China's Participation in Global Governance:

Choosing an Exchange Rate Regime

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Alternative XR Regimes

- Currency Union
- Hard Peg
- Adjustable Peg
- Managed Float
- Freely flexible

Overview

• 1)Central Questions, Key Assumptions

- 2)Methodology
- 3)3 Decision Points: 1997, 2005, 2010

• 4)Conclusions



Central Questions & Assumptions

- What explains China's choice of exchange rate regime? (Internal politics, external politics, random events?)
- GGOs (IMF, WTO, BIS, G20 etc) do they mediate the political conflicts?
- Does the story change systematically over time?

Methodology

• Three Decision Points: 1997, 2005, 2010

 Search for the best causal story for each event (make them compete against each other)

• Test: "Preponderance of the evidence"

1997: China Chooses a Hard Peg

- Random event story? (Asian Financial Crisis)
- External pressure/politics story?

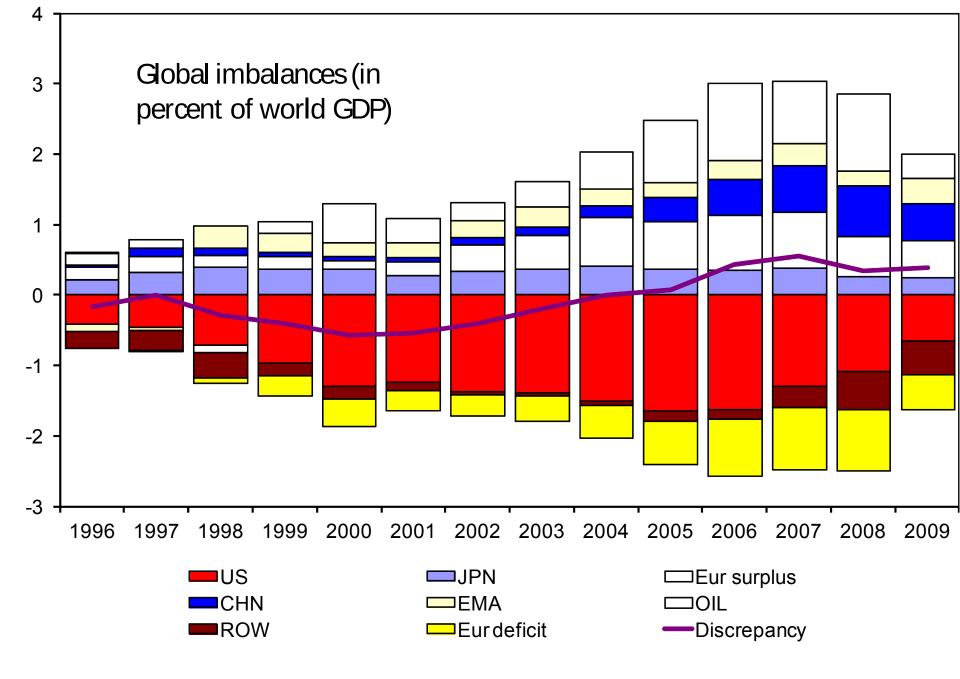
Domestic politics story?

• The outcome is "overdetermined". ③

2005: From Hard Peg to Adjustable Peg

 Random event: emergence of large, persistent global trade imbalances

• (My nice data set merits a two-minute detour.)



2005:From Hard Peg to Adjustable Peg

- Random event: emergence of global trade imbalances
- External pressure US Congress
- GGO story: Tutelage, adoption of 'international norms'
- Internal turf battles POBC loses out to MOF – leads to 'window-dressing' reform

2010: Return to an Adjustable Peg

- External Pressure?
- But China's economic growth makes her political position considerably stronger now

Indicators of China's Growing Economic Strength

- PCGDP: from 10% to 23% of US level
- GDP: from 47% of US to 99.4% (2010)
- Share of World Exports: 9.7% (Rank=1)
- Share of World Forex Holdings: 33%
- (\$T 3.20)

2010: Return to an Adjustable Peg

- External Pressure?
- GGO mediation?
- But China is now becoming a rule-making participant.
- (Zhu Min: Managing Director in Waiting?)



Min Zhu: Deputy Managing Director of the IMF

Former Deputy Director of the PBOC

Princeton MPA; Johns Hopkins PhD

2010: Return to an Adjustable Peg

- External Pressure?
- GGO mediation? New IMF measures
- But China is now becoming a rule-making participant.
- (Zhu Min: Managing Director in Waiting?)
- Internal story: Continued Financial Repression?



July 2008: Repeg to the Dollar

• Response to hot money inflows?

• Anticipating the September crash?

• An appreciating dollar carries the RMB with it (23% in 6 months following July 08)

- Strategy should remain flexible—there will be unanticipated events—but with a roadmap :
 - 1. A stronger exchange rate
 - 2. Rethinking the monetary framework
 - 3. Improved regulation and supervision
 - 4. Market development
 - 5. Liberalizing interest rates
 - 6. Opening up the capital account

- There is a need for currency appreciation to...
 - Reduce the scale of BOP inflows
 - Lower FX intervention
 - Have the flexibility to use reserve requirements not merely as a sterilization tool
 - Greater scope for an independent monetary policy

Exchange Rate & Foreign Reserves

