Tax and Social Security in
The New Paradigm

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SUMMARY

The current base of the Conservative Coalition is the hard-working Middle class and many of them are facing a retirement crisis including 35% of working Republicans over the age of 50 who are likely to face an income shortfall in retirement. These are the people most likely to have to stop working younger due to health reasons and most likely to depend on Social Security for retirement income.

Cutting Social Security or delaying payment of full retirement benefits hits the base of the Conservative Coalition very hard. In our survey among Senior voters, a third of Republicans along with two thirds of independents supported taxing the wealthy to ensure Social Security solvency and even add additional benefits.[1]

To understand the retirement crisis, it helps to look at how it plays out at the individual level.

A 55-year-old currently making $50,000 year could expect to receive $1,090 a month if they started taking Social Security at age 62 or $1,600 a month if they waited to age 67. If this person has $100,000 saved by age 67 and expects to live to 80, they can reasonably plan to draw $877[3] in monthly income from their retirement savings for an annual income of about $30,000 (before taxes) *if* they can wait till age 67 to draw Social Security.

If this same person has to retire at due to a health problem at 62 and has $85,000 saved, their monthly income from Social Security and savings drops to $1,678 a month or $20,000 a year.

Polling by VCreek/AMG has found that more than 40% of retirees with savings of less than $100,000 retired because of a health problem or downsizing.

These illustrations could easily apply to 35% of Republicans over the age of 50. The impact of the retirement crisis could dramatically realign the electorate as a significant share of those who would be hit the hardest are members of the current Trump/Conservative coalition.

The Social Security Trustees currently estimate the Trust Fund will be depleted in 2035 which will likely necessitate a cut in benefits.

The Democrats have already proposed their plan the Social Security 2100 act which includes phrasing out the $132,000 cap on Social Security taxes and increased rates to fund increased payments to retirees.

The Republican Study Committee has advocated a plan that would not raise taxes and extend the life of Social Security by realigning "full retirement age to account for increases in life expectancy since the program's creation" by gradually increasing "the normal retirement age at a rate of three months per year until it reaches 69 for those reaching age 62 in 2030." The Republican plan would also make adjustments to encourage Seniors to stay in the workforce longer and increase payments for workers who had lower life-time earnings.

Both the Democrat and Republican plans are actuarily sound. The Republican plan, though accurate in terms of life expectancy, does not account for working longevity. People may be living longer, but their productive working years have not increased at the same rate of life expectancy. The people most likely to need Social Security earlier because health problems reduce their capacity for work are more likely to have lower savings, lower life-time earnings and have engaged in blue collar or skilled trades work—the types of workers who are currently forming the base of the Conservative Coalition.

The Democrat plan with its tax increases does not take into the account the secondary effect that taxes have on the economy by reducing monetary elasticity. Historically, higher tax rates coincide with more frequent recessions. Recessions and their associated drops in the stock market wipe out the retirement savings of the middle and working classes and in terms of jobs tend hit the working classes that form the base of Conservative Coalition the hardest.

The main tax paid by working Americans earning less than $200,000 a year is the Social Security Payroll Tax. Among all the taxes, Social Security is the most accepted by the voting public because they understand the direct benefit they will receive. Everyone pays into the program and everyone knows several people who benefit from it which is why it is regarded as a fair tax.

The goal is this research project to start a conversation among conservatives about the framework of a plan that is actuarily sound, accounts for the realities of work expectancy and the rates at which older workers retire due to health reasons, reduces taxes on the middle class, extends the life of the Social Security Trust Fund into the next century and does not drag on the economy by increasing the overall tax burden and its associated effects on monetary elasticity and uses supply side economics to expand multifactor productivity.

We believe we have found a middle ground to start the conversation. If you lower social security tax by 1 percentage point, the break-even point to be revenue neutral is raising the cap to $168,000 and if you eliminate the cap totally, you will add $88 billion dollar per year and close to $1.7 trillion dollars of revenue to Social Security over 20 years.

