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Citation:

Spence, RA (2016) The European Banking Union: will it be Sufficient to Avert Another Debt Crisis in Europe? International Journal of Business and Social Research, 6 (11). p. 15. ISSN 2164-2540
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18533/ijbsr.v6i11.1011>

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The European Banking Union: will it be sufficient to avert another debt crisis in Europe?

Ross Alexander Spence¹

ABSTRACT

The European Banking Union (“EBU”) came into existence to help address crucial problems caused by the global financial crisis (“GFC”) and subsequent European sovereign debt crisis (“SDC”). In order to reinstate stability and credibility back into the European banking system, a stronger and more centralized set of criteria was required, to avert another debt crisis in Europe. Whether the EBU is sufficient, however, remains to be seen. Nonetheless, The EBU is a significant step towards a genuine Economic and Monetary Union (“EMU”). It enables the application of consistent banking rules, with new tools and procedures designed to result in a more unified, transparent and safer marketplace for banks. The EBU currently has two functioning pillars consisting of the SSM and SRM respectively. A third pillar, although not yet operational, is in the pipeline in the form of the European Deposit Insurance Scheme (“EDIS”). These pillars are underpinned by the Single Rulebook (“SR”), which provides administrative and legal standards to ensure the efficient distribution of supervision, regulation and governance procedures.

Keywords: Debt crisis; European Banking Union (EBU); regulation of international finance.

Available Online: 30-11-2016

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The rationales for the creation of the European Banking Union (“EBU”), what its objectives are and the main pillars of support for such a scheme, are worthy of investigation. This essay means to critically discuss the various elements of the EBU and determine whether the Single Supervisory Mechanism (“SSM”) and the Single Resolution Mechanism (“SRM”), the main pillars underpinning the structure, are robust enough to avert another debt crisis in Europe.

At the EBU’s heart lies the Single Rulebook (“SR”), which aims to counter the risk of fragmentation and nationalist tendencies. This inward looking trend became apparent in the recent financial crises, and contributed greatly to them. In an effort to avoid repeating the divisive and disjointed mistakes of the past, the SR is instead looking to provide unity and harmonisation across all participating member states.

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2.0 EUROPEAN BANKING UNION

2.1 A EUROPEAN BANKING UNION PRIMER

The EBU came into existence to help address crucial problems caused by the global financial crisis (“GFC”) and subsequent European sovereign debt crisis (“SDC”). In order to reinstate stability and credibility back into the European banking system, a stronger and more centralised set of criteria was required. It was seen as a formula which would bring balance into the financial sector². Vitor Constancio has described the EBU as “a transfer to the European level of the regulatory and institutional framework, responsible for safeguarding the robustness and stability of the banking sector”³. The EBU is a significant step towards a genuine Economic and Monetary Union (“EMU”) ⁴. It enables the application of consistent banking rules, with new tools and procedures designed to result in a more unified⁵, transparent⁶ and safer⁷ marketplace for banks⁸.

The EBU currently has two functioning pillars consisting of the SSM and SRM respectively. A third pillar, although not yet operational, is in the pipeline in the form of the European Deposit Insurance Scheme (“EDIS”)⁹. These pillars are underpinned by the Single Rulebook (“SR”), which provides administrative and legal standards to ensure the efficient distribution of supervision, regulation and governance procedures¹⁰. The SR also includes rules on resolution and recovery procedures, a harmonised framework for the EDIS when it comes into play in 2017, and rules on capital requirements. The EBU ensures the consistent application of these rules across participating member states¹¹.

2.2 RATIONALE FOR THE EUROPEAN BANKING UNION

“The double whammy of the international financial crisis and the sovereign debt crisis”¹² is pivotal in having led to the creation of the EBU. These inter-related events highlighted the major deformities and shaky foundations on which Europe’s financial framework rested. To prevent the European financial structure from collapsing¹³, it was necessary to revisit the existing financial architecture in order to improve it with underpinning structures of economic growth and financial stability¹⁴. The crises identified major structural problems and had “shaken to its foundations the banking system of the Eurozone”¹⁵.

² E Ferran, “European Banking Union: Imperfect, But It Can Work” (2014) page 2, available at: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2426247>. The legal basis for an EBU comes from Articles 114 and 127 (6) of the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union.

³ V Constancio, “Towards a European Banking Union” (7th September 2012), available at: <https://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/key/date/2012/html/sp120907.en.html>.

⁴ European Central Bank, Banking Supervision, “Banking Union” (2016), available at: <https://www.bankingsupervision.europa.eu/about/bankingunion/html/index.en.html>.

⁵ By treating national and cross-border banking activities equally and by de-linking the financial health of banks from the countries in which they are located.

⁶ By consistently applying common rules and administrative standards for supervision, recovery and resolution of banks.

⁷ By intervening early if banks face problems in order to help prevent them from failing, and, if necessary, by resolving banks efficiently.

⁸ European Central Bank (n 3).

⁹ This is the last pillar of the EBU and is currently still in the consultation phase. It will only briefly be covered in this essay. However, it is also worth noting that a fourth pillar may be included in the future – the so-called Capital Markets Union. This was discussed by Clifford Chance Partner, Simon Gleeson, in a guest lecture on 3rd March 2013 at the University of Edinburgh. This will not be discussed further.

¹⁰ European Central Bank (n 3).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² D Howarth and L Quaglia, “The Steep Road to European Banking Union: Constructing the Single Resolution Mechanism” (2014) 52 *JCMS* 125 at 125.

¹³ E Avgouleas and D W Arner, “The Eurozone Debt Crisis and The European Banking Union: A Cautionary Tale of Failure and Reform” (2013) page 18, available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2347937.

¹⁴ Avgouleas and Arner (n 12) at 16.

¹⁵ Avgouleas and Arner (n 12) at 18.

A serious design flaw in Europe's financial architecture was due to the absence of resolution and supervision mechanisms¹⁶. This had led to a previously flawed supervisory model, which proved to be crucial in justifying the sceptics who doubted whether the so-called financial trilemma of a stable financial system, national financial policies and financial integration, were simultaneously compatible¹⁷.

The failure of financial institutions operating both globally and cross-border within Europe, was due to weak structural laws in co-ordination and co-operation and given the inter-connectedness of financial institutions, it soon became a systemically important issue¹⁸. These failed financial institutions revealed the level of distrust that was apparent amongst national supervisors¹⁹. As a result, when it came to dealing with cross border issues, such as in the Icelandic banks and Fortis case, rather than following a supra-national approach, regulators followed a national one²⁰. Consequently, three main problems became apparent:

1. The macro-prudential oversight framework in the EU, which monitors systemic risk, was non-existent;
2. The collapse of Icelandic banks exposed a failure in "home country control"²¹;
3. The Fortis case highlighted issues in the cross-border framework in relation to bank resolution and crisis management²².

Political factors also compromised the "credibility of rule-based frameworks for co-ordination of national fiscal policies in the Euro area"²³. For example, the Stability and Growth Pact ("SGP") was intended to protect public finances and prevent Eurozone members, by enforcing budgetary discipline, from embracing fiscal policies, leading to unmanageable debt levels²⁴. However, lenient enforcement of the SGP, due to a loophole in the Maastricht Treaty, led to the SGP becoming a political bargaining chip in the EU, at the expense of important economic issues²⁵.

