

WHO'S WHO IN SOCIAL SECURITY

February 2020





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Who's Who in Social Security An Introduction

In 1935, the Social Security Act created a number of major programs intended to provide an economic foundation for America's families, from retirees to survivors, and from children to the disabled. Social Security is crucial to the well-being of more than 63 million beneficiaries, and will doubtless continue to be crucial for virtually every American in the future.

Over the past eight decades, the program has evolved to meet the changing needs of the country, and will undoubtedly continue to adjust along with the demographics of the American people. As we approach the 2020 presidential election cycle, it's clear that Social Security will again emerge at the forefront of political platforms as they unfold and as America's voters select their leadership for the years ahead.

The Old-Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI) Trust Fund, which pays retirement and survivors benefits, and the Disability Insurance (DI) Trust Fund, which pays disability benefits, are by law separate entities. These expenditures are a formidable portion of our country's economic picture.

Beyond the sheer size of the OASI and DI expenditure, however, is the even more staggering fact that the Trust Funds established to handle income and disbursements from Social Security are systematically moving toward exhaustion. After amassing a reserve balance of nearly \$3 trillion, financial demographics have created a situation where Social Security's outflow exceeds its inflow.

As announced by the Social Security Board of Trustees in April of 2019, "the combined asset reserves of the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance and Disability Insurance (OASI and DI) Trust Funds are projected to become depleted in 2035, one year later than projected

last year, with 80 percent of benefits payable at that time. The OASI Trust Fund is projected to become depleted in 2034, the same as last year's estimate, with 77 percent of benefits payable at that time. The DI Trust Fund is estimated to become depleted in 2052, extended 20 years from last year's estimate of 2032, with 91 percent of benefits still payable."

The Time for Action is Now!

The long-term solvency of Social Security has been a steadily growing issue for some time and has reached the point where a harsh reality is in sight. The Association of Mature American Citizens (AMAC) has long been in the forefront of a fight to bring forth solutions to address this impending crisis, and has taken the initiative to advance a legislative framework to address the long-term problem. As an action-oriented and member-driven association, AMAC puts the well-being of its constituency at the top of its priority list, and has been resolute in its mission to get the attention of lawmakers to develop the least disruptive solution to the problem.

Make no mistake about it...time is running out. Now is the moment to take the steps that will ensure the stability of Social Security for future generations of Americans without subjecting workers to severe consequences. "Sooner rather than later" is the catchphrase that must govern...the funding shortfalls cannot be resolved without legislative intervention. This is not a self-correcting situation.

Tackling the Problem

It's a big undertaking...we know that. And there are legions of people involved in meeting the challenge. From the Congressional Representatives we've elected to resolve issues like this to the Social Security Administration officials who manage the myriad complexities of the program, there are countless names and faces engaged in the process to save the program, just as there are diverse professionals laboring to create pathways to resolution. Like we said, it's a big undertaking!

For this reason, we've created this "Who's Who in Social Security" handbook for use as a guide in identifying the key players in the overall quest for a solution to Social Security's dilemma. The material contained in this guide will serve to help point you to the people integral to the solution, and will serve to bring you up-to-speed on the many proposed resolutions currently in play.

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¹ https://www.ssa.gov/news/press/releases/2019/#4-2019-1

Acknowledgements

This booklet is a product of the AMAC Foundation, AMAC's affiliated public benefit corporation. It's intent is to lend assistance in understanding and resolving the Social Security solvency crisis. AMAC's Founder and President, Dan Weber, initiated the creation of the first edition of the handbook in 2015, enlisting the help and support of key AMAC and AMAC Foundation contributors to bring it to fruition. As the 2020 election year unfolds, and as the insolvency endpoint grows closer and closer, it was decided to update the information in this compilation to reflect current assignments.

Additional copies of this publication can be obtained by contacting the AMAC Foundation office at 888-750-2622 or via email at info@AmacFoundation.org.

Social Security Administration

The Social Security Administration (SSA) is an independent agency of the U.S. federal government, with a mission to "Deliver Social Security services that meet the changing needs of the public." With a staff of some 60,000 employees spread across more than 1,300 field offices and embassy locations around the world and an online presence through socialsecurity.gov, the SSA is for many people the face of the federal government.

The Social Security Administration (SSA) came into being on July 16, 1946. Prior to this time, the Social Security program was administered by a three-person Social Security Board. The Board was abolished in a government reorganization and replaced by the SSA, with a single Commissioner as its head. For a complete list of the 30 Social Security Commissioners from 1946 through 2019, please refer to Appendix 1.

SSA's headquarters is located in Woodlawn, Maryland. Much of the Administration's detail claim work is performed at six large Program Service Centers located around the country. The six service centers are:

- Northeastern Program Service Center, Jamaica, Queens, New York (as of late 1980s; previously in Rego Park, Queens and College Point, Queens)
- Mid-Atlantic Program Service Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Southeastern Program Service Center, Birmingham, Alabama
- Great Lakes Program Service Center, Chicago, Illinois
- Mid-America Program Service Center, Kansas City, Missouri
- Western Program Service Center, Richmond, California (as of mid-1970s; previously in San Francisco)

The current oversight and management of SSA is accomplished through a hierarchical structure as shown in the charts that follow in this handbook.

Social Security Administration

www.ssa.gov @SocialSecurity

OASDI Trustees

Steven T. Mnuchin

@stevenmnuchin1
Secretary of the Treasury, and Managing Trustee of the Trust Funds
202-622-2000

Alex M. Azar II

@SecAzar
Secretary of Health and Human Services and Trustee
202-690-7000

Eugene Scalia

@SecGeneScalia Secretary of Labor and Trustee 202-693-6000

Andrew M. Saul

Commissioner of Social Security Administration 410-965-3120

Office of the Commissioner			
Commissioner Andrew M. Saul (01-19 - 01-25) 410-965-3120			
Deputy Commissioner David F. Black 410-965-1234		Senior Advisor to the Commissioner Nancy A. Berryhill 410-965-1234	
Chief of Staff Stephanie J. Hall		Deputy Chief of Staff Nancy J. Gonzalez (Acting)	
Press Office Mark Hinkle, Acting Press Officer @SSAPress 410-929-4774			
Office of the Inspector General (OIG) @TheSSAOIG oig.ssa.gov			DIG)
Gail S. Ennis Inspector General (410) 965-2905	Acti	L. Schaeffer ng Deputy spector	Benjamin Alpert Acting Chief of Staff
Chief Actuary Office @TheSSAOIG ssa.gov/OACT			
Stephen C. Goss Chief Actuary (410) 965-3000	Office o	Chief Actuary of Short Range itimates Vacant)	Deputy Chief Actuary Office Long Range Estimates Karen P. Glenn (410) 965-3002

Additional members of SSA are shown in Appendix 2

The United States Senate

Section 3 of the United States Constitution dictates "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, *chosen by the Legislature thereof*, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.²" This approach gives equal representation to states regardless of population, and helps to preserve their individual sovereignty. Accordingly, the Senate consists of 100 members, elected by popular vote for six-year, staggered terms.

The Constitution sets three qualifications for service in the U.S. Senate: age (at least thirty years of age); U.S. citizenship (at least nine years); and residency in the state a senator represents at time of election. The details of these qualifications were hammered out by the Constitution's framers during the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

Since 1789, nearly 2,000 individuals have been a senator; of these, 16 have become U.S. presidents, 15 have served as Supreme Court Justices, five have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and 28 have been awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.³

Listed in the following pages are those senate members having a direct relationship to legislative activities concerning Social Security.

² https://www.senate.gov/civics/constitution_item/constitution.htm?vm=r

³ https://www.senate.gov/senators/facts_milestones.htm

The Senate Finance Committee www.finance.senate.gov



Chairman Chuck Grasslev (R - IA) 202-224-3744 www.grassley.senate.gov

@grassley **Chief of Staff: Aaron Cummings**



Ranking Mbr./Ex Officio Ron Wyden (D – OR) 202-224-5244 www.wyden.senate.gov @senatorronwyden Chief of Staff: Jeff Michels

Subcommittee on Social Security, Pensions, and Family Policy

This subcommittee examines specific areas and issues related to the Finance Committee's overall jurisdiction in the revenue area of Social Security.

Majority Members



Chairman Rob Portman (R - OH) 202-224-3353 www.portman.senate.gov @senrobportman Chief of Staff: Kevin Smith



Bill Cassidy (R - LA) 202-224-5824 www.cassidy.senate.gov @senbillcassidy Chief of Staff: James Quinn



James Lankford (R-OK)
202-224-5754
www.lankford.senate.gov
@senatorlankford
Chief of Staff: Michelle Altman



Todd Young (R- IN) 202-224-5623 www.young.senate.gov @SenToddYoung Chief of Staff: John Connell

Minority Members



Ranking member

Sherrod Brown (D-OH)
202-224-2315
www.brown.senate.gov
@SenSherrodBrown

Chief of Staff: Sarah Benzing



Bob Casey Jr. (D-PA) 202-224-6324 www.casey.senate.gov @SenBobCasey Chief of Staff: Kristen Gentile



Michael Bennet (D - CO) 202-224-5852 www.bennet.senate.gov @senatorbennet Chief of Staff: Jonathan Davidson



Catherine Cortez Masto (D - NV) 202-224-3542 www.cortezmasto.senate.gov @SenCortezMasto Chief of Staff: Reynaldo Benitez

Remaining Members of The Senate Finance Committee

Majority Members

Richard Burr (R - NC) 202-224-3154 @SenatorRichardBurr www.burr.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Natasha

Hickman

Steve Daines (R – MT) 202-224-2651 @SteveDainesMT www.daines.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Jason Thielman

Pat Roberts (R - KS)
202-224-4774
@SenPatRoberts
www.roberts.senate.gov
Chief of Staff: Jackie Cottrell

John Cornyn (R - TX) 202-224-2934 @SenJohnCornyn www.cornyn.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Beth Jafari

Michael B. Enzi (R - WY) 202-224-3424 @mikeenzi www.enzi.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Coy Knobel

Tim Scott (R - SC) 202-224-6121 @SenatorTimScott www.scott.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Jennifer DeCasper

Patrick J. Toomey (R - PA) 202-224-4254 @SenToomey www.toomey.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Daniel Brandt Mike Crapo (R - ID) 202-224-6142 @MikeCrapo www.crapo.senate.gov Chief of Staff: John Hoehne

Ben Sasse (R-NE)
202-224-4224
@SenSasse
www.sasse.senate.gov
Chief of Staff: Raymond Sass

John Thune (R - SD) 202-224-2321 @SenJohnThune www.thune.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Nick Rossi

Minority Members

Maria Cantwell (D - WA) 202-224-3441 @senatorcantwell www.cantwell.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Jami Burgess

Maggie Hassan (D – NH) 202-224-3324 @SenatorHAssan www.hassan.senate.gov

Chief of Staff: Marc Goldberg Benjamin L. Cardin (D -MD) 202-224-4524 @SenatorCardin www.cardin.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Christopher Lynch

Robert Menendez (D - NJ) 202-224-4744 @senatormenendez www.menendez.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Fred Turner Thomas R Carper (D - DE) 202-224-2441 @tomcarper www.carper.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Emily Spain

Debbie Stabenow (D - MI) 202-224-4822 @SenatorStabenow www.stabenow.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Matt VanKuiken

Remaining Members of The Senate Finance Committee

Minority Members (Cont'd)

Mark R. Warner (D - VA) 202-224-2023 @MarkRWarner www.warner.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Mike Harney Sheldon Whitehouse (D - RI) 202-224-2921 @SenatorWhitehouse www.whitehouse.senate.gov Chief of Staff: Sam Goodstein

The United States House of Representatives

Section 2 of the United States Constitution dictates that membership in the House of Representatives is apportioned to the population of each state, with each state having at least one seat. The decennial congressional district reapportionment process that follows each official census ensures that this representation stays in balance within its membership ceiling of 435 Representatives. These representatives are elected biannually for two-year terms, with elections held in even-numbered years.

