Shifting Global Order: **Resilience during the Transition** Markus K. Brunnermeier

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Geoeconomics & Resilience

- Economic Statecraft: The use of economic instruments (e.g., trade policies, sanctions, foreign aid, investment) to advance a country's foreign policy goals.
- Offensive: Economic Power Projection to influence other countries through its market size, technological capabilities, and financial resources.
- Defensive: Economic Security Resilience Protecting a nation's economic interests from external threats
 - Economic coercion, disruptions to supply chains, cyberattacks

Co-opetition: states compete and cooperate - strategic rivalry or alliance.

Geopolitical Shift

- Shift in **Technology**
 - Increasing returns to scale



- Shift in World Order
 - Common framework:
 - Bargain:

Multi-lateral

Bilateral

rule based transactional

- Geopolitical shift:
 - From small countries (which play "some" role in multilateral organization)
 - large countries/trading blocks To
 - Large emerging countries take on center stage



globalization specialized

Global Resilience Paradox: Finance and Trade and Finance

- Pre: Mutual interdependencies \Rightarrow to ensure peace/international stability
 - Finance: Dollar and US Treasuries at the center + Swaplines + multilateral organizations Large reserve holdings, US invests in FDI – Bretton Woods II "Balance of Financial Terror" (Summers)

"Wandel durch Handel" Trade: "Just-in-time", Global Value Chains **Trade choke** & counter choke points (# sufficiently high, exact # not relevant)

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 - Trade: "Just-in-time", Global Value Chains **Trade choke** & counter choke points (# sufficiently high, exact # not relevant)
- **Post:** individual country **Resilience** \Rightarrow less global resilience
 - Finance: Reserves (from US Dollar to gold, ...?)
 - "Just in case", autarky, self-reliance Trade: Minimize choke points
- "Local/national resilience undermines global resilience"
 - Global resilience as global common good
 - Underinvestment

"Wandel durch Handel"

From Unipolar to 5-polar World?

- Hypothesis: Unipolar world order is often followed by multipolar world with 5 poles (stable and peaceful despite of shifting alliances and rivalries). Why 5?
 - Why odd number any power is pivotal if it switches camp (assuming symmetry)
 - Why not 3?
 2:1 is not sufficiently balanced
 - Why not 7,9,...? Free-riding problem is too severe

(Münkler, Morgenthau, E.H. Carr)

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- Historical examples: always when unipolar momentum
 - After Thirty Years War: End of Vienna-Madrid Habsburg
 - Austria-Hungary, Spain, France, England, Sweden
 - After Napoleonic Wars (+ interwar periods):
 - Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, France, Germany/Prussia, Russia
- Future:
 - US, China, EU, India, Russia (or Japan)

Opponents: BRICS but transition can be thorny

(Münkler, Morgenthau, E.H. Carr)

coalition of opponents (Spain replaced by Russia, Sweden by Prussia)

Resilience in Transformational Transition Periods

From globalized world order (based on "balance of choke point threats") global "un-order" to



de-toxify

Fragmented Global "un-order" (or 5-polar)

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Roadmap

- Global Resilience Paradox
- Unipolar to multipolar world order
- Transition and Resilience
- Global Finance
 - Currency: Safe/Reserve Asset:
 - US Dollar US Treasury

New digital currencies (?) ESBies (GloSBies)

- Global Trade
 - Tariffs and choke points

Current Dominance of the US Dollar + US Treasuries



IMF calculations (data until 2023) – Gourinchas 2025

Currency: "Digital Currency Areas"

- US: Stablecoins in US \$
 - programmable tokens of social networks/industry 4.0
 - Challenge: regulating stablecoins, platform interoperability
- Europe: Digital Euro (CBDC)
 - Consumer (not industry 4.0 focused)
 - Challenges:
 - Programmable/Smart contract integration is limited
 - CBDC as legal tender undermines smart contracts further
- China: AliPay and WechatPay + Digital Yuan
 - Consumer (convenience) + connection to consumer BigTech
- EMDE: Domestic CBDCs to fend off digital dollarization
 Challenges: loss of monetary sovereignty and cheap funding



Global Finance Resilience: Flexible Exchange Rates vs. Buffers

1. Exchange Rate Devaluation

Implicit "transfer" at the expense of other countries

1. Global risk sharing arrangement (ex-ante perspective)

- Temporary & mutual
- Helps to bounce back (Phoenix miracle)
 - If debt is denominated in domestic currency (no "original sin")

