

## Presented By: Jeff Bush

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THE WASHINGTON UPDATE

## Agenda

- Coronavirus stimulus/rescue
- Infrastructure/Trade
- ·Fiscal/Monetary policy impact
- ·2020 election

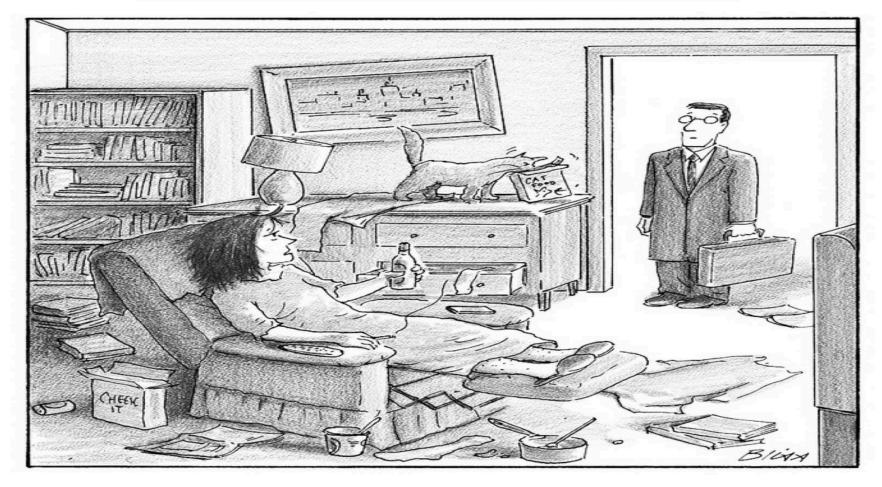


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### Coronavirus



"Face it—nothing gets done in an election year."

The Washington Post, Feb. 10, 2020



- Mandated sick leave (firms <500 employees)</li>
  - 2 weeks paid leave
  - 100% pay for quarantined or symptomatic persons, max \$511/day
  - 2/3 pay if caring for a quarantined person or for children whose school or place of care is closed, max \$200/day
- Expanded Family medical leave (firms <500 employees)</li>
  - 12 weeks for same reasons as above
  - First two weeks may be unpaid, thereafter 2/3 of regular pay
  - Capped at \$200/day (\$10,000 aggregate)
- Both programs paid for w/refundable tax credits against their FICA taxes



- Unemployment insurance
  - \$1B from the federal government to support benefit enhancements
- Nutritional support for elderly & young
- Free coronavirus testing
- Increased Medicaid funding by 6.2% (was 56%)
  - Medicaid enrollment expected to rise significantly with unemployment
- Tax day delayed to July 15 (normally April 15)
  - Individuals, Trusts, Estates, Corporations & Non-Corporates
  - Quarterly estimates, Tax filing & payment, and 2019 IRA contributions
- Waives PAYGO requirements
- Cost \$150B



Round 1 \$8Billion package

Waives PAYGO for Round 3

- Recovery checks
  - Based on most recently filed tax year's adj. gross income
  - Single- <\$75,000 = \$1200, Married- <\$150,000 = \$1200 each spouse
  - \$500 for every child
  - Phased out between \$75k and \$99k for singles, \$150k & \$198k for married
- Coronavirus related early withdrawals from qualified retirement plans
  - Waiving the 10% penalty for early withdrawals
  - Maximum \$100,000
  - Still taxable, but the taxes can be spread over three years
  - Can reinvest the money in the plan within the three years and avoid taxation
- Waive 2020 401(k) and IRA RMDs
- DB plans can delay 2020 payments to January 1, 2021



## Round 2

## \$150 Billion package

- Additional unemployment insurance- \$600/week
  - GOP concerned it could incentivize people not to work when combined with state unemployment benefits
  - Roughly ½ of workers will receive more under this program vs. employment
- Permit charitable deduction without income limitations
- Suspend student loan payments, interest free, until September 30
  - Employer-paid tuition in 2020 to, or on behalf of, an employee-student are tax-free to the student-employee
- Increase in food stamps program
- Increase in farm bailout program
- POTUS commits to pay coronavirus care bills for the uninsured



Round 1 \$8Billion package

- Deferral of Social Security payroll taxes
  - Employer share only
  - Employers and self-employed are eligible
  - Deferred taxes are paid over 2 years- ½ by 12/31/21 and ½ by 12/31/22
- Refundable employment tax credit of 50% on qualified wages for employers subject to closure
  - Credit taken against employment taxes due
- Permit use of net operating losses without income limitations, and allow net operating losses carrybacks
- Permit the deduction of business interest expense without income limitations



## **Coronavirus Stimulus- Round 3- Businesses**

- SBA will cover existing loan payments for 6 months
- New SBA loans up to \$10mm
  - Paycheck Protection Program (PPP)
  - Accessed through local lenders
  - Can used to pay:
    - Compensation
    - Paid sick & medical leave
    - Insurance premiums
    - Mortgage and rents
    - Utility payments
  - Under SBA guidance, borrowers must certify a PPP loan is necessary, taking into account their current business activity & their ability to access other sources of liquidity
  - Can defer payments for up to 1 year
  - 501c(3) organizations, Tax-exempt veteran's, Tribal business concerns eligible

