## 'Tale of two cities'

# Latin America along the commodity price cycle: performance and challenges 

## Guillermo Perry

# 'All happy families are alike; 

each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way'

Ana Karenina, Leon Tolstoi.

## Recent economic slowdown in all developing regions, especially in South America and, less so, in Mexico

GDP growth rate (\%)


8

-6

## Mainly explained by the slump in commodity prices, after a long boom since 2003

Commodity Price Index


## That led to a boom and bust in Terms of Trade





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## We see today quite unhappy and less unhappy

 countries: differences are not fully explained by TOTGDP growth rates (simple averages, \%)*


## GDP growth: The less unhappy ones look quite alike

GDP growth rate (\%)


## GDP growth: The more unhappy ones look much less alike

## GDP growth rate (\%)



# An early symptom of unhappiness <br> in Venezuela and Argentina: loss of reserves (ACT) 

International Reserves (includes gold, \% of GDP)
4
——Chile (includes Gov's Funds)
Brazil
Peru


0


## And sovereign risk hikes

EMBI stripped spreads; end of period
(simple averages, basis points)

*Less unhappy: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru; Quite unhappy: Argentina and Venezuela Source: Banco de Bogotá, JP Morgan

## Spreads: The less unhappy bunch look again quite alike

EMBI stripped spreads; end of period (basis points)


## Spreads: The very unhappy ones again look less alike

EMBI stripped spreads; end of period (basis points)


## A closer look to the less unhappy bunch and Brazil: Credit Default Swaps (ACT)



Two macroeconomic factors behind differences in unhappiness:

## Fiscal deficits and

exchange rate regimes and interventions

## Behind deep unhappiness: fiscal deficits

General Government Net Lending/Borrowing
(\% of GDP)


## Some differences in fiscal deficits among the less unhappy

General Government Net Lending/Borrowing
(\% of GDP)


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## Wider fiscal deficits and differences among the very unhappy

General Government Net Lending/Borrowing
(\% of GDP)


## Sovereign debt levels are also a concern in Brazil

General Government Gross Debt (\% of GDP)


## Argentina and Venezuela attempted to keep nominal exchange rates constant but had sharp recent devaluations

Nominal Exchange Rate (year-on-year variation, \%)



## Both had inflationary pressures since the beginning of the boom; Venezuela has hyperinflation now

Inflation, end of period (year-on-year variation, \%)


# Their Real Exchange Rates did not appreciate much during the early boom but showed significant appreciation latter, even during the bust. 

Real Exchange Rate Index (2010=100)


## Major differences in Real Exchange Rate performance between Inflation Targetting and non-IT countries

Real Exchange Rate Index (2010=100)


Some differences in Real Exchange Rate performance among IT countries: Chile and Peru appreciated less than Brazil and Colombia during the boom, in spite of higher TOT gains.


## Due to the fact that Perú and Chile had both fiscal surpluses and higher accumulation of reserves



## As a consequence, there were sharper recent compensatory nominal devaluations in Brazil and Colombia

Nominal Exchange Rate (year-on-year variation, \%)



## That contributed to recent inflationary pressures

Inflation, end of period (year-on-year variation, \%)


# And led Brazil's and (less so) Colombia's Central Banks to adopt pro cyclical interest rate hikes (Mexico in 2016: Trump effect) 

Monetary Policy Rate, end of period (\%)



## Not surprisingly

## DUTCH DISEASE

 symptoms were higher in COLOMBIA ${ }^{40}$ and BRAZIL than in PERU and CHILE :Production (value Added, \%GDP)

Source: WDI, World Bank
Mexico


0

Chile


Colombia
Brazil




Perú



10

0


## The key macro lessons

- As expected, flexible exchange rate regimes operated as important shock absorbers. Countries with fixed exchange rate regimes (Argentina and Venezuela) had higher variability of growth and inflation
- But significant Real Exchange Rate appreciations and depreciations created serious Dutch Disease, adjustment and inflationary costs during the commodity price cycle in Brazil and Colombia.
- Perú and Chile mitigated them through a combination of counter cyclical fiscal and monetary policies and 'against the wind' exchange market interventions by central banks ('dirty' floating) and thus suffered less DD and inflationary problems

