



SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM: Is There a Bipartisan Solution?

June 30, 2005

Biographies

Robert L. Bixby is the Executive Director of The Concord Coalition, a nonpartisan, grassroots organization dedicated to fiscal responsibility. The Concord Coalition was founded in 1992 by former U.S. Senators Warren Rudman (R-NH) and the late Paul Tsongas (D-MA). Former Senator Bob Kerrey (D-NE) now serves as Co-Chair of the organization. Mr. Bixby was named Executive Director of the Concord Coalition in 1999, after serving as the organization's Policy Director, National Field Director, and in other capacities since 1992. He frequently represents Concord's views on budget and entitlement reform policy at congressional hearings and in the national media. Mr. Bixby has a bachelor's degree in political science from American University in Washington, D.C., a juris doctorate from George Mason University School of Law in Arlington, Va., and a master's degree in public administration from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Prior to his work with the Concord Coalition, Mr. Bixby practiced law and served as the Chief Staff Attorney of the Court of Appeals of Virginia.

Richard Jackson writes on public policy issues arising from the aging of America's and the world's population. He is currently a Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, where he directs the Global Aging Initiative, an Adjunct Fellow at the Hudson Institute, and a Senior Advisor to the Concord Coalition. Jackson is the author of numerous policy studies, including *The Graying of the Middle Kingdom: The Demographics and Economics of Retirement Policy in China* (CSIS and Prudential Foundation: 2004); *The Aging Vulnerability Index* (CSIS and Watson Wyatt Worldwide: 2003); and *The Global Retirement Crisis* (CSIS and Citigroup: 2002). Jackson regularly speaks on long-term demographic and economic issues and is often quoted in the press. He holds a B.A. in classics from SUNY at Albany and a Ph.D. in economic history from Yale University. He lives in Alexandria, Virginia, with his wife Perrine and two children, Benjamin and Brian.

Estelle James is currently a consultant to the World Bank, USAID and other organizations. Previously she was Lead Economist at the World Bank and Professor of Economics. She is also a member of the Governing Board of the new pension fund in Kosovo and served as a member of the President's Commission to Strengthen Social Security in the U.S. She is principal author of *Averting the Old Age Crisis: Policies to Protect the Old and Promote Growth*, a World Bank study that provided the first global analysis of economic problems associated with population aging and the framework for much of the Bank's policy advice in this area. She has lectured extensively on this topic, advised governments in China, Costa Rica, India, Thailand and other countries, and published numerous papers in professional journals. Her recent research has focused on social security reform, including the administrative costs of individual accounts, how to handle the annuity stage, and the gender impact of alternative systems. Before joining the World Bank she was Professor of Economics and Provost of Social and Behavioral Sciences at the State University of New York, Stony Brook. Her previous research was an analysis of the economics of public and private education and the economics of non-profit organizations. She received her BS from Cornell University and her Ph.D. from MIT. For further information see www.estellejames.com

Don Nickles was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1980 and served the state of Oklahoma and the nation for 24 years. He was a key member of the Senate Republican Leadership for more than a decade—serving as Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee, Chairman of the Republican Policy Committee and as the Assistant Republican Leader. Mr. Nickles was Chairman of the Budget Committee during his last two years in the Senate, and was a senior member of both the Senate Finance Committee and the Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

Peter R. Orszag is the Joseph A. Pechman Senior Fellow in Economic Studies at the Brookings Institution; Co-Director of the Tax Policy Center, a joint venture of the Urban Institute and Brookings Institution; Director of The Retirement Security Project; and Research Professor at Georgetown University. He previously served as Special Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, and as Senior Economist and Senior Adviser on the Council of Economic Advisers, during the Clinton Administration. His current areas of research include pensions, budget and tax policy, Social Security, higher education, and homeland security. Dr. Orszag graduated *summa cum laude* in economics from Princeton University, and obtained a M.Sc. and a Ph.D. in economics from the London School of Economics, which he attended as a Marshall Scholar. He is the co-editor of *American Economic Policy in the 1990s* (MIT Press: 2002), co-author of *Protecting the American Homeland: A Preliminary Analysis* (Brookings Institution Press: 2002), co-author of *Saving Social Security: A Balanced Approach* (Brookings Institution Press: 2004), and co-author of *Taxing the Future: Fiscal Policy Under the Bush Administration* (Brookings Institution Press: forthcoming).

