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# The Global Monetary System and the Use of Local Currencies in ASEAN+3\*

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#### Abstract

When the new corona virus (COVID-19) pandemic triggered the global economic crisis in March 2020, the US dollar appreciated while the prices of many other financial assets plunged. The US dollar also appreciated in the immediate aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2008. These two episodes signify the important role the US dollar plays as an international currency and the dominant role of the US dollar and the limited use of the local currencies for international transactions, especially in Asia. Using a wide variety of data on the use of currencies for international transactions, we find that the US dollar is the predominantly important currency in the Asian region for cross-border trade, investment, finance, international reserve holding and exchange rate management. In many aspects of international transactions, the use of local currencies in the ASEAN+3 countries is underdeveloped. Recently, the Chinese renminbi is on its way to becoming one of the major international currencies. However, it is still a long way for the renminbi to become a major currency even in the Asian region.

Keywords: monetary trilemma, exchange rate regime, monetary policy, financial liberalization JEL Classification Nos. F 15, F 21, F31, F36, F41, O24

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## 1. Introduction

Unquestionably, the U.S. dollar (USD) is the most dominant international currency and the current international monetary system is based upon it. While the share of U.S. trade in global trade as well as that of U.S. GDP have been in a declining trend in the last few decades, the USD share in foreign exchange reserves has been stable, or even rising for the last decade, so has the share of the USD-zone in the world economy (Figures 1a,b; Ito and McCauley, 2019, 2020).<sup>1</sup>

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[Insert Figure 1: GDP shares of ASEAN+3, the US, the Euro Area, and the EU (% of world total)]
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Recently, when the new corona virus (COVID-19) pandemic triggered the global economic crisis in March 2020, the USD appreciated (in terms of the effective exchange rate) while the prices of many other financial assets plunged (Figure 2). As the figure illustrates, in the beginning of the global economic crisis when the infected areas were limited, at first, the Japanese yen appreciated more than the US dollars. This reflects investors' tendency to park their short-term investment in safe currencies (such as the Japanese yen and the Swiss franc) when they view investment environment as "risk-off." Once the infection became more widespread, especially to the United States, and as many countries shutdown to contain the spread of the virus, their economic situations worsened, so did financial instability loom (as shown in VIX). All these further pushed investors' desire to hold safe dollar-denominated assets such as U.S. Treasuries, contributing to further dollar appreciation (Figure 3).<sup>2</sup>

[Insert Figure 2: Effective Exchange Rates of Major Currencies and VIX] [Insert Figure 3: US 10-year Government Bond Yields and VIX]

Dollar appreciation at the time of an economic crisis is not unprecedented. When the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) broke out in September 2008, the US dollar appreciated in the immediate aftermath of the crisis. It was a surprise to many international economists, because they expected persistent current account deficit by the US prior to the crisis would cause a dollar depreciation if a crisis occurs (Krugman, 2007). Given the dire situation in the financial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As we will explain later, the USD-zone refers to the economies that try to stabilize the movements of their local currencies to various extent. The extreme example is the dollarized economy that adopts the USD as its local currency. Some countries try to stabilize the movements of their local currencies based on a currency basket in which the USD "weight" represents the extent to which the country of concern tries to stabilize its currency's movement against the USD. For more details, refer to Ito and McCauley (2019, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In late March, the panicky situation in the US and global markets worsened to the point where the dollar as the currency became most preferred even among US-dollar-denominated assets. That can be seen as the increase in the US 10-year government bond yields rose in the midst of the market panic (Figure 2) – investors tried to cash in government bonds to obtain dollar cash, pushing down the price of the government bonds and raising the yields.

markets in the aftermath of the Lehman Brothers' collapse, the dollar appreciation may have been the result of a flight to safety (Fratzscher, 2009; McCauley and McGuire, 2009), or liquidity (Rose and Spiegel, 2012), or both.

These two episodes signify the important role the US dollar plays as an international currency and how the current international monetary system is built upon the dollar. Ito and Rodriguez (2020) and Ito and McCauley (2019) among others show that the presence of the dollar has gone up since the mid-2000s.<sup>3</sup>

The flip-side of the wide use of the US dollar is the lack of the use of local currencies for international transactions. That is particularly the case for the economies in the Asian region. This means, by investigating how and why the US dollar is a dominant currency globally and in the Asian region, we can shed light on the use of local currencies, which we do in this paper.

This paper discusses the state of the global monetary system, considers the implications of the rising use of ASEAN+3 currencies for cross-border trade, investment, finance, international reserve holding and exchange rate management as nominal anchors, assesses the policy efforts made by ASEAN countries at promoting the international use of their currencies, and explores policy implications of these developments for macroeconomic, exchange rate, and financial stability.

Section 2 presents the current state of the global monetary system and shows how prevalent the use of the dollar is globally and in the Asian region. Section 3 takes a closer look at the use of local currencies in the ASEAN+3 countries. In Section 4, we discuss the policy efforts made by ASEAN+3 countries to promote the use of local currencies in regional trade and investment settlements. In Section 5, we present the policy implications of the findings from this paper. We make concluding remarks in Section 6.

# 2. The Current State of the Global Monetary System

# 2.1 The global monetary system

The global monetary system today is characterized by the dominance of the US dollar, as evidenced by such data as the dominant shares of the dollar in global foreign exchange turnovers (BIS), cross-border settlement (SWIFT), foreign exchange reserve holdings (IMF). The euro is a dominant currency in Europe but not globally. Asian currencies, such as the yen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ito and Rodriguez (2020) and Ito and McCauley (2020) analyze key-currency shares in international debt and foreign exchange reserves, respectively.

and RMB, are not even dominant currencies in Asia.

## 2.2 Asia's monetary and financial arrangements viewed from trilemma configurations

Asia is characterized by diverse exchange rate arrangements with most countries shifting away from fixed exchange rate arrangements towards greater exchange rate flexibility particularly since the Asian financial crisis of 1997-1998. Given the different degree of financial market development and the different preference towards monetary policy autonomy, the Asia countries have chosen balanced combinations of capital account openness, exchange rate stability, and monetary policy autonomy. This section explores how ASEAN+3 countries have evolved over the last 30 years in terms of trilemma configurations.

