



# Deficits, debts and politics: Some Lessons from Latin America

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# Road Map

1. Fiscal policy in emerging market economies: the issues
2. Chile's experience with fiscal rules
3. Recent developments: the Covid-19 crisis
4. What are the limits to fiscal expansion today?
5. Fiscal space and its limits: the case of Brazil



## The basic problem

“The economic history of Latin America  
is littered with the corpses of  
commodity booms that  
ended in disaster”

(C. Díaz-Alejandro, 1982)



# Fiscal policy in commodity-rich emerging markets: the problems

- Deficit bias and debt
- Procylicality
- Important caveat: this is not about the size of the state!



## Deficit Bias

- Drop in government net assets even when standard smoothing considerations suggest the opposite
- Consequence: inefficiently high debt



# Procyclicality

- Conventional wisdom: save in booms and dis-save in recessions
- Reality: save too little in booms or even dis-save

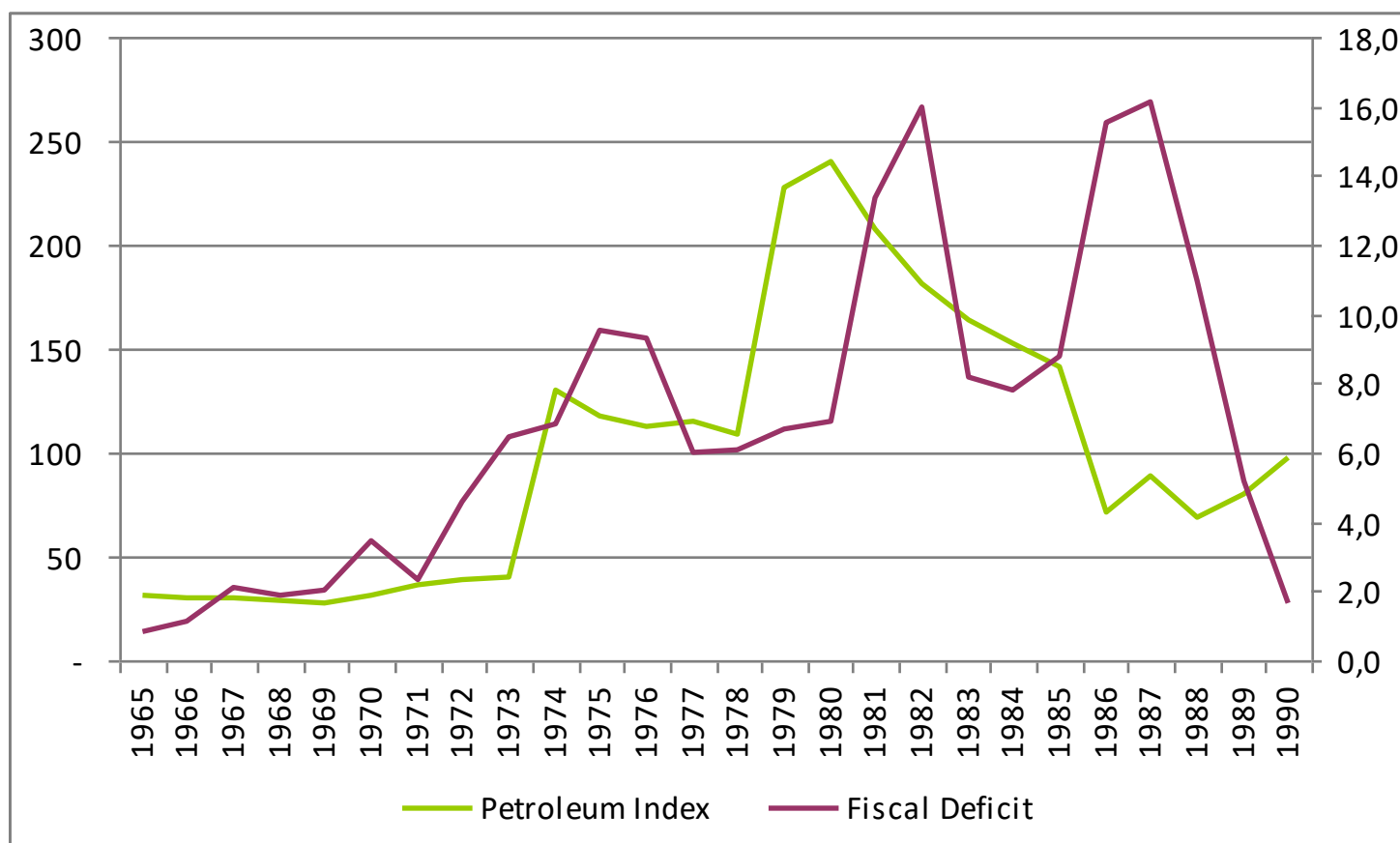


# Procyclicality among commodity exporters

- Commodity-linked revenues (taxes, royalties, profits) can be a large portion of government revenue.
- Commodity price volatility is large
- International capital flows are also procyclical: borrowing constraints are relaxed during booms.



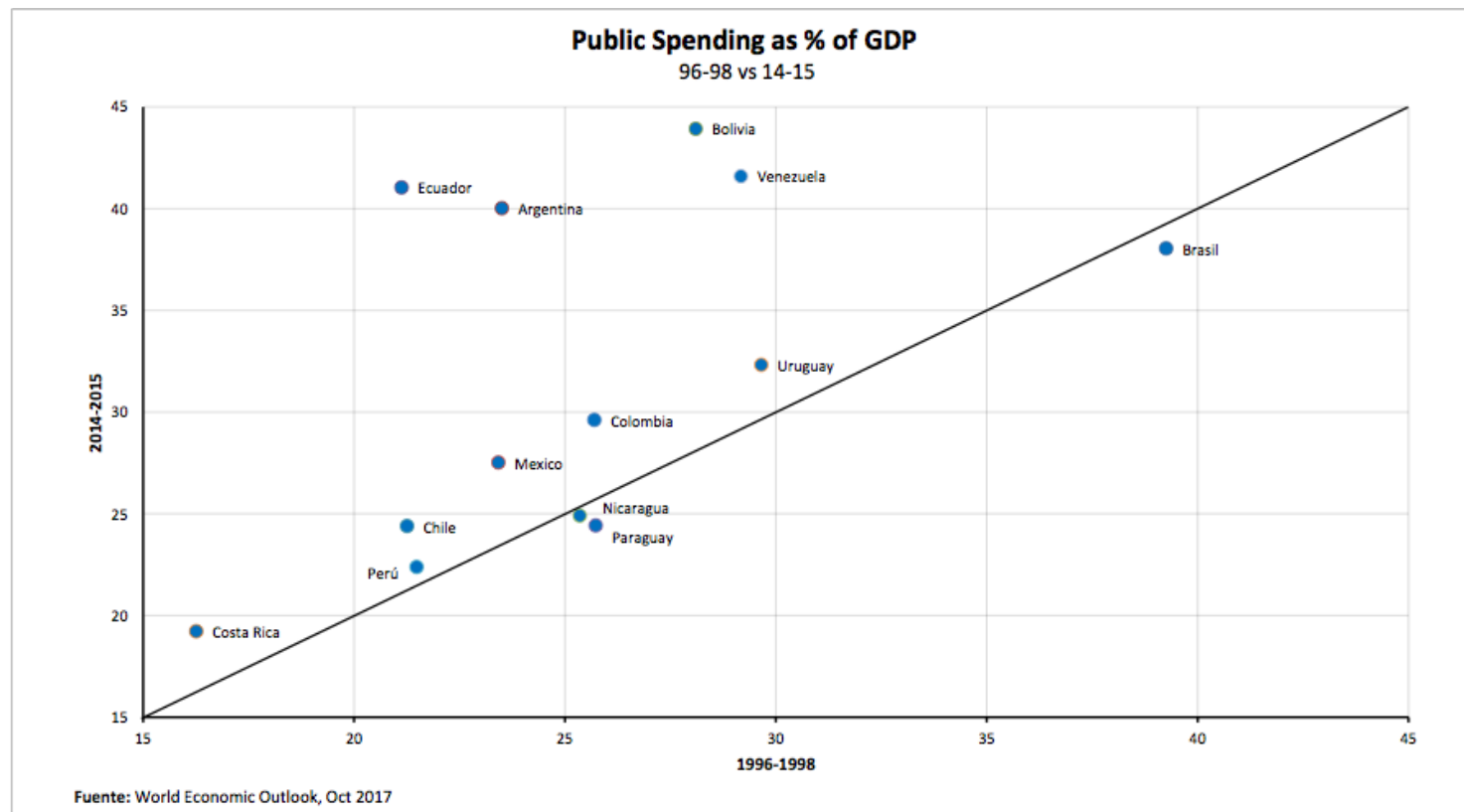
## Mexico in the 1970s: extreme example of procyclicality







