# Doubling Down on Failure: Subsidizing More One Way Bets?

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## Bagehot for our Time

#### New Rules for the Fed:

- Liquidity, not Solvency
- Markets, not Institutions
- Outside spread, not Inside spread
- Core, not periphery

#### **Obstacles:**

- Conventional Economic Theory
  - Banks as intermediaries—solvency/institutions not liquidity/markets, Basle III
  - Triple coincidence assumption—versus financial globalization
- Political Economy
  - Externalities frame, vs Inherent public/private hybridity (par)
  - Westphalian frame, vs Inherent money/credit hierarchy (FX)
  - Money veil frame, vs Infrastructure of market economy

## Tiering as hierarchy

- Private and Public
  - Bond markets price liquidity not just risk premia
  - Central bank collateral frameworks privilege core
- Shock absorber differentiation
  - Elasticity (credit) at top vs. Discipline (price) at bottom
  - International dimension: Core vs. periphery
- Moral Hazard therefore a particular problem of the top/core
  - Mutual reinforcement and the doom loop
    - Public/Private Hybridity (Haldane)
    - Liquidity and Solvency

### Post-GFC Financial Infrastructure

- Funding now "termed out"
  - But expanded derivative hedging, CCP risk concentration
- Interbank money markets now "secured"
  - But negative basis swap, dealer profit
- EME debt bubble: financial deepening, ex-US shadow banking
- Dealer of first resort capacity constraints
  - Pricing liquidity or barriers to entry
- Dealer of last resort capacity limitations
  - Core C6 liquidity swaps
  - Periphery Reserve Pooling, bi-lateral swaps

## State of Present Play

- Stabilization policy in the core, source of moral hazard
  - QE as shadow banking, but with assets deliberately mispriced
  - Forward guidance as a profit guarantee for dealers, liquidity risk mispriced
  - NIRP as delay of day of reckoning, survival constraint mispriced
- The challenge of "exit": war finance to peace finance
  - Reconstituting dealer of first resort, matched book vs. proprietary trading
  - Negotiating national hybridity, separation and moral hazard
  - Negotiating global hierarchy, elasticity and discipline