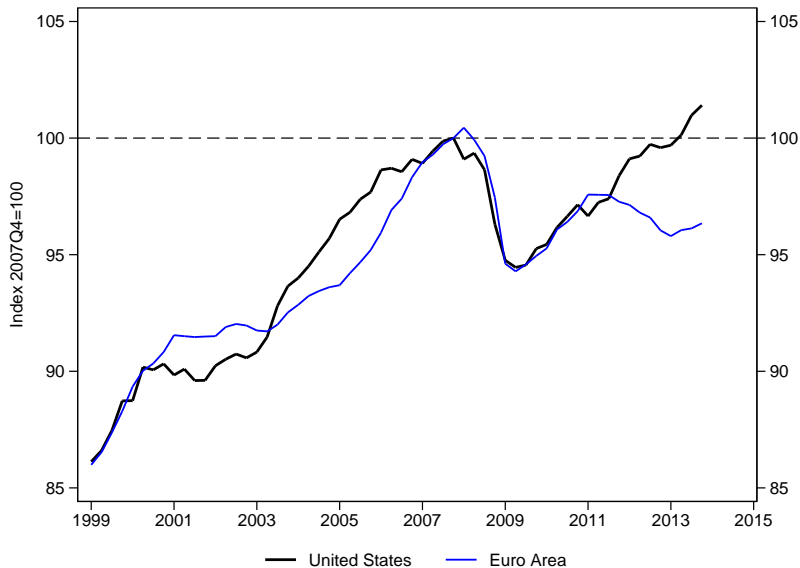


The Euro Area Crisis: Politics over Economics

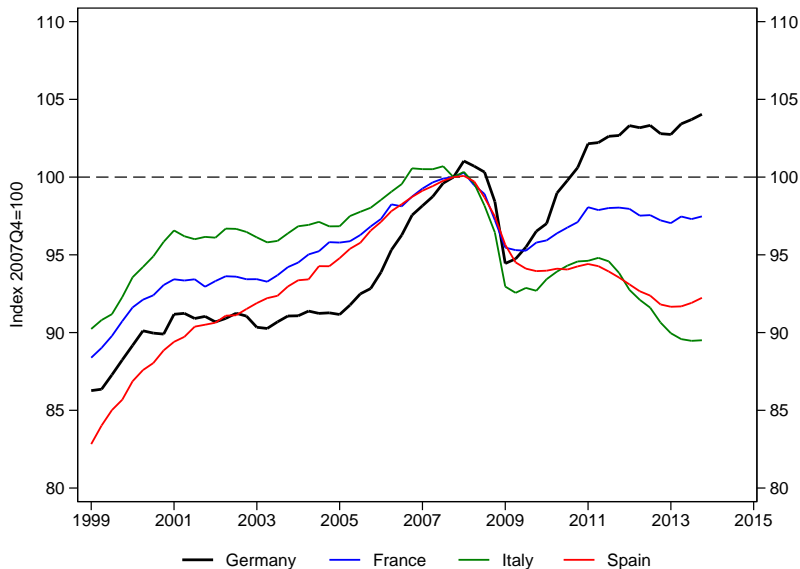
Athanasios Orphanides
MIT

Brussels, 31 March 2014

GDP per capita in the US and the euro area

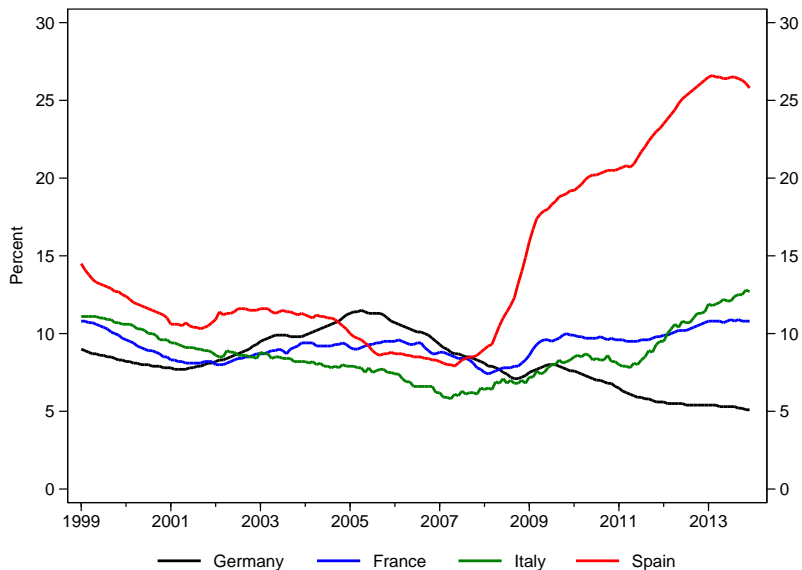


