

Law as a Source of Financial Instability

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Why Law?

- Law as a stabilizing factor
 - Commitment device
 - Clarity of rights and obligations
- Yet, private law also operates as a source of financial instability
 - Source of innovation
 - Strategic tool for regulatory arbitrage
 - Protected by “private autonomy”
 - Empowered state enforcement

The Power of Law

- Transformation of simple claims into tradable assets
 - Specificity of claims
 - Transferability
- Priority rights
 - Property rights
 - Collateral law
 - Acid test: bankruptcy
- Durability
 - Legal shields
 - Trust & Corporate Law
- Convertibility
 - Into alternative private assets
 - Into state-money
- Universality
 - Enforceable “against the world”
 - State backing for “legal” coding strategies

From Bills to CLOs

“Old Wine in New
Bottles”

- Securing future cash flows
- Unimpeded by too many creditors
- With minimal regulatory costs and tax liabilities
- Shifting the costs of uncertainty to others

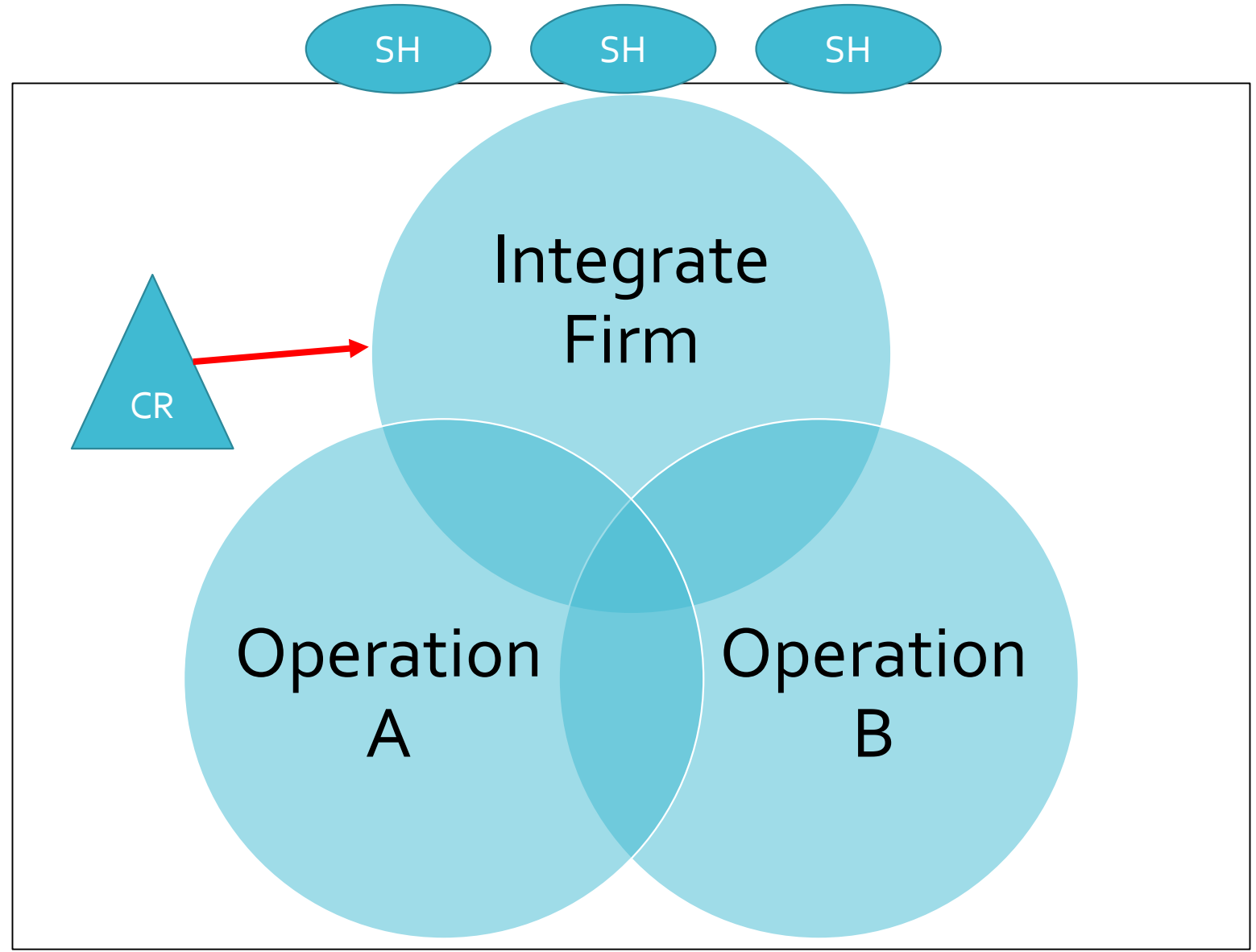
Historical Examples

- **Crédit Mobilier (1850-60s)**
 - Leveraged finance of infrastructure investments
- **Long-Term Capital Management (1990s)**
 - Leveraged investments in emerging market sovereign bonds
- **Lehman Brothers (2000s)**
 - Leveraged investments in ABS, derivatives, etc.