"As a result, European financial stability was hampered. Colossal pre-crisis and private debt piles, a flawed macro economic framework and an absence of institutions capable of handling effectively a cross border banking crisis had simply been ignored for far too long²⁶... The incomplete institutional design was the true mark of an imbalanced and disjointed monetary union, also characterized by the absence of effective fiscal convergence mechanisms to enforce budget discipline"²⁷.

In the midst of crisis, members of the Eurozone fought the crisis and supported bailout mechanisms, which led to the formation of the so-called European Financial Stability Facility ("EFSF")²⁸. Simultaneously, the EBU, based on structures safeguarding centralisation of bank supervision, deposits insurance arrangements and a central crisis resolution mechanism²⁹ – was founded.

The noticeable impact to the Eurozone caused by "economic and financial imbalances" with the Union itself lacking a "central fiscal authority" that, had one existed, would have been a valuable weapon and a "credible mechanism to enforce budget" discipline³⁰.

¹⁶ E Avgouleas, *Governance of Global Financial Markets: The Law, The Economics, The Politics* (2012) 263-265.

¹⁷ D Schoenmaker, "The financial trilemma" (2011) 111 *Economic Letters* 57 at 57. See also, Avgouleas, *Governance* (n 15) 263-265.

¹⁸ Avgouleas, *Governance* (n 15) 263-265.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Avgouleas, *Governance* (n 15) 264.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Avgouleas and Arner (n 12) at 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Avgouleas and Arner (n 12) at 17.

²⁸ This has been superseded by the so-called "European Stability Mechanism".

²⁹ Avgouleas and Arner (n 12) at 17.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

2.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE EUROPEAN BANKING UNION

The EBU, as an essential component of the EMU and internal market, ensures that banks abide by a harmonised set of rules regarding resolution and supervision³¹. These rules are specifically designed to ensure that banks do not take unnecessary risks, with the erring bank paying for its mistakes with the possibility of closure, whilst minimising taxpayer costs³². Adherence to the rules is crucial in order to avert another crisis. It is important in this regard to ensure that banks are robust, there is minimal market fragmentation and financial stability is secure³³. Light-touch supervision and self-regulation are ineffective in the financial sector³⁴.

2.3.1 PROTECT EU TAXPAYERS' MONEY

The 2008 GFC encountered enormous bank bailout packages, like that of Fortis³⁵ and the Royal Bank of Scotland³⁶, who were funded by the taxpayer to safeguard against failure. A main objective of the EBU is to protect EU taxpayers' money should another crisis ensue. Despite policy-makers' best efforts to provide all the necessary tools³⁷, for instance the un-tested Basel III and new EBU frameworks, Georg Ringe³⁸ argues that this objective is far from complete, stating that:

"In my opinion the union in its current agreed-on incarnation is unable to handle major incidents. Depositors and short-term creditors enjoy insufficient protection in the event of a collapse, and chances are that the stabilization of large banks will, again, be at the expense of EU taxpayers"³⁹.

According to Jeffrey Gordon⁴⁰, it is not possible to rely on the so-called Single Resolution Fund ("SRF"), intended to come into play when a bank is in crisis and Basel III requirements, because it will not be enough to absorb a shock⁴¹. Instead, Gordon and Ringe argue that banks themselves should have the necessary extra capital buffers in place. This way, banks, not taxpayers, carry the burden of responsibility⁴². The SRM currently has capital backstops in place as a last resort precaution, but this is essentially taxpayer funded⁴³.

2.3.2 MAKING SURE THAT BANKS SERVE SOCIETY AND THE REAL ECONOMY

³¹ European Parliament, "Banking Union" (2016), available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuid=FTU_4.2.4.html.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ European Parliament, "Euro Area Summit Statement" (29th June 2012) page 2, available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/131359.pdf.

³⁴ W Schauble, "How to protect EU taxpayers against bank failures" (30th August 2012) *Financial Times*, available at: <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d270a89e-f213-11e1-8973-00144feabdco.html#axzz43jnAaL6r>.

³⁵ F Dierckx, "Deal agreed for Euro bank Fortis" (29th September 2008) *BBC*, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/7641132.stm> - where an €11.2 billion bank bail-out package was agreed.

³⁶ J Treanor, "RBS sale: Fred Goodwin, the £45bn bailout and years of losses" (3rd August 2015) *The Guardian*, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2015/aug/03/rbs-sale-fred-goodwin-bailout-years-of-losses>, where a £45 billion bailout package was agreed.

³⁷ European Commission Memo, "Towards a Banking Union" (10th September 2012), available at: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-12-656_en.htm.

³⁸ Professor of International Commercial Law with Copenhagen Business School Law Department.

³⁹ W G Ringe and C S Hansen, "The recently passed EU banking union does not achieve its objective" (2014) page 2, available at: <http://www.cbs.dk/en/research/cbs-publications/cbs-research-reporter/news/the-recently-passed-eu-banking-union-does-not-achieve-its-objective>.

⁴⁰ Professor of Law at Columbia Law School.

⁴¹ J N Gordon and W G Ringe, "Bank Resolution in the European Banking Union: A Transatlantic Perspective on What It Would Take" (2014) page 2, available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2361347.

⁴² *Ibid.* See also, Ringe and Hansen (n 38) at 2.

⁴³ M Grande, speech at the Florence School of Banking & Finance (11th December 2015), available at: <http://fbf.eui.eu/starting-up-the-single-resolution-mechanism/>.

A banking system that is resilient, serving society and the economy productively, while not being founded on moral hazard, is pivotal⁴⁴. For example, the EBU's new bail-in regime should, theoretically, discipline the market, consequently reducing moral hazard, whilst improving the standard of risk taking. As a result, Benoit Lallemand⁴⁵ argues that lending will improve in the real economy, banks will become more diversified and financial stability will be strengthened⁴⁶. In essence this would mean that banks are transparent, sustainable and effective, with funds financing the economy⁴⁷.

Conversely, many banks have a high degree of inter-connectedness due to being part of a bigger mega-bank structure⁴⁸. Until these structures are broken down, the bail-in tool may not be workable, as supervisors will not want to provoke a domino of bank failures⁴⁹. Without any sort of structural reform on the issue of too-big-to-fail, the EBU could potentially make matters worse by federalising risk and thus re-igniting the issue of moral hazard⁵⁰. Given that “we are still [living] in a paradigm where it’s all up to the financial markets to decide what is good or not”⁵¹, reforms must be made in this area if confidence is to be restored.

2.3.3 RESTORING CREDIBILITY OF THE FINANCIAL SECTOR

The new EBU framework of improved regulation of the financial system, with better supervision and resolution mechanisms, can be said to be the starting point for restoring the credibility of the financial sector⁵². The SSM ensures there is constant rigorous and independent supervision while the SRM ensures the smooth resolution of banks⁵³. Ultimately, these mechanisms will increase confidence and financial stability within Europe and therefore the credibility of the financial sector⁵⁴.