The disintegration of the euro area economy



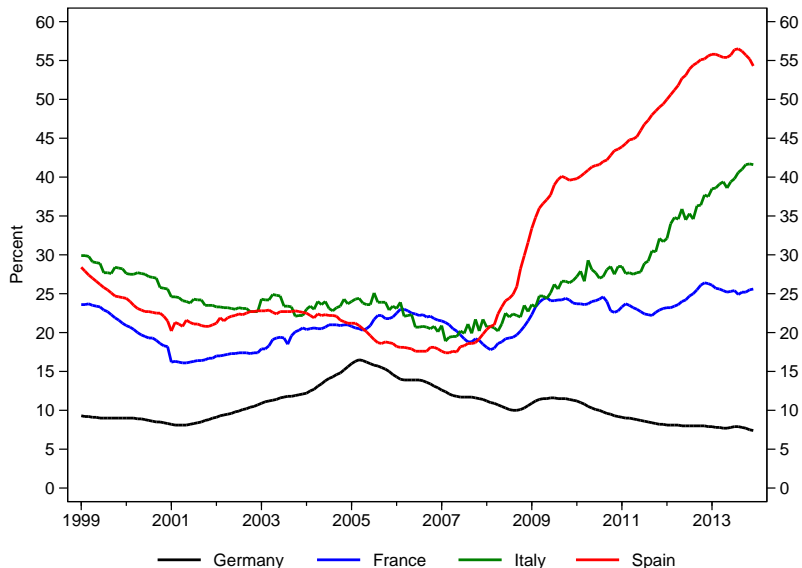
GDP per capita in four largest member states

The disintegration of the euro area economy



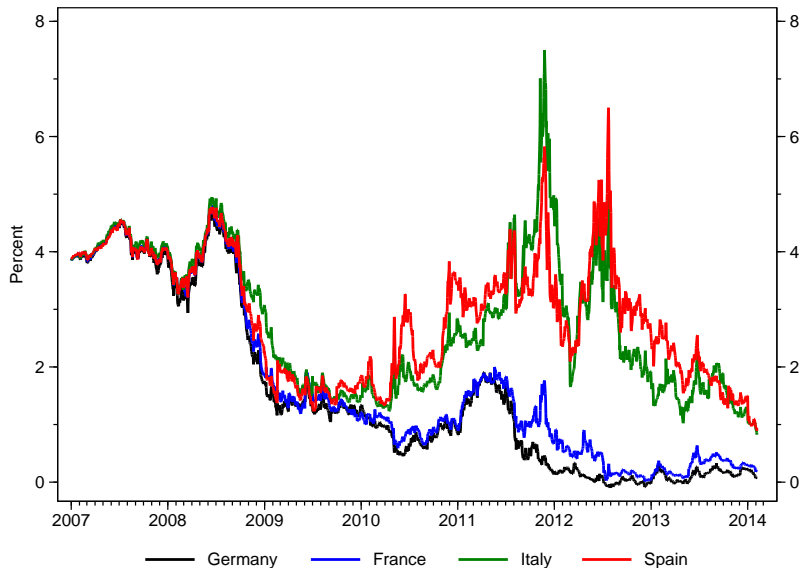
Unemployment rate in four largest member states

