UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

Trade and Development Board Fifty-ninth session Geneva, 17–28 September 2012

Item 4: Interdependence: Coorinating stimulus for global growth

Endgame for the Eurozone?

Tuesday, 18 September 2012

Professor Costas Lapavitsas, School of Oriental and African Studies, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Endgame for the Eurozone?

Costas Lapavitsas SOAS/RMF September 2012

Unusual nature of EMU

Not merely a system of fixed exchange rates

 A formal alliance to create an international reserve currency – the main competitor to the US dollar.

 A formal alliance to create a domestic monetary standard – the national money of 17 sovereign states.

Inherent weakness

 International and domestic roles of the euro clash with each other.

The changes needed to make them compatible are highly unlikely given the social, political and institutional conditions in Europe.

Domestic Euro - International Euro

 The domestic euro is managed by the ECB via interest rates and controls on credit provision

The international euro is not directly managed. It is supposed to be non-existent within the EMU. No reserves required.

In effect, international money has reappeared within the EMU

For the euro to work

 The factors affecting its international functioning must be eliminated within the EMU – diverging inflation, imbalances in current accounts and capital flows.

The factors affecting its domestic functioning must be handled by the ECB according to each country's specificities.

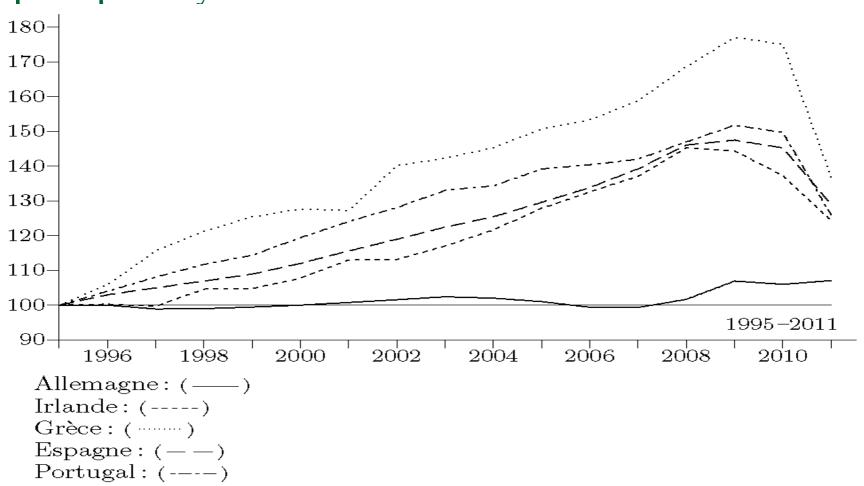
'International' functioning within EMU

Systematic divergence in competitiveness/inflation

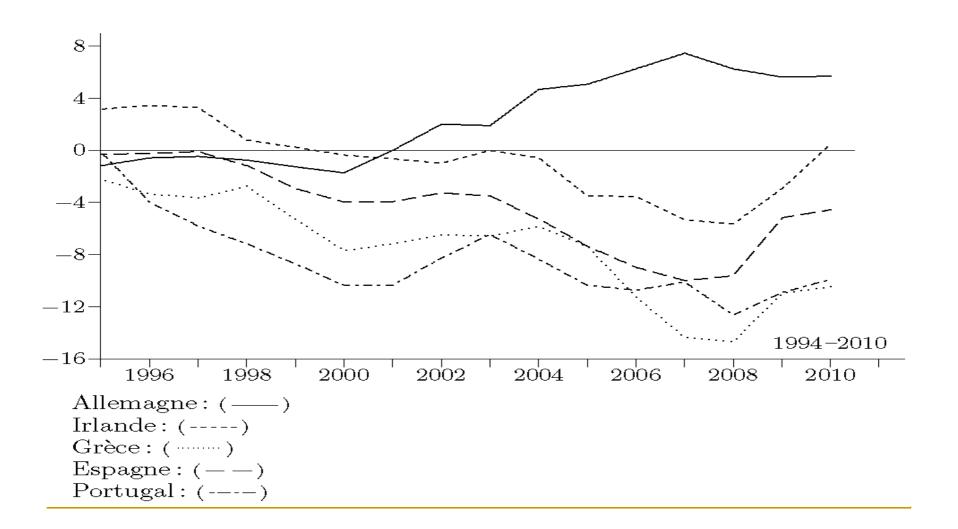
Systematic imbalances in current accounts

