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Intereconomics

Suggested Citation: Deffaa, Walter (1992) : The 1992 Community budget — A sound basis for Community finances?, Intereconomics, ISSN 0020-5346, Verlag Weltarchiv, Hamburg, Vol. 27, Iss. 2, pp. 62-69,
<https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02926177>

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/140338>

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Walter Deffaa*

The 1992 Community Budget – a Sound Basis for Community Finances?

The 1992 EC budgetary procedure and its outcome illustrated two things. Firstly, after the relative calm of the past few years, the budget is moving back up the political agenda in the Community. Secondly, it is becoming clearer which issues will figure most prominently in the debate on the Community's new financial framework for 1993 and beyond.

The "Interinstitutional Agreement on Budgetary Discipline and Improvement of the Budgetary Procedure", concluded in 1988, is due to expire at the end of 1992, together with the financial perspective, which is an integral part. This Agreement has enabled the Community to keep its budget policy more or less on the right track since 1988. Set against this background, the 1992 budget assumes something of a pivotal role in that it is an opportunity to review budget policy since 1988 and, at the same time, is the basis for the negotiations on the new financial framework which will start this year.

The European Community budget had been in a state of permanent crisis since the late 1970s. By the mid-1980s, the situation was going from bad to worse.¹ There were two main problems.

□ The first concerned the disputes between Community institutions, particularly Parliament and the Council, due in essence to the separation of legislative power, which in the final analysis belongs to the Council, and budgetary powers, which are split between the Council and Parliament. The central issue, which is still of relevance to the 1992 budgetary procedure, was the extent to which there had to be some sort of legal basis, established by the Council, for budget appropriations over which Parliament had the final say (i. e. non-compulsory expenditure).²

□ There were also growing problems with revenue and expenditure. The Community's own resources were being

steadily eroded and their inadequacy was becoming increasingly apparent. Moreover, there was controversy over the individual Member States' contributions, particularly the United Kingdom's.³ On the expenditure side, attempts to contain agricultural spending effectively had all failed.

The 1988 Reform in Outline

Sweeping financial reform was essential in order to deal with the crisis which seemed increasingly to threaten the very foundations of the Community. In February 1987 the Commission put forward comprehensive proposals, and one year later the Brussels European Council agreed on the essential elements of the reform, which were then transformed into legislation in June 1988. The main aims of the reform were as follows:⁴

□ to provide the Community with stable and sufficient resources to achieve the objectives set down in the Single

¹ See Commission of the European Communities: Community public finance – the European budget after the 1988 reform, Luxembourg 1988, pp. 19-23.

² See T. Läufer: Das Haushaltsverfahren: Grundprobleme, Konfliktlagen, Reformvorschläge, in: D. Biehl, G. Pfennig (eds.): Zur Reform der EG-Finanzierung – Beiträge zur wissenschaftlichen und politischen Debatte, Bonn 1990.

³ Problems surrounding the financing of the Community budget are not dealt with in any detail here. See D. Biehl, H. Winter (eds.): Europa finanzieren – ein föderalistisches Modell, Gütersloh 1990.

⁴ See P. Zangl: The Interinstitutional Agreement on Budgetary Discipline and Improvement of the Budgetary Procedure, in: Common Market Law Review, Vol. 26, 1989, pp. 675-678; E. Flores, P. Zangl: La structure financière de la Communauté face aux défis présents et futurs, in EUI Working Papers EPU No. 9, European University Institute, Florence, 1991, pp. 9-26.

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European Act (i.e. completion of the internal market, economic and social cohesion, development of Community research with the research framework programmes);

□ to ensure, as a kind of *quid pro quo*, that stricter budgetary discipline was applied and to limit the growth in expenditure, particularly on agriculture;

□ to ensure compliance with the procedure for adopting the budget, given that none of the budgets since 1985 had been adopted on time before the beginning of the financial year.