The author would argue however, that in order to restore credibility in the banking sector, improvements have to go beyond better regulation. A change in financial sector culture, which implants appropriate behaviours and values, is also required⁵⁵. According to John Mellor⁵⁶, “responses from regulators to the failure in bank governance and standards of conduct revealed by the Financial Crisis, fall short of what is needed to restore credibility and trust in the financial sector”⁵⁷. What is required is the restoration of financial ethics, behaviours and values⁵⁸.

As highlighted by the Larosiere Report, proper governance establishes strong core values that underpin the ethos of a firm⁵⁹. This culture comes from the top and is filtered into the organisation, which influences decision-making. However, the changing of culture is only a part of the bigger picture, but is an important element for the retention of trust⁶⁰. In a speech by Mark Carney⁶¹, he stated that the

⁴⁴ B Lallemand and F Keegan, “Executive Briefing” (2016), available at: <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:p-JzfS9P554J:www.finance-watch.org/ifile/Press%2520coverage/Lafferty%2520Insights%2520OCT14%2520-%2520Benoit%2520Lallemand%2520Interview.pdf+%&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk>.

⁴⁵ Secretary General of Brussels based “Finance Watch”.

⁴⁶ Lallemand and Keegan (n 43).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² European Commission Memo (n 36).

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ J Mellor, “Regulation and Culture Change In Banks” (30th September 2015) available at: <http://www.worldfinancialreview.com/?p=4462>.

⁵⁶ Professor of Governance in Banking and Finance at the University of Leicester.

⁵⁷ Mellor (n 54).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ European Commission, “Internal Market” (2016) page 2, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/company/docs/modern/com2010_284_en.pdf.

⁶⁰ Mellor (n 54).

⁶¹ Governor of the Bank of England.

financial sector still has a long way to go in restoring credibility and trust⁶². One only has to view past events driven by self-interest, to realise how much still has to be done before this objective can be achieved⁶³.

2.3.4 BREAKING THE LINK BETWEEN MEMBER STATES AND THEIR BANKS⁶⁴

The SDC highlighted the “vicious circle” that exists between member states and their banks⁶⁵. Certain EU member states⁶⁶ were materially exposed as “lender of last resort to their domestic banks, whilst those domestic banks, in turn, held considerable amounts of sovereign debt issued by their home EU Member State and thereby exposed the creditworthiness of that state”⁶⁷. To break the bank-sovereign nexus, an objective of the EBU is to ensure the cost of bank failure is borne by the private sector, not the taxpayer⁶⁸. The introduction of the bail-in tool under the Bank Recovery and Resolution Directive (“BRRD”) is a crucial step towards this⁶⁹.

As the author currently writes this paper however, it appears that the bank-sovereign “doom-loop is rearing its ugly head again”⁷⁰. Italy is a case in point. Currently, Italy’s debt is just under €2.2 trillion⁷¹, or about 133% of its annual economic output⁷². Despite this astronomical debt burden, and achieving the status of one of the world’s most indebted nations, last year the Italian government managed to sell two-year bonds at a negative yield⁷³. Such a situation fails to instill the reasonable man with confidence in the financial sector⁷⁴. It also leads to the important question of whether Italian banks own too much Italian government debt⁷⁵. This situation has proved to be disturbing for the Single Resolution Board (“SRB”), whose objective is to ensure that Europe’s banks remain on a stable foundation⁷⁶. Despite the argument that Europe does not yet have the resources to handle a full meltdown of such magnitude, Italy is fast becoming “the greatest threat to the world’s already burdened financial system”⁷⁷.

It is clear that robust change is needed⁷⁸. The German government and SRB have called for a ‘ceiling’ to be placed on banks’ holding of sovereign debt. The SDC, and now Italy, has shown that the lethal connection between weak banks and risky sovereigns is a recipe for disaster⁷⁹. If the link between the bank-sovereign were not severed, then rather than averting a future debt crisis, it would encourage it.

⁶² Mellor (n 54).

⁶³ For example the ENRON and LIBOR scandals, the multiple insider dealing cases, and RBS’s “Fred the Shred” and his constant desire for “more”.

⁶⁴ See “Figure 1” below. See also, European Parliament (n 32) at 1.

⁶⁵ See “Figure 1” below.

⁶⁶ For example, Greece, Ireland, Spain and Portugal to name but a few.

⁶⁷ D Singh and J Hodges, “Turning The Tide? How European Banking and Financial Services Legislation are Making Waves on the Enforcement Front” in R P Buckley, E Avgouleas and D W Arner, *Reconceptualising Global Finance and its Regulation* (2016) 308 at 310.

⁶⁸ Deloitte, “The Single Supervisory Mechanism: Banking on the Banking Union” (2016) page 2, available at: http://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/fr/Documents/services-financiers/publications/deloitte_etude_Banking-on-the-banking-union_oct2014.pdf.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ A Evans-Pritchard, “Europe’s ‘doom-loop’ returns as credit markets seize up” (9th February 2016), available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/economics/12149114/Europes-doom-loop-returns-as-credit-markets-seize-up.html>.

⁷¹ See National Debt Clocks, available at: <http://www.nationaldebtclocks.org/debtclock/italy> - for an up to date report.

⁷² T Barber, “The doom-loop that ties Italian banks” (7th March 2016), available at: <http://blogs.ft.com/the-world/2016/03/the-doom-loop-that-ties-italian-banks/>.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ This is because Italian banks held about €410 billion in domestic government securities in January 2016. These securities account for roughly 10.4% of the banks’ assets, which is a much higher proportion than any other major EU economy.

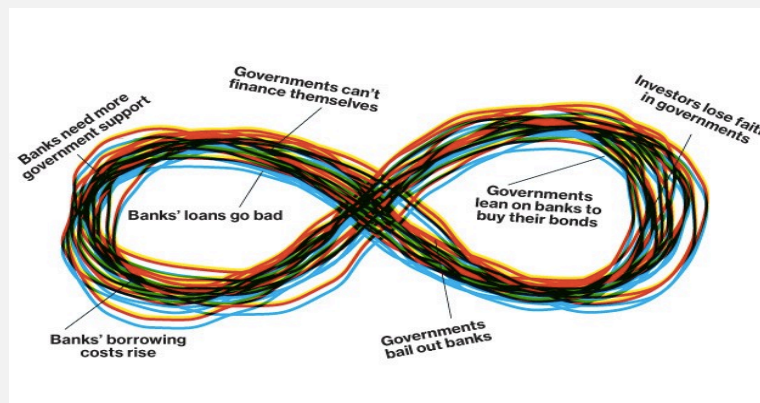
⁷⁵ Barber (n 71).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ J Moore, “Will Italian banks spark another financial crisis?” (7th March 2016), available at: <http://globalriskinsights.com/2016/03/will-italian-banks-spark-another-financial-crisis/>.

⁷⁸ Barber (n 71).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Figure 1: The “doom loop”⁸⁰

3.0 THE MAIN PILLARS OF THE EUROPEAN BANKING UNION

3.1 SINGLE SUPERVISORY MECHANISM

During the financial crises, due to EU member states applying inconsistent standards when evaluating banks, the Euro area became particularly affected. The rationale for a SSM, which is a supra-national prudential supervisory body, ensuring that the same rules apply to all “credit institutions”⁸¹ and to permanently monitor performance⁸² was created to make the Euro area more financially stable⁸³ and prevent “regulatory arbitrage”⁸⁴.

