

The first 25 years of the euro

Banca d'Italia 20 March 2024

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M. Buti and G. Corsetti, «The first 25 years of the euro» CEPR Policy Insight, 126, January

Outline

- **1. The beginnning**
- 2. A bird-eye view of the EA history: four phases
- 3. Through the prysm of the Jean Monnet Compatibility Test
- 4. Where do we go from here?



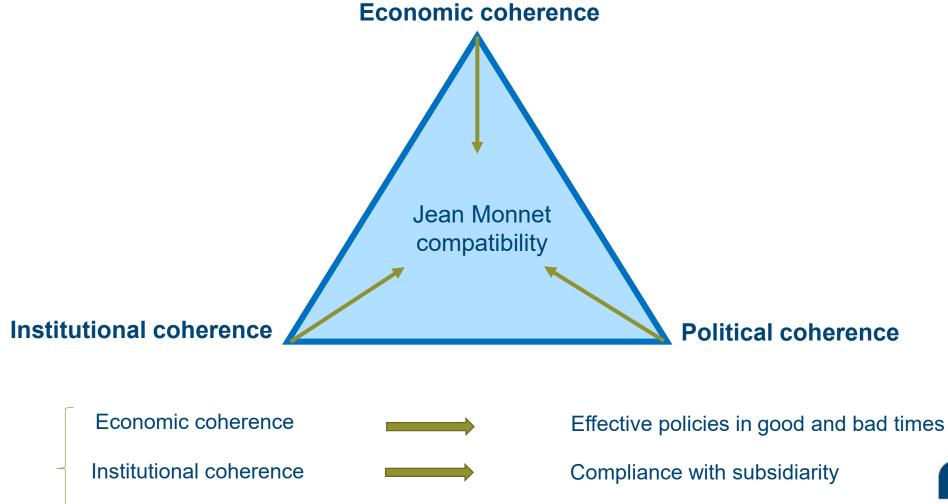


Politics *cum* **or** *versus* **economics**?

- The decision to introduce the euro ended a large crisis of European monetary cooperation: 1992, 1993
- Economists were mostly sceptical, but economics was not disregarded
- The EA was not an Optimal Currency Area (OCA). Could it become one?
- The incomplete EA sailed on purpose on a "three-legged" economic constitution (ECB, SGP, No Bailout)
- How to make it work? Top-down (French) or bottom-up (German) views







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Political coherence

Citizens' support, democratic legitimacy



Four phases

- 1999-2008: the peaceful «2% decade», over-optimism, resource misallocation and lack of reform
- 2009-2019: the decade of crises, lack of trust, moral hazard overriding concern, fragmentation and reform under duresse
- 2020-21: crossing «deep red lines» and a congruent policy mix on the back of the «benign coincidence»
- 2022-?: Taming inflation, the return of policy trade-offs, high political discount rate and the lost appetite for reform





Main macroeconomic indicators

| | GDP | Inflation | Current Account | Gov. balance | | |
|-------------|------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|--|--|
| 1999 – 2008 | 2.2% | 2.2% | 0.1% | -2.1% | | |
| | (0.5/3.8) | (1.2/3.3) | (-0.7/1) | (-3.1/-0.7) | | |
| 2009 – 2019 | 0.8% | 1.3% | 2.4% | -2.9% | | |
| | (-4.6/2.6) | (0.2/2.7) | (0.5/3.6) | (-6.3/-0.4) | | |
| 2020 – 2021 | -0.1% | 1.4% | 3.0% | -6.2% | | |
| | (-6.3/6) | (0.3/2.6) | (2.3/3.6) | (-7.1/-5.2) | | |
| 2022 – 2023 | 2.0% | 7% | 1.8% | -3.4% | | |
| | (0.7/3.4) | (5.6/8.4) | (1/2.5) | (-3.6/-3.2) | | |

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Source: European Commission. Columns refer to the year-on-year growth of real Gross Domestic Product, yearly HICP, current account balance (as % of Euro Area GDP) and government balance (as % of Euro Area GDP). Numbers in parenthesis refer to the minimum and maximum registered value for the period.





