

# Is the eurozone crisis over – and what about Greece? Martin Wolf, Associate Editor & Chief Economics Commentator, Financial Times

Eliamep Lecture

16th December 2015

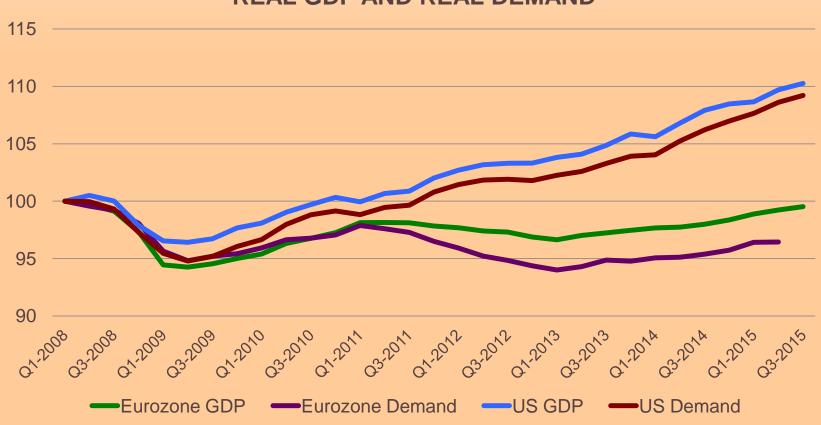
Athens, Greece

## Eurozone crisis

- Illusory "recovery"
- Germany's eurozone
- Crisis-hit countries
- Challenges of a bad marriage

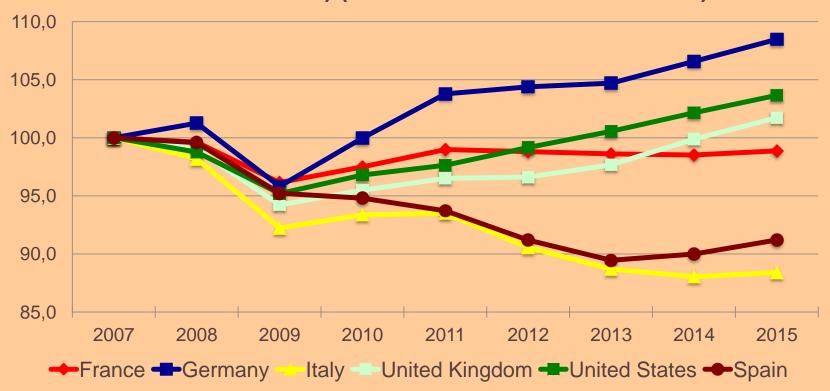
- The eurozone crisis has stopped getting worse
- But output and employment are very weak
- The European Central Bank was the main actor
- But adjustment and reform have also taken place

# DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THE US AND EUROZONE REAL GDP AND REAL DEMAND



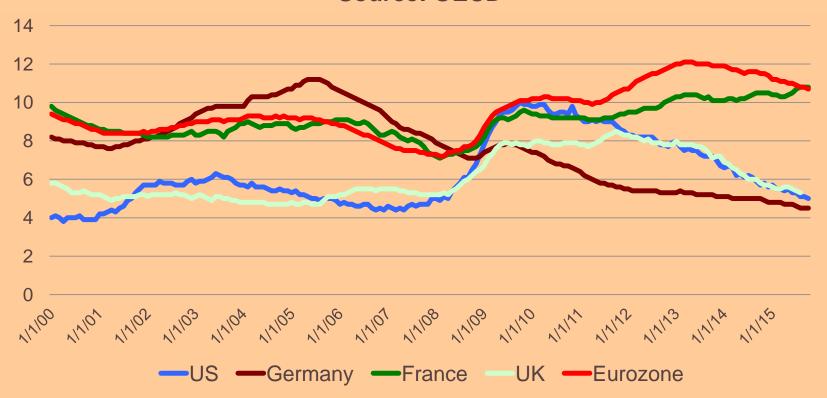
#### **DIVERGENCE IN LIVING STANDARDS**

GDP PER HEAD (2007 = 100; at purchasing power parity; 2015 is a forecast) (Source: The Conference Board)



#### SLOW TURNAROUND IN UNEMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT (per cent of the labour force)
Source: OECD



