

1
2 MR. MAKIN: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. As
3 always, it is a pleasure to address a distinguished panel, and I
4 see many friends and colleagues on the panel.

5 I'll try to move quickly.

6 Basically, I'm going to say that the causes of the
7 trade deficit may actually be good news rather than bad news.

8 But let me start at the beginning. I want to offer
9 some basic definitions, and I'll go quickly here, because I think
10 this group is pretty well informed on these matters.

11 The trade balance as usually measured for the
12 United States is the difference between the dollar value of goods
13 and services sold abroad and the dollar value of goods and
14 services purchased abroad. We have a balance on merchandise trade
15 and services trade, and then the other major category of external
16 accounts is net income on foreign investments.

17 When we put all these things together, we find that
18 in 1998 the U.S. economy, I should say, had a current account
19 balance that was in deficit at about 2.6 percent of GDP, or about
20 \$220 billion.

21 I don't think it's too misleading to use the trade
22 balance and the current account balance interchangeably, because,

1 conceptually, the current account balance is a much more useful
2 concept. So I will be, in the course of my discussion, switching
3 between them, and in my written testimony, I'm somewhat more
4 detailed in terms of the connection between them.

5 With the U.S. net foreign asset position at about a
6 negative \$1 trillion; that is, the cumulative value of past
7 current account deficits runs about \$1 trillion and U.S. GDP at
8 about \$8.5 trillion, I don't take U.S. global indebtedness to be
9 too alarming; that is, oftentimes it's suggested that we have a
10 trade deficit and a current account deficit, and this means we owe
11 a lot of money to the rest of the world, and isn't it terrible.

12 As I've said, U.S. net indebtedness to the rest of
13 the world is something on the order of \$1 trillion while U.S.
14 annual income is \$8.5 trillion. It's something like a young
15 professional household with about \$85,000 in annual income
16 carrying \$10,000 in net debt.

17 It's hardly surprising that foreign claims on the
18 United States have grown more rapidly than U.S. claims on
19 foreigners during the last decade when the United States has
20 experienced a remarkably vigorous, investment-led, non-
21 inflationary expansion.

22 These characteristics have led foreigners to be

1 anxious to invest more in the United States than the U.S. invests
2 abroad. More specifically, with the U.S. stock market rising
3 rapidly, foreign investors want to participate just as much as
4 American investors. When they do so, net foreign claims on the
5 U.S. rise more rapidly than U.S. claims on foreigners rise

6 In sum, the rise in U.S. liabilities to foreigners
7 is a more a sign of U.S. strength as an attractive destination for
8 global investors than it is a sign of U.S. weakness.

9 A useful way to view the trade or current account
10 balance of the United States when considering policy or other
11 practical implications is to express it in terms of some basic
12 accounting identities. This will take me to some discussion of
13 the causes of the trade deficit.

14 The U.S. current account balance is by definition
15 the sum of private net saving and public net saving. More
16 concretely, if private net saving is zero and all Government
17 budgets are in balance, the current account balance will be zero.

18 Alternatively, if U.S. investment exceeds U.S.
19 savings while the Government accounts are in balance, the U.S.
20 will have a current account deficit that measures the net capital
21 inflows required to finance the excess of domestic investment over
22 domestic saving.

1 This last condition reflects another identity that
2 the U.S. current account balance is equal to net capital flows
3 into our out of the country. When the U.S. current account is in
4 deficit, it simply measures U.S. spending in excess of income that
5 must in turn be financed by capital inflows, alternatively, net
6 borrowing from abroad.

7 That definition of spending, of course, includes
8 investment.

9 I'm suggesting here that when we look at the
10 current account, it's important to look at it and say: Do we have
11 a current account deficit that is net capital inflows, because
12 investment opportunities are rising more rapidly in the U.S. than
13 savings or because we're spending more than we ought to?

14 In the past decade, I would argue that part of the
15 reason we've had a rising current account deficit is a rapid
16 increase in investment opportunities in the United States relative
17 to the increase in savings at home. The mirror image would be
18 Japan where investment opportunities are more limited and less
19 than Japanese saving.

20 Households in Japan are seeking outlets, productive
21 outlets, for saving and sending money to the United States.
22 Whether or not that puts Japan in an advantageous or a

1 disadvantageous position, is perhaps almost a metaphysical
2 question. I would rather live in the country where there is an
3 excess of attractive investment opportunities recognizing that
4 that would mean that I'd be running a current account deficit
5 unless domestic savings rose as rapidly as domestic investment
6 opportunities.

