# A Model of the International Monetary System

Emmanuel Farhi Matteo Maggiori

Harvard University NBER & CEPR

2016 Bank of Canada Annual Conference

# The International Monetary System

- Defining features:
  - Exchange rate regime: fixed, floating, managed
  - Financial architecture: international institutions (WB, IMF), LoLR, risk-sharing agreements (reserve sharing agreements, swap lines)
  - Provision and use of international reserve assets
- Fundamental questions:
  - Hegemonic vs. multipolar system
  - Determinants of reserve status
  - System stability
  - Adequate supply of reserve assets
  - Gold-Exchange standard, floating exchange rates
- Little formal analysis

### The International Monetary System: History and Thought



# Some reflections on the International Monetary System

- Keynes (1923): argued against the return to gold standard at pre-WWI parities because scarcity of gold would have caused recession
- Nurkse (1944): argued that multipolar systems are inherently unstable since investors attempt to coordinate on which country, the US or the UK, will be the ultimate safe asset provider
- Triffin (1961): the system is fundamentally unstable since the US cannot simultaneously accommodate the demand for reserve assets and maintain a credible conversion of dollar to gold
- **Kindelberg (1963):** the system is stable, the US acts as a banker to the world, liabilities are backed by assets
- Eichengreen (2011): argues that a multipolar world (US, China, Europe) is no less stable. It increases supply of reserve assets and reduces monopoly rents

# The Hegemon Model

- Two periods: t = 0, 1. Two countries: Reserve country and RoW
- World risky asset with variance  $\sigma^2$  in perfectly elastic supply:
  - $R_H^r > 1$  if no disaster, probability  $(1 \lambda)$
  - $R_{L}^{r} < 1$  if disaster, probability  $\lambda$
- Reserve country:
  - Monopolistic supplier of a nominal bond that pays R in Reserve currency
  - At t = 1, if disaster occurred, chooses whether to depreciate by  $e_L < 1$
  - Risk neutral with time preference  $\delta^{-1} = E[R^r]$
- RoW:
  - Risk averse: mean-variance preferences over t = 1 consumption
  - Receives endowment  $w^*$  at t = 0 and invests in risky and safe assets

# Limited Commitment Problem and Timing

- Limited exchange-rate commitment and Calvo (1988) timing:
  - $t = 0^-$ : Reserve country decides how much debt b to issue
  - $t = 0^+$ : sunspot realized, Row investors choose portfolio, R determined
  - t = 1: shocks realized, Reserve country chooses whether to depreciate



#### Decision to Devalue at time t=1 in a Disaster

Depreciate iff:





- Fiscal burden rule: devalue iff  $bR > \tau$
- Direct cost •
- Reduced form for (later) infinite-horizon commitment problem

#### **Demand for Safe Assets**

• If bond expected to be safe, finitely elastic demand:

$$R - E[R^r] = -2\gamma\sigma^2(w^* - b)$$

• If bond expected to be risky, infinitely elastic demand:

$$E^{r}[Re] - E[R^{r}] = 0$$
 and  $0 \le b \le w^{*}$ 

• In paper: liquidity benefits, network effects, private issuance Assumptions: risky bond and risky asset are perfect substitutes  $e_L = \frac{R_L^r}{R_H^r}$ , demand is downward sloping

### The Three Regions of the International Monetary System



# **Equilibrium under Full Commitment**

• Monopolist optimal supply: 
$$E[R'] - R(b) - b \underbrace{R'(b)}_{2\gamma\sigma^2} = 0$$

• Monopoly rent (Exorbitant Privilege) by influencing price of risk:

$$\underbrace{b^{FC}}_{\frac{1}{2}w^*} \underbrace{(E[R^r] - R^{FC})}_{\gamma \sigma^2 w^*} = \frac{1}{2} \gamma \sigma^2 w^{*2}$$

# Equilibrium with Limited Commitment: Low Demand



- If  $b^{FC}$  in Safe Zone, issue  $b^{FC}$ 
  - RoW savings are sufficiently low:  $\downarrow w^*$
  - Commitment technology is sufficiently good:  $\uparrow \tau$

