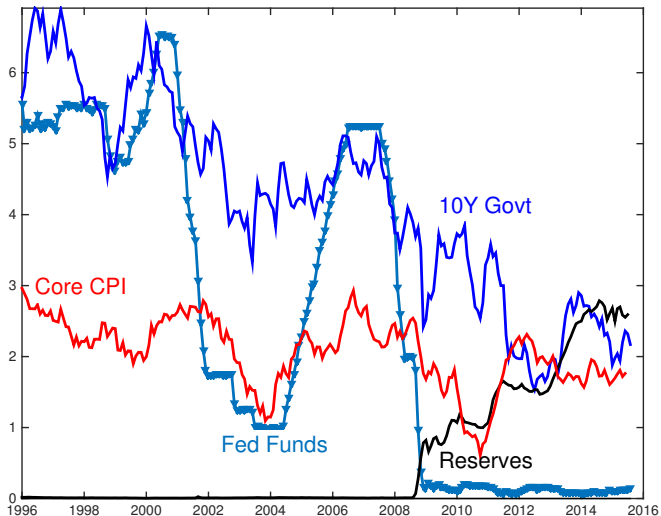


Michelson-Morley, Fisher, and Occam:
The Radical Implications of Stable Inflation at
the Zero bound
– Also –
Stepping on a Rake: the Fiscal Theory of
Monetary Policy

