

COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF
ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION

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Draft

REPORT ON
ECONOMIC AND MONETARY
UNION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

This report has been prepared in response to the mandate of the European Council "to study and propose concrete stages leading towards economic and monetary union".

Foreword

At its meeting in Hanover on 27th-28th June 1988 the European Council recalled "that, in adopting the Single Act, the Member States of the Community confirmed the objective of progressive realisation of economic and monetary union". The Heads of State and Government therefore decided to examine at the European Council meeting in Madrid in June 1989 the means of achieving this union. To that end they decided to entrust to a Committee, chaired by Mr. Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission, "the task of studying and proposing concrete stages leading towards this union".

In response to this decision by the Heads of State and Government, the Committee has the honour to submit the attached Report. The ideas expressed and the proposals contained in the Report are given on the personal responsibility of the members of the Committee.

In approaching its task the Committee has interpreted the mandate as an invitation to consider the main features of an economic and monetary union and to focus attention primarily on steps leading to economic and monetary union in Europe. The Committee has not attempted to make a detailed assessment of cost and benefits of economic and monetary union. Nonetheless, the Committee is firmly convinced that progress towards that end will significantly reinforce the potential benefits which can be gained from the completion of the internal market. Economic and monetary union will increase economic welfare in Europe, raise the standard of living of its citizens and make a significant contribution to economic and political stability in the world.

The Committee feels that concrete proposals leading to economic and monetary union can only be made if there is a clear understanding of the implications and requirements of this final objective, and if due account is taken of past experiences with European economic and monetary integration. In the light of this consideration the Committee decided to organise the Report into three main parts.

The first one examines the present state of and perspectives for economic and monetary integration in the Community. The second part describes the principal features of the final stage of economic and monetary union, and the third makes concrete proposals with regard to steps which could lead the Community in three stages to economic and monetary union.

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I. The present state of and perspectives for economic and monetary integration in the Community

1. Introduction

1. Efforts in the Community to progress towards full economic and monetary integration began in earnest as the Bretton Woods system was breaking up. The Werner Report on the realisation by stages of economic and monetary union was drawn up in 1970. This initiative took place against the background of the major achievements by the Community in the 1960s: the completion of the transition period leading to customs union, the setting up of the common agricultural policy and the creation of a system of own resources. The Werner Report presented a first attempt to define and set out a plan for the attainment of economic and monetary union.

Several important ~~institutional~~ moves followed the Werner Report: in 1972 the "Snake" was created; in 1973 the European Monetary Co-operation Fund (EMCF) was set up; and in 1974 the Council Decision on the attainment of a high degree of convergence in the Community and the Directive on stability, growth and full employment were adopted. Yet, by the mid-1970s the perception had grown that the process of integration had lost momentum under the pressure from the divergent policy reactions to the economic crises occurring at the time.

2. In 1979 the process of monetary integration was relaunched with the creation of the European Monetary System (EMS) and the ecu. The success of the EMS in promoting its objectives of internal and external monetary stability laid the foundations for the new impetus to European integration in recent years, as reflected in the adoption, in 1985, of the internal market programme and the signing of the Single European Act.

~~The fact that the internal market process is now well under way proves that the Community has been able to overcome the serious problems of the 1970s and has coped with the enlargements resulting from the accession of new member countries. The idea of economic and monetary union has been revived now that the Community has put its house in order and resolved the most urgent budgetary and policy issues. The Community is once more progressing along the path of economic and monetary integration.~~

2. The European Monetary System and the adjustment of the European economy

3. The European Monetary System was created by a Resolution of the European Council followed by a Decision of the Council of Ministers and an Agreement between the participating central banks. The progress made by the Community in the 1980s towards price stability, growing monetary co-operation and greater economic integration owed much to the EMS.

4. Within the framework of the EMS the participants in the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) have succeeded in creating a zone of increasing monetary stability while gradually relaxing capital controls. ~~This achievement was particularly remarkable in a period in which the world economy was shaken by wide exchange rate fluctuations and tensions in trade relationships.~~ The exchange rate constraint has greatly helped the participating countries in gearing their monetary policy towards the objective of price stability, thereby laying the foundations for both a converging price performance at a low rate of inflation and the attainment of a high degree of exchange rate stability. The greater priority attached to a policy of monetary stability has promoted a moderation in cost increases in many countries and led to an improvement in the overall economic performance. Moreover, the reduced uncertainty about exchange rate developments and the fact that the parities of the participating currencies were not allowed to depart significantly from the fundamental economic factors have ~~facilitated and strengthened~~ intra-European trade ~~even at times of severe economic difficulties and high unemployment.~~

↑ with higher inflation rates

→ protection

↑ against excessive exchange-rate volatility.

The EMS has served as the focal point for improved monetary policy co-ordination and provided a basis for multilateral surveillance within the Community. Its success is in part attributable to the willingness of countries to opt for a strong currency policy stance, but also to the flexible and pragmatic way in which the System has been managed. The EMS has evolved in response to changes in the economic and financial environment and on two occasions (Palermo 1986 and Basle/Nyborg 1987) its mechanism has been amended and improved without changing its institutional setting.

T, especially by the increasingly close cooperation among central banks. The system has also benefited from the role assumed by the Deutsche Mark as an "anchor" for participating members and in monetary policies.

→ total new sub-para (A)

5. An important element in the launching of the European Monetary System was the creation of the ecu. In establishing the EMS, the European Council declared in 1978 that "a European currency unit (ecu) will be at the centre of the EMS". Apart from being used as the numeraire of the exchange rate mechanism and as a denominator for operations in both the intervention and credit mechanisms, the ecu serves primarily as a reserve asset and a means of settlement for EMS central banks. To fulfil this latter function a stock of official ecus has been created through revolving swap arrangements whereby participating central banks maintain 20% of their gold and dollar reserves with the European Monetary Co-operation Fund. Although it is an integral part of the EMS, and despite a number of measures to improve its usability, the ecu has ~~so far~~ played only a limited role in the operating mechanisms of the EMS.

for a number of reasons

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consequence

By contrast, the ecu has gained ~~remarkable~~ popularity in the market place, where its use as a denomination for financial transactions has spread significantly. ~~A wide set of ecu instruments is now available for investors, both at the short and at the long end of the market. In international banking the ecu is at present the sixth most important currency of denomination and it ranks fifth in international bond issues, with a 6% market share.~~ ~~The growing use of the ecu reflects in part the interest of public sector borrowers in developing and tapping the market for ecu securities,~~ but to an important extent it must also be attributed to the ecu's attractiveness as a means of portfolio diversification and as a hedge against currency risks. Moreover, the creation of an ecu clearing system two years ago, in which more than thirty commercial banks now participate, has contributed to the development and the liquidity of the ecu market. In the non-financial sphere, however, the use of the ecu for the invoicing and settlement of commercial transactions remains limited, covering at present only about 1% of the Community countries' external trade. ~~Nonetheless, opinion polls, especially among firms, tend to show an increasing interest in the potential uses of the ecu.~~

Community institutions and public sector authorities of course must realize how promoted the use of the ecu as a denomination for their debt instruments

3. The Single European Act and the internal market programme

6. On the economic side, a "relaunching" of Europe began in the mid-1980s, supported by the success of the EMS. The central element in this process was the proposal, made in January 1985 by the Commission, to

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of integration played new impulses from

realise the objective of a market without internal frontiers by 1993. The essence of the measures for the removal of physical, technical and fiscal barriers was set out in a White Paper, which specified the precise programme, timetable and methods for creating a unified economic area in which persons, goods, services and capital will be able to move freely. This objective, together with the necessary institutional steps, was embodied in December 1985 in the Single European Act which marked the first significant revision of the Treaty of Rome.

7. The Single European Act signalled three important changes in the Community's strategy for advancing in the integration process. Firstly, it incorporated an institutional reform aimed at establishing a faster, more efficient and more democratic decision-making process, ~~which was considered to be indispensable for reaching the goal of a common unrestricted market.~~ In particular, ^(b) ~~this reform~~ ^(c) extended the scope of qualified majority voting, and thereby removed the constraints inherent in the permanent search for consensus which had hampered the decision-making process in the past and ^{by giving} gave the European Parliament a greater role in the legislative process. Secondly, it greatly simplified the requirements of harmonising national law by limiting harmonisation to the essential standards and by systematic adoption of mutual recognition of national norms and regulations. ~~This new approach to market integration represented a decisive and innovative move towards deregulation and lesser public sector intervention in economic activity.~~ Thirdly, with the Single European Act the member countries reaffirmed - and recognised in the context of the Treaty of Rome - the need to strengthen the Community's economic and social cohesion, to enhance the Community's monetary capacity in the perspective of economic and monetary union, to reinforce the Community's scientific and technological basis, to harmonise working conditions with respect to health and safety standards, to promote the dialogue between management and labour, and to initiate action to protect the environment.

8. Considerable progress has been made over the last three years in implementing the internal market programme. ~~This highlights a marked change of pace in approaching a unified market, as compared to the developments during the previous two decades.~~

The realisation of the internal market by 1993 involves the adoption of some 300 Directives. In view of the time required for them to be transposed into national legislation, the bulk of the Community's legislative work should be completed by the end of 1990. In three years the Commission has presented 90% of the proposals for the Directives concerned and the Council has adopted around one-half. Rapid and significant progress has been made in removing technical barriers relating to machines, materials, foodstuffs, public works and supply contracts, sea, air and road transport and in achieving mutual recognition of diplomas. The abolition of fiscal barriers and physical barriers has so far advanced less quickly. The most prominent, and certainly one of the most important, steps towards the single market is the Directive on the liberalisation of capital movements which was adopted within six months and which will come into force on 1st July 1990. Another step in the direction of greater financial integration was the adoption of the Directive establishing the freedom to provide insurance services for industrial risks. This Directive applies the principle of mutual recognition.

9. The creation of a single market is, however, not based solely on the elimination of physical, technical and fiscal barriers but also comprises an improved competition policy to avoid market segmentation through restrictive commercial practices and dominant market positions, as well as common policies aimed at complementing the working of market forces when they prove insufficient to achieve common goals in such areas as infrastructure, technological advancement, regional development and environment.