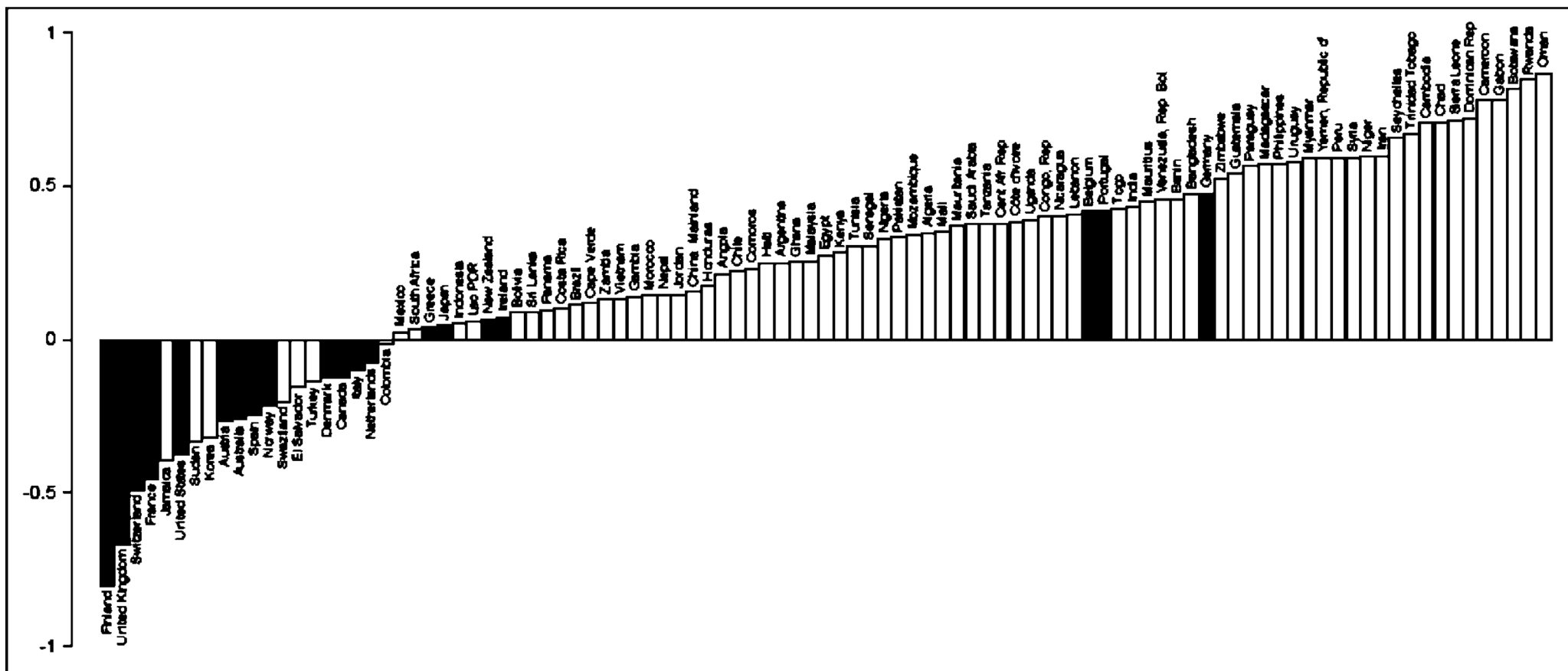
# But not just in Mexico...





# And not just in Latin America...

Correlations between Government Spending and GDP (1960-2010)





# Why fiscal procyclicality?

- Economic story: borrowing constraints are relaxed in good times, bind in bad times
- Political story: the voracity effect: political game becomes more intense (and yields more spending) in good times
- Exchange rate regime matters: flexible rates provide more discipline



# Deficit bias and procyclicality: what can you do?

- One possibility: adopt fiscal rule that guides expenditure over long horizons, and constraints its over the cycle
- Chile did that starting in 2001, and took further steps in 2006
- Rule in operation (though not fully during Covid-19 crisis) until now



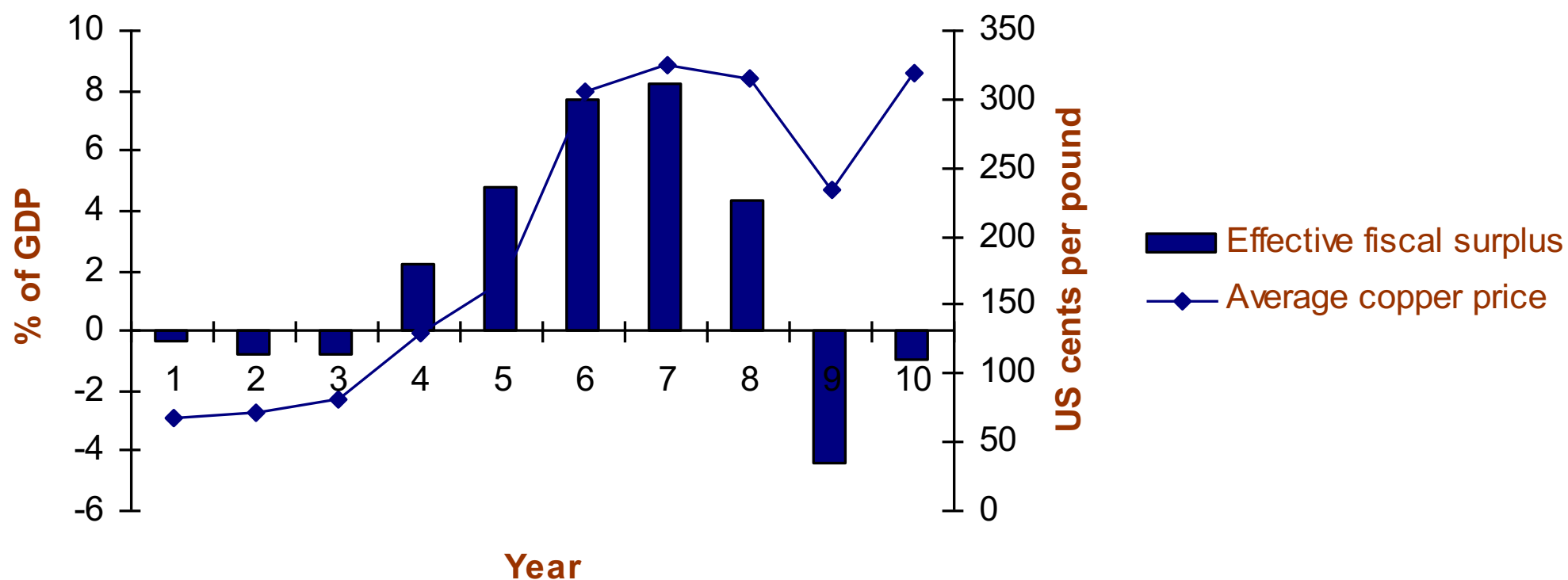
# Dealing with flows: the structural balance approach

- Come up with parameters for cyclical adjustment using independent committees
  - Copper
  - Trend GDP growth
- Apply cyclical adjustment methodology: close to OECD procedure
- Arrive at estimate of “structural” or long-term income
- Spend X% of GDP less than long term income



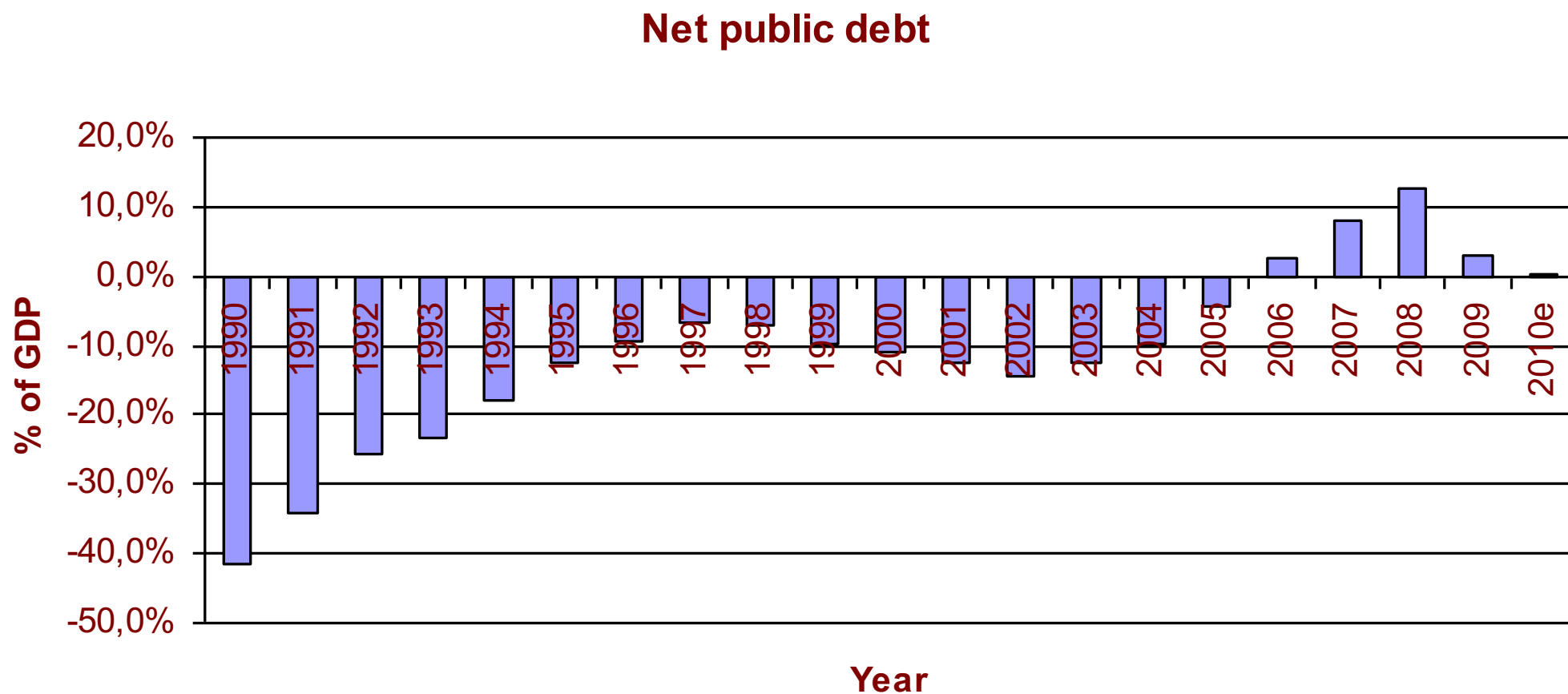
# The end of procyclicality?

