
- "Bush Launches Stealth Attack on Income Tax," Charleston (WV) Observer, February 23, 2003.
- "Fix a Real Tax Mess," with William G. Gale, Newsday, November 14, 2002.
- "Capital Gains Tax Cut Won't Cure What Ails Our Economy," *Houston Chronicle*, September 30, 2001.
- "New Tax Laws a Bizarre and Confounding Mix," Contra Costa Times, July 15, 2001.
- "Think FRED: Tax Cuts Just Add to Complexity," *Houston Chronicle*, May 31, 2001.

"Tax Complexity and Low-Income People," NPR's Morning Edition, April 16, 2001.

"The Case Against Capital Gains Tax Cuts," with William G. Gale, *Mutual Funds*, September 1997.

Marketplace Commentaries

"Experiment to Get Best Stimulus Results," January 26, 2009.

"McCain's Gas Tax Plan is on Empty," April 18, 2008.

"Huckabee Tax Plan Would Be A Disaster," January 8, 2008.

"Doing Nothing's a Good Thing," December 8, 2006.

"Under the Sheltering Lie," December 20, 2005.

"Time for the IRS to Quit Tinkering with the Tax Forms," March 18, 2005

"Don't Ignore Tax Expenditures," March 2, 2005.

"Quietly, The Taxes Are Changing" September 21, 2004.

"USDA Not Allowing Free Markets to Decide about Mad Cow Disease Testing," July 2, 2004.

"Be Careful What you Wish for," June 23, 2004.

"Vote for Me!" May 11, 2004.

"Marriage Penalty Relief Throws Millions onto the AMT," April 27, 2004.

International Activities

Consultant to New Zealand Treasury (2009).

Consultant for IMF on tax reform missions in Slovenia (2006), Lebanon (2004), Mauritius (2003), and South Africa (2000).

PriceWaterhouseCoopers Visiting Fellow in Taxation, Victoria University at Wellington, New Zealand, 2001.

Consultant to Fedesarrollo, Colombia (2002).

Invited speaker in conferences in: Brussels, Belgium (ECFIN, European Union, 2013); Seville, Australia (European Commission Joint Research Centre, 2016); Stockholm, Sweden (Swedish Treasury, 2011); Sydney (Monash University, 2009 and 2010) and Canberra (Australia National University), Australia (2009); Taipei, Taiwan (Academica Sinica, 2005); Pretoria, South Africa (South Africa Department of the Treasury, 2002); Calgary, Alberta, Canada (Frasier Institute, 2001); and Hong Kong (World Bank, 2001).

Other Professional Activities

Fellow, National Academy of Public Administration, 2019.

Board member, Commonwealth Institute, 2015-2018.

Advisory Board, The Policy Academies, 2018-present.

Research Associate, National Bureau of Economic Research (public economics program), 2010-2015.

Senior Research Associate, Center for Policy Research (Syracuse University), 2009-present.

Member, Scholars Strategy Network, 2011-present.

Blogger for Forbes.com, 2011-present.

Bipartisan Policy Center Debt Reduction Taskforce, 2010-2012.

Advisory Board, Tax Policy Center, 2010-2013.

President, National Tax Association, 2010-2011.

Vice President, National Tax Association, 2008-2010.

Advisory Board, Pew Subsidyscope, 2008-2012.

Member of National Academy of Sciences panel, "Reengineering the Survey of Income and Program Participation," 2007-2009.

Co-editor, Public Finance Review, 2010-2013.

Editorial board, Public Finance Review, 2003-2010.

SOI Consultants Panel (IRS), 2005-present.

Member, DC Revenue Estimating Advisory Committee, 2001-2009.

American Economic Association Statistics Public Finance Subcommittee, 2005-2007.

Board of Directors, National Tax Association, 2004-2007.

Trustee, American Tax Policy Institute, 2002-2007.

Member, JCT Blue Ribbon Advisory Panel on Dynamic Scorekeeping, 2002-2004.

Member, SOI Public Use File Advisory Group (IRS), 2002-2006.

