



### Sanctions, Energy Prices, and the Global Economy

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## 02/24/22 Watershed Moment on Global Order

## Pre: mutual interdependencies to ensure peace

make wars expensive

- Trade: Global Value Chains, "just-in-time"  $\Rightarrow \log \pi$ Trade bring (political) change – "Wandel durch Handel"
- Finance: Cross-border investments open capital account EM \$-reserve holdings to offset capital outflows

### Post: Resilience: autarky, self-reliance

- More than slowbalization (?)
- $\Rightarrow$  higher  $r, \pi$ End of "peace dividend", rearmament
- + green transition



### **4 Questions**

Oil/gas sanctions or not? How costly?

- Moral question: How to minimize costs?
- Are extra sanctions effective? Counterproductive?
- How long will mood stay this way or will it swing when costs are apparent?



3

### How quickly can be gas independent?

### Elasticity of substitution (Bachmann et al.)

Short vs. long-run Le Chatelier's Principle

#### Macro vs. micro

- Company A using gas loses
- Company B using renewables wins (windfall gain)

#### Financial frictions:

- Company A goes bankrupt
- Company B can't raise funds
- Financial crisis? Non-linear? Limited resilience



### Punitive tax on Russian oil: Ricardo Hausmann Proposal

- Long-run "tax sanctions" are more credible
- Who bears costs of oil tax?
  - Demander The West
  - Supplier Russia
- Demand is elastic & supply is highly inelastic
  - Russian operating cost \$2.70
  - Total variable cost \$5.67 per barrel
- Would all Russian oil go to China? Bargaining power for China
- Tax of \$90 per oil barrel
- Embargo = infinite tax rate
- Gas?



### Energy subsidies? How to design them?

- Proportional to consumption?
  - Subsidy to Russia (depends on elasticities)
- Fixed, lump-sum
  - Possibly based on past consumption
- Targeted at less well-off people



## Oil/gas embargo and the inflation anchor

### Inflation prior to Ukraine invasion

- US: 7.9%
- Europe: > 5%
- Oil/gas and food are salient and  $E^{HH}[\pi]$ -driver
- Reaction 1:  $\Rightarrow$  2%-inflation anchor breaks

 Reaction 2: ⇒ 2%-inflation anchor strengthened welcome excuse for high inflation blame everything on Ukraine invasion Signal jamming: Inflation framework is ok



### Poll

- 1. Will Russian oil export in June be ... than today?
  - a. Lower
  - b. Roughly the same
  - c. Higher
- 2. Will Germany experience a recession in 2022?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 3. Should Europe stop all imports of oil and natural gas from Russia
  - a. Yes
  - b. No



D R N E 0 N

## Sanctions, Energy Prices, and the World Economy

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- International trade benefits both parties.
- It will take away Russia's ability to fund the military invasion if they can't sell oil to us.
- It will hurt us if we can't buy oil from them.

- Oil prices increased dramatically before the invasion for reasons unrelated to war or sanctions
- Explanation: demand for oil recovered more quickly than ability to produce

# US. demand is back to pre-COVID levels ...

	Dec 2019	Dec 2021
U.S. vehicle miles traveled	261.8 M	268.4 M
U.S. gasoline product supplied	8971 mb/d	8941 mb/d

### ... but production of crude oil is not



Production in Nov 2021 down 3.3 mb/d (world) and 1 mb/d (U.S.) from Jan 2020

# Drilling rigs are steadily returning and production could be back to pre-COVID levels soon



Number of drilling rigs active in the United States

- Russia produces 10 mb/d of crude oil (13% of global field production) and 17% of world production of natural gas.
- Oil is readily transported and essentially sells on a world market
  - View 13% decrease in oil production as world event
- Natural gas is much more localized

- The dollar value of refined petroleum products consumed in the U.S. represents about 4% of total U.S. GDP
- A quick calculation of the economic cost of losing all of Russia oil production would be (0.04) x (0.13) = 0.5% of GDP
- Average peak-to-trough decline in U.S. real GDP relative to trend is 5% of GDP

# Formal justification for quick calculation

If output *Y* depends on inputs of capital, labor, energy:

$$Y = F(K, N, E)$$
$$\frac{\partial F}{\partial E} = \frac{P_E}{P_Y}$$
$$\frac{\partial F}{\partial E} \frac{E}{Y} = \frac{P_E E}{P_Y Y}$$

elasticity = expenditure share

# Energy's share of GDP has been declining over time ...



# ... but the share increases when the price goes up



- If price of energy doubles and people buy the same quantity of energy as before, the expenditure share approximately doubles.
- Baqaee and Farhi (Econometrica 2019) develop calculations more appropriate for non-epsilon change.
- Bachmann et al. (2022) use their approach to conclude that a cut-off of energy imports from Russia would reduce German GDP by 0.5-3.0% depending on substitutability.<sup>12</sup>





