



TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY
Private Enterprise
Research Center

POLICY STUDY



FEDERAL LIABILITIES: 2024 UPDATE

Dennis W. Jansen, Andrew J. Rettenmaier, Thamina Uddin
PERC Policy Study 2401
July 2024

SUMMARY

The The policy study "Federal Liabilities: 2024 Update" analyzes the U.S. federal government's liabilities, emphasizing the inclusion of Social Security and Medicare benefits owed to current retirees for a more accurate representation of the government's fiscal health. The report conservatively estimates liabilities by including only current retirees' benefits, noting that adding benefits for current workers would significantly increase the estimate.

The 2023 Financial Report of the United States Government (FRUSG) identifies total federal liabilities of \$42.9 trillion as of September 30, 2023, marking a 10% increase from \$39 trillion in 2022. The federal debt and interest payable of \$26.4 trillion comprised 62% of these liabilities. Federal employees' accrued benefits make up another 33%, and various other categories round out the remainder.

Currently, official liabilities exclude current retirees' expected Social Security and Medicare benefits. However, we strongly urge adding these portions of the elderly entitlement programs' obligations – net benefits payable to current retirees – to the official liabilities of the federal government.

Social Security and Medicare benefits payable to current retirees produce additional liabilities of \$36.5 trillion, an amount that exceeds the debt held by the public and that is 85% of the size of the official liability measure. Together, the official liabilities plus current retirees' accrued Social Security and Medicare benefits total \$79.4 trillion, or 290.4% of GDP in 2023. This highlights the substantial fiscal challenge, as the total liabilities are nearly three times the size of the publicly held debt's share of GDP, which is 96.3%.

The report also highlights the impact of legislative changes on Medicare's financial outlook. The Affordable Care Act significantly reduced Medicare's long-term unfunded obligations by introducing cost-controlling provisions, while the Medicare Modernization Act increased benefits by adding prescription drug coverage. The Inflation Reduction Act is projected to lower Medicare's prescription drug coverage costs.



TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY
Private Enterprise
Research Center

Founded in 1977 through the generosity of former students, corporations and foundations, the Private Enterprise Research Center pursues a dual mission of supporting academic research at Texas A&M University and developing market-oriented solutions to public policy problems.

Read the latest publications at
perc.tamu.edu

CONTACT US

Private Enterprise Research Center
Texas A&M University
4231 TAMU
College Station, TX 77843-4231
(979) 845-7559
perc@tamu.edu

Cover Photograph

Highsmith, Carol M, photographer. *Alexander Hamilton statue in front of the Treasury Building in Washington, D.C.* United States Washington D.C, None. [Between 1980 and 2006] Photograph.
<https://www.loc.gov/item/2011631526/>.

FEDERAL LIABILITIES: 2024 UPDATE

A MORE COMPREHENSIVE MEASURE OF FEDERAL LIABILITIES

Our ongoing analysis of federal liabilities, now in its eighth iteration, includes Social Security and Medicare benefits due to current retirees as part of the government's total indebtedness. This inclusion paints a more accurate picture of the government's fiscal health.¹

Our rationale for including the Social Security and Medicare benefits payable to current retirees as federal liabilities is based on the following observations. First, Social Security and Medicare benefits payable to current retirees meet the definition of liabilities as articulated in the Financial Report of the United States Government (FRUSG): “Liabilities are obligations of the Government resulting from prior actions that will require financial resources.”² Second, accrued entitlement benefits are conceptually equivalent to the federal employees’ accrued benefits that are reported as federal liabilities. Note too, that limiting the Social Security and Medicare benefits to those payable to current retirees, as we do here, provides a conservative estimate of the total entitlement debt.³ Including accrued entitlement benefits payable to current workers would result in an even higher estimate of the liability position of the federal government.

This exercise focuses only on the accrued benefits expected by current retirees. These benefits are extremely likely to be paid in full and are liabilities tied to past actions. Furthermore, this subset of accrued benefits is largely protected from legislative reforms.

In this report, we emphasize a distinction between the federal government’s commitments arising from *past* actions and commitments that may arise from *future* actions. This approach complements the established ways of reporting on the financial status of the Social Security and Medicare programs. Importantly, the total unfunded obligation measures for Social Security and Medicare combine the already-accrued benefits with yet-to-be-earned benefits net of expected future revenues.

Accounting for liabilities that arise from the federal government’s past actions gives policy-makers additional understanding of the government’s current indebtedness before they consider future government spending. This report offers conservative estimates of the liabilities that are essentially already on the government’s books, in that they only include accrued benefits payable to participants who have already reached retirement age. Pre-retirement aged Social Security and Medicare participants that have also accrued benefits in these programs are not included in this analysis. However, it should be stated that adding in their accrued benefits would further expand the liability measure.

¹The past versions are: *Federal Liabilities: Past Actions with Future Consequences*, PERC Study, May 2014, *Federal Liabilities: 2015 Update*, PERC Study, July 2015 available at [Policy Study 2015](#), *Federal Liabilities: 2016 Update*, PERC Study No. 1605, August 2016 available at [Policy Study 2016](#), *Federal Liabilities: 2017 Update*, PERC Study No. 1702, August 2017 available at [Policy Study 2017](#), and *Federal Liabilities: 2019 Update*, PERC Study No. 1901, May 2019 available at [Policy Study 2019](#), PERC Study No.2104, June 2021 available at [Policy Study 2021](#), PERC Study No.2301, March 2023 available at [Policy Study 2023](#).

²*Financial Report of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2023*, page 54.

³Current workers’ accrued benefits could also be included as liabilities, but because they are more susceptible to legislative reforms, we limit the amounts for Medicare and Social Security to benefits payable to current retirees.

The liabilities of the federal government reported in the FRUSG primarily include commitments to bond holders or to current federal military or civilian employees. Adding the accrued Medicare and Social Security benefits payable to current retirees to the FRUSG liabilities provides a more complete and, we would argue, more appropriate picture of the federal government's indebtedness. These liabilities are all largely unaffected by policy changes and forecasting assumptions, and collectively provide an important starting point in accounting for how much the federal government owes today, based on what it has done in the past.

While retirees do not have ownership rights to their Social Security and Medicare benefits, current retirees expect payment in full of these benefits. Changing the cost-of-living adjustment for Social Security would have modest effects on current retirees' accrued benefits. Higher Medicare premiums for high-income retirees definitely reduce their net benefits, but the effect on the overall number of retirees' accrued benefits is limited. Given these considerations, retirees' accrued benefits deserve to be treated essentially the same as the government's other liabilities.

The 2023 FRUSG identified liabilities totaling \$42.9 trillion as of September 30, 2023. Adding the \$36.5 trillion in Social Security and Medicare benefits payable to current retirees, the total federal liabilities rise to \$79.4 trillion. The Social Security and Medicare benefits payable to current retirees are 38.7% larger than the debt held by the public and the Social Security and Medicare benefits make up 46.0% of the total liabilities when included. Overall, the proposed total federal liabilities, including these benefits, are equal to 290.4% of the GDP, which means they are three times the size of the publicly held debt's share of GDP at 96.3%.

THE LIABILITIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

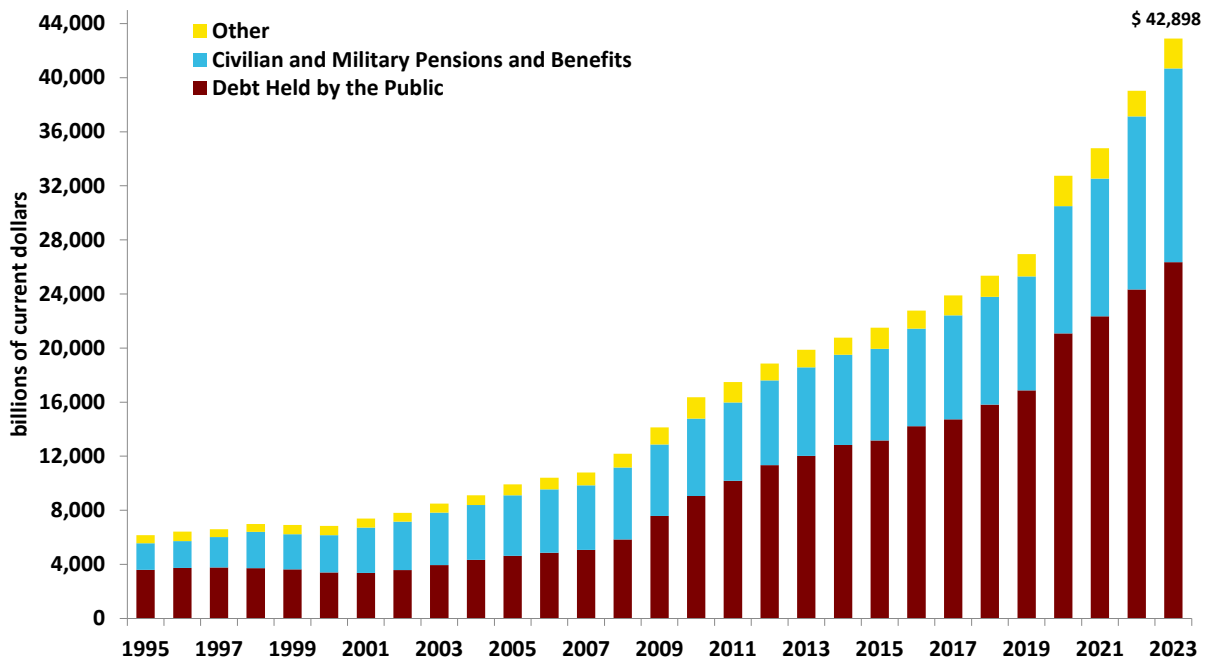
Each year, the FRUSG identifies the government's assets and liabilities on the federal government's balance sheet. As of September 30, 2023, the federal government's assets totaled about \$5.4 trillion and were comprised of financial assets (loans receivable, inventories, and cash) and nonfinancial property assets. Additionally, the government owns stewardship assets that are not reported on its balance sheet and has the authority to tax and set monetary policy.

