

**Policy options against macroeconomic  
imbalances within the EMU  
– how to address the surplus countries**

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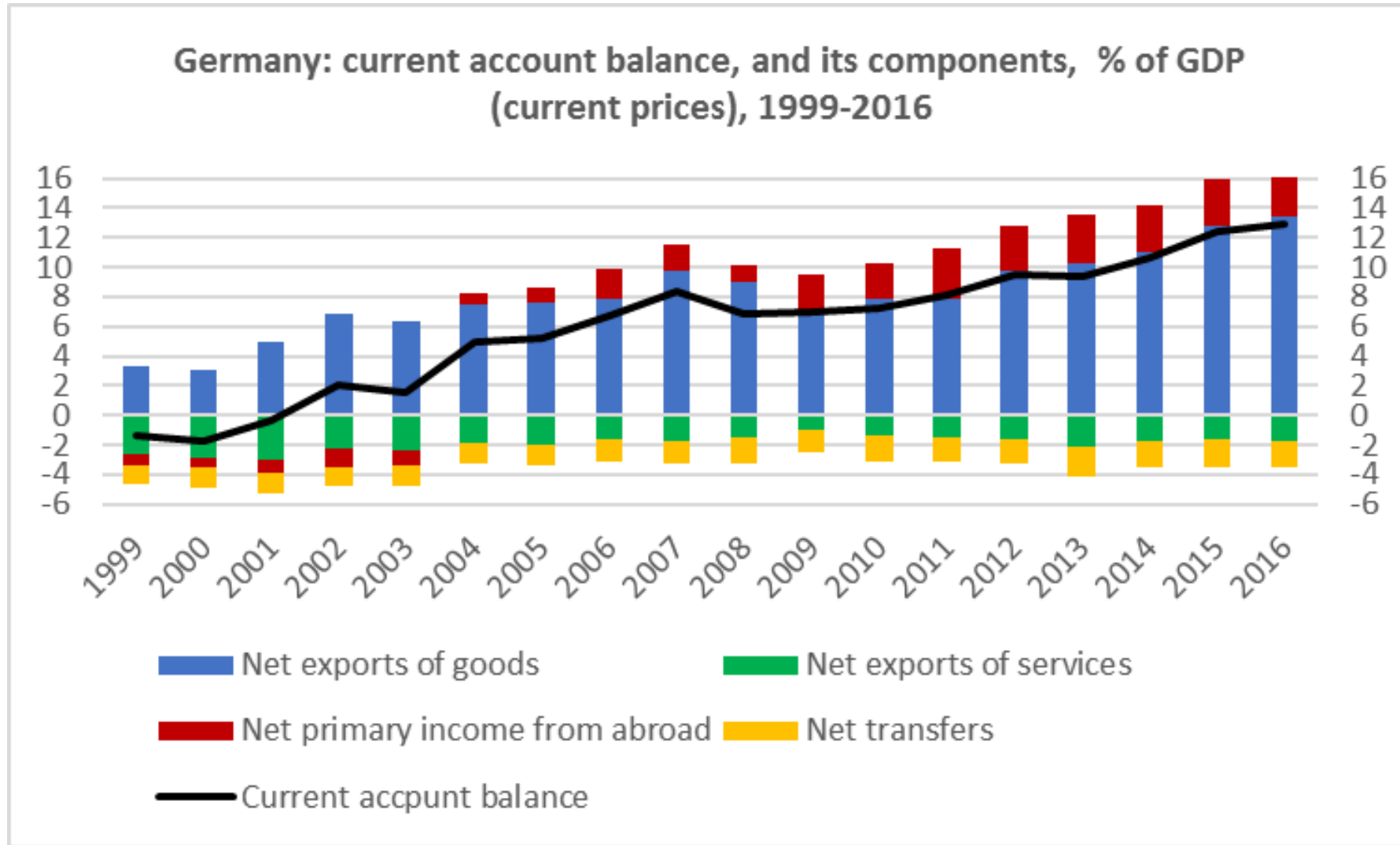
**Athens 2017**