## Copper and fiscal surpluses



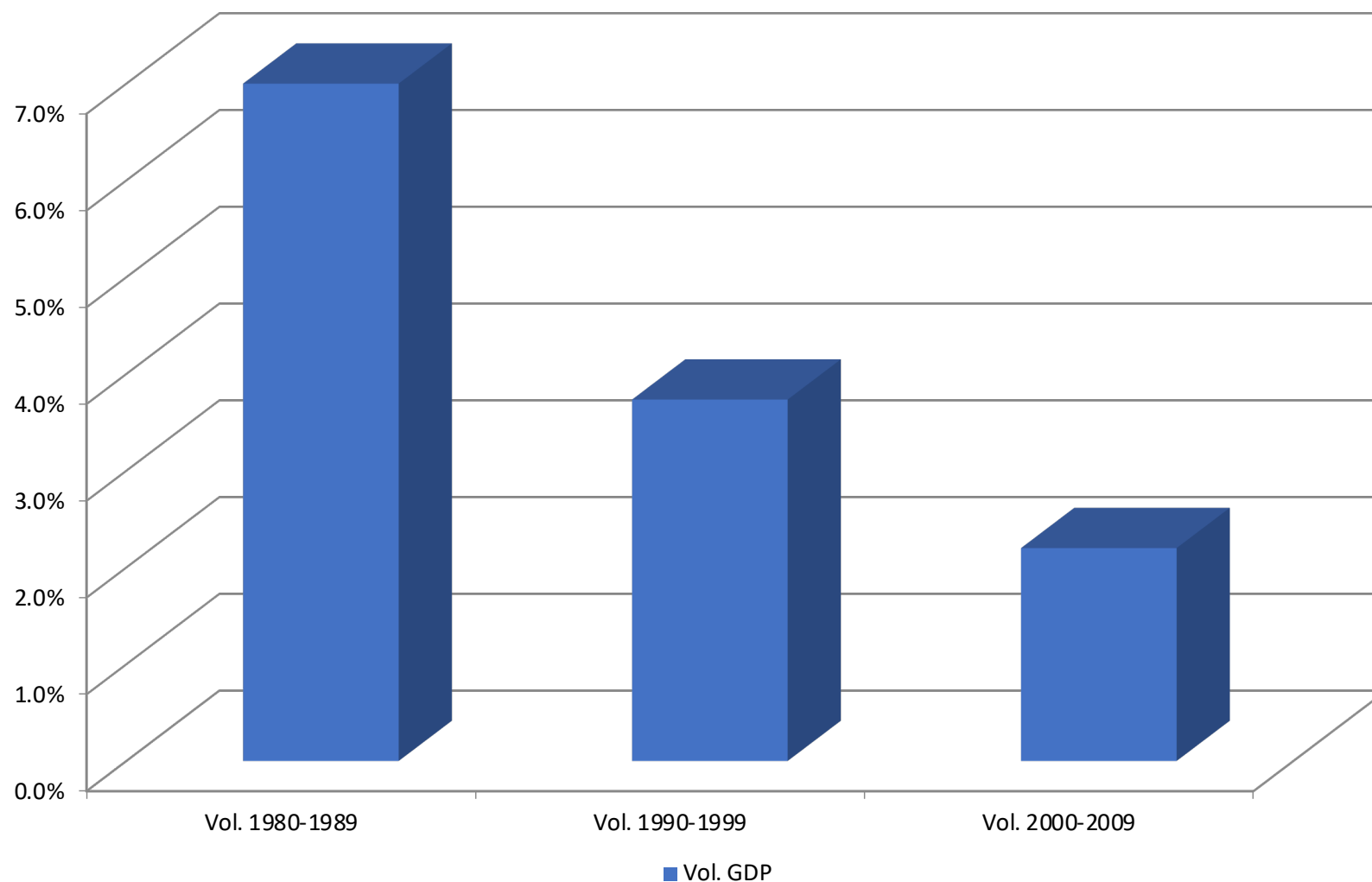


# Public debt: far away from Europe





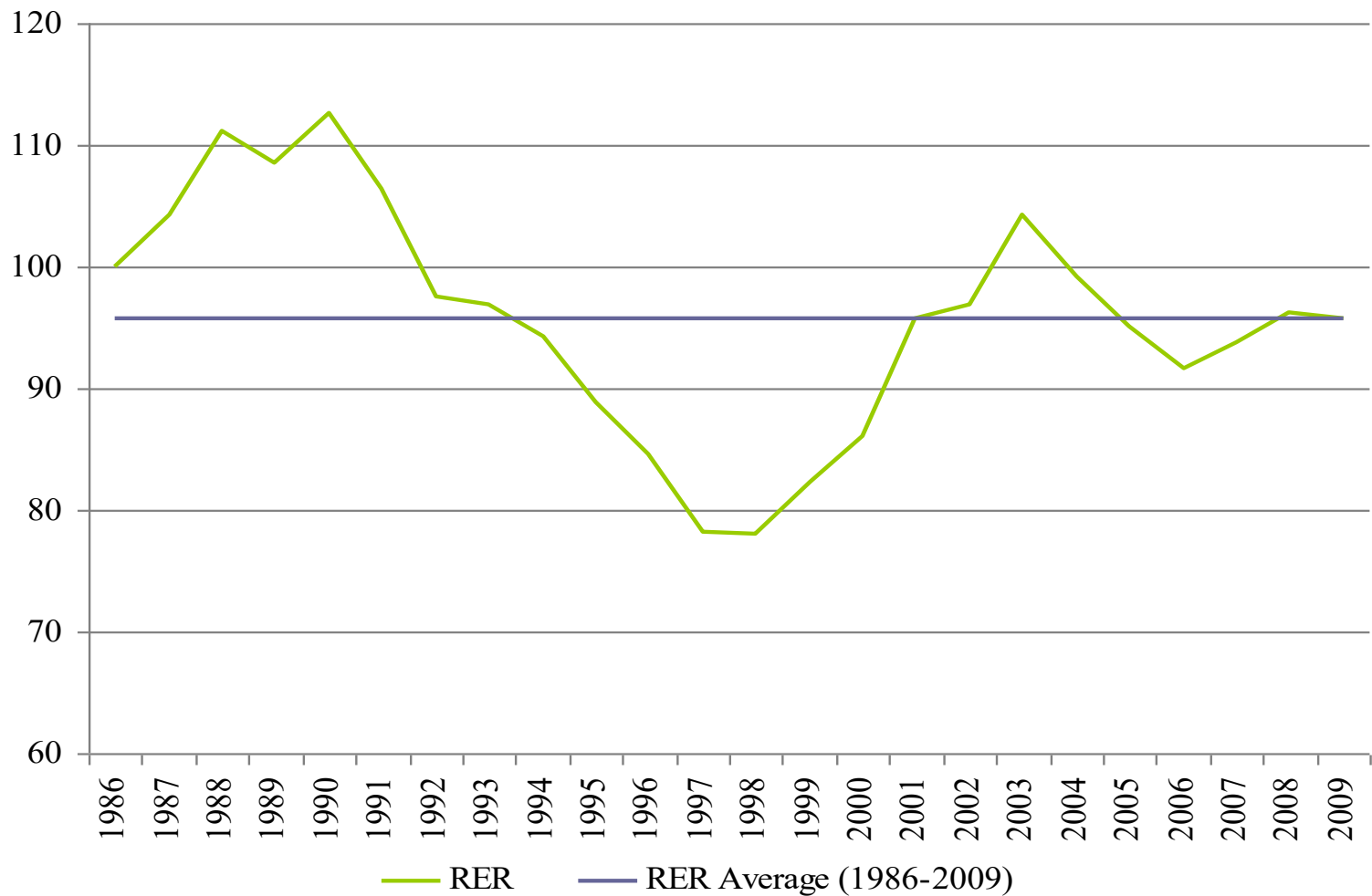
# Falling output volatility





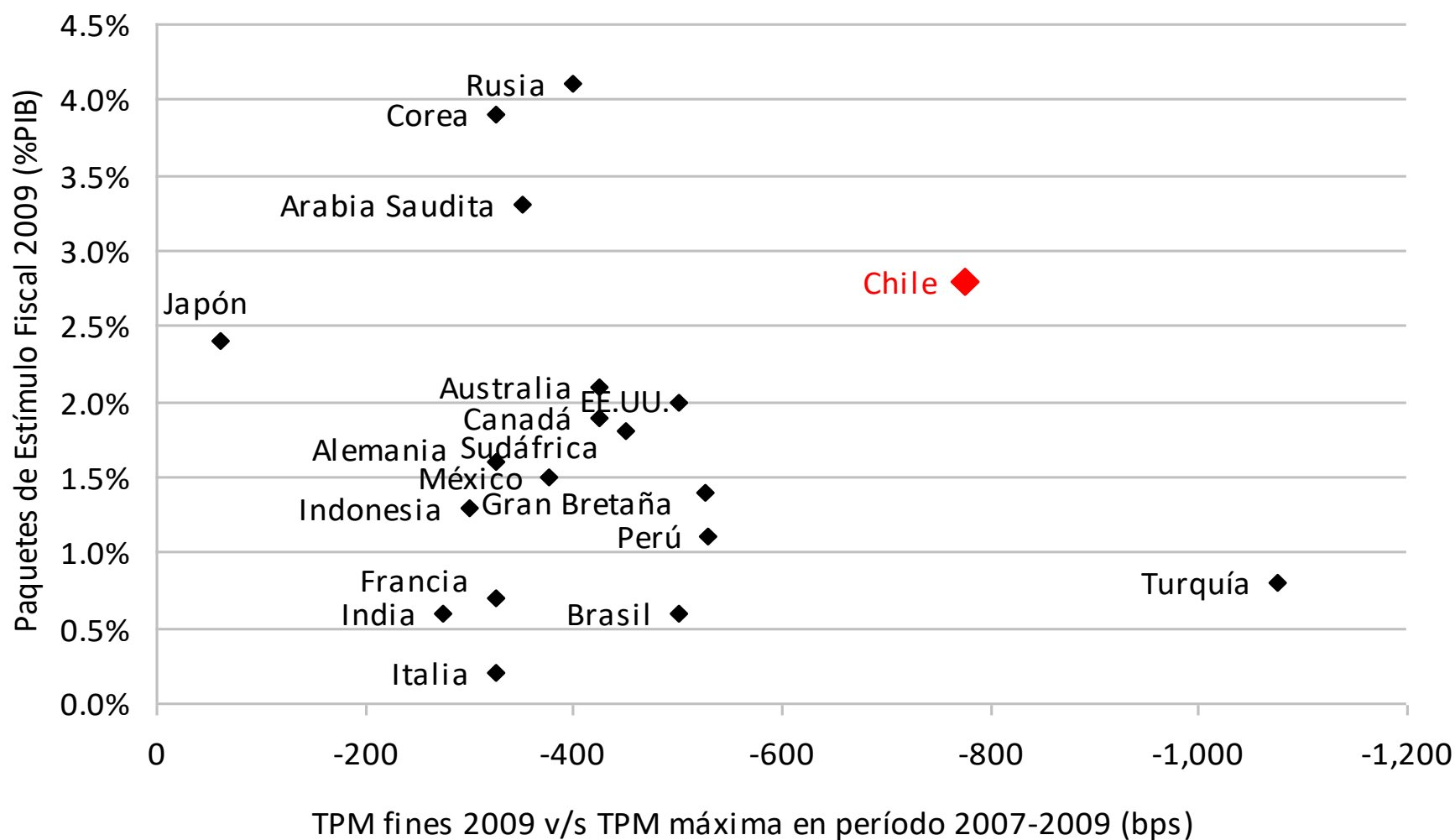


# Avoiding Dutch disease



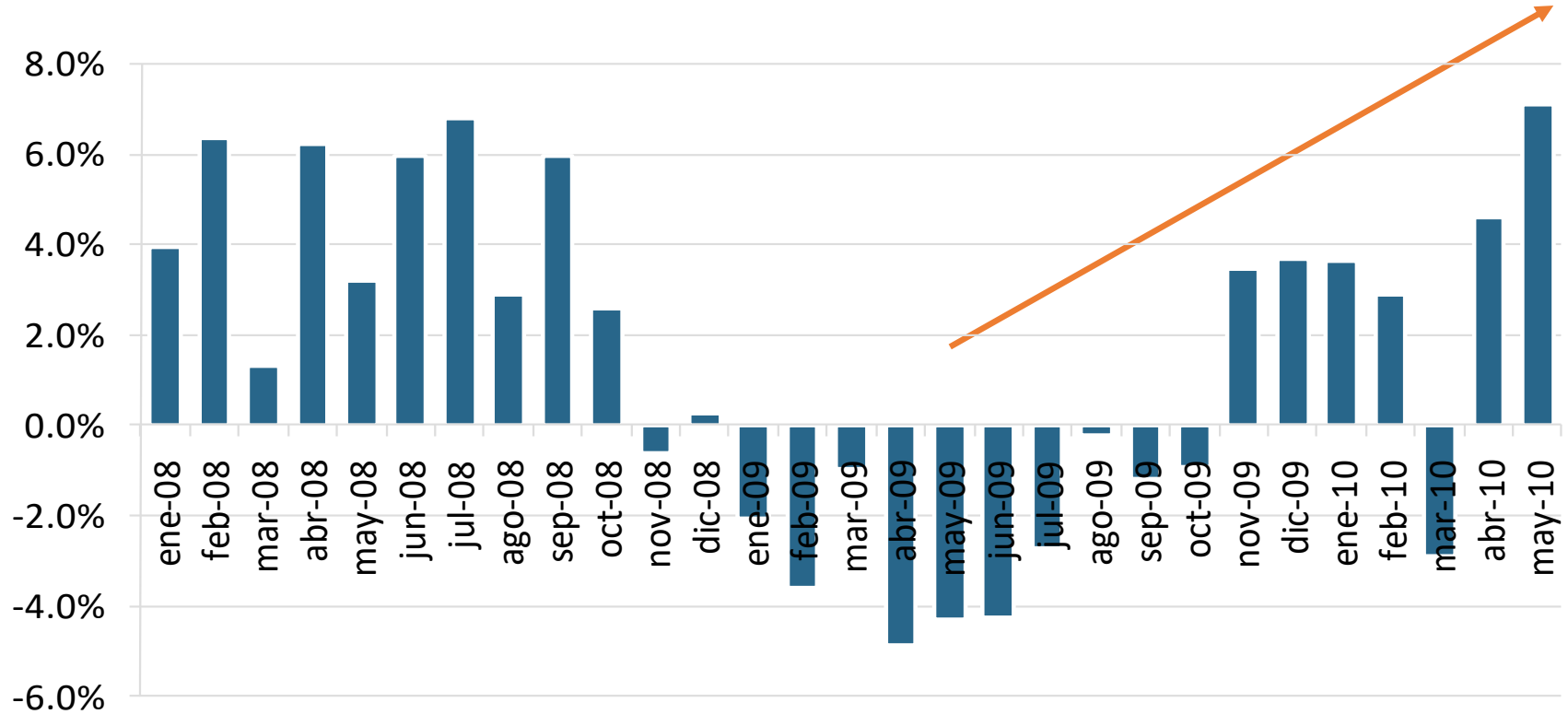


