

Financial and Trade Globalization, the Dollar, and the Mundellian Vision

Şebnem Kalemli-Özcan

Brown University, NBER, and CEPR

The Future of the International Financial Order: Ideal Visions vs. Political Realities

June 22-23, Bank of Italy, Conference in Honor of Robert Mundell



BROWN



Global Linkages Lab



The trilemma, the optimum currency area, the policy-mix—are the vocabulary of open-economy macroeconomics.

Start w/Capital Flows and Trade Fragmentation

1. Capital flows represent international investment decisions $\Rightarrow$ Inter-temporal trade
2. Backed by the ability to move goods internationally $\Rightarrow$ Intra-temporal trade

Cannot have 1) w/o 2)

- **Globalization is an architecture, not an on-off button.**
- Cross-border bank lending fell hard after 2008 and never recovered its old path.
- Reconfigured: Private credit and the offshore dollar grew to fill the space.
- The core didn't weaken — it concentrated. The dollar hub is held in place by everyone else's choices, not its own merit.

We are heading to a multi-polar world, fragmented periphery, concentrated core.

- Key opportunity: deeper more connected markets with multi-polar safe asset world
- Key risks: global financial cycle fragmentation (dollar based cycle vs multi-polar) fragility from core with sanctions raising value of exit, core getting smaller.

Global interdependence has upside (resilience) and downside (chokepoint weaponization, financial risks)

Strengthening resilience calls for more integration.

- Promise: capital flows downhill (rich $\rightarrow$ poor); integration delivers consumption risk-sharing.
- What happened instead: the Lucas paradox held—importance of productivity/institutions over capital flows—less than full risk sharing due to less than full capital market integration
- Biggest surprise: As the US share of world GDP fell, the dollar's role in invoicing, debt issuance and funding deepened (even reserves $\downarrow$ from 70% to 50%)

Financial hegemony decoupled from economic size.

OCA criteria are endogenous — and a currency union can fail on **two fronts**.

THE REAL SIDE

asymmetric shocks

Integration → insurance → specialisation → less-symmetric shocks.

Federations — US states, prefectures — insure and specialise heavily; nations barely insure. The euro imported the integration without the federal insurer.

Kalemli-Özcan, Sørensen & Yosha — JIE 2001 · AER 2003

THE FINANCIAL SIDE

capital misallocation

Euro convergence: lower rates pulled cheap capital in.

Under size-dependent financial frictions it flowed to high-net-worth, not high-productivity, firms — so TFP fell.

Gopinath, Kalemli-Özcan, Karabarbounis & Villegas-Sanchez — QJE 2017

Most prescient: Trilemma

- If anything, it is sharpened
- Rey's argument that under GFC, the trilemma collapses toward a dilemma—does not refute Mundell; **“independent monetary policy” corner is harder to reach.**
- OCA also held up. A monetary union without fiscal union and without labour mobility, facing asymmetric shocks, behaved precisely as OCA theory predicted it would: **The crisis out-of-sample validation of the 1961 paper.**

Less convincing: Single global currency.

- Geopolitical fragmentation means currency blocs and strategic diversification, not a world central bank.

1999 Nobel address explains why no global currency:

Economics → politics → international monetary system



Global Networks:

Global Networks:

Every economy is a node. Every shock travels the edges.

Using geopolitical tools in a highly globally interdependent world means:

- Resilience—structural feature.

Global Networks:

Every economy is a node. Every shock travels the edges.

Using geopolitical tools in a highly globally interdependent world means:

- Resilience—structural feature.
- Every action is going to have unintended macroeconomic consequences even for large players with market power (**self-defeating**).

Global Networks:

Every economy is a node. Every shock travels the edges.

Using geopolitical tools in a highly globally interdependent world means:

- Resilience—structural feature.
- Every action is going to have unintended macroeconomic consequences even for large players with market power (**self-defeating**).
- Who gains and who loses is determined in **global general equilibrium**.