John H. Cochrane
Hoover Institution, Stanford University

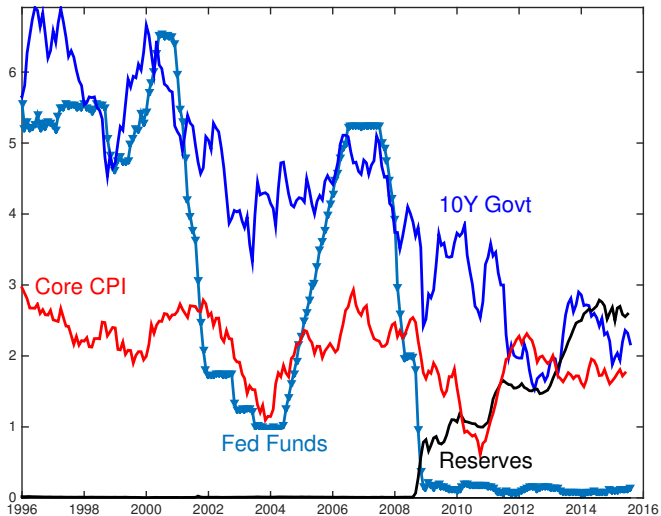
October 2017

Michelson-Morley; The long quiet ZLB



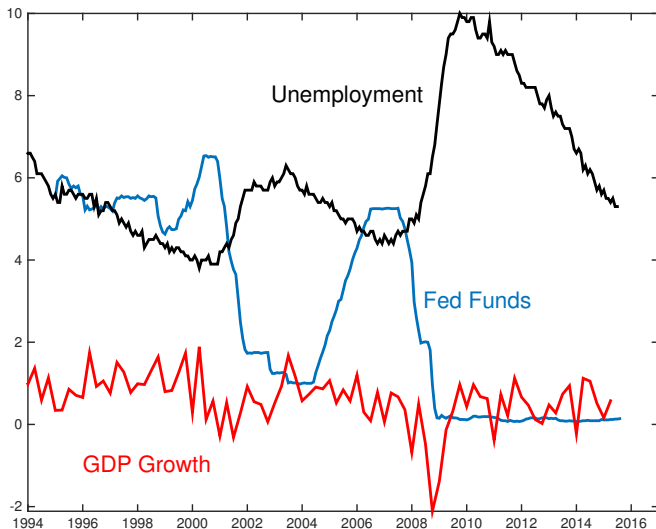
- What happens at the ZLB? *Nothing.*

Michelson-Morley; The long quiet ZLB



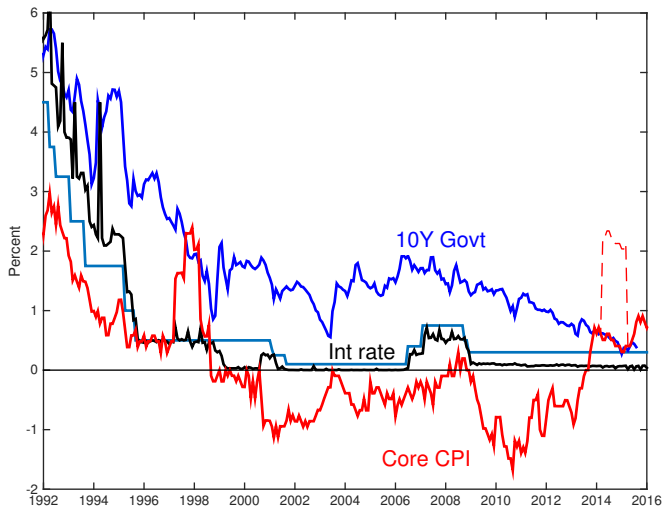
- ▶ Quiet, stable π at long period of $i \approx 0$, $\phi \ll 1$, huge M .
- ▶ No deflation spiral. No M/QE inflation. No sunspot volatility. No change in π dynamics. $\sigma(\pi)$ lower?

US unemployment and GDP



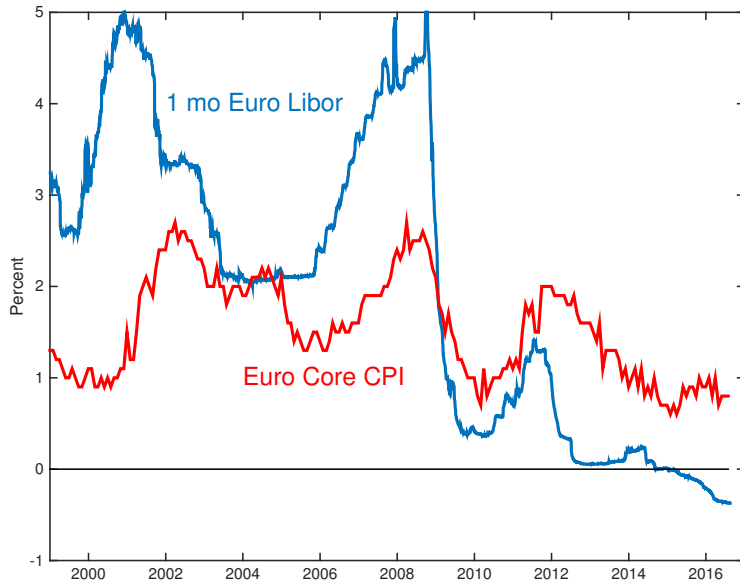
- ▶ Larger shock but same dynamics. Faster decline in u , lower $\sigma(\Delta Y)$?
 $E(\Delta Y)$ is too low, but is that monetary policy?

Japan



- ▶ 20+ years at $i \approx 0$ with no spiral, sunspot $\sigma(\pi)$.
- ▶ Spiral fear understandable in 2001.

Europe



► Lower rates \leftrightarrow lower inflation.

Core Monetary Doctrines / ZLB predictions

- ▶ Old K/Adaptive E: ZLB \rightarrow *Deflation spiral*.
 - ▶ (Friedman 68) ZLB, i peg, or passive ϕ is *unstable*.

$$\pi_{t+1} = (\lambda > 1)\pi_t + \text{shocks.}$$

- ▶ Taylor $\phi > 1$ stabilizes. ZLB $\rightarrow \phi < 1$.

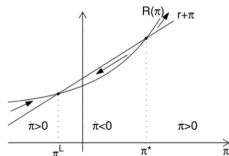


- ▶ NK/Rational E: ZLB $\rightarrow \pi$ is *stable* but *volatile*;
 - ▶ “Self-confirming fluctuations,” “sunspots.”

$$E_t \pi_{t+1} = (\lambda \leq 1)\pi_t; \pi_{t+1} = E_t \pi_{t+1} + \delta_{t+1}.$$

- ▶ Taylor $\phi > 1$ makes unstable, hence determinate.
- ▶ $\phi < 1$ volatility a core prediction. 70/80; Japan ZLB.

