

An Integrated Approach to Credit, Money, Income, Production and Wealth

Second Edition

Wynne Godley and Marc Lavoie



## **Monetary Economics**

An Integrated Ap Money, Income, and Wealth



Second Edition by

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First edition published 2006 This edition published 2012 by PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

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Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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ISBN 978-0-230-30184-9 paperback

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A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12

Printed and bound in Great Britain by CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

## Notations Used in the Book

 $A_{\rm d}$ Advances demanded by private banks Central bank advances made to private banks A. As add Random change in liquidity preference  $add_{bl}$ Spread of bond rate over the bill rate  $add_1$ Spread of bill rate over the deposit rate Random change in government expenditures  $add_2$ AFAmortization funds  $B_{\mathfrak{c}}^{\$}$ Bills held by £ households but issued by the \$ country Bills held by \$ households but issued by the £ country Bills held by the £ central bank but issued by the \$ country (foreign reserves of country £)  $B_{cb}^{\$}$ Bills held by \$ central bank and issued by the \$ country  $B_{\rm chf.}^{\pounds}$ Bills held by the £ central bank and issued by the £ country  $B_{\rm d}$ ,  $B_{\rm hd}$ Bills demanded by households (ex ante)  $B_{\rm b}$ ,  $B_{\rm bd}$ Bills actually demanded by banks  $B_{\rm bdN}$ Bills notionally demanded by banks  $B_{\rm ch}$ Bills held by the central bank Bills held by households  $B_{\rm h}$ ,  $B_{\rm hh}$ Treasury bills supplied by government bandB, bandT Lower and upper range of the flat Phillips curve  $BL_d$ Long-term bonds demanded by households  $BL_{\rm h}$ Long-term bonds held by households Long-term bonds issued by government BLs BLR Bank liquidity ratio, actual or gross value Bank liquidity ratio, net of advances BLRN BLPR Banks liquidity pressure ratio bot Bottom of an acceptable range Bottom of the acceptable range of the profitability botpm

margin of banks

BP BPM BUR	Balance of payments Bank profit margin Relative burden of interest payments on loans taken by households
c, c <sub>d</sub> C <sub>d</sub> C, C <sub>s</sub> CAB  CAR  CF  CG  CG <sup>e</sup>	Consumption goods demand by households, in real terms Consumption goods demand by households, in nominal terms Consumption goods supply by firms, in nominal terms Current account balance Realized capital adequacy ratio of banks Cash flow of firms Capital gains Expected capital gains of the current period
DA DEF DS ds dxr <sub>e</sub>	Depreciation allowance Government deficit Nominal domestic sales Real domestic sales Expected change in the exchange rate
$E, E_{\rm f}, E_{\rm b}$ $e_{\rm b}$ $e_{\rm d}$ $e_{\rm s}, e_{\rm f}$ $ER$	Value of equities, issued by firms, issued by banks Number of equities supplied by banks Number of firms' equities demanded by households Number of equities supplied by firms Employment rate (the complement of the unemployment rate) Expected rate of return on long-term bonds
$F$ $F$ , $F_{\rm f}$ $F_{\rm b}$ $F_{\rm cb}$ $F_{\rm cb}$ $F_{\rm f}$ $F_{\rm f}$ $F_{\rm f}$ $F_{\rm f}$ $F_{\rm T}$ $F_{\rm T}$	Sum of bank and firm profits Realized entrepreneurial profits of production firms Realized profits of banks Target profits of banks Profits of central bank Expected entrepreneurial profits of firms Realized entrepreneurial profits of production firms Expected profits of firms Target entrepreneurial profits of production firms Total profits of firms, inclusive of interest payments on inventories Profits, as measured by national accountants Business dividends
$dxr_e$ $E, E_f, E_b$ $e_b$ $e_d$ $e_s, e_f$ $ER$ $ERr_{bL}$ $F$ $F, F_f$ $F_c$ $F_c$ $F$ $F_f$	Expected change in the exchange rate  Value of equities, issued by firms, issued by banks  Number of equities supplied by banks  Number of firms' equities demanded by households  Number of equities supplied by firms  Employment rate (the complement of the unemployment rate)  Expected rate of return on long-term bonds  Sum of bank and firm profits  Realized entrepreneurial profits of production firms  Realized profits of banks  Target profits of banks  Profits of central bank  Expected entrepreneurial profits of firms  Realized entrepreneurial profits of production firms  Target entrepreneurial profits of production firms  Target entrepreneurial profits of production firms  Total profits of firms, inclusive of interest payments inventories  Profits, as measured by national accountants