In the field of competition policy, the Commission's ability to apply Community law governing the internal market will be strengthened, various measures will be implemented to increase the transparency, efficiency and legal certainty of the procedures of the Community's competition policy and a court of first instance, specialising in particular in competition questions, will be established alongside the European Court of Justice.

As far as complementary common policies are concerned, the European Council approved in February 1988 a package of measures which dealt both with the most urgent and arduous European policy issues and Community policies directed at common goals and safeguarding the economic

which

~~and social cohesion of the Community. The package~~ (included three major elements. Firstly, an adaptation of the common agricultural policy to the general conditions in the world market and to the need of preserving a diversified agricultural sector in Europe. Secondly, the adoption of a new financial regime which provides a firm footing for Community activities on the basis of a system of own resources. Thirdly, a considerable improvement in the Community's capacity to influence structural and regional developments in the single market. Most importantly, the structural funds will be doubled by 1993, which, together with a reorientation of policies away from project to programme financing, will enable the Community more effectively to promote growth and adaptation in less developed regions and a restructuring of declining industries. Moreover, with the adoption of a framework programme for research and technological co-operation the Community will be able to strengthen the scientific and technological foundations of European industry, ~~and help it to exploit the advantages of an enlarged market.~~

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4. Perspectives, opportunities and problems

10. The European Council, meeting in Rhodes in December 1988, noted that "at the halfway stage towards the deadline of December 1992, half of the legislative programme necessary for the establishment of the large market is already nearly complete" and underlined "the irreversible nature of the movement towards a Europe without internal frontiers". There is, indeed, widespread evidence that the objective of a single market enjoys broad support by consumers and producers and that their economic decisions are increasingly influenced by the prospects of 1992. ~~Anticipation effects are clearly reflected in the investment strategies of European firms and the unprecedented number of mergers foreshadowing growing industrial co-operation. These developments have generated a new dynamism and have contributed to the recent acceleration of economic growth in the Community.~~

The anticipation of a market without internal frontiers has

11. ~~The single market will entail profound structural changes in the economies of the member countries.~~ The abolition of internal barriers will link national economies much more closely together and significantly increase the degree of economic integration within the Community. These changes offer ~~immense~~ opportunities for economic advancement but many of

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the potential gains ^{will} ~~can~~ only materialise if economic policy - at both national and the Community levels - responds adequately to the structural changes. The opportunities arise because the unified enlarged economic space greatly increases the freedom of choice of market participants, raises their purchasing power, generates considerable possibilities for exploiting economies of scale and comparative advantages, reduces the administrative costs of intra-Community trade and enlarges the margins of manoeuvre for macro-economic policy. ~~There can be no doubt that these changes~~ ^{will} prepare the ground for a more efficient use and allocation of resources with beneficial effects for trade, growth and employment. → However,

The extent to which these gains can be achieved depends critically on ~~the degree of certainty as well as~~ the soundness and consistency of the government policies affecting the decision-making of private market participants. The single market will ~~greatly strengthen economic interdependence between member countries,~~ reduce the room for independent policy manoeuvre and amplify the cross-border effects of developments originating in each member country. If national policies are not pursued in a credible and consistent manner the participants in the single market will be facing conflicting signals, which will not only create an unfavourable climate of uncertainty, but over time will give rise to economic imbalances which might necessitate more frequent exchange rate realignments or recourse to safeguard clauses. The existence of a common market ~~and the desire to draw from it all its potential economic and social benefits~~ thus necessitates ~~as much~~ ^{more} ~~more intensive and~~ effective co-ordination of policy between separate national authorities. This is most obviously the case in the field of monetary policy, where freedom of capital movement and integrated financial markets would quickly translate incompatible national policies into exchange rate pressures. ~~But it also applies to all other areas of national economic management which affect aggregate demand, and costs of production, as well as monetary policy.~~

Even close co-operation between national authorities, however, cannot ensure that the ~~effective~~ gains from a unified market will be evenly distributed among all member countries. Common policies conducted at the Community level in support of a broadly balanced development and an equitable distribution of prosperity are therefore an indispensable complement to a single market. ~~Indeed~~ The need to back up the removal of market barriers by a strengthening of common regional and structural

these benefits will occur only if the single market remains open to competition within a global free trading system and avoids the creation of new barriers vis-à-vis third countries.

greater and deeper convergence of economic policies and their results. To this end co-ordination of policies between separate national authorities needs to be intensified further and this to make more effective

While at the same time putting increasing burdens on monetary policy and their co-ordination between central banks. The need for more intensive and effective policy co-ordination extends to all areas of national

policies was clearly recognised in the Brussels package of measures agreed in February 1988.

12. The success of the internal market programme thus hinges ~~to a decisive extent~~ on a much closer co-ordination of national economic policies, as well as on more effective Community policies. This ~~implies that in order to take a number of the steps towards economic and monetary union will already have to be taken in the course of establishing a single market in Europe. It also~~ implies that serious consideration should be given to the limits of voluntary co-ordination. ~~Policy decisions faced by national authorities in the economic as well as in the monetary field are subject to many pressures and institutional constraints so that even best efforts to choose a course of action mindful of international repercussions and influences are bound to fail at certain times. By giving unclear or contradictory signals to market participants and by generating divergent trends, a failure in co-operation would weaken the single market and create the danger of negative chain reactions. This is why entirely voluntary procedures would be too fragile a foundation to build on permanently for achieving the necessary degree of policy co-ordination.~~

13. As will be explained in Part II of this Report, an economic and monetary union encompasses a common market for persons, goods, services and capital, a single currency area and a set of arrangements designed to ensure a coherent and effective economic management for the Community as a whole. In this sense economic and monetary union will add two principal elements to the internal market programme. Firstly, it will explicitly set up a policy framework which will replace the present ad hoc procedures for voluntary policy co-ordination by a system defining clearly the distribution of policy responsibilities exercised at the Community and the national levels, and thereby guarantee a consistent economic management. Secondly, it will create a single currency area through an irrevocable locking of exchange rates or the introduction of a single currency, and thereby strongly enhance the potential of the single market.

Although in many respects a natural sequence to the commitment to create a market without internal frontiers, the move towards economic and monetary union represents a quantum jump which would secure a significant

While voluntary cooperation should be relied upon as much as possible to arrive at increasingly convergent national policies, this being account of diverse constitutional situations in member countries, there is also likely to be the need for more binding procedures.

increase in economic welfare in the Community. This would derive from three interrelated developments.

14. Firstly, the strengthening and expansion of common policies pursued at the Community level would help to correct market imperfections which operate on a Community-wide scale and could therefore not be satisfactorily dealt with at a national level. This applies to research and development, where Community policies would promote the pooling of resources, help to avoid duplication and facilitate the dissemination of information. Similarly, common industrial policies could prevent competition among national incentive schemes which, without a certain degree of intervention at the Community level, would tend to neutralise each other and lead to a waste of scarce economic resources. Large productivity gains for the Community as a whole could also be achieved by organising on a Community scale the provision of cross-border public goods such as infrastructure for transportation, the environment and long-distance energy transmission. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the Community structural policies would help to develop a more balanced economic structure throughout the Community and thereby prevent the emergence or aggravation of regional and sectoral imbalances.

15. Secondly, a joint management of macro-economic policies is not only vital for the cohesion of an economic and monetary union, but it would also systematically enlarge the reciprocal room for manoeuvre that could be exploited under a co-operative strategy to attain a higher rate of growth and employment. Within a clearly defined framework for policy-making the interdependence of economic developments in individual member countries would be automatically taken into account and would thereby ensure the most favourable outcome from the interactions of national policies. For instance, the Cecchini Report estimated that the impact of the internal market programme on growth in the Community, which might be in the order of 4½%, could be further raised by 2½ percentage points, if the removal of market barriers were accompanied by an active macro-economic policy in the Community. An economic and monetary union would greatly enhance the chances for implementing such a co-ordinated strategy.

16. Thirdly, in leading to a single currency area an economic and monetary union would establish the conditions under which a common market could fully develop its potential. In a single currency area participants in the single market would benefit considerably from three developments: exchange rate uncertainties with regard to intra-Community transactions would be eliminated, the cost of transactions between residents of different Community countries would be reduced and the transparency of prices and, therefore, the pressure to avoid price discrimination would be increased. These three consequences would not only provide greater certainty for economic decisions and planning, they would also strongly reinforce the competitive forces of a common market and enhance its allocative function. The existence of irrevocably fixed exchange rates would, moreover, dispel fears of a devaluation and market participants would cease to seek compensation for anticipated exchange rate depreciation in the form of higher wage claims or higher interest rates. As a consequence, cost pressures would be reduced and interest rates would converge in a downward direction. Finally, as a single currency area the Community would be much less susceptible to external economic shocks.

The adoption of permanently fixed exchange rates would, however, eliminate an important indicator of policy inconsistencies among Community countries and remove the exchange rate as an instrument of adjustment from the Community's set of economic tools. Economic imbalances among member countries, reflecting either a differing response of individual economies to disturbances from outside the Community, or divergent cost developments within the Community, would therefore have to be corrected by policies affecting the structure of the economies and the costs of production, if major regional disparities in output and employment were to be avoided. The abandonment of the exchange rate instrument would constitute the single most significant change on the way to economic and monetary union, but the effect of this change would be alleviated in an economic and monetary union by the availability of common Community policies and a high degree of national policy co-ordination. Indeed, external shocks would normally not affect the entire economy of a single member country, but rather manifest themselves in specific sectors throughout the Community, so that the appropriate remedial action would be in the form of structural policies instead of exchange rate change. Sizable imbalances among Community countries would only emerge if individual countries embarked on

incompatible policy courses, but this is precisely what should be impeded by moving from ad hoc voluntary co-operation to the new set of rules, procedures and institutional arrangements that characterise the economic and monetary union.

17. The move to economic and monetary union would considerably increase the Community's weight in the world economy, strengthen its role in international concertation and give it a substantial influence on the management of the world economy and the international monetary system. The Community's enhanced capacity for negotiation and action could make a significant contribution not only to greater stability in exchange and financial markets, but also to a high level of activity in the world economy, with beneficial effects for growth in Europe. The role of a European economic and monetary union in the context of the world economy will be examined in Part II of this Report.