Different countries have pursued different open macroeconomic policy goals. Configuring the policy configuration is never an easy task. However, complicated policy combinations can be simply comprehended once we try to see them through the lens of the "monetary trilemma." In the hypothesis of the "monetary trilemma," or simply "trilemma," policy makers face a trade-off of choosing two out of three policy goals – exchange rate stability, monetary independence, and financial openness as shown as Figure 3 in a textbook of international macroeconomics. Since the time of the Gold Standard, different international monetary systems have attempted to achieve different combinations of two out of the three policy goals. In other words, history is full of "corner solutions". The Bretton Woods system sacrificed international capital mobility for monetary policy independence and exchange rate stability. The euro system is built upon the fixed exchange rate arrangement and free capital mobility, but essentially abandoned monetary policy autonomy of the small member countries.<sup>4</sup>

# [Insert Figure 4: Trilemma Indexes for Economy Groups]

To comprehend the development of international monetary arrangements of individually countries, researchers such as Aizenman, Chinn, and Ito (2013) and Ito and Kawai (2014) have developed a metrics of "trilemma" indexes. Here, we revise the trilemma index introduced in Ito and Kawai (2014) and update the data to 2017 for 99 countries.<sup>5</sup>

Here, we briefly explain in Appendix 1 about how the three indexes of exchange rate stability,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Countries do not always have to adopt "corner solutions," however. For example, one can implement a policy to achieve one particular side without achieving any of the remaining two, in which case one of the goals is fully achieved and the other two goals are achieved only partially. Or one can also implement a policy combination represented by a "dot" inside the famous trilemma triangle. Hence, once two of the three distances from the corners are determined, the last one can be determined, that is, knowing two policies would be sufficient to determine the policy combination.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The trilemma index in Ito and Kawai (2014) covered 90 countries for the period 1970-2010.

monetary independence, and financial openness below. However, for more detailed discussions, refer to Ito and Kawai (2014).

## 2.3 Some observations of the Ito-Kawai trilemma indexes

Figure 5 illustrates the average value of each of the three indexes for different income and regional groups of economies. We observe that high-income economies have achieved significant financial market opening over the last forty years, starting from a low level comparable to those of the middle- and low-income economies and emerging economies in the 1970s to a very high level in the late 2000s. They also seem to have changed policy priorities from the combination of relatively high levels of exchange rate stability and monetary policy independence (with limited financial market openness) during the 1970s to that of slightly lesser exchange rate stability and lower monetary policy independence. The trend toward a lower degree of monetary policy independence for high-income economies is surprising, but this is largely because of the participation by a large number of European countries in the eurozone. Essentially, most eurozone countries chose to abandon monetary policy independence in favor of maintaining a degree of exchange rate stability.

## [Insert Figure 5: Trilemma Indexes for Economy Groups]

Middle- and low-income economies have, on average, seen an increase in the level of financial market openness, which started with a low level, rose to an intermediate level in the 1980s, plateaued until the early 2000s, and fell slightly in the second half of the 2000s. They also pursued high levels of monetary policy independence and exchange rate stability over the sample period, with the level of exchange rate stability moderately declining as a trend over time.

Emerging economies exhibit patterns similar to those of the middle- and low-income economies, except that their level of financial market openness has steadily risen to an intermediate level and their level of exchange rate stability has steadily declined as a trend. It is interesting to observe that they have maintained a relatively high level of monetary policy independence. In addition, emerging economies, on average, has chosen a smaller degree of exchange rate stability than other income-groups including high-income economies.

The development of the three indexes for the Association of Southeast Nations (ASEAN) economies is somewhat similar to that of the group of emerging economies, except that the level of exchange rate stability plummeted during the Asian financial crisis and for a few years in its aftermath. Interestingly, despite the loss of exchange rate stability in the immediate aftermath of the Asian financial crisis, Asian emerging economies seem to be regaining

exchange rate stability as has been anecdotally discussed. This seems to be accompanied by a sacrifice of monetary policy independence. Not surprisingly, these economies increased the level of monetary policy independence during both the Asian financial crisis and the global financial crisis, reflecting the stabilization efforts during the turmoil. The level of financial market openness has risen in two steps, one in the mid-1980s and another in the late 1990s. ASEAN economies appear different from other middle- and low-income economies and emerging economies in that they have been on a steady path for greater financial market openness, even in the aftermath of financial crises. Nonetheless, the level of financial market openness still lags behind other emerging economies such as those in Latin America, suggesting more room for further opening.

Not surprisingly, the two biggest economies in Asia—the PRC and Japan—appear to have cast distinctively different trajectories of open macro policy combinations. While the PRC has steadily pursued exchange rate stability especially since the beginning of the 1990s, Japan has adopted a flexible exchange rate regime since the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system in the early 1970s. Japan also started liberalizing its financial markets in the mid-1980s and completed its liberalization by the beginning of the 1990s. The PRC's financial liberalization efforts, on the other hand, have been minimal as has been argued anecdotally, appearing to still have much room for further financial liberalization. Since both economies are quite large, they have tended to pursue greater monetary independence for most of the (available) sample period.

#### 2.4 The Trilemma Triangle

The most intuitive way of illustrating combinations of the three policies—monetary policy independence, exchange rate stability, and financial market openness—for a particular economy is to locate its policy combinations in the trilemma triangle as shown in Figure 4.

However, to do this, the sum of the three policy indexes must exactly equal two for every year and every country. Although we have shown that the sum of the three indexes is statistically not different from the value of two particularly for middle- and low-income economies and emerging economies, it is often the case that the sum of the three indexes deviates from the value of two for a given economy and a certain period. Hence, we make an adjustment to ensure that the sum of the three indexes is equal to two for every country and every year. Essentially, we divide each index by scalar  $B_{it}$  when  $MI_{it} + ES_{it} + FO_{it} = 2B_{it}$ , where subscript *i* refers to an economy and *t* a year.

