## Worldwide Inflation, Bank Regulation, and Monetary Reform: Exchange Rates or Interest Rates?

Ronald I. McKinnon Stanford University

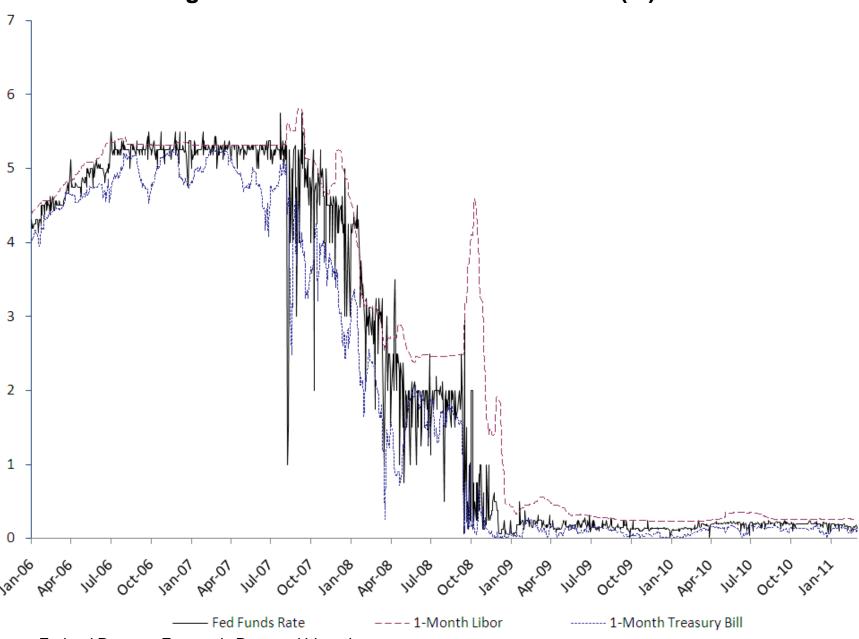
The Role of Central Banks in Financial Stability: How Has it Changed?

Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago November11, 2011

## Overview

- Problem with fast moving financial events
- The main paper deals with the world as it was before August 2011
- Ultra-low interest rates in stagnant mature industrial economies induce "hot" money flows into fast growing Emerging Markets (EM) with naturally higher interest rates
- Then the flow reverses from August into October 2011 because of a threatened bank credit crunch from the euro crisis

Figure 1: U.S. Short-term Interest Rates (%)



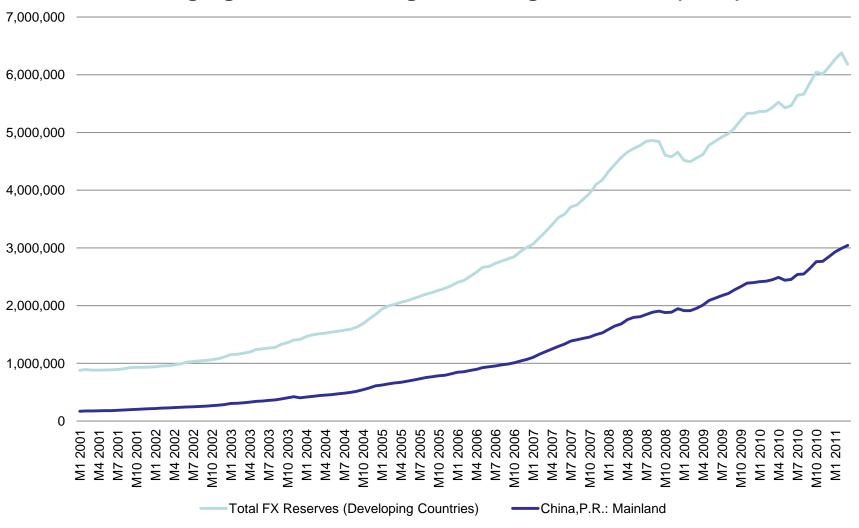
Source: Federal Reserve Economic Data and bloomberg

