

# Global Imbalances: The Crisis That Didn't Occur...Yet

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Darden and NBER

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# The Plan

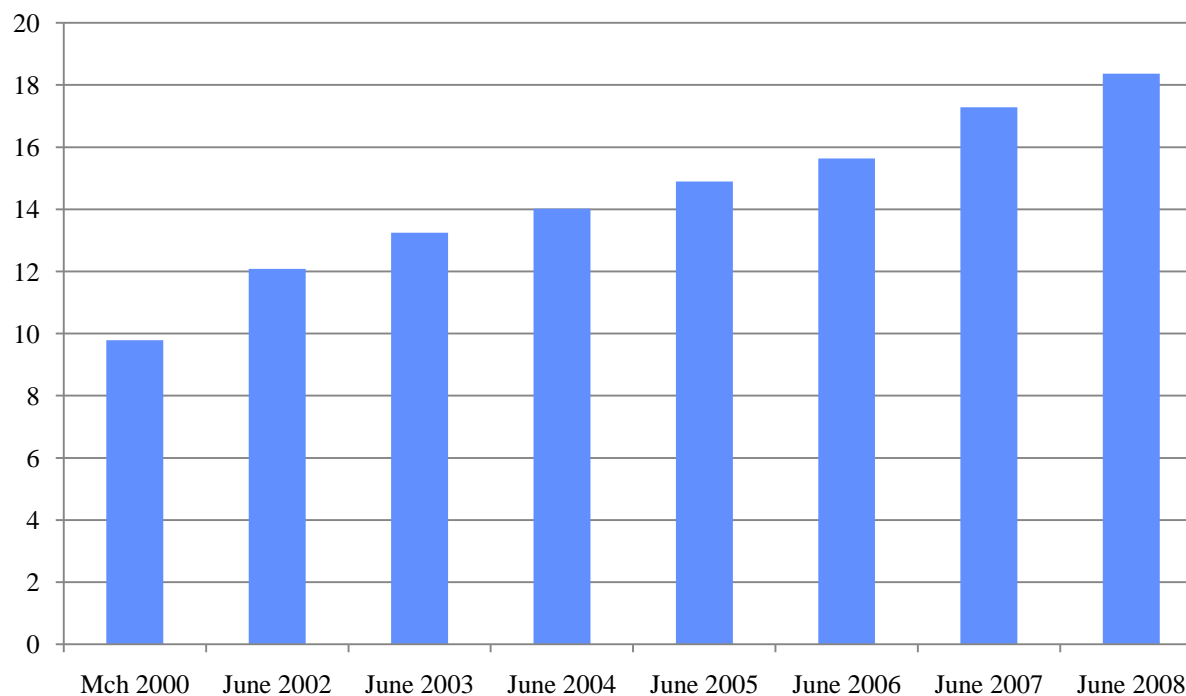
- Discuss global imbalances from a portfolio/capital flows perspective, focusing on three periods:
  - Pre-Crisis
  - The Crisis
  - The Future

# Pre-Crisis

- Many, including Roubini and Setser (2004) and Feldstein (2006), warned of a possible U.S. external crisis.
  - The stability of BW2 hinged on the willingness of Asian central banks to continue to add to their huge holdings of U.S. securities.
  - When the day of reckoning arrived, U.S. long-term interest rates would spike and the dollar would plummet.

