

Nomi Prins

Critical Risk: The Lurking Dangers of Global Central Bank Policies, Private Bank Portfolios and the Markets

(Summary)

Date: 14 November, 2016 Venue: CIGS Meeting Room, Tokyo, Japan **Ms. Nomi Prins:** Private banks, central banks, and governments really work together to create risk in the world and in regions and countries. I want to provide an analysis of how those elements interact.

The Artisanal Money Era – Increased Central Bank Power in an Unstable Environment

The financial crisis in the United States was caused, among other reasons, by a faulty banking system and a faulty regulatory system. That crisis continues to impact how the world does business, as well as how central banks and markets operate. We have seen a realignment of countries and markets, signaling the beginning of what I call the Artisanal Money Era. In the Artisanal Money Era, central banks manufacture different forms of money for different purposes within their own countries, while at the same time pursuing coordinated efforts to protect the global economy. This didn't happen in the past.

Before the crisis, central banks acted independently for their own countries, for their own economies, for their own rates, and to an extent for their own currencies related to the rest of the world. However, during the crisis, central banks began to act differently, partly as a reaction to what the Federal Reserve did in the United States to protect the position of the United States.

This has led to the continuation of policies that originally began as emergency measures. That is problematic in terms of finding an exit from these policies. It is not yet clear how or if this will be implemented by the new President in the United States, or what the Bank of Japan or other central banks are going to do moving forward. The fact that these policies continue to be in effect eight years after they began indicates that the banking system remains unstable.

If the banking system were stable, it wouldn't need to have 0% interest rates for eight years. Since the time of the financial crisis, the big six banks in the United States in particular (JPMorgan Chase, Citigroup, Bank of America, Wells Fargo, Goldman Sachs, and Morgan Stanley) have benefited greatly from the period of cheap, or "artisanal" money. Low interest rates have allowed them to sustain their liquidity and their ability to function, as well as their bad positions. Their behavior is further bolstered by the subsidies they received, as well as Federal Reserve and Governmental policies that continue to assist them.

If the policies of the Federal Reserve changed now, it would have tremendous effects worldwide. For instance, when there is a fear of an interest rate hike, the banks and markets tend to become very concerned. The 25-basis-point rise last December crushed the markets of the world very quickly, which is why there hadn't been another rise throughout much of 2016. The Federal Reserve continues to pay close attention to not only how the US economy is performing, but also the global financial system itself.

The financial system remains unstable. In various degrees in the United States, Europe, Japan, and China, banks and markets continue to depend on central banks subsidization. Because of that, we face a situation in which there is the possibility that any one bank could still cause a widespread crisis, because fundamentally, banks have not changed. The banks that were at the center of the crisis have not changed.

The Trump Presidency and Its Implications for the US Banking System

There was an election in the United States last month, and there will be a new president on January 20th, 2017. Already, Trump has started to put together his cabinet. He campaigned and won on a strategy of being anti-establishment, and outside of the current elite, established, political, corporate, and financial players.

However, since he won, many of the people up for senior positions in his cabinet have been from the establishment. That is going to have ramifications in terms of larger changes with respect to foreign policy and trade policy. However, it is not going to change conditions very much for banking.

During the campaign and the debates, Trump said that he and his party, the Republican Party, would reinstate the Glass-Steagall Act. This is an act that was passed in 1933 in the wake of the Great Depression. It was a period of isolationism and deregulation in the United States, so it was perhaps similar to today. The Glass-Steagall act requires the separation of banking responsibilities, such that companies handling deposits and loans cannot handle anything speculative or related or derivatives.

Although Congress will be controlled by the Republican Party, it is probably against the idea of reinstating Glass-Steagall, even though that is in the Republican platform right now. It remains to be seen what will happen. Conversely, Trump has also said he intends to deregulate other parts of the banking system.

Global Changes Affecting the Financial Sector

Another result of the financial crisis has been a rise in anxiety and nationalism throughout the world. One manifestation of this was the Brexit vote in the United Kingdom. That created a lot of volatility. It slammed the British Pound down. That said, it also created a lot of opportunities for countries outside of Europe to realign business and trade partnerships.