19 House of Representatives members have also served as president, and 17 House Members have served on the U.S. Supreme Court.⁴

With respect to legislative activity involving Social Security, the House has a specific responsibility as defined in the United States Constitution. Article I, Section 7 of the Constitution states that: "All bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.⁵"

Listed in the following pages are those House of Representatives members having a direct relationship to legislative activities concerning Social Security.

⁴ https://history.house.gov/People/Other-Office/Member-President/

⁵ https://history.house.gov/Institution/Origins-Development/Power-of-the-Purse/

The House Ways and Means Committee www.waysandmeans.house.gov



Chairman
Richard E. Neal (D-MA)
202-225-5601
@RepRichardNeal
neal.house.gov

Chief of Staff: William Tranghese



Ranking Member
Kevin P. Brady (R – TX)
202-225-4901
@RepKevinBrady
kevinbrady.house.gov
Chief of Staff: Jeff Billman

Subcommittee on Social Security

The Subcommittee's jurisdiction includes legislation and issues related to Social Security's retirement, survivors and disability programs, the Railroad Retirement program, and employment taxes and trust fund operations relating to those programs, including title II of the Social Security Act, Chapter 22 of the Internal Revenue Code (the Railroad Retirement Tax Act), as well as provisions in title VII and title XI of the Act involving the Old Age and Survivors' and Disability Insurance (OASDI) programs.

The House Ways and Means Committee Subcommittee on Social Security www.waysandmeans.house.gov

Leadership



Chairman – John B. Larson (D-CT) 202-225-2265 @RepJohnLarson larson.house.gov Chief of Staff: Scott Stephanou



Ranking Member – Tom Reed (R-NY) 202-225-3161 @RepTomReed reed.house.gov Chief of Staff: Drew Wayne

Majority Members



Linda T. Sánchez (D-CA) 202-225-6676 @RepLindaSanchez lindasanchez.house.gov Chief of Staff: Marsha Espinosa



Daniel Kildee (D-MI) 202-225-3611 @RepDanKildee dankildee.house.gov Chief of Staff: Mitchell Rivard

The House Ways and Means Committee Subcommittee on Social Security www.waysandmeans.house.gov

Majority Members



Brendan Boyle (D-PA)
202-225-6111
@CongressmanBoyle
boyle.house.gov
Chief of Staff: John McCarthy



Bradley Schneider (D-IL) 202-225-4835 @RepSchneider schneider.house.gov Chief of Staff: Casey O'Shea



Brian Higgins (D-NY) 202-225-3306 @RepBrianHiggins higgins.house.gov Chief of Staff: Matthew Fery



Bill Pascrell Jr. (D - NJ) 202-225-5751 @BillPascrell pascrell.house.gov Chief of Staff: Ben Rich

The House Ways and Means Committee Subcommittee on Social Security www.waysandmeans.house.gov

Minority Members



Jodey Arrington (R – TX) 202-225-4005 @JodeyArrington arrington.house.gov Chief of Staff:John Porter





A. Drew Ferguson (R – GA) 202-225-5901 @RepDrewFerguson ferguson.house.gov Chief of Staff: Bobby Saparow



Remaining Members of the House Ways and Means Committee

Majority Members

Don Beyer (D - VA) 202-225-4376

@RepDonBeyer www.beyer.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Tanya Bradsher

Earl Blumenauer (D - OR) 202-225-4811

@repblumenauer

www.blumenauer.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Willie Smith

Judy Chu (D - CA) 202-225-5464

@RepJudyChu

www.chu.house.gov Chief of Staff: Sonali Desai

Danny Davis (D - IL)

202-225-5006

@RepDannyDavis

www.davis.house.gov Chief of Staff: Yul Edwards Suzan DelBene (D - WA)

202-225-6311 @RepDelBene

www.delbene.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Aaron Schmidt

Lloyd Doggett (D - TX) 202-225-4865

@RepLloydDoggett www.doggett.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Michael Mucchetti

Dwight Evans (D - PA) 202-225-4001

@RepDwightEvanx

www.evans.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Kim Turner-Dixon

Jimmy Gomez (D - CA) 202-225-6235

@RepJimmvGomez www.gomez.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Bertha Alisia Guerrero

Steven Horsford (D - NV)

202-225-9894

@RepHorsford

www.horsford.house.gov Chief of Staff: Asha Jones

Ron Kind (D - WI)

202-225-5506

@repronkind

www.kind.house.gov Chief of Staff: Hana

Greenberg

John Lewis (D - GA) 202-225-3801

@RepJohnLewis

www.johnlewis.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Michael Collins

Gwen Moore (D - WI) 202-225-4572

@GwenSMoore

www.gwenmoore.house.gov Chief of Staff: Sean Gard

Stephanie Murphy (D - FL)

202-225-4035

@RepStephMurphy

www.murphy.house.gov Chief of Staff: Brad Howard Jimmy Panetta (D - CA) 202-225-2861

@RepJimmyPanetta

www.panetta.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Joel Bailey

Terri Sewell (D - AL)

202-225-2665

@RepSewwll

www.sewell.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Cachavious English

Tom Suozzi (D - NY)

202-225-3335

@RepTomSuozzi

www.suozzi.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Mike Florio

Mike Thompson (D - CA) 202-225-3311

@RepMikeThompson

www.mikethompson.house.gov Chief of Staff: Melanie Rhinehart Van Tassell

Remaining Members of the House Ways and Means Committee

Minority Members

Vern Buchanan (R – FL) 202-225-5015 @CongressmanBuchanan www.buchanan.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Dave Karvelas

Darin LaHood (R - IL)

202-225-6201 @replahood www.lahood.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Steven Pfrang
Tom Rice (R - SC)

202-225-9895 @RepTomRice www.rice.house.gov Chief of Staff: Jennifer Watson

Jason Smith (R - MO) 202-225-4404 @RepJasonSmith www.jasonsmith.house.gov Chief of Staff: Mark Roman George Holding (R – NC) 202-225-3032 @CongressmanGeorgeHolding www.holding.house.gov Chief of Staff: Katie Smith

Kenny Marchant (R - TX)
202-225-6605
@RepKennyMarchant
www.marchant.house.gov
Chief of Staff: Brian Thomas

David Schweikert (R - AZ) 202-225-2190 @RepDavid www.schweikert.house.gov

Chief of Staff: Katherina
Dimenstein

Jackie Walorski (R - IN)

202-225-3915
@RepWalorski
www.walorski.house.gov
Chief of Staff: Mike Dankler

Mike Kelly (R - PA) 202-225-5406 @MikeKellyPA www.kelly.house.gov Chief of Staff: Matthew

Stroia

Devin Nunes (R - CA)

202-225-2523 @RepDevinNunes www.nunes.house.gov Chief of Staff: Jilian Plank

Adrian Smith (R - NE) 202-225-6435 @RepAdrianSmith www.adriansmith.house.gov Chief of Staff: Monica Didiuk

202-225-3164 @RepBradWenstrup www.wenstrup.house.gov Chief of Staff: Greg Brooks

Brad Wenstrup (R - OH)

Social Security Advisory Board

Current Members

The Social Security Advisory Board (SSAB) is a bipartisan, independent federal government agency established in 1994 to advise the President, the Congress, and the Commissioner of Social Security on matters of policy and administration of the Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance and the Supplemental Security Income programs. The Board has seven members, appointed by the President, Senate and House of Representatives. All SSAB members are appointed for six-year terms (staggered), and all are subject to Senate confirmation. The SSAB meets at least six times each year.

Functions of the Board

- Analyzing the Nation's retirement and disability systems and making recommendations with respect to how the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program and the supplemental security income program, supported by other public and private systems, can most effectively assure economic security.
- Studying and making recommendations relating to the coordination of programs that provide health security with social security programs.
- Making recommendations to the President and to the Congress with respect to policies that will ensure the solvency of the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program, both in the short-term and the long-term.
- Making recommendations with respect to the quality of service that the Administration provides to the public.
- Making recommendations with respect to policies and regulations regarding the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program and the supplemental security income program.
- Increasing public understanding of the social security system.
- Making recommendations with respect to a long-range research and program evaluation plan for the Administration.
- Reviewing and assessing any major studies of social security as may come to the attention of the Board.
- Making recommendations with respect to such other matters as the Board determines to be appropriate.

Social Security Advisory Board Current Members Current Members @ssabgov



Henry J. Aaron

9/14 - 9/20

Nominated February 14, 2011 and confirmed September 8, 2014 (first term). Re-nominated January 6, 2014 and confirmed September 8, 2014 (second term). Senior Fellow in the Brookings Institution Economic Studies Program, which he directed from 1990 through 1996. Founding member, VP and board chair of the National Academy of Social Insurance. PhD in economics from Harvard University. Current term of office: September 2014 to September 2020.

Nancy J. Altman

10/17 - 9/23

Appointed by the House on September 26, 2017. She is President of Social Security Works and Chair of the Strengthen Social Security coalition. Author of several books on Social Security and chairs the Board of Directors of the Pension Rights Center and is a member of the Board of Directors of the Alliance for Retired Americans Educational Fund and the Economic Opportunity Institute. J.D. from the University of Pennsylvania Law School.





Jagadeesh Gokhale

11/09 - 9/21

Appointed 11/19/2009 (first term); Reappointed 10/5/2015 (Second term). Dr. Jagadeesh Gokhale is the Director of Special Projects at Penn Wharton Public Policy Initiative (Penn Wharton PPI). Senior fellow at the Cato Institute. Earlier he worked at the American Enterprise Institute as a visiting scholar. Main research fields are macro and public economics with a special focus on the effects of fiscal policy on future generations.

Kim Hildred, Chair

9/16 – 9/22

Appointed 9/27/2016. Currently serves as President of Hildred Consulting LLC. Ms. Hildred retired from the U.S House of Representatives after serving 17 years as Staff Director of the Committee on Ways and Means Subcommittee on Social Security. Master of Science in Education degree from Duquesne University.



Robert Joondeph

10/18 - 9/24

Appointed 10/1/2018. Served as the Executive Director of Disability Rights Oregon (DRO) for over 30 years. Served as a member of the Health Evidence Review Commission, Health Services Commission, Health Fund Board, Mental Health Planning and Management Advisory Council, State Rehabilitation Commission, Governor's Task Force on Brain Injury and the Council on Developmental Disabilities. Is a graduate of Case Western Reserve Law School and Brown University.



Current Nominees to the Board



During the 116th Congress, the president nominated Jason J. Fichtner, PhD to be a Member of the Social Security Advisory Board for a six-year term expiring September 30, 2024. Fichtner is a former Senior Research Fellow at the Mercatus Center at George Mason University. His research focuses on Social Security, federal tax policy, federal budget policy, retirement security, and policy proposals to increase saving and investment. Previously, he served in several positions at the Social Security Administration, including as deputy commissioner of Social Security (acting), chief

economist, and associate commissioner for retirement policy. He also served as senior economist with the Joint Economic Committee of the US Congress.

Former Members of the Social Security Advisory Board are shown in Appendix 3

The Legislative Process

The primary duty of Congress is to administer the legislative process and, through this process, enact the laws that govern the country. To accomplish this, Congress annually considers thousands of individual bills via this process which, while somewhat complex, can be traced chronologically through these stages:

Step 1 – The Introduction

All bills must be sponsored and introduced by a member of Congress, although they can originate from a variety of sources.

Step 2 – Committee Referral

Once introduced, the bill is referred to the appropriate committee (in some cases, multiple committees) for study and assessment.

Step 3 – Subcommittee Review

Once assigned to a focused subcommittee, the bill is researched extensively and, where appropriate, subjected to public hearings.

Step 4 – Mark-up

Using the results of research and hearings, the bill is "marked-up" with changes and amendments and sent back to the referring committee.

