



ZAIS Insights

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Deficits Don't Matter Until They Do

Deficits Don't Matter Until They Do

- The “budget deal” is a relief, except for the budget.
- There is a need for more public investment, but not fiscal stimulus.
- Low interest rates are no panacea for government debt sustainability.

In the last issue of ZAIS Insights (MMT is Flawed), we made the point that low

inflation and interest rates, plus moderate growth, as well as frustration with income inequality and globalization, promote new and less orthodox policy prescriptions.

MMT is an extreme example and, in our view, is unlikely to get mainstream political support.

However, many politicians on both sides of the aisle in Washington D.C. seem to believe that government deficits and debt matter little, or not at all.

The fiscal debate

Last January, the fiscal doves received some intellectual support from economic heavyweights like Olivier Blanchard and Larry Summers.¹

Both are outspoken critics of MMT and not careless deficit spenders, but both argue that fiscal policy has room to maneuver.

Specifically, they believe that the government can run a deficit, and keep rolling over the debt, as long as economic growth outpaces the interest rate on government debt.

The fiscal deficit debate raises two related questions:

1. Does the US economy need fiscal stimulus?
2. Can the US afford it?

From a cyclical perspective, we believe the economy is currently not in need of fiscal stimulus.

However, from a structural perspective, we believe that more public investment is needed to strengthen a long-term growth foundation.

Further, we believe that more deficit spending is currently unlikely to crowd out private investment or lead to an immediate debt crisis.

In our view, low interest rates do not annul basic fiscal constraints. Instead, the room created by lower interest rates is offset by larger primary deficits.

Thus, we believe it would be better to save extra spending for times when the economy needs it more.

Furthermore, linking debt sustainability with low interest rates may create dangerous temptations for politicians and put more

pressure on the Federal Reserve to keep interest rates low.

Future generations may have to pay a high price if fiscal policy becomes too careless in the short term.

Against that background, the new “budget deal” is a relief as it keeps the government working and avoids a possible default, but at the price of unnecessary debt proliferation.

No need for fiscal stimulus...

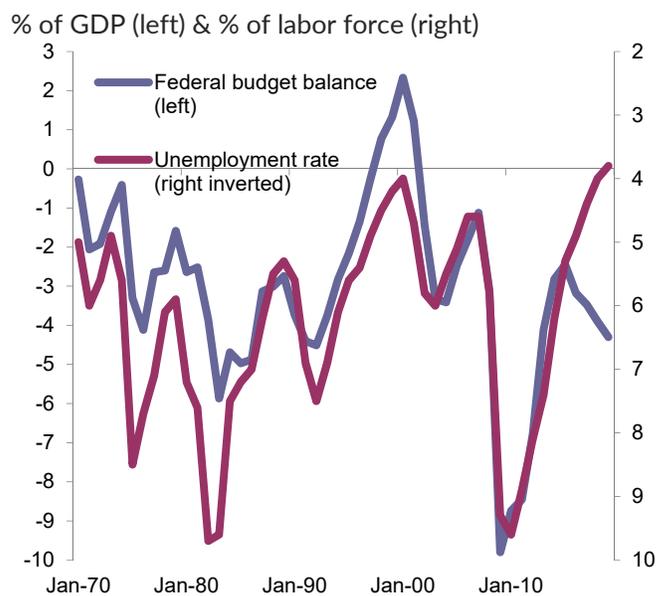
The current US cycle is not strong, but it has just become the longest cycle post-World War II and is still running.

With the unemployment rate below 4%, the economy is more or less at full employment.

The trade conflict with China has reduced growth, yet recession is not imminent, in our view.

Against that background, we believe it would have been prudent to consolidate the budget deficit, as in previous cycles (see Chart 1), and not expand it.

Chart 1: US fiscal balance & unemployment



Source: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis²

... but more long-term investment

A key feature of the current cycle is slower investment, despite very low interest rates.

There are several reasons behind this phenomenon, including an aging population and the shift from physical to intellectual capital.

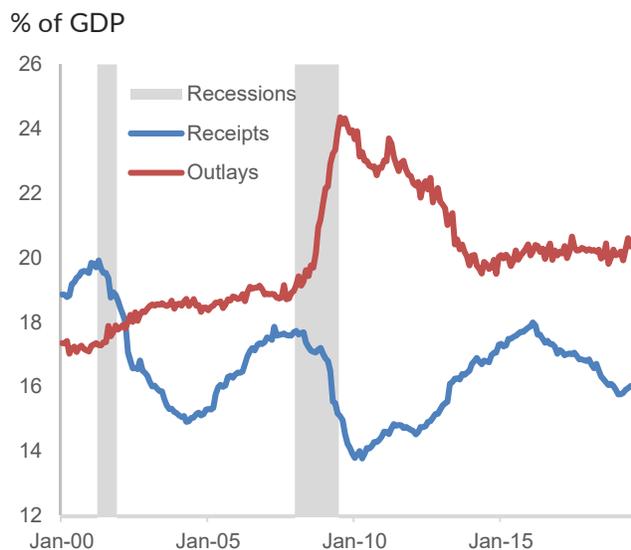
However, it has also revealed a shortfall in support for infrastructure and education standards. In our view, more public investment in these areas would have been more prudent than the recent tax cuts, which have done little to revive investment.