# Round 1 \$8Billion package



- Forgiveness of new SBA loans up to \$10mm
  - Up to the amount paid for:
    - Interest on existing mortgage
      - May not exceed the principal amount of the loan
    - Payment on rent for an existing lease
    - Employee compensation
      - Reduced proportionally by:
        - Maximum compensation of \$100k per employee
        - Number of employees retained vs. previous year, and
        - reduction in pay of ANY employee beyond 25% vs prior year
- Companies that lay off employees and re-hire them post crisis will not be penalized for having a reduced payroll



Round 1 \$8Billion package

 Loans, loan guarantees, & other investments to businesses at risk of mortal losses

- Maximum 5 years
- Limitations imposed
  - No stock buybacks for the life of the loan plus one year
  - No dividend payments for the life of the loan plus one year
  - Must maintain existing employment levels "to the extent practicable" during the life of the loan, and cannot reduce employment by more than 10%
  - Limitations on total compensation for highly paid employees for the duration of the loan plus one year



 Loans, loan guarantees, & other investments to businesses at risk of mortal losses

- Set-asides for Airlines, cargo air carriers, businesses crucial to national security
- Oversight board & Inspector general to oversee the lending and report publicly
- Companies owned by POTUS, VPOTUS, Execs and families of, are not eligible
- Treasury has broad authority to adjust these rules and limitations

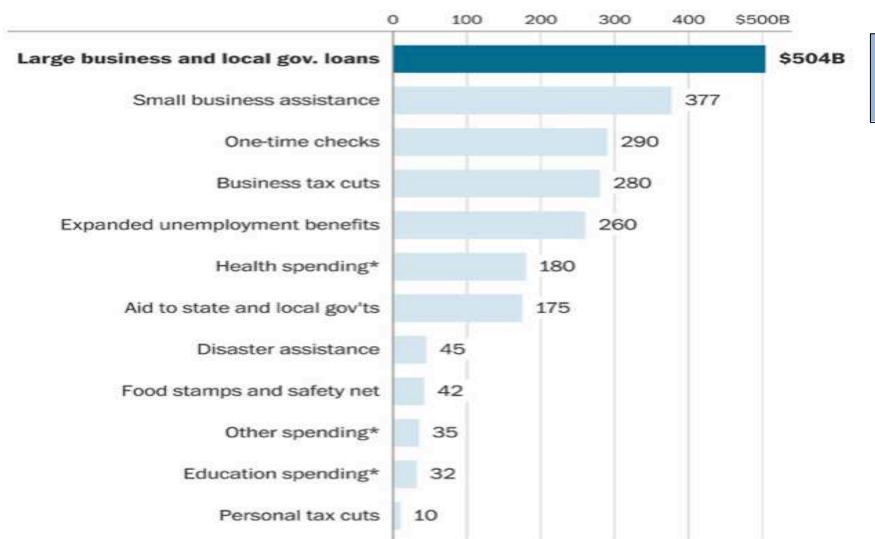


 Liberalization of banking and accounting rules to extend and expand lending

- Government and healthcare
  - Direct financial aid to state & local governments and private non-profits providing critical and essential services
  - Healthcare grants
    - Hospitals
    - Healthcare providers
    - Therapeutics
    - Medical preparedness needs
    - Vaccine testing, drug innovation and development



