



Debt-Inflation Channel: German Hyperinflation 1919-23

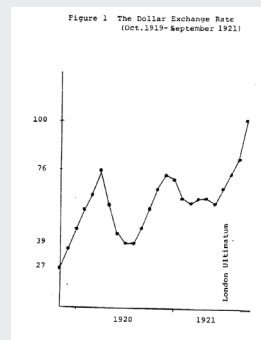
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Tom Zimmermann & M

23. March 2023

Hyperinflations are the laboratory of monetary economics

- Sargent (1983)
“The Ends of Four Big Inflations”
 - Fiscal-monetary interaction
 - Political credibility is key to stop (1923)
 - Rational Expectation
- Dornbusch (1985)
 - FX focus



Poll

1. Did people **anticipate** (hyper)inflation in Germany 1919-23?
 - a. No, they were surprised every time inflation increased.
 - b. Partly. Not at first but people learned.
 - c. Yes. Inflation widely anticipated from the beginning.
2. What is the main **fundamental cause** of inflation?
 - a. High money growth
 - b. Fiscal deficit
 - c. Fiscal deficits
 - d. Exchange rate depreciation
 - e. Other shocks (e.g., war)
3. What are the main **expansionary channels** of inflation?
 - a. Real wage declines
 - b. Redistribution to debtors
4. What are the main **contractionary channels** of inflation?
 - a. Resource misallocation/price dispersion
 - b. Financial instability/credit crunch
 - c. Increased uncertainty
 - d. Other
5. What is the best asset to **hedge** against high inflation?
 - a. Stocks
 - b. Bonds
 - c. Commodities
 - d. Real Estate

The Debt-Inflation Channel of the German Hyperinflation

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March 23, 2023

The views expressed here do not necessarily represent those of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York or the Federal Reserve Board.

Motivation

- How does **inflation** transmit to the **real economy**?
- What is the role of a **debt-inflation channel** through firm financing frictions?
 - Inflation → wealth redistribution to net nominal debtors
→ real effects by relaxing financing constraints
Keynes (1923), Fisher (1933)
- How important is this financial channel relative to the **New Keynesian channel** through price/wage rigidity?
- **This paper**: Use the **German inflation of 1919-1923** to study how a “big” inflation transmits to the real economy through the debt-inflation channel

The German Inflation, 1919-1923

“Hyperinflations are the laboratory of monetary economics.” – Dornbusch (1985)

- Canonical event in monetary history
 - Depreciation: 4.2 marks/dollar → 4.2 *trillion*/dollar
 - Studied by generations to understand the fundamental causes of inflation + macroeconomic and distributional effects

Keynes (1923), Graham (1930), Bresciani-Turroni (1937), Cagan (1956), Sargent (1982), Kindleberger (1985), Dornbusch and Fischer (1986), Feldman (1993) ...
- Features of the empirical setting:
 1. Inflation was **unanticipated**
 2. Massive inflation puts **debt-inflation channel into sharp relief**
 3. **Newly digitized micro data** → **disentangle mechanisms**

Key Findings

1. Debt-inflation channel: aggregate evidence

- Inflation led to a large **fall in leverage** (50%) and interest expense share (60%)
- Large **decline in bankruptcies** (70%)

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2. Debt-inflation channel: firm-level evidence

- **Redistribution:** High-leverage firms see relative increase in book and market equity values, along with fall in interest expenses
- **Real effects:** High leverage firms boost employment

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3. Nominal rigidities channel

- **Frequency of wage and price adjustment increasing** with inflation
- Debt-inflation channel is active even with flexible prices

Conceptual Framework

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- How does inflation from money-financed spending transmit to real activity?
 - Model with nominal debt, default, firm financing constraint, and wage rigidity (menu cost)

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1. **Unexpected inflation** → **decline in bankruptcies**

2. **Debt-inflation channel**: Relaxing financing constraint → increase in output