The reforms, geared towards achieving these objectives, were set out, for the most part, in the following legislation:

□ Council Decision of 24 June 1988 on the system of the Community's own resources (88/376/EEC, Euratom);

□ Council Decision of 24 June 1988 concerning budgetary discipline (88/377/EEC);

□ Interinstitutional Agreement of 29 July 1988 on Budgetary Discipline and Improvement of the Budgetary Procedure.

It is well beyond the scope of this article to give a detailed analysis of the 1988 reform. However, it does seem important, when discussing the 1992 budget, to examine the forecasts made in 1988 concerning the level and structure of expenditure in 1992.

The Financial Perspective 1988-92

The financial perspective, adopted in June 1988 (see Table 1), forms an integral part of the Interinstitutional Agreement,⁵ setting compulsory ceilings, given in ECUs at constant 1988 prices, for six categories of expenditure (headings) for the period 1988-92. The ceilings for the individual headings are expressed in terms of commitment appropriations, while there are ceilings for both commitment appropriations and payment appropriations for the overall amount.

Provision was made for a 16% increase in commitment appropriations from ECU 45303 million in 1988 to ECU 52800 million, and a 14% increase in payment

⁵ Interinstitutional Agreement of 29 June 1988 on Budgetary Discipline and Improvement of the Budgetary Procedure in the Official Journal of the European Communities L 185, 15. 7. 1988, pp. 33 ff.

Table 1
Financial Perspective
(Appropriations for Commitments – ECU million¹)

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1992*
1. EAGGF Guarantee	27 500	27 700	28 400	29 000	29 600	35 039
2. Structural operations	7 790	9 200	10 600	12 100	13 450	16 363
3. Policies with multiannual allocations (IMP, Research)	1 210	1 650	1 900	2 150	2 400	2 920
4. Other policies	2 103	2 385	2 500	2 700	2 800	3 406
of which: non-compulsory	1 646	1 801	1 860	1 910	1 970	2 397
5. Repayments and administration	5 700	4 950	4 500	4 000	3 550	4 362
of which: stock disposal	1 240	1 400	1 400	1 400	1 400	1 703
6. Monetary reserve	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000
Total	45 303	46 885	48 900	50 950	52 800	63 090
of which:						
– compulsory	33 698	32 607	32 810	32 980	33 400	
– non-compulsory	11 605	14 278	16 090	17 970	19 400	
Appropriations for payments required	43 779	45 300	46 900	48 600	50 100	59 805
of which:						
– compulsory	33 640	32 604	32 740	32 910	33 110	
– non-compulsory	10 139	12 696	14 160	15 690	16 990	
Appropriations for payments in % of GNP	1.12%	1.14%	1.15%	1.16%	1.17%	
Margin for unexpected expenditure	0.03%	0.03%	0.03%	0.03%	0.03%	
Own resources required in % of GNP	1.15%	1.17%	1.18%	1.19%	1.20%	

¹ Original version of 29. June 1988, in 1988 prices; 1992 likewise in current prices.

* In current prices; ceiling for heading 1 corresponds to updated agricultural guideline.

appropriations from ECU 43779 million to ECU 50100 million (assuming that the ceilings were reached for each individual heading). Since these increases exceeded anticipated GNP growth, provision had to be made for an increase in the own resources ceiling from 1.15% of GNP in 1988 to 1.20% in 1992.

Agricultural expenditure in heading 1 is restricted not only by the ceiling in the financial perspective but also the agricultural guideline, under which agricultural expenditure may not increase by more than 74% of the GNP growth rate. The purpose of the guideline is to contain the increase in spending on agriculture. If agricultural

expenditure is taken to include the monetary reserve (heading 6) – to be drawn upon in the event of sharp fluctuations in the ECU-dollar exchange rate – then agriculture's share of budget expenditure (headings 1 and 6), while still very high, is indeed cut back in the financial perspective from 63% in 1988 to 58% in 1992.