In 2023, the data indicates the total federal liabilities were \$42.9 trillion. The breakdown is as follows:

- Debt Held by the Public: Rose to approximately \$26.4 trillion, constituting about 62% of the total liabilities.
- Civilian and Military Pensions and Benefits: Increased to nearly \$14.3 trillion, accounting for around 33% of the total liabilities.
- Other Liabilities: Grew to over \$2.22 trillion, a comparatively smaller but significant portion of the federal liabilities.
- For 2023, total Federal Liabilities equaled \$42.90 trillion.⁴

⁴The other liabilities (Note 18) include environmental and disposal liabilities, benefits due and payable, insurance and loan guarantees, and additional other liabilities. See *Financial Report of the United States. Government, Fiscal Year 2023*, Department of the Treasury, 2023, page 63.

Figure 1. Liabilities of the U.S. Government from the Financial Reports of the United States Government



Sources: Financial Reports of the United States Government (1998-2023) and Consolidated Financial Statements of the United States Government (1995-1997).

Analyzing the federal liabilities of the U.S. government reveals a continuing trend of increased fiscal obligations. An examination of the most recent data for 2023 shows several significant shifts that illuminate the trajectory of federal financial commitments. The debt held by the public, which constitutes the most substantial portion of federal liabilities, has risen from approximately \$24.3 trillion in 2022 to \$26.3 trillion in 2023, constituting about 61.4% of the total liabilities for 2023. This marks a growth of approximately 7.8% year-over-year, reflecting continued upward pressure on this component of the federal liabilities.

Civilian and military pensions and benefits also experienced a significant increase, reaching nearly \$14.33 trillion in 2023, accounting for about 33.4% of total liabilities. This category has seen a considerable increase of approximately 11.8% from \$12.81 trillion in 2022.

Other federal liabilities, encompassing various smaller-scale obligations, escalated to about \$2.2 trillion in 2023. This component, though comparatively smaller, has undergone a growth of approximately 18.1% from 1.9 trillion in 2022.

When combined, the total federal liabilities for 2023 amount to an imposing \$42.9 trillion, up from \$39.0 trillion in 2022, representing an increase of approximately 10.2%. This incremental growth points to a persistent rise in the overall federal debt burden.

In summary, between 2022 and 2023, there was an increase in each category of federal liabilities, with the most significant absolute increase observed in the public debt category. The total federal liabilities rose by over 3.9 trillion, representing a 10.2% increase from the previous year. This data

points towards a continued upward trend in federal obligations, indicating a growth in the financial commitments of the U.S. government.

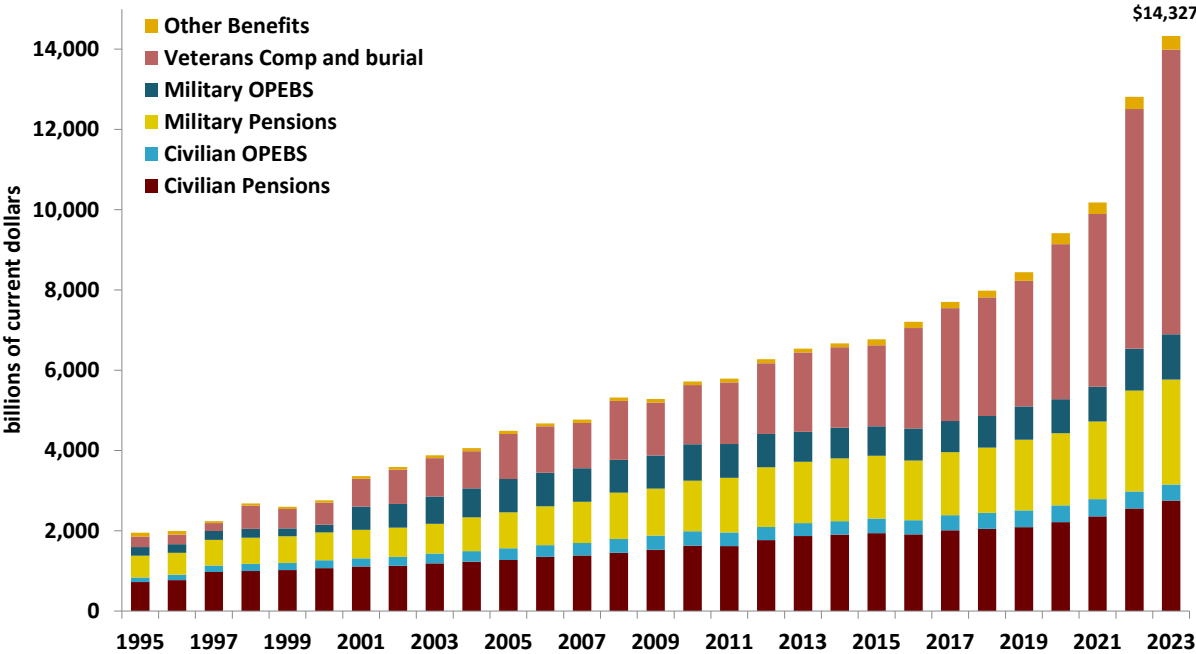
ACCRUED CIVILIAN AND MILITARY PENSION AND BENEFIT LIABILITIES

In addition to publicly held debt, the federal government also has significant liabilities in the form of accrued retirement benefits for military and civilian employees. These benefits include pensions, other post-employment benefits (OPEBs)—primarily healthcare benefits, and veterans' compensation. Figure 2 traces the growth of these accrued benefits from 1995 to 2023.

As of September 2023, these accrued benefits totaled approximately \$14.3 trillion, distributed as follows:

- Civilian pensions amounted to \$2.8 trillion (19.2% of the total),
- Military pensions were \$2.6 trillion (18.3% of the total),
- Veterans’ compensation and burial benefits totaled \$7.1 trillion (49.5% of the total),
- Civilian and military OPEBs and other benefits stood at \$1.9 trillion (13.0% of the total).

Figure 2. Accrued Civilian and Military Pension and Benefit Liabilities



Sources: Financial Reports of the United States Government (1998-2023) and Consolidated Financial Statements of the United States Government (1995-1997).

The veterans’ compensation category includes disability and survivors’ benefits. Since 1995, this category (veterans’ compensation and burial) has grown from 14% of the total accrued benefits to its present share of 49.5%. Between 2022 and 2023, the liabilities in this category grew moderately by 19.0%, reflecting changes related to the cost-of-living adjustments, a lower discount rate, and updates in assumptions including participation, mortality rates, and benefit

levels.⁵ Altogether, the total accrued benefits have expanded from representing 26% of contemporaneous annual GDP in 1995 to 52.4% of GDP in 2023.

Federal employees' accrued benefits are partially backed by intergovernmental securities, similar to those held in the Social Security and Medicare Trust Funds. The annual financial report of the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) continues to clarify that the assets held by the federal employee pension plan, while assets for the pension plans, also constitute liabilities of the Treasury, illustrating the complex financial structure of federal obligations.⁶

The continuous growth in these liabilities highlights the critical need for effective fiscal management and sustainable funding strategies to handle the increasing burden on federal finances, ensuring that the government can meet its obligations to both current and future retirees. This comprehensive tracking and the report are vital for providing clear and actionable information to policymakers, stakeholders, and the public about the real scope of the government's financial responsibilities.

⁵For a discussion of assumption changes affecting the 2023 estimate of veterans' compensation and burial benefits see *Financial Report of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2023*, Department of the Treasury, February 16, Note 13, pp. 110-111.