Sudden and violent shifts in capital flows

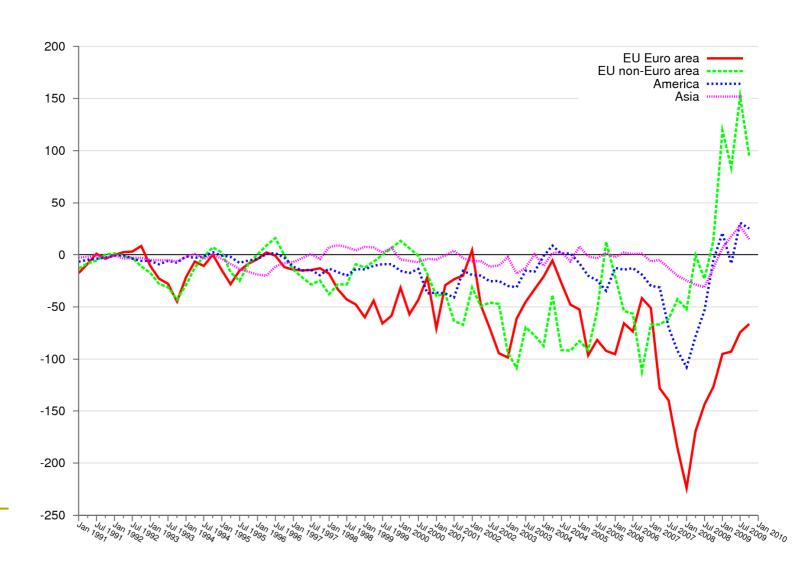
Unit labour costs/Inflation, coreperiphery



Current account deficits, core-periphery



German 'other' capital flows by region



Outcome: Core vs periphery split

 Periphery has accumulated eurodenominated debt for 'international' and 'domestic' reasons. The debt is held publicly and privately.

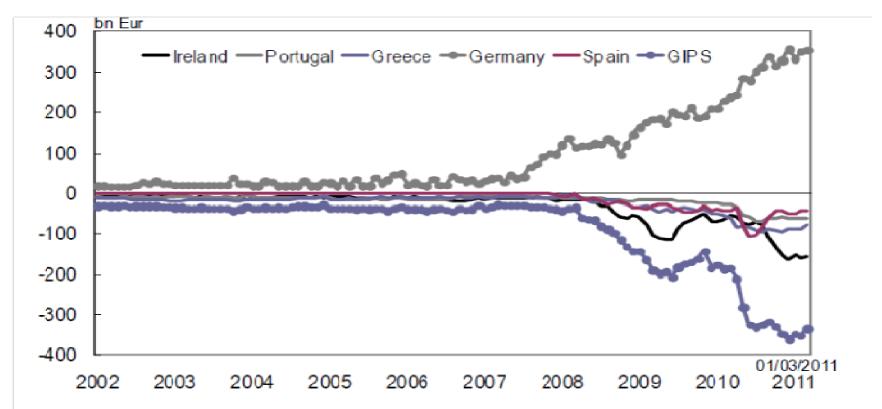
Peripheral debt appears entirely 'domestic', since it is denominated in euro, but much of it is in reality 'international'.

EU policy toward the periphery

 Fix 'international' malfunctioning through austerity, privatisation, liberalisation.

 Replace private flows from abroad with official flows the ECB and EFSF as well as by ELA.

