THINK economic and financial analysis



Eurozone Quarterly

Europe's running out of road

You'd be forgiven for thinking that European leaders love a crisis and relish finding a way out at the last minute. But something's changed. The continent is, again, facing extreme difficulties. But this time, it feels different and more profound. The can it's been kicking for years is rapidly running out of road



European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen is running out of road

Over the last 15 years, Europe has seen too many make-it-or-break-it moments. Think of the sleep-depriving, nerve-wracking weekend meetings of European leaders during the euro crisis. But Brexit, the pandemic, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine also saw several make-it-or-break-it moments for Europe.

The good thing is that Europe is still there. Whether it's still there stronger than ever is an entirely different story. For the first time since the end of the pandemic, Europe is not starting the year with optimism and hope for at least a cyclical recovery. Instead, 2025 has started on a weak footing and an eery feeling that growth could disappoint once again.

The list of potential downside risks is long. The new US administration's looming tariffs and industrial policies are a short and long-term risk to the eurozone economy. Tax cuts, deregulation, and lower energy prices in the US could cannibalise European growth structurally.

But that's not all. With two relatively lame ducks leading German and French governments, political and policy uncertainty in the two largest European economies is likely to weigh on sentiment and growth, at least in the first few months of the year.

Donald Trump's second term in office comes at a time when the European economy is in a much weaker shape than eight years ago. Then, Europe didn't have a war in its backyard, a competitiveness and energy issue, and China was still a flourishing export destination and not a system rival.

Europeans, not least this one, can be prone to drama. And while I don't want to sound particularly histrionic, because yes, there are still chances for a positive growth surprise, Europe's structural issues and challenges are not going to simply disappear.

A complacent shrug or a knee-jerk response to any soundbite coming out of the White House or Mar-a-Lago won't be enough. Europe needs to take back control of its own destiny. And it already has a blueprint for that in last year's Mario Draghi report. Step up investments in infrastructure, digitalisation, education and defence. Reduce bureaucracy and intensify crossborder cooperation and integration on key issues such as energy, telecommunications, and so much more.

It can't happen in a few weeks or months. But if Europe doesn't show clear and tangible signs that it's moving in the right direction, the risk of being stuck in stagnation is high.

So 2025 really is a make-it-or-break-it moment for Europe. And not like in the old days of lastminute crisis summits. The kicked can has finally run out of road. Europe needs to change. And change fast.

Author

Carsten Brzeski

Global Head of Macro carsten.brzeski@ing.de

Disclaimer

This publication has been prepared by the Economic and Financial Analysis Division of ING Bank N.V. ("**ING**") solely for information purposes without regard to any particular user's investment objectives, financial situation, or means. *ING forms part of ING Group (being for this purpose ING Group N.V. and its subsidiary and affiliated companies)*. The information in the publication is not an investment recommendation and it is not investment, legal or tax advice or an offer or solicitation to purchase or sell any financial instrument. Reasonable care has been taken to ensure that this publication is not untrue or misleading when published, but ING does not represent that it is accurate or complete. ING does not accept any liability for any direct, indirect or consequential loss arising from any use of this publication. Unless otherwise stated, any views, forecasts, or estimates are solely those of the author(s), as of the date of the publication and are subject to change without notice.

The distribution of this publication may be restricted by law or regulation in different jurisdictions and persons into whose possession this publication comes should inform themselves about, and observe, such restrictions.

Copyright and database rights protection exists in this report and it may not be reproduced, distributed or published by any person for any purpose without the prior express consent of ING. All rights are reserved. ING Bank N.V. is authorised by the Dutch Central Bank and supervised by the European Central Bank (ECB), the Dutch Central Bank (DNB) and the Dutch Authority for the Financial Markets (AFM). ING Bank N.V. is incorporated in the Netherlands (Trade Register no. 33031431 Amsterdam). In the United Kingdom this information is approved and/or communicated by ING Bank N.V., London Branch. ING Bank N.V., London Branch is authorised by the Prudential Regulation Authority and is subject to regulation by the Financial Conduct Authority and limited regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority. ING Bank N.V., London branch is registered in England (Registration number BR000341) at 8-10 Moorgate, London EC2 6DA. For US Investors: Any person wishing to discuss this report or effect transactions in any security discussed herein should contact ING Financial Markets LLC, which is a member of the NYSE, FINRA and SIPC and part of ING, and which has accepted responsibility for the distribution of this report in the United States under applicable requirements.

Additional information is available on request. For more information about ING Group, please visit www.ing.com.