Comments on papers by Gagnon and Thorstensen et al.

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I. Motivation, Scope, and Main Message

- The role of FX intervention in influencing the current account and relative prices is a controversial and yet key policy issue.
- Both papers make an important contribution to this debate.
- My discussion will focus on technical aspects of their analyses reproblems of measurement and of econometric identification.
- Will do so by drawing on broad historical trends and without delving into any particular country cases.
- Main bottom-line: measurement as well as normative inferences on effects of intervention are tricky, calling for caution on sweeping inferences.

II. Facts and Questions

Key Stylized Fact

Conspicuous Long-Run Association between Reserve Accumulation by EMs and Global CA Imbalances.

3 Key Questions

Is this historically abnormal?

Can we infer causality and clearly single out the role of policy?

Do intervention policies enhance welfare, even if only national?

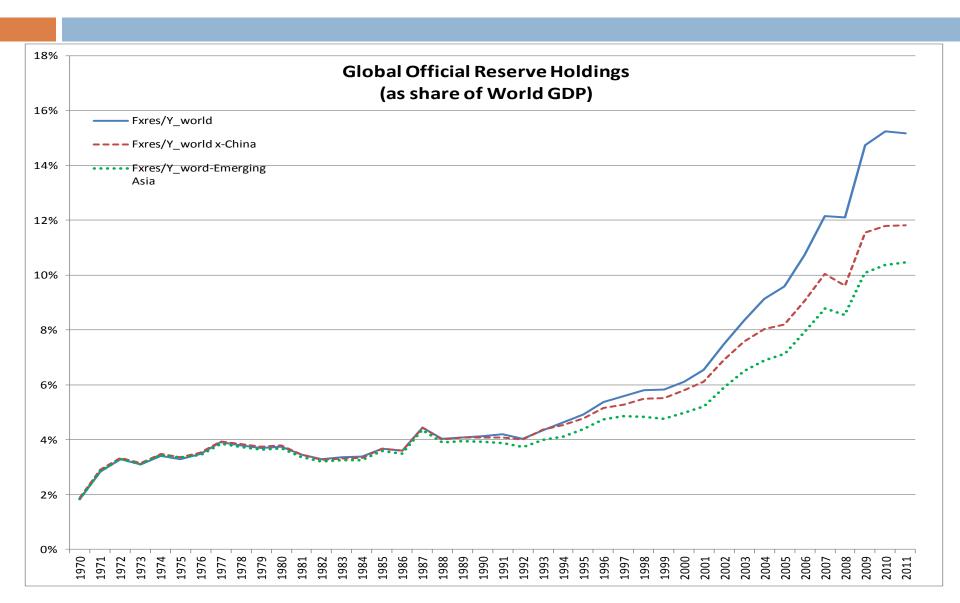
Fact I: post-1970 Trends

Long upward trend in Global Reserve
 Accumulation [began in the early 1990s, but really picked up after the 1997-98 EM crises].

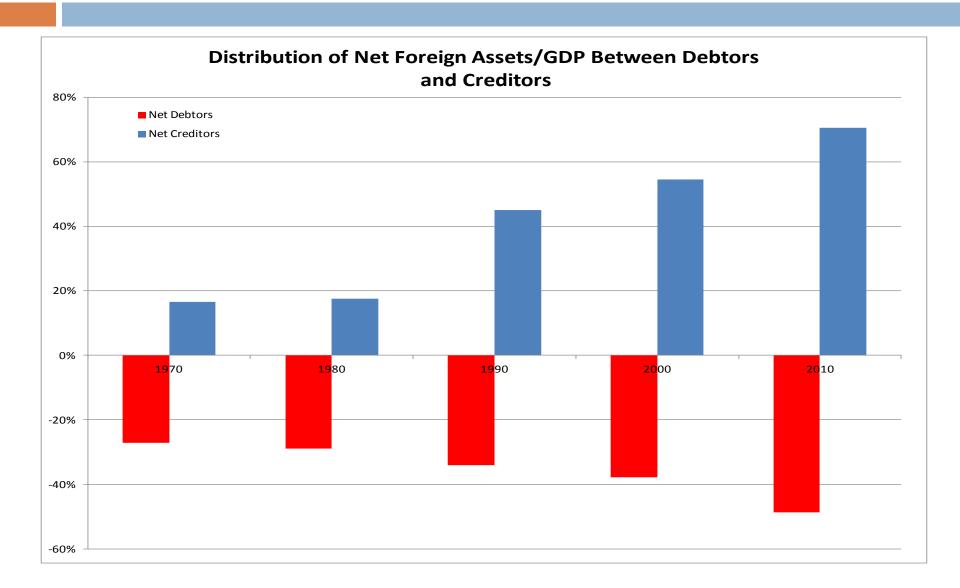
General Trend: Not just due to China or Asia.

 Associated with widening in NFA positions between creditors and debtors.

