

## Chair

- record, no minutes distributed
- no press communiqué → no briefing → do not quote each other, but express own views ← that is unavoidable
- confidential meeting
- no report to Council of Ministers (Pohl!) but with presence of E. Pohl. for formal reasons no influence

2 days ago a working document leaked to press!

- Circulate ~~the~~ ~~before~~ letter → hearing at a dinner to announce them and to discuss

President → no hearing; but D should receive them in a private ~~but~~

W-report → Spots, lets discuss them

There will be at the lunch in Lux, Chateau d' Senningen

Conclusion → 2 reason for lack of success

a) ext. circumstances, policy response

obliged + that is lesson for failure

i.e. prevent coordination of what happens outside

b) inappropriate policy conclusion  $\rightarrow$  as  
that the main area of free-trade  
agreements & speed of effect were thought  
to be easily manageable, that  
area prioritized  $\rightarrow$  close with global  
Doha negotiations also deemed to be  
manageable policy

↳ despite useful but no clear  
whole set of objectives to promote & pursue

(c) if this is so  $\rightarrow$  conclusion of book is  
not helpful, it is rather  
of managing agenda will not  
fix final result

$\rightarrow$  this conclusion an objection  
not an book  $\rightarrow$  a conclusion  
objectives will have to be reached,  
books can change

major constraint  $\rightarrow$  lit. v.  $\rightarrow$  lack of  
other mechanisms not

↓ Observe  $\rightarrow$  notion of managing agenda implied are  
in / report;

influence  $\rightarrow$  influence weakness  $\rightarrow$  goal  $\rightarrow$  conclusion  
& more, broad areas in the  
managing field,

other 3 weaknesses  $\rightarrow$  what was  
politically feasible at that time; keep an  
annual index,

foreign Act  $\rightarrow$  Art. 20  $\rightarrow$  if class not ful

in objective not in the treaty

Art. 104, i.e. trying to new

objective, doesn't give the power;

changes the legislative action

Ex. n. can change  $\rightarrow$  few; if not used other  
balancing mechanism

L-Population  $\rightarrow$  trying to general with respect

- political will

- growing of apprehension of democratic

- difficulties of objectives

territorially

EU not functional (Article 7), need for real progress

when enlargement & ext. responsibilities;

other approach "either"

not of enlargement ...

EU spread, then how much closer have the states  
in last 10 ~~months~~ years

in W.R  $\rightarrow$  significant step forward in R&D,  
possibly preceding EA;

politics & it is too complicated; to  
much concern about inflation, not

↳ lesson  $\rightarrow$  rejected time table not the best way  
towards EECU, W.R. loss by more  
restrictive than  $\Rightarrow$  decision on time table;  
reject time table by force of failure, obstructs  
time success

lesson of time table policy: lack of commitment.  
Should not be accepted; command of other irrevocable

↳ economy to optimise about time, organisation  
need of political will and changes thereon

problems: not  $\mathbb{F}_4$  and not  $\mathbb{F}_4 \rightarrow$  not  
much improvement, since from a number of measures  
& agreements which are encouraging

In early stage probably that not exist, then, results  
were not achieved;

some improvements easily to place too much  
emphasis on monetary integration; but it  
should be parallel with ECU ~~not optional~~  
no premature locking of ex. n., lets not  
force the pace; Maastricht not be  
frozen ahead of ECU; stages of failure

Thus  $\rightarrow$  steps by step, (parallel), steady  
and clash for fiscal concept;  
means a parallelism!

Pöhl  $\rightarrow$  the ultimate goal, = 'a monetary union without national ...'

EU = national market alone, implies also  
coordin. of policies in other areas,  
i.e. fiscal + budgetary

Reich  $\rightarrow$  final  
not objective; not against things;  
but not should be clear

Agree with you & agreement  $\rightarrow$  lack of agreement on  
policy coord.

in meantime experience balanced choice of nations to adopt;  
enthusiasm of some policies necessary; but differences;  
still transfer of sovereignty;  $\rightarrow$  members  $\rightarrow$  WR  
imprecise; was imbalance (records under direction of Council)

### fiscal federal

NL  $\rightarrow$  emphasis on sub. prior stability, must  
be on treaty on centralised institution  
 $\rightarrow$  to be ext. possible, ext. on policy

