After COVID

Politics & Policy in the Age of Pandemic
CONTENTS

AFTER COVID

Politics & Policy in the Age of Pandemic

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WE WERE NOT PREPARED

A Most Predictable Disaster
WE WERE WARNED

Everyone Saw This Coming

2003

2004

2005

2007

2009

2017

The next outbreak? We're not ready
Nations With Early, Widespread Testing Fared Best

# COVID Tests per million population (4/6/20)

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Source: Worldometers (as of 4/6/20)
WE WERE TOO VULNERABLE

Safety Net Lacking Even Before the Coronavirus Era...

- **53%** of U.S. households had no emergency savings
- **33.6M** civilian workers lacked paid sick leave
- **27.9M** non-elderly lacked health insurance
- **21.3M** lacked adequate broadband
- **550,000** homeless were living on streets

Sources: Emergency Savings; Sick Leave; Health Insurance; Broadband; Homeless
MEDIA OFTEN AFFIRMED RATHER THAN INFORMED

- CAN EITHER CORONAVIRUS OR BERNIE SANDERS BE STOPPED?
- THE CORONAVIRUS IS THE COMMON COLD, FOLKS,
- ZERO PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
- AND THE FACTS ARE ACTUALLY PRETTY REASSURING,
- "SHUTDOWN IS INEVITABLE" ACKMAN'S ADVICE TO PRESIDENT
WE RESISTED CHANGE & SLOW-ROLLED INNOVATION

**U.S. Congress**

19 years after 9/11 attacks shut down U.S. airspace, Congress still has no plan to work remotely in emergencies.

**Schools**

Section 807

Fire and emergency drills

Education (EDN)

1. It shall be the duty of every public or private school or educational institution within the state, other than colleges and universities, to require all such schools, so that they may in a sudden emergency be able to respond appropriately in the shortest possible time, that a fire and emergency drill shall be held at least twelve times in each school year, eight of which required drills shall be held between September first and December thirty-first of each such year. Eight of all such drills shall be evacuation drills, four of which shall be through use of the fire escapes on buildings where fire escapes are provided or through the use of identified secondary means of egress. Four of all such required drills shall be lock-down drills. Drills shall be conducted at different times of the school day. Pupils shall be instructed in the procedure to be

**Health Care**

Policy barriers to Telehealth services limited initial reach, readiness & affordability.

**Elections**

Many states prohibit secure voting from home.

Source: Axios (elections); Telehealth (NYT)
WE UNDER-FUNDED PREPAREDNESS & LACKED SURGE CAPACITY

CDC State & Local Preparedness & Response Capabilities

HHS Hospital Preparedness Program

Practicing Physicians per 1,000 people

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Hospital Beds per 1,000 people

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Sources: NIH, CDC, Peterson-KFF Health System Tracker
WHAT TO EXPECT IN 2020

Congress & the Elections
**THE $9 TRILLION CONGRESS?**

*In addition to funding FY21 (~$5T by 9/30/20), this Congress will spend to...*

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<th>Near-Term</th>
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<td><strong>STABILIZE</strong></td>
<td><strong>RECOVER</strong></td>
<td><strong>REFORM</strong></td>
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**1. $8.3B** for CDC vaccine & treatment development, improved surveillance & protective gear

**2. $192B** for paid sick leave, food aid (SNAP), Medicaid funding, virus testing coverage

**3. $2.2T** to subsidize families, sustain small business payrolls, help state & local governments, fund health care surge, help unemployed, food stamps, election assistance & loans to larger employers

**3/6 Phase**

**3/18 Phase**

**3/25 Phase**

**April**

**~$484B** to more fully-fund small business loans (~380B), hospitals (75B) & testing (25B)

**3.5**

**$X$T** to help state/local gov’ts, hospitals, front-line workers, USPS, small & medium-sized employers) + jobs program to revive hiring via tax credits, infrastructure (water, roads, bridges, broadband) & education... *Expect ideological fights over energy, election assistance, taxes*

**~Summer**

**$XXB** for systemic reforms re pandemic readiness, education & student debt, telehealth, social safety nets, systemic risks & rescues... *major oversight***

**~TBD**

Updated 4/26/2020; **Aggressive Oversight is coming:** [here](#)
We’re All Modern Monetary Theorists Now

Deficit as a Share of U.S. GDP

Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (2001-2019); *CFRB projection (4/13/20)
THE GREAT RE-OPENING DEBATE COMING SOON

Whether, When & How to Re-Start?