18. Economic and monetary union has been set as a goal by the Community since the late 1960s. The full implementation and the success of the single market, by itself, requires an increased degree of economic policy co-ordination even in areas that are not, as such, part of the internal market programme. The establishment of the single market together with stepped-up policy co-ordination represents considerable progress along the path leading to an economic and monetary union. Both the desire to draw maximum benefits from the single market programme and the need to intensify economic and monetary co-operation have led the European Council in Hanover to give further consideration to the question of an economic and monetary union and the steps leading to it. In order to be able to set out such a step-by-step approach it is essential to define clearly the final objective. For this reason, the following part of this Report examines the principal features and implications of an economic and monetary union, including a description of the economic and institutional conditions under which it can be achieved. The subsequent part then presents a pragmatic step-by-step approach which could lead in three stages to the final objective.

II. The final stage of economic and monetary union

1. General considerations

19. Economic and monetary union in Europe would imply complete freedom of movement for persons, goods, services and capital, as well as irrevocably fixed exchange rates between national currencies or a single currency. This, in turn, would presuppose a high degree of integration and require a common monetary policy and consistent economic policies. In the Community these policies would be geared towards price stability, balanced growth and converging standards of living, high employment and external equilibrium. Economic and monetary union would represent the final result of the process of progressive economic integration in Europe.

20. The Treaty of Rome, as amended by the Single European Act, provides the legal foundation for many of the necessary steps towards economic integration. However, the existing Treaty does not suffice for the creation of an economic and monetary union. The realisation of this objective would call for new arrangements which could only be established on the basis of a new Treaty and consequent changes in national legislations. For this reason the union would have to be embodied in a Treaty which clearly laid down the basic functional and institutional arrangements, as well as provisions governing their step-by-step implementation.

21. Even with a single market, a unified monetary system and an institutional and functional framework for economic management, the Community would continue to consist of independent nations with differing economic characteristics, traditions, social customs and languages. The existence and preservation of this plurality and diversified structure would necessitate that a degree of autonomy in economic decision-making continued to rest with individual member countries and that a balance were struck between national and Community competences. For this reason it would not be possible simply to model an economic and monetary union for the Community on the example of existing federal states; it would be necessary to develop an innovative and unique approach.

An essential element of any approach consistent with the historical and economic conditions in member countries would be the distribution of economic policy responsibilities within the Community in strict conformity with the constitutional "principle of subsidiarity". According to this principle, the functions of higher levels of government should be as limited as possible and should be subsidiary to those of lower levels. Thus, the attribution of competences to the Community would have to be confined to those areas in which collective decision-making was necessary, whereas all policy functions which could be carried out at national (and local) levels without adverse repercussions on the cohesion and functioning of the economic and monetary union would have to remain within the competence of the member countries.

With due regard to the principle of subsidiarity and taking into account what is already provided for in the EC Treaties, the need for new policy functions to be taken at the Community level would arise primarily, though to a somewhat different extent, in the fields of monetary policy and macro-economic management. A monetary union would require a single monetary policy and the responsibility for the formulation of this policy would consequently have to be vested in one decision-making body. In the economic field a wide range of decisions would remain the preserve of national and local authorities acting through their traditional channels and instruments. However, given the impact that they might have on the overall economic situation of the Community, such decisions would have to be placed within an agreed macro-economic framework and be subject to binding rules which would enable the Community to determine an overall policy stance, avoid major differences between individual member countries in public sector borrowing requirements and observe certain constraints with regard to the financing of budget deficits.

22. A step-by-step approach to implementing an economic and monetary union can be set out only if there is a clear understanding of the final objective, of its implications for the working of the economy and economic policy decisions, and of the principal elements that would have to be in place for its successful and durable functioning. Economic union and monetary union are closely intertwined, form two integral parts of a single whole and would therefore have to be implemented in parallel. It is for reasons of expositional clarity that the following sections look separately

at the principal features defining an economic and a monetary union. This description begins with the concept of a monetary union, chiefly because an economic union can be circumscribed more clearly and specifically once the main elements of a monetary union have been identified.

2. The principal features of monetary union

23. A monetary union describes a single currency area in which policies are managed jointly with a view to attaining common macro-economic objectives. As already stated in the 1970 Werner Report, there are three necessary conditions for a monetary union:

- the assurance of total and irreversible convertibility of currencies;
- the complete liberalisation of capital transactions and full integration of banking and other financial markets; and
- the elimination of margins of fluctuation and the irrevocable locking of exchange rate parities.

The first two of these requirements - the convertibility of Community currencies and the creation of a free and fully integrated financial market - have already been met, or will be with the completion of the internal market programme. The basic conditions for a monetary union would, however, be accomplished only when the decisive step was taken to lock the exchange rates between Community currencies irrevocably. This would be the single most important step towards creating a situation in which all currencies could be used equally to set prices, make payments and denominate debts or credits.

As a result of the permanent fixing of exchange rates, national currencies would become increasingly close substitutes and their interest rates would tend to converge. However, the pace with which these developments took place would depend critically on the extent to which firms, households, labour unions and other economic agents were convinced that the decision to lock exchange rates would not be reversed. Initially, the continuing existence of national currencies might leave doubts about the commitment to unchangeable exchange rate parities and could engender market perceptions of differences between individual currencies' quality

and standing. Both coherent monetary management and convincing evidence of an effective co-ordination of non-monetary policies would be crucial in dispelling such doubts over time.

24. The three above-mentioned requirements are necessary for the establishment of a single currency area, but their implementation would not necessarily mark the end of the process of monetary unification in the Community. At a later stage the adoption of a single currency, while in principle not strictly necessary for the creation of a monetary union, might be seen - for economic as well as psychological and political reasons - as a natural and desirable further development of the monetary union. A single currency would clearly demonstrate the irreversibility of the move to monetary union, considerably facilitate the monetary management of the Community and have a much greater weight in international markets than any individual Community currency. In this connection, it would be desirable to endorse the idea that the ecu should develop into the future currency of the Community and that an official declaration to this effect should be made at the time of the decision to draw up a new Treaty. This declaration would imply that there should be no discontinuity between the present ecu and the future single currency: any debt contracted in ecus before the introduction of the single currency would have to be payable at face value in ecus if, at maturity, the transition to the single currency had been made. While the Treaty should allow for an appropriate period of transition, this would mean that ultimately the ecu would replace existing national currencies and perform all monetary functions for all residents of the Community. The replacement of national currencies by a single currency would take a certain time and require that economic agents had become sufficiently acquainted with the ecu and that its use in commercial and financial transactions had spread.

25. The establishment of a monetary union would have far-reaching implications for the formulation and execution of monetary policy in the Community. Once permanently fixed exchange rates had been adopted, but national currencies continued to exist in an environment of free and fully integrated capital and money markets there would be a need for a single monetary policy, to be carried out through new operational procedures and not simply through the co-ordination of as many national monetary policies

as there were currencies participating in the union. This, in turn, would require the attribution of responsibility for monetary policy to a new institution, the European System of Central Banks (the principal features of which are outlined in Section 4 below), which would not only form the basis for centralised and collective decisions on the expansion of money and credit in the Community, but would also possess the necessary financial attributes (i.e. its own balance sheet) and the regulatory powers to enforce implementation of the chosen policy. In designing the necessary operational framework, particular attention would thus have to be given to two essential requirements. Firstly, an agreement would have to be reached on an unambiguous procedure for setting specific objectives of the Community's aggregate monetary policy; and secondly, instruments would have to be developed to ensure the compliance of national monetary authorities with the commonly taken decision.

This shift from national monetary policies to a single monetary policy is an inescapable consequence of entering a monetary union and would mark one of the principal institutional changes required by economic and monetary union. In practice, however, the incision would not be so deep, but rather would represent the completion of a progressively intensified co-ordination of national monetary policies, which had in many respects already foreshadowed the move to a single monetary policy in the Community. Even prior to the decision to fix exchange rates permanently, the liberalisation of capital movements and financial market integration will create a situation in which the co-ordination of monetary policy will have to strengthen progressively. Once every banking institution in the Community is free to accept deposits from, and to grant loans to, any customer in the Community and in any of the national currencies, the large degree of territorial coincidence between the national central banks' area of jurisdiction, the area in which their currency is used and the area in which "their" banking system operates will be lost and the effectiveness of national monetary policies will become increasingly dependent upon co-operation among central banks. Indeed, the growing co-ordination of monetary policies will make a positive contribution to financial market integration and will help central banks to gain the experience that is necessary for moving to a single monetary policy.

26. In summary, the realisation of a monetary union would mean that in a situation of free capital movements and full financial integration the exchange rates between Community currencies would be irreversibly fixed. This would create a monetary union in which, at least initially, all national currencies circulated freely, although they might eventually be replaced by the ecu as the sole Community currency. The transition from a situation of fixed but adjustable exchange rates to a system of permanently locked parities would imply a fundamental change in the economic as well as the monetary management of the Community. National monetary policies would have to give way to a single monetary policy for the Community as a whole, formulated and executed jointly in the context of a European System of Central Banks. At the same time, a single currency area would imply the abandonment of the exchange rate as an instrument of adjustment of imbalances among Community countries and would therefore require, in parallel to the process of monetary integration, measures to co-ordinate effectively policies in non-monetary areas.

3. The principal features of economic union

27. Economic union combines the characteristics of an unrestricted common market with a set of rules which are indispensable for its proper working. In this sense economic union can be described in terms of four basic elements:

- the single market within which persons, goods, services and capital can move freely;
- competition policy and other measures aimed at strengthening market mechanisms;
- common policies aimed at structural and regional development; and
- macro-economic policy co-ordination, including binding rules for budgetary policies.

In identifying the content and limits of specific rules and arrangements defining an economic union, the Community should be guided by two considerations.

Firstly, the economic union should be inspired by the same market-oriented economy principles that constitute the foundation of the

economic order of its member countries. Differences in policy choices may exist between member countries or - within the same country - in different periods. However, beyond such differences, a distinctive common feature of economic systems in Europe is the combination of a large degree of freedom for market behaviour and private economic initiative with public intervention in the provision of certain social services and public goods. Within this broad conception, the scope for attributing to the Community economic functions that are at present exercised at national levels should be limited by adherence to the principle of subsidiarity.

Secondly, an appropriate balance between the economic and the monetary components should be ensured for the union to be viable. This would be essential because of the close interactions between economic and monetary developments and policies. A coherent set of economic policies at the Community and national levels would be necessary to maintain permanently fixed exchange rates between Community currencies; and, conversely, a common monetary policy in support of a single currency area would be necessary for the Community to develop into an economic union.

