#### RETHINKING SUBSIDIARITY IN THE EU: ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES

#### 1. Introduction

The European Union (EU) is currently facing major challenges, since the enlargement to East Central European and some other countries necessitates considerable changes in the structure of decision making and the operation of the union. The establishment of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the introduction of the euro as the common currency in EMU countries testify to a stride towards deeper political integration. These developments suggest that a reconsideration of the principles of public decision making is timely, and they have led to the establishment of the European Convention, which will submit its proposals to the European Council sometime in 2003, The tasks of the Convention concern the division of competence between member states and the Union, better definitions of tasks for EU institutions, coherence and efficiency of EU external action and democratic legitimacy of the Union.1

The current times provide a good opportunity to reconsider the public governance and organisation of economic activities within the EU. The key question is how decision-making for public sector activities should be distributed among different levels of government. The EU is only one layer of government and there are other levels of decisionmaking for public sector activities, including the national and local sovernments in all EU member countries. Some EU countries have an explicit federalist structure, so that their governments have local, state and national levels of public decision making. The non-federalist countries, for example Finland and Sweden, have also some intermediate levels of public administration, but these bodies do not have any legislative power.

The principle of subsidiarity is one of the key concepts in political decision-making in the EU. This principle stipulates that public sector decisions and problem solutions should be kept at the lowest layer of government that is appropriate for that specific task. However, the assessment of what is appropriate must be specified by reference to further principles developed in the theory of fiscal federalism, such as international policy spillovers and international public goods (see Oates, 1972 and Shah, 1994 for a general discussion of this theme). Subsidiarity is a widely debated and even disputed concept (see, for example, Bermann, 1994; Begg et al. 1993 and Alesina, Angeloni and Schuknecht, 2002 and the references therein).2 Subsidiarity raises several questions. First, is it possible to provide more concrete and operational content or guidelines to implementation of subsidiarity for specific public sector activities? Second, if this more precise content of subsidiarity can be found, how well is the EU currently matching these guidelines? Third, what might be the directions for the EU to take in order to improve its operation?

This chapter considers these questions from the perspective provided by economic analysis. Since the EU is to a large extent an economic union, an analysis of the concept of subsidiarity from the economic viewpoint can provide useful input to the current discussion about the Constitution of the EU and the future course of the development of the EU. We will argue that here are useful economic principles for assessing the application of subsidiarity in specific governmental activities.<sup>3</sup>

#### 2. Economic principles for subsidiarity

Consider a group of countries which have formed an economic and political union in which there is a union level of government besides the national (and possibly lower level) governments in each country. The formation of an economic union implies the existence of important economic activities and policies that provide important benefits to the members of the union. The single market is probably the most fundamental economic factor in an economic union (see, for example, Weingast, 1994; Tabellini, 2002). Economic theory suggests that significant benefits can accrue from free trade in goods and from free movement of economic resources among countries.

<sup>1</sup> See http://european-convention.eu.int for further information.

Devolution of the tasks of the federal government is in some respects an analogous debate in the United States (see, for example, Inman and Rubinfeld, 1997 and the discussion by Murgrave, 1997; Donahus, 1997 and Qian and Weinigst, 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The chapter focuses on different government tasks. We will not discuss the economic analysis of the formal structure of political. See, for example, Baldwin et al. (2000, 2001) and Leech (2002) for the latter.

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