THE NEW NORMAL
- A Half-Speed Economy: investment, consumption, trade, growth
- Temperature checks to travel, dine, go to work, attend class
- Rolling regional flare-ups & lock-downs (red / green zones)
- Ubiquitous masks, wipes, re-designed public spaces

BACK TO BUSINESS, MORE OR LESS
- More Zoom conferences, less business travel
- More WFH, less real estate
- More productivity & automation, less FTEs
- More Trust = More Business (Safety as Differentiator)

THE ANTIBODIES ECONOMY
- COVID immunity tests are the new I-9 Forms
- Salary premiums for “uninfectables”... “CV” on your CV?
- Smarter quarantine spaces (safer, connected COVID hotels)
- Is excluding higher-risk people protective or discriminatory?

Sources: Photos licensed from AP, 123rf; UPDATED 5/10
STRONG CRISIS LEADERSHIP IS OFTEN REWARDED...

Americans Appreciate Strength, Resolve & Empathy

2012: How Important to your vote was President Obama’s Response to Hurricane Sandy?
- 15% The Most Important Factor (broke 73%-26% for Obama)
- 27% An Important Factor (broke 65%-33% for Obama)

2004: Do You Trust President Bush To Handle Terrorism?
- 58% YES (broke 85%-14% for Bush)
- 40% NO (broke 94%-4% for Kerry)

Sources: Exit Polls (2004, 2012)
How Perceptions of World Leaders Have Shifted in the Wake of the Coronavirus Outbreak

- Macron
- Merkel
- Johnson
- Abe
- Trump
- Obrador
- Morrison
- Trudeau
- Bolsanaro

WHO declares a pandemic

Net approval (approval minus disapproval) among each country’s general population

Sources: Morning Consult
2020 WILL BE A REFERENDUM ON TRUMP’S COVID LEADERSHIP

What Trump Will Say to Win Reelection

Strong Wartime Leader + Others to Blame + Superior Choice

“Donald Trump’s Strong Wartime Leadership Saved Millions of Lives & Trillions of Dollars”

President Trump also criticizing:
- Unprepared Governors
- Biased Mainstream Media
- Past Administrations
- Impeachment distraction
- Partisan bureaucrats
- World Health Organization

“I created the greatest economy once and I can do it again... Joe Biden is a career politician whose liberal agenda will make things worse.”

Sources: Goy; MSM; Past Admins; Impeachment; Partisans; WHO
2020 WILL BE A REFERENDUM ON TRUMP’S COVID LEADERSHIP

What Biden Will Say to Defeat the President

Trump Failed + “Lies & Mistakes” + Better Alternative

“America suffered the most cases, costs & deaths due to Trump’s failed leadership”

MOST COVID CASES

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MOST COVID DEATHS

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“We’ve had enough division and chaos... it’s time for a competent leader who will unite us and rebuild.”

Source: Worldometers COVID data (7/26 at 3pm)
NON-TRADITIONAL CAMPAIGN HELPS NON-TRADITIONAL CANDIDATE

**Visuels**

**Followers**

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<tr>
<td>Keep America Great</td>
<td>80.1M</td>
<td>5.5M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29.4M</td>
<td>2.0M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: TWRT / FB (5/21)

**Fundraising**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cash on Hand (3/31/2020)</th>
<th>Trump &amp; RNC*</th>
<th>Biden &amp; DNC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$244M</td>
<td>$57M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NYT ($$$); * “and related committees”

**Enthusiasm**

- **Trump Supporters**
  - Very enthusiastic: 53%
  - Supporters who could be persuaded NOT to vote for: 25%

- **Biden Supporters**
  - Very enthusiastic: 43%
  - Supporters who could be persuaded NOT to vote for: 17%

