

Might the pandemic signal the end of global economic convergence?

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Summary of global outlook

The world economy did better than expected, in the 1st half of 2021,

due to monetary & fiscal stimulus

and the miraculous scientific accomplishment of the vaccines.

But downside risks are evident:

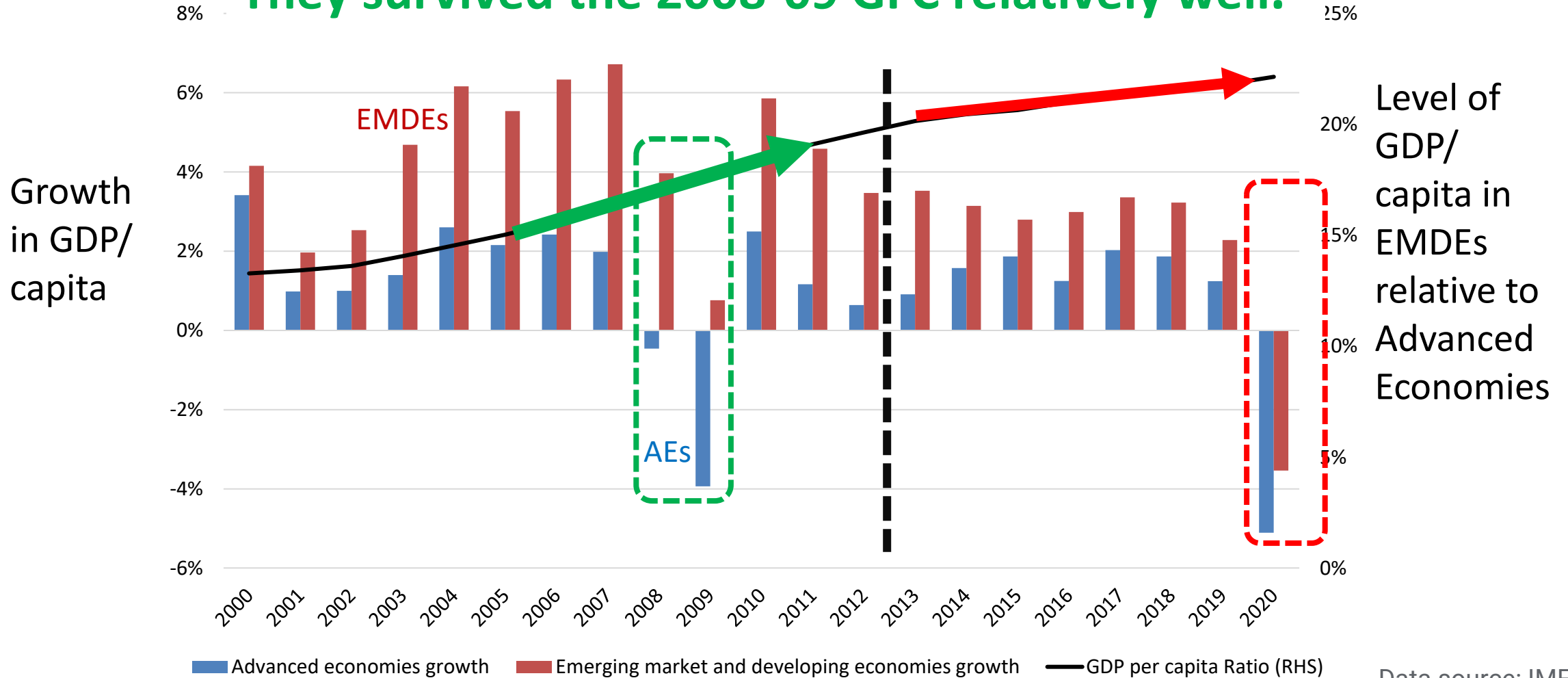
The “everything bubble” might burst;

and vaccination is slower than it should be.

Divergence: The downside is worse for Emerging Market and Developing Economies (EMDEs).

Convergence: EMDEs grew faster than AEs, 2000-2013.

They survived the 2008-09 GFC relatively well.



But convergence slowed, 2013-2020; reversed for poor countries in 2020.

Growth projections: The latest IMF WEO update for 2021

marked up AEs, esp. US (7.0%), while marking down EMs & esp. low-income countries (3.9%).

