Uncertain Times: Emerging Risks in the Global Landscape

Joseph E. Stiglitz

The US is finally emerging from 2008 crisis

- Unemployment falling to 4.4% in April 207
 - Though there is some precariousness
 - First quarter growth at an annual rate of only 0.7%
 - Global uncertainties may put a damper on investment
 - As well as national uncertainties—risks associated with "reform" of health care
 - Labor force participation still very low, at only 62.9%
 - Some groups (African-Americans, youth) have very high unemployment rate
- Still, should be cause of celebration
 - Eleven years after breaking of housing bubble
 - Nine years after collapse of Lehman Brothers
 - Slowest recovery since Great Depression
- But good reason for worry

Trump has up-ended the global system

- US was at the center of creating the rules based system which has worked so well in promoting peace and stability since World War II
- Campaign rhetoric suggested new protectionism, renegotiating trade agreements, rethinking alliances
 - Protectionism appealed not just to those who had lost their jobs but to wider sense of anxiety
- What has happened since in some ways has been more moderate
 - Changes demanded in NAFTA so far appear minor
 - Traditional trade measures (dumping duties) against China, rather than cross the border high tariffs
 - Reaffirmed importance of NATO
- But still remains erratic and unpredictable
 - With potential explosive consequences
- With uncertain relations with Congress, especially Senate
 - And lack of command of key policy complexities deeply disturbing
- What is clear is that US will not play the traditional leadership role that was critical

Legislative agenda uncertain

- Will there be health care reform?
 - Bill passed by House unlikely to pass Senate
 - Will Senate be able to reach a compromise?
 - And if so, will Senate Bill pass House?
- Will there be tax cuts?
 - Proposed cuts create enormous deficit
 - Likely to be pared down
- Will there be increases in infrastructure investment?
 - Likely to be pared down even more—and postponed
- Will there be major deregulation?
 - Current legislation already calls for careful cost benefit analysis
 - Net benefits from recent regulations very large (2 to 11 times costs)
- Impacts on macro-economy will be largely offset by Fed

But global protectionist wave seems to have been arrested

- With election of Macron in France and defeat of Wilders in Netherlands
- Even in US, strong opposition to Trump evident
- Old treaties will need to be renegotiated—didn't take on board adequately changing global landscape
 - But idea that US got snookered in trade negotiations (NAFTA was "the worst trade deal ever") is laughable
 - US got most of what it wanted—if there is a problem, it is with what
 it wanted
- But it would be wrong to conclude that dangers of protectionism are over

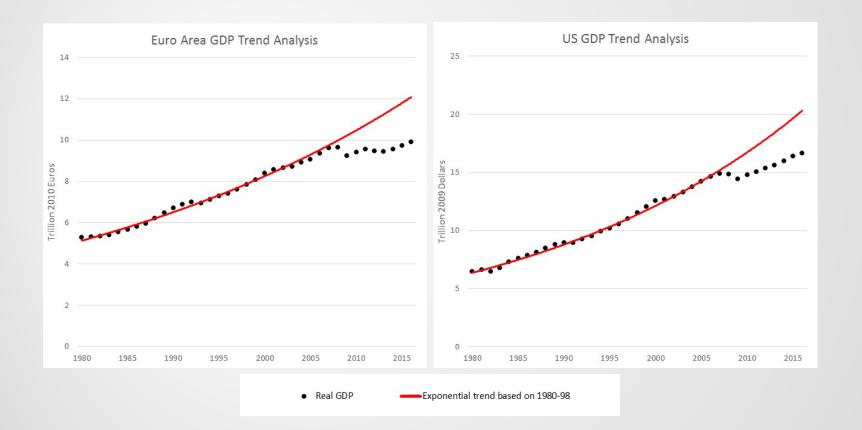
Many uncertainties remain

- Will the US pull out of Paris climate change agreement?
- If it does, what will be the consequences?
 - Most important states will go ahead with measures
 - But other countries may respond with cross-border carbon adjustments so as not to give American firms advantages in carbon intensive industries
 - Will that happen?
 - And could it launch a global trade war?

