Make the Banks Pay!



moratorium-mi.org | email: moratorium@moratorium-mi.org | DetroitDebtMoratorium.org

1

Cody Academy of Public Leadership Presentation February 6, 2014

Presenter: Michael Shane

Moratorium NOW! Coalition organizer Detroit resident for more than 30 years

Handout includes slides that were skipped in today's presentation.

Slides skipped: 6, 11-12, 15, 24, 34-35, 40, 46-52,

Outline: The Role of the Banks in Detroit's Crisis

- Who's in control?
- Historical trends
- The Great Recession
 - · Home Foreclosure crisis
 - Unemployment crisis and population loss
 - Swaps and Predatory Public Financing
- The Emergency Manager and the Detroit Bankruptcy
- Next Steps

3

Who's Really In Control?

Us – the "people"

or

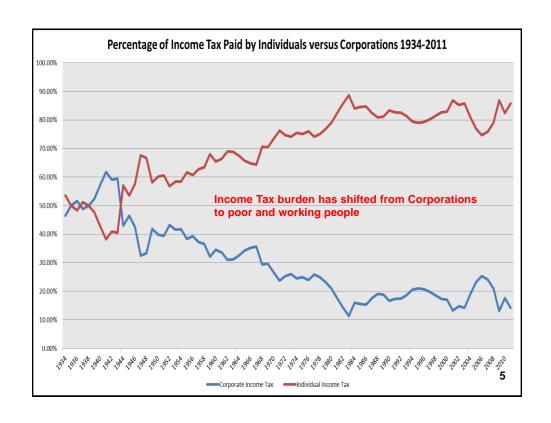
Wall Street, the Banks, and the Corporations?

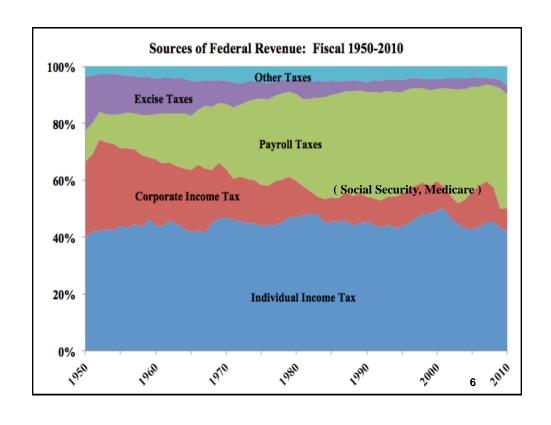
The 99%

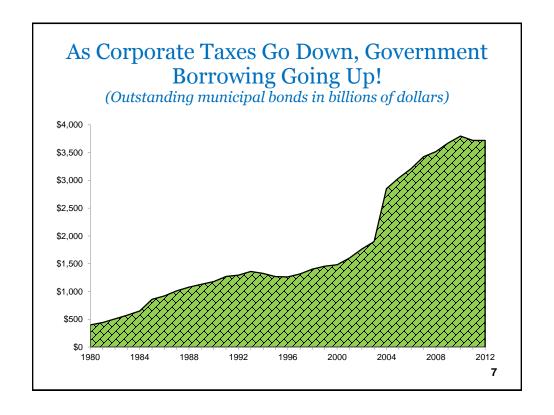
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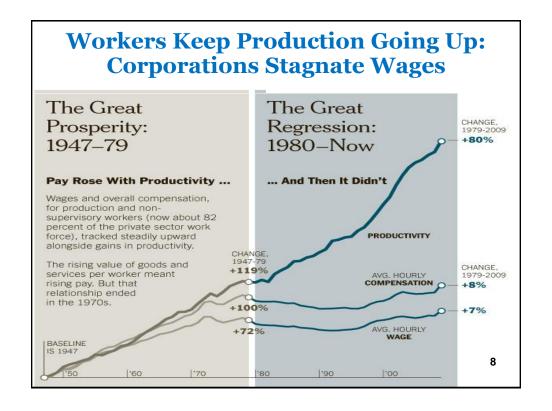
the 1%,

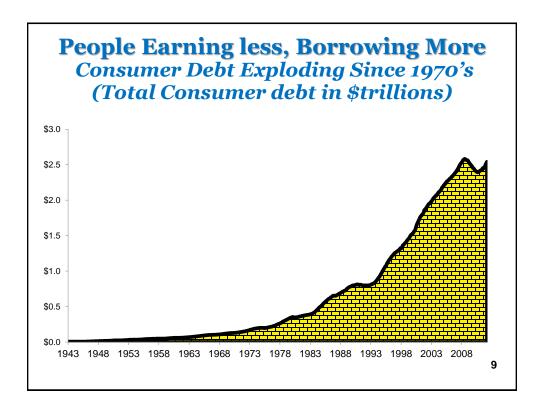
(in the language popularized by the Occupy Wall Street Movement)?