Unpleasant budget prospects

Indeed, the projected increase of the Federal deficit from 2.4% of GDP in 2015, to over 4% in the current fiscal year, is primarily due to a shortfall in revenues. It is not the result of a recession (see Chart 2).

In our judgment, the new “budget deal” raises the deficit and debt limits, but does nothing to reverse the significant divergence between receipts and outlays. Furthermore, it does not prioritize infrastructure and education spending.

Chart 2: Federal receipts and outlays



Source: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis³

Debt Arithmetic

The change of government debt (ΔD) equals interest payments (I) minus the primary budget balance (P).

$$(1) \Delta D = I - P$$

Dividing both sides by the level of debt (D) and subtracting from both sides nominal GDP growth (y) results in the % change of the debt/GDP ratio where $d = \Delta D/D$ is the % change of the debt and $i = I/D$ is the effective interest rate paid on the debt.

$$(2) d - y = (i - y) - P/D$$

Equation (2) can be rewritten by expanding P/D with nominal GDP (Y) where $x = P/Y$ is the primary budget balance in % of GDP and $z = D/Y$ is the debt/GDP ratio.

$$(3) d - y = (i - y) - p/z$$

The more nominal GDP growth exceeds the effective interest rate on government debt the more the government can run a primary deficit without raising the debt/GDP ratio.

$$(4) p = (i - y) * z$$

Fiscal tailwinds are nothing new

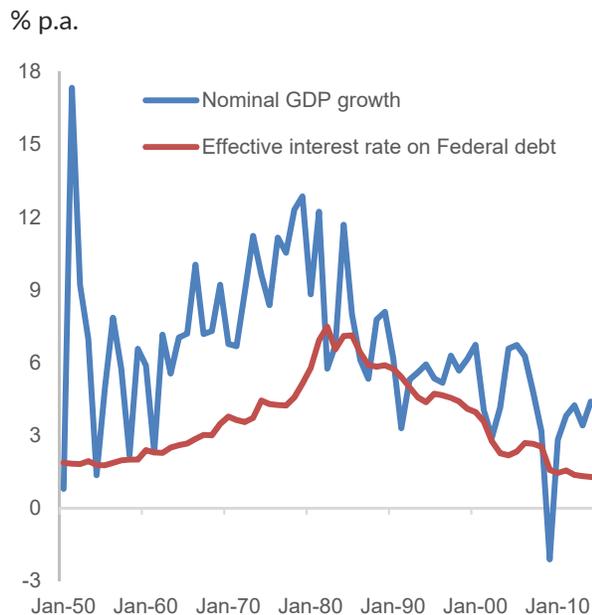
Fiscal doves think the divergence does not matter, since interest rates are low. Yet, low interest rates, per se, are not enough to create fiscal wiggle room.

It is critical that nominal GDP growth is higher than the interest rate paid on government debt (see box on Debt Arithmetic above).

The persistence of low interest rates in the US since the financial crisis is something new. However, interest rates being lower than nominal GDP growth is not new.

With the exception of recessions, the effective interest rate paid on Federal debt has been lower than nominal GDP growth since the 1950s (see Chart 3 below). On average, the difference was a good three percentage points.

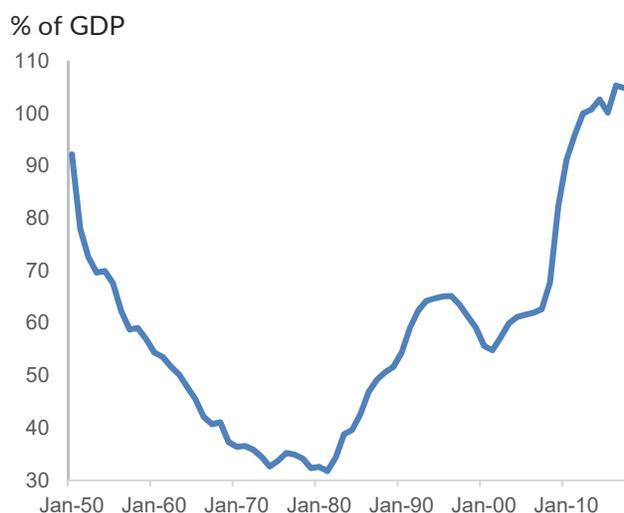
Chart 3: Interest rate and nominal growth



Source: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis⁴

However, the difference was much larger between the 1950s and 70s. This, plus a disciplined fiscal policy helped reduce the debt/GDP ratio by roughly 60 percentage points until the 1970s (see Chart 4).