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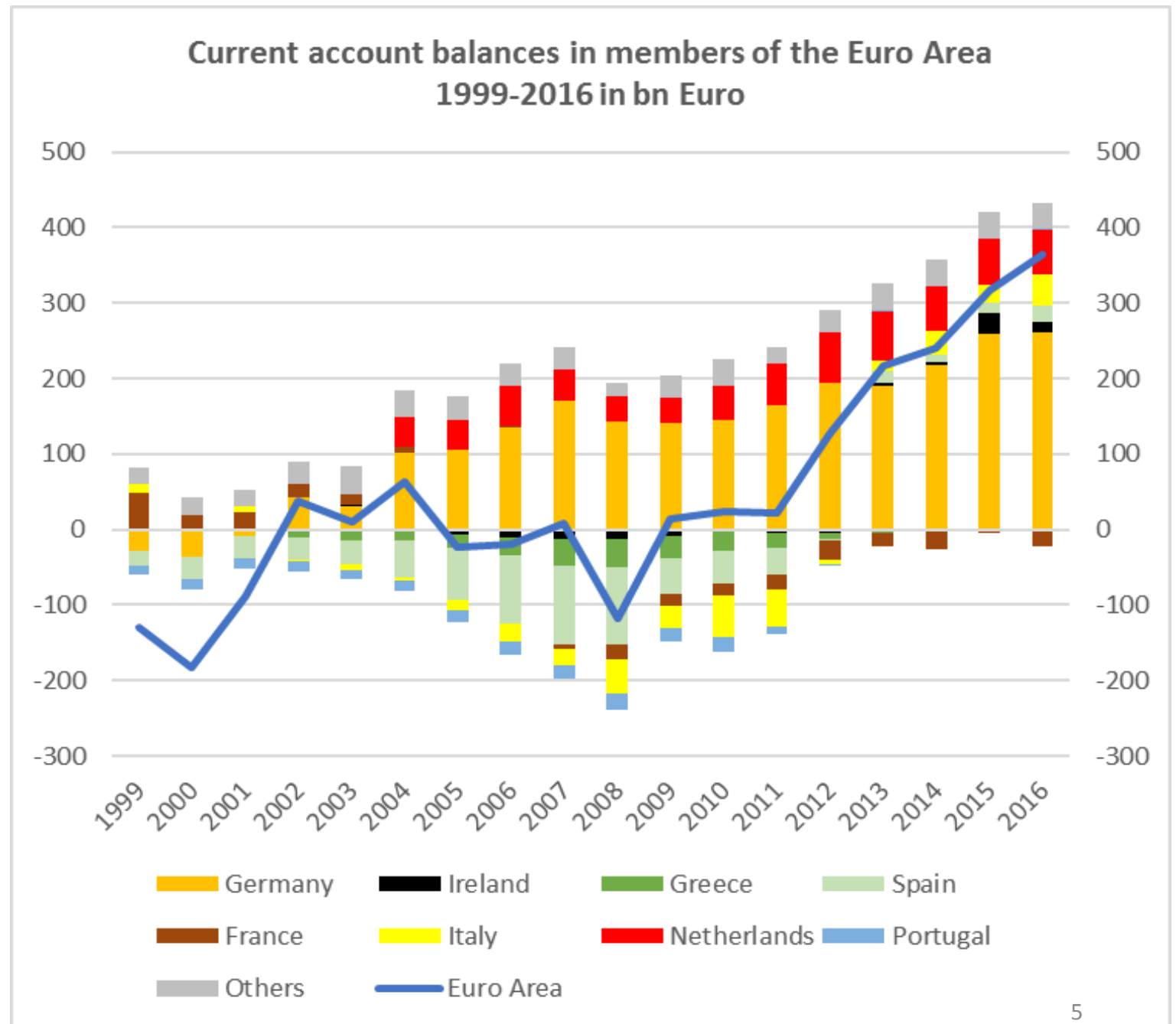
# Research questions

- Understanding the main surplus country
- Sorting out what the key problems are with the imbalances
- Search for policy proposals addressing mainly the surplus countries