⁶Note 5 from the *OPM Fiscal Year 2023 Agency Financial Report*, p. 69 reads: "The cash receipts collected from the public for the OASI and DI Trust Funds are invested in interest-bearing securities backed by the full faith and credit of the Federal Government, generally U.S. par-value Treasury special securities. The Secretary of the Treasury directly issues Treasury special securities to the OASI and DI Trust Funds. The securities are non-negotiable and non-transferable in the secondary market. Par-value Treasury special securities are issued with a stated rate of interest applied to its par amount and are purchased and redeemed at par plus accrued interest at or before maturity. Therefore, there are no premiums or discounts associated with the redemption of these securities."

Why are the Treasury Securities Held by the Federal Reserve Included in the Debt Held by the Public?

As of September 30, 2023, the Federal Reserve held almost \$5.2 trillion in Treasury Securities that are included in the category “debt held by the public.” However, in preparing the FRUSG, these holdings do not reduce the debt held by the public because the Federal Reserve is independent of the Federal government. So, in consolidating the financial statements across all federal entities the Federal Reserves’ holdings are treated separately as noted in the following excerpt from the 2016 FRUSG.

“SFFAC [Statement of Federal Financial Accounting Concepts] 2 specifically excludes the Federal Reserve System – the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Reserve Banks. . . . However, in the United States, the organization and functions pertaining to monetary policy are traditionally separated from and independent of the other central government organizations and function to achieve more effective monetary and fiscal policies and economic results. Therefore, the Federal Reserve System is not considered part of the government wide reporting entity.”ⁱ

Even though the Federal Reserve is treated as independent in the federal government’s accounting, it is not fiscally independent. Net proceeds from Federal Reserve System operations accrue to the U.S. Treasury. Thus, it is instructive to consider how its assets and liabilities affect the official federal liabilities measure. In addition to its \$5.2 trillion in Treasury Securities, the Federal Reserve held \$2.5 trillion in federal agency and government-sponsored enterprise mortgage-backed securities on September 30, 2023. These are the two main components of the Federal Reserve’s total assets of \$8.1 trillion. Because interest received by the Federal Reserve on these assets is transferred to the Treasury, their total value is an offset to the total liabilities of the federal government – an amount up to the \$8.1 trillion in assets. At the same time, on the liability side of the balance sheet, the Federal Reserve had a significant level of bank reserves and reverse repurchase agreements. The Federal Reserve pays interest on the reserves, and the interest from the reverse repurchase agreements goes to the entity holding the agreement. The Federal Reserve’s liabilities, apart from currency, totaled \$5.8 trillion in September 2023. Thus, net Federal Reserve assets are \$2.3 trillion. Excluding these net assets would reduce the official federal liabilities of \$42.8 trillion by this \$2.3 trillion, or by 5.4%.

ⁱ *Financial Report of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2016*, Department of the Treasury, 2016, p. 230.

ⁱⁱ *Federal Reserve Banks Combined Quarterly Financial Report*, September 30, 2023.

UNFUNDED OBLIGATIONS AND CURRENT RETIREES' EXPECTED SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE BENEFITS

The relation between the accrued benefits of current retirees and workers, and the future-oriented unfunded obligation measures for Medicare and Social Security, is laid out in *A Primer on Measures of Government Financing Shortfalls and Liabilities*.⁷ The Medicare and Social Security Trustees Reports provide annual estimates of the programs' respective unfunded obligations and some of those components are incorporated into Table 1. It also illustrates how the benefits payable to current retirees are related to the comprehensive accounting of a program's future scheduled benefits and dedicated tax revenues under current law.⁸

The first row of the table indicates the benefits payable to current retirees net of their tax and premium payments in support of the programs. Net accrued Social Security benefits payable to participants who have attained the eligibility age of 62 totaled \$21.3 trillion.⁹ Net Medicare benefits payable to participants who have attained the eligibility age of 65 totaled \$15.2 trillion. Together, the net Social Security and Medicare benefits payable to current retirees were \$36.5 trillion.

The next row presents the net benefits for current workers who have not reached the programs' respective eligibility ages, totaling \$68.9 trillion. This amount is comprised of nearly \$30 trillion in net Social Security benefits and \$39 trillion in net Medicare benefits. The combination of the first two rows produces the 100-year closed-group unfunded obligation. These amounts indicate by how much current participants' (workers and retirees) expected future benefits exceed their future dedicated tax and premium payments beginning in 2023 (at current rates).

Note that these shortfalls do not include general revenue transfers for Medicare Parts B and D, even though these transfers are considered dedicated revenues in the Medicare Trustees Report.

The net benefits and shortfalls as presented here for Medicare are thus from the total budget perspective, and these shortfalls can be thought of as the revenues required by the programs that are in addition to dedicate payroll taxes, premiums, and state transfers.

The net benefits for future workers, shown in the fourth row, indicate that these workers will pay \$17.5 trillion less in payroll taxes than they will receive in benefits at the current tax rate for Social

⁷For a discussion of the relationship between forward-looking measures of program specific, and government-wide, funding shortfalls and retrospective liabilities and accrued benefits see *A Primer on Measures of Government Financing Shortfalls and Liabilities*, PERC Study, August 2016.

⁸ The accrued benefit liability for all current Social Security participants is available in an annual Actuarial Note published by the Social Security Administration's Office of the Actuary. In 2023, the accrued benefits of all current participants totaled \$49.8 trillion. The OASI and DI Trust Funds collectively hold \$2.8 trillion in Treasury securities. When combining the total accrued benefits and the trust fund bonds, the total amount is \$52.6 trillion. The accrued benefits for current retirees (those over the eligibility age) are approximately \$21.32 trillion. Thus, the benefits of current retirees account for almost 40.6% of the total accruals. See Kyle Burkhalter and Daniel Nickerson, "Unfunded Obligation and Transition Cost for the OASDI Program," Actuarial Note, Number 2023.1, Social Security Administration, Office of the Chief Actuary, March 2023.

⁹ Row one in Table 1 presents the *net* Social Security and Medicare benefits payable to current retirees. Thus, premium payments for Part B and D are netted out of the Medicare benefits as are remaining dedicated Social Security and HI payroll taxes and income taxes on Social Security benefits. Federal income taxes in support of Medicare Parts B and D are not subtracted from the expected benefits. However, the *FY 2023 Agency Financial Report, Department of Health and Human Services* does identify the income taxes payable from retirees as offsetting revenue.

Security, and \$52.4 trillion less for Medicare. This demonstrates that the current tax rates for Social Security and Medicare are insufficient to fund future expenditures for these participants.

The fifth row indicates the magnitude of the net shortfall over the infinite horizon at current tax rates. The total additional funding requirement to pay scheduled benefits indefinitely for Social Security and Medicare is \$175.3 trillion. This represents the amounts by which these programs are underfunded relative to their dedicated revenue sources of payroll taxes, taxes on Social Security benefits, Medicare premium payments, and state transfers.¹⁰

Analysis of 2023 Social Security and Medicare Funding Shortfalls in Trillions of Dollars			
	Social Security	Medicare	Total
Net benefits accrued by current retirees	\$21.32	\$15.22	\$36.54
Net benefits of current workers	\$29.98	\$38.88	\$68.86
100 year closed group	\$51.30	\$54.10	\$105.40
Net benefits of future workers	\$17.50	\$52.40	\$69.90
Total infinite horizon additional funding requirements	\$68.80	\$106.50	\$175.30
Trust Fund	\$2.83	\$0.41	\$3.24
Total infinite horizon additional funding requirements less Trust Funds	\$65.97	\$106.09	\$172.06

For the present analysis, it is important to point out that about \$36.54 trillion, or 20.8% of the \$175.30 trillion shortfall not funded from dedicated revenues (i.e., the total infinite horizon additional funding requirements) is payable to current retirees. We argue that these expected benefits should be treated as liabilities in the same way that the federal employees’ pensions and OPEBs are treated as liabilities, because these benefits are very likely to be paid. Once retirees begin receiving benefits, they are annuitants in an operational sense, making these payments essentially liabilities of the federal government.

In contrast, the projected benefits of young current workers and future workers can be substantially affected by reforms, particularly those benefits related to continued participation (those that are not already accrued) for younger current workers and future participants. The accrued Social Security and Medicare benefits payable to older workers – those 55 and over – could arguably be considered liabilities as well, given that most leading reform proposals hold this age group harmless. This is the reason why including only the accrued benefits of current retirees is a conservative estimate of the total Social Security and Medicare accrued liabilities.

HOW ARE RETIREES’ SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE BENEFITS AFFECTED BY REFORMS?

Though the benefits payable to retirees are consistent with the definition of a liability, one of the rationales for not including Social Security and Medicare on the federal balance sheet is that the government can unilaterally change the programs.

