

**NLWJC - Kagan**

**DPC - Box 057 - Folder-005**

**Social Security - Conference**

## SCHEDULE AND PARTICIPANTS FOR WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

**DECEMBER 8, 1998**

*Location: Marriott Wardman Park Hotel (Cotillion Ballroom unless otherwise noted)*

**8:45-9:30:            OPENING SESSION**

- Speakers (not in speaking order):  
President Bill Clinton  
Senator Tom Daschle  
Senator Rick Santorum  
Representative Richard Gephardt  
Representative Clay Shaw

**9:50-10:50:            PANEL -- THE CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM:  
WHY WE NEED TO ACT NOW, THE BUDGET SURPLUS, AND  
SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM**

- Presenters:  
*Marilyn Moon -- Urban Institute*  
*Rudy Penner -- Former Director of CBO*

**11:00-12:00:            PANEL -- THE CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM:  
IMPACT OF REFORM ON DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE  
POPULATION.**

- Presenters:  
*Alicia Munnell -- Boston College*  
*Kilolo Kijakazi -- Center on Budget and Policy Priorities*  
*Richard Thau -- Third Millennium*  
*Carol Cox Wait -- Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget*

**12:00-1:30            LUNCH BREAK.**

**1:30-3:00:            PANEL -- THE CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM:  
PRIVATE MARKET OPTIONS.**

- Presenters:  
*Henry Aaron -- Brookings Institution*  
*Carolyn Weaver -- American Enterprise Institute*  
*Josè Piñera -- Cato Institute*  
*Bob Ball -- Former SSA Commissioner*  
*Gene Steuerle -- Urban Institute*

**3:15-4:45:**           **CLOSED PRESS AND OFF-THE-RECORD BREAK-OUT SESSIONS TO PROVIDE CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK DIRECTLY WITH KEY ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.** (*See color codes for location of break-out sessions*)

**DECEMBER 9, 1998**

*Location: The White House*

**9:00-12:15:**           **TWO WORKSHOPS TO EDUCATE KEY ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUES IN SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM.** (Closed Press)

•     Presenters:

***Workshop on Social Security and Traditional Reform Options:***

- Bob Greenstein (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities)
- Ken Kies (Former Staff Director of Joint Tax Committee)

***Workshop on Social Security and Private Market Investments:***

- Martin Feldstein (Harvard University)
- Robert Reischauer (Brookings Institution)

**12:30-1:15:**           **CLOSING SESSION WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AT BLAIR HOUSE.**

**POTENTIAL PANELISTS FOR  
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SECURITY**

**MORNING PANEL -- HEARING ON FINDINGS FROM THE NATIONAL  
DIALOGUE:**

● Potential Presenters:

*First Panel:*

- Martha McSteen -- National Committee to Preserve Social Security/Medicare
- Carol Cox Wait -- Committee for A Responsible Federal Budget
- Justin Dart -- Justice for All
- Richard Thau -- Third Millennium

*Second Panel:*

- John Sweeney -- AFL-CIO
- Larry Bossidy -- CEO of Allied Signal/Business Roundtable
- Julian Bond -- NAACP
- Martha Phillips -- Concord Coalition

**AFTERNOON PANEL -- THE CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL SECURITY  
REFORM:**

● Potential Presenters:

- *Frank Raines and Rudy Penner:* Discuss fiscal issues and Social Security reform (e.g., what are the opportunities and challenges for Social Security of having a budget surplus);
- *Bob Ball and Jose Pinera:* Discuss opportunities and challenges of Individual Accounts.
- *Henry Aaron and Carolyn Weaver:* Discuss opportunities and challenges of investing the Trust Fund in equities.

● Options for Moderators:

- Susan Page -- *USA Today*
- Gwen Ifill -- NBC
- Gloria Borger -- *US News & World Report*
- Mara Liasson -- NPR

## SCHEDULE FOR FIRST DAY OF WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

**DECEMBER 8, 1998**

*Location: Marriott Wardman Park Hotel*

**10:00-11:00: OPENING SESSION WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON, VICE PRESIDENT GORE, AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. (Open Press)**

- Speaking Program:
  - President Clinton
  - Vice President Gore
  - Speaker Livingston(?)
  - Minority Leader Gephardt
  - Senator Trent Lott (?)
  - Senator Tom Daschle

**11:00-11:45: PANEL -- THE CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM: WHY WE NEED TO ACT NOW, THE BUDGET SURPLUS, AND SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM (Open Press)**

- Presenters:
  - Marilyn Moon -- *Urban Institute and Public Trustee of Social Security*
  - Rudy Penner -- *Former Director of CBO*
- Format:
  - Like regional forums, President, Vice President, and other Congressional leaders would be on stage. Penner and Moon would make 5-8 minute presentations and then would take questions from the audience ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~. Principals would participate in answering audience questions as appropriate.
- Topics Presentations Should Cover:
  - Problem facing Social Security and its causes.
  - Why we need to act now (e.g., changes can be modest)
  - Benefits of changed budget position for Social Security reform
  - Additional benefits of Social Security reform on budget.

