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April 11, 2011

Hon. Ben Bernanke, Chairman Federal Reserve Board 20th Street and Constitution Avenue NW Washington, DC 20551

Hon. Sheila Bair, Chairman Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation 550 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20429

Mr. John Walsh, Acting Comptroller Office of the Comptroller of the Currency Administrator of National Banks Washington, DC 20219

Re: RINs 1557–AC99, 7100–AD61, and 3064–AD70: "Risk-Based Capital Guidelines: Market Risk"

Dear Chairs Bernanke and Bair and Acting Comptroller Walsh,

American for Financial Reform ("AFR") appreciates this opportunity to comment on the Notice of Proposed Rulemaking regarding Risk Based Capital Guidelines: Market Risk ("Market Risk NPR"). AFR is a coalition of over 250 national, state, local groups who have come together to advocate for reform of the financial industry. Members of the AFR include consumer, civil rights, investor, retiree, community, labor, religious and business groups along with prominent economists and other experts.

This NPR implements provisions of the Basel III agreement relevant to the use of internal risk modeling to set risk-based capital levels for financial institutions. As a general matter, AFR is highly skeptical of the use of internal bank Value at Risk (VAR) models for setting capital requirements. From the time the Basel Committee first proposed the use of such internal models, serious questions were raised about the wisdom of relying on

regulated entities to calculate their own required capital ratios. Observers also pointed out that such models contained an inherent, powerful structural tendency to reinforce economic cycles, with excessive leverage encouraged at the peak of an economic cycle as risk appears low, and abrupt and harmful deleveraging during economic downturns. 2

The financial crisis of 2008 demonstrated in the strongest possible way the validity of these concerns. Predictions about the incentives for regulatory arbitrage and the pro cyclical nature of VAR-based capital standards were shown to be prescient.³ Banks took advantage of low regulatory capital charges for instruments that turned out to be extremely risky – most notably, upper tranches of subprime mortgage-backed securities with investment grade ratings. They also arbitraged between the trading and banking book to take advantage of low mark-to-market capital charges. Regulatory capital arbitrage drove similar incentives across banks, increasing correlation in the financial system and "herding" into particular asset classes. Finally, just as predicted by critics of VAR modeling, leverage ratios grew sharply during the upswing of the economic cycle, and the sudden rush to deleverage as asset values dropped led to disastrous financial contagion and a self-reinforcing downward plunge in market valuations.

Despite these deep structural problems with regulatory reliance on VAR-based risk modeling by the banks they regulate, the Basel Committee has chosen to continue the use of such models in setting risk-based capital charges. But in response to the clear failure of this paradigm over the past decade, regulators are implementing a substantial set of modifications to the risk-based capital framework. These modifications are proposed in this rule. They include transfer of all securitizations from the trading to the banking book, the incorporation of a "stress test" into the VAR model that is meant to mitigate tendencies toward pro cyclicality and tail risk, an incremental capital charge for default risk, and mandatory disclosures of risk management modeling assumptions to allow for greater market discipline.

If fully and properly implemented, these changes should result in a substantial increase in risk-based capital required under the VAR regime.⁴ New capital charges based on

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¹ Hellwig, M (1995), "Systemic aspects of risk management in banking and finance", Swiss Journal of Economics and Statistics, vol 131, no 4/2, pp 723–737. Hellwig, M (1996), "Capital adequacy rules as instruments for the regulation of banks", Swiss Journal of Economics and Statistics, vol 132, no 4/2, pp 609–612

² See e.g. Danielsson, J, P Embrechts, C Goodhart, C Keating, F Muennich, O Renault and H Shin (2001): *An academic response to Basel II*. Repullo, Rafael and Javier Suarez, "The Pro-Cyclical Effects of Basel II", Centre for Economic Policy Research Discussion Paper 6862, June, 2008.