## **Coronavirus Stimulus- Round 3- CARES Act**



# Round 1 \$8Billion package

## Round 2 \$150 Billion package

Congressional Budget Office, reported by The Washington Post 3/26/20

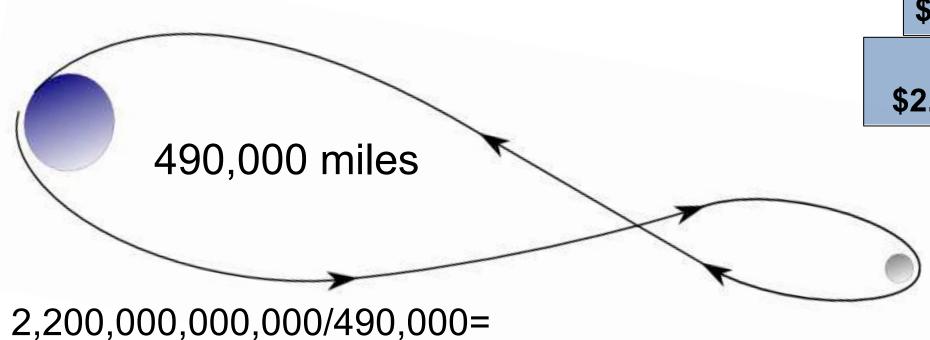


## Coronavirus Stimulus-Round 3- CARES Act

Round 1 \$8Billion package

Round 2 \$150 Billion package

Round 3 \$2.2 Trillion package



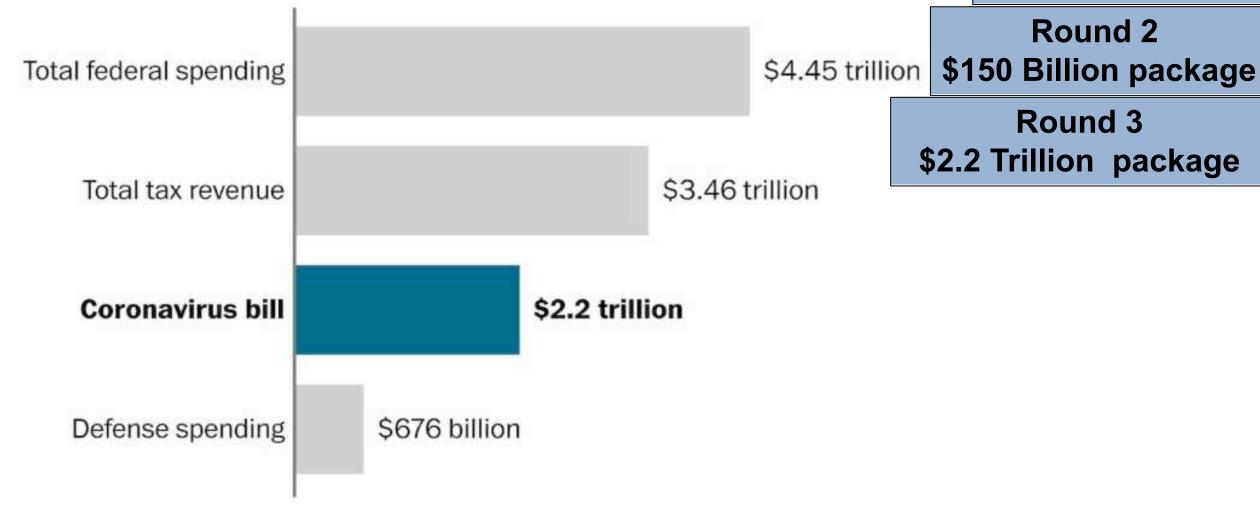
Approximately **4**,**500**,**000** 

www.History.Nasa.Gov, Robin Wheeler figure 15



## **Coronavirus Stimulus- Round 3- CARES Act**

Round 1 \$8Billion package







## Coronavirus Stimulus-Round 3.5- CARES 1.5

Round 1 \$8Billion package

## Deal comes together

Round 2 \$150 Billion package

• \$310B addition to PPP

Round 3 \$2.2 Trillion package

• \$60B allotment specifically to community banks

Round 3.5 \$480B package

- \$75B for hospitals
- \$25B for testing
- \$60B Economic Injury Disaster Loan program
- \$10B Miscellaneous

Expected to pass this week



## **Coronavirus Stimulus- Round 4- CARES 2.0**

- Additional funding for PPP
- Substantial aid to states & municipalities (Pension funding)
  - GOP could restrict fund usage to coronavirus response
- Additional checks to individuals
- Extension of unemployment benefits
- Worker protections
- Increased Social Security payments
- Federal student debt cancellation
- Additional funds to backstop the Fed lending facilities
- Infrastructure investments- perhaps 50-year bonds
- Taxes
  - Payroll tax cut
  - Capital gains tax cut
  - Eliminate \$10k cap on SALT
  - 100% meals and entertainment for businesses
  - Immediate business deduction for capital purchases extension

# Round 1 \$8Billion package

Round 2 \$150 Billion package

Round 3 \$2.2 Trillion package

Round 3.5 \$480B package

Round 4 \$???? package



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## **Sector Impact - Infrastructure**

- Both parties and POTUS agree investment needed
- Current grade of U.S. Infrastructure- D+
- Senator Barrasso bi-partisan plan-\$287B over 5 years
  - Narrowly focusing on road & bridge construction and repair
- House Democrat plan- \$760B over 5 years
  - Broader definition of infrastructure including rail, water, broadband etc.
- POTUS-\$2T focused
- \$2T in improvements & repairs to bring U.S. to "above average"

\*American Society of Civil Engineers, Infrastructure Report Card 2017, March 2017



## **Sector Impact - Infrastructure**

- Funding
  - Gas tax increase, fees, fines, Build America Bonds, etc,
- House fiscal conservatives lack the votes to require revenue offset
- Allows for deficit-financed infrastructure spending