EU and EA Institutional Reforms

| | 1999-2008 | 2009-2019 | 2020-2021 | 2022-2024 |
|-------------------|--------------|---|--|--|
| SUPRANATIONAL | • SGP reform | Six and Two Pack Banking Union (BU): Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM) European Financial Stabilisation Mechanism (EFSM) Launch Capital Markets Union (CMU) | Triggering of the SGP General Escape Clause State Aid Temporary Framework Next Generation EU (NGEU) Support to mitigate Unemployment Risks in an Emergency (SURE) | Economic governance reform (agreed in Trilogue) State Aid Temporary Framework + RePower EU |
| INTERGOVERNMENTAL | | European Stability Mechanism (ESM, successor of the European Financial Stability Facility, EFSF) Fiscal Compact | ESM Pandemic Facility (not used) ESM Treaty reform (backstop Single Resolution Mechanism, SRM) | ESM Treaty ratification (ongoing) |
| | | | | |





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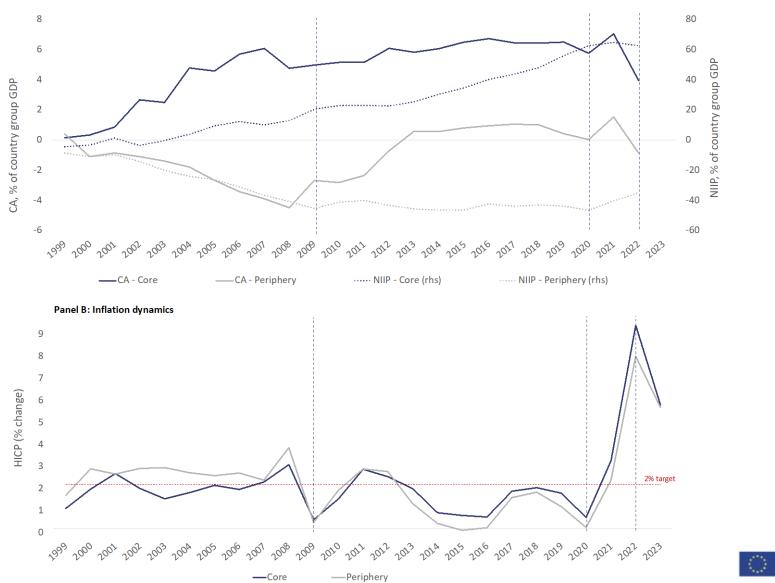




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1999-2009: Intra-EA imbalances pile up

Panel A: External imbalances



Source: Authors' elaboration based on European Commission data. Note: Center countries include Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Austria and Finland. Periphery countries include Estonia, Ireland, Greece, Spain, France, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Portugal, Slovenia, Slovakia and Croatia.

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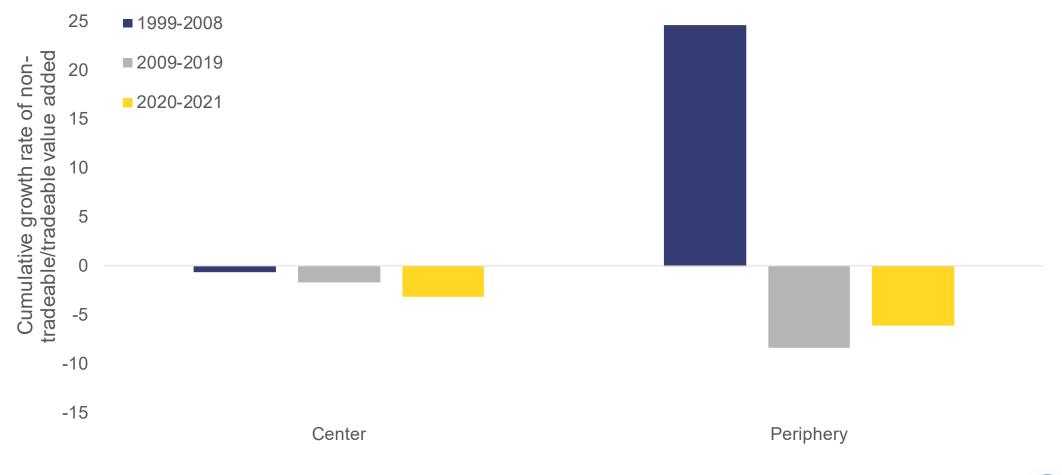


1999-2009: Macro imbalances lead to structural divergences

Cumulative growth of non-tradable/non-tradable VA

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Source: Author's own elaboration based on European Commission data

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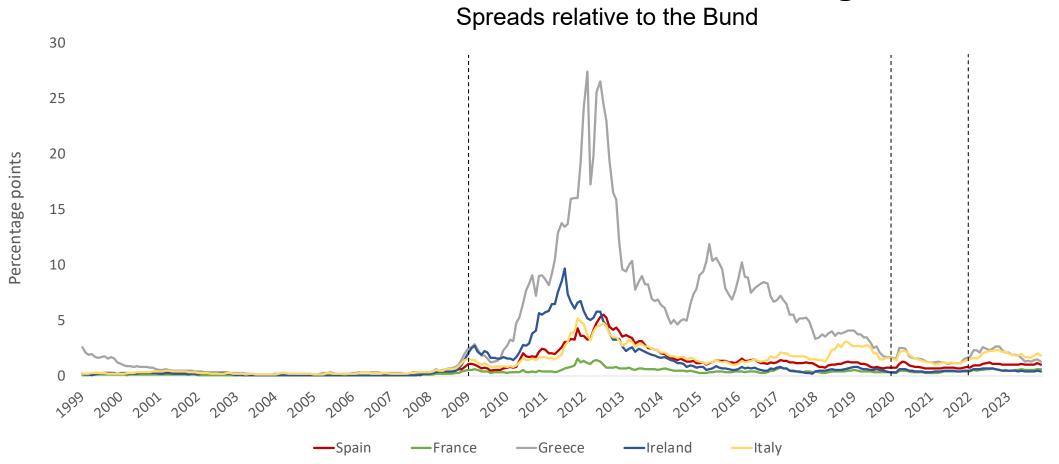
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1999-2009: where have all risks gone?