$FD_{\mathbf{b}}$ $FD_{\mathbf{f}}$ $FU$ $FU_{\mathbf{b}}$ $FU_{\mathbf{b}}^{T}$ $FU_{\mathbf{f}}^{T}$ $FU_{\mathbf{f}}^{T}$ $FS$	Dividends of banks Realized dividends of production firms Business retained earnings Retained earnings of banks Target retained earnings of banks Realized retained earnings of production firms Target retained earnings of production firms Real fiscal stance
$g \\ g'$	Pure government expenditures in real terms Real total government expenditures (inflation accounted)
$G$ $G_s$ , $G_d$ $G_{NT}$	Pure government expenditures in nominal terms Services supplied to and demanded by government Total government expenditures, including interest payments net of taxes
$gd$ $G_{\mathrm{T}}$	Real government debt  Total government expenditures, inclusive of interest payments on debt
G <sub>TD</sub> GD GL	Total <i>domestic</i> government expenditures Government debt (public debt), in nominal terms Gross flow of new loans made to the household sector
$gr$ $gr_k$ $gr_g$ $gr_{pr}$	Steady-state growth rate of the economy Growth rate of net capital accumulation Growth rate of real pure government expenditures Growth rate of trend labour productivity
$H_{bd}$ $H_{b}, H_{bs}$ $H_{d}, H_{hd}$ $H_{d}, H_{h}, H_{hh}$ $H_{g}$ $H_{hs}$	Reserves demanded by banks Reserves supplied to banks by the central bank Cash money demanded by households Cash money held by households Cash money held by government Cash money supplied to households by the central bank
$H, H_{S}$	High-powered money, or cash money, supplied by the central bank
HC HC <sup>e</sup> HUC	Historic costs Expected historic costs Historic unit cost

Expected historic unit cost

Historic wage cost

 $HUC^{e}$ 

HWC

$i_{\rm d}$	New fixed capital goods demanded by firms
$I_{\rm d}$	(investment flow), in real terms  New fixed capital goods demanded by firms (investment flow), in nominal terms
$I_{\rm h}$ $I_{\rm s}$ , $I$ , $I_{\rm f}$	Residential investment of households New fixed capital goods supplied by firms, in nominal terms
in	Realized stock of inventories, in real terms
ine	Short-run target level (expected level) of
	inventories, in real terms
$in^{\mathrm{T}}$	Long-run target level of inventories, in real
	terms
IN	Realized stock of inventories, at current unit
	costs
im	Real imports
IM	Imports, in nominal terms
$IM_{\mathrm{T}}$	Total imports, inclusive of interest payments made abroad
$INT_{b}$	Interest payments paid by banks
$INT_{\mathrm{f}}$	Interest payments paid by firms
$INT_{h}$	Interest payments received by households
$k, k_{\rm f}, k_{\rm b}$	Fixed capital stock, in real terms (number of machines), of firms, of banks
$K, K_{\rm f}, K_{\rm b}, K_{\rm h}$	Value of fixed capital stock, in nominal terms, of firms, of banks, of households
$K^{\mathrm{T}}$	Targeted capital stock
KABOSA	Capital account balance, inclusive of the official settlements account
KAB	Capital account balance, excluding official transactions
$L_{\rm d}$ , $L_{\rm fd}$	Loans demanded by firms from banks
$L, L_{\rm S}, L_{\rm fs}, L_{\rm f}$	Loans supplied by banks to firms
$L_{g}$	Loans to government sector
$L_{\rm hd}$	Loans demanded by households from banks
$L_{\rm hs}, L_{\rm h}$	Loans supplied by banks to households
$M, M_{\rm h}, M_{\rm hh}$	Money deposits actually held by households
$M1, M1_{\rm h}$	Checking account money deposits held by households

