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1. Understanding German Concerns

- Because Germany was hit twice in the last century by big inflations the aversion against inflation is especially high.
- The **low German rates of inflation** in the post WW II era were due to this **aversion** and the **German monetary constitution** (independent central bank, no monetary financing of public debts and legal obligation of the Deutsche Bundesbank to keep prices stable)
- The European monetary constitution of the Maastricht Treaty mirrors this German monetary constitution:
- because it was considered to be the **best solution for the EMU** (Delors Committee) and
- to gain the assent of German voters in favor of the EMU

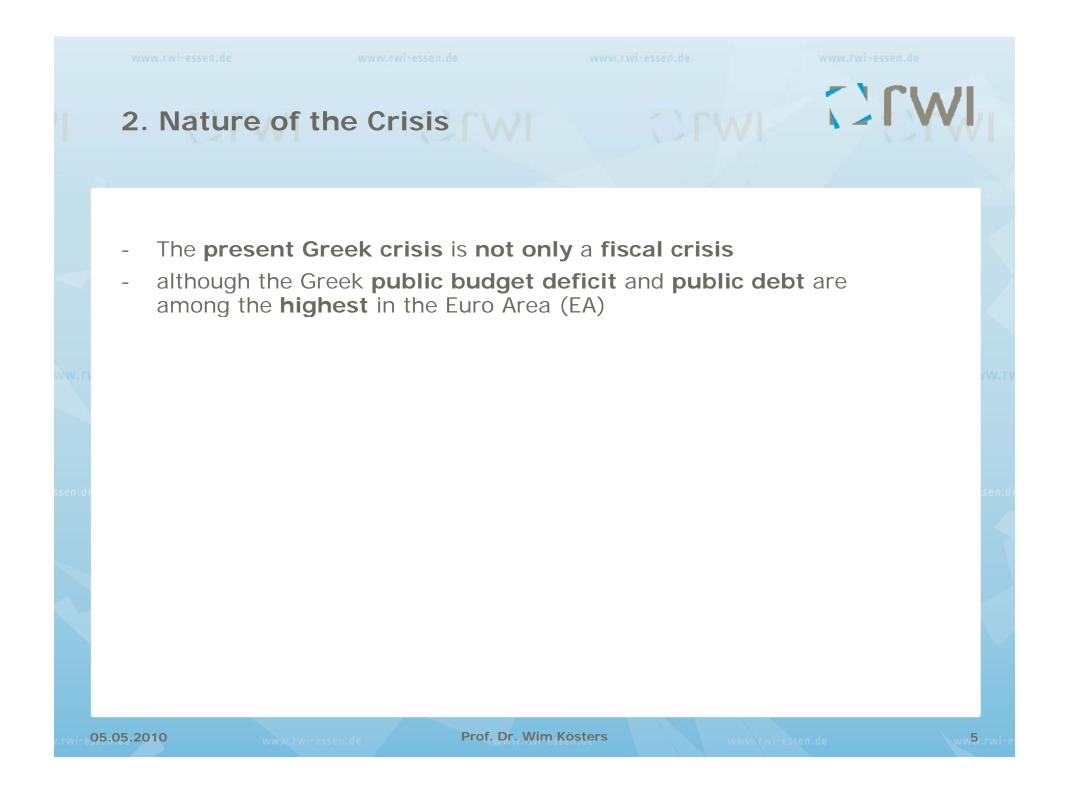


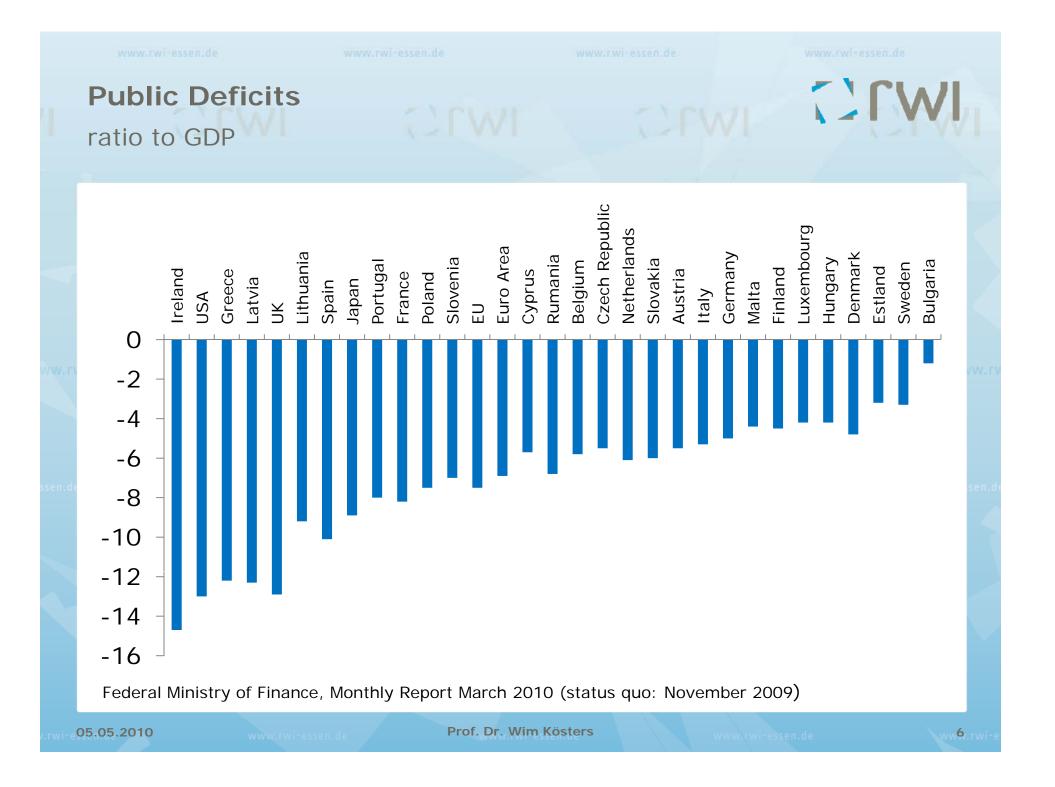


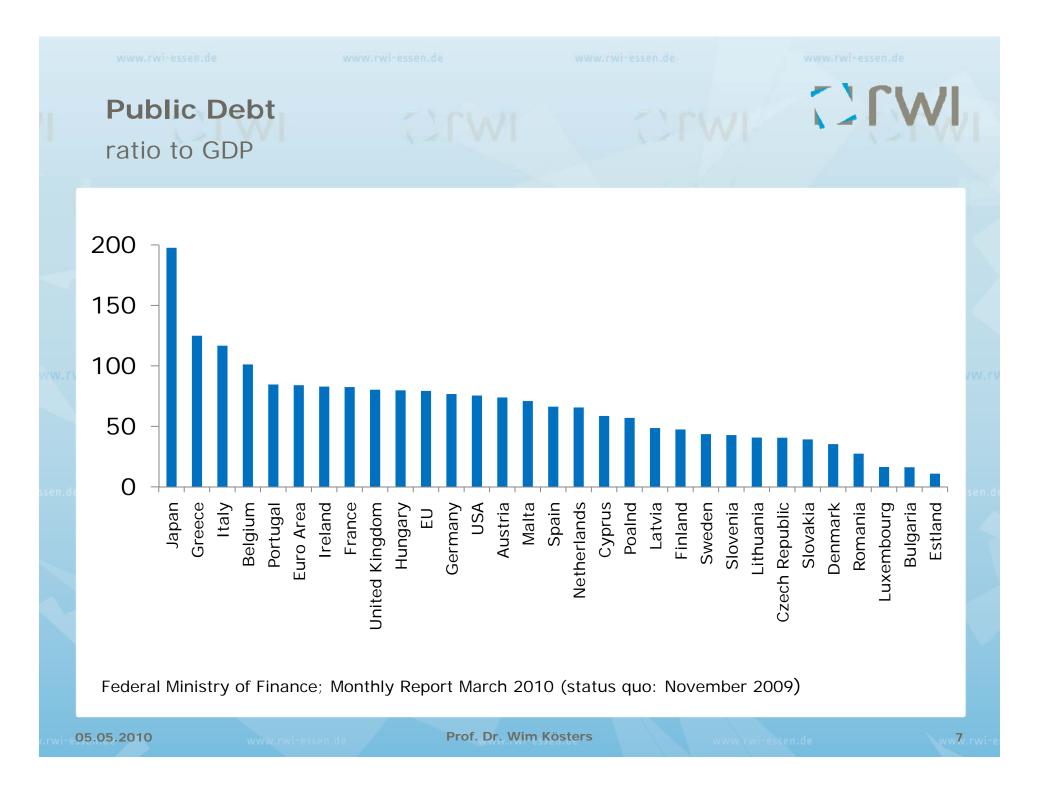
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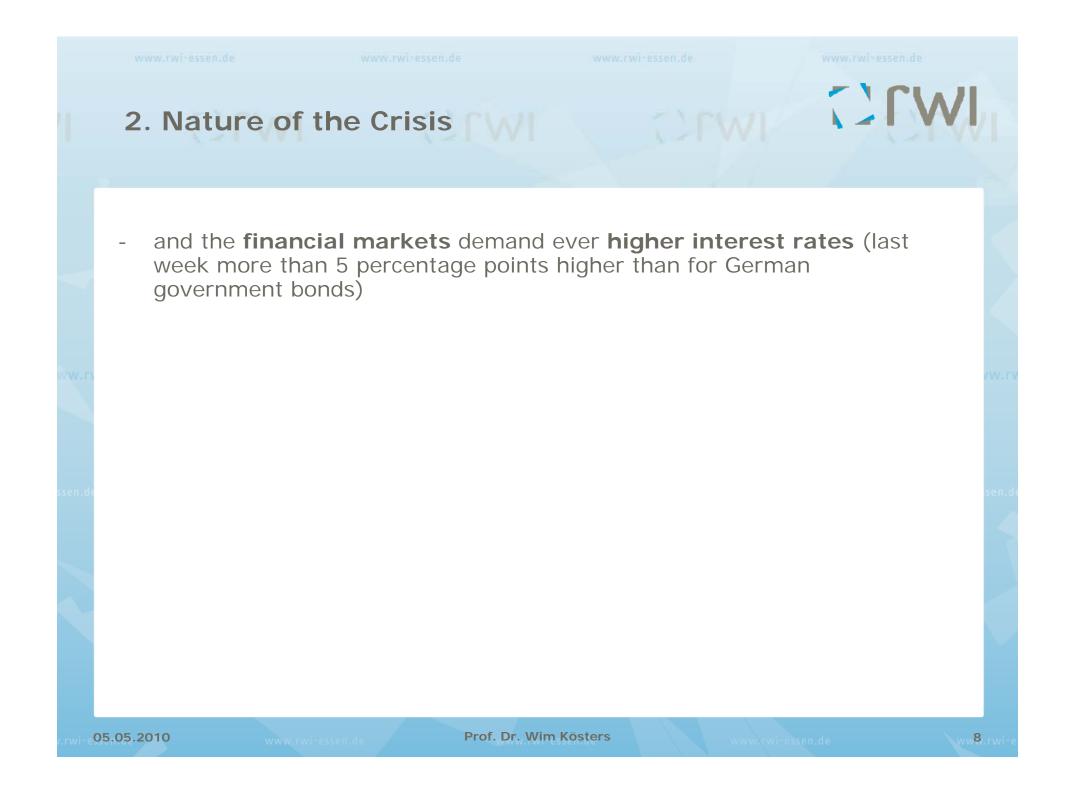
1. Understanding German Concerns