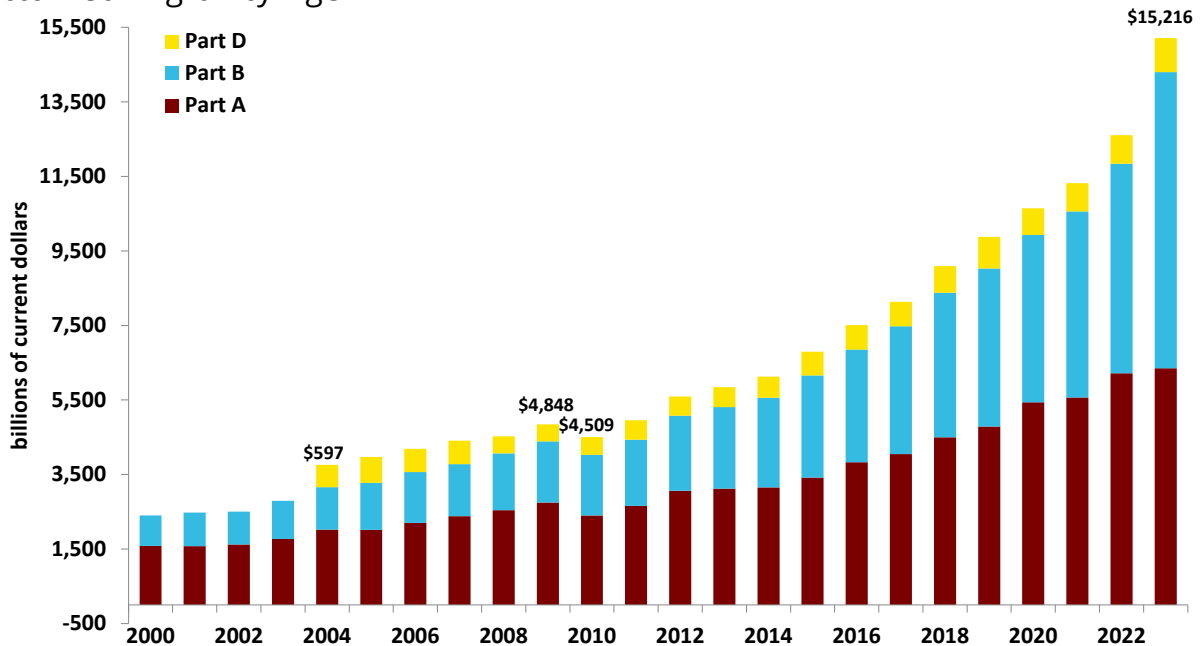
¹⁰The Supplementary Medical Insurance portions of Medicare (Parts B and D) are funded by premium payments from participants, state transfers, and from general revenues. From the vantage point of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services these parts of the program do not have unfunded obligations because the general revenues are assumed to cover the difference between premium revenues and expenditures.

This section illustrates that the passage of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) significantly reduced estimates of Medicare’s long-run unfunded obligation measures between the 2009 and 2010 forecasts but had more muted effects on benefits payable to retirees. And while the ACA’s expense constraining provisions have produced significantly lower spending forecasts, being able to achieve the lower spending is uncertain. The Medicare Modernization Act (MMA) on the other hand, with its addition of prescription drug coverage, increased Medicare benefits payable to retirees between the 2003 and 2004 forecasts. It is true that the government can unilaterally change the programs, and that these changes can have significant effects on the long run forecasts, but here we illustrate how the effects of such changes are distributed differently across generations.

Medicare

Two recent Medicare reforms illustrate the effect of policy changes on Medicare benefits payable to retirees. Figure 3 presents net Medicare benefits payable to participants who are 65 and older for the years 2000-2023. The year 2000 is used as the base year because that is when the Statements of Social Insurance was introduced in the FRUSG. Consider the first policy change during this period: the passage of the MMA in 2003. The Act added prescription drug benefits, or Part D, to the insurance package. As seen in the figures between the 2003 and 2004 forecasts, retirees were endowed with new benefits, net of premiums, equal to \$0.6 trillion.

Figure 3. Accrued Net Medicare Benefits Payable to Participants Who Have Attained Eligibility Age



Source: The Statement of Social Insurance, Financial Reports of the United States Government (2000-2023). See page 13 for the discussion of the Government Accountability Office’s opinion of the estimates beyond 2009.

Figure 3 tracks the evolution of Medicare benefits from 2000 to 2023, segmented into Parts A (hospital insurance), B (medical insurance), and D (prescription drug benefits). Initially, in 2000, the total Medicare benefits amounted to \$2.4 trillion, with no contribution from Part D, which was

introduced in 2004 with initial contributions of \$0.6 trillion. Over the years, there has been a steady increase in all parts of Medicare:

- Part A saw a rise from \$1.6 trillion in 2000 to \$6.4 trillion in 2023, reflecting growing hospital-related expenditures.
- Part B escalated from \$0.8 trillion in 2000 to \$7.9 trillion in 2023, highlighting increased costs associated with medical services and supplies.
- Part D, introduced in 2004, grew from \$0.6 trillion to \$0.9 trillion by 2023, reflecting the growing cost and utilization of prescription drugs among Medicare beneficiaries.

The total Medicare benefits sharply increased from \$2.4 trillion in 2000 to \$15.2 trillion in 2023. This escalation represents a growing burden on the federal budget and illustrates the increasing demand for healthcare services among the aging population. By 2023, the composition of Medicare expenses shifted notably, with Part B accounting for the largest share, driven by the high cost of medical care. These increases show the dynamic nature of healthcare financing and underscore the impact of federal legislation on the financial projections of Medicare benefits. The evolving landscape of healthcare needs and the legislative framework continues to shape the profile of Medicare liabilities, with implications for federal budgeting and national healthcare policy.

This Congressional act to expand benefits resulted in new Medicare wealth of about \$17,000 on average for the almost 35 million Medicare enrollees 65 years of age and above in that year. Reporting these new benefits as liabilities would have complemented the measures based on the long-run forecasts and would have identified the size of the new liability. The passage of the MMA resulted in additional liabilities of the federal government payable to current retirees, and though the estimates of their size have varied, the variability in the estimates is less affected by changing assumptions than are the long-run estimates.

The other major policy change reflected in the figure is the effect of the ACA's passage in March 2010. Scoring its provisions resulted in a dramatic reduction in the 75-year and the perpetuity unfunded obligations, but as seen by comparing the current retirees' benefits for the years 2009 and 2010 from the figure, it had a modest effect on these liabilities. Between the two years (2009 and 2010), the current retirees' expected benefits declined by \$0.3 trillion, from \$4.8 trillion to \$4.5 trillion, or by only 7%.

This relatively modest reduction in benefits payable to current retirees stands in stark contrast to the substantial decline in the long-run unfunded obligation measures between the 2009 and 2010 Trustees Reports. The decline in the unfunded obligation estimates resulted from provisions in the ACA intended to limit per capita spending growth. The main provision is the productivity adjustment that primarily affects Medicare's Part A spending projections and some of Part B spending. The provision requires that payment updates to most providers are adjusted downwards by the increase in total factor productivity. This adjustment has significantly slowed the growth of Medicare spending projections since its implementation. Consequently, while the benefits for current retirees saw only a modest reduction, the long-term unfunded obligations of Medicare dropped substantially between the 2009 and 2010 Trustees Reports.

As a consequence of this provision, the estimated 75-year unfunded obligation for Part A dropped from \$13.4 to \$2.4 trillion between the 2009 and 2010 Medicare Trustees Report and the infinite horizon unfunded obligation for Part A of \$36.4 trillion in 2009 actually became a surplus of \$0.6 trillion in the 2010 Report! Retirees' accrued Part A benefits in 2010 were 13% smaller than the 2009 estimate. The point here is that the accrued Part A benefits of current retirees, while affected by the ACA's provisions, were much less sensitive than were the unfunded obligation measures. Furthermore, the realization of these cost controlling provisions is uncertain.

A final recent reform was the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), Public Law 117-169, passed in August 2022. This law contains many provisions impacting Medicare and the federal budget, including provisions that impact prescription drug prices, coverage, and utilization under Medicare. One provision caps out-of-pocket costs for beneficiaries, leading to projected higher costs from higher utilization. Other provisions that phase in over time are projected to constrain drug price growth and thereby reduce costs. The net impact is not large, but one projection is that the IRA and other legislation in 2022 would reduce the Medicare long run liability by \$1.1 trillion.

The impact of all of these reforms has been included in the liability estimates presented here.

