

EUC-RSIS Summer Programme 11 June 2012

- How is Europe dealing with the financial crisis?
What future for the EU?
- Professor Joergen Oerstroem Moeller, Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore. Adjunct Professor Singapore Management University & Copenhagen Business School.

I. Crisis. What crisis?

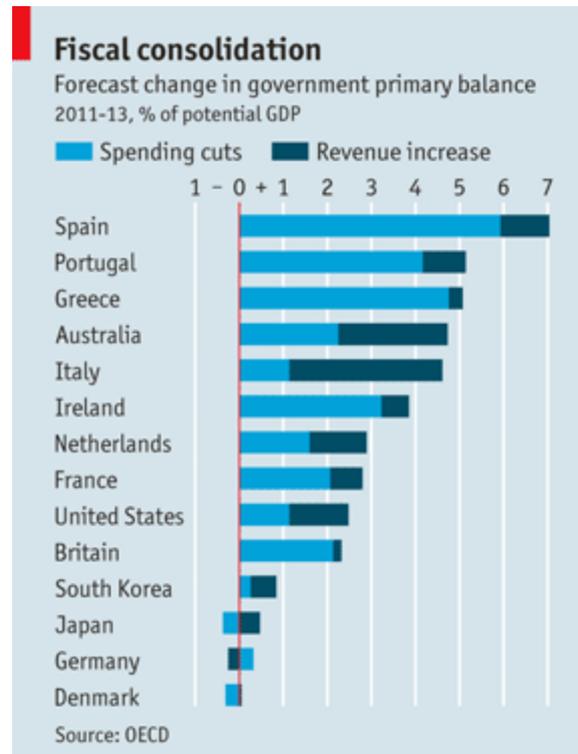
- Global crisis – actually not much to do with EU or Euro.
- Global debt.
- Countries have overspent.
- Lack of discipline and coordination.
- Rise in commodity prices.
- Shift from the West to emerging markets – Asia.

II. Something rotten in Euroland? Yes and no!

- Deficit Gov budg. EUROzone. 2009: 6,2% , 2010: 6%, 2011: 4,2%, 2012: 3,6%, 2013: 3,2%.
Compare (2011) US 9,1%. Japan 8,3%, UK 8,8%.
- Sovereign debt. 2011. US 100%, Eurozone 85%, UK 80%, Japan 230%.
- Primary balance 2011 (excl interest payments): EUROzone 1,5%, US 8%, Japan 8,9%, UK 5,6%.
- But not evenly spread among member states. The South of Europe.
- Can the EURO work? Yes but needs treaty change.

II. Something rotten in Euroland? Live within our

means – who means it? Source: The Economist 26 May 2012.



III. EU/Euro. Analysis. 1 / 9.

- The history of the European Union (EU).
- Crucial points. 1) Franco-German reconciliation, 2) Euro is the – so far – final step in a long process from customs union to single market to single currency.
- Why? 1) better off inside than outside, 2) problem grinder, 3) stability, security, peace, growth.
- From six to 27/28 and queue to get in.
- Why did the original six embark on this venture and Britain chose to remain outside?

III. EU/Euro. Analysis. 2/9.

- Sovereignty. NOT give up sovereignty but pool it or transfer it to exercise it in common with adjacent countries pursuing analogous political goals.
- Because nations by so doing enhance their influence on the international economy compared to being alone – otherwise not do it, of course.
- Economic globalization lifts economic transactions out of national framework. To be in control political steering mechanism must follow. Example: Haze!

III. EU/Euro. Analysis. 3/9.

- The single currency's history goes back to 1969.
- 1970s chaos on global currency markets - depreciations and appreciations proved disruptive.
- 1979 EU decides to opt for fixed but adjustable currency rates. Fixed why? Adjustable why?
- 1992 decision on single currency, Euro. 1993-1994 attacks on the system, but it survived.
- 1999 the Euro as denominator, 2002 the notes in your hands.
- Not out of the blue, because the other currency systems failed.

III. EU/Euro. Analysis. 4/9.

- Flexible currency rates worked until 1970s-80s.
- Ec. Glob. open economies. Currency rate changes were soon eaten up by domestic prices and wages. Depreciation gave a competitive advantage, but wages and prices rose correspondingly.
- Outsourcing more important than currency rates.
- The disadvantage was undermining efforts to pursue stable domestic policies. Inflation even stagflation (stagnation and inflation).
- EU conclusion: Flexible current rates not a suitable policy instrument under ec. glob./open economies.

III. EU/Euro. Analysis. 5/9.

- The German point of view. Stability policy. Create confidence, if so growth is compatible with low inflation. Successful in Germany.
- Problem? In EU if other countries depreciate currency Germany's competitiveness undermined jeopardizing the German model.
- Answer: Get the other EU members to follow same economic model as Germany. This explains Germany's interest in Euro.
- The other's interest? Follow the German success!

III. EU/Euro. Analysis. 6/9.

- What would have happened if Euro had not been there?
- Competing competitive depreciations throwing EU into chaos and disrupting global financial markets further.
- The Euro has been a bulwark against global currency turmoil.
- A Greek depreciation would have served to preserve a rotten economy.

III. EU/Euro. Analysis. 7/9.

- Currency rate changes is a policy instrument.
- Nothing it does cannot be achieved by fiscal policy, monetary policy or a combination of both.
- Wrong to say that a national currency - Greece - would have been able to solve its problems.
- Imbalance: overconsumption out of line with production capacity. They must be brought into line.
- It can be done in many way. Depreciation, real income falls because import prices go up, poorer!
- Crucial. Domestic burden sharing!

