The EMU at 20: Current Status and the Way Forward

Athanasios Orphanides MIT

3rd Annual Research Conference of the Banco de Espana Madrid, 17 September 2019



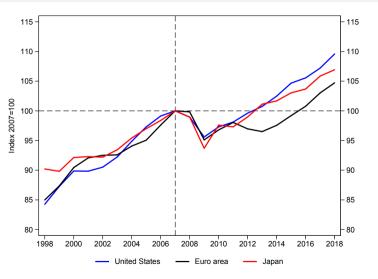
The euro and the silver tetradrachm







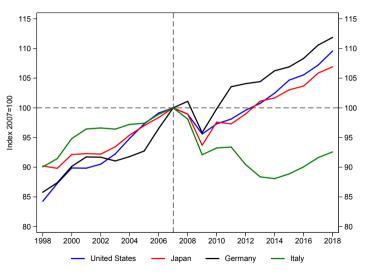
The ongoing euro crisis: What ails the euro area?





Real GDP per person. IMF WEO, April 2019. Index 2007=100

The ongoing euro crisis: Winners and loses?





Real GDP per person. IMF WEO, April 2019. Index 2007=100

Causes?

- ► Random and accidental?
- ► Euro malfunction?



Politics over economics: Federation vs confederation

- Federation
 - Common government protecting common interest.
 - Common government accountable to all citizens of all states.
- Confederation
 - Competing interests among member states.
 - Leaders in each state accountable only to citizens in their state.



The fragility of confederations

- ▶ United States (under the Articles of Confederation, until 1789).
- ▶ Delian League.



Lessons from the Delian League

► Founded: 478 BCE

▶ Dissolved: 404 BCE





Avoiding the fate of the Delian League

- ► The EU Treaty
- ▶ The role of independent European institutions



The role of independent institutions

- ► How are common policies decided when the interests of individual Member States diverge?
- ► The success of the Union rests on the ability of Europe's independent institutions to protect the common good over the interests of any individual Member State.
- ▶ Individual Member States that manage to exert undue influence on these institutions can distort policy to benefit their own citizens at the expense of others and the euro area overall.

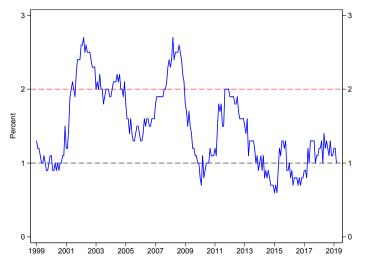


A closer look at the ECB

- ► Europe's unique central bank—the most independent and least accountable central bank ever created in history.
- ► The most appropriate crisis management for the euro area as a whole is not best for all Member States.
- ► The most appropriate monetary policy for the euro area as a whole is not best for all Member States.
- ► Success in influencing ECB policy can disproportionately benefit a Member State at the expense of the common good.



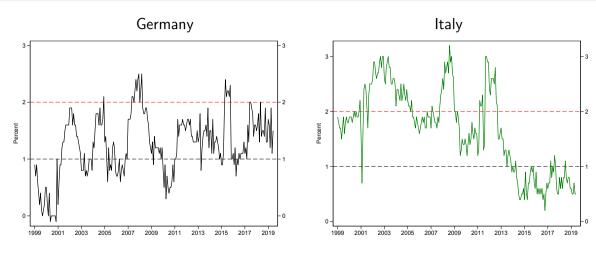
Evaluating ECB policy: Core inflation in euro area





ECB policy: Too loose or too tight?

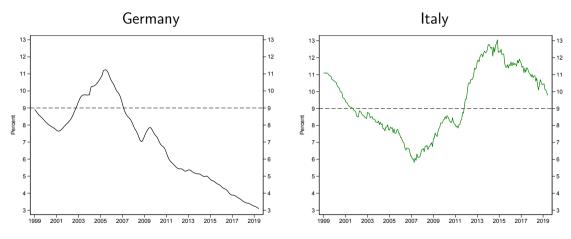
Evaluating ECB policy: Core inflation



ECB policy: Too loose or too tight?



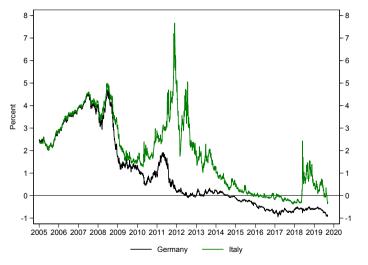
Evaluating ECB policy: Unemployment rate



ECB policy: Too loose or too tight?



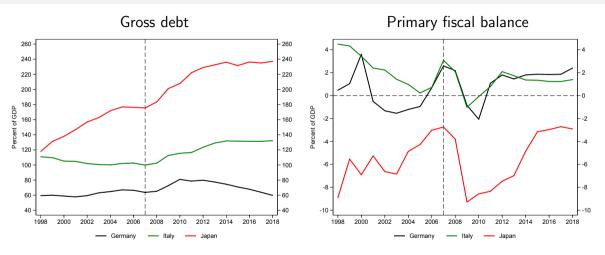
What is the cause of the continuing fragility of the euro area?



Yieds on two-year sovereign debt.



Japanese frugality vs Italian profligacy?



Debt and primary fiscal balance as a percent of GDP. IMF WEO, April 2019. Negative fiscal balance corresponds to fiscal deficit.



Adverse expectational equilibria in sovereign debt markets

- ▶ Use of ECB's collateral framework "as a sanction to exert fiscal discipline"?
- ► Reliance on rating agencies for determining collateral eligibility of government debt?
- Reliance on market rates for DSA?
- Disciplining "misbehaving" governments?



Disciplining governments?

"Dear Prime Minister,

The Governing Council of the European Central Bank discussed on 4 August the situation in Italy's government bond markets. The Governing Council considers that pressing action by the Italian authorities is essential to restore the confidence of investors. . . .

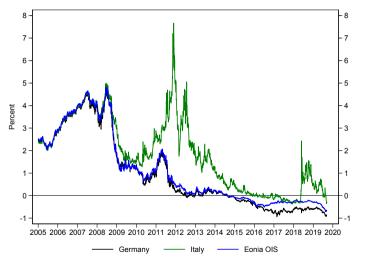
In view of the severity of the current financial market situation, we regard as crucial that all actions listed in section 1 and 2 above be taken as soon as possible with decree-laws, followed by Parliamentary ratification by end September 2011. A constitutional reform tightening fiscal rules would also be appropriate. . . .

We trust that the Government will take all the appropriate actions."

(Letter by Mario Draghi and Jean-Claude Trichet sent to Silvio Berlusconi on August 5, 2011.)



Distributional consequences of ECB policy







The EMU at 20: Current Status and the Way Forward

- ▶ At present, the euro is a threat to Europe.
- ► To overcome the crisis, Europe's common independent institutions must assert their independence and act in accordance to the Treaties.
- ▶ In accordance to the Treaties, common institutions must use their independence to effectively counterbalance narrow national interests.
- Policy must protect and promote the common good.
- ► The key to EMU success is shared prosperity.