### **Interest Rate Structure, China and US**

	China				United States			
	Deposit Rate	Lending Rate	Interbank Overnight	GDP Growth	Deposit Rate	Lending Rate	Federal Funds Rate	GDP Growth
2000	2.25	5.85		8.37	6.65	9.23	6.24	6.39
2001	2.25	5.58		10.41	3.73	6.92	3.89	3.36
2002	1.98	5.31	2.4	10.50	1.88	4.67	1.67	3.46
2003	1.98	5.31	2.18	13.41	1.23	4.12	1.13	4.70
2004	2.25	5.58	2.01	17.69	1.79	4.34	1.35	6.51
2005	2.25	5.58	2.01	16.38	3.76	6.19	3.21	6.49
2006	2.52	6.12	1.31	18.76	5.27	7.96	4.96	6.02
2007	4.14	7.47	1.97	19.62	5.25	8.05	5.02	4.95
2008	2.25	5.31	2.21	18.46	3.05	5.09	1.93	2.19
2009	2.25	5.31	0.83	9.57	1.12	3.25	0.16	-1.74
2010	2.5	5.56	2.24	12.88	0.518	3.25	0.17	3.57

Source: IMF.

### **Emerging Markets' Foreign Exchange Reserves (\$MM)**



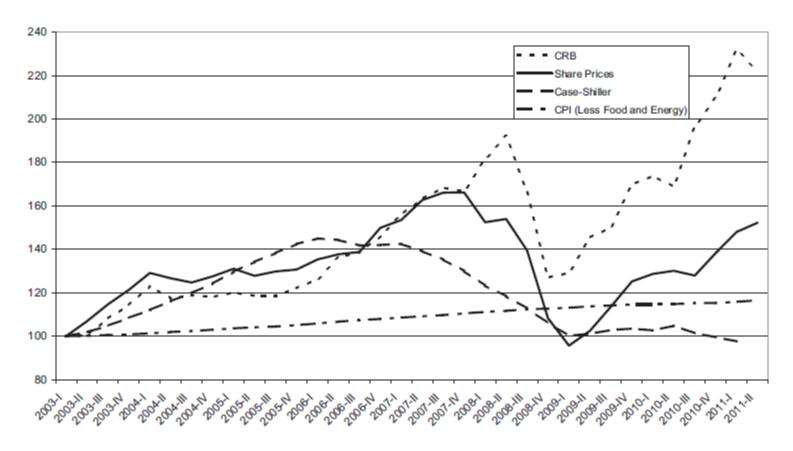
Source: IFS

Emerging Markets (EM) include the following countries: Russia, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine, Turkey, Israel, UAE, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, China, India, Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, Venezuela

## The Malfunctioning Dollar Standard

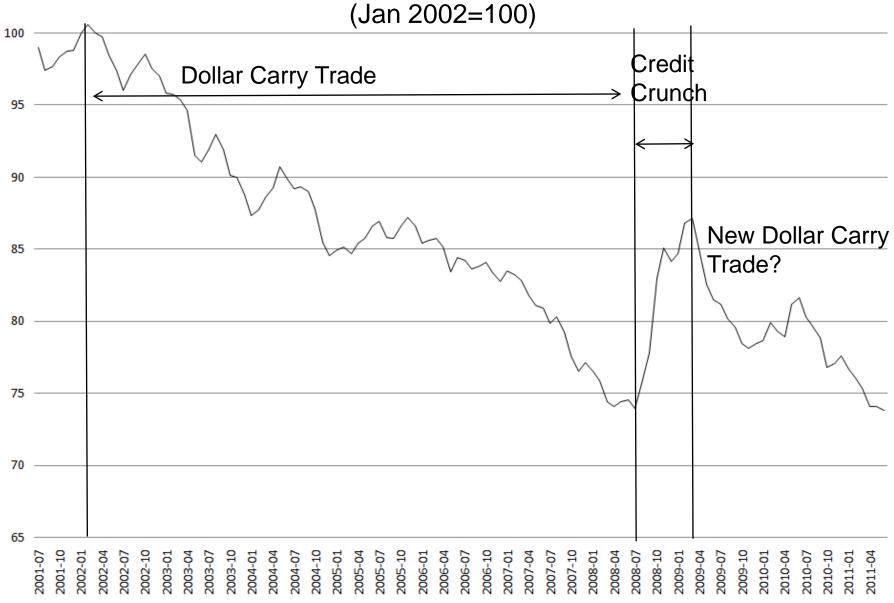
- Near zero U.S. short-term interest rates launch hot money outflows into Emerging Markets (EM) including China.
- EM central banks intervene to prevent their currencies from appreciating precipitately
- They lose monetary control and begin inflating
- Primary commodity prices rise worldwide
- This inflation on the dollar's periphery only registers in the U.S. "core" CPI with a long lag

### The Greenspan-Bernanke Bubble Economy (From Steve Hanke)



Sources: International Monetary Fund, *International Financial Statistics*; Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; Standard and Poor's; Bloomberg and Author's Calculations.

