

The Medicare “45 Percent Trigger”: *An Ideologically-Driven and Flawed View of Medicare’s Financial Health*

A provision slipped into the Medicare Modernization Act (MMA) at the last minute creates a new “measure” of Medicare’s financial health. However, rather than being a meaningful measure of Medicare’s fiscal status, the trigger is designed to set off a false alarm and advance the Republican agenda to dismantle Medicare.

Medicare’s Financing. Current law establishes three main sources of financing for Medicare: payroll taxes, general revenues, and beneficiary premiums. Medicare Part A (inpatient hospital and post-acute care) is financed by a dedicated payroll tax paid by employers and employees. Part B (physician and outpatient services) and Part D (the Medicare drug benefit) are both financed by a combination of general revenues and beneficiary premiums. State contributions also help to fund Part D. Part C, otherwise known as Medicare Advantage, covers payments to HMOs and other private plans. Funding is drawn from both Parts A and B, so plan overpayments erode solvency and raise premiums for all beneficiaries.

Calculating the 45 Percent Threshold. The MMA requires the Medicare Trustees to estimate in their annual report how much of Medicare will be financed with general revenues in the current and subsequent six years. General revenues are calculated by subtracting “dedicated financing sources” (defined as payroll taxes, beneficiary premiums, income from taxation of Social Security benefits, and state transfers for the drug benefit) from overall Medicare spending. If general revenues are projected to exceed 45 percent of overall program spending in the seven-year window -- and this finding occurs in two consecutive Trustees’ reports -- then a “Medicare Funding Warning” is issued.

Medicare Funding Warning Triggers Presidential Proposals. Once a “Medicare Funding Warning” is issued, the President must propose legislation within two weeks of his next budget submission to move general revenues back under the threshold. In order to meet that goal, legislation would need to cut benefits and provider payments, shift more of the burden to beneficiaries in the form of higher cost-sharing, or rely more heavily on payroll taxes. Congress must then consider the President’s proposals under an expedited timetable.

The 2006, 2007 and 2008 Trustees Reports. The 2006, 2007 and 2008 Trustees Reports projected that general revenues would exceed 45 percent within their respective seven-year windows, so Medicare Funding Warnings have been issued. In response to the initial funding warning, the President proposed legislation in February of this year that would increase beneficiary premiums for prescription drug coverage under Part D, while leaving gross overpayments to private health plans untouched.

“45 Percent Trigger” is Arbitrary Measure. Medicare was created because the private markets would not meet the need, and the nation viewed health care for seniors as a priority that helps beneficiaries and their families alike. The program was designed to be substantially financed by general revenues rather than payroll taxes. The fact that a sizeable portion of Medicare’s financing comes from general revenues is no more problematic than the fact that 100 percent of the defense budget comes from general revenues. And no explanation has ever been

provided as to why 45 percent is the “right” amount of general revenue financing for Medicare. In fact, when asked if the number was arbitrary, the CMS Chief Actuary agreed that it was judgmental, and not based on any science.

Trigger Limits Options and Reveals Republicans’ Ideological Preference to Dismantle Medicare. Regardless of the measure used to examine Medicare’s financial health, whenever solvency has fluctuated in years past, the Congress always took the necessary steps to strengthen the program. The trigger reveals the Republican ideological preference to end Medicare as we know it by limiting general revenue financing. However, due to hastiness of middle-of-the-night legislative drafting, and technical issues with the formula, the legislation creates a skewed world where certain policy solutions are favored over others. This flawed formula actually encourages proposals *that increase payroll taxes*, a surprising result coming from a Republican bill. *Sincere efforts to strengthen Medicare’s long-term financial outlook must be thoughtful and rely on a multi-pronged approach.*

President’s Budget Reveals True Agenda: Slash Funds for Medicare. The President’s budget for fiscal year 2009 proposes automatic annual cuts to provider payments until general revenues get back under the threshold. The budget also proposes nearly half a trillion in cuts over ten years. While the President’s trigger proposal failed to match the bluster in the budget, the budget reveals the true long-term agenda behind the trigger – to drain Medicare of resources, shrink the program, and replace its guarantee of coverage with a voucher to purchase private insurance.