2. Beggar-Thy-Neighbor

Continuously devalue

2. Fixed Exchange Rate & Buffers via Reserves

- Foreign reserves push resilience barrier further away
- In but private sector issues more foreign denominated debt
- Push risk into the tails

Global Financial Architecture

Flight-to-safe asset

US Treasury

- Risk-on, Risk-off
- Tightening of US Monetary Policy
- Cross-border capital flows to safe asset
- Exorbitant privilege to issue global safe asset
- When risk rises
 - AD can issue safe asset at low interest rate run stimulus program
 - EMDE has to pay high interest rate run austerity program
 - The "poor" countries insure the "rich" against risk shocks.
- Source of the Problem: Safe Asset (reserve assets) are **asymmetrically** supplied
 - Exorbitant privilege is not symmetrically distributed across countries

International: Flight to Safety



- Problem: Safe asset is *asymmetrically supplied* by AE
 Flight-to-safety cross-border capital flows
- Debt issues at times of global crisis
 - For AE at inflated prices eases conditions
 - For EME at depressed prices worsens conditions
- Paradox: "Poor insure rich Paradox"

Good friend analog:

- Can sell at (i) high price and (ii) low-bid ask spread in crisis times (info insensitive) 1. In personal need: (idiosyncratic risk)
- 2. In crisis times: (systematic risk/hedge)
 - Negative CAPM- β
- Precautionary savings
 - Low (cash flow) interest rate r < g "Exorbitant Priviledge"

Safe asset tautology: it is safe because it is perceived to be safe

 $P_t = E_t[PV_{r^{**}}(\text{cash flow})] + E_t[PV_{r^{**}}(\text{service flow})]$ Example: interest = 0





See Brunnermeier, Merkel, Sannikov (2020). "Debt as safe asset"

• $\frac{\mathcal{B}_t}{\mathcal{D}_t} = E_t [PV_{r^{**}}(\text{primary surpluses})] + E_t [PV_{r^{**}}(\text{service flow})]$



• $\frac{\mathcal{B}_t}{\mathcal{D}_t} = E_t [PV_{r^{**}}(\text{primary surpluses})] + E_t [PV_{r^{**}}(\text{service flow})]$

А

0

CF

0

CF

- Value come from re-trading
- Insures by partially completing markets

Α В 0 0 CF CF

Can be "bubbly" = fragile



In recessions:

• Service flow is more valuable Cash flows are lower (depends on fiscal policy)

International: Flight to Safety

- Risk-on, Risk-off
 Flight-to-safe asset
- Problem: Safe asset is *asymmetrically supplied* by AE
 Flight-to-safety

 cross-border capital flows



Two Approaches

- Approach 1: "Buffer Approach"
 - Lean against sudden stop (flight-to-safety) capital outflows

In a uni-polar world

- Precautionary Reserves
- IMF liquidity lines
- Central Banks Swap line arrangements

In a multi-polar world

- "Design" more safe assets
- Approach 2: "Rechanneling Approach" (new proposal)
 - "Global Safe Asset from & for Emerging Economies"

Official sector

(traditional)

ESBies/SBBS in Europe

Europe: ESBies/SBBS

- EU as one of the poles provides a deep and liquid safe asset market
- ESBies/SBBS (Sovereign Bond Backed Securities)



- What role does the ESM play?
- Regulatory requirements
- Europe will also enjoy "exorbitant privilege" less asymmetric supply of safe asset

China will open financial account

Euro-nomics group 2011, 2016, 2017

Emerging Economies: Rechanneling Approach with GloSBies

- Address root cause: Safe asset is supplied asymmetrically
- Create globally supplied safe asset for EME via pooling & tranching



Rechannel: Instead of cross-border Across asset classes

International: Flight to Safety

- Risk-on, Risk-off
 Flight to safe asset
- Channels back some of flight-to-safety capital flows fewer cross-border capital flows



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Trade: Response to Possible Choke/Threat Points

- Counter threat/choke points
 - Old world order before global fragmentation
 - "balance of choke points" (In Finance: Analogy to Summers' "balance of finance terror")
- Reshoring
- Friend-shoring increase trade elasticities
- Multi-sourcing (lack of coordination of others)
 Winston Churchill: "Safety and certainty in oil lie in variety and variety alone"
- Storage intertemporal substitution
 - Resilience: depends how quickly one can adapt to "attack"