Source: European Central Bank



Four phases

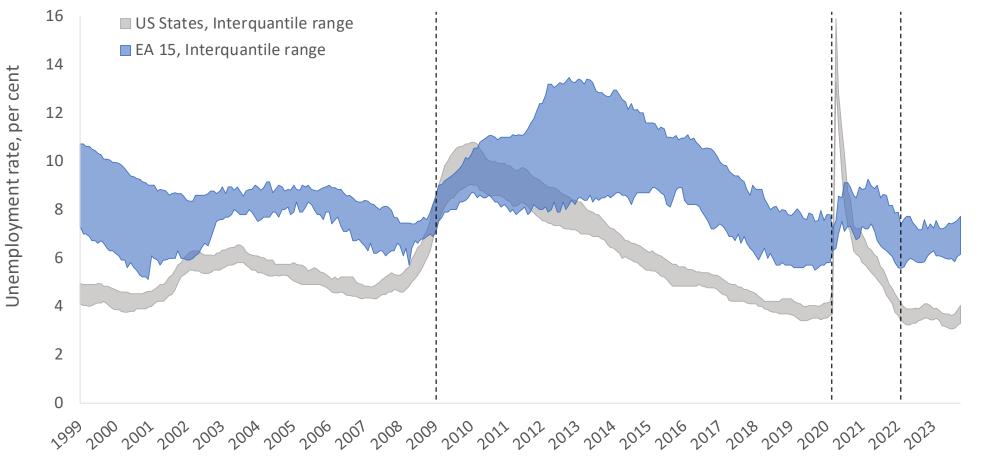
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2009-2019: Cross-country fragmentation sets in

Unemployment rates by states, US versus EU



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and Eurostat



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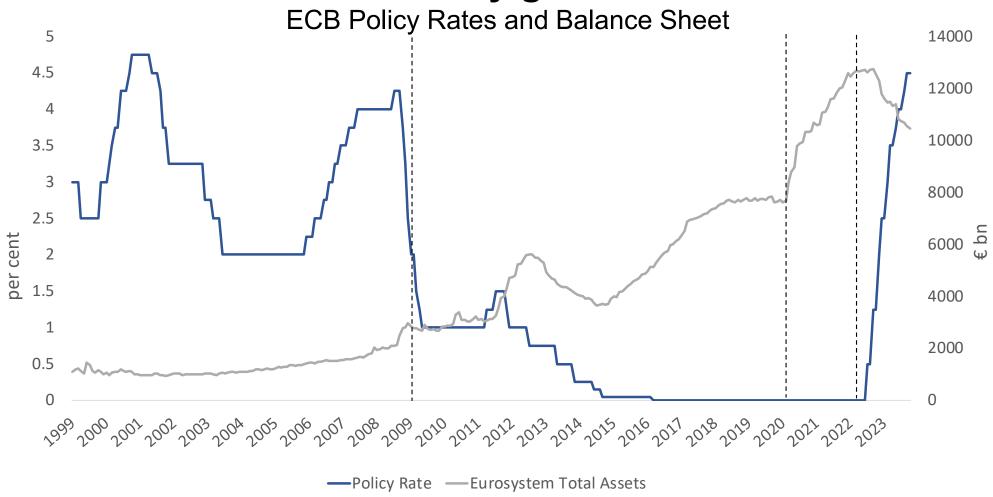
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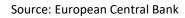
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| EA ACCESSION (11 Members In 1999) | EL (2001) SI (2007) CY, MT (2008) | SK (2009) EE (2011) LV (2014) LT (2015) | HR (2023) | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|-----------------------|--|
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2009-2019: The only game in town





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2020-21: Congruent policy mix, at last

Policy interventions during the pandemic (Billion euro)

| | | Fiscal L | iquidity |
|----------------------|--------------------|----------|----------|
| National | 2020-1 measures | 1350 | 4190 |
| | | | |
| EU | SURE,ESM,EIB | | 540 |
| | NGEU | 390+ | 360 |
| | | | |
| ECB | PEPP | | 1850 |
| Source: IMF, Europea | an Commission, ECB | | |





