

Euro Area Watch

German budget: it's getting special

Key takeaways

- The German Constitutional Court ruling put off-balance sheet vehicles in focus and prescribes strict debt brake adhesion.
- Buba argues c EUR52bn (1.3% of GDP) of 2024 spending is at risk. Political choices will matter, but risks are one-sided.
- The bulk of the potential 2024 funding cut may be absorbed by bills the lower growth channel is main driver of lower rates.

Another letter of education from Karlsruhe to Berlin

The German Constitutional Court ruling last week has created a lot of uncertainty around budget plans, the fiscal stance and bond issuance into 2024 and beyond. Legal considerations around the structure of part of the "Climate Transformation Fund" (KTF) and per read-across to the "Economic Stabilisation Funds" (WSF) made the headlines. But from an economics perspective, it is the requirement for a much tougher application of the constitutionally enshrined debt brake rule, ie budget deficits of no larger than 0.35% of GDP in structural terms, that dominates and eliminates the fiscal wiggle room through the use of off-balance sheet vehicles. That put the 2023/24 budgets in conflict with the debt brake, even without considering WSF specifics. The proposal to suspend the debt brake retrospectively would help with 2023, but doesn't clarify 2024 prospects.

2024 spending is subject to downside risks

Political choices from here are crucial for the economic outcome. In its latest monthly report, Bundesbank (Buba) argues that c EUR52bn (1.3% of GDP) of total 2024 spending ambitions across the regular budget and off-balance sheet vehicles could be at risk from strict application of the debt brake. That is an upper bound, but would mean a quantum of fiscal tightening that would push the economy into recession. Ex-post suspension of the national debt brake for 2023, and prospectively for 2024, would be the opposite extreme outcome. It would still require rewriting the budget, but leave headline numbers intact. Caveats would lay elsewhere, including a potential standoff with Brussels or at best a broader pan-European relaxation of EU fiscal rules on their return next year. And then there is arguably a vast range of solutions between these two.

A proper long-term fix is probably out of reach for now

Comprehensive national debt brake reform could be a "clean" way out for 2024 and beyond. Zero budget, zero carbon and 2% defence spending are not compatible, we think. But reform needs 2/3rd majorities in the upper and lower house. That is probably out of reach until the 2025 election, at least.

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resources to absorb any losses arising from applying these ideas or strategies.

12631484

Timestamp: 24 November 2023 04:36AM EST

24 November 2023

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German budgets: it's getting special

One ruling, two crucial dimensions, and the 2024 budget

When German Constitutional Court rulings are involved, things become very complicated very fast. We try to summarise last week's ruling from an economics perspective.

Direct effects on part of the KTF, and per read-across to all of the WSF

The ruling affects two specific dimensions of budget planning. First, it declared the rollover of unused Covid packages into a new instrument unrelated to the pandemic's ramifications as unconstitutional (the climate transformation fund, KTF). That doesn't make the whole KTF void – it has annual resources of close to EUR30bn from tax revenue and can be topped up further through the regular budget. But the EUR60bn of initially planned funding for EUR212bn spending over 2024-27 is now gone. Ramifications stretch beyond the KTF though. The message from the court is that unused funds approved for a specific purpose (ie pandemic effects on the economy) cannot just be repurposed. That puts in focus the reactivation of the WSF (created for the pandemic) for the energy crisis. On the back of the ruling, the government has now opted to close the WSF by end-23. We doubt 2023 spending under the instrument will be "undone". But household energy price caps in Jan-Mar 2024 are now at risk.

Indirect effects for all off-balance sheet vehicles use via debt brake calculations

The second, perhaps more crucial element of the ruling is that it requires a return to the pre-Covid way of calculating the deficit that needs to fit the threshold of 0.35% of GDP in structural terms. Specifically, that means any use of off-balance sheet vehicles now counts for the deficit calculations, again, as was the case before the pandemic. The current government had relaxed that, allowing off-balance sheet vehicles to count for the deficit only in their year of creation, while disbursement in following years would be exempt. We discussed these rules in a 2019 report, and they would now apply again: see Euro Area Economic Watch: German fiscal stimulus: dream or nightmare? 23 August 2019

According to the latest Bundesbank report, c EUR52bn of current spending plans via off-balance sheet vehicles could be at risk of a strict interpretation of the debt brake rules. Among these vehicles, the KTF (EUR29bn) and WSF (EUR14bn) would be the main components, but if total spending would need to be cut, it could equally come from the regular budget. The EUR100bn defence off-balance sheet budget is not affected by that, as it is enshrined in the constitution independently.