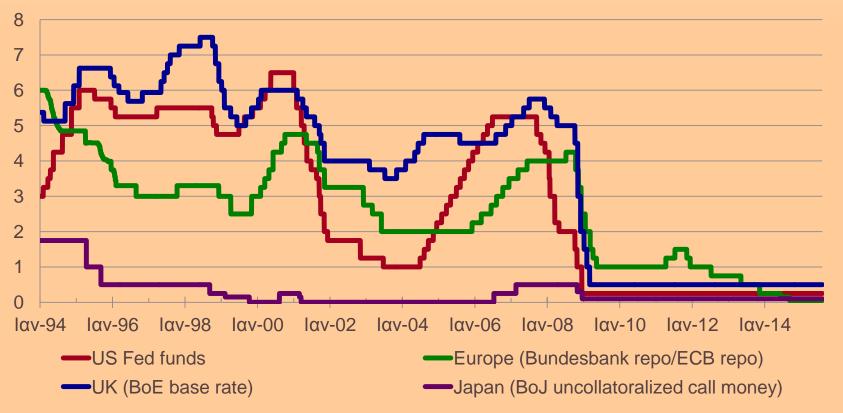
#### **CAUGHT IN A "LOW-FLATION" TRAP**

**CORE CONSUMER PRICE INFLATION RATE (per cent)** 



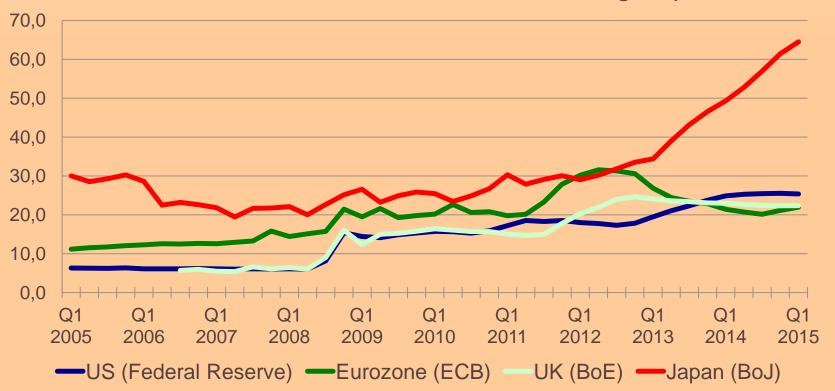
#### THE ECB GETS THERE FAR TOO LATE

OFFICIAL POLICY RATES (Source: Thomson Reuters Datastream)



#### THE ECB GETS TO QE TOO LATE

CENTRAL BANK ASSETS OVER GDP per cent) (Source: Thomson Reuters Datastream and Bank of England)



#### FORECASTERS ADJUST THEIR VIEWS

#### **SUCCESSIVE CONSENSUS FORECASTS FOR 2015**



#### **EUROZONE HAS A RECOVERY OF SORTS**

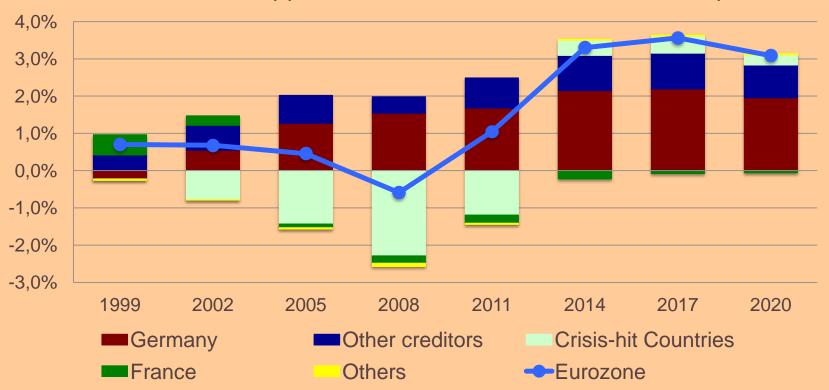
#### **SUCCESSIVE CONSENSUS FORECASTS FOR 2016**