# Overview on the main surplus country



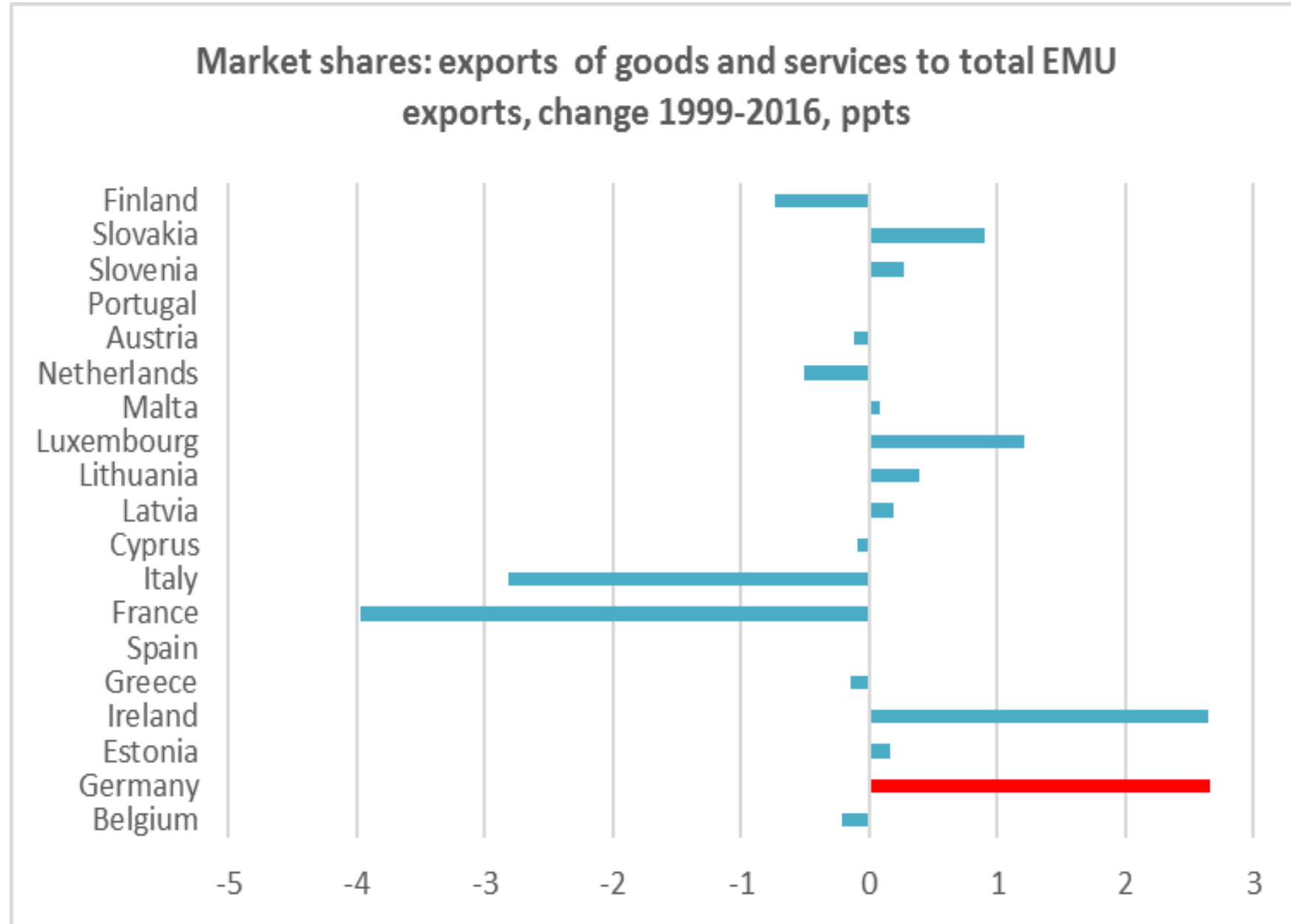
Almost all deficits  
have faded,  
external surplus  
rose



Note: US- and China share look stronger because of strong US\$ after 2008



Main winners and losers in EMU exports market shares 1999-2016:  
+ DE, IRE, Lux  
- F, IT, FL