The increases for headings 2 and 3 are far higher than the average. The 73% increase for heading 2 (structural operations) is a result of the decision, also taken at the Brussels European Council, to double the size of the Structural Funds by 1993. These extra resources are intended to reinforce economic and social cohesion in the

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Community and promote economic development in its poorer regions. Provision was also made for significant increases in resources allocated to research, a major category under heading 3.

The 1988 financial perspective reflects the political compromise behind the decisions taken at the Brussels European Council which set the course for the future. The completion of the internal market was to be accompanied by a substantial transfer of resources – in the form of programme-based Structural Funds – and other Community flanking measures, such as an enhanced research policy. The increase in expenditure in the Community budget would be kept within certain limits by containing agricultural expenditure, with total expenditure not exceeding the relatively modest level of 1.20% of GNP.

The compromise worked, and the Interinstitutional Agreement has had an entirely positive effect: thanks to the framework for managing the Community's finances, every budget since 1989 has been adopted on time, before the start of the financial year, in accordance with the correct procedure. In view of the recurrent crises before 1989, this is no mean achievement. That is not to say, however, that everything has gone completely smoothly.⁶ It very soon became apparent that the expenditure ceilings set in 1988 were too low to allow the Community to respond properly to the new demands being made on it, particularly the external ones, or to satisfy Parliament's political ambitions. Consequently, for every year since 1990, the financial perspective has been revised in parallel with the budgetary procedure.

The Interinstitutional Agreement does provide for changes to be made to the financial perspective. There have been five revisions to date, primarily in order to finance new tasks arising from changes on the international scene (e.g. aid for the emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe and technical assistance for the Soviet Union) and to enable the Community to respond appropriately to international crises (e.g. assistance during the Gulf crisis, the special food aid programme for Africa). The relative slowness of the revision procedure, with each revision entailing a supplementary budget, was particularly apparent when resources needed to be mobilized quickly to deal with international crises. In February 1991, therefore, the Commission proposed that a reserve fund which could be rapidly mobilized should be set up for just such instances. As yet, however, neither the Council nor Parliament has shown any great enthusiasm for the idea.

German unification in 1990 also had certain repercussions on the budget, which were taken into account when the financial perspective was revised in

December 1990, just prior to the adoption of the 1991 budget.

The 1992 Budget

As with the 1991 budgetary procedure,⁷ discussions on the 1992 budget were closely linked with discussions on a proposed amendment to the financial perspective. The Commission had pointed out in 1991, when it presented its preliminary draft budget, that with the existing financial framework the Community would be unable to go on providing an appropriate level of technical assistance to the Soviet Union (commitment appropriations totalled ECU 400 million in 1991) and would be unable to meet its increased administrative costs. Another formal proposal for a revision of the financial perspective was presented in September. The Council and Parliament adopted very different positions, with the Commission's proposal, as is often the case, lying somewhere in between. The Council insisted that the expenditure should be met entirely by redeployment within the existing budget whereas the Commission had proposed limited redeployment of ECU 100 million. Parliament not only rejected virtually all such redeployment but also wanted to increase the figure proposed by the Commission for research expenditure. The Council and Parliament were unable to find even a last-minute solution to their differences.

The classic conflict between the legislative authority and the budgetary authority surfaced once again over research. The Council insisted that the "amounts deemed necessary" under the second and third research framework programmes should not be exceeded; otherwise it would be unable to reach an agreement on the revision of the financial perspective. Parliament, however, took the view that these amounts were meant only as a guide and had therefore voted during the second reading to exceed them by almost ECU 260 million, whereupon the Council announced it would refer the matter to the Court of Justice.

Thus there were two flaws in the 1992 budget, adopted in December 1991. Its legality was disputed by the Council and it was incomplete in that it failed to cover either the cost of aid for the Soviet Union (and its individual republics), which all concerned felt to be politically desirable, or the increased administrative costs. In this connection, Parliament used the somewhat unorthodox procedure of

⁶ For a rather critical assessment, see H.-J. Timmann: *Haushaltsdisziplin und politische Entscheidungsmechanismen*, in: *Europarecht*, Vol. 2, 1991, pp. 133-139.