Sources: ABC (enthusiastic); Grinnell College (persuadable)
BUT ECONOMIC RECESSIONS HISTORICALLY INCUMBENT-KILLERS...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RECESSION?</th>
<th>President (Year)</th>
<th>REELECTION?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Obama (2012)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Bush43 (2004)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Clinton (1996)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Reagan (1984)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Nixon (1972)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>LBJ (1964)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>IKE (1956)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Truman (1948)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>FDR (1944)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>FDR (1940)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>FDR (1936)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Wilson (1916)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No Recession in 2 Years Before Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RECESSION?</th>
<th>President (Year)</th>
<th>REELECTION?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>Bush41 (1992)</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>Carter (1980)</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>Ford (1976)</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>Hoover (1932)</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>Coolidge (1924)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>Taft (1912)</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recession in 2 Years Before Election

Sources: Recessions (Wikipedia); Observation (Adrian Gray)
...AND INCUMBENTS STRUGGLE AMIDST RISING UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment Momentum Matters (12 months before Reelections)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unemployment Rate</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>Incumbent Pop. Vote Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>October Year Before</strong></td>
<td><strong>October Election Year</strong></td>
<td><strong>CHANGE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>-36.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.1%</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>-15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>-15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>-15.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>-11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>-9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>-8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>-8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>-7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>-5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>-5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>-3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>+4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>+25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>+48.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>???</td>
<td>&gt; +100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BLS data
VOTERS UNLIKELY TO AGREE ON FACTS & TRUTH

When an Unstoppable Virus Meets Immovable Minds
THE ONLY “OCTOBER SURPRISE” WILL BE NO SURPRISES IN OCTOBER

WHAT IF COVID-19 returns aggressively in Fall 2020, as Spanish Flu did in 1918?

WHAT IF states need to lock down the week of the election?

WHAT IF a Governor orders quarantines for blue cities but not red suburbs?

WHAT IF at-higher-risk seniors must stay home while those under 30 can vote?

WHAT IF we cannot determine who won on election night?

WHAT IF voters or election officials refuse to bring or wear a mask?

Sources: Photos licensed from AP, mask added by FischerYates
AFTER COVID-19

10 Predictions for Post-Pandemic Policy & Politics
#1. NEW PSYCHOLOGY WILL DRIVE NEW PRIORITIES

**BEFORE COVID**

**EFFICIENCY**
- **G:** Fund Stockpiles & Excess Capacity
- **B:** Supply Chain Optionality, Process Redesign
- **I:** Car > Metro; Suburb > City; Prepper-Nation

**INTERDEPENDENCE**
- **G:** Industrial Base, Migration Limits
- **B:** Less Global, More Vertical Integration
- **I:** Home Cooking, Working, Schooling; DIY

**LEVERAGE / RISK**
- **G:** More Regulation, Bigger Safety Nets
- **B:** New Liability Risks, Safety Procedures; More Liquidity
- **I:** Rent > Own; Big Employer > Startup

**ABUNDANCE**
- **G:** Incur Less Debt, Find More Revenue
- **B:** Deeper Reserves, Fewer Dividends/Buybacks
- **I:** Save More, Spend Less, Borrow Less

**AFTER COVID**

**RESILIENCE**

**SELF-SUFFICIENCY**

**MARGIN / SAFETY**

**AUSTERITY**

---

**G:** Government  
**B:** Business  
**I:** Individuals  

UPDATED 5/10
#2. THE 4th INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION WILL ACCELERATE DISRUPTION

**Digitizing Government, Education & Health Care**

**Reducing Risk, Cost & Carbon in Transportation**

**Enabling Earlier Warnings & Faster Cures**

**Manufacturing Faster With Shorter Supply Chains**

**Making Cities Safer, Cleaner & Smarter**

**Enabling New Jobs & New Work Opportunities**
Multilateralism Was Sick Before COVID, Downward Spiral Possible

“PRE-EXISTING CONDITION”
2017-2020 trade wars undermined multi-lateral institutions, cooperation & readiness
- Weakened EU, G20, UN, US, WHO & WTO
- Trade fights undermined leaders’ trust & communications

