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Policies to Strengthen the President's FY 2021 Budget

Romina Boccia, Justin Bogie, and David Ditch

KEY TAKEAWAYS

The President's Budget should guide Congress's annual budget process and present the Administration's fiscal principles.

President Trump's first three budget proposals made tremendous progress toward reducing the size and scope of the federal government, and more is needed.

It is critical that the President continue to pursue even bolder reforms that will further limit the role of the federal government and reduce spending.

Balancing the budget and reducing the national debt are critical to the economic well-being of current and future generations. While the economy is currently performing well, projected budget deficits and cumulative debt are worsening. This is rare for a time where the country is experiencing economic growth and low unemployment.

The Congressional Budget Office's (CBO's) latest *Budget and Economic Outlook* projects that the deficit will rise to $960 billion by the end of fiscal year (FY) 2019 (which ended this week), $181 billion higher than for FY 2018. The CBO projects that deficits will surpass the trillion-dollar threshold in FY 2020, and will climb to $1.4 trillion annually by the end of the next decade. Debt is projected to rise by more than $12.6 trillion through 2029.[1]

President Donald Trump's first three budget proposals made tremendous progress toward reducing the scope and reach of the federal government. The FY 2018 budget proposal would have balanced in 10 years. The two subsequent budget proposals would not have balanced within a decade. However, the proposals would have cut deficits by $4.4 trillion and $2.8 trillion over 10 years, respectively, compared to the Administration's current baseline spending projections.[2]

Reducing deficits is important, and the President should also pursue budgets that balance within 10 years. It is critical that lawmakers pursue policies to bring the budget back to balance. The President's budget acts as a template to inform Congress's annual budget process and lays out the Administration's fiscal principles. It is important that the Administration show that balancing within 10 years is still achievable. Doing so would provide the public with a symbolic victory over the mounting deficits of recent years.

If the president abandons the goal of balancing the budget over 10 years, he abandons a key fiscal target and emboldens Congress to do the same.

The Heritage Foundation's *Blueprint for Balance* paves a clear path to balancing the federal budget with detailed and specific recommendations across all budget categories, from right-sizing annual appropriations to reforming entitlement programs and privatizing certain federal assets. In addition, important legislative policy riders provide specific proposals by which Congress can leverage the annual appropriations process to advance conservative policy objectives.

The *Blueprint for Balance* has proven influential in both Congress and the Administration's budget process. The Administration fully or partially included 61 percent of the most recent *Blueprint*'s proposals in its FY 2020 budget submission.[3] For the President's budget to be successful, it must have support among lawmakers. Past budget resolutions produced by the House and Senate Budget Committees, as well as the House Republican Study Committee, have also incorporated many of the proposals contained in the *Blueprint for Balance*. There is significant policy agreement between the President's budget, the Republican Study Committee budget, and the *Blueprint for Balance*,[4] and conservatives are likely to support additional reforms along these lines.

With that in mind, this *Backgrounder* expands on policies recommended by Heritage analysts that the Administration has partially embraced, highlights policies that the President's budgets have not addressed, and even identifies new options not included in the FY 2020 *Blueprint for Balance*. This *Backgrounder* explicitly excludes policies that the Administration has previously rejected, per our analysis. The federal government could save an additional $271 billion in FY 2021 if lawmakers implement all of the policy recommendations included in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Recommended Policies to Strengthen the FY 2021 President's Budget (Page 1 of 8)