28. The measures aimed at creating the single market are to a large extent envisaged in the Treaty of Rome and the Single European Act. With their implementation, by 1992, all barriers which tend to separate markets along national borders will be eliminated. In particular, all technical and regulatory obstacles will be removed, norms will be harmonised or mutually recognised, and certain common minimum standards governing social policy and consumer and environmental protection will be agreed. Moreover, national tax treatment will be partly harmonised to avoid severe distortion in the competitiveness of industries operating in different countries of the Community.

The creation of a single market will impart strong impulses to economic growth and increase economic welfare through both a further specialisation in line with countries' and regions' comparative advantages and the exploitation of economies of scale in production, research and marketing. These gains will materialise as the residents in the enlarged market without internal frontiers respond to price, wage and interest rate movements, which, transmitted throughout the Community, will provide important incentives for better allocation of factors of production and for a more efficient use of economic resources. There is no doubt that this

process will stimulate economic activity and employment in the Community as a whole, and will generate greater economic freedom and increased trade in goods and services.

29. As has been pointed out in Part I of this Report, the single market in combination with irrevocably fixed exchange rates or a single currency would have profound effects on the functioning and the performance of the economy of the Community.

A monetary union would further enhance the advantages of an enlarged economic space because it would remove exchange rate uncertainties and lower transactions costs, eliminate the possibility of movements of exchange rates unwarranted by fundamental factors, contribute in the longer run to the evolution of a more homogeneous economic structure in the Community and reduce the susceptibility of the Community to external shocks.

At the same time, however, exchange rate realignment would no longer be available as an instrument to correct economic imbalances. Such imbalances might arise because the process of adjustment and restructuring set in motion by the removal of physical, technical and fiscal barriers is unlikely to run smoothly or always produce satisfactory results within reasonable periods of time. Imbalances might also emanate from labour and other cost developments in one member country, external shocks with differing repercussions on individual economies, or divergent economic policies pursued at national levels.

With parities irrevocably fixed, foreign exchange markets would cease to provide a source of pressure for policy corrections when economic disequilibria developed and persisted. Moreover, the statistical measurement and the economic interpretation of economic imbalances might become more difficult because in a fully integrated market balance-of-payments figures, which are currently a highly visible and sensitive indicator of economic disequilibria, would no longer play such a significant role as a guidepost for policy-making. Nonetheless, such imbalances would have to be detected and eliminated rather quickly, or their emergence be avoided altogether, in order to make it possible to reap the benefits of economic union without undue costs in the form of marked pressures on output and employment in certain regions of the Community.

The balance between the economic benefits and costs of exchange rate fixity would become more and more favourable as the Community developed into an economic and monetary union. In order to tilt the balance in this direction it would be essential that the move towards monetary union should be coupled with measures designed to strengthen the mobility of factors of production and a close co-ordination of economic policies.

30. The creation of an economic and monetary union would need to complement the single market through action in three interrelated areas: competition policy and other measures aimed at strengthening market mechanisms; common policies to enhance the process of resource allocation in those economic sectors and geographical areas where the working of market forces needed to be reinforced or complemented; macro-economic co-ordination, including binding rules in the budgetary field and other arrangements both to limit the scope for divergences between member countries and to design an overall economic policy framework for the Community as a whole.

31. Competition policy - conducted at the Community level - would have to operate in such a way that access to markets would not be impeded and market functioning not be distorted by the behaviour of private or public economic agents. Such policies would have to address conventional forms of restrictive practices and the abuse of dominant market positions, but would also have to deal with new aspects of antitrust laws, especially in the field of merger and takeover activities. In addition, attention would have to be paid to excessive government subsidies to the extent to which they distorted competition or resulted in the longer run in an inefficient use and allocation of scarce economic resources.

32. Community policies in the regional and structural field would be of paramount importance, in order to promote an optimum allocation of resources and to spread welfare gains throughout the Community. Without adequate consideration for regional imbalances, the economic union would be faced with grave economic and political risks. For this reason particular attention would have to be paid to an effective Community policy aimed at cushioning regional and structural disparities and promoting a balanced development throughout the Community. In this context the regional

implications of other Community policies would have to be taken into account.

The creation of a single market and the locking of exchange rates would take place in a situation in which, owing to ill-adapted structures and differences in productivity, some major regional disparities would still exist. The impact of economic and monetary integration on these disparities may be difficult to assess: on the one hand, economic integration would provide less developed regions with lower wage levels with an opportunity to attract modern and rapidly growing service and manufacturing industries for which the choice of location would not necessarily be determined by transport costs and market proximity. On the other hand, however, transport costs and economies of scale would tend to favour a shift in economic activity away from less developed regions, especially at the periphery of the Community, to the highly developed areas in its centre. The economic and monetary union should avoid undue economic and political tensions arising from possible dislocations of industries and labour forces. Therefore, it would have to encourage and guide structural adjustment which would help the Community's poorer regions to catch up with the wealthier ones. To this end, the Community would have to develop further an effective policy and be endowed with adequate financial resources to allow it to support regional development efforts undertaken at national levels.

A step in this direction was taken in February 1988 when the European Council decided to strengthen and reorganise the Community's regional policies in two respects: the size of structural funds will be doubled over the period up to 1993, emphasis will be shifted from project to programme financing, and a new form of partnership was established between the Community and the receiving regions. In the process of creating economic and monetary union such policies would have to be strengthened further after 1993.

The principal objective of regional policies should not be to subsidise incomes and simply temper inequalities in standards of living, but to help to equalise production conditions through investment programmes in such areas as physical infrastructure, communication, transportation and education so that large-scale movements of labour do not become the major adjustment factor. The success of these policies will hinge not only on the size of the available financial resources, but to a decisive extent also on

their efficient use and on the private and social return of the investment programmes. Indeed, the more recent experience of countries inside and outside the Community has shown that structural and regional development programmes have been particularly successful when improvements in the resource base of regions encouraged by investment in infrastructure and education have been reinforced by decentralised initiatives for local entrepreneurship, modernisation of urban areas and local institutional arrangements favouring development. A long-term approach would offer countries with lower levels of productivity an appropriate period of transition and in this sense would constitute an essential element of the policy mix to ensure continuing economic integration.

In certain areas such as infrastructure, research and technological development, and environment, the Treaty of Rome as amended by the Single European Act have laid the foundations of Community policies aimed at common goals. Such policies would not only enhance market efficiency and offset market imperfections, but could also contribute to regional development. Subject to the limits of the principle of subsidiarity, such policies would have to be developed in the process towards economic and monetary union.

Sufficient wage flexibility and labour mobility should contribute to avoiding changes in competitiveness in different regions and countries of the Community that could lead to relatively large declines in output and employment in areas with deteriorating competitiveness. In order to reduce adjustment burdens temporarily, it might be necessary in certain circumstances to organise financing flows through official channels. Such financial support would be additional to what might be provided by spontaneous capital flows or external borrowing and should be granted on terms and conditions that would prompt the recipient to intensify its adjustment efforts.

33. Macro-economic policy is the third area in which action would be necessary in order to have a viable economic and monetary union and to draw from it maximum benefits. This would require an appropriate definition of the role of the Community in the co-ordination of economic policies.

The major developments affecting macro-economic conditions would continue to be determined by factors and decisions operating at the national level. This would apply not only to wage negotiations and other

economic behaviour in the fields of production, savings and investment, but also to the action of public authorities in the economic and social sphere. Aside from the system of binding rules governing the size and the financing of national budget deficits, decisions on the main components of public policy in such areas as internal and external security, justice, social security, education, and hence on the level and composition of government spending as well as many revenue measures would remain the preserve of member states even at the final stage of economic and monetary union. Only if the provision of major public goods constituting the bulk of public sector activity were attributed to a large extent to the Community level would the Community budget be significantly enlarged.

However, an economic and monetary union could only operate on the basis of mutually consistent and sound behaviour by governments, unions and other economic agents in all member countries. In particular, unco-ordinated and divergent national budgetary policies would not only undermine monetary stability, but would also generate imbalances in the real and financial sectors of the Community and render it impossible to pursue appropriate macro-economic policies for the Community as a whole. Similarly, strong divergences in wage levels not justified by different trends in productivity would produce economic tensions and pressures for monetary expansion.

To some extent market forces would exert a disciplinary influence because financial markets, consumers and investors would respond to differences in macro-economic developments in individual countries and regions, assess the budgetary and financial position of different countries, penalise deviations from commonly agreed fiscal guidelines or wage settlements, and thus exert pressure for sounder policies. However, experience suggests that market perceptions do not necessarily provide strong and compelling signals and that access to a large capital market may for some time even facilitate the financing of economic imbalances. Rather than leading to a gradual adaptation of borrowing costs, market views about the creditworthiness of official borrowers tend to change abruptly and result in the closure of access to market financing. The constraints imposed by market forces might either be too slow and weak or too sudden and disruptive. This is why countries will have to accept that sharing a common market and a single currency area imposes policy constraints.

In the general macro-economic field, an overall assessment of the short-term and medium-term economic developments of the Community should be agreed periodically and constitute the framework for a better co-ordination of national economic policies. The Community should be in the position to monitor its overall economic situation, to assess the consistency of developments in individual countries with regard to common objectives and to formulate guidelines for policy.

As regards wage formation and industrial relations, the autonomous negotiating process of social partners should be preserved and strengthened with a view to improving the prospects for growth and employment. To this end efforts would have to be made to convince European management and labour of the advantages of gearing wage policies largely to improvements in productivity. Governments, for their part, should strengthen tendencies towards reducing or completely eliminating direct intervention in the wage and price formation process.

In the budgetary field, particular arrangements would be necessary. Such arrangements should, firstly, impose effective and binding limits on budget deficits that could be incurred by individual member countries of the Community, although in setting these limits the situation of each member country might have to be taken into consideration. Secondly, the arrangements would have to include (in accordance with the criteria laid down for a European System of Central Banks) strict limits - both in size and duration - on the maximum permissible access to central bank credit, as well as on borrowing in non-Community currencies. Thirdly, the arrangements should enable the Community to conduct a coherent mix of fiscal and monetary policies, i.e. to dispose of a system of rules that could be applied with a view to determining the aggregate balance on national budgetary positions, including that of the Community.