With this adjustment, we are now able to show combinations of the three policies in the

trilemma triangle using the metrics that represent the extent of actual achievement in the three policy goals.<sup>6</sup> To our knowledge, plotting a combination of the three policies in a trilemma triangle is the first attempt in the literature of international macroeconomics.

Figure 6a shows the trilemma triangles with the converted three indexes for three five-year periods: 1986–1990, 2001–05, and 2016–2017, and for different economy groups: high-income economies, emerging economies, and the ASEAN+3 economies (ASEAN plus the PRC, Japan, and Korea).

We can make several interesting observations. Generally speaking, while high-income economies used to have a wide variety of combinations of the three policies, these economies moved toward higher degrees of financial market openness over time. By the 2000s, there are two types of high-income economies: one group composed of economies that have pursued higher levels of financial market openness and exchange rate stability, most notably the eurozone economies, and the other composed of economies that have achieved greater degrees of monetary policy independence and financial market openness, with greater exchange rate flexibility, such as Germany, Iceland, Scandinavian countries, Japan, and Australia. From a casual observation, high-income economies seem to be able to achieve 'corner solutions,' which may be achievable only by countries equipped with high levels of institutional development and market credibility. As we show below, such 'corner solutions' are rare among middle- or low-income economies.

While most of the high-income economies have steadily increased the level of financial market openness, this is not generally the case for emerging economies. As in the second half of the 2000s, three groups of emerging economies are noticeable: one group composed of economies with full monetary policy independence but with varying degrees of exchange rate stability and financial market openness; the second group with full exchange rate stability but with varying degrees of monetary policy independence and financial market openness; and the third with intermediate levels in all three policy choices.

Among the ASEAN+3 economies, starting from the combination of relatively stable exchange rates and relatively independent monetary policy, that is, the left-bottom corner of the triangle, many economies tried to retain monetary policy independence while giving up exchange rate stability to some degree, partly reflecting the abortion of fixed exchange rate regimes in the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis. As of the last few years, there seems to be a wider variety of policy combinations among the ASEAN+3 economies with some clustering in the middle of the triangle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For more details, refer to Ito and Kawai (2014).

# [Insert Figure 6a: Trilemma Triangle—Economy Groups]

Figure 6b illustrates the trilemma triangles for individual economies in Asia. The values of the trilemma indexes are five-year averages, and the year in the triangle refers to the last year of the five-year periods. As has been discussed widely, we can confirm that the PRC has maintained high levels of exchange rate stability and monetary policy independence, by limiting financial market openness. Despite the government's announcement to increase the level of exchange rate flexibility in 2005, the triangle plot suggests that the country has retained de facto rigid fixed exchange rates without significant openness of its financial market. Other Asian economies, on the other hand, seem to have reduced the level of exchange rate stability after the Asian financial crisis though they also seem to have continued to retain monetary policy independence. Emerging Asian economies do not appear to have been as financially open as has been discussed. Interestingly, many Southeast Asian economies appear to have increasing the level of financial market openness.

[Insert Figure 6b: Trilemma Triangle—Individual Asian Economies]

# (3) Challenges of US dollar dominance

The importance of the US dollar and the Federal Reserve has been noted at the times of the Lehman shock and then the COVID-19 crisis. Immediately after the Lehman shock the global economy faced the dollar liquidity shortage, the Fed extended temporary dollar liquidity swap arrangements to 14 foreign central banks between December 12, 2007, and October 29, 2008, and the arrangements expired on February 1, 2010.<sup>7</sup> After the outbreak of COVID-19, the Fed decided to reopen dollar liquidity swaps to 9 central banks (Australia, Brazil, Rep. of Korea, Mexico, Singapore, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and New Zealand) in addition to the 5 central banks (Canada, Euro Area, Japan, Switzerland, and the UK) with which the Fed has permanent swap arrangements with. Also, for those central banks that do not have swap agreements, the Fed also created a new for foreign and international monetary authorities (FIMA), that allows central banks to exchange their US Treasury bills for dollars through a repurchase agreement.

Aizenman and Pasricha (2010) find that financial and trade exposure to the US are deciding factors for emerging market economies to receive swap lines from the Fed. That means that while the U.S. providing swap lines to economies seems altruistic, its decision is driven by the

<sup>7</sup> https://www.federalreserve.gov/regreform/reform-swaplines.htm

motive to secure national interest. Also, by having a repurchase agreement that involves U.S. Treasuries, the FIMA facility is designed to favor those economies that already have high volumes of dollar-denominated assets, which also suggests the FIMA is not purely driven by an altruistic motivate as the country that issues the most dominant international currency.

Aizenman, Ito, and Pasricha (2021) assess the dollar liquidity provision by the U.S. as well as other countries during the COVID-19 crisis. They find that the FRB motivation of reactivating swap agreements with nine economies is driven by these economies' close trade ties with the U.S. Higher U.S. bank and trade exposure to a country increases its access to dollar liquidity lines through the swap arrangements and the new repo facility whose capability is based on its reserve holding. Access to dollar liquidity also reflects global trade exposure.

Asia's and the rest of the world's reliance on the US dollar poses significant challenges for emerging economies in the form of volatile capital outflows in dollars and currency crises at a time like the COVID-19 crisis. Several options to address this issue have been proposed, such as the transformation of the US Fed into a global central bank, the promotion of the SDR as a major reserve asset, and the creation of a global single currency. One of the approaches to be taken by ASEAN+3 would be to create a new monetary and financial system based on regional currencies.

## 3. Use of Regional Currencies in ASEAN+3 Countries

This section examines the extent of, and progress towards, the use of regional currencies for trade, investment, finance, international reserve holding, and exchange rate management as nominal anchors in the ASEAN+3 region. It evaluates the current state of regional currency use and attempts to identify factor impeding the use of regional currencies for economic and policy purposes.

