# OF SHUTDOWNS AND CEILINGS JANNEY FIXED INCOME STRATEGY SEPTEMBER 30, 2013



We expect the imminent government shutdown to be brief, though a longer one carries economic risks, as does the impending debt ceiling debate.

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## GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWNS, DEBT CEILINGS, AND THE BOND MARKETS

- Without a continuing resolution, the federal government will go into shutdown mode at midnight on September 30, the 18th such event since 1976 and the first since 1996.
- There are serious economic implications if such a shutdown lasts more than several days, as we estimate as many as 1 million non-essential employees will be furloughed.
- In mid-October, the government will bump up against the debt ceiling, which is a much more significant concern for both the economy and the financial markets.

At the time of publication, the House and Senate had yet to agree on a so-called continuing resolution. These resolutions provide for funding appropriation spending in the absence of a formal budget—which, incidentally, hasn't happened since 2008. Without passage of a resolution by midnight on September 30, the federal government will go into shutdown mode. In practical terms, this means that all "non-essential" services will be put on hold, though "essential" services such as tax-collection, law enforcement, and the military will continue to operate.

Government shutdowns have been surprisingly common since 1976, when the current budget structure went into place. In fact, if the government does shut down in 2013, it would mark the 18th such occurrence, though it'd also be the first since the infamous Clinton/Gingrich 21-day standoff that ended in January 1996. Most of the 17 prior shutdowns have been over ideological issues and rarely have they lasted more than a few days, with the shortest actually taking less than 24 hours to resolve. Given, however, the unusually varied interests at play within today's legislature, it's not clear to us that a resolution will be quick this time around, but it does mean that the outcome is hard to predict.

## GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

Problems related to the shutdown of the US government are generally economic and practical in nature. Although we don't have precise numbers, based on the latest contingency plans submitted to President Obama, this time around 1 million employees will be furloughed come midnight. That's a 25% increase over the 1995 – 1996 shutdown, which impacted 800,000 employees. According to the Congressional Budget Office (themselves furloughed, so perhaps there was a bone to pick), the impact of that shutdown cut would be about 0.5% off of economic growth during 4Q 1995. In that case, however, a number of appropriations bills had already been passed, so some non-mandatory spending continued, and the private sector was growing much more robustly at the time.

There Have Been 17 Prior Shutdowns	
Date of Shutdown Start	Length
Sep 30, 1976	10 Days
Sep 30, 1977	12 Days
Oct 31, 1977	8 Days
Nov 30, 1977	8 Days
Sep 30, 1978	18 Days
Sep 30, 1979	11 Days
Nov 20, 1981	2 Days
Sep 30, 1982	1 Days
Dec 17, 1982	3 Days
Nov 10, 1983	3 Days
Sep 30, 1984	2 Days
Oct 03, 1984	1 Days
Oct 16, 1986	1 Days
Dec 18, 1987	1 Days
Oct 05, 1990	3 Days
Nov 13, 1995	5 Days
Dec 05, 1995	21 Days
Average	6 Days

Source: Janney Fixed Income Strategy; Congressional



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For a theoretical 2013 shutdown to last the same 21-days would have a negative impact on economic growth of 0.9% - 1.4%. If we assume that of the \$1.2 trillion in annual discretionary spending, 60% is "essential," a 21-day pause would have immediate GDP impact of 0.7%, while lost income alone from the 1 million furloughs would represent another 0.1% headwind. But the real economic cost, which is extremely hard to measure, comes from heightened uncertainty. Greater uncertainty will create hesitancy on the part of businesses to embark on new projects, and encourage consumers (especially those who derive some income from governmentrelated activities) to save rather than spend. In essence, an extended government shutdown

has the potential to reverse a good portion of the Federal Reserve's low interest rate stimulus. All of that said, it seems most likely that any government shutdown will be short-lived, and really designed as a brief negotiating tool rather than a long-term "nuclear option" threat.

In terms of bond market impact, we've already seen a significant trading shift related to the impending government shutdown. Equity markets have faced significant headwinds subsequent to mid-September, and interest rates have been falling, reflecting a demand on the part of investors for safe-haven assets. The outperformance of Treasuries, with ten year yields having dropped 10 basis points in the post-Fed markets comes with a certain irony: even though the government—and in part government debt—is the cause of uncertainty, investors are buying up government bonds to reduce their own portfolio uncertainty. Economic risk is also part of the mix, as weaker economic growth that could result from a protracted government shutdown should also support a move towards lower interest rates.

