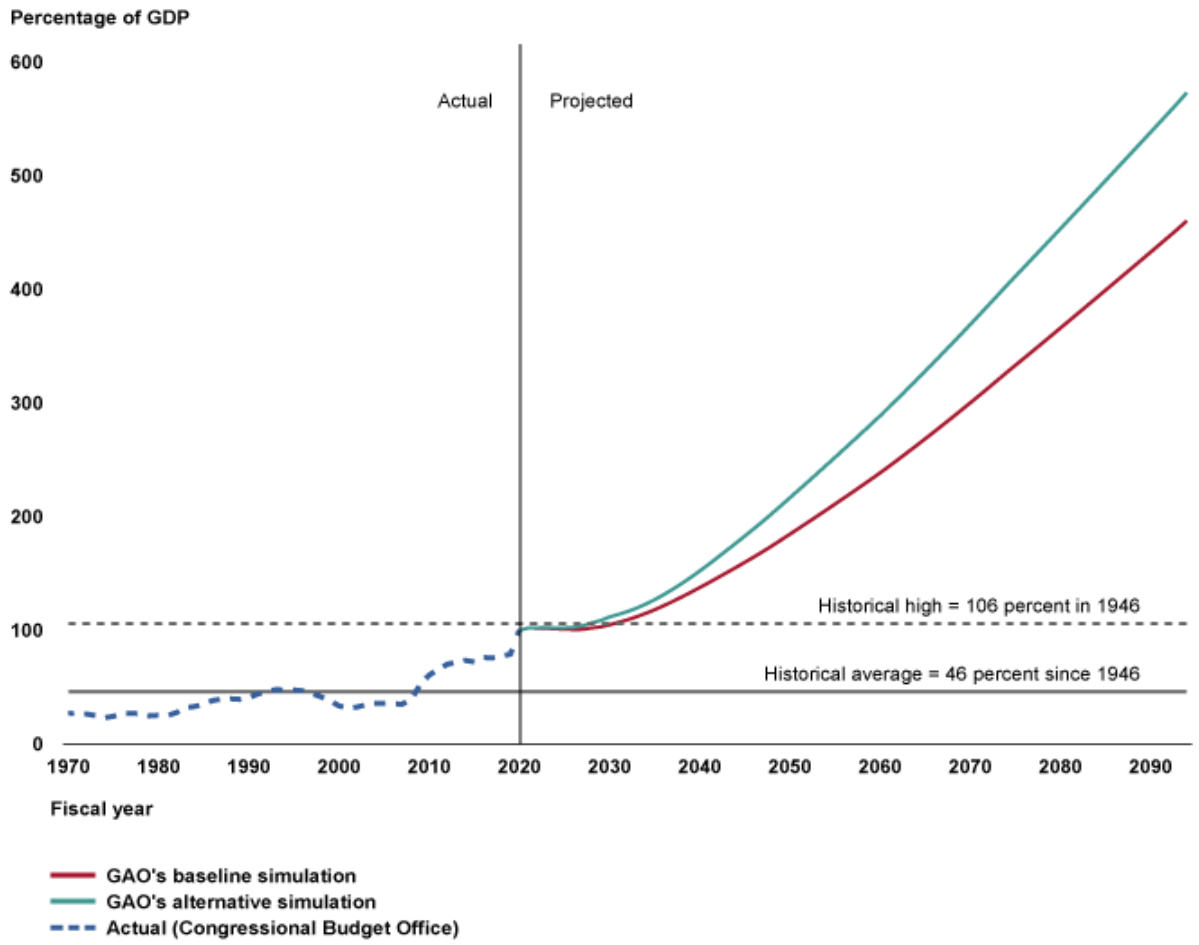
GAO@100

Debt Held by the Public under Two Policy Simulations



Source: GAO and GAO analysis of Congressional Budget Office data.

Notes: Data for the simulations are from GAO's 2021 simulations. Read more below about the analyses we did with different assumptions. Both of GAO's simulations assume that Social Security and Disability benefits are paid in full regardless of the current projections of revenues into the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance and Disability Insurance trust funds. Read about the assumptions underlying these simulations.

Debt Held by the Public under Two Policy Simulations

Fiscal year	Congressional Budget Office	GAO's baseline simulation	GAO's alternative simulation	Historical high	Historical average
1970	27.1%	.	.	106%	46%
1971	27.1%	.	.	106%	46%
1972	26.5%	.	.	106%	46%
1973	25.2%	.	.	106%	46%
1974	23.2%	.	.	106%	46%
1975	24.6%	.	.	106%	46%
1976	26.7%	.	.	106%	46%
1977	27.1%	.	.	106%	46%
1978	26.7%	.	.	106%	46%
1979	25.0%	.	.	106%	46%
1980	25.5%	.	.	106%	46%
1981	25.2%	.	.	106%	46%