# Equilibrium with Limited Commitment: High Demand



- If *b<sup>FC</sup>* in Instability zone, **Triffin dilemma**:
  - Issue  $\underline{b} \Rightarrow$  safe
  - Issue  $b^{FC} \Rightarrow$  risk of collapse
- Bridge with World Banker view: banking is fragile

### The Triffin Dilemma: Social vs. Private

- Within zones, too little issuance: monopolist does not internalize marginal increase in consumer surplus from marginal sale
- Across zones, countervailing force: monopolist does not internalize risk of destroying infra-marginal consumer surplus
- Depends on shape of demand curve R(b):
  - Linear  $\Rightarrow$  under-issuance
  - Sufficiently concave  $\Rightarrow$  over-issuance

# The Triffin Dilemma: Welfare Analysis



• Generalized demand curve with liquidity preference (see paper)

#### Benefits of Multipolar System: Competition

- Multipolar world with *n* identical countries-issuers of reserve currencies
- Issuers compete à la Cournot issuing b<sub>i,n</sub>
- Equilibrium under full commitment all n

$$b_n^{FC} = \frac{n}{n+1}w^*$$
$$R_n^{FC} = E[R^r] - \frac{2}{n+1}\gamma\sigma^2w^*$$

- Same equilibrium under limited commitment for *n* sufficiently high
- First best obtains in perfect competition limit  $n \to \infty$
- Benefits of multipolar systems (Eichengreen): low rents and stable
- Biggest benefits from first few entrants

# Costs of Multipolar System: Nurkse Instability

**Nurkse (1944)**: multipolar systems are unstable because investor sentiment swings among candidates for reserve status

- Equilibrium Selection 1: if one country alone, then coordinate on safe. If two countries, one has most favorable expectations  $\alpha_i = 0$  and the other the most unfavorable expectations  $\alpha_{-i} = 1$ 
  - Asymmetric equilibrium (switches over time, in paper)
- Equilibrium Selection 2: if one country alone, then coordinate on safe. If two countries, one at random has most favorable expectations  $\alpha_{\tilde{i}} = 0$  and the other the most unfavorable expectations  $\alpha_{-\tilde{i}} = 1$ 
  - Instability from coordination problems among substitutable reserve assets

# (Much!) More in Paper

- Infinite horizon:
  - $\tau$  as loss of franchise value of reserve status
  - Competition reduces franchise value
- Fiscal capacity, private issuance, liquidity and network effects
- Endogenous emergence of a Hegemon
  - Characteristics of Hegemon: fiscal capacity, reputation, goods pricing
  - Amplification of differences: network effects and coordination problems
  - Natural monopoly from costly reputation building (large fixed costs, small variable costs)
- LoLR and risk-sharing arrangements
- Reserve currencies and funding currencies
- Sticky prices, gold exchange standard, floats and ZLB

Fact 1: shortage of reserve assets in 1920-1935

- After WWI countries return to gold pegs (at pre-war parity)
- Gold supply too low to accommodate demand for reserves
- Most central banks change statute to include monetary assets as reserves: the Gold-Exchange standard



Fact 2: Co-issuance of reserves in 1920-1931

• British pound dominant reserve currency, but US dollar is also used



Figure 2. Aggregate foreign currency holdings in 1929: a snapshot (16 countries)

Source: Eichengreen and Flandreau (2009)

• Reserves switch often between pounds and dollars: Nurkse instability

Fact 3: The Gold-Exchange standard collapse

- Evidence that Great Depression initially made worse by Gold standard
- England main supplier of assets, but hit by global depression shock
- In 1931 England depreciates the pound unexpectedly
- Major losses around the world...Banque de France goes"bankrupt"
- Global flight to gold, dollar reserves liquidated, US devalues in 1933