AVOIDING LIQUIDITY TRAPS



- ▶ $MV=PY$: ZLB, $i \approx 0$ is irrelevant. M \$50b \rightarrow \$3,000b means *hyperinflation*. Velocity is “stable.” QE “injects liquidity.”



Simple models

$$x_t = E_t x_{t+1} - \sigma(r_t - v_t^r)$$

$$i_t = r_t + \pi_t^e$$

$$\pi_t = \pi_t^e + \kappa x_t$$

$$i_t = \phi \pi_t + v_t^i$$

$$i_t = \max [r^* + \pi^* + \phi(\pi_t - \pi^*) + v_t^i, 0]$$

IS
Fisher
Phillips
Slides
Taylor

Eliminate i_t , r_t , x_t ,

$$(1 + \phi\sigma\kappa)\pi_t = (1 + \sigma\kappa)\pi_t^e + \sigma\kappa(v_t^r - v_t^i)$$

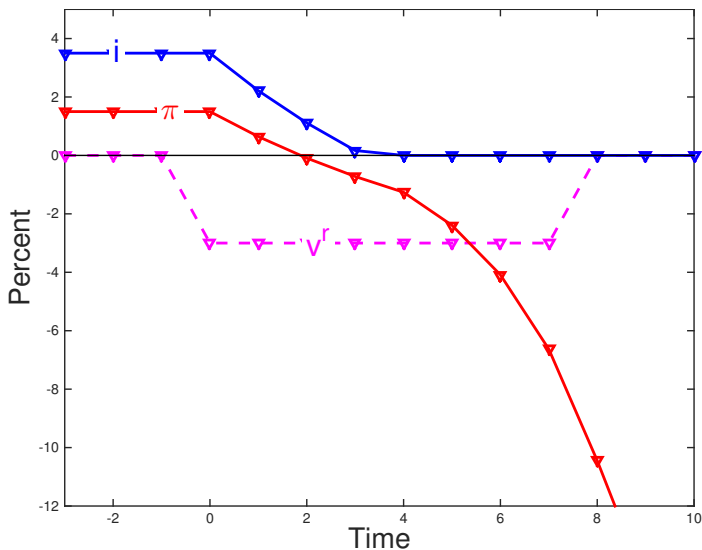
Old Keynesian, $\pi_t^e = \pi_{t-1}$; $\phi < 1$ unstable:

$$\pi_t = \frac{1 + \sigma\kappa}{1 + \phi\sigma\kappa}\pi_{t-1} + \frac{\sigma\kappa}{1 + \phi\sigma\kappa}(v_t^r - v_t^i)$$

New Keynesian $\pi_t^e = E_t \pi_{t+1}$, ; $\phi < 1$ stable, indeterminate:

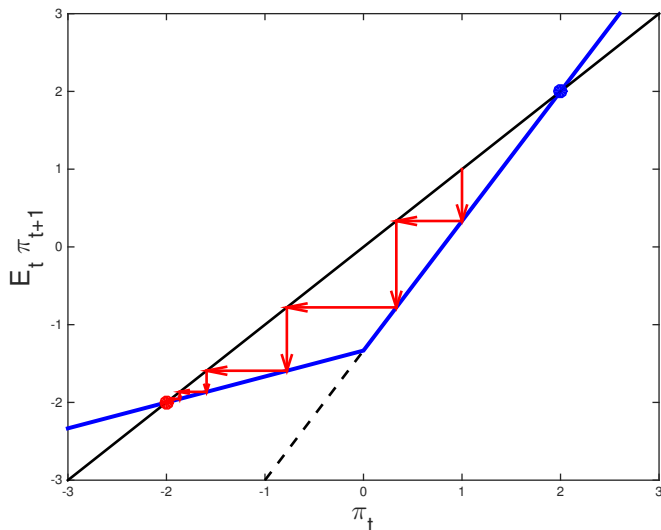
$$E_t \pi_{t+1} = \frac{1 + \phi\sigma\kappa}{1 + \sigma\kappa}\pi_t + \frac{\sigma\kappa}{1 + \sigma\kappa}(v_t^i - v_t^r).$$

