Roundtable discussion on "Addressing economic and financial challenges through **international policy cooperation**: Lessons from the past and prospects for the future"

Takatoshi Ito

Professor, Columbia University For BSP conference in Manila September 25, 2018

Takeaways

- Past
 - "Cooperation" has not always successful
 - Exchange rate coordination particularly was problematic
 - Cooperation for crisis prevention is difficult
 - Cooperation to manage a crisis is relatively successful
 - Lessons were learned from past crises to avert a future one
- Future
 - Regarding a crisis, debts (liabilities) are always a culprit
 - Global safety net is not adequate
 - Crisis warning:
 - Chinese corporation large debt and Over-indebtedness
 - Chinese shadow banking and local government
 - Chinese bilateral aid to developing countries

Past: Exchange Rate Coordination

- 1971. Smithsonian
- 1978. Dollar crisis
 - "Locomotive theory"
- 1985. Plaza Agreement
- 1987. Louvre Agreement
- 1992. ERM crisis: British Pound and Italian Lira
- 2006-07. Global Imbalances and currency "manipulation"
- Difficulties:
 - Equilibrium Exchange Rate is hard to be defined and estimated
 - Exchange rate coordination means monetary policy coordination
 - Central banks feel their domestic purposes are sacrificed, resulting in high inflation or a financial bubble

Past Crisis: Asian Financial Crisis

- Vulnerable macro and financial fundamentals
 - Large current account deficits
 - Overheating or a bubble
 - Double mismatch
 - Dollar denominated external liability
 - Local currency denominated assets
 - Impossible trinity
 - Fixed exchange rate
 - Autonomous monetary policy
 - Moving toward capital flow liberalization
- IMF mistakes and lack of "safety net"
- Lessons learned
 - Flexible exchange rate regime
 - Strong bank supervision
 - Capital Flow management
 - Regional safety net, CMI
 - Asian bond initiative (local currency denominated bonds)

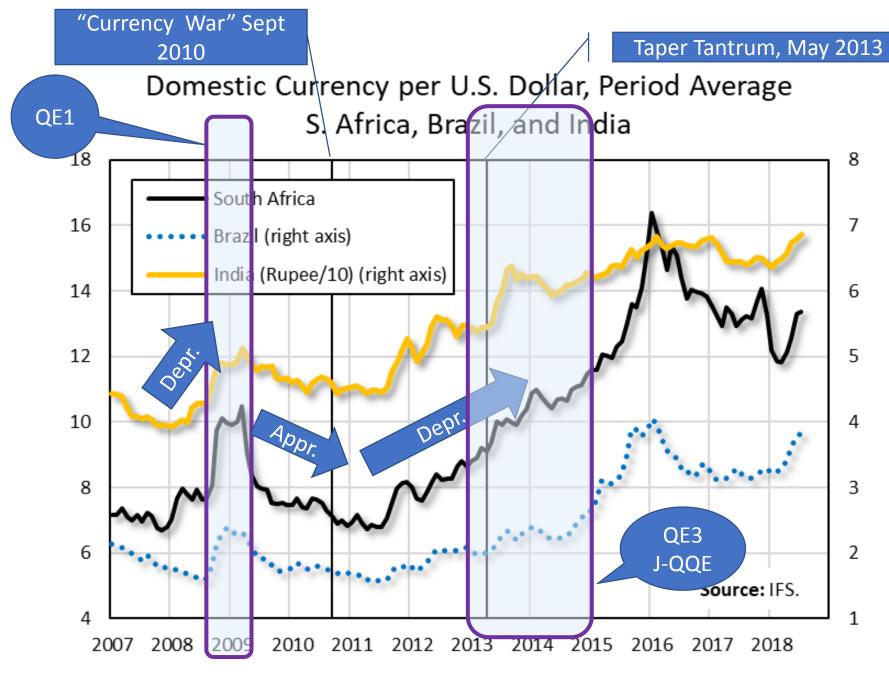
Past Crisis: Global Financial Crisis

- Securitization
 - Moral hazard among originators
- CDO, CDO squared, and Credit rating
 - Moral hazard among credit rating agencies
- Inadequate supervision on (investment) banks
 - Basel II internal models for banks were inappropriate
 - Inadequate risk analysis for investment banks
- No capital injection or resolution authority
- Lessons learned
 - Basel III. Better and more capital (Loss absorbing capacity)
 - Expand "bank" category
 - Create (G-)SIB category