- Especially for firms with long-term debt

(Kiyotaki and Moore 1997, Cordoba and Ripoll 2004, Gomes, Jermann, and Schmid 2016)

3. **Nominal rigidity channel**:

- Low inflation: boosts output by reducing real wage
- High inflation: wages become flexible, and inflation only has real effects through the financial channel

Historical Background

Background on Weimar Germany's Inflation

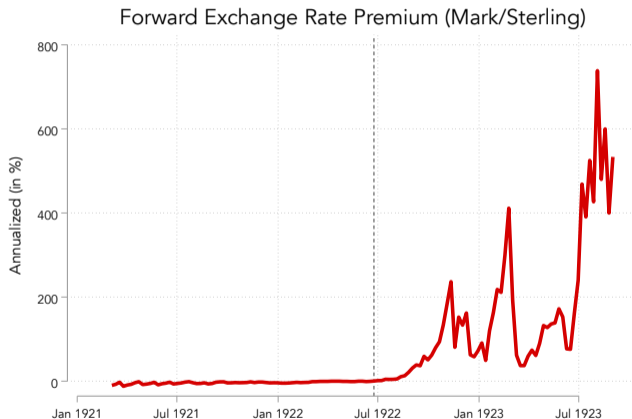
- Roots of inflation: WWI
 - Gold standard abandoned in August 1914
 - Deficit financed war spending
- Two phases of the **post-war inflation (1919-1923)**:
 1. High inflation: WWI Armistice to June 1922
 2. Hyperinflation: July 1922 to November 1923

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- Key factors:
 - Fiscal: Reparations, large deficits; “Tanzi effect”
 - Political economy: Lack of political will to raise taxes and cut spending
 - Monetary: Reichsbank accommodated spending by discounting government securities
 - Balance of payments: FX depreciation fueled inflation (departure from PPP)

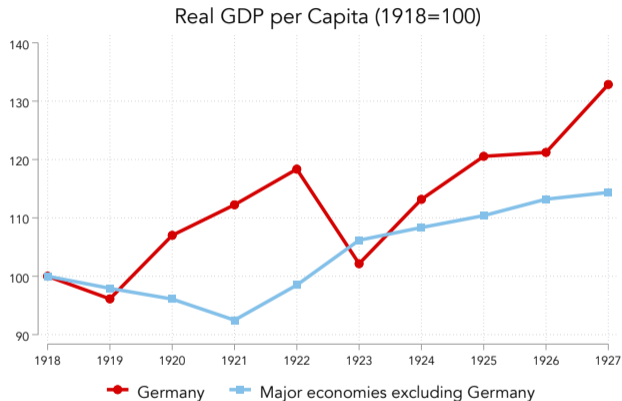
Inflation Expectations

- Average inflation during 1870-1914: 0.7%
- Before June 1922: Expectations of mark *appreciation* (Kindleberger 1985)
 - Speculation on the mark Keynes quote
 - Bank credit available
- After June 1922: Expectations of mark *depreciation*
 - Flight from the mark
 - Credit supply dries up



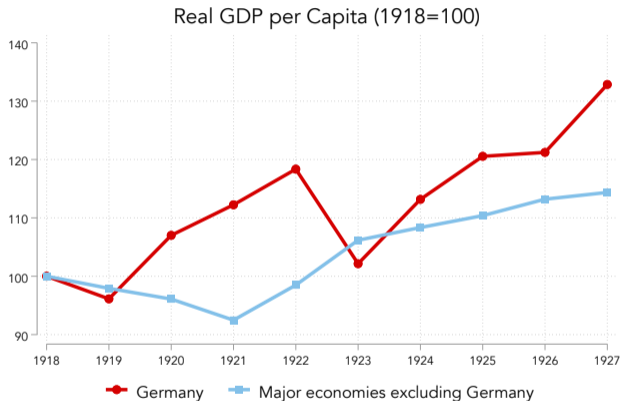
Booming Economy until the End of 1922

- Strong growth and low unemployment until the end of 1922
 - Germany avoids 1920-21 "Depression"
- Contraction in 1923: Ruhr crisis, hyperinflation, and stabilization