**11:45-1:00: LUNCH BREAK.**

**1:00-2:30: PANEL -- THE CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM: INVESTING IN EQUITIES. (Open Press)**

● Presenters:

- *Henry Aaron -- Brookings Institution*
- *Carolyn Weaver -- American Enterprise Institute*
- *Bob Ball -- Former Social Security Administration Commissioner*
- *Jose Pinera -- CATO*
- *Gene Steuerle -- Urban Institute*

**2:30-3:15: PANEL -- THE CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM: IMPACT OF REFORM ON DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION (Open Press)**

● Presenters:

- *Alicia Munnell -- Boston College*
- *Carol Cox Wait -- Committee for a Responsible Budget*
- *Kilolo Kijakazi -- Center on Budget and Policy Priorities*
- *Richard Thau -- Third Millennium*

**3:30-5:00: OFF-THE-RECORD BREAKOUT SESSIONS TO PROVIDE CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK DIRECTLY WITH KEY ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. (Closed Press)**

● Format:

- Senior Administration officials would be paired with bipartisan members of Congress, and would lead informal discussions among conference participants about the process and substance of reform. (These sessions would be off-the-record.) Conference participants would be assigned to each of the 5 breakout sessions. Discussion leaders would kick-off informal discussions with a quick statement of their choosing and then would open the floor to comments from conference attendees.

# SCHEDULE FOR SECOND DAY OF WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

**DECEMBER 9, 1998**

*Location: The White House*

**9:00-12:15: TWO WORKSHOPS TO EDUCATE KEY ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUES IN SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM. (Closed Press)**

- Presenters:
  - *Workshop #1: Ken Kies and Bob Greenstein*
  - *Workshop #2: Martin Feldstein and Robert Reischauer*
  
- Location:
  - Indian Treaty Room and Vice President's Ceremonial Office
  
- Format:
  - The first workshop would go from 8:30-10:00. There would then be a 15-minute break and the next workshop would go from 10:15-11:45. Each group would rotate through the following two workshops.
  
- Participants:
  - Congress would appoint 48 members (12 each from the House and Senate Democrats and Republicans) and we would appoint 12 Administration officials. We would then split up into 2 groups of 30.

**12:30-1:15: CLOSING SESSION AT THE WHITE HOUSE WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON, VICE PRESIDENT GORE, AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.**

- Format:
  - Kies, Greenstein, Feldstein, and Reischauer each make 4 minute presentations to the President, Vice President and Congressional leaders in VP's Ceremonial Office (Closed Press).
  - President, Vice President, and Congressional leaders ask any questions of presenters or Members. (Closed Press).
  - Pool spray enters room.
  - President makes short summary remarks on what he has just heard (Open Press).

**REVISED DRAFT SCHEDULE AND OUTLINE OF  
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SECURITY**

**DAY #1: DECEMBER 8, 1998**

**OPTION -- 8:30-9:15 -- Education Session.** Have two experts present some of the facts surrounding Social Security reform -- what's the problem and what are some of the solutions (and the problems with the solutions).

**9:15-10:30 -- Opening Session.**

- President Clinton, Vice President Gore, Speaker Livingston, Minority Leader Gephardt, Senator Trent Lott, and Senator Tom Daschle

Option: Both us and Republicans select one "real" person to speak about Social Security reform.

**10:45-12:15 -- Hearing on Findings from the National Dialogue and How It Provides Guidance on What The Goals Should Be of Social Security Reform.**

- Have groups, such as AARP and the Concord Coalition, present their summary of findings from the national dialogue to the President, Vice President, and Congressional leaders, and, based on what they learned, provide guidance on what our goals should be on Social Security reform. One option within the hearing is to have people discuss their findings from the national dialogue on different reform options.

**12:45-1:45 -- Lunch and Panel on Finding Common Ground Between Generations**

- Use skilled moderator to direct debate and discuss the issue of generational equity and ideas for reform that both young and old people are open to. Representatives from seniors and youth organizations would discuss finding common ground across generations for getting reform done.