# (1) Trade invoicing and settlement

Different roles of money reinforce one other (Krugman (1984)). Gopinath (2015) has pointed to the dollar's outsized role in the invoicing of half or more of international trade. Gopinath and Stein (2018a,b) and Ito and McCauley (2020) have found that the currency of trade denomination lines up with the cross-section of the currency denomination of FX reserves. Dollar trade invoicing encourages exporters (especially commodity exporters) to borrow dollars to hedge and importers to borrow dollars for working capital. Servicing dollar debts tilts trading towards the dollar, encouraging reserve managers to hold dollars.

Figure 7 illustrates the shares of the use of the U.S. dollar in export invoicing for individual countries compared to the shares of the countries' exports to the United States in the countries' total exports.<sup>8</sup> The figure presents how economies are more reliant on the dollar for international trade than trade relationships with the US suggest. It makes it clear that the dollar retains a dominant role. If the U.S. dollar did not play a dominant role, we would expect the dollar invoicing share in export transactions of countries to be proportional to the share of the United States as a destination of countries' exports.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the figure clearly shows that countries invoice their exports in dollars much more than proportionally to the share of their exports to the United States.

[Insert Figure 7: U.S. Dollar as the Vehicle Currency, 2014–18]

Among East Asian countries, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, and Thailand publicizes detailed data on currency choice for trade invoicing (Figure 8). Using the data, we can make several interesting and important observations about the patten of currency choice for trade invoicing.

[Insert Figure 8: USD and home currency shares in exports for Indonesia, Japan, Korea, and Thailand]

First, as it has been anecdotally argued, East Asian economies rely heavily on the dollar for international trade. While Japan invoices about half of its exports in the US dollar, Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand invoice their exports mostly in the US dollar. While there is a slightly declining trend, the share of US dollar export invoicing has been consistently high around 80 to 90% for the time period available for these three countries. The US dollar share is slightly lower for import invoicing, hovering around 75% but showing no sign of declining trend.

Second, naturally, the shares of the home currencies in both export and import invoicing are very low for these three East Asian economies. The share of Thai baht for export invoicing has been in a rising trend; its share is reaching about 20% in 2018. However, that is an exception. That is typical for emerging market economies.

Third, while the US dollar share for Japan's exports is lower than that of Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand, the US dollar share is still high for exports considering that the Japanese yen is one of the international currencies and is high for imports at the levels comparable to those of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> We use the dataset of Ito and Chinn (2015) and Ito and Kawai (2016) and the updates in Ito and McCauley (2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> A comparable figure for the euro, that presents the euro shares in export invoicing against the shares of the countries' exports to the eurozone, would show many scatter points are around the 45-degree line, that suggests the use of the euro for export invoicing proportionally reflects the share of eurozone-bound exports in total exports (Ito and Kawai, 2016).

other three East Asian economies. Despite the rapid rise in yen invoicing for export in the 1970s, the share of yen invoicing for import reached only 3% by the end of the decade. From the mid-1980s, however, the share of yen in export invoicing stopped rising and hovered at around 35-40%, and the share of the U.S. dollar hovered at around 50%. In contrast, the share of yen in import invoicing continued to rise and stabilized at around 20-25%, while the dollar share remained higher at around 70%. Overall, although Japan relaxed regulatory controls on the use of the yen for cross-border transactions in the first half of the 1980s, one does not observe an upward shift in the use of the yen for export or import invoicing. Despite the policy efforts of encouraging yen internationalization in the 1990s, the currency has failed to become the dominant invoicing currency even for Japan's own trade.

Japan, Thailand, and Korea offer disaggregated data that allow us to observe major currency shares in trade invoicing for different trading partners, which we show in Figures 9 (a) through (c) only for the share of the US dollar and the home currencies of the three economies. These figures reconfirm that it is the US dollar that plays the dominant role in international trade in the Asian region.

According to Figure 9 (a), Japan uses the US dollar to denominate about 85% and upper 70% of exports to and imports from the US, respectively. The remaining exports and imports are invoiced in the Japanese yen. Given the size of the US economy, the heavily reliance on the US dollar is not surprising. In fact, the figures for Korea and Thailand present similar pictures. The Japanese yen is used more as an invoicing currency for Japan's trade with the EU. More than half of Japan's imports from the EU is denominated in the Japanese yen whereas 30% of Japan's exports to the EU is denominated in the currency.

[Insert Figures 9 (a), (b), and (c): USD and home currency shares in exports for Indonesia, Japan, Korea, and Thailand with different destinations]

Japan's exports to the Asian region are half denominated in the US dollar and the other half in the Japanese yen. Interestingly, about 70% of Japan's exports to Asia is invoiced in the US dollar while the remaining 30% is in the Japanese yen.

Figure 9 (b) illustrates more than 90% of Korea's exports to or imports from Southeast Asia are denominated in the US dollar. 90% of its trade with China is also denominated in the US dollar. Thailand's invoicing pattern vis-à-vis ASEAN countries is similar (Figure 9 (c)). Whereas about 80 to 90% of Thailand's imports from ASEAN countries is denominated in the US dollar, 70% of its exports to ASEAN is denominated in the currency and the share has been trending down over years.

For Korean or Thai trade with Japan, the US dollar plays an important role too. Over 40% of Korea's trade with Japan is denominated in the US dollar. For the last ten years, about 50% of Korea's exports to Japan is invoiced in the US dollar. As for Thai trade with Japan, about 60% of its exports and about 45% of its imports are denominated in the US dollars.

Korea invoices 40% of its exports to and 30% of imports from the EU 15 region in the US dollars. In the case of Thailand, 70% of its exports to the EU15 countries 40% of imports from the region are denominated in the US dollar.

With these figures, it is not an exaggeration that the supply chains network in the Asian region revolves around the US dollar as the conduit for international transactions.

# (2) Capital and financial transactions – currency shares in international debt securities and bank loan liabilities

Prevalence of the use of international currency can be observed by to what extent a currency is used as the currency of denomination for international debt securities. Economic agents store part of their wealth in fixed income securities or share risk by holding them. The governments, financial institutions, and corporations issue debt to have access to capital for their operations and investment.