- German voters had to be convinced to **give up** the **Deutsche Mark** (DM)
- which was the anchor currency of the EMS "German monetary hegemony" at that time and
- which was in the eyes of German the symbol of a successful economic recovery after WW II
- The fear of many Germans is that they will get a weak Euro in exchange for their stable DM because the rules of the Maastricht Treaty and the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) will not be kept
- and in addition they will **have to pay** for those who get in trouble because they did not keep the rules

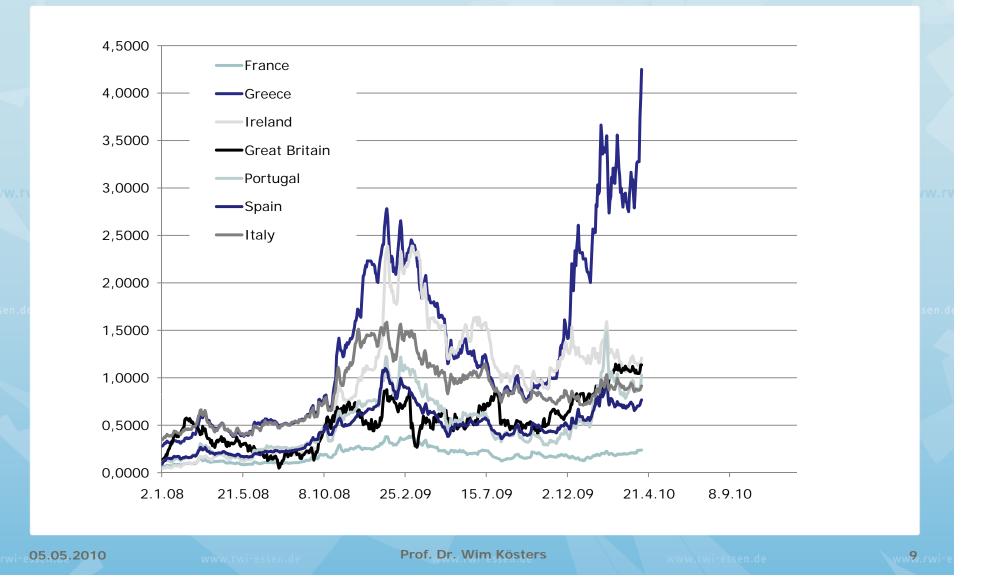


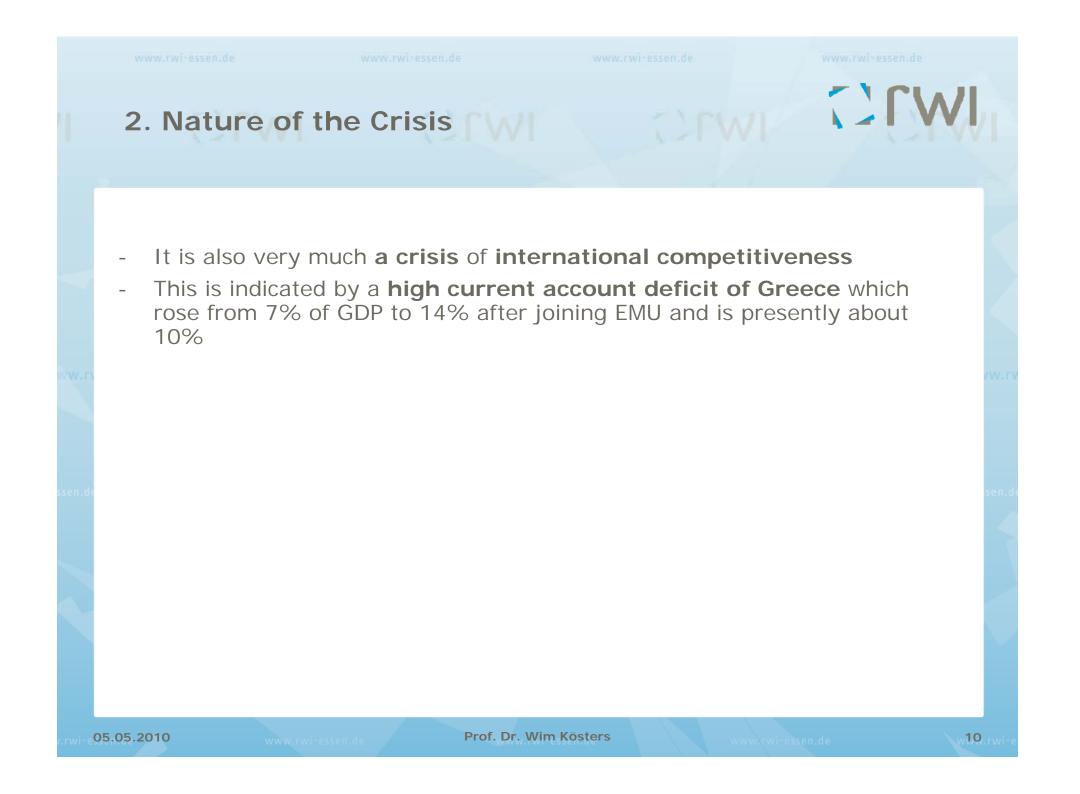




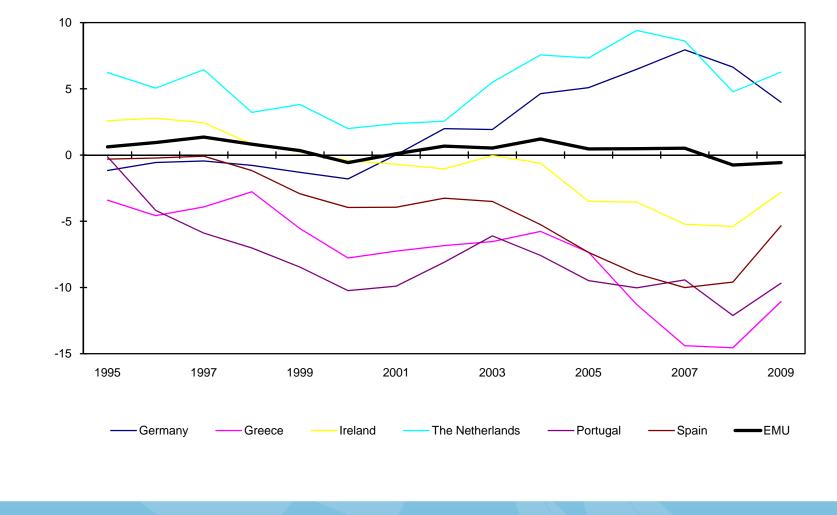


Interest-Spreads of Government Bonds Compared to German Government Bonds





Current account defizits in selected countries of the Euro Area in % of GDP

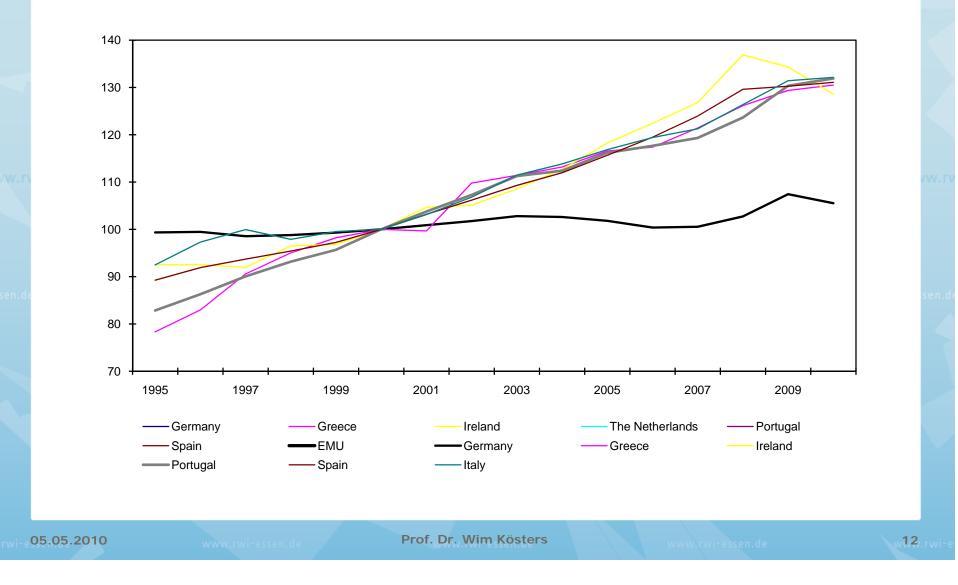


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Prof. Dr. Wim Kösters

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3. Causes of the Crisis

- Foremost, Greece did not take its EMU membership serious
- It forged budget figures in order to be admitted in 2001
- As an **EMU member** it **continued** to do so year after year
- By this it deceived the other EMU members as well as itself and created uncertainty on the true economic situation of the country up to now
- It first enjoyed the benefits of its EMU membership by financing government debt at much lower interest rates than before
- The rapidly extended government debt was **used to preserve** existing economic structures which made the country less competitive internationally
- As it seems, Greek politicians did not understand that EMU membership means significantly more systems competition making a policy adjustment necessary in order to benefit in the medium to long run