# Pre-crisis, foreigners held a steadily increasing share of U.S. securities...

**Share of U.S. long-term securities owned by foreigners**  
(% of amount held by public)

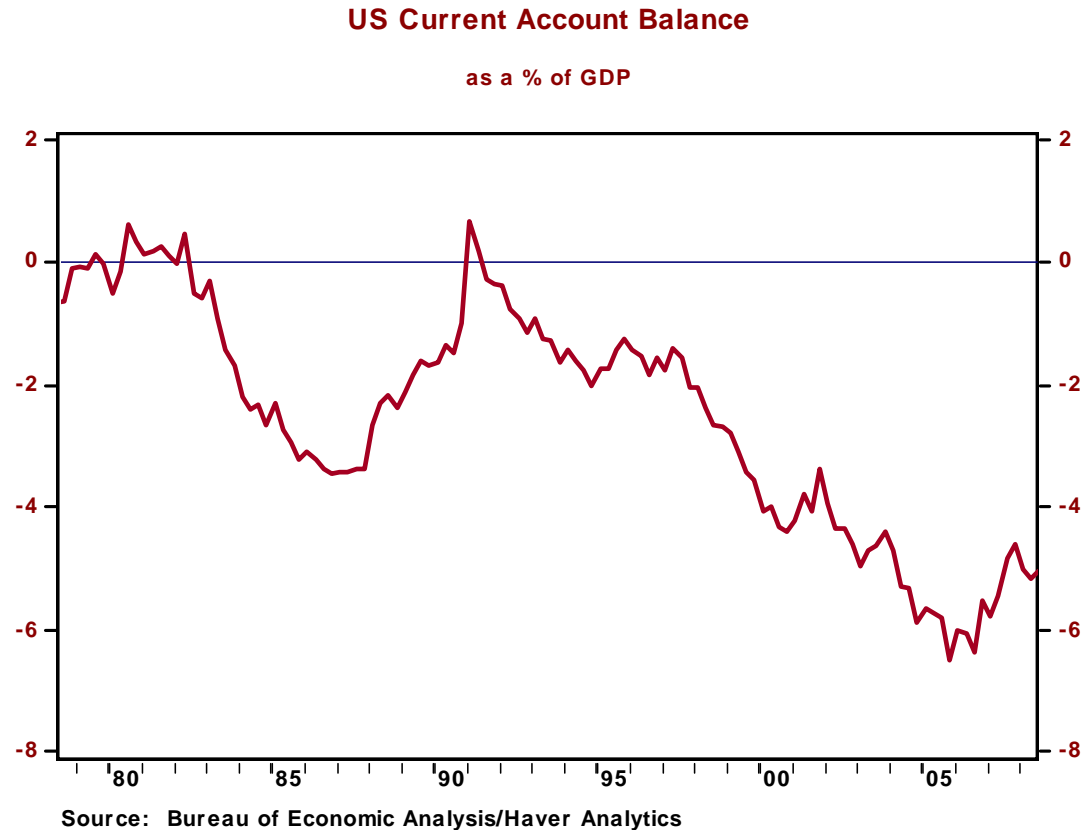


# ...and almost two-thirds (!) of all marketable US Treasurys held by the public.

	Mch 2000	June 2002	June 2003	June 2004	June 2005	June 2006	June 2007	June 2008
<b>Equity</b>								
Total outstanding	24,861	18,485	18,639	22,006	23,947	26,367	31,450	<b>28,435</b>
Foreign-owned	1,709	1,395	1,564	1,930	2,144	2,430	3,130	<b>2,969</b>
% foreign-owned	6.9	7.5	8.4	8.8	9.0	9.2	10.0	<b>10.4</b>
<b>Marketable US Treasury</b>								
Total outstanding	2,508	2,230	2,451	2,809	3,093	3,321	3,454	<b>3,621</b>
Foreign-owned	884	908	1,116	1,426	1,599	1,727	1,965	<b>2,211</b>
% foreign-owned	35.2	40.7	45.5	50.8	51.7	52.0	56.9	<b>61.1</b>
<b>US government agency</b>								
Total outstanding	3,575	4,830	5,199	5,527	5,591	5,709	6,202	<b>6,986</b>
Foreign-owned	261	492	586	619	791	984	1,304	<b>1,464</b>
% foreign-owned	7.3	10.2	11.3	11.2	14.1	17.2	21.0	<b>21.0</b>
<b>Corporate and other debt</b>								
Total outstanding	5,411	6,954	7,692	8,381	9,410	10,425	11,747	<b>12,501</b>
Foreign-owned	703	1,130	1,236	1,455	1,729	2,021	2,738	<b>2,820</b>
% foreign-owned	13.0	16.2	16.1	17.4	18.4	19.4	23.3	<b>22.6</b>

(\$ billions, except where noted)

