IV. International Monetary Study II for KUINEP

The Asian crisis and its background

21st century-type crisis as a "country run" 21世紀型通貨危機——「国の取付け」

April-July 2004

1. The outbreak and spread of the currency crisis 通貨危機の発生と拡大

- (1) Thailand: the baht
- Thai bahts were de facto pegged to US dollar at the rate of baht 23-25 since 1981. 事実上のドルペッグ制だった
- There were omens of crisis: real estate bubble and its burst, bankruptcy of the largest financial company "Finance One" in March 1997 危機の予兆 (バブルの崩壊など)
- Speculators sell bahts heavily in May/June 1997. The Thai central bank is the only buyer of bahts. 投機の激化
- 2nd July 1997, Thai bahts are forced to move to managed floating rate system. ドルペッグ制の放棄
- US\$1=baht 25.8 (June 97)→baht 50 (Jan 98), devaluation of 48.4% 半年でバーツの価値は半分に
- August 1997 IMF financial rescue package of US\$17.2₂bio

- (2) Indonesia: the rupiah
- Jun 1997 the World Banks reports Indonesian economy is in good shape.
- Sep 1997 Indonesian companies fail to repay US\$ CPs.
- Nov 1997 IMF rescue package US\$41.2 bio is signed.
 The United States joins the package. 米国参加でIMF金融支援策
- Nov 1997 IMF orders bank closure, and a bank run (銀行取付け) breaks out, and triggers the worst crisis in Indonesia. 通貨・金融・経済危機の本格化
- Jan 1998 President Suharto clashes with IMF. The rupiah drops to US\$1=rupiah 16,500 (Jun 97 rupiah 2,500, devaluation of 84.9%) ルピアの価値六分の一に
- May 1998 a riot against ethnic Chinese and Suharto resigns.
 華僑ターゲットの暴動発生、スハルト大統領退陣

- (3) Korea: the won
- Omen of crisis: collapse of "chaebols" (財閥) like Hanbo (韓宝), Jinro (真露), Kia (起亜) groups
- (Nov 1997 the Japan's financial system faces crisis due to collapse of Hokkaido Takushoku Bank and Yamaichi Securities.)
- Nov 1997 Korean banks face difficulty in repaying US\$ debt because of liquidity shortage外貨流動性の危機
- Dec 1997 IMF rescue package US\$57.0 bio, the largest in history 過去最大のIMF金融支援策
- Dec 1997 the won moves from the managed floating rate system to the free float (US\$1=won 2,000, 55.0% devaluation since won 900 early 97)

(4) A Simple Illustration of Currency Speculation

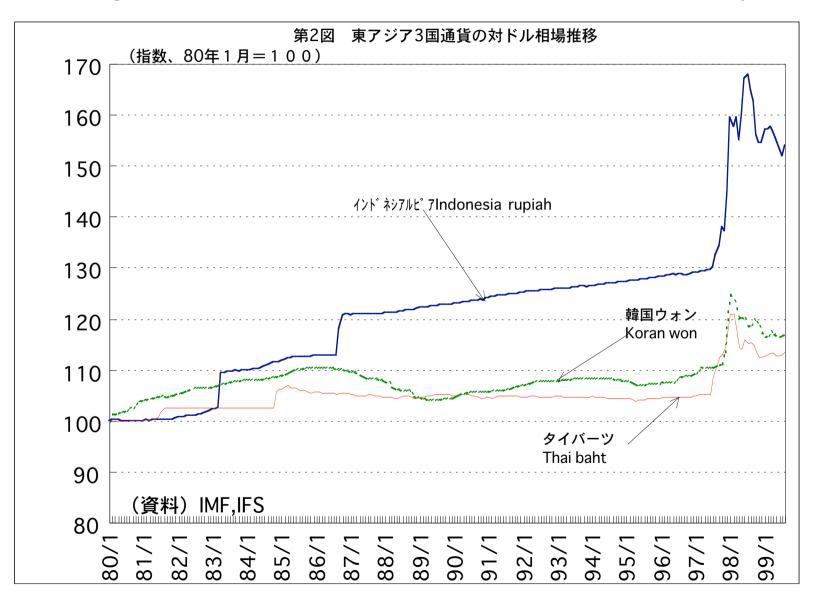
Day1) Speculators borrow baht 25mio and sell it against US dollar at US\$1=baht25.