The Trump economy begins with reducing tax rates across the board, reducing regulations and reducing the impact of the administrative state. It is not just the amount of money sloshing around in the economy that creates growth, *but the freedom to do something productive with the money free from regulations.*

Our proposal is simple, reduce the tax burdens upon the Middle Class by cutting the payroll tax rate while extending its reach and allowing for more production in the economy through other income tax and corporate tax reforms, cutting regulations and reducing unnecessary spending on agencies and programs that have outlived their usefulness. The goal is to provide a stable safety net for those in need while allowing for opportunities to succeed.

Our plan is a small first step toward the policy deliberations needed to build coalition to extend Social Security and expand economic productivity.

HIGH TAXES, FREQUENT RECESSIONS

In the United States, since World War II, as tax rates have gone down, recessions have become less frequent.

Many on the left have no problem with tax rates as high as 70% or even 90% and view the 1950's and 60's as a golden era in which the top rate ranged from 70% to 90%. While the 1950's were a decade of prosperity, there were four recessions from 1949 through 1960, when the tax rates at 90% and overall growth was only 2.3% through the decade, which was one half of the Reagan decade.[2]

The 1960's boom was as much due to supply side economics on the tax side as Kennedy economic team dropped tax rates down to 70% and at the end of the decade, Lyndon Johnson added a 10% surcharge combined with increased spending for both beginning of the Great Society and funding the Vietnam War led to a recession in 1970. The Kennedy Tax Plans provided a model for the Reagan tax cuts in 1980's. The decades of the 70's saw both rise of inflation and three recessions before the Reagan policies took full effect at the end of 1982, leading to nearly quarter of century of growth.[3]

From 1969 to 1982, we saw three recessions including the 1974 recession which saw unemployment peak at 9% and the 1982 recession which unemployment peaked at 10.8% (which exceeded the recession of 2007 to 2009 unemployment peak of 10.1%.)[4]

The Reagan years saw prosperity that lasted nearly a quarter of century, but the world has changed since then. In 1979, the highest tax rate was at 70% and many in the Middle Class were forced into higher tax brackets and seeing much of their gains disappearing due to high tax rates. Today, the top rate is 37% and many Middle Class don't even pay income tax or very little income tax but as we will see, the biggest tax for the Middle Class is the payroll tax.

From 1988 to the present, the top tax rates ranged from 28% to 39% and through the 1980's through the 1990's policies included stable monetary policies, lower tax rates to go with lower capital gain taxes and restraining budget growth including Rudman-Gramm-Hollings passed in 1985 and the Newt Gingrich-Bill Clinton budget deal in 1997. This led to widespread prosperity with all major groups seeing major improvement in their income. Families, minorities, high school graduates and college graduates all saw major improvement in their income and reforms led to increase in the investor class as new saving vehicles allowed the middle class to save for their future and increase their retirement nest egg.

The impact of recessions on retirement savings is devastating which makes sustained growth in productivity paramount. A recession that comes anywhere close to overlapping with the 2035 Social Security shortfall would be a double hit retirees and workers over 50 could never recover from.

THE CURRENT ECONOMIC PARADIGM

A large blind spot for conservatives is not understanding how the economy and thus demographics of the country have changed. Many conservatives are operating under the Reagan era paradigm of when tax rates were higher, broad-based domestic manufacturing still employed large percentages of the population and there was less pressure from international economic competition.

Until very recently, for the past few decades working class and Middle-Class wages have been flat due in part because productivity has been flat. Only recently in the last year has multi-factor productivity increased.

https://www.bls.gov/news.release/prod3.nr0.htm

A growing share of U.S. exports are software, patent licenses, platforms and consulting services. The scaling and investment of these companies does not necessarily create more jobs. A tax cut for owners of these companies may not lead to investments and expansion of their businesses that improve productivity and create rising wages for the middle and working classes. As Harvard Business Professor Thales Teixeira has noted, many of fastest growing companies are not disrupting market segments by creating new products but by disrupting the customer value chain, creating a more seamless service through a scalable platform.