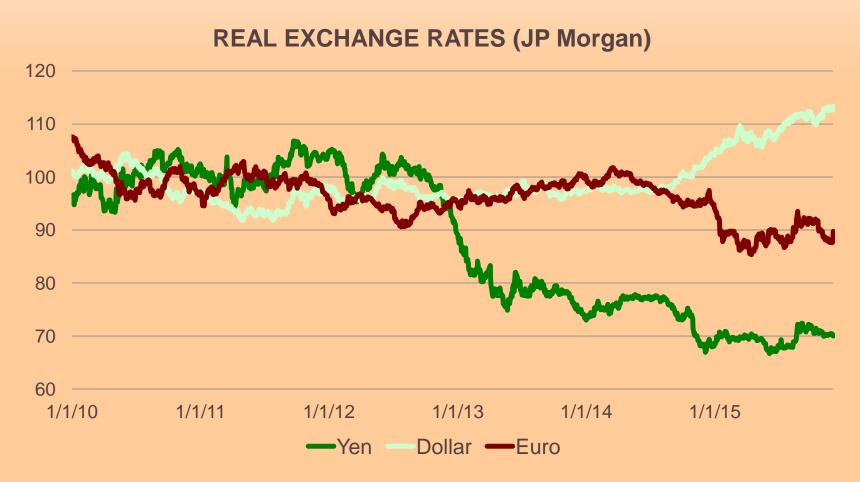
- Aggregate demand has been chronically weak
- The eurozone has also externalised its adjustment
- A weak euro has helped

#### TURNING INTERNAL INTO EXTERNAL IMBALANCE

Eurozone Imbalances on Current Account (as per cent of eurozone GDP) (Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook Database)

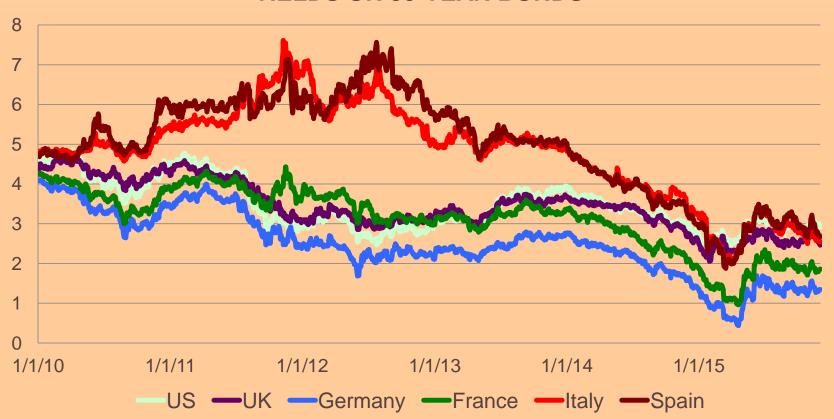


#### **ECB HELPS**



#### GERMANY'S GAIN IN A DISINFLATIONARY WORLD

#### **YIELDS ON 30-YEAR BONDS**

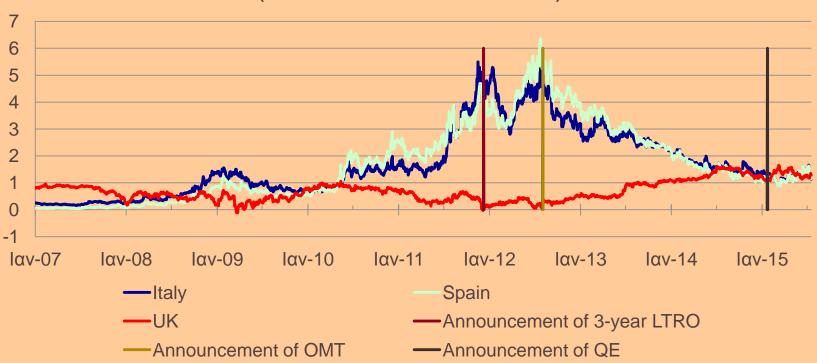


- The ECB has eliminated panic, except in Greece
- All crisis-hit countries are in deep recession, properly defined
- But most are at least growing
- Greece is the exception
- But the crisis has left dreadful scars
- This has been, at least, a lost decade