Asset	Liability			
B a n k D e p o s i t	BorrowedMoney			
US\$1 mio	baht 25mio			

DayX) The baht is devalued to US\$1=baht30. Speculators buy back baht30 mio against UD dollar at the new exchange rate, repay the loan and realize the exchange profit of baht5 mio.

BankDeposit baht 30 mio	DepositWithdrawal US\$1 mio
Loan Repayment baht25 mio	DepositWithdrawal baht25 mio
Bank Deposit baht5 mio	ExchangeProfit baht5 mio

Exchange rates of 3 East Asian countries over 20 years



2. From currency crisis to economic crisis 通貨危機から経済危機へ

- (1) Current account improves, real economy deteriorates. 国内実体経済を犠牲に対外均衡を回復
- 3 countries achieves trade account surplus within months due to a sharp drop of import in the paralysis of economic activities.不況で輸入急減
- GDP drops to a minus growth rate, and the jobless rate rises. マイナス成長、失業者急増

Indonesia: population under poverty line doubles from 11% in 97 to 19.9% in 98.

Thailand: Rural economy absorbed part of the unemployed, and played the role of social cushion.

Korea: IMF stands for "I am fired!"

Main economic indicators during the Asian crisis

	Thailand		Indonesia		Korea	
	1997	1998	1997	1998	1997	1998
Real GDP growth %	-1.3	-9.4	5.3	-13.7	5.0	-5.8
Consumer price %	5.6	8.0	6.6	58.4	4.5	7.5
Unemployment rate %	1.9	4.4	4.7	n.a.	2.6	6.8
Export US\$ billion	57.6	54.6	53.5	48.8	136.2	132.8
Import US\$ billion	62.2	43.0	41.7	27.2	144.6	93.2
Trade balance US\$ billion	-4.6	11.6	11.9	21.6	-8.5	39.6
Current a/c balance US\$ bio for I & K, baht bio for T	-43.5	591.6	-5.0	4.0	-8.2	40.0
Short-term interest rate %	17.8	18.8	28.5	39.6	25.0	7.7

- (2) The mechanism of economic deterioration
- IMF imposes austerity policy (緊縮政策).
 - Monetary policy (金融政策): high interest rate
 - →demand squeeze, rise of NPL (不良債権) by highly indebted companies →economic activities drop.
 - Fiscal policy (財政政策):budgetary surplus
 - →demand squeeze →economic activities drop.
- Foreign exchange loss (為替差損): Companies with borrowing in foreign currencies become insolvent → rise of NPL
- Rise of NPL→banking crisis(金融危機) → financial intermediary function (金融仲介機能) stops
 - →real economic activities stop without finance経済停滞

- (3) IMF made grave mistakes in diagnosis and prescription of problems of crisis-hit countries.
- Macro-economic policy: one-size-fits-all austerity policy The causes and developments of 3 countries were not the same.お仕着せの緊縮政策
- Structural policies: IMF ordered to remove 3 Cs (corruption, collusion and crony capitalism), but is such a conditionality appropriate to solve currency crises

構造政策は適切・必要だったか?

What happened in 1998.	Balance of current account	GDP growth rate
Target of IMF programs for 3 crisis-hit countries	-2.2%~-3.0% of GDP	+2.5%~+3.5%
Actual performance	+4.5%~+12.8%	-6.7% ~ -13.2%

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3. The background of the Asian currency crisis アジア危機の背景

- (1) 20th century-type crisis vs. 21st century-type crisis 20世紀型の危機と21世紀型の危機
- (i) 20th century-type Latin American crisis during 1980s
 Problem lies with current a/c deficits 経常収支が問題
 →austerity policy
 - (a) increase of international capital (Euro market, oil recycle)
 - (b) low savings rate (20% of GDP), and twin deficits of fiscal and current account balance
 - © low level of capital investment (10% of GDP) and domestic bank credit (10-20% of GDP)
 - (d) international loans mostly to the public sector due to the weak private sector

(ii) 21st century-type crisis as a "country run" 国の取付け Problems lie with movements in capital a/c.