## Debt Ceiling

Although the likely impact of a government shutdown is economic in nature, the potential for the US to reach the debt ceiling represents a far more significant threat, albeit one that's much less-likely to be realized. First, some background. The debt ceiling, currently set at \$16.7 trillion is a statutory limit set by Congress and signed by the President on how much debt the US Treasury Dept. can issue to fund projects for which Congress has already appropriated funds. The problem comes from conflicting requirements: on one hand, Congress (or past Congresses) has made spending laws, but on the other hand, the current Congress has the ability to block spending by refusing to allow more indebtedness. This problem is far from trivial.

On or about October 17—many payments are variable, so it's impossible to know the exact date the Treasury Dept. will run out of "emergency measures" it's been employing in recent weeks. At that point, the Treasury will either have to violate the debt ceiling and issue additional Treasury bills, notes, and bonds, or it will have to prioritize other payments. Such a prioritization might include not paying contractors, haircutting monthly Social Security checks, or other equally-unpalatable options. The US will not, however, necessarily default on its debt. Since a debt maturity reduces indebtedness, the Treasury Dept can issue new debt to pay off old debt without breaching the debt ceiling. The bigger issue is for interest payments. Come November 15, the Treasury Dept. owes \$30 billion in interest, one of the government's four big quarterly interest payments. If the debt ceiling is not raised by that point, the consequences are admittedly hard to envision.

Our basecase expectation is that Congress shuts down the government for a matter of hours or a few days, but a longer shutdown risks significant economic damage.

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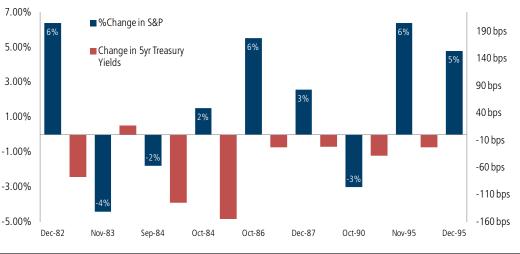
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There are some legal theories on how the Treasury Dept. could avoid problems with the debt ceiling, possibly without having to prioritize payments.

- One unlikely arrow in this quiver comes from the 14th Amendment, which, among other things, guaranteed equal protection under the law. The amendment was passed in the wake of the Civil War and includes a clause reading, "The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law...shall not be questioned." While meant to force the South to pay for debts incurred during the Civil War, the clause could arguably be applied in this circumstance—the Treasury could issue debt authorized by prior spending law, and Congress couldn't question that issuance.
  - A second and related arrow in the quiver could be an executive order from President Obama raising the debt ceiling independently of Congress. Limits on executive orders are quite fuzzy, and there's a good justification that national security could be at risk if the US can't fund its military and law enforcement needs.



## Market Performance from Month Prior to Month After Shutdowns Has Been Mixed

Source: Janney Fixed Income Strategy; S&P

## CONCLUSIONS

Nowhere is the bond market response to Congressional wrangling more confusing than with respect to the debt ceiling. A debt ceiling breach which lasts long enough could force the US to default on its outstanding Treasury bills, notes, and bonds (even now, we view this as highly unlikely). Yet despite this risk, investors and traders are continuing to snap up Treasuries, as a way to express risk aversion. In reality, the risk asset markets are facing greater challenges than the Treasury markets, as reflected in softer equity prices and the underperformance of corporate bonds in recent days.

It's our expectation—and indeed, most share this expectation—that, while the government could be officially shutdown for a period of days or even weeks, that cost is economic and not catastrophic in nature. The debt ceiling, however, is another matter. It's nearly impossible to predict all of the potential problems from prioritizing payments, and even more challenging to contemplate a failure of the Treasury Dept. to pay on its debt. Even the approach of the debt ceiling could represent enough uncertainty to get the ratings agencies concerned once again. On a historical note, we should point out that the US has actually defaulted on its debt a number of times, though most were in the pretwentieth century era. For now, however, the good news is, with all of the incentives aligned to raise the debt ceiling, we very much expect Congress will act before default is imminent, though it might take a substantial market event to trigger that action.

The potential to reach the debt ceiling introduces a whole host of problems, though Congress' incentives are aligned so as to make a breach unlikely.

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