# A Poor Man's Update on Social Security

By Gary Harding
Massachusetts Route 128
Chapter of the IMA

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#### Sources

- Wall Street Journal
- Report of the President's Commission,
   December 2001 Strengthening Social
   Security and Creating Personal Wealth for all Americans
  - Co-Chairs Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Richard Parsons
    - Co-Chief Operating Officer of AOL-Time Warner, a senior aide in the Ford administration; managing partner of a distinguished law firm; CEO of a major savings bank

#### Sources

- Strengthening Social Security for the 21st Century, February 2004 - Office of the President of the U.S.
- The Concord Coalition's Series of Social Security Reform, Issue #1 and #2
- Facing Facts Quarterly, Vol 1 No 1 -Concord Coalition

#### **Sources - Concord Coalition**

The Concord Coalition is a nonpartisan, grassroots organization advocating fiscal responsibility while ensuring Social Security...[is] secure for all generations. Founded in 1992 by the late former Senator Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.), former Senator Warren Rudman (R-N.H.), and former U.S. Secretary of Commerce Peter Peterson. Former Senator Bob Kerrey (D-Ne.) was named a co-chair of the Concord Coalition in January 2002.

#### Sources

- 2004 Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Federal Old-age and Survivors Insurance (OASI) and Disability Insurance (DI) Trust Funds
  - AKA 2004 Report of the Social Security
     Trustees or 2004 Trustees Report

## History

- Enacted 1935
- Trust Fund created in 1939
- Founders assumed it would be supplemented by individual forms of savings

## **History - 1983**

- Alan Greenspan, then a private economist
- Increased payroll taxes
- Reduced benefits
- Gradual increase of retirement age to 67 for full benefits

#### **Basics**

- Pay-as-you-go system today's workers pay benefits for today's retirees
- Payroll taxes are not saved in an account
- No property rights to its contributors
- Regressive tax

## Funding

- 1950 16.5 workers to support every one beneficiary
- Today 3.3 workers to one beneficiary
- 2031 2.1 workers to one beneficiary
- 2040 2.0 workers to one beneficiary

#### **Current Status**

#### **2003**

- 47 million people receiving benefits
  - 33 million retirees, 7 million survivors, 8 million disabled workers
- 154 million people paid payroll taxes
- \$471 billion benefits paid
- \$632 billion Income (taxes)
- \$161 billion surplus for the year

#### **Problems**

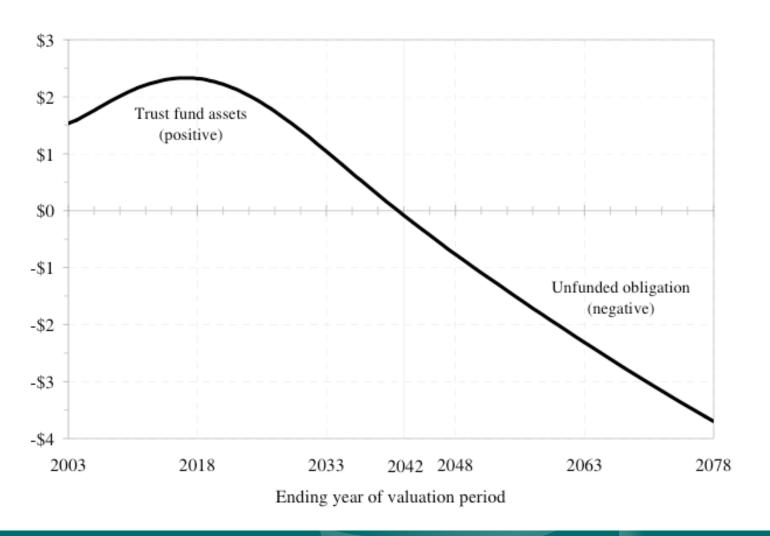
- Aging baby-boom generation (population bubble)
- Continuing low fertility (less kids to become workers)
- Increasing Life expectancy

#### **Future**

- 2018 Annual cost will exceed tax income
- 2042 OASDI Trust Funds become insolvent
  - Insolvent Unable to pay scheduled benefits in full on a timely basis.
- 2018 Annual gap covered with cash from redeeming special obligations (bonds) of the Treasury
- 2042 Bonds exhausted