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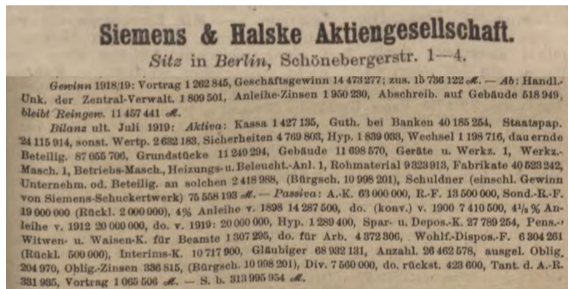


“That business in Germany was booming during most of the inflation period is a universally admitted fact.”

Data

Newly Digitized Firm-Level Data

- *Saling's Boersenjahrbuch*:
 - Balance sheets + income statements
 - ≈ 700 firms per year
 - Bond data
- Challenge: Inflation distorts accounting, especially in 1923
- Solutions:
 - Revalued "goldmark" balance sheets (legally required by January 1, 1924)
 - Employment (≈ 300 firms)
 - Stock prices from *Berliner Börsen Zeitung*



B/S revaluation

B/S errors

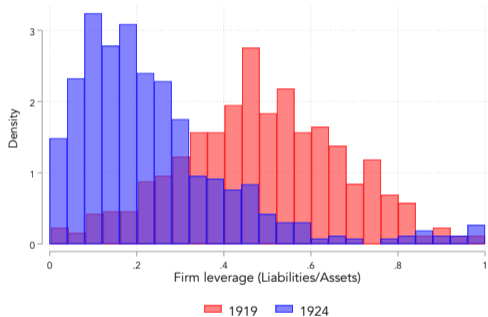
Saling employment validation

Summary statistics

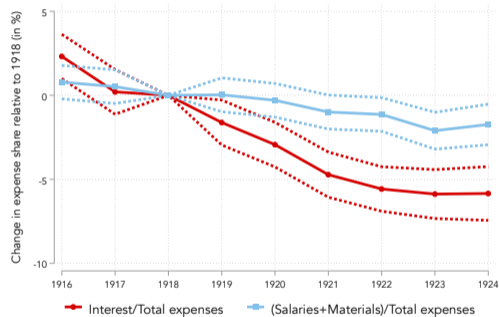
Aggregate Evidence on the Debt-Inflation Channel

Fall in Firms' Leverage and Interest Expenses

...But Salaries Remain a Constant Share of Total Expenses



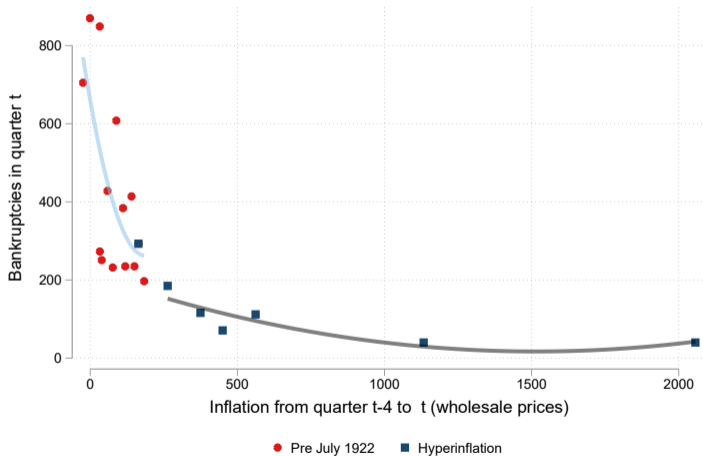
(a) Fall in leverage from 1919 to 1924



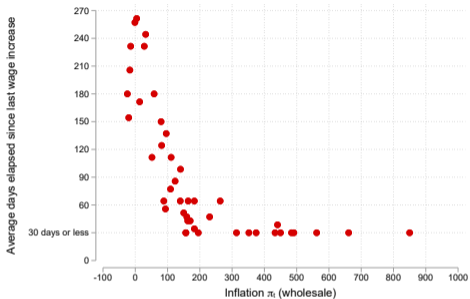
(b) Interest and salaries as share of total expenses