QE and Currency Wars

- Was QE (2009-2012) competitive devaluation?
 - "No" among advanced countries
 - But the Yen appreciated as BOJ stayed out of QE
 - EM with appreciation complained of currency war (mid 2010)
 - US argued that monetary policy is for domestic purposes; growth will benefit the world
- Taper tantrum (2013) and exit from QE
 - EMs with depreciation complained

- An "international currency war" has broken out, according to Guido Mantega, Brazil's finance minister, as governments around the globe compete to lower their exchange rates to boost competitiveness. – Financial Times, Sept. 28, 2010
- "Does the currency depreciation that typically accompanies an easing of monetary policy unfairly disadvantage trading partners? The answer is generally no, for two reasons." – Ben Bernanke, Polak Lecture, Nov. 5-6, 2015



Why was QE criticized more than conventional monetary policy?

- With ZIRP, the currency channel became a primary transmission channel
 - Spillovers to other countries are greater
 - BOJ played a catch-up game with QQE in 2013
 - EM countries experienced capital inflows (and complain)
- Does US normalization (exit from QE and/or ZIRP) restore the equilibrium exchange rates?
 - EM countries experience capital outflows (and complain)

Bernanke defense

- Does the currency depreciation that typically accompanies an easing of monetary policy unfairly disadvantage trading partners? The answer is generally no, for two reasons.
- (1) "although monetary easing usually leads to a weaker currency and thus greater trade competitiveness, it also tends to increase domestic incomes, which in turn raises home demand for foreign goods and services."
- (2) "trading partners have the means to compensate for shifts in their international competitiveness through policy adjustments of their own"

Better alternative way?

- Internationally coordinated Fiscal policy? Yes, we did in 2009 (London G20 Summit)
 - Increased government spending in each country
 - Effective in mitigating aggregate demand decline
 - But, spending went to some not-so-useful projects in some countries
 - Chinese ghost towns with local government debts
- Internationally coordinated QE, possible?
 - Japan could have avoided a severe recession in 2009-10 if they adopted QE
 - EM could also adjust fiscal and monetary policy, temporarily
- EM countries can also adopt capital flows management
- A possible bubble can be managed with Macro-Pru

Future: (1) Safety net

- Can we identify a liquidity crisis?
 - No conditionality; Large amount; Quick disbursement
- Global Financial Safety Net
 - Unpopular FCL and PLL
 - IMF stigma
 - Failure of IMF SLS (Short-term Liquidity Swap)
- Regional
 - CMIM NOT tested
- Central bank swaps
 - G10 central banks
 - Chinese PBOC-centered

Safety net: CMI-M vs. IMF SLS or else?

- CMI-M
 - Not-tested
 - 70% IMF-linkage
 - Surveillance and Trigger, unclear
- IMF SLS (Short-term Liquidity Swap)
 - Low commitment fee; pre-qualification
 - Was not approved (Asian opposition or US opposition)
- Stigma?
 - Asian countries are content with maintaining large forex reserves

Future: (2) Global Imbalances, again?

- Large current account surpluses
 - Germany
 - China
- US current account deficits a problem?
- EM current account deficits too big?
 - Argentina
 - Turkey
- Trump
 - Problem gets complicated as Trump sees <u>bilateral</u> deficits as a problem
 - Global trading system is about to be significantly damaged