³Danielsson, Jon (2008), "Blame The Models", Journal of Financial Stability, Elsevier Press, Volume 4(4), December 2008. Adrian, T and H S Shin (2011), "Financial intermediary leverage and value at risk", Federal Reserve Bank of New York, staff report no 338. Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission (2011), The Financial Crisis Inquiry Report, U.S. Government Printing Office, January 2011.

⁴ Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (2010), <u>Results of the Comprehensive Quantitative Impact Study</u>, Bank For International Settlements, December, 2010.

modeling a stressed time period are particularly important, as they hold the potential to reduce the pro cyclicality of VAR-based capital charges. Some of the new risk weighting procedures, such as a substantially higher capital charge for uncleared derivatives, should also create incentives for better risk management practices across the financial system.

The significant but basically incremental steps directed in Basel III and implemented in this NPR are the least that should be done in response to the striking failure of the previous regime. It is important that regulators implement these steps fully and rapidly. Their resolve to do so should be increased by the awareness that the true social costs of higher bank equity are likely very low, if they exist at all. The costs of increased bank equity are mainly due to subsidies for bank debt through the tax system and through implicit "too big to fail" government guarantees, as well as principal-agent issues between bank management, stockholders, creditors, and taxpayers. These implicit subsidies and guarantees should not be allowed to drive government policy.

In addition, regulators should remain aware that capital level held by the key banking entities that failed during the crisis of 2008 was both higher than the regulatory capital requirements under Basel II and demonstrably lower than the level needed to prevent institutional failure and financial contagion. The fact that the capital requirements under the previous regulatory regime were clearly too low to accomplish regulatory goals justifies a significant increase now.

Although they are a step in the right direction, the rules laid out here may still turn out to be inadequate over time. These rules are specifically directed at some of the key instruments that caused problems in the last crisis, such as securitizations and resecuritizations. As the financial sector evolves, it seems almost certain that new arbitrage techniques will emerge that permit arbitrage of these rules just as the Basel II rules were arbitraged. The emergence of new instruments may also weaken the stressed VAR capital requirement set out in this rule, as this requirement is "calibrated to reflect historical data from a continuous 12-month period that reflects a period of significant financial stress appropriate to the bank's *current* portfolio." As current portfolios evolve

⁵ Admati, Anat R., DeMarzo, Peter M., Hellwig, Martin F. and Pfleiderer, Paul C. (2011), <u>Fallacies</u>, <u>Irrelevant Facts</u>, <u>and Myths in the Discussion of Capital Regulation: Why Bank Equity is not Expensive</u> (March 16, 2011). Rock Center for Corporate Governance at Stanford University Working Paper No. 86; MPI Collective Goods Preprint, No. 2010/42. Elliot, Douglas (2010), <u>Basel III, The Banks, and The Economy</u>, Brookings Institution, July 26, 2010.

⁶ Elliot, Douglas (2009), *Quantifying the Effect on Lending of Increased Capital Requirements*, Brookings Institution, September 21, 2009.

⁷ Kuritzkes, Andrew and Hal Scott (2009), "Markets Are the Best Judge of Bank Capital", Financial Times, September 23.

⁸ Blundell-Wignall, Adrian and Paul Atkinson (2010), "<u>Thinking Beyond Basel III: Necessary Solutions for Capital and Liquidity</u>", *OECD Journal – Financial Market Trends*, Volume 2010, Issue 1.

⁹ CFR Vol. 76, No. 7, p. 1900. Emphasis added.

and new instruments and investment strategies are created, less historical data will be available that represents an appropriately stressed period.