A lost generation in the making



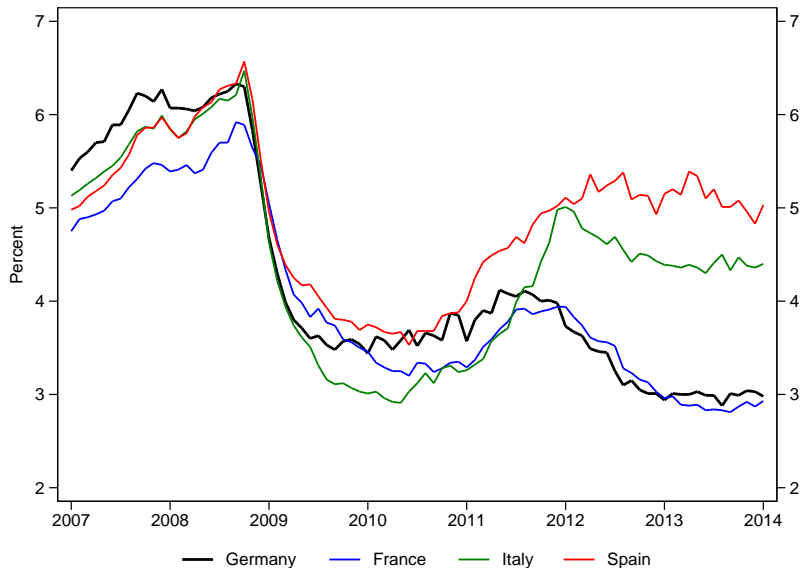
Youth unemployment rate (age 25 and under)

The disintegration of euro area sovereign markets



► Yields on two-year sovereign debt

The disintegration of the credit market



► Lending rates to corporations

Why is the euro project crashing to earth?

- ▶ Is the problem in Europe a “fiscal” problem, a “competitiveness” problem, a “banking” problem, etc?
- ▶ Alternatively, are these symptoms of a deeper flaw that cannot be solved with technical arguments?
- ▶ The trigger for the crisis was the need to finance about 1 percentage point of euro area GDP in 2010.
- ▶ Crisis mismanagement?

Crisis mismanagement: Two examples

- ▶ October 18, 2010, Deauville:
Decision to introduce credit risk in what used to be considered “safe” government debt.

- ▶ March 16, 2013, Brussels:
Decision to introduce credit risk in what used to be considered “safe” bank deposits.

Unique and exceptional blunders?

- ▶ Why the haphazard decisions?
- ▶ One explanation is that the blunders we have repeatedly observed during the crisis reflect incompetence. If so, this could be corrected with more enlightened advisers.
- ▶ Another explanation is that these blunders are a predictable manifestation of the decision making process. If so, a correction may not be feasible.

How could things get so bad?

- ▶ The euro was incomplete by design.
- ▶ No crisis management mechanism in place.
- ▶ The success of the euro rested on the belief or hope that if and when a crisis erupted governments would work together towards completing the project.
- ▶ This belief proved misplaced.

Why the failure?

- ▶ Every crisis generates losses.
 - ▶ Economic cost
 - ▶ Political cost
- ▶ Key question: **Who pays?**
- ▶ Proper crisis management minimizes the economic cost.
- ▶ This requires political leadership to advance the common good and political courage to accept political cost.
- ▶ Unfortunately, this proved infeasible in the euro area.

Why the failure?

- ▶ Europe is not a federal state—there is no government with either the incentives or the power to enforce solutions for the common good.
- ▶ Solutions require unanimous agreement by governments.
- ▶ Governments of member states bound to please their own electorate and serve local interests.
- ▶ Electoral consideration may induce a government to leverage the crisis for local political gain.

Who failed Europe?

- ▶ Key decision makers exhibited neither political leadership nor political courage.
- ▶ Rather than work towards containing total losses, politics led governments to focus on shifting losses to others.
- ▶ The result was massive destruction in some member states and a considerably higher total cost for Europe as a whole.
- ▶ European institutions could have been the last line of defense against this destructive dynamic but instead served to facilitate and enable the destruction.

Some examples of shifting losses

- ▶ Irish bank debt in 2010. Who was exposed? Who gained from forcing the Irish government to accept all losses?
- ▶ PSI concept introduction. Who benefited and who lost by injecting credit risk in euro area sovereign debt?
- ▶ Greek debt in 2010. Who was exposed? Who was protected by postponing the resolution of the crisis?
- ▶ Greek debt in 2012. Who benefited from protecting the ECB after banks in some member states unloaded their holdings to it?
- ▶ Bail-in in Cyprus in 2013. Who benefited from destroying the “business model” of the island? Who benefited from associated asset transfers?

The Deauville blunder: 18 October 2010

- ▶ Agreement between French and German government to introduce the Private Sector Involvement (PSI) doctrine.
- ▶ Whenever a euro area member state faced liquidity pressures (not necessarily solvency concerns), the imposition of losses on private creditors would be demanded before euro area governments agreed to provide any temporary assistance.
- ▶ Message to potential investors: Euro area sovereign debt should no longer be considered a safe asset with the implicit promise that it would be repaid in full.