III. EU/Euro. Analysis. 8/9.

- No one foresaw that weak countries could borrow 'unlimited' sums of money paying the same interest rate as the strong members. Mississippi - Massachusetts. Banks went for profits, did not exercise due diligence.
- Fiscal rules correct, but not respected. Germany - France 2003/2004.
- And then came the US financial crisis hitting the Euro showing its weaknesses.
- The system flawed but not irreparable.

III. EU/Euro. Analysis. 9/9.

- The conditions for an EMU to work is:
- 1) Convergence – business cycle - responding broadly similarly to outside shocks, 2) Labour mobility, 3) Capital market, 4) Fiscal transfers. Does the Eurozone fulfil these conditions? Not quite.
- But nor is it the case for the US - Mississippi is still poor - or Australia (Western Australia – Victoria) or Malaysia (Sarawak – Johore) or Indonesia (Bali – Sumatra).

IV. EU/Euro. Crisis management. 1 / 4.

- EU fumbled facing the crisis, contributed to it growing worse. From the beginning the action plan:
 - 1) Give Greece and other weak countries time to rebalance their economies.
 - 2) Prevent the crisis from being contagious dragging down especially Spain and Italy 'large' economies.
 - 3) Give Germany and French banks having loaned recklessly to weak countries time to improve their balance sheets.

IV. EU/Euro. Crisis management. 2/4.

- Some kind of fiscal union with ‘bite’ so member states HAVE TO follow rules.
- But fiscal transfers inside the Eurozone NOT the same magnitude as fx the US because welfare benefits are not the same size. Therefore cannot compare US and Euro.
- Eurobonds – bonds not only nominated in Euro, but guaranteed by the Eurozone as such.
- European Central Bank.
- More European private banking system. Banks must loan among themselves.

IV. EU/Euro. Crisis management. 3/4.

- From the outside.
- US political and economic interests. Britain.
- Global financial institutions.
- China. Yes China will invest in the Euro, but not because of Euro or EU. China will act according to its own interests – not be alone with the USD, not have the USD as the sole global currency, alternative investment opportunities than US treasury bonds.
- Punish speculators.

IV. EU/Euro. Crisis management. 4/4.

- The world is going to see two economic models.
- The European one cutting the coat according to the cloth – however painful it may be to get there.
- The American one disregarding debt building up almost insurmountable claims on the US held by foreign countries.
- We will see, but odds are that the new, stronger nations like China will favour the first model.

V. EU/Euro. Outcome. 1 / 5. Identity.

- Over the last couple of years the European Union has moved towards defining its identity.
- The proposed constitution was a big step in that direction. For the first time a text saying what the EU is and is not plus what Europe stands for. The Lisbon Treaty embodies these elements.
- *Article 1α.* The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.’

V. EU/Euro. Outcome. 2/5. Two tier.

- All member states on board?
- No, we will see a two tier or whatever it is called EU with a core of member states pulling together and the rest circling around as more or less loose satelittes.
- The core. Original EU plus some of the Southern Europeans plus some of the Central- and Eastern Europeans.
- Out. UK, Sweden+Denmark, some SE and CEE.

V. EU/Euro. Outcome. 3/5. The core.

- This will not be announced with trumpet fanfares, but it will happen.
- The core maps the course, the rest can follow/quit. Sooner or later it will be formalized, but it may take a while.
- The Franco-German axis still the driver.
- What drives it are self-interest, the prospect of failure is so appalling that they will do it.
- In reality back to pre-1973 with a two tier Europe, but this time inside the same institutions.

V. EU/Euro. Outcome. 4/5. International.

- The changed global picture contributes.
- The US losing strength.
- Russia not knowing whether it wants to be part of Europe or not.
- Turkey gaining strength and influence.
- Ukraine, caucasus – Europe has to respond.
- North Africa waiting for a European response.
- It is dawning upon the European leaders that the time as a sidecar to the US motorbike is over.

V. EU/Euro. Outcome. 5/5. The limits.

- New institutions on the back burner, go slow.
- Not much further integration, but continued deepening of what we have.
- Go slow on enlargement, Turkey not member because Turkey itself declines.
- Not likely that we are going to see a common defense, but more coordination. Europe not building capacity to project power, not willing to do so.
- Can it be an international player nevertheless?
- Yes to a certain extent, but limits clearly visible.

VI. Conclusion. (1).

- A slow growth Europe, but all right. EURO OK.
- Demographics. Stagnant population. Immigration?
- Trimming of welfare societies but still OK.
- Political maturity in the sense of looking for consensus & compromise. This is the European political model.
- A force to be reckoned with in global politics. Ready to shape value based politics, but not to exercise power.

IX. Conclusion. (2).

- The main problem for Europe is as for the rest of the world that
- The political system – liberal democracy – and economic model - market economy - that has driven Europe and the US for two hundred years may have run their course. This is not the same thing as saying that Europe is out – it is a global problem.
- But this is another story!



□ Joergen Oerstroem Moeller

□ Author

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- Political Economy in a Globalized World, 2009, WSPC.

- HOW ASIA CAN SHAPE THE WORLD, from the era of plenty to the era of scarcities, 2011, ISEAS.

□ joergen@oerstroemmoeller.com.