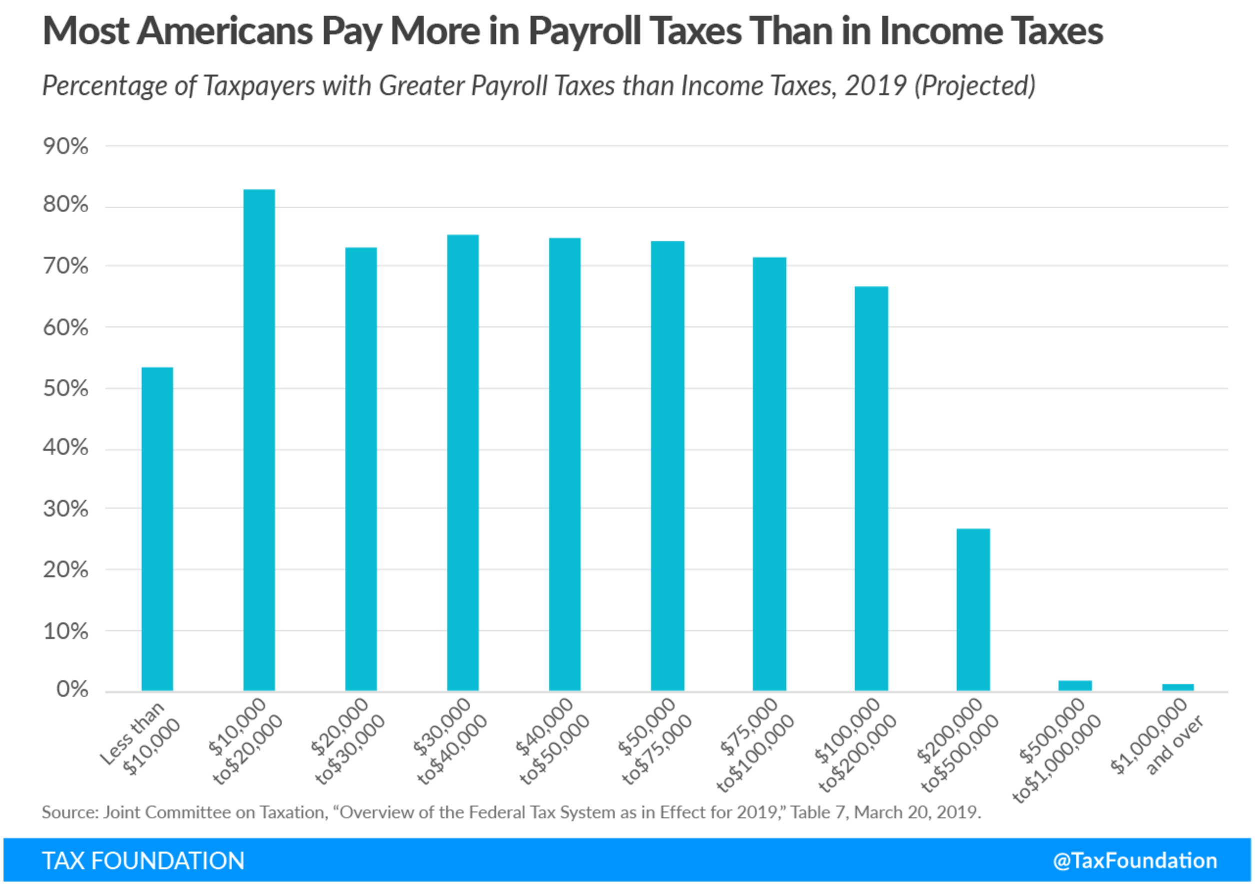
Middle skill jobs and lower skill blue collar jobs that create enough value to produce high wages have been decreasing. The skilled trades that do pay well require skill levels and conscientiousness that are often above the range of the traditional factory worker. The manufacturing conducted in the U.S. is large, durable, highly precise, expensive equipment, energy or highly customized consumer goods. Pressuring manufacturing productivity further is the Collegization of Education. By directing more and more Middle-Class students to college, industry and trades are being deprived of a pool of conscientious workers who can perform at a high level of skill producing large, durable, highly precise equipment. These young people who in past decades would not have gone to college then often start careers with student loan debt and low value creating white collar jobs, giving life to the economic phenomenon of "Bullshit Jobs."

https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-08-01/too-many-jobs-feel-meaningless-because-they-are?cmpid=BBD080118_OUS&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_term=180801&utm_campaign=openamericas

These people don't want an income tax cut, they want a pay raise and meaningful work.