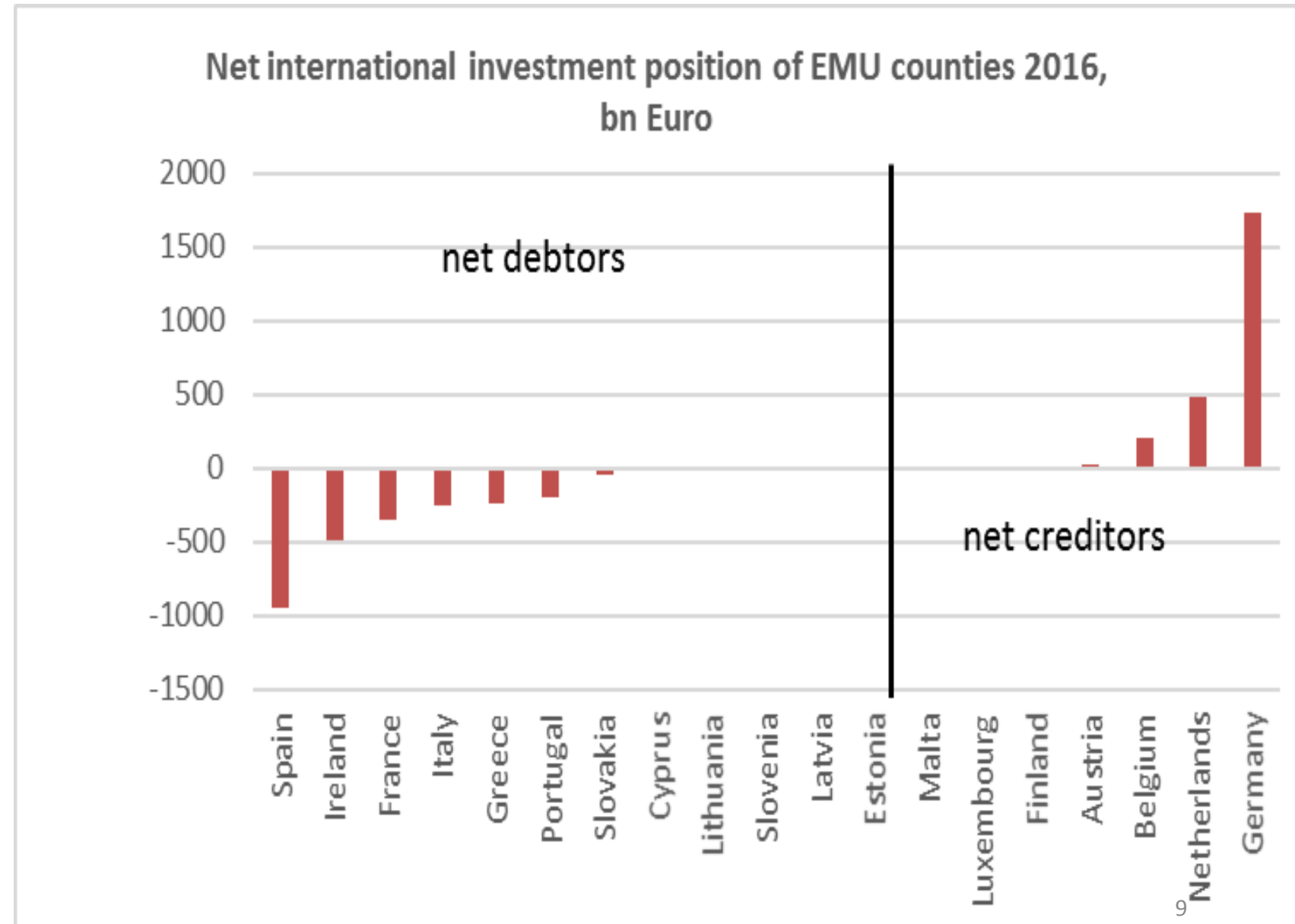


# Massive and divergent structural changes

	Change of exports/GDP ratio, %	Exports/GDP ratio, %	Change in manufacturing/GDP, %	manufacturing VA/GDP, %
	1999-2016	2016	1999-2016	2016
Luxembourg	74,2	228,8	-48,6	5,5
<b>Germany</b>	<b>70,2</b>	<b>46,0</b>	<b>1,3</b>	<b>22,6</b>
Portugal	52,1	40,3	-24	13,6
Greece	49,7	30,1	-7,9	9,8
Latvia	47,4	58,0	-18,0	12,5
Ireland	38,3	119,9	38,4	36,7
Netherlands	33,8	80,6	-22,6	12,0
Austria	32,4	52,3	-7,4	18,7
Belgium	32,0	84,8	-26,9	14,2
Italy	29,0	30,0	-18,0	10,1
Spain	25,3	33,1	-21,3	14,1
France	14,6	29,5	-29,6	12,0
Finland	-6,0	35,4	-36,8	16,6 <sup>8</sup>



Power shift:  
Germany  
became THE  
BIG net debtor  
nation



# What has caused the German surplus?

## A. Growth of $x >$ growth of $M$

Growth of value of exports:  $\hat{XV} = f(\mathbf{y}_w, p_w, t, \epsilon_{wy}, r\hat{e})$

Growth of value of imports:  $\hat{MV} = f(e_{\text{\$}\text{\text{€}}}, \mathbf{y}_D, p_w, t, \pi_x, \pi_D, r\hat{e})$