Latest World Economic Outlook Update Growth Projections



Real GDP, annual percent change	PROJECTIONS		
	2020	2021	2022
World Output	-3.2	6.0	4.9
Advanced Economies	-4.6	5.6	4.4
United States	-3.5	7.0	4.9
Euro Area	-6.5	4.6	4.3
Germany	-4.8	3.6	4.1
France	-8.0	5.8	4.2
Italy	-8.9	4.9	4.2
Spain	-10.8	6.2	5.8
Japan	-4.7	2.8	3.0
United Kingdom	-9.8	7.0	4.8
Canada	-5.3	6.3	4.5
Other Advanced Economies	-2.0	4.9	3.6

	2020	2021	2022
Emerging Market and Developing Economies	-2.1	6.3	5.2
Emerging and Developing Asia	-0.9	7.5	6.4
China	2.3	8.1	5.7
India	-7.3	9.5	8.5
ASEAN-5	-3.4	4.3	6.3
Emerging and Developing Europe	-2.0	4.9	3.6
Russia	-3.0	4.4	3.1
Latin America and the Caribbean	-7.0	5.8	3.2
Brazil	-4.1	5.3	1.9
Mexico	-8.3	6.3	4.2
Middle East and Central Asia	-2.6	4.0	3.7
Saudi Arabia	-4.1	2.4	4.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	-1.8	3.4	4.1
Nigeria	-1.8	2.5	2.6
South Africa	-7.0	4.0	2.2
Memorandum			
Emerging Market and Middle-Income Economies	-2.3	6.5	5.2
Low-Income Developing Countries	0.2	3.9	5.5

Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook Update, July 2021

Note: For India, data and forecasts are presented on a fiscal-year basis, with FY 2020/2021 starting in April 2020. For the July 2021 WEO, India's growth projections are 8.8 percent in 2021 and 8.3 percent in 2022 based on calendar year.

[World Economic Outlook Update: Fault Lines Widen in the Global Recovery, July 27, 2021](#)

Why did EMDE growth slow, after 2013? Even before the pandemic.

Some possible explanations:

- Global trade had slowed.
- Commodity prices fell on world markets in 2014, in dollars.
- China slowed after 2010,
 - perhaps due to diminishing returns to capital
 - or the Lewis turning point in rural-urban migration.
- EMs more vulnerable to sudden stops in portfolio inflows?

Vulnerability to sudden stops of portfolio inflows

- Reforms made some EMs less vulnerable in 2000-2010.
 - Fiscal policy became less pro-cyclical.
 - Capital inflows were used to build reserves,
 - rather than to run current account deficits.
 - The \$-denominated share of inflows was reduced
 - especially in the case of public debt.
- But some backsliding followed.