Checking account money deposits demanded  $M1_d$ Checking account money deposits supplied  $M1_{s}$ Time or term money deposits held by M2, M2h

households

Time or term money deposits demanded  $M2_d$ Time or term money deposits supplied M2s The notional amount of bank checking  $M1_{hN}$ 

account deposits that households would hold

Money deposits demanded by households  $M_{\rm d}$ ,  $M_{\rm hd}$ 

Financial assets of firms  $M_{\rm f}$ Bank deposits of government  $M_g$ 

Real money balances held by households  $m_{\rm h}$ Money supplied by the government (ch. 3) or  $M_{\varsigma}$ 

the banks

ML Mean lag

 $N, N_d$ Demand for labour

The full-employment labour force  $N_{\rm fe}$ 

Ne Expected supply of labour

Supply of labour  $N_{\mathsf{S}}$ 

 $N^{\mathrm{T}}$ Target level of employment by firms Net accumulation of financial assets by the NAFA

household sector (financial saving)

Normal capital adequacy ratio of banks NCAR

(Cooke ratio)

Normal historic unit cost NHUC

Net flow of new loans made to the household NL

sector

Real amount of new personal loans nl Proportion of non-performing loans npl

Expected proportion of non-performing loans nple Amount of non-performing loans (defaulting NPL

loans of firms)

Normal unit costs NUC

NW, NWh, NWf, Net worth (of households, firms,

NWg, NWb government, banks)

Gold units or

Own funds (equity capital) of banks  $OF_{h}$ Short-run own funds target of banks  $OF_{\rm b}^{\rm e}$  $OF_{b}^{T}$ Long-run own funds target of banks

p	Price level		
$p_{\rm bL}$	Price of long-term bonds (perpetuities)		
$p_{\mathrm{bL}}^{\mathrm{e}}$	Expected price of long-term bonds in the next		
DL	period		
$p_{ds}$	Price index of domestic sales		
$p_{\rm e}$ , $p_{\rm ef}$	Price of firms' equities		
$p_{\rm eb}$	Price of banks' equities		
$p_{\rm g}$	Price of gold		
$p_{\rm k}$	Price of fixed capital goods		
$p_{\rm m}$	Price index of imports		
$p_{S}$	Price index of sales		
$p_{\rm X}$	Price index of exports		
$p_{\rm y}$	GDP deflator		
PE	Price-earnings ratio		
$PER_{bL}$	Pure expected rate of return on long-term bonds		
pr	Labour productivity, or trend labour productivity		
PSBR	Public sector borrowing requirement (government		
	deficit)		
	The valuation ratio of firms (Tobin's $q$ ratio)		
9			
REP	Repayment by household borrowers (payment on		
	principal)		
$r, r_{\rm b}$	Rate of interest on bills		
r, r <sup>e</sup>	Actual and expected yield on perpetuities		
	(Appendix 5.2)		
$r_{\rm a}$	Rate of interest on central bank advances		
$r_{\rm bL}$	Yield on long-term bonds		
$r_{\rm k}$	Dividend yield		
$r_1$	Rate of interest on bank loans		
$r_{ m lN}$	Normal rate of interest on bank loans that firms use		
	to set the markup		
$r_{ m m}$	Rate of interest on deposits		
$rr_{\rm b}$	Real rate of interest on bills		
$\mathit{rr}_{b}^{T}$	Target real bill rate		
$Rr_{\rm bl}$	Rate of return on bonds		
$rr_{\rm bL}$	Real yield on long-term bonds		
$rr_{C}$	Real rate of interest on bank loans, deflated by the		
	cost of inventories index		
$rr_1$	Real rate of interest on bank loans		