Wall Street's Secret Plan

21st Century Serfdom
Forcing People and Communities Into Debt and Dependency

\$8 trillion in Housing Debt

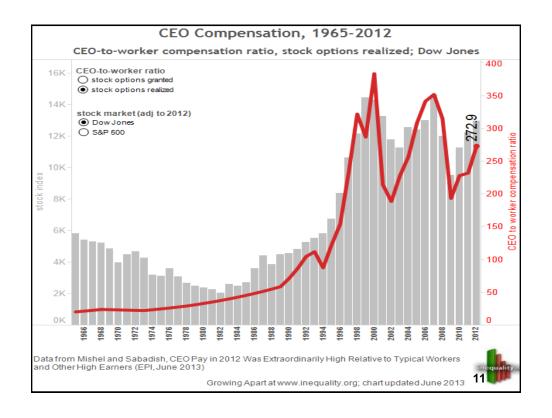
\$1 trillion in Education Debt

\$1 trillion in Credit Card Debt

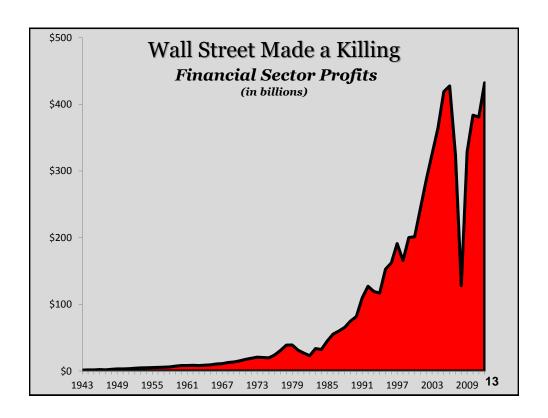
\$11 trillion in Household debt - Auto, Credit cards, student loans, mortgages, other revolving debt.

\$4 trillion Municipal Bond Debt



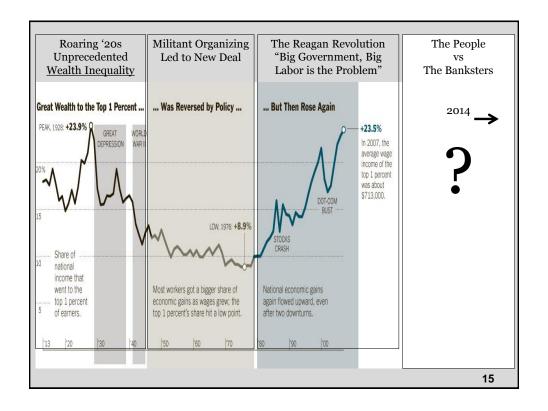


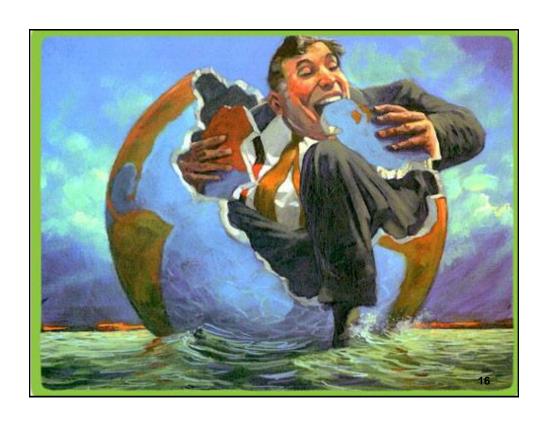




Economic Reality Since the Mid 1970's

- They Pay Less,
- We Borrow More,
- They Get Rich,
- We Get Poor!





After Great Depression Bank Regulations Were Dramatically Strengthened...