As one of the main pillars, the SSM is both a supervisory mechanism and legal framework embedded in a functioning EBU architecture⁸⁵. The legal structure consists of the SSM Framework Regulation⁸⁶ and the SSM Regulation⁸⁷. Having regard to the proportionality principle⁸⁸, under the SSM the ECB, as the ultimate supervisor⁸⁹, has legal and prudential authority⁹⁰ to carry out key supervisory duties⁹¹ for participating member states⁹² in the EBU, with other supervisory tasks being assigned to national competent authorities (“NCAs”)⁹³.

⁸⁰ P Coy, “A way to break out of Europe’s ‘Doom Loop’ (26th June 2012), available at: <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2012-06-26/a-way-to-break-out-of-europes-doom-loop>.

⁸¹ Articles 1, 2 (3), 4 (1) and 14 (1) Council Regulation 1024/2013. Hereafter the words “credit institutions” and “banks” will be used interchangeably – both referring to the same issue.

⁸² European Central Bank, Banking Supervision, “Single Supervisory Mechanism” (2016), available at: <https://www.bankingsupervision.europa.eu/about/thessm/html/index.en.html>.

⁸³ C Roux, “Working with the Single Supervisory Mechanism regime” (27th November 2015), available at: <http://www.bis.org/review/r151204e.htm>.

⁸⁴ Article 1, Council Regulation 1024/2013.

⁸⁵ Roux (n 82).

⁸⁶ Regulation 468/2014.

⁸⁷ Council Regulation 1024/2013. See also, M Magnus, J Backman and C Power, “Banking Union” (September 2015), available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_4.2.4.html; Roux (n 82).

⁸⁸ Article 1 Council Regulation 1024/2013. See also, Practical Law, “Single supervisory mechanism (SSM)” (18th March 2016), available at: <http://uk.practicallaw.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/5-536-2625#>.

⁸⁹ As defined in the Capital Requirements Regulation 575/2013. See also, Practical Law (n 87).

⁹⁰ Article 1 Council Regulation 1024/2013. See also, Recital 1 Regulation 468/2014.

⁹¹ Articles 1 and 4 Council Regulation 1024/2013.

⁹² “Participating member state” refers to Eurozone member states and non-Eurozone member states that have established “close co-operation”, see Article 2 (1) Council Regulation 1024/2013. See also, Practical Law (n 87). It is also worth noting that the UK, for example, is a non-participant in the SSM and therefore credit institutions established in the UK are not subject to supervision by the ECB, see Practical Law, “European banking union: overview” (18th March 2016), available at: <http://uk.practicallaw.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/6-521-6054#a325494>. See also, CRD IV Directive 2013/36/EU.

⁹³ Recital 1 Regulation 468/2014. See also, Practical Law (n 87). See also, Roux (n 82).

The SSM ensures that banks comply with EBU rules and assesses whether banks are fit to operate⁹⁴. The main objectives of the SSM are to:

1. Increase financial stability and integration;
2. Ensure that supervision is consistent; and
3. Ensure that the EU banking system is safe, healthy and resilient to outside shocks, like financial crises⁹⁵.

3.1.1 DIVISION OF LABOUR

Labour has been divided between the ECB and NCAs. For example, the ECB supervises banks deemed “significant”⁹⁶ while NCAs supervise “less significant”⁹⁷ credit institutions⁹⁸. However, supervision does not cover the shadow-banking sector⁹⁹. The criteria that determine whether banks are significant, and therefore falling under ECB supervision, relate to the banks’ economic significance, their size, cross border activities¹⁰⁰ and need for Eurozone support¹⁰¹. Essentially the most systemically important banks are supervised by the ECB with less important banks being supervised by NCAs¹⁰². The ECB however, has the overarching authority for every credit institution within the EBU framework¹⁰³ but several member states¹⁰⁴ have stated that the SSM should be restricted to systemically important institutions only. Given that local regional banks¹⁰⁵ are not systemically important because they are classed as low risk, it may be argued that supervising over 6,000 European banks is too onerous a task for the SSM¹⁰⁶.

3.1.2 SUPERVISORY RESPONSIBILITIES

The ECB has far reaching powers and can conduct on-site inspections¹⁰⁷ and launch investigations¹⁰⁸; grant, revoke, limit or sanction¹⁰⁹ the business¹¹⁰; conduct assessments¹¹¹; monitor compliance¹¹²; and determine capital requirements¹¹³. ECB Regulation, accompanied by the CRD IV Directive 2013/36/EU provides “exclusive competence” on the ECB when a bank breaches, or risks breaching, its regulatory capital requirements and remedial action is needed¹¹⁴. The ECB’s supervisory responsibilities depend on whether a credit institution is deemed ‘significant’ or not. Although for all credit institutions participating in the SSM, supervisory responsibilities include¹¹⁵:

1. Licensing and authorising credit institutions¹¹⁶;

⁹⁴ Article 1 Council Regulation 1024/2013.

⁹⁵ European Central Bank (n 81).

⁹⁶ Article 6 (4) Council Regulation 1024/2013. Currently the ECB supervises 129 banks accounting for 82% of bank assets. See European Central Bank (n 81).

⁹⁷ Article 6 (4) Council Regulation 1024/2013. See also, European Central Bank (n 81).

⁹⁸ Recital 5 Regulation 468/2014.

⁹⁹ For example, the insurance sector, investment firms, hedge funds etc.

¹⁰⁰ Article 59 Regulation 468/2014, suggests that a credit institution will be significant if the ratio of cross-border assets/liabilities to its total assets/liabilities is above 20%.

¹⁰¹ Article 6 (4) Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹⁰² Magnus *et al* (n 86).

¹⁰³ Article 6 Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹⁰⁴ Germany, Austria and Italy; see N Veron, “Europe’s Single Supervisory Mechanism: most small banks are German (and Austrian and Italian)” (22nd September 2014), available at: <http://bruegel.org/2014/09/europes-single-supervisory-mechanism-most-small-banks-are-german-and-austrian-and-italian/>.

¹⁰⁵ Whereas banks that are out-with these countries are usually part of a bigger conglomerate. See Veron (n 103).

¹⁰⁶ Veron (n 103).

¹⁰⁷ Recital 47 and Article 12 Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹⁰⁸ Recital 47 Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹⁰⁹ Articles 18 and 120-137 Council Regulation 1024/2013. See also Council Regulation 2532/98, Amending Council Regulation 2015/159 and ECB Regulation 2157/99.

¹¹⁰ Article 16 (2) (e) Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹¹¹ Recital 37 and Article 6 (4) Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹¹² Recital 9 and Article 4 (1) (d) (e) Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹¹³ Recital 34 and Article 16 (2) (a) Council Regulation 1024/2013. See also, European Central Bank (n 81).

¹¹⁴ Article 4 (1) Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹¹⁵ Practical Law (n 87).

¹¹⁶ Article 14 (2) Council Regulation 1024/2013.