# Stimulus during the GFC





# Quick recovery from the GFC





# Fiscal rules: lessons from Chile

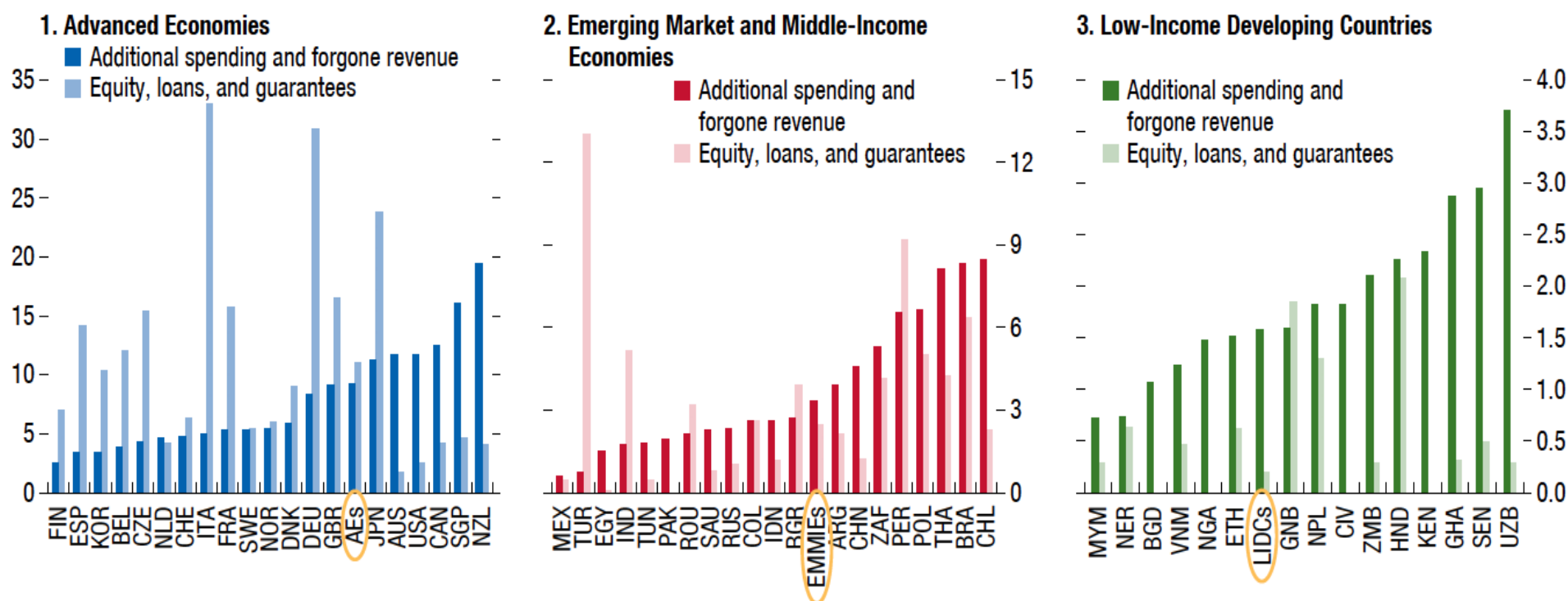
- Political economy
  - Ministers
  - Provinces and regions
- Keep it simple
- Crises and escape clauses
- Who should administer the rule?