Inflation and Bankruptcies

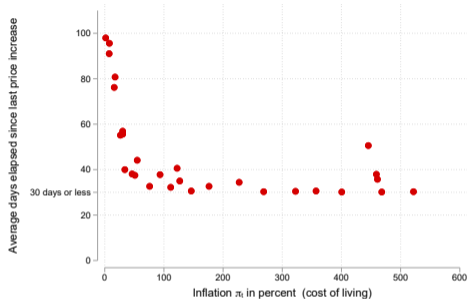
- Reduction in leverage and interest costs reduced likelihood of financial distress



Increasing Frequency of Wage and Price Adjustment

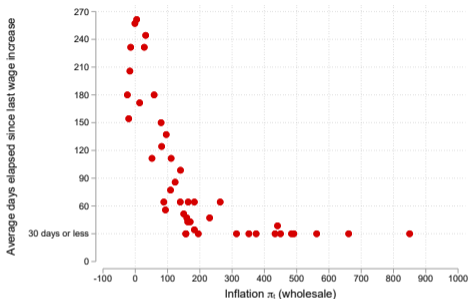


(a) Declining interval between wage increases

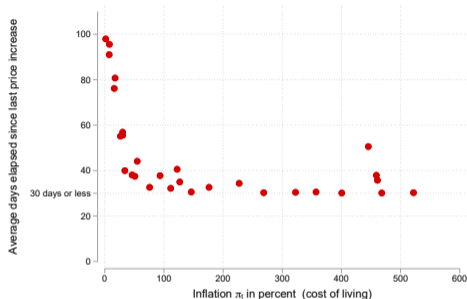


(b) Declining interval between price increases

Increasing Frequency of Wage and Price Adjustment



(a) Declining interval between wage increases



(b) Declining interval between price increases

- Consistent with menu cost models (Alvarez et al 2019)
- Implication: Limited scope for expansionary effect through nominal rigidity channel (Goloso and Lucas 2007)

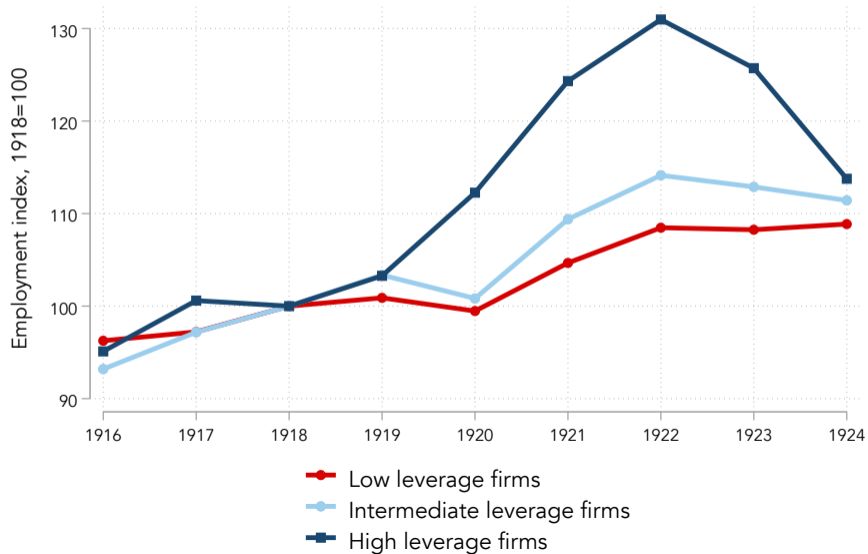
Firm-Level Evidence on the Debt-Inflation Channel