Another development lately is the addition of the Renminbi to the IMF's Special Drawing Rights basket in October. In fact, the proportion of Renminbi in the IMF basket is the third highest out of all the currencies in the basket, beneath only the US Dollar and the Euro. This is something to watch. It was the result of a push from the People's Bank of China as well as a political statement.

There has been a large shift in Asia since the financial crisis. I think the situation is still in developing stages, but the global financial order is shifting from the west to the east. As the Federal Reserve has worked to dictate global policy as a coordinator in order to maintain stability in the banking and financial sectors, more alliances have been happening outside of the United States – for example, the BRICS Bank. The idea of the BRICS having their own development bank instead of finances being sorted out by the IMF or the World Bank shows that a shift is occurring. Side arrangements like this related to currency, trade, and capital flows don't necessarily include the United States, but they are not necessarily anti-US arrangements. I think it could have been possible for these deals to happen without the crisis, but when you have a crisis, it tends to make things in flux happen faster.

The Message of the US Election for the Financial Sector

I have been working in the United States as a journalist, and following the election. Trump won, among other reasons, because of a sort of anti-establishment or anti-neoliberalism backlash. But his victory also had a lot to do with the people's financial anxiety.

When I say people, I mean voters in small towns and rural areas. People are angry about their lives and want change. Trump presented himself as a change, even though he is filling his cabinet with establishment figures and people from Wall Street. What he will do, and what he said during the campaign, will be different.

Trump spent a lot of time talking about abolishing or renegotiating parts of NAFTA. That was something that played well with voters. The idea that NAFTA took jobs away from the United States was something that people responded to very well in the polls –

and not just Republican voters, but independent voters and even some Democrat voters as well. These are people who were concerned about their own financial futures.

Trump talked about abolishing the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Obama announced that he would basically take a hands-off approach to the issue as his term comes to an end. It remains to be seen what will happen with Trump as to whether he will take a more isolationist policy or whether it will be— a more "divide-and-conquer approach" to trade relationships featuring many smaller trade deals.

Trump has put forth an idea to potentially tax US corporations or multinational corporations for taking jobs outside the United States. That idea has already been met by opposition from the Head of the House of Representatives, Paul Ryan. There is some tension there. It remains to be seen what will happen.

Trump has talked about reinstating Glass-Steagall, but at the same time, he has also talked about reducing some of the regulations put in place on the banking system by the Dodd-Frank Act in 2010. The reason for that is because, although the Dodd-Frank Act has regulated big banks, it has also required a lot of rural, smaller banks to abide by additional regulations as well. A lot of the voters for Trump, came from rural America and were associated with smaller bank groups. If he does try to reduce regulations on the smaller banks, because the larger banks will have a lot of influence on the regulations, it's likely that regulations will subsequently be reduced for all banks, and that's going to potentially lead to some problems.

Trump has talked a lot about foreign policy and trade, and if anything, I think he will focus on trade relative to Mexico and NAFTA first. I think it's very possible that something like another version of the TPP happens, but perhaps on a fragmented basis, or called something else, or with slightly different rules.

Market Distortion Due to Central Bank Policies

The private banks and central banks hold immense power now. Low interest rates of 0%, bond purchasing programs, qualitative and quantitative easing – all of this, which I call artisanal money, supports markets, but it also distorts them.

For the past eight years, whenever it is rumored that there will be a rate hike or the lessening of quantitative easing, markets slump. Whenever stimulus packages are offered, markets rise. The result of all of this has been artificially high securities prices and a lack of change in the banking system.

There could have been more change in the wake of the crisis, but there was not. The Dodd-Frank Act did not make the big banks smaller. It did not make them less complex. It did not even get rid their leaders.

The net result of post-crisis policies was cheap money that banks can now use to get away with a lot. They can get away with keeping deposits and not paying interest on them. They can get away with having more customers, because they are bigger. They can get away with charging higher interest on credit cards, student loans, and other types of small business loans that these low rates would dictate. Rather than being required to use money to fund small businesses, infrastructure, or sustainable long-term projects and jobs, they received money and subsidies with no stipulations.

One could argue that it is not the place of a central bank to regulate stipulations. On the other hand, we have also never had a zero-interest rate policy and this level of subsidization, so perhaps it is now time for central banks to assume that role.

If we don't demand anything in return, we won't get anything in return. In the United States and Europe, in the wake of the financial crisis, there have been continued crimes, investigations, fines, and settlements of hundreds of billions of dollars. Not only have the central banks not demanded private banks to be more responsive and responsible, we have seen private banks move in the opposite direction.