Target 2 flows



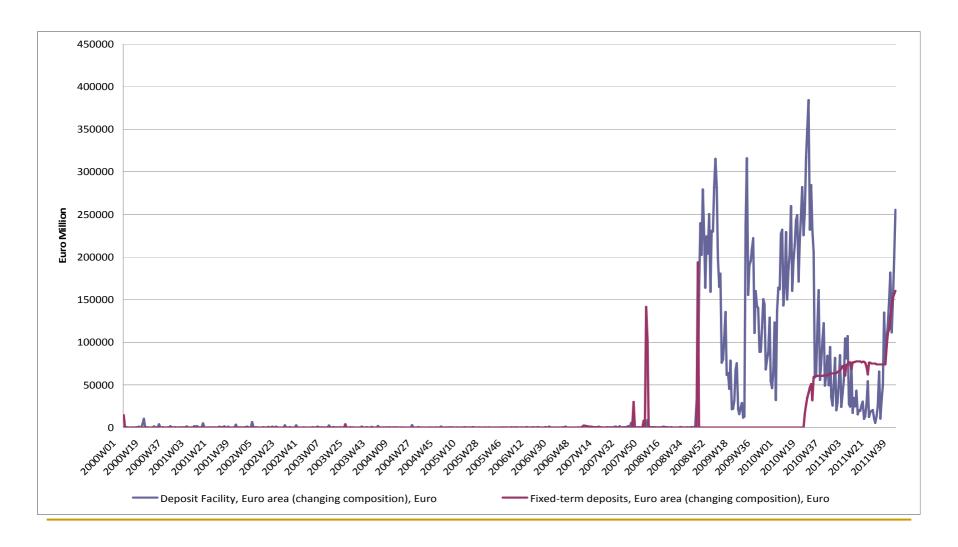
Notes: Germany: Other Assets of the Bundesbank. Spain: Banco de Espana: Liabilities: Other euro area countries: MFIs: of which: euro. Greece: Bank of Greece: Liabilities: Liabilities to Other MFIs: Other Euro Area Countries. Portugal: Central Bank Balance Sheet Liabilities: Non-Residents: Deposits & Related Instruments. Ireland: Central Bank Liabilities: Other Liabilities. GIPS is the sum of Greece, Portugal, Ireland, and Spain. Source: Haver, Bundesbank, Central Bank of Ireland, Bank of Greece, Banco de Espana, Banco de Portugal, Citi

Investment Research and Analysis

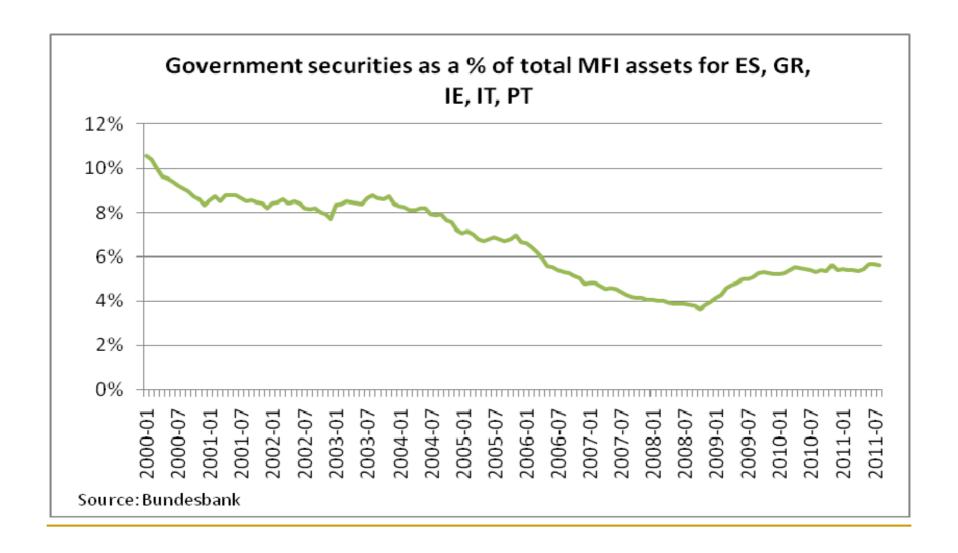
Results:

- 'International' functioning dominates 'domestic' functioning - crisis.
- Collapse in demand, huge social costs, debt position has worsened.
- Shortage of domestic private credit as banks hoard liquidity with ECB.
- Tightening of links between national banks and nation states.

Bank fixed-term deposits, Eurosystem



Peripheral bank holdings of public bonds



Could it be done otherwise?

- Marshall plan for the periphery to raise productivity
- Rebalancing the German economy
- Debt forgiveness
- Restructuring finance
- Income and wealth redistribution

 Little chance of this happening, hence a break-up is likely

Greece – a depression

Huge reduction in labour costs

Disappearance of liquidity

Vast contraction of public spending

Persistent debt – public and private

Contraction of all sources of demand

Current outlook in Greece is unsustainable

Output contraction, 2008-11: 14%, 2012: 7-9%, 2013: perhaps 5-7%

Unemployment: Adult >24%, Youth > 55%

Public debt: 2012 perhaps 160%, 2013 perhaps 170%

A humanitarian crisis in urban centres

Outcomes?

 Greek default and exit from EMU in 2012-3 taking command over 'domestic' money and treating euro as 'international' money

 Economic, social and political instability for a long time

First step in unravelling of EMU.