Debts, Liabilities, Obligations, Gaps and Imbalances

Focusing on liabilities associated with past actions differs from the forward-looking measures of the federal government's future obligations associated with both past and future actions. The forward-looking measures include the Social Security and Medicare programs' unfunded obligations and broader government-wide measures like the fiscal gap and the fiscal imbalance. These forward-looking measures provide for a complete understanding of the resources necessary to cover the government's future commitments assuming the continuation of current policies. The narrower focus here takes a retrospective view in defining a federal liability. The connection between the forward-looking measures and the retrospective view taken in the present report is discussed in *A Primer on Measures of Government Financing Shortfalls and Liabilities*.ⁱ

The forward-looking measures of an elderly entitlement program's unfunded obligation begins with the difference between the present values of future expenditures less future revenues for a particular time horizon – 75 years or the infinite horizon. The current value for the Trust Fund partially offsets this amount, producing the unfunded obligation. The calculation of the unfunded obligation is subject to the assumptions made about future economic conditions, demographic changes, and in the case of Medicare the all-important rate of per capita health care spending growth and its relationship to per capita income growth.

Two additional forward-looking measures that take into account the entire federal government are the fiscal gap and the fiscal imbalance. The 75-year fiscal gap is reported in the FRUSG. The fiscal gap is often defined as the degree by which the primary surplus (the surplus not including interest payments) must increase relative to current-law tax and spending policies, expressed as a percentage of GDP, so that the ratio of the debt to GDP at the end of the projection period is the same as the current ratio. With this definition, the debt held by the public is not repaid. The 75-year fiscal gap is a measure of how much primary deficits must be reduced over the next 75 years in order to make fiscal policy sustainable. That estimated fiscal gap for 2023 is 4.5 percent of GDP (compared to 4.9 percent for 2022). This estimate implies that making fiscal policy sustainable over the next 75 years would require some combination of spending reductions and receipt increases that equals 4.5 percent of GDP on average over the next 75 years. The fiscal gap represents 23.8 percent of 75-year PV receipts and 19.8 percent of 75-year PV non-interest spending.

The fiscal imbalance measure as discussed in Gokhale and Smetters (2003) does include the repayment of the debt and is calculated over the infinite horizon.ⁱⁱ Like the unfunded obligation measures for Medicare and Social Security, the fiscal gap and the fiscal imbalance are sensitive to long-run economic and demographic assumptions and to interpretations and applications of current law tax and spending policies. In contrast, the accrued benefits of current retirees are much less sensitive to the long-run assumptions.

As an example of how sensitive the fiscal gap is to legislative change, consider the effects of the passage of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) on the on the fiscal gap. The Office of Management and Budget's fiscal gap measures that were presented in the *Analytical Perspectives*, a document that accompanies the annual publication of the *Budget of the U.S. Government* indicate that the pre-ACA estimate of the 75-year fiscal gap was 8.0% of GDP in the Fiscal Year 2011 *Analytical Perspectives* (p. 52). Just one year later, the new estimate of the fiscal gap, that included the optimistic forecast of future Medicare spending, fell to only 1.8% of GDP in the Fiscal Year 2012 *Analytical Perspectives* (p. 56).

ⁱ *A Primer on Measures of Government Financing Shortfalls and Liabilities*, August 2016, <http://perc.tamu.edu/publication?id=42>.

ⁱⁱ Gokhale, Jagadeesh and Kent Smetters, *Fiscal and Generational Imbalances*, 2003, American Enterprise Institute Press.

The ACA's productivity adjustment had less of an effect on the present value of the general revenue contributions necessary to fund Medicare Part B in addition to premiums from retirees, but the reductions were substantial nonetheless; the present value of the general revenues required to fund Part B over the 75-year horizon dropped 25%, from \$17.2 trillion to \$12.9 trillion with the 2009 and 2010 Reports, and over the infinite horizon they fell 43% from \$37.0 trillion to \$21.1 trillion. However, retirees' accrued Part B benefits in 2010 were just 1% smaller than the 2009 estimate.

The passage of the ACA produced significant difficulties for Medicare and Social Security Trustees who are charged with forecasting future Medicare expenditures. From 2010 to the present, the Medicare Trustees have had to wrestle with how to present forecasts that consider the current law as well as expectations of future events that generally run counter to the spending constraints in the law. The current law forecasts in the 2010 to 2014 Reports incorporated the ACA's productivity adjustment, which primarily affects Part A, as well as the now-rescinded Sustainable Growth Rate (SGR) for physician payments. In each of those years, the actuaries at the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) produced alternative forecasts.

The alternative forecasts have indicated that the program's expenditures could significantly exceed the forecasts made under the assumption that the current law was realized. The history of legislative overrides of the SGR suggests the same fate for the productivity adjustment. This assessment is again made in the 2023 Report.¹¹

The Medicare Trustees Reports' forecasts from 2015 to 2023 incorporate the effects of the Medicare Access and CHIP Reauthorization Act (MACRA), passed in April 2015. MACRA repealed the Sustainable Growth Rate (SGR) and introduced new legislation specifying physician payment updates. However, the 2023 Trustees Report notes that by 2048, physician payments under MACRA will be lower than those projected under the SGR system.¹²

Beginning with the 2010 Trustees Report, the new provisions in the ACA, namely the productivity adjustment and the Independent Payment Advisory Board (IPAB), combined with the SRG (2010-2014 Reports) and now MACRA (2015 to 2023 Reports) have resulted in current law Medicare spending forecasts substantially below the pre-ACA forecast and the annual alternative forecasts. As stated in the discussion of the alternative projections from the 2023 Report:

"The ability of new delivery and payment methods to lower cost growth rates is uncertain at this time. Preliminary indications are that some of these delivery reforms have had modest levels of success in lowering costs. It is too early to tell if these reductions in spending will continue or if they will grow to the magnitude needed to align with the statutory Medicare price updates. Given these uncertainties, it will be important for policy makers to monitor the adequacy of Medicare payment rates over time to ensure beneficiary access to high-quality care."¹³

Since the passage of the ACA, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) has been prevented from expressing an opinion on the Statements of Social Insurance (SOSI) in the FRUSG. The

¹¹2023 Medicare Trustees Report, p. 203.

¹²2023 Medicare Trustees Report, p. 202.

¹³2023 Medicare Trustees Report, p. 203.

SOSI is derived from the Social Security Administration’s and the Department of Health and Human Services’ Agency Financial Reports and provides the estimates of accrued Medicare and Social Security benefits for retirees reported here. The reason the GAO has been prevented from expressing an opinion on the SOSI is the Medicare forecasts. The statement of the Comptroller General of the United States included in the 2023 FRUSG notes:

“Significant uncertainties (discussed in Note 25, Social Insurance, to the consolidated financial statements), primarily related to the achievement of projected reductions in Medicare cost growth, prevented us from expressing an opinion on the sustainability financial statements, which consist of the 2023 and 2022 Statements of Long-Term Fiscal Projections;⁷ the 2023, 2022, 2021, 2020, and 2019 Statements of Social Insurance;⁸ and the 2023 and 2022 Statements of Changes in Social Insurance Amounts. About \$53.1 trillion, or 68 percent, of the reported total present value of future expenditures in excess of future revenue presented in the 2023 Statement of Social Insurance relates to the Medicare program reported in the Department of Health and Human Services’ (HHS) 2023 Statement of Social Insurance, which received a disclaimer of opinion. A material weakness in internal control also prevented us from expressing an opinion on the 2023 and 2022 Statements of Long-Term Fiscal Projections.”¹⁴ (See footnote 14 for the embedded footnotes.)

The auditor’s report accompanying the 2022 HHS Agency Financial Report “disclaimed” the post-ACA Medicare statements of social insurance. The auditor noted many of the same concerns voiced by the trustees in each of the post-ACA Trustees Reports.

“Absent a change in the health care delivery system or level of update by subsequent legislation, access to Medicare participating providers may become a significant issue in the long term under current law. Overriding the price updates in current law, as lawmakers repeatedly did in the case of physician payment rates, would lead to substantially higher costs for Medicare in the long range than those projected in this report. As a result of these matters, we were unable to obtain sufficient audit evidence for the amounts presented in the statement of social insurance as of January 1, 2023, 2022, 2021, 2020 and 2019, and the related statement of changes in social insurance amounts for the periods ended January 1, 2023, and 2022 projected in this report. As a result of these matters, we were unable to obtain sufficient audit evidence for the amounts presented in the statement of social insurance as of January 1, 2023, 2022, 2021, 2020 and 2019, and the related statement of changes in social insurance amounts for the periods ended January 1, 2023 and 2022. projected in this report. As a result of these matters, we were unable to obtain sufficient audit evidence for the amounts presented in the statement

¹⁴*Financial Report of the United States. Government, Fiscal Year 2022*, p. 41. Footnote (a) The 2023 and 2022 Statements of Long-Term Fiscal Projections present, for all the activities of the federal government, the present value of projected receipts and noninterest spending under current policy without change, the relationship of these amounts to projected gross domestic product (GDP), and changes in the present value of projected receipts and noninterest spending from the prior year. These statements also present the fiscal gap, which is the combination of receipt increases and noninterest spending reductions necessary to hold debt held by the public as a share of GDP at the end of the 75-year projection period to its value at the beginning of the period. The valuation date for the Statements of Long-Term Fiscal Projections is September 30.