## "I'm the king of debt."

Donald J Trump, then presumptive GOP nominee 6-22-16

· Construction, material stocks, telecom, tech would benefit



#### **Trade**

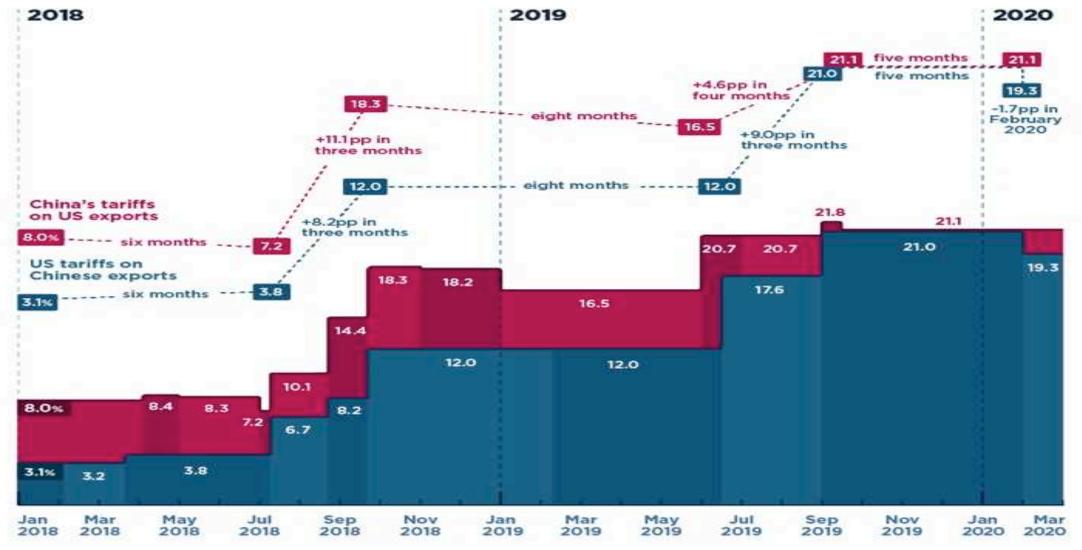
# "[The problem is] more and more of our imports come from overseas."

President George W. Bush (2000)



#### **Trade**

Average tariff rate, percent



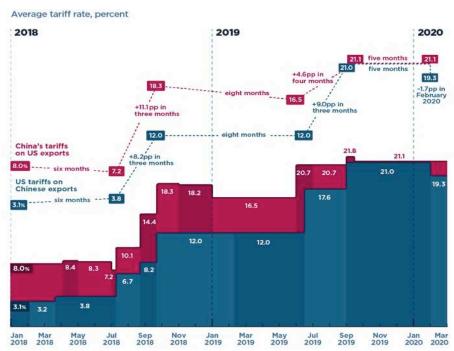
Peterson Institute for International Economics, December 19,2019



## Trade- US/China phase 1 trade deal done (Détente)

## US agrees

- The existing 25% tariffs remain on middle market and raw materials, covering 65% of imported goods from China
- 15% tariffs implemented in September 1, 2019 are halved to 7.5%
- December 15, 2019 scheduled tariffs cancelled



Peterson Institute for International Economics. December 19.2019

Source: Trump Signs China Trade Deal, Putting Economic Conflict on Pause, NYT 1/15/20

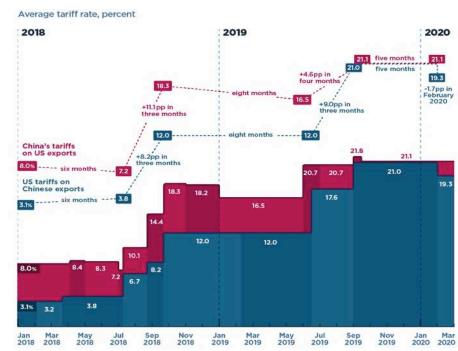


## Trade- US/China phase 1 trade deal done (Détente)

## China agrees

- Purchase \$200B of goods over the next two years
  - \$45B of agricultural product in 2020, a 200% increase
- Loosening of US joint venture ownership rules
  - Financial Services, Manufactured Goods, Agricultural, Energy etc
- Modest intellectual property protection
- End forced technology transfer
- Agrees to stop manipulating their currency
- Snap back on all tariffs if China does not comply
- Possible shortfall of purchases due to Coronavirus

Source: Trump Signs China Trade Deal, Putting Economic Conflict on Pause, NYT 1/15/20

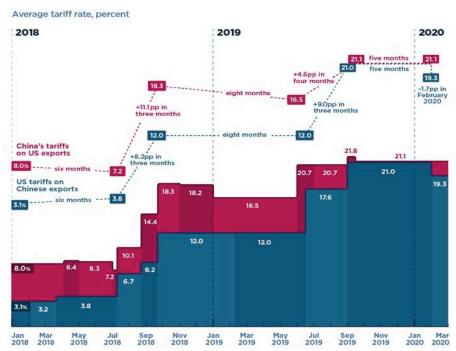


Peterson Institute for International Economics. December 19.2019



## **Trade- US/China phase 2**

- US being called on to eliminate tariffs due to coronavirus
- US drops all tariffs
- China stops subsidizing industry
- China agrees to stop hacking secrets from US companies
- Timing- post 2020 election at best
- Discussions of de-linking supply chains