One of the things that I am doing for my next book, which is called *Artisans of Money*, is going through all the records of statements made by major central banks since 2008 to see what the result of those statements were. In many cases, there has been a coordinated effort amongst central banks to promote policies that helped their own markets on an isolated basis during times of downturn, but not necessarily local economies. That is not something that we saw before 2008 on this kind of global scale.

Given we already have zero or negative interest rates, there isn't a lot that central banks can do now if something else goes wrong. Plus, it's unclear what still must be done to stimulate economies and solidify the banking systems in places with zero or negative percent interest rates, because if it hasn't happened yet, what will it take? These policies are not going to just magically start working.

Banks are addicted to cheap global capital. With that, they find short term betting opportunities and leave very quickly when they dry up. Given the globalized nature of capital flow and central bank collaboration, it is hard to maintain one national policy, one central bank policy, that works for any one country in isolation. Yet that is what central banks have been trying to do, while also balancing global requests emanating from the US Federal Reserve.

Meanwhile, the IMF has gained much influence in the Artisanal Money Era. It has taken a larger position politically. It has become more active in its work with currencies and to provide warnings. There has been a shift of influence from the World Bank to the IMF. It's almost as if the World Bank is absent, because the IMF is just involved in so much in comparison. It is seemingly in charge of currency reallocation, adjustments with respect to China, and discussions related to gold.

Problem Banks, and the Outlook for Further Regulations in the United States

In the United States, we are seeing fines for JPMorgan Chase, Deutsche Bank, and to a lesser extent Wells Fargo. They have all done and been fined for large crimes. Of the three, JPMorgan Chase has a tremendous amount of influence politically.

Recently Deutsche Bank is in the news because the US Department of Justice wants to fine it \$14.5 billion for crimes related to mortgage securities fraud. Before Trump was elected, I would have guessed they would have a good chance of lowering that in a settlement, but with the Trump administration in power, the new Attorney General might be more likely to fine a foreign bank, as the United States enters a more isolationist period. Yet Trump has ties to Deutsche Bank, so it could go either way.

In general, the biggest US banks are 37% larger than they were before the crisis. It seems that not only have they not been fixed, but they have grown. Fines might not necessarily fix that problem.

Central banks are creating liquidity, but it isn't necessarily reaching the real economy. Bank of America reported in the earlier part of the year that almost all the increased equity values we have seen, an amount that equals half of global GDP, were due to central bank policies. If central banks take those policies away, it could cause a big fall, which is why they do not.

The problems of the banking system are not over; they are just hidden under the rug by central bank policies. I think many look at certain economic facts – and the equity markets or stock markets being up – as indicators of stability. In fact, if central bank stimuli stopped, everything would crash.

In addition, many of the top ten banks, like JPMorgan Chase, Bank of America, HSBC, or Credit Suisse, are considered riskier now because of the makeup of their derivatives portfolios, the fines that they have paid, and the crimes for which they are still being investigated. All the problems are still very real. Seven of the top eight US banks failed a stress test given to them by the Federal Reserve and FDIC (five failed both the Federal Reserve and the FDIC test, the other two each failed one) that was supposed to measure their response to regulatory concerns.

Conclusion – An Era of Powerful Central Banks

Markets fall and rise now because of the movements of central banks. It remains up in the air how politics will impact this going forward, but generally central banks operate independent of which party is in power. It is unclear whether Trump will regulate the banks, but it's more likely he will deregulate them.

I expect central banks will continue to be very powerful. I doubt the Federal Reserve will raise interest rates much in the future. If it does, it's only going to be 25 basis points, and it's going to cause markets to crash again. If that happens, I don't think they will raise rates again after that for the rest of next year.

The banking system did not improve much following the financial crisis. Central banks have served to subsidize private banks, and the money they have offered for that has not gone into the real economy. Further shocks to the financial system in the future will require action by central banks, but as long as the economy is stable, I don't expect them to do much. Central banks have been trying to help push off debt into the future to allow time for economies to grow. In theory, this makes sense. However, these actions haven't really paid off yet. The world remains in an uncertain, central bank reliant state.

Kotegawa: I have two questions to you first.