Step 5 – Committee Action

Depending on the information provided by subcommittee, the referring committee may elect to take no action (letting the bill die) or vote on whether the bill will be ordered for reporting to the House or Senate. A committee report outlining the bill's provisions and the committee's position on it usually accompanies the bill.

Step 6 – Chamber Debate

Having survived committee review, the bill is next scheduled for debate on the chamber floor. At this stage, the bill can be either passed or defeated. If passed, the bill is now considered an "act."

Step 7 – Chamber Exchange

If the bill is passed by the House, it is then referred to the Senate for analysis and debate. If passed in step 6 by the Senate, it is similarly referred to the House. If the chamber receiving the bill is already considering a similar bill, the

The Legislative Process (Cont'd)

additional analysis and debate is generally waived. In any event, the receiving chamber may at this point approve, reject, ignore, or modify the bill.

Step 8 – Bicameral Determination

If, after both chambers have debated the bill, there are substantial differences between the House and Senate versions, a bicameral conference committee is assigned responsibility for achieving reconciliation. The results are provided to both the House and the Senate for approval (both must approve an identical version of the bill). If there is no agreement at this point, the bill dies.

Step 9 – Presidential Review

The jointly approved bill is now sent to the president, becoming law if it is signed. The president may allow the bill to sit unsigned for a 10-day period, which allows it to become law if Congress is in session during the period. If Congress adjourns during the 10-day unsigned period, the bill also dies (this is referred to as a "pocket veto"). The president may also veto the bill at this point and return it to Congress for further analysis and re-submission.

Step 10 - Veto Override

If the president vetoes the bill, either directly or via a pocket veto, the rejection can be overridden by Congress by re-voting. To become law after a veto, a bill must receive affirmative votes from a two-thirds majority in both chambers.

"Think Tanks" Active in the Social Security Arena

Subjects with the magnitude and breadth of Social Security require extensive, continual, and focused research on an extremely wide range of topics to ensure that all viewpoints and perspectives are given due consideration in the formulation of policy. Accordingly, a number of research institutes have evolved over the years in which highly informed professionals delve into background issues on major subjects and craft thoroughly examined positions that policy makers often consider in laying out courses of action.

In the area of Social Security, there are several major, relevant organizations that perform this service for the general public. Their material is made available to interested parties as support for the decision-making process, as advocacy support for internal and external policy-making participants, and as general reference material for other researchers and members of the public seeking to fully understand Social Security at a greater depth.

This section identifies several notable research organizations that have some level of focus on Social Security, provides contact information for these organizations, summarizes the organizations' scope or mission, and identifies the key players in each of the organizations relative to Social Security research. Biographical highlights on these individuals are included.

Please note that our compilation of key individuals in these organizations may have inadvertently omitted names of significant participants involved in Social Security matters. If so, please contact the Amac Foundation at info@amacfoundation.org to have their information added for future editions.

The American Action Forum

www.americanactionforum.org 1747 Pennsylvania Avenue NW 5th Floor Washington DC, 20006 202-559-6420

AAF is a center-right, independent, nonprofit 501(c)(3) institute that provides actionable research and analysis on public policy such as debt, healthcare, taxes, immigration, etc. Its goals are to "inject forward-thinking ideas into the public debate that will build a better economic future, promoting innovative, free market solutions to build a stronger, more prosperous future.

Douglas Holtz-Eakin, President Twitter: @djheakin	 Founder of AAF in 2009 Chief Economist of the President's Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) Former Director of the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office (CBO) Director of Domestic and Economic Policy for the John McCain presidential campaign. Commissioner Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission Writes a daily column in AAF's morning newsletter, the Daily Dish, and regularly comments on current policy and political debates for a variety of news outlets
Gordon Gray Director of Fiscal Policy Twitter: @GordonGrayDC	 Expertise in Economy and Budget Senior Policy Advisor and Policy Director for Senator Rob Portman Deputy Director of Domestic and Economic Policy for Senator John McCain Several years with American Enterprise Institute

The American Enterprise Institute

www.aei.org 1789 Massachusetts Avenue NW Washington DC, 20036 202-862-5800 Fax: 202-862-7177

AEI scholars are committed to making the intellectual, moral, and practical case for expanding freedom, increasing individual opportunity, and strengthening the free enterprise system in America and around the world. AEI's work explores ideas that further these goals, and AEI scholars take part in this pursuit with academic freedom. AEI operates independently of any political party and has no institutional positions. AEI scholars' conclusions are fueled by rigorous, data-driven research and broadranging evidence.

Joseph Antos The Wilson H. Taylor Scholar in Health Care and Retirement Policy jantos@aei.org @joeantos	Focuses on the economics of health policy, including Medicare, single-payer health insurance proposals, the uninsured, the Affordable Care Act, and the overall reform of the health care system.
Andrew G. Biggs Resident Scholar Andrew.biggs@aei.org @biggsag	 Research focus: Social Security reform; State and local government pensions; public and private sector compensation In 2013, appointed Co-Vice Chair by the Society of Actuaries of a blue ribbon panel tasked with analyzing the causes of underfunding in public pension plans and how govts. can securely fund plans in the future Other previous positions: Principal Deputy Commissioner at the SSA; Deputy Commissioner for policy at the SSA; Assoc Commissioner for Retirement Policy at SSA; Assoc Director, National Economic Council, White House; Social Security Analyst at Cato Institute; Staff Member of the President's Campaign to Strengthen Social Security in 2001; Director of Research at the Congressional Institute

The American Enterprise Institute (cont'd)		
Alex Brill Resident Fellow Alex.brill@aei .org @AlexBrill_DC	 Studies the impact of tax policy on the U.S. economy as well as the fiscal, economic, and political consequences of tax, budget, health care, retirement security issues, and trade policies Also works on health care reform, pharmaceutical spending and drug innovation, and unemployment insurance reform Has testified before congress numerous times on tax policy, labor markets and unemployment insurance, Social Security reform, fiscal stimulus, the manufacturing sector, and biologic drug competition Previously served as: Policy Director and Chief Economist of the House Ways and Means Committee, White House Council of Economic Advisers, President's Fiscal Commission, and Republican Platform Committee 	
Arthur C. Brooks President Emeritus Arthur@authorbrooks.com @arthurbrooks	 Former AEI president (2009-2019) Also served as the Beth and Ravenel Curry Scholar in Free Enterprise Main research: culture, politics, economic life in America, Social Entrepreneurship, philanthropy, and free enterprise Authored books and articles on role of government, fairness, economic opportunity, happiness, and the morality of free enterprise Frequent guest on national television and radio talk shows PhD and Master's in Philosophy in Policy Analysis 	
James C. Capretta Resident Fellow jcapretta@aei.org	 Milton Friedman Chair Main research: health care, entitlement, and U.S. budget policy; as well as global trends in aging, health, and retirement programs Senior Advisor to the Bipartisan Policy Center Advisory Board member – National Institute for Health Care Management Fdn. Former associate director-Office of Management and Budget Former health policy analyst-US Senate Budget Committee and House Committee on Ways and Means Former senior fellow-Ethics & Public Policy Center 	

Bipartisan Policy Center

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The Bipartisan Policy Center actively fosters bipartisanship by combining the best ideas from both parties to promote health, security, and opportunity for all Americans. Our policy solutions are the product of informed deliberations by former elected and appointed officials, business and labor leaders, and academics and advocates who represent both sides of the political spectrum. BPC focuses on health, campus free expression, energy, immigration, education infrastructure, governance, and economy.

Assisted Governor Jerome Powell in his work on the Federal Debt Limit in 2011 Shai Akabas • Researched: economic policy, federal budget, retirement Director of Economic security, and higher education financing • Previously worked as Satellite Office Director on NYC Mayor Policy Bloomberg's 2009 campaign for re-election @ShaiAkabas • Steered BPC's Commission on Retirement Security and **Personal Savings** • As a former senator from North Dakota, he was chairman of the Senate Budget Committee. He was the father of the **Kent Conrad** National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform Senior Fellow (Simpson-Bowles) and a key author of the Affordable Care Act. Co-Chair of BPC's He is currently a part of the Campaign to Fix the Debt. A self-Commission on described deficit hawk, also served on the Gang of Six, a Retirement Security bipartisan group of senators that proposed solutions to the and Personal Savings U.S. debt challenge. James H. Douglas Former Governor of Vermont Member of BPC's • Also served as chair of the National Governors Association, Governors' Council: the President of the Council of State Governments, chairman of the New England Governors' Conference and the Coalition Retirement and of Northeastern Governors Personal Savings

Bipartisan Policy Center (cont'd)		
Ben Gitis Senior Policy Analyst @BenGitis	 Senior policy analyst for BPC's Economic Policy Project Former deputy policy director on Howard Schultz's potential campaign For President of the United States 	
G. William Hoagland Senior Vice President @billhoagland	 Helps direct and manage fiscal, health, and economic policy analyses for BPC Previously served as: CIGNA Corporation's VP of Public Policy, staff member of the U.S. Senate Budget Committee, Administrator of the Department of Agriculture's Food and Nutrition Service, and Special Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture Affiliate professor of Public Policy at the George Mason University Board Member of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, the National Academy of Social Insurance, and the National Advisory Committee to the Workplace Flexibility Commission 	
James B. Lockhart III, Senior Fellow Co-Chair of BPC'S Commission on Retirement Security and Personal Savings	Lockhart was the director of the Federal Housing Finance Agency. He served as the chairman of Federal Housing Finance Oversight Board and a member of the Financial Stability Oversight Board. Held the position as the deputy commissioner and chief operating office of the Social Security Administration, secretary to its board of trustees and a member of President George W. Bush's management council. Also served in the previous Bush administration as executive director of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation.	

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Brookings Institution

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The Brookings Institution is a nonprofit public policy organization based in Washington, DC. Our mission is to conduct in-depth research that leads to new ideas for solving problems facing society at the local, national and global level. Research topics cover foreign policy, economics, development, governance and metropolitan policy.

Henry J. Aaron, Senior Fellow, Economic Studies

- Member and vice-chair of the District of Columbia Health Benefits Exchange and former chair of the Social Security Advisory Board
- Served as Director of Economic Studies from 1990-1996
- Member of Social Security Advisory Board
- Bruce and Virginia MacLaury Chair

Barry P. Bosworth Senior Fellow, Economic Studies

- Former presidential advisor
- His Research has involved work on the determinants of economic growth in developing countries, saving, capital formation, and productivity growth

Brookings Institution (cont'd)		
William G. Gale Co-Director, Urban- Brookings Tax Policy Center and Director, Retirement Security Project Senior Fellow — Economic Studies @WilliamGale2	 Expert on tax policy, fiscal issues, pensions, and saving behavior Currently serves as President of the National Tax Association Arjay and Frances Fearing Miller Chair in Federal Economic Policy Co-Director – Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center 	
J. Mark Iwry Nonresident Senior Fellow-Economic Studies	 Created the Saver's Credit that helped to reform the 401(k) and IRA systems He also is a Visiting Scholar at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. He served from 2009 to January 2017 as Senior Advisor to the Secretary of the Treasury and concurrently as Treasury's Deputy Assistant Secretary for Retirement and Health Policy 	
David C. John Deputy Director, Retirement Security Project Nonresident Senior Fellow-Economic Studies @dcjretiresecure	 Focuses on improving retirement savings and income in the United States, especially among moderate and low income workers. Senior Strategic Policy Advisor with AARP's Public Policy Institute Previously a Senior Research Fellow with the Thomas A. Roe Institute for Economic Policy Studies at the Heritage Foundation 	

Cato Institute

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The Cato Institute is a public policy research organization dedicated to the principles of individual liberty, limited government, free markets, and peace. Its scholars and analysts conduct independent, nonpartisan research on a wide range of policy issues. Our vision is to create free, open, and civil societies founded on libertarian principles.