2. Assessing the qualifying holdings of credit institutions¹¹⁷.

For significant credit institutions, the supervisory responsibilities of the ECB include¹¹⁸:

1. Assessment of passport applications¹¹⁹;
2. Impose credit institutions with various prudential requirements¹²⁰;
3. Impose governance requirements on credit institutions, for example, leverage, liquidity and capital requirements¹²¹;
4. Carry out stress tests and supervisory reviews¹²²;
5. Participate in supervising a financial conglomerate¹²³; and
6. Supervisory tasks are carried out in relation to recovery plans¹²⁴.

Despite these detailed supervisory responsibilities, Andreas Dombret¹²⁵ has highlighted a weakness in the SSM structure. Dombret argues that supervisors are able to use their discretion when interpreting prudential national rules due to various available options under the law¹²⁶. It is submitted that such a situation creates an un-level playing field, especially when a key objective of the SSM is consistent supervision.

3.1.3 CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

To prevent conflicts of interest, the legislation provides clear rules that identify the operational and organisational separation of power in the area of monetary policy and supervision¹²⁷. According to Professor Avgouleas, supervision is a politically charged issue and given that the ECB is impartial and independent, this may be compromised. Therefore, it is crucial that this supervisory function is distinct from the ECB in order to preserve its autonomy. However, conflicts of interest are still deemed a concern. Bundesbank Deputy President Claudia Buch recently raised concerns calling “for a clearer line to be drawn between SSM activities and monetary policy, since both sets of tasks are housed at the ECB, with the ECB Governing Council as the supreme decision-making body. This set-up is a potential source of conflicts of interest, which only an amendment of the EU Treaties could resolve”¹²⁸. This opinion is in line with that of Professor Isabel Schnabel¹²⁹, who believes that conflicting interests are a noticeable issue because housing the SSM at the ECB has not only created an institution that is too powerful, but also an institution that may be open to abuse¹³⁰.

3.1.4 JOINT SUPERVISORY TEAM

Supervision of a credit institution that is deemed ‘significant’, lies with the so-called ‘joint supervisory team’ (“JST”), which is an international team housed in Frankfurt¹³¹. The JST comprises staff of the

¹¹⁷ Recital 2 CRD IV Directive 2013/36/EU.

¹¹⁸ Practical Law (n 87).

¹¹⁹ Article 4 (1) (b) Council Regulation 1024/2013. See also, Practical Law, “Passporting under CRDIV: general issues” (2016), available at: <http://uk.practicallaw.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/6-518-5627#a1058143>.

¹²⁰ Article 4 (1) (d) Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹²¹ Article 4 (1) (e) Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹²² Article 4 (1) (f) Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹²³ Article 4 (1) (h) Council Regulation 1024/2013. See also, Financial Conglomerates Directive 2002/87/EC.

¹²⁴ Article 4 (1) (i) Council Regulation 1024/2013.

¹²⁵ Professor at the European Business School in Oestrich-Winkel and Bundesbank Executive Board Member.

¹²⁶ A Dombret, quoted in, “Challenges Lie Ahead for the Single Supervisory Mechanism” (10th February 2016), available at: https://www.bundesbank.de/Redaktion/EN/Topics/2016/2016_02_10_surf_colloquium.html.

¹²⁷ Article 25 Council Regulation 1024/2013. See also, Practical Law (n 87); Magnus *et al* (n 86).

¹²⁸ C Buch, Deputy President of Bundesbank, “Challenges Lie Ahead for the Single Supervisory Mechanism” (10th February 2016), available at: https://www.bundesbank.de/Redaktion/EN/Topics/2016/2016_02_10_surf_colloquium.html.

¹²⁹ Chair of Financial Economics at the University of Mainz and Member of the German Council of Economic Experts.

¹³⁰ I Schnabel, quoted in, “Challenges Lie Ahead for the Single Supervisory Mechanism” (10th February 2016), available at: https://www.bundesbank.de/Redaktion/EN/Topics/2016/2016_02_10_surf_colloquium.html.

¹³¹ European Central Bank, Banking Supervision, “Joint Supervisory Teams” (2016), available at: <https://www.bankingsupervision.europa.eu/banking/approach/jst/html/index.en.html>.

national supervisors and ECB¹³² and effective functioning is based on their co-operation with each other¹³³. Having such a multi-talented and skilled team would undoubtedly be regarded as one of the JST's strengths. Yet having such a diverse set of individuals can also be problematic. Cyril Roux argues that:

"The functioning of the JST's faces the combined management challenges of international public institutions, matrix structures and the tensions brought by the transfer of powers and responsibilities. Familiar in other contexts, these management challenges are specific to the conduct of supervision at a new supra-national level. Delivering consistent, timely and effective supervision, including the issuance and follow up of remediation programs, is proving challenging for issues that go beyond capital requirements. So too is keeping staff motivated through the complex network of national authorities and the ECB"¹³⁴.

3.1.5 THE SUPERVISORY BOARD

The Supervisory Board ("SB") and Governing Council ("GC") control the SSM¹³⁵. The SB is the prominent body of the ECB where debates take place on supervisory issues. Essentially, proposals are brought to the SB by the JST, with a view to making them a reality. The GC can either adopt or object the decisions¹³⁶.

The SB and GC are composed of senior, skilled and experienced professionals, bringing both challenges and strengths to its function. The combined knowledge of personnel has been classed as "formidable" where decisions are challenged, debated and approached with the rigour necessary to provide a thorough analysis¹³⁷. Yet there is an argument that the SB and GC do not have enough first hand experience in banking specific matters, making the process laboured and cumbersome at times¹³⁸. It has also been argued that reducing the personnel and bringing in a new skill set that relates specifically to the banking sector would be far more effective¹³⁹.

Furthermore, as every decision relating to prudential supervision goes through the SB and subsequently the GC because of EU legislative requirements; Cyril Roux argues that due to the centralised and blinkered decision making procedure, the whole process is no longer efficient:

"Not a single decision, even the most routine and least consequential one, has been delegated. Electronic mailboxes of Supervisory Board members and Governors are clogged with a daily shower of insignificant written procedures, and unproblematic fitness and probity applications can take months to be processed. Legal impediments need to be lifted to make delegation possible and bureaucracy reduced"¹⁴⁰.

3.1.6 ENFORCEMENT

It is the ECB's view that enforcement is a fundamental component of supervision. As yet, the SSM has not managed nor concluded a case by utilising their enforceability mechanism effectively¹⁴¹. It is submitted, that to supervise such a self-interested and insular industry effectively, and given that the SSM has "yet to find its feet as an enforcer", it is imperative that prudential regulation is an enforceable mechanism¹⁴². Despite the EBU being a "major step" towards enhancing the monitoring of risk and the

¹³² European Central Bank (n 81).

¹³³ Roux (n 82).

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Both the SB and GC are comprised of six ECB members and nineteen national members. For the SB, the deputy governor in charge of supervision is the national member.

¹³⁶ Roux (n 82).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

efficient management of distress within the financial sector, it is submitted that further reforms and challenges lie ahead for the SSM¹⁴³.

3.2 SINGLE RESOLUTION MECHANISM

The SRM¹⁴⁴ is the second pillar of the EBU and complements the SSM. The SRM ensures the smooth resolution of banks. When a bank is failing or likely to fail, a new framework exists to resolve the problems and the Single Resolution Board (“SRB”)¹⁴⁵ is the authority within the SRM to handle the resolution of those banks¹⁴⁶.