To understand this in action, let's look at a married couple with $80,000 in W-2 income using the 2016 1040-EZ. After the standard deduction they have $59,300 in taxable income. According to the 2016 tax tables they pay $7,964 in tax. An effective rate of 9.95% of gross. Cutting their effective rate by 1 point to 8.95% reduces their tax burden to $7,160 a year or $804 dollars. They experience that as $16.75 per individual paycheck if the payroll reductions are properly adjusted. Which is a BIG IF. The variable nature of income taxes with deductions, exemptions and credits means a small tax cut may not provide any fiscal benefit to a worker paying a low effective tax rate.

As discussed, we have not seen tax rates exceed 39% and many Americans biggest federal tax is the payroll tax and not the Federal income tax. For Americans earning up to $200,000 dollars the number one tax is the payroll tax.[5]



For the same workers in the example above, their Social Security Tax is $9,920. Most companies are sophisticated enough to build the "employer's half" into total compensation accounting. The employer paying half is a fiction. The employee pays it all. Reducing the Social Security rate by 1-point cuts this couple's payroll taxes to $9,120 saving them $800 which they will experience as $16.66 per individual paycheck. Because the Social Security payroll tax is not subject to variation, it is a near certainty that the worker will have extra money in their regular paycheck.

What workers really want are regular pay increases created by rising productivity. If their pay increases by 2% they are up $1,600. If it increases year over year at 2% for 10 years their joint income is $97,000. A gain of $17,000.

The tax cuts only saved them $8,000 over the same period.

With the ability of 401k plans to step up savings rates with pay raises, the income gain puts this couple on a stronger footing for a secure retirement.

By 2007, 63% of Americans had investment savings but a decade after the 2007-2009 recession, that number dropped to 53%. That showed that not only did income stagnate, but also overall wealth declined.[6] As unemployment dropped in the past few years and more companies offered 401k plans, participation in investment savings has climbed. Polling by VCreek/AMG finds that 57% of people in the private economy have some type of retirement savings plan. These people's retirement savings have been buoyed by record high stock market valuations.

A reduction in the Social Security Payroll tax for workers is the most direct way to deliver direct, visible, tax relief. The per paycheck amount is not large, but across tens of millions of workers the economic effect on the economy could be massive.

All business activity is ultimately about something an individual consumer purchase. A payroll tax cut is the most direct way to inject purchasing power into the economy.

And supply side economics is more than just increasing the amount of money in the system, it is about *creating dynamism in the system*.

I wrote in his book, *The Rise of National Populism and Democratic Socialism what Our Response should be*, "We are affected by a shrinking private sector compared to an ever-expanding federal government. In the past Republicans have talked about tax cuts, but it is time for a review of what supply side economics means in a nation with $20 trillion dollars in debts and where a half trillion dollar deficit in a fiscal year is considered a minor miracle…It is time to rediscover the supply side of economics and expand upon it. In the past, economic conservatives have concentrated on taxes but not on spending. The Heritage Foundation over the past two decades has rated countries by economic freedom. The foundation concluded that countries with the highest rating for overall economic freedom were often the most prosperous and equally important, most were politically free. The Heritage ratings didn't just include taxes but also national budgets, regulations, how easy it was to start a business, and how open these countries were to trade."[7]

A reduction in the Social Security Payroll tax for workers needs to be seen as part of a larger economic strategy that reduces regulatory friction and government debt service drag on the economy.

Today the economic environment has changed, and many conservative coalition voters no longer view tax cuts by themselves as the magic bullet. Our own research has shown that many Republicans support higher taxes to fund expansion of social security. In our survey among Senior voters, a third of Republicans along with two thirds of independents supported taxing the wealthy to ensure Social Security solvency and even add additional benefits.[8]

The Democratic left has already made it clear that they are prepared to expand government services from health care to Social Security and to pay for it, they will raise taxes on the Middle Class. Their model is supposedly the Nordic countries where the Middle Class pay a substantially higher taxes either through VATS or payroll taxes. (Nordic countries have retreated from their more leftist policies over the past two decades and it was only last year doing the United States finally reduce their corporate tax rates to be competitive with the Nordic countries.)[9] The Democrat's Social Security 2100 act would raise the payroll tax from the present 12.4% to 14.8% plus eliminate the cap, which adds to the tax burden on the wealthy.