Figure 5. The Nominal Broad Dollar Index Movements



Source: Federal Reserve Economic Data

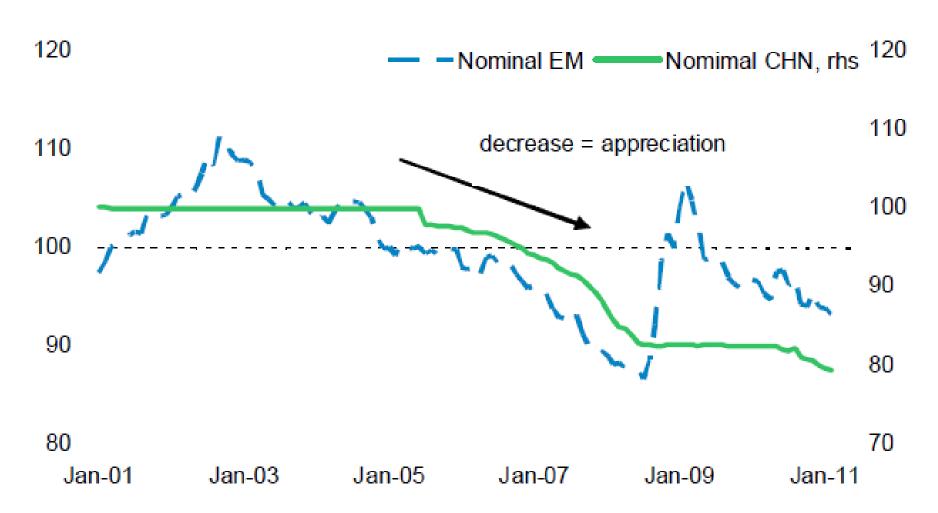
### **Returns on Carry Trades**

(2000-2007)

Funding Currency	Interest rates		Returns from	Returns of	Investment
	Funding	Investment	Appreciation	Carry trades	Currencies
US Dollar	3.4	10.2	1.1	7.9	Brazil, Mexico, and Canada
Euro	3.2	7.4	1.0	5.2	Iceland, Poland, and Czech Republic
Japanese Yen	0.1	5.3	5.2	10.7	Australia, Korea, and New Zealand