⁷ J. Lentz, F. Fernandez-Fabregas: *Le budget 1991 – Le déroulement de la procédure budgétaire: ses incidences et son aboutissement*, in: *Revue du Marché Commun et de l'union européenne*, No. 346, 1991, pp. 293-313.

entering commitment appropriations of ECU 1 660 million⁸ which would not become operational until the revision of the financial perspective had been adopted.

The Portuguese Presidency reopened negotiations on the revision of the financial perspective as soon as its term of office had begun, enabling Parliament and the Council to reach a compromise by mid-February. The compromise goes a long way towards meeting Parliament's calls for additional expenditure, although the amounts awarded are somewhat lower than originally called for. At the same time, a cut in appropriations for the third research framework programme of ECU 200 million ensures that the amounts "deemed necessary" are not exceeded, which is very important for the Council. The compromise provides for the following increases in expenditure, which will require a supplementary budget (commitment appropriations in ECU million):

Adjustment for inflation in the Structural Funds	100
Reduction in research expenditure	-200
Technical assistance for the CIS republics	450
Protection of tropical rain forests	50
Administrative expenditure for the Commission, particularly on external relations	40

The overall ceiling for the 1992 budget is ECU 3 502 million, 5.6% higher than the original amount set in 1988. Payment appropriations, however, amount to 1.15% of GNP, within the 1.17% limit set in 1988.

The increase in the overall ceiling for commitment appropriations can be broken down as follows (ECU million):

Consequences of German unification under headings 2 and 4	1 161
New internal and external priorities (environment, energy, vocational training, transport infrastructure, Latin America, Asia and tropical rain forests)	738
Aid for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS	1 465
Adjustment of administrative requirements	394
Increase in repayments to Spain and Portugal	30

⁸ ECU 860 million in support for the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, ECU 300 million in humanitarian aid, ECU 300 million for the Structural Funds to offset inflation (see comments on heading 2 below), ECU 100 million for the protection of tropical rain forests and ECU 100 million for administrative expenditure.

Re-entry in the budget of resources – in particular for the Structural Funds – which were not committed in previous years and adjustment for inflation in the Structural Funds	895
	4 683
Use of excess margin for stock disposal under heading 5	893
Lowering of the ceilings under headings 3 and 4	288
Net increase in the overall ceiling	3 502

This considerable increase in expenditure can be financed without raising the own resources ceiling because, quite apart from the effect on the base of statistical adjustments and the increase in GNP as a result of German unification, economic growth has been stronger in recent years than was anticipated at the beginning of 1988, only a short time after the stock market crash in October 1987.

Taking into account the proposed supplementary budget, the 1992 budget reaches the ceilings for commitment appropriations in almost every heading (see Table 2). At ECU 63 049 million (1.15% of GNP), the level of payment appropriations in the 1992 budget is more than ECU 3.8 billion below the own resources ceiling of 1.20% of GNP. Parliament has repeatedly pointed out that this "margin" could be used to finance its expenditure proposals.

Major Expenditure Headings

Agricultural expenditure is still by far the largest item in the 1992 budget, accounting for 54.1% of the total (incl. the monetary reserve). Market conditions in recent years have, if anything, helped to keep expenditure down, with the result that budget appropriations and actual expenditure in particular have stayed well within the agricultural guideline (see Fig.). However, in certain areas, e.g. beef/veal, milk products and cereals, market imbalances have imposed a considerable burden on the Community budget. An overall reduction of 1.11% was the only way of keeping the level of appropriations for 1992 within the agricultural guideline.