“VIRULENT NEW MALADY”
Concurrent outbreaks mean most nations need the same supplies at the same time
- Fighting over access to masks, meds, ventilators & closed borders
- Dishonest data sharing slowed many nations’ responses

“CHRONIC DISEASE”
U.S.-China friction growing amid fights over source of virus & Chinese honesty about deaths & cases
- Ongoing battles over Huawei & trade harder in recession
- China growing its own soft power by aiding nations in need (U.S. is not)

“ORGAN FAILURES”
Many emerging economies now risk failure as developed nations lack will, resources to help
- Refugee crises likely but health risks may create catastrophe
- Power vacuums invite non-state actors (e.g. ISIS)

“LONG-TERM PROGNOSIS”
World Wars were failures of diplomacy fixed by multilateralism... more Nationalism likelier this time
- Recovery as a competition (tariffs, domestic preferences)
- Increased border controls, resource competition & supply chain diversification
#4. WE WILL RE-EXAMINE FREEDOM’S TRADE-OFFS

**Make COVID Vaccine Mandatory?**

  - Let Parents Decide, 25%
  - Mandatory, 72%

**Use Cell Phones to Contact Trace?**

- Tech Co’s Sharing Location Data w/ Govt to Track COVID
  - Comfortable, 35%
  - Not Comfortable, 57%

**Limit Deceptive Speech on Platforms?**

- There Are Places Free Speech Should Be Restricted
  - No, 30%
  - Yes, 61%

**Impose National Quarantines?**

- Support a National Quarantine
  - Oppose, 19%
  - Support, 74%
#5. ACTIVISM WILL INCREASE... COVID IS THE NEW CLIMATE CHANGE

**THIS TIME IS DIFFERENT:**

**Payouts Bigger, Pain Greater, Social Media More Ubiquitous...**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Net Payouts</th>
<th>Peak Unemployed</th>
<th>Social Media %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial Crisis (‘08-’09)</td>
<td>~$500B</td>
<td>8.6M</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COVID Pandemic (‘20-)</td>
<td>&gt;$3T</td>
<td>&gt;40M</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

THIS TIME IS DIFFERENT:

- Payouts Bigger,
- Pain Greater,
- Social Media More Ubiquitous...

---

**Likely Leading to Further Radicalization of the Fringes...**

**...BUT this time business is part of the solution, not the problem**

---

**Sources:** Net ‘09 Bailout (Lucas, MIT); Peak Unemployed ‘09 (Forbes); Social Media (Pew)
#6. POPULISM WILL KEEP RISING, BUT 2020 POPULISTS AT RISK

What Did They Know and When Did They Know It?

Xi “was leading the epidemic response when Wuhan went ahead with New Year celebrations despite the risk of wider infections... let some 5M people leave Wuhan without screening and... waited until Jan. 20 to announce the virus was spreading between humans.” (WSJ)

“The risk to the American people remains very low... within a couple of days is going to be down to close to zero. That’s a pretty good job we’ve done.” (CNBC)

“Johnson's government is under growing pressure to explain why it has failed to mirror other European countries in implementing widespread coronavirus testing...” (Business Intelligence)

Brazilians “never catch anything. You see some bloke jumping into the sewage, he gets out, has a dive, right? And nothing happens to him.” (Guardian)

“Criticism has mounted over the lack of planning ahead of the shutdown, which was introduced with less than 4 hours' notice. Many of India's 1.3 billion citizens have been left jobless and hungry. Tens of thousands of migrant labourers have been forced to walk hundreds of kilometres to their native villages.” (BBC)

Sources: Xi (WSJ); Trump (CNBC); Johnson (BI); Bolsonaro (Guardian); Modi (BBC)
#7. THE “TECHLASH” MAY PAUSE BUT WILL RETURN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONCERNS BEFORE COVID</th>
<th>IMPACT OF CRISIS</th>
<th>OUTLOOK POST-PANDEMIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Too Much <strong>Market Power</strong></td>
<td>FAANG gaining market power &amp; dominance</td>
<td>Renewed scrutiny awaits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Insufficient Consumer Protections</strong></td>
<td>Privacy trade-offs for health; Cyber risks up</td>
<td>New rules likelier than before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Platforms</strong> Rife with Bad Actors, Biased in Censorship</td>
<td>Aggressive policing of misinformation &amp; price gouging, mixed results</td>
<td>Battles over censorship rules &amp; rights will return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Too Global &amp; Over-Exposed to China</strong></td>
<td>Increased global frictions, especially U.S.-China</td>
<td>Global markets &amp; supply chains harder to maintain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Undermining the Social Compact</strong></td>
<td>Tech stepped-up big: led on safety, supplies, charity &amp; productivity</td>
<td>Coming fights over tax, automation, inequality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
#8. MORE ASSET BUBBLES LIKELY IN SEARCH FOR YIELD