The US recovery is out of sync with the rest of the world

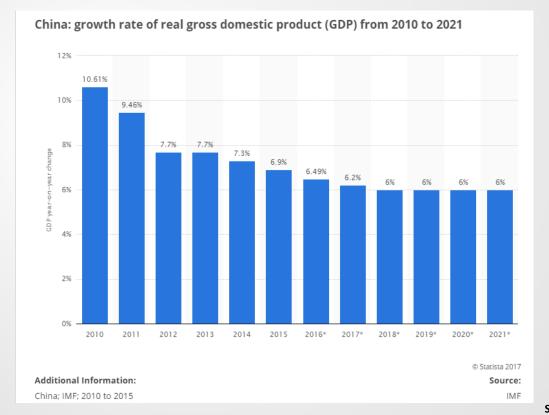
- Europe's recovery has been very anemic
 - Partly caused by inherent problems in the euro
 - Disaffection by large parts of population
 - Feeding extremism and separatism in many countries
 - And giving rise to political gridlock
- Even Germany's growth is poor—only looks good by comparison
 - And is at risk as China moves into the production of more complex capital goods
- Europe has created unsustainable surpluses
- Brexit has created another source of uncertainty
 - Negotiations are not off to a good start
 - But economic effects are likely to be less than widely anticipated
 - Real consequences are political

Euro area has performed much more poorly than the US—even though the crisis originated in US



China's growth will remain moderate

- Very strong by historical standards
 - But slow down affects global growth, including prices of natural resources



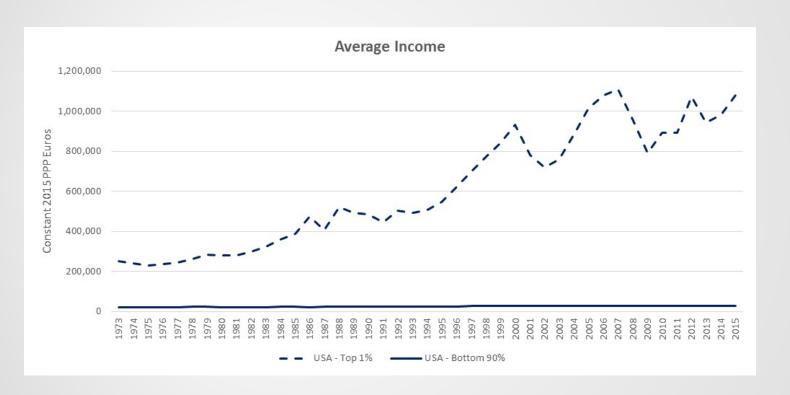
Global risks from US monetary policy

- US set to raise interest rates
- Increasing value of dollar—moderating US economic growth
- Real risk: emerging markets who have borrowed in dollars to make local investments
- How will Europe respond?
 - Lower exchange rate will be boon to weak countries in Europe
 - Some will use this as an excuse to push end of QE, even though Europe's economy remains weak
 - If Europe raises interest rates, could precipitate an economic crisis in Italy and other highly indebted countries

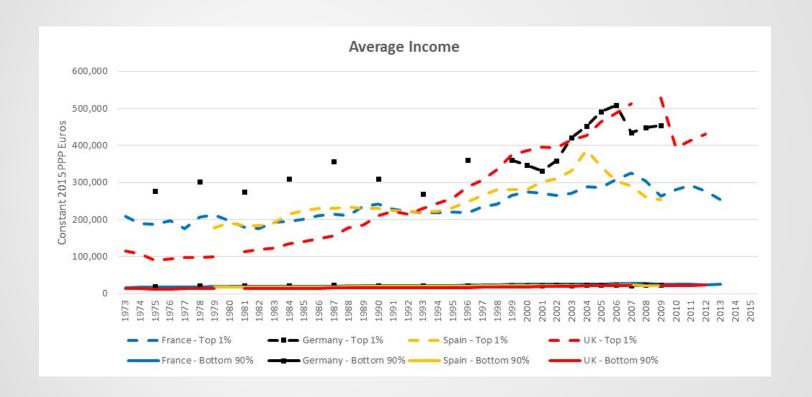
Underlying problem: inequalities

- For past third of a century, most of growth in most countries has gone to a few
- Increasing anger—globalization has been blamed
- US represents worse case—near stagnation for bottom 90%, worse for males who have not gone to college

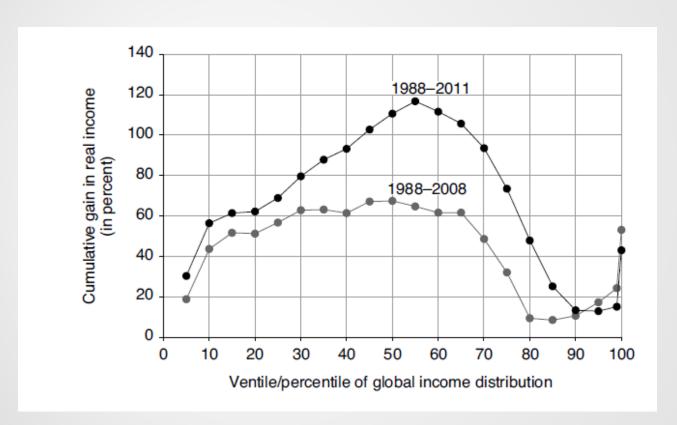
US: bottom 90% have seen little increase in income over last third of a century