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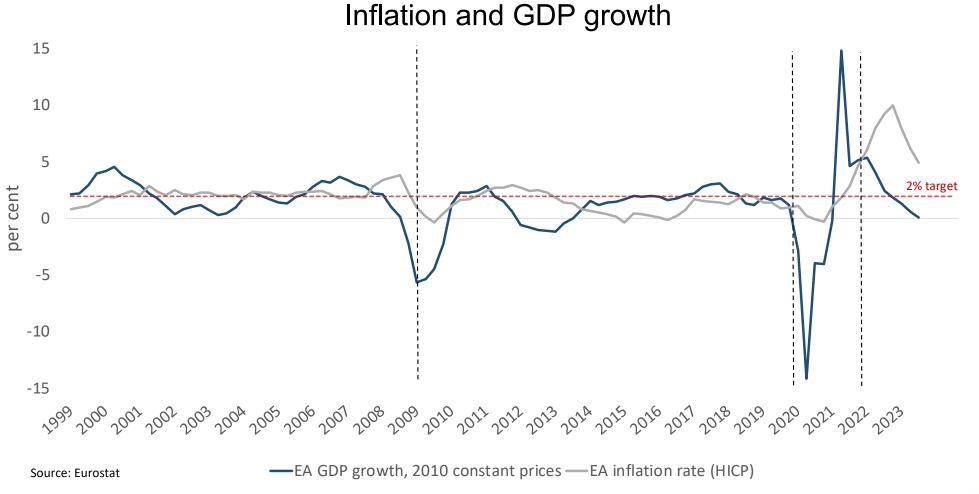
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2022-2023: taming inflation – at high costs







Back to the Jean Monnet Compatibility Test

- 1999-2008 Underlying imbalances grew: JMCT only met on the surface
- 2009-2019 Biased reform under duresse: JMCT largely failed
- 2020-21 Congruent policy mix: JMCT met, helped by the «benign coincidence»
- 2022-? Return of policy trade-offs: jury still out on JMCT, but «NGEU spirit» at risk





Strong resilience, but...

- Macroeconomic governance matters for real integration
- "Putting your house in order" is not enough
- Horizontal and vertical policy coordination matters
- An adequate amount of risk sharing is needed
- Europe can learn...
- ... but preference reversal is a present and real danger





Policy avenues

Strengthening and complementing the three-leg constitution:

- Monetary: ECB independence cannot become loneliness overcome «risk sharing by stealth»
- 2. Fiscal: the EA-wide fiscal stance needs vertical coordination moral hazard risks to be addressed via eligibility criteria
- 3. <u>Financial</u>: anchor narrative onto double transition and geo-politics

overcome the risk sharing – risk reduction divide

4. <u>Industrial</u>: EPGs at the core of an EU industrial policy projects easier to define in practice than in theory





BACKGROUND SLIDES

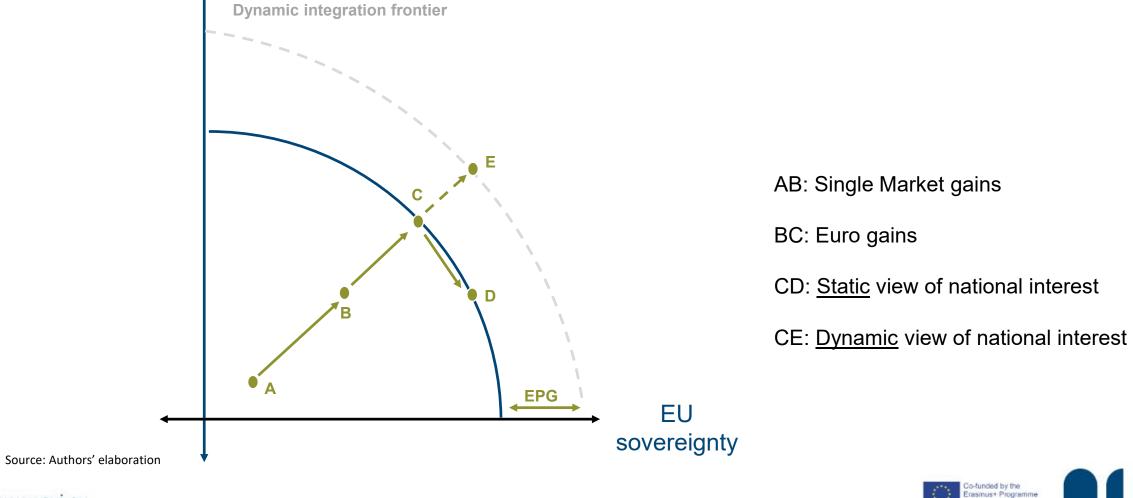


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National interest

Sharing sovereignty



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the European Union