



Japan – what the rise in yields means

Long-term interest rates in Japan have risen sharply. What is going on? Does the rise in interest rates threaten the sustainability of debt? Is there a risk of turmoil on the global financial markets?

Bernd Weidensteiner^{AC}
Dr. Christoph Balz^{AC}

Yields significantly higher and yen weaker, ...

The Japanese financial markets had a turbulent start to the new year. Interest rates on 30-year government bonds shot up by almost 40 basis points in the week leading up to January 20, before the market calmed down again. These securities are currently yielding slightly higher than their German counterparts (Chart 1). The yen was also under pressure for a long time until it recently stabilized due to rumors of intervention. What is behind these violent market movements?

Chart 1 - Long-run bond yields higher in Japan than in Germany
30-year government bond yield, weekly data in %



Source: Bloomberg, Commerzbank Research

... because inflation has returned ...

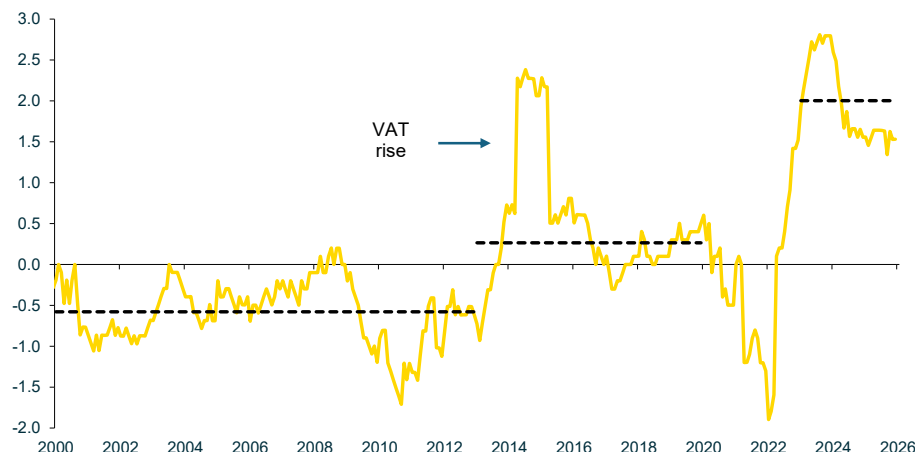
Although the strength of the recent rise in yields was exceptional, the upward trend is not new. In fact, yields have been trending upward for several years. The reason for this is likely to be found in the return of inflation. For many years, Japan was considered by many to be a prime example of an economy trapped in deflation. Excluding food and energy, the inflation rate remained almost exclusively in negative territory for the first 13 years of this millennium, averaging -0.5% per year (Chart 2). Two economic shocks brought this phase to an end:

- In 2013, then-Prime Minister Abe initiated a drastic change of course in economic policy to halt the decline in consumer prices. In doing so, he focused in particular on an aggressive monetary policy, while the budget deficit actually tended to decline under his leadership. The Bank of Japan (BoJ) kept key interest rates close to zero until 2024. Above all, however, it purchased large quantities of government bonds worth around 100% of gross domestic product (GDP), making these purchases far more extensive than those in the US or the eurozone. Entrenched inflation expectations began to change. Wages, which had fallen by around 0.7% per year since the turn of the millennium, began to rise slightly again. The inflation rate was slightly positive from 2013 to the end of 2019, even when adjusted for the effects of the significant VAT increase in 2014.
- The Japanese government responded to the coronavirus pandemic and the resulting strain on the economy with an extremely expansionary fiscal policy, which caused the primary deficit – i.e., the budget balance excluding interest payments on existing government debt – to jump from around 3% to around 9% of gross domestic product. This was accompanied by an expansionary monetary policy. Because the macroeconomic demand thus stimulated met with a coronavirus-induced contraction in the supply of goods and services, the core inflation rate climbed to almost 3% by the end of 2024 and then settled at around 1.5%. [1]



Chart 2 - Inflation is now reliably positive

CPI excl. Food/energy, annual rate of change in %, monthly data. Dashed lines: average inflation rate in respective periods; 2013-19 average has been corrected for VAT rise



