



## Strefa euro – kryzys i drogi wyjścia



# Why is the debt crisis spreading inside the euro area?

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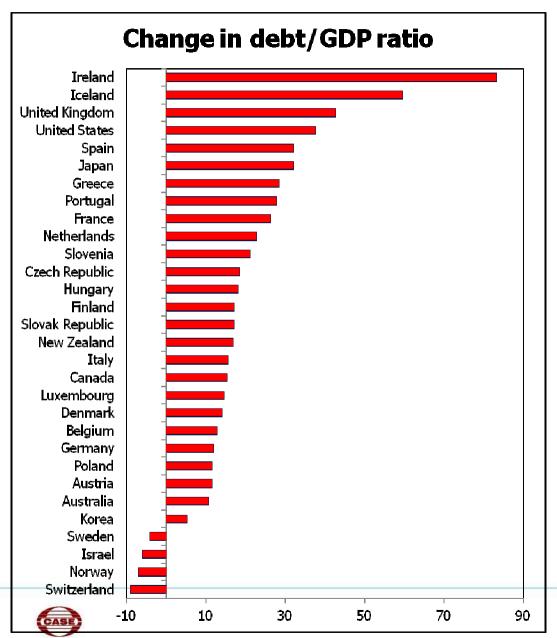


## A striking evolution

 Debt/GDP ratios have risen on average by some 30% among developed countries











#### A striking evolution

- Debt/GDP ratios have risen on average by some 30% among developed countries
- Mostly for excellent reasons
  - A sharp change from the past
- So far, only euro area debts under attack







## Why the euro area?

- 1. Largest debts
- 2. Largest deficits
- 3. Loss of exchange rate
- 4. Policy mistakes





Why the euro area?

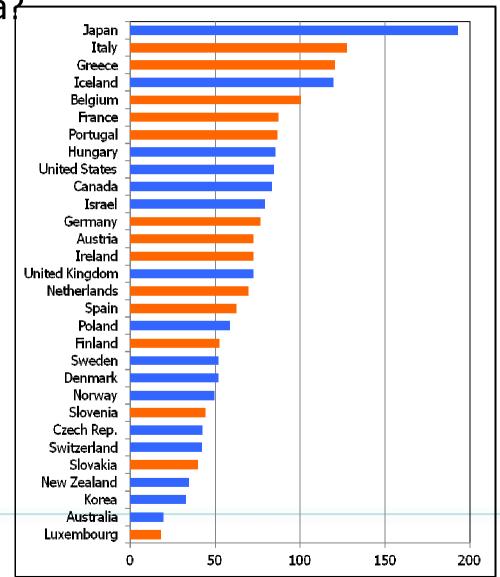
#### 1. Large debts

Debt/GDP in 2009

Is this a euro area effect?







## Why do countries have large debts?

Table 1. Public debts

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	Prob.
constant	3.70	1.09	0.00
GDP per cap.	-0.20	0.13	0.13
Spending/GDP	0.61	0.23	0.01
Growth	-0.16	0.05	0.01
Corruption index	0.08	0.06	0.20
Euro area	0.23	0.21	0.27

Growth and spending are the story





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Not a richer/poorer country story