Threats (opponent) vs. Risk (nature) plays worst random draw o Summers' "balance of finance terror")



Resilience management

Trade: Choke Point Analysis 101 direct production

- Elasticity of substitution (Leontief, Cobb-Douglas, Perfect Substitutes)
 - For firms: with other input goods
 - For consumers: with other consumption goods
- Time dimension: Intertemporal Elasticity of Substitution (product specific) "Le Chatelier's Principle"
 - Learn to adjust/adapt

Resilience connection

- Price stickiness leads to delayed adaptation
- Next: Choke-points in a production chain

Trade: Choke Point Analysis 101 production chain

Choke-points in a production chain



- If $\varepsilon^{1,2} = \infty$, then elasticities of substitutions of production $\varepsilon^1_{a,b}, \dots, \varepsilon^1_{c,d}$ don't matter.
- Essential consumption good, ($\varepsilon^{1,2} = 0$, Leontief): antibiotic

Production

Consumption



Choke point

Trade: Choke Point Analysis 101 production chain

Choke-points in a production chain



- If $\varepsilon^{1,2} = \infty$, then elasticities of substitutions of production $\varepsilon^{1}_{a,b}$, ..., $\varepsilon^{1}_{c,d}$ don't matter.
- Essential consumption good, ($\varepsilon^{1,2} = 0$, Leontief): antibiotic
- Universal/essential input: Microchip, oil, ..., $\varepsilon^{2,3}, \varepsilon^{3,4}$ don't matter, but systemic if essential input

Production

Consumption



Choke point

Trade: Choke Point Analysis 101

Input-output table/matrix – elasticity networks



- Do we need a mega matrix of $\frac{N^2}{2}$ cross price-elasticities?
- For first-order tail impact: large shocks lead to asymptotic impact on GDP, Drew-Becker (2023) it does **not** depend **on** but on
 - exact estimate of ε ■ *E* :
 - Links: not intensity
 - Up/down
 - Size: granularity in steady state

- only if $\varepsilon > < 1$
- existence
- how downstream

production network

- granularity/size in extreme tail scenario

Cost Efficiency, Risk- and Resilience Management

Cost efficiency:

Increasing Returns to Scale - specialization via globalization (put all eggs in one basket)

Risk Diversification:

Correlation (*coefficient*)

Resilience: **Over time**

Adaptability (adjustment cost) - scale up/down after realization - "navigate risk"

Risk management

Resilience management

Cost Efficiency, Risk- and Resilience Management

Cost efficiency:

Risk Diversification:

Increasing Returns to Scale - specialization via globalization (put all eggs in one basket) opposite of fragmentation via - reshoring, friendshoring



Correlation (coefficient) - multi-sourcing

Resilience:

Adaptability (adjustment cost) - scale up/down after realization - "navigate risk"

- prepare/invest in adaptability prior

Risk management

Resilience management

Trade Tension: Free Globalization vs. Industrial policy

- The West's best response to China's strategic industrial policy following different economic model & values
- Don't throw out rulebook, but fine-tune sophisticated response:
 - Buy cheaply subsidized Chinese products... and say "thank you" (e.g. solar panels),
 - except if
 - **current** choke (threat) point (antibiotics,...) Static: IRS that leads to permanent trade imbalance
 - Dynamic: future choke point threats loss of innovation leadership, destruction of own IRS and standard setting In this cases impose tariffs and conduct own industrial policy
 - For products for which China has already innovation leadership Impose FDI requires (similar what China did in earlier)

Conclusion: Geoeconomics and Resilience

- Change in world order
 - Interdependency: multilateral, globalization "Balance of choke points"
 - National resilience: bilateral, transactional, small countries suffer – Multipolar world
 - (Fast) transitions can hit tipping points if J-curve effect is too pronounced. Global resilience is a common good.
- Global Finance: "Balance of financial terror" & Implications for global safe asset ESBies Provide alternative for US Treasury
- Global Trade: Choke point analysis
 - Elasticity of substitution: along production chain/across network (tricky)
 - Time dimension: resilience to bounce back
 - After shock: rebuild new links
 - Prior to shocks/moves: invest in adaptability

Threat sufficient to avoid **systemic** shock (since against opponent, not nature/random)

GloSBies