Bankruptcy Acts of 1933 and 1934

Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act of 1934

Farm Mortgage Moratorium Act of 1935

Commodity Exchange Act of 1936

Chandler Act of 1938

Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 restrictions on interstate banking

State caps on credit card interest rates

S&L lending standards

Interest rate caps on S&L deposit accounts

SEC's net capital ratio

Glass-Steagall Act of 1933

17

Big Banks Re-Take Control Bank Consolidation 1990 - 2010 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 citibank CITIGROUP CITICORP UROPEAN AMERICAN BANK SANAMEX WASHINGTON MUTUAL GREAT WESTERN FINANCIAL H.F. AHMANSON DIME BANCORP FIRST CHICAGO JPMorgan 🗂 HASE MANHATTAN HEMICAL BANKING CHASE MANHATTAN AR STEARNS **Bank of America** OUNTRYWIDE FINANCIAL MERRILL LYNCH VELLS FARGO CENTRAL FIDELITY NATIONAL BANK CORESTATES FINANCIAL Sources: Federal Reserve; GAO

Bankruptcy Acts of 1933 and 1934

Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act of 1934

Farm Mortgage Moratorium Act of 1935

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Chandler Act of 1938

Bank Holding Company Act of 1956

Laws Kolled Back... State caps on credit card interest rates

S&L lending standards

Interest rate caps on S&L deposit accounts

SEC's net capital ratio

Glass-Steagall Act of 1933

19

As Unit Pleads Guilty, R.B.S. Pays \$612 Million Over Rate Rigging, 2/6/13

San Francisco Lawmaker Demands Inquiry in Bank Fraud Losses, 1/30/13

California Cities Sue Banks Over Libor Rates, Law Firm Says, 1/9/13

As Unit Pleads Guilty, UBS Pays \$1.5 Billion Over Rate Rigging, 12/19/12

Lihor arrests signal switch to individuale, 12/11/12
HS & tua / \$1.12 Bit is a tual fettle Cargos of Mars Lague in C170/12

Break Banks to settle Case for \$417 Millori, 11/18/12

Federal Prosecutors Sue Firk of America Over Mortgage Program, 10/24/12

A.C.L.U. Sues Morgan Stanley Over Mortgage Loans, 10/15/12

Annie Bell Adams, Foreclosure Victim, Sues Big Banks Over Libor Manipulation, 10/15/12

U.S. Sues Wells Fargo, Accusing It of Lying About Mortgages, 10/9/12

JPMorgan Unit Is Sued Over Mortgage Securities Pools, 10/1/12

Bank of America Reaches Settlement I Merrill Lynch Acquisition-Related Class Action Litigation, 9/28/12

Banks Face Suits as States Weigh Libor Losses, 9/4/12

Public Pension Funds Named to Lead 'London Whale' Lawsuit, 8/22/12

Bay Area toll agency accepts settlement, 8/22/13

Detroit's Financial Crisis Beganwith the Foreclosure Crisis

Triggered by the collapse of *subprime loans*:

- Interest rates 3% or more than conventional loans
- Variable interest rate that rests to a higher rate after a short period
- Up to 8 times more profitable than conventional loans
- Massive fraud and deception in underwriting these loans
- Racist targeting of African American and Latino communities by the banking industry

21

Subprime Loans – Racist & Predatory

- In metro Detroit, in 2005-2007, 62% of African Amercans got subprime loans, compared to 28% for whites
- In Detroit, from 2004-2006, roughly 75% of loans to African Americans were subprime
- From 2005 to 2009, Detroit had more than 67,000 foreclosures (1 in 5 Detroit homes)
- Detroit, in 1996, had the lowest foreclosure rate of any major metroplolitan area in the US

The Great Recession had a racist impact and it was not just Detroit

Wealth was lost across the board from the Great Recession, but significantly more so for people of color.

From 2005 to 2009, white median net worth fell 16% to \$113,149.

But net worth fell by
66% for Latinos to \$18,359,
and
53% for Blacks to \$12,124.



23

- Wasted Wealth: How the Wall Street Crash Continues to Stall Economic Recovery and Deepen Racial Inequity in America by the Home Defenders League, Alliance for a Just Society, and New Bottom Line

RATIO OF WHITE TO BLACK WEALTH

1995	7-to-1
2004	11-to-1
2009	19-to-1

RATIO OF WHITE TO LATINO WEALTH

1995.	 				7-to-1
2004.	 				7-to-1
2009.	 		 	.1	5-to-1

Source: Pew Research Center, 2011

"Wells Fargo Mortgage had an emerging-markets unit that specifically targeted Black churches, because it figured church leaders had a lot of influence and could convince congregants take to out subprime loans."