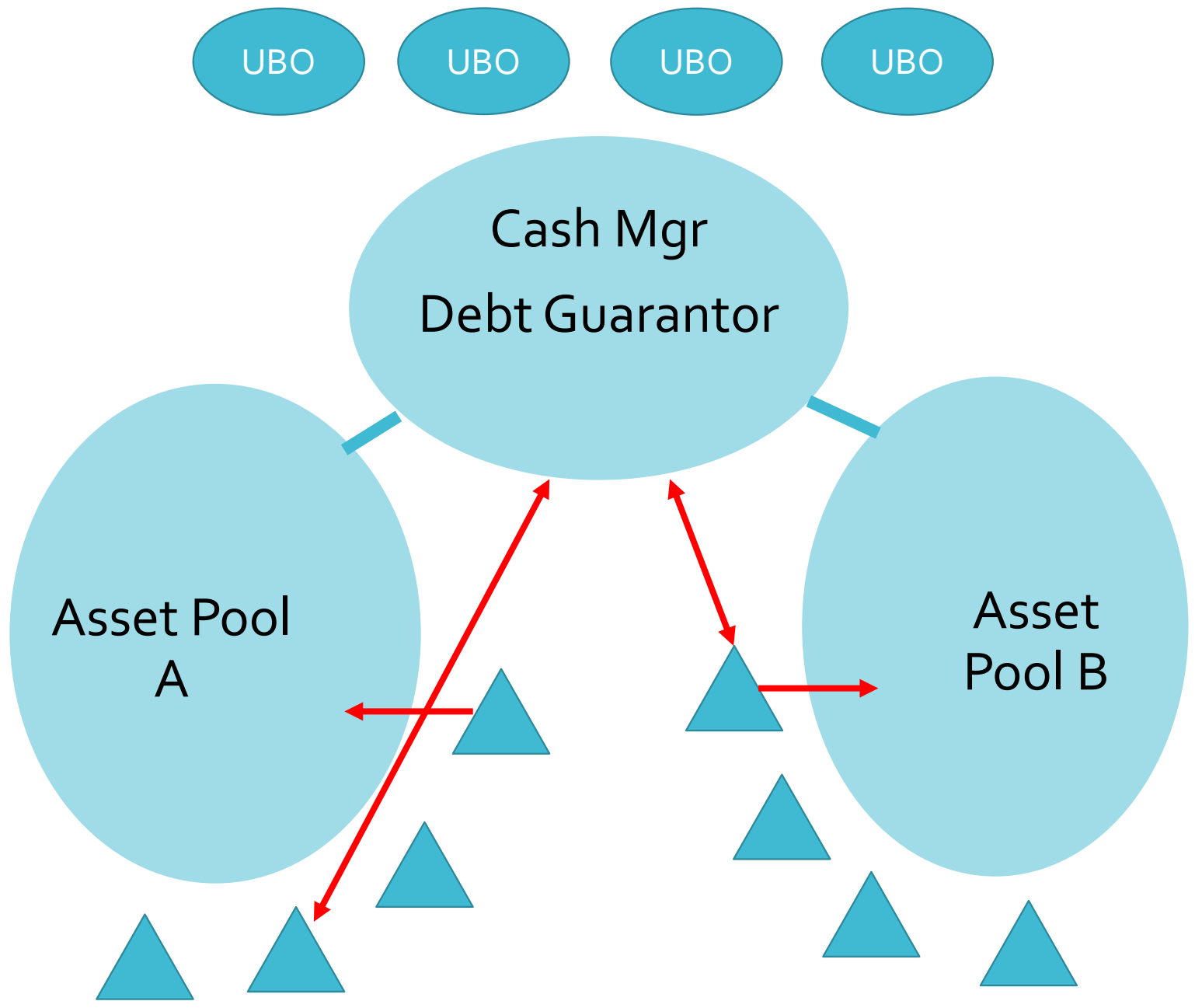
Legal Ingredients

- Multiple legal entities
 - Separate asset pools
 - Legally shielded
- Debt instruments
 - Backed by different asset pools
 - Insulated from 2ndary creditors
- Credit enhancements
 - Collateral, guarantees, credit lines and other liquidity puts