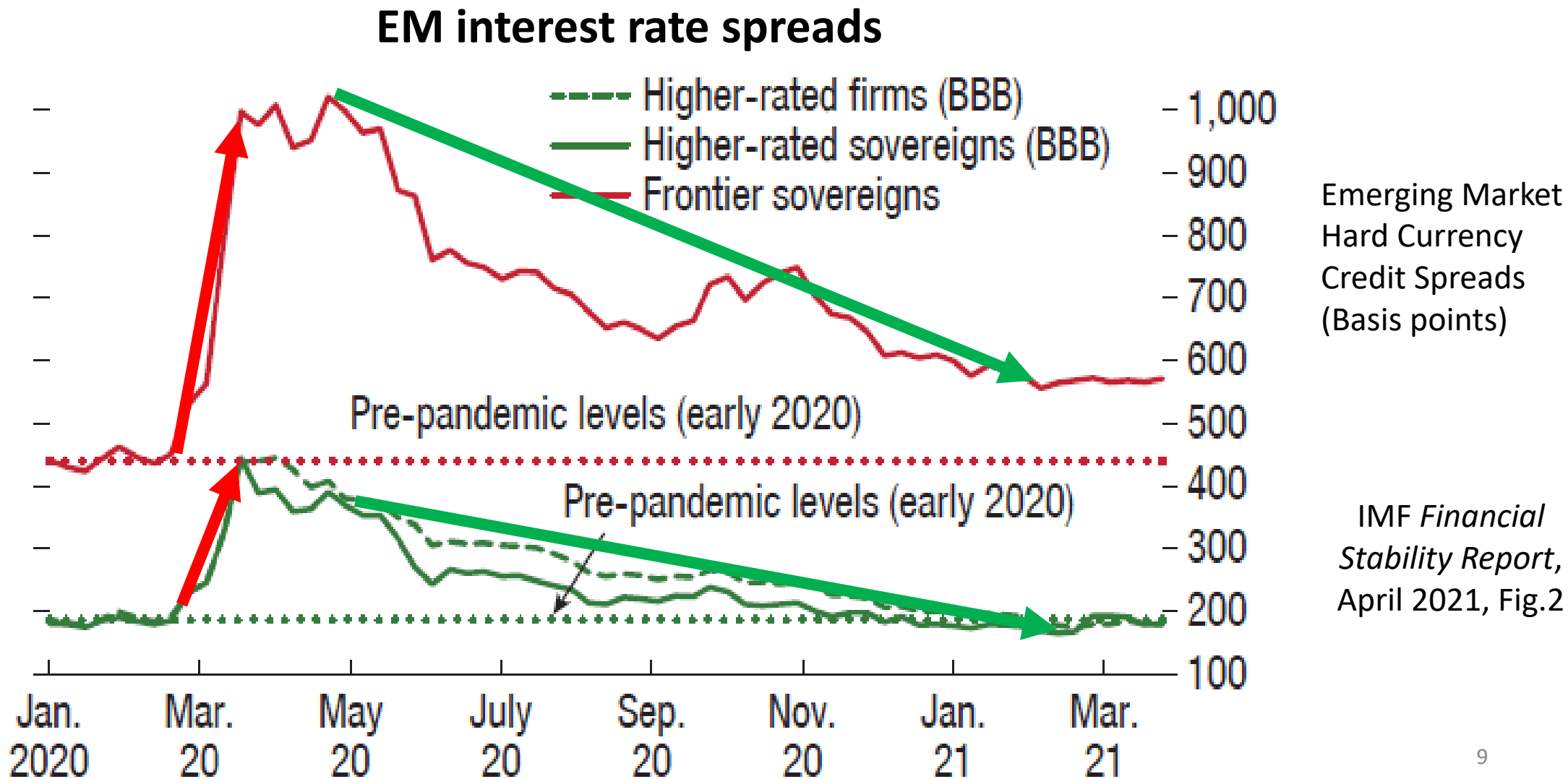
Dangers, looking forward,

- even leaving aside the effects of climate change,
 - which are arriving faster than was expected
 - and which will hit middle-latitude countries especially hard.
- (1) The pandemic could halt catch-up in developing countries' incomes.
- (2) EM debt crises could return
 - especially when the Fed signals an increase in interest rates.
 - As in 1982, 1994, 1997, 2013, 2015, 2018....
- (3) The world could lose the race between vaccination & new variants,
 - due to vaccine skepticism
 - & lack of availability in lower income countries.