Real rate of interest on term deposits

 $rr_{
m m}$ 

ř Average rate of interest payable on overall government debt Ra Random number modifying expectations Realized real sales (in widgets) S se Expected real sales S Sales in nominal terms se Expected sales in nominal terms SA Stock appreciation (inventory valuation adjustment IVA)  $SAV_{\rm h}$ ,  $SAV_{\rm f}$ , Household, business, government, and overall SAVg, SAV saving TTaxes  $T_{\rm h}$ Income taxes of households  $T_{\rm f}$ Indirect taxes on firms  $T_{\rm d}$ Taxes demanded by government  $T_s$ ,  $T_s^e$ Taxes supplied or expected to be supplied Top of a target range top Top of a target range of bank profitability toppm TPTarget proportion of bonds in national debt held by households UC Unit cost of production Wealth of households in real terms

 $V, V_{h}$ Wealth of households, in nominal terms  $V^{\mathrm{T}}$ Target level of household wealth

Vе Expected wealth of households, in nominal terms

 $V_{\rm f}$ Wealth of firms, in nominal terms

 $V_{\rm fma}$ Wealth of households devoted to financial market

assets

 $V_g$ Wealth of government, in nominal terms

 $V_{\rm nc}$ Wealth of households, net of cash

 $V_{\rm nc}^{\rm e}$ Expected wealth of households, net of cash

WNominal wage rate

WB The wage bill, in nominal terms

wb Real wage bill X Real exports

XExports in nominal terms

Total exports, inclusive of interest payments  $X_{\mathrm{T}}$ 

received from abroad

xr	Exchange	rate		
xr\$	Dollar exchange rate: value of one dollar expressed			
	in pound	S		
$xr^{\pounds}$	Sterling e	xchange rate: value of one pound sterling		
		in dollars		
$xr_e$	Expected	level of the future exchange rate		
Y	National	income, in nominal terms		
$Y_{fc}$		city output		
$Y_{\mathrm{T}}$	National	income plus government debt service		
YD	Disposabl	Disposable income of households		
$YD^{e}$	Expected	disposable income		
$YD_{hs}$	0	ons nominal disposable income		
		g all capital gains)		
$YD_{\mathbf{r}}$	0	Regular disposable income		
$YD_{\rm r}^{\rm e}$		Expected regular disposable income		
YP		Nominal personal income		
y		Real output		
yd		Deflated regular income		
$yd_{hs}$	0	Haig–Simons realised real disposable income		
yd <sup>e</sup>	Expected real disposable income			
<i>yd</i> <sub>hse</sub>		Haig–Simons expected real disposable income		
yd <sub>r</sub>		Realized real regular disposable income		
$yd_{\mathrm{r}}^{\mathrm{e}}$	Expected real regular disposable income			
Z	Dichotomic variable or some numerical parameter			
zm		onal response of the money deposit rate		
	following	g a change in the bill rate		
Gree	k Letters			
α	(alpha)	Consumption parameters		
$\alpha_0$	. 1	Autonomous consumption		
$\alpha_1$		Propensity to consume out of regular income		

α	(alpha)	Consumption parameters
$\alpha_0$		Autonomous consumption
$\alpha_1$		Propensity to consume out of regular income
$\alpha_2$		Propensity to consume out of past wealth
$\alpha_3$		Implicit target wealth to disposable income ratio of
		households
$\alpha_4$		Long-run government debt to GDP ratio
β	(beta)	Reaction parameter related to expectations
γ	(gamma)	Partial adjustment function that applies to
		inventories and fixed capital
δ	(delta)	Rate of depreciation on fixed capital
$\delta_{\text{rep}}$		Rate of amortization on personal loans
ε	(epsilon)	Another reaction parameter related to expectations
	(1)	Export parameter of a country