Deauville implications

- ▶ The introduction of credit risk in euro area sovereign debt raised the cost of financing for euro area governments perceived to be relatively weak.
- ▶ The first casualty was Ireland that lost access to markets within a few weeks. Portugal followed a few months later.
- ▶ The PSI doctrine also generated the adverse feedback loop between sovereigns and banks that has been driving weakness in the periphery since then.
- ▶ Although it was a blunder for the euro area as a whole, not everybody lost. By making the debt of other member states riskier, the financing costs of some member states got lower.

The Cyprus blunder

- ▶ Cyprus: 0.2% of the euro area, entered euro in 2008
- ▶ Stable currency and finances before euro entry.
- ▶ Vulnerability: Large banking system.
- ▶ Problem: Communist government was in power for five years right after euro entry: March 2008—February 2013.
- ▶ The crisis in Cyprus started with the Cypriot government. First came overspending, then the politics of the Cypriot election in February 2013.
- ▶ It ended badly as a result of the politics of the German election in September 2013.

Could one see the Cyprus crisis coming?



- Five-year CDS on sovereign: 1 Jan 2010 – 28 Feb 2013.

The delay that made Cyprus unique.



- ▶ Markers show when assistance was sought and agreed.

Warnings?

- ▶ Communist government started overspending as soon as it took power in 2008.
- ▶ Euro area crisis made Cyprus vulnerable to unsustainable increases in public expenditures as a result of its large banking system and connectedness to Greece.
- ▶ Warnings regarding consequences of fiscal mistakes and need for correction were provided to the government by the Central Bank of Cyprus, the ECB, the EC and others as early as 2009.

A warning from the ECB, 15 December 2010

“In light of recent market concerns about public debt sustainability, it is more important than ever that every country benefiting from the common currency takes prompt and effective steps to ensure that its public finances are on a sound footing. Experience has shown that waiting for market pressures before acting exacerbates tensions and ultimately increases the needed adjustment size. Although Cyprus’ sovereign debt market has a limited size, significant concerns exist. **These concerns are particularly relevant in view of the large size of the Cypriot banking system, which may produce negative feedback loops between the financial sector and public debt. ... The challenges faced by the Cypriot economy require prompt corrective action.** We are confident that the Government will rapidly take the needed measures.”
(Letter to President Christofias)

Anybody listening?

- ▶ Not heeding ECB warnings was particularly costly. Through its actions, the ECB had demonstrated its willingness to provide support and diffuse stress situations.
- ▶ By 2010, euro area sovereign markets were disintegrating.
- ▶ During 2010, the ECB had already started purchases of Greek, Irish and Portuguese debt.
- ▶ During 2011, following similar letters to the heads of governments of Spain and Italy, and the adoption of measures by these government, the ECB started purchases of Italian and Spanish debt.

An “exchange of messages”

“Dear Prime Minister,

The Governing Council of the European Central Bank discussed on 4 August the situation in Italy’s government bond markets. The Governing Council considers that pressing action by the Italian authorities is essential to restore the confidence of investors. . . .

In view of the severity of the current financial market situation, we regard as crucial that all actions listed in section 1 and 2 above be taken as soon as possible with decree-laws, followed by Parliamentary ratification by end September 2011. A constitutional reform tightening fiscal rules would also be appropriate. . . .

We trust that the Government will take all the appropriate actions.”

(Letter by Mario Draghi and Jean-Claude Trichet sent to Silvio Berlusconi on August 5, 2011.)

What did the SMP buy?



EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK
EUROSYSTEM

PRESS RELEASE

21 February 2013 - Details on securities holdings acquired under the Securities Markets Programme

The Governing Council of the European Central Bank (ECB) decided today to publish the Eurosystem's holdings of securities acquired under the Securities Markets Programme (SMP). This decision is in line with the envisaged transparency stance for the Outright Monetary Transactions (OMTs) as communicated on 6 September 2012, at which time the SMP was terminated.

To this end the following table shows the breakdown of the Eurosystem's SMP holdings as at 31 December 2012, per country of issuer, indicated at nominal value, book value and average remaining maturity.