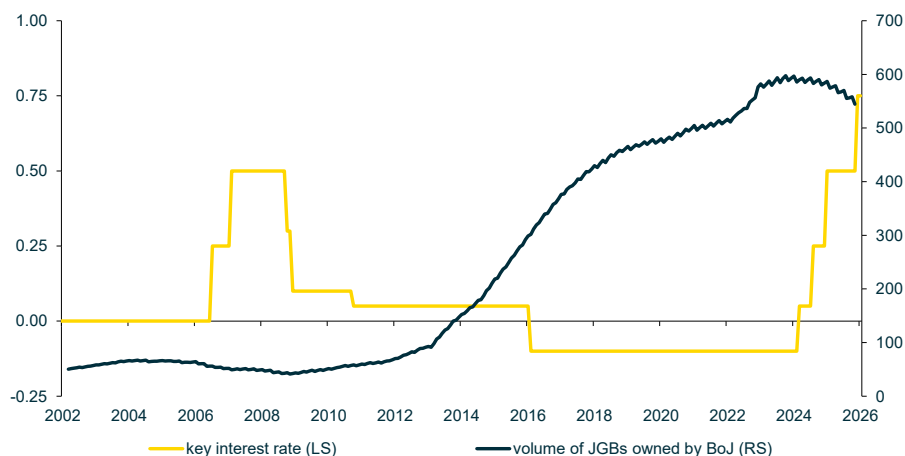
Source: S&P Global, Commerzbank Research

... monetary policy was normalized, ...

This normalization of inflation was followed by a normalization of monetary policy. The Bank of Japan (BoJ) raised its key interest rate from -0.1% to 0.75% and signaled further steps. It has also significantly reduced its purchases of government bonds, which is why the central bank's enormous government bond portfolio has shrunk in recent months due to bond maturities (Chart 3).

Chart 3 - Bank of Japan normalizes monetary policy

Policy rate in % and BoJ's holdings of Japanese government securities in trillion yen, monthly data



Source: BoJ, Commerzbank Research

... and now there is also the threat of significantly higher budget deficits

Rising prices and the resulting higher inflation expectations, as well as the change in monetary policy, have caused bond yields to rise significantly in recent years. However, the latest jump in yields was triggered by an emerging shift in fiscal policy. While the primary deficit has fallen significantly in recent years and has recently approached zero, there is now a threat of a significant deterioration in the budget situation. The new Prime Minister Takaichi has announced tax cuts and higher government spending, not least on defense. For example, she wants to suspend VAT on food.

This has been met with great skepticism on the financial markets. Increasing deficits at the wrong time is problematic. The short-lived British Prime Minister Liz Truss already had to learn this lesson when she stumbled over her plans for tax cuts in 2022 and was forced to quickly resign from office, not least due to rising yields. Ultimately, the recent rise in yields shows that the Japanese bond market is no longer characterized by a country-specific special situation, but is now behaving quite normally.

Can Japan even afford “normal” interest rates?

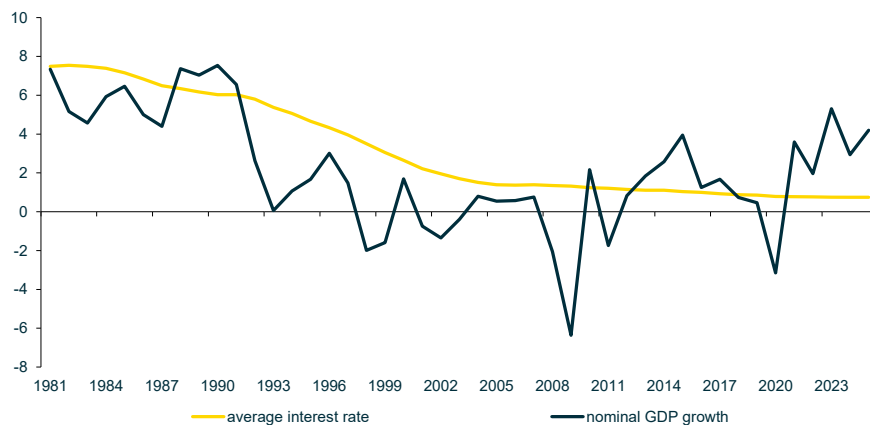
Even after the recent rise, Japanese yields are still not extreme, at least in international comparison. However, the pace of this latest increase is worrying. After all, Japan has been carrying an enormous debt burden for some time. Although the government debt ratio –



i.e., the ratio of government debt to gross domestic product – is no longer more than 250% as it was in 2020, at around 210% it is still by far the highest among advanced economies [2].

However, the interest burden for the Japanese government is likely to rise only slowly. This is because the higher interest rates only apply to new debt taken on to finance the budget deficit and the repayment of maturing bonds. Consequently, the average interest rate on outstanding government bonds, which is currently still below 1% as a result of the long period of low interest rates, is likely to rise only slowly. This means that the average interest rate is likely to remain lower than the growth rate of nominal gross domestic product in the coming years, so that even with the higher primary deficit planned by the government, the debt ratio is likely to continue to fall for the time being.