**Export „problem“:** high price and structural competitiveness

Rising export market shares, globally and in EMU

Other countries deindustrialised

**import problem:**

~ 50% of imports are import content of exports

- rest of imports depends on weak dynamics of domestic demand

- Broad manufacturing base

Long-standing structural change towards exports and focus on manufacturing

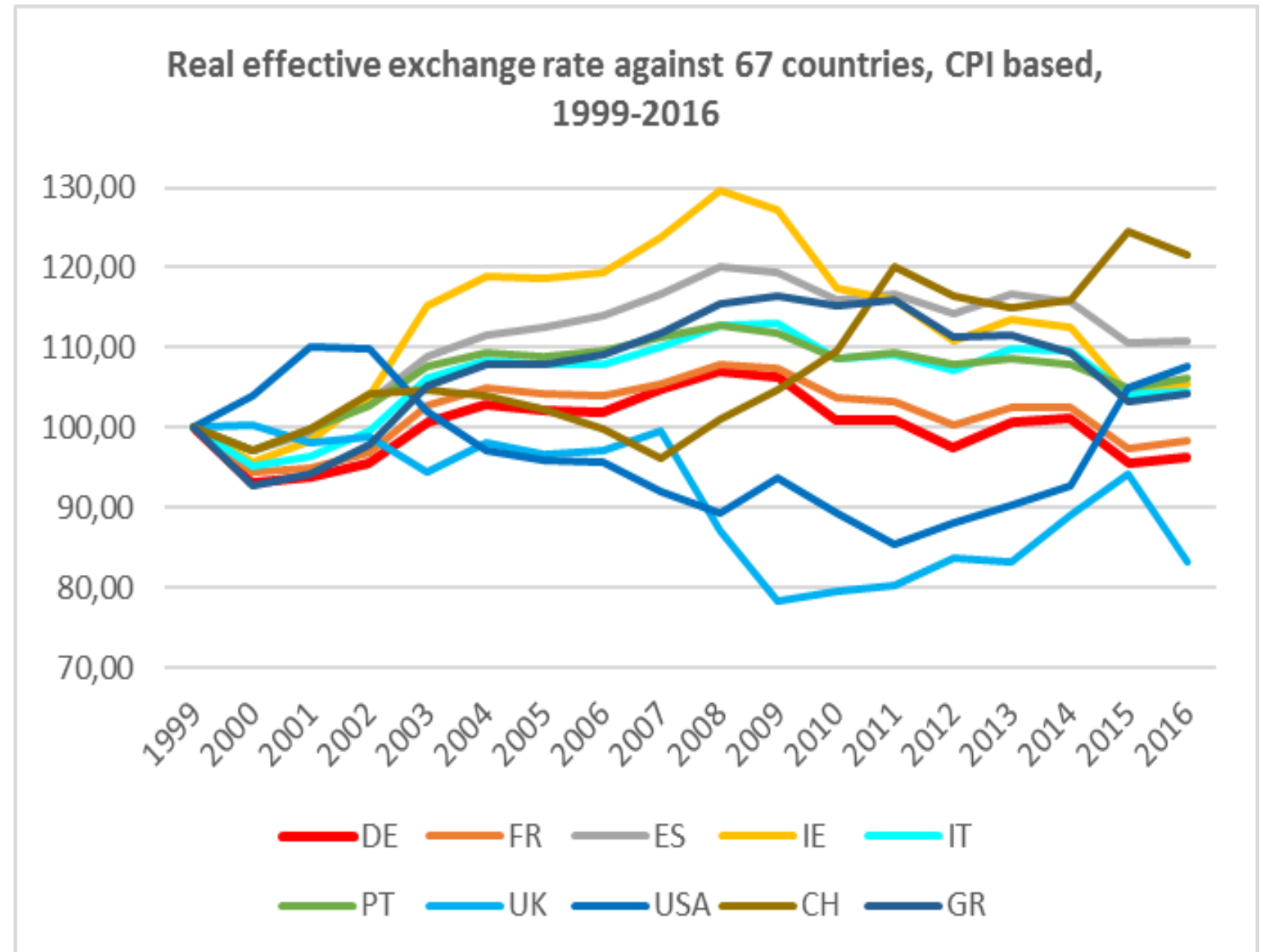
## B. Current account = total saving of all sectors - investment

Exports and imports  
diverge  
Growth rates p.a., 1999-2016

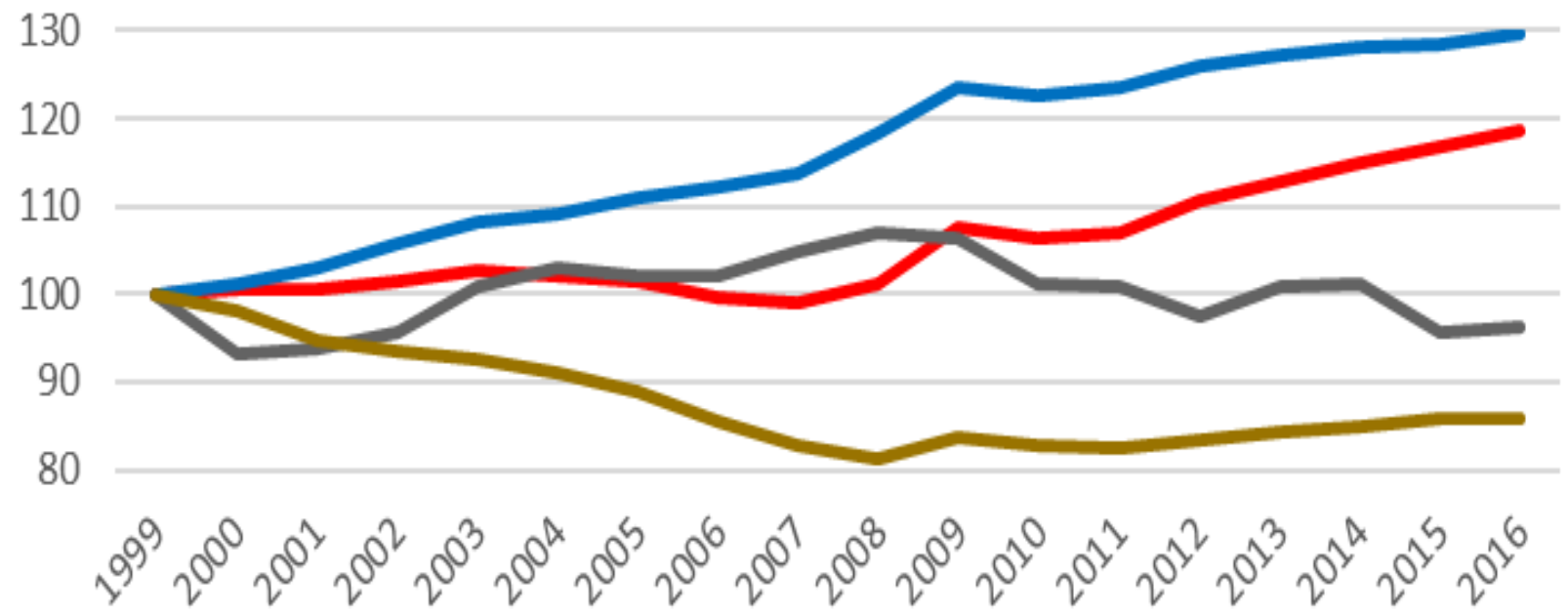
DE GDP 2.5%  
DE imports 4.8%  
World GDP ex DE % 5.0%  
DE exports 5.7%  
Gross capital formation  
world ex DE 5.9%  
World exports ex DE 6.3%