34. In summary, the establishment of an economic union would require:

- the creation of an internal market without physical, technical or fiscal frontiers, supplemented by a competition policy which effectively removes distortions in competition;
- a system of policies to stimulate regional and structural developments through multi-annual investment programmes, which

- would help regions with lower productivity to catch up with the more developed parts of the Community;
- common policies with regard to infrastructure, research and technological development, and environment, which would help to exploit the full potential of the single market and complement its role in the allocation of resources;
 - consideration of the social dimension of the European Community;
 - a framework for monitoring and co-ordinating general short-term and medium-term economic developments in the Community with a view to attaining non-inflationary, balanced economic growth;
 - effective and binding co-ordination procedures, which would enable the Community to determine its macro-fiscal policy stance, to set maximum possible deficits for national budgets taking into consideration the situation of each member country, and limits on both monetary financing and borrowing in third currencies.

4. Institutional arrangements

35. Management of the economic and monetary union would therefore call for an institutional framework which would allow policy to be decided and executed at the Community level in those economic areas that were of direct relevance for the functioning of the union. The institutional framework would have to guarantee efficient economic management, properly embedded in the democratic process. The creation of a monetary union would necessitate the setting-up of a new monetary institution, placed in the constellation of Community institutions (European Council, Council of Ministers, European Parliament, Commission and Court of Justice). Although the establishment of economic union would not necessarily require the creation of a new institution, the formulation and implementation of common policies in non-monetary fields and the co-ordination of policies under the competence of national authorities could require a revision and, possibly, some restructuring of existing Community institutions.

36. The need for a new monetary institution arises because a single monetary policy cannot be decided and implemented independently by different central banks and because day-to-day monetary policy operations can respond quickly to changing market conditions only if they are decided

centrally. For these reasons the Community's domestic and international monetary policy would have to be organised in a European System of Central Banks (ESCB). The System would have to be given the status of a new and autonomous institution of the Community, operating under the provisions of the Treaty and could consist of a central institution (with its own balance sheet), and national central banks. At the final stage the ESCB - acting through its Council - would formulate and decide the targets of monetary policy and manage the Community's exchange rate vis-à-vis third currencies. The national central banks would be entrusted with the implementation of policies in conformity with guidelines established by the Council of the ESCB and in accordance with instructions from the central institution.

The European System of Central Banks, which would embody the Community's monetary order, should rest on the following basic principles:

Mandate and functions

- the System would be responsible for the formulation of monetary policy at the Community level, for the co-ordination of policy implementation at the national level, for the full convertibility of European currencies, and for the maintenance of a properly functioning payment system; the System would be committed to regulate the amount of money in circulation and the volume of credit supplied by banks and other financial institutions on the basis of criteria designed to ensure price stability as well as economic growth;
- the System would be responsible for the formulation of banking supervisory policy at the Community level and for co-ordination of banking supervision policies of the national supervisory authorities.

Status

- independence of instructions from national governments and Community authorities;
- proper democratic legitimisation through reporting and appointment procedures;

- appointment of the members of the Board by the European Council on the proposal of the ESCB Council; the tenure of Board members would be for five to seven years and would be irrevocable;
- transmission of an annual report by the ESCB to the European Council and the European Parliament; the Chairman of the Board could be invited to report to these institutions;
- supervision of the administration of the System independently of the Community bodies, for example by a supervisory council or a committee of independent auditors.

Structure and organisation

- a federative structure, since this would correspond best to the political structure of the Community;
- establishment of a European Central Bank Council (composed of the Governors of the central banks and the members of the Board), which would be responsible for the formulation of and decision on the thrust of monetary policy;
- establishment of a Board (with supporting staff), which would monitor monetary developments and oversee the implementation of the common monetary policy;
- national central banks, which would execute operations in accordance with instructions given by the Board.

Policy instruments

- the instruments available to the System, together with a procedure for amending them, would be specified in its statutes; the instruments would comprise both regulatory powers and the authority to conduct central banking operations in money and foreign exchange markets;
- there would be strict limitations on lending to all public authorities;
- the monetary policy instruments would be oriented towards a free market economy.

37. In contrast to the monetary field, in the economic field an institutional framework for performing policy tasks is already in place,

with different and complementary functions conferred to the Council, the European Parliament, the Commission and the Court of Justice. The new Treaty would therefore not have to determine the mandate, status and structure of a new institution but to complement and adapt the role of the existing institutions in the light of the policy functions they would have to fulfil in an economic and monetary union. The new Treaty would have to specify this adaptation in accordance with certain general criteria and with reference to the four main policy areas described above.

General criteria

In order to ensure a flexible and effective conduct of policies in those economic areas in which the Community would be involved, three basic requirements would have to be fulfilled:

- to the extent that policies were decided and enacted at the Community level, there would have to be a clear distribution of responsibilities among the existing Community institutions, with due regard to whether decisions relate to the setting of broad policy directions or to day-to-day operations in the light of current developments. By analogy with the structure of the European System of Central Banks, where the ESCB Council would determine the broad lines of monetary policy and the day-to-day execution of these policies would be in the hands of the Board, a similar allocation of responsibilities between the Council of Ministers and the Commission could be envisaged in the economic field;
- in those areas in which the Community's role would be to co-ordinate policies that are decided and implemented by member countries, compliance with the Community's policy framework would have to rely on a system of binding rules to individual member states including the possibility - for the Council or the Commission - to sanction departures from the agreed policy line;
- discretionary changes in Community resources, in the level of harmonised taxation rates and in the terms and conditions attached to structural policies and Community loans should become available instruments and incentives in support of agreed policies.

Single market and competition policy

In these two areas, the necessary procedures and arrangements have already been established by the Treaty of Rome and the Single European Act, conferring upon the Community the legislative, executive and judicial authority. While for economic agents the completion of the internal market represents a marked easing of the overall burden of regulation, for the Community institution the 300 new directives necessary to create and maintain the single market will represent a substantial addition to their executive and policing functions. New instruments and procedures to enforce the rules of the single market might prove necessary after 1992.

Community policies in the regional and structural field

The foundations for a more effective Community role in regional and structural development have recently been put in place, involving both a doubling of the resources of structural funds and a reorganisation of policies as described in earlier parts of this report. At a more advanced stage of the process these mechanisms would have to be further extended and made more effective.

Macro-economic policy

The broad objective of co-ordination of general economic policies would be to promote growth and employment in an environment of price stability and economic cohesion. For this purpose co-ordination would involve: defining medium and short-term policy approaches, bearing in mind their economic and social implications; participating in the policy co-ordination with the other areas of the industrial world; setting a multi-year framework for national and Community budgetary policies; managing common policies, particularly with a view to improving structural and regional development; and determining, in close consultation with the ESCB Council, the Community's exchange rate policy.

This is the field where new procedures would have to be developed. Firstly, they would have to strike a balance between co-ordination through binding rules and discretionary co-ordination adapted to a particular economic situation. Secondly, they would have to cover both horizontal co-ordination - between member countries and the Commission and the Council - and vertical co-ordination between a member country and the Commission.

In this context it would be necessary to develop an effective procedure for joint decision-making in the field of budgetary policy. This would involve:

- the definition of the overall stance of fiscal policy, i.e. the size and the financing of the aggregate budgetary position in the Community;
- binding rules and collective decisions concerning budget deficits which could be incurred by individual countries;
- strict limits on the maximum permissible access to monetary financing as well as on borrowing in non-Community currencies.

38. The new Treaty laying down the programme, procedures and organs of the economic and monetary union would create a situation in which the existing Community institutions (European Council, Council of Ministers, European Parliament, Commission and Court of Justice) would be supplemented by a new institution of comparable status, the European System of Central Banks. Relationships and interactions between these bodies would have to be defined not only in order to construct a consistent institutional framework, but also to ensure an effective procedure of consultation and co-ordination between budgetary and monetary policies. To this end appropriate relations would have to be established on a regular basis between the existing institutions and the European System of Central Banks, providing for consistent consultation procedures without, however, impinging on the policy responsibilities entrusted to each institution in its own field of economic and monetary management. Such consultation procedures could include participation by the President of the Council and the President of the Commission in meetings of the ESCB Council, and participation by the Chairman of the ESCB Council in meetings of the Council of Ministers. An involvement of the European Parliament and national parliaments in the co-ordination process could be considered in addition to the role to be played by the Council and the Commission, and the European Parliament could be consulted in advance on the stance of economic policy in the Community. The consultation process should include a yearly joint assessment of the overall economic and monetary situation and prospects, and the formulation of a general policy guideline for the year to come. Moreover, the Council of Ministers and the Commission would submit

a report each year to the European Council and the European Parliament on the functioning and the status of the economic and monetary union.

5. Economic and monetary union in the context of the world economy

39. The realisation of an economic and monetary union in Europe would significantly increase the weight of the Community in the world economy and strengthen its opportunity of playing a multilateral role. The creation of a market without internal barriers, a single currency area and an effective system for policy formulation and implementation would not only be crucial for achieving a high degree of economic stability and satisfactory growth within the Community; it would, at the same time, enable the Community to fulfil its growing responsibilities in an increasingly integrating world economy in which developments inside and outside Europe will interact, and mutual benefits will depend on growing co-operation and concertation of policies. Economic and monetary union would give a more important voice to the Community in international negotiations and enhance its capacity to influence the relations among industrial and developing countries in a wide range of areas such as trade policies, international monetary matters, macro-economic policy concertation and the North-South dialogue.

40. The competence for external trade policy has been attributed to the Community in the Treaty of Rome and the Commission, acting as the Community's spokesman, represents all member countries in multilateral trade negotiations. This role will undoubtedly be strengthened with the completion of the single market which presents an immense potential in terms of purchasing power and as a vehicle for stimulating multilateral trade and economic growth at the global level. However, this potential can only be exploited to its full extent in an open trading system, guaranteeing foreign suppliers free access to the Community market and, conversely, exporters from the Community free access to foreign markets. The removal of internal trade barriers within the Community should constitute a step towards a more liberal trading system on a worldwide scale.