The Democrat's plan appeals to broad portions of the electorate. Part of this is due to many seniors retiring with nest eggs of $100,000 dollars or less, not being fully prepared for their retirement and that many seniors are forced to retire either due to health reasons or downsizing, thus not be able to add to their nest eggs.[9]

The Conservative Coalition needs a plan that considers the new paradigm and political realities.

Foundation Study on Impact on Lowering Payroll Tax

The long-term goal of our research is to begin a conversation among conservatives about a tax policy and spending policy that features of supply side economics, a tax break for the middle Class and creates conditions for multi-factor productivity to increase. Americas Majority Foundation worked with the Center of the American Experiment researchers John Pelium and Mitch Rollings to review options on tax policies.

The biggest tax burden today among those with income $200,000 dollars or lower is the payroll tax but the biggest challenge is cutting the payroll tax as one of the basis of a conservative tax reform package while maintaining the sustainability of the social security system.

Due to adjustments and inflation, the cap has been rising and is now presently $132,000 dollars, an increase of $14,000 dollars over the past three years. The issue of removing the cap is now on the table and the cap has been slowly moving up.

We asked the researchers to address two main questions:

A. how much revenue would be lost from social security revenues if the tax rate was cut by 1 or 2 percentage points?
B. how much would the earnings limit have to increase by in order to be revenue neutral, caused by lowering the tax rate?

Methods incorporated included using the top 15% as a base for the earnings limit, so they could determine how many tax returns would have had to pay more for social security had the earnings limit been raised – for example, an additional 10% of tax returns would have had to pay more if the earnings limit matched the top 5%, and an additional 5% when matching the top 10%.

Results

1. As the chart below shows**, lowering the social security tax rate by 1 or 2 percent** would have left revenue deficiencies from years 2015 to 2017 of $201.3 billion and $402.61 billion, respectively, unless the taxable earnings base was eliminated entirely in both scenarios.

2. Raising the taxable earnings limit to cover 90% of all earnings would have almost entirely recovered the losses of lowering the tax rate by 1 percent, leaving a deficiency of only $11.16 billion from 2015 to 2017. For a 2 percent decrease, a 90% coverage would have still left a deficiency of $229 billion from 2015 to 2017.

Eliminating the base 1 percentage points would have created an excess of $265.9 billion from 2015 to 2017. For a 2 percent decrease, eliminating the base completely would have created an excess of $23.76 billion from 2015 to 2017.

(All Values In Billions)	2017	2016	2015
Total Earnings	$8,375.55	$8,020.50	$7,817.70
Total Taxable Earnings	$6,983.38	$6,662.80	$6,484.10
Effective Earnings Covered	83.4%	83.1%	82.9%
Actual Tax Revenue	$873.60	$836.20	$794.89
Set Tax Rate	12.40%	12.40%	12.40%
Effective Tax Rate	12.51%	12.55%	12.26%

(IF 1% LOWER)				
(All Values In Billions)	2017	2016	2015	Total
Effective Tax Rate	11.51%	11.55%	11.26%	
Tax Revenue	$803.77	$769.57	$730.05	$2,303.39
EXCESS/DEFICIENCY	($69.83)	($66.63)	($64.84)	($201.30)
Raise CAP To 90%				
Total Taxable Earnings	$7,538.00	$7,218.45	$7,035.93	
Tax Revenue	$867.60	$833.75	$792.18	$2,493.53
EXCESS/DEFICIENCY	($6.00)	($2.45)	($2.71)	($11.16)
Eliminate CAP				
Total Taxable Earnings	$8,375.55	$8,020.50	$7,817.70	
Tax Revenue	$964.00	$926.39	$880.20	$2,770.59
EXCESS/DEFICIENCY	$90.40	$90.19	$85.31	$265.90