Firm-Level Analysis

- Is the debt-inflation channel present in the cross-section of firms?
 - Does debt-inflation merely redistribute wealth or does it affect real activity?
- Firm-level measures of exposure to the debt-inflation channel, as of 1918-19
 - $Liabilities/Assets = 1 - \frac{BookEquity}{Assets}$
 - $Debt/Assets$
- Advantages of firm-level analysis:
 - Identification: Control for time-varying industry-specific shocks + firm characteristics
 - Quantify extent of redistribution
 - Estimate real effect on employment

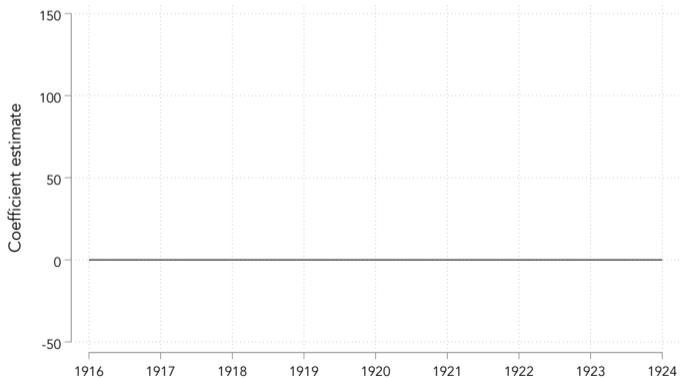
Employment Dynamics across High and Low Leverage Firms

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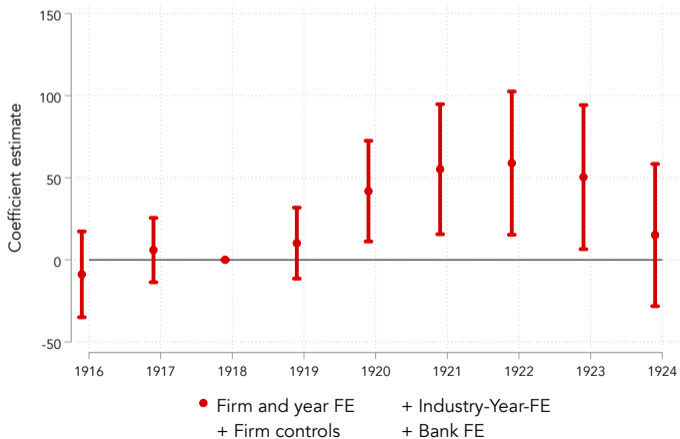
$$\ln(\text{Employment}_{it}) = \alpha_i + \gamma_{st} + \sum_{k \neq 1918} \beta_k \left(\frac{\text{Liabilities}}{\text{Assets}} \right)_i \mathbf{1}_{k=t} + \epsilon_{it}$$