Eurozone and EU member states participating in the EBU have signed an inter-governmental agreement on transferring finances and sharing them in a common SRF¹⁴⁷ designed to help ailing banks¹⁴⁸. The fund is part of the SRM, which consists of the SRB, whose key objective is to plan and decide how to wind down or restructure banks that are no longer viable within the harmonised framework¹⁴⁹. The SRM Regulation (“SRMR”)¹⁵⁰ is correlated with the BRRD¹⁵¹, setting out a new recovery and resolution framework for credit institutions¹⁵² within the EU¹⁵³.

3.2.1 RATIONALE FOR THE SINGLE RESOLUTION MECHANISM

According to the initial legislative proposal for the SRMR, the European Commission (“EC”) did not feel it was wise to leave the resolution of banks to the SSM, but instead have a separate SRM pillar, dealing exclusively with recovery and resolution with the help of National Resolution Authorities (“NRAs”) in participating member states¹⁵⁴. Once established the EC’s view was that the SRM would detach risk arising from market skepticism; a lack of centralised system to deal with distressed banks; and the tensions arising between the ECB (as the SSM head body) and NRAs¹⁵⁵. Moreover, apart from helping to avert any looming crises, the mechanism is expected to boost economic growth, due to confidence that Europe’s banks are all using the same rulebook, thus stabilising expectations of investors, consumers and depositors in the marketplace¹⁵⁶.

3.2.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE SINGLE RESOLUTION MECHANISM

According to the EC, there are four key objectives of the SRM, namely:

1. Break the vicious ‘doom loop’¹⁵⁷ circle between sovereigns and banks;

¹⁴³ Buch (n 127).

¹⁴⁴ The SRM was established by Regulation 806/2014 and has applied in full from the 1st January 2016, see Article 99 (2) Regulation 806/2014. Although there are exceptions that apply in that certain issues came into force prior to this date. These will be dealt with when they arise in the body of the text.

¹⁴⁵ Article 42 (1) Regulation 806/2014 established the SRB. See also, Articles 42 (2) and 48 Regulation 806/2014, which gives the SRB its own legal personality and is based in Brussels.

¹⁴⁶ Grande (n 42).

¹⁴⁷ This inter-governmental agreement was signed in Brussels on the 21st May 2014, European Commission, “Member states sign agreement on bank resolution fund”, available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ecofin/142710.pdf.

¹⁴⁸ Practical Law, “Single resolution mechanism (SRM)” (2016), available at: <http://uk.practicallaw.com/ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/8-536-9946#>.

¹⁴⁹ G S Zavvos and S Kaltsoni, “The Single Resolution Mechanism in the European Banking Union: Legal Foundation, Governance Structure and Financing”, (15th September 2014) page 11, available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2531907.

¹⁵⁰ Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁵¹ 2014/59/EU.

¹⁵² Capital Requirements Regulation 575/2013.

¹⁵³ Practical Law (n 147).

¹⁵⁴ COM (2013) 520. See also Article 4 (1) Regulation 806/2014. Also, Article 99 (3) Regulation 806/2014 relates to co-operation between the SRB and NRA, which came into force on the 1st January 2015.

¹⁵⁵ Practical Law (n 147).

¹⁵⁶ Single Resolution Board, “Mission” (21st March 2016), available at: <http://srb.europa.eu/en/mission>.

¹⁵⁷ See “Figure 1” above.

2. Sidestep the risk of contagion and bank runs;
3. Remove internal market fragmentation; and
4. Reinforce confidence in the banking industry¹⁵⁸.

The SRM is also aimed at protecting public funds, taxpayers, and the economy as a whole, from the excessive costs from bank failures by applying and implementing effective and swift resolution procedures¹⁵⁹.

3.2.3 SINGLE RESOLUTION BOARD

“The Single Resolution Board has been created to respond to the Euro area crisis... By avoiding bail-outs and worst-case scenarios, the SRB will put the banking sector on a sounder footing – only then can we achieve economic growth and financial stability”¹⁶⁰.

The SRB, as the central decision maker,¹⁶¹ consists of a full-time chair¹⁶², four full-time members¹⁶³ and a member appointed from each participating member state¹⁶⁴. They are responsible for the functioning of the SRM in terms of adopting consistent and relevant plans in terms of ‘significant’, ‘less significant’ and cross border banks¹⁶⁵. Moreover, due to the “potentially systemic nature of all [financial] institutions”, the SRB and NCA work in co-operation with one another¹⁶⁶. The ECB, as supervisor, has a Memorandum of Understanding (“MoU”) with the SRB regarding information exchange and co-operation¹⁶⁷, and will alert the SRB if a bank is in trouble or likely to fail. As well as the ECB, the SRB is accountable to the EC, the Council of the EU (“COEU”) and the European Parliament (“EP”)¹⁶⁸, who have the power to object to proposed resolution procedures¹⁶⁹. Having many policy actors can be viewed positively because of constant checks and balances but the down side is the potential for a multi-layered and bureaucratic political process resulting in an ineffective and overly complex system.

3.2.4 DECISION MAKING PROCESS

The decision making process is split between executive and plenary sessions¹⁷⁰ and there is a distinction between the two¹⁷¹.

1. *Plenary Sessions:*

¹⁵⁸ European Council, “Single resolution Mechanism” (18th March 2016), available at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/banking-union/single-resolution-mechanism/>.

¹⁵⁹ Article 14 **Regulation 806/2014**.

¹⁶⁰ E Konig, Chair of the Single Resolution Board, “The Single Resolution Board” (21st march 2016), available at: <http://srb.europa.eu/en>.

¹⁶¹ Practical Law (n 147).

¹⁶² Articles 43 (1) (a) and 56 (1) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁶³ Article 43 (1) (b) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁶⁴ Article 43 (1) (c) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁶⁵ For example the systemic importance of each bank. NRA’s remain competent in less significant (not systemically important) national banks, but the SRB has the overarching authority.

¹⁶⁶ Recital 46 Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁶⁷ Single Resolution Board, “Memorandum of Understanding between the Single Resolution Board and European Central Bank in Respect of Co-operation and Information Exchange” (21st March 2016), available at: http://srb.europa.eu/sites/srbsite/files/en_mou_ecb_srb_cooperation_information_exchange_f_sign_.pdf. See also, Articles 30 (7) and 34 (5) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁶⁸ As well as other national and international institutions. Article 45 (7) and (8) Regulation 806/2014. See also, Single Resolution Board (n 155);

Practical Law (n 147).

¹⁶⁹ Practical Law (n 147).

¹⁷⁰ Articles 50 and 54 Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁷¹ Practical Law (n 147).

The SRB considers general issues correlated with the functioning of the SRM¹⁷². A plenary session consists of all members of the SRB¹⁷³, EC and ECB representatives¹⁷⁴. The voting procedure is a simple majority with the Chair having the deciding vote in the event of a tie¹⁷⁵. Any resolution decisions involving the SRF over €5 billion, will be decided in this session, while anything under this amount allows the SRB to make individual decisions¹⁷⁶.