BETH JACOBSON, FORMER WELLS FARGO LOAN OFFICER

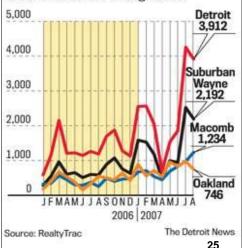
- Wasted Wealth: How the Wall Street Crash Continues to Stall Economic Recovery and Deepen Racial Inequity in America by the Home Defenders League, Alliance for a Just Society, and New Bottom Line

Banks Destroyed Detroit's Tax Base

- From 2000-2010, Detroit lost 237,500 people (New Orleans lost 140,000 after Katrina)
- From 2008 2011, the State Equalized Value (SEV) on Detroit real estate declined by 29%

Filings skyrocket

Foreclosure filings have risen sharply since January 2006 in Oakland, Wayne and Macomb counties, and are expected to continue to rise through 2008.



Banks Engaged in a Criminal Conspiracy

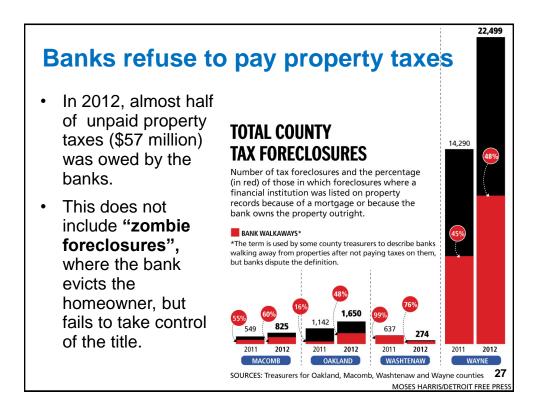
According to a report issued by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations and chaired by Senator Carl Levin, the Wall Street banks engaged in essentially a criminal conspiracy.

"Our investigation found a financial snake pit rife with greed, conflicts of interest, and wrongdoing."

The crisis created by Wall Street destroyed communities and triggered massive loss of jobs, erosion of the property tax base, the reduction in services provided by cities and states, and many other problems.

Conspirators included:

Bank of America JP Morgan Chase Deutsche Bank Wells Fargo NY Mellon Citi Bank UBS



FOIA Request and Lawsuit

On January 2, 2013, the Moratorium NOW! Coalition filed a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request.



Moratorium NOW! requested all contracts and agreements between the City of Detroit ... and any banks or brokerage houses relating to all forms of debt for the past 10 years....

On February 2, 2013, Moratorium NOW! filed a lawsuit to compel the release of the documents. The City then provided almost 3000 pages of documents, but has yet to provide all of the documents requested.

Documents are available for public viewing at **DetroitDebtMoratorium.org** 28

What did we learn?

- The City has been put through a series of complex and convoluted financial transactions to the detriment of its residents.
- The financial instruments include bonds of various types, interest rate swaps, pension obligation certificates, default and termination agreements, hedging derivatives, and onerous penalties.
- In addition, the banks made huge profits in upfront fees and related charges.
- The City has been victimized by the municipal equivalent of predatory mortgage loans.

Breakdown of City Debt (June 30, 2012)

- The City had total bonded debt of \$6.4 billion outstanding:
 - \$1.0 billion are general obligation bonds backed by the full faith and credit of the City.
 - \$6.0 billion are revenue bonds
- \$1.5 billion for pension obligation certificates (Certificates of Participation)
- **\$1.0 billion** for miscellaneous debt: Notes payable (\$89.4 million), loans payable (\$34.2 million), other postemployment benefits (\$620.3 million), and other debt (\$238.4 million)

TOTAL City of Detroit: \$9.4 billion*

* does not add up because of rounding error

Banks & Ratings Agencies Role in Detroit

Own or Rate City of Detroit Debt					
Bank of America Merrill Lynch					
JP Morgan Chase					
Deutsche Bank					
US Bank					
Bank One					
Citigroup					
SBS Financial					
UBS Financial					
Goldman Sachs					
Morgan Stanley					
Standard & Poor's					
Moody's					
Fitch					

Foreclose on Detroit Homes or Rate Mortgages
Bank of America
JP Morgan Chase
Deutsche Bank
US Bank
Bank One
CitiMortgage
UBS
Goldman Sachs
Morgan Stanley
Standard & Poor's
Moody's 31
Fitch

Population and job loss

Incredibly severe

Refer to the publication "The Detroit Bankruptcy"