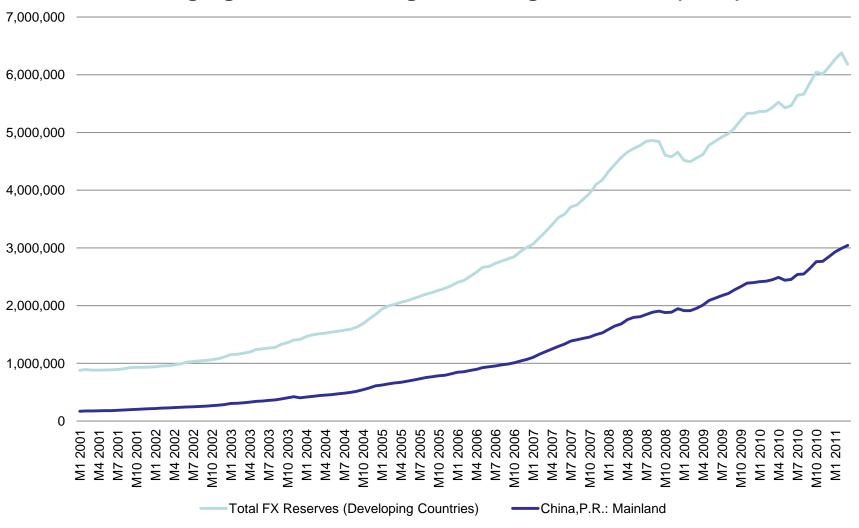
Data Source: IMF

#### EM and CHN Nominal Exchange Rate Appreciation, Jan'05 = 100



Source: Haver Analytics, Morgan Stanley Research

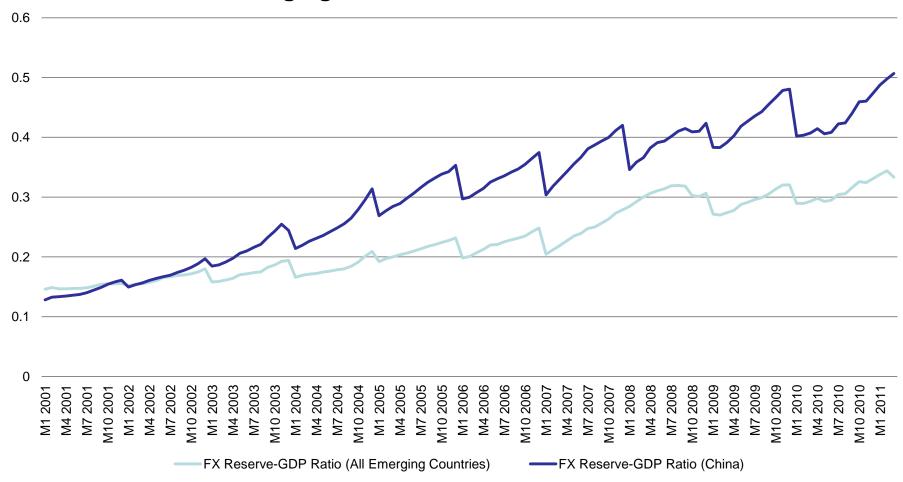
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#### **Emerging Markets' FX Reserve-GDP Ratio**



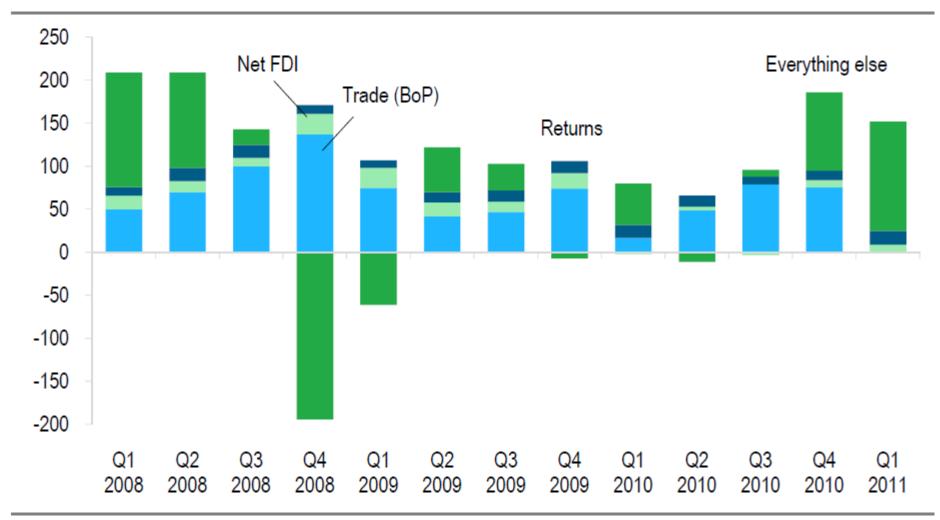
Source: IFS

Notes: The ratio uses annual GDP of the corresponding year in the denominator. The months in 2011 uses 2010 GDP in the denominator.

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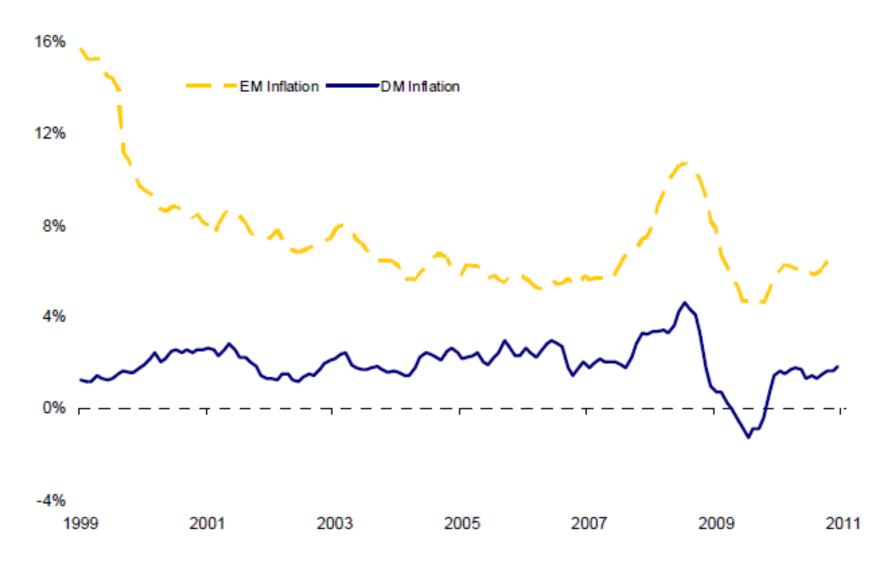
### Composition of China's Foreign Exchange Reserve