Chart 4 - Japan currently in sweet spot as nominal GDP growth exceeds average interest rate
Nominal GDP growth year-on-year, average interest rate on JGBs; in %



Source: S&P Global, Japan Ministry of Finance, Commerzbank Research

Why a sovereign debt crisis is unlikely...

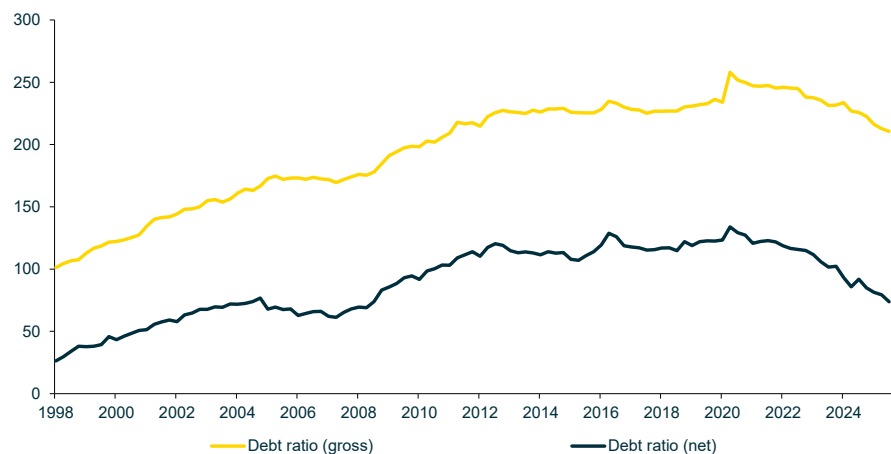
But even if the average interest rate on government debt were to rise above the nominal growth rate in the longer term, threatening another increase in the debt ratio, there are a number of factors that argue against a sovereign debt crisis in Japan:

- Japan has very little foreign currency debt, and foreigners hold only 12% of JGBs. A potential foreign buyer strike would not in itself trigger a sovereign debt crisis. And a government with debt denominated in domestic currency can prevent defaults thanks to its central bank, which can ensure that the sovereign debt is serviced at any time in the event of a crisis. Japan also has a current account surplus and is a net creditor to the rest of the world.
- In addition, the Japanese government has significant assets, which are held by the huge government pension fund and the central bank. Currently, the financial assets of the general government amount to over 135% of GDP. This capital, which is tied up in foreign stocks, for example, is difficult to mobilize in a crisis. However, it should be taken into account when comparing public finances internationally with countries where public pension obligations are hardly matched by assets. The Japanese government's net debt (i.e., financial liabilities minus financial assets) currently amounts to 74% of GDP, which is lower than the net debt of the US (approximately 100% of GDP).



Chart 5 - Japan - the government has high debt, but also significant assets

General government debt in % of GDP, gross and net (i.e. minus net financial assets), quarterly data



Source: BoJ Flow of Funds, Commerzbank Research

... even if some risks should not be ignored

Japan's fundamentals do not currently point to an impending crisis. Politicians should also have learned from the Liz Truss episode and shy away from irresponsible fiscal policy when market signals indicate this is worrying. However, there are still plenty of risks. It is difficult to predict at what point bond investors might get cold feet. A renewed severe economic downturn would also throw all financial planning into disarray and significantly increase budget deficits.

In recent years, the Japanese government has also benefited from investing cheaply raised funds in high-yield long-term investments such as domestic and foreign stocks. According to researchers at the St. Louis Fed, this has helped Japanese public finances considerably. In an **analysis**, however, they point to significant maturity and currency risks. Added to this are the considerable challenges posed by the aging of society in Japan.

What does this mean for the rest of the world?

Even if yields on Japanese government bonds do not spiral out of control, the higher levels could also lead to higher yields at the long end of other bond markets. With a total volume of US\$1.2 trillion, the Japanese are the largest investors in US government bonds, and they also have a strong presence in the European market. Their largest exposure in Europe is in France, where they hold government bonds worth around €140 billion. In addition to the repatriation of Japanese holdings, the risks of contagion are also increasing, as international investors could further increase their exposure to Japan.

Furthermore, the Japan also offers some economic policy lessons. The Japanese economy was considered a prime example of zero inflation and zero interest rates because these phenomena had become entrenched there over decades. But even such seemingly unshakeable equilibria can be ended by major shocks such as the pandemic.

At the same time, Japan shows that mild deflation was only a symptom of economic weakness and not – as some economists claim – the cause. Between 2012 and 2019, a period with hardly any price increases, the Japanese economy expanded by an average of 0.9% per year. In the last three years, however, with prices rising sharply again, the economy grew by only 0.6% per year. A “deflation trap” is therefore far less problematic for the real economy than some economists portray it to be.