# The substantial foreign accumulation of US securities helped finance (and maintain) the US current account deficit...



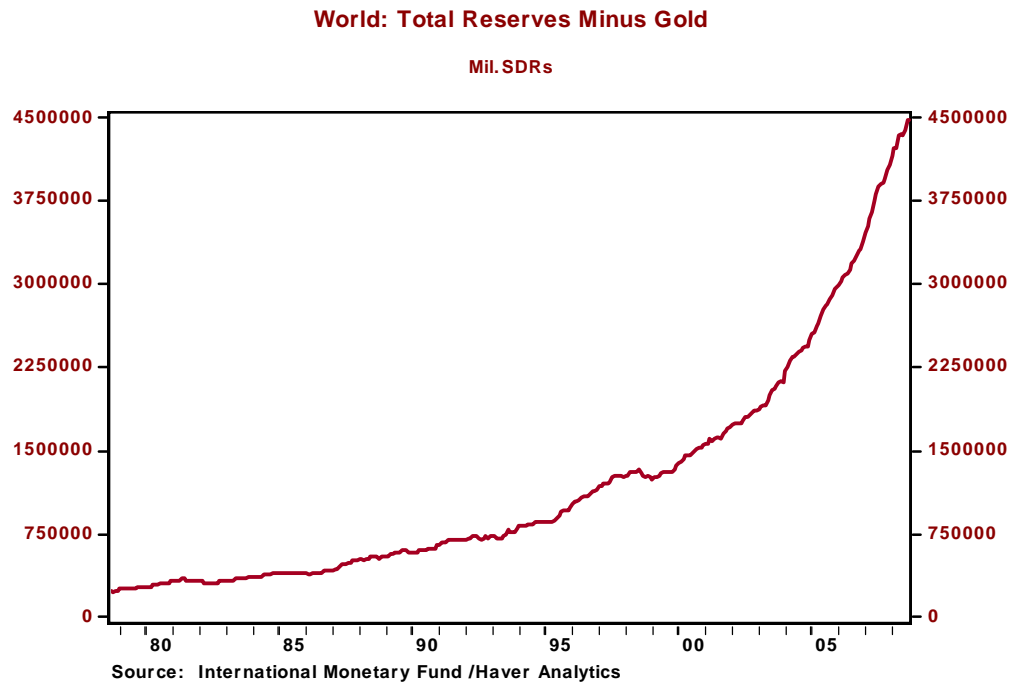
Through 2008Q2

# ...and depressed U.S. long rates.



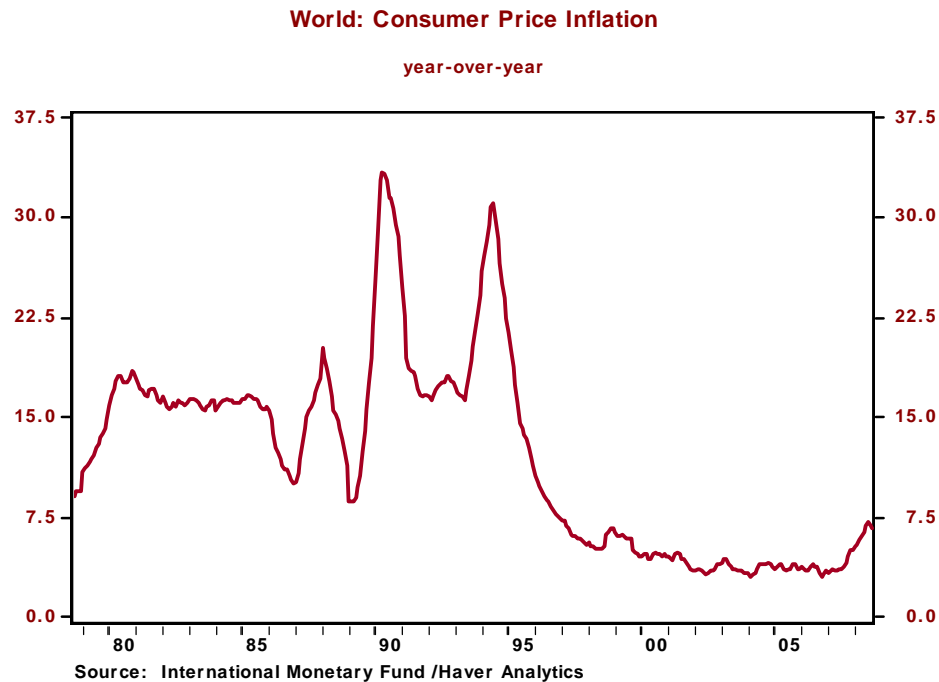
Through 2008 Aug

# Associated with this was a massive increase in international reserves...



Through 2008 Aug

# ...and a spike in global inflation (and food-price riots in three dozen countries).



Through 2008 Aug

# Pre-Crisis

- Pre-crisis, foreigners held a steadily increasing share of U.S. securities, including almost two-thirds (!) of all marketable US Treasuries held by the public.
- The substantial foreign accumulation of US securities helped finance (and maintain) the US current account deficit and depressed U.S. long rates.
- Associated with this was a massive increase in international reserves and a spike in global inflation (and food-price riots in three dozen countries).