#### USD bn



Source: Standard Chartered Research

#### **Emerging Markets (EM) and Developed Markets (DM) Inflations**



Source: Haver Analytics, Morgan Stanley Research

Developed Markets (DM) include the following countries: United States, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Japan, United Kingdom, Canada, Sweden, Australia

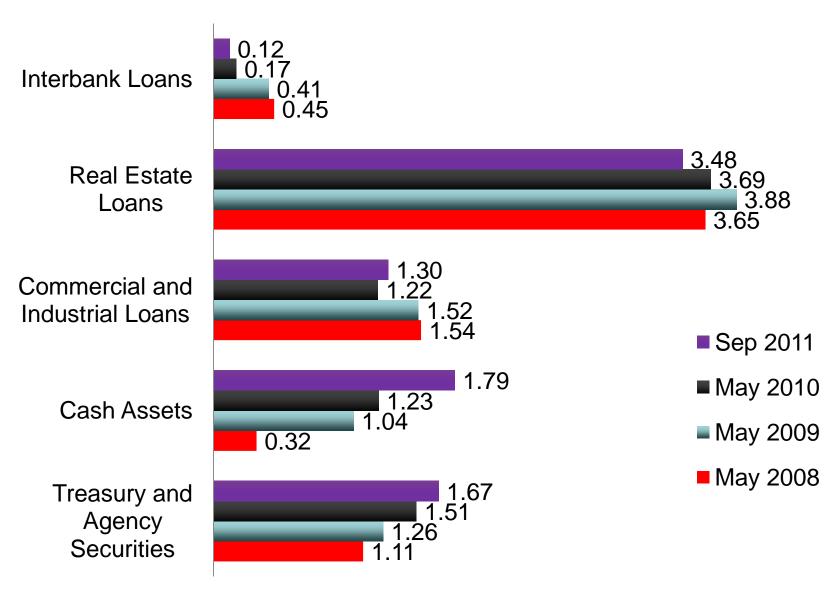
## Bank Regulation In China

- PBC imposes controls on capital inflows. Banks limited from borrowing dollars to convert into RMB. More difficult for banks to provide forward cover to Chinese exporters who want to sell future dollar earnings forward.
- PBC sterilizes some of the domestic monetary effect of its foreign exchange purchases by
  - (1) selling central bank bonds; and
  - (2) increasing reserve requirements on banks
- (2) is preferred to (1) to prevent higher interest rates attracting more hot money. But China's int. rates are now too low for fighting inflation (now over 6%) or preventing low-yield investments.

## Bank Regulation in U.S.

- Low or near zero interest rates disrupts bank intermediation
- Collapse in Interbank market restrains retail bank lending

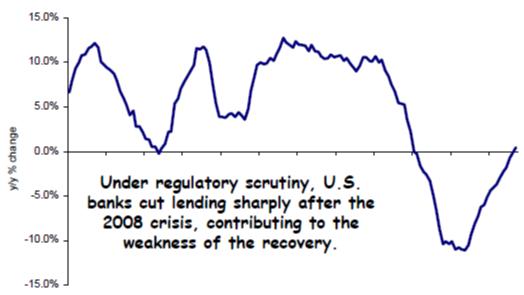
#### Holdings of bank assets at commercial banks in the U.S. (\$ Trillion)



Source: Federal Reserve Economic Data

### **US Pro-cyclical Bank Lending Policy**

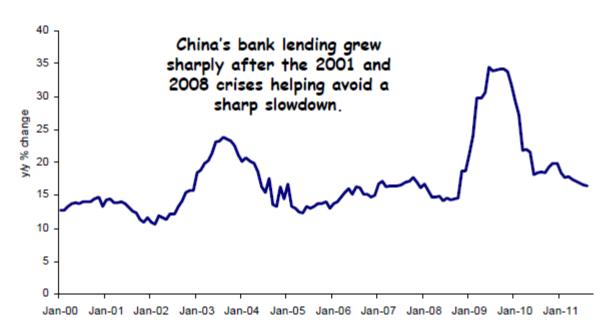
(last obs. August 2011, estimate September 2011)