Fact 4: The Bretton Woods collapse in 1973

- USD dominant reserve asset in Bretton Woods system (1944-1973)
- USD is pegged to gold at \$35 an ounce
- Triffin (1961): predicted that the US would face a dilemma between supplying more dollar debt as a reserve asset and maintaining the credibility of the dollar convertibility to gold. Ultimately, the system would be brought down by a confidence crisis. This prediction is known as the Triffin Dilemma
- Nixon Shock: Nixon administration first devalued to \$42 an ounce in 1971 and ultimately had to abandon convertibility in 1973

**Fact 5:** Dollar reserves in a floating exchange rate system (1973-2016)

USD remains the dominant reserve currency with a share of 60-80%



Source: Eichengreen, Chitu, Mehl (2014)

Triffin logic remains: fiscal not just balance of payments problem

# The Infinite Horizon Model

- Actions' timing in all periods are identical to 1-period model
- Disaster risk i.i.d.
- RoW modeled as 1-period OLG
  - The Young invest endowment w\*
  - The Old consume proceeds of their earlier investment
- Reserve countries: 1-period nominal debt and devaluation  $\{1, e_L\}$
- Strategies depend on devaluation (not issuance) history
- Trigger Strategy Equilibrium:  $R = R_H^r$  for any *b* in all future periods if in current period the Reserve country devalues if facing  $R < R_H^r$

# The Hegemon Model: Infinite Horizon

In each period, the Reserve country chooses not to devalue iff:



- Take  $\alpha = 0$  for simplicity
- $\approx$  endogenous  $\tau$

The Hegemon Model: Infinite Horizon, Equilibrium Issuance

• Full Commitment: under full commitment optimal issuance is

$$\max_{b} b \frac{E[R^r] - R(b)}{E[R^r] - 1}$$

 $b^{FC}$  and  $R^{FC}$  are identical to the 1-period model

• Limited Commitment: equilibrium issuance is  $\min(b^{FC}, \bar{b})$ 

### **Competition in the Infinite Horizon Model**

• By analogy with 1-period model, best responses:

$$b_{i,n} = \min(b_{i,n}^{FC}(b_{n-1}), \overline{b}_n)$$

- Loss of commitment from competition through decreased rents
- So severe that total issuance independent of *n*:

$$\bar{b}_n = \frac{\bar{b}_1}{n}$$

• Connected to, but different from Marimon, Nicolini, Teles (2012)

# Nurkse Instability in the Infinite Horizon Model

- Assume IMS stable under Hegemon (lpha=0) with issuance  $ar{b}_{1,lpha=0}$
- Consider IMS under duopoly
- Equilibrium Selection: one country safe, other not, random
- Individual issuance  $ar{b}_{1,lpha=0.5} < ar{b}_{1,lpha=0}$
- IMS unstable and effective issuance of reserves falls
- Analogy with argument in banking literature of financial destabilization through competition via erosion of franchise value

#### Liquidity and Network Effects

• Capture liquidity/networks with "safe assets in utility function" (Stein 2012) with  $B = (b, \tilde{b})^T$ :

$$E[C_1^*] - \gamma \operatorname{Var}(C_1^*) + (B^T \omega + B^T \Omega B) \mathbf{1}_{\{E^+[e]=1\}}$$

• Demand function isomorphic to basic model

$$R^{s}(b) = \bar{R}^{r} - 2\hat{\gamma}\sigma^{2}(\hat{w}^{*} - b)$$
  
where  $\hat{\gamma} \equiv \gamma - \frac{2\Omega_{11} + \Omega_{12} + \Omega_{21}}{2\sigma^{2}}$  and  $\hat{w}^{*} \equiv w^{*}\frac{\gamma}{\hat{\gamma}} + \frac{\omega_{1}}{2\hat{\gamma}\sigma^{2}}$ .