In light of these concerns, AFR has several broad recommendations for strengthening the rule:

- Disclosures should be strengthened, particularly in the area of the qualitative
 disclosures required for valuation procedures and stressed VAR. Purely
 qualitative disclosures may be of limited utility in this area. Correlation
 assumptions and specific quantitative valuation assumptions may be required for
 market observers to tell if a bank has truly applied stringent standards. The market
 may be able to act more quickly than regulators in disciplining banks for any
 attempt to weaken these assumptions.
- Regulators are given very significant discretion in determining the application of these rules. In light of this, it would be useful to announce more specific and standardized quantitative benchmarks for various areas of the rule, e.g. standard increases in correlation for periods of market stress. This would help examiners check bank assumptions more easily and would help guide risk management practices in regulated banks. Such benchmarks may be particularly important in the calculation of stressed VAR, which is a key mechanism to address the procyclicality of the current system but is an area where only very general guidance is currently given.
- Regulators should consider further limiting the trading book treatment of financial
 assets, even beyond the new treatment of securitizations given here. The
 downward spiral in prices during the financial crisis showed the risks involved in
 mark-to-market treatment of risks held on the trading book. Such valuations are
 inherently highly volatile, and most volatile during times of crisis. Financial
 institutions may develop instruments that replicate some of the risky and opaque
 character of securitization tranches but are not captured by the definition of
 securitization here, and may once again use the trading book to get more generous
 capital treatment for such assets.

Even if these recommendations are followed, some of the basic structural aspects of risk-based capital regulation – such as the dependence on historical data and the division of assets into different risk "buckets" that can vary greatly in treatment – render regulatory arbitrage and other weaknesses a continuing possibility. The Basel III framework partially recognizes this through providing supplemental liquidity, leverage, and capital standards in addition to the risk based standards. But regulators must remain vigilant to ensure that the same problems that appeared in the past do not reemerge in this regime.

Thank you again for this opportunity to comment on this NPR. If you have the further questions, please contact David Arkush, Director of Public Citizen's Congress Watch at (202) 454-5130 or Heather McGhee, Director of the Washington Office of Demos at

(202) 559-1543 ext. 105, Co-chairs of the AFR Systemic Risk and Resolution Authority Taskforce.

Sincerely,

Americans for Financial Reform

Following are the partners of Americans for Financial Reform.

All the organizations support the overall principles of AFR and are working for an accountable, fair and secure financial system. Not all of these organizations work on all of the issues covered by the coalition or have signed on to every statement.

National Organizations

- A New Way Forward
- AARP
- Accountable America
- Adler and Colvin
- AFL-CIO
- AFSCME
- Alliance For Justice
- American Family Voices
- American Income Life Insurance
- Americans for Democratic Action, Inc.
- Americans for Fairness in Lending
- American Sustainable Business Council
- Americans United for Change
- Business for Shared Prosperity
- Calvert Asset Management Company, Inc.
- Campaign for America's Future
- Campaign Money
- Center for Digital Democracy
- Center for Economic and Policy Research
- Center for Economic Progress
- Center for Media and Democracy
- Center for Responsible Lending
- Center for Justice and Democracy
- Center of Concern
- Change to Win
- Clean Yield Asset Management
- Coastal Enterprises Inc.
- Color of Change
- Common Cause
- Communications Workers of America
- Community Development Transportation Lending Services
- Community Law Center
- Consumer Action
- Consumer Association Council
- Consumers for Auto Safety and Reliability
- Consumer Federation of America
- Consumer Watchdog
- Consumers Union
- Corporation for Enterprise Development
- CREDO
- CTW Investment Group
- Demos