(b) The Statements of Social Insurance present the present value of revenue and expenditures for social benefit programs, primarily Social Security and Medicare. These statements are presented for the current year and each of the 4 preceding years as required by U.S. generally accepted accounting principles. For the Statements of Social Insurance, the valuation date is January 1 for the Social Security and Medicare programs, October 1 for the Railroad Retirement program, and September 30 for the Black Lung program.

of social insurance as of January 1, 2023, 2022, 2021, 2020 and 2019, and the related statement of changes in social insurance amounts for the periods ended January 1, 2023 and 2022."¹⁵

Whether or not the ACA's and the MACRA's provisions are realized in the long run, the forecast net spending on behalf of current retirees, as we have seen, was reduced between the 2009 and 2010 Financial Statements. In regard to Medicare, reporting the liabilities payable to retirees in each year gives policy makers and the public a better idea of how legislative changes added to the liabilities, with the passage of the MMA, or reduced the liabilities, in the case of the ACA. The SOSI has received a disclaimer of opinion since 2010, and thus, the expected Medicare benefits payable to current retirees (based on the current law forecasts) are conservative in comparison to the other liabilities and compared to the higher amount had the alternative forecast been used each year.

Social Security

Since 1996, the Social Security Administration's Office of the Chief Actuary has produced estimates of the accrued benefits for participants who are 22 and above in a given year.¹⁶ These accrued benefits are referred to as the Maximum Transition Cost. The accrued Social Security benefits are comparable to the accrued benefits in a private pension plan in that they are based on past earnings and participation.¹⁷

Figure 4 presents the total accrued benefits for the years 2000-2023, for which both total accrued benefits and the accrued benefits of participants who have reached the age of eligibility are available. As of 2023, the accrued Social Security benefits totaled \$52.6 trillion. Of that amount, \$21.3 trillion or approximately 40.5% were payable to participants 62 years of age and above, with the remaining \$31.3 trillion or approximately 59.5% accrued by the current participants 61 and younger. The share of total accrued benefits payable to the participants who have reached the age of eligibility has grown in recent years as the result of the aging of the Baby Boom generation. A comparable calculation of accrued Medicare benefits payable to all current participants is not published by the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services.¹⁸

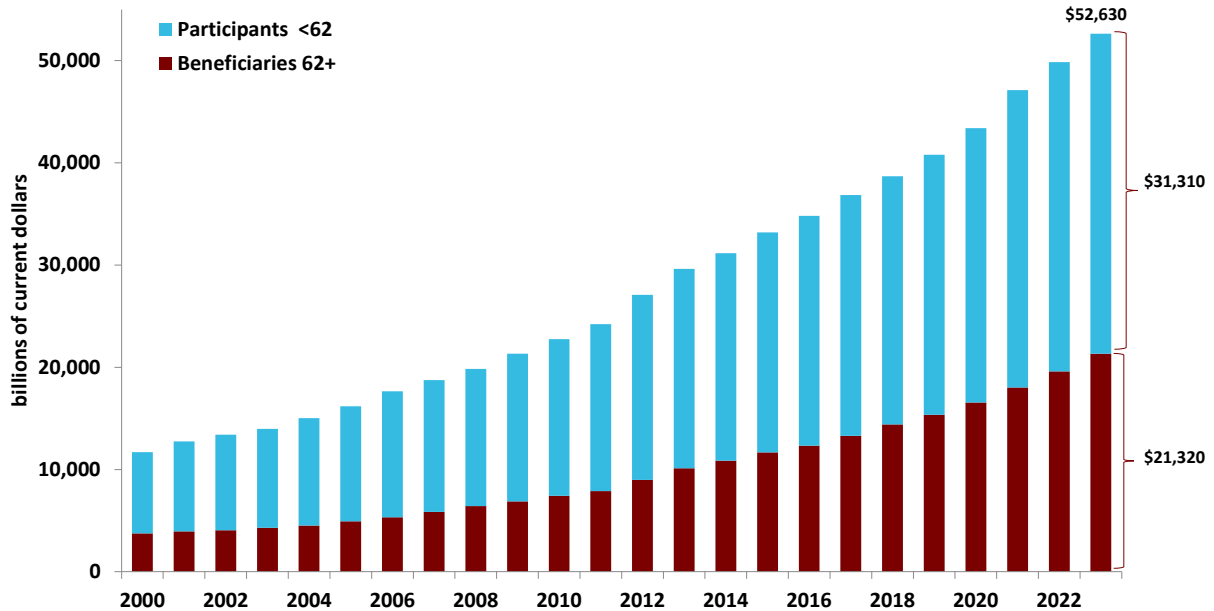
¹⁵Ernst and Young conducted the independent audit of the *FY 2020 Agency Financial Report, Department of Health and Human Services*. This excerpt is from the section of their report that gives the basis for the disclaimer of an opinion on the statements of social insurance. See *FY 2020 Agency Financial Report, Department of Health and Human Services* page 82 for the entire basis for disclaimer of opinion.

¹⁶Daniel Nickerson and Kyle Burkhalter, 2022, "Unfunded Obligation and Transition Costs for the OASDI Program," Social Security Administration, Office of the Chief Actuary, Actuarial Note, Number 2022.1, June 2022.

¹⁷See Nickerson and Burkhalter (2022), p. 3, for a full description of how accrued benefits are estimated for workers who are below the eligibility age of 62. Each year a benefit amount (specifically a disability benefit) is calculated for these workers based on past earnings. The benefits are indexed to age 62 and then adjusted in proportion to completed years of work divided by potential total years of work.

¹⁸Workers who have at least 10 years of work in Social Security covered employment are fully vested in Medicare. Conceptually, all these workers have accrued retirement Medicare benefits beginning at age 65. These benefits to current participants net of premiums and state transfers were approximately \$68 trillion in 2022. This amount includes all members of the closed group, which includes workers with less than 10 years of work. The methodology used to estimate accrued Social Security benefits could also be used to estimate accrued Medicare benefits for current workers. In 2023, the ratio of accrued Social Security benefits payable to current workers less than the eligibility age was 44% of the total expected benefits of this group in retirement if the program continues in its current form. Using the 2023 percentage based on Social Security benefits as a guide, the estimated total accrued Medicare benefits (net of premium payments) for participants 64 and younger would be \$24.9 trillion in 2023, and the total, including the \$15.2 trillion accrued by current retirees, comes to \$40.1 trillion. Therefore, adding the total accrued Social Security benefits of

Figure 4. Composition of Accrued Social Security Benefits by Age Group



Sources: Financial Reports of the United States Government (2000-2023) and Social Security Administration, Actuarial Note, Number 2023.1.

Most Social Security reforms that have been discussed in recent years leave current retirees largely unaffected. For example, increasing the retirement age, increasing payroll taxes, raising the taxable maximum, and instituting a more progressive benefit formula for incoming groups of retirees have no effect on the accrued Social Security benefits of current retirees that are presented in Figure 4.

Cost-of-living adjustment reforms would affect current retiree benefits, among those reforms currently receiving attention. However, the effect on the accrued benefits of current retirees would be minor. For example, some recent proposals prefer replacing the current CPI-W (Consumer Price Index for wage and salary workers) with the chained version of the CPI as the index used to make cost-of-living adjustments to Social Security benefits.¹⁹

Over the next 30 years, the present value of benefit payouts is reduced by less than 3% if cost-of-living adjustments are based on the chained CPI rather than the CPI-W. Thus, the expected benefits payable to current retirees would be modestly reduced if this reform were implemented. Other recent reform proposals would replace the CPI-W with the CPI-E (CPI for the elderly). This would increase Social Security benefits for current retirees and would slightly increase their accrued benefits.

current workers and retirees of \$65.9 trillion to this approximation of accrued Medicare benefits for workers and retirees produces \$106.0 trillion in accrued benefits.

¹⁹See the Social Security Administration’s Office of the Actuary web page for the scoring of variants of all of the provisions that are components of current reform proposals. The estimates in the text are based on provision A3: <http://www.ssa.gov/OACT/solvency/provisions/cola.html>.

Considering Accrued Social Security and Medicare Benefits as Liabilities of the Federal Government

The inclusion of accrued federal civilian and military personnel retirement benefits in the liabilities of the federal government raises the question: If these retirement pensions and liabilities are included as liabilities, why are accrued Social Security and Medicare benefits excluded from the liabilities?

The answer is not simple. For several years, the question of why Social Security and Medicare benefits were not included as liabilities on the federal government's balance sheet was addressed in the "Stewardship" chapter of *Analytical Perspectives*.ⁱ

The short answer to the question, given in the 2010 *Analytical Perspectives*, is that while Social Security and Medicare are "obligations" of the federal government, they are not liabilities "in a legal or accounting sense."