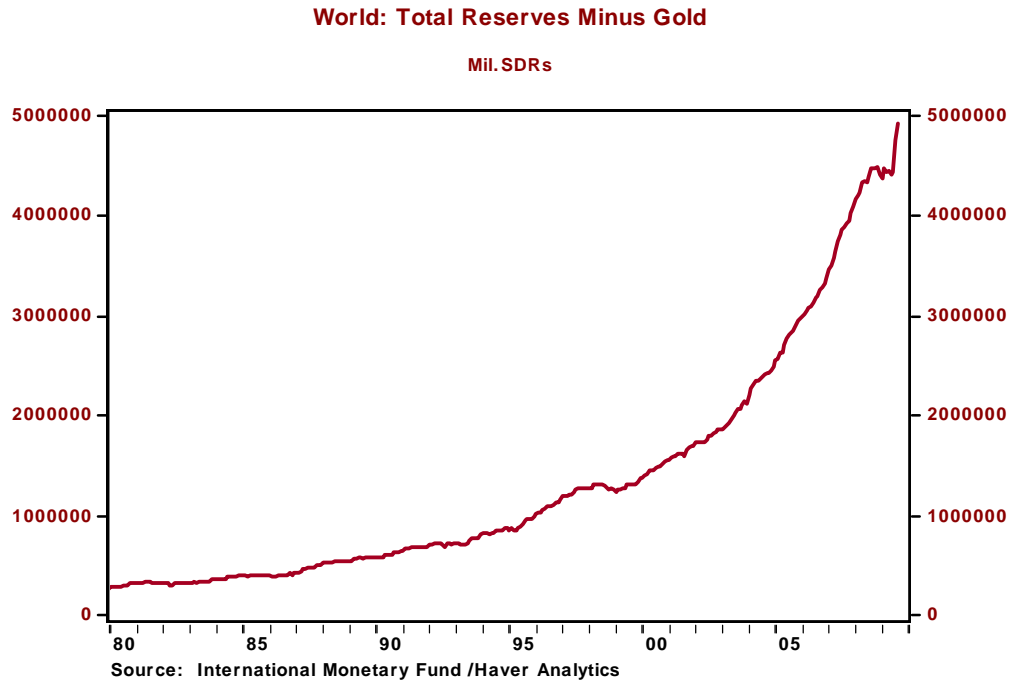
# The crisis

- The scene was set for a U.S. external crisis, but the crisis that hit clearly wasn't that.
  - During the darkest moments of the crisis, the dollar surged and U.S. long rates fell.
- The Question: How likely is a U.S. external crisis going forward?

# Going forward

- “Global imbalances” is clearly a choice variable for emerging market governments.
  - We wouldn’t have global imbalances were it not for conscious decisions by EME governments.
    - Yes, the US consumer is voracious, but if the dollar was much weaker that demand would likely fall on US goods.
  - Qu: What would cause EME governments to give up this arrangement?
- “Global imbalances” is also the result of choices made by US and foreign investors.
  - Qu: Has the crisis brought about a change in their preferences?

# Any indication EME governments will cease to accumulate reserves?



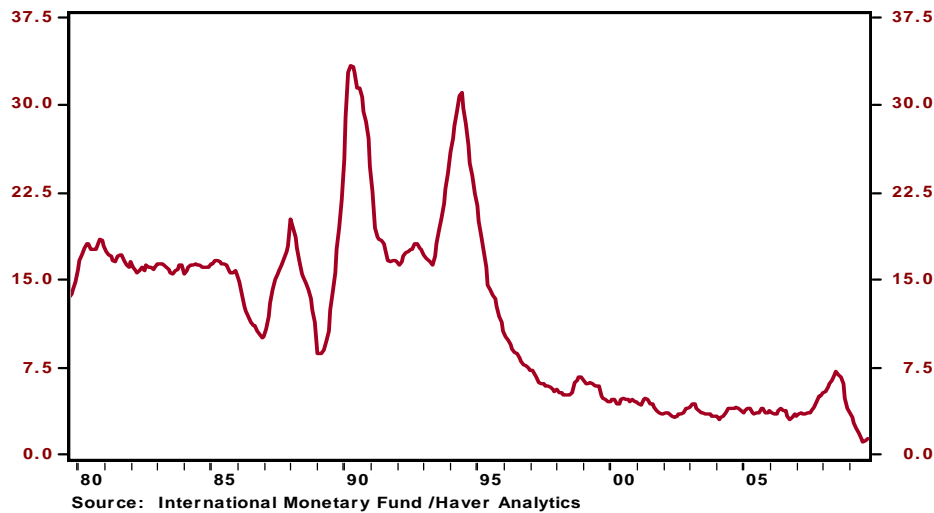
Paused during the crisis, but have since resumed.