Michael Cannon Director of Health Policy Studies mcannon@cato.org @mfcannon	 He has been described as "an influential health-care wonk" He has appeared on all the major news outlets and his articles have been featured in all major newspapers and journals Coeditor of Replacing Obamacare: The Cato Institute on Health Care Reform and coauthor of Healthy Competition: What's Holding Back Health Care and How to Free It. Previously, he served as a domestic policy analyst for the U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee, where he advised the Senate leadership on health, education, labor, welfare, and the Second Amendment.
Michael D. Tanner Senior Fellow @MTannerCato mtanner@cato.org	 Heads research into a variety of domestic policies, with an emphasis on poverty and social welfare policy, health care, and Social Security and entitlement reform. Writer and speaker Featured in most influential newspapers Regularly appears on many network and cable news outlets
José Piñera Senior Fellow @josepineraWorld www.josepinera.org	Co-Chairman of Project on Social Security Choice Founder/President of the International Center for Pension Reform Formerly Chile's secretary of labor and social security, he was the architect of the country's successful reform of its pension system

Center for Economic and Policy Research

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The Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR) promotes democratic debate on the most important economic and social issues that affect people's lives. CEPR is committed to presenting issues in an accurate and understandable manner, so that the public is better informed.

Dean Baker, PhD Co-Director/Founder baker@cepr.net @deanbaker13	CoFounder CEPR His areas of research include housing and macroeconomics, intellectual property, Social Security, Medicare and European labor markets.
David Rosnick Economist rosnick@cepr.net @ViscidKonrad	PhD in computer science and Master's in economics Created 'calculators' that compare current Social Security benefits to the Bush Plan based on "Progressive Indexing"

Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

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We are a nonpartisan research and policy institute. We pursue federal and state policies designed both to reduce poverty and inequality and to restore fiscal responsibility in equitable and effective ways. We apply our deep expertise in budget and tax issues and in programs and policies that help low-income people, in order to help inform debates and achieve better policy outcomes.

Paul N. Van de Water Senior Fellow vandewater@cbpp.org @PaulNVandeWater	 Specializes in Medicare, Social Security, and health coverage issues Previously Vice President at the National Academy of Social Insurance and Assistant Deputy Commissioner for Policy at the Social Security Administration PhD in economics
Kathleen Romig Senior Policy Analyst	 Works on Social Security, Supplemental Security Income, and other budget issues. Formerly with Social Security Administration, Social Security Advisory Board, and Congressional Research Service

Employee Benefit Research Institute

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The EBRI looks to contribute to, encourage, and enhance the development of employee benefit programs. They were founded in 1978 in order to conduct research as an education foundation for the private, government, and public sectors.

as an education foundation for the private, government, and public sectors.	
Craig Copeland, PhD Senior Research Associate copeland@ebri.org	Director of EBRI's Social Security Reform Evaluation Research Program Previously taught economics at Southern Illinois University- Carbondale Former researcher in health care, specifically Medicare reform, quality in health care, and lengths of uninsured spells
Jack VanDerhei, PhD Research Director vanderhei@ebri.org	Major areas of research include financial aspects of private defined benefit and defined contribution retirement plans Editor of Benefits Quarterly Editor of Search for a National Retirement Income Policy (UP Press) Member-Advisory Board of the Pension Research Council (Wharton) Editorial board member-Journal of Retirement

The Heritage Foundation

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The mission of The Heritage Foundation is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense. Heritage's staff pursues this mission by performing timely, accurate research on key policy issues and effectively marketing these findings to our primary audiences: members of Congress, key congressional staff members, policymakers in the executive branch, the nation's news media, and the academic and policy communities.

David R. Burton Senior Fellow, Economic Policy	Member-Roe Institute for Economic Policy Studies Member-Institute for Economic Freedom and Opportunity Focuses on tax matters, securities law, entrepreneurship, financial privacy and regulatory and administrative law issues Was General Counsel at the National Small Business Association and Chief Financial Officer and General Counsel at Alliance for Retirement Prosperity
Romina Boccia Research Fellow and Research Manager @RominaBoccia	 Director-Grover M. Hermann Center for the Federal Budget Leading fiscal and economic expert Expert on Social Security and Retirement Security Focuses on securing economic freedom, controlling the size and scope of government, expanding opportunity and flexibility for workers, reforming Social Security and simplifying retirement savings Previously served as Assistant Director of the Roe Institute, Policy Analyst at the Independent Women's Forum, and interned at the Cato Institute's Center for Trade Policy Studies

The Hoover Institution

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The Hoover Institution supports the Constitution of the United States, its Bill of Rights and its method of representative government. The principles of individual, economic, and political freedom; private enterprise; and representative government were fundamental to the vision of the Institution's founder. By collecting knowledge, generating ideas, and disseminating both, the Institution seeks to secure and safeguard peace, improve the human condition, and limit government intrusion into the lives of individuals.

and infinit government intrusion into the lives of individuals.		
Charles Blahous Visiting Research Fellow	Specializes in economic policy, including: retirement security, entitlements, and health care reform Previously: Executive Director of the President's Commission to Strengthen Social Security, and leader of the Alliance for Worker Retirement Security Served as public trustee for Social Security and Medicare programs (2010-2015)	
Lanhee J. Chen Research Fellow @lanheechen	 Focuses on health policy and retirement security policy He is also a Senior Adviser to and member of the Aspen Economic Strategy Group at the Aspen Institute From 2014 to 2018, Chen served as a presidentially-appointed and Senate-confirmed member of the Social Security Advisory Board He was a senior official at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, a member of the Advisory Board of the Partnership for the Future of Medicare, and a member of the Council of Scholars for the Better Medicare Alliance. David and Diane Steffy Fellow in American Public Policy Studies 	
John F. Cogan Senior Fellow	 Expert in domestic policy, focuses on: U.S. budget, Social Security, and health care Previously: Assistant Secretary for policy in the U.S. Department of Labor, Associate Director in the U.S. Office of Management and Budget, served on the Commission to Strengthen Social Security, served on the U.S. Bipartisan Commission on Health Care, the Social Security Notch Commission, and the National Academy of Sciences' Panel on Poverty and Family Assistance Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow Won The Hayek Prize (2018) 	

The Hoover Institution (cont'd)		
Thomas E. MaCurdy Senior Fellow	 Expertise covers domestic policy related to government income support and entitlement programs Professor of Economics, Standard University Senior Fellow at the Stanford Institute of Economic Policy Research and a Research Associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research Published numerous articles and reports analyzing policies in the area of welfare, food stamps, child support, foster care, low-skilled training, earned income tax credit, minimum wages, unemployment compensation, Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid His studies address a broad range of issues, including determinants of participation rates, characteristics of beneficiaries, sources and distributions of program costs, and influences on work disincentives and incomes. 	
Thomas Church Research Fellow	 He studies entitlement reform, health care policy, income inequality, poverty, the federal budget, and immigration reform. He edited the book Inequality & Economic Policy: Essays in Memory of Gary Becker with John B. Taylor and Chris Miller. 	

The Independent Institute

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A non-profit, non-partisan, public-policy research and educational organization that shapes ideas into profound and lasting impact through publications, conferences, and effective multi-media programs. Our mission is to boldly advance peaceful, prosperous, and free societies grounded in a commitment to human worth and dignity.

Burton A. Abrams, PhD Research Fellow	Director-MyGovCost.org Author of several books and articles on economics Professor Emeritus of Economics-University of Delaware
John C. Goodman, PhD Senior Fellow @DrJohnCGoodman	 President-Goodman Institute for Public Policy Research Authored A Better Choice: Health Care Solutions for America and Priceless: Curing the Health Care Crisis Has done studies and testified before congress on the topics of health care reform, retirement reform, and tax issues Previously President and Senior Fellow in Health Care at the National Center for Policy Analysis Considered the Father of Health Savings Accounts (Wall Street Journal) Regularly appears on Fox News, CNN, PBS, Fox Business Network, and CNBC

The Institute for Policy Innovation

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IPI is a non-profit, non-partisan public policy "think tank" based in Irving, Texas to research, develop and promote innovative and non-partisan solutions to today's public policy problems. IPI's focus is on approaches to the strengths of individual liberty, limited government, and free markets. IPI emphasizes getting its studies into the hands of the press and policy makers so that the ideas they contain can be applied to the challenges facing us today.

Tom Giovanetti President tomg@ipi.org @tgiovanetti	 Focuses on tax reform, intellectual property, Social Security, communications policy, internet governance, education reform, and government spending Regularly appears on TV and radio and is published in the Wall Street Journal, Washington Times, Investor's Business Daily, and The Dallas Morning News
Merrill Matthews, PhD Resident Scholar mmatthews@ipi.org	Health policy expert Serves on the Texas Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Past President of the Health Economics Roundtable for the National Association for Business Economics

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The mission is to develop and disseminate new ideas that foster greater economic choice and individual responsibility. The Institute serves as a leading voice of free-market ideas, welfare reform, tort reform, proactive policing, and supply-side tax policies.

Steven Malanga Senior Fellow	 He writes about the intersection of urban economies, business communities, and public policy George M. Yeager Fellow Senior Editor-City Journal
E. J. McMahon Adjunct Fellow @EjmEj	Research Director of the Empire Center for Public Policy, Inc. His writing encourages policy changes to promote economic growth at the regional, state, and local level. Recent work focuses on New York's unsustainable public pension and retiree health care costs
Brian Riedl Senior Fellow @Brian_Riedl	 Member-Economics21 Former Chief Economist for Sen. Rob Portman (R-OH) Former Staff Director- Senate Finance Committee on Fiscal Responsibility and Economic Growth Former Director of Budget and Spending Policy for Marco Rubio (R-FL) presidential campaign Lead Architect-ten-year deficit reduction plan for Mitt Romney (R-UT) presidential campaign

The Mercatus Center

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The Mercatus Center at George Mason University is a university-based research center forcing on market-oriented ideas—bridging the gap between academic ideas and real-world problems. The Mercatus Center advances knowledge about how markets work to improve people's lives by training graduate students, conducting research, and applying economics to offer solutions to society's most pressing problems.

Charles Blahous Senior Research Strategist cblahous@mercatus.gmu.edu	 Public Trustee for the Social Security and Medicare Programs (2010-2015) Specializes in economic policy, including retirement security, entitlements, and health care reform Previously: Executive Director of the President's Commission to Strengthen Social Security Author of "Social Security: The Unfinished Work," and "Pension Wise: Confronting Employer Pension Underfunding and Sparing the Taxpayers the Next Bailout Author: "The Costs of a National Sigle-Payer Healthcare System" and The Fiscal Consequences of the Affordable Care Act" J. Fish and Lillian F. Smith Chair
Eileen Norcross Senior Research Fellow enorcross@mercatus.gmu.edu @enorcross	Specializes in fiscal federalism, state and local government finance, pensions, public administration, and economic development Testified before congress on state and local pension underfunding Vice President of Policy Research

Progressive Policy Institute

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The Progressive Policy Institute is a catalyst for policy innovation and political reform based in Washington, D.C. PPI is developing fresh proposals for stimulating U.S. economic innovation and growth, equipping all Americans with the skills and assets that social mobility in the knowledge economy requires, modernizing an overly bureaucratic and centralized public sector, and defending liberal democracy in a dangerous world.

Will Marshall President/Founder	 One of the chief intellectual architects of the movement to modernize progressive politics for the global age. Honorary Vice-President of Policy Network, an international think tank Helped to found the Democratic Leadership Council, serving as its first policy director. Currently serves on the board of directors for the National Endowment for Democracy.
Lindsay Mark Lewis Executive Director	 Focuses on building policy dialogues with Mayors, Governors, House and Senate Members, the Administration and expanding the PPI reach into International policy and idea connections. Former National Finance Director of the Democratic National Committee
Michael Mandel Chief Economic Strategist	 Supervises PPI's research and policy work across a wide range of topics, including the data-driven economy, the impact of regulation on innovation, and policies to improve production, investment and job growth in the United States and globally. Senior fellow at Wharton's Mack Institute for Innovation Management at the University of Pennsylvania
Ben Ritz Director of the Center for Funding America's Future	 PPI's Center for Funding America's Future, which develops policy proposals to strengthen public investments in the foundation of our economy, modernize federal health and retirement programs to reflect an aging society, and transform our tax code to reward work over wealth. Formerly staffed the Bipartisan Policy Center's Commission on Retirement Security and Personal Savings, where he helped develop its proposed reforms to Social Security and retirement-related tax expenditures.