Issuer country	Outstanding amounts		Average remaining maturity (in years)
	Nominal amount (EUR billion)	Book value ^[1] (EUR billion)	
Ireland	14.2	13.6	4.6
Greece	33.9	30.8	3.6
Spain	44.3	43.7	4.1
Italy	102.8	99.0	4.5
Portugal	22.8	21.6	3.9
Total	218.0	208.7	4.3

^[1]The SMP holdings are classified as held-to-maturity and consequently valued at amortised cost.

What did the SMP NOT buy?

SMP countries (ECB purchases of sovereign bonds)

- ▶ Greece
- ▶ Ireland
- ▶ Portugal
- ▶ Italy
- ▶ Spain

Program countries

- ▶ Greece
- ▶ Ireland
- ▶ Portugal
- ▶ Cyprus
- ▶ Spain

How did the crisis start in Cyprus?

- ▶ In May 2011, the government lost access to markets.
- ▶ In July 2011, an explosion destroyed the island's largest power station. Over half of the island's electricity was lost and economy was thrown into recession.
- ▶ The government decided to avoid dealing with fiscal problems by securing financing through a bilateral loan from Russia to last through the February 2013 election.
- ▶ In October 2011, it created stress in the banking sector by agreeing with the Greek PSI plan that imposed 25% of GDP capital loss on banks.
- ▶ Starting in May 2012, in coordination with the bank supervisor (central bank), it run the February 2013 presidential campaign on a “blame the banks” platform.

The role of the central bank in the election

- ▶ Started investigations against banks, providing material for selective defamatory leaks that appeared in press and were used by the communist party as part of their election campaign.
- ▶ Started describing the banking model in Cyprus as “casino banking.”
- ▶ Forced banks to book accounting losses and took steps to exaggerate capital needs of banking system.
- ▶ Created the communist party election argument that “Cyprus was forced to ask help from troika because of banking problems and not fiscal problems.”

The February 2013 election in Cyprus

- ▶ The coordinated campaign succeeded in creating the image that the banking system was so severely undercapitalized that if the government provided the capital, as was done in previous cases, then, according to standard IMF analysis, government debt could be deemed unsustainable.
- ▶ This set up a bad outcome in March 2013, right after the Cypriot election.
- ▶ Although communist party lost the election, the problem remained.

The September 2013 election in Germany

- ▶ The delay in finalizing a program for Cyprus pushed it into the German election cycle.
- ▶ How could elections in any single state matter for a program in another state?
- ▶ Because each state has veto power that can be exploited whenever another euro area member state might need assistance.
- ▶ EU member states not in the euro area do not face the threat that another member state would misuse its veto power in a similar manner because they are not bound together by the common currency.

Why did the German elections matter so much?

- ▶ The Chancellor's party (CDU) has needed support from its main opposition party (SPD) to pass legislation on Europe.
- ▶ Support of earlier programs was secured by SPD.
- ▶ Getting closer to elections, the SPD signaled a tougher stance to create political cost to the government.
- ▶ This became a major issue when German press and some German politicians started claiming that helping Cyprus is equivalent to “giving away German taxpayer money to Russian oligarchs” who have deposits in Cypriot banks.

Headlines in Germany

SPIEGEL ONLINE

11/05/2012 06:41 PM

Bailing Out Oligarchs

EU Aid for Cyprus A Political Minefield for Merkel

By Markus Dettmer and Christian Reiermann

The EU is likely to bail out the banks of tiny member state Cyprus with 10 billion euros of credit. But a secret German intelligence report reveals that the main beneficiaries of the aid would be rich Russians who have invested illegal money there. It's a big dilemma for Chancellor Angela Merkel.

The facts on money laundering?

Compliance with 49 FATF recommendations					
	Compliant	Largely	Partial	Non	%
Cyprus	12	28	9	0	82
Germany	5	24	15	5	59
Netherlands	6	22	20	1	57
Luxemburg	1	9	30	9	20

Entries (except last column) show the number of FATF recommendation where a country is deemed as compliant, largely compliant, partially compliant or non-compliant. FATF (Financial Action Task Force) has “40+9” recommendations designed to deter criminal activity. The last column shows the percentage of recommendations that are compliant/largely compliant.

A solution for the German government

- ▶ Any solution had to be structured so as to be an effective response to the SPD arguments and avoid political costs.
- ▶ This could be achieved if losses were imposed on depositors (preferably “Russian oligarchs”).
- ▶ Ideally, for the German government, a solution should inflict permanent damage to the financial sector in Cyprus, e.g. through a haircut of bank deposits.
- ▶ This could be “justified” using the “casino banking” description that the communist government and central bank had used in Cyprus during the election campaign.