_Central Banks’ 0% Rates & QE∞ Drive Investors to Riskier Bets_

**Chart of the week**
Central bank balance sheet in U.S. dollars, 2004-2020

Source: BlackRock Investment Institute, with data from Refinitiv Datastream, April 2020. Notes: The chart shows the size of the balance sheet of each central bank.
#9. COVID INEQUALITIES MAY WIDEN SOCIAL DIVISIONS

## States vs States

### Among Races

COVID Deaths per 100k
(Comparing Majority White vs Black vs Other Counties)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>COVID Deaths per 100k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Rich vs Poor

Income → $75k+ | <$30k

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$75k+</th>
<th>&lt;$30k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remotely working now</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has home broadband</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child access to computer</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Pew (home computer, broadband); Ipsos (remote work); WaPo (race)
#10. INITIATIVE WILL ACCELERATE AWAY FROM WASHINGTON

Accelerating Pre-Existing Trend Towards Activist Local Leadership

Why Trust in Feds Is Low & Falling
- Early errors undermined response
- Bureaucratic snafus slowing relief $$$
- Alleged insider trading by lawmakers
- Lack of leadership by example
- Self-described “backup” to States
- No credible oversight for unprecedented spending, future “Solyndras” likely

Why Non-Washington Leaders Trusted
- Offered hard truths, built credibility early
- Governors & Mayors took responsibility
- CEOs led efforts to socially-distance
- NGOs offering safety net backstops
- Local leaders less framed by hyper-partisanship & “angertainment” TV

Sources: Monmouth Poll (Apr. 2020); Governors’ high bipartisan approval (WSJ)
REASONS FOR HOPE
AMERICANS STOOD TALL
“Pet Adoptions Soar in NYC”

“Neighbors Welcome Home for 15 Year-Old After Last Chemo Treatment”
INNOVATORS ARE STEPPING UP, KEEPING US...

Productive
Zoom

Provisioned
Walmart

Informed
Twitter

Protected
3M

Entertained
iHeart Radio

Healed
MAYO CLINIC

Seen
TELADOC

Covered
Humana

Happy
TikTok

Tested
verily

Fed
Instacart

Breathing
Medtronic

Connected

Cared For
NewYork-Presbyterian

Connected
Epic

Examined
Ascension

Networked
dish

Solvent
citi
1. Have a Good Answer to “How Did You Help During the Great Pandemic?”
   - Quantify what you did for your employees, customers, community & nation
   - Identify stakeholders who will help tell your story in the months ahead

2. Leverage the Opportunity to Build a Better Business
   - Become more disruption-resilient via cloud, mobile, telework tools & telehealth benefit
   - Harden systems against hacking, ransomware, supply chain disruptions

3. Have Credible Solutions to the New Major Challenge
   - What will grow employment, increase resilience or save money?
   - Engage policymakers soon (while they’re home and eager to get to work)

4. Prepare to Engage Reformers on the Systemic Failures Exposed
   - What do 21st century safety nets need to look like, and how do we pay for them?
   - How to enable inclusive growth that leverages & helps focus market forces?

5. Think Globally, Act Locally
   - Diversify supply chain optionality while defending trade & global engagement
   - Lead by example in supporting global institutions aimed at shared challenges
is one of the nation’s most innovative government relations firms, offering strategic solutions to companies, trade associations, non-profits, and entrepreneurs that help them succeed in Washington.

**Mehlman Castagnetti—Rosen & Thomas**

**RECENT MCR&T ANALYSES:**