Name	Category	Savings ($ millions)	Details
AGRICULTURE (USDA)			
Eliminate the USDA's Conservation Technical Assistance Program	Discretionary	$754	This program provides assistance to private landowners, which is not a public benefit worth federal funding. The President's Budget reduces spending by $107 million compared to FY 2019. (p. 71)
Eliminate the USDA Rural Business Cooperative Service	Mixed	$493	This service unfairly benefits businesses by providing assistance only to those located in rural areas. The President's Budget reduces spending slightly compared to FY 2019. (p. 72)
Limit Farmers to a Choice Between Agriculture Loss Coverage/Price Loss Coverage Payments and Subsidized Crop Insurance	Mandatory	$5,000	This reform would make federal agricultural subsidies fairer for taxpayers by preventing duplicative payments. Legislation along these lines was introduced as S. 2512 in the 115th Congress. (variations on policy options on pp. 79 and 81)
COMMERCE			
Eliminate Census Bureau Funding for the Annual Supplemental Poverty Measure Report	Discretionary	$6	A relic of the Obama Administration, this report supports a "spread-the-wealth" agenda by measuring relative poverty. The standard measurement of absolute poverty is what matters. (p. 99)
DEFENSE (DOD)			
Cut Non-Defense Medical Research from the Defense Department Budget	Discretionary	$431	Funds for national defense should not be diverted to non-defense uses, such as cancer research. (p. 106)
Combine Military Exchanges and Commissaries, and Reduce Commissary Subsidies	Discretionary	$253	The provision of commissaries and exchanges can be streamlined. The President's Budget reduces subsidies for commissary operations. (p. 107)
Close Domestic Dependent Elementary and Secondary Schools	Discretionary	$147	Military-run schools only benefit a small portion of military-connected children, at great expense. Replacing these schools with education savings accounts would benefit all military families. (p. 108)
Reform Military Health Care	Discretionary	$3,900	The quality of medical benefits provided by TRICARE is declining, despite rising costs. Allowing service members and their families to opt for private-sector health insurance would enhance access and choice while lowering costs. (p. 109)
Increase Use of Performance-Based Logistics (PBL)	Discretionary	$9,000	Increasing the use of PBL, where appropriate, brings the interests of the DOD and the contractor into closer alignment. This would save between 5 percent and 20 percent of contract costs. (p. 110)

NOTES: All page numbers, unless otherwise noted, refer to The Heritage Foundation's *Blueprint for Balance: A Federal Budget for FY 2020*, https://www.heritage.org/blueprint-balance/additional-resources/blueprint-balance-federal-budget-fy-2020. President's Budget numbers are from Office of Management and Budget, *A Budget for a Better America; Promises Kept, Taxpayers First: Fiscal Year 2020 Budget of the U.S. Government*, March 11, 2019, https://bookstore.gpo.gov/products/budget-united-states-government-fy-2020 (accessed October 2, 2019).

TABLE 1

Recommended Policies to Strengthen the FY 2021 President's Budget (Page 2 of 8)

Name	Category	Savings ($ millions)	Details
DEFENSE (CONT.)			
Reform the Basic Allowance for Housing	Discretionary	$434	Limiting married military couples to a single housing allowance and requiring housing cost documentation would make the housing allowance fairer. (p. 112)
Replace Military Personnel in Commercial Positions with Civilian Employees	Discretionary	$880	Thousands of DOD commercial positions can be filled by civilians, who cost less to employ. (p. 113)
EDUCATION			
Eliminate the PLUS Loan Program	Discretionary	$2,300	PLUS provides federal loans beyond main federal lending programs, further contributing to cost inflation in higher education. (p. 224)
Place Strict Lending Caps on All Federal Aid Programs	Discretionary	$5,500	Placing reasonable limits on federal student loans would fight cost inflation and the accumulation of student debt. (p. 225)
Remove the Cap on Interest Rates for Student Loans	Mandatory	$700	The market and students, not the government, should determine appropriate interest rates. (p. 227)
Eliminate All Time-Based and Occupation-Based Loan Forgiveness	Discretionary	$370	Federal student loan programs are overly generous with taxpayer dollars, especially when it comes to loan forgiveness. The President's Budget eliminates the Public Service Loan Forgiveness program but offers more generous loan forgiveness terms for Stafford loans. (p. 228)
ENERGY (DOE)			
Focus DOE National Nuclear Security Administration Spending on Weapons Programs	Discretionary	$493	The DOE Nuclear Security Administration is part of the national defense portfolio. Accordingly, it should prioritize the U.S. nuclear weapons program by ending spending on non-weapons programs and support. (p. 120)
Return Funding for the DOE Office of Nuclear Physics to FY 2008 Levels	Discretionary	$193	Funding for nuclear energy research has increased faster than inflation, and should be reduced accordingly. The President's Budget reduces funding by $35 million (9 percent). (p. 122)
Eliminate the DOE Biological and Environmental Research (BER) Program	Discretionary	$705	Research funded by the BER is often wasteful, duplicative, or outside the DOE's mission. Funding is reduced by $210 million (30 percent) in the President's Budget. (p. 124)
Eliminate the DOE Office of Fossil Energy	Discretionary	$985	This group creates a number of distortions to energy markets, and maintains the unnecessary Strategic Petroleum Reserve. The President's Budget reduces spending by $178 million (24 percent). (p. 129)
Liquidate the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) and the Northeastern Home Heating and Gasoline Supply Reserves	Mixed One-Time	$25,732	The SPR has become a political tool, and oil reserves in general should be the domain of the private sector. The President's Budget fully includes heating oil reserves while reducing the SPR. (p. 132)