2. Executive Sessions:

An executive session is for the resolution, or potential resolution, of individual ailing banks. During this session, the SRB consists of the Chair and full-time SRB members¹⁷⁷, along with the participating member state representative, the EC, ECB¹⁷⁸ and members representing member states in which there are bank subsidiaries¹⁷⁹. Like the plenary session, the voting procedure is by simple majority with the Chair casting the deciding vote if there is a tie¹⁸⁰.

Lucia Quaglia¹⁸¹ has stated that due to the many policy actors that are involved¹⁸², the decision making process is extremely convoluted and there is a severe lack of clarity when it comes to understanding the overarching procedures¹⁸³. Furthermore, the SRB is accountable to the EC, EP and COEU for any decisions that it makes¹⁸⁴. The SRB is also required to submit annual reports¹⁸⁵ and to reply in writing to national parliaments, should they so request¹⁸⁶. This arguably adds further layers of confusion, underpinned by political agendas and interferences. The voting procedure has also raised concerns because it has been argued that a simple majority does not go far enough and may allow larger banks to exert their authority¹⁸⁷. Given that member states would not have a veto if they were against any decisions, it may potentially lead to problems¹⁸⁸.

3.2.5 PHASE-IN PROCESS

Starting in 2015, the SRB has been responsible for collecting information in co-operation with NRA's for resolution planning activities¹⁸⁹. The resolution planning is the preparation for an actual resolution case¹⁹⁰. For each bank under the SRB's remit, an *ex ante* approach is adopted on how the crisis would be managed when/if it comes¹⁹¹. This preparatory phase also allows banks to have adequate internal resources to be able to finance whatever resolution strategy is most appropriate; this is the so-called minimum requirement and eligible liabilities element¹⁹². There will always be an element of risk attached

¹⁷² As outlined in Article 50 Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁷³ Article 49 Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁷⁴ Article 43 (3) Regulation 806/2014. The SRB may also invite a representative from EBA if it so wishes, see Article 51 (3) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁷⁵ Article 52 (1) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁷⁶ Articles 50 (1) (c) and 43 (3) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁷⁷ Article 53 (1) Regulation 806/2014. See also, Practical Law (n 147).

¹⁷⁸ Article 43 (3) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁷⁹ Article 53 (3) and (4) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁸⁰ Article 55, Article 43 (3) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁸¹ Professor of Political Science at the University of York.

¹⁸² For example the SRB members, see section "Single Resolution Board" above. Also the ECB and EC have representatives that are entitled to participate in the plenary and executive sessions – see Article 43 (3) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁸³ L Quaglia, Speech at the Florence School of Banking and Finance (10th November 2015), available at: <http://fbf.eui.eu/lucia-quaglia-hints-at-a-convoluted-decision-making-process-on-banking-resolution/>.

¹⁸⁴ Article 45 (1) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁸⁵ Article 45, (2) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁸⁶ Article 46 Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁸⁷ Clifford Chance Partner, Simon Gleeson, alluded to this in a guest lecture on 3rd March 2013 at the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁸⁸ R Ruparel, "Second pillar of banking union looks insufficient to hold Eurozone up in crisis" (2016), available at: <http://openeurope.org.uk/intelligence/eurozone-and-finance/banking-union/>.

¹⁸⁹ Article 99 (3) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁹⁰ Articles 10 and 11 Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁹¹ Grande (n 42).

¹⁹² Article 12 Regulation 806/2014. This is the "MREL" element.

to working on an *ex ante* premise as predicting future events can never be completely accurate¹⁹³ yet the nature of commerce is about future projections and these can only be calculated based on past events.¹⁹⁴

As of 1st January 2016, the SRB became fully operational. Mauro Grande¹⁹⁵ stated the SRB “stands ready”, but was also quick to point out that the main challenge is that the resolution framework in Europe is completely new. The “paradigm shift from bail-out to bail-in” is a new concept and it appears the SRB is learning and adapting as it goes along¹⁹⁶. This fledgling approach instils little confidence in respect of averting another crisis.

3.2.6 SINGLE RESOLUTION FUND

Once the bail-in process and regular financing options have been exhausted, the SRB could draw on the SRF¹⁹⁷, which will eventually total €55 billion and is financed by the banking sector¹⁹⁸ over an eight year period¹⁹⁹. This will help limit costs to average European citizens and the real economy, which means that taxpayers no longer bail out failing banks, due to the eradication of national resolution funds, but are instead bailed in by investors²⁰⁰.

The purpose of the SRF is to ensure that the appropriate funding is available for a failing bank, but is not a bailout fund²⁰¹. According to Article 76 of Regulation 806/2014, the SRB can utilise the SRF to compensate shareholders and creditors; to contribute to a bridge financing structure; purchase assets; make loans to the failing institution; to guarantee the assets or liabilities of the failing institution; and to contribute to failing institution²⁰².

However, given that “the cost of bank failures should be borne by the financial industry and not by taxpayers”²⁰³, it is interesting to discover that the bridge financing structure comes from the national government if/when the SRF runs out of capital. Furthermore, in a recent speech, Mauro Grande stated that where the SRF does not have enough capital to finance a resolution case, then a financial backstop would be implemented, which is essentially a public bailout²⁰⁴ - how the bank-sovereign nexus is to be broken therefore, remains a mystery. This brings an argument by Claus Rosenkratz Hansen²⁰⁵ into sharp focus, where he strongly argues that €55 billion will be nowhere near enough money to stabilise a systemically important bank²⁰⁶. One has to wonder if indeed “there has been a paradigm shift from bail-out to bail-in”²⁰⁷, but also, given the inter-connectedness of banks and the potential risk of contagion, when one bank fails others undoubtedly follow.

These mechanisms are supposed to be in place to avert another crisis, yet it may actually contribute. A potential solution could be to break the bank structure down into smaller more manageable businesses, which would be easier to handle in the event of another crisis.

¹⁹³ The Economist, “Does the past predict the future?” (2009) available at: http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2009/09/does_the_past_predict_the_futu.

¹⁹⁴ P Moles, R Parrino, D Kidwell, *Corporate Finance* (2011) 376.

¹⁹⁵ Member of the SRB.

¹⁹⁶ Grande (n 42).

¹⁹⁷ Articles 67 (1) and (3) Regulation 806/2014.

¹⁹⁸ Article 70 Regulation 806/2014. European Council (n 157).

¹⁹⁹ Article 69 (1) Regulation 806/2014. The funds target should be equal to 1% of the amount of deposits of all banks in line with the Deposit Guarantee Schemes Directive 2014 49/EU.

²⁰⁰ European Commission, “Member states sign agreement on bank resolution fund”, available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ecofin/142710.pdf.

²⁰¹ Practical Law (n 147).

²⁰² *Ibid*.

²⁰³ European Council (n 157).

²⁰⁴ Grande (n 42).

²⁰⁵ Fellow at Copenhagen Business School.

²⁰⁶ Ringe and Hansen (n 38) at 2.

²⁰⁷ Grande (n 42).

4.0 EUROPEAN DEPOSIT INSURANCE SCHEME²⁰⁸

Although not yet in force, the EC, in November 2015, put forward a proposal to implement the third pillar of the EBU with a EDIS. This is “a further step to a fully fledged Banking Union... which would provide a stronger and more uniform degree of insurance cover for all retail depositors” within the EBU²⁰⁹.