41. The creation of a single currency area and, concomitantly, the move to a single monetary policy conducted by the European System of

Central Banks will strongly increase the role of the Community in international monetary matters. The liberalisation of capital movements and the integration of financial sectors under the internal market programme will generate a vast financial space and the potential of this market would be greatly enhanced by the introduction of a single currency, which would be likely to develop into an attractive investment instrument for foreign private residents and official authorities alike. The Community would have to assume a growing responsibility for international monetary developments, both with regard to more short-term co-operation at the level of central banks in interest rate management and exchange market interventions as well as in the search for solutions to issues relating to the further development of the international monetary system.

42. As economic and monetary union necessitates an effective macro-economic management for the Community as a whole, it would also strengthen the Community's position in the process of international policy concertation among major industrial countries. However, for the Community to play its part in this respect, the arrangements for internal macro-economic policy formulation and implementation would have to be sufficiently flexible, allowing the Community not only to respond effectively to changing economic circumstances in its internal economic situation, but also to be able to co-ordinate policies in a manner satisfactory to both the Community and other major industrial countries.

43. The institutional arrangements which would enable the Community to fulfil the responsibilities implied by its increased weight in the world economy and to influence international economic developments are partly in place or would be implemented in the process of creating an economic and monetary union. In the area of external trade policies and, to some extent in the field of co-operation with developing countries, the necessary functions have been attributed to the Community. With the establishment of the European System of Central Banks the Community would also have created an institution through which it could participate in all aspects of international monetary management. As far as macro-economic policy co-ordination at the international level is concerned, the Community as such is currently represented only at the summit meetings of the major industrial countries. In order to make full use of its position in the

world economy and to exert influence on the functioning of the international economic system, the Community would have to be able to speak with one voice. This emphasises the need for an effective mechanism for macro-economic policy co-ordination within the economic and monetary union.

III. Steps towards economic and monetary union

1. Principles governing a step-by-step approach

44. The request made by the European Council to the Committee to study "concrete stages" reflects the awareness that an economic and monetary union, as outlined in Part II of this Report, is too profound a change in the economic and institutional structure of the Community to be realised at one stroke. Households, firms, unions, public authorities and governments themselves would need time to adapt ~~their economic behaviour~~ to a new setting. Similarly, it would not be possible to change the balance of power within the Community at once in all fields. Rather, it would be necessary to build on success and to retain the possibility of correcting the course of action in the light of new experiences.

The ambition of the final objective, the present diversity in the situations of the European countries and the variety of areas involved - which go well beyond the economic and monetary sphere - make it necessary to be clear concerning the path to be mapped out.

In designing a step-by-step approach along this path the general principle of subsidiarity, referred to earlier in this Report, as well as a number of further considerations, would have to be taken into account.

45. Discrete but evolutionary steps. The process of implementing economic and monetary union would have to be divided into a limited number of clearly defined stages. Each stage would have to represent a significant change with respect to the preceding one. New arrangements coming into force at the beginning of each stage would gradually develop their effects and bring about a change in economic reality so as to pave the way for the next stage. This evolutionary development would apply to both functional and institutional arrangements.

has been read in practice

(1) in the same . 7

46. Parallelism. Parallel advancement in economic and monetary integration would be indispensable to avoid imbalances which could cause economic strains and loss of political support for further developing the Community into an economic and monetary union. However, perfect parallelism at each and every point of time would be impossible and could even be counterproductive. Already in the past the advancement of the Community in certain areas has gone hand in hand with temporary standstill in others, thus involving only partial parallelism. A certain amount of temporary deviations from parallelism is part of the dynamic process of the Community. However, parallelism would have to be maintained in the medium term. *but also, when necessary from one change to the next*

- L-P reads and is

budgetary convergence is unlikely to be absolute and cannot be demanded by the Community

Doyle: → also, take an sentence from § of L-P! *new program*

(Poole)

47. Calendar. The conditions for moving from stage to stage cannot be defined exactly in advance. They would depend on too many factors to permit the setting of explicit deadlines. The timing of, especially, the move to irrevocably fixed exchange rates would have to be judged in the light of circumstances by the Council, the Commission and the European System of Central Banks (ESCB), which would have been created in the second stage. A firm commitment to the final stage, as described in Part II of this Report, would, however, be indispensable. There should be a clear indication of the timing of the first ^{stage} step. It could coincide with the decision to draw up a new Treaty, thus anticipating ^{begin work} the entry into force of the Directive for the full liberalisation of capital movements on 1st July 1990. It might be envisaged that this first stage would be completed with the implementation of the single market at the end of 1992.

→ (on text) but keep this

48. Indivisibility and gradualism. Gradual progress in a step-by-step approach should not at any point in time produce ambiguities about the ultimate responsibility for each policy decision and its execution. Unless it is unmistakable who (i.e. whether national governments or the Community; which organ or institution) has "the last word", there would be a risk of market uncertainty and policy conflict. Policy responsibilities are not equally divisible in all areas.

Thygesen → combine with stage II, which already mentions an institution

Can → let describe the para, but mention difficulties in stage II

In the monetary field, once exchange rates were irrevocably locked - as was pointed out in Part II of the Report - a common monetary policy would be required and would have to be formulated collectively in the framework of the European System of Central Banks. As the authority

over monetary policy cannot be shared out among several autonomous decision-making bodies, the ultimate decision-making power over each Community currency would rest with the respective national monetary authorities until exchange rates were locked. [This sets the limit of the possible attribution of policy functions to the central institution before the final stage.]

At the same time, however, if the objective of economic cohesion and the attainment of progressive exchange rate stability were not to be put in jeopardy, the extent to which the national decision-making power could be exercised in practice would be increasingly constrained for all central banks and decisions would perforce have to taken increasingly within a framework of close co-operation and co-ordination. As suggested in the description of concrete steps, collaboration and common decision-making with regard to certain operations could be greatly strengthened long before the responsibility for monetary policy was actually transferred to the ESCB.

In the economic field policy responsibilities can be, and are, shared between different levels of government in all constitutional systems. This facilitates a step-by-step approach to economic and monetary union.

49. Participation. There is one Community, but not all the members have participated fully in all its aspects from the beginning. So far this has mainly been the consequence of successive enlargements and for the EMS, of the decision of some countries not to join the exchange rate agreement. A consensus on the final objectives of the Community, as well as participation in the same set of institutions, should be maintained, while allowing for a degree of flexibility concerning the date on which some member countries would join certain arrangements. The management of each set of arrangements should be the responsibility of those who participate fully in it.

2. The Treaty

50. The implementation of economic and monetary union would, in accordance with Article 102A as introduced into the Treaty of Rome by the Single European Act, have to be embodied in a new Treaty. This Treaty would

Troubles ->

make a common bank

Challenges -> Those responsible for public policy should ensure the conditions for participation.
participation is necessary for common

Rome

definition of set of arrangements

Troubles:

however, they should take into account the interests of the participating members and to avoid to take action

Bayer

but leaving always the possibility of flexibility for independent other members a participation
take into consideration
have that in the chapter after the Treaty

provide the legal foundation on which the institutional framework of, and concomitantly the distribution of policy responsibilities in, an economic and monetary union, as described in Part II of the Report, would be based.

The Committee has examined the scope for progress in economic and monetary integration under the present legal provisions in force in each member country. This investigation has shown that unless national legislations are amended in various respects, the scope for further action on the part of national authorities will be narrow: no member country is able to transfer decision-making power to a Community body, nor is it possible for some countries to participate in arrangements for a binding ex ante co-ordination of policies. As a consequence, concrete steps towards economic and monetary union would have to be confined to measures strengthening co-operation, mutual surveillance, analysis of developments and non-binding co-ordination of policies. ^{with the existing legal framework} until a new Treaty had been ratified. More substantive steps would require the conclusion of a Treaty.

51. One procedure would be to conclude a new Treaty for each stage. The advantage of this procedure would be that it would explicitly reaffirm the political consensus at each stage. Its disadvantage would be that, as well as being unwieldy and slow, the overall consistency of the process might not be sufficiently safeguarded and sight might be lost of the ultimate objective. It would also carry the risk that progress in parallel between the monetary and non-monetary sides would not be respected.

52. Alternatively, it could be decided to conclude a single comprehensive Treaty which would clearly formulate the essential features and institutional arrangements of economic and monetary union and the steps in which it could be achieved. Such a Treaty could facilitate the implementation process through the provision of "organic laws" and enabling clauses and it could also indicate the procedures by which the decision would be taken to move from stage to stage. Each move would require an appraisal of the situation and a decision by the European Council.

3. The ecu

53. The Committee examined various aspects of the role that the ecu could be expected to play in the process of economic and monetary

SL/6 to end, before printing?

The chairman would be asked to

be asked to make the procedure by which ~~but~~ would move from one stage to the next. //

↓
If we move towards
the end of the
first

(the introduction
of the principle
of the
kind objective

integration in Europe. The Committee is of the view that the ecu should develop into the future single currency of the Community. The realisation of this objective would take time and it should not be forced by issuing ecus before the final stage as an independent currency in addition to the existing national currencies. On the other hand, it would require that the ecu, remaining a basket of currencies, should become as stable as the currencies participating fully in the exchange rate arrangements. In order to be able to develop into the future single currency, it would be essential that market participants become better acquainted with the ecu and that, as a result of a market-determined process, the use of the ecu in financial and commercial transactions would spread throughout the Community. As far as the official ecu was concerned, the Committee felt that, apart from increasing the operations in official ecus within the EMS and enlarging the group of third holders, the official ecu could possibly be employed as an instrument of monetary policy co-ordination at an advanced stage of integration. As far as the private ecu was concerned, a number of promotional measures could be envisaged which would encourage its use in private markets.

one, separate

The Committee's conclusions and proposals regarding this important subject are to be found in several parts of the Report. They concern both the final phase and the intermediate stages of the economic and monetary union. For expositional convenience the conclusions are summarised here in four propositions.

but also

54. Firstly, the Committee was of the opinion that the ecu should develop into the future currency of the Community. Although a monetary union does not necessarily imply a single currency, political and psychological reasons suggest that a single currency would be a natural and desirable feature of a monetary union. A declaration that the ecu should develop into the future currency of the Community is desirable. It would assure private agents that there would be no discontinuity between the present ecu and the single currency of the union and that ecu obligations would be payable at face value in ecu if the transition to the single currency had been made at the time of the maturity of the contract.

note text, but first 12.17
discuss
also reference to
single currency!

should

55. Secondly, the Committee considered the possibility of adopting a parallel currency strategy as a way to accelerate the pace of the monetary

examined the role of the
ecu in connection with
transition to a single currency.

union process. According to this approach the definition of the ecu as a basket of currencies would be abandoned at an early stage and the new fully-fledged currency, called ecu, would be created autonomously and issued in addition to the existing Community currencies. The new ecu would be a parallel currency in the sense that it circulated alongside national currencies and competed with them. The proponents of this strategy expect that the gradual crowding-out of national currencies by the ecu would make it possible to circumvent the institutional and economic difficulties of establishing a monetary union. The Committee felt that this strategy is not to be recommended for two main reasons. Firstly, an additional source of money creation without a precise linkage to economic activity could jeopardise price stability. Secondly, the addition of a new currency, subject to an independent monetary policy, would further complicate the already difficult endeavour of co-ordinating different national monetary policies.