Firm and year FE + Industry-Year-FE
+ Firm controls + Bank FE

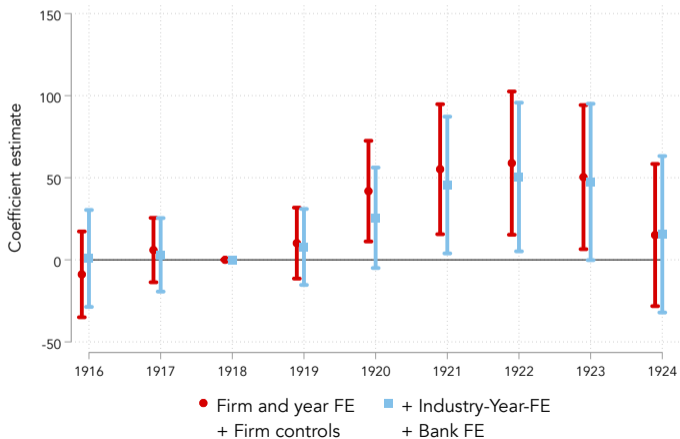
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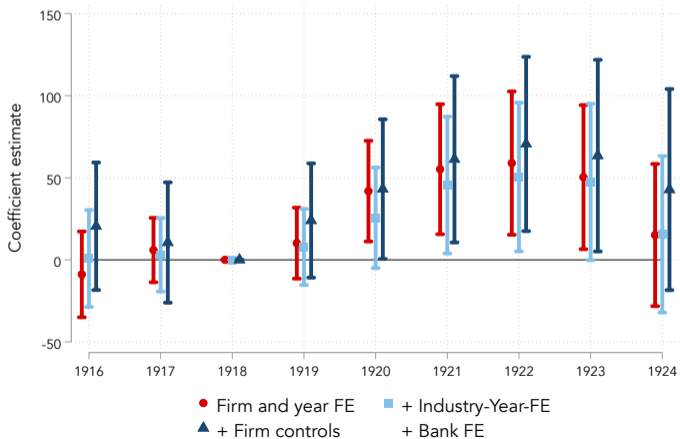
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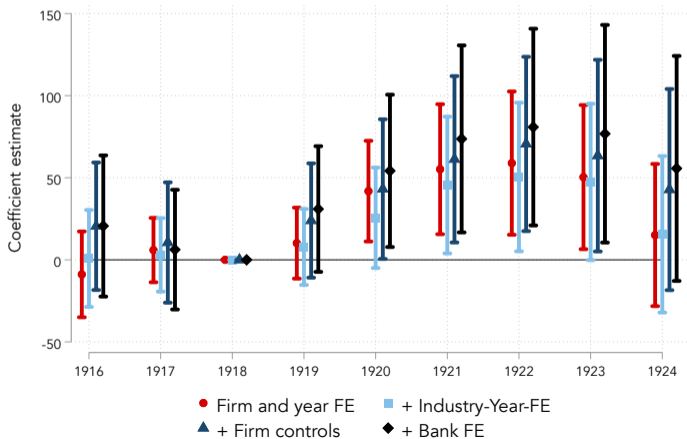
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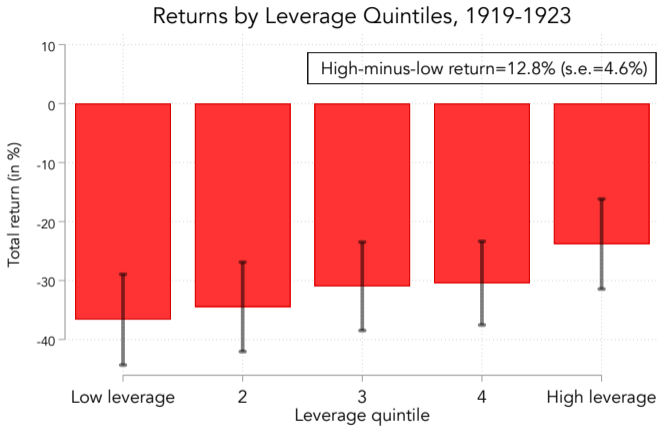


Leverage and Interest Expenses

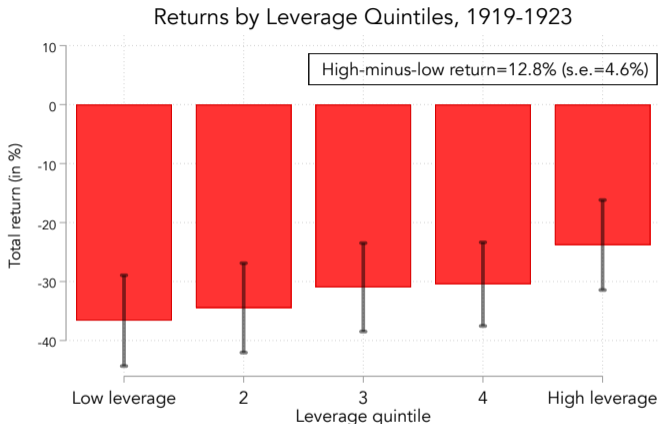
$$\text{Interest Expense Share}_{it} = \alpha_i + \gamma_{st} + \sum_{k \neq 1918} \beta_k \left(\frac{\text{Liabilities}}{\text{Assets}} \right)_i \mathbf{1}_{k=t} + \epsilon_{it},$$