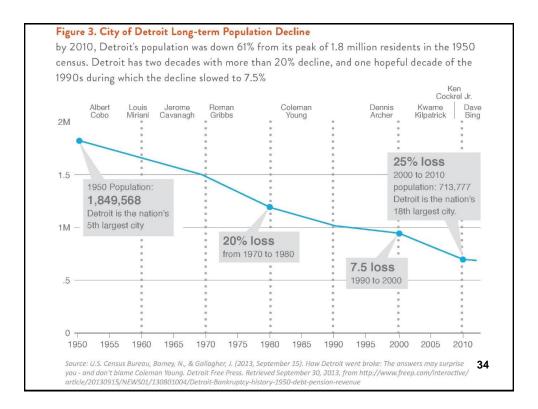
The Detroit Bankruptcy

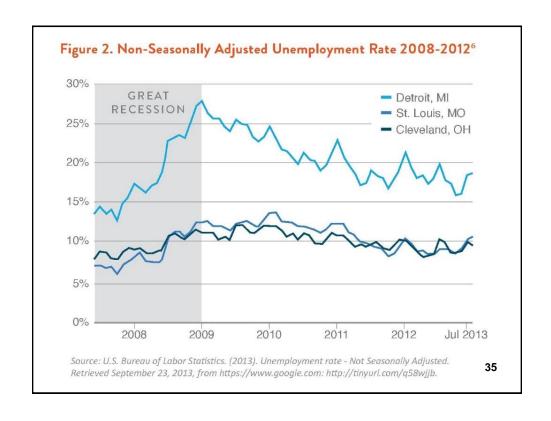
By Wallace Turbeville, Demos, demos.org

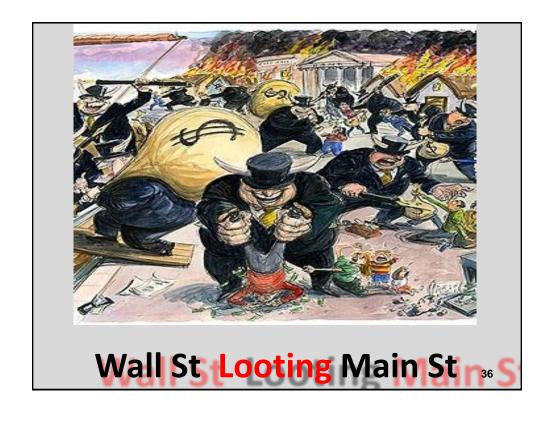
http://www.demos.org/publication/detroit-bankruptcy

The City of Detroit's bankruptcy was driven by a severe decline in revenues (and, importantly, not an increase in obligations to fund pensions). Depopulation and long-term unemployment caused Detroit's property and income tax revenues to plummet.

The state of Michigan exacerbated the problems by slashing revenue it shared with the city. The city's overall expenses have declined over the last five years, although its financial expenses have increased. In addition, Wall Street sold risky financial instruments to the city, which now threaten the resolution of this crisis. To return Detroit to long-term fiscal health, the city must increase revenue and extract itself from the financial transactions that threaten to drain its budget even further.







Predatory Public Finance

UNETHICAL PRACTICES

- Interest rate arbitrage
- Exorbitant fees & interest rates
- · Discriminatory pricing
- Prepayment penalties
- Accelerated payment clauses
- Misrepresentation of risk
- Churning (unnecessary refis)
- Requiring unnecessary addons
- Negotiated bond sales

Illegal Practices

- Bid-rigging
- Interest rate manipulation
- · Securitization fraud

Examples of predatory deals

- Interest rate swaps
- Most credit enhancements
- Capital appreciation bonds
- Continuous refinancing bonds
- Pension obligation bonds³⁷

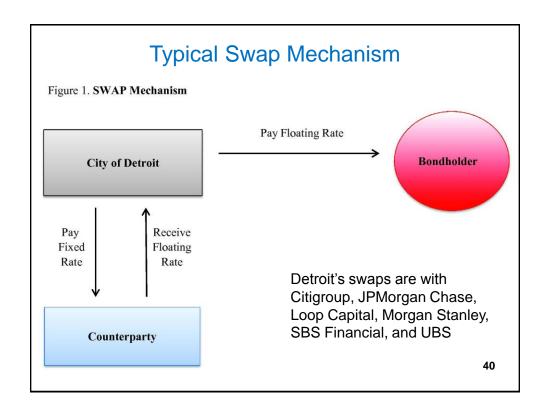
Toxic Swaps - Banks Gouging Taxpayers For Hundreds of Billions of Dollars