Jan-00 Jan-01 Jan-02 Jan-03 Jan-04 Jan-05 Jan-06 Jan-07 Jan-08 Jan-09 Jan-10 Jan-11 Source: Federal Reserve; Encima Global

### **China's Countercyclical Bank Lending Policy**

(last obs. August 2011)

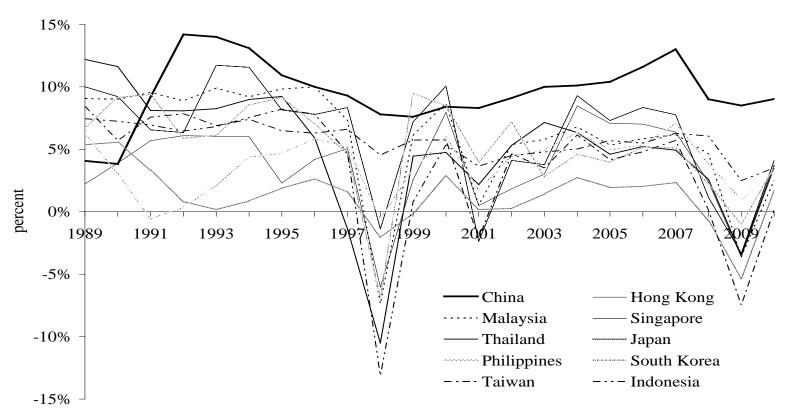


Source: Bloomberg; Encima Global

# Countercyclical Bank Lending: U.S. and China Compared (D.Malpass)

- United States: bank credit is pro-cyclical
  - -animal spirits with few controls in booms
  - heavy controls after busts: increased bank capital, mark-to-market accounting, closer regulatory scrutiny.
- China: bank credit is counter-cyclical
  - -lending restricted during booms with rationing
  - lending encouraged (required?) in a bust
- A natural consequence of indirect regulation in U.S. against state ownership of banks in China?

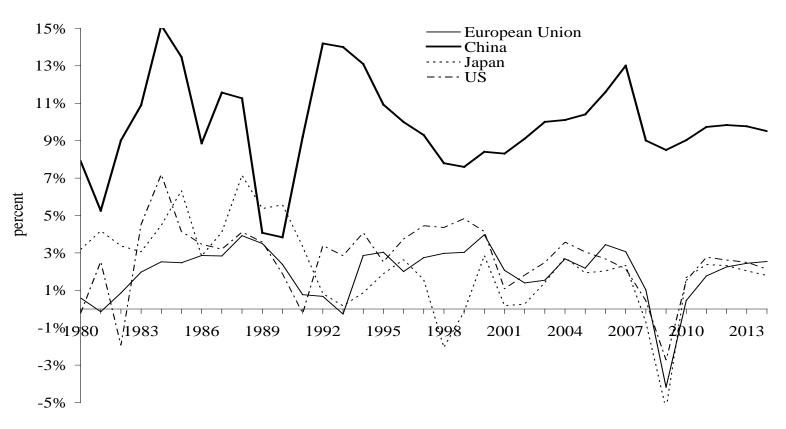
## Real Growth in East Asia: China as a Stabilizing Influence



East Asia

Source: IMF.

### Global Growth Performance: China Relatively Stable after 1994



World

Source: IMF.

## The Return of Stagflation to U.S.?

## Consequence of near-zero U.S. Int Rates

- (1) Worldwide inflation that eventually hits U.S.
- (2) Disrupts bank intermediation within the U.S.: bank credit continues to fall, employment and growth remain stagnant

## Springing the U.S. Stagflation Trap

 Federal Reserve gradually raises short rates to some modest level, say 2 percent—in concert with ECB, BOJ, and BOE to damp FX movements among mature economies

## China as an Immature Creditor

- China has a large net saving surplus (S—I) as manifested in its large trade surplus
- But China is also an *immature* creditor: claims on foreigners are largely in dollars and not RMB
- This currency mismatch makes it too risky for domestic banks, insurance companies, or pension funds to hold the dollar claims.
- Floating the RMB becomes impossible.
- Thus international financial intermediation devolves to government agencies: PBC, CIC, EX-IM Bank, and so on