Rudolph G. Penner is a Senior Fellow at the Urban Institute and holds the Arjay and Frances Miller chair in public policy. Previously, he was a Managing Director of the Barents Group, a KPMG Company. He was Director of the Congressional Budget Office from 1983 to 1987. From 1977 to 1983, he was a Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. Previous posts in government include Assistant Director for Economic Policy at the Office of Management and Budget, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and Senior Staff Economist at the Council of Economic Advisors. Before 1975, Mr. Penner was a professor of economics at the University of Rochester. He is past President of the National Economists Club, and in 1989, he was elected to the Board of Directors of NABE and also, received the Abramson Prize for the best article published in 1988-89 in *Business Economics*. In 2004, he was elected president of the American Tax Policy Institute. He is the author of numerous books, pamphlets and articles on tax and spending policy and has authored columns for various newspapers including the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times. His most recent book, co-authored with Isabel Sawhill and Timothy Taylor, is *Updating America's Social Contract*. He has served on the board of NABE. His undergraduate degree is from the University of Toronto and his Ph.D. in economics is from the Johns Hopkins University.

Timothy J. Penny is a former U.S. Representative from Minnesota's 1st District. He is the Co-Director of the Humphrey Institute Policy Forum at the University of Minnesota. Mr. Penny was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1982, and served until his retirement in 1995. Prior to his election to the House, he served in the Minnesota state senate from 1976-1982. Born in Albert Lea of Freeborn County, Minnesota, Mr. Penny graduated from Kiester High School in Kiester in 1969, earned his B.A. at Winona State University in Winona in 1974, and also attended the University of Minnesota in 1975. He is the co-author, with FoxNews reporter Major Garrett, of *Common Cents: A Retiring Six Term Congressman Reveals How Congress Really Works—And What We Must Do To Fix It*, and *The 15 Biggest Lies in Politics*.

Peter G. Peterson, Senior Chairman and Co-Founder of The Blackstone Group, is Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations, founding Chairman of the Institute for International Economics, and founding President of The Concord Coalition. Mr. Peterson was the Co-Chair with John Snow of The Conference Board Commission on Public Trust and Private Enterprises. He was also Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York from 2000 to 2004. Prior to founding Blackstone, Mr. Peterson was Chairman and CEO of Lehman Brothers (1973–1977) and later Chairman and CEO of Lehman Brothers, Kuhn, Loeb Inc. (1977–1984). He was Chairman and CEO of Bell and Howell Corporation from 1963 to 1971. He was named Secretary of Commerce by President Nixon in 1972. Mr. Peterson is the author of several books, including *Running On Empty: How the Democratic and Republican Parties are Bankrupting Our Future and What Americans Can Do About It*; *Gray Dawn: How the Coming Age Wave Will Transform America – and the World*; *Will America Grow Up Before It Grows Old?*; and *Facing Up: How to Rescue the Economy from Crushing Debt and Restore the American Dream*.

Elizabeth M. Robinson assumed the position of Deputy Director of the Congressional Budget Office on September 29, 2003. Previously, Dr. Robinson served as the Deputy Assistant Director for Budget Review and Concepts at the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Her primary responsibilities included overseeing the development of the President's discretionary budget request and associated budget documents; revisions to Circular A-11 and scorekeeping rules; issues arising in the execution of the budget; proposals for and Congressional action on appropriation bills; and policy analysis projects. Prior to joining OMB's Budget Review Division, she worked as the OMB program examiner for energy issues, including the defense, intelligence, fossil energy, and science programs at the Department of Energy. From 1994 to 1998, she was a staff member on the Committee on Science in the House of Representatives. From 1989 to 1994, Dr. Robinson worked at the Congress's Office of Technology Assessment. Before that, she was an assistant professor of geophysics at Stanford University.

Warren B. Rudman became a partner in the international law firm, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison after serving two distinguished terms as a U.S. Senator from New Hampshire. He was first elected to the Senate in 1980 and overwhelmingly re-elected in 1986. He received a B.S. from Syracuse University in 1952 and served in the U.S. Army as a combat platoon leader and company commander during the Korean War. He entered the Army as a second lieutenant and was discharged with the rank of captain. In 1960, he received his LL.B. from Boston College Law School. Rudman's extraordinary concern with the inability of policymakers to resolve the country's fiscal crisis led him to join with the late former Senator Paul Tsongas and former Commerce Secretary Pete Peterson to form The Concord Coalition in 1992. He remains very active with the organization as Co-Chairman. Rudman has received numerous awards including the Presidential Citizens Medal, National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, and the Department of Defense Distinguished Service Medal. He is the author of *COMBAT: Twelve Years in the U.S. Senate*.