ζ	(zeta)	Reaction parameter related to changes in interest rates
	(ota)	New loans to personal income ratio
$\eta$	(eta)	Personal income tax rate
$\frac{\theta}{\theta'}$	(theta)	Taxes to GDP ratio
	(iota)	Parameter tied to the impact of interest rates
l	(iota)	on the propensity to consume
K	(kappa)	Target fixed capital to output ratio
λ	(lambda)	Reaction parameters in the portfolio choice of
		households
$\lambda_{C}$		Cash to consumption ratio
$\mu$	(mu)	Import propensity or parameter
V	(nu)	Parameter tied to import prices
ξ	(xi)	Reaction parameter tied to changes in interest
		rates
0	(omicron)	
$\pi$	(pi)	Price inflation rate
$\pi_{C}$		Inflation rate of unit costs
ρ	(ro)	Compulsory reserve ratios on bank deposits
$\sigma$	(sigma)	Various measures of inventories to output (or
		sales) ratio
$\sigma_{ extsf{S}}$		Realized (past period) inventories to sales
		ratio
$\sigma_{ ext{Se}}$		Expected (past period) inventories to sales
		ratio
$\sigma^{N}$		Normal (past period) inventories to sales ratio
$\sigma^{\mathrm{T}}$		Target (current) inventories to sales ratio
τ	(tau)	Sales tax rate
$\upsilon$	(upsilon)	Parameter tied to export prices
$\varphi$	(phi)	Costing margin in pricing
$\varphi^{\mathrm{T}}$		Ideal costing margin
$\varphi'/(1+\varphi')$		Realized share of entrepreneurial profits in
		sales
χ	(chi)	Weight of conviction in expected bond prices
$\psi$	(psi)	Target retained earnings to lagged investment
		ratio
ω	(omega)	Real wage rate
$\omega^{\mathrm{T}}$		Real wage target
Ω	(OMEGA)	Reaction parameters related to real wage
		targeting
ת	(hebrew letter)	$\pi = \Delta p/p$ (nearly price inflation, but not quite)
\$		dollar
£		pound sterling

## Preface

The premises underlying this book are, first, that modern industrial economies have a complex institutional structure comprising production firms, banks, governments and households and, second, that the evolution of economies through time is dependent on the way in which these institutions take decisions and interact with one another. Our aspiration is to introduce a new way in which an understanding can be gained as to how these very complicated systems work *as a whole*.

Our method is rooted in the fact that every transaction by one sector implies an equivalent transaction by another sector (every purchase implies a sale), while every financial balance (the difference between a sector's income and its outlays) must give rise to an equivalent change in the sum of its balance-sheet (or stock) variables, with every financial asset owned by one sector having a counterpart liability owed by some other. Provided all the sectoral transactions are fully articulated so that 'everything comes from somewhere and everything goes somewhere' such an arrangement of concepts will describe the activities and evolution of the whole economic system, with all financial transactions (including changes in the money supply) fully integrated, at the level of accounting, into the processes which generate factor income, expenditure and production.

As any model which includes the whole range of economic activities described in the national income and flow-of-funds accounts must be extremely complicated, we start off by imagining economies which have unrealistically simplified institutions, and explore how these would work. Then, in stages, we add more and more realistic features until, by the end, the economies we describe bear a fair resemblance to the modern economies we know. In the text we shall employ the narrative method of exposition which Keynes and his followers used, trying to infuse with intuition our conclusions about how particular mechanisms (say the consumption or asset demand functions) work, one at a time, and how they relate to other parts of the economic system. But our underlying method is completely different. Each of our models, before we started to write it up, was set up with its own stock and flow transactions so comprehensively articulated that, however large or small the model, the *n*th equation was always logically implied by the other n-1 equations. The way in which the system worked as a whole was then explored via computer simulation, by first solving the model in question for its steady state and then discovering its properties by changing assumptions about exogenous variables and parameters.

The text which follows can do no more than provide a narrative supplemented with equations, but we believe that readers' understanding will be enhanced, if not transformed, if they reproduce the simulations for themselves and put each model through its paces as we go along. It should be easy to download each model complete with data and solution routine. <sup>1</sup>

In Chapters 3–5 we present very elementary models, with drastically simplified institutional structures, which will illustrate some basic principles regarding the functioning of dynamic stock-flow consistent (SFC) models, and which incorporate the creation of 'outside' money into the income–expenditure process.

Chapter 6 introduces the open economy, which is developed seamlessly out of a model describing the evolution of two regions within a single country.