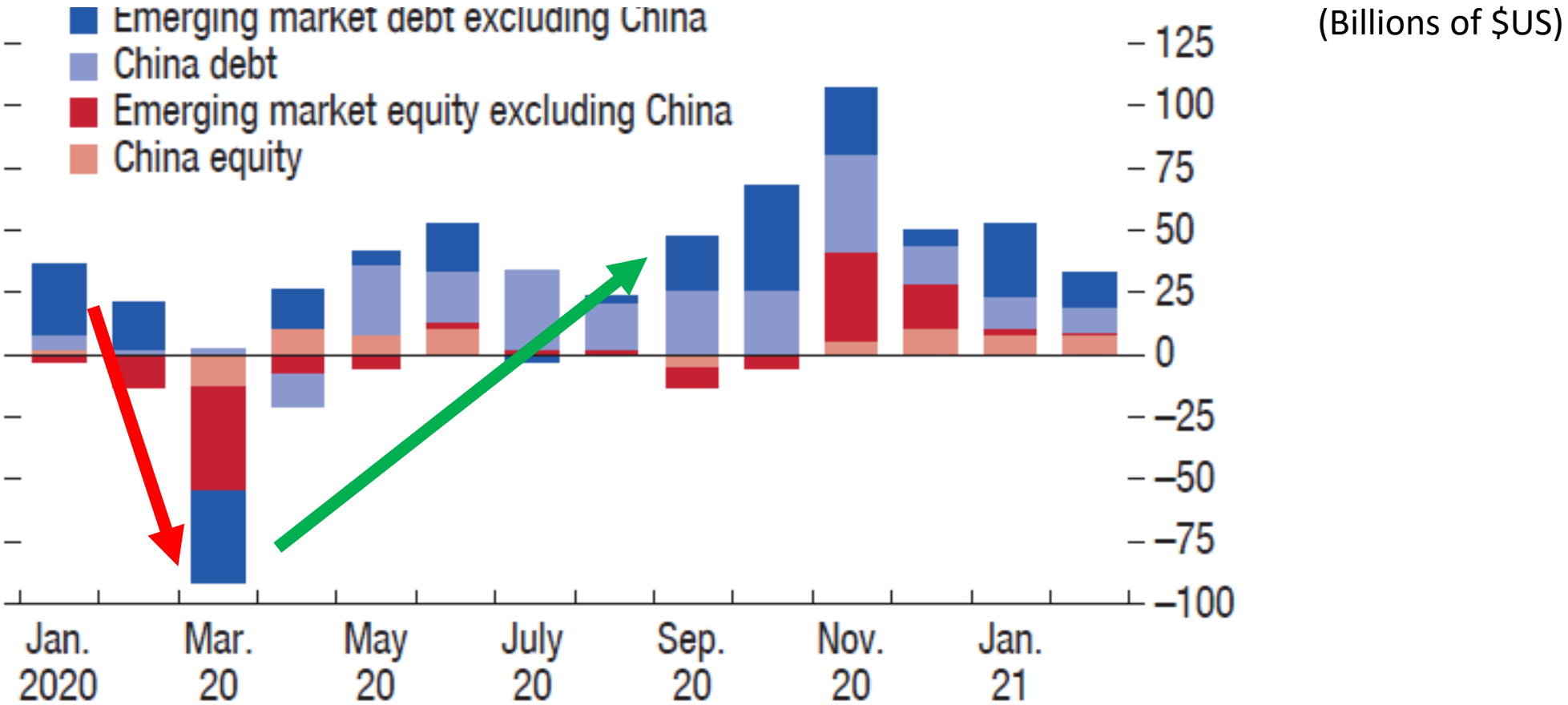
International cooperation in such bodies as the G20 is more important than ever.

- By “cooperation,” I am not referring here to coordinated setting of national monetary or fiscal policies.
 - Countries can mostly move in the right directions on their own.
- But, rather,
 - (1) initiatives to enhance **financial stability**, to reduce likelihood and severity of new EMDE financial crises.
 - Like the Debt Service Suspension Initiative,
 - And new SDR allocation by the IMF in August;
 - But much more is needed.
 - (2) Good old-fashioned **trade liberalization**.
 - (3) **Vaccination** worldwide.