**2:15-3:15 -- Panel on Achieving Social Security Reform**

- Have prominent people with experience building a consensus put forward ideas on how we get Social Security reform accomplished. Alan Greenspan and Bob Ball could discuss lessons from 1983. Frank Raines and Nancy Kassebaum could discuss how to find common ground on Social Security reform.

**3:30-5:00 -- Off-the-Record Breakout Sessions**

- Provide key interested parties the opportunity to talk directly with key Social Security decision-makers from both the Administration and Congress in 4-5 informal, off-the-record discussions

**DAY #2: DECEMBER 9, 1998**

**8:30-12:15 -- Workshops to Educate Decision-Makers and Build Relationships**

- Congress would appoint 48 members (12 each from the House and Senate Democrats and Republicans) and we would appoint 12 Administration officials. We would then split up into 2 groups of 30. The first workshop would go from 8:30-10:15. There would then be a 15-minute break and the next workshop would go from 10:30-12:15. Each group would rotate through the following two workshops:
  - *Ken Kies and Bob Greenstein:* Fiscal issues and "traditional" reform options
  - *Martin Feldstein and Robert Reischauer:* Individual accounts and Trust Fund investments, including how would reform be administered.

**1:00-2:00 -- Closing Session**

- Following the workshops, the conference would end with a meeting between the President and the Congressional leadership -- plus Republican and Democratic designees -- perhaps in the Cabinet Room. This meeting would include a report back from the workshops.



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## SCHEDULE AND OUTLINE OF WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

### ELEMENTS OF CONFERENCE:

- **Social Security Conference Web Page.** We are setting up a Web page for the Conference. For right now, the page will include the President's State of the Union address, his radio addresses on Social Security, the report on Women and Retirement Security, graphs used by the President, and links to fact sheets on the Social Security Administration web page.
- **Satellites to All 50 States.** The proceedings of the entire first day would be broadcast to all 50 states. In addition to the general public, some members of Congress and representatives of the Social Security Administration will view the proceedings from the remote locations in all 50 states.
- **Invitations for Conference.** We are planning to invite about 400 people, including people from interest groups, academic experts, experts from think tanks, congressional staffs, administration officials, and Members of Congress.
- **Compilation of Statements from Conference Participants.** All conference participants will also be invited to submit a 1-2 page statement on Social Security reform or the year-long dialogue, which will be published and distributed at the Conference.
- **Location.** There are three potential locations for the conference: the Ronald Reagan building, Georgetown University, and Marriott Wardman.

### DAY #1: DECEMBER 8, 1998

#### 9:00-10:15 Opening Session

##### Speaking Program

President Clinton

Vice President Gore

Speaker Livingston

Minority Leader Gephardt

Senator Trent Lott

Senator Tom Daschle

## 10:30-12:00 -- Hearing on Findings from the National Dialogue and How It Provides Guidance on What The Goals Should Be of Social Security Reform.

- **Format:** Panel of interest group representatives would present their perspectives in a “hearing-type” setting to principals, including President Clinton (or Vice President Gore) and the Congressional leadership.
- **Goals:** Have groups present their summary of findings from the national dialogue and, based on what they learned, provide guidance on what our goals should be of Social Security reform. We would want them to discuss whether they found common ground for bringing different views together.
- **Options on Format:**
  - *Option #1: Groups That Held Forums:* Presentations by interest groups that held forums, such Americans Discuss Social Security (Lukensmeyer), Concord Coalition (Rudman or Phillips), Economic Security 2000 (Beard), National Committee to Preserve Social Security/Medicare (McSteen or Richtman), AARP (Deets or Rother), AFL-CIO (Sweeney or Chavez-Thompson), and Committee for A Responsible Federal Budget (Cox-Wait).
  - *Option #2: Groups That Held Forums With Members of Congress and Experts:* We could also include Members of Congress, such as Bingaman, Breaux, Domenici, Gregg, Kind, Kolbe, Rangel, and Archer, and experts, such as National Academy of Social Insurance (Ball) and AEI (Weaver).