Chapters 7–9 present models with progressively more realistic features which, in particular, introduce commercial banks and discuss the role of credit and 'inside' money.

The material in Chapters 10–11 constitutes a break, in terms of complexity and reality, with everything that has gone before. We first present models which describe how inside money and outside money interact, how firms' pricing decisions determine the distribution of the national income and how the financial sector makes it possible for firms and households to operate under conditions of uncertainty. The Chapter 11 model includes a representation of growth, investment, equity finance and inflation.

Finally, in Chapter 12, we return to the open economy (always conceived as a closed system comprising two economies trading merchandise and assets with one another) and flesh-out the Chapter 6 model with additional realistic features.

It has taken many years to generate the material presented here. But we are painfully aware that this is only a beginning which leaves everything to play for.

W.G. and M.L.

## Background memories (by W.G.)

My first significant memory as an economist was the moment in 1944 when P.W.S Andrews, my brilliant teacher at Oxford, got me to extrude a question from my mind: Is output determined by the intersection of marginal revenue with marginal cost curves or is it determined by aggregate demand? Thus I was vouchsafed a precocious vision of the great divide which was to obsess me for years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> At http://gennaro.zezza.it/software/eviews/gl2006.php.

My apprenticeship was served in the British Treasury, where, from 1956 to 1970. I mainly worked on the conjuncture<sup>2</sup> and short-term forecasting. This was the heyday of 'stop-go' policies, when we tried to forecast what would happen during the following 18 months and then design a budget which would rectify anything likely to go wrong. Forecasting consisted of scratching together estimates of the component parts of real GDP and adding them up using, so far as we could, a crude version of the Keynesian multiplier. I now think the theoretical and operational principles we used were seriously defective, but the whole experience was instructive and extremely exciting. The main thing I derived from this work was an expertise with statistical concepts and sources while gathering a considerable knowledge of stylized facts – for instance concerning the (non) response of prices to fluctuations in demand (Godley 1959; Godley and Gillion 1965) and the response of unemployment to fluctuations in output (Godley and Shepherd 1964). I also got a lot of contemporary history burned into my mind – what kind of year 1962 was and so on – and, always waiting for the next figure to come out. I learned to think of the economy as an organism which evolves through time, with each period having similarities as well as differences from previous periods. I came to believe that advances in macro-economic theory could usefully take place only in tandem with an improved knowledge of what was actually happening in the real world – an endless process of iteration between algebra and statistics. My perspective was very much enlarged by my close friendship with Nicholas Kaldor, who worked in the Treasury from the mid-sixties. Kaldor was touched by genius and, contrary to what one might suppose, he had an open mind, being prepared to argue any question through with anyone at any time on its merits and even, very occasionally, to admit that he was wrong.

In 1970 I moved to Cambridge, where, with Francis Cripps, I founded the Cambridge Economic Policy Group (CEPG). I remember a damascene moment when, in early 1974 (after playing round with concepts devised in conversation with Nicky Kaldor and Robert Neild), I first apprehended the strategic importance of the accounting identity which says that, *measured at current prices*, the government's budget deficit less the current account deficit is equal, by definition, to private saving net of investment. Having always thought of the balance of trade as something which could only be analysed in terms of income and price elasticities together with real output movements at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I believe myself, perhaps wrongly, to have coined this word and its variants in 1967 when I was working on devaluation. Bryan Hopkin had given me a cutting from a French newspaper describing the work of a 'conjoncturiste', adding 'This is what you are.'

home and abroad, it came as a shock to discover that if only one knows what the budget deficit and private net saving are, it follows from that information alone, without any qualification whatever, exactly what the balance of payments must be. Francis Cripps and I set out the significance of this identity as a logical framework both for modelling the economy and for the formulation of policy in the *London and Cambridge Economic Bulletin* in January 1974 (Godley and Cripps 1974). We correctly predicted that the Heath Barber boom would go bust later in the year at a time when the National Institute was in full support of government policy and the London Business School (i.e. Jim Ball and Terry Burns) were conditionally recommending further reflation! We also predicted that inflation could exceed 20% if the unfortunate threshold (wage indexation) scheme really got going interactively. This was important because it was later claimed that inflation (which eventually reached 26%) was the consequence of the previous rise in the 'money supply', while others put it down to the rising pressure of demand the previous year.