However, the example of Japan also shows that consolidating public finances in a deflationary phase accompanied by stagnating nominal GDP is hardly possible. This explains the country's long-standing attempts to break out of this fiscal trap.

The experience in Japan thus also confirms the ECB's decision to set a **symmetrical** inflation target of 2%. This is because falling short of the target for many years does not pose any greater risks than consistently exceeding it.

Yen: Real interest rates and political risks weigh on the currency

In recent months, the Japanese yen (JPY) has come under heavy pressure despite the significant rise in nominal interest rates. Most recently, the USD/JPY exchange rate threatened to rise above 160 again, even though the US dollar was also weak.

One reason for this may be that real interest rates in Japan have risen less sharply than in other regions due to rising inflation. The real key interest rate (key interest rate minus inflation) was even lower for a long time than it was when nominal key interest rates



were negative. Only in recent months has a slowdown in inflation caused the real key interest rate to rise, but it is still lower than in the other G-10 countries.

In addition, political risks have weighed on the Japanese yen in recent months. The market reacted nervously to the announcement by the new Prime Minister Takaichi of a very expansionary fiscal policy and an end to what she called the “excessive austerity” of recent years, given the high gross debt of the Japanese government, as described above. In the upcoming elections on February 8, Takaichi’s Liberal Democrats could gain ground, enabling the prime minister to better implement her ideas. Many in the market then expect a noticeably more expansionary fiscal policy.

In fact, a very strong showing by the Liberal Democrats could weigh on the yen. However, we believe it is more likely that lower political risks and the recent rise in real interest rates will cause the yen to appreciate this year.

[1] The temporary decline in prices in 2021/22 was partly due to a special effect, namely the sharp reduction in telecommunications charges initiated by the government. ([back to text](#))

[2] We use data from the Japanese Flow of Funds, provided by the Bank of Japan, to calculate the debt ratio. ([back to text](#))



Research contacts (E-Mail: firstname.surname@commerzbank.com)

Chief Economist

Dr Jörg Krüger
+49 69 136 23650

Economic Research

Dr Jörg Krüger (Head)
+49 69 136 23650

Dr Ralph Solveen (Deputy Head; Germany)
+49 69 9353 45622

Dr Christoph Balz (USA, Fed)
+49 69 9353 45592

Dr Vincent Stamer (Euro area, World trade)
+49 69 9353 45800

Dr Marco Wagner (ECB, Germany, Italy)
+49 69 9353 45623

Bernd Weidensteiner (USA, Fed)
+49 69 9353 45625

Tung On Tommy Wu (China)
+65 6311 0166

Interest Rate & Credit Research

Christoph Rieger (Head)
+49 69 9353 45600

Michael Leister (Head Rates)
+49 69 9353 45610

Rainer Guntermann
+49 69 9353 45629

Hauke Siemen
+49 69 9353 45619

Ted Packmohr
(Head Covered Bonds and Financials)
+49 69 9353 45635

Marco Stoeckle
(Head Corporate Credit)
+49 69 9353 45620

FX & Commodities Research

Ulrich Leuchtmann (Head)
+49 69 9353 45700

Antje Praefcke (FX)
+49 69 9353 45615

Tatha Ghose (FX)
+44 20 7475 8399

Charlie Lay (FX)
+65 63 110111

Michael Pfister (FX)
+49 69 9353 45614

Volkmar Baur (FX)
+49 69 9353 26854

Thu-Lan Nguyen (FX, Commodities)
+49 69 9353 45617

Carsten Fritsch (Commodities)
+49 69 9353 45647

Barbara Lambrecht (Commodities)
+49 69 9353 45611

Tung On Tommy Wu (China)
+65 6311 0166

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Analysts

^{AC}
Dr. Jörg Krämer
Chief Economist
+49 69 136 23650
joerg.kraemer@commerzbank.com

^{AC}
Bernd Weidensteiner
Senior Economist
+49 69 9353 45625
bernd.weidensteiner@commerzbank.com

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Frankfurt

Commerzbank AG
DLZ - Gebäude 2, Händlerhaus
Mainzer Landstraße 153
60327 Frankfurt
Tel: + 49 69 136 21200

London

Commerzbank AG
PO BOX 52715
30 Gresham Street
London, EC2P 2XY
Tel: + 44 207 623 8000

New York

Commerz Markets LLC
225 Liberty Street, 32nd floor,
New York,
NY 10281-1050
Tel: + 1 212 703 4000

Singapore

Commerzbank AG
128 Beach Road
#17-01 Guoco Midtown
Singapore 189773
Tel: +65 631 10000