## Michael Lind, Policy Director, Economic Growth Program, New America Foundation

The general thinking is that the mistake was to create the European monetary union without the federal union. It's interesting to speculate on a more integrated political union, but this is not feasible in politics. The EP is on the verge of being captured by opposition forces.

Counterproductive policies in a federal union can undermine the institutions. Automatic stabilizers help reduce the impact of dips without being needed to be reauthorized every time that there is a crisis. In the US, however, politicians are undercutting these stabilizers at the very time when they are needed the most.

The US Stimulus was too small, and the positive effects of the federal stimulus were undercut by the fiscal contraction policies that states pursued. There's going to be a recovery, but the next 30-50 years to will not resemble the period after the Great Depression. The task is to build a new system that is more sustainable and more equitable than the one from the 1970s-2008. The new normal is not going to resemble anything like the experiences of the last 50 years.

## Jeremi Suri, LBJ School of Public Affairs

Europe has become "the other" in the American debates. This is a false other, and this particular public image runs against policy streams in the United States. While politicians may criticize the Europeans, the U.S. is dependent more than ever on the help of the Europeans. The success of the sanctions on Iran could only have happened with European help.

There is a much greater strategic interdependence across the Atlantic, but it exists with Europe, rather than Germany, Britain, etc. This multilateral approach runs against the push of Americans for austerity in Europe. There's a contradiction here. US policymakers want want more austerity and more multilateralism.

The most radical transformation is not happening at the federal level, but rather the state. Coordination includes addressing challenges such as urban and environmental management, and it occurs in spite of federal opposition to the policies. The partnerships, relationships, and values that these trans-national institutions share have moved into the space that national governments used to hold. The challenge is to create an intellectual foundation for the United States to deal with Europe.

## Marshall Auerback, Director of the Institute for New Economic Thinking

When Americans think of Europeans, they are filled with bafflement and incredulity. Both Americans and Europeans have embraced the worst aspects of each other's polity. Consider what has happened in Germany with the emergence of new low wage part time employment (efficient and flexible jobs) and heightened insecurity. The policies sought to encourage the German export model.

The Germans rely on the periphery nations to live beyond their means to fund their trade surpluses and balanced budgets. It's necessary during bad times to expand budget deficits to reduce the level of suffering that individuals experience in worse hit regions. We should properly apply the lessons of the 1930s.

## Heiner Flassbeck, Institute for New Economic Thinking and Flassbeck Economics

Monetary union turned Europe into a big closed economy, which is much different than a group of small closed economies. Germany is its partners in the Eurozone into Germany, which will only make things worse. The whole continent cannot sustain a beg of thy neighbor policy. Europe cannot produce the sort of surplus that Germany can, the contributions from trade from GDP and growth are a zero sum game - it's impossible. Where surpluses exist, there must exist corresponding deficits.

In the beginning of Eurozone France and Germany matched productivity and wages, but there is a gap because prices have increased more in France than in Germany. In France, nominal wages have risen more, but not productivity. Germany has been living below its means for a long time and accuses others of living beyond their means.

Wage cuts to restore competitiveness in Spain, France, and Italy would have a major cost - unemployment. Lowering wages won't necessarily increase employment. When the wage cutting started in Portugal - unemployment immediately rose. Italy and France have not adjusted and when they do (cut wages), the political reality would destroy the countries. This is a significant danger for democracy. The German doctrine is not the solution - democracy will not survive - the political question is forced by the economic dogma and ideology.

These countries have few options to resolve their crises. Fiscal policy is restrictive, monetary policy is not an option- pushing on a string doesn't lead very far, wages are under pressure – so incomes hurt also, and exports will not rise because of Germany's model of export promotion. The status quo will not end well either. These countries will continue to lose competitiveness against Germany as long as the Germans do not raise their wages. Without political solution, the end will be chaos, which no one wants.