Peterson Institute for International Economics. December 19.2019

Source: Trump Signs China Trade Deal, Putting Economic Conflict on Pause, NYT 1/15/20



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## **Fiscal Policy**

# "Who the h@#% cares about the budget?"

President Donald J. Trump (January 2019)



## **Annual Budget Deficit** Surpluses 60% Increase Average, 1970 to 2019 (-3.0%)**Deficits**

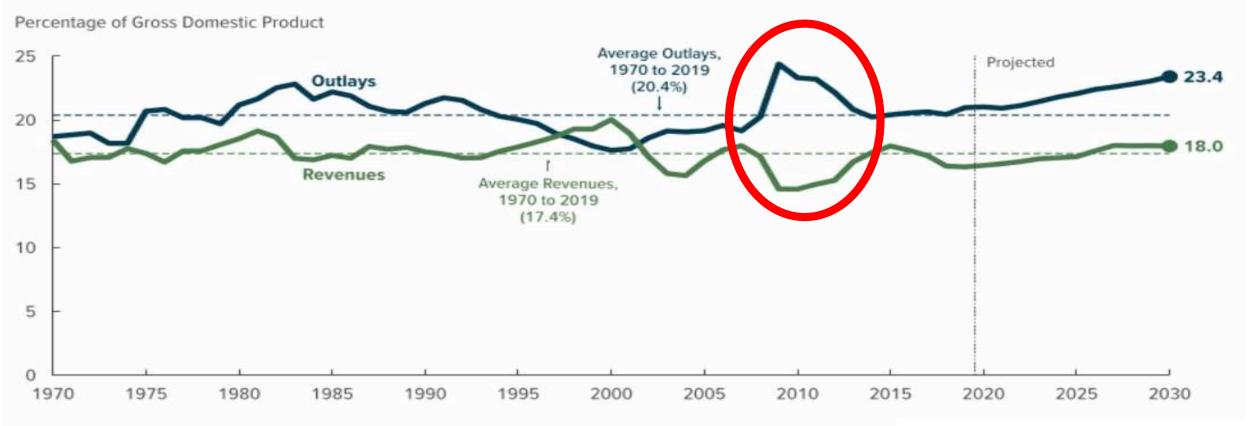
CBO-The Budget & Economic Outlook 2020-2030 (Jan 2020)