Adaptive/Old-Keynesian Spiral



$$x_t = -\sigma(i_t - \pi_{t-1} - v_t^r); \pi_t = \pi_{t-1} + \kappa x_t; i_t = \max[i^* + \phi(\pi_t - \pi^*), 0]$$

Rational E / New-Keynesian stable but indeterminate



$$E_t(\pi_{t+1} - \pi^*) = \frac{1 + \phi\sigma\kappa}{1 + \sigma\kappa}(\pi_t - \pi^*) \quad / \quad E_t\pi_{t+1} = \frac{1}{1 + \sigma\kappa}\pi_t - \frac{\sigma\kappa}{1 + \sigma\kappa}r$$

Michelson-Morley

Michelson-Morley. Experiment:

- ▶ Inflation can be stable, quiet, at ZLB, $\phi < 1$. Even a peg.
- ▶ Huge excess reserves paying market interest are not inflationary.
- ▶ $\phi > 1$ vs. $\phi < 1$, ZLB, is not a key state variable for $\sigma(\pi)$, dynamics.

Implications

- ▶ ~~Old-Keynesian~~. No spiral.
- ▶ ~~New-Keynesian~~. No sunspots.
- ▶ ~~MV=PY~~. No hyperinflation.

Next theory? New Keynesian + Fiscal Theory.

- ▶ Inflation can be *stable* and *determinate*, (quiet) at ZLB, $\phi < 1$, and even a peg.

NK + FTPL

$$\frac{B_{t-1}}{P_t} = E_t \sum_{j=0}^{\infty} \beta^j s_{t+j}$$

$$\frac{B_t}{P_t} (E_{t+1} - E_t) \left(\frac{P_t}{P_{t+1}} \right) = (E_{t+1} - E_t) \sum_{j=0}^{\infty} \beta^j s_{t+1+j}. \quad (1)$$

- ▶ Unexpected deflation \leftrightarrow debt worth more \leftrightarrow raise tax/cut spending.
- ▶ (1) solves spiral, indeterminacy/sunspots.

$$\delta_{t+1} = \pi_{t+1} - E_t \pi_{t+1} \leftrightarrow \text{fiscal policy.}$$

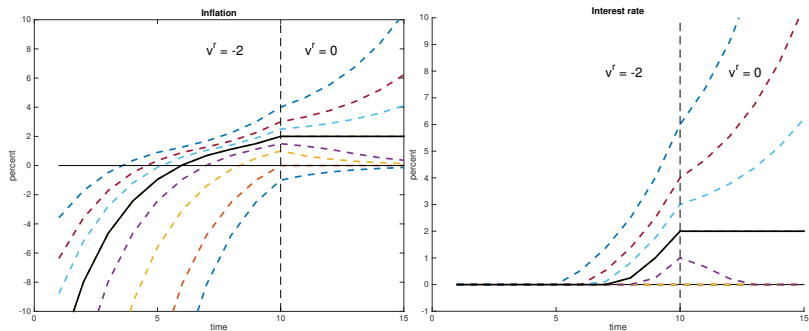
- ▶ i peg or $\phi < 1$ can be *stable* (NK) and (now) *determinate* and *quiet*.
- ▶ NK + FTPL is the only existing, simple, economic, theory left.
- ▶ Fiscal theory lite.

Occam: The (Long) Paper

What about...