However, many researchers have examined the inability of countries to issue local currency debt internationally (Calvo and Reinhart, 2002; Eichengreen et al., 2002; Hausmann and Panizza, 2003, 2010; Ize and Levy-Yeyati, 2003; and Chang and Velasco, 2006). Issuing debt in foreign currencies can make a country more vulnerable to external shocks due to potential currency mismatch. This inevitable financial instability from overreliance on hard currencies comprises part of the "original sin."

Figure 10 (a) illustrates that the reliance on the dollar for the issuance of international debt securities is high for ASEAN countries since the mid-1990s.<sup>10</sup> To some extent, Korea's use of the dollar for debt denomination traces that of ASEAN countries. To a less extent, China follows the trend, but it lowered the extent of reliance on the dollar in late 2000s through early 2010s, during which time the country increased the issuance of international debt securities denominated in the Japanese yen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> We use a dataset compiled by the BIS on international debt securities that contains information on the shares of individual currencies in debt denomination.

[Insert Figure 10 (a): Major currency shares in international debt securities] [Insert Figure 10 (b): USD shares in international debt securities by sector]

Japan issues its international debt in its own currency compared to ASEAN countries, Korea, and PRC. However, considering that the Japanese yen has stood as one of the major currencies for many decades, the share of the currency for debt denomination could be higher. ASEAN countries and Korea barely issue international debt in their own currencies while China increased the share of RMB-denominated debt in the late 2000s and early 2010s.

The high reliance on the dollar among the ASEAN countries and Korea is persistent across different sectors (Figure 10(b)). As for Japan, both financial and non-financial sector reduced their reliance on the dollar for debt denomination since the 1990s, though the financial sector rapidly increased international debt denominated in the dollar in the last decade.

The financial and nonfinancial sectors in China are rather persistently high like ASEAN countries and Korea. China used to issue a large amount of dollar-denominated international deb, but after the late 2000s, the dollar share plummeted.<sup>11</sup>

As was in the case with international debt securities, international currencies could play an important role in cross-border bank lending as well. Figure 11 (a) present major currency shares in bank loan liabilities based on the BIS data.<sup>12</sup> Figure 11 (b) illustrates the currency shares in bank loans for the banks as the ultimate borrowers whereas Figure 11(c) illustrates the shares in bank loans for the nonfinancial corporations as the ultimate borrowers.

[Insert Figure 11 (a): Major currency shares in bank loan liabilities] [Insert Figure 11 (b): Major currency shares in bank loan liabilities to banks] [Insert Figure 11 (c): Major currency shares in bank loan liabilities to non-financial corporations]

The dollar shares for bank loans to ASEAN countries are in a moderately rising trend, which is mainly because yen-denominated loans were replaced by dollar-denominated ones. The declining trend of the Japanese yen shares can be observed for not just ASEAN countries, but also Korea and PRC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Part of dollar-denominated debt must have been replaced by yen- or RMB-denominated debt. However, the BIS database does not have the share of the domestic currency or the yen for disaggregated debt at the sectorial level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> We use the BIS international banking data by location. This dataset reports 47 countries' assets and liabilities vis-a-vis more than 190 countries. For data on international bank *liabilities*, we use the bank *assets* of the reporting countries vis-à-vis the sample countries.

The dollar shares in bank loans to nonfinancial corporations are generally higher than those to banks for ASEAN, Korea, and PRC. For bank loans to nonfinancial corporations, the Japanese yen is not used as the currency of denomination.

## (3) Exchange rate management

Countries often try to stabilize their currency movements against a certain hard currency. The main motive for that is by stabilizing its currency against a hard currency, cross-border investing and borrowing in a hard currency incurs less currency risk than doing so in other currencies. In other words, belonging to a certain "currency zone" would allow the country of concern to receive stable income from investing in financial assets denominated in that currency. In this sense, we show below that many Asian economies belong to the US dollar zone by utilizing the estimation framework popularized by Frankel and Wei (1996).

In the last section, we used the adjusted R<sup>2</sup> from the rolling Frankel and Wei estimation as the measure of exchange rate stability. As we already explained, the estimated coefficient,  $\hat{\beta}_{i\hbar}$  in equation (1) represents the weight of major currency *h* in the implicit basket. In other words,  $\hat{\beta}_{i\hbar}$  represents the extent to which a country of concern stabilizes the movement of its own against vis-à-vis major currency *h* or to which the country of concern belongs to the currency zone of major currency *h*. Hence, we use  $\hat{\beta}_{i\hbar}$  from the last section to investigate how policy makers stabilize their currencies' movements against the US dollar, to what extent they belong to the dollar zone.

Now, let us examine to what extent ASEAN+3 countries belong to the dollar zone.

Figure 12 illustrates ASEAN countries persistently belong to the dollar zone during the sample period. Despite some cyclicality in the average estimated weights, since the late 1970s, the USD weight hover around 0.60 to 0.80 while the EUR weight hover around 0.05 to 0.30. For both series, there is no definitive trend.

[Insert Figure 12: Estimated currency zone weights - ASEAN, China, and Korea]

China has belonged to the dollar zone persistently, but interestingly in the last two years of the sample period, the dollar weight plunged to around 0.45 while the EUR weight spikes *up* to about 0.40. There is already a decline in the USD weight in the last few years of the 2000s and the first few years of 2000s, reflecting the decision by the People's Bank of China to adopt a currency basket system in 2005, but the extent of the decline in the USD weight is much smaller (down to around 0.90).

## 4. Conclusion

The recent breakout of the COVID-driven economic crisis turned out to be another reminder that our international monetary system is still built around the U.S. dollar. As was the case at the time of the Global Financial Crisis, the COVID-driven economic crisis involved a rapid rise in the value of the U.S. dollar because global investors increased their demand for safe assets.