Number one is regarding the reinstatement of Glass-Steagall. Trump introduced into his platform the reinstatement of Glass-Steagall, but you said that Congress will not allow it. On the other hand, many very prominent economists have advocated for it. Why do you think Congress will not allow the reinstatement of Glass-Steagall?

Second, you said that the victory of Trump was supported by people who are anti-establishment. He is now bringing in people from the establishment, perhaps even Jamie Dimon, of JPMorgan Chase. Is there a worry that the people who supported his campaign might revolt?

Ms. Nomi Prins: I think a modern version of Glass-Steagall should be passed for all the reasons that I've talked about and the fact that these banks are bigger than they were before the crisis. It would send a message throughout the US and the world that it's not okay to commit crimes. We have a responsibility, I think, to pass Glass-Steagall again.

When it was repealed in 1999 under the Bill Clinton administration, the argument for repealing it was to make US banks more globally competitive. That argument resonated in Congress then, and I think it still does for senators in general.

Secondly, Wall Street, and the securities and investment community, pays more money to get politicians elected than any other industry in the United States. If there is a serious effort to bring back Glass-Steagall, they will become really upset. When Dodd-Frank was being considered in 2010, Wall Street had thousands of lobbyists in Washington working to rewrite its language. I think that would happen again.

Thirdly, on the Democratic side Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren are the two main senators who have been proponents of bringing back Glass-Steagall, but there isn't a major senator on board with that on the Republican side. There would have to be a group of Republican senators who would want to take this on.

Will Donald Trump use his political capital to fight for Glass-Steagall? I am a big proponent for it, but I don't know.

Now as for Jamie Dimon, who is the Chairman and CEO of JPMorgan Chase, he's been approached by Trump's transition team. I think that is an indication that nothing is going to change with respect to Wall Street.

When Glass-Steagall passed in 1933, it passed because the man who ran Chase, Winthrop Aldrich, a Republican, worked with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a Democrat. Both of them wanted Glass-Steagall to begin with. That's not the kind of thing that happens today. I think it's important for the world, but politically it's going to be difficult.

Will people in the country become disillusioned? I think they might, but it's going to take a while. He is already not who they think they elected.

Questioner 1: You talk as if Jamie Dimon were a villain, but he is a very smart and intelligent banker, and very successful. He squared up positions related to subprime mortgages in 2007, while other banks went further into them and did many wrong things.

Nomi Prins: He's definitely respected in the commercial banking community. He's not evil in person, but from the standpoint of the direction of leadership at JPMorgan Chase, I think it is interesting how he has distanced himself as the bank has pled guilty to foreign exchange rigging fraud, Libor manipulation, mortgage-related fraud, credit card related fraud, and so on, in the wake of the financial crisis. He's had a unique position in the bank for the entire time that these crimes went on. He's not evil, but he does bear some responsibility for his institution.

Questioner 1: What about other people Trump has been talking to in the industry?

Nomi Prins: I think Ken Walsh will be involved in the Trump administration. I think Steven Mnuchin may get a position. I think he has a good chance of being the Chief Economic Advisor or Treasury Secretary.

Questioner 2: What should central banks do moving forward? What combination of policies should global leaders strive to implement in the current environment of the global economy?

Second, obviously the new Trump administration is pro-spending. Many economists support that but what kind of debt do you think the new administration will accept, especially given that it shows a tendency toward protectionism?

Nomi Prins: In the beginning, many of the central bank policies we see today were put into place to stabilize the economy. That was the original reason they were adopted in

2008. The current perception that central banks should help the economy is a misalignment of their role, and yet they have become linked to growth in their economies.

On the one hand, in the US we have near zero interest rates, and quantitative easing, and we have treasury securities as debt being issued. A significant portion of that debt is bought by the private banking system and finds it way as reserves to central banks, creating a feedback loop that is disconnected from real economies. This issue represents \$4.5 trillion in assets and treasury securities that are still supporting big banks on the books of the US Fed. None of that is going into the economy.

Many economists, and people in the mainstream media, are thus debating what kind of stimulus actually works for the real economy – fiscal or monetary? There have been some fiscal stimuli, but they have been overshadowed by monetary ones, which affect global markets. These stimuli do not support long-term infrastructure or main street growth, but speculative bubbles instead.