High Leverage Firms Have Higher Stock Returns during the Inflation



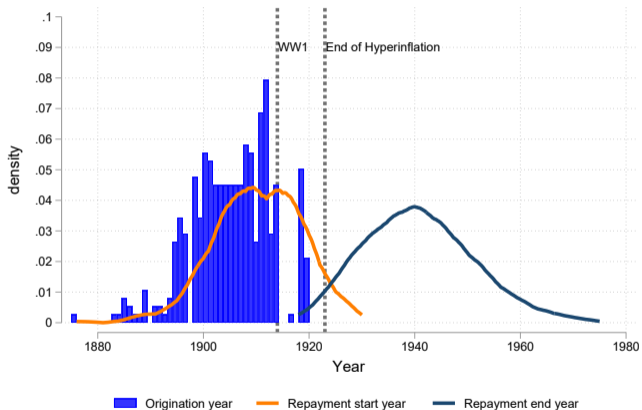
High Leverage Firms Have Higher Stock Returns during the Inflation



- Redistribution from debt to equity holders, in contrast to limited evidence from moderate inflation in 1970s (Summers 1981; French, Ruback, Schwert 1983; Modigliani-Cohn 1984)

Fixed-Rate Long-Term Bond Financing

- 51% of firms have long-term bond financing in 1918-19
- Median repayment end year: 1940



Stronger Effects for Firms with More Long-Term Debt

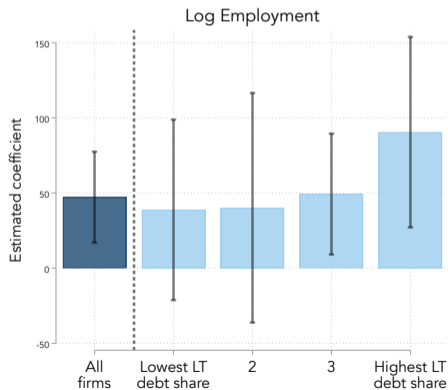
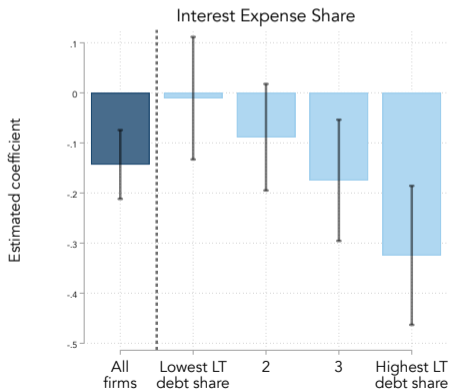
Estimate effect separately by **quartile of LT debt share**:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i^q + \gamma_{st}^q + \beta^q (\text{Debt}/\text{Assets})_{i,1918-19} \times \mathbf{1}_{t \geq 1920} + \epsilon_{it}^q$$

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Conclusion

- Aggregate and firm-level evidence of debt-inflation from the German inflation
 - Redistribution toward net debtor firms → real effects
 - Key frictions: long-term nominal debt and financing constraints
- Aggregate effects?
 - PE aggregation: 14% employment increase (75% of total) → debt-inflation is expansionary even with flexible prices
 - Reduction in credit supply → next paper
- External validity? Sargent and Robbins
 - Relevant channels may differ during smaller inflations
 - Monetary policy response
 - Structure of debt contracts matters (fixed/floating, long-term/short-term, domestic/FX)

Thank you!