However, far more important than any predictions we then made was our suggestion that an altogether different set of principles for managing the economy should be adopted, which did not rely nearly so much on short-term forecasting. Our system of thought, dubbed 'New Cambridge' by Richard Kahn and Michael Posner (1974), turned on our view that in the medium term there were limits to the extent to which private net saving would fluctuate and hence that there was a medium-term functional relationship between private disposable income and private expenditure. Although this view encountered a storm of protest at the time it has gradually gained some acceptance and is treated as axiomatic in, for example, Garratt et al. (2003).

We had a bad time in the mid-1970s because we did not then understand inflation accounting, so when inflation took off in 1975, we underestimated the extent to which stocks of financial assets would rise in nominal terms. We made some bad projections which led people to conclude that New Cambridge had been confuted empirically and decisively. But this was neither correct nor fair because nobody else at that time seems to have understood inflation accounting. Our most articulate critic, perhaps, was John Bispham (1975), then editor of the *National Institute Economic Review*, who wrote an article claiming that the New Cambridge equation had 'broken down massively'. Yet the National Institute's own consumption function under-forecast the personal saving rate in 1975 by 6 percentage points of disposable income! And no lesser authority than Richard Stone (1973) made the same mistake because in his definition of real income he did not deduct the erosion, due to inflation, of the real value of household wealth. But no one concluded that the consumption function had 'broken down' terminally if at all.

It was some time before we finally got the accounting quite right. We got part of the way with Cripps and Godley (1976), which described the CEPG's

empirical model and derived analytic expressions which characterized its main properties, and which included an early version of the conflictual, 'target real wage' theory of inflation. Eventually our theoretical model was enlarged to incorporate inflation accounting and stocks as well as flows and the results were published in Godley and Cripps (1983)<sup>3</sup> with some further refinements regarding inflation accounting in Coutts, Godley and Gudgin (1985). Through the 1970s we gave active consideration to the use of import controls to reverse the adverse trends in trade in accordance with principles set out in Godley and Cripps (1978). And around 1984 James Tobin spent a pleasant week in Cambridge (finding time to play squash and go to the opera) during which he instructed us in the theory of asset allocation, particularly Backus *et al.* (1980), which thenceforth was incorporated in our work.

In 1979 Mrs Thatcher came to power largely on the grounds that, with unemployment above one million, 'Labour [wasn't] working', and Britain was subjected to the monetarist experiment. We contested the policies and the theory underlying them with all the rhetoric we could muster, predicting that there would be an extremely severe recession with unprecedented unemployment. The full story of the Thatcher economic policies (taking the period 1979–92) has yet to be told. Certainly the average growth rate was by far the lowest and least stable of the post-war period while unemployment rose to at least four million, once the industrial workers in Wales and the North who moved from unemployment to invalidity benefit are counted in.

In 1983 the CEPG and several years of work were destroyed, and discredited in the minds of many people, by the ESRC decision to decimate our funding, which they did without paying us a site visit or engaging in any significant consultation.

Still, 'sweet are the uses of adversity', and deprived of Francis Cripps (perhaps the cleverest economist I have so far encountered) and never having touched a computer before, I was forced to spend the hours (and hours) necessary to acquire the modelling skills with which I invented prototypes of many of the models in this book.

In 1992, I was invited to join the Treasury's panel of Independent Forecasters (the 'Six Wise Men'). In my contributions I wrongly supposed that the devaluation of 1992 would be insufficient to generate export-led growth for a time. But I did steadfastly support the policies pursued by Kenneth Clarke (the UK Chancellor of the Exchequer) between 1993 and 1997 – perhaps the best time for macro-economic management during the post-war period. Unfortunately a decision was made not to make any attempt to explain,

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  A rhetorically adverse and unfair review of this book, by Maurice Peston (1983), appeared in the *Times* simultaneously with its publication.