## 12:15-1:45 -- Lunch and Panel on Finding Common Ground Between Generations

- **Format:** Representatives from seniors and youth organizations would discuss finding common ground across generations for getting reform done.
- **Goals:** Use skilled moderator to direct debate and discuss the issue of generational equity and ideas for reform that both young and old people are open to.
- **Moderator:** One issue for this panel is who would moderate this session. Possibilities include the President, the President and a Republican leader, a TV personality (e.g., Gwen Ifill or Gloria Borger), or a substantive person (e.g., Norm Ornstein).
- **Options for Format:** Possible presentations could include:
  - *AARP and 2030 Center.* For example, the 2030 Center would focus on the results of a poll of young people they conducted that showed that young people had similar views of reform that older people had (e.g., both want the system to be there for them, are against raising retirement age, don't want benefit cuts, etc.). The AARP representatives could comment on how their polling shows similar results.
  - *Older Women's League and Third Millennium*
  - *Committee to Preserve Social Security/Medicare and the U.S. Student Association*
  - *Seniors Coalition and Children's Defense Fund*

## 2:15-3:45 -- Panel on the Politics of Common Ground

- **Format:** Panel of respected people presenting different *process* ideas about how we can move forward with bipartisan negotiations and achieve common ground on Social Security reform.
- **Goals:** Have prominent people with experience building a consensus put forward their ideas on how we get Social Security reform accomplished. We will need to work to ensure that their ideas are specific and help move the ball forward.
- **Options for Format:**
  1. *Bob Ball and Alan Greenspan:* Discuss lessons learned from 1983.
  2. *Frank Raines and Nancy Kassebaum:* Discuss how we build a consensus in Congress.
- **Alternative Presenters:**
  - *Norm Ornstein and EJ Dionne:* The challenge of building bipartisan support and a sense of urgency for a longer-term problem
  - *John Sweeney and Pete Peterson:* Building a consensus between business and labor.

## 4:15-6:00 -- Off-the-Record Breakout Sessions

- **Format:** Senior Administration officials would be paired with bipartisan members of Congress, and would lead informal discussions among conference participants about the process and substance of reform. (These sessions would be off-the-record.) Up to about 40 participants could sign up for each of the 4-5 breakout sessions. Discussion leaders would kick-off informal discussions with a quick statement of their choosing and then would open the floor to comments from conference attendees.
- **Goals:** Provide key interested parties the opportunity to talk directly with key Social Security decision-makers from both the Administration and Congress.
- **Examples:**

*Breakout Session #1*  
Larry Summers  
Sen. Domenici  
Sen. Mikulski  
Rep. Sanford  
Rep. Cardin

*Breakout Session #2*  
Ken Apfel  
Sen. Santorum  
Sen. Bingaman  
Rep. Rangel  
Rep. Archer

**Other Possible Discussion Leaders:** Secretary Rubin, John Podesta, Jack Lew, Gene Sperling, Ron Klain, Janet Yellen, Larry Stein, Secretary Herman, and Secretary Shalala. Congressional participation could be left up to the leadership or could be chosen by us.

### **6:30-8:00 -- Reception**

### **9:00-10:00 -- Televised CNN Town Hall Meeting Hosted By Larry King or Jeff Greenfield**

- **Format:** Either the President Clinton could do an interview (with call-ins) with Larry King and one Senate Democrat and Republican and one House Democrat and Republican or he could do a town hall meeting with hosted by Larry King or Jeff Greenfield.

### **DAY #2: DECEMBER 9, 1998**

### **8:30-1:30 -- Workshops**

Congress would appoint 80 members (20 each from the House and Senate Democrats and Republicans) and we would appoint 10 Administration officials. We would then split up into 3 groups of 30.

Each group would rotate through the following three workshops:

- Fiscal issues and "traditional" reform options
- Individual accounts and Trust Fund investments.
- How Social Security works and how reform would be administered

Possible combinations of presenters in each of the workshops would be:

- Rudy Penner and Bob Greenstein
- Martin Feldstein and Robert Reischauer
- Ken Kies and Henry Aaron

The first workshop would go from 8:30-10:00. There would then be a 15 minute break and the next workshop would go from 10:15-11:45. There would be another 15 minute break and the final workshop would go from 12:00-1:30 (lunch would be served during this session).