# Responding to the pandemic: fiscal policy



# Responding to the pandemic: Whatever it takes versus Whatever we can afford

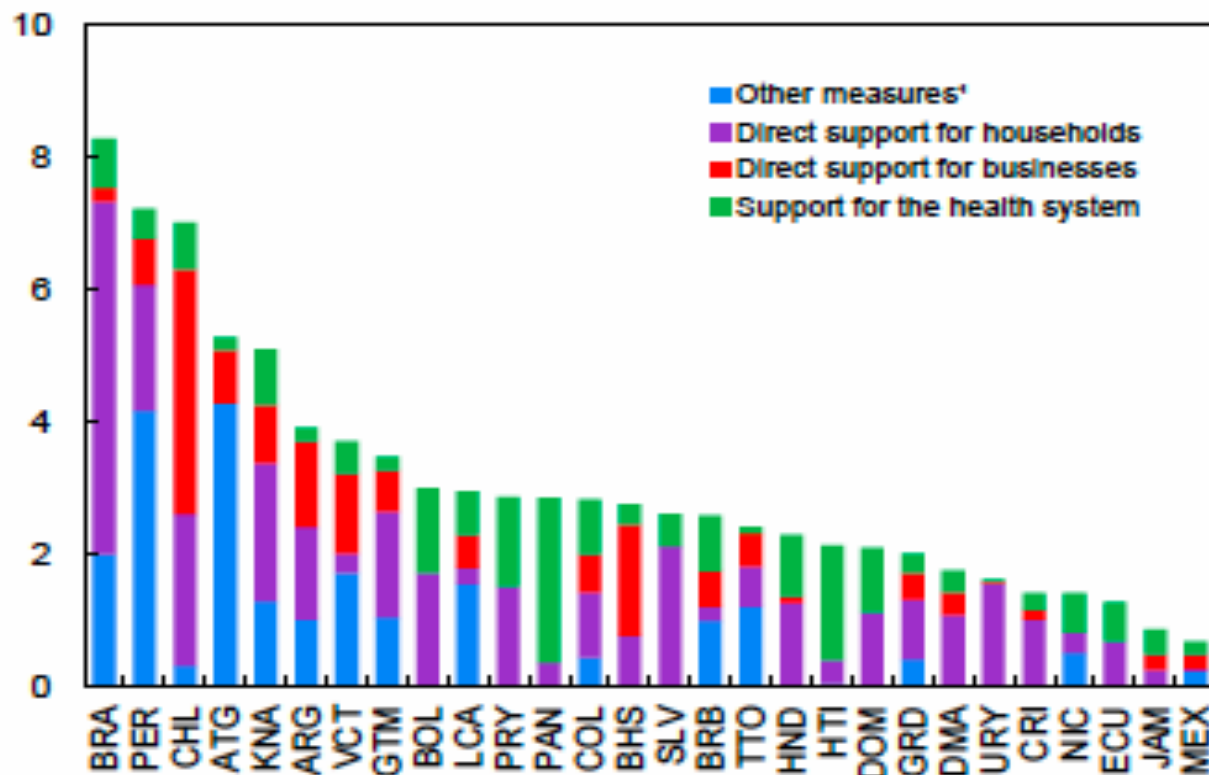


Source: IMF Fiscal Monitor, October 2020



## Latin America: strong fiscal response with Brazil in the lead

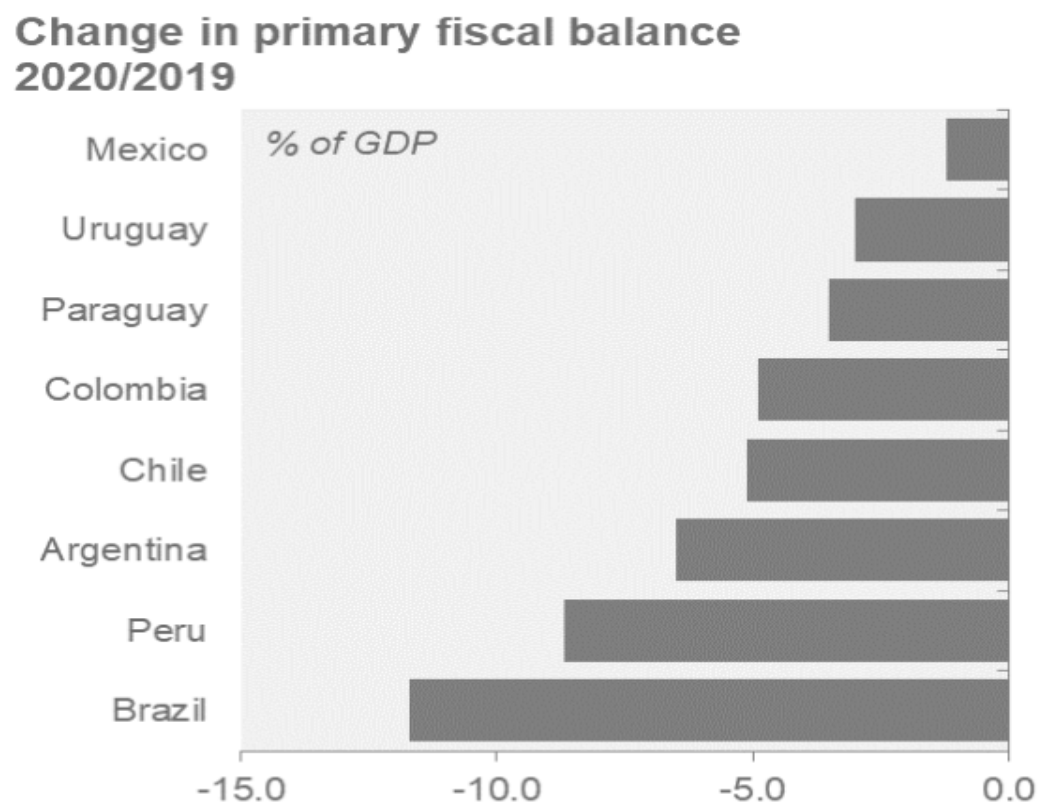
**Announced Above-the-line Discretionary Fiscal Measures  
(Percent of GDP)**



Source: IMF Regional Economic Outlook, October 2020



## Latin America: sharp swing in the fiscal balance

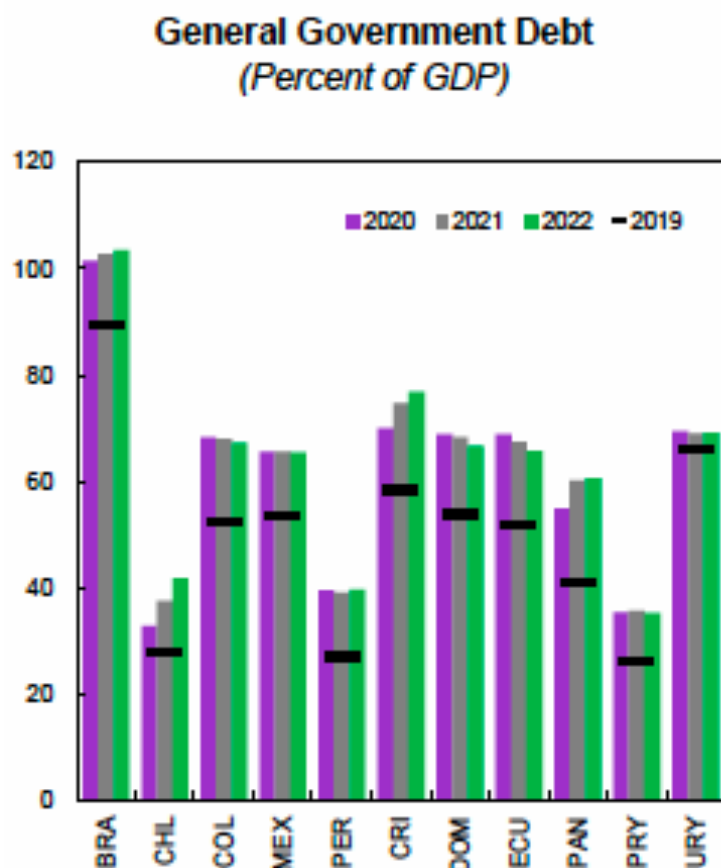


Source: IMF Regional Economic Outlook, October 2020

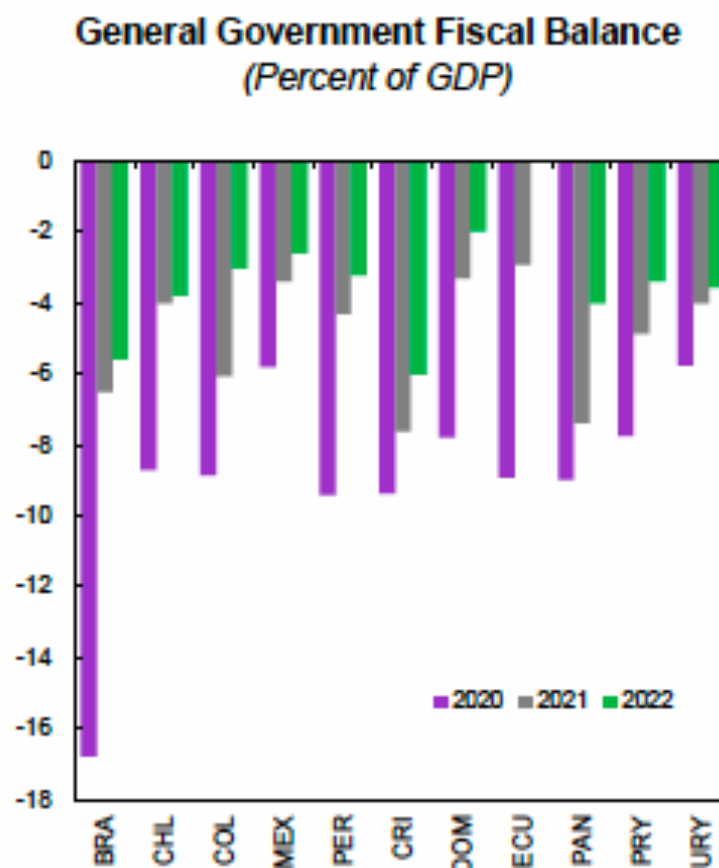




# Latin America: larger debts and deficits almost everywhere



Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook database.