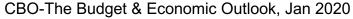


## **Fiscal Reality- Spending**

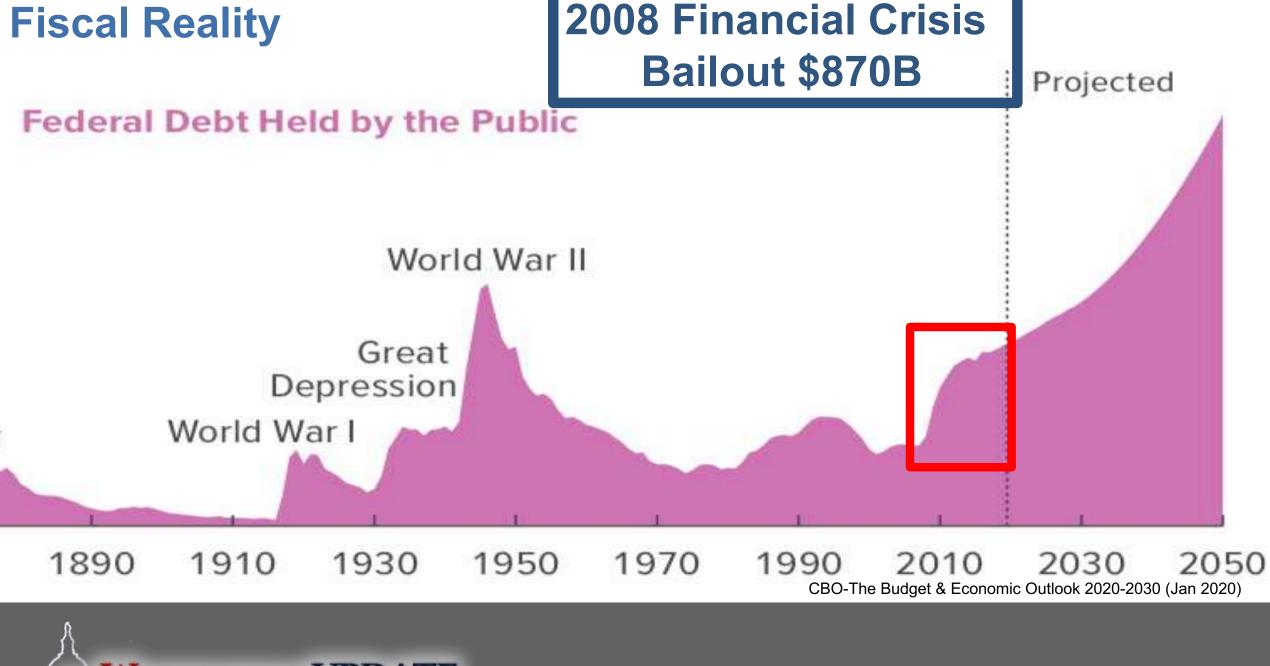
#### **Total Revenues and Outlays**

# 2008 Financial Crisis Bailout \$870B





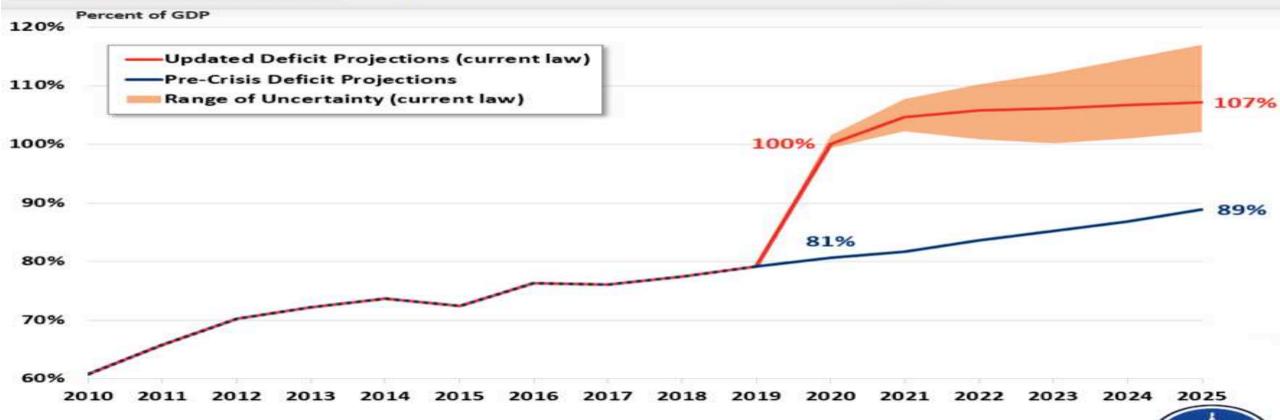






## **Fiscal Reality**

## Debt Will Equal Size of Economy This Year Equal Size of Economy This Year



Source: CRFB Calculations

Committee for a Responsible Budget (April 2020)



## Fiscal Reality- Testing Modern Monetary Theory (MMT)

MMT proposes that a country with its own currency, such as the U.S., doesn't have to worry about accumulating too much debt because it can always print more money to pay interest.

- Will absolutely, positively work until the day is doesn't
- Eventually, with a return to equities, oversupply of treasuries and the governments need to refinance debt, interest rates will be forced higher. Perhaps, un-affordably high





# Monetary policy and the Fed- Coronavirus

- Lowered rates- 0%-.25%
- Unlimited QE
  - Like 2008, purchasing treasuries & mortgage backed
- Also Purchasing
  - Corporate bonds
  - Loans backed by consumer goods (auto loans etc)
  - Commercial paper
- 4-Year bridge financing for investment grade companies
  - 6-Month deferral on interest payments
  - No share repurchases and no dividend payments during deferral
- Backstopping Money Market
- International Repo facility for foreign banks



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## **Voting In A Pandemic**

- State conventions in turmoil primarily due to the calendar
  - Live events vs. virtual
  - Platform debate challenged by mail-in or virtual methods
  - Convention goers savvy- Likely will be fine
- National conventions have a bit more time (August)
- National election concerns
  - Staffing due to coronavirus concerns
  - Turnout- 2020 was on pace to be a record turnout year
    - Double digit increase in voter enthusiasm vs. 2016 and 2012
    - Risk of last-minute changes due to a virus resurgence



# **Voting In A Pandemic**

#### Is Mail-In balloting the holy grail?

- Wisconsin primary proved the process can be problematic
- General election voters are NOT savvy as state convention goers
- 3 of 4 important states have split governments
  - Democrat Governors & Republican Legislatures (PA, MI & WI)
- 17 "most competitive" states have existing mail-in balloting in place
  - Participation varies from <10% to over 73%
  - State rules vary tremendously (deadlines, ID requirements, signature requirements etc.)
    - Slow return results
    - Added confusion, apathy and could lead to concerns of election legitimacy



# "I'm not a member of any organized party. I'm a Democrat."

Will Rogers



#### **Democratic Primaries**

#### **Federal**

Biden (VP)

Delaney (MD)

Gabbard (HI)

Klobuchar (MN)

Sanders (VT)

Warren (MA)

#### State

Bennet (CO)

Bloomberg (NY)

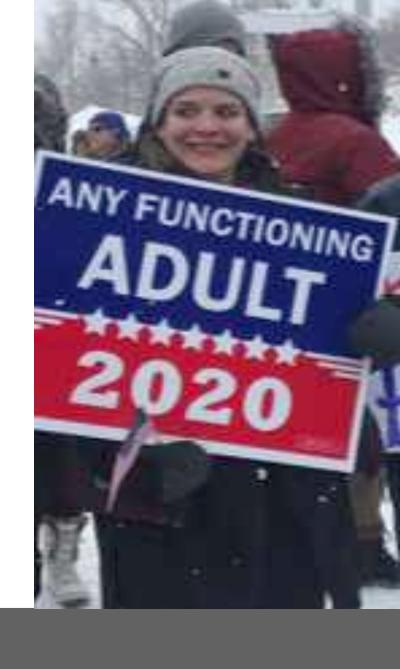
Buttigieg (IN)