The 1992 budget is likely to be the last budget based on the "old" agricultural policy. At the beginning of 1991 the Commission put forward comprehensive reform proposals, the main element of which is a price policy geared more towards world market prices. The resulting fall in farmers' incomes would, however, be offset by

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Table 2
1992 Budget
(Breakdown by Headings in Financial Perspective)
(Commitment Appropriations: ECU million)

HEADING	1991 Budget (1)	FP 92 (2)	1992 Budget (3)	% Change (3) : (1) (4)	Difference FP - Budget (5) = (2) - (3)
HEADING 1					
EAGGF-Guarantee	31,516.000	35,039	35,039.000	11.18%	0.000
2. Structural Operations					
– Structural Funds	14,367.400		17,685.285	23.09%	
– Specific programme for the development of Portuguese industry	119.800		127.700	6.59%	
– Support programme	16.800		16.015	–4.67%	
– Set aside and income aid	300.000		280.000	–6.67%	
HEADING 2 TOTAL	14,804.000	18,109	18,109.000	22.33%	0.000
3. Policies with Multiannual Allocations					
– Integrated Mediterranean Programmes	334.000		466.931	39.80%	
– Research	2,131.800		2,448.000	14.83%	
HEADING 3 TOTAL	2,465.800	2,915	2,914.931	18.21%	0.069
4. Other Policies					
– Expenditure in the agricultural sector	173.300		196.645	13.47%	
– Other regional policy operations	72.900		86.130	18.15%	
– Transport and tourism policies	140.450		157.157	11.90%	
– Common policy on fisheries and the sea	530.800		594.900	12.08%	
– Education and youth policy	218.942		269.875	23.26%	
– Information, communication and culture	74.980		99.667	32.92%	
– Other social measures	111.742		149.680	33.95%	
– Energy policy	167.500		186.350	11.25%	
– Nuclear safeguards	7.855		9.594	22.14%	
– Environment	118.950		121.005	1.73%	
– Consumers	14.471		20.485	41.56%	
– Disasters	22.400		18.650	–16.74%	
– Internal market, industry, information market and innovation	258.100		268.331	3.96%	
– Statistical information	44.200		47.003	6.34%	
– Food aid	656.900		522.043	–20.53%	
– Cooperation with Asian and Latin American developing countries	479.800		590.000	22.97%	
– Mediterranean countries	326.700		429.730	31.54%	
– Other cooperation measures	391.440		385.399	–1.54%	
– Central and Eastern Europe	803.000		1,033.000	28.64%	
– (ex-)Soviet Union	400.000		450.000	12.50%	
– Financial assistance for the countries most affected by the Gulf crisis	587.500		0.000	–100.00%	
HEADING 4 COMPULSORY EXPENDITURE	861.730	932	931.644	8.11%	0.356
NON-COMPULSORY EXPENDITURE	4,740.200	4,704	4,704.000	–0.76%	0.000
TOTAL	5,601.930	5,638	5,635.644	0.60%	0.356
5. Repayments and Administration					
– Depreciation of stocks	810.000	810	810.000	0.00%	0.000
– Refunds to Member States	481.559		82.000	–82.97%	
– Commission administrative appropriations	1,719.450		1,912.707	11.24%	
– Other institutions administrative appropriations	970.831		1,055.895	8.76%	
HEADING 5 TOTAL	3,981.840	3,893	3,860.602	–3.04%	32.398
HEADING 6					
MONETARY RESERVE	1,000.000	1,000	1,000.000	0.00%	0.000
Commitment appropriations GRAND TOTAL	59,369.570	66,592	66,559.177	12.11%	32.823
Payment appropriations GRAND TOTAL	56,085.448	63,241	63,048.890	12.42%	192.110

Budget 92 including proposed supplementary budget 1/92; FP = Financial Perspective.

compensatory payments, conditional on certain environmental criteria being met. While this reform should produce savings in the long term, expenditure is expected to rise in the short term.

Structural operations under heading 2 constitute the second largest category of expenditure, accounting for 27% of the total, up from 22.3% in the 1991 budget. This rate of increase is almost twice that for the budget as a whole. Disregarding the specific ECU 128 million programme for the development of Portuguese industry which expires in 1992, and the ECU 280 million for set-aside and income aid for farmers, the greater part of resources are allocated to the Structural Funds, i.e. the EAGGF Guidance Section (agriculture and fisheries), the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund.