#### **Private Issuance**

- Mass  $\mu$  of private issuers within the Hegemon country who can each issue one unit of debt denominated in reserve currency
- Each issuer can issue at a cost  $\eta$  distributed uniform over  $[0,\xi]$
- Total issuance

$$b^{\mathsf{T}} = b + \frac{\mu}{\xi} (\bar{\mathsf{R}}^r - \mathsf{R}^s(b^{\mathsf{T}}))$$

• Demand curve isomorphic to basic model

$$\hat{R}^{s}(b) = \bar{R}^{r} - 2\hat{\gamma}\sigma^{2}(w^{*} - b)$$

where  $\hat{\gamma}\equiv\frac{\gamma}{1+\frac{\mu}{\xi}2\gamma\sigma^2}$ 

# LoLR and Risk-Sharing Arrangements

- IMF facilities, reserve-sharing agreements, swap lines
- See paper
- Idiosyncratic shocks in each RoW country
- Precautionary savings increases demand for reserves assets
- Risk-sharing arrangements for idiosyncratic risk reduce demand for reserve assets
- Reduces probability of Collapse, stimulates economy if Gold Exchange Standard or ZLB

#### **Emergence of a Hegemon: Fiscal Capacity and Networks**

- Full commitment for simplicity
- Repaying *bR* costs *bR* $\phi$  with  $\phi > 1$  (marginal cost of public funds)
- Duopoly  $i \in \{1,2\}$  with  $\phi_1 < \phi_2$
- Network/liquidity externality:

 $R_i^s(b_i; b_{-i}) = \bar{R}^r - 2\gamma\sigma^2(w^* - (b_i + b_{-i})) - \omega_1 - 2\Omega_{11}(b_i + b_{-i}) - (\Omega_{12} + \Omega_{21})b_i$ 

• Difference in equilibrium issuance:

$$b_1 - b_2 = rac{ar{R}^r(rac{1}{\phi_1} - rac{1}{\phi_2})}{2(\gamma\sigma^2 - \Omega_{11} - \Omega_{12} - \Omega_{21})}$$

• Endogenous amplification of small differences generates a Hegemon

# **Emergence of a Hegemon: IMS Meets IPS**

- Complementarity between reserve and goods' pricing currency
  - More prices rigid in given currency...
  - ...lower real impact of devaluation on repayment...
  - …lower incentives to devalue…
  - ...competitive advantage for reserve currency ( $\approx \tau \uparrow$ ,  $e_L \downarrow$ )
- Extreme example: all prices sticky in dollars  $\rightarrow$  full commitment for US

• Prevalence of USD goods pricing in world trade (Gopinath (2015))

# **Emergence of a Hegemon: Natural Monopoly**

- Ex-ante investment  $K(\tau)$  at date  $t = 0^-$
- Entry cost to benefit from share of oligopoly rents
- Large fixed cost, small variable cost
- Natural monopoly: only one or a few entrants

**Emergence of a Hegemon: Fiscal Capacity and Coordination** 

- Fiscal capacity:
  - Repaying *bR* costs *bR* $\phi$  with  $\phi > 1$  to issuer conditional on  $b > \underline{b}$
  - Idea: convexity in distortionary effect of taxation and public debt
- Under limited commitment:
  - We set the probability of collapse such that each issuer is indifferent between issuing  $\underline{b}$  and issuing in the instability region, if the other issuer is issuing  $\underline{b}$
  - Assume two countries have small difference in their fiscal capacity:

$$\eta_H > \eta > \eta_L \qquad \eta_H - \eta_L < \epsilon$$

- Unique asymmetric equilibrium with  $b_L >> b_H$
- Endogenous amplification of small differences generates a Hegemon

# **Reserve and Funding Currencies: Third Party Issuance**

- Consider small borrower in RoW
- Choice between funding in: home risky currency, foreign risky currency, or reserve currency
- Most models of original sin are about issuing in generic foreign currency
- Our model provides a trade-off from issuing in reserve currency
  - Low yields for dollar denominated debt: capture part of monopoly rents, Exorbitant Privilege
  - Unattractive state-contingent properties: real dollar debt value higher in disaster because of dollar appreciation
- Reserve currency is both saving and funding vehicle
- Third party issuance improves outcomes: doesn't deteriorate Reserve country commitment