- ▶ Variations to rescue instability, indeterminacy, M? (A: epicycles.)
 - ▶ Really unstable but QE offset deflation spiral?
 - ▶ NK Equilibrium selection from post-bound actions, not current $\phi\pi_t$?
 - ▶ Really active NK, not expected to last? (A: 7 Tails? Japan?)
 - ▶ Really unstable but slow to emerge (sticky wages, velocity)?
 - ▶ Reserves didn't leak to M1, M2. My point exactly.
 - ▶ More general models? (A: don't change stability, determinacy.)
- ▶ Fiscal theory objections?
 - ▶ Large deficits, debt, Japan? (A: Low r . Not deficits, debt $\leftrightarrow \pi$.)
 - ▶ Previous pegs, 1970/1980, other episodes?
(A: Fiscal problems. "A peg *can* be stable.")
 - ▶ Why is $\sigma(\pi) = \sigma(\text{E fiscal policy})$ low? ("A peg *can* be quiet")
 - ▶ "Budget constraint," debt repayment means passive fiscal?
(A: No; off equilibrium modeling just like NK.)
 - ▶ "Exogenous" surpluses? $s = \tau y$? $s(P)$? (A: No. Like dividends.)
 - ▶ Test FTPL? (A: Test $MV=PY$? $P = EPV(D)$?)
- ▶ A: Today: I only claim FTPL is *possible*, survives quiet ZLB test. I do not claim it *proved*, explains all history.

Selection by future active policy

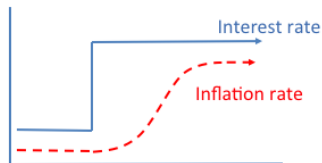


- ▶ $\phi = 0$ now, but expected ϕ in the far future can select equilibria.
- ▶ People expect the Fed to destabilize?
- ▶ Back to trap equilibria are still there.
- ▶ Puzzles. Jump at $t = 0$. Backward stable paradoxes.
- ▶ Small $\Delta E_t \pi_T$ have big effects, volatility?
- ▶ Is all monetary policy just talk about future threats? Why not 70s?
- ▶ FTPL stops jump at 0, selects benign equilibrium, solves paradoxes.

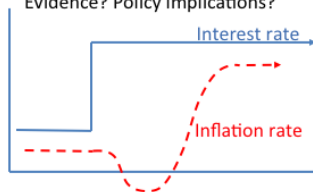
Fisher

- ▶ If π is *stable* at zero bound, hence peg, then if the Fed raises i , permanently, then π should eventually *rise*.
- ▶ Unavoidable consequence of stability.
- ▶ Vs. Friedman 1968 spiral.
- ▶ π could still decline in the *short run*. Does it?

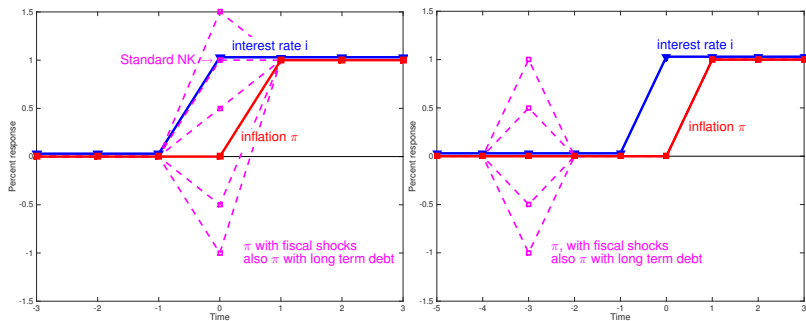
Implication of stability. Theory?



Minimum *necessary* assumptions?
Evidence? Policy implications?