Future: (3) Next Crisis

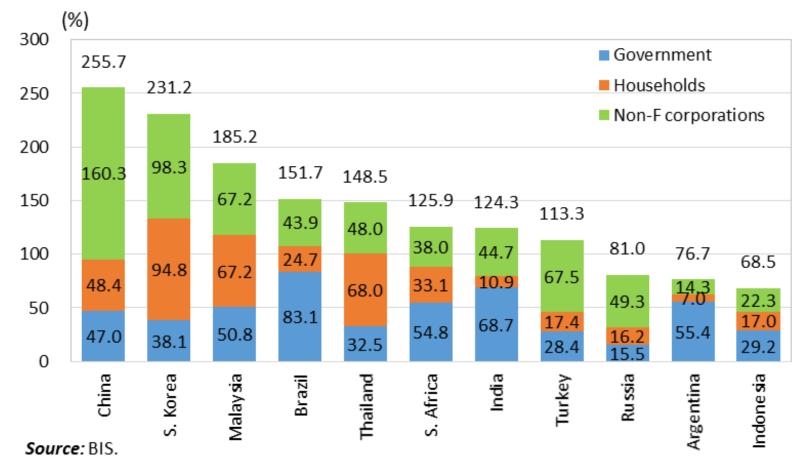
- EM Unsustainable Debt
 - Latin America
- EM Liquidity Crisis
 - Lack of safety net
- Advanced/EM Bank and Nonbank Supervision
 - Basle III and Bank Supervision
 - Hedge Fund/Private Equity not included
- China
 - Corporate debt has risen fast
 - Local government debt
 - Bilateral aid to developing countries with large debts

Debt growth and crisis

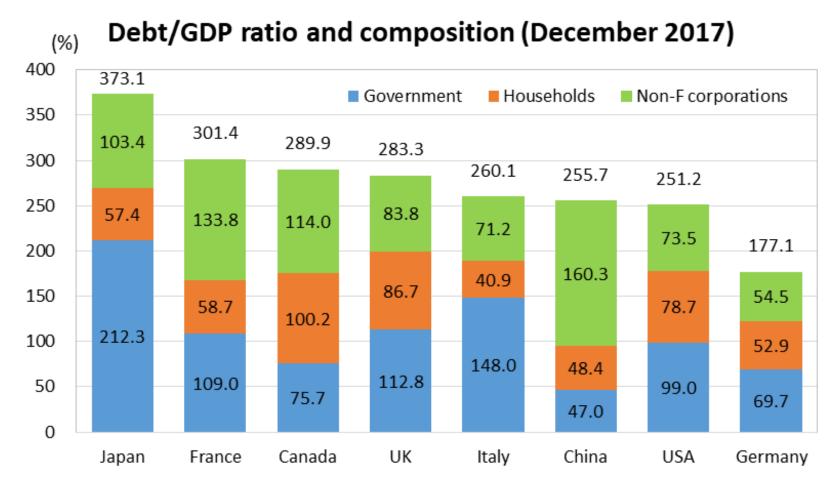
- Debt itself is not necessarily a sign of vulnerability
- Asset price increase is not necessarily a sign of vulnerability
- However, asset price increases supported by leveraged investment is a sign of vulnerability
 - Cases of Asian bubble, Japanese bubble, US subprime
- Where is next?

Emerging market countries & China

Debt/GDP ratio and composition (December 2017)

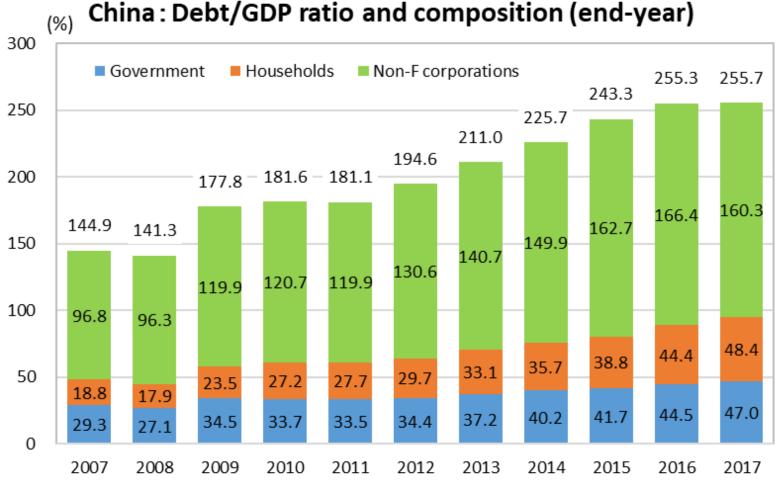


Advanced countries and China



Source: BIS.

China, time-series



Source: BIS.