#### **Reserve and Funding Currencies: Evidence**

Third country issuance in USD and Pound in % of foreign currency debt



Source: Chitu, Eichengreen, Mehl (2014)
# **Gold-Exchange Standard**

- Production, sticky wages: investable wealth  $w^{*e} + \bar{w}^* \ell^*$
- Gold as a safe asset:
  - Pays "dividend" D for sure tomorrow, infinitesimal supply

• Price of gold 
$$p_G = \frac{D}{R^s}$$

- Gold Exchange Standard:  $p_G$  constant  $\iff R^s$  constant
- Equilibrium output determination:

$$R^s = E[R^r] - 2\gamma\sigma^2(w^{*e} + \bar{w}^*\ell^* - b)$$

- Adjustment to expansion in world demand for gold/reserves ( $\uparrow w^{*e}$ ):
  - Expansion in monetary reserve assets († *b*)
  - Global recession  $(\downarrow \ell^*)$
  - Abandonment of the gold standard  $(\downarrow R^s, \uparrow p_G)$

# **Optimal Issuance Under the Gold-Exchange Standard**

- Hegemon faces perfectly elastic demand curve
- May increase incentives to issue in the Instability region
- Issuance capped at  $\bar{b}_{G}$ : might not be able to achieve full employment
- With expenditure switching effects (e.g. non-tradable goods) ex-post benefit of Hegemon unilateral break of gold peg, further reduces ex-ante credibility (isomorphic to reduction in τ, see paper)

## **Expenditure Switching Effects**

- With expenditure switching effects (e.g. non-tradable goods) ex-post benefit of Hegemon unilateral break of gold peg, further reduces ex-ante credibility
- Hegemon utility now  $C_t + v_t(C_{NT,t})$

• 
$$v'(C_{NT,t}) = \frac{\bar{w}}{\bar{w}^*} e_t$$
 or  $C_{NT,t}(e_t) = v_t'^{-1}(\frac{\bar{w}}{\bar{w}^*} e_t)$ 

• Further benefit from devaluation at t = 1 if output below potential:

$$v_1(C_{NT,t}(e_L)) - v_1(C_{NT,t}(1))$$

• Isomorphic to reduction in  $\tau$ :

$$ar{ au} = au - rac{v_1(C_{NT,t}(e_L)) - v_1(C_{NT,t}(1))}{1 - e_L} < au$$

Modern Analog of Keynes Gold Recession: Floats at ZLB

• More flexible than gold-exchange standard at  $R \ge 1$ 

• Similar economics at ZLB (R = 1)

• Intuition: common element across pegs to gold and ZLB is the "impossibility" to let the interest rate on reserve assets fall sufficiently

### Conclusions

- A Model of the International Monetary System
- A basic model to organize thoughts on important topic
  - Triffin dilemma as a commitment problem
  - Social vs. private welfare: under or over issuance
  - IMS and world recessions under Gold-Exchange Standard and ZLB
  - Hegemon vs. Multipolar world: competition, rents, Nurkse's instability, failure of Hayek's competition in issuance

Fact 1: shortage of reserve assets in 1920-1935

- After WWI countries return to gold pegs (at pre-war parity)
- Gold supply too low to accommodate demand for reserves
- Most central banks change statute to include monetary assets as reserves: the Gold-Exchange standard



Fact 2: Co-issuance of reserves in 1920-1931

• British pound dominant reserve currency, but US dollar is also used



Figure 2. Aggregate foreign currency holdings in 1929: a snapshot (16 countries)

Source: Eichengreen and Flandreau (2009)

• Reserves switch often between pounds and dollars: Nurkse instability

Fact 3: The Gold-Exchange standard collapse

- Great depression initially made worse by Gold standard: the Keynes gold recession
- England is the main supplier of the reserve asset, but is hit by the global depression shock
- In 1931 England depreciates the pound unexpectedly
- Depreciation of the pound induces major losses around the world: e.g. the Banque de France goes bankrupt
- Global flight to gold, dollar reserves are liquidated. US devalues in 1933