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Recommended Policies to Strengthen the FY 2021 President's Budget (Page 3 of 8)

Name	Category	Savings ($ millions)	Details
ENERGY (CONT.)			
Auction Off the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)	Mixed One-Time	$30,026	The TVA has undergone mission creep, and now distorts energy markets across the region due to its status as a government-backed corporation. The President's Budget takes steps toward privatization by selling transmission assets. (p. 133)
Auction Off the Four Remaining Power Marketing Administrations (PMAs)	Mixed One-Time	$34,597	The PMAs sell electricity at subsidized prices, which distorts regional markets. The President's Budget takes steps toward privatization by selling transmission assets, repealing borrowing authority, and requires selling power at market rates. (p. 134)
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY			
Eliminate Federal Vehicle and Fuels Standards and Certification	Discretionary	$94	Vehicle fuel economy standards and the Renewable Fuel Standard should both be retired; the Clean Air Act was not intended to cover greenhouse gases. The President's Budget reduces spending. (p. 164)
FEDERAL HOUSING FINANCE AGENCY			
Reform Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac	Mandatory	$700	Eliminating geographic price differences, reducing loan limits, and increasing guarantee fees would reduce costs and risks for taxpayers. (p. 146)
HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES			
Eliminate Supplemental Security Income (SSI) Benefits for Children	Mandatory	$11,000	The SSI program was designed to cover low-income elderly and adults who are unable to support themselves. Aid for disabled children is available through other means-tested programs, such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and Medicaid. (p. 214)
HOMELAND SECURITY			
Reduce Funding for FEMA's Disaster Relief Fund	Discretionary	$850	Responsibility for disaster response should shift away from the federal government by increasing the threshold for initial federal aid and reducing the federal cost share. (p. 155)
Privatize Transportation Security Administration (TSA) Screening Functions	Discretionary	$470	While the TSA maintains its regulatory role, passenger screening can be performed by contractors hired by airports. This would reduce costs while maintaining or enhancing security. (p. 156)
Reform Payments from the National Flood Insurance Program	Discretionary	$700	The government monopoly over flood insurance should give way to a private market. A partial step would be to limit lifetime losses for properties. (p. 157)

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Recommended Policies to Strengthen the FY 2021 President's Budget (Page 4 of 8)

Name	Category	Savings ($ millions)	Details
HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT			
Return Control of, and Fiscal Responsibility for, Low-Income Housing to the States	Discretionary	$2,360	The President's Budget reduces funding for rental assistance programs and "recognizes the need for greater contributions from State and local governments." Heritage analysts see an opportunity to go further by entirely phasing out federal housing subsidies. (p. 213)
JUSTICE (DOJ)			
Eliminate Grants Within the DOJ's Office of Justice Programs (OJP)	Discretionary	$1,773	The federal government has no business subsidizing routine functions of state and local criminal justice programs. The President's Budget eliminates $244 million from the OJP-administered State Criminal Alien Assistance Program. (p. 59)
Rescind Unobligated Balances from the DOJ's Crime Victims Fund	Mandatory One-Time	$12,000	The Crime Victim's Fund is abused by congressional appropriators, who use unspent funds to increase other discretionary accounts. Rescinding unobligated funds would protect taxpayers without harming crime victims. (p. 93)
Rescind Unobligated Balances from the DOJ's Asset Forfeiture Fund	Mandatory One-Time	$666	The Asset Forfeiture Fund is abused by congressional appropriators, who use unspent funds to increase other discretionary accounts. Rescinding unobligated funds would protect taxpayers. (p. 94)
LABOR			
Eliminate the Job Corps	Discretionary	$1,719	The Job Corps has been shown to deliver dismal results at enormous taxpayer expense. The President's Budget cuts funding and closes underperforming centers, and focuses the program on older youth, but does not eliminate the program. (p. 192)
Eliminate Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOC) Job-Training Programs	Discretionary	$3,250	Studies of federal job-training programs consistently show them to be wasteful and ineffective. The President's Budget cuts funding for three programs funded by the WIOA: the Indian and Native American Program, Migrant and Seasonal Farmworker Training, and the Senior Community Service Employment Program. (p. 193)
Let Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) Expire	Discretionary	$741	The TAA program is ineffective and far too generous with taxpayer dollars. The President's Budget reforms the TAA but does not eliminate it. (p. 194)
Bring National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) Funding in Line with Caseloads	Discretionary	$123	The decline of private-sector labor unions has meant fewer cases for the NLRB to manage. Its budget should reflect this reality. (p. 196)