Fact I: post-1970 Trends



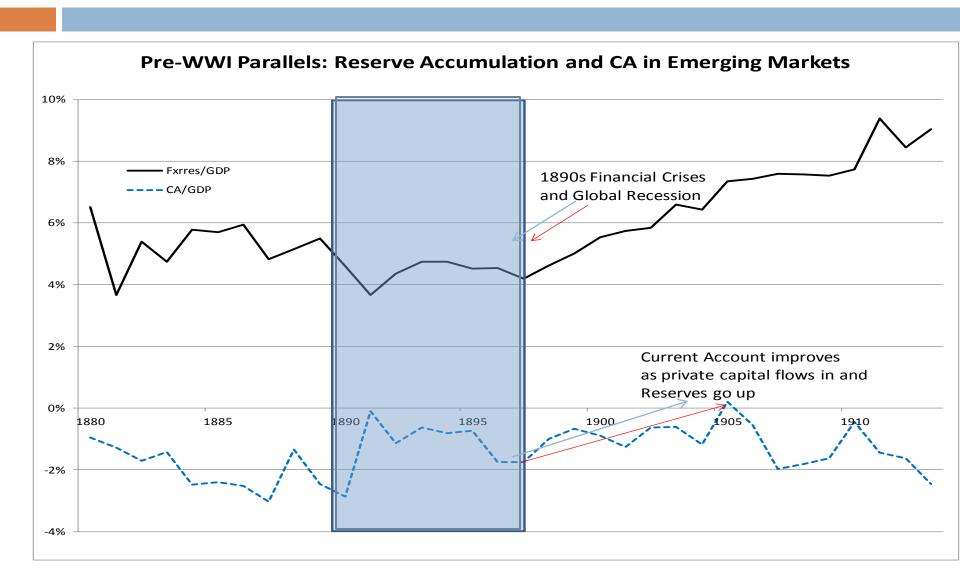
Fact I: post-1970 Trends



Fact II: Historical Parallels

- Similar trends also observed in past.
- Close Parallel: the 1890s financial crises
- □ Faced with massive recovery of capital inflows in the 1900s, many countries pegged their currencies to gold → reserve accumulation soared!
- Post-crisis CAs improve, never returning to higher precrisis deficits.
- Pegging to gold never dubbed "currency manipulation".

Fact II: Historical Parallels



 At the root of Joe's hypothesis is imperfect substitutability between official and private foreign assets/liabilities.

- Quite plausible (much in the way that full Ricardian equivalence is implausible).
- But how far policy can exploit it to engineer large (and long-lasting) relative price shifts is difficult to test.

- Endogeneity and spurious cor. is a serious issue given accounting identity: CA = FA + ΔFXres + E&O.
- So, regressing CA = X'α + β ΔFXres will yield a biased coefficient β.
- If CAs are mainly driven by financial account shocks, β is biased downward.
- If trade shocks dominate, β is biased upwards.

- On annual regressions and without instrumenting,
 Bayoumi and Saborowski (2012) find β~0.5 and
 significant despite the possible bias towards zero.
- But only if ΔFXres is interacted with Kcontrols.
- Joe instruments it and finds instead that β~[0.6,1.0] with regressions on 5-year averaged data.
- □ But also that ∆FXres*Kcontrols is non-significant!

- Many potential issues with both results.
- One is sensitivity to instrumenting
- Another is accuracy of Kcontrol indices (de jure instead of de facto indices, and they sometimes disagree)
- No distinction made between the effects of FXres accumulation via sterilized vs. non-sterilized intervention.
- Nor between exchange rate regimes (pegs or near pegs vs. managed floating)
- Use of 5-year averaged data more likely to bias β upward

- My recent work uses instruments that distinguishes between sterilized vs. non-sterilized intervention.
 - Finds a coefficient of ΔFXres*Kcontrols~0.6 and a much smaller (and imprecisely estimated) β on the non-interacted term.
 - But also find that the ΔFXres terms in CA regressions are the ones that are the least robust to specification searches!
 - And results may not be robust to dropping a few countries from the sample (dropping just a few can notably weaken the results)
- Bottom line: Caution to infer too much from estimates!
- More work will be needed to satisfy all doubts

- Is misalignment so tempting? Can policies aimed at a weaker exchange rate boost a country's welfare?
- One view is that tradables production -- manufacturing in particular— generates greater economies of scale and learning by doing, so play a special role in development.
- Difficult to test, prove/disprove.
- Incentive to depreciate at odds with some standard welfare analysis:

- A policy of appreciating the ER in order to improve the country's terms of trade may appear attractive ("TOT externality")
- Incentive stronger for the manufacturing exporter facing a downward sloping world demand curve – the standard optimal tariff argument.
- Holding the currency down has obvious costs.
- One is to make production inputs dear, so reducing effective protection. Tarification measures of currency policies need to incorporate that!
- Fact: RER appreciation is typically associated with higher I/Y!

- Capital market imperfections (e.g. risk of Sudden Stops) may justify FXres accumulation geared at mitigating appreciation.
- Indeed, Catão and Milesi-Ferretti (2013) find that higher reserves/GDP do reduce the risk of major external crises.

And this is beyond the effect of higher NFA/gdp and higher CA balances.

- But if so, how much FX is enough, how much is too much?
 - □ Fiscal cost of massive sterilization (esp. at near zero world interest rates) is important for high return/high growth EMs.
 - Another cost may be the ToT loss

- Holding currencies down with the aid of K controls may have benefits (Ghosh et al. 2008), but not problem-free.
- First, it may be ineffective, particularly in EMs with sophisticated capital markets (Chamon and Garcia, 2013).
- Second, when is done with a more comprehensive set of controls, it can generate distortions that lower TFP (Hsieh and Klenow, 2009), and so is welfare-reducing.
- □ Third, political economy effects can be perverse → longlasting growth and welfare losses (Diaz-Alejandro, 1970; Taylor, 1998).

V. Concluding Remarks

- Both papers are important contributions to the debate on FX intervention and CA imbalances.
- From a positive perspective, measurement of effects of intervention is trickier than it may seem, calling for caution on sweeping inferences.
- Price-based misalignments are difficult to measure with reasonable accuracy and to sustain into the long-run just on the basis of one-side sterilized intervention without other instruments.
- From a standard welfare perspective, the net benefit for undertaking such policies is often unclear, even from a purely national/Nash perspective.