Fact 4: The Bretton Woods collapse in 1973

- USD is the dominant reserve asset in the Bretton Woods system established in 1944
- USD is pegged to gold at \$35 an ounce
- Triffin (1961): predicted that the US would face a dilemma between supplying more dollar debt as a reserve asset and maintaining the credibility of the dollar convertibility to gold. Ultimately, the system would be brought down by a confidence crisis. This prediction is known as the Triffin Dilemma
- Nixon Shock: Nixon administration first devalued to \$42 an ounce in 1971 and ultimately had to abandon convertibility in 1973

**Fact 5:** Dollar reserves in a floating exchange rate system (1973-2016)

USD remains the dominant reserve currency with a share of 60-80%



Source: Eichengreen, Chitu, Mehl (2014)

Triffin logic remains: fiscal not just balance of payments problem

# The World Banker View

• **Kindleberger** in 1966 expresses a *minority view* and argues, against Triffin, that the US position is that of a banker with liquid-safe liabilities and risky-illiquid assets. He argues that the IMS under the US hegemon is stable, since the liabilities are backed by the assets.

• **Gourinchas and Rey** brought this view to prominence documenting its empirical importance in the current period of global imbalances (1996-present)

- Our model merges the world banker view with the Triffin instability: banking is a profitable but fragile activity subject to self-fulfilling runs and panics
- Panics harder to resolve than for private banks, no natural LoLR for a Hegemon

#### Endogenizing Issuance: Problem of Reserve Country

Monopolist Reserve country maximizes:

$$\max_{b,s} \quad E^{-}[C_{0} + \delta C_{1} - \tau(1 - e)]$$
  
s.t.  $C_{0} + s = w + b$   
s.t.  $C_{1} = sR^{r} - bR(b)e$ 

Since  $\delta^{-1} = E[R^r]$ , problem reduces to maximizing expected revenue:

$$\max_{b} bE^{-}[R^{r}-R(b)e]-\lambda\alpha(b)\tau(1-e_{L})$$

- Differences with Calvo and SOE Sovereign Default Models:
  - Issuer affects (and internalizes) both quantity and price of risk

# **Optimal Issuance under Full Commitment**

 Under full commitment Reserve country will issue reserve asset, since it generates positive expected revenue

$$\max_{b} \quad bE[R^{r} - R(b)e] - \lambda\alpha(b)\tau(1 - e_{L})$$

• Since  $\alpha(b) = 0$ , simplifies to:

$$\max_{b} \quad b(E[R^r] - R(b))$$

Standard optimization leads to:

$$E[R^r] - R(b) - bR'(b) = 0$$

• Monopolist issuer internalizes the effect of supply of the reserve asset on interest rate (can also write as a standard Lerner formula)

# **Optimal Issuance with Limited Commitment**

Without commitment:

•  $\alpha(b) = 0$  in Safe Zone,  $\alpha$  in Instability zone, 1 in Collapse zone

**Proposition** Three possible levels of equilibrium debt issuance  $\{b^{FC}, \underline{b}, \overline{b}\}$ :

- Low demand for safe assets  $(b^{FC} \leq \underline{b})$ : equilibrium issuance is  $b^{FC}$  and equilibrium is unique. Equivalent to full commitment
- Intermediate demand for safe assets  $(\bar{b} \ge b^{FC} > \underline{b})$ : equilibrium issuance is either  $\underline{b}$  or  $b^{FC}$ , whichever generates higher expected revenues for the Reserve country
  - $\underline{b} \Rightarrow$  unique safe equilibrium
  - $b^{FC} \Rightarrow$  both the safe and the collapse equilibria
- High demand for safe assets  $(b^{FC} > \overline{b})$ : equilibrium issuance is either  $\overline{b}$  or  $\underline{b}$ , whichever generates higher expected revenues for the Reserve country
  - $\underline{b} \Rightarrow$  unique safe equilibrium
  - $ar{b}$   $\Rightarrow$  both the safe and the collapse equilibria