Grundzüge  
of  
Constitution  $\rightarrow$  institutional coord. of fiscal policy

Pöhl  $\rightarrow$  given no reason for lack of success of WR;  
objection of members from way am. extremely difficult;  
conclusion on fiscal union; also BG system + etc.  
take a buffer of shocker;

today  $\rightarrow$  real shocks are less likely than financial shocks  $\rightarrow$  thus we problems with financial stability esp. after further of capital movements

now objective of st. r. fairly more achievable

but

not a minimalist or maximalist approach but have an political decision (capital movements) which has members consequences; <sup>at least</sup> have to propose a resolution  $\rightarrow$  to maintain the working of the system as it is in the past, given the danger of financial shocks,

a parallel approach; means to see what the members consequences of capital freedom & common market

Giscard  $\rightarrow$  again this analysis of reasons for failure of WR; important to analyze why EMS was successful,  $\rightarrow$  political constraints an ex. o., but not afraid of sufficient flexibility;  $\rightarrow$  economic concept; now clear to each other on infl. front; possibly because of pragmatic approach; when was administrative because of  $\rightarrow$  by contributions which had gained confidence

L

thus important to persistence for further steps

what are main components of EMU; esp.

what are EU-elements; EU cannot be split off from MLI;

what component will help us to manage an the debt; of course, some things can let go alone in MLI;

There have been significant changes in recent years, but differences in terms of demand & labor market;

Thus → Europe has ultimate objectives

then consider steps (in a pragmatic approach) of how to get there, i.e. how comprehensively, in the institutional field;

1st to harmonize rules must show that system can prove further & to generate more confidence → where are go

Another → WR clearly defined goals, less or how to track it; (step by step) other not priorities with this;

by step → basic part; esp. in institutional area;

why was it stuck in institutional area? lack of political will or

important, people face the same situation

- goal of W was linked to G, now 12;  
but it must be clear that W definition applies  
now; if not, Europe at 2 speeds?  
how to define & how to determine the speed?
- if they try this → then, how many stages?  
agreement on political & inst. form, in each stage.

Pöhl → don't forget mandate, EU + Maastricht! how to  
put this?

Sheld → what has been achieved since W  
Giscardian shift towards no regulation, proposes  
however EMU, i.e. convergence in ec. policy  
objection & problem; managed the EMU;  
closer monetary cooperation in EMU; subarea  
of bank credit facilities

- parallel system in WR → hypothesis on parallelism;  
EMU needs closer cooperation in fiscal policies &  
macro-ec. policies, no balance in real economy  
must progress on all levels of coordination  
may have consequences ~~on~~ <sup>institutional</sup> on fiscal policies &  
fiscal policies; system of financial markets;

<sup>cooperation</sup>  
<sup>of a</sup>  
<sup>more</sup>  
<sup>fixed</sup>  
<sup>rate</sup>

→ much differentiation what we aim at. Fiscal  
goal must be clear; WR must provide definitions

Prba → DR main problem → lack of political will

at present → differences between countries  
much less than at time of WOR;  
i.e. policies have changed, greater  
conformity;  
differences in concepts & realities  
of things much less than in early 70s,

have to have clear areas of final objectives; more clear  
than ever; also know what effects it implies;

shape must provide additional steps

time table must have a certain rigidity; there must  
be certain constraints, otherwise no wage;  
program must entail agreed on all areas especially;

what shape → look at EWS, first small steps  
lead to greater convergence

in currency: have learned a great deal since early 70s;

conditions for cooperation are different now

a) consequence of liberalization of economies (from  
time claim's carry much weight; rethinking of  
flexibility of w.o.)

thus, we can go further than W;

idea of parallelism argument, in no accompanying  
development in fiscal & m.c. policies little response in monetary

a number have made progress since the  
→ central framework, which is open to this approach;  
Europe full of multilateral bonds, thus  
progress has been made;

Now to proceed?