Interest Rate Swaps are crushing public entities everywhere

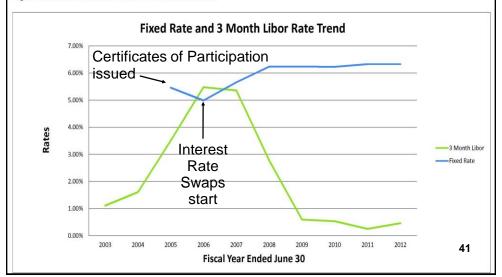
Sampling of Interest Rate Swap Deals Across the Country Deals Below to Cost Taxpayers More Than \$1.25 Billion in 2010

State	Public Entity	Annual Swap Payments (8 million)	Termination Fee [†] (S million)	Bank Counterparties	Local Budget Situation
CA	See California table below	364.7	1,004.1	BofA, Citi, Goldman, JPMChase, Others	See California table below
CO	City & County of Denver	33.9**	289.5	Goldman, BofA, JPMChase, RBC, Others	Cut \$200M from its budget in FY 2010
co	Denver Public Schools	34.7	81.3	JPMorgan Chase, Bank of America, RBC	Dealing with \$120M deficit in FY 2010
CO	City of Aurora	2.6	9.6	JPMorgan Chase, Morgan Stanley	N/A
CT	State of Connecticut	9.8	16.7	Unknown	Dealt with a \$515 M deficit in FY 2010
IL	State of Illinois	57.7**	88.8	Unknown	Dealt with a \$13.2B deficit in FY 2010
IL	City of Chicago	66.9**	442.2	Unknown	Dealt with a \$520M deficit in FY 2010
IL	Chicago Public Schools	35.7	164.2	RBC, Loop Financial, BofA, Goldman, Other	Facing up to \$1B deficit in FY 2011
LA	City of New Orleans	9.0	52.8	UBS	Dealt with a \$68 M deficit in FY 2010
MA	State of Massachusetts*	18.5	325.7	Barclays, Morgan Stanley, Citigroup, BofA, BofNY, DeutscheBank, JPMorganChase, Goldman Sachs, Ambac	Dealt with a \$3B deficit in FY 2010
MD	City of Baltimore	18.5**	63.2	Unknown	Facing a \$121M deficit in FY 2011
MI	City of Detroit	107.1**	303.8	Unknown	Dealing with \$300M deficit in FY 2010
MO	City of Kansas City	7.8	35.1	Citigroup, UBS, Barclays	Dealt with \$65M deficit in FY 2010
NC	City of Charlotte	22.7	45.0	Unknown	Facing a \$9M deficit in FY 2011
NC	City of Winston-Salem	3.1	14.0	Unknown	Cut \$25M from its budget in FY 2010
NJ	State of New Jersey	118.4	535.6	Unknown	Facing an \$11B deficit in FY 2011
NY	State of New York"	102.0	534.0	Unknown	Dealt with a \$3.2B deficit in FY 2010
NY	Metro Transportation Authority	103.7**	579.5	Citi, JPMChase, UBS, Morgan Stanley, Others	Dealing with \$783M deficit in FY 2010
OR	State of Oregon	13.5	34.5	Bank of America, Morgan Stanley, JPMChase	Dealt with \$4.2B deficit for 2010-11
PA	City of Philadelphia	94.4**	332.0	JPMC, Citi, RBC, Goldman, MorgStan, Others	Dealt with \$2.4B deficit in FY 2010
PA	Pennsylvania Tumpike	26.4	145.5	Goldman Sachs, Deutsche Bank	N/A
	TOTAL	\$1,251.1	\$5,097.1		39



When the **blue line** is higher than the **green line**, Detroit loses money and banks make money (Pension swaps)

Figure 2. Fixed Rate and 3 Month Libor Rate Trend as of June 30



Interest Rate Swaps and Other Derivatives are a Taxpayer-subsidized Windfall for the Banks

Federal Reserve pushed interest rates for Wall Street to near 0% to prop up the banks. Yet the Banks continue to charge Detroit 6% or more.

In addition to the TARP bailout, the Federal Reserve has an emergency program for the banks of at least \$8 TRILLION.

The Federal Reserve has purchased around \$1 TRILLION in mortgage-backed securities, and continues today to buy \$35 billion per month. This amounts to a \$35 billion per month transfer to Wall Street!