7 Turning to the causes of the U.S. trade deficit,
8 fundamentally, the U.S. current account deficit largely composed
9 of the trade deficit measures the excess of U.S. spending over
10 U.S. income, including investment and consumption. Proximately,
11 if U.S. income grows rapidly relative to income growth abroad,
12 then U.S. imports will grow more rapidly than U.S. exports, which
13 after all are just a mirror image of imports by foreigners.

14 One of the causes of a trade deficit could be an
15 extraordinarily rapid period of U.S. growth. Indeed, the last
16 time the U.S. had a current account surplus was during the brief
17 1990-91 recession when U.S. imports fell rapidly with U.S. growth.

18 Simultaneously, of course, the U.S. experienced a
19 rapid and temporary inflow of funds at that time from abroad as
20 contributions of our allies and the conduct of the Gulf War.
21 Still, even after adjusting for the impact of the Gulf War, the
22 U.S. current account was nearly in balance during the 1990-91

1 recession.

2 One way to get back to balance is to -- I'm not
3 saying to have a recession, but certainly the current account and
4 trade deficits typically fall for the U.S. in a recession, because
5 the rate at which we absorb imports is reduced.

6 Since 1991, the U.S. current account deficit has
7 risen steadily as a result of rapid U.S. growth and,
8 simultaneously, the eagerness of foreign investors to push funds
9 into the U.S. which in turn implies that U.S. spending rises even
10 more rapidly since it's financed on easier terms than would be
11 available if the U.S. economy were not able to absorb foreign
12 capital inflows.

13 Sometimes I say that we don't have a current
14 account surplus in the U.S., because foreigners won't let us.
15 They are so eager to invest in the United States on terms that
16 look very attractive to U.S. borrowers that they end up financing
17 a high level of U.S. investment relative to domestic savings.
18 That's got to show up as a current account deficit.

19 Therefore, if the U.S. is growing rapidly,
20 absorbing imports, using those imports to produce goods, add to
21 its capital stock, add to its wealth, we probably are going to see
22 a current account deficit for the U.S. If we go rapidly into a

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1 recession, we're probably going to see the trade deficit and the
2 current account deficit fall.

3 My time is getting limited, so I want to add here a
4 little general commentary on where we might be today and then
5 close.

6 Clearly, right now, the situation for the United
7 States is becoming interesting, and the question we're trying to
8 answer is the following: As the U.S. current account deficit
9 rises this year -- and it is rising -- the question we have to ask
10 are will foreign investors finance net capital flows to the United
11 States of about \$25 billion per month on terms -- that is interest
12 rates -- that will be attractive to the stock market?

13 This is where we get to the problem side of this.
14 We may have an adjustment underway here where foreign growth and
15 recovery that we're seeing this year is a good thing, but it means
16 that investment opportunities in the rest of the world have grown
17 relative to investment opportunities in the United States.

18 And, so now when global asset managers are asking
19 themselves, "Where should I put my money," they may be thinking,
20 "Well, maybe I should put a little more into Japan, a little more
21 into Europe." There's a big restructuring decade coming in both
22 of those countries.

1 We've probably been through our restructuring
2 decade, and what we may see is that the terms on which we can
3 finance a current account deficit of \$25 to \$30 billion will not
4 be as attractive as they were; that is, U.S. interest rates will
5 rise because of an external constraint, and that may put some
6 pressure on equity prices. Pressure on equity prices, of course,
7 reduces U.S. absorption and spending and is a part of the process
8 of working this out.

9 I guess I raise this issue because I think the best
10 thing to do in these circumstances is not to get alarmed. If
11 market prices, in terms of the willingness of the rest of the
12 world to lend to the United States, suggests higher interest rates
13 and a weaker dollar and a lower stock market, so be it.

14 We'll just have to -- it's better to let that
15 happen, let a natural process of adjustment happen, than to
16 intervene in foreign exchange markets and make believe the dollar
17 doesn't have to go down, artificially try to support the stock
18 market, et cetera. Here, again, I think the Japanese have shown
19 us the way not to go over the past decade.

20 Mr. Chairman, I sense --

21 VICE CHAIRMAN PAPADIMITRIOU: Thank you.

22 MR. MAKIN: -- that my time is up.

1 VICE CHAIRMAN PAPADIMITRIOU: It's a good thing we
2 don't give traffic tickets, because you, I think, have passed more
3 than one red light.

4 MR. MAKIN: My apologies.

5 VICE CHAIRMAN PAPADIMITRIOU: Thank you, Dr. Makin.

6 MR. MAKIN: Thank you for your indulgence.

7 VICE CHAIRMAN PAPADIMITRIOU: The next panelist is
8 Ms. Jenny Bates, who's a policy analyst from the Progressive
9 Policy Institute.