3. Causes of the Crisis

- But **not Greece alone** caused the crisis
- The European Commission did not demand a strict keeping of the convergence criteria and the rules of the SGP
- This was already true for the start of EMU in 1999
- In 2002, one year after the admittance of Greece to the EMU in the second round, the then president of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, called the SGP stupid.
- After that, could there still be expected a strict monitoring of the rules by the Commission?
- When Germany violated the deficit criterion in 2003 the early warning of the European Commission was rejected by the Schröder government
- Germany and France did not accept the deficit procedure of the SGP but instead put through a dilution of the rules
- In the last **presidential election campaign in France** all candidates demanded changes of the European monetary constitution







4. Future of the Euro-zone

- At the moment, the **future of the Euro-zone** is very **uncertain**
- The present crisis demonstrates to the world that Europe is unable to manage the EMU properly
- The IMF had to be called for help
- Financial assistance of the EU to Greece means that the rules of the Maastricht Treaty and the SGP have to be broken (no bail out clause)
- By this, the credibility of the EU is seriously damaged and moral hazard problems are created
- Which **rules** will be **broken next**, which **country is the next** to ask for **financial assistance**?
- After all it is very doubtful, whether the financial rescue program for Greece will stabilize Greece and the Euro-zone
- First, it is not sure that the Greek government can put through its ambitious consolidation program