Through 2009 Aug

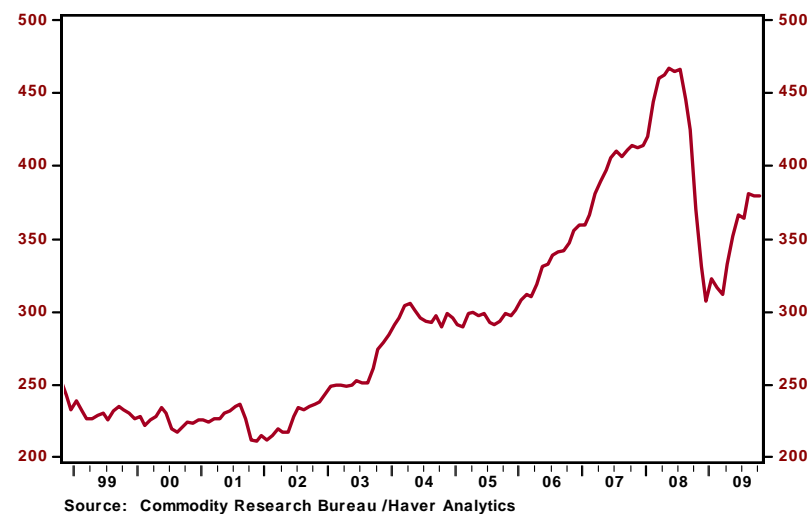
# What would prompt EME govts to cease to accumulate reserves?

## (i) A return of inflation

World: Consumer Price Inflation  
year-over-year



KR-CRB Spot Commodity Price Index: All Commodities  
1967=100



Inflation has fallen sharply and has yet to increase, although commodity prices are rising.

Through 2009 Sept/Oct

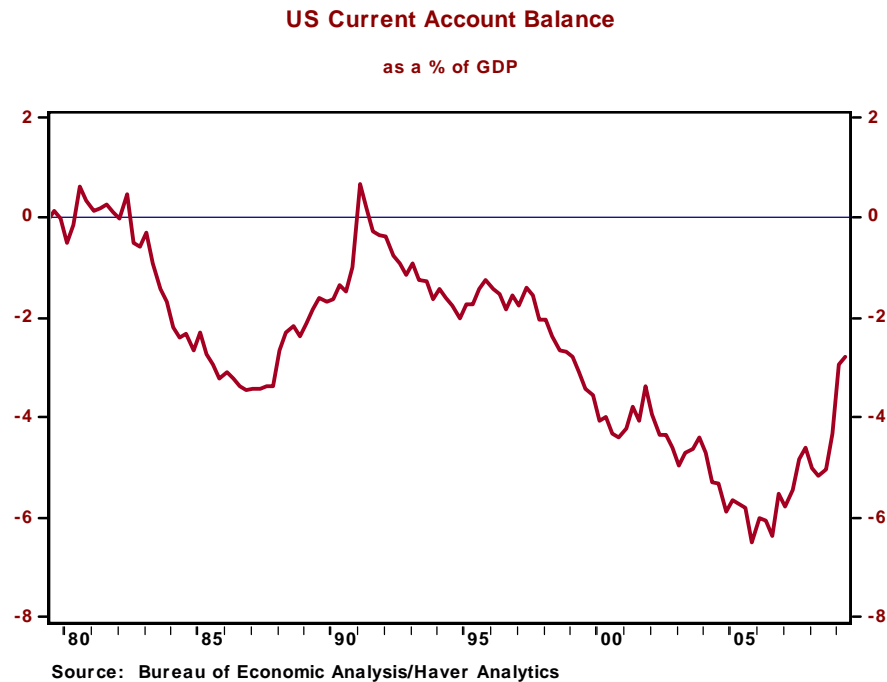
**What would prompt EME govts to cease to accumulate reserves?**