Patrick (MA)

#### **Business**

Steyer

Yang



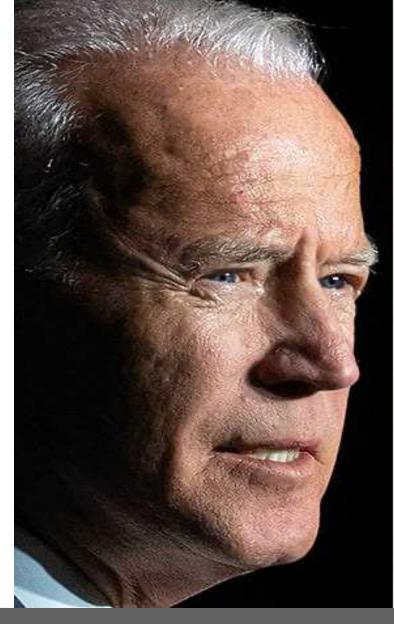


#### **Democratic Primaries**

# Joe Biden

# **Third Party Run**

- Justin Amash
- Mark Cuban?







#### **Democratic Primaries**

- Democrat crevasse- Progressive vs. Moderate
  - Progressive's agenda affects many sectors and adds market volatility
    - Pharmaceutical and health insurers: Medicare-for-All, drug pricing controls
    - Defense companies: reduced focus and funding for on defense
    - Energy companies: movement toward Green New Deal
    - Large tech breakups: Amazon, Apple, Facebook, Google
    - Financial services: restore Glass-Steagall, roll back deregulation, tax securities transactions

Sources: Wall Street Is Worried About Elizabeth Warren. It's Right to Take Her Seriously, Wash Post (Sept 20, 2019). Market Insider, 2-21-20



#### Healthcare

- BIDEN
- Goal- Increase affordability, decrease uninsured
- Medicare eligibility lowered to age 60
- End "surprise medical billing"
- ACA changes
  - "Medicare like" federal option in ACA exchange
    - All are eligible to participate
    - Auto enroll ALL uninsured
    - Employees can opt in vs. employer offered coverage
  - Increase premium subsidies
  - Lower family medical premiums to 8.5% of income
  - Subsidies based on Gold plan vs. Sliver
- Pursue "big medicine" with anti-trust action





#### Prescription Drugs

- Allow Medicare to negotiate drug prices
- Price increases limited to inflation
- Pricing subject to review of prices paid around the world
- Importation of select drugs
- Accelerate generics
- Addressing Pharma tactics to extend their patents
- Eliminate tax deduction for advertising drugs





## Social Security

- No means testing
  - Unclear about the existing income offsets
- After 20 years of receiving benefits, monthly payments go up
- Minimum benefit increased to 125% of the federal poverty level
- Increase widow benefit by 20%

#### Retirement

- Tax credits for start up plans (SECURE Act provides for this)
- "Automatic 401(k)" for those without an employer plan
- Caregivers would be eligible for "catch up" provisions
- Wages- \$15/hour federal minimum wage



- Student Debt- 44MM Americans have over \$1.5T
- BIDEN PRESIDENT

- 20% are behind in payments
- 2 years of Community College- debt free
  - 75% Federal/ 25% States
- State & certain private colleges
  - Tuition free for families earning <\$125k</li>
- Existing student debt forgiveness
  - Earning <\$25k- \$0 payments & zero interest</li>
  - Earning >\$25k- Payments no more than 5% of discretionary income
  - Loan forgiveness after 20 years of good payment history
- Public servants can qualify for up to \$50k of forgiveness
  - \$10k for each of 5 years of public service
- Double Pell Grants
- Can be discharged in bankruptcy



#### Infrastructure

- \$1.3T investment over 10 years
  - Resilient infrastructure
  - Using US workers/US materials
  - Clean water (lead pipes and contaminated water supply)
  - High speed raid across US/Light rail in urban areas
  - Reinstate CAFÉ standards
  - Broadband for rural/poor areas

#### Green Energy

- Net zero carbon emissions & 100% clean energy by 2050
- Rejoin Paris Climate Accord
- Leverage US economy to force adherence to carbon targets
- Double down on electric cars, solar, wind energy credits
- Small modular nuclear reactors





# **Biden Tax Proposals**

#### Individual taxes

- Repeal TCJA for the wealthy
- Highest marginal rate- 39.6%
- Parity between capital gains & marginal rates for high income
- Capping itemized deductions
- Payroll taxes on earnings above \$400K/year