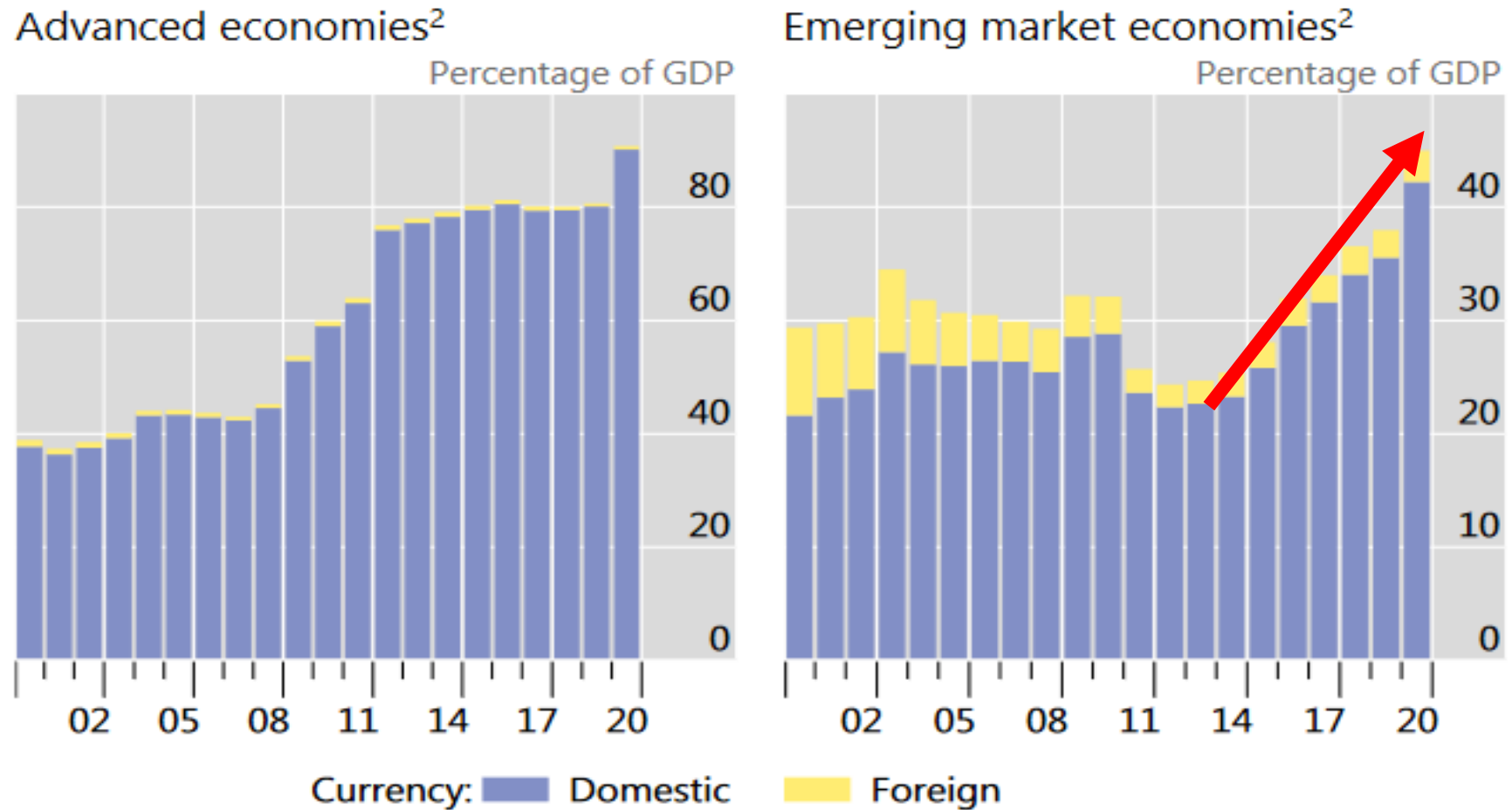
(1) Financial stability: Despite the Covid-19 shock in March 2020, market sentiment recovered after aggressive easing by the FRB.



Emerging Market portfolio flows rebounded too.



But government debt/GDP rose sharply in 2020, in both AEs & EMs.