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Not a euro area story



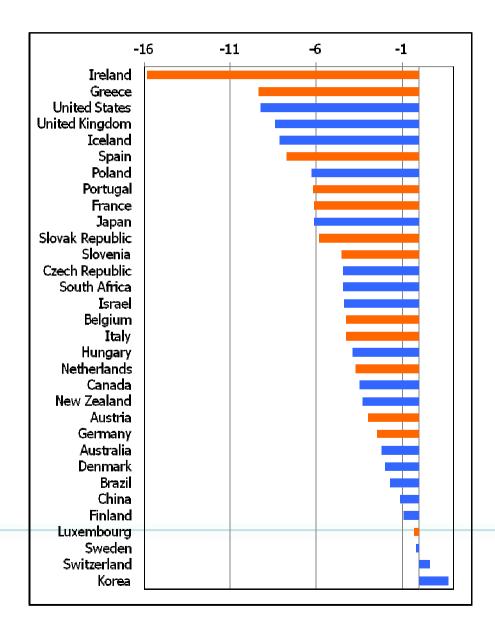


## Why the euro area?

#### 2. Large deficits

- Expectations
- Self fulfilling

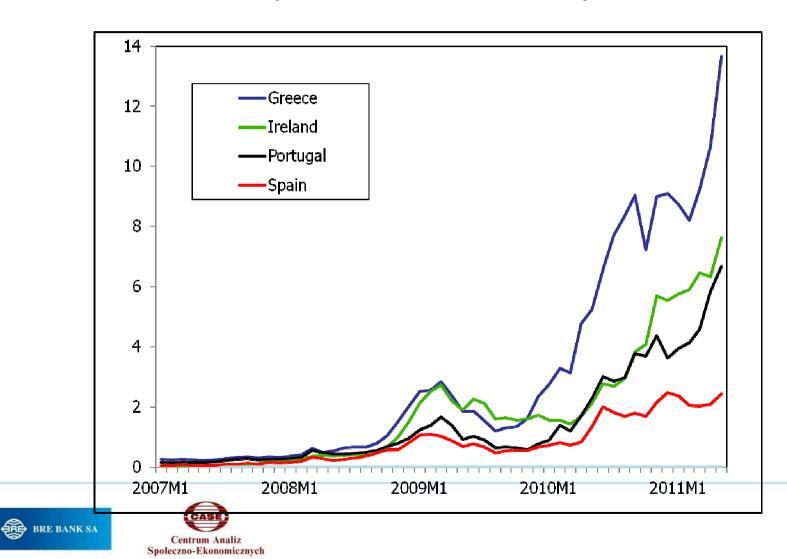
Average 2008-2011







Still, a euro effect
Spreads relative to Germany



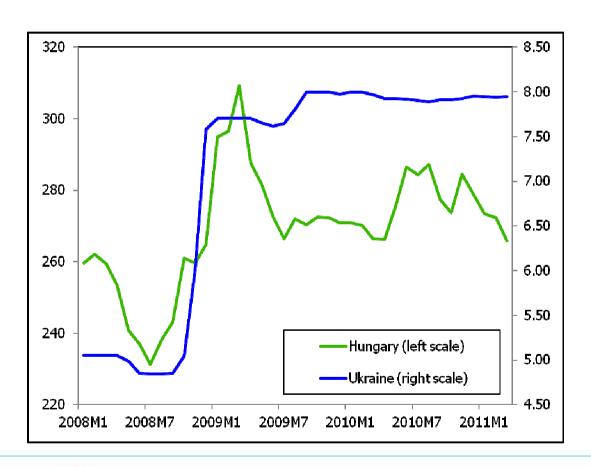
# 3. Loss of monetary/exchange rate policy

- Ambiguous implications
- Good: no currency crisis





## Hungary and Ukraine







## Loss of monetary/exchange rate policy

- Ambiguous implications
- Good: no currency crisis
- Bad: no offset to contractionary fiscal policy
  - Self-fulfilling
  - If markets impose high rates, no way out of crisis
- A vulnerability, not a fatality
  - Reason for self-imposed fiscal discipline in normal years





#### Summary so far

- Yes, large debts but elsewhere too
  - Not a direct effect of euro area membership

Note for future reference:

the case for collectively
agreed-upon
fiscal discipline

very annicule to cut denotes





#### 4. Policy mistakes

- Self-fulfilling crises may (almost) always happen
  - Only solution: zero vulnerability
- When they happen, policies must be well adapted
  - Sense of failure
  - Not just now, last year as well
- Worse possibility: the reason for contagion





## Policy mistakes: What were the options?

- The solidarity route
  - Ignore the no-bailout clause
  - Weigh on Greece to "go European"
  - Provide adequate financing
  - Rule out contagion
- The tough love route
  - Enforce the no-bailout clause
  - Let Greece deal with IMF
  - Be prepared to deal with banks





## Policy mistake: Pros and cons of the two options

- The solidarity route
  - Open-ended commitment
  - Open way to contagion
  - Need to invent replacement for no-bailout clause
- The tough love route
  - Risk of contagion
  - Potential need to recapitalize bank again
  - Establish fiscal discrementation





## Why a policy mistake?

• Open-ended commitment

Hard to evaluate ex ante

The € 750 billion saga

• EFSF: 440

• Commission: 60

• IMF: 250

Really 250

Cancelled

No promise





## Why a policy mistake?

- Open-ended commitment
  - Hard to evaluate ex ante
  - The € 750 billion saga

#### Current debts (€ bn)

	2011		
Greece	352		
Ireland	ECB! 175		
Ireland Portue the	174	<b>→</b> 526	
Call	737	700	
Italy	1911	1436	
Euro area	8323	3347	<b>750</b> ?
		<del>-</del> 334/	/ 30:





## Why a policy mistake?

- Open-ended commitment
- The ECB cannot stay out
  - A further exception to the no-bailout rule
  - A puzzling evolution
    - Never again?
- The need for yet more money
  - Creation of the ESM in 2013
    - Private sector bailing-in
    - And until then?
- And if that does not work?

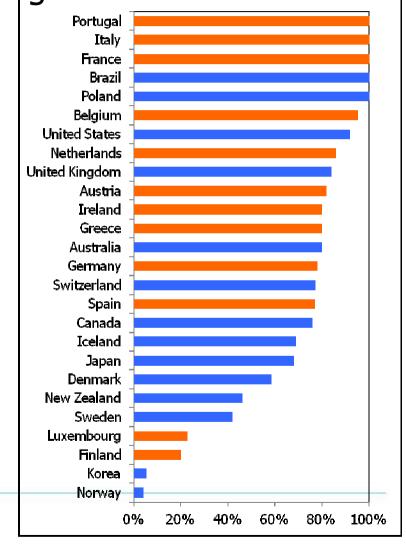




Does it stand a chance of working?