Figure II.D4.—Cumulative OASDI Income Less Cost, Based on Present Law Tax Rates and Scheduled Benefits

[Present value as of January 1, 2004, in trillions]



## What can you change?

- Payroll tax rate
- Payroll tax maximum (ceiling)
- Age of retirement
- Amount of benefit
- Distribution who gets what, means testing
- Change the index from wage to price

- Benefits untouched for people 55 and older (roughly 1/4 of US)
- Will not raise payroll taxes
- Personal accounts
  - \$1,000 first year
  - Over time maximum of 4% of wages
  - Investors choose from menu of conservative stock and bond funds
  - Life cycle portfolio (move from stocks to bonds)
  - Age 47 can opt out of portfolio assume risk

- Personal accounts
  - Provide ownership control
  - Could be passed on to children and grandchildren
  - Pay out over time annuity

- Personal accounts
  - Can't borrow before retirement
  - Low admin cost 0.3%
  - Start date 2009
  - Other countries have personal accounts

- Personal accounts
  - Available to workers born in 1950 or after
  - Workers born 1965 or earlier take control of their accounts in 2009
  - Workers born in 1978 or earlier take control of their accounts in 2010
  - All eligible workers participant in 2011

## Thrift Savings Plan

- Model for personal accounts
- Voluntary offered to Federal employees
- 3.4 million participants
- Five broad-based investment funds
- Highly successful

## **Key Players**

- President Bush
- Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid of Nevada
- Senate Finance Chairman Charles Grassley (R-lowa)

## Trustees' Proposal

- Increase payroll taxes 1.89 percentage points (12.4% to 14.29%)
- Reduce benefits 12.6%
- General revenue transfers of \$3.7 trillion (present value) during the period
- Significantly larger changes would be required to maintain solvency beyond the 75 years

## Other Proposals

- Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC)
  - Workers under 55 offered a choice
  - Stay in Social Security, Pay 2 percentage points, or
  - Divert 4% into personal accounts, guaranteed benefits 20% above the poverty line

## Other Proposals

#### AARP

- Leave program largely alone
- Create "Add-on" accounts outside of Social Security

## Other Proposals

- Raising payroll tax wage ceiling
  - Today \$90,000 payroll tax wage ceiling Taxes 85% of all wages
  - \$140,000 payroll tax wage ceiling in ten years
    - Taxes 90% of all wages and only fixes 40% of the problem

#### Democrats vs Republicans

- Democrats No discussion until personal accounts are off the table, only moderate adjustments are needed. Personal accounts - gambling with your future benefits
  - Need to recognize system is broken
- Republicans Everything is on the table
  - Need to recognize personal accounts are not an end-all solution

## Personal Account Terminology

- Carve-outs
  - Diverting money from Social Security to personal accounts
- Add-ons
  - Personal accounts outside of Social Security
- Personal accounts = private accounts = privatization

## Personal Accounts vs Solvency

- Democrats personal accounts do not address solvency. Funds are diverted from Social Security
- President Personal accounts do not represent an increase in federal obligations - they "pre-fund" future benefits
- Today President acknowledged difficulty in selling the idea of personal accounts

#### The Trust Fund Issue

- The fund is not a "nest egg" -it does not hold cash balances
- Surpluses purchase special issue Treasury bonds
  - One arm of the government loaning the other
- Treasury uses the funds to pay for other government operations
- When it is time to pay back the bonds, the bonds will be sold to the public

## Investing the Trust Fund

- President Clinton proposed investing some of the fund
- The Trust Fund would become a significant investor
- Gives the Trust Fund too much influence over corporate governance
- Foreign investment?

#### Conclusions

- Social Security needs to be addressed now
- The current design does not work
- Significant disagreement on how personal accounts fix Social Security
- Trust Fund is not in a "lock box" today
- Investing the Trust Fund is problematic

#### **Conclusions - Personal**

- Raising the tax ceiling helps solve the problem
- Means testing Directs funds to those who need it the most
- Raising payroll tax has not solved the problem in the past - other approaches should be considered
- Trust Fund monies should not be used to pay other government programs

#### **Conclusions - Personal**

- Partial investment of Trust Fund monies needs serious consideration - global diversification
- Personal accounts are attractive the Federal government demonstrated an inability to protect the Trust Fund
- Expect personal accounts to become "add-ons"