(IF 2% LOWER)				
(All Values In Billions)	2017	2016	2015	Total
Effective Tax Rate	10.51%	10.55%	10.26%	
Tax Revenue	$733.93	$702.94	$665.21	$2,102.09
EXCESS/DEFICIENCY	($139.67)	($133.26)	($129.68)	($402.61)
Raise CAP To 90%				
Total Taxable Earnings	$7,538.00	$7,218.45	$7,035.93	
Tax Revenue	$792.22	$761.57	$721.82	$2,275.61
EXCESS/DEFICIENCY	($81.38)	($74.63)	($73.07)	($229.08)
Eliminate CAP				
Total Taxable Earnings	$8,375.55	$8,020.50	$7,817.70	
Tax Revenue	$880.25	$846.19	$802.03	$2,528.46
EXCESS/DEFICIENCY	$6.65	$9.99	$7.13	$23.76

Because a 2% decrease would require the elimination of the earnings limit altogether, the research addressed only a 1% decrease, which would require the limit to cover at least 90% of taxable earnings.

In order to reach 90% coverage, the limit in 2015 and 2016 should have been somewhere around $166,000 and $168,000, respectively – in between the top 5 and 10 percent of earners – instead of the $118,500 for an increase of more than 42 percent. (the $118,500 represented the cap during the tax period reviewed. Today that number is $132,900.)

	Tax Returns	Top 1%	Top 3%	Top 5%	Top 10%	Top 20%	Top 25%	Earnings Limit	In Between 20% & 10%
2015	141,204,625	$480,930.00	$253,979.00	$195,778.00	$138,031.00	$93,212.00	$79,655.00	$118,500	$115,621.50
2016	140,888,785	$480,804.00	$256,673.00	$197,651.00	$139,713.00	$94,620.00	$80,921.00	$118,500	$117,166.50

Since $168,000 dollars represent the break-even point for the cap to match up with the revenues presently raised at the lower tax rates, we can assume that any cap beyond $168,000 will raise more revenues than the present tax collected at the lower cap. The first debate would be how far out do you remove the cap, or do you remove the cap altogether? Removing the cap altogether would have raised an average of $88 billion dollars for the three years researched and that represent nearly $1.8 trillion dollars of additional revenues to ensure sustainability of the social security system over a 20-year period. (Note we didn't ask the researchers to address how many more years this would add to social security sustainability, that is still a question for other researchers to answer.)

The overall tax reduction for the middle class would represent approximately $500 dollars for those earning $50,000 dollars to close $2,000 dollars at $200,000 dollars. This would add to the nearly $1,400 dollars that the average American already earned from Trump first wave of tax cuts.[10] The question remains what about the substantial tax increase imposed on the wealthy, eliminating the cap? That is a question that needs to be answered for if the burden is too high, it could lower the overall growth. We didn't examine what other taxes would need to be reduce but that can be reviewed in a future study.

Since Social Security Payroll Taxes are dedicated to the program, those tax increases could be offset by lower marginal income tax rates on higher earners or adjustments to capital gains, investment income or pass-through business income. The goal of the reductions on higher earners would be to spur capital reinvestment in productivity.

Conclusion

The current Republican Social Security plan though actuarily sound does not match the reality of older workers and is unlikely to be politically feasible. The current base of the Conservative Coalition is made up of workers who are the least prepared for retirement and most likely to need Social Security for retirement income due to being unable to continue working due to a health problem.

Large shares of Republican and independent voters are very open to an increase in Social Security taxes and the program is extremely popular.

This project is a start to developing a conversation around how to treat Social Security Payroll taxes as part of larger conservative plan for economic growth that addresses regulation, discretionary spending, business taxes and income taxes.

Tax Foundation John Olson concluded, "Payroll taxes are a highly effective way to raise revenue, for three main reasons: First of all, the payroll tax base is very broad. Payroll taxes apply to all wages and salaries up to a cap of $118,500, which nearly 83% of wages and salaries fall under. Furthermore, unlike the personal income tax, payroll taxes do not include dozens of deductions, exemptions, and credits that narrow the tax base. This means that payroll taxes can raise a large amount of revenue at a relatively low rate, to the tune of over $1 trillion a year…Second, due to the inelasticity of the supply of labor, payroll taxes generate a comparatively small amount of deadweight loss compared to other forms of taxation. This means that payroll taxes lead to a relatively small amount of economic inefficiency, since the quantity of labor in the market does not dramatically decline as a result. Overall, payroll taxes do much less economic harm than taxes on capital. This is evidenced by our analysis of Senator Bernie Sanders' tax proposals, whose payroll tax rate increase raised nearly four times as much revenue as his proposed increases on capital gains and dividends, but with a fourth less of the impact on GDP…Finally, payroll taxes are very hard to evade. According to the IRS' criminal enforcement data, investigations into payroll tax abuse make up less than 3 percent of all tax investigations, despite payroll taxes generating about a third of all federal tax revenue."[11]