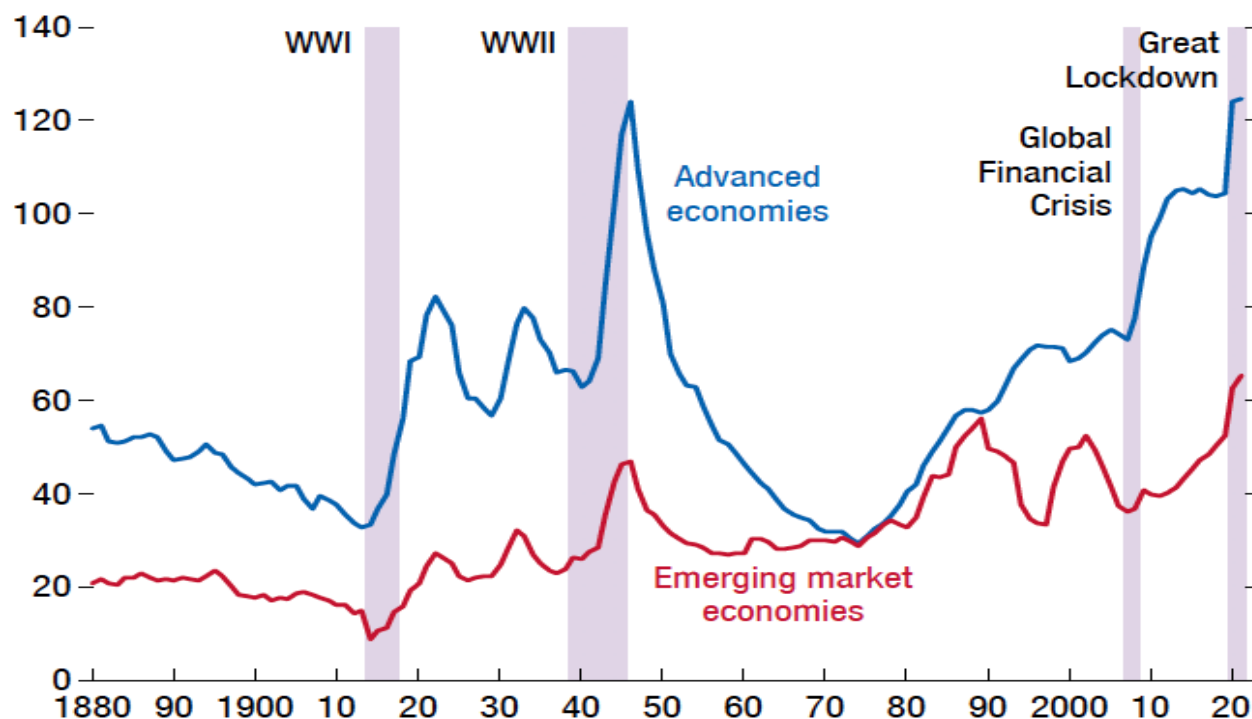
Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook database.



# Implications for the future of public debt



# Piling on the debt: is the sky the limit?

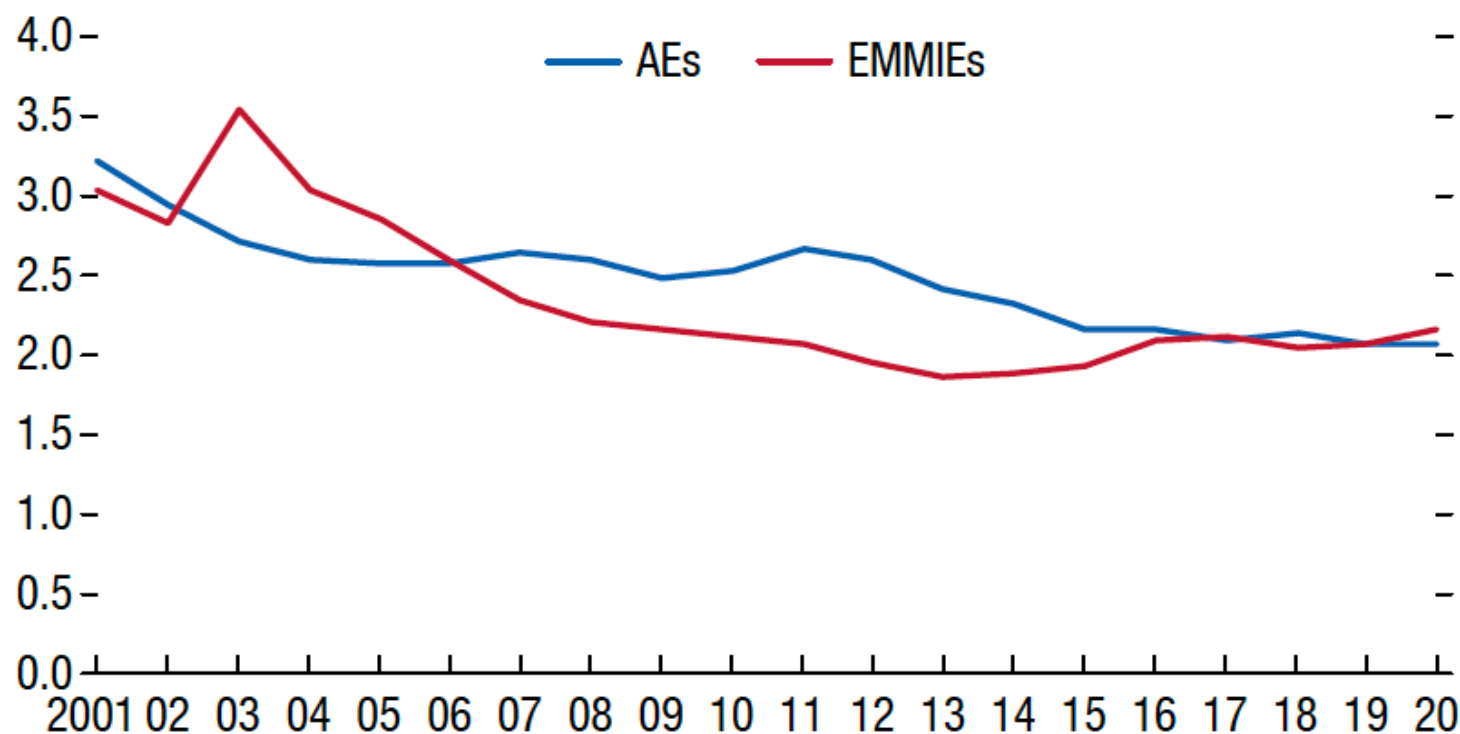


Sources: IMF, Historical Public Debt Database; IMF, World Economic Outlook database; Maddison Database Project; and IMF staff calculations.  
Note: The aggregate public-debt-to-GDP series for advanced economies and emerging market economies is based on a constant sample of 25 and 27 countries, respectively, weighted by GDP in purchasing-power-parity terms. WWI = World War I; WWII = World War II.