Europe: less increase in inequality in some countries than in others

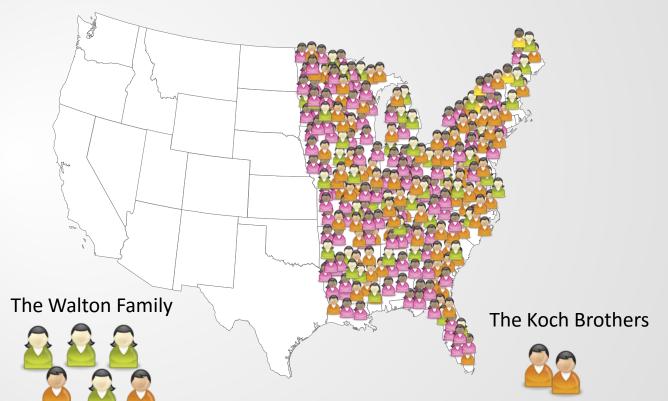


Global Income Growth by Percentile



The Walton Family and The Koch Brothers' net worth = \$230 billion

That's the net worth of 150 million Americans or 44% of the country.



Global Inequality

Oxfam reports on wealth concentration at the top: how many of the richest people have as much wealth as bottom 50% (bottom 3.6 billion!)

- In 2014: 85
- In 2017: just 8 men

Big winners during last quarter century

 Global 1% and global middle class (middle class in China and India)

Big losers during last quarter century (not sharing in gains)

Those at the bottom and the middle class in advanced countries

Even health and life expectancy is in decline

A Rising Toll

New research shows the increasing mortality rate among white Americans spans age groups and is most acute among the less-educated.

White deaths are rising...

Mortality rate by race, ages 50-54

...among all age groups of lesseducated whites...

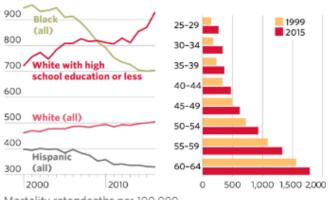
Mortality rate for whites with high school education or less, by age

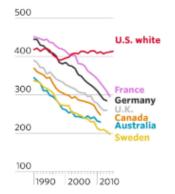
...in contrast to elsewhere...

Mortality rate for all causes, ages 45-54

...due in part to increases in 'deaths of despair'.

Mortality rate due to alcohol, drugs and suicide, ages 50-54







Mortality rate=deaths per 100,000

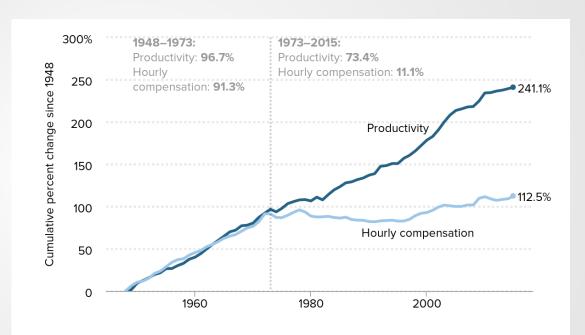
Anne Case and Angus Deaton of Princeton University

More Inequality is Associated with Less Mobility Across Generations



Source of figure: Corak, Miles, 2013. "Income Inequality, Equality of Opportunity, and Intergenerational Mobility," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 27:3, figure 1, p 82.

US: Disconnect Between Productivity and a Typical Worker's Compensation, 1948-2015



Note: Data are for average hourly compensation of production/nonsupervisory workers in the private sector and net productivity of the total economy. "Net productivity" is the growth of output of goods and services minus depreciation per hour worked.

Source: EPI analysis of data from the BEA and BLS (see technical appendix of *Understanding the Historic Divergence Between Productivity and a Typical Worker's Pay* for more detailed information)

None of this is inevitable

- Laws of economics are universal—outcomes differ markedly
 - Showing that inequality is a "choice," the result of policies
- Hopeful note: different policies can result in a reduction of inequality
 - But unless something is done, tensions will remain
- These political tensions cannot be separated from economics
 - Inequality leads to poorer economic performance
 - Political uncertainties will also weaken economic performance

Possibility of unprecedented shared prosperity

- Advances in technology offer prospect of unprecedented increases in standards of living
 - One of disturbing aspects of Trump policies is questioning of science—
 the bases of these advances
- There are policies which would enable this to be translated into shared prosperity for all
 - We know what needs to done
 - It is a matter of politics
- But unless these changes are made, the world will continue to face an uncertain future