Olson view is that overall burden of eliminating the tax cap would have less of damaging impact upon the economy but there is still an impact to consider. The benefit of lower the tax rate would be a Middle-Class tax cut that can be seen by the average voters and present an alternative to the Democrat plan that would include raising the payroll tax.

Republicans can now not only present a fair tax that would be no longer regressive but also as Olson noted, "Furthermore, this additional revenue could be used to lower marginal rates on corporate and personal income, growing both wages and GDP by 2.2%, while still raising revenue."[12] Republicans can present a plan that is growth oriented while lower taxes upon all Americans. There would be win- win.

The other part is what we already mention that we need to review both spending and regulations. Trump administration efforts to deregulate the economy is showing some benefit and is pro-growth by reducing the government impact upon the economy. On the budget side, no one can disagree that spending has substantially increased and there is very little stomach at this point to reform the entitlement program. Democrats are not only looking to expand entitlements including Medicare for all that would expand the entitlement program to almost all Americans so first battle may just be keeping the welfare state from exploding. The best strategy may be to review spending either by repeating what Republicans forced Obama to accept sequester to reduce the growth of spending or simply start reviewing departments and look for either elimination or cut back just as Department of Energy, especially since the fracking revolution has made the Department obsolete.

As for the entitlement, no reform will come until there is a bipartisan agreement and many Republicans are no more willing to cut entitlements than Independents or Democrats. The battle over tariffs can still have a negative impact on the economy and will Trump use them to liberalized trade or will he lead to and protectionist regime? The former will lead to a more liberalized trading system, but the latter can have some negative impact.

I wrote about past trade policies, "Throughout our history, it was not uncommon for American presidents to seek temporary economic rehabilitation against other countries to open up trade opportunities for American goods and services. Both President Reagan and President George H.W. Bush did this, putting "tariffs" on selected goods and industries from other countries. But their goal was to liberalize trade not to restrict it, and both presidents made sure these steps were temporary, and used as a means to open up trade and reduce barriers to American goods."[13] Free trade Presidents have been willing to use tariffs to open up trade.

Republicans are the Party of main street and Republicans without a college degree account for 73% of Republican workers age 50+ who have saved less than $100,000.[14] These Republicans will not support any reductions in social security and with 25% of Americans retire due to health reason and another 8% retired due to downsizing, it will be difficult to convince Americans to support an increase in retirement age to collect benefits even if it is over decades.

Lowering the social security by 1 percentage point will give middle class taxpayers an additional tax cuts and contrast to the Democrat plans which means a massive tax increase for the middle class. Social Security Act of 2100 has already plugged in 2.4% additional percentage points for the Middle Class. When Colorado and Vermont calculated the cost of a statewide Medicare for All, the cost to the middle class was an additional 10% to 11.5% additional payroll tax on top what they are already paying. It was estimated that sales tax would increase from 6% to 39% to cover a proposed Medicare for All in Florida. [15] Democrats expansion of social security and Medicare for All means a massive tax increase for the Middle Class, a point that Bernie Sanders acknowledged in the Democratic debate held June 27, 2019.

Republicans can base an economic reform on the following principles:

1. Lower the social security tax by 1% point and increasing the cap beyond 168,000. Eliminating the cap totally would add an additional 88 billion dollars per year of extra revenues.
2. Lower corporation and marginal tax rates to encourage economic growth.
3. Continue to reform regulations to reduce the cost upon individual and businesses.

4. Review each department for cuts and consider a sequester on the Federal budget to begin controlling spending

This proposal allows for the Middle Class to receive a tax cuts while maintaining the sustainability of the social security system. A growth-oriented tax plans and combining it with Regulations reforms and budget restraints will allow growth to continue and redefine Supply side economics to encompass more than just taxes.

Footnotes

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