→ Observe the objection; though, as put in W R  
perhaps Robinson first scenario with bit;

→ suggested steps that take care there; W mistakes  
should be avoided;

↓

phases won't clearly worked out, and  
the links won't worked out;

→ also be realistic; we are not all equal (not  
all in same boat); thus have to allow  
for flexibility

→ parallelism → a first step however, then  
→ next step - is use of fiscal policy harmonization;

then G20 should be involved in anything to  
do with monetary institution, EMU etc, thus no  
further move under Council direction;

thus to set up an embryo (Conf. do  
things partially), which can let progress with progress  
and more & more responsibility should be given  
to it

Moderia → one additional reason for its failure →  
impossible to consider all hypotheses  
concerning the outcome in the future;  
thus far pragmatic; step by step given  
the definition of ~~EU~~

list objectives of EMU × objectives that  
community has done with respect to  
internal market

are steps + creation of single market; thus  
what should follow after EC;

beginning in parallelism; monetary policy tasks;  
with (unusual) conditions smaller than set times  
of WR; will not be achieved objectives  
are more greater than set times of WR.

Hofmeyer → a) important to have clear definitions → EU (in WR)  
is there a difference to internal market in it  
which is to be granted from an additional wr?

b) not less problematic in creating the WR;  
one feature common with other experience →  
~~you think you have a goal + you think~~  
you have the methods → e.g. the EMT;  
this somehow appeared the problem in EMU;

why has it been impossible to create these  
institutions in a workable way? still problems  
in understanding the institutions

Chairman → general reference to carbon tax  
↳ need to reflect on importance of Emissions

but global concern → EU must share responsibility  
<sup>international</sup> <sup>at</sup> pre-disaster to prevent 'disastrous' imbalances  
in regional disparities; fiscal policy  
action to avoid;

↳ must be consistent with sound policies;  
not enough to avoid comprehensive solutions

EU → may be needed gradually; MLI program  
↓  
↓  
possible without fiscal harmonization;

Budget deficit may be considered a underlying policy  
harmonization

Then, concerned efforts to coordinate fiscal policy

minimum high. obligatory measures at first stage;  
but programs <sup>fiscal federal</sup> of convergence in inst.

then ERM countries should make a firm  
time commitment to pursue, central a  
strategies to their monetary

Governments → agree with analysis of WR;

definition of objectives → WR ok!

but EU → might be more highly committed

on the assessment → of policy convergence but separate; firms  
having doesn't work;

- b) thinks that there is now unanimity  
on the need for free movement of  
capital
- c) now more ~~other~~ aware of advantage  
of U. N. standards

Want to write another chapter on conflict between  
members & economy.

We can now admit that members cause a potential  
symbolic effect; a Europ. members uniting has attractions;  
certain rules cannot be made without beginning; non too  
restrictive feature of EACF.

Piggyback → like offshoot 1st stage; also make established;

members integration has been ahead of co. integration;  
also do not draw from UR conclusion of need for  
parallelism.

Today progress in ec. union has caught up; will  
cautiously that members integration to be ahead

MA in comb. with EC has benefits, if there  
are no currency;

Piggy → changed but not surprised when looking at the  
mandate; UR doesn't define but ... makes it  
possible...

stitutions are all approached  $\rightarrow$  the WR ...

feeling a practical approach - what do we expect to produce? Two things,  
that can be isolated today but  
those that can be  $\rightarrow$  a final  
political attack.

Whether measure taken  $\rightarrow$  Euro Council might back the  
day one

same form of  
EU cannot be then established political union;  
not enough to design a transfer mechanism;  
from point to EU a main law in balance policy  
to division of regional policy

Some where on the way to EU, there will have to be a  
high currency; the differences between countries will show up as  
imbalances; probably in big numbers;  
with fixed ex. r. how is the transnational  
process take place  $\rightarrow$  lab. & mkt. position of adjustment  
at point; what method of adjustment take? mainly w/  
factors of production, labour, capital! Not very practical; but  
some adjustment is needed;  
then, what is EU for us  $\rightarrow$  an element of  
political union, transfer of resources <sup>cost</sup> through budgets  
but also a regional division & fiscal policy.

Relevance  $\rightarrow$  2nd principle gains esp. ex. r. option, by  
going to t; had h use other means than  
adjustable option t;

Then can't make a dominant argument  
that ex. n. is the main adjustment instruments;

Typical problems in t  $\rightarrow$  not a certain  
number of resources but mobility of factors of  
production

Conflicting  $\rightarrow$  in t the same problem  $\rightarrow$  Mrs. Becker was  
helped by means of production

or minimization of charges since WR  $\rightarrow$  financial  
interrogation at the control-unit level;

(example: a) <sup>financial</sup> / three moments with  
charge problems with one  
of the control

b) m. r. stability may have  
effect on cash flows;

Ex. 1 has legal effects ex. n.