#### SURPRISING TRIUMP OF THE OMT PROGRAMME

#### SPREADS ON 10-YEAR BONDS OVER BUNDS

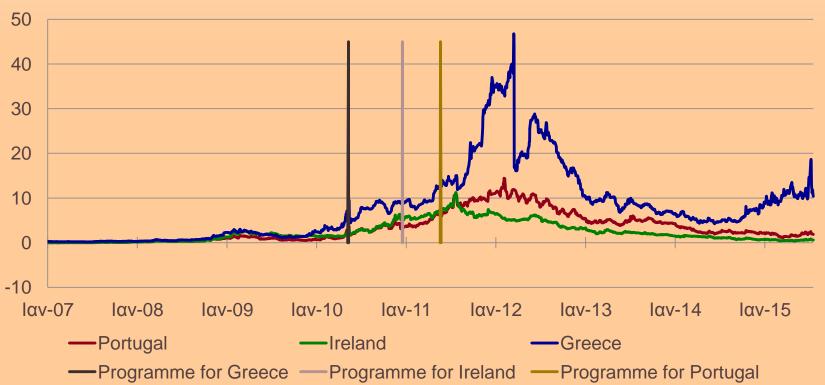
(Source: Thomson Reuters Datastream)



#### GREECE IS THE EXCEPTION

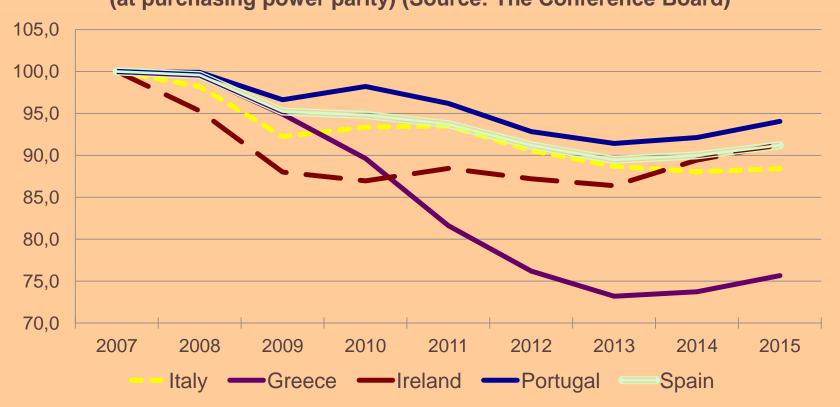
#### SPREADS ON 10-YEAR BONDS OVER BUNDS

(percentage points) (Source: Thomson Reuters Datastream)



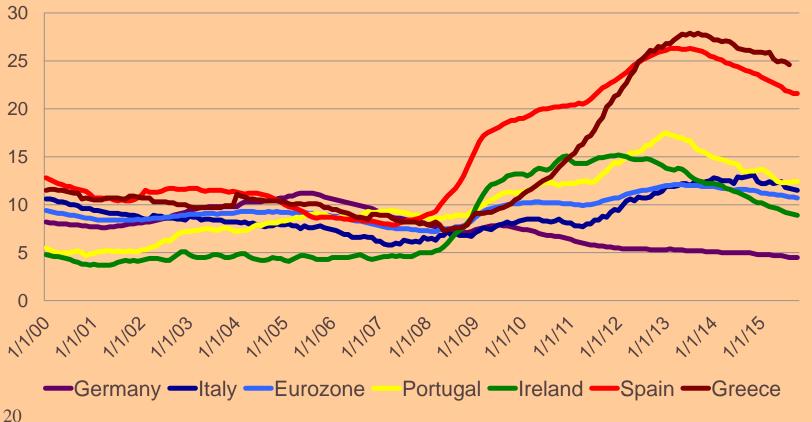
#### THE COST OF THE EUROZONE CRISIS

## GDP PER HEAD IN CRISIS-HIT EUROZONE COUNTRIES (at purchasing power parity) (Source: The Conference Board)



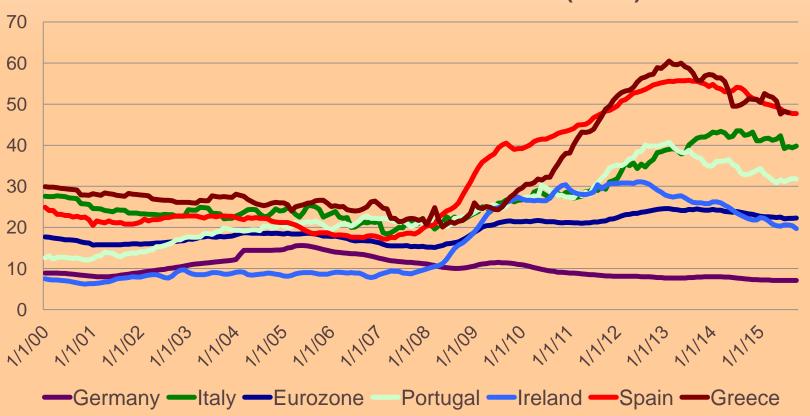
#### **UNEMPLOYMENT IN CRISIS-HIT COUNTRIES**