Debt brake suspensions, fiscal austerity, or tinkering at the margins?

Over the past week, we have received many questions on what the ruling entails for specific Bund issuance, the fiscal stance and/or growth. The "easy" answer is that the risk balance has shifted to the downside on all three dimensions. But absent any details, quantification is not possible. We discuss four options, a non-exhaustive list, to illustrate today's quantification challenge.

Worst case: spending cuts of EUR52bn

The most adverse outcome would be if the government decided to reduce total spending in 2024 by EUR52bn to meet the debt brake requirements. That would cut fiscal resources to the economy by c 1.3%. Standard fiscal multipliers would mean a growth reduction by c 80bp. Given our 0.3% GDP growth forecast for 2024, recession would probably have to become the base case (and that, in turn, could perversely qualify for a reason to suspend the debt brake and increase fiscal spend again).

Which spending elements would go is uncertain. In the simplest assumption, that could mean curtailing KTF plans to c EUR30bn revenues and ending gas and electricity price caps with the WSF in December, ie three months earlier than planned. The latter would impact inflation. Headline HICP could be 60bp higher in Jan-24, but back to our base



case in April. Annual average inflation could be 10-20bp above our 3.4% forecast. Consumption could be lower, 1Q24 GDP growth slightly negative.

Even if the government decided to cut total spending by EUR52bn, we would assume the energy price caps would be preserved, at the expense of other budget pockets.

Best case: debt brake suspension in 2024, too

Retrospective suspension of the debt brake for 2023 is now reportedly under consideration (but would need simple majority approval in parliament). That could help to solve at least some 2023 budget challenges from the ruling,. The government could opt to suspend the debt brake for 2024, again. This would allow to keep 2024 plans intact by incorporating WSF and KTF spending in the regular budget.

Caveats would apply: 1) the economic rationale for a suspension of the debt brake exists, we would argue, because the energy shock still affects energy supply security. But another constitutional complaint due to the sequencing (ie retrospective suspension only after the court ruling) could still follow. Caveat 2) a 2024 suspension of the national debt brake would stand at odds with the return of EU fiscal rules. That could either create a standoff with Brussels (worst case) or a German push for more pan-European lenience on fiscal rules and rule reform (the best case).

Creative accounting could also come to the rescue

There are alternative solutions linked to somewhat creative accounting: The debt brake requires a deficit of no larger than 0.35% of GDP in structural terms. The bigger the output gap, the larger the nominal value of the allowed deficit. Upward revisions to potential growth or downward revisions to 2024 growth forecasts (1.3% at the moment vs 0.3% in our scenario) could free up additional resources compatible with the rule.

Alternatively, the government could opt to empty the so-called "control account" in 2024. It's a fictive accounting value. Basically, in years when the deficit is smaller than the rule requires, the "control account" gets credited, and vice versa. It is currently in surplus by a little more than EUR40bn.

The clean long-term solution, ie rule reform, is not available

There are more alternatives to allow for a "cleaner" and long-term solution. Enshrining the climate transformation fund in the constitution, akin to the defence budget, could be one. Fiscal rule reform, also. But both require $2/3^{rd}$ majorities that the current government doesn't have. And we doubt the political dynamic is conducive for opposition cooperation at this stage, unlike at the start of the war in Ukraine, which led to the defence budget vote.

Eventually, debt brake reform will become unavoidable. Zero budget, zero net carbon emissions and 2% defence spending are not compatible. But reform is unlikely before the 2025 election at the very earliest.

Meanwhile, political choices are tough and can further raise tensions within the ruling coalition. Finding a solution to 2024 budgets is now urgent. It will probably absorb a lot of time and political capital, putting strains on already tense coalition relations and reducing the room for any meaningful new policy ambitions. We don't think early elections are more than a tail risk, but stalemate in the current environment is uncomfortable enough.