What has happened in the United States is that we have had a Congress that hasn't really voted on a lot of fiscal stimulus packages. Instead, it relies on the Federal Reserve and monetary policy. The only fiscal stimulus that was passed was in the beginning of the financial crisis. A lot of debt has been created but not a lot of official programs.

What Trump has promised to do is create a massive infrastructure program financed by the Government, with private banks and companies involved as well. Again, like with Glass-Steagall, it remains to be seen whether Congress will allow that.

I think there is a better chance of that being allowed in some measures than Glass-Steagall being brought back, because it will create jobs, and jobs are what political positions rely on. I think there is more of a chance for greater fiscal stimulus from Congress but not as much as Trump promised. That could offset what is happening with the central banks. The central banks have not required much in terms of regulation for the zero or negative interest rates and quantitative easing policies they have offered, so these policies haven't been very effective at fixing the financial sector's problems.

I think that's why people feel there hasn't been economic progress in the United States. Figures come out from the White House showing that the economy is better, but people don't feel it. When it's that much harder to get a small business loan, or get a mortgage, or get out of a very expensive student loan, it affects the overall economy. The Federal Reserve had the power to help fix all of that, but it did not. Things could have been changed, but they did not.

Questioner 3: What do you think of the appreciation of the US Dollar? Will it be allowed to appreciate?

Nomi Prins: I think that will come down to a central bank decision. Right now, the dollar has appreciated, particularly with respect to Latin America, although that's not necessarily due to central banks, but because the expectation of renegotiated trade agreements.

I think from the standpoint of what Trump's talked about, from an isolationist perspective, it would be better if they could contain the dollar, but that would involve not raising rates at the central bank level. He's talked about the Fed being a political entity. If it is, then that will be another reason it's not going to raise rates significantly, which could present one reason why though the dollar which strengthened in the wake of Trump's victory we could see some pull back.

Questioner 4: I would like to ask about Europe and protectionist policies. Brexit will be coming next year, and there is the potential that France elects Marie Le Pen. There is also a protectionist movement in the Netherlands. Will this be the end of the Euro? What's your opinion on European policies and Brexit?

Nomi Prins: It was widely predicted that Brexit wouldn't happen. That was wrong relative to how people voted. There are different reasons why people vote the way they do. There are issues related to immigration, and blame being put on people from outside each country for the loss of jobs. The underlying reason why this kind of thing is happening is because of general anxiety with people's economic situations.

If voters feel stable, they do not look to blame anyone. They are fine with their lives and financial situation. That hasn't been the case lately because of the instability that has been unleashed by the central bank policies put into place since the financial crisis. We might think economies are stable when we look at them from a macro-level, but they are not. You can see that throughout Europe.

France could leave the EU I think, or if not vote for politicians with that desire. Italy is going to have a vote as well which could bend against the EU. I think there are a lot of

disenchanted people because of general financial instability. I think people are blaming other countries and the EU for that.

When the EU was first coming together, there was a lot of conversation throughout Europe on not only the differences between countries, but also how much sovereignty they would have. I think that a lot of what has happened since 2008 wasn't envisioned in 1999. The EU as an entity is basically exacting a lot of punishments from a lot of different countries. Individuals within those countries are upset about not having their own sovereignty, and they are upset because of the instability of their own situation.

Especially because of Brexit, because of Trump, I see there being potential problems. I don't see the EU falling apart completely, but I think there are going to be a lot of votes about going in that direction. There will be a lot more instability to come. In the case of Brexit, there's still not been a negotiation as to what that's going to look like because some of the EU arrangements were good for the United Kingdom and they need to be navigated carefully by Britain.

I think the EU will struggle for a while. There will be a lot of volatility. There's going to be a lot of nationalism that will not necessarily help nations or the EU. I think it's going to be very tense there. Brexit was just the start of what will happen.

Questioner 5: I would like to ask for your assessment of the current Chinese financial market situation. Four of China's largest banks already rank among the world's largest banks. However, their global business activity is still limited. Do US bankers regard them as possible competitors, especially in the Asian market or South American market?

Nomi Prins: I went to China for a meeting at the IMF there in July. One thing that was discussed was that foreigners only own about 3% of the corporate bonds in China, primarily because in their perception, there is a major transparency issue.