The RAND Corporation

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A nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that offers solutions to policy utilizing analytical fact-based research. Over half of their staff of 1950 people hold doctorates and collectively speak 75 languages. They address global as well as domestic issues.

Phillip Armour, PhD Economist Phillip_Armour@rand.org @economistphil Michael D. Hurd, PhD Senior Principal Researcher Michael_Hurd@rand.org	 Professor-Pardee RAND Graduate School Researches Disability Insurance and Social Security An empirical labor economist Director of the RAND Center for the Study of Aging Researches Geriatrics, Labor Markets, Personal Savings, and Social Security Focuses on the structure of private pensions and Social Security effects on retirement decisions and the economic status of the elderly Most recent research on monetary costs of
David Knapp, PhD Economist David_Knapp@rand.org	 dementia and the costs of long-term care His research focuses on recruitment, retention, and retirement related issues faced by workers, households, and employers Affiliate Faculty-Pardee RAND Graduate School Recent work includes evaluating how public-sector teachers' retention decisions respond to changes in the structure of their compensation, as well as similar work on how the structure of compensation affects civil service retention in the Department of Defense, and a study of near-retirement divorce on retirement security.
Erik Meijer, PhD Adjunct Economist Erik_Meijer@rand.org	Current research is in the economics of aging: Social Security, retirement, saving, investment, and health. Recent and ongoing work includes studying cross-country differences in health and cognition, the effects of retirement on cognitive decline, and the relationships between job characteristics and retirement. Researches the elderly, health disparities, health economics, retirement and retirement benefits, and Social Security

The RAND Corporation (cont'd)	
Kathleen J. Mullen, PhD Senior Economist Kathleen_Mullen@rand.org @KathleenJMullen	 Her work addresses the economics of disability, health and retirement, with an emphasis on the incentive effects of social insurance programs such as Social Security and Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) Studied the effects of change in Social Security incentives in other countries for workers in old ages and what those findings suggest about reforms in the U.S. Director-RAND Center for Disability Research Editor in Chief-RAND Journal of Economics
Susann Rohwedder, PhD Senior Economist Susann_Rohwedder@rand.org	 Associate Director for the RAND Center for the Study of Aging Her research focuses on the economics of aging in the areas of household consumption and saving behavior, retirement, long-term care and expectation formation. She has written on the impact of public pensions on household saving; the adequacy of retirement resources of U.S. households near retirement; the effect of retirement on cognitive ability; spending and saving patterns among the older population; the lifetime risk of nursing home entry and associated out-of-pocket expenditures; and various topics involving individuals' expectations about future outcomes.
Kathryn Edwards, PhD Associate Economist Kathryn_Edwards@rand.org	 Professor at the Pardee RAND Graduate School Her research spans diverse areas of public policy, including the financial resources available to unemployed households, the role of Social Security in wealth inequality, the challenges in retirement facing older Americans, and the sources of health insurance for disabled workers. Recent projects: An Investigation of the Effect of Social Security Disability Insurance on the Health of Non-Disabled Spouses.

Social Security Works

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The mission of Social Security Works is to, protect and improve the economic security of disadvantaged and at-risk populations; safeguard the economic security of those dependent, now or in the future, on Social Security; and maintain Social Security as a vehicle of social justice

Nancy Altman President	 Chair of the Strengthen Social Security Coalition Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Pension Rights Center Currently serving on the Social Security Advisory Board (Term:10-2017 to 10-2023) 		
Alex Lawson Executive Director	 Convening member of the Strengthen Social Security Coalition Previously Communications Director Coordinates the education and advocacy operations 		
Eric Kingson, PhD Chair -Board of Directors	 Professor of social work at Syracuse University's School of Social Work Founding board member of the National Academy of Social Insurance Senior Research Associate in the Maxwell School's Center for Policy Research 		

Recent Proposals That Would Affect Trust Fund Solvency

The Trust Funds associated with Social Security (the *Old-Age and Survivors Insurance [OASI] Trust Fund* and the *Disability Income [DI] Trust Fund*) are monitored and reported on annually by the Social Security Board of Trustees. An excerpt from the most recent public report from the Board, points to concerns regarding the long-term financial viability of these funds. "Neither Medicare nor Social Security can sustain projected long-run program costs in full under currently scheduled financing, and legislative changes are necessary to avoid disruptive consequences for beneficiaries and taxpayers."

Various policymakers and external organizations have long recognized this impending funding problem, for a variety of corrective actions. SSA tracks these proposals and provides memoranda on the actuarial impact of these proposals, presenting the material to the public via their website (www.ssa.gov). Projections and estimates are based on the intermediate assumptions made in the most recent Trustees Report available at the time the proposal was made.

The remainder of this section will summarize a collection of these proposals, beginning with the Social Security Guarantee legislative framework proposed by AMAC. For more information about AMAC's Social Security Guarantee, visit www.AMAC.us/social-security.

For official proposals submitted to Congress, the material will identify the official name of the proposal and its sponsor(s).

The AMAC Social Security Guarantee

AMAC's founder, Dan Weber, has been in the forefront of the fight to address the problems facing America's Social Security program. In AMAC's view, Social Security has two long-term weaknesses:

- (1) The level of financial support projected for future beneficiaries will be inadequate, given the evaporation of private pensions and the steadily rising cost of living. The AMAC proposal addresses this with a tiered approach to COLA adjustments that guarantees yearly increases weighted to support low incomes, and the implementation of an Early Retirement Account (ERA) designed to provide a way for workers to accumulate a financial base sufficient enough to enable retirement before becoming a Social Security beneficiary.
- (2) The program in its current configuration is nearing deficit spending, causing a gradual depletion of the Social Security Trust Fund. If left unchecked, projections are that the Trust Fund balance will be exhausted by 2035, with the result being a substantial scale-down of payments to beneficiaries. AMAC's proposal calls for a two-year setback in the early and normal retirement ages and an adjustment to the Primary Insurance Amount (PIA) for higher wage earners.

As an action-oriented association, AMAC is resolved to do its part to call for action on this very serious problem, and has developed a simple, actuarially sound solution to the long-term Social Security solvency problem. We've advanced this proposal on Capitol Hill, with AMAC representatives resolute in their mission to get the attention of lawmakers. Many meetings and discussions with congressional offices and their legislative staffs over the past several years have explored the AMAC approach, with the result that the ideas contained in the proposal have begun to gain traction with legislators.

AMAC's proposal has three Prime Directives:

- 1) Increase benefits for those with lower earnings
- 2) Achieve solvency and ensure benefits continue
- 3) Provide a means for all earners to have more income available at retirement

The Prototype Plan – Keep basic Social Security, ensuring its solvency, modernizing it, and guaranteeing Cost of Living increases each year.

The AMAC Social Security Guarantee

The promise to guarantee Social Security for all Americans must be kept. AMAC has examined the many proposed solutions presented in the intermediate assumptions portion

of the 2019 Trustees Report and selected the alternatives we feel are best suited to save Social Security. We have combined these selected assumptions with several other recommendations to achieve what is the best path to long-term Trust Fund solvency without raising taxes.

This proposal as presented here is believed to succeed in achieving all of these directives.

I. INCREASE BENEFITS FOR THOSE WITH LOWER EARNINGS

Implement a tiered approach to the calculation of Cost-of-Living Adjustments (COLA) as follows:

- a) For Beneficiaries with a household income (AGI) level less than \$20,000, set an annual COLA range of 3% minimum 4% maximum.
- b) For Beneficiaries with a household income (AGI) between \$20,001 and \$50,000 set an annual COLA range of 1.5% minimum 3% maximum.
- c) For Beneficiaries with a household income (AGI) of \$50,001 or higher, set an annual COLA range of 1% minimum 2% maximum.

Note: In 2010, 2011, and 2016, there was no Social Security COLA, despite the fact that expenses most common to seniors (e.g., food, insurance, medical treatment, prescription drugs, etc.) continued to rise sharply. *Under this plan, all retirees will be guaranteed an increase each year*⁶.

II. ACHIEVE SOCIAL SECURITY TRUST FUND SOLVENCY

- 1. Implement a setback in the retirement age for new retirees:
- Early retirement age should remain at 62. The percentage of benefit reduction for early retirement would remain as determined by the Social Security Administration (e.g., a range of 20% to 30%, depending on normal retirement age).
- After the normal retirement age (NRA) reaches 67 for those attaining age 62 in 2022, increase the NRA by 2 months per year until the NRA reaches age 69 for those attaining age 62 in 2034. Thereafter, increase the NRA in a manner that will keep the ratio of (life expectancy at NRA)/(NRA-20) constant. This is likely to result in an expected increase in the NRA of 1 month every 2 years. Additionally, increase the age up to which delayed retirement credits may be earned, on the same schedule (3 years past the NRA).

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⁶ Medicare premium increases could offset the guaranteed COLA.

(Source: Table A, Section 4 - 7/13/2016 Office of the Chief Actuary letter to Rep. Ribble, H.R. 5747 sponsor)

- 2. Change the level of payments for future retirees starting in 2022
 - Adjust the Primary Insurance Amount (PIA), keeping lower income earners benefits the same and lowering benefits for higher income earners.
 - Progressive price indexing (50th percentile) of PIA factors beginning with individuals newly eligible for OASDI benefits in 2023:
 - Create a new bend point at the 50th percentile of the AIME distribution of newly retired workers. Maintain current-law benefits for earners at the 50th percentile and below. Reduce the 32 and 15 percent factors above the 50th percentile such that the initial benefit for a worker with AIME equal to the taxable maximum grows by inflation rather than the growth in the SSA average wage index.
 (Source: Level of Monthly Benefits Summary (2016 Trustees)

(Source: Level of Monthly Benefits Summary [2016 Trustees Report intermediate assumptions], item B1.4)

 For the OASI and DI computation of the PIA, gradually reduce the maximum number of drop-out years from 5 to 0, phased in over the years 2018-2026.

(Source: Level of Monthly Benefits Summary [2016 Trustees Report intermediate assumptions], item B4.3)

Bipartisan Policy Center's Commission on Retirement Security and
Personal Savings Plan—Enhance Survivors Benefits: Beginning for newly
eligible retired workers and spouses in 2022, all claimants who are
married would receive a specified joint-and-survivor annuity benefit
(i.e., surviving spouses would receive 75 percent of the decedents'
benefits, in addition to their own) that would be payable if both were
still alive. Initial benefits would be actuarially adjusted to keep the
expected value of benefits equivalent to what would otherwise be
current law (i.e., with the other provisions of this package incorporated).

(*Note*: Under this calculation, surviving spouses would receive a significantly higher benefit)

(Source: Table A, 6/9/2016 Office of the Chief Actuary letter to Messrs. Conrad and Lockhart, Co-Chairs)

The AMAC Social Security Guarantee prototype plan combines the provisions shown above, and includes the addition of a new benefit that we feel Social Security must include if it is to help and encourage workers to secure a sufficient retirement.

III. PROVIDE A MEANS FOR ALL EARNERS TO HAVE MORE INCOME AVAILABLE AT RETIREMENT

The "Social Security Plus" account will be a supplemental voluntary companion benefit retirement account to provide access to additional funds for all workers at age 62.