Source: IMF Fiscal Monitor, October 2020

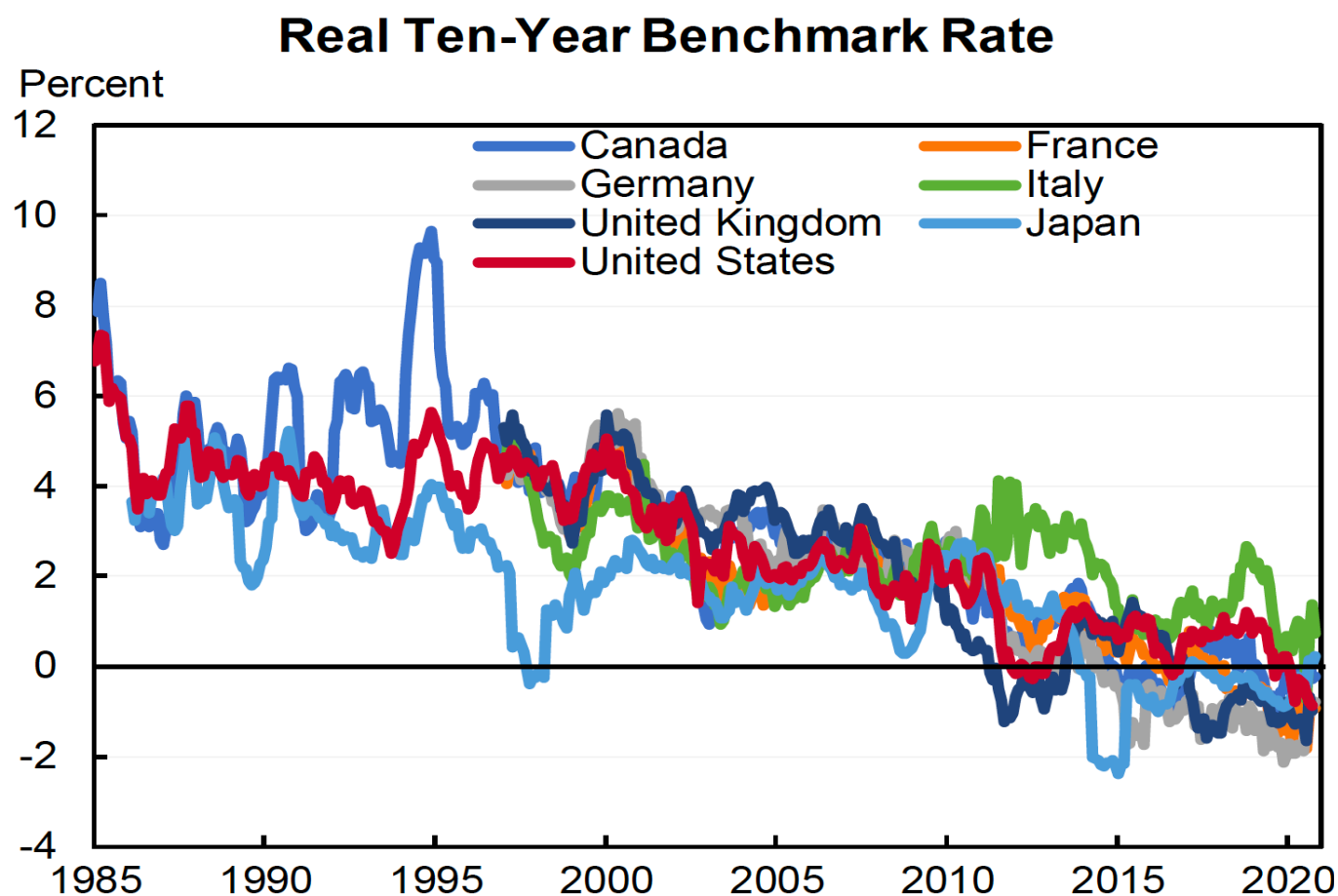


# While the burden of interest payments falls





As a result of sharply falling nominal and real interest rates





Does this mean there are no limits to deficit spending? No

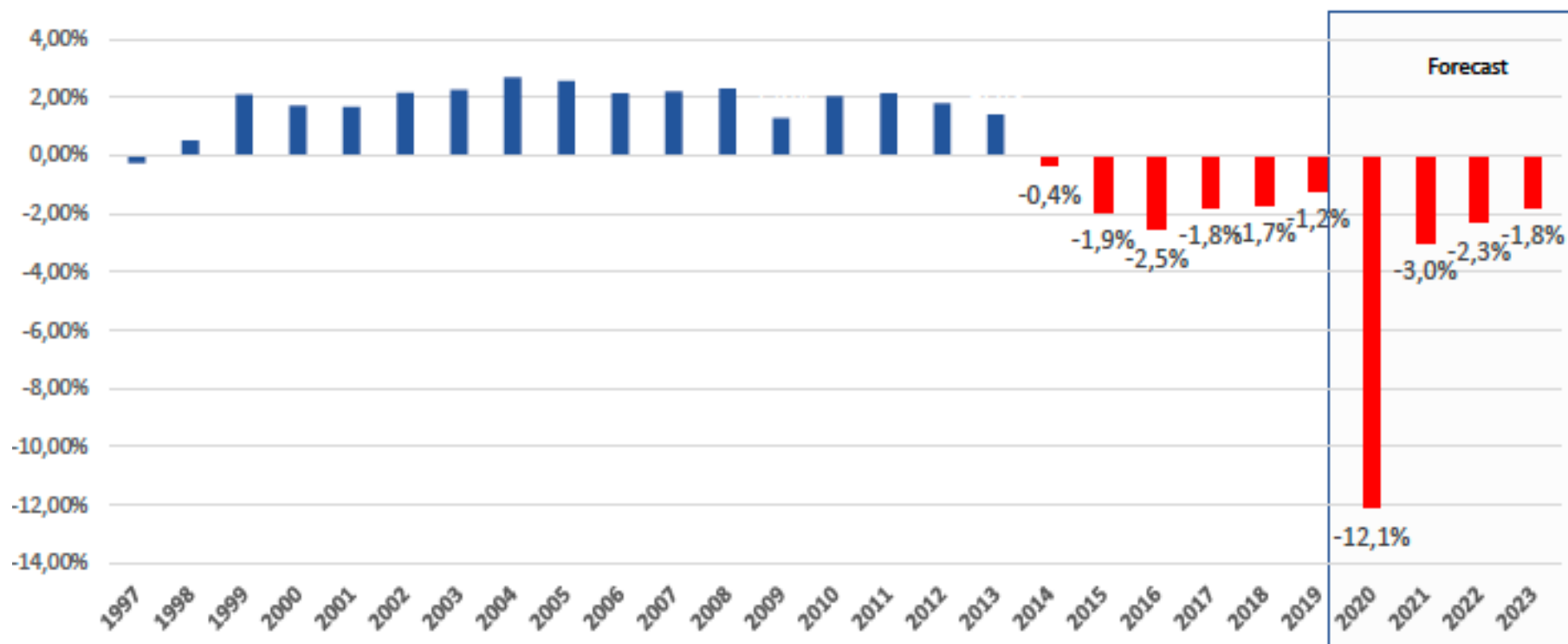
- When  $r < g$ , public debt takes on the characteristics of a bubble
- And there is a limit to how large a primary deficit the bubble will finance
- Also crucial: interest rates are endogenous
- They will begin to rise if
  - There are limits to capital mobility and/or arbitrage
  - The perceived risk of default rises



Brazil: an illustration of the limits



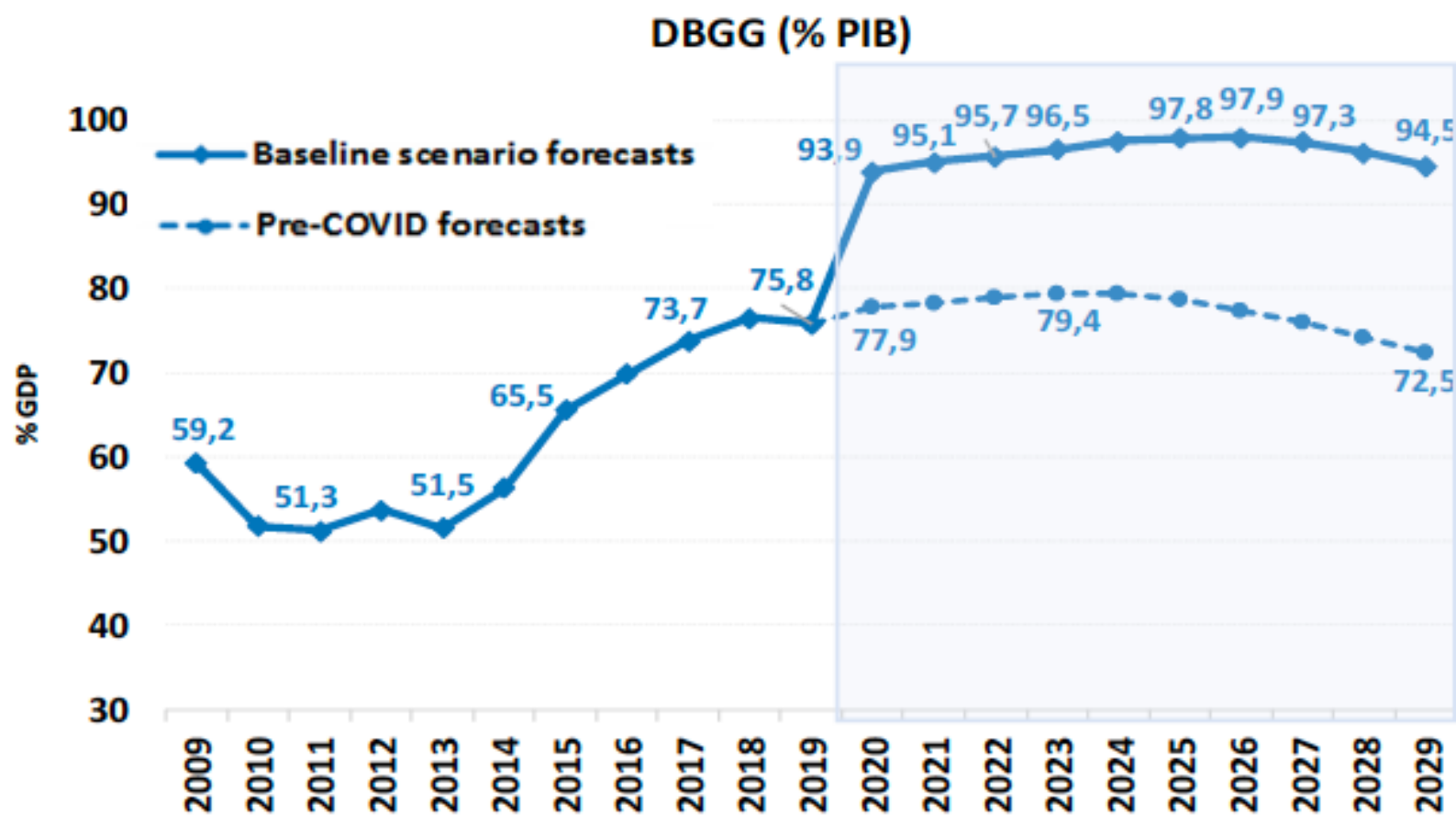
# Brazil: sharp deterioration of the primary fiscal balance