There is also a capital flow issue, but the transparency issue was considered at the meeting to be the most important issue, which is ironic, because the Federal Reserve is not great at transparency either. Still, there was a perception that the People's Bank of China was not transparent about what they are going to do.

People make foreign investments when they know their investments are protected and that they can exit them easily. There is the perception that the path a foreign investor needs to take to get their money out of China is completely overshadowed by seven or so different regulatory bodies. At the same time, it has a very large internal market. In terms of lending, it has had the most impact in Latin America.

Brazil has been the major recipient of that. A lot of Chinese banks have expanded into infrastructure projects in South America, and to a lesser extent, Africa. However, there has been a shift in the situation in Brazil with the changing government. The new Government is less Chinese-oriented, and more pro-United States.

Chinese banks have a lot of debt. There are a lot of economists who think that China's growth is too low. I personally see banks and growth as stable. They will continue to have some debt, but for the most part, it will be subsumed by the Chinese Government.

The United States doesn't look at Chinese banks as competitors, because they are not competitors in the markets that make money for the United States. For instance, they are not involved in the derivatives world that much, they are not involved in the complex deals as much, and they are not involved in the mergers and acquisitions as much.

Questioner 6: Will the political situation in the United States – the demonstrations and so on – have any implications for the United States economy in the short term?

Nomi Prins: There have been demonstrations on the news in major cities right after the election. Even in small towns there have been demonstrations. But any violence is limited to a smaller group of people that tend to be the ones that are covered. I think the demonstrations are healthy. Trump is pretty much ignoring them.

There will probably be some big demonstrations in Washington on inauguration day and building up to the inauguration, but I don't think they are going to change what he will do in terms of policy.

The country is very divided. Trump has said some very negative things about a lot of groups of people. I don't think it's good for the country if he acts on those things. It's not good for America's position in the world. That is what the demonstrations are showing, and I think they will continue.

Questioner 7: What happened in your career that led you to sense that financial institutions have big problems?

Nomi Prins: I was at Chase for 5 years, and then I began studying for a graduate degree while I worked at Lehman Brothers. I worked with Asia back then. I also worked in London after that, at Bear Sterns for 7 years. I created the analytics department there. Over that time period, there was an Asian crisis, a Russian crisis – there were always crises going on. As part of that, there were a lot of securities trades going on, and I felt that we weren't always open about the downsides of what we were selling.

I moved to Goldman Sachs in New York City in 2000, and the situation was similar. There were many crises then as well in the energy sector or telecommunications sector. I remember having a hard time convincing people that we needed to do analysis and allocate money toward considering what would happen if something went wrong with the securities packages we were selling. I was unable to do such analysis on the downsides of the trading we were doing at Goldman Sachs.

Around the time of 9/11 and the Enron crisis, I decided I wanted to quit, and I wrote my first book, which was really about Glass-Steagall and came out in 2004. It looked at how deregulation in banking, energy, and telecommunications had turned these sectors into financial speculators codependent on each other, which I had seen firsthand.

Questioner 8: How hopeful are you about the Trump presidency in terms of its effect on global markets? Japan is a bit worried about the America First Policy I think.

Nomi Prins: I am worried about the same thing. The reality is that Trump can be erratic to say the least. I do think he's going to follow the America First Policy but I also think that he is not going to be as isolationist as he has said. The reason I say that is because of the establishment people that he is surrounding himself with.

The whole thing about the establishment is that they believe in the strength of international relationships. I think the first thing Trump will do is deal with Mexico or NAFTA, because that has been a signature part of his campaign. There is more support for renegotiating NAFTA than there is for leaving it, so I think he will do that, but I think the biggest issues with Trump are domestic ones first.

He said he will create jobs, but he can only do that if he gets a budget passed to do that from an infrastructure perspective. Otherwise, it's just him saying that. I'm afraid that the way in which he has said things will be more problematic as we move forward. There is a real fear. There is a fear amongst Mexicans and Columbians that they will be deported. There is a fear amongst women that they will be more exploited in work places. Those fears feed into economic insecurity. I hope he's not going to be quite as erratic as President, but there is nothing to indicate that, except for the fact that now he is surrounding himself with a cabinet of establishment players. If he is contained, then it's not going to be tremendously different from what Hillary Clinton might have done, from an international perspective. But that remains to be seen and explored in the first months of his presidency.