Bank for International Settlements *Quarterly Review*, June 2021, p.21

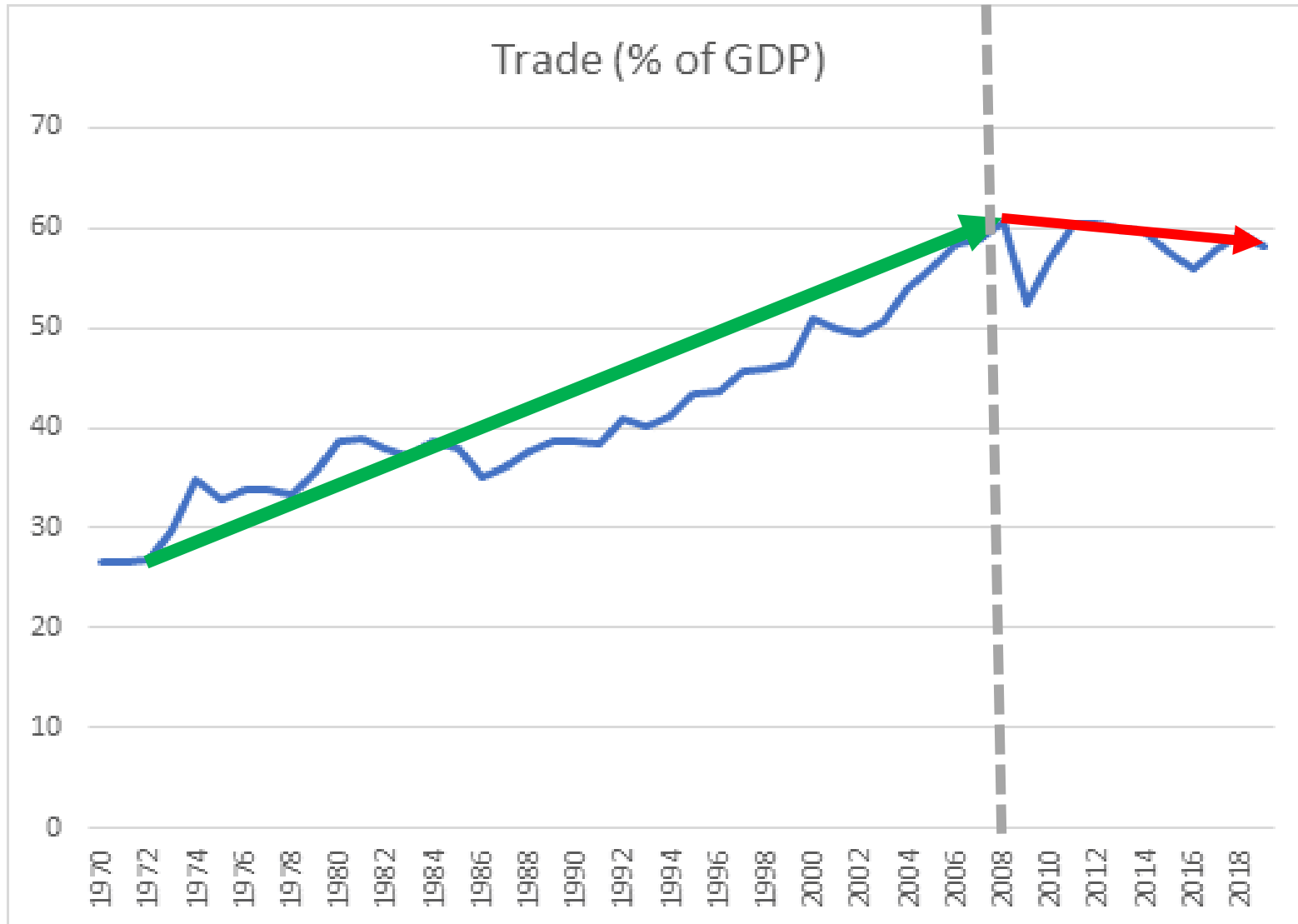
Data sources: ECB Securities Issues Statistics (SEC); Dealogic; Euroclear; Thomson Reuters; Xtrakter Ltd; natl data; IMF WEO; BIS calculations.

² General government bonds outstanding aggregated across countries, as a ratio to their combined GDP.

EM debt sustainability is vulnerable to a future rise interest rates.

- Governments were able to finance spending in response to pandemic.
 - Good.
- But I worry that high Debt/GDP now leaves EMDEs vulnerable.
 - Why, if interest is low?
 - Because debt sustainability is vulnerable to a rise in interest rates,
 - whether from US interest rates, local risk premia, or both.
 - Why, then, do I downplay monetary cooperation, as Rajan urged in 2014?
- The financial situation must be judged particularly fragile if one sees a bubble component to today's high prices for risky assets.
 - The Fed has the difficult job of letting some air out of the bubble,
 - without precipitating a financial crash.

(2) Trade: The upward global trend in trade/GDP stalled from 2008, even before Trump's tariffs or the pandemic.