Media appearances on national and regional programs, including TV: CBS Sunday Morning (cover story), The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer (PBS), Washington Journal (C-Span), Lou Dobbs Moneyline (CNN), Nightly Business Report (PBS), Capital Report (CNBC), Your World with Neil Cavuto (Fox), BBC World, interviews on ABC, CBS, and NBC news programs and Bloomberg TV, CNNfn, CNN, CNBC, and Fox cable news programs; and radio: guest on Fresh Air (PBS), Kojo Nnamdi Show (WAMU), Diane Rehm Show (WAMU), Iowa Talks (WSUI), Midmorning (MPR), On Point (PBS), Conversations with Joy Cardin (WI public radio), and interviews on All Things Considered, Morning Edition, Marketplace, Capitol Press Room, Campbell Conversations, and numerous regional stations.

Presented or discussed papers at the annual meetings of the American Agricultural Economics Association, American Bar Association's Tax Section, American Economic Association, American Political Science Association, American Taxation Association (keynote), Eastern Economic Association, Econometric Society, Economy.com, Federation of Tax Administrators, National Tax Association (keynote), Northeastern States Tax Officials Association, Western Economic Association, and Western States Association of Tax Administrators.

Selected other speaking engagements: AARP Executive Committee, American Enterprise Institute, Association for Budget and Financial Management, Brookings Institution, America's Health Insurance Plans, Association of Academic Health Centers, Cato Institute, CUNY, Columbia University, Computational Public Economics Conference (keynote), CBO Health Insurance Modeling Conference, Democratic Study Group, Detroit Economic Club, European Commission Economic Summit, FDIC policy roundtable, Georgetown University, German Historical Institute (keynote), Johns Hopkins University, George Washington University, Georgia State University, Harvard University, Indiana University, Javeriana University-Bogota (keynote), Le Moyne College, Loyola University (LA), Milken Global Conference, National Economic Council, National Academies, NBER Summer Institute, New Members Seminar (Library of Congress), New York University, Northeastern University, Princeton University, Reed College, James A. Baker III Institute of Rice University, Rutgers University, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, Villanova University, UCLA, University of Florida, University of

Kentucky, University of Maryland, the University of Michigan, University of Pennsylvania, University of Wisconsin, USC, and Wesleyan University.

Referee for American Economic Review, International Journal of Healthcare Finance and Economics, International Tax and Public Finance, ITAX, Health Affairs, Journal of Human Resources, Journal of Health Economics, Journal of Political Economy, Journal of Public Economics, National Science Foundation, National Tax Journal, Public Finance Review, Review of Economics and Statistics.

Chair, National Tax Association Spring Symposium, May 1995.

Member of program committee, National Tax Association, 1997 Annual Conference; 1998, 2001, and 2003 Spring Symposia.

Member of the program committee for Association of Public Policy and Management, 1998 Fall Research Conference.

Member of the American Economic Association, National Tax Association, Association of Public Policy and Management

Courses Taught

Catastrophic Budget Failure, Econometrics, Federal Budget Policy, Labor Economics, Mathematical Economics, Microeconomic Theory, Principles of Macroeconomics, Public Finance, Quantitative Analysis, Social Welfare Policy, Tax Policy and Politics.

Honors

Davie-Davis Award for Public Service, National Tax Association, 2016.

Exceptional Service Award, U.S. Department of the Treasury, 2000.

Secretary's Award, U.S. Department of the Treasury, 2000.

Congressional Budget Office Director's Award, 1992.

Jeanne Mattersdorf Fund Award (National Tax Association), 1981.

Distinguished Service Award (American Cancer Society), 1980.

Volunteer Activity

Advisory board member, Our Voices Together, 2005-2008.

Organizer and rider, Ride4Haiti, Summer 2005 (raised \$108,000 for Partners In Health, a NGO operating in Haiti and elsewhere).

Member of the *a capella* singing group, Polyhymnia, 2006-2009, 2013-present

Member of Syracuse Oratorio Society, 2010-2013, 2018; New Dominion Chorale, 1988-2006; Arlington Metropolitan Chorus, 1985-1988; Androscoggin Chorale, 1983-1985.