Frictionless model



► Model

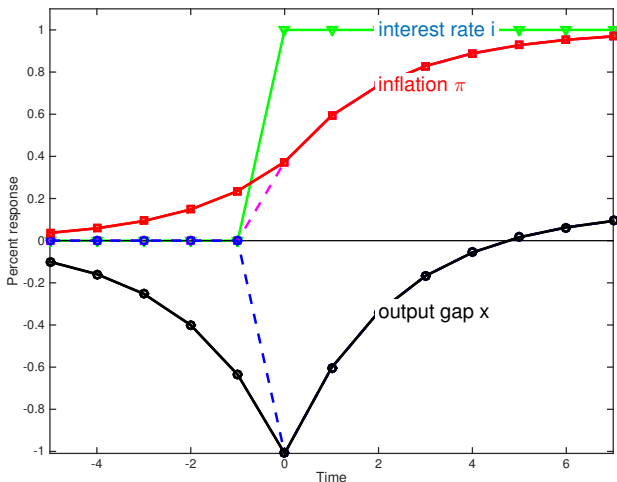
$$i_t = r + E_t \pi_{t+1},$$

$$\pi_{t+1} - E_t \pi_{t+1} = (E_{t+1} - E_t) \sum \beta^j s_{t+j} / (B/P)$$

- “Monetary policy” changes i with no change in fiscal $\{s\}$.
- Higher i raises π , immediately.

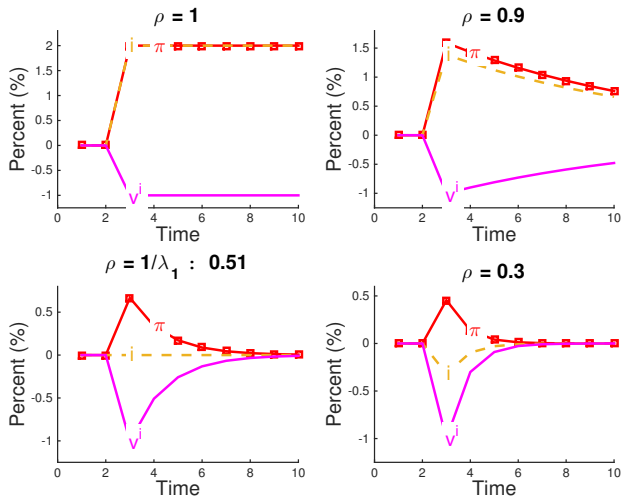
Pricing frictions give a temporary negative π ? ...

Effects of rate rise – Standard NK model with $\phi = 0$



- ▶ $x_t = E_t x_{t+1} - \sigma(i_t - E_t \pi_{t+1})$; $\pi_t = \beta E_t \pi_{t+1} + \kappa x_t$.
- ▶ Pricing frictions *do not* produce π decline.

Standard NK model with $\phi > 1$ (Woodford)



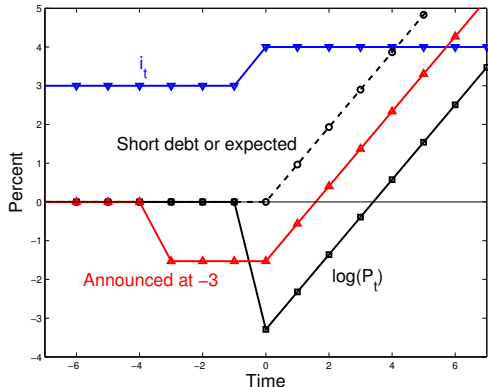
$$i_t = \phi \pi_t + v_t^i; \quad v_t^i = \rho v_{t-1}^i + \varepsilon_t^i; \quad \phi = 1.5$$

- ▶ Standard $\phi > 1$ model is even more Fisherian!

FTPL + long term debt works

Simple frictionless example.

$$\frac{\sum_{j=0}^{\infty} Q_t^{(j)} B_{t-1}^{(j)}}{P_t} = E_t \sum_{j=0}^{\infty} \beta^j s_{t+j}$$



- ▶ Higher (future) $i \rightarrow$ lower Q . P level falls.
- ▶ Just like a fiscal shock.
- ▶ Then $i = r + E\pi$ inflation rises.
- ▶ Forward guidance.
- ▶ Needs long debt and some unexpected.