The domination of local politics

"We don't like this business model and we hope it is not successful ... In the case of Cyprus we have leverage that we don't have with other tax havens."

Wolfgang Schaeuble, April 5, 2013 (Reuters)

The domination of local politics

“[A]nyone having their money in Cypriot banks must contribute in the Cypriot bailout. That way those responsible will contribute in it, not only the taxpayers of other countries, and that is what’s right.”

Angela Merkel, March 16, 2013 (remarks at a German election rally, quoted in eKathimerini, March 17, 2013)

The eurogroup blunder on March 16, 2013

- ▶ Eurogroup decided to impose haircut on all deposits, insured and uninsured, in all banks regardless of capitalization, to replenish capital and solve problem.
- ▶ The proposal was contrary to any known framework and violated basic EU principles and was rejected by parliament in Cyprus.
- ▶ Subsequent eurogroup meeting on March 25 changed program to protect insured depositors but impose greater damage to banking system, while violating fundamental EU principles.

Consequences?

- ▶ Much like the Deauville blunder, the solution the German government imposed on Cyprus was risky for the euro area.
- ▶ The introduction of credit risk in deposits added to pressures on banks in the periphery.
- ▶ But the strategy paid off handsomely for the German Chancellor in the September 2013 elections.

Ex post rationalization

Following the decisions in March, there have been attempts to rationalize the destruction of the banking system of Cyprus, e.g.:

“The Cypriot economy evolved towards a rather unbalanced business model with an inordinate weight for the financial industry.”

Fact checking?

External assessment before EU Council decisions

“The Cypriot banking system has weathered the economic difficulties well and appears to be in sound overall condition. It has benefited from reliance on deposits rather than less stable sources of financing, conservative lending practices, close attention to capital and liquidity buffers, and vigilant supervision. These factors have helped shield the banking system from the pressures that are prevalent in many other countries.”

IMF

Staff Visit Preliminary Findings

February 15, 2011

External assessment after EU Council decisions

“The large banking sector, with assets totaling over 8 times GDP by the broadest measure, and with significant exposure to Greece, is a significant vulnerability. Banks face significant capital needs to reflect mark to market valuations on their sovereign bond holdings and to achieve a 9 percent core tier one capital ratio, as mandated by the European Banking Authority.”

IMF

Conclusion of Article IV Consultation

29 November 2011

Claims regarding the size of the banking system

“Cypriot banks attracted large inflows of foreign deposits. They expanded their balance sheets dramatically over recent years, both domestically and externally.”

“The problems of Cyprus built up over many years. At their origin was an oversized banking sector that thrived on attracting foreign deposits with very favourable conditions.”

Facts regarding the size of the banking system

Compare size of banking system as a multiple of GDP when Cyprus was admitted in euro area (June 2007) and when Cyprus asked for help (June 2012).

Bank assets/GDP

ratio (in percent)

June 2007

June 2012

Total

646

669

Domestic

460

463

Claims regarding deposit rates

“The problems of Cyprus built up over many years. At their origin was an oversized banking sector that thrived on attracting foreign deposits with very favourable conditions.”

“Banks became increasingly exposed to funding vulnerabilities. They tried to attract deposits by offering very high deposit rates—on average, nearly 2 percentage points higher than the rest of the euro area.”

Example: rate for non-financial corporations, January 2013:

Euro area: 1.1

Cyprus: 4.1

Facts regarding deposit rates

The average for the euro area is not the relevant comparative metric for deposit rates in Cyprus because the euro area has not been functioning as a unified economy during the crisis.

A relevant comparison for Cyprus would be with Greece, an economy 10 times as large and with direct links in the financial sector. All major Greek banks have operations in Cyprus, a factor that kept deposit rates as high in Cyprus as they have been in Greece when Greek banks had funding problem.

Example: rate for non-financial corporations, January 2013:

Greece: 4.2

Cyprus: 4.1

A big heist?