Analytical Perspectives goes on to note that "the Government has unilaterally decreased as well as increased these benefits in the past, and future reforms could alter them again," and "There is no **bright line** dividing Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security from other programs that promise benefits to people, and all the Government programs that do so should be accounted for similarly." "Finally, under Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP) Social Security is not considered to be a liability, so not accounting for it as such in this chapter is consistent with accounting standards."ⁱⁱ

These responses to the question of including Medicare and Social Security as federal liabilities do not make the distinction between liabilities arising from past actions and future obligations that presuppose the continuation of current policy. *The bright line* we propose to draw is between the Social Security and Medicare benefits that are already accrued based on past actions versus those that arise from continued participation. And the line drawn here is even more restrictive in that it limits the liabilities to the accrued benefits already being paid to current retirees rather than also including the accrued benefits expected by current participants who are below the eligibility age. Accrued benefits of current workers are based on prior actions, but may be affected by future reforms, and in the case of Medicare are more difficult to define than are the accrued Social Security benefits of current workers.

Accounting for Social Security and Medicare presents an ongoing public policy puzzle. The benefits expected by retirees are not considered liabilities of the federal government or the assets (wealth) of the retirees. However, retirees have made their retirement plans as if these benefits are wealth. Also, almost all reform proposals ensure that current retirees are held harmless. Recognizing the expected benefits of retirees as both liabilities of the federal government and as assets for retirees will inform policy discussions.

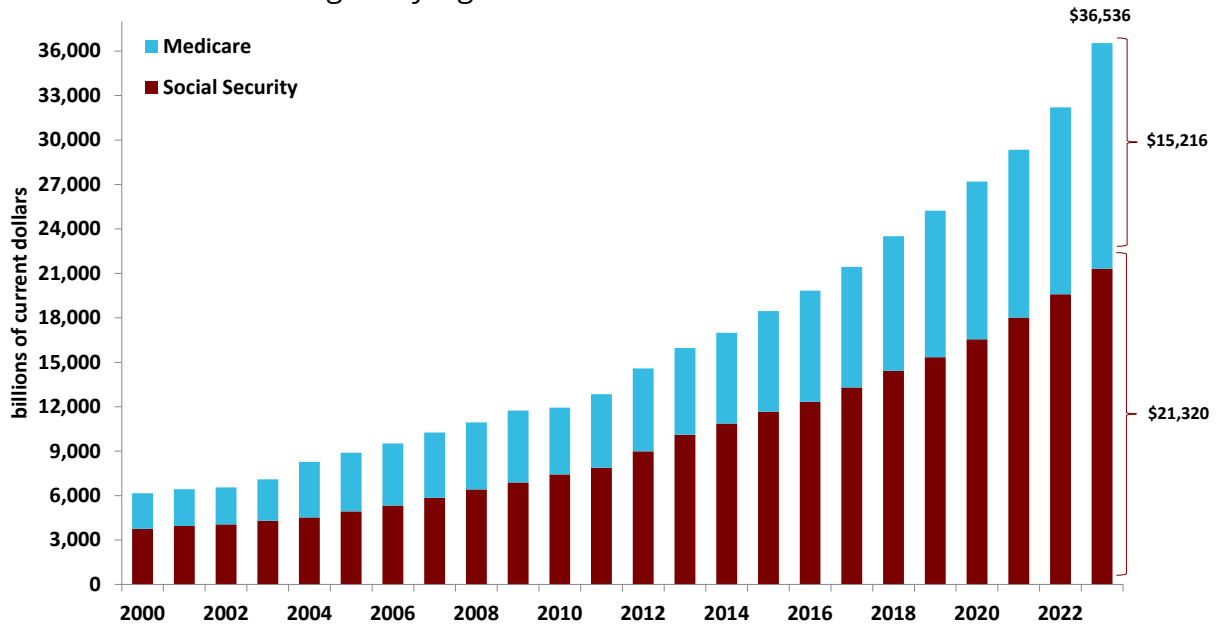
ⁱ See Fiscal Years 1998-2010, *Analytical Perspectives, Budget of the U.S. Government*. These versions of *Analytical Perspectives* include a "Stewardship" chapter in which the question of whether Social Security and Medicare should be included as government liabilities is addressed.

ⁱⁱ All quotes are from *Analytical Perspectives, Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year 2010*, p.186.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE

As previously noted, the accrued Social Security and Medicare benefits for all current participants are larger than the accrued benefits payable to retirees alone. This emphasizes that we are presenting conservative estimates of the programs' total potential "liabilities." Despite ongoing discussions about reforms to Medicare or Social Security, the effects on current retirees' benefits are expected to be marginal.

Figure 5. Accrued Social Security and Medicare Benefits Payable to Participants Who Have Attained Eligibility Age



Source: The Statement of Social Insurance, Financial Reports of the United States Government (2000-2023). See pages (13-14) for the discussion of the Government Accountability Office’s opinion of the Medicare estimates beyond 2009.

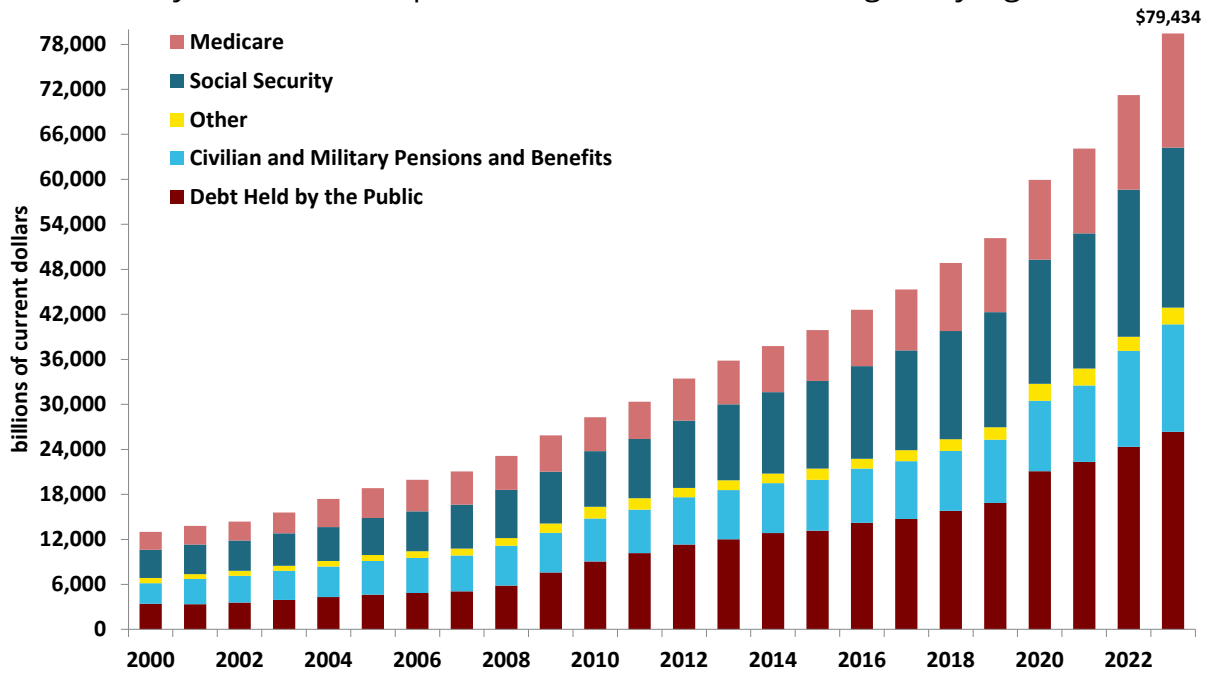
Figure 5 presents the accrued Medicare and Social Security benefits payable to current retirees. As of 2023, these benefits have continued their upward trajectory, totaling \$36.5 trillion. This includes \$21.3 trillion from Social Security and \$15.2 trillion from Medicare, reflecting substantial growth in these entitlement programs. The total accrued benefits for Social Security and Medicare beneficiaries have also risen steadily as a percentage of GDP. In 2023, these benefits are equivalent to 133.6% of GDP, demonstrating a significant rise from 126.5% in 2022. This steady increase not only indicates a growing financial commitment by the U.S. government to its retirees but also underscores the potential fiscal challenges posed by these programs in the face of an aging population.

ADDING RETIREES’ EXPECTED SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE BENEFITS TO FEDERAL LIABILITIES

Figures 6 and 7 depict the composition and size of the “official” federal liabilities combined with retirees’ expected Social Security and Medicare benefits in nominal dollars and as a share of GDP.

