

The Evolving Role of Central Banks

By C. Goodhart

What went wrong?

CBs can create money. Inflation is a monetary phenomenon. So why is there so much difficulty in preventing deflation? We have to analyse before we can move forward.

Unconventional Monetary Measures will change relationship of CB and Treasury.

How will this relationship evolve?

What went wrong?

Relationship between base money and bank deposits broke down.

Table 1

	% change in		
	H	M	Ratio M/H
US 2009	22.5	3.7	-15.3
2010	0.6	3.6	2.9
2011	31.2	9.7	-16.4
2012	2.9	8.2	5.1
2013	39.3	5.4	-24.3
2014	5.9	5.9	0.0
Japan 2009	5.2	2.2	-2.8
2010	7.0	1.8	-4.9
2011	13.8	2.6	-9.8
2012	12.5	2.1	-9.2
2013	47.7	3.3	-30.1
2014	39.1	2.9	-26.1
UK 2009	109.7	5.6	-49.6
2010	-1.3	5.5	6.9
2011	14.0	-3.1	-15.1
2012	50.5	0.2	-33.4
2013	7.6	0.7	-6.5
2014	1.5	-0.1	-1.6
Eurozone 2009	-8.2	-0.5	8.3
2010	2.7	-0.7	-3.3
2011	25.1	2.2	-18.3
2012	22.7	3.0	-16.1
2013	-26.7	0.5	37.1
2014	-0.2	4.8	5.0

Why did this breakdown occur?

- Banks found themselves in a liquidity trap.
- Bonds,
 - public sector, interest rate risk;
 - private sector, interest and credit risk, capital.
- Loans, capital, credit risk, interest rate risk, lack of demand.

Could we have avoided the Liquidity Trap?

- Negative interest on bank reserves? But currency.
- Introduction of capital requirements could/should have been handled better in Europe.

Whither now?

- Combine easier fiscal policy with monetary policy, i.e. 'helicopter money'. Some problems.
- Penalise (or abandon) currency usage. Alternative methods.

Treasury/CB Relationships

In prior paper on 'The Changing Role of Central Banks', *Financial History Review*, 2011, I identified three stable epochs,

- a) Victorian (Gold Standard), 1840s to 1914.
- b) Decades of Government Control, 1840s to 1914.
- c) Triumph of the Markets, 1980s to 2007/8, with unstable decades, (1920s, 1970s), in between.

In stable epochs, relationship between CB and Treasury became clearly established:-

- (a) and (c), Operational independence within a well-established political context.
- (b) CB is a subsidiary of Treasury.

Intervening periods had a confused and uncertain relationship. We have again returned to such a confused period.

Reasons for Confusion

- QE, and expanded balance sheet, will enhance public sector interest rate risk, borrowing short (relative to long-term liabilities). Such risk will focus on CB.
- CE, and/or LoLR, where CB buys assets with credit risk, will expose CB to politico/economic risks. Taxpayer ultimately bears risk; can CB decide on its own what risks to take?
- Macro-pru will cause CB to become more directly involved with specific asset markets, e.g. housing, CRE. Also the effect of any quantitative control, e.g. margins and down-payments, can be mimicked by a tax/price measure. Perotti and Suarez, (IJC, 2011). What is balance between monetary macro-pru and fiscal measures? Can macro-pru be limited to bank involvement in markets, (disintermediation)?

So, the scene remains confused. Can oversight Committees help?
What do *you* think?