資本収支が問題→emphasis on the importance of sound financial sector

(a) massive short-term capital movement 短資の流出入

Fund flow to 5 E.A. countries	1995	1996	1997	1998
Private fund flow (net) US\$bio	60.6	62.9	-22.1	-29.6
foreign direct investment	7.5	8.4	10.3	9.7
portfolio investment	17.4	20.3	12.9	-7.3
bank lending and others	35.7	34.2	-45.3	-32.0
Public fund flow (net)	0.7	-4.6	30.4	20.2
Change of foreign reserves (minus means increase)	-18.3	-5.4	30.5	-52.1

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- (b) Sound economic fundamentals of E.A. countries
- High savings and investment rates (more than 30% of GDP) 高い貯蓄率・投資率
- Balanced government budget 均衡財政
- Manageable current a/c deficit except Thailand小幅な経常赤字(例外はタイ)
- (c) Fragile financial sector, high dependence on domestic bank credit脆弱な金融部門と間接金融への依存
- (d) International loans mostly to the private sector
 → difficulty in debt rescheduling 困難な債務の再編
- (e) Problem of de facto dollar-pegged fixed exchange rate and inflexible operations硬直的な為替相場

(f) Rapid increase of external debt without proper statistics and poor ALM (asset & liability management)

		1990	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Ind one	Total external debt US\$ billion	69.9	89.2	107.8	124.4	128.9	136.2
sia	long- and medium term debt	58.3	71.9	88.4	98.4	96.7	97.2
	short-term debt	11.1	18.0	19.5	26.0	32.2	36.0
Tha ilan	Total external debt balance	28.2	52.7	65.6	83.1	90.6	93.4
d	long- and medium term debt	19.8	30.1	36.4	42.0	53.0	56.2
	short-term debt	8.3	22.6	29.2	41.1	37.6	34.8
Kor ea	Total external debt balance	47.0	62.8	94.0	115.0	164.3	158.1
	long- and medium term debt	24.2	35.0	53.9	56.1	71.4	94.8
	short-term debt	22.8	27.8	40.2	59.0	92.9	63.2
(source: World Bank "Global Development Finance")							14

(source: World Bank "Global Development Finance")

- (2) Thailand
- (i) Problem of combining the fixed exchange rate with capital liberalization
- Mistake of BIBF (Bangkok International Banking Facilityバンコック・オフショア金融市場)
- Theory of "irreconcilable triangle" (不可能な三角形): among (a) fixed exchange rate, (b) free movement of capital, © independent monetary policy, only two policy objectives can be realized. (cf. Hong Kong's currency board system or China's de facto fixed rate system)
- (ii) Bubble and burst (investment rate 41.6%, savings rate 33.8% of GDP →difference of 7.8% was financed by the short-term foreign capital inflow through BIBF.
- (iii) NPL ratio 47% in 1999 (53% of GDP)

Note: why did Thailand become the first victim of currency speculation?

• The current account deficit was unsustainably large (7.8% of GDP)! Excessive investment (the bubble) was the main cause. 国内過剰投資による経常赤字の拡大

GDP (Expenditure)
$$Y=C+I+G+(Ex-Im)$$

GDP (Distribution) $Y=C+S+T$
 $\rightarrow C+I+G+(Ex-Im)=C+S+T$
 $(S-I)+(T-G)=Ex-Im$

Y: GDP, C: consumption, I: investment,

G: government expenditure, Ex: export, Im: import, S: saving, T: tax revenue

- (3) Indonesia
- (i) Indonesia received the financial support and guidance of IGGI (now CGI) and the World Bank since 1960s.
- (ii) There was no foreign exchange control and no obligation of reporting foreign transactions. →no statistics on external assets and liabilities統計の欠如
- (iii) The unhappy coincidence不幸な要因の重なり:
 - (a) currency crisis arising from Thailand within ASEAN
 - (b) IMF's wrong prescription for recovery
 - © political instability at the end of Suharto regime
 - (d) outbreak of social unrest
- (iv) NPL ratio 60% in 1998 (31% of GDP) and the complete paralysis of the financial system金融機能麻痺

- (4) Korea
- (i) Korea managed its exchange rate system flexibly to maintain export competitiveness against Japan's similar export items.
- (ii) The current a/c deficit was within a manageable range.
- (iii) The foreign exchange control was strict, but there was a loophole (overseas subsidiaries of business).
- (iv) Statistics on foreign financial transactions had defects, and external ALM was poor (short-term funding and long-term investment). 短期借入れと長期投資
- (v) The negative impact of Japan' financial instability
- (vi) The problem was the shortage of foreign currency liquidity (外貨流動性不足), not currency speculation!
- (vii) NPL ratio 22% in1998 (30% of GDP)