- Economic Policy Institute
- Essential Action
- Green America
- Greenlining Institute
- Good Business International
- Help Is On the Way, Inc
- HNMA Funding
- Home Actions
- Housing Counseling Services
- Information Press
- Institute for Global Communications
- Institute for Policy Studies: Global Economy Project
- International Brotherhood of Teamsters
- Institute of Women's Policy Research
- Keystone Research Center
- Krull & Company
- Laborers' International Union of North America
- Lake Research Partners
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
- The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights
- MoveOn.org Political Action
- NAACP
- NASCAT
- National Association of Consumer Advocates
- National Association of Investment Professionals
- National Association of Neighborhoods
- National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development
- National Community Reinvestment Coalition
- National Consumer Law Center (on behalf of its low-income clients)
- National Consumers League
- National Council of La Raza
- National Fair Housing Alliance
- National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions
- National Housing Institute
- National Housing Trust
- National Housing Trust Community Development Fund
- National NeighborWorks Association
- National Peoples Action
- National Council of Womens Organizations
- National Worksright Institute
- Next Step
- OMB Watch
- Opportunity Finance Network
- Partners for the Common Good
- PICO
- Progress Now Action
- Progressive States Network
- Poverty and Race Research Action Council
- Public Citizen
- Responsible Endowments Coalition
- Sargent Shriver Center on Poverty Law

- Scam Victims United
- SEIU
- Sojourners
- State Voices
- Taxpayer's for Common Sense
- The Association for Housing and Neighborhood Development
- The Carrots and Sticks Project
- The Fuel Savers Club
- The Seminal
- UNET
- Union Plus
- United for a Fair Economy
- U.S. PIRG
- Unitarian Universalist for a Just Economic Community
- United Food and Commercial Workers
- United States Student Association
- USAction
- Veris Wealth Partners
- Veterans Chanmber of Commerce
- We The People Now
- Western States Center
- Woodstock Institute
- Working America
- World Business Academy
- World Privacy Forum

State Organizations

- 207 CCAG
- 9 to 5, the National Association of Working Women (CO)
- AARP Rhode Island
- Alaska PIRG
- Arizona PIRG
- Arizona Advocacy Network
- Arizonans for Responsible Lending
- Arkansas Community Organizations
- Arkansas Public Policy Panel
- Association for Neighborhood and Housing Development (NY)
- Audubon Partnership for Economic Development LDC (New York, NY)
- Aurora NAACP
- BAC Funding Consortium Inc. (Miami, FL)
- Beech Capital Venture Corporation (Philadelphia, PA)
- Bell Policy Center (CO)
- California PIRG
- California Reinvestment Coalition
- Center for Media and Democracy
- Center for NYC Neighborhoods
- Century Housing Corporation (Culver City, CA)
- Changer(NY)
- Chautauqua Home Rehabilitation and Improvement Corporation (NY)
- Chicago Community Loan Fund (Chicago, IL)

- Chicago Community Ventures (Chicago, IL)
- Chicago Consumer Coalition
- Citizen Potawatomi CDC (Shawnee, OK)
- Club Change of Martin County (Florida)
- Coalition on Homeless Housing in Ohio
- Coffee Party of Pensacola, Florida
- Coffee Party of Union Square, New York City
- Colorado AFL-CIO
- Colorado Center on Law and Policy
- Colorado Immigrants Rights Coalition
- Colorado PIRG
- Colorado Spring NAACP
- Community Action of Nebraska
- Community Capital Development
- Community Capital Fund (Bridgeport, CT)
- Community Capital of Maryland (Baltimore, MD)
- Community Development Financial Institution of the Tohono O'odham Nation (Sells, AZ)
- Community Redevelopment Loan and Investment Fund, (Atlanta, GA)
- Community Reinvestment Association of North Carolina
- Community Resource Group (Fayetteville, AR)
- Connecticut Association for Human Services
- Connecticut Citizen Action Group
- Connecticut PIRG
- Consumer Assistance Council
- Cooper Square Committee (New York, NY)
- Cooperative Fund of New England (Wilmington, NC)
- Corporacion de Desarrollo Economico de Ceiba (Ceiba, PR)
- CWA 7777 (CO)
- Delta Foundation, Inc. (Greenville, MS)
- Economic Opportunity Fund (EOF) (Philadelphia, PA)
- Empire Justice Center (NY)
- Enterprises, Inc., Berea KY
- Fair Housing Contact Service OH
- Federation of Appalachian Housing Enterprises, Inc. (Berea, KY)
- Fitness and Praise Youth Development, Inc. (Baton Rouge, LA)
- Florida Consumer Action Network
- Florida PIRG
- Forward Community Investments (Madison, WI)
- Funding Partners for Housing Solutions (Ft. Collins, CO)
- Georgia PIRG
- Grow Iowa Foundation (Greenfield, IA)
- Homewise, Inc. (Santa Fe, NM)
- Humanitas Community Development Corporation
- Idaho Chapter, National Association of Social Workers
- Idaho Community Action Network
- Idaho Nevada CDFI (Pocatello, ID)
- Illinois PIRG
- Impact Capital (Seattle, WA)
- Indiana PIRG
- Indiana University PIRG
- Information Press (CA)