Sylvester J. Schieber is vice president and Director of U.S. Benefits Consulting at Watson Wyatt Worldwide. He received a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Notre Dame in 1974. Dr. Schieber was a member of the 1994-1996 Social Security Advisory Council and has served on the US Social Security Advisory Board since 1998. Dr. Schieber has authored or edited 10 books on changing demographics, retirement security and health issues. His book written with John Shoven of Stanford University—*The Real Deal: The History and Future of Social Security*—published by Yale University Press in 1999 won a certificate of merit in the annual Paul A Samuelson prize competition for economic writings in 2000. In 2005, Oxford University Press published the eighth edition of the *Fundamentals of Private Pensions* with co-authors Dan McGill, John Haley and Kyle Brown. Also in 2005, Cambridge University Press published *The Economic Implications of Aging Societies: The Costs of Living Happily Ever After*, a volume co-authored with Steven A. Nyce of Watson Wyatt Worldwide. In addition to these volumes, Dr. Schieber has written numerous journal articles and policy analysis papers on retirement and health benefits issues. Dr. Schieber is a recognized thought leader on retirement, social security and workforce demographics issues. He speaks frequently to business and professional groups as well as Congressional Committees.

Charles Stenholm served the 17th District of Texas in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1979-2005. Originally from Ericksdahl, he was educated at Tarleton State Junior College and later at Texas Tech University. After receiving his master's degree from Texas Tech, he moved back to run the family farm. In addition to farming, Mr. Stenholm was also a teacher, and headed the Rolling Plains Cotton Growers Association and the Stamford Electric Cooperative before serving in Congress. He became the Ranking Member on the House Agriculture Committee in 1997, and he was the co-chair of the Blue Dog Coalition of conservative Democrats, where he worked to bring fiscal responsibility to the House of Representatives. In 2005, Mr. Stenholm joined the Washington, D.C. law firm of Olsson, Frank and Weeda as Senior Government Affairs Advisor.

Eugene Steuerle is a Senior Fellow at The Urban Institute, co-director of the Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center, a columnist for Tax Notes Magazine, and an author or editor of 11 books, more than 150 reports and articles, more than 50 Congressional testimonies or reports, and more than 600 columns. His latest book is *Contemporary U.S. Tax Policy*. He serves on the National Committee on Vital and Health Statistics and as an elected, advisory panel, or board member for Congressional Budget Office, the Comptroller General of the United States, the Joint Committee on Taxation, the Actuarial Foundation, the Independent Sector, the National Academy of Social Insurance, and the Journal of Economic Perspectives. Previous positions include President of the National Tax Association (2001-2), chair of the 1999 Technical Panel advising Social Security on its methods and assumptions, President of the National Economists Club Educational Foundation, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Tax Analysis (1987-1989), and Resident Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. Between 1984 and 1986 he served as Economic Coordinator and original organizer of the Treasury's tax reform effort, for which Treasury and White House officials have written that tax reform "would not have moved forward without your early leadership". Dr. Steuerle has also undertaken various missions for International Monetary Fund to China, Singapore, and Slovakia, while the government of Barbados undertook a tax reform effort modeled after a report that he co-authored as head of another mission.

David M. Walker became the seventh Comptroller General of the United States and began his 15-year term when he took his oath of office on November 9, 1998. Before his appointment as Comptroller General, Mr. Walker had extensive executive level experience in both government and private industry. Mr. Walker currently serves as Chair of the Center for Continuous Auditing, and as a principal of the U.S. Joint Financial Management Improvement Program. He is on the Board of the International Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions (INTOSAI) and various educational and not-for-profit entities. He is a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration; member of the National Academy of Social Insurance; and an active member of various professional, public service, and other organizations, including the Sons of the American Revolution. Mr. Walker is a CPA and has a B.S. degree in accounting from Jacksonville University, a Senior Management in Government Certificate in public policy from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, an Honorary Doctorate in Business Administration from Bryant College and an Honorary Doctorate of Public Service from Lincoln Memorial University. Mr. Walker is a frequent speaker and author. He testifies regularly before Congress and is frequently quoted by major print and electronic media on a wide range of topics.