City of Detroit Swaps

The City of Detroit was used Interest Rate Swaps to hedge loans in two areas:

- Detroit Water and Sewerage Department
- Pension obligations

The Interest Rate Swaps in the news lately are the swaps used to hedge the interest rates on the "Certificates of Participation"

- Certificates of Participation were used to cover pension obligations and may be illegal
- The swaps also involve fraud on the part of the banks

43

Swapping Detroit's Future

- Detroit Water & Sewerage Department paid \$547
 million in penalties in FY 2012 to terminate DWSD
 swaps with several banks, including BofA, Chase,
 Morgan Stanley, and Goldman.
- The city had to take out new bonds to pay these penalties, and paid an additional \$9 million in fees to banks like Chase and Morgan Stanley.
- BofA and UBS are now demanding that the city pay an additional \$255 million in penalties to terminate the remaining swaps (related to the retiree pensions).

Effect of Swaps on DDOT



- In 2009, the swaps blew up when Detroit's credit rating was downgraded.
- Detroit renegotiates the swaps and is forced to make \$4.2 million monthly payment to the bank before any money can go to essential city services
- Mayor Bing responded to the budget crisis with drastic cuts to public transit, eliminating bus routes, delaying equipment repairs, and laying off workers.
- Even after renegotiations, the swaps cost Detroit \$54 million per year. Elimination of the swap payments would restore bus service.



The LIBOR Fraud Scandal



(This is a video that may be accessed using the online version of this presentation.)

47

Why Should We Care About LIBOR

- Cities, Counties, Pension Funds, School Districts,
 States, Transit Districts, Utility Districts, Universities ...
 - ... basically all taxpayer funded public entities

Have Huge Investments Linked to LIBOR

 As a result of big banks manipulating LIBOR nearly every public entity was illegally cheated out of revenue.

LIBOR Scandal Illegal Rate Manipulation

 16 Banks Illegally manipulated LIBOR Rates to Enrich Themselves by Reducing What They Had To Pay Our Communities



LIBOR Fraud Cost Detroit Millions

- The City of Detroit and its pension funds had billions of dollars invested instruments that may have been tied to LIBOR.
- Ten of the city's toxic swaps were also tied to LIBOR.
- The city may have lost as much as \$34 million as a result of LIBOR fraud.

ISDA Master Agreement defines Events of Default

- Events of Default
 - Failure to Pay or Deliver (3 days to remedy)
 - Breach of Agreement, except for failure to pay (30 days to remedy)
 - Credit Support Default (failure to comply with Credit Support Document)
 - Misrepresentation
 - Default under Specified Transaction
 - Cross default
 - Bankruptcy
 - Merger Without Assumption
 - Governor determines a state of financial emergency
 - Appointment of an Emergency Manager

51

ISDA Master Agreement defines Termination Events

- Termination Events for Party B (Detroit)
 - Insufficient payment in any month where payment is required; failure to pay other fees & judgments
 - Failure to include and maintain a budget line item for payments to Party A (the banks)
 - Quarterly Coverage at the end of any month is less than 1.75
 - Sufficient drop in the Moody's or S&P ratings
 - If City takes any litigation, other judicial action, legislative action against these agreements
 - Reduction in the Wagering Tax not offset by other appropriations.
 - Bankruptcy

Criminal Conduct of Banks & Rating Agencies

- The Banks engaged in fraudulent and illegal activities when they made predatory loans to Detroiters, often misrepresenting and lying about the loans that they underwrote.
- The ratings agencies, which are tools of the Banks, lied about the quality of mortgage-backed securities.
- Ratings agencies manipulate bond ratings, generating huge profits for the Banks
- The Banks engaged in a criminal conspiracy by manipulating the LIBOR rate.
- The Banks misrepresented (lied) the interest-rate swaps to Detroit and other public entities.

Banks Engaged in a Criminal Conspiracy

According to a report issued by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations and chaired by Senator Carl Levin, the Wall Street banks engaged in essentially a criminal conspiracy.

"Our investigation found a financial snake pit rife with greed, conflicts of interest, and wrongdoing."

The crisis created by Wall Street destroyed communities and triggered massive loss of jobs, erosion of the property tax base, the reduction in services provided by cities and states, and many other problems.

Conspirators included:

- Bank of America
- JP Morgan Chase
- Deutsche Bank
- Wells Fargo
- NY Mellon
- Citi Bank
- **OUBS**

What else did the Banks do?