In its simplest form, the proposal by Lord Commissioner Hill intends to move the current system of national deposit guarantee schemes (“NDGS”) to EDIS, which essentially underwrites deposits across the EBU²¹⁰. EDIS applies to deposits below €100,000 of all EU banks. The purpose of EDIS ensures the equal protection of deposits within the EBU, regardless of which participating member state the funds were deposited²¹¹. A harmonised scheme ensures that banks would be better protected in the event of larger local shocks by thus relying on the central fund²¹². EDIS has several safeguards in place against moral hazard and abuse, which incentivise NDGS to manage risk prudently until EDIS takes over²¹³.

EDIS will be cost neutral for the banking sector, which means that the contributions that were already being paid to NDGS will be switched to EDIS²¹⁴. Riskier banks will pay higher contributions than safer banks so the process is risk weighted, which will be strengthened as EDIS is implemented²¹⁵. There is also the crucial issue of the bank-sovereign nexus, where measures will be implemented to ensure that banks are adequately diversified²¹⁶.

It is proposed to commence EDIS in 2017 based over a three-stage process.

1. The first stage involves the re-insurance of NDGS, which will last three years. In this stage the idea is that the NDGS is able to access EDIS funds, up to a certain amount, when all other options are exhausted. This first stage is said to weaken the bank-sovereign nexus, but does not go far enough to provide equal levels of protection for depositors²¹⁷.
2. The second stage, starting in 2020, will see EDIS becoming gradually mutualised, but still subject to specific safeguards and limits with regard to abuse. The difference with this stage is that NDGS would not be required to exhaust its own funds before accessing EDIS funds. Thus introducing a higher risk between EDIS and NDGS²¹⁸.
3. The final stage is a fully-fledged EDIS by 2024. This is done by gradually increasing the share of risk so that EDIS assumes 100%²¹⁹.

Although not yet in force, and despite arguments to the contrary²²⁰, commentators, particularly German, have been highly critical of EDIS, especially Ludger Schuknecht²²¹ who states that:

²⁰⁸ As this scheme is not yet in force, it will only briefly be covered.

²⁰⁹ European Commission, “Banking Union” (8th March 2016), available at: http://ec.europa.eu/finance/general-policy/banking-union/index_en.htm.

²¹⁰ Speech given by Commissioner Lord Hill at the Press Conference on the EDIS Proposal at the European Parliament on 24th November 2015 in Strasbourg, available at: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-15-6154_en.htm.

²¹¹ European Commission (n 208).

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ Commissioner Lord Hill, European Commission, “A Stronger Banking Union: New measures to reinforce deposit protection and further reduce banking risks” (24th November 2015), available at: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-6152_en.htm?locale=en.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ G B Wolff, “Getting Eurozone deposit insurance right promises benefits” (5th January 2016), available at: <http://bruegel.org/2016/01/getting-eurozone-deposit-insurance-right-promises-benefits/>. See also, Commissioner Lord Hill (n 212).

²¹⁷ Commissioner Lord Hill (n 212).

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ N Veron, “European Deposit Insurance: a response to Ludger Schuknecht” (16th February 2016), available at: <http://bruegel.org/2016/02/european-deposit-insurance-a-response-to-ludger-schuknecht/>.

²²¹ Chief Economist of the German Ministry of Finance.

“There are no convincing answers to a number of important questions, such as this: Is this new European insurance product even necessary? How would incentives for governments, markets and banks change? Would more solidarity in this respect really lead to more stability in Europe? Is the proposal compatible with the foundations of the market economy and the subsidiarity principle in Europe? And what would it mean for the economic and political future in Europe?”²²².

Angela Merkel has also been vocal as to why German depositors should be liable to help bail-out failing banks elsewhere within the EU as, she states, risk should first be minimised before proposals are tabled regarding shared responsibility²²³. “It is not hard to see why domestic politicians from the stronger economies would be extremely reluctant to assume open-ended responsibility for other countries’ financial woes, as manifested in the state of their banks, given lines of responsibility and accountability to domestic populations”²²⁴. Given that EDIS is still being negotiated, it may be prudent to leave this part of the argument to rest for the moment.

5.0 CONCLUSION

That there are weak points of the emerging architecture of EBU is indisputable²²⁵. ‘Political will’, or the lack of it, in the form of national interests taking precedence over wider geographical concerns remains an obstacle to a more stable banking union. The legalities of what is permissible under EU law, in terms of strengthening the EBU structure without amendment to the Treaty, are also problematic²²⁶. These issues in particular have a knock on effect which spiral downwards, creating a multi-layered bureaucracy which is not always helpful when speedy decisions are called for. It is imperative, that with the speed of societal changes in modern times, the mechanisms that uphold the EBU have the flexibility to move at a rate to meet those needs. There are additional weaknesses in the structure. Reform is required on the “too big to fail” issue. Banks and financial institutions need to provide further capital backstops to absorb shock. A more uniform approach is required when interpreting prudential national rules. The argument also exists regarding housing the SSM at the ECB in that, that institution may be too powerful and open to abuse. The JST now faces the pressure of management challenges on a new supra-nationalist level. It is debatable whether the SB and GC have the right skill sets for the job. Are bail-in procedures really going to obviate the need for bail-outs? All these, and many more, controversial issues require to be debated extensively, and decisions made that strengthen the overall structure.

Whether in favour of its creation or not, given its handicaps, the EBU has done remarkably well. It has not had the luxury of remaining in an embryonic state for any length of time and, regardless of its tender years, has been forced to hit the ground running. What it has achieved in that time, in the form of improved regulation, supervision and resolution mechanisms, is significant.

Its main pillars in the form of the SSM and SRM (and proposed EDIS) are sturdy foundations on which to build a strong and shock proof structure. Of course the real proof of whether any piece of architecture can weather the storm is only ever evidenced after the event but that does not mean that every possibility to prevent damage is not considered ahead of time and every calculation done to mitigate loss.

The cost in human suffering can never be accurately weighed against monetary loss, but the two are indisputably linked in the effects of the GFC and SDC. People lost their jobs, their life savings, their homes and consequently many families broke up. For future disasters of a similar nature to be avoided, it is imperative that the players in the negotiation processes, responsible for building upon the structure of

²²² L Schuknecht, “An insurance scheme that only ensure problems” (8th February 2016), available at: <http://blogs.faz.net/fazit/2016/02/08/an-insurance-scheme-that-only-ensures-problems-7298/>.

²²³ J Strupczewski, “‘EU deposit insurance’ vanishes from EU leaders’ draft conclusions” (18th December 2015), available at: <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-eurozone-banks-deposits-idUKKBN0U11KP20151218>. See also, Buch (n 127).

²²⁴ Ferran (n 1) at 25.

²²⁵ Ferran (n 1) at 26.

²²⁶ Ferran (n 1) at 25.

the EBU, put self-interest aside. If these players are capable of this, and additionally have the will as well as the ability to address the many diverse problems that weaken the structure, then the writer submits, albeit it is a mammoth task, the EBU would have the ability to avert another debt crisis in Europe.

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