Exchange rates and unit labour costs play a role, but ... more indirectly



### Germany's price competitiveness , measured by REER and ULC

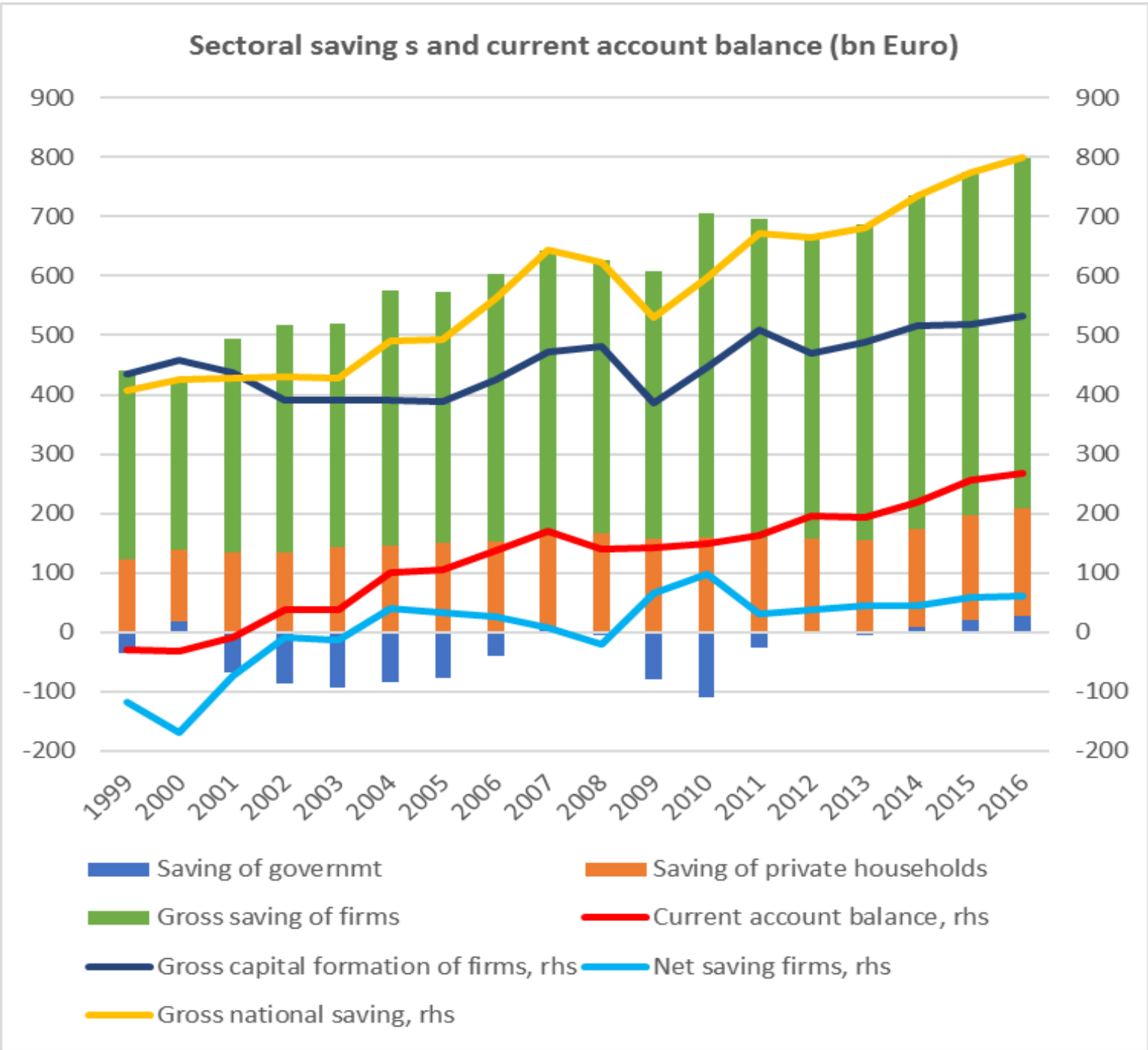


- DE nominal unit labour costs
- Euro Area nominal unit labour costs
- DE REER relative to 67 countries, CPI based
- DE Relative unit labour costs relative to 37 industrial countries (in Euro)