**(ii) A shift to domestic demand**

## The view from investors' perspectives

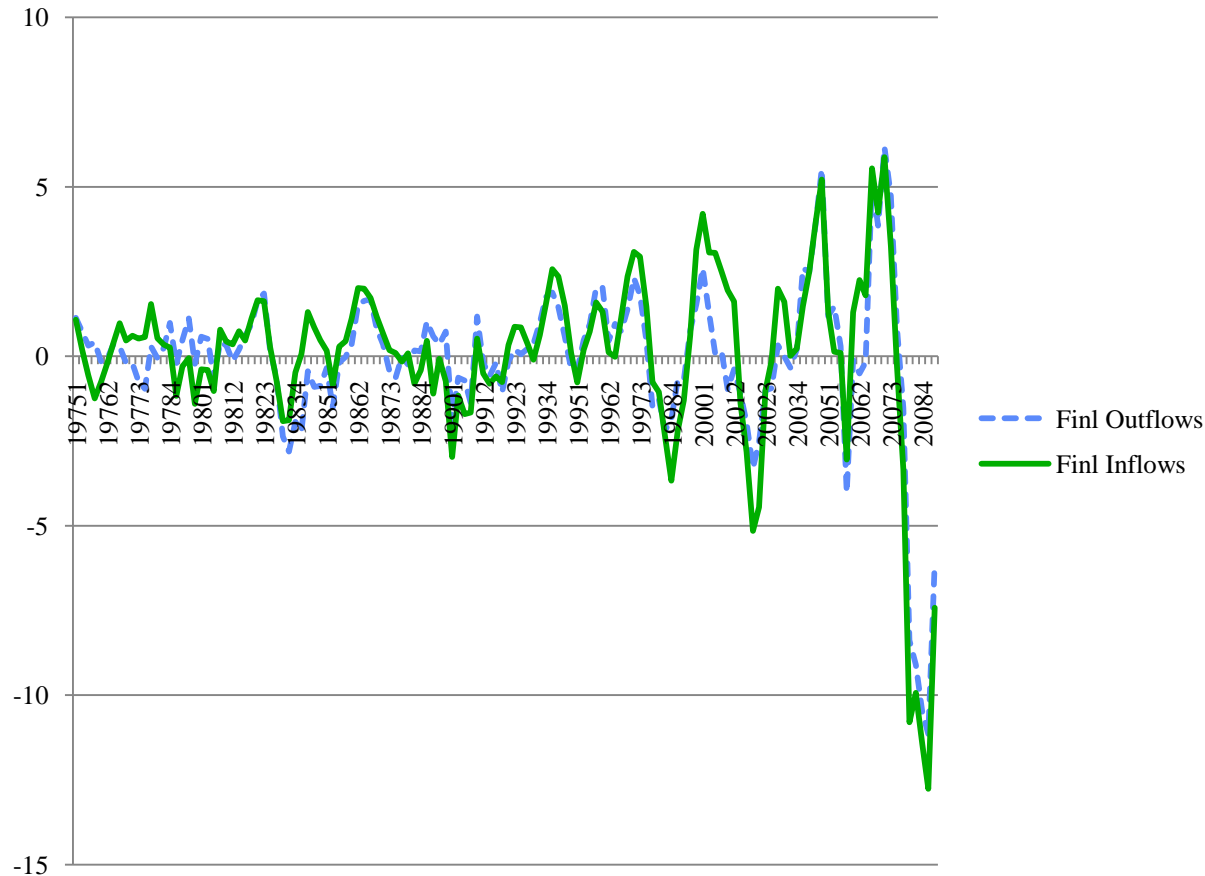
U.S. has gone through a “current account reversal” or “true sudden stop”, during which there have been substantial shifts in the size and composition of financial inflows and outflows.

For a developed country, we'd call this sharp improvement in the current account balance a “current account reversal”.



Through 2009 Q2

# Were the US an emerging market, the episode would be labeled a “true sudden stop”.



*Fin'l inflows plummeted.*

*Net inflows supported by repatriated funds.*

Through 2009 Q2. 4-quarter sum of flows scaled by GDP.

# Some striking changes in US BOP:

## (i) Sharp decrease in CAD as imports fall faster than exports.

	2004- 2007	2008	2009 H1	
Current Account Balance	-727	-706	-371	<i>Sharp decrease in current account deficit...</i>
Trade Balance	-697	-696	-319	<i>...sharp decrease in trade deficit, as imports fell faster than exports.</i>
Income Balance	70	118	72	<i>Income balance still positive.</i>
Current Transfers	-100	-128	-124	
Capital Account Balance	2	1	-3	
Statistical Discrepancy	49	200	204	<i>The discrepancy is quite large, suggesting there should be some combination of more net inflows and smaller current account deficit.</i>