4. Future of the Euro-zone

- Second, what will happen to the mainly home driven Greek growth rate in the next years if the public budget deficit quota will be cut by more than 10% and the wages even more
- Therefore, many observers expect that in a few months Greece will have to ask for even more help above the presently envisaged 45 bill. Euros
- Greece needs a devaluation to become internationally competitive again.
- Within EMU only real depreciation is possible but hard to realize
- In the end, it could turn out to be better for Greece or it could be forced by the financial markets to leave EMU and solve its debt problem by "haircuts" and give international banks a share in the costs
- Since not only **Greece** but also **other EMU members** might demand **financial assistance** the **EMU** could turn into a **transfer union**





4. Future of the Euro-zone

- It is hard to imagine that this could be a sustainable solution
- Other proposals for stabilization, e.g. European Monetary Fund (EMF), common Euro bonds, economic government and more coordination in my view do not solve the governance problems of EMU convincingly
- They would lower the pressure that the rules of the Maastricht Treaty were intended to put on all EMU member states to care for policy adjustment and higher international competitiveness
- Only by this, a **higher welfare in Europe** will be brought about which **guarantees** the **assent** of people to **European integration**
- For the **future of the Euro-zone**, therefore, a **recollection of the original rules** of the Maastricht Treaty is of **utmost importance**
- As soon as possible a credible agreement and self commitment of all EMU members to fully respect and keep the Maastricht Treaty and the SGP is urgently needed
- BACK TO THE RULES!