- O Voluntary account for both employee and employer
- The individual is the owner of this supplemental retirement savings account
- Tax deduction for employer, after-tax for employee with income sheltered
- Employee not taxed on receiving funds (similar to a Roth IRA)
- Paid via payroll deduction, employer provides the contribution slot to employee
- After the Social Security Plus ("SSP") account becomes available, employer must offer to all employees (full and part-time)
- When new employees are hired, they must opt out of the SSP account or they will be enrolled at \$10/week
- The weekly minimum is \$5, the weekly maximum is \$100 or \$5,200/year
- Employer may elect to contribute to employees' SSP account in any amount or percentage of pay they choose up to \$50 per week (\$2,600 per year)
- The employer may start or stop their contribution at any time
- Portability, if wage earner changes jobs, new employer must add payroll access for the SSP
- Funds only available to wage earner at age 62 or because of death or total disability
- Wage earner may elect to start receiving payouts at any age between 62 and 70 ½
- O Death benefit is the accrued value of account at time of death
- SSP account benefits, including earnings, are tax-free
- Contribution is indexed for inflation at 4%

Investment options for the Social Security Plus savings account

80% of the funds must be invested in stock funds (i.e. S & P 500 index)

- The other 20% may be invested in any approved conservative investment (Guaranteed)
- A volunteer board of investment experts creates lists of approved investments to assure quality
- Investment choices would be similar to those used in 401k plans and IRAs and the cost of administration would be borne by the same providers who offer those plans, not the federal government

Why a new Social Security Plus early retirement savings account?

Fifty million Americans have no retirement plan, and the average person receiving retirement benefits collects slightly more than \$16,000 per year. Accordingly, the *majority* of retired workers rely on Social Security as the largest portion of their retirement income. For many Americans, Social Security is their only source of income. There is an urgent need to help workers save more for retirement.

How the AMAC plan achieves solvency

The projected shortfalls in the Trust Fund are shown in the Trustees annual report. There are two actuarial projections used; the Long-range balance and the Annual balance in the 75th year from the report.

Both balances are in the negative; specifically, the Long-range actuarial balance is expected to be -2.66 and the 75th year annual balance is projected at -4.35.

The AMAC proposal incorporates the 3 provisions discussed above, <u>all of which have</u> <u>been scored by the Office of the Chief Actuary</u>. Each improves one or both of the actuarial balances so that the total effect appears to meet the goal of achieving positive balances (See chart in Exhibit A).

It must be understood that because of the interaction of the changes on each other, the office of the Chief Actuary will be asked to conduct the rigorous and detailed analysis required to determine if a true surplus in the Trust fund will result from these changes.

Exhibit A

Effects of Proposed Changes				
Long-Range Actuarial Balance	Annual Balance in 75 th Year	Description	Source	
-2.66	-4.35		From 2016 Trustees Report	
+1.01	+2.21	Retirement Age Setback	H.R. 5747, Section 4	
+1.00	+2.64	Progressive Price Indexing for PIA (50 th percentile)	Office of the Chief Actuary; 2016 Trustees Report intermediate assumptions	
+.60	+.92	Reduction of drop-out years in PIA calculations	Office of the Chief Actuary; 2016 Trustees Report intermediate assumptions	
+0.06	-0.14	Enhanced Survivor benefits	Bipartisan Policy Center Proposal, Table A	
+.01	+1.28	Net Change in Balance assumptions		

These changes will assure the continuation of Social Security benefits for future generations of Americans.

Exhibit B

Logic associated with AMAC Proposals

Tiered COLA Approach

Based on IRS data, 149 million tax returns filed in 2015 (2014 tax year) included 27 million containing Social Security benefits. Using this data, we calculated average AGIs and Social Security benefits for the three AGI brackets addressed in the AMAC Guarantee's COLA proposal. We then modeled these averages to show what the COLAs would be at the high, mid, and low levels (3%-3.5%-4% for low incomes; 1.5%,-2.25%-3% for middle incomes; and 1%-1.5%-2% for high incomes) and compared these two a hypothetical inflation rate of 2.7%. The results indicate that the AMAC proposal is sustainable using the low to mid percentages in the recommended COLA range. Using the high end of the AMAC exceeds the 2.7% inflation factor slightly.

Retirement Age Setback

For those born before 1954, the normal retirement age (NRA) is 66, gradually advancing to age 67 for those born in 1960 or later. Increasing the NRA by 2 months per year until the NRA reaches age 69 for those attaining age 62 in 2034, and thereafter increasing the NRA in a manner that will keep the ratio of (life expectancy at NRA)/(NRA-20) constant, is expected to result in an increase in the NRA of one month every two years. The age up to which delayed retirement credits can be earned would likewise advance, but stay on the same schedule as currently in effect (3 years past the NRA). The effect of this change is a long-term reduction in the gap between promised benefits and required payroll revenue of roughly 2.21%.

Progressive Price Indexing for PIA (50th percentile)

Social Security uses average wage indexing (AWI) to adjust the bend points used in the Primary Insurance Amount (PIA) calculation each year. In 2014 and 2015, AWI produced increases of 3.55% and 3.48%, respectively. The recommendation calls for no change from this approach for workers with AIMEs at the 50th percentile and below, but calls for the upper two bend points for those above the 50th percentile to be adjusted using inflation rates, which tend to be lower (e.g., the CPI-W for 2015 was negative, but the AWI resulted in a positive 3.48% bend point change). Over the 75-year horizon, this change to the Social Security benefit calculation is expected to eliminate 38% of the shortfall by reducing the gap between promised benefits and required payroll tax revenue by 2.64%.

Reduction of drop-out years in PIA calculations

Currently the OASDI primary insurance amount (PIA) is computed using average indexed monthly earnings (AIME) reflecting an averaging period for the number of elapsed years after the year of attaining 21 and before the year of attaining benefit eligibility reduced by a number of "drop-out" years. The number of dropout years is set at 1 for each full 5 elapsed years, but not more than a total of 5 drop-out years. Under this provision the maximum number of drop-out years would be reduced to 4 for all OASDI beneficiaries becoming eligible in 2010, to 3 years for those becoming eligible in 2012, to 2 years for eligibility in 2014, 1 year for eligibility in 2016, and zero for eligibility in 2018 and later. The effect of this provision, taken alone, would be to reduce the size of the long-range OASDI actuarial deficit by 0.60 percent of taxable payroll, and the 75th year annual deficit by 0.92 percent of payroll. (Warshawsky)

Enhanced Survivor benefits

Currently, surviving spouses receive the higher of their individual benefit or the deceased spouse's benefit. Beginning for newly eligible retired workers and spouses in 2022, surviving spouses would receive 75 percent of the decedents' benefits, in addition to their own. Under this calculation, surviving spouses would receive a significantly higher benefit. For example, a spouse receiving a \$2,000 benefit and a dependent spouse receiving a \$1,000 benefit together receive \$3,000. Under current law, if spouse A dies, spouse B receives the larger of the two benefits (in this case, \$2,000). Under the proposed calculation, spouse B would receive \$2,500 (the original \$1,000 plus 75%0f Spouse A's benefit (\$1,500) for a total benefit of \$2,500, a total increase of \$500 or 25%.

Additional Proposals That Would Affect Trust Fund Solvency			
Bill No.	Title (Sponsor)		
HR 2302	Protecting and Preserving SS Act (Deutch)		
HR 567	Save SS Act of 2019 (Crist)		
HR 4516	SS Protection Act of 2019 (Brownley)		
HR 141/S. 521	Social Security Fairness Act of 2019 (Davis/Brown)		
HR 3934	Equal Treatment of Public Servants Act of 2019 (Brady)		
HR 3971	Senior Citizens Tax Elimination Act (Massie)		
HR 860/S. 269	Social Security 2100 Act (Larson/Blumenthal)		
HR 1170/S. 478	Social Security Expansion Act (DeFazio/Sanders)		
HR 4157	Fairness in Social Security Act of 2019 (Neguse)		
HR 5392	Social Security Enhancement and Protection Act of 2019 (Moore)		
S. 1132	Protecting and Preserving Social Security Act (Hirono)		
HR 4121	Social Security for Future Generations Act of 2019 (Lawson)		
S. 1950	Strengthen Social Security by Taxing Dynastic Wealth Act (Van Hollen Jr.)		
S. 3234	Social Security Solvency and Sustainability Act (Paul)		

HR 2302 – Protecting and Preserving SS Act

Sponsor: Rep. Theodore Deutch (D-FL)

This bill revises the methodology for calculating Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance (OASDI) benefits and phases out the cap on compensation subject to Social Security taxation.

The bill directs the Bureau of Labor Statistics to prepare and publish a Consumer Price Index for Elderly Consumers (CPI-E) to track cost-of-living changes for individuals age 62 or older. The Social Security Administration shall use the CPI-E to calculate the cost-of-living adjustment for OASDI benefits, where it currently uses the Consumer Price Index for Urban Wage Earners and Clerical Workers.

The bill phases out and after 2025 eliminates the cap on compensation (\$132,900 in 2019) subject to Social Security taxation. This change applies to both wage earners and the self-employed.

The bill also changes the calculation for the primary insurance amount (the amount received by a beneficiary who elects to receive OASDI benefits at full retirement age) by including the additional earnings that are now taxed as a result of the cap elimination.

HR 567 - Save SS Act of 2019

Sponsor: Rep. Charlie Crist (D-FL)

This bill modifies the requirements for Social Security payroll taxes and benefits to apply Social Security payroll taxes to annual income above \$300,000, include earnings above \$300,000 in the benefit formula, and increase to \$100,000 the income threshold above which a portion of a taxpayer's Social Security benefits is included in gross income. (Under current law, Social Security payroll taxes apply to the first \$132,900 of income in 2019 and a portion of benefits is included in the gross income of individuals with certain income that exceeds thresholds of \$0, \$25,000, or \$32,000, depending on the individual's filing status.)

HR 4516 - SS Protection Act of 2019

Sponsor: Rep. Julia Brownley (D-CA)

This bill provides continuing appropriations to the Social Security Administration if an appropriations bill for an SSA account has not been enacted before a fiscal year begins or a joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the account is not in effect.

The bill provides appropriations at the rate of operations that was provided for the prior fiscal year to continue programs, projects, and activities for which funds were provided in the preceding fiscal year.

HR 141/S 521 - Social Security Fairness Act of 2019

_Sponsors: **Rep. Rodney Davis** (R-IL)/ **Sen. Sherrod Brown** (D-OH)

The Social Security Fairness Act is bipartisan legislation would permanently end both of those provisions: the Windfall Elimination Provision (WEP) and Government Pension Offset (GPO). If enacted, it would take effect after December 2019.

The House version was introduced on January 3 as bill number H.R. 141, by Rep. Rodney Davis (R-IL13). The Senate version was introduced the next month on February 14 as bill number S. 521, by Sen. Sherrod Brown (D-OH).

HR 3934 - Equal Treatment of Public Servants Act of 2019

Sponsor: Rep. Kevin Brady (R-TX)

To amend title II of the Social Security Act to replace the windfall elimination provision with a formula equalizing benefits for certain individuals with noncovered employment, and for other purposes.

HR 3971 - Senior Citizens Tax Elimination Act

Sponsor: Rep. Thomas Massie (R-KY)

This bill amends the Internal Revenue Code to repeal the inclusion of any Social Security or tier I railroad retirement benefits in gross income for income tax purposes. The bill also: (1) appropriates funds to cover reductions in transfers to the Social Security and Railroad Retirement Trust Funds resulting from the enactment of this bill, and (2) expresses the sense of Congress against using tax increases to provide revenue necessary to carry out this bill.

HR 860/S. 269 - Social Security 2100 Act

Sponsor: Rep. John Larson (D-CT)/Sen. Richard Blumenthal (D-CT)

The Social Security 2100 Act would introduce several reforms in an effort to keep the program running until at least the title year of 2100. These include:

- Setting the minimum Social Security benefit for retirees at +25% above the poverty line, so people are no longer "retiring into poverty."
- Raising the income threshold at which one's Social Security benefits start getting taxed, from the current \$25,000 to \$50,000 for an individual, and from the current \$32,000 to \$100,000 for a couple filing jointly.
- Collecting payroll taxes to help pay for Social Security on higher levels of income, from the current \$132,900 maximum up to a new \$400,000.
- Uses a new formula to calculate the annual cost of living increases to Social Security benefits, from the current one which measures inflation for the population at large (called CPI-W) to another formula which measures inflation for the elderly population specifically (called CPI-E). Historically, this formula has averaged +3.3% annuallly, slightly higher than +3.1% for the whole population at large.