Savings rose relative to GDP

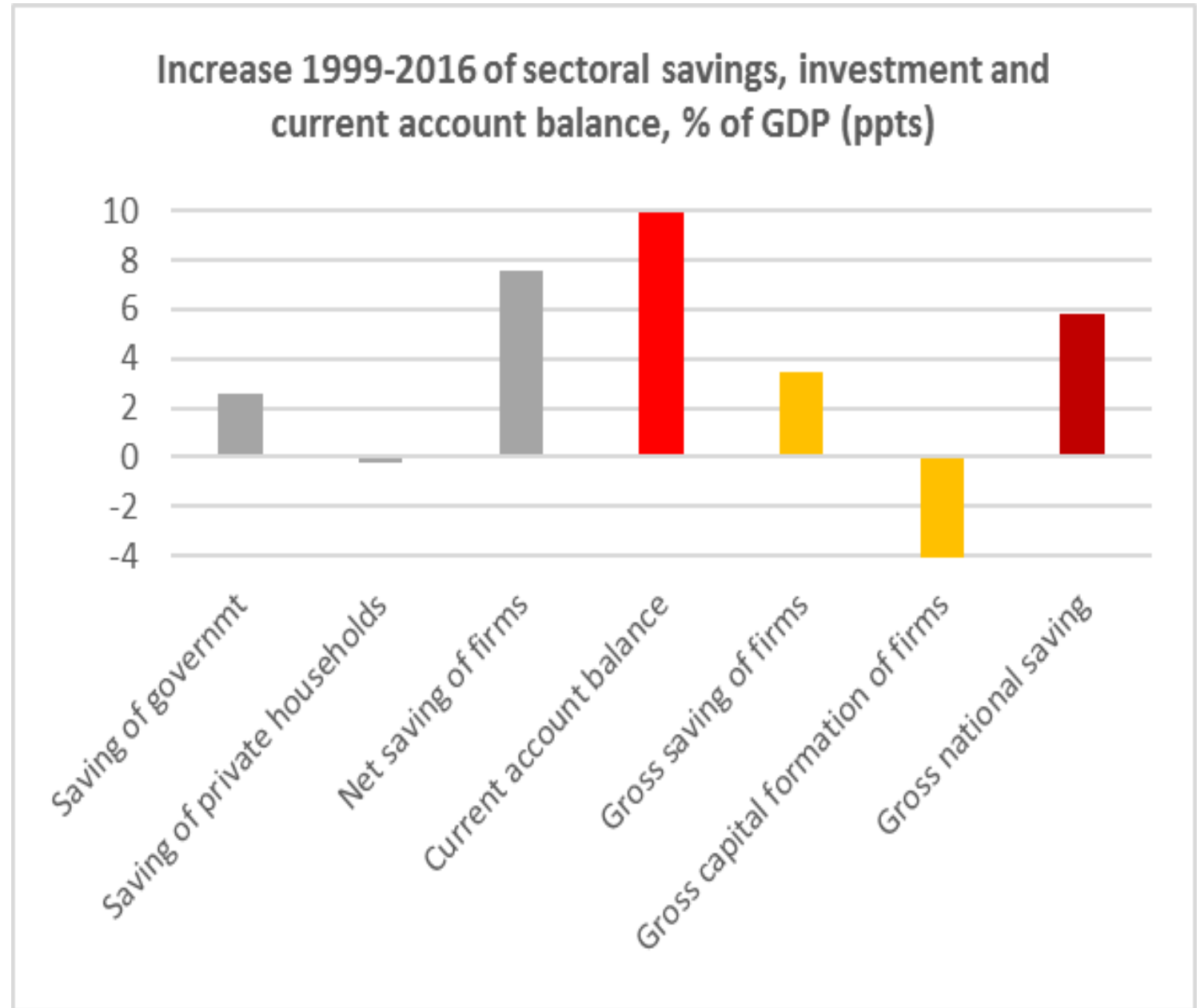
$$CAB = S - I$$

$$S = S_{HH} + S_{Gov} + S_{firms}$$



Increase CAB/GDP  
1999-2016 mainly  
due to

- $S_{\text{firms}}$
- reduced investments
- and  $S_{\text{gov}}$



## Explosive matter - trade balance projections 2016-2026

Germany: Six projections for the trade balance 2026 and 2021					
	Exports	Imports	Trade balance	GDP	Trade balance
2016	1441.7 bn	1202.6 bn	239.1 bn	3132.7 bn	7.6% of BDP
1999-2016, growth trends, % p.a.	5.74%	4.78%		2.48%	
	growth p.a.	growth p.a.	growth p.a.	growth p.a.	% of GDP
2026, 1 <sup>st</sup>	5.74	4.78	9.6	3.0	14.25
2026, 2 <sup>nd</sup>	5.74	4.78	9.6	4.0	12.9
2026, 3 <sup>rd</sup>	5.74	5.74	5.74	3.0	9.9
2026, 4 <sup>th</sup>	5.74	5.74	5.74	4.0	9.0
2026, 5 <sup>th</sup>	5.74	6.64	-0.003	4.0	5.0
2021, 6 <sup>th</sup>	4.0	6.0	-9.8	3.0	3.9