The fiscal theory of monetary policy

- ▶ “Monetary policy:” Change quantity and maturity structure of debt $\{B_t^{(j)}\}$ with no change in fiscal surpluses $\{s_t\}$.

$$\frac{B_{t-1}}{P_t} = E_t \sum_{j=0}^{\infty} \beta^j s_{t+j}$$

$$\frac{B_{t-1}}{P_{t-1}} E_{t-1} \left(\beta \frac{P_{t-1}}{P_t} \right) = \frac{B_{t-1}}{P_{t-1}} \frac{1}{1 + i_{t-1}} = E_{t-1} \sum_{j=0}^{\infty} \beta^{j+1} s_{t+j}$$

- ▶ Change B with fixed s changes i . (Open market)
- ▶ Set i , how much B will sell. (i target)
- ▶ Monetary policy can set the nominal interest rate, in a completely frictionless (money, finance) economy.
- ▶ It can thereby control expected inflation.
- ▶ This actually resembles current institutions.

The fiscal theory of monetary policy II

QE:

- ▶ Example: Debt $B_0^{(j)}$, paid by surpluses s_j , no rollover.

$$\frac{B_0^{(j)}}{P_j} = \frac{B_{j-1}^{(j)}}{P_j} = s_j$$

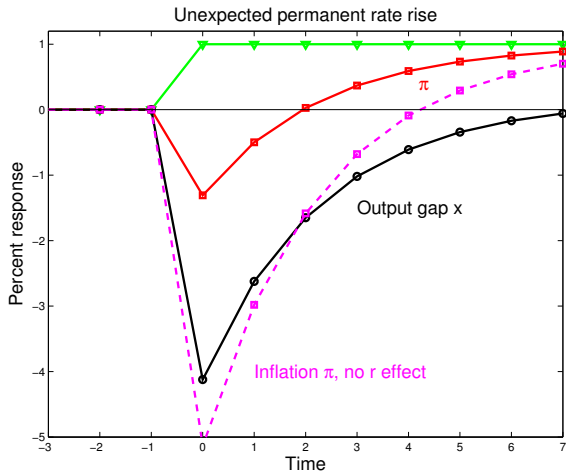
- ▶ Buy (reduce) $B_0^{(j)}$, lowers P_j , lowers long-term rate. QE!
- ▶ Also raises P_0 , QE “stimulates.”

Summary:

- ▶ A unified theory of open market operations, interest rate targets, forward guidance, and QE.
- ▶ Needs *no* frictions. May add pricing, monetary, financial, or other frictions for realistic dynamics, but not needed for basic story, price level determination.

Long term debt + fiscal theory + sticky prices

$$\frac{\sum_{j=0}^{\infty} Q_t^{(j)} B_{t-1}^{(j)}}{P_t} \approx E_t \sum_{j=0}^{\infty} \left(\prod_{k=1}^j \frac{1}{1+r_{t+k}} \right) s_{t+j}; \quad r_t = i_t - E_t \pi_{t+1}$$



- ▶ Only effect is equilibrium selection. Not shape of ir.
- ▶ More sticky \rightarrow r rises, \rightarrow PV declines \rightarrow less effect.

The Answer for negative sign?

$$\frac{\sum_{j=0}^{\infty} Q_t^{(j)} B_{t-1}^{(j)}}{P_t} \approx E_t \sum_{j=0}^{\infty} \beta^j s_{t+j}$$

Points in favor:

- ▶ → QE (twist), forward guidance, and i policy are the same thing.
- ▶ Works in totally frictionless model (money, prices).

Warnings:

- ▶ Only works for unexpected changes. Hard to justify systematic policy, “fine tuning.”
- ▶ Positive in long run. Produces 1970 failed stabilizations, not standard 1980s story. (Without a fiscal change too.)
- ▶ AD is FTPL, not IS. *Nothing* like any story told to undergraduates, FOMC.
- ▶ → The answer is yes, but not for every question.

Other approaches?....

(Long) Paper: What about..

Variations that don't work:

- ▶ Sticky prices
- ▶ Money $U(c, M/P)$
 - ▶ Only expected Δi works. Won't help VARs. Won't work in IOER. Sign helps, but off by $\times 10$ in size.
- ▶ Temporary rates.
- ▶ Backward-looking Phillips, or static IS.
- ▶ Multiple equilibria, coincident or "passive" fiscal shocks.
- ▶ Standard solution of 3 equation model.

Paper: What about..