HR 1170/S. 478 - Social Security Expansion Act

Sponsor: Rep. Peter DeFazio (D-OR)/Sen. Bernard Sanders (I-VT)

To enhance Social Security benefits and ensure the long-term solvency of the Social Security program. The Bill addresses:

- Across-the-board benefit increase.
- Computation of cost-of-living increases.
- Increase in minimum benefit for lifetime low earners based on years in the workforce.
- Extended benefit eligibility for children who are full-time students
- Payroll tax on remuneration up to contribution and benefit base and more than \$250,000.
- Tax on net earnings from self-employment up to contribution and benefit base and more than \$250,000.
- Tax on investment gain.
- Social Security Trust Fund established.

HR 4157 - Fairness in Social Security Act of 2019

Sponsor: Rep. Joe Neguse (D-CO)

This bill amends the Internal Revenue Code to exclude from modified adjusted gross income any lump-sum social security benefit payment (i.e., a payment of more than one month of social security benefits) that is attributable to months ending before the beginning of the taxable year.

HR – 5392 - Social Security Enhancement and Protection Act of 2019

Sponsor: Rep. Gwen Moore (D-WI)

To amend title II of the Social Security Act to make various reforms to Social Security, and for other purposes. Bill addresses Increase in special minimum benefit for lifetime low earners based on years in the workforce, Establishment of an increased benefit for beneficiaries on account of long-term eligibility, Extension of child's benefit for full-time post-secondary school students under age 26, Determination of taxable wages and self-employment income above contribution and benefit base after 2019, New bend point for amounts above contribution and benefit base, Increase in employment tax rate, and Non-application of increase in Social Security benefits for meanstested programs.

S. 1132 - Protecting and Preserving Social Security Act

Sponsor: **Sen. Mazie Hirono** (D- HI)

This bill revises the methodology for calculating Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance (OASDI) benefits and phases out the cap on compensation subject to Social Security taxation.

The bill directs the Bureau of Labor Statistics to prepare and publish a Consumer Price Index for Elderly Consumers (CPI-E) to track cost-of-living changes for individuals age 62 or older. The Social Security Administration shall use the CPI-E to calculate the cost-of-living adjustment for OASDI benefits, where it currently uses the Consumer Price Index for Urban Wage Earners and Clerical Workers.

The bill phases out and after 2025 eliminates the cap on compensation (\$132,900 in 2019) subject to Social Security taxation. This change applies to both wage earners and the self-employed.

S. 1132 - Protecting and Preserving Social Security Act (Cont'd)

The bill also changes the calculation for the primary insurance amount (the amount received by a beneficiary who elects to receive OASDI benefits at full retirement age) by including the additional earnings that are now taxed as a result of the cap elimination.

HR 4121 - Social Security for Future Generations Act of 2019

Sponsor: Rep. Al Lawson (D-FL)

To amend title II of the Social Security Act to enhance Social Security benefits and maintain the commitment and the long-term solvency of the Social Security program. Bill addresses Payroll tax on wages and self-employment income up to contribution and benefit base and more than \$250,000, Inclusion of earnings over \$250,000 in Social Security benefit formula, Computation of cost-of-living increases, Extended benefit eligibility for children who are full-time students, Increase in minimum benefit for lifetime low earners based on years in the workforce, Alternate benefit amount for widow's and widower's insurance benefits, Holding SSI, Medicaid, and CHIP beneficiaries harmless.

S. 1950 - Strengthen Social Security by Taxing Dynastic Wealth Act

Sponsor: Sen. Chris Van Hollen Jr. (D-MD)

This bill returns the taxation of estates and gifts to levels that were in effect in 2009. This increases the maximum rate for estates and gifts to 45% and modifies exemptions.

The bill also combines the existing Social Security trust funds into a single Social Security Trust Fund and provides for the deposit of increased estate and gift tax revenue into the consolidated trust fund.

S. 3234 – Social Security Solvency and Sustainability Act

Sponsor: Sen. Rand Paul (R-KY)

A bill to adjust the normal and early retirement ages for receipt of benefits under the Social Security program, increase the maximum age for delayed retirement credit, and provide for progressive price indexing of benefits.

Acronym Reference List

ACA: Affordable Care Act

AIME: Average Indexed Monthly Earnings

AWI: Average Wage Index

CHIP: Children's Health Insurance Program

COLA: Cost of Living Adjustment

CPI-E: Consumer Price Index for the Elderly

CPI-W: Consumer Price Index for Urban Wage Earners and Clerical Workers

DHHS/HHS: Department of Health and Human Services

DI: Disability Insurance

GPO: Government Pension Offset

HI: Hospital Insurance

NRA: Normal Retirement Age

OASDI: Old Age and Survivor's Disability Insurance

OASI: Old Age and Survivor's Insurance

PIA: Primary Insurance Amount PSA: Personal Savings Account

SS: Social Security

SSA: Social Security Administration SSI: Supplemental Security Income

Tax Max: Taxable Maximum

WEP: Windfall Elimination Provision

YOCs: Years of Coverage YOWs: Years of Work

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Interesting Facts about Social Security

For most of our working lives, the concept of Social Security has been a bit abstract. Yes, we notice it every time we look at a paystub or certainly when we go through the annual income tax filing process and, yes, we dream about the day when we finally reach the golden age of retirement and we begin to see a return on what we've paid in through the years. But for the most part it's a largely intangible concept during our early and mid-life working years.

As we approach that retirement phase, or when other factors cause us to think about Social Security and its place in American history, many of us tend to wonder about the lesser-known background items related to this enormous system and its origins. Here are a few little-known facts about Social Security that tend to keep inquiring minds awake at night:

- Social Security marked its 80th anniversary in August of 2015. The program was signed into law on August 14, 1935 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.
- Since its inception, over 450 million different Social Security numbers have been issued (about 5.5 million new ones each year).
- Social Security numbers are not reused upon death.
- The 3-2-4 structure of your Social Security number has a purpose: the first three
 digits represent where you're from (prior to 1972, they identified the state where
 you originally applied, and after that they identified the zip code of your mailed
 application). The early program administrators needed some way to organize the
 filing cabinets into sub-groups, to make them more manageable, and this is the
 scheme they came up with
- No Social Security numbers have ever been issued with 000, 666, or 900-999 as the first three digits, or zeros in the middle two or last four positions.
- There are three different types of Social Security cards issued: the card issued to
 U.S. citizens and permanent residents; a "not valid for employment" version; and a
 "valid for work only with DHS authorization" version.
- At its outset, Social Security pledged that the employee/employer withholding rate
 of 2% each up to a maximum of \$3,000 annually would begin in 1949 and would
 never increase. That same pledge also indicated that eligible beneficiaries would
 get a maximum amount of \$85 a month for life after age 65. (Of course, that was
 then, this is now!)

There are also some anecdotal items that have transpired during Social Security's more than 80-year history, like the amusing tale of Hilda Schrader Whitcher. It seems her employer, E.H. Ferree Company of Lockport, NY elected to imitate reality by using her Social Security number on an insert in the wallets they were selling. Despite steps that were taken to ensure understanding that the insert was for display purposes only, more than 40,000 people claimed the number as their own. The result was chaotic for Mrs. Whitcher, who was subsequently issued a replacement number.

Interesting Facts about Social Security (cont'd))

Then there's the recurring problem of accuracy in Social Security's Death Master File. The website NPR.org observes that this file lists over "6.5 million 'people' with Social Security numbers over the age of 112," despite findings by the Gerontology Research Group that there have been only 35 people known to have reached the age of 112 in the world. And, "A recent government audit revealed that the Social Security Administration had incorrectly listed 23,000 people as dead in a two-year period. These people have sometimes faced difficulties in convincing government agencies that they are actually alive..."

So, it's logical that with a program of this size there is an almost unlimited opportunity for interested parties to engage in lively conversation about the many nuances and details surrounding Social Security. Here are a few additional points that will help you be prepared to join in any impromptu debates you may encounter along the way:

- 64 Million Americans received benefits in November 2019 (42 million retired workers, 6 million surviving spouses, and 11 million disabled workers)
- The total amount paid out through Social Security in November 2019 was almost \$87 million, (the average monthly payout was \$1,358 per beneficiary)
- The maximum monthly payout to individual recipients is \$3.011
- Cost of Living Adjustments (COLA) were first initiated in 1972, and currently use
 CPI-W (Consumer Price Index for Urban Clerical and Wage Earners) as its factor
- People with lower incomes receive higher ratios of annual benefits to taxes.
- For workers who earned average wages and retired at the age of 65 in 1980, it took
 2.8 years of receiving old-age benefits to recover the value of their payroll taxes
 (including interest). For workers who retired in 2003, it will take 17.4 years. For
 workers who will retire in 2020, it will take 21.6 years. This assumes Social Security
 will have enough money to pay scheduled benefits for this entire period, which it is
 not projected to have. 9
- "Social Security replaces about 40 percent of an average wage earner's income
 after retiring, and most financial advisors say retirees will need 70 percent or more
 of pre-retirement earnings to live comfortably." 10
- All taxes that have been paid into the Social Security system since its inception have already been (1) spent to pay for benefits, (2) spent to fund the administrative overhead of the program, or (3) loaned to the federal government.¹¹

⁷ https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/03/10/392112708/6-5-million-social-security-numbers-linked-to-those-112-or-older

⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_Security_Death_Index

⁹ http://www.justfacts.com/socialsecurity.asp

¹⁰ http://www.ssa.gov/pubs/EN-05-10024.pdf

¹¹ http://www.justfacts.com/socialsecurity.asp#f67

Interesting Facts about Social Security (cont'd)

Through history, there have been a number of unique and celebrated people surfacing in the annals of Social Security. Among them are:

Ackerman, Ernest	• First recipient of a lump-sum Social Security benefit check. In January 1937, he received a check in the amount of 17 centsa
	return on his total investment of 5 cents.
Altmeyer, Arthur	 Part of the committee to draft the original legislative proposal in 1934
J.	Chairman of the Social Security Board 1937
	One of the few responsible for how Social Security exists today
	Economist and educator at Columbia University
	Member of the Committee on Economic Security in 1934
Burns, Eveline M.	working on employment security issues
	Authored three books on Social Security
	Consultant to the Social Security Board in 1936
	Early advocate of Old Age Security
Epstein, Abraham	His "European Plan" for social security was adopted by New York
Lpstelli, Abralialli	in 1935
	Advocated for Social Welfare and Unions
Fuller, Ida May	First person to receive monthly benefit pay outs
ruller, lua iviay	• First check on January 31, 1940 for the amount of \$22.54
Fuller, Mary	One of the first two Public Trustees appointed as non-
Falvey	government overseers of Social Security and Medicare Trust
raivey	Funds
Jaffe, Suzanne	One of the first two Public Trustees appointed as non-
Denbo	government overseers of Social Security
	Appointed as Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor in 1933
	First woman to hold a cabinet position in the United States
Perkins, Frances	Played key role in writing New Deal legislation, including
	minimum wage laws
	Involved in every aspect of creating the Social Security of 1935
	 Signed the Social Security Act on August 14, 1935
	• In October 1929, in response to the Great Depression,
Roosevelt,	started a relief system that later became the model for the
Franklin D.	New Deal's Federal Emergency Relief Administration
	(FERA))
	Appointed as the first head of the Social Security Board in 1935
Winant, John G.	by Franklin Roosevelt
	Held the position until 1937
	"Father of Social Security"
1400	First president of the Industrial Relations Research Association in
Witte, Edwin E.	1948 and president of the American Economic Association in
1	15 to did president of the function Leonottic fissociation in