<b>Growth of nominal exports and imports (incl. services), GDP and the trade balance in Germany 1991-2016</b>			
Growth of nominal ..., % p.a.	1991-1999	1999-2016	1991-2016
exports	5.08	5.74	5.64
Imports	3.57	4.78	4.65
GDP	3.56	2.48	2.62
Trade balance, % of GDP	-1.7 (1999)	0.7 (1999)	7.6 (2016)

## Potential stabilisers?

- appreciation of Euro against USD?
- Rise in oil and commodity prices?
- Demographic change, aging?
- Further outsourcing /re-location to Eastern Europe?
- Scarcer labour, rising wages → rising imports?
- Crises in deficit countries?
- China catching-up ?

???

## Why is there a problem with surpluses, in particular with Germany's surplus?

- It has built-in mechanism to rise → explosive!
- Can split EMU/EU further in two blocs, cohesion of EU at risk
- France and Italy lose market shares against Germany, among others
- $\frac{3}{4}$  of net capital outflows is not FDI, mostly short term finance
- Risks of excessive inflows in deficit countries and „sudden stops“/reversal
- Export-led growth in DE led to low GDP growth 1999-2016, domestic demand dampened, export opportunity of partners narrowed
- Deficit countries forced to internal devaluation
- Exchange rate Euro/Dollar is misfit for one bloc or the other
- Monetary policy is unlikely to suit all
- But: little problems in good times, potentially disastrous in bad times
- Imbalances in currency union are different

# Policy options

## Guidelines

necessary: **continuous** strong rise in imports, not one-off level increase

- Increase policy awareness
- Long adjustment period: change from export-led to wage-led growth
- real internal revaluation → raise costs and prices (3% inflation, wage increase above golden rule) during adjustment period
- Increase GDP growth to 2%: expansionary fiscal policy for public investment, housing

## Measures

- wage policy, inclusive wage increases for bottom wages, sector-wide overage of wage tariffs
- tax measures reducing excess corporate saving (retained profits); increase tax rate for property income
- change labour market policy that sustains precarious work contracts
- redistribution of income to bottom 1/3 of households
- structural change via innovation policies in France, Italy etc., stop deindustrialisation

- reducing fiscal protectionism (e.g. lignite mining)
- reforms the Macroeconomic Imbalance Procedure (MIP)
  - change thresholds from -4/+6 to -3/+3%. Private external deficits need caps if sustainable, similar to public debt.
  - change MIP indicators /thresholds to address surplus countries symmetrically
  - obligatory transfers for surplus countries to EU innovation fund in case of excessive surplus

### Other measures:

- **Administrative measures:** tradable export permits , de facto variable fees for excess exports incl. quantitative export restriction (Stiglitz)? Only in mild form!
- **Capital flow management:** avoid huge short-term capital to EMU countries, surveillance, capital inflow controls in deficit countries?
- **Reform of EU MIP**

## Reforms of MIP

- Thresholds for current account balances  $-4/+6\% \rightarrow -3/+3\%$ ,
- Cap for deviation from average of the rest 3 ppts  $\rightarrow$  relative imbalance matters
- New upper threshold for NIIP  $\rightarrow +35\%$
- Add inflation divergence indicator (1 ppt p.a. over 3 yrs)
- New ULC thresholds based on (medium term) golden rule for wages (+1% buffer)
- Surveillance of capital exports of surplus countries, capital inflow controls?
- Corrective measures in case of excessive imbalance: payment of **transfers** to deficit countries, earmarked for innovation
- Excessive surplus countries should be obliged to run higher budget deficits (exemption from SGP and Fiscal Compact), **no twin or triple surplus**
- Both intra and extra EMU imbalances should be reduced

# Outlook

- Bottom line: package of measures; each one has small effects per year;
- Returning to 6% surplus would be great accomplishment in medium term; change decision making in EMU/EU that gives too much power to net creditor countries
- rebalancing via surplus countries takes long time once imbalances are high  
→ change of structure of production necessary
- Key: create awareness in surplus countries about causes and potential remedies; putting surplus issue on the political radar in the self-interest of the country
- Is a long-term surplus sustainable? Yes, if debtors could pay debt service and when loans are rolled over ever and ever; this is more likely if debtors have higher growth.
- Measures taken will prevent further rise of surplus and contribute not very much to reduce surplus, simulations necessary

# Appendix



### Germany: growth of exports and imports (incl. services), GDP, domestic demand and deflator GDP (in current prices), index 1999 = 100

