

# IS MERCANTILISM DOOMED TO FAIL?

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China, Germany, and Japan  
and the Exhaustion of Debtor  
Countries

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# BASIC TRADE IDENTITY

- Sum of global exports equals sum of global imports
- Implying that a country that increases *net* exports can only do so if some other country increases *net* imports
- In a global general equilibrium, if some country pursues policies that persistently lead to net exports, then there must be some other country (countries) that have net imports

# COUNTRIES WITH PERSISTENT TRADE DEFICITS HAVE TWO PROBLEMS

1. It may be difficult to finance (cumulatively high levels of foreign indebtedness relative to GDP)
  - Especially if trade deficit arises from imported consumption goods
2. High levels of net imports weaken aggregate demand
  - To sustain full employment, governments may have to run a fiscal deficit
  - But that leads over time to high levels of national debts
  - Trade deficits can thus cause fiscal deficits (confirmed using Granger causality for at least one of G-7 countries)
    - Converse of standard “story” of fiscal deficits causing trade deficits

# CONSEQUENCE

- Trade deficits are like hot potatoes
- Countries have learned the lesson—risks of persistent trade deficits
- But if one country takes action to limit its trade deficit, if surplus countries persist in their surpluses, some other country must face an increased trade deficit

# DEFICIT OF LAST RESORT

- US has become, to a large extent, “deficit of last resort”
- As other countries take actions to reduce trade deficit, if surplus countries maintain policies to sustain surplus, then the US deficit essentially equals the sum of the surpluses
- But this situation is not sustainable

# WHAT CAN (TRADE) DEFICIT COUNTRIES DO?

- Adjust exchange rate
  - But responses may be slow
  - And other countries may take countervailing actions
  - Not a real possibility for members of euro zone
    - They've joined the US as part of the deficit of last resort
    - Internal devaluation not effective substitute
      - Especially in the presence of euro-denominated debts
      - If it were, gold standard would not have posed a problem for adjustment in the Great Depression
  - More generally, exchange rates determined by capital flows as much as by trade, and in a world of unfettered capital flows, managing exchange rates may be difficult
    - Though preventing appreciation (an overvalued exchange rate) is easier than preventing depreciation (an undervalued exchange rate)



- Reduce income

- Lowering imports
- And, with supply side responses, increasing exports
- Huge social and economic cost

# NON-MARKET ADJUSTMENT MECHANISMS

- **Buffett proposal**
  - Need “chit” to import
  - Earned by exporting
  - Chits marketed
  - Ensures no trade deficit
  - Equivalent to having a multiple exchange rate (capital and trade account)
  
- **But this “forces” either some other country to have an increased deficit, or surplus countries to eliminate surplus**



# MACROECONOMIC EXTERNALITIES

- Policies of one country have effects on others
- Surplus countries lower global aggregate demand
- And impose costs on all other countries
- And on systemic stability of the system
- Which is why Keynes argued for a tax on surplus countries

# ARE THERE JUSTIFICATIONS FOR RUNNING A SURPLUS?

- Building up precautionary balances (reserves)
  - Especially relevant for commodity exporters, highly volatile prices
  - Understandable in the aftermath of the East Asian crisis, where those without adequate reserves paid such a high price
  - Reinforced by the experiences of the 2008 crisis, where those who had larger reserves did better
- Learning by doing (learning by exporting), key rationale for success of export led growth
- Demographics
  - Not good explanation of current patterns
- Whatever the validity of justification, in pursuing their own interests, surplus countries impose costs on others

# REINFORCING A DYSFUNCTIONAL SYSTEM

- Dollar based reserve system means the US is exporting “T bills” rather than “automobiles”
  - But exporting T bills doesn’t create job
  - System reinforces the role of the US as consumer and deficit of last resort
  - Accumulation of debts (IOU’s) by others can lead to a variant of the Triffin Problem—confidence in the reserve currency erodes
- Move to a dollar-euro or dollar-euro-yen reserve system would “share” burden but not address underlying problems (and possibly create an even more unstable system)

# ENDING AN UNSTABLE SYSTEM

- Is there anything that can be done to prevent surplus countries from running a surplus?
  - Yes—if deficit countries refuse to run a deficit
  - And especially, if deficit countries (US) refuses to be passive
    - What happens if surplus countries try to maintain surpluses, but other countries take actions to prevent a deficit?
  - And if, within the EU, the deficit countries insist that the surplus countries take actions to eliminate surplus
    - More important (and more efficient) than deficit countries responding

# AN ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM

- A global reserve system
  - With provisions to discourage excessive surpluses
  - Helping countries—and the global economy—manage macroeconomic risks better
    - Increased reserve creation in periods of global slowdown
- Reform in WTO to allowing developing countries to engage in industrial policies
  - Reducing reliance on exchange rate policy for “export led growth” and economic transformation
- Global financial market regulation and capital account management
  - With a focus on limiting destabilizing short term capital flows
    - Especially in periods of crises
  - Acceptance of principles of managed exchange rate systems

- Globally coordinated monetary policy
  - With globalization, effects of monetary policy markedly different
    - Additional liquidity doesn't stay in country creating it
    - What matters, to a large extent, is global aggregate demand
      - One large central bank can be taking out global liquidity as another adds it
    - Major effect of interest rate policies can be on exchange rates
      - Competitive devaluations can be counterproductive

# CONCLUDING COMMENTS

- Surpluses are not created just to advance a mercantilist agenda
  - But there are valid reasons for developing countries to pursue industrial policies
- But whatever their rationale, surplus countries impose costs on others
  - And the persistence of these surpluses has led to outcomes that are not sustainable—“debtor and deficit exhaustion”

- Global instability is as much (or more) a result of the behavior of surplus countries as of deficit countries
  - Suggesting tone of indignation not justified
  - And the advice that others should follow their ways impossible—not everyone can run surpluses
- There are unilateral actions that deficit countries can take to rectify imbalances



# GLOBAL REFORM

- But better would be reforms in the global financial and trade system
  - A global reserve system
  - A global regulatory system
  - Reform of the global trade system
  - Better coordination of global monetary policy