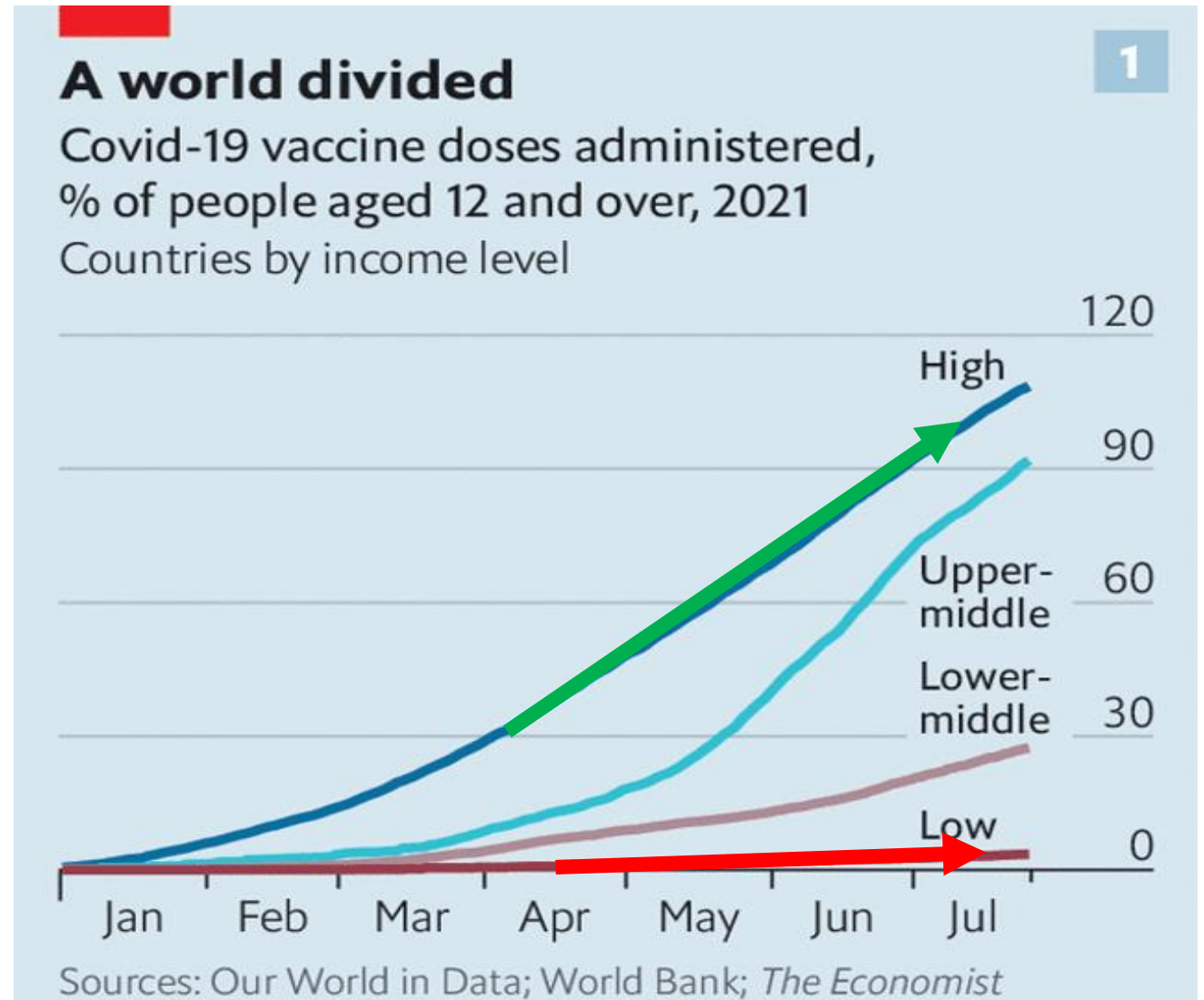
Data source:
World Bank, 2021

Four trade liberalization ideas

1. E.g., US & China should roll back trade barriers,
 - which they raised over the last four years.
2. Liberalize, in particular, trade in environmental goods
 - such as equipment for wind & solar power.
3. Agree international rules guiding Carbon Border-Adjustment Taxes,
 - so that they can be used, but not mis-used,
 - working with the WTO.
4. Complete progress toward a global regime for corporate taxation
 - working with the OECD.

(3) **Vaccination** in low-income & lower-middle countries lags far behind the rich.

- The US & other rich countries should make vaccines more extensively available to lower-income countries.
- It is ridiculous to chase after vaccine skeptics at home, trying to coax them into accepting the benefits of this scientific miracle, without also doing more to bring vaccines where most needed.
- Agarwal & Gopinath of the IMF have proposed a plan of action:
 - Estimated cost/benefit ≈\$50b/\$9,000b.



The Economist, July 31, 2021.

“The pandemic has exacerbated existing political discontent”

So long as this coronavirus runs wild anywhere,
it is a danger to everyone everywhere.
That is international interdependence.

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Appendix graph

For low-income countries, convergence went into reverse in 2020.