# Major historical oil supply disruptions were followed by recessions

Date	Event	Supply cut (local)	Supply cut (global)	Price Change	Recession Start
Nov 73	OAPEC embargo	7%	7%	51%	Dec 73
Nov 78	Iran revolution	7%	4%	57%	Feb 80
Oct 80	Iran-Iraq War	6%	4%	45%	Aug 81
Aug 90	Gulf War I	9%	6%	93%	Aug 90

- Economic recessions are characterized by underutilized resources.
- Unemployment rate spikes up and capacity utilization decline.
- N and utilization of K change along with E.
- Is there reason to believe that previous oil shocks contributed to this?

# Decline in auto production made significant contribution to downturns

Period	Contribution of autos
1974:Q1-1975:Q1	-0.5%
1979:Q2-1980:Q2	-0.8%
1981:Q2-1982:Q2	-0.2%
1990:Q3-1991:Q3	-0.3%
2007:Q4-2008:Q4	-0.7%

Source: Hamilton, "Major Historical Oil Shocks," 2013

- Decline in auto sales coincides with gasoline price increases and often precedes the recession.
- Often see sales of more fuel-efficient vehicles rise at same time that sales of less fuel-efficient vehicles decline.

- Kuhn, Kehrig, and Ziebarth (2021) document considerable heterogeneity across U.S. consumers.
- 10% of U.S. households never buy gasoline.
- For a different 10% of households, gasoline accounts for more than 10% of total spending
- If median household does not reduce number of gallons purchased, it must cut back on purchases of other goods and services by 4% when gasoline price doubles

# Consumers become more pessimistic when oil prices rise



**Consumer sentiment** 

Conclusion: An energy price spike has potential to significantly disrupt spending on other goods

- In the presence of nominal rigidities, this could contribute to drop in real GDP.
  - If this is the mechanism, expansionary monetary and fiscal policy could help.
- Alternatively, may cause drop in real GDP if it is technologically costly to reallocate productive resources -- Hamilton (JPE 1988), "Supply, Demand and Specialized Production" (2022).
  - If this is the mechanism, potential for monetary or fiscal stimulus may be limited.

# Current situation: auto production limited by supply, not demand



### Effects on inflation

- An increase in relative price of energy need not cause increase in overall price level if other prices decline.
- However, if other prices are rigid downwards, relative price increase will be inflationary.
- Mechanical consequences of this are similar to earlier calculations

- If crude oil represents half the retail aftertax cost of refined product and these other costs are fixed, when price of oil goes up 10% the price of refined product goes up 5%.
- If no other prices change, we get the direct mechanical contribution to inflation by multiplying percentage change in nominal crude oil price by 0.02.

 Consistent with Fed Chair Powell rule of thumb: if oil price goes up \$10 (about 10% at current prices), headline inflation goes up 0.2 percentage points

# Price of oil boosted U.S. inflation by 2% in 1974, 1979, 2021

CPI inflation and crude oil inflation x 0.02



## This can translate into sustained inflation from inflationary expectations and monetary policy



# OPEC production is also 1 mb/d below its level at start of 2020



# Other possibilities for increased production



## Response of real GDP and inflation to oil price shock for China, India, and Brazil from Nasir et al. (En Econ 2018)



- Biofuels are another alternative to conventional gasoline from crude oil.
- Roberts and Schlenker (AER, 2013) estimated that U.S. ethanol mandate increased world cost of meeting minimum daily calorie requirement by 20%.
- Increased cost of running agricultural equipment and creating fertilizer also increase food costs.

# Consequences of non-energy sanctions for Russia

- Visa, Mastercard, American Express, Discover suspended operations in Russia and blocked Russian banks
- Many Russian banks blocked from using SWIFT (system for making international payments)
- Can't use Federal Reserve or ECB clearing either
- Default and nationalization will block access to credit and rest of world for years

## Additional slides

#### Stocks (million barrels)



#### 4-Week Avg U.S. Exports of Crude Oil and Petroleum Products







Weights in U.S. consumer price index (from https://www.bls.gov/cpi/tables/relative-importance/2020.htm)

- Motor fuel, fuel oil, and propane – CPI-U 3.020 CPI-W 3.796
- Electricity and natural gas
   CPI-U 3.155 CPI-W 3.568
- Energy
  - CPI-U 6.155 CPI-W 7.364

#### A regression of year-over-year log change in gasoline CPI on y-o-y log change in WTI has coefficient 0.45 and $R^2 = 77\%$