The level of funding for the Structural Funds in 1992 fits the schedule adopted in 1988 for doubling the size of the funds by 1993. Similarly, the level of resources allocated to the objective 1 regions (regions where the per capita income is less than 75% of the Community average) is now, in 1992, twice as high as five years ago, in line with the 1988 financial perspective.

An additional ECU 345 million has been allocated to the Structural Funds to compensate for the fact that, in

previous years, real inflation has far outstripped the forecasts used to calculate the annual increase in appropriations for the Funds.

In addition to the increases in the Structural Funds, which were decided on in 1988, the sum of ECU 1 046 million has been entered in the 1992 budget for structural measures in the former GDR. This item first appeared in the 1992 budget, which allocated ECU 900 million to such measures. This clearly demonstrates that the Community is allocating considerable financial resources towards the construction of efficient economic structures in the new German Länder.

Research accounts for the lion's share of expenditure under heading 4; the Integrated Mediterranean Programmes expire in 1992 – the ECU 467 million in the 1992 budget is what remains of ECU 1 600 million for the period 1986-92.

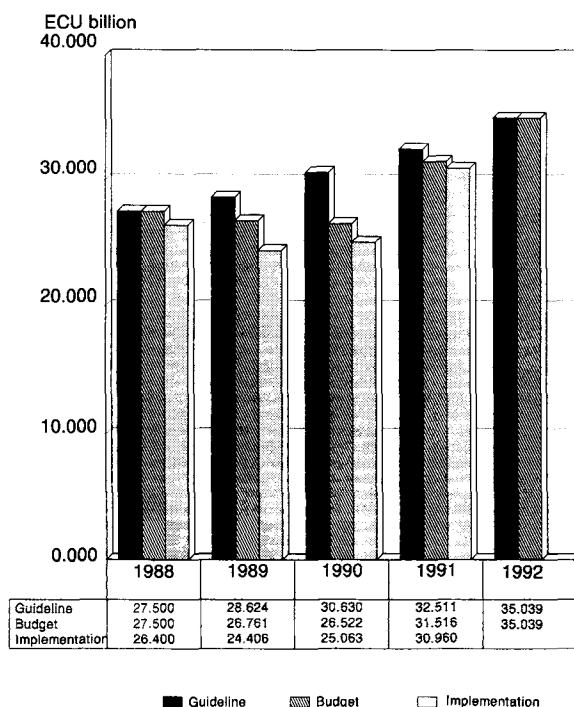
Expenditure on research covers both the second and the third research framework programmes (ECU 2 101 million in total). There is an additional ECU 347 million for support measures, primarily intended for international cooperation (ECU 107 million) and high-definition television (ECU 64 million).

A wide variety of policies are grouped together under heading 4. These policies cover a range of internal and, increasingly, external action. Amongst the most important areas on the internal front are fisheries, youth and education (including the Comett, Erasmus and Lingua programmes) and measures for the completion of the internal market. A large proportion of these are "other measures in the agricultural sector", which each year account for at least ECU 200 million (see Table 2).

The revision of the financial perspective in June 1990 identified a number of policy areas which required strengthening to support the completion of the single market. The areas concerned were energy, measures in the audiovisual sector, vocational training, transport and environment. While the rate of increase in resources allocated to these policies has been far steeper than the average, the amounts involved seem quite modest when measured against the tasks the Community has been required to carry out, particularly in the field of the environment and transport; environment policy and transport infrastructure (trans-European networks, in the wider context) will undoubtedly play a significant role when the new financial perspective for 1993-97 is drawn up.