Integration



Separation of Assets & Liabilities



On the Upside

- Ease of Monitoring & Specialization
- Risk diversification
- Lowering costs of credit

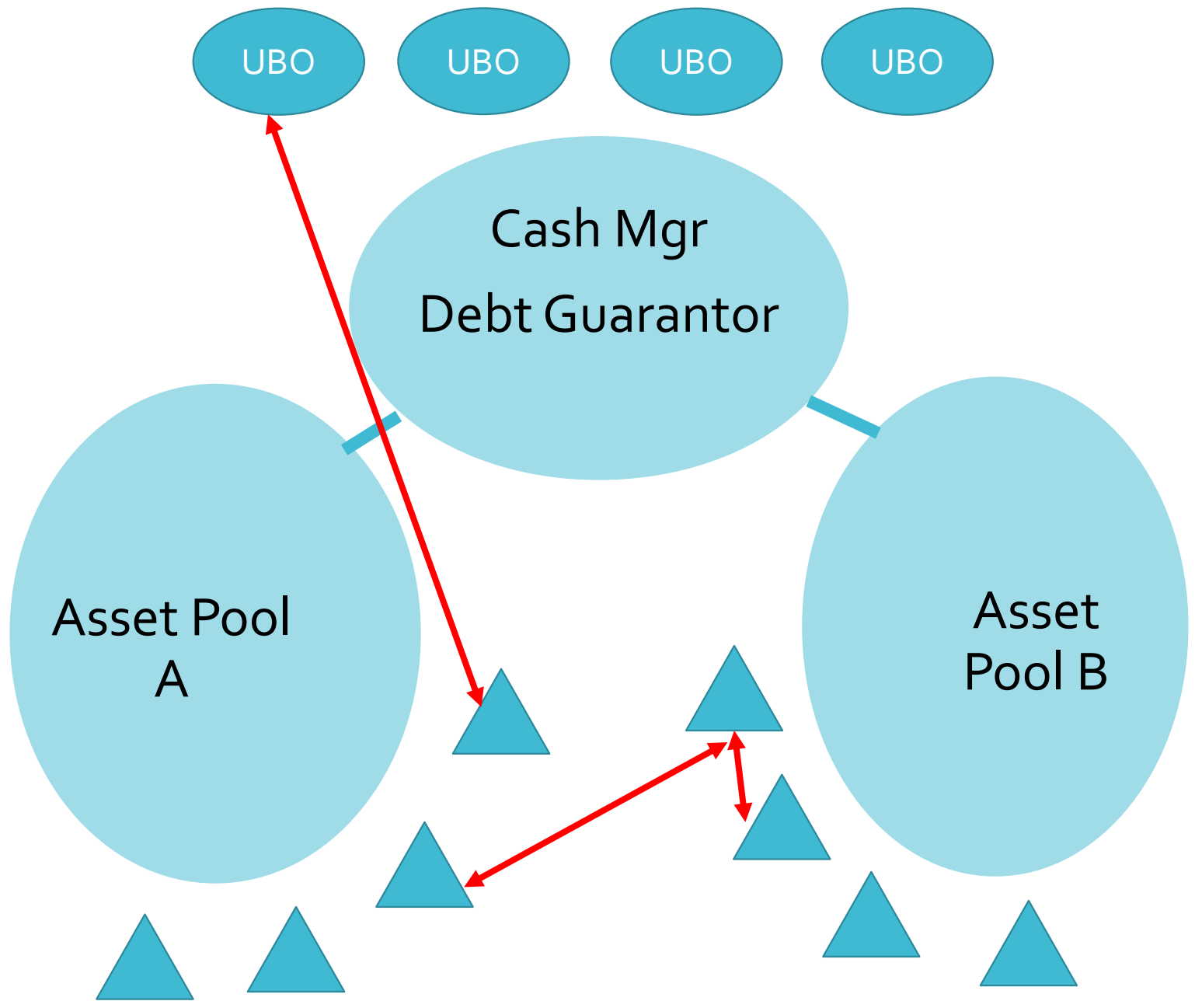
On the Downside

- Aggregate debt levels difficult to monitor
- Unknown contractual contingencies
 - Private placement
 - Contractual autonomy
- Volatility of assets that back debt
- Contagion channels
 - Interdependence of creditors
 - Creditors & shareholders
 - Toxicity of assets, financial structure