Figure 6 details the combination of official liabilities alongside retirees' expected Social Security and Medicare benefits. In 2023, these figures reached \$79.4 trillion, showing a robust increase from \$71.2 trillion in 2022. The retirees' expected benefits for Social Security and Medicare, which totaled \$36.5 trillion, comprised approximately 46.0% of the total liabilities, up from 45.0% the previous year. This increase in proportion indicates a significant rise in the financial commitments to retirees, emphasizing the growing impact of these programs on the federal budget.

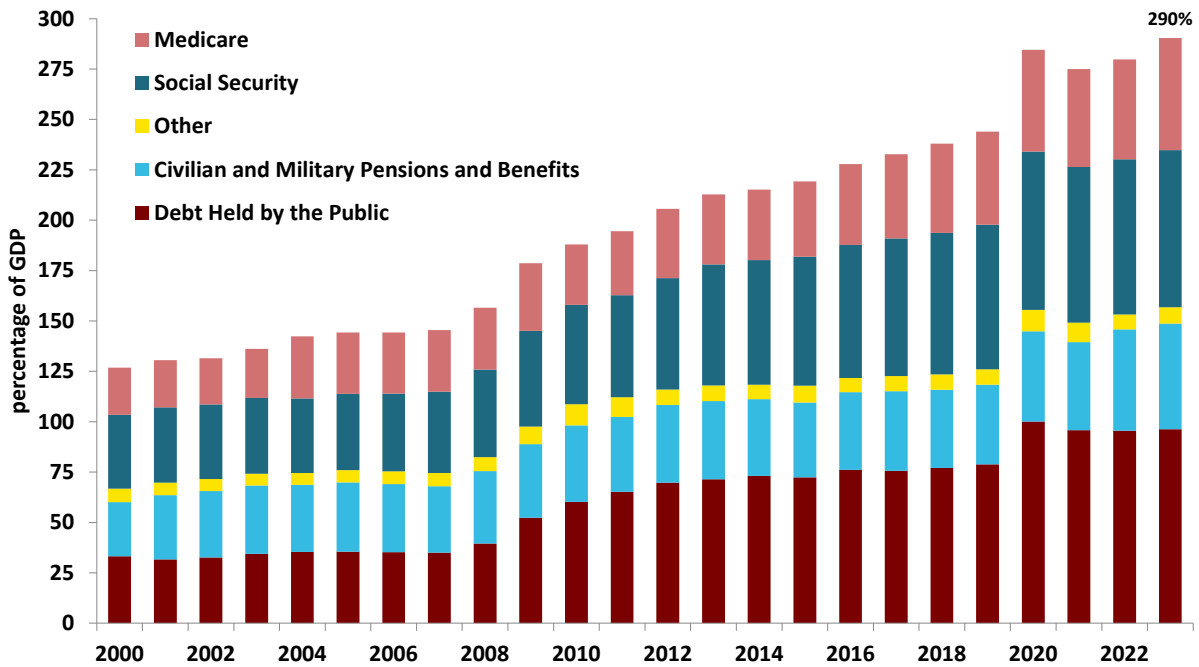
Figure 6. Federal Liabilities Including Accrued Social Security and Medicare Benefits Payable to Participants Who Have Attained Eligibility Age



Sources: Financial Reports of the United States Government (2000-2023). See pages 13-14 for discussion of the Government Accountability Office’s opinion of the Medicare estimates beyond 2009.

The \$36.5 trillion in retirees' expected benefits also constituted about 138.0% of the official liabilities recorded in the Financial Report of the U.S. Government (FRUSG) and were 54.0% higher than the debt held by the public in 2023. This comparison underscores the magnitude of these commitments compared to other federal financial obligations. Over the last decade, these liabilities have more than doubled, reflecting the accelerated growth due to an aging population and increased healthcare costs.

Figure 7. Federal Liabilities Including Accrued Social Security and Medicare Benefits Payable to Participants Who Have Attained Eligibility Age as a Percentage of GDP



Sources: Financial Reports of the United States Government (2000-2023). GDP from the Bureau of Economic Analysis.

Figure 7 illustrates the progression of the total federal liabilities relative to the GDP from 2000 to 2023. The share of these liabilities in GDP has seen significant fluctuations, particularly influenced by major economic events and policy changes. In 2000, the combined liabilities were notably high at 126.9% of GDP, driven by the inclusion of Social Security and Medicare figures. This trend of increasing liabilities continued, escalating sharply during the Great Recession, and reaching a peak of 284.6% in 2020 due to the economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic.

By 2023, the total liabilities had adjusted to 290.4% of GDP. This reflects a continued high burden of federal obligations, including \$96.3 trillion in public debt, \$52.4 trillion in civilian and military pensions and benefits, and significant amounts for Social Security (\$77.9 trillion) and Medicare (\$55.6 trillion). The increase in liabilities as a percentage of GDP highlights the growing fiscal challenges the U.S. government faces, particularly with the rising costs associated with healthcare and retirement benefits as the population ages.

This comprehensive view underscores the extensive nature of federal financial commitments, far beyond just the public debt. It emphasizes the importance of addressing the sustainability of Social Security and Medicare programs, which constitute a large portion of these liabilities and significantly impact fiscal policy considerations.

CONCLUSION

With the federal debt held by the public at approximately 96.3% of GDP in 2023, concerns about the trajectory of fiscal policy remain prominent. Public debt is a significant federal liability, but it is only part of a broader picture. The federal government has also committed to paying federal employees' accrued pensions and other post-employment benefits, primarily healthcare benefits. Including these federal employee retirement liabilities and other federal liabilities with the public debt results in a \$44.3 trillion liability on the federal government's balance sheet as of September 30, 2023.

Yet, these figures still represent only a portion of the federal government's total implicit liability. We advocate for including the Social Security and Medicare benefits expected to be paid to current retirees in the official federal liabilities to offer a more comprehensive and informative view of the government's indebtedness resulting from past actions. When these are accounted for, the total liability measure reaches approximately \$80 trillion, or about 295% of GDP.

Our proposed liability measure is retrospective, focusing on Social Security and Medicare commitments. The accrued benefits expected by current retirees provide a conservative estimate of commitments that fulfill the definition of a liability: obligations resulting from prior governmental actions necessitating future financial resources. These benefits are less susceptible to changes in forecasting assumptions than long-run unfunded obligation measures and exceed the public debt, comprising about 90% of the size of the official federal liabilities reported in the Financial Report of the U.S. Government (FRUSG).

Furthermore, these figures are crucial for policymakers and the public, reflecting the benefits upon which retirees depend and are politically motivated to protect against reductions. The accounting treatment of expected Social Security and Medicare benefits for retirees also raises significant public policy questions. Recent studies of wealth inequality often omit accrued Social Security and Medicare benefits as assets.²⁰ Excluding these benefits from wealth estimates has been justified given that workers and retirees do not have a legally enforceable property right to the receipt of their benefits. However, excluding them leaves the impression that middle- and lower-income workers' retirement resources are less than they actually are.²¹

If these accrued benefits are recognized as part of the federal government's liabilities, they should

²⁰Saez and Zucman (2016) for example, do not include accrued Social Security and Medicare benefits in their study of wealth inequality. See "Wealth Inequality in the United States since 1913: Evidence from Capitalized Income Tax Data," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May 2016, pp. 519-578.

²¹For a discussion of how Social Security's accrued benefits affect the wealth distribution, see Andrew J. Rettenmaier and Dennis Jansen, "Elderly Entitlements and Wealth Inequality," Private Enterprise Research Center Working Paper, No. 2202. The share of total net worth held by the top 10% of households in 2019 falls from 71%, when net worth does not include accrued Social Security wealth, to 57% when total wealth includes accrued Social Security benefits. We also find that the growth in the share of wealth held by the top 10% falls when accrued Social Security benefits are included. Based on the conventional measure of net worth the wealth share of the top 10% of families rises 7.7 percentage points between 1989 and 2019. However, when accrued Social Security benefits are included, the rise in the wealth share of the top 10% of families is more than halved, rising only 3.3 percentage points between 1989 and 2019.

likewise be considered in wealth calculations as assets for retirees. For instance, the amount payable to retirees represents 39% of the total accrued benefits for all participants, a figure slightly higher than in previous assessments.

Inclusion of these benefits not only adjusts perceptions of wealth distribution but also aligns with how federal employee pensions and other benefits are treated as federal liabilities. These conservative estimates underscore the significant federal obligations not fully captured in traditional fiscal reports.

The net Social Security and Medicare benefits payable to retirees, while documented in FRUSG's Statements of Social Insurance, deserve greater visibility. Recognizing them as liabilities, or at least "proximate liabilities," enhances the understanding of the programs' fiscal outlooks provided in annual reports. Furthermore, accounting for all accrued Social Security and Medicare benefits—for both current retirees and active workers—would equip the public and policymakers with a more nuanced set of metrics to assess potential program reforms.