Ramifications for European fiscal policy are equally unclear. More constraints at home could raise the appetite to run some climate capex via European sources – NGEU is a template here. At the same time, tighter fiscal policy at home could significantly reduce the appetite to agree on more lenient rules at EU level. Again, the outcome is highly uncertain, and risks are that any political capital will have to be spent on domestic matters, leaving not much room for European matters at all.



Risks of lower growth, lower supply

While it forces a debate on the debt brake (the abandonment of which would be bearish Bunds), the natural near-term implication of the German court ruling for EUR rates markets can be seen as bullish due to two aspects. First, it creates downside risks to real economic growth, with even scope for a recession (Europe Economic Weekly, 24-Nov). Second, it suggests lower supply of German governments bonds, although this would also depend on Finanzagentur's funding mix.

Exhibit 1 shows money vs capital markets issuance revisions in net terms. Typically, money markets absorb the bulk of funding surprises. Given the relatively large size of Bubills outstanding relative to Germany's history (as well as vs the Eurozone Government Debt market average) we think there is scope for the Finanzagentur absorb around €20bn of the lower funding needs through money markets to reach "normalisation" to the Eurozone average. More aggressive cuts – of €35bn – cannot be ruled out.

Exhibit 1: Revisions to German Quarterly Funding

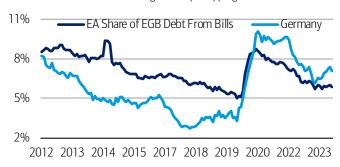
Money market supply revisions tend to be 2x those of bonds when cutting

	2Q22	3Q22	4Q22	2Q23	3Q23	4Q23
Bills	-	-	12	-	-10	-23
Bonds	-	0.5	10.5	-	-4	-8

Source: Finanzagentur, own calcs. Numbers in EUR billions

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Exhibit 2: Share of Bills vs total debt securities – EA vs Germany German stock of bills outstanding can keep dropping to "normalization"



Source: ECB

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Therefore, ~€18-30bn may be left to be absorbed by lower capital markets issuance. This potential cut can be diluted between primary and secondary market operations (fewer sales of bonds held in own accounts). On this, selling/cancelling €30bn of own holdings would achieve normalisation to pre-Covid levels as share of total outstanding.

Following this logic, after a €20bn cut to Bubills, we may see max €30bn downside to our primary market issuance assumption for Germany in 2024 (€261bn in gross terms), emphasizing the different supply dynamics for Germany vs the rest (Exhibit 3). Again, we would emphasize that these calculations have aggressive assumptions of cuts to total financing needs and relatively small contribution from money markets so we would treat them as an extreme downside scenario.

Exhibit 3: Projected supply net of coupons, redemptions, buybacks and QE in 2024

Germany may stand out even more as the country with the biggest cuts to issuance, despite QT

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total	Chg.
Austria	7	0	5	1	5	2	-7	1	4	-7	1	1	12	2
Belgium	5	5	1	5	5	-7	4	3	5	-6	0	0	22	0
Finland	4	0	1	-3	4	1	0	3	-1	1	2	0	10	-3
France	32	1	-4	17	-6	29	16	14	32	20	-12	3	140	17
														-23 (-
Germany	12_	4	9	3	9	12	22	9	7	12	27	-5	120 (90)	53)
Greece	2	0	0	-1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	0
Ireland	4	0	-6	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Italy	14	21	3	8	-1	31	9	0	0	13	17	-14	101	41
Netherland														
s	-4	7	6	3	5	6	-9	0	6	3	3	0	26	6
Portugal	3	-4	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	6	4
Spain	11	23	16	-4	-1	23	-3	7	19	-5	-2	5	89	18
													530	
Total	89	57	31	31	22	95	32	37	75	32	38	-10	(500)	65 (35)

Exhibit 3: Projected supply net of coupons, redemptions, buybacks and QE in 2024 $\,$

Germany may stand out even more as the country with the biggest cuts to issuance, despite QT

Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec Total Chg.

Source: BofA Global Research. Numbers are expressed in EUR bn. We assume PEPP reinvestments at 50% of the total from H2 onwards

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