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Recommended Policies to Strengthen the FY 2021 President's Budget (Page 5 of 8)

Name	Category	Savings ($ millions)	Details
LABOR (CONT.)			
Eliminate the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP)	Discretionary	$103	The OFCCP is redundant, as its functions are already being performed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Veterans' Employment and Training Service. (p. 197)
Eliminate the Bureau of International Labor Affairs	Discretionary	$60	This bureau serves to influence foreign labor laws in a pro-union direction, which is not a proper use of taxpayer dollars. The President's Budget cuts spending for the bureau but does not eliminate it. (p. 199)
LEGISLATIVE BRANCH			
Eliminate Funding for Congressional Subsidies for the Affordable Care Act's Health Insurance Exchanges	Discretionary	$94	A 2013 ruling by the Office of Personnel Management allows Members of Congress and their staff to receive subsidies for health insurance purchased on health insurance exchanges under Obamacare. This ruling lacked statutory authority, and should be undone by either the Trump Administration or by Congress. (p. 255)
Multiple Agencies			
Stop Paying Federal Employees Who Work on the Clock for Outside Organizations	Discretionary	$177	The federal government subsidizes federal-worker employee unions by paying staffers for time working on behalf of unions, and by providing them office space in federal buildings. Employee unions should use their own resources, not the public's. (p. 266)
Repeal the Davis–Bacon Act	Discretionary	$9,040	The act artificially inflates the cost of federally funded infrastructure projects by requiring the use of union pay scales. The federal government should seek contractors who provide the most value for taxpayers, rather than the most value for labor unions. (p. 267)
Eliminate Spending on Public Relations	Discretionary	$303	Self-promotion of federal agencies is not a proper use of public funds. (The Heritage Foundation, *Blueprint for Balance* FY 2017, p. 140.)
Adopt a More Accurate Inflation Index for Social Security and Other Mandatory Programs	Mandatory	$2,900	The current inflation index is outdated and often overstates the rate of increase, which leads to unaffordable benefit increases for programs, such as Social Security. The chained Consumer Price Index is more accurate, and its adoption would save increasingly large amounts over time. (p. 208)

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Recommended Policies to Strengthen the FY 2021 President's Budget (Page 6 of 8)

Name	Category	Savings ($ millions)	Details
OFFICE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT (OPM)			
Eliminate Funding for the OPM's Multi-State Plan Program	Discretionary	$10	The program, intended to increase competition on health insurance exchanges under Obamacare, has been an utter failure and a waste of money. (p. 144)
Federal Personnel Reform: Eliminate "Rest of U.S." Locality Pay	Discretionary	$268	This non-localized "locality pay" often leads to federal workers receiving significantly more compensation than is warranted, and as such it should be removed. (p. 200)
Federal Personnel Reform: Tie Pay Increases to Truly Market-Based and Performance-Based Measures	Discretionary	$376	Federal employee compensation costs are inflated, often rewarding workers for sub-standard effort. The President's Budget eliminates across-the-board pay raises in favor of performance-based pay increases. (p. 201)
Federal Personnel Reform: Bring Retirement Benefits in Line with the Private Sector	Mixed	$46,700	This additional benefit for federal workers who retire between the ages of 57 and 62 is unnecessary. The President's Budget includes several changes to reduce the generosity of federal-employee retirement benefits, primarily by reducing cost-of-living adjustments and increasing employee contributions to the retirement plan. (p. 202)
Federal Personnel Reform: Eliminate FEHB Retirement Benefits for New Hires	Discretionary	$569	Generous retirement health benefits for new hires, who tend to be younger, inflates long-run federal liabilities and creates bad career incentives. (p. 205)
SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION (SEC)			
Reform the SEC	Discretionary	$22	The SEC has become heavily bureaucratic compared to similar agencies, and has drifted away from its intended purpose. The President's Budget proposes to eliminate the SEC's reserve fund in order to restore accountability but does not propose any other reforms. (p. 141)
STATE			
End Funding for the United Nations Development Program	Discretionary	$80	The U.N. anti-poverty agency has wasted billions of dollars. The U.S. should focus foreign aid funding elsewhere. (p. 275)
End U.S. Funding for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine Refugees in the Near East	Discretionary	$359	The UNRWA stymies prospects for peace by applying an overly broad definition of "refugee," leading to large numbers of Palestinians being provided for by the U.N. rather than integrating into the West Bank and Gaza. Although the President's Budget does not explicitly eliminate funding, the Administration has halted U.S. payments to the UNRWA, and the budget does not contain a funding request for the UNRWA. (p. 278)