56. Thirdly, the Committee examined ways for increasing the use of the official ecu. One possibility in this direction was to employ the official ecu as an instrument in the conduct of a common monetary policy. Under such a scheme the official ecu would serve as a reserve instrument, establishing a link between each national central bank and the central institution of the European System of Central Banks. Before the final stage, the official ecu would circulate only among central banks and provide a basis for an operational framework for a common monetary policy that would replace voluntary co-ordination. The Committee felt that such a proposal was one possible way of preparing the ground for a common monetary policy in the course of the second stage.

57. Fourthly, the Committee agreed that a number of measures could promote the voluntary use of the ecu by the private sector as a unit of account and as a means of settlement. In order to avoid undesirable distortions in the financial markets there should be no official discrimination in favour of the ecu; there should, however, be both direct and indirect encouragement. Direct encouragement should aim at increasing the critical mass of transactions in ecu, for example, by stepping up borrowing in ecus by public authorities, increasing the use of the ecu in official transactions inside and, whenever possible, outside the Community,

No discussion with
involved in this aspect.
The main objective of
a scheme which
official ecu as a
reserve instrument
are discussed in the Annex.

Pole

Not agreed

- The Com. could not examine
full the details of the
or in an annex

provision on set of instruments,
which cannot be abolished

utilising the ecu more extensively in exchange market interventions, and providing greater support to the ecu clearing system. One of the most important measures to promote indirectly the use of the ecu would be the declaration that the ecu should develop into the future single currency of the Community. This should provide a clear signal to the private sector to familiarise itself with the ecu. An additional indirect incentive would be the removal of all administrative restrictions on the use of the ecu as a means of settlement and for accounting purposes. In particular, after having been granted the status of a foreign currency, consideration could be given to putting the ecu on an equal footing with the national currency in each member country. Moreover, evidence of a greater use of the official ecu within the EMS and a growing number of official institutions outside the Community holding such ecus could be another form of indirect encouragement.

4. Concrete steps in three stages

58. The Committee is of the view that the evolution towards economic and monetary union could be divided into three major stages. In each stage a number of concrete and parallel steps would be implemented in the institutional, economic and monetary field which would advance the process of integration, ensure the gradual construction of the institutional framework and reorganise policy responsibilities in accordance with the requirements of an economic and monetary union.

59. Both strategic considerations and actual economic developments would call for a particularly careful design of the first stage. Firstly, in order to impart a strong momentum to the process of economic and monetary union, and to underpin its credibility, there would have to be a clear and convincing political endorsement of the final objective reflecting the common will of Community countries. Secondly, it would have to be taken into account that the implementation of the internal market programme currently under way will significantly affect the economic environment in the Community. In particular:

- the complete liberalisation of capital transactions by the middle of 1990 is an irreversible process in which the European

countries are already engaged. This will impose considerable, though differing, constraints on national policies and therefore necessitate a substantial reinforcement of monetary and economic policy co-ordination.

- in the monetary field the central banks will have to co-ordinate their policies much more closely at both internal and external levels;
- on the external side, the sizable fluctuations within the international monetary system have led central banks to rely more heavily on intervention in the foreign exchange markets on a co-ordinated basis. However, such a policy inevitably has a direct influence on the implementation of domestic monetary policies in these countries. It is therefore necessary and urgent that central banks create means for analysing such issues on a permanent and common basis. It is not only a matter of strengthening the impact of their operations, but also of maintaining the efficiency of their monetary management both at domestic and European levels;
- on the internal side, the tendency of the European central banks to conduct their monetary policies within the framework of the EMS in the light of domestic considerations in their respective countries is not necessarily conducive to fostering a monetary policy satisfactory for the Community as a whole. The creation of a common monetary think-tank for analysis and recommendations would make it possible to address this problem better. The deliberations within this monetary think-tank would in effect provide all central banks with a better basis for setting their own national approaches in a European context while preserving full decision-making autonomy;
- in the economic field the co-ordination of policies conducted at national levels as well as at the Community level will have to be strengthened considerably in recognition of the constraints generated by the growing economic integration under the internal market programme. The procedures for policy co-ordination laid down in the 1974 Convergence Decision will therefore have to be revised and made more effective in order to ensure that

macro-economic policies, especially in the budgetary area, are coherent and consistent with exchange rate commitments.

The desirability of a clear demonstration of a common political will and the challenges of market integration would call for substantial and effective measures at the beginning of stage one, although, as noted earlier, the scope for such measures would be limited as long as a new Treaty had not yet been ratified. For this reason it is crucial that stage one should be introduced by the political decision to embark immediately on, and conclude as quickly as possible, intra-governmental negotiations on a Treaty, as well as a set of concrete measures aimed at effectively enhancing policy co-operation and co-ordination.

60. The second stage could begin when the Treaty had come into force. This would involve the construction of the institutional framework of the economic and monetary union and, where envisaged, a gradual transfer of operational functions to the Community institutions. This stage is conceived as a period of transition to the final stage and is thus characterised primarily by a training process leading to a collective decision-making, but without yet abandoning the ultimate responsibility for policy decisions at the national level. If stage two were conceived to last for a long period or if it were enacted without a clear understanding regarding a subsequent move to full economic and monetary union, the provisions of stage two would have to be designed differently.

61. The final stage would commence with the move to irrevocably locked exchange rates and the attribution to Community institutions of the monetary and economic competences described in Part II of this Report. In the course of the final stage the national currencies would eventually be replaced by the ecu as the Community's sole currency.

5. The principal steps in stage one

62. In the institutional field this stage would involve the preparation and ratification of the Treaty on the economic and monetary union, with a procedure similar to the one followed for the Single European Act. The decision to draw up a Treaty would be coupled with an official

announcement that the ecu should develop into the currency of the future monetary union in Europe:

→ delete this sentence (Pöhl)

63. In the economic field the steps would centre on the completion of the internal market programme and measures to enhance the capacity for macro-economic management in the face of increasing market integration. In particular, there would be action in three directions.

Firstly, there would be a complete removal of internal barriers and liberalisation of exchanges of goods, services and capital within the Community, according to the internal market programme adopted in the Single European Act. The completion of the internal market would be accompanied by a strengthening of Community competition policy, ~~and of the executive and judicial authority to identify and sanction infringements of Community law.~~

→ *Amendment*, *law not mean that we have to change the*

Secondly, there would be full implementation of the "Brussels package" for reforming and doubling the structural funds, designed to enhance substantially the ability of Community policies to promote regional development and to correct economic imbalances.

Thirdly, the 1974 Council Decision on economic convergence would be replaced by a new procedure that would considerably strengthen the possibilities for constraining budgetary imbalances, as well as for assessing the consequences and the consistency of the overall policies of the member states. Co-ordination would be based on recommendations and carried out taking due account of the views of the Committee of Governors. In particular, the revised 1974 Decision on convergence would:

- establish a process of multilateral surveillance of economic developments and policies based on agreed indicators. Where performances are judged inadequate or detrimental to commonly set objectives, recommendations and policy consultations would take place at the Community level with the aim of promoting the necessary corrections in national policies;
- set up a new procedure for budgetary policy co-ordination, with increasingly precise quantitative guidelines and medium-term orientations;
- define a programme of budgetary consolidation for member countries concerned [by reducing, where necessary, the central

(*Tavares*)

government deficit to no more than XX% of GNP over a period of Y years];

- provide for the possibility of promoting, where deemed appropriate, concerted budgetary action by the member countries.

remains all obstacles to

64. In the monetary field focus would be placed on implementing financial integration and intensifying co-operation and co-ordination of monetary policies. Realignments of exchange rates would remain one of the instruments for adjusting imbalances among Community countries, but an effort would be made by every country to make the functioning of other adjustment mechanisms more effective. Actions would develop along several lines.

190ms -> don't suggest that

Firstly, through the approval and enforcement of the necessary Community Directives, the objective of a single financial space in which all monetary and financial instruments circulate freely and banking, securities and insurance services are offered uniformly throughout the area would be implemented.

*Don't -> strong -> strong shape I will have to persist
alter -> compromise yes, but not
caution*

Secondly, efforts would be made to include all Community currencies in the EMS exchange rate mechanism. The same rules would apply to all the participants of the exchange rate mechanism.

Thirdly, all regulatory impediments to the voluntary use of the ecu as a common numeraire and a means of settlement by private economic agents would be removed.

*to Pohl all obstacles for private use
of ecu should be removed*

Fourthly, the 1964 Council Decision defining the mandate of the Committee of Central Bank Governors would be replaced by a new Decision giving the Committee greater authority and prominence and making it the forerunner of the Council of the European System of Central Banks to be created under the new Treaty. The thrust of the revision would be to strengthen the co-ordination of monetary policy among all member countries of the Community. To this end, the Committee of Governors would:

- formulate recommendations on the overall orientation of monetary and exchange rate policy, as well as on measures taken in these fields by individual countries. In particular, the Committee would be consulted in advance of national decisions on the course of monetary policy, such as the setting of annual domestic monetary and credit targets. In the event of speculative capital

Pohl: labels

flows unwarranted by fundamentals or underlying monetary policy, the Committee could declare publicly, that the European central banks stood ready to counteract these capital flows by interventions;

- make policy recommendations to individual governments and the Council of Ministers on non-monetary policies that could affect the internal and external monetary situation in the Community, especially the functioning of the EMS. The outcome of the Committee's deliberations could be made public by the Chairman of the Committee;
- submit an annual report on its activities and on the monetary situation of the Community to the European Council and the European Parliament.