Appendix 1 – Former SSA Commissioners

Commissioner From to Arthur J. Altmeyer July 16, 1946 April 10, 1953 William L. Mitchell (Acting) April 11, 1953 November 23, 1953 John W. Tramburg November 24, 1953 July 31, 1954 Charles I. Schottland August 23, 1954 December 31, 1958 William L. Mitchell February 4, 1959 April 3, 1962 Robert M. Ball April 17, 1962 March 17, 1973 Arthur E. Hess (Acting) March 18, 1973 October 24, 1973 James B. Cardwell October 25, 1973 December 12, 1977 Don I. Wortman (Acting) December 13, 1977 October 4, 1978 Stanford G. Ross October 5, 1978 December 31, 1979 Herbert R. Doggette January 1, 1980 January 2, 1980 William J. Driver January 3, 1980 January 19, 1981 Herbert R. Doggette January 20, 1981 May 5, 1981 March A. Svahn May 6, 1981 May 5, 1981 Martha A. McSteen (Acting) September 14, 1983 June 25, 1986 Jorcas R. Hardy June 26, 1986 July 31, 1989	Commissioner	Term of Service		
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Lawrence H. Thompson (Acting) Shirley S. Chater October 8, 1993 February 28, 1997 John J. Callahan (Acting) March 1, 1997 September 28, 1997 Kenneth S. Apfel September 29, 1997 January 20, 2001 William Halter (Acting) January 21, 2001 March 28, 2001 Larry G. Massanari (Acting) March 29, 2001 November 9, 2001 Jo Anne B. Barnhart November 9, 2001 January 19, 2007 Linda S. McMahon (Acting) January 20, 2007 February 11, 2007 Michael J. Astrue February 12, 2007 February 13, 2013 Carolyn W. Colvin (Acting) January 21, 2017 June 17, 2019	Gwendolyn S. King	August 1, 1989	September 30, 1992	
(Acting) July 19, 1993 October 7, 1993 Shirley S. Chater October 8, 1993 February 28, 1997 John J. Callahan (Acting) March 1, 1997 September 28, 1997 Kenneth S. Apfel September 29, 1997 January 20, 2001 William Halter (Acting) January 21, 2001 March 28, 2001 Larry G. Massanari (Acting) March 29, 2001 November 9, 2001 Jo Anne B. Barnhart November 9, 2001 January 19, 2007 Linda S. McMahon (Acting) January 20, 2007 February 11, 2007 Michael J. Astrue February 12, 2007 February 13, 2013 Carolyn W. Colvin (Acting) February 14, 2013 January 20, 2017 Nancy A. Berryhill (Acting) January 21, 2017 June 17, 2019	Louis D. Enoff (Acting)	October 1, 1992	July 18, 1993	
John J. Callahan (Acting) March 1, 1997 September 28, 1997 Kenneth S. Apfel September 29, 1997 January 20, 2001 William Halter (Acting) January 21, 2001 March 28, 2001 Larry G. Massanari (Acting) March 29, 2001 November 9, 2001 Jo Anne B. Barnhart November 9, 2001 January 19, 2007 Linda S. McMahon (Acting) January 20, 2007 February 11, 2007 Michael J. Astrue February 12, 2007 February 13, 2013 Carolyn W. Colvin (Acting) February 14, 2013 January 20, 2017 Nancy A. Berryhill (Acting) January 21, 2017 June 17, 2019	•	July 19, 1993	October 7, 1993	
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Larry G. Massanari (Acting) March 29, 2001 November 9, 2001 Jo Anne B. Barnhart November 9, 2001 January 19, 2007 Linda S. McMahon (Acting) January 20, 2007 February 11, 2007 Michael J. Astrue February 12, 2007 February 13, 2013 Carolyn W. Colvin (Acting) February 14, 2013 January 20, 2017 Nancy A. Berryhill (Acting) January 21, 2017 June 17, 2019	Kenneth S. Apfel	September 29, 1997	January 20, 2001	
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Carolyn W. Colvin (Acting) February 14, 2013 January 20, 2017 Nancy A. Berryhill (Acting) January 21, 2017 June 17, 2019	Linda S. McMahon (Acting)	January 20, 2007	February 11, 2007	
Nancy A. Berryhill (Acting) January 21, 2017 June 17, 2019	Michael J. Astrue	February 12, 2007	February 13, 2013	
	Carolyn W. Colvin (Acting)	February 14, 2013	January 20, 2017	
Andrew M. Saul June 17, 2019 Present	Nancy A. Berryhill (Acting)	January 21, 2017	June 17, 2019	
	Andrew M. Saul	June 17, 2019	Present	

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Budg	et, Finance,	and Manager	nent	
Deputy Commissioner- Budget, Finance, and Mgmt. Michelle A. King	Assistant Deputy Commissioner Daniel F. Callahan		Assistant Deputy Commissioner Seth P. Binstock *	
	Communications			
Deputy Commissioner Communications Michel N. Korbey		Assistant Deputy Commissioner Darlynda K. Bogle		
Hearings Operations				
Deputy Commissioner Hearings Operations Theresa L. Gruber		Assistant Deputy Commissioner Elaine Garrison-Daniels		
General Counsel				
General Counsel Royce B. Min	• •	eral Counsel J. Lee	Deputy General Counsel Eric P. Kressman*	
Human Resources				
Deputy Commissioner, Human Resources Marianna LaCanfora		Assistant Deputy Commissioner Bonnie L. Doyle		

^{*}Acting

Appendix 2 – Additional SSA Staff (cont'd) **Legislation and Congressional Affairs** Deputy Commissioner, Legislation and **Assistant Deputy Commissioner Congressional Affairs** Dennis R. Foley* Eric R. Skidmore* **Operations** Deputy Commissioner, **Assistant Deputy Assistant Deputy** Operations Commissioner Commissioner Grace M. Kim Erik N. D. Jones Frederick M. Maurin **Retirement and Disability Policy** Deputy Commissioner, Retirement & **Assistant Deputy Commissioner** Disability Policy Stephen G. Evangelista Mark J. Warshawsky Systems **Deputy Commissioner/Chief Information** Assistant DC/Deputy Chief Information Officer, Systems Officer Rajive K. Mathur James C. Borland Assistant DC/Deputy Chief Information Assistant DC/ (IT Business Support) Officer (IT Modernization) Sylviane D. Haldiman Sean P. Brune Assistant DC/ (Software Engineering) **Chief Technology Officer** Diana E. Andrews John C. Morenz **Executive Director Office of Health** Information Technology Jude R. Soundar Analytics, Review, and Oversight Deputy Commissioner, Analytics, Review, Assistant Deputy Commissioner, Analytics, and Oversight Review, and Oversight Brad A. Flick **B. Chad Bungard**

^{*}Acting

Appendix 3 – Former Members of the SSAB		
Jo Anne Barnhart 3/97 - 11/01	 Political and public policy consultant to state and local governments on welfare and social services Former Assistant Secretary for Children and Families, Department of Health and Human Services 	
Bradley Belt 12/03 – 4/04	 Resigned after appointment to Executive Director of the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation Former President of the Washington Capital Group, Inc. 	
Dana Bilyeu 12/06 – 9/10	Executive Officer of the Public Employees' Retirement System of Nevada Serves on the Public Employee Advisory Board for the International Foundation of Employee Benefit Plans	
William Brooks 1/96 – 9/96	 Director and Chairman of the Compensation Committee at the United American Healthcare Corporation Former Trust Manager at the United Investors Realty Trust 	
Jeffrey Brown 10/06 – 9/08	 Professor in the Department of Finance at the University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign Former Assistant Professor of Public Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government 	

Appendix 3 – Former Members of the SSAB (Cont'd)		
Alan L. Cohen 9/14 – 9/16	Previously served as Senior Budget Advisor and Chief Counselor for Social Security for the U.S. Senate Committee on Finance from 2001-2012	
Lanhee Chen 9/13 – 9/18	Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution Director of Domestic Policy Studies, Lecturer in the Public Policy Program, Lecturer in Law and affiliate of the Institute for International Studies at Stanford University MemberBoard of Trustees of the Junior Statesmen Foundation	
Hal Daub 1/02 – 9/06	Former member U.S. House of Representatives representing the 2nd District of Nebraska Partner- law firm Blackwell Sanders Peper Martin, and former Mayor of Omaha, NE	
Bernadette Franks-Ongoy 01/13 – 09/18	Executive Director of Disability Rights Montana Former President of the National Disability Rights Network	
Lori Hansen 10/94 - 9/00	Policy Analyst at the National Academy of Social Insurance Former Technical Assistant to Social Security Administrator Robert Ball	
Dorcas R. Hardy 04/02 – 09/16	 President of D. R. Hardy & Associates Former Social Security Administration Commissioner from 1986 - 1989 	

Appendix 3 – Former Members of the SSAB (Cont'd)		
Marsha Katz 11/06 - 9/12	Project Director at the University of Montana Rural Institute in Missoula Former Vice President of the Association for Community Advocacy in Ann Arbor, Michigan	
Barbara Kennelly 01/06 – 09/17	Former President, National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare Former member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1st District of Connecticut	
Martha Keys 11/94 - 9/05	Former member of the U.S. House of Representatives representing the 2nd District of Kansas Former Special Advisor to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and Assistant Secretary of Education	
David Podoff 10/00 - 9/06	 Visiting Associate Professor in the Department of Economics and Finance at the Baruch College of the City University of New York Former Minority Staff Director and Chief Economist for the Senate Committee on Finance 	
Harlan Mathews 1/96 - 10/97	 Resigned October 1997 Former U.S. Senator representing Tennessee Previously Secretary of the Cabinet for Tennessee Governor Ned McWherter and Tennessee's State Treasurer 	

Appendix 3 – Former Members of the SSAB (Cont'd)		
Sylvester J. Schieber 1/98 - 9/09 (Chair – 2006-2009)	Director of the Research and Information Center at Watson Wyatt Worldwide Former Director of Research at the Employee Benefit Research Institute	
Gerald Shea 1/96 – 11/97, 10/00 – 09/04	 Assistant to the president for Government Affairs at the AFL-CIO Serves as a public representative on the Joint Commission on the Accreditation of Health Care Organizations Founding Board member of the Foundation for Accountability 	
Arthur "Pete" Singleton 11/94 - 10/96	Resigned after appointment to Chief of Staff for the Ways and Means Committee Staff member of the Ways and Means Committee Served as a Marine in World War II	
Stanford Ross 10/97 – 9/02	Partner at law firm of Arnold & Porter LLP Former Commissioner of Social Security and Public Trustee of the Social Security and Medicare Trust Funds	
Mark J. Warshawsky 12/06 – 9/12	Director of Retirement Research at Watson Wyatt Worldwide Serves on the Advisory Board of the Pension Research Council of the Wharton School	

Appendix 3 – Former Members of	f the SSAB (C	ont'd)
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Carolyn Weaver 10/94 - 9/97	Resident Scholar and Director of the Social Security and Pension Project at the American Enterprise Institute Former Senior Advisor to the 1983 National Commission on Social Security Reform
Mark Weinberger 10/00 – 5/01	 Resigned after appointment to Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Tax Policy Former Director of the U.S. National Tax Practice for Ernst & Young LLP

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The AMAC Foundation has now been in operation for six years, and in that time has created a solid footprint in service to America's seniors. These services have taken the form of public seminars and workshops on topics vital to an aging constituency, the operation of a vigorous online presence designed to meet the needs of seniors, and the provision of direct services in the form of credible answers to questions about the mechanics of America's Social Security program.

This publication represents an extension of the AMAC Foundation's outreach efforts, and as noted in the Introduction, is intended as a guide in identifying the key players in the overall quest for a solution to Social Security's solvency dilemma. It's one of the many ways AMAC is playing an active role in addressing Social Security's long-term funding problems, with the hope of calling additional attention to the issue.

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