- Iowa PIRG
- Iowa Citizens for Community Improvement
- JobStart Chautauqua, Inc. (Mayville, NY)
- Keystone Research Center
- La Casa Federal Credit Union (Newark, NJ)
- Low Income Investment Fund (San Francisco, CA)
- Long Island Housing Services NY
- MaineStream Finance (Bangor, ME)
- Maryland PIRG
- Massachusetts Consumers' Coalition
- Massachusetts Fair Housing Center
- MASSPIRG
- Michigan PIRG
- Midland Community Development Corporation (Midland, TX)
- Midwest Minnesota Community Development Corporation (Detroit Lakes, MN)
- Mile High Community Loan Fund (Denver, CO)
- Missouri PIRG
- Montana Community Development Corporation (Missoula, MT)
- Montana PIRG
- Mortgage Recovery Service Center of L.A.
- Neighborhood Economic Development Advocacy Project
- New Hampshire PIRG
- New Jersey Community Capital (Trenton, NJ)
- New Jersey Citizen Action
- New Jersey PIRG
- New Mexico PIRG
- New York P!RG
- New York City AIDS Housing Network
- Next Step (MN)
- NOAH Community Development Fund, Inc. (Boston, MA)
- Nonprofit Finance Fund (New York, NY)
- Nonprofits Assistance Fund (Minneapolis, MN)
- North Carolina Association of Community Development Corporations
- North Carolina PIRG
- Northern Community Investment Corporation (St. Johnsbury, VT)
- Northside Community Development Fund (Pittsburgh, PA)
- Ohio Capital Corporation for Housing (Columbus, OH)
- Ohio PIRG
- Oregon State PIRG
- Our Oregon
- PennPIRG
- Piedmont Housing Alliance (Charlottesville, VA)
- Rhode Island PIRG
- Rights for All People
- The Rocky Mountain Peace and Justice Center
- Rural Community Assistance Corporation (West Sacramento, CA)
- Rural Organizing Project OR
- San Francisco Metropolitan Transportation Authority
- Seattle Economic Development Fund dba Community Capital Development
- SEIU Local 105 (Colorado)
- SEIU Rhode Island

- Siouxland Economic Development Corporation (Sioux City, IA)
- Southern Bancorp (Arkadelphia, AR)
- TexPIRG
- The Association for Housing and Neighborhood Development
- The Fair Housing Council of Central New York
- The Help Network
- The Loan Fund (Albuquerque, NM)
- Third Reconstruction Institute (NC)
- V-Family, Inc.
- Vermont PIRG
- Village Capital Corporation (Cleveland, OH)
- Virginia Citizens Consumer Council
- Virginia Poverty Law Center
- War on Poverty Florida
- Washington Community Action Network
- WashPIRG
- Westchester Residential Oppurtunities Inc. NY
- Wigamig Owners Loan Fund, Inc. (Lac du Flambeau, WI)
- WISPIRG

Businesses

- Rlu
- Bowden-Gill Environmental
- Community MedPAC
- Diversified Env. Planning
- Hayden & Craig, PLLC\
- The Holographic Repatterning Institute at Austin
- Mid City Animal Hospital (Phoenix, AZ)
- UNET