Current Challenges

- Migration of Shadow Banking Practices to the Corporate Sector
 - Splitting entities into asset pools
 - Expansion of debt finance
 - Cross-guarantees by parent
 - Off-balance sheet financing structures
- Role of banks
 - Creditors, including CLOs
- Role of asset managers
 - Exposure to banks
 - Possible creditors or shareholders of firms at risk

Financial
Stability



Risks are magnified by Globalization

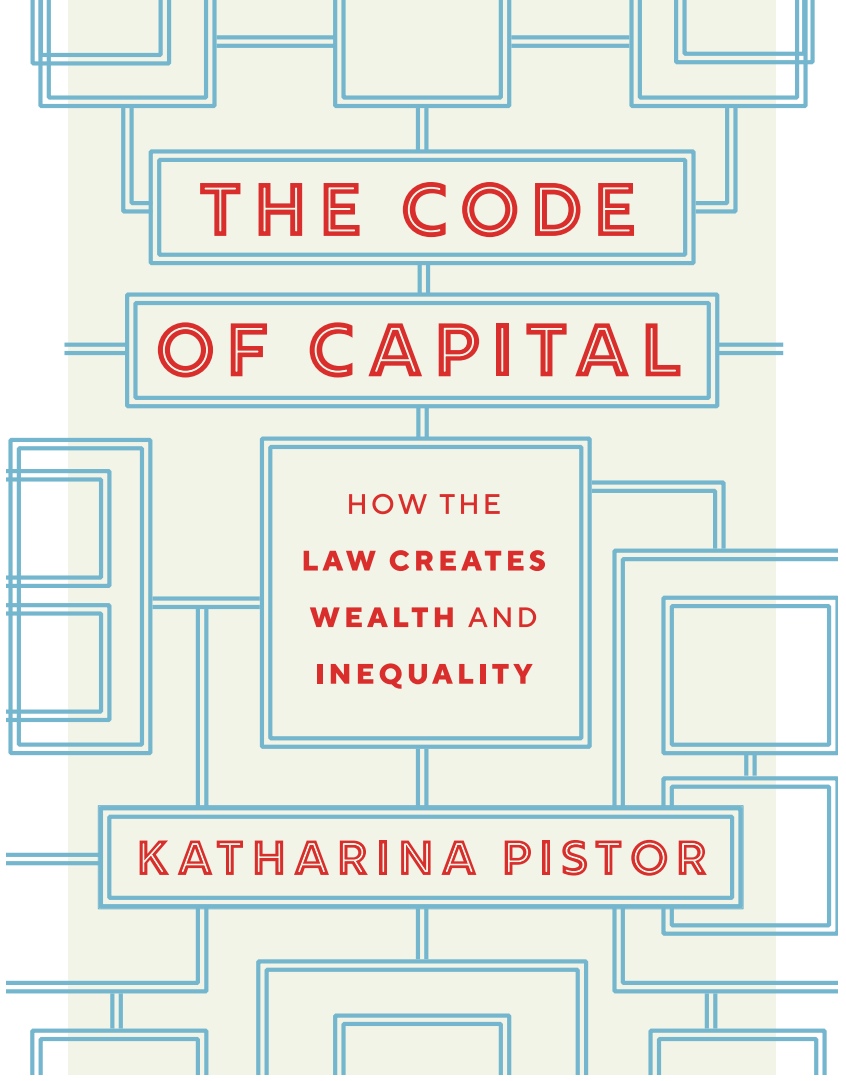
- Expanding scope of financial relations
- Menu of *national* laws to choose from
 - Choice of law & forum
 - Regulatory arbitrage
 - Preferred jurisdictions: UK, US
- Lack of supra-national regulatory coordination

Concluding comments

- Financial relations are coded in law
- The basic modules have been remarkably stable over time
- Their combination and recombination poses ever new challenges
- Private legal ordering is protected from public oversight outside specific regulatory domains

Lawyers as master coders

- “There is an estate in the realm more powerful than either your Lordship or the other House of Parliament, and that [is] the country solicitors.”
 - Lord Campbell (late 19th century)



THE CODE
OF CAPITAL

HOW THE
LAW CREATES
WEALTH AND
INEQUALITY

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