#### **UNEMPLOYMENT RATES**



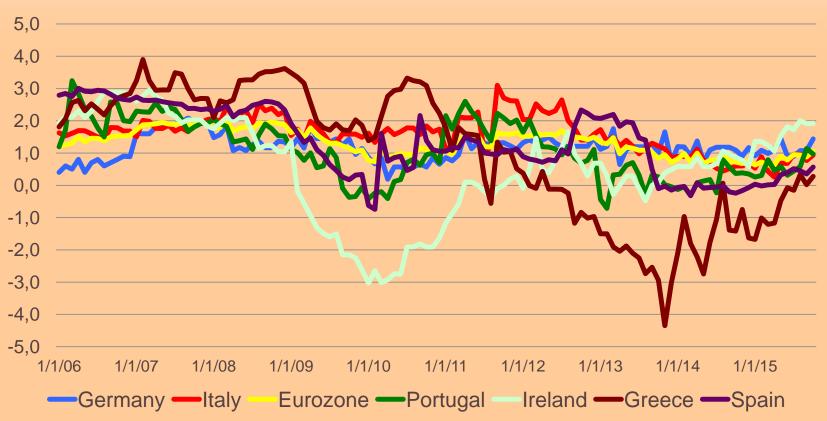
## 3. Running to stand still

# UNEMPLOYMENT IN CRISIS-HIT COUNTRIES YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT RATES (15-25)



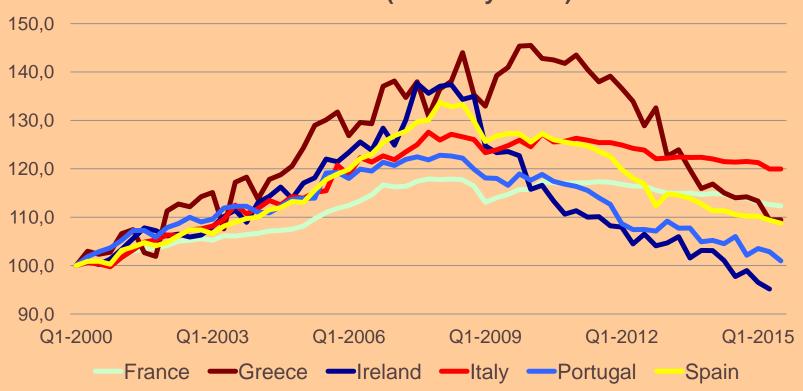
#### **RISK OF DEBT DEFLATION**

#### **CORE INFLATION IN THE EUROZONE**



#### **COMPETITIVE DISINFLATION AND RECESSIONS**

# WHOLE ECONOMY UNIT LABOUR COSTS RELATIVE TO GERMANY (Germany = 100)



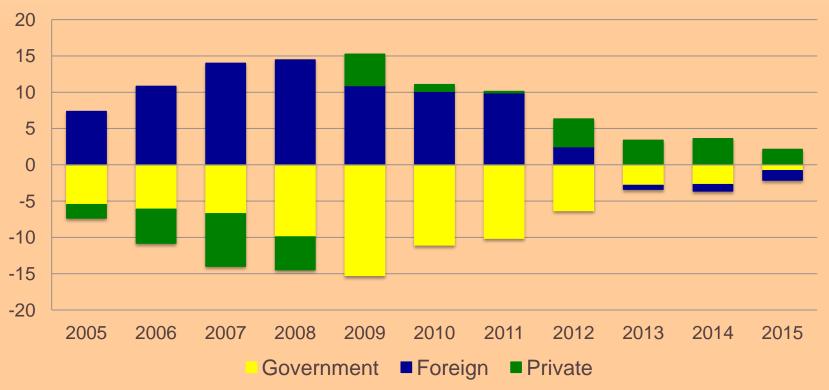
#### ELIMINATE CURRENT ACCOUNT IMBALANCES

# CURRENT ACCOUNT BALANCES IN THE EUROZONE (per cent of GDP)



#### THE DISAPPEARANCE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

SECTORAL FINANCIAL BALANCES IN GREECE (per cent of GDP) (Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook database)