Shifting losses: The tale of three banks

- ▶ Piraeus Bank
- ▶ Marfin-Laiki Bank
- ▶ Bank of Cyprus

Effect of Exposure to Greek Sovereign

	Exposure	End 2010 CT1		Write-off CT1	
		Capital	Ratio	Capital	Ratio
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Piraeus	8.221	3.039	8.0	-1.072	-2.8
Marfin-Laiki	3.407	2.015	7.2	0.312	1.1
Bank of Cyprus	2.407	2.134	8.1	0.931	3.5

Ratios in percent. Exposures and capital levels in billion euro. Columns (1)-(3) show data from 2011 EBA stress test. Columns (4)-(5) show an illustrative calculation of capital after a 50% write-off of the Greek sovereign exposures shown in column (1).

Outcome of March 2013 decisions

- ▶ A transfer of assets from Marfin-Laiki and Bank of Cyprus to Piraeus facilitated the recapitalization of Piraeus.
- ▶ Following the transfer of assets Marfin-Laiki and Bank of Cyprus effectively became insolvent.
- ▶ Marfin-Laiki was merged with Bank of Cyprus. As a result ELA owed by Marfin-Laiki to Eurosystem could be repaid drawing on Bank of Cyprus assets.
- ▶ Following merger, Bank of Cyprus was recapitalized by forcing losses on the equity holders, bond holders and unsecured depositors of Marfin-Laiki and Bank of Cyprus.

Piraeus Bank Financial Statement: 2013Q1

	2012Q4	2013Q1
Assets	63.022	78.991
Equity	-2.744	0.915

All entries in billion euro. Note in financial statement explains that the results include 3.414 billion euro “negative goodwill due to the acquisition of assets and liabilities of Cypriot banks’ network in Greece.”

The Role of European Institutions?



EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK

EUROSYSTEM

PRESS RELEASE

21 March 2013 - Governing Council decision on Emergency Liquidity Assistance requested by the Central Bank of Cyprus

The Governing Council of the European Central Bank decided to maintain the current level of Emergency Liquidity Assistance (ELA) until Monday, 25 March 2013.

Thereafter, Emergency Liquidity Assistance (ELA) could only be considered if an EU/IMF programme is in place that would ensure the solvency of the concerned banks.

The Role of European Institutions?

“The Commission notes also that the bail-in of uninsured deposits in the two major banks constitutes a unilateral measure of the Cypriot authorities that does not form part of the MoU that was subsequently concluded.”

Olli Rehn answer to European Parliament Inquiry, 28 August 2013

The Role of European Institutions?

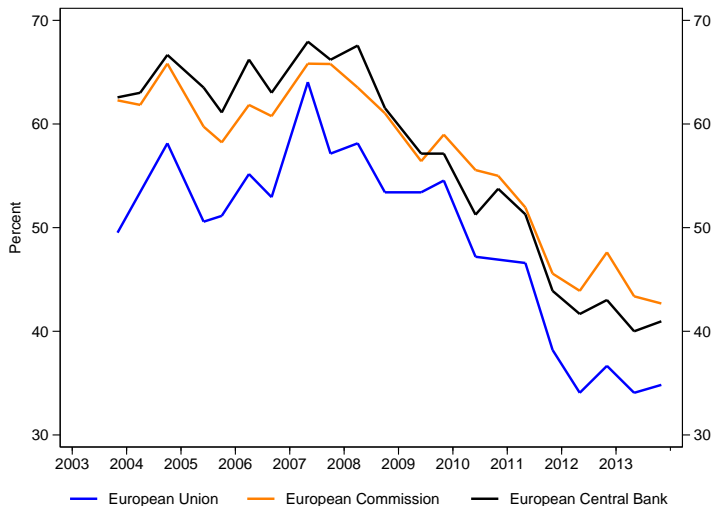
“He also said the pressure exerted on him by Brussels had been unprecedented. To a remark by one of the panel judges that it was ‘like a knife to the throat,’ Anastasiades said it was more like ‘a gun to the head’.”

President Anastasiades testimony to investigation committee on the catastrophe of the Cypriot economy, reported in Cyprus Mail, 28 August 2013.

Is a solution to the euro area crisis feasible?

- ▶ Can a solution to the euro area crisis pass the political feasibility test?
- ▶ Unlikely without fundamental political reform in Europe.
- ▶ Is political reform presently feasible?
- ▶ Unlikely with the current configuration of leaders and governments.
- ▶ Do the European people trust the European Union and its institutions to find a solution?

Trust in the EU and its institutions



Fraction who “tend to trust” the institution among those expressing an opinion.