As a matter of fact, we do not need an economic crisis to feel how dominant the U.S. dollar is. In many aspects of international transactions, the U.S. dollar is the most credible, convenient, and liquid currency in the world.

The high level of reliance on the dollar is especially prevalent in the developing world. The dollar dominance among countries also means the lack of the use of local currencies for international transactions. This generalization applies to the ASEAN region, and even bigger East Asian economies such as Japan, PRC, and Korea.

In this paper, we use a wide variety of data and show that the U.S. dollar is the most dominant currency in many aspects of cross-border financial transactions such as cross-border trade, investment, finance, international reserve holding, and exchange rate management. It is clear that the ASEAN+3 countries are highly reliant on the dollar in international finance. That suggests that the use of the local currencies is quite limited in cross-border financial transactions.

We started our comparison of the ASEAN+3 economies with others using the famous 'monetary trilemma' hypothesis – policy makers face a trade-off of choosing two out of three policy goals: exchange rate stability, monetary independence, and financial openness. From this perspective, we found that the ASEAN countries have gradually increased the level of financial openness over the last five decades. Along with that, some economies have chosen the path of retaining monetary independence but giving up a certain level of exchange rate stability while other economies have decided to retain exchange rate stability but giving up some degree of monetary independence.

We also showed the ASEAN countries persistently belong to the dollar zone during the sample period. Consistent with that, East Asian economies have relied heavily on the dollar as an invoicing currency in international trade, which also applies to large economies such as China, Japan, and Korea. Interestingly, among Asian economies, the trade bounded for the other Asian region or the EU has been invoiced mainly in the U.S. dollars, suggesting how important a vehicle currency role the dollar plays in international trade.

In other international transactions involving international debt securities and bank loans, the U.S. dollar share has been persistently high for the ASEAN+3 economies while the role of Japanese yen has been declining.

All these findings suggest that the U.S. dollar is the predominantly dominant currency in the Asian region, and also that the local currencies are not widely used for international transactions. High reliance on the dollar for international transactions and the inability to get financed in their own currencies are typical of developing countries, that applies to not only the ASEAN economies but also China and Korea, and even Japan to some extent. Dollar-centric international finance keeps the economies vulnerable to spillover effects emanating from the U.S. As long as developing and emerging market economies are exposed to the global financial cycle (Rey, 2013), a change in the economic conditions or economic policy of the U.S. could easily sway the economic conditions of the peripheral economies.

In order to shield themselves from the shocks from the U.S., the economies in the Asian region should consider adopting a reginal currency or a basket of currencies (e.g., the ECU before the introduction of the euro) specialized for international settlements. That could also allow the economies in the region to have access to liquidity when they face a financial stability. However, given the political and geopolitical situations in the Asian region, realistically, it is not feasible to introduce a regional currency or basket any time soon.

However, the ASEAN+3 can and should promote currency cooperation in a way that would encourage the use of local currencies or some key regional currencies (i.e., yen, yuan, and won) in the region. For example, the economies in the Asian region can encourage each other to settle bilateral trade in the yen, yuan, or won. Or, they can encourage mutual holdings of sovereign bonds denominated in the currencies of the parties or the key Asian currencies. Government authorities in the region should also support the further development of foreign exchange markets for the three key Asian currencies and the Indian rupee and the development of local currency denominated international bonds. These policy interventions should contribute to deepening the markets for the major Asian currencies, which can become able to provide liquidity at the time of a financial instability. Lastly, government authorities should maintain good communication and exchange of information to establish a regional current unit (i.e., ACU) or a regional currency basket.

#### Appendix 1: Construction of the Trilemma Indices

Here, we briefly explain how the three indexes of exchange rate stability, monetary independence, and financial openness below. However, for more detailed discussions, refer to Ito and Kawai (2014).

#### (a) Index for Exchange Rate Stability

To construct the index for exchange rate stability (ES), we employ the widely-used method of Haldane and Hall (1991) and Frankel and Wei (1996),<sup>13</sup> using the following estimation model:

$$\Delta e_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta_{iUS} \Delta e_{US_t} + \beta_{iJP} \Delta e_{JP_t} + \beta_{iER} \Delta e_{ERt} + \dots + \beta_{iH} \Delta e_{H_t} + \varepsilon_{it}.$$
(1)

Here,  $e_{ht}$  is the nominal exchange rate of the home currency (h = i), the US dollar (h = US), the yen (h = JP), the euro (h = ER); or the deutsche mark [DM] before the introduction of the euro), and other major currencies, all against the Swiss franc as the numéraire currency.<sup>14</sup> The major currencies on the right-hand side of the estimation equation can be thought of as comprising an implicit basket of these currencies in the mind of the home country's policy makers. Therefore,  $\hat{\beta}_{i,i}$ , the estimated coefficient on the rate of change in the exchange rate for major currency h, represents the weight of currency h in the implicit basket. If the home currency is pegged to a major currency or a basket of major currencies, it must be either  $\hat{\beta}_{ik}$  = 1 or  $\sum_{h=1}^{H} \hat{\beta}_{ih} = 1$  for the *H* major currencies included in the implicit basket.<sup>15</sup> Also, in such a case, the goodness of fit of the above estimation model must be high. If the home currency is under a floating exchange rate regime, the goodness of fit of the estimation should be low. For our purposes, we apply the estimation model to each of our sample currencies, but estimate it over rolling windows of 36 months.<sup>16</sup> In other words, the coefficients  $\hat{\beta}_{ih}$  are time-varying to reflect the assumption that the policy makers keep updating their information sets. To get more precise estimates, we conduct the estimation in two stages. First, after running the initial estimation, the estimates whose p-values are greater than 20% are dropped from the equation. When all of the right-hand side variables turn out to be statistically insignificant (with all the pvalues greater than 20%), the major currency that has the lowest p-value is retained in the estimation. We use the annual average of the time-varying adjusted R<sup>2</sup> as the measure of exchange rate stability.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Haldane and Hall (1991) applied their technique to sterling over a period that included both Bank of England management and relatively free floating, while Frankel and Wei (1996) sought to discover weights in an undisclosed official basket. Among many others, Bénassy-Quéré et al (2006), Ito and Kawai (2016), Kawai and Akiyama (1998, 2000) and Kawai and Pontines (2016) applied this method.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> In the years before the introduction of the euro in 1999, the deutsche mark is included in place of the euro. For the former French or Belgian colonies, the French or Belgian franc is instead included, respectively. <sup>15</sup> Therefore, we run the estimation with the constraint of  $\sum_{h=1}^{H} \hat{\beta}_{ih} = 1$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Our rationale is that, even when the policy maker adopts a freely flexible exchange rate regime, he or she usually has a target currency, or a base country's currency, in mind, in the same spirit as Shambaugh (2004) and Aizenman, Chinn, and Ito (2013).