The Committee's opinions and recommendations would not have to reflect unanimity, but could be established by a qualified majority; the recommendations would not be binding. In order to reinforce the monitoring and the analysis of monetary and economic developments the Committee would:

- set up three committees (supported by a permanent research staff) which would report regularly to and advise the Committee of Governors. A monetary policy committee would define common surveillance instruments, propose harmonised objectives and instruments and help to gradually induce a change-over from ex post analysis to an ex ante approach to monetary policy co-operation; a foreign exchange policy committee would monitor and analyse exchange market developments and assist in the search for effective intervention strategies; [should these two committees possibly be merged into a single one in order to facilitate an integrated approach to monetary policy?] a committee on banking supervision would hold regular consultations on matters of common interest in this field.

[Finally, efforts would be made to increase the independence of national central banks.]

de lar
 keep the
 on common basis
 give them
 functions
 autonomy

The decision, Pöhl was surprised →

all central banks should have the same degree of independence for the system to function;

→ Committee on Part II → where we talk about appointment of Board

to prepare the ground

de lar = say more, but...
 mainly
 field must be accompanied with...
 with things (and d)

from the 2 members around

to be established by a qualified majority

de lar →

in order to monitor the...
 the Commission...
 to elaborate the necessary steps

Government can set the up; limit on nature of ex-ante coordination

→ Chair → not possible; Committee of Gov should...
 change in field structure to structure?

be encouraged to set up the appropriate institutional changes to strengthen

65. A number of Committee members advocated the creation of a European Reserve Fund (ERF) that would foreshadow the future European System of Central Banks. The main objectives of the ERF would be:

- to serve as a training ground for implementing a better co-ordination of monetary analysis and decisions;
- to facilitate, from a Community point of view, the concerted management of exchange rates and possibly to intervene visibly (in third and participating currencies) on the foreign exchange market upon request of the participating central banks;
- to be the symbol of the political will of the European countries and therefore reinforce the credibility of the process towards economic and monetary union.

The resources of the Fund would be provided by a pooling of a limited amount of reserves (for instance 10% at the start) by participating central banks and require a permanent structure and staff in order to achieve its tasks, i.e.:

- management of the pooled reserves;
- interventions on the exchange markets decided by the members;
- analysing, from a collective perspective, monetary trends in order to enhance policy co-ordination.

All EC central banks would be eligible to join the Fund. However, membership would be subject to their participation in the exchange rate mechanism, the reason being that the EMS implies specific constraints on monetary policy and foreign exchange interventions that both require a common approach of the central bank concerned.

The management of the ERF would consist of:

- a Board of Directors which would comprise automatically the Governors of each central bank participating in the ERF;
- an Executive Committee whose members would be selected by the Committee of Governors on the basis of competence. This Executive Committee would be of a small size, consisting of three or four

members who would have direct responsibility for the different departments of the ERF;

- the two Committees: a Foreign Exchange Policy and a Monetary Policy Committee;
- two departments: a Foreign Exchange and Reserves Management Department, and a Monetary Policy Department.

66. Other members of the Committee felt that the creation of a ERF was not opportune at this stage. Their reservations stem from the fact that:

- too much emphasis is placed on external considerations, ~~fostering the illusion~~ that common interventions by such a Fund could be a substitute for economic adjustment to correct imbalances within the Community or ~~would~~ offer individual countries more leeway in their domestic monetary policy;
- the proposal involves an institutional change which, in accordance with Article 102A of the amended Treaty of Rome, would fall under the procedure stipulated in Article 236 and require a new Treaty; the adoption of an alternative procedure, such as an inter-governmental agreement among the member countries concerned, as well as the setting-up of the Fund under the same procedures as were applied to the establishment of the EMS are not considered possible;
- it would be counterproductive to set up a new institution for a limited period of time, in particular if most of the functions of the Fund could be performed by the Committee of Governors if it were given wider powers;
- it would institutionalise the separation of the Community into two groups of countries.

However, the Committee members opposed to the immediate creation of the ERF could envisage some pooling of reserves and intervention operations at a later stage, but before the definite locking of parities.

Discrepancy: what on the basis of these members is the

cannot be possible

too slow

past record of institutions involved in the field is not good (FECom), rejection of E Member Fund,

6. The principal steps in stage two

67. In the institutional field the basic organs and structure of the economic and monetary union would be set up in accordance with the Treaty, involving both the revision of existing institutions and the establishment of new ones. The institutional framework would gradually take over operational functions, serve as the centre for monitoring and analysing macro-economic developments and promote a process of common decision-making, although the ultimate policy responsibility would still remain in the hands of the national authorities. However, as stage two represents a learning process allowing the Community to gain experience with operating in a new institutional setting and to approach progressively the conditions of economic and monetary union, it would be crucial that certain operational decisions were made by qualified majority. In order to ensure that this would not imply a relinquishment of national policy autonomy, the adoption of a qualified majority would have to be confined either to the use of instruments whose impact on economic developments is negligible or to decisions which do not hinder national authorities.

68. In the economic field the Council and the Commission [with some involvement of the European Parliament?] would reinforce their action along three lines.

Firstly, with regard to the single market and competition policy the results attained through the implementation of the single market programme would be consolidated and, wherever needed, completed.

Secondly, an evaluation of the implementation of the "Brussels package" would be made and a new programme of structural and regional actions would be adopted, and the resources for supporting the structural policies of the member states would be enlarged. Community investment programmes in research and infrastructure would be strengthened.

Thirdly, in the area of macro-economic policy, the provisions set up in the first stage through the revision of the 1974 Decision on convergence would be further strengthened by the adoption of guidelines decided by a qualified majority. Under this procedure the Community would:

- set a medium-term framework for key economic objectives with a follow-up procedure for monitoring performances and intervening when significant deviations occurred;
- set progressively more precise - although not yet binding - rules relating to the size of budget deficits and their financing;
- on the basis of its present representation (through the member states or the Commission) in the various fora for international policy co-ordination, the Community would assume a more active role as a single entity in the discussion of questions arising in the economic and exchange rate field.

69. In the monetary field the European System of Central Banks - having all the principal features described in Part II of the Report - would be set up and would absorb the previously existing institutional monetary arrangements (the EMCF, the Committee of Governors, the committees for monetary policy analysis, foreign exchange policy and banking supervision, and the permanent Secretariat). The most important feature of this stage would be that the functions of the ESCB in the formulation and operation of a common monetary policy would gradually evolve as experience was gained. Exchange rate realignments would remain an instrument of adjustment, but there would be an understanding that the frequency and the extent of realignments should be steadily reduced. Some possible schemes for co-ordinating monetary policies in the course of this stage are discussed in the Annex to the Report.

Initially the ESCB framework would be used: as a joint facility to be shared by national central banks for implementing national monetary policy through operations in domestic and foreign exchange markets; as a centre for monitoring and analysing domestic monetary conditions and foreign exchange market developments; as a centre for the co-ordination of national monetary policies. In the course of this stage the procedures would be altered in such a way as to capture the entire monetary operations of national central banks in their accounts and their transactions with the ESCB.

In addition, a number of actions would be taken in stage two.

Firstly, a certain amount of exchange reserves would be pooled and would be used to conduct limited exchange market interventions in

accordance with guidelines established by the ESCB Council. Such guidelines would be determined by qualified majority.

Secondly, general monetary targets would be set for the Community as a whole, with a presumption that national monetary policy would be executed in accordance with these global guidelines. The general monetary targets would be set by the ESCB Council on the basis of a qualified majority decision.

Thirdly, while the ultimate responsibility for monetary policy decisions would remain in the hands of national authorities, the operational framework necessary for deciding and implementing a common monetary policy would be created and experimented with. In this context ecus issued by the ESCB could be used as reserve instruments. The decision on the amount of ecu reserves to be issued could be made on the basis of a qualified majority. But under the experimental scheme the minimum reserve requirement would not yet be compulsory. This scheme is described in greater detail in the Annex to this Report.

Fourthly, regulatory functions would be exerted by the ESCB in the monetary and banking field in order to achieve a minimum harmonisation of provisions (such as reserve requirements or payments arrangements) necessary for the future conduct of a common monetary policy.

Fifthly, the margins of fluctuation within the ERM would be narrowed as a move towards the final stage of the monetary union, in which they could be reduced to zero.

[Still to be discussed: voting procedure in the ESCB Council in stage two.]

7. The principal steps in stage three

70. In the institutional field there would be the full attribution of competences to Community institutions, as foreseen in the Treaty.

71. In the economic field the transition to this final stage would be marked by three developments.

Firstly, there would be a further strengthening of structural and regional policies of the Community. Instruments and resources would be adapted to the needs of the economic and monetary union.

Secondly, the rules and procedures of the Community in the macro-economic and budgetary field would assume a binding character.

In particular, the Council of Ministers and the Commission [in co-operation with the European Parliament] would have the authority to take directly enforceable decisions, i.e.:

- to impose constraints on national budgets to the extent to which this is necessary to prevent imbalances that may threaten monetary stability;
- to make discretionary changes (through a procedure to be defined) in Community resources to supplement structural transfers to member states or to influence the overall policy stance in the Community;
- to propose discretionary changes (through a procedure to be defined) in the level of harmonised taxation rates;
- to apply some form of conditionality to existing Community structural policies and to Community loans (as a substitute for the present medium-term loans facility);

Thirdly, the Community would assume its full role in the process of international policy co-operation and a new form of representation in arrangements for international policy co-ordination and in internal monetary negotiations would be adopted.

72. In the monetary field the irrevocable locking of exchange rates would come into effect and the transition to a single monetary policy would be made, with the ESCB assuming all its responsibilities as foreseen in the Treaty and described in Part II. In particular:

- concurrent with the announcement of irrevocable fixing of parities between the Community currencies, the formulation and implementation of monetary policy in the Community would be conducted by the ESCB, with its Council and Board exercising their statutory functions;
- decisions on exchange market interventions in third currencies would be made entirely under the responsibility of the ESCB Council in accordance with Community exchange rate policy; the

execution of interventions would be entrusted to [one or ?]
national central bank;

- technical and regulatory work would be done to prepare the transition to the ecu as single currency of the Community.

The change-over to the single currency would take place during this stage.