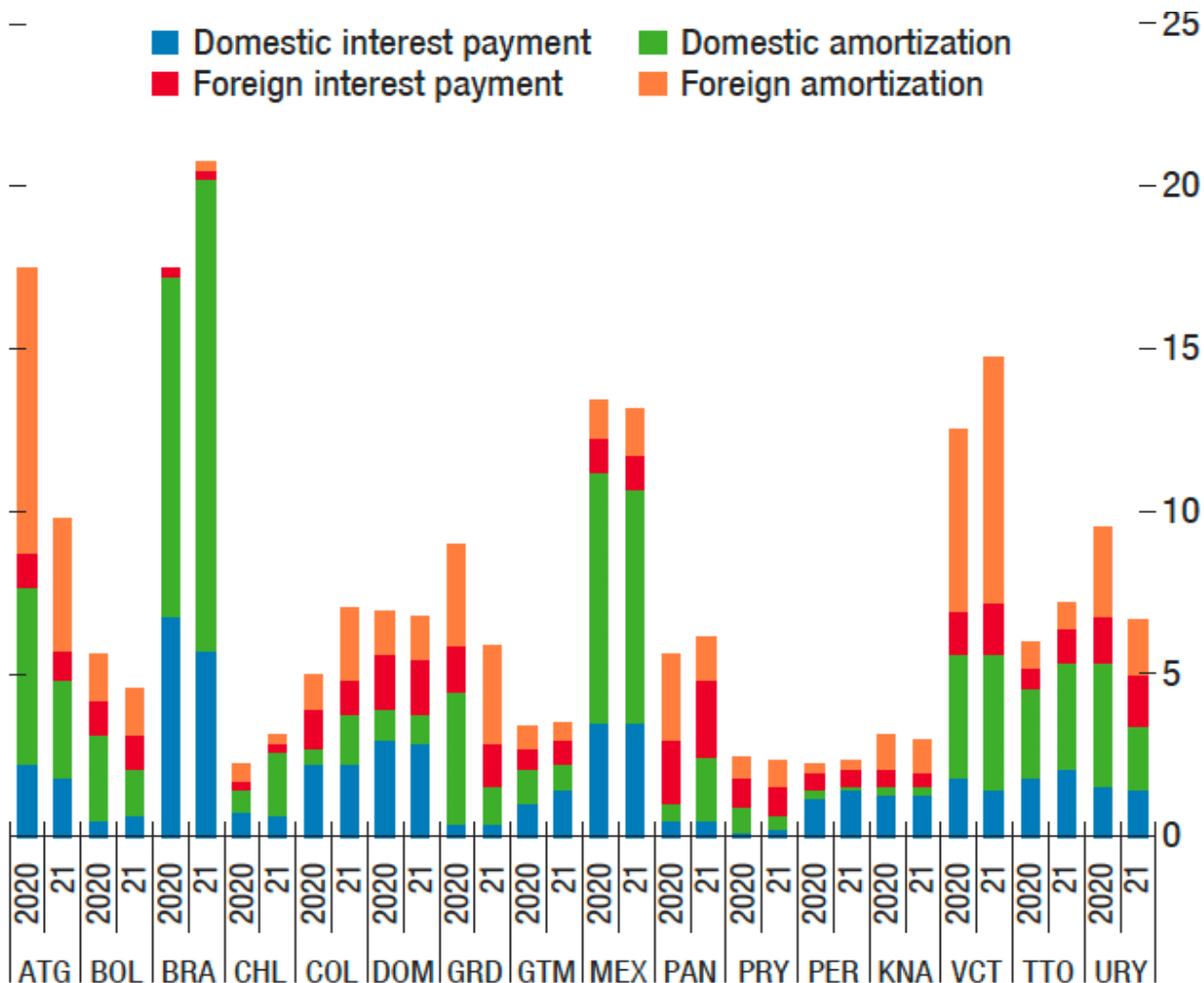


## Brazil: sharp increase in forecasts of public debt ratios





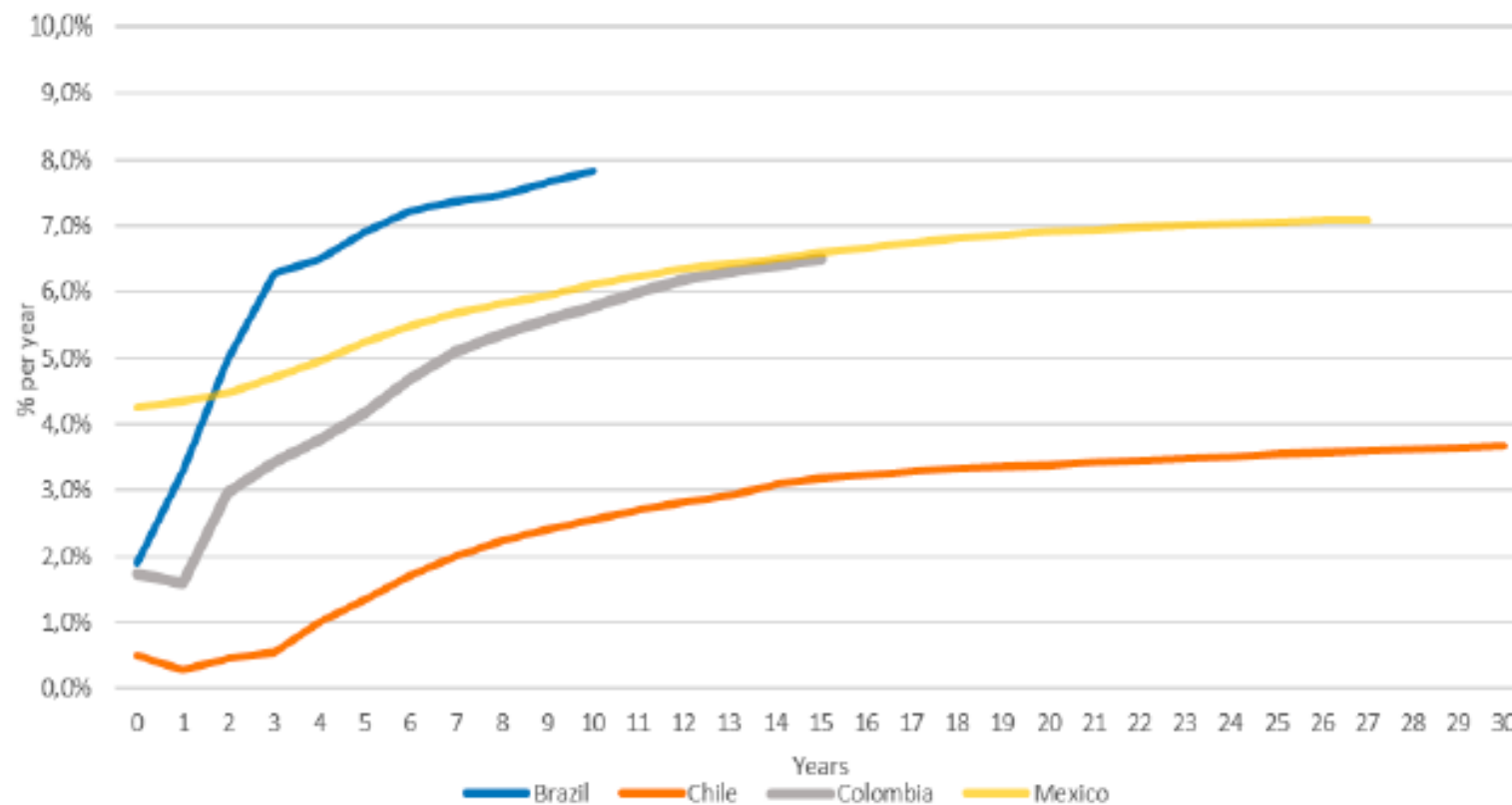
# Brazil: debt service burden higher than in the rest of Latin America



Source: IMF Regional Economic Outlook, October 2020

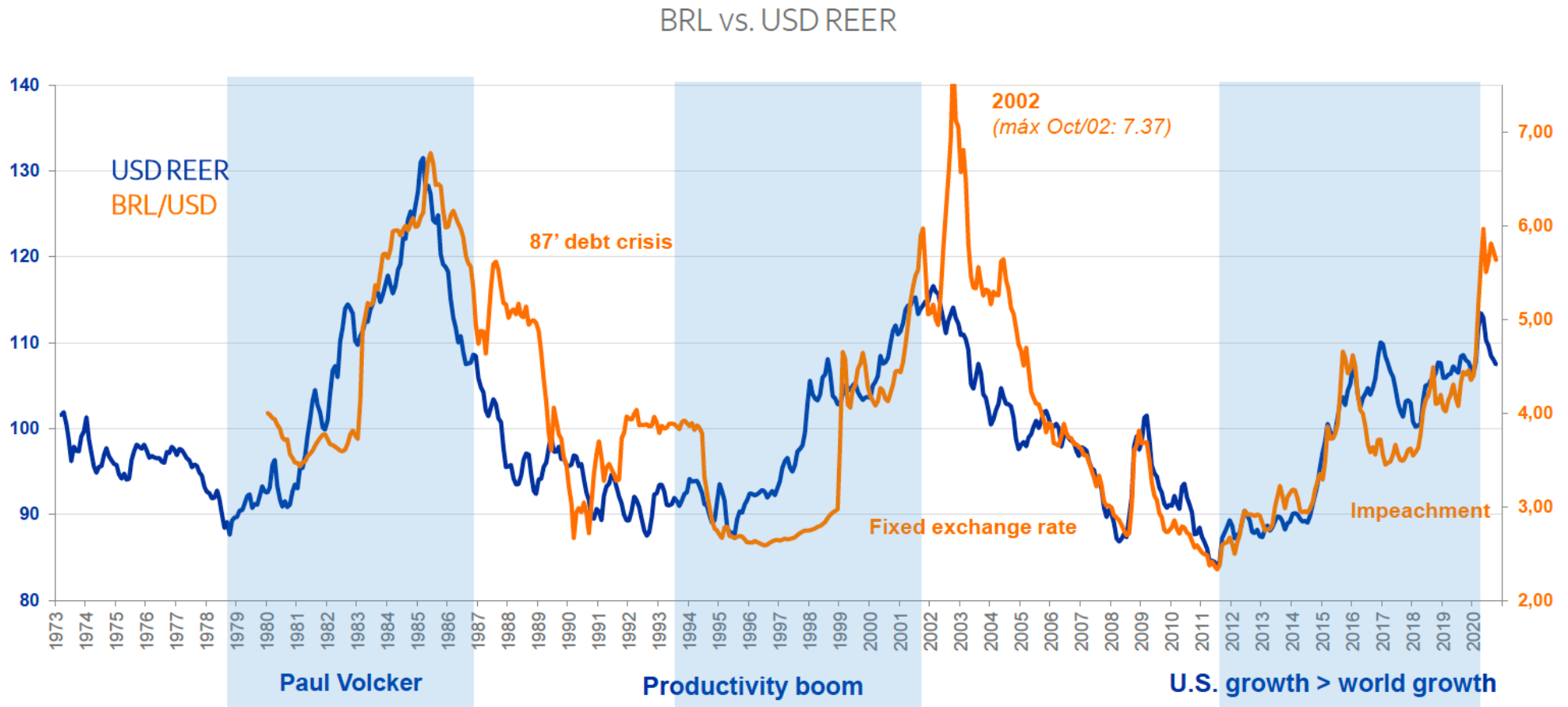


## Brazil: unusually steep yield curve





# All of this matters for the value of the currency as well





## Brazil: some concluding thoughts

- In spite of low interest rates world-wide, there are limits to debts and deficits in the Post-Covid world
- Brazil is an example of where those limits lie
- Brazil has very high debt ratios for an EM --and a history of high interest rates
- Today the yield curve is unusually steep, reflecting issues around fiscal policy and debt sustainability
- Given substantial tax ratios, limited space to move only on the revenue side
- One does not have to be a believer in expansionary fiscal consolidation to believe that both stability and growth would benefit from more fiscal certainty



Thank you!