For the measure of exchange rate stability, we take a two-stage approach and drop the righthand side variables whose estimated p-values are greater than 20% from the estimation equation to obtain better adjusted  $R^2$ . However, for the estimation of the currency weights, for the sake of simplicity and of focusing on the extent to which country *i* belongs to the currency zone of major currency *h*, we use the estimated  $\beta$  from the first-stage.

We convert the monthly weights into annual weights as follows. First, we exclude monthly observations of any currency that depreciates by 10% or more against the dollar to prevent outliers during currency crises from producing spurious weights.<sup>17</sup> Then, we take any significantly negative  $\hat{\beta}_{iht}$  to be a missing value, and a statistically insignificant negative  $\hat{\beta}_{iht}$  to be zero. Likewise, we take any  $\hat{\beta}_{iht}$  that is significantly greater than one to be a missing value, and a  $\hat{\beta}_{iht}$  that is insignificantly greater than one to be one. Once estimated betas outside the unit interval are thereby censored to zero or one or taken to be missing values, the average of the months becomes the annual observation. See Ito and McCauley (2019) for details.

#### (b) Index for Financial Market Openness

We present the index for financial market openness (*FO*) using the dataset compiled by Lane and Milesi-Ferretti (2001, 2007, and 2017) in the following manner. We obtain the sum of external assets and liabilities less official foreign exchange reserve assets, calculate this value as percentage ratios of gross domestic product (GDP) and of total trade (exports and imports), and then take the average of these two ratios to define an index of financial market openness as

$$FO_{it}^{*} = \frac{1}{2} \begin{cases} \frac{\text{Total Assets}_{it} + \text{Total Liabilities}_{it} - \text{Official Reserve Assets}_{it}}{GDP_{i}} \\ + \frac{\text{Total Assets}_{it} + \text{Total Liabilities}_{it} - \text{Official Reserve Assets}_{it}}{(EX+IM)_{it}} \end{cases}.$$
 (2)

This computation is somewhat different from those of other researchers. First, we subtract official foreign exchange reserve assets from total external assets as financial market openness should be driven by private investment activity rather than central bank activity.<sup>18</sup> Second, we take the average of the ratios of GDP and total trade to mitigate biases involved with the respective ratios.<sup>19</sup> Finally, assuming that developed countries as a group achieved

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Similarly, Ilzetzki et al (2019) exclude countries where annual inflation reaches 40%.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> This would make the *FO*\* index smaller for economies with large reserves, most typically, the People's Republic of China's index

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Normalizing the sum of total assets and liabilities, net of reserves, by GDP would make the resultant index unnecessarily small for large economies such as the United States or extremely large for international financial

full financial market openness as of the late 1990s, we normalize the above  $FO^*$  by the 1995– 1999 average of  $FO^*$  for the developed countries, or  $FO^*_{DEV}$ , the latter of which we regard as the highest level of financial market openness. In addition, when the observed value for  $FO^*$ exceeds  $FO^*_{DEV}$ , we have defined  $FO^*_{it} = FO^*_{DEV}$ . That is,

$$FO_{it} = \frac{FO_{it}^*}{FO_{DEV}^*} \quad \text{where } 0 \le FO_{it} \le 1 .$$
(3)

The resultant fraction *FO* is an index between 0 and 1, and we treat it as the index for financial market openness.

#### (c) Index for Monetary Policy Independence

For the index for monetary policy independence (MI), we estimation the following set of three equations:

$$\Delta i_{it|t-12} = \gamma_{it} \Delta i *_{it|t-12} + \varphi_{iyt} \tilde{y}_{it} + \varphi_{i\pi t} \tilde{\pi}_{it} + \varphi_{iy_G t} y_{G t} + \varphi_{ioil\pi t} oil\pi_{it} + D_i' \Phi_D + \varepsilon_{it}^I, \quad (4)$$
  

$$\Delta i_{it|t-12} = \varphi_{iyt} \tilde{y}_{it} + \varphi_{i\pi t} \tilde{\pi}_{it} + \varphi_{iy_G t} y_{G t} + \varphi_{ioil\pi t} oil\pi_{it} + D_i' \Phi_D + \varepsilon_{it}^{II}, \quad (5)$$
  

$$\Delta i_{it|t-12} = \gamma_{it} \Delta i *_{it|t-12} + D_i' \Phi_D + \varepsilon_{it}^{III}. \quad (6)$$

Here,  $\Delta i_{it|t-12}$  and  $\Delta i *_{it|t-12}$  refer to the change in the home and foreign interest rates, respectively, over a 12-month period. The foreign interest rate is the weighted average of the interest rates of the major countries whose currencies are included in equation (1) with the weights based on the coefficients  $\hat{\beta}_{i\lambda}$  from the above exercise for the exchange rate stability index. The variable  $\tilde{y}_{it}$  is a proxy for the output gap measured by the year-over-year growth rate of industrial production;  $\tilde{\pi}_{it}$  is a proxy for the inflation gap measured by the year-over-year rate of change in the consumer price index (CPI);  $y_{Gt}$  is a proxy for the world's output gap measured by the weighted average year-over-year growth rate in industrial production of the countries in the Group of Seven (G7) and BRIC (Brazil, the Russian Federation, India, and the People's Republic of China (PRC)); and  $oil\pi_t$  is the year-over-year rate of change in the price of crude oil. *D* is a vector of dummies to control for high- or hyper-inflation.