## Exchange Rate and the Trade Balance

## X - M = S - I = Trade (Saving) Surplus

**X** is exports and **M** is imports broadly defined,

S and I are gross domestic saving and investment

### Two theoretical Approaches:

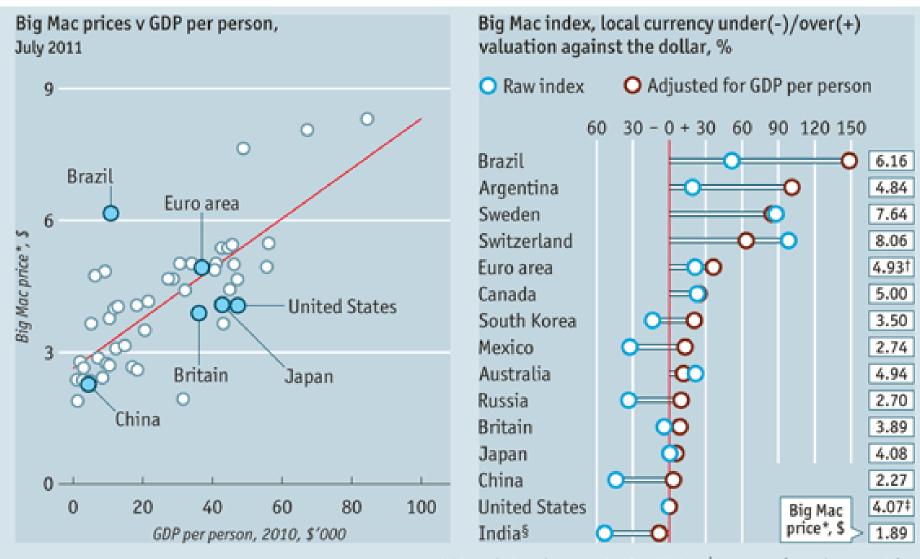
- (1) Microeconomic focus on **X M**: the elasticities approach to the trade balance; and
- (2) Macroeconomic focus on **S I**: the absorption approach to the trade balance.

# Effect of Appreciating the Renmimbi?

- Elasticities Approach:
  - X ↓ M↑ and trade surplus declines
- Absorption Approach:
  - **S** ↑ **I**↓ and trade surplus?

But if I is sensitive to the exchange rate and slumps, trade surplus increases. Investment in China's open economy, with multinational firms, is huge: more than 40% of GDP.

 Japan's experience with ever-higher yen, 1971 – 95: Investment eventually slumped with general deflation, followed by "lost" decades, but the trade surplus remained.



\*At market exchange rate (July 25th) <sup>†</sup>Average of member countries <sup>‡</sup>Average of four cities <sup>§</sup>Maharaja Mac

Sources: McDonald's; IMF; The Economist

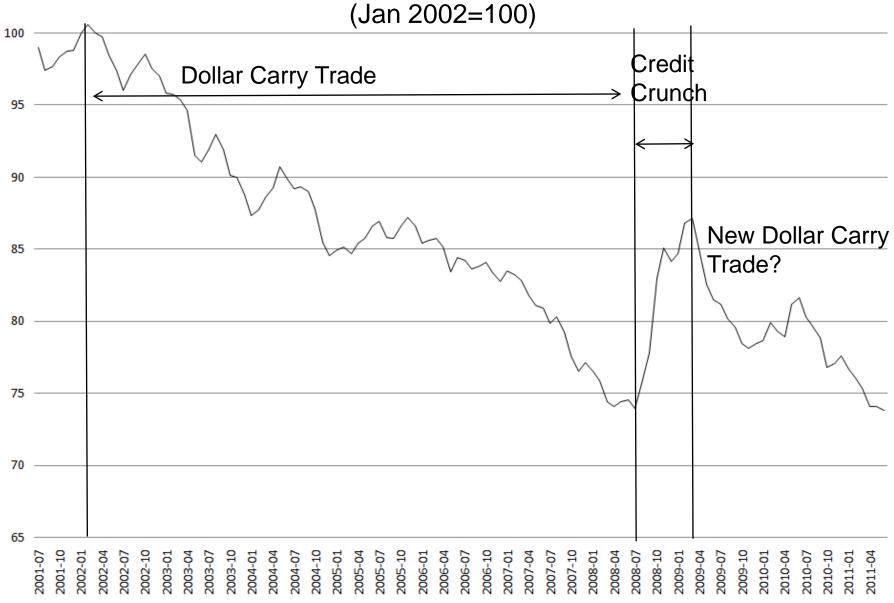
# Springing China's Money Trap • First Best:

- U.S. increases short-term interest rates
- China re-stabilizes yuan/dollar rate to remove fear of future appreciations
- hot money inflows and inflation diminish
- China reduces reserve requirements on banks and relaxes capital controls
- Second Best: (No change in U.S. policies)
  - China tightens controls on financial inflows, keeps high reserves required of commercial banks, but also re-stabilizes yuan/dollar rate

# Addendum: Collapse of the Second Greenspan-Bernanke Bubble

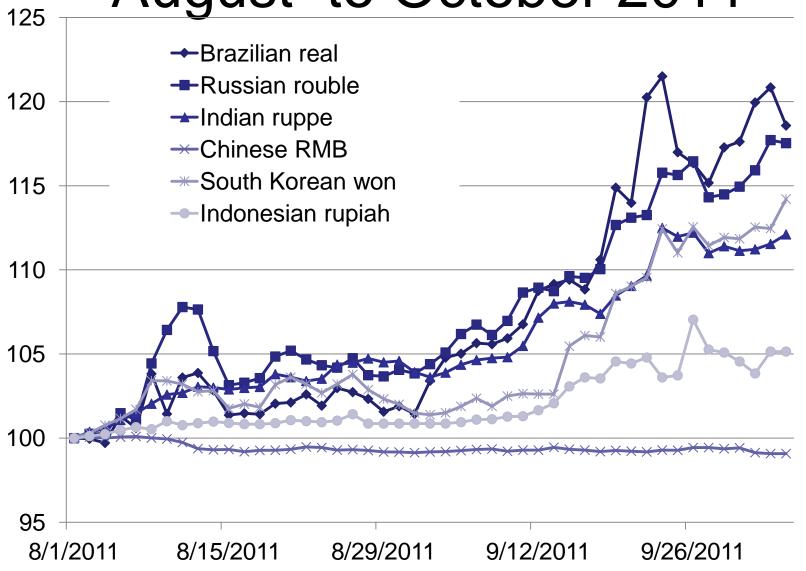
- First Bubble collapses in 2008 with the global credit crunch and seizing up of bank credit: speculators can no longer hold long positions in commodities or foreign currency. Dollar appreciates sharply
- Second Bubble seems to be collapsing since August 2011 as bank credit seizes up from the euro crisis. Dollar appreciates sharply against EM currencies and primary commodities.

Figure 5. The Nominal Broad Dollar Index Movements

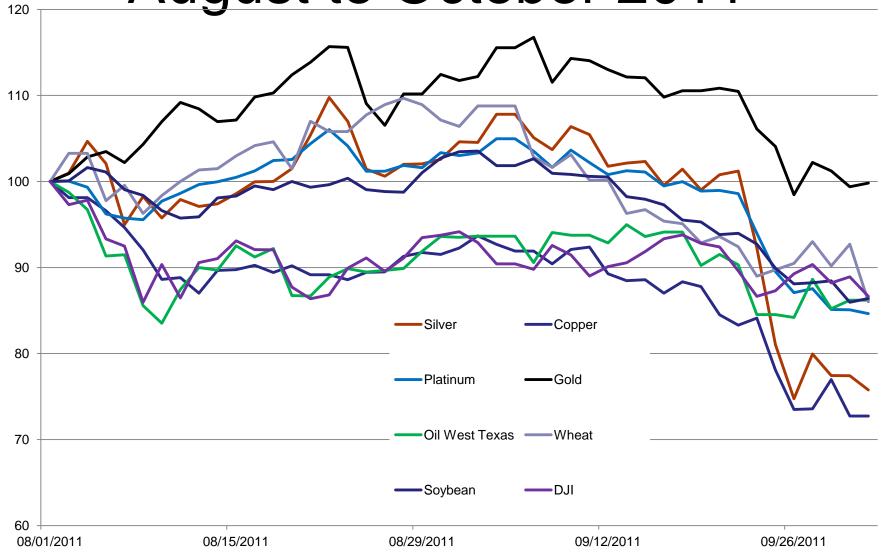


Source: Federal Reserve Economic Data

## EM Currencies per Dollar; August to October 2011



Dollar Commodity Prices August to October 2011



# Moral of this Unhappy Story: What Governments Should Do

- Suppress bubble-producing carry trades by limiting interest differentials between the "center" and the "periphery".
- U.S. Fed should abandon its zero interest policy, and phase in modestly higher rates in conjunction with the other industrial countries represented by the ECB, Bank of England, and Bank of Japan