\$billions, annualized

# Some striking changes in US BOP:

**(ii) Net fin'l inflows held up in 2008 because US investors' flows abroad were zero. Sharp decline in net fin'l inflows in 2009H1.**

	2004- 2007	2008	2009 H1	
Financial Account Balance	667	534	153	<i>Sharp decrease in financial account balance</i>
US Outbound Flows	-1076	0	254	<i>US flows abroad plummeted to zero in 2008 and went negative in 09H1</i>
US DI Abroad	-249	-332	-190	<i>US DI abroad has maintained a reasonably high level.</i>
US Flows into For. Securities	-288	61	-257	<i>US investors sold foreign secs in 08, but resumed net purchases (esp. of foreign bonds) in 09H1.</i>
Foreign Equities	-139	-1	-78	
Foreign Bonds	-149	62	-179	
				<i>Net flows into the US banking system (ie when combined with inflows, below) were very positive in 08 and very negative in 09H1.</i>
US Flows into Foreign Banks	-541	806	-166	
US Government Assets	2	-534	867	<i>Unprecedented flows of US govt assets abroad, but across time sum to zero.</i>

\$billions, annualized

# Some striking changes in US BOP:

**(iii) Private flows into the US were near zero in '08 and negative in 09H1.  
FOI inflows held up, but foreigners no longer purchase agency or corp bonds.**

	2004- 2007	2008	2009 H1	
<b>Current Account Balance</b>	<b>-727</b>	<b>-706</b>	<b>-371</b>	<i>Sharp decrease in current account deficit...</i>
<b>Financial Account Balance</b>	<b>667</b>	<b>534</b>	<b>153</b>	<i>sharp decrease in financial account balance</i>
<b>US Outbound Flows</b>	<b>-1076</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>254</b>	<i>US flows abroad plummeted to zero in 2008 and went negative in 09H1</i>
<b>US Inbound Flows</b>	<b>1744</b>	<b>534</b>	<b>-100</b>	<i>Flows into the US fell sharply in 08 and went negative in 09H1.</i>
<b>FOI Flows into the US</b>	<b>406</b>	<b>487</b>	<b>392</b>	<i>Foreign official inflows have held up...</i>
Treasury Securities	173	478	484	<i>...as flows into Treasurys, especially Tbills, surged...</i>
Treasury Bonds and Notes	181	205	276	
Treasury Bills	-7	272	208	
Other FOI Inflows	233	9	-92	<i>...offsetting the sharp decline in official purchases of Agency bonds.</i>
<b>Private Flows into the US</b>	<b>1337</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>-492</b>	<i>Private flows into the US plummeted to zero in 08 and were negative in 09H1.</i>
FDI in the US	194	320	102	<i>FDI in the US held up...</i>
Treasury Securities	59	197	62	<i>...and private flows into Treasurys haven't plummeted...</i>
Treasury Bonds and Notes	47	13	74	
Treasury Bills	11	184	-12	
Agency Bonds	34	-185	-99	<i>...but private foreigners now sell US agency bonds...</i>
US Equities	130	57	84	
US Corporate Bonds	367	1	-69	<i>...as well as US corporate bonds.</i>
Private Flows into US Banks	551	-372	-593	
Financial Derivatives	9	-29	.	
Statistical Discrepancy	49	200	204	<i>The discrepancy is quite large, suggesting there should be some combination of more net inflows and smaller current account deficit.</i>

\$billions, annualized

# The peak in foreign ownership of US securities?

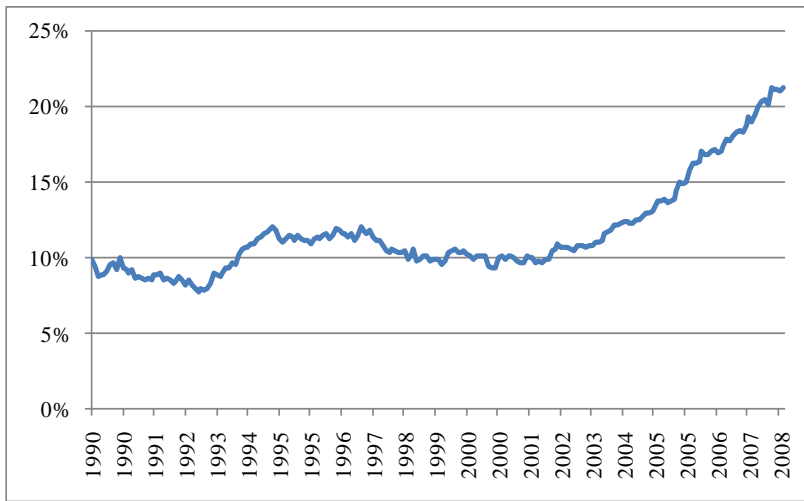
- Striking changes in US financial flows
  - True Sudden Stop
  - Private flows into the US were near zero in '08 and negative in 09H1. FOI inflows held up, but foreigners no longer purchase agency or corp bonds.
  - Net fin'l inflows held up in 2008 only because US investors' flows abroad were zero.
- Two Questions
  - Have we seen the peak in foreign ownership of US securities?
  - Are zero US outflows likely to persist?