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Recommended Policies to Strengthen the FY 2021 President's Budget (Page 7 of 8)

Name	Category	Savings ($ millions)	Details
STATE (CONT.)			
Partially Withhold Assessed U.S. Payments to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)	Discretionary	$2	The OECD's tax group promotes a maximalist viewpoint of taxation, primarily for the benefit of high-tax European nations. The U.S. should not fund pro-tax propaganda. (p. 280)
Close the 15 Smallest U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Overseas Missions	Discretionary	$160	Many USAID missions are low-priority, or low-impact, and should be closed. (p. 285)
TRANSPORTATION			
Eliminate the Transportation Department's Essential Air Service (EAS) Program	Mixed	$317	The EAS subsidizes flights from small airports, often at huge expense per passenger. Such subsidies are inappropriate federal activity, and should only be considered at the state or local level. The President's Budget reduces spending by $50 million from FY 2019 levels for the discretionary portion of the EAS. (p. 290)
Close Down the Transportation Department's Maritime Administration (MARAD), and Repeal the Maritime Jones Act	Discretionary	$815	MARAD and the Jones Act are textbook examples of crony capitalism that waste taxpayer funds and distort the shipping industry. The President's Budget reduces spending. (p. 294)
Eliminate the Transportation Department's Capital Investment Grants (CIGs)	Discretionary	$2,553	The CIGs subsidize transit projects, such as streetcars, that are often wasteful, and typically cost far more than initially projected. The President's Budget reduces spending by $1.048 billion from FY 2019 levels. (p. 295)
Eliminate the Transportation Department's Airport Improvement Program and Reform Airport Funding	Mandatory	$3,500	Federal rules and subsidies heavily distort the civil aviation industry, and should be reformed in a pro-market, pro-taxpayer direction. The President's Budget reduces spending by $1 billion from FY 2019 levels. (p. 298)
TREASURY			
Eliminate the Department of the Treasury's Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund	Discretionary	$250	The CDFI Fund amounts to corporate welfare, which is wasteful in principle and egregious at a time of mounting federal debt. The President's Budget eliminates and winds down the CDFI Fund grant program, but extends the CDFI Fund bond guarantee program. (p. 142)
Replace Costly Provisions of the Dodd–Frank Act	Discretionary	$1,870	Dodd–Frank enshrined, rather than ended, the problem of certain financial firms being "too big to fail." Replacing these provisions would reduce taxpayer liability for private-sector risk. (p. 145)

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Recommended Policies to Strengthen the FY 2021 President's Budget (Page 8 of 8)

Name	Category	Savings ($ millions)	Details
TREASURY (CONT.)			
Rescind Unobligated Balances from the Treasury Forfeiture Fund	Mandatory One-Time	$588	The fund, meant to reimburse state and local law enforcement costs for assisting federal agencies, has become a frequent gimmick for avoiding budgetary constraints. Unobligated balances should be rescinded to avoid abuse. (p. 148)
Reduce Fraud and Marriage Penalties in the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and the Additional Child Tax Credit (ACTC)	Mandatory	$20,260	The EITC and ACTC have long been plagued by improper payments and are in need of reform. The President's Budget requires a valid-for-work Social Security number to claim the EITC or ACTC. This requirement "extends to all filers and all qualifying children or dependents claimed on the tax return." (p. 212)
VETERANS AFFAIRS (VA)			
End Enrollment in VA Medical Care for Veterans in Priority Groups 7 and 8	Mixed	$7,930	Veterans in these low-priority groups do not have service-connected disabilities and exceed income thresholds. The VA system should focus on veterans with the greatest needs or fewest financial resources. (p. 259)
Put a 10-Year Time Limit on Initial Applications for Disability Compensation for Veterans	Mandatory	$1,000	The lack of a time limit leads to significant potential for abuse by claimants whose ailments were caused by post-service work and personal choices. (p. 260)
Eliminate Concurrent Receipt of Retirement Pay and Disability Compensation for Veterans	Mandatory	$9,000	Returning to pre-2003 rules regarding the collection of military retirement and VA disability benefits would prevent unnecessary double-dipping and triple-dipping. (p. 261)
Narrow Eligibility for Veterans' Disability by Excluding Disabilities Unrelated to Military Duties	Mandatory	$2,400	Veterans' disability compensation is meant to cover veterans for health issues acquired as a result of their service. Conditions that are unrelated to service should not be included in this coverage. (p. 262)

SOURCES: Heritage Foundation calculations using data and information from various government and non-government sources. When available, savings estimates come from spending levels as enacted in H.J.Res. 31, Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2019, Public Law 116-9, 116th Cong., February 15, 2019; H.R. 6157, Department of Defense and Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations Act, 2019 and Continuing Appropriations Act, 2019, Public Law 115-245, 115th Cong., September 28, 2018; and H.R. 5895, Energy and Water, Legislative Branch, and Military Construction and Veterans A airs Appropriation Act, 2019, Public Law 115-244, 115th Cong., September 21, 2018. Heritage experts assume that enacted FY 2019 spending levels would hold constant through 2021. Spending levels come from the Congressional Budget Office's January 2019 baseline spending projections for FY 2020. If not available in any of these sources, spending levels come from agencies' budgets and were based on their most recently enacted spending levels, which Heritage experts assume would hold constant through 2021. If recommendations did not call for a direct reduction in or elimination of a certain program, Heritage analysts relied on their own analyses and those of government organizations and outside experts to estimate the appropriate savings associated with the recommendations

However, these reforms alone will not be enough to divert the debt-driven economic crisis that the country could soon face. The reason for the worsening fiscal situation is clear: Above-average revenues cannot keep up with out-of-control spending growth, particularly the growth in Social Security and health care entitlement spending. Over the next decade, revenues are projected to rise steadily, averaging 17.4 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). Meanwhile, the CBO projects that spending will rise above 23 percent of GDP by FY 2028.[5]

President Trump has built much of his presidency on the positive economic impacts of the tax cuts in the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) of 2017. Runaway spending is a direct threat to the progress made by the President's pro-growth economic agenda. No matter how strong the economy is, economic growth will not be able to keep pace with projected spending growth. It also means that the TCJA, one of the President's signature legislative victories, may be short lived. If deficits continue to rise, it may be harder for conservative lawmakers to make the case for permanently extending the 2017 tax cuts.

The proposals put forth by the Administration make tremendous progress toward reducing the size and scope of the federal government. It is critical that the President continue to pursue even bolder reforms that will further limit the role of the federal government, and reduce spending and debt. This *Backgrounder* provides policies to help the Administration move closer to those goals. Strong leadership from President Trump is essential to reducing the footprint of the federal government and returning the nation's budget to a sustainable path.

Romina Boccia is Director of the Grover M. Hermann Center for the Federal Budget, of the Institute for Economic Freedom, at The Heritage Foundation. **Justin Bogie** is Senior Policy Analyst in Fiscal Affairs in the Hermann Center. **David Ditch** is Research Associate in the Hermann Center.

Endnotes

1. Congressional Budget Office, "An Update to the Budget and Economic Outlook: 2019 to 2029," August 21, 2019, https://www.cbo.gov/publication/55551 (accessed October 1, 2019).
2. See *Budget of the United States Government*, fiscal years 2018–2020, https://www.govinfo.gov/app/collection/BUDGET/ (accessed October 1, 2019).
3. Romina Boccia and David Ditch, "Trump's Proposed Budget Adopts 61% of Heritage Proposals," The Daily Signal, June 4, 2019, https://www.dailysignal.com/2019/06/04/trumps-proposed-budget-adopts-61-of-heritage-proposals/.
4. David Ditch, "FY 2020 Consensus Cuts for Congress," Heritage Foundation *Issue Brief* No. 4978, July 16, 2019, https://www.heritage.org/budget-and-spending/report/fy-2020-consensus-cuts-congress.
5. Congressional Budget Office, "An Update to the Budget and Economic Outlook: 2019 to 2029."