Expenditure on *external operations* not financed out of the European Development Fund, which is not part of the Community budget, accounted for only 51.3% of total

**EAGGF Guarantee
1988 - 1992**



expenditure under heading 4 in the 1989 budget. By 1992, the figure had risen to over 60%. This reflects a significant increase in expenditure to help the countries of Latin America and Asia (up by 23% from 1991 to 1992) and also the Mediterranean countries (up by 31.5% over the same period). In addition, the 1990 budget was the first to make provision for substantial expenditure to support the processes of democratization and economic restructuring in Central and Eastern Europe. In its 1992 budget, the Community has provided approximately ECU 1.5 billion for Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS republics. This amount does not include loan programmes which are not entered in the budget. Parliament has repeatedly called for realistic provision to be made in the budget for the risks involved in such programmes. This will be an important issue in the coming negotiations on the new financial perspective.

From the moment they join, new Member States must pay contributions towards the Community budget commensurate with the size of their VAT base and their GNP, while the benefits of policies involving expenditure, on the other hand, take some time to filter through and new Members do not receive any financial assistance towards the disposal of old agricultural stocks. In view of this, it was decided that Spain and Portugal, both of which joined in 1986, would be granted refunds, decreasing year by year and finishing in 1992. These refunds are grouped together with administrative expenditure under heading 5 for reasons which are hard to discern. This has given rise to uncertainty in the past because the scope for administrative expenditure, which is non-compulsory, is dependent on the scale of compulsory expenditure on the refunds.

Contrary to popular belief, the administrative expenditure of the Community institutions accounts for only a small part of the total (less than 4.5 %), although it was increased when the financial perspective was last revised to enable the Community to cope with its increased responsibilities, particularly in the field of external relations (e.g. expanding the network of delegations in Central and Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union). Current administrative expenditure is also restricted by the fact that, after the Council, Parliament is now preparing to make major property commitments.

Outlook for the New Financial System

The 1992 budgetary procedure and its outcome illustrated two things. Firstly, after the relative calm of the past few years, the budget is moving back up the political agenda in the Community. Secondly, it is becoming clearer which issues will figure most prominently in the debate on

the Community's new financial framework for 1993 and beyond.⁹ These are listed below.

□ As a result of the predominance of agricultural expenditure which persists to this day, the amount of resources available in the budget for other policies, old or new, is still to a large extent dependent on the level of agricultural spending. The impact on the budget of the reforms to the agricultural policy will therefore play an important role.

□ The decision to proceed towards economic and monetary union begs certain questions as to the scale and form of redistributive and structural operations, now covered by the Structural Funds, and the arrangements, if any are made, for providing resources to cushion the impact of union. It was decided at the Maastricht European Council of 9-10 December 1991 that a new Cohesion Fund should be established to subsidize environmental projects and trans-European network projects to develop the transport infrastructure in Member States where per capita income is less than 90% of the Community average.

□ The discussions will also cover increases in expenditure on environmental protection and on trans-European networks in the field of transport, energy, telecommunications etc., with a view to building an infrastructure which will serve the whole Community, thus enhancing the efficiency of the single market and Europe's economic competitiveness.

□ On the external front, the level of funding must be commensurate with the Community's new role in Europe and the Mediterranean and in relation to the developing countries.

□ In future, the budget must, as pointed out above, make adequate provision for the risks arising from increased borrowing and lending operations, particularly involving Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics.

□ This by no means exhaustive list of new responsibilities cannot all be financed simply by redeploying existing resources. A possible increase in the current own resources ceiling of 1.2% of Community GNP is also on the agenda. Last but not least, there is the question of how to distribute the burden of Community finances in future.

The Commission put forward its ideas on the new financial system on 11 February.¹⁰

⁹ See P. M. Schmidhuber: Vorrang für die europäischen Zukunftsaufgaben – Budgetäre Konsequenzen der Weiterentwicklung der Gemeinschaft, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of 11 October 1991, p. 19.

¹⁰ Commission of the European Communities: From the Single Act to Maastricht and beyond – the means to match our ambitions, COM (92) 2000, 11 February 1992.