Global Networks:

Every economy is a node. Every shock travels the edges.

Using geopolitical tools in a highly globally interdependent world means:

- Resilience—structural feature.
- Every action is going to have unintended macroeconomic consequences even for large players with market power (**self-defeating**).
- Who gains and who loses is determined in **global general equilibrium**.
- Measurement is hard when firms' desire for resilience and growth meet states' geopolitical rivalry—misaligned incentives and **global misallocation of capital**.

Global Networks:

Every economy is a node. Every shock travels the edges.

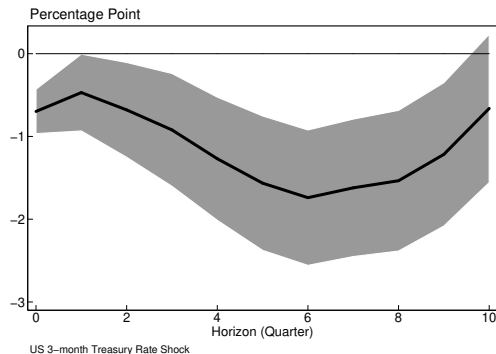
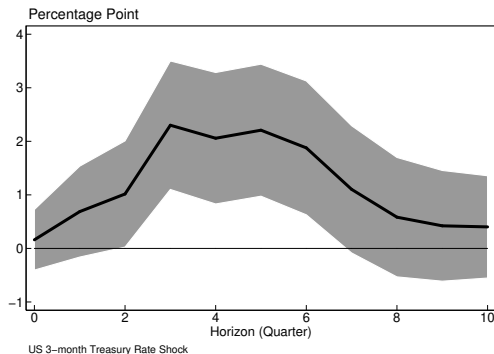
Using geopolitical tools in a highly globally interdependent world means:

- Resilience—structural feature.
- Every action is going to have unintended macroeconomic consequences even for large players with market power (**self-defeating**).
- Who gains and who loses is determined in **global general equilibrium**.
- Measurement is hard when firms' desire for resilience and growth meet states' geopolitical rivalry—misaligned incentives and **global misallocation of capital**.
- **Economic leverage**: not from chokepoints (Hormuz) and market power (rare earths); comes from global GE response to heterogeneous policies/policy-mix.



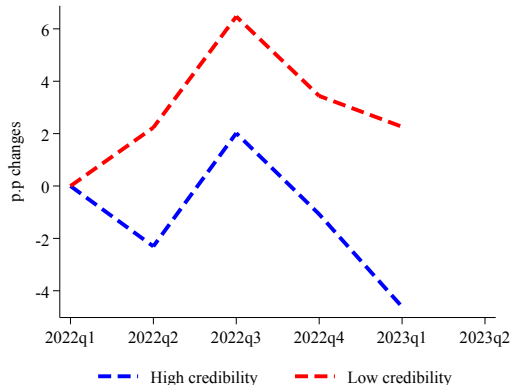
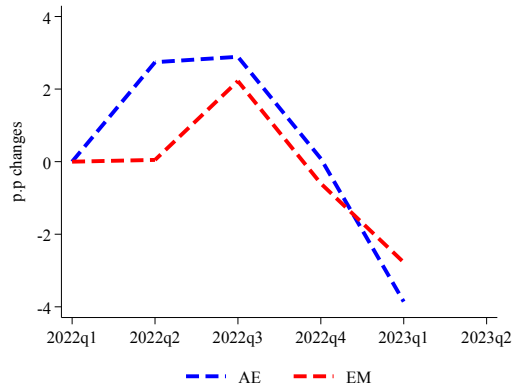
- The U.S. monetary policy's international footprint is large.
- What happens to risk premia and exchange rates?

Risk Premia: Diverging Bond Spreads to U.S MP Shocks in EM vs AE



Kalemli-Ozcan (2019, Jackson Hole Symposium).

Policy Credibility and Exchange Rates: 2022-2023 FED Tightening



Kalemli-Ozcan and Unsal (2023, BPEA).