Art. Charlie; financial instruments  
would work & have to buy the repack  
from the article given  $\rightarrow$  see market  
short market crash; financial

Pöhl  $\rightarrow$  function of ex. n.; not mentioned in paper;  
have to store a distinction between a control of  
fixed and adjustable ex. rates. may have to  
make law. choice of these consequences;

e.g. you need a much bigger common budget, flexible wage policy in regions

as long as possibility of ex. n. changes, the pressure not that great, can accommodate them by ex. n. movements + i-rates,

proposal → 5-steps in report with WR,

i) what has been achieved + what not

ii) Proposals → Each one should make proposals at the next meeting

Lijphart - Problem → EMU would, a political choice

(or construct), regional policy is done by the existence of a political union e.g., C.E.; we don't have that yet in Europe

Thatcher → her plan's make ex. n. adjustment for only sufficient to solve regional problems

People → U.S. job had ec. union → adjustment through factor of trade production; same regional problems in U.S.

Merkel → cannot think like possible EU + not big, that would not be enough

Boyer → what application of EMU → a) WR or b)

parallel currency denominated agreeable here? But that might not be acceptable to Gov., then highly academic!

if Gov. accept reasonable fixed ex. r.; any far-reaching  
consequences

but can we take that as a basis? Do we want to start from  
there? Will Government agree with that?

Pablos → in favour of less increasing ex. r. fixity;

but that does not mean to be far fixity;

in 15 years ahead, countries have become sufficiently  
homogeneous to have stabilizing mechanisms  
without inflation?

of the s. 6.

Chair: bank programme

Anthonberg → Bayre documents says that; there is a  
March 1971 resolution adopted by Gov. of  
Community

- free flow of funds
- from a highly currency area, irreconcilable  
ex. r.
- institution to administer the rules

thus, no doubts about the final objective

Pöhl → use definition of WR; if other → no distinction  
of single currency + central bank;  
(an advantage soft union; w/ ex. r. adaptability;  
and say that a no available chance for EMU,

## Chair: Weak programme

- Technical complex questions have been instrumental in Standard, - these difficulties have to be solved and in dual effort;

~~Chair~~

### Elements:

- Review WR, state things which can agree

be more optimistic than the WR paper  $\rightarrow$  more has been achieved.

### 3 comments:

- at Council in Standard  $\rightarrow$  all agreed that there is probably agreement in Europe, Gov. should take first an area of central concern

4 main thrust: a) WR should be the  
of heads of  
Government  
b) Standard Committee to  
Europe. form

b) In addition, if the added to EU, we will  
reach political union faster

c) others, say WR may have to be solved (other

d) WR = coming of a chapter

- have to give Gov. more a chance between the 4 thresholds;
- they (the Gov.) want to take a political decision; <sup>but</sup> have to show Econ. discipline

Panel → Number of powers since 75;

- a) high market
- b) not possible without legal change, might be late
- c) strengthening of common political decisions

EU Prezzy High Act is now a Treaty

Also small differences

Governments want to know where they are going

Fact → There are more disputes → 1990's political  
institutions; Disputes seem to increase;  
more numerous agreements on fiscal  
& budget harmonisation;

Facts are spread of offices in Europe; that  
leads to further change

EU R in a context of making less money;  
but institution in policies; but more; making;  
have different types of experience; today a more  
powerful Europe

- Where do we want to go ?

May be controlled, so we have to determine  
a MMR?

lets say we start from a certain standards

e

for lux: → based on MMR definition,

1) anyone can and look at the bank, macroeco.  
monopolise it? implications

objectivity; question of regional imbalances;

✓ W graph → ↓ standard

2nd step

what degree of sovereignty;

what/charter has to be accepted in countries.

2)

what would a Euro. central bank be like? what system?

what objectives

how would we get there?

institutions

standards ...

3) Assessment of EMU? (charter of function of Gov.)

Also → Somehow lack of function of parallel currency?

Ques → is there just a definition of EMU; or no new one?

UR definition generally accepted. Perhaps soft EMU?

Not much having a definition on MMR, but in EMU; what are the standards that have to be present to

make clear what <sup>(1)</sup> media has to make our work; harmoniously.