Ability to be disciplined

Percent of years in deficit







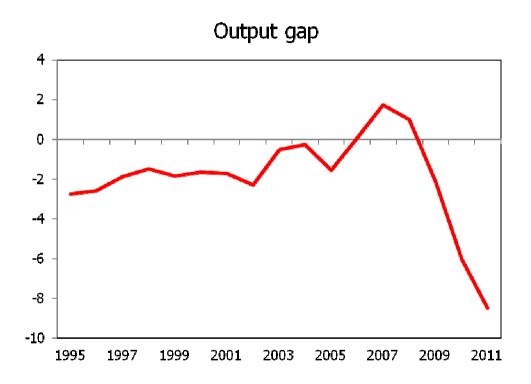
## Does it stand a chance of working?

- Ability to be disciplined
- Ability to meet conditions imposed by IMF/European Commission
  - Can you reduce deficit in midst of deep recession?

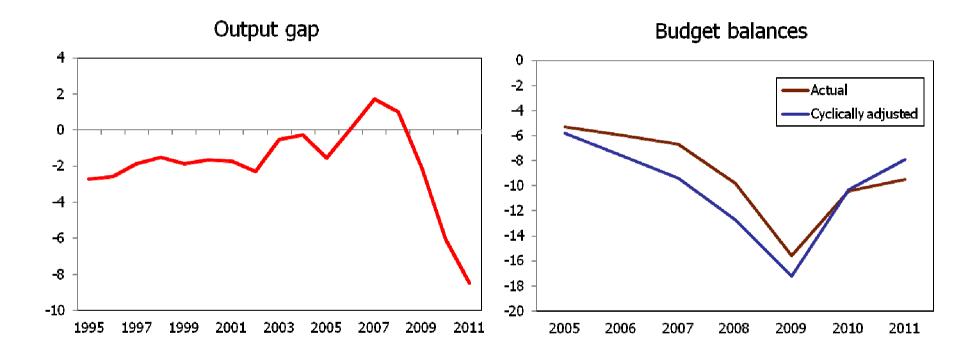




## Greece



#### Greece



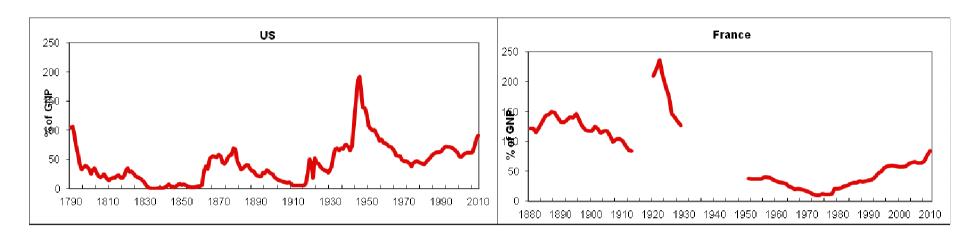
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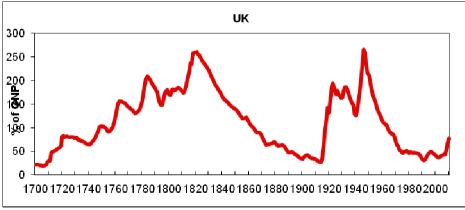
- Ability to be disciplined
- Ability to meet conditions imposed by IMF/European Commission
  - Can you reduce deficit in midst of deep recession?
  - Should you reduce debt quickly?
  - Public debts rose by some 30% of GDP
  - Bringing them down will take decades, not years

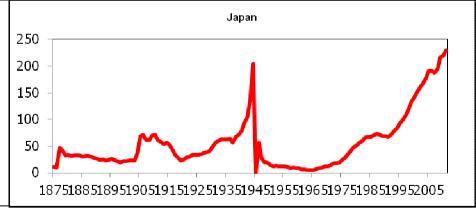




#### Debts: slow climb-downs







#### And now?

- Urgent issue: stop the rot
- Longer term: has the monetary union changed?





## Stop the rot

- Current orientation
  - It hasn't worked, try harder
  - The politics of face-saving
    - Gain time
- The gamble
  - Fast growth erases all problems and mistakes
- If not, what?
  - Defaults
  - Painful consequences
    - Banking systems
    - Politics





## Has the monetary union changed?

- Always was unfinished business
  - Economic and monetary union
  - Not a fiscal union
  - Not a political union
    - No federal state
    - No transfers
- Always included internal contradiction
  - Sovereignty in fiscal matters
  - Stability and Growth Pact
  - Lynchpin: no-bailout clause





## No-bailout clause removed: far-reaching consequences

Foreseen?

- Needs a new game
- Moral hazard issue
  - Harsh treatment of countries bailed out
    - Conditions not subcontracted to IMF
    - Could make solution self-defeating?
    - No "easy restructuring"
  - How much of sovereignty can be removed?
    - A new Treaty for a new tougher and extended SGP?
- Other side of the coin: obligation to lend
- Third side of the coin: bailing-in of private sector