1982	27.9%	·	·	106%	46%
1983	32.2%	·	·	106%	46%
1984	33.1%	·	·	106%	46%
1985	35.3%	·	·	106%	46%
1986	38.5%	·	·	106%	46%
1987	39.6%	·	·	106%	46%
1988	39.9%	·	·	106%	46%
1989	39.4%	·	·	106%	46%
1990	40.9%	·	·	106%	46%
1991	44.1%	·	·	106%	46%
1992	46.8%	·	·	106%	46%
1993	47.9%	·	·	106%	46%
1994	47.8%	·	·	106%	46%
1995	47.7%	·	·	106%	46%
1996	47.0%	·	·	106%	46%
1997	44.6%	·	·	106%	46%
1998	41.7%	·	·	106%	46%
1999	38.3%	·	·	106%	46%
2000	33.7%	·	·	106%	46%
2001	31.5%	·	·	106%	46%
2002	32.7%	·	·	106%	46%
2003	34.7%	·	·	106%	46%
2004	35.7%	·	·	106%	46%
2005	35.8%	·	·	106%	46%
2006	35.4%	·	·	106%	46%
2007	35.2%	·	·	106%	46%
2008	39.4%	·	·	106%	46%
2009	52.3%	·	·	106%	46%
2010	60.8%	·	·	106%	46%
2011	65.8%	·	·	106%	46%
2012	70.3%	·	·	106%	46%
2013	72.2%	·	·	106%	46%
2014	73.7%	·	·	106%	46%
2015	72.4%	·	·	106%	46%
2016	76.2%	·	·	106%	46%
2017	75.9%	·	·	106%	46%
2018	77.3%	·	·	106%	46%
2019	79.2%	·	·	106%	46%
2020	100.1%	·	·	106%	46%
2021	·	102.3%	102.4%	106%	46%
2022	·	102.0%	102.4%	106%	46%
2023	·	102.0%	102.6%	106%	46%
2024	·	101.4%	102.3%	106%	46%
2025	·	101.2%	102.4%	106%	46%
2026	·	100.9%	102.8%	106%	46%
2027	·	101.0%	104.2%	106%	46%
2028	·	102.2%	106.7%	106%	46%
2029	·	103.2%	108.8%	106%	46%
2030	·	105.0%	111.9%	106%	46%
2031	·	107.2%	114.2%	106%	46%
2032	·	109.4%	116.7%	106%	46%
2033	·	112.1%	119.7%	106%	46%

2034	·	115.0%	123.2%	106%	46%
2035	·	118.2%	127.1%	106%	46%
2036	·	121.8%	131.5%	106%	46%
2037	·	125.6%	136.3%	106%	46%
2038	·	129.5%	141.3%	106%	46%
2039	·	133.6%	146.7%	106%	46%
2040	·	137.8%	152.4%	106%	46%
2041	·	142.1%	158.2%	106%	46%
2042	·	146.5%	164.4%	106%	46%
2043	·	150.9%	170.6%	106%	46%
2044	·	155.4%	176.8%	106%	46%
2045	·	160.0%	183.2%	106%	46%
2046	·	164.7%	189.5%	106%	46%
2047	·	169.4%	196.1%	106%	46%
2048	·	174.4%	202.8%	106%	46%
2049	·	179.6%	209.8%	106%	46%
2050	·	184.8%	216.8%	106%	46%
2051	·	190.0%	223.8%	106%	46%
2052	·	195.2%	230.9%	106%	46%
2053	·	200.5%	238.0%	106%	46%
2054	·	205.8%	245.1%	106%	46%
2055	·	211.2%	252.3%	106%	46%
2056	·	216.6%	259.6%	106%	46%
2057	·	222.1%	266.8%	106%	46%
2058	·	227.6%	274.1%	106%	46%
2059	·	233.1%	281.5%	106%	46%
2060	·	238.7%	288.9%	106%	46%
2061	·	244.5%	296.6%	106%	46%
2062	·	250.5%	304.4%	106%	46%
2063	·	256.5%	312.3%	106%	46%
2064	·	262.5%	320.2%	106%	46%
2065	·	268.7%	328.2%	106%	46%
2066	·	274.9%	336.3%	106%	46%
2067	·	281.1%	344.4%	106%	46%
2068	·	287.5%	352.6%	106%	46%
2069	·	293.9%	360.9%	106%	46%
2070	·	300.3%	369.3%	106%	46%
2071	·	306.8%	377.7%	106%	46%
2072	·	313.4%	386.2%	106%	46%
2073	·	320.1%	394.7%	106%	46%
2074	·	326.8%	403.3%	106%	46%
2075	·	333.3%	411.7%	106%	46%
2076	·	339.8%	420.0%	106%	46%
2077	·	346.4%	428.3%	106%	46%
2078	·	352.9%	436.7%	106%	46%
2079	·	359.5%	445.1%	106%	46%
2080	·	366.1%	453.5%	106%	46%
2081	·	372.8%	462.0%	106%	46%
2082	·	379.4%	470.4%	106%	46%
2083	·	386.1%	478.9%	106%	46%
2084	·	392.8%	487.4%	106%	46%
2085	·	399.4%	495.9%	106%	46%

2086	·	406.1%	504.4%	106%	46%
2087	·	412.8%	512.9%	106%	46%
2088	·	419.5%	521.4%	106%	46%
2089	·	426.2%	529.9%	106%	46%
2090	·	432.9%	538.4%	106%	46%
2091	·	439.7%	547.0%	106%	46%
2092	·	446.4%	555.6%	106%	46%
2093	·	453.2%	564.2%	106%	46%
2094	·	460.4%	573.2%	106%	46%