Chart 4: Total federal debt



Source: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis⁵

The gap narrowed significantly in the 1980s and 90s, mainly as nominal GDP growth declined faster than interest rates, which combined with tax cuts and more military

spending during the Reagan years, caused the debt/GDP ratio to rise.

Since 2000, the gap has widened as interest rates fell more than nominal GDP growth. The gap now stands roughly at the long-term average of approximately three percentage points.

The fiscal wiggle room is exhausted

The financial crisis caused an inevitable blow to the budget, when it boosted the debt/GDP ratio to nearly 100% (see Chart 4).

Since then, however, the debt/GDP ratio has continued to creep higher, despite the favorable gap between interest rates and nominal GDP growth.

In other words, we believe the fiscal wiggle room already has been fully exhausted by larger primary deficits.

This is of concern to us, because the economy was doing well in recent years and a fiscal boost was not necessary.

Japan is not a desirable blueprint

The rising debt/GDP ratio has, so far, not pushed up interest rates and crowded out private investment.

For fiscal doves, this means it is acceptable to run higher deficits and pile up more debt.

Some point to Japan, where government debt is approaching 240% of GDP and yet interest rates remain low.

However, the situation in Japan depends critically on the involvement of the Bank of Japan, which has purchased about half of the outstanding government bonds.

It is not clear how the situation in Japan will ultimately play out but, we believe, it is not a script the US should try to follow.

Tailwinds can become headwinds

Indeed, there is political pressure on the Fed to keep interest rates low.

This pressure will increase as the sustainability of government debt depends on low interest rates, and will tempt politicians to ignore traditional fiscal restraints further.

Moreover, there is no guarantee that interest rate and growth conditions will continue to be so favorable.

A recession would, at least, cause a temporary disruption. For instance, Italy, which is different from the US in many ways, illustrates how favorable growth and interest rate conditions before the financial crisis have turned into powerful fiscal headwinds.

¹ Olivier Blanchard; Public Debt and Low Interest Rates; January 2019
https://www.aeaweb.org/aea/2019conference/program/pdf/14020_paper_etZgfbDr.pdf

Laurence Summers; Who's Afraid of Budget Deficits? January 2019
<http://larrysummers.com/2019/01/28/whos-afraid-of-budget-deficits/>

² Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Categories below:
Federal Surplus or Deficit [-] as Percent of Gross Domestic Product (FYFSDFYGDP):

Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis and U.S. Office of Management and Budget, Federal Surplus or Deficit [-] as Percent of Gross Domestic Product [FYFSDFYGDP], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis;
<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/FYFSDFYGDP>, July 16, 2019.

Civilian Unemployment Rate (UNRATE): U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Civilian Unemployment Rate [UNRATE], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis;
<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/UNRATE>, July 16, 2019.

³ Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Categories below:
U.S. Department of the Treasury, Fiscal Service, Total Federal Receipts [MTSR133FMS], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis;

Keep your powder dry

If the US government would like to improve its fiscal position, while the economy is doing well, we would prefer it to shift its priorities to infrastructure and education, in the near term, and keep its powder dry for the next recession.

Unfortunately, we believe the “budget deal” does little for the economy where it most needs it, and makes it vulnerable when the next recession strikes.

More information

As always, we are available to discuss our views with you. Please contact your Client Relations representative at +1 732 978 9722 or zais.clientrelations@zaisgroup.com.

<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/MTSR133FMS>, July 16, 2019

U.S. Department of the Treasury, Fiscal Service, Total Federal Outlays [MTSO133FMS], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis;
<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/MTSO133FMS>, July 16, 2019.

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<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GDP>, July 16, 2019. Converted to monthly data by ZAIS.

⁴ Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Categories below:
U.S. Office of Management and Budget, Gross Domestic Product [FYGDP], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis;
<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/FYGDP>, July 16, 2019.

Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis and U.S. Office of Management and Budget, Federal Outlays: Interest as Percent of Gross Domestic Product [FYOIGDA188S], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis;
<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/FYOIGDA188S>, July 16, 2019.

Council of Economic Advisers (US), Gross Federal Debt [FYGFD], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis;

<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/FYGFD>, July 16, 2019.

⁵ Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis and U.S. Office of Management and Budget, Gross Federal Debt as Percent of Gross Domestic Product [GFDGDP188S],

retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis;
<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GFDGDP188S>, July 16, 2019.

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