- ▶ **More ingredients?**
 - ▶ Borrowing or collateral constraints, hand-to-mouth consumers, bounded rationality or irrational behavior, a lending channel; habits, labor/leisure, production, capital, variable capital utilization, adjustment costs, alternative models of price stickiness; informational, payments, monetary, financial, frictions; pricing or timing lags, alternatives to rational expectations (“reflective,” “k-step” expectations); non-Walrasian equilibrium, game theory,...
 - ▶ **A: If so, *necessary* as well as sufficient. The *sign* (and stability?) of M policy depends on soup, not simple economics. There is *no* honest simple story to tell undergrads, FOMC.**
 - ▶ **Yes to frictions etc.! To understand size and dynamics on top of a simple model that gets sign and stability right.**

Bottom line:

- ▶ There is no other simple, modern (rational expectations) theory, that delivers the traditional view that higher interest rates lower inflation, even temporarily.
- ▶ Is it true? VAR evidence is weak, price puzzle, includes fiscal shocks, long term debt effect.

Policy

Summary: Evidence suggests, and NK+FTPL theory digests:

- ▶ ZLB is stable, quiet. No deflation spiral, sunspots.
- ▶ \rightarrow Peg or passive $\phi < 1$ too.
- ▶ Large interest-paying reserves do not cause inflation.
- ▶ Contrary classic doctrines were wrong.

Summary: Implication

- ▶ Higher i can lead to higher π in the long run. (Neutrality.)
- ▶ Negative short run effect? No simple economic model for standard beliefs. (Only a fiscal / long-term debt channel.)

Policy: (Consequence of stability, quiet)

- ▶ Do not fear the ZLB, balance sheet!
- ▶ We *can* live the Friedman rule; Huge reserves paying market interest.
- ▶ Or, better, the Treasury can issue reserves to the rest of us. No need to keep “bonds” illiquid for price level control.

Optimal quantity of money/Balance sheet



Policy

Policy: (Consequence of stability, quiet)

- ▶ The Fed *can* keep a low peg. (Inflation then varies as r^* varies.)
- ▶ The Fed can vary interest rates to offset shocks, it's idea of r^* , to produce more stable inflation.
- ▶ The Fed *can* target the spread between indexed and non-indexed debt, thus target expected inflation, and let the level of the real rate free to respond to market forces. (Expected CPI standard.)

$$i_t = r_t + E_t\pi_{t+1} \rightarrow E_t\pi_{t+1} = i_t - r_t$$

- ▶ The Fed can offset shocks with time-varying rates/spread; fine-tune inflation / output path with negative fiscal effect or complex DSGE.
- ▶ Vs. it's stable, leave it alone, like hot/cold shower. Old “fine tuning,” “rules vs. discretion,” planning debate continues.

Policy

The Fed? Simple rules v. fine-tuning discretion continues.



CAPTAIN LYON AND HIS CREW OFFERING PRAYERS FOR THEIR PRESERVATION.

- ▶ Observed policy may not change much – Taylorish responses to output and inflation + temporary responses to shocks.
- ▶ Case for leave it alone is a little stronger.
- ▶ Foundations / strategy may change a lot. No more $\phi > 1$ equilibrium selection. Fiscal anchoring. Balance sheet. Inflation target.
- ▶ Monetary economics is now like regular economics! A simple S&D benchmark, then add frictions to taste.

Warnings

Extrapolation warning:

- ▶ NOT “lower rates to lower inflation” (Turkey, Brazil).
- ▶ Must be very persistent, credible, and with fiscal backing. (Our flight to quality came first.)

FTPL warning:

$$\frac{B_{t-1}}{P_t} = E_t \sum_{j=0}^{\infty} \frac{1}{R_{t,t+j}} s_{t+j}$$

- ▶ Fiscal policy “anchoring” comes from expectations of eventual primary surpluses, and low real rates for government debt.
- ▶ Low R , flight to quality, \rightarrow low P .
- ▶ Discount rates dominate valuation everywhere.
- ▶ Low discount rates could evaporate quickly.

The End

Extra Graphs