These three equations differ among each other depending on whether the foreign interest rate  $\Delta i *_{it|t-12}$  is included to explain the home interest rate (equations 4 and 6) and whether factors other than the foreign interest rate—such as domestic factors ( $\tilde{y}_{it}, \tilde{\pi}_{it}$ ) and global factors ( $y_{Gt}, oil\pi_t$ )—are included (equations 4 and 5).

centers such as Ireland, Luxembourg, Singapore, and Hong Kong, China. Normalizing the sum of total assets and liabilities, net of reserves, by total trade volume, on the other hand, would make this index too small for economies that are highly open to international trade, such as Malaysia. Hence, we take a middle course by obtaining the average of the two ratios.

Using the adjusted R<sup>2</sup> of these estimation models, we come up with the following two types of metrics for the level of monetary policy independence:

$$MI_{1} = \frac{Adj.R^{2} \text{ of Eq. 6 (non-}\Delta i^{*} \text{ factors only})}{Adj.R^{2} \text{ of Eq. 5 } (\Delta i^{*} \text{ and non-}\Delta i^{*} \text{ factors })}$$
(7)  
$$MI_{2} = 1 - \frac{Adj.R^{2} \text{ of Eq. 7 } (\Delta i^{*} \text{ only})}{Adj.R^{2} \text{ of Eq. 7 } (\Delta i^{*} \text{ and non-}\Delta i^{*} \text{ factors})}$$
(8)

The first metric,  $MI_1$ , is based on the view that the less explanatory power the foreign interest rate has in equation (4) and the more explanatory power other factors have in equation (5), the higher the level of monetary policy independence. Therefore, a higher value of  $MI_1$  indicates greater monetary policy independence. In contrast, the second metric,  $MI_2$ , reflects the view that the less explanatory power other factors have in equation (4) and the more explanatory power the foreign interest rate has in equation (6), the lower the level of monetary policy independence. Thus, a higher value of  $MI_2$  (or a lower value of the second term of the metric) indicates greater monetary policy independence.

Either of these two metrics or their average is used to measure the extent of monetary policy independence. It would be appropriate to focus on the explanatory power of the equations, represented by the adjusted  $R^2$ , if the vector of domestic and global factors and the foreign interest rate are orthogonal to each other. This condition cannot be ensured in general as domestic and foreign policy makers may face similar shocks and react similarly to them.<sup>20</sup> Hence, we take the following procedure for each of our sample economies. If the adjusted  $R^2$  of equation (5) is greater than that of equation (6), we use *MI\_1* as the index for monetary policy independence.<sup>21</sup> In contrast, if the adjusted  $R^2$  of equation (6) is less than that of equation (7), we use *MI\_2* for the MI index.<sup>22</sup> If the adjusted  $R^2$  of equations (5) and (6) are sufficiently close to each other, we use the average of *MI\_1* and *MI\_2* for the MI index.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> For example, when the home country is geographically close to the foreign country, thereby subject to similar shocks, the home policy maker with full monetary policy independence could behave similarly to the foreign policy maker and thus, may appear to set the home interest rate in response to the foreign interest rate. This means that even when equation (5) is the true specification, equation (6) could deliver a good fit because the foreign interest rate and the vector of domestic and global factors could be highly correlated. On the other hand, even when equation (7) is the true specification, the goodness of fit of equation (6) could still be high if home and global factors on the right hand side of (6) are highly correlated with the foreign interest rate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> In this case, we can see how much additional explanatory power the foreign interest rate would have in equation (4) compared to equation (5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> In this case, we can see how much additional explanatory power the vector of domestic and global factors would have in equation (4) compared to equation (6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> We further make additional adjustments to each of these indexes to correct the distorted or lopsided distribution of their time series. The additional adjustments are carefully explained in Ito and Kawai (2014), who also discuss statistical properties and stylized facts of the three indexes.

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#### Figure 1: GDP shares of ASEAN+3, the US, the Euro Area, and

#### Figure 2: Effective Exchange Rates of Major Currencies and VIX



Figure 3: US 10-year Government Bond Yields and VIX









### Figure 5: Trilemma Indexes for Economy Groups

Notes: The groupings of "high-," "middle-," and "low-income" economies are based on the World Bank's classifications. "Emerging economies" refer to the economies included in the MSCI Emerging Markets Index. They are Argentina; Brazil; Chile; People's Republic of China; Colombia; Czech Republic; Egypt; Hungary; India; Indonesia; Israel; Jordan; Korea; Malaysia; Mexico; Morocco; Pakistan; Peru; Philippines; Poland; Russia; South Africa; Thailand; Turkey; and Venezuela. ASEAN countries are Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet Nam (with the data for Lao People's Democratic Republic missing).

Source: Authors' estimations.



## Figure 6a: Trilemma Triangle—Economy Groups

Source: Authors' estimations.



Source: Authors' estimations.



Figure 7: U.S. Dollar as the Vehicle Currency, 2014–18



#### Figure 8: USD and home currency shares in exports for Indonesia, Japan, Korea, and Thailand

## Figure 9: USD and home currency shares in exports and imports for Japan, Korea, and Thailand with different destinations



30

## Figure 9: continued

## (b) Korea

## (c) Trade with the US

100

90

80

60

40

Trade with the EU



### Trade with China

### Trade with Southeast Asia

Trade with Japan







Trade with EU15









## Figure 10: Currency composition of international debt securities



(a) Major currency shares in international debt securities

## (b) USD shares in international debt securities by sector



## Figure 11: Currency composition of bank loan liabilities

(a) Major currency shares in bank loan liabilities



(b) Major currency shares in bank loan liabilities to banks



## Figure 11: continued

(c) Major currency shares in bank loan liabilities to non-financial corporations



Figure 12: Estimated currency zone weights – ASEAN, China, and Korea