## WORKSHOP 1: FISCAL IMPACT AND "TRADITIONAL" REFORM OPTIONS

Presenters: Rudy Penner and Bob Greenstein

Themes:

1. Why we need to act sooner rather than later, and why the surplus opens up new possibilities for Social Security reform
2. Reform options could have significantly different effects on different parts of the population
3. Need to understand the pros and cons of different options

Topics:

- A. Size of projected surplus relative to payroll -- what it could finance
- B. Impact of Social Security on the budget, short-term and long-term
  1. Social Security Trust Fund -- what it is and is not
  2. Positive effects on budget from reforming Social Security now rather than later
- C. Budget accounting rules
- D. Macroeconomic effects
  1. Impact on national saving, depending on public and private responses
  2. Impact on relative rates of return for different assets
- E. "Traditional" reform options
  1. Benefit options
  2. Revenue options
  3. Retirement age

## WORKSHOP 2: INVESTING IN EQUITIES

Presenters: Martin Feldstein and Robert Reischauer

Themes:

1. Need to understand pros and cons of individual accounts and trust fund investments

Topics:

- A. Privately managed vs. publicly managed individual accounts
- B. Trust Fund investments
- C. Rate of return comparisons
  - Comparison of return on equities and mixed portfolio to Social Security
  - Accounting for accumulated liabilities and the transition to individual accounts
  - Accounting for risk
- D. New funding mechanisms and how to make individual accounts progressive
- E. "Clawback" and other related ideas
- F. Annuitization

## WORKSHOP 3: HOW SOCIAL SECURITY WORKS AND HOW REFORM WOULD BE ADMINISTERED

Presenters: Ken Kies and Henry Aaron

Themes:

1. How the Social Security system works.
2. Importance of issues in administering reform, such as investor protection, structure of individual account plans, and corporate governance.

Topics:

- A. Basic structure of Social Security system
- B. Administering individual accounts
  - Administrative costs
    - IRA model
    - TSP model
  - Investor protection and regulation
  - International experience
    - Chile
    - United Kingdom
- C. Administering Trust Fund investments
  - Corporate governance
  - Canada

### 2:00-3:00 -- Closing Session

- *Option #1: Plenary session:* Following the workshops, the three groups would report back to a plenary session with the President and Congressional leadership on their discussions.
- *Option #2: Meeting with Congressional Leadership:* The conference would end with a meeting between the President and the Congressional leadership -- plus a designee from different sides -- perhaps in the Cabinet Room. This meeting could include a report back from the workshops.

**REVISED DRAFT SCHEDULE AND OUTLINE OF  
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SECURITY**

**DAY #1: DECEMBER 8, 1998**

**9:30-10:30 -- Opening Session.**

- President Clinton, Vice President Gore, Speaker Livingston, Minority Leader Gephardt, Senator Trent Lott, and Senator Tom Daschle. Option: Both us and Republicans select one "real" person to speak about Social Security reform.

**10:30-12:00 -- Hearing on Findings from the National Dialogue and How It Provides Guidance on What The Goals Should Be of Social Security Reform.**

- Have groups, such as AARP and the Concord Coalition, present their summary of findings from the national dialogue to the President, Vice President, and Congressional leaders, and, based on what they learned, provide guidance on what our goals should be of Social Security reform. This session could also include Members of Congress and experts on the panel to discuss findings from the national dialogue on different reform options.

**12:00-1:15 -- Lunch.**

**1:15-2:45 -- Panel on the Challenges of Social Security Reform.**

- Use skilled moderator to direct discussion on the challenges of Social Security reform: Frank Raines and Carol Cox Wait could discuss how the Social Security system currently runs and what would be the opportunities and challenges for Social Security of having a budget surplus; Henry Aaron could discuss administrative cost issues under Individual Accounts; Carolyn Weaver could discuss corporate governance issues with investing the Trust Fund in equities; and SEC Chair Arthur Levitt could discuss investor protection under both proposals.

**3:00-4:30 -- Off-the-Record Breakout Sessions.**

- Provide key interested parties the opportunity to talk directly with key Social Security decision-makers from both the Administration and Congress in 4-5 informal, off-the-record discussions.

**DAY #2: DECEMBER 9, 1998**

**8:30-11:45 -- Workshops to Educate Decision-Makers and Build Relationships**

- Congress would appoint 48 members (12 each from the House and Senate Democrats and Republicans) and we would appoint 12 Administration officials. We would then split up into 2 groups of 30. The first workshop would go from 8:30-10:00. There would then be a 15-minute break and the next workshop would go from 10:15-11:45. Each group would rotate through the following two workshops:
  - *Ken Kies and Bob Greenstein:* Fiscal issues and "traditional" reform options
  - *Martin Feldstein and Robert Reischauer:* Individual accounts and Trust Fund investments, including how would reform be administered.

**12:30-1:00 -- Closing Session**

- Following the workshops, the conference would end with a meeting between the President and the Congressional leadership -- plus Republican and Democratic designees -- perhaps in the Cabinet Room. This meeting would include a report back from the workshops.