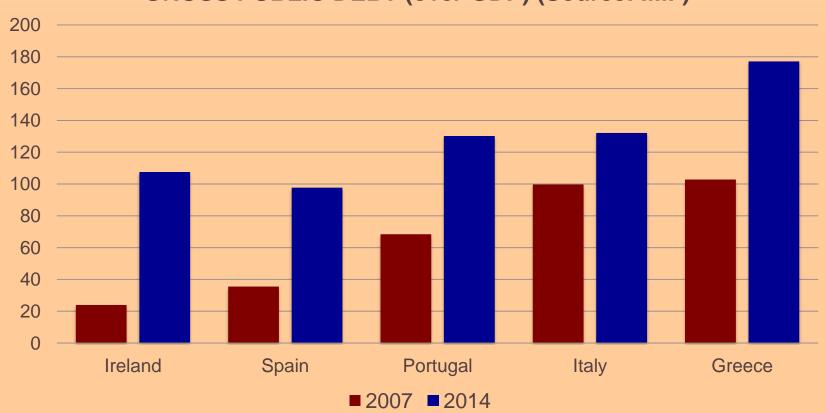
#### POST-CRISIS EXPLOSION IN DEBT

Change in Gross Indebtedness in the Real Economy, 2007-14 (as a per cent of GDP) (Source: McKinsey Global Institute)



#### **RISK OF DEBT DEFLATION**

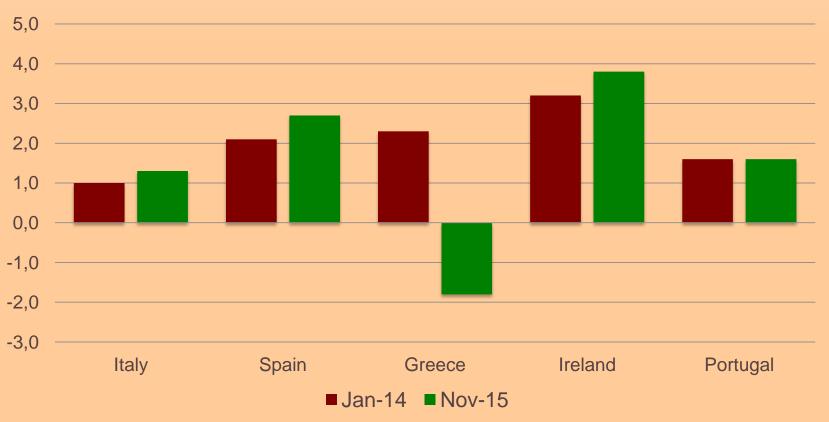
#### **GROSS PUBLIC DEBT (over GDP) (Source: IMF)**



#### **GREECE IS NOW ISOLATED CONSENSUS FORECASTS FOR 2015** 6,0 -5,0 3,0 2,0 1,0 0,0 -1,0 -2,0 Spain Italy Greece Ireland Portugal ■ Jan-14 ■ Nov-15

#### **GREECE IS NOW ISOLATED**

#### **CONSENSUS FORECASTS FOR 2016**



## 4. Challenges of a bad marriage

- The eurozone has dealt with its crisis far too slowly
- But it has made progress:
  - The ECB is almost a normal central bank, except that it cannot act as a normal lender of last resort
  - The European Stability Mechanism is an important backstop, but it is too small and too hedged with restrictions
  - Some useful (and less useful) rules have been introduced
- Nevertheless, it is not a true "adjustment union"
- It is a "discipline union" that is externalising its failings
- It might well be swept away in the next crisis

## 4. Challenges of a bad marriage

- The eurozone will not become a true federal union
- Solidarity has been greatly weakened by the crisis
- The eurozone will remain a gold standard mechanism, but with an active central bank
- Challenges for the eurozone if it is to become a "better marriage":
  - A minimum fiscal union, to back the banking union
  - Greater use of fiscal policy at eurozone and national levels
  - Greater reliance on risk-sharing finance
  - Faster and deeper resolution of bad debt

## 4. Challenges of a bad marriage

#### The challenge for Greece:

- This is a challenge of development, not just of macroeconomic adjustment
- The starting point must be a deep and permanent writedown of the present value of Greek debt
- But, if Greece wishes to stay inside the eurozone, it must become a normal European country, in terms of policies and institutions
- This will take decades, not years
- If Greece cannot live with this, it should consider leaving
- But it has little reason to expect better performance in the long run if it does