Vulnerabilities to potential external shocks

## FED interest rate hikes will impose threats to capital flows to Emerging Markets, with high external and fiscal vulnerabilities

Capital Flows in Emerging Markets (percent of trend GDP; median)

## 1. LA7: Inflows and Outtlows


2. Other Emerging Markets: Inflows and Outtlows


Though gross capital inflows are highly correlated with commodity prices in South America : a China hard landing would impose huge risks.
Gross Inflows and Commodity Prices (percent of trend GDP; median)

1. LA7: Gross Inflows and Commodity Prices


## Protectionist policies in the US would affect countries with high trade links: Mexico and Central A merica

1. Goods Exports to the United States, 2015 (Percent)

2. South America: Composition of Exports to the United States, Average over 2013-15 ${ }^{1}$ (Percent of GDP)


South America has lower exposure to the US -mostly through commodities-, compared with Central America and Mexico


Brazil, Argentina and Chile export more manufactured goods to the US, compared to Peru and Colombia
3. Manufactured Exports to the United States, $2015^{2}$ (Percent of total exports of goods to the U.S.)

## Remittances and Direct Investment from the US are also quite high, especially to Mexico

4. Remittances from the United States to Latin America and the Caribbean (Percent)


## A matrix of global risks for Latin American Countries



## Trump threats and actions

1. Trade war against China

- Immediate effect: financial market volatility, postponment of investment decisions and reduction of capital flows to emerging markets
- Potential effects: slowdown of US and China trade and growth; slowdown of global trade; reduction of commodity prices; weakening of multilateralism (WTO, IMF)

2. Threats against Mexico, NAFTA, immigration

- Observed effects in México: reduction of investment and capital flows ; currency depreciation and rise in inflation; rise in interest rates; growth slowdown
- Potential effects: reduction of NAFTA trade; reduction in remittances to México; loss of competitiveness of some US manufacturing sectors; further growth slodown in México

3. Trump tax reform

- US: higher short term investment but higher future uncertainty , due to higher public debt
- LA: reduction of FDI; some capital outflows; policy dilemmas (lower corporate taxes vs fiscal sustainability)

The key challenge going forward:
productivity growth

## The key long term challenge: closing the productivity gap



Fig. 1.1 TFP relative to the United States (1960-2013) (Sowrce: FernándezArias 2014)

## Growth in Latin America has been driven by capital and laborgrowth, not by total factor productivity growth

Figure 1.2. Decomposition of Economic Growth in LAC and EMDE (Percent)

1. Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC)

2. Emerging Market and Developing Economies (EMDE)


Sources: Penn World Tables (PWT) 9.0; and IMF staff calculations.
Note: Ten-year rolling average of purchasing-power-parity GDP-weighted average across countries; growth rates in constant price national currency units. Total factor productivity is calculated based on the translog production function, time-varying labor shares. Labor includes number employed, years of schooling, and returns to education, as published in the PWT 9.0.

# This will have to change: as investment rates are already high in several countries.. 

Investment (\% of GDP)


## And the demographic bonus will soon be over

Population ages 15-64 (\% of total population, averages)


## Summing Up

1. The growth boom and posterior slowdown in most Latin American countries is basically explained by the cycle of commodity prices (plus high international liquidity and low international interest rates).
2. Countries that saved more in the boom (fiscal surplus and reserve accumulation), like Chile and Peru, had lower symptoms of Dutch Disease, have had to engage in less painful fiscal and monetary pro cyclical adjustments in the bust and have now lower vulnerabilities to additional shocks.
3. Venezuela and Argentina engaged in unsustainable macro policies (and anti private sector micro policies) and lost access to international capital markets (and had sharp reserve losses) well before the fall in commodity prices. Venezuela is in full implosion while the new regime in Argentina is trying to cope.
4. Brazil problems began after 2013 (fiscal relaxation and temper tantrum) and were then aggravated by the political crisis.
5. The key going forward are increases in productivity: no tale winds in the horizon and lower capital and labour growth!