Chair → Progress towards ECU

where we are

~~not~~ yet as far as we wanted at  
summit time.

Chairperson → what happened at summit? Red Head of State  
not think that 1992 implementation - there not  
be that many also as members total.

Chair → at summit → facts + politics



- function of
- control
- mutual

public statements by  
major politicians;



actions on money;

Chair → what do we have speech? No philosophical + historical  
statements;

Mandate → under Monetary Union, Harmonisation etc.  
so each substance; paper needed  
allow to Heads to have this orientation  
in March 1st

Answers to your questions?

- Do we have a mechanism for members to move? Or a  
or cooperation structure
- What would be the benefits of MU? for  
members, consumers, policy-makers; help the  
marketing people work in a better  
ambition
- What are the players involved in MU if no  
program by ECIS in fiscal areas
- If ECIS option, function of institution + standards.
- Miscellaneous questions  $\Rightarrow$  Parallel currency

Chair  $\Rightarrow$  Study in depth the impact of ultimate  
objection on institutions,  
EU + MU consequences  
should be made very clear.

Chairwoman  $\Rightarrow$  defining normative horizon somewhat, but  
lets not bury ourselves of concepts of ec. + marketing  
space;  
we have already some sort of members  
cooperation and think on how markedly we can  
improve it markedly; marketing has to prove

Hyperbole → Definition + Implications of 71 resolution  
was confirmed by Reeds, in 1972  
was repeated, in Namur  
repeated;

↓

Definition is there; doesn't spell out all  
implications; that is objective of our work;  
is that the proposal?

- Assessment of EMS system? Chairman of Com. of Gov.
- ECB → need a paper on that; maximum degree of  
ambiguity; BIS study?
- Parallel currency → might want a note on that; willing  
to do that it himself; not a fresh  
proposal

High-Hyperbole → paper in time? Ministers not consulted?  
How to be made to make sure that they are  
correct:

Chair → afraid that they will be consulted;

Concordance → Summary of Chairman → main conclusion!

Chair → last at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Brug;

Chairwoman → further legal basis; if the check, then changes of measures;  
Chairwoman → have true legal needs;

Pöhl no need for written record; remember  
on function of bank;

1) Start with definition EU + M<sub>1</sub>  
+ consequences of  
what for fiscal policy, wage ...

2) On consequences  $\rightarrow$  need an institution  $\rightarrow$   
choose as a model of what it  
can not look like

3) Parallel currency; a framework; of standards  
needed, ok? ~~can't decide~~

4) EMU

But have to make proposals for Heads; but there  
are other proposals, relating to EMS, which fall into  
the competence of other Comps; that should not be discussed  
there or Com. of Cons.;

objection  $\rightarrow$  no objection of symmetry; ok; but if  
the objection comes from us too; namely a small  
organisation with problems of reform  $\rightarrow$  that should be  
discussed here;

i.e. not only a discussion of future options

Pöhl → Govt. have to decide on goals of policies?  
It this up of new institutions

The Govt. have to decide (

not only - many members

Thaler → work programme:

- agreement of the plan, in light of discussion
- evaluation of ECU

Parallel currency → Paperless  
EMF  $\leftrightarrow$  ECB  $\rightarrow$  BBG?

CMU

feel disappointed,

what wanted the disappointment be; one  
week before the meeting suspended;

take into account what happens to convergence  
criteria.

Pöhl → Paper on EG by BBG, as basis for  
next meeting

In Eur. at 10<sup>th</sup> - on 10th Oct.

1-3

- 6

in EEC budgeting

## After the meeting

- 1) Summary of meeting?
- 2) Document on the W-report; amended in  
light of the discussion
- 3) GDR assessments
- 4) Parallel currency →  
  
EMF ↔ ECB  
*(creation of a new fund; pooling of means;  
and a shareholder)*  
*↳ shareholders will make a paper a  
paper*  
*↳ or step by step*
- 5) ~~inclusion paper~~
- 6) Final stage; (liquidation, closure;
- 7) Stakeholders of central bank → Thyssen
- 8) Paper paper → as background for meeting;

5 Dec

ECOFIN meeting in ✓ 1978, on breaking the  
final phase;

start with 1971

By Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup>

ideal

now

1972

When members can not be available  
or other circumstances  
have to be on place