- The City has been put through a series of complex and convoluted financial transactions to the detriment of its residents.
- The financial instruments include bonds of various types, interest rate swaps, pension obligation certificates, default and termination agreements, hedging derivatives, and onerous penalties.
- In addition, the banks made huge profits in upfront fees and related charges.
- The City has been victimized by the municipal equivalent of predatory mortgage loans.

55

The Detroit bankruptcy was engineered by Governor Snyder and the Michigan State Legislature

- In 2012, the Michigan Legislature passed Public Act 4, enabling the appointment of an Emergency Manager to supplant the rule of locally elected officials.
- The Legislature severely cut revenue sharing funds, setting up cities and school districts for state takeover.
- In November of 2012, the voters repealed PA 4.
- In December of 2012, the Michigan State Legislature passed Public Act 436, nearly identical to PA 4, rejected by voters!!!

So, we are faced with the irony that

50 Years after the historic civil rights marches in Detroit and Washington, D.C., where hundreds of thousands of people demanded Jobs and Equality,

49 years after Freedom Summer and Fannie Lou Hamer's disruption of the Democratic National Convention,

48 years after the signing of the Voting Rights Act,

Detroit residents, and residents of many majority
African American cities in Michigan lose their
right to vote for their own elected leaders.

57

THE REPONAN,
EM KEYYN ORR
HAS COME
FOR DETROIL

Kevin Orr was appointed as Detroit's Emergency Manager on March 14, 2013, by Governor Rick Snyder.

The elected Mayor and City Council lost its decision making power.

We lose our right to elect our own leaders.

58

On July 18, 2013, Emergency Manager Kevin Orr files Chapter 9 bankruptcy fro the City of Detroit

- Emergency Manager Kevin Orr was a partner on the bankruptcy law firm, Jones Day.
- Jones Day represents Detroit in bankruptcy. Not one attorney representing Detroit resides in Detroit!
- In August 2011, Jones Day publishes a report outlined a way to attack pensions - Pensions and Chapter 9: Can Municipalities Use Bankruptcy to Solve Their Pension Woes?
- Jones Day clients include Bank of America, JP Morgan Chase, and UBS, the very banks who retirees and Detroit citizens are challenging in bankruptcy.
- Former Councilwoman JoAnn Watson stated, "The people of Detroit did not declare bankruptcy, Jones Day did."

59

ReFund Our Communities!

MAKE BANKS/CORPORATIONS PAY!

EXPOSE PREDATORY PUBLIC DEBT - GO ON THE OFFENSE AND REBUILD OUR COMMUNITIES

Prosecute the Banks!

The banks have engaged in criminal conduct. They must be held accountable for the destruction of our neighborhoods and the City.

Public Act 436 provides for this:

141.1556 Criminal conduct contributing to receivership status. Sec. 16:

An emergency manager shall, on his or her own or upon the advice of the local inspector if a local inspector has been retained, make a determination as to whether possible criminal conduct contributed to the financial situation resulting in the local government's receivership status. If the emergency manager determines that there is reason to believe that criminal conduct has occurred, the manager shall refer the matter to the attorney general and the local prosecuting attorney for investigation.

Demand a Cancellation of Debt Payments

The banks destroyed our neighborhoods and precipitated an economic crisis that caused massive unemployment and reduction in government services.

The banks and ratings agencies engaged in misrepresentation or fraud in the sale of the bonds and other debt instruments.

Consequently, the municipal debt must be cancelled!

Demand Billions in Reparations or Restitution from the Banks

The Banks owe us tens of billions of dollars in damages due to their illegal activities. Look around the great City of Detroit at the devastation that the Banks have caused.

The poor and working people of Detroit have been hit by Hurricane Wall Street. We demand restitution!



Resources and Acknowledgements

Moratorium NOW! Coalition - moratorium-mi.org Email: moratorium@moratorium-mi.org

DetroitDebtMoratorium.org
A Moratorium NOW! website

The Detroit Bankruptcy, by Wallace Turbeville www.demos.org/publication/detroitbankruptcywww.demos.org/publication/detroit-bankruptcy

Wasted Wealth - How the Wall Street Crash Continues to Stall Economic Recovery and Deepen Racial Inequity in America, by Alliance for a Just Society, www.wastedwealthreport.com

Jona Schaffer, SEIU researcher

Saqib Bhatti, Nathan Cummings Foundation