# Have we seen the peak in foreign ownership of U.S. long-term securities?

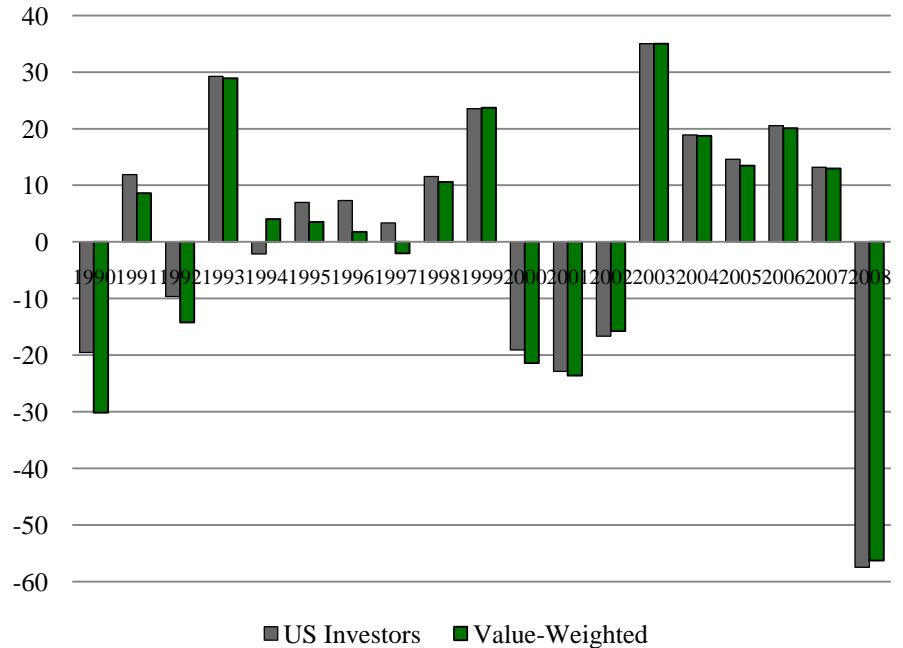
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Foreign-owned	703	1,130	1,236	1,455	1,729	2,021	2,738	2,820	2,466
% foreign-owned	13.0	16.2	16.1	17.4	18.4	19.4	23.3	<b>22.6</b>	<b>19.2</b>
<b>Total US long-term securities</b>									
Total outstanding	36,355	32,499	33,981	38,723	42,041	45,822	52,853	51,543	47,804
Foreign-owned	3,557	3,925	4,502	5,430	6,263	7,162	9,137	9,464	8,567
% foreign-owned	9.8	12.1	13.2	14.0	14.9	15.6	17.3	<b>18.4</b>	<b>17.9</b>

# Zero outflows likely to persist?

Share of Foreign Equities in US Investors' Equity Portfolio



ROW Portfolio Returns  
(excess returns, in percentage points)



US investors' foreign equity portfolios have performed quite well over the past few decades. About to see a surge in int'l portfolio diversification?

# Summary

- US has gone through a “true sudden stop” (a sharp decline in gross inflows, mitigated only by a surge in repatriation) in which the composition of capital flows has changed dramatically.
    - Inflows into the US have declined
      - Foreign official flows have held up, but a switch toward shorter-term securities (i.e., TBills).
      - Foreigners selling agency and corp bonds; huge shift from past  $x$  years.
    - Outflows from US about to surge?
      - US investors have resumed adding to their foreign portfolios
    - (There is, though, the perennial question: If not US, where?)
  - Bottom line: After any crisis there is a reassessment of the riskiness of asset classes. US won't look good in that reassessment. While imbalances are building up again, sharp changes in portfolio preferences are more likely than in the past.
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Thanks!