#### Estate taxes

- \$3.5MM unified credit
- Tax %????
- No stepped-up basis at death

#### Corporate taxes

- 28% corporate tax rate
- 15% minimum book profit tax





#### **General Election**

# Be wary of national polls

Polling				
April 12, 2008	Obama (+0.4%)	McCain		
April 12, 2012	Obama (+4.3%)	Romney		
April 12, 2016	Clinton (+10.4%)	Trump		

- It's irrelevant how much response Trump gets in CA, MA, NY etc
- Why poll Trump supporters in those states?
- But national polls can influence perception & perpetuate momentum



#### **General Election**

# "It's no exaggeration to say that the undecideds could go one way or another."

President, George H. Bush

	Approve	Disapprove	Undecided
Job Approval	46%	48%	6%
Healthcare	42%	47%	8%
Economy	52%	40%	9%
Coronavirus	45%	47%	8%

The Economist/YouGov April 10-12, 2020



#### **General Election**

- Magic number: 270 Electoral College Votes
- Starting point: Dems 232, GOP 204
- 7 states in toss up: AZ, FL, NE, MI, NC, PA, WI
  - Turnout? All 7 allow mail in balloting, 3 of 4 "in play" states allow as well
- Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin
  - Republicans flipped these states, but only won by < 1%
  - Realistically, Trump's path to victory exclusively includes winning FL
  - Biden has more paths, some of which do not include FL, PA is key



#### **General Election- Coronavirus effect**

- ...handling has been a "tremendous success"
- "One or two people will be infected..."
- Open by Easter

President, Donald J. Trump



"Hand over your Purell."

#### 4 areas of political concern

- Capability- His ability to respond to a national crisis comes into question
- Credibility- Reality is more serious than his words suggest
- Economic-
  - U.S. Consumer confidence and demand reductions
  - Lingering effects could dampen GDP well after containment & market volatility
- Governors- Who gets the blame? Who gets the credit?

Art,:The Washington Post, March 4, 2020

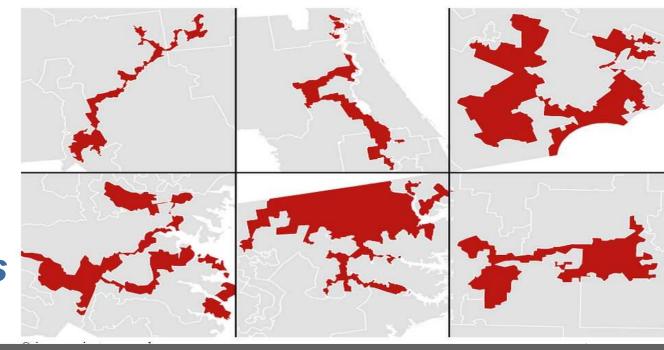


## **House of Representatives**

# GOP needs 19 seats to take the majority

- -31 Dem incumbents in Trump won districts
- 3 GOP incumbents in Clinton won districts
- 15 GOP members retiring
- 23 of 435 districts in play
  - Gerrymandering
  - Dems win 6, they keep control

Close election, but Democrats likely to keep the House





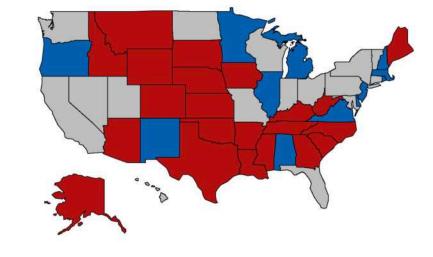
#### **Senate**

- Judges and legislative block
- Democrats
  - · Win a net 3 seats if they win the White House,
  - 4 seats if they don't



- GOP: Maine & Colorado
- Dems: Alabama & Michigan
- GOP Likely to win Alabama- changes the math tremendously
- Possible Dem pick-ups: Arizona, Colorado, Maine & Montana

# Senate Likely to stay Republican, But Democrats picking up steam





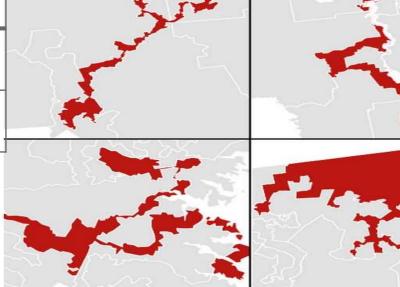
#### **State Control- Post 2020?**

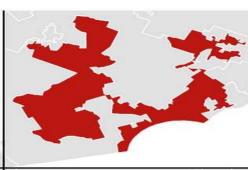
Governorships				
	2016	2018		
Republicans	33	27		
Democrats	17	23*		

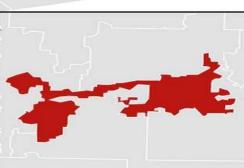
Governors & legislatures oversee redrawing of the U.S. House districts in most states

\*Democratic gains included PA & WI

Dem Legislature Control				
2016	17			
2018	23			









I'm Actually An Optimist

"You can always count on Americans to do the right thing...